USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
THIS thesis aims to assess critically and objectively the significance of the part played by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in the political development of Tonga from the re-establishment of their mission in 1826 to the promulgation of the Tongan Constitution in 1875.

In order to gain an understanding of the impact of the missionaries on the political life in Tonga, it became necessary to begin with a close scrutiny of the traditional political system of Tonga, as far as this can still be reconstructed, and to consider the ways in which politics were closely interwoven in the total fabric of traditional Tongan society. It was particularly important to consider the connection that existed between the traditional religious and political structure, since, later, the work of the missionaries in undermining the traditional religion helped to bring about the collapse of much of the framework of the traditional society.

Prior to the coming of the missionaries, there had already been a period of political turbulence and a struggle for power,
(Tu'i Kanokupolu) to establish absolute authority over the whole of Tonga. However, these efforts had failed, and when the missionaries first arrived, Tonga was politically divided, and power was in the hands of local chiefs.

The missionaries brought with them the ideals and values of their parent society and sought to transplant these in Tonga. Seeing a resemblance to a monarchy in the Hau or Tu'í Kanokupolu dynasty they threw their support behind it, and became the close advisers of Tāufa'āhau - King George - who had accepted Christianity in 1829. With the help and support of the missionaries and their Christian followers, he succeeded in the next two decades in uniting the whole of Tonga under a monarchical system and established the rule of law.

The founding of the Kingdom and the establishment of the rule of law were the most significant innovations in the political history of Tonga. Attempts have been made to examine critically the role played by the missionaries in these events. Of particular importance was the extent to which the missionaries could be held directly responsible for the creation of a monarchy, the unification of Tonga and the drawing up and promulgation of the Codes of Laws and later Constitution; a considerable section of the thesis has been devoted to a discussion of these issues.

The influence of the Wesleyans in Tongan affairs did not go
unchallenged, for there was strong opposition not only from the Tongans, but also from non-missionary Europeans and from the Roman Catholic mission which had been established by 1842. In the final sections of this work, consideration has been given to the question of whether these sources of opposition constituted a real challenge to the influence of the Wesleyans and to what extent they brought about modifications or changes in the political development of Tonga at this time.

In addition to extensive research carried out in various libraries and archives - public and private - oral traditions were also recorded and used in the writing of this thesis.
CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA:
THE INFLUENCE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARIES
ON THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF TONGA, 1826-1875

by

Sione Latukefu

Thesis submitted for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the
Australian National University

February 1967
TO my Mother, Mele Vaimoana Lātūkefu,
and my Father, Siosiua 'Alopi Lātūkefu

Mo e 'ofa mo'oni
This thesis is my own work for which I accept full responsibility

[Signature]
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NEAR the centre of the 70,000,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean\textsuperscript{1} lies the smallest Kingdom in the world, known as Tonga. Situated 1,100 miles north-east of New Zealand and 420 miles south-east of Fiji, it consists of more than 150 small islands which are scattered between 15° and 23° South Latitude and 173° and 177° West Longitude. The Kingdom is divided into three main island groups, Tongatapu to the south, Ha'apai in the centre, and Vava'u to the north. The total area of the whole group is 269 square miles, though only 36 of the islands are inhabited by the population which numbers about 76,000\textsuperscript{2} at present, 97.5 per cent of whom are indigenous\textsuperscript{3} and belong to the Polynesian race.

Politically, Tonga is a constitutional monarchy under the protection of Great Britain. While the treaty which

\begin{enumerate}
\item According to His Majesty King Tāufa'ahau (P.I.M., August 1966, 9). The population of Tonga was estimated to be 76,000 in 1966 and there were 340 persons per square mile.
\item Pacific Islands Year Book and Who's Who (Sydney, 1963), Ninth Edition, 119.
\end{enumerate}
provided British protection was not entered into until the beginning of this century, Tonga became a constitutional monarchy in 1875. Varying opinions have been expressed concerning the part played in the development of this monarchical system by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, since their influence dominated the affairs of Tonga during the first fifty years of their work in the group.

Regarding the constitutional development in Tonga as a disastrous error, Basil Thomson, an able but biased observer, laid the blame at the Methodist missionaries' door. Louis B. Wright and Mary Isabel Fry, taking their cue from Thomson, wrote:

From the first, they [the Methodist missionaries] itched to change the patriarchal feudal system to some form that comported with the democratic ideas that most of them had acquired in Australia, where the belief in universal suffrage had already taken root. The preachers longed to see pious Tongans voting blue laws to bring about the Methodist millennium that they envisaged. King

4 The Treaty of Friendship and Protection between Great Britain and Tonga was signed in December 1900. It was revised in 1958 and ratified in 1959.

5 See p. 370 below.


7 B. Thomson, The Diversions of a Prime Minister (Edinburgh, 1894), 222-3.
George, devout Methodist that he was, had other views, however, and it was not until 1862, at the height of theocratic power, that the preachers persuaded him against his better judgment to give the people a magical instrument of government called a Constitution, etc. 

For reasons diametrically opposed to those held by Thomson and his disciples, friends and supporters of missionary work claimed the same constitutional development as evidence of a remarkably successful missionary enterprise, and gave full credit to the missionaries for this outstanding achievement. They believed that 'civilization' and 'law and order' were the spontaneous results of evangelization and would not have developed without the ground being prepared by the missionaries. The missionaries themselves subscribed to this view as the following remarks show:

A more hallowed and noble triumph, of Gospel truth, Tonga had never witnessed, than when the social and political advancement of its population was thus acknowledged, by king, chiefs, and commoners, to be the sole result of that enlightenment and saving grace, which the religion of Jesus Christ had imparted, and before which heathenism and tyranny had fallen to rise no more.  

8 L.B. Wright and M.I. Fry, Puritans in the South Seas, (New York, 1936), 259-60.  

9 See p. 287 below. Some of the missionary records were written for propaganda purposes, and were therefore as biased as those of their opponents.  

10 T. West, Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia... (London, 1865), 438.
Although these commentators were clearly convinced that all political changes in Tonga were to be directly attributed to the influence or interference of the Wesleyan missionaries, there is a need to re-examine this question from a less partisan viewpoint. It is the purpose of this thesis to try to assess critically and objectively the significance of the part played by the Methodist missionaries in the political development of Tonga from the re-establishment of their mission in 1826 to the promulgation of the Tongan Constitution in 1875. It makes an attempt to demythologize the firmly established notions, consciously or unconsciously developed and perpetuated either for purposes of religious propaganda by the supporters of the mission or for denigrating purposes by its opponents. It tries to assess the over-all impact which the missionaries had upon the Tongan way of life at this time and to determine whether in fact, they were solely responsible for the political changes in Tonga, as some writers have claimed.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, kindly assisted me both in my research and the preparation of this work. I feel indebted to so many, that it is impossible to acknowledge everyone by name, but I would ask those whose names do not appear on these pages to accept my very sincere thanks for their help.
My thanks go to the staff of the following libraries and archives for their valuable assistance which helped to make my research easier and more enjoyable: the National Library of Australia, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Turnbull Library and the Dominion Archives in Wellington, N.Z.; to Ian Diamond, archivist of the Fiji Archives, and many others in various institutions in Australia, New Zealand and Fiji.

I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission, the Rev. C.F. Gribble, O.B.E., and the Rev. E.V. Newman, who permitted the use of the Methodist Overseas Mission Archives; to Dr D. Williams of Trinity College, Auckland, for the use of the College archives; to the Rev. J.B.H. Robson, for the use of Methodist archives in Suva; to the Rev. G. Harris, President of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and to Bishop J.H.M. Rodgers, of the Roman Catholic Church, for the use of their respective archives at Nuku'alofa, and also to Father C.P. Butler and Father Mingam of the Marist Fathers' headquarters at Hunter's Hill, Sydney, for the use of the monastery's archives, their useful criticisms of the chapter on the Roman Catholic mission, and the translation of letters from the French.

My attention was initially drawn to the subject of this thesis by the late Rev. R.G. Page, who had been a missionary
in Tonga for 38 years. To this remarkable and unassuming man I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude for his sound advice, encouragement and personal interest in my work. The valuable historical books and records which he had wisely and carefully collected for many years, and which have been generously given to me by his son Roger and daughter-in-law Mary, have been of invaluable help to this work. It is my deep regret that he did not live to see the completion of this thesis, which he had always wished.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the valuable assistance given to me by Dr A.H. Wood and Dr E.E.V. Collocott, both ex-missionaries and authorities on the history of Tonga. Thanks are also due to Miss Gwenyth L. Davies of Adelaide, Mrs Halliday of West Wyalong, Miss Oldmeadow of Melbourne, Miss Crosby of Sydney, the Rev. H.K. Moulton of London and other descendants of the Wesleyan missionaries, who gave me access to the journals and letters of their forebears who had served in Tonga during the period of this study; these documents proved to be invaluable sources of information.

This study has been enriched by the oral traditions collected from various informants in Tonga during my field trip there from November 1964 to February 1965. I am deeply indebted to the Hon. Ve'ehala, Keeper of the Palace records and Secretary of the Traditional Committee, for the wealth of
information he kindly gave me in answer to my enquiries, and also to his assistants, Tupou Posesi Fonua and Vāhōi Naufahu, who willingly helped me to find information in their records. Thanks are also due to the following informants: Tu'i'āfītu of Makave, Vava'u; Fe'iloakitaau Kaho and the late Sione Filipe Tongilava of Kolofo'ou; the late Molitoni Fīnau of Nukunuku, 'Uhatafe of Mu'a, Siola'ā Soakai of Hihifo, Ha'apai, and many others who generously gave of their time.

To my supervisor, Dr W.N. Gunson of the Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, I owe an immeasurable debt, and it is impossible to convey fully the extent of his patient guidance and encouragement throughout the preparation of this thesis. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J.W. Davidson for the generous support given to me by his Department and for his invaluable criticisms of certain aspects of the thesis; and Mr Harry Maude, Dr Francis West, Dr Dorothy Shineberg and Dr Deryck Scarr, who have at all times shown their readiness to discuss and criticize this work; to Dr Alaric Maude and Dr Noel Rutherford, both students of Tongan geography and history, who have read portions of this manuscript, and offered valuable suggestions.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to Mrs Anvida Lamberts, who carried out more than the usual task
of typing and preparing this manuscript; and to the Commonwealth Office of Education, Sydney, for their generous offer to pay for the typing and binding of the thesis; and to my wife Ruth for her devoted, untiring assistance and moral support, making life pleasant during the final months of this work.

LASTLY, with deep gratitude and affection, I wish to express my great indebtedness to Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote Tupou of Tonga, for her gracious interest and invaluable help in this work. I was deeply privileged and greatly honoured by an invitation, which she extended to me, to spend four weeks with her in February and March 1965, at 'Atalanga' in Auckland, where she was receiving medical treatment. In spite of her serious illness, she was determined to impart to me her wealth of knowledge of the Tongan traditional past. I only hope that the outcome of this study is worthy of her patronage.

Sione Lātūkefu,
Canberra, January 1967
### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>American Anthropologist</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.N.U.</td>
<td>Australian National University, Canberra</td>
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<td>A.T.L.</td>
<td>Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington</td>
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<td>A.W.M.S.</td>
<td>Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society</td>
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<td>D.A.N.</td>
<td>Dominion Archives of New Zealand, Wellington</td>
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<td>J.P.H.</td>
<td>The Journal of Pacific History</td>
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<td>Journal of the Polynesian Society</td>
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PART I

PRE-MISSIONARY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TONGA
CHAPTER 1

THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

BEFORE the Methodist missionaries came to Tonga, the country possessed a social and political system that had developed over many centuries. The customary rules and sanctions which regulated Tongan life had given the country long periods of relative stability. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, the growth of contacts with the outside world had created a condition of turbulence and disorder. Political reorganization had thus become necessary, but the traditional political structure, termed by some writers a 'Feudal' system, provided the foundations upon which the new order had to be built. It is therefore essential to understand how Tongan society functioned in pre-European times before considering the changes that were brought about through the influence of the missionaries.

Authority in Tonga had a direct link with the concept of 'eiki, which was the term used both for those possessing a chiefly title and for the ranking of individuals throughout

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the whole society. Every person had some authority over those others to whom he or she was 'eiki, but, lacking a title, one's 'eiki merely gave ceremonial precedence. Administrative, judicial and even personal powers were confined to the title-holding 'eiki who was head of a socio-political unit, and whose degree of authority increased with the size of the unit to which he was 'eiki.

There were four main socio-political units which formed the bases of the Tongan political system. In ascending order, these were the 'api, the fa'ahinga, the kainga and the ha'a. The ranking of individuals within the 'api or household provides the key to the organization of Tongan society. It prevailed in every stratum of the social pyramid, and, to understand the socio-political relations in the society at large, one has to understand the relations within the 'api.

THE 'api or household was composed of the elementary family,

---

2 The Royal household was called fale. Professor E.W. Gifford uses the term famili (family) but the Tongan household was more than a family. Like many other Tongan words, 'api has several other meanings. It can refer to the block of land occupied by the household. It can also refer to the tract of land owned by an 'ulumotu'a and his fa'ahinga. See discussion below.

together with any kin who might be living with them, which could include maternal or paternal grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins or grandchildren, or adopted children. All were members of the 'api. There were two sets of relationships within the 'api: the fānau relationships (those between all the members of the offspring generation); and the mātu'a-fānau relationships (those between the parental and offspring generations).

Two factors determined rank in the fānau relationships. The first was sex and the second was age. This meant that the sister (tuofefine) was superior in rank or 'eiki to the brother (tuonga'ane) even though she might be younger than he. This tuonga'ane-tuofefine relationship was governed by the term faka'apa'apa which meant to reverence, to respect, or to honour. The terms tuonga'ane and tuofefine, being classificatory, were extended to all female and male cousins, respectively, and the same relationship of faka'apa'apa applied to cousins, though the degree of reverence and respect shown tended to decrease with the distance of the cousins.

The other important factor in fānau relationships was age. The elder sibling was 'eiki to the younger within each sex. Even after marriage these relationships persisted, so that

for breaking them were more severe. It was believed that sickness and perhaps early death in children\(^5\) could result from failure to observe these taboos. The *mehikitanga* often controlled the matrimonial destinies of her brothers' children.\(^6\)

On the other hand, the maternal side of the family was the *tu'a* (commoner) side of the *'api*.\(^7\) Relationships with the *fa'ë* (mother) were free from *tapu*. The same freedom was extended to her sisters and cousins and, above all, to her brother whom the children called *fa'ëtangata* (male mother) or *tu'asina*.\(^8\) In their relations with their maternal uncle and his children the sister's children held the position of

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5 Gifford, op. cit., 18.


7 The *tu'a* or inferior rank of the mother was, of course, only in the context of these family relationships, so that if in fact she was of higher rank than her husband, this would be recognized in wider social circles.

8 *Tu'asina* is probably derived from *tu'a* meaning inferior in rank, and *sina*, which is probably derived from *tina*, the Samoan term for mother. However, Capell and Lester, discussing the Futuna word, *tu'a tsinana* (mother's brother) suggest *tu'a* means 'elder'. See A. Capell and R.H. Lester, 'Kinship in Fiji', *Oceania*, XVI, 1946, no. 3, 240.
a man's sister's children were 'eiki both to him and to his children, and the children of the elder were 'eiki to the children of the younger.

With regard to the mātu'a-fānau relationships, the father and his siblings and cousins were the 'eiki side of the family. This applied even if the mother was of higher rank. The tamai (father) was the 'ulu (head) of the 'api and in this capacity he had authority over all its members, but unless he was also a title-holder his authority did not extend beyond the 'api. A kind of sanctity surrounded both the father's person and personal belongings as far as the children were concerned. It was tapu for the children to touch his head or hair, to eat while sitting on his lap or standing near him, or to share anything he ate or drank. It was tapu to use anything belonging to him personally. The tapu surrounding the tamai extended also to his male siblings and cousins, though again the more distant the relationship from the actual tamai the less stringent was the observance of the tapu.

It was to the father's sister, however, that the greatest respect was paid. She was the 'eiki taha (the highest ranking) person in the 'api, being governed by the tuofefine-tuonga'ane relationship. She therefore took ceremonial precedence over her brother who was the 'ulu of the 'api. She was called mehikitanga (paternal aunt) by her nieces and nephews. The taboos that surrounded her were more stringent and the penalties
fahu which meant the reverse of all the restrictions which applied to their tamai. They were allowed unrestricted rights with regard to all their maternal uncle's personal property, as well as those of his children. A relative degree of freedom was also exercised towards both the maternal and paternal grandparents.

Next, in ascending order of the socio-political units,

9 The term fahu was derived from the Fijian word vasu which is the commoner term for sister's son or daughter. In certain areas of Fiji the sister's male children are vasu and this gave them the right to inherit all the portable property of their mother's brother. Capell and Lester (ibid., 241-2) suggest that the vasu right in its simpler form came into western Polynesia from Fiji, and that the more extended form of vasu right also developed in Fiji and 'from eastern Fiji the right will have passed direct to Tonga, and it did so because the existing Tongan social system provided it with a ready welcome.' (Ibid., 244.) Their contention is supported by Tongan traditions which say the fahu began when the son of a Fijian chief married the Tu'i Tonga fefine (Tu'i Tonga's sister). Their children became fahu over the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically over the whole of Tonga. (Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote.) In actual practice, the privileges of the fahu among commoners were severely restricted by the more powerful rights of the chiefs over commoners' property. Hence the custom was only strictly enforced by the chiefly classes. See also, Gifford, op. cit., 22-6; E.E.V. Collocott, 'Marriage in Tonga', J.P.S., XXXII, 1923, 223.

was the fa'ahinga or matakali. The term matakali is more commonly used today for the fa'ahinga though it has a Fijian origin. See Capell and Lester, op. cit., Oceania, XV, 1945, no. 3, 175. Dr E. Moulton used it extensively in his translation of the Bible and it has become popular ever since. Although Gifford (op. cit., 15) refers to the fa'ahinga in his discussion of the family, he does not appear to have been aware of its real significance as a socio-political unit.

The term matakali is more commonly used today for the fa'ahinga though it has a Fijian origin. See Capell and Lester, op. cit., Oceania, XV, 1945, no. 3, 175. Dr E. Moulton used it extensively in his translation of the Bible and it has become popular ever since. Although Gifford (op. cit., 15) refers to the fa'ahinga in his discussion of the family, he does not appear to have been aware of its real significance as a socio-political unit.

'ulumotua means 'principal 'ulu'.

Mata (face or eyes) and pule (ruler). Hence, matapule is the representative or attendant of the chief. See discussion of the matapule class, p.28f below. The origin of matapule and the Fijian mata-ni-vanua (face of the land or chief's herald) is discussed by Capell and Lester. See Capell and Lester, op. cit., Oceania, XVI, 1946, no. 4, 297. See also Hocart, 'Fijian Heralds and Envoys', J.R.A.I., XLIII, 1913, 109-18; 'Fijian Heralds and Envoys', Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1915, 1-8; Martin, op. cit., II, 89; R.W. Williamson, The Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia, II (Cambridge, 1924), 39f.
Originally, the land belonging to the fa'ahinga would have been given to the 'ulumotu'a by a principal chief, who divided it among his several 'ulumotu'a who were either his fototehina or his kau matāpule. These 'ulumotu'a would then have portioned out the land among their kin, so that all the 'api belonging to a particular fa'ahinga were supposed to be the descendants of the original holder of the 'ulumotu'a title.

The sister of the 'ulumotu'a and her children (especially her eldest daughter), being superior to him in rank, were fahu...

14 These tracts of land are still known by their original names throughout Tonga. The present writer belongs to a fa'ahinga known as Kau Ma'ofanga at Kolovai, Tongatapu. Its 'ulumotu'a is Lātūkefu. Lātūkefu and his fa'ahinga held their land under the principal chief, Ata. Another fa'ahinga at Kolovai is known as Kau Tefisi, headed by the 'ulumotu'a called Eke, who is Ata's principal matāpule.

15 Fototehina is the plural form of tehina (younger sibling of the same sex). However it has here a special meaning, denoting a group of petty titles. These titles happened to be the names of the brothers of the original holder or an early distinguished holder of the principal chief's title. All the principal chief's immediate relatives were called fānau (children) or makapuna (grandchildren) irrespective of their actual relationship to him.

16 Kau matāpule is the plural form of matāpule. Kau is used to indicate plural number, as a rule, with nouns denoting persons - ngaahi, like kau, is another plural form. The prefix hou is used with 'eiki to indicate plural. See C.M. Churchward, Tongan Grammar (Oxford, 1953), 28-9.
to each fa'ahinga. The taboos that surrounded the 'ulumotu'a were more stringent than those relating to the 'ulu. The authority of the 'ulumotu'a extended to all the matters relating to his fa'ahinga but they did not go beyond this, unless he was also the principal chief. The 'ulumotu'a distributed the land and acted as an overseer of its cultivation. He organized the fatongia (corvée) for the chief and collected the tribute. His judicial powers were confined to the fa'ahinga within which he could settle minor disputes.

Next, in ascending order of size, was the kāinga. This consisted of all the ngaahi fa'ahinga under the lordship of the principal chief of the area. The kāinga was a named,

17 See James Orange, Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham (London, 1840), 139-40. Vason stated, 'It was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "Fadongyeer," i.e. to dig, plant and labour for Dugonagaboola.' Ibid., 139.

18 The use of the term kāinga as a name of a particular socio-political unit must not be confused with its other uses. The fact that it has multiple usages has caused much confusion. See Churchward, Tongan Dictionary (London, 1959), 244. Gifford (op. cit., 15), in mentioning one of its meanings (relatives), confused it with fa'ahinga. Freeman, in discussing its Samoan equivalent, 'aiga, reveals that in Samoa, too, it has multiple usages. See Derek Freeman, 'Some Observations on Kinship and Political Authority in Samoa', A.A., LXVI, June 1964, 557. On the Tongan scene, however, the chief Ata's kāinga is Kolovai, and chief Ve'ehala's kāinga is Fāhefa. Within each kāinga there are several fa'ahinga; each is headed by an 'ulumotu'a. See footnote 14 above.
but non-exogamous, unit since intermarriage among its various ngaahi fa'ahinga was quite common. Like the fa'ahinga its size varied from unit to unit. Theoretically all the ngaahi fa'ahinga within a kāinga were supposed to be the descendants of the original 'eiki of the kāinga. This may once have been the case, but over the course of time the only link with the 'eiki, which many commoners knew, was the fact that they lived in one of his ngaahi fa'ahinga and were related to him through their 'ulumotu'a. Thus, the main factor binding most of the commoners to the 'eiki appeared to be a residential rather than a genealogical tie.

The taboos surrounding the person of the 'eiki were stricter than those for his kau 'ulumotu'a. His sister's children were the fahu to the whole kāinga, the eldest daughter being the principal fahu, whose privileges were exhibited in any important ceremony held within the kāinga. The 'eiki had absolute authority over his kāinga. He delegated some of his powers to his kau 'ulumotu'a, but his decisions on important matters within the kāinga were final.

The most inclusive socio-political unit in Tonga was
called the ha'a. It was a loose confederation of genealogically related but autonomous chiefs and their kāinga. The function of the ha'a was mainly ceremonial though, in times of war, the

19 The ha'a was originally described by Gifford (op. cit., 30) as a 'named lineage' and he stated that they were patrilineal and that 'each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners'. However, Firth has correctly noted that the term 'lineage' as usually defined, is inapplicable to the Polynesian type of descent groups, owing to their optative nature. By optative he means that the major emphasis is upon descent in the male line, but allowance is made, in circumstances so frequent in some societies as to be reckoned as normal, for the entitlement to membership through a female.

R. Firth, 'A Note on Descent Groups in Polynesia', Man, LVII, 1957, 5. Freeman (op. cit., 554) has substantiated Firth's analysis by his own account of the Samoan political system.

Firth (op. cit., 6) has suggested the term 'ramage' as a more appropriate term for the Tongan descent groups than 'lineage'. He defines the ramage as 'a corporate descent group of non-unilinear (ambilineal) character, membership being obtained ambilaterally i.e. through either parent according to circumstances.' However, neither Firth nor Gifford seems to have been aware of the true position of the ha'a in the total socio-political system of Tonga. Gifford (op. cit., 15) confused the smaller segments with the family, while Firth simply refers to 'small unnamed descent groups' and regards the ha'a as the only significant political unit in Tonga.

20 The core of the main ha'a was made up of genealogically related hou'eiki while other members were adopted. For example, Vaha'i was sent as a malanga (ambassador) to the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a from the Ha'a Lātū Hifo. His title was later adopted as one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a. See Queen Sālote's Reminiscences, 44. New ha'a were formed by a process of segmentation from the main ones, as Gifford has described. See Gifford, op. cit., 30.
chiefs of the various kāinga within the same ha'a usually formed an alliance.

At any national ceremony the whole of Tonga would be represented by ha'a groupings, therefore it was necessary for every Tongan to know to which ha'a he belonged. For the majority of the commoners the only way of knowing their respective ha'a was through the 'eiki of the kāinga to which they belonged. Except for the related chiefs themselves, and their relatives, it is futile to try to trace any genealogical or putative kinship links between the members of a particular ha'a, since membership for most people was solely determined by the affiliation at the kāinga level to a particular 'eiki. Among the leading ha'a were the Ha'a Takalaua, Ha'a Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ha'a Lātū Hifo, Ha'a Fale Fisi, Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, Ha'a Havea and the Ha'a Ngata Tupu.

21 Gifford (op. cit., 30) stated that some commoners were not aware of their ha'a, but this was probably due to the disruption of the rule of the chiefs occasioned by the introduction of constitutional government after 1875. See Chapter 10 below.

22 However, the higher ranking families would be able to trace their genealogical links to the ha'a to which they belonged.

23 The Tu'i Tonga's ha'a was known as the sina'e (see p. 14 below). The ha'a of the three lines of Tu'i were under the respective headship of each. The term ha'a has several meanings. Before certain nouns denoting rank or status it denotes the class of persons who have this rank or status; thus ha'a matapule refers to the matapule class; ha'a me'availe, the commoner class; and ha'a taula'eiki, the priestly class. See Churchward, Tongan Grammar, 91.
They were mainly localized, but a few ha'a were dispersed. The Ha'a Havea were in the central part of Tongatapu and the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a were in the western part, while the Ha'a Ngata Tupu were on Vava'u. The Ha'a Fale Fisi, on the other hand, were spread over all the Tongan groups.

The head of the ha'a was known as the 'ulu of the ha'a and the position of 'ulu was the most senior title. On ceremonial occasions the 'ulu took precedence over the other members of the ha'a and certain honours were paid to him accordingly. Although the 'ulu might be very influential over the other members of the ha'a he held no de jure powers on account of his position, and he could not interfere in the affairs of other kāinga within the ha'a apart from his own.

Finally, the whole of Tonga was under the sovereignty of the Tu'i Tonga, whose ha'a was known as the sina'e simply as a distinguishing term. Originally the Tu'i Tonga was both the temporal and spiritual ruler, at least until the fifteenth century. His sister was called the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and her eldest daughter was called the Tamahā, the highest rank in Tonga. The Tamahā was fahu to the Tu'i Tonga, and theoretically to the whole of Tonga. The first Tu'i Tonga Fefine's rank was so high that no Tongan was eligible by rank to marry her. A son of the King of Lakemba, in Fiji, named Tapu'osi was brought to Tonga to marry her, and this was the origin of one
of the most important ha'a, the Ha'a Fale Fisi.  

While Tonga was occupied by a fairly small population, the embodiment of both the spiritual and temporal administration in the person of the Tu'i Tonga appeared to have been adequate for a time. But with the expansion of population, and possibly other political pressures, the task of controlling both these spheres became too much for one person. By becoming more sacred and withdrawing from secular activities, a ruling dynasty is better able to preserve itself. Evidence of political instability during the fifteenth century is shown by the frequent assassinations of the Tu'i Tonga. The creation of the office of Hau was certainly brought into being by the needs of the day, and was first occupied by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua dynasty at the end of the fifteenth century and later by the Tu'i Kanokupolu early in the seventeenth century. The Tu'i Tonga

24 Some of the chiefs of this ha'a are believed to be sons of a Tu'i Tonga by the daughter of the Fijian chief, Tu'ineau (Tu'i Nayau) of Lakemba. Gifford, op. cit., 34.

25 The term Hau is related to the Fijian terms Sau meaning 'prosperity, high chief, king', and Sauturaga or 'noble king'; Capell and Lester (op. cit., 299) conclude that the title Sau (or Hau) 'is shared between Fiji, Rotuma, Samoa and Tonga, with possibly an earlier stratum in Tahiti and Hawaii.' (Ibid., 300.) The date 1470 for the first Hau dynasty is cited by Gifford, op. cit., 83; Collocott, 'An Experiment in Tongan History', J.P.S., XXXIII, 1924, no. 3, 179, and by A.H. Wood, History and Geography of Tonga (Nuku'alofa, 1932), 11.

26 The date 1610 is estimated as the beginning of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line. See Gifford, op. cit., 86; Wood, op. cit., 10.
became the head of state, a symbol of the unity of the whole of Tonga, while the Hau took over the administrative affairs of the country.\(^{27}\) This resulted in a period of peace and prosperity throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Abel Tasman, in 1643, reported that the country was well cultivated, people were peaceful, and he did not see any signs of weapons anywhere.\(^{28}\)

THE social class structure in Tongan society, as has already been indicated, is closely linked to the concept of 'eiki. We may now turn to the question of how the ruling classes or hou'eiki\(^{29}\) of Tonga came into being, and how the successors to the various titles were chosen.

At the top of the social pyramid were the ha'a tu'i (kings or overlords). Immediately below this stratum was that

\(^{27}\) Wood (op. cit., 10-11) relates that the twenty-third Tu'i Tonga Takalaua was murdered, and his death was avenged by his son, the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, named Kau'ulufonuafekai. Later Kau'ulufonuafekai 'sent governors to 'Eua, Ha'abai, Vava'u, the two Niuas and Uvea, in order to control those distant parts of his kingdom more thoroughly.' In addition he handed over 'the burden of government and the temporal power to a new ruler, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the first of which line was Kau'ulufonuafekai's brother Mo'ugamotu'a.' See Collocott, op. cit., 177; Gifford, op. cit., 68.


\(^{29}\) The plural of 'eiki is hou'eiki; see footnote 16 above.
of the hou'eiki (chiefs), then the kau mu'a\(^{30}\) (sons of a union between an 'eiki and a matapule), the ha'a matapule\(^{31}\) (chiefs' attendants), and kau tu'a\(^{32}\) (commoners) in that descending order. At the bottom of the scale were the kau pōpula\(^{33}\) (slaves).

The first line of kings was that of the Tu'i Tonga. It began with the Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, who, according to tradition, was a son of Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, god of the sky.\(^{34}\) It is believed that he ruled in Tonga about the latter half of the tenth century.\(^{35}\)

After a succession of murders of the Tu'i Tonga,

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30 The kau mu'a, according to Gifford (op. cit., 109), were persons 'whose two parents are of the rank of chief and matapule.' See also Williamson, op. cit., II, 27; J. Thomas, History of the Friendly Is., 87.

31 See footnote 13 above.

32 Kau tu'a or me'avale refers to commoners. See footnote 7 above for the derivation of tu'a; me'a means 'thing' and vale 'ignorant'. Additional terms for commoners are lauvale or kainangaefonua. The latter term meant 'eaters of the soil' and alluded to the belief that after death, commoners changed into vermin instead of going to Pulotu or paradise as did the souls of chiefs. See discussion on p. 47 below. Also see Gifford, op. cit., 108.

33 For references to kau pōpula see p. 29 below. Also see M. Dyson, Papers of the Rev. M. Dyson 1858-1908, VI, 87; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands (London, 1855), 140; Gifford, op. cit., III, 111.


35 Gifford, op. cit., 51; Collocott, op. cit., 167-9.
Kau'ulufonua I (or Kau'ulufonuafekai), the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga, whose father Takalaua had been murdered, decided to establish a new dynasty to take over at least some of the administrative duties of his office. The first Hau or secular ruler was Kau'ulufonua I's younger brother, Mo'ungamotu'a. He was given the title Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and this began the second line of kings in Tonga. It was after the establishment of the Hau that the Tu'i Tonga became 'Eiki Toputapu or sacred chief.

For several generations the two lines existed side by side. Increasingly, the temporal power passed from the Tu'i Tonga to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Finally, the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, created another title, the Tu'i

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36 See footnote 27 above.

37 T. West, Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia (London, 1865), 55. Bishop Blanc, A History of Tonga (California, 1934), 23; Gifford, op. cit., 86; B. Thomson, The Diversions of a Prime Minister (Edinburgh, 1894), 305. Thomson dated the beginning of Kau'ulufonuafekai's reign as 1535, but Gifford, who had made a careful study of Tongan genealogies, placed it much earlier, see footnote 27 above.

38 Collocott (op. cit., 177) notes that From the origination of the Tui Haa Takalaua is dated the gradual decline of the Tui Tonga before the power of the Tui Kano-kupolu, itself a creation of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and the ultimate abolition of this ancient title.
Kanokupolu, 39 and appointed his son, Ngata, to this position in order that the latter would take over the responsibilities of the Hau. The establishment of this third dynasty 40 took place a few years before the first Europeans touched the shores of the islands of Tonga in 1616. 41 The responsibilities of administering the affairs of the country were thus transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line. However, it should be noted that the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines were collateral branches of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, founded by 'Aho'eitu. Thus the differences among them were those of function, degree of chiefliness and sanctity only, and not differences of origin.

The hou'eiki (chiefs) came next in rank after the Ha'a Tu'i. Almost all of the main ha'a to which the hou'eiki

39 Traditions say that two reasons accounted for this new development. One was that the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata's mother, was a chiefly woman from Samoa. She was accompanied to Tonga by a number of Samoans who agitated for a recognized position for young Ngata. Secondly, the western part of Tongatapu to which Ngata was sent as Tu'i Kanokupolu was given to outbreaks of rebellion. Therefore, the decision to make Ngata Tu'i Kanokupolu, despite the fact that he was a younger son, was aimed at pacifying the Samoans and quelling the rebellions. (Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.)


belonged originated in one or another of the three Ha'a Tu'i (dynasties). The hou'eiki of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a were children of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata; those of the Ha'a Havea were children of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Tu'apiko; and those of the Ha'a Ngata Tupu were the descendants of the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea. The chiefs of the Ha'a Lātū Hifo were children of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, and they were thus brothers of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata.

The succession to the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lines was lineal, from father to the eldest son, by the principal wife. The case of the Tu'i Tonga Tala'atama and his brother, Talaiha'apepe, (the twelfth and fourteenth Tu'i Tonga respectively) is a classic example of the way in which this rule of succession had to apply, even if it was achieved by a 'legal' fiction. Tala'atama died without a male heir. His younger brother, Talaiha'apepe, could not succeed him directly and in order to resolve the problem a fictitious king was provided, called Tu'i Tonga Nuitamatou. This Tu'i Tonga was represented by a piece of tou wood, and was declared a son of Tala'atama and

42 See Genealogical Chart C.
43 Gifford, op. cit., 36.
44 Tou is a hardwood, melochia odorata.
father of Talaiha'apepe. This enabled Talaiha'apepe to succeed his brother. Another interesting case occurred in connection with the ninth, tenth and eleventh Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. The ninth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Moeakiola, died without leaving a male heir. His brother, Kafoa, who later became the eleventh Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, did not succeed directly. Instead, their uncle, Tatafu, was made the tenth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. It could be that Tatafu was fictitiously regarded as the son of Moeakiola and father of Kafoa, as had been done in the case of Tu'i Tonga Nuitamatou.

In spite of the fact that the succession to the Tu'i Tonga or Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was determined at birth, he did not automatically assume his title without ceremony. The actual installation took place upon the calling of the new title by the matapule in a very solemn ceremony specially arranged for the occasion. In the case of the Tu'i Tonga the ceremony was held at the mala'e of the Tu'i Tonga called Olotele at Lapaha, and the installation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua took

45 See Genealogical Chart A; Gifford, op. cit., 53; Wood, op. cit., 8; Blanc, op. cit., 19; Collocott, op. cit., 175.
46 See Genealogical Chart B.
47 Gifford, op. cit., 61.
place at his residence at Fonuamotu. Laufilitonga, although he was legitimate heir, did not succeed to the office as thirty-ninth Tu'i Tonga until seventeen years after his father's death, when the installation ceremony was held. 49

Prior to his succession to the title he remained at Ha'apai and it was only when he went to Tongatapu, that he was installed at the kava ceremony at the traditional residence of the Tu'i Tonga.

The succession in the Tu'i Kanokupolu line was strongly collateral, although, with one exception, 50 it was strictly lineal in succession until the eighteenth century, when it changed to collateral succession. The succession to other chiefly titles also became collateral, especially from the eighteenth century on. 51

Like the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata, was appointed from above, that is, by his father. His successors probably followed the procedure applied to the other two dynasties, since the succession of the first

49 Gifford, op. cit., 61.

50 This was the case of Vuna, brother of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Ha'amea, but some doubted that Vuna ever became Tu'i Kanokupolu. He was made Tu'i Vava'u. Ibid., 87.

51 See Genealogical Chart C; Thomas, op. cit., 86.
six Tu'i Kanokupolu, as noted above, was also lineal. When it changed to the rule of collateral succession, it meant that there were several claimants, or possible successors, to the throne. Consequently, a need arose for a body of persons to choose the successor. It was necessary for this body to be respected, and have its decisions accepted, not only by the several claimants but also by the rest of the chiefs and the other two dynasties. This body is referred to by Basil Thomson as an 'electoral college'.

The membership of the 'electoral college' was made up of the principal chiefs of three important ha'a which had originated in the Tu'i Kanokupolu line itself: the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, the Ha'a Havea and the Ha'a Ngata Tupu. Since the Ha'a Ngata Tupu were at Vava'u most of the time, its head, 'Ulukālala, being the Tu'i Vava'u, in actual practice the membership of the 'electoral college' was for the most part limited to the selected members of the other two ha'a - the

52 Thomson, op. cit., 307; West, op. cit., 261.
Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and the Ha'a Havea.  

The following account throws some light on the manner in which the successors to the Tu'i Kanokupolu where chosen:

After Tupouto'a's death, Fae went to speak to Maafu, Lavaka, Vaea, and all their people about appointing another Tui Kanokupolu. Fae pointed out that there were three possibilities, Aleamotua, Ulakai, and Fatu. The Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs and some others said that Aleamotua was to be king. Others said that Ulakai should be king. The argument in favour of Aleamotua was that he was the father of Fatu and Ulakai. Lavaka, Maafu, Vaea, Ata and Veehala agreed as to what Palenapa Lavaka had said and made Aleamotua king.

53 Williamson, quoting from Radcliffe-Brown, stated that the selection of a successor to the Tu'i Kanokupolu rested only with the Ha'a Ngata group. This is ambiguous, since the term Ha'a Ngata usually refers only to the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a. There was no question that the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a had sole authority over the affairs of the court or pangai of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, but the selection of a successor was too important a question to be left only to the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a without the Ha'a Havea at least. See Williamson, op. cit., III, 193.

54 Gifford, op. cit., 92.

55 Fa'e, Lavaka, Ma'afu and Vaea belonged to the Ha'a Havea. See Genealogical Chart C.

56 The ordinary people were never consulted. They were only told what would be done in a fono; see p. 51 below.

57 Other important chiefs who were connected by blood to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, such as Ha'a Pale Fisi, could have been consulted but the final decision rested with the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and the Ha'a Havea.

58 Gifford, op. cit., 92.
It is interesting to note that the five leading chiefs who agreed to appoint Aleamotu'a as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* were the principal chiefs of the *Ha'a Havea* (Lavaka, Ma'afu and Vaea) and of the *Ha'a Ngata Motua* (Ata and Ve'ehala).

The decisions of the 'electoral college' were greatly influenced by a number of considerations. Firstly, there was the wish of the dying *Tu'i Kanokupolu*; usually the person nominated by the deceased succeeded his predecessor. Secondly, the personality of the claimants could influence the selection, and, finally, the consent of the one chosen was necessary before he was appointed.

After the appointment of the successor, a day was

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59 Thomas, op. cit., 86; West, op. cit., 58.

60 When Tupou Moheofo, daughter of the seventh *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Tupou Lahi, and a wife of the *Tu'i Tonga Pau*, had herself appointed *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, upon the abdication of the previous holder, Mulikiha'amea, another legitimate claimant, Tuku'aho, with a much stronger personality, drove out Tupou Moheofo to Vava'u. Tuku'aho then persuaded the chiefs to make his aged father, Mumui, *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Mumui was the younger brother of a previous *Tu'i Kanokupolu* (Tupou Malohi, who had been Tupou Moheofo's father). After Mumui's appointment in 1793, Tuku'aho continued to hold actual power, and in 1797 he succeeded his father. Vason, who was present at his installation, notes that 'he was unanimously elected, as none dared to oppose him'. Orange, op. cit., 109; see also Wood, op. cit., 26.

61 Thomas, op. cit., 86.
fixed, and a select party of chiefs and their matāpule from the various ha'a would assemble on the mala'e\textsuperscript{62} at the sacred place called Pangai, in Hihifo (the western part of Tongatapu), in a most solemn ceremony. The King elect was seated against the traditional koka tree,\textsuperscript{63} and with him were the two principal matāpule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty - Motu'apuaka on his right and Lauaki on his left. These two matāpule were often referred to as the 'king-makers'. The selected party of chiefs and their matāpule took up their traditional places in the kava ring\textsuperscript{64} of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

The kava being first prepared [was] served out, and in handing the cup of kava to the elected Hau, the name of the family god [was] called over on him [by Motu'apuaka] which [was] Taliai Tubou, and from that moment he was the king of the whole island.\textsuperscript{65}

The selection of successors to the various chiefly titles\textsuperscript{66} was in the hands of the principal chiefs of the ha'a,

\textsuperscript{62} Mala'e was a ceremonial ground or enclosed lawn. Gifford, op. cit., 176.

\textsuperscript{63} The koka tree is a close-grained heavy timber mainly used as principal posts for Tongan houses. Gifford, op. cit., 93; West, op. cit., 58-9; Wood, op. cit., 26.

\textsuperscript{64} For a diagram of the kava ring, see Gifford, op. cit., 96.

\textsuperscript{65} Thomas, op. cit., 86; see also Thomas, Journal, 4 December 1845.

\textsuperscript{66} Succession to chiefly titles was mainly patrilineal and collateral.
to which the titles belonged, and the procedure of installation was modelled on that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The chief-elect took the traditional seat of the title concerned, in the kava ring, and, while the kava was being presented to him, the title was called over him by one of the officiating matāpule. The missionaries were disappointed that so few people were watching the ceremony when Aleamotu'a was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1827. However, they were told that the occasion was too sacred for the me'avale (commoners) to watch.

The priestly class or taula was second only to the principal chiefs in political significance and exercised powerful influence over them. The priesthood was hereditary among certain families of the hou'eiki, kau mu'a and kau matāpule classes. The priestly office usually passed from father to son, although spirit-possession could be manifested by others who were then appointed priests. Priests of the principal gods were appointed by the Tu'i Tonga whereas the ones for local deities were appointed by the principal chiefs concerned. Mariner recorded that the ruler of Vava'u, Fīnau 'Ulukālala, 'held secret conferences with the priests, chiefly either upon religious subjects or upon political matters as connected with

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67 Williamson, op. cit., II, 413; Thomas, op. cit., 57-8.
68 Gifford, op. cit., 317.
the will of the gods.' 69 The priests took their rank from the gods and chiefs they served and the personal sanctity that surrounded them derived from their 'supposed familiarity with the gods'. 70 When inspired, a priest commanded the reverence of all the people, commoners and chiefs alike, and even the Tu'i Tonga, because of the belief that, for the duration of his being inspired, the god existed in his person. Mariner recorded that 'an inspired priest even if only a mu'a, would preside at a kava ceremony, whilst the greatest chief present would go to the exterior of the circle.' 71

The other social classes were of slight importance in the political sphere of Tongan life. The kau mu'a were the children of unions between chiefs and matapule. They were not lower in rank than the kau matapule, despite Mariner's assertions to this effect, 72 and, like the latter rank, they maintained close relations with the chiefs as companions and loyal supporters. Some became 'ulumotu'a or heads of minor political units (fa'ahinga). The kau matapule were the chiefs' 69 John Martin, op. cit., I, 193.

70 West, op. cit., 263.

71 Martin, op. cit., II, 166; also Williamson, op. cit., II, 413.

72 Martin, op. cit., II, 90; Williamson, op. cit., II, 37; Gifford, op. cit., 109; Dyson, op. cit., 87; West, op. cit., 260.
attendants. They did not have as much power as the tulafale, or talking chiefs, of Samoa, but were regarded as experts in the knowledge of traditions and customs. They accompanied their chiefs, and in the kava ceremonies they spoke on their behalf, under the chiefs' directions, usually introducing their speeches with flattery and fulsome praises of their chief. In their capacity as 'ulumotu'a they carried out the will of the chiefs and maintained customs and traditions.

The ha'a me'avale or commoners did not play any active part in politics. They were completely under the domination of their superiors and served them in every way. The kau pōpula or slaves were mainly prisoners of war, and were treated as part of the huge households of their captors, who were, of course, always chiefs. As a result they often enjoyed privileges which the commoners would never have enjoyed.

The prominent position held by women in Tongan society enabled some women of rank to play an important role in Tongan politics, although they were not normally title-holders.

74 Martin, op. cit., 89.
75 Thomson, op. cit., 222f.
In at least two recorded instances women of exceptionally strong personality assumed important political positions. Tupoumoheofo, a daughter of the seventh Tu'i Kanokupolu, and wife of the Tu'i Tonga, Pau, herself became Tu'i Kanokupolu for a short period. Another woman, Toe'umu, who was the aunt of Fīnau 'Ulukālala II, became the governor of Vava'u after the death of Tupouniua, the preceding governor.

In time of war women of rank became mediators between the quarrelling parties for, because of their rank, they could pass unmolested even among the enemy. Marriage to a woman of high rank was always of political importance. In some cases it helped to raise the status of minor titles, and it also ensured the political and economic support of the woman's people in times both of peace and war.

DURING the pre-missionary period there were no codified laws as such, but there were rules which had the coercion of both supernatural and physical sanctions behind them which regulated... 

76 See footnote 60 above.
77 Wood, op. cit., 36.
78 C. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition... (London, 1845), 181; S. Rabone, Journal, I, 8 February 1840; Martin, op. cit., I, 166.
the relationships within society and which could properly be described as a system of law, especially in the sense defined by E.A. Hoebel. To understand the traditional system of law one has to look at all the traditions and customs which governed the various kinds of relationships within Tongan society, that is, social, economic, cultural and religious.

The system of taboos and obligations which governed the relationships within the family and household were the basis of the rules governing wider social units. Thus, the taboos were magnified according to a person's position in the social hierarchy and to his responsibilities. The 'ulumotu'a had greater responsibilities than the head of a household, and therefore the taboos surrounding his person, personal belongings and his sister were more important, and more serious penalties were evoked for breaking them. A

79 E.A. Hoebel defines law in these terms:

A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting.


80 See p.3 above; Williamson, op. cit., III, 72.
principal chief at the head of a kāinga had even greater sanctity. He took his meals separately, for instance, because it was thought that whatever he touched partook of his sacredness. It was believed that, if a person of inferior rank ate remnants of his food, he would suffer immediate physical ill-effects, such as the swelling of his stomach or glands, and death would speedily follow. The principal chief could only be addressed by his inferiors when they sat below him, and to pass in front of him they had to crawl on their hands and knees. It was also tapu to pass behind the back of a principal chief. Probably some of these customs originated as a protection for the chief, since it was easier to make attempts upon his life from behind or while standing than from the front and in a sitting or crawling position. At the same time these requirements symbolized his superior position and helped to re-inforce his authority. As has been noted, some breaches of these taboos were thought to be punished by supernatural means, such as suffering illnesses, but others were punished on the orders of the chief. Gifford notes that the apprehension of a wrongdoer was followed immediately by punishment in one of three ancient forms: haha (beating), hai (leg and arm binding), and tamatei (execution); hai consisted of binding the arms straight behind the culprit or binding the legs, a punishment which lasted for two or three
Personal sanctity found its culmination in the person of the Tu'i Tonga. Since the first Tu'i Tonga was believed to be directly descended from a union between a divine father, the god of the sky, and an earthly mother, the sanctity of this dynasty was pre-eminent. The other chiefs derived their own sanctity, ultimately, from their relationship to the Tu'i Tonga. Williamson quotes Monfat's statement concerning the Tu'i Tonga:

In them the civil and political power is exalted and sanctified by the divine power; wherefore their authority is boundless. They dispose of the goods, the bodies, and the consciences of their subjects, without ceremony and without rendering account to anyone. Tuitonga appears, and all prostrate themselves and kiss his feet. He speaks, and all were silent, listening with the most respectful attention; and when he has finished, all cry Koe! Koe! (it is true). The Tongans refuse him nothing, exceeding his desires. If he wishes to satisfy his anger or some cruel fancy, he sends a messenger to his victim who, far from fleeing, goes to meet death. You will see fathers tie the rope round the necks of their children, whose death is demanded to prolong the life of this divinity; more than once you will see the child smile as it is being killed.

Cook reported that if the Tu'i Tonga entered a house

81 Gifford, op. cit., 183.
82 Monfat used the records of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in Tonga.
83 Williamson, op. cit., I, 151.
belonging to a subject it became tapu and could never again
be inhabited by its owners, so there were houses specially
built for his reception when travelling.  
Furthermore, no
one could eat, drink or sleep in the house which he had used,
and for this reason he never visited the houses of any of his
wives to sleep, but always sent for one of them to come to
him. There was even a special 'language' to be used by
those of lesser rank when they addressed or talked about the
Tu'i Tonga, and similarly a language of respect was used in
addressing or talking about the hou'eiki.

Apart from his divine sanctity, the Tu'i Tonga's
position was also enhanced by a marriage arrangement between
the Tu'i Tonga and Hau dynasties. The eldest daughter of the
Hau was usually given as a moheofo (principal wife) to the
Tu'i Tonga. As a result the next Tu'i Tonga, who was the
son of the moheofo, would be in a relationship of fahu towards
the Hau who would be his maternal uncle. When the system
came to its peak, the Hau dynasty (first the Tu'i Ha'atukalaua,
and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu) felt privileged and honoured
to support and maintain the position of the Tu'i Tonga who

84 J. Cook, The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the
World (London, 1809), V, 428.

85 Martin, op. cit., I, 123n.
stood in the relationship of 'ilamutu (nephew) to the Hau.

The Tongan system of land tenure rested upon the assumption that, owing to his divine origin, the Tu'i Tonga controlled all land and that the rights possessed by others, therefore, derived from him. In recognition of this, an annual festival of 'Inasi,\(^86\) (offering of the first fruits to him) was held. It was believed that failure to carry out the 'Inasi would result in calamity and the whole land would suffer from the divine wrath.

The land was gradually divided among the hou'eiki lalahi (principal chiefs) as the population increased with the years, and, in practice, they became the effective controllers of the land. Once a tofi'a (hereditary estate) had been allocated to an 'eiki lahi, it remained associated with his title and neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the Hau ever revoked it,\(^87\) though

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\(^86\) The 'Inasi (offering of first fruits to the Tu'i Tonga) was also a religious ceremony, see p. 44 below. The ordinary offering of first fruits to the chiefs was called polopolo. See Gifford, op. cit., 103; Martin, op. cit., I, 201; Williamson, op. cit., III, 347f.

\(^87\) The land was nominally held by the Tu'i Tonga, but neither the Tu'i Tonga nor the Hau could dispose of any land previously given as a tofi'a to another chief. In a sense, land in Tonga belonged to the whole community and no individual could simply do whatever he wanted with it. See Waldegrave, 'Extracts from a private journal kept on board H.M.S. Seringapatam, in the Pacific, 1830', Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, III, 1833, 185.
they could depose its present title-holder and choose another. 88

The chiefs acknowledged their indebtedness to the Tu'i Tonga
for their land by upholding the honour and dignity of his
position, and by performing their fatongia 89 to him, in
accordance with tradition.

Each 'eiki lahi divided his tofi'a among his fototehina
and matāpule. 90 These land-holding petty chiefs and attendants
became the kau 'ulumotu'a or heads of their respective fa'ahinga.
The 'eiki lahi was himself the 'ulumotu'a of his own fa'ahinga,
and his own 'api was the centre of his whole kāinga. The
allotments of land held by an 'ulumotu'a, his descendants,
or by commoners were still under the control of the 'eiki lahi,
and one authority records that he could and often did displace
the kau tu'a from their land. 91

The large 'api 92 (tracts of land) held by the

88 At the instigation of Tāufa'āhau, King Josiah deposed
the Ata and Vaha'i who opposed his Christian party and
a new Ata and Vaha'i were installed. Rabone, op. cit.,
I, 7 February 1840.

89 See p. 10 and footnote 94 below.

90 See footnote 15 above.

91 Waldegrave, op. cit., 185.

92 See footnote 2 above. 'api refers to land here.
kau 'ulumotu'a were subdivided into smaller 'api (allotments) for each 'ulumotu'a and the people of his fa'ahinga. The dwelling houses of each household were built upon these smaller 'api, fowls and pigs were kept there and the lands around were cultivated.

The 'eiki lahi performed certain judicial functions as well as protecting all those belonging to his kainga from outside attack. He settled disputes among his 'ulumotu'a, and judged any complaints made against his young chiefs or matapule. The 'ulumotu'a, in turn, had jurisdiction over the settlement of minor disputes within his own fa'ahinga.

In acknowledgment for this protection and judicial service, which each 'eiki lahi performed for his kainga, he received from his subjects the fatongia (tax). They worked his lands for him, helped to build his houses or canoes, and gave him their services in times of war. In addition, the first fruits of every crop were taken to him. This custom was known as polopolo. A certain variety of

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93 Martin, op. cit., I, 231.
94 Fatongia was the tax paid to the hou'eiki. It was paid either in kind or by labour; see footnote 17 above.
95 See footnote 86 above.
coconut called ta'okave; a special kind of yam called kahokaho (the best variety); bunches of hopa (plantain) or banana, breadfruit and other varieties of yam, which had reached a certain size, were all reserved for him. It was believed that no tu'a or me'avale should touch such an 'eiki yam, or whatever the crop happened to be. The term 'eiki was always attached to such offerings. Similar 'eiki pigs, fowls and produce of the sea were given to the chief. The area of sea surrounding any tofi'a was supposed to be for the exclusive use of the 'eiki who held rights over the tofi'a. Certain animals, such as turtles, belonged exclusively to the chiefs and no tu'a were permitted to eat them.

It must now be apparent that the economy of Tonga depended largely upon the labour of the tu'a (commoner class). They tilled the land, fished the sea and cared for the domestic animals. They had to produce enough for their fatongia to the hou'eiki, as well as for their own subsistence. Manual work was for the tu'a and not for the hou'eiki.97

Some may conclude that the tu'a were mere slaves of the chiefs. Actually, this was not generally the case,
particularly while the system was operating effectively. The key to the whole economic system was the underlying principle of reciprocity.⁹⁸ The mere fact that the members of a kāinga loyally served their chief and carried out their obligations towards him, made it difficult for him to deprive them of their land or in other ways abuse his authority. The protection and jurisdiction which the 'eiki lahi offered, secured for the kau tu'a at least an adequate portion of the products of their toil. In addition, they always obtained great pride and satisfaction from the prestige of their 'eiki.

The favourable climate, the abundance of tropical fruit and other staple foods, and soil that amply repaid crude and slight cultivation, enabled the production of a sufficient surplus to permit the few, who held responsible and privileged positions, to abstain from manual work. In fact, it was largely due to the respect paid to their positions that peace and order prevailed and that the subsistence economy flourished.

In a kātoanga (ceremony on special state occasions

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⁹⁸ See Firth's discussion of the principles of reciprocity and basic compensation, as underlying the social and economic organization of primitive or peasant society. Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London, 1951), 78, 143.
such as a chiefly wedding) gifts of food and domestic goods, such as mats and ngatu (tapa cloth) had to be presented. When the 'ulumotu'a had been informed by their 'eiki lahi that the kātoanga would take place, each would call together the heads of the households in his fa'ahinga and he would inform them of the things which were required. These provisions would then be gathered and brought to the 'api of each 'ulumotu'a, from where they were taken to the mala'e (ceremonial ground) of the chief of the kāinga. The provisions presented by each of the 'ulumotu'a were known as the hala. All the provisions were then taken as a hala of the 'eiki to the 'ulu of the ha'a, and together with the ngaahi hala of the other chiefs of the ha'a were presented to the Hau as a hala of the ha'a. When the kātoanga was over, the redistribution took place. First, the hala was distributed among the various ha'a. Then each ha'a distributed among their hou'eiki, they in turn distributed their share among the 'ulumotu'a of the kāinga and from the 'ulumotu'a a part of the goods and food was usually returned to its original source, including the tu'a.

The kātoanga was thus a gift-exchange on a national scale, and it served to reinforce the bonds between kinsmen, maintaining a close and warm relationship among them, as well as teaching and reminding each class in the community of their respective duties, and how to perform them in accordance with the traditions and customs.
Formal training institutions were virtually unknown in Tonga. The younger generation learned by imitating their elders, in the various social classes. Young girls of the tu'a class stayed at home helping their mothers with domestic responsibilities. They gradually learned the skills required in women's work, which included the manufacture of tapa cloth, mats and coiled baskets. The boys would follow the older men to the gardens or to the sea, gradually learning the tasks which men were expected to perform. As a result, parents tended to pass on their skills or occupations to their children.

Trades such as house-building, canoe-building, navigation and deep-sea fishing were strictly hereditary among the mu'a and matapule classes. Professions such as medicine and sorcery, poetry, singing and dancing, were also strictly hereditary. These professionals were also drawn mainly from the mu'a and matapule classes. Their art was passed on to their descendants in strict secrecy, since it was believed that the efficacy of medicine, for example, would deteriorate or be lost entirely, if others came to know the secret. Probably the closely guarded knowledge of these professions was connected with the rewards, in the form of


100 See Collocott, 'Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga', J.P.S., XXIII, 1923, 141.
material goods, as well as honour and prestige, which the practitioners gained. Only the chiefs employed tradesmen, for commoners could not afford to do so.

The rules or 'laws' which governed these relationships may be illustrated in the case of medical practice. When a medicine man was asked to see a patient, a gift of kava was presented to him by the person who had made the request. The request, together with the gift of kava, was called tofotofoto'o. At every visit to the patient he was richly rewarded with a feast of 'fat things' and a portion would be sent to his home. It was believed that by doing this, the medicine man's powers of healing would be more effective. After the patient recovered, a gift of food and other goods was presented to the medicine man. This gift (called tukuto'o) was believed to prevent the disease from returning to the patient from the practitioner, who was thought to have taken the disease away. Failure to observe these customs was thought to result in the patient's relapse or failure to recover.

The Tongans were polytheistic and possessed a hierarchy of gods. Among the principal gods were the Kau Tangaloa, who lived in the sky, the Kau Maui, who lived in the underworld, and the deity Hikule'o, who held the Pulotu, or Tongan paradise,
which was the abode of the souls of chiefs. The Kau Tangaloa were principally creator gods and there were no temples or priests dedicated to them. One of the Kau Tangaloa was believed to be the father of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, and the creator of some of the

101 Collocott, 'Notes on Tongan Religion', J.P.S., XXX, 1921, 152-3. See also Farmer, op. cit., 133; Thomson, op. cit., 293.

102 Gifford, op. cit., 289. Collocott (op. cit., 154) states that:

In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nationwide, and in others confined to different localities.

103 The legend of 'Aho'eitu's origin relates that the god Tagaloa Eitumatubu'a who had come down to earth by the large toa or ironwood tree in To'ongakava in the lagoon of Togatabu, married a Togatabu woman called Va'ebobua who bore him a son, 'Aho'eitu.

Wood, op. cit., 5; Collocott says:

Tradition speaks of a period before Ahoeitu, when Tonga was peopled from a worm bred in a decayed root of a creeper, planted by one of the Tangaloa, Lords of Heaven. Then follows the visit of the Maui, who brought wives from the Underworld for the men created by Tangaloa, and who also fished up certain islands.... It is interesting to note that in the Tongan tradition the Maui get the hook from a chief of Manu'a, in Samoa, named Tonga, and that they come thence to Tonga.

Collocott, 'An Experiment in Tongan History', J.P.S., XXXIII, 1924, 169.
islands of Tonga and of the first people, Kohai, Koau and Momo. The Kau Maui were believed to have fished up most of the islands of the Tongan group. One Maui was also believed to carry the earth upon his shoulder, and an earthquake was supposed to be caused either by a Maui changing the earth from one shoulder to another, or falling asleep and nodding his head. Hikule'o was believed to control the weather and the fertility of the land. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as her representative on earth and the annual Inasi offerings to the Tu'i Tonga were actually offered to her.

Although the principal deities were widely recognized, they were not as important in everyday affairs as the gods which were confined to particular localities. Thus each chief and his kainga had their own 'otua or local gods. These were usually the spirits of their dead chiefs. It was believed that when members of the chiefly class died they (or their
spirits) went to Pulotu, where Hikuleo resided. There they became gods of secondary order, and were thought to return to earth in the form of sharks, various animal species, and, in one case, an octopus, or were embodied in a whale tooth, a shell or a carved piece of wood.  

These secondary gods were consulted in the event of war or before embarking on long sea voyages, and sacrifices were offered to them in cases of illness. The offerings to the gods were made through a priest, and if he were dissatisfied he would ask 'Do you think I am going to take any notice of such paltry things as you have brought?'. The poor people on hearing this would go to fetch more costly gifts and sometimes, if they received no assistance from the first deity to whom they had sacrificed, they would visit five or six gods in succession. If they obtained satisfaction, it was believed that the gods were pleased and were pleading on their behalf with the venerable deities in Pulotu.  

Kau'inima (the cutting

108 Gifford, op. cit., 289-90; Farmer, op. cit., 133; Lawry, op. cit., 251; Cook, op. cit., 422; J. Wilson, A Missionary visit to the South Pacific Ocean, Commanded by... (London, 1799), 272; Williamson, op. cit., 148; Te Rangi Hiroa, 'Material Representation of Tongan and Samoan Gods', J.P.S., XLIV, 1935, 12f.

109 Collocott, op. cit., 158.

110 Farmer, op. cit., 128.
off of fingers as a sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods in order to save the life of a chief. 111

The Rev. John Thomas wrote:

Jan. 10th 1842- died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks - at length - feared he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose - on 7th of January a youth named Fehoko, a chief's son, about 12 years of age was offered as sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him, but all was in vain....112

So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of dead relatives.

Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of their prestige and importance the priests received food and other gifts from the people. 113 The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being


112 Thomas to the Committee, 13 April 1842, quoted in W-M Mag., 1843, 252.

113 J. Watkin, Journal, 7 February, 1843, 141.
pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufaitahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a.¹¹⁴ The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being killed at once'.¹¹⁵ In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime, that a human life would have to be offered in atonement.¹¹⁶

The Tongan paradise, Pulotu, was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu where anything mortal could not survive.¹¹⁷ The chiefs considered that the tu'a (common people) had no place there. Hence commoners were often called

¹¹⁴ Gifford, op. cit., 300. See also J. Blacket, Missionary Triumphs among the Settlers in Australia and the Savages of the South Seas (1st ed., London, 1914), 121-3.

¹¹⁵ Lawry, Diary, 9 December 1822, W-M Mag., 1823, 480.

¹¹⁶ Martin, op. cit., I, 190.

¹¹⁷ Some thought that Pulotu was a place under the world, Gifford, op. cit., 287. See Williamson, Religious and Cosmic Beliefs of Central Polynesia (Cambridge, 1933), I, 346f for further discussion.
kainangae fonua (eaters of the soil) because it was believed by the chiefs and by most commoners that the tu'a turned into vermin after they died.\(^{118}\) However, there were some commoners who doubted this belief.\(^{119}\)

There was no moral condition of any kind for the entry of souls to Pulotu. The sole condition appeared to be chiefly birth.\(^{120}\) Failure to comply with the laws of the community was punished during one's lifetime either by the chiefs who had absolute power over their subjects or, it was believed, by the gods and spirits of deceased relatives who could inflict disease or misfortunes upon transgressors.

WE may now turn to the question of how authority was enforced, and to what degree Tonga was politically integrated under the traditional political system. It has already been stated that the Tu'i Tonga was originally both the temporal and sacred ruler of Tonga and that, owing to various political pressures, the position of Hau was created to take over the administrative

\(^{118}\) Martin, op. cit., II, 124.

\(^{119}\) Ibid., 122.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., 124.
duties, thus transforming the Tu'i Tonga's position into that of sacred chief. The Hau had the responsibilities of directing, through the chiefs and their kau 'ulumotu'a, the cultivation of the land and the collection of the tribute for the Tu'i Tonga at the annual festival of 'Inasi.122

Fear of divine wrath or supernatural sanctions as well as respect for the hou'eiki were among the compelling forces which made the people of the lower strata in the social hierarchy adhere strictly to the various taboos which governed their relationships with their superiors. In addition to these, there were purely physical sanctions which were occasionally, but severely, exercised by the hou'eiki and applied to those who neglected the fatongia or violated the taboos.

It has already been pointed out that one had some authority over those to whom one was 'eiki, and that this authority increased with the size of the socio-political unit

121 The responsibilities of the Hau began to be transferred from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to the Tu'i Kanokupolu in the early part of the seventeenth century. Gradually, more and more administrative responsibility passed to the Tu'i Kanokupolu until the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was left without any obvious functions concerned with the affairs of the country as a whole. Thus the position became obsolete, and upon the death of Mulikiha'amea in 1799, the dynasty came to an end. Gifford was wrong in stating that King George abolished the position in 1865. Gifford, op. cit., 34.

122 See p. 35 above.
to which one was 'eiki. Consequently the real power in pre-missionary Tongan society rested with the hou'eiki class. They held absolute power over their subjects, that is over the members of their various kāinga, and the petty-title holders or kau 'ulumotu'a, who came under them, had a limited degree of authority, but in important matters could not act independently of the wishes of the hou'eiki.

At the same time any interference with the power of the hou'eiki, by either the Tu'i Tonga or the Hau, was exceedingly rare. Theoretically, the Hau was supposed to be the temporal ruler of the whole of Tonga but, in practice, his authority was largely nominal and ceremonial in nature. His actual power was limited to his own kāinga. The Hau possessed neither a national army nor a warrior class with which he could enforce his rule. There is no evidence to prove that any Hau had ever been the actual ruler of the whole of Tonga. It will be seen later that Tuku'aho, who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1797, appears to have been the first Hau who made an attempt to exert his power over all the other chiefs, but in doing so he precipitated his assassination and thus ended his ambitious career.123 It was not until almost twenty years after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga that a Hau, for

the first time, was able to subject to his authority all the chiefs throughout Tonga, including the Tu'i Tonga. This Hau was King George Tupou I, who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845.124

The administrative, judicial and military power over the local area of a kāinga rested with the principal chief of each kāinga. He also had personal power whereby he had freedom to oppress his individual subjects, if he so desired.125 Although his power was absolute he usually consulted his priests and his kau 'ulumotu'a in matters concerning war, voyages or important ceremonies, but the final decision was his own prerogative. These consultations took place at a meeting called the fakataha. When he had reached a final decision a fono (compulsory assembly) was called of all the people of his kāinga, who were informed of his decisions either directly by the chief or by one of his kau matapule. Williamson was incorrect in concluding, from the evidence provided by West and Erskine, 126


125 Williamson, Systems..., III, 98, 118; Thomas, Journal, 16 April 1829.

126 West, op. cit., 265; J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise... (London, 1853), 156. Erskine said that the Tongan fono was definitely different from the Samoan one, 'being considered rather as an occasion for admonition or exhortation from the chiefs, than as a Council met for general deliberation and debate.'
that 'these Tongan fono were deliberative assemblies at which various people spoke, and which were to this extent comparable with the fono of Samoa.'¹²⁷ There was no discussion at all in the Tongan fono. What West and Erskine described was the fakataha¹²⁸ and not the fono. The fono was also summoned to reprimand young chiefs 'whenever they had made a wider breach of proprieties than their rank permitted.'¹²⁹ From one cause or another there was usually a fono every fourteen or twenty days.¹³⁰ The fono was mainly limited to the kāinga level, but, occasionally, one would be summoned at the ha'a level.

There was yet another fakataha of the chiefs which was called on special occasions at a level above that of a kāinga. Referring to this fakataha, the Rev. John Thomas wrote, 'when anything is to be done that seems to affect the island - there is

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¹²⁷ Williamson, op. cit., 480.

¹²⁸ The fakataha of the chief and the kau 'ulumotu'a would be comparable to the Samoan fono.

¹²⁹ Thomson, op. cit., 86.

¹³⁰ Martin, op. cit., I, 231.
then a meeting of the chiefs and old men in Tonga.\textsuperscript{131} In Tonga,\textsuperscript{132}

Offenders were not brought to public trial in Tonga, as was the case in Samoa,\textsuperscript{133} and any major offences were dealt with by the hou'eiki, whose decisions were final, punishment being often carried out on the spot.\textsuperscript{134} The 'eiki always had physically strong men around him, mostly drawn from the mu'a and matāpule classes. Many of them had been his playmates when young, and they were known as his kau tangata.\textsuperscript{135} The punishment of offenders was usually carried out either by the 'eiki himself, especially if it was a beating, or he would order one or several of his kau tangata to do it, although he was at liberty to call on anyone among his kāinga to do it for him. 

Haha (beating) was usually done by thrashing the body with loholoho (the branching stem on which coconuts are borne) or beating the face with bare fists. This was usually

\textsuperscript{131} Missionaries used to call the kau matāpule the 'old men'. Kau matāpule, incidentally, were mostly old men. Because they were expected to know the traditions and customs of the land older men were always preferable when a new matāpule was chosen.

\textsuperscript{132} Thomas to Committee, 11 April 1827, W.M.M.S., In-letters.

\textsuperscript{133} Gifford, op. cit., 183.

\textsuperscript{134} See p. 32 above; Thomas, op. cit., 53.

\textsuperscript{135} Coult, op. cit., 62 refers to the mu'a as a warrior class. This appears to be a misinterpretation of Mariner's statement. See Martin, op. cit., II, 209.
the punishment for minor offences, such as whistling, shouting or eating while standing or walking at public places, if one was not a chief or chief's musician; also for failure to sit down while being addressed by a chief or when addressing the latter, or while the chief passed by. Major offences such as violation of the more stringent taboos were punished by the severer punishment of ha'i (binding of the hands and feet at the back for two or three days), and tamate'i (execution) was not uncommon and was performed with a minimum of fuss, by instantly knocking the brains out with a club.

Militarily, the 'eiki had the power to call up his men for military service if the kainga was threatened, or if he was going to war or to support a friendly chief who was at war. Anyone who dared refuse to carry arms did so at the cost of his life, for he would be killed immediately.

IN the light of the above survey, it would appear that the traditional political system of Tonga had evolved from the 'kingship' rule of the Tu'i Tonga to a system where there was

136 It is interesting to note that murder and theft were not regarded as criminal offences unless they were committed against a person of superior rank, or a sacred object or sanctuary. An action only became a criminal offence if it violated one tapu or another. Martin, op. cit., II, 130.
a division of sacred and secular responsibility. In the new system, the secular authority which had passed to the Hau was largely nominal and ceremonial. The actual power then rested with the hou'eiki of the various kāinga. This power was absolute and arbitrary though, when properly executed, the rather severe punishments it occasionally dealt, together with fear of divine retribution for violations of the taboos, served as a deterrent which helped to maintain stability, peace and prosperity in the land. However, the absolute nature of the power of the hou'eiki contained the seeds of its own destruction. As chiefly ambitions grew they threatened the unity of the whole society, and, as power was abused for selfish ends, a period of political turbulence and misery was ushered in, following upon the relatively peaceful, orderly and prosperous years of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL TURBULENCE, 1700-1826

IT has been pointed out that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Tonga had a period of peace and prosperity. This state of affairs was largely due to the reciprocal relations and balance of interests existing between the various classes of Tongan society. The protection and jurisdiction offered by the chiefs ensured for the commoners security both of their lives and their properties from outside interference. It created and maintained peace and order, which ultimately resulted in prosperity and contentment. Abel Tasman's report of what he saw in Tongatapu in 1643 is evidence of this.¹ On the other hand, the commoners, mostly with a deep sense of obligation, besides personal loyalty, gratitude and affection as well, were only too eager to carry out their responsibilities in accordance with tradition and customs. Tradition shows that they did so, not only with joy, but also with pride

¹ G.H. Kenihan, op. cit., 50.
and enthusiasm. Thus, any assertion that the commoners were always forced to serve the chiefs, or that fear was the sole motive behind the fulfilment of their responsibilities, may be attributed to a lack of true understanding of the anga faka-Tonga (Tongan way of life). Admittedly fear was there, for on the rare occasions when a chief exercised his authority, it proved rather severe and at times cruel, but it was far from being the only motivation behind the commoners fulfilling their obligations. It would be equally mistaken, of course, to assume that the system of chiefly rule, even at its best, was able to make Tongan society an Utopia.

True, the country, during the period of peace, was economically prosperous, and life was easy and peaceful. Yet, at the same time, the vigorous and ambitious young warriors did not find enough excitement in such a life. To them it was dull and most uninteresting. However, the immense variety of newly found riches, and the stimulation which contact with

2 In one of his wars, Taufa'ahau saw one of his warriors mortally wounded and called out, 'You are wounded my friend!'. The warrior replied, 'Taufa'ahau, it is not my wound, but your victory that counts'. Informant, Siola'ă Soakai, a matāpule at Hihifo, Ha'apai, 1965.

3 See p. 54 above.

4 Thomson, op. cit., 309.
the outside world brought to the Tongans, especially during the eighteenth century, whetted the appetites of the chiefs for further power and wealth. It was when they began to misuse their power for selfish ends that corruption crept in and mercilessly destroyed what good there had been in this system, with chaotic and disturbing results. Lust for power and insatiable desire for wealth among the chiefs appeared to be the two main factors that brought on this unfortunate situation.

Contact with the neighbouring islands, especially Samoa and other Polynesian islands, had been sporadic since the thirteenth century or even before, but that which is of greatest importance was the contact with the islands of Fiji. Probably the first voyages to Fiji were accidental and infrequent, canoes being blown thither by storms and violent hurricanes which are common in this area from December to March. While

5 It appears from Samoan traditions that Tu'i Tonga Talakaifaika was driven out of Samoa by Fata and Tuna about 1250. See Blanc, op. cit., 19; Wood, op. cit., 6; traditions say that as the Tongans left the Samoan soil they called out, 'Mālie to'a' (well fought!), congratulating the Samoans for their bravery. The Samoans then conferred the remark upon the leading chief of the rebellion. Hence the beginning of the title Mālietoa in Samoa.

in Fiji, the Tongans were fascinated by the variety of articles, which were either not available in their home islands or superior to anything of a similar kind which they had at home. Unlike Tonga, which had very little timber, and that of poor quality, Fiji was rich in first quality timber forests, and the Fijians were far superior to the Tongans in manual skills. Spears, bowls, huge double canoes, pottery, sandal-wood\(^7\) which grew in abundance in Fiji, were highly prized by the Tongans.\(^8\)

The scarlet feathers of the Fijian parrots were taken to Samoa where they were worked into the very finely woven mats (kie)\(^9\) worn by the chiefs on ceremonial occasions. So coveted were these articles by the Tongans that, in spite of the difficulties of sailing to Fiji in their inferior locally-made canoes, the voyages gradually became regular, especially towards the eighteenth century.\(^10\)

Up to this period, [wrote Seemann] the Tonganese had been peaceful traders.... Gradually they adopted a different line of policy. Being men of athletic frames, of courage and daring, they were often asked

\(^7\) Ahi (sandalwood) was highly valued in Tonga for scenting coconut oil which was used almost exclusively by the hou'eiki. See Derrick, op. cit., 39.

\(^8\) Derrick, op. cit., 120; Thomson, op. cit., 320; Wood, op. cit., 25.

\(^9\) Derrick, op. cit., 120; Martin, op. cit., I, 121, 142.

\(^10\) Thomson, op. cit., 320; Derrick, op. cit., 121.
to assist in the feuds in which chiefs friendly to them engaged, receiving canoes and other property in return for their services. From being mercenaries, they gradually began to act on their own responsibility, readily avenging every outrage from time to time committed against any of their countrymen on the smaller islands of the eastern group.  

Such exploits became extremely popular among young warriors of Tonga who were thirsty for excitement and renown. They only had to join a party going to Fiji for canoes, to place themselves in the way of gaining honour and fame enough to satisfy the most ambitious, for in Fiji 'there were alarums and excursions in plenty, war and rapine, easy living at the expense of their Fijian hosts and freedom from the restraint of their elders.'

With the large and elegant Fijian-made double canoes, loaded with valuable Fijian-made goods and produce, these young Tongan chiefs would sail to Samoa in search of kie for their ceremonies and, in many cases, Samoan taupou (virgins) for their wives. It brought great prestige to these young chiefs to have Samoan wives, since in most cases they had to fight to

11 B. Seemann, *Viti:...* (Cambridge, 1862), 240-1.
12 Derrick, op. cit., 122.
obtain them. From these experiences, the young chiefs brought back to Tonga not only women and goods but also some cruel and revolting habits which were regarded by some of their fellow chiefs at home with great admiration. A list of these barbarities, preserved in the old traditions, were recorded by Basil Thomson:

The cold-blooded treachery that will betray a brother to gratify the thirst for blood; the brutal ferocity that spares neither sex nor age; the depraved lust that is gratified in outrage on the dead; the foul appetite of revenge that will eat the body of a slain enemy, — all these seemed to the young Tongan the badges of a manliness worthy of imitation. He regarded the comparative refinement of his own people as effeminacy, and vied with his fellows in imitating the accomplishments of his more travelled countrymen.

Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the education of the young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century. This

13 According to H.R.H. Prince Tu'i Pelehake, the stories of these Tongan plunders are still told in some of the southern islands of Samoa. It may be recalled that the mother of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata, was a Samoan woman, Tohu'ia (see footnote 39 above). Mariner recorded the return from Samoa of Fīnau 'Ulukālala II's son, Moengangongo, with two Samoan wives. Martin, op. cit., I, 142. It is still very common in Tonga to refer to a very attractive woman as 'hangē ha taupo'ou Ha'amoā' (looking like a Samoan taupou).

14 Thomson, op. cit., 320.
intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism and strangling of widows were introduced, and became more and more common; 'warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery, murder, and rebellion resulted.'

When Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that although he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful. He was entirely unaware that there was a plot to assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by a disagreement among the chiefly hosts as to whether to carry out the plan by day or night.

At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began

15 Derrick, op. cit., 122.
17 When Mumui died in 1797, two of his wives were strangled and buried with him. See Thomson, op. cit., 323; Orange, op. cit., 108. On the death of his son, Tuku'aho, in 1799, his wife Fangafua was ordered, on the instruction of her father Ata, to be strangled and buried together with her husband. See Gifford, op. cit., 90.
18 Derrick, op. cit., 122-3.
to appear, particularly in Vava'u, which is a considerable distance from Tongatapu, the residence of the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Vuna, a son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele Tu'apiko, and brother of Mataele Ha'amea, who was then Tu'i Kanokupolu, decided to visit Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore their allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who came with him as his le'o kava, and by some of the lesser chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, he abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u). This was the beginning of this title. He established his own court at Pangaimotu, but the title which he created was wrested from

21 Le'o means guard, and the le'o kava was a person of rank, usually a tehina, who sat at the tou'a (place where the kava makers, or kau tou'a, sat). His duty was to see that the ceremony was conducted in strict accordance with its traditional rules.

22 These were Ika, Maka, and Tu'ihalamaka. They are now known as the Ha'a Havea Si'i (minor Ha'a Havea).

23 Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.

24 Pangaimotu is an island which is separated from the main island of Vava'u by a very narrow passage. Pangai is the name of the mala'e of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see footnote 62 above) and motu an island.
his grandson, Vuna III, by a descendant of his nephew, Tuituiohu. 25

Meanwhile, Tuituiohu's son, Fīnau 'Ulukālala I 26 (Ma'ofanga) appears to have been a much stronger and more influential man than Vuna Tu'i'oeteau (Vuna II), who had succeeded his father as Tu'i Vava'u. This was the 'Ulukālala who had met Captain Cook in 1777. His death was reported by the L.M.S. missionaries on 12 June 1797. 27 Cook reported that when he first met 'Ulukālala I he was given the impression that he was king of the whole of Tonga. 28 Undoubtedly, 'Ulukālala I was very influential among the chiefs of both Ha'apai and Vava'u, but he was definitely not the Tu'i Vava'u, let alone king of the whole of Tonga. His attempts to dissuade Cook from sailing

25 See p. 79 below.

26 According to traditions, the name 'Ulukālala came from Fiji. It was the name of a war club of one of the kings of Fiji, and its meaning was, in Tongan, 'fakamaha 'ulu' (emptying the skull), a reference to its effective use in knocking the brains out of the heads of enemies. Fīnau 'Ulukālala I sent to Fiji on one of the Tongan expeditions for kalia (double canoes). Probably it was on this expedition that he got the name. At the same time, he married there a daughter of the chief Tu'iono, named Mekemeke, who bore him a son named Fīnau Fisi. See p. 93 below. Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote.

27 Wilson, op. cit., 250.

to Tongatapu \(^{29}\) may have been based upon his fear that his pretensions to be King of Tonga might be exposed in the presence of those superior to him. Probably, for similar reasons, he refused Cook's request to accompany him to Vava'u, \(^{30}\) since Vuna II was still the Tu'i Vava'u. \(^{31}\)

Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Maealiuaki's son Mulikiha'amea decided to vacate the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, a daughter of Tupoulahi decided to make herself Tu'i Kanokupolu. She was Tupoumoheofo, wife of Pau, the Tu'i Tonga who had met Cook

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 306.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 314. Waldegrave wrote (op. cit., 186) 'I am of opinion, that Feenou of 1775 dissuaded Captain Cook from visiting Vavao, solely to keep him ignorant of its superiority over the other islands.'

While this may be true, it cannot explain Fi'inau's attempt to stop Cook from going to Tongatapu.

\(^{31}\) Mariner recorded how Fi'inau 'Ulukālala I's son, 'Ulukālala Fangupō, invaded Vava'u in 1799 and how Vuna III (son of Vuna II, who had taken over the Tu'i Vava'u from his father) fled to Samoa. See Martin, op. cit., I, 87-8. Traditions also maintain that the Tu'i Vava'u was held successfully by Vuna I and his Son Vuna II, named Tu'i'oetau, and his grandson Vuna III, named Takitakimālohi. Fi'inau 'Ulukālala I therefore, though powerful and influential, was never Tu'i Vava'u. See Queen Salote's Reminiscences, 20; see also Blanc, op. cit., 32.
in 1777. She went to Hihifo, sat under the traditional *koka* tree, under which the installation of the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* was performed, and made the traditional 'king makers', Lauaki and Motu'apuaka, pronounce her *Tu'i Kanokupolu* in 1793.\(^{32}\)

This action was unprecedented, for although women were superior to men in rank, no woman had ever before become head of any of the major socio-political units in the society, let alone succeeded to the positions of *Tu'i Tonga*, *Tu'i Ha'atakalaua* or *Tu'i Kanokupolu*. Her action may have been partly due to the fact that she was a very ambitious and strong-willed woman, and partly to her unwillingness to see the position of *Tu'i Kanokupolu* go to her uncle Mumui and his descendants. Mumui was the son of Mataele Ha'amea by a different mother, of lower rank than the mother of Tupoulahi and Mæaliuaki. Tupoumoheofo resented Mumui or his sons taking precedence, and while she had not objected to the succession of Mæaliuaki or his son Mulikiha'amea to the

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\(^{32}\) See Gifford, op. cit., 88; Wilson, op. cit., 103, 248; Orange, op. cit., 107; Wood, op. cit., 26.

\(^{33}\) Gifford states that sometimes women became '*ulumotu'a*. This appears to be a misunderstanding. Occasionally an old, learned *mehikitanga* (paternal aunt) would advise a young and inexperienced '*ulumotu'a* (nephew), and indeed at times she might appear to direct the affairs of a *fa'ahinga*. However, the fact that a *mehikitanga* did so, did not mean that she held the position of '*ulumotu'a*.}
Tu'i Kanokupolu position, she was prepared to take the drastic step of taking on this position herself, rather than see it going to Mumui or his sons.  

One of Mumui's sons, Tuku'aho, was infuriated by Tupoumoheofo's action. He was at this time ruler of 'Eua, and had previously quarrelled with Tupoumoheofo over some land she claimed for her son on that island. Tuku'aho left 'Eua for Tongatapu, and drove her to Vava'u, deposing her of the title. He made Mumui, his aged father, Tu'i Kanokupolu, while he himself held the real power. Describing Tuku'aho, Captain Wilson of the Duff wrote:

he is a stout man and may be about forty years of age; is of sullen, morose countenance; speaks very little, but when angry, bellow forth with a voice like the roaring of a lion.

In his youth he led other young Tongan chiefs and they had indulged themselves in a warring expedition to Fiji, returning with exciting tales of their victories.

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34 Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote, who gave this information, stressed the great emphasis placed by the chiefs on the importance of the rank of the mother of a chief to his status in society.


36 Wilson, op. cit., 103.

37 Ibid., 269.
Gradually Tuku'aho exerted his power throughout the whole of Tonga, and when he eventually succeeded his father as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1779, he ruled with harshness, cruelty and terror. Mariner wrote:

Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the throne; .... He is reported to have been a man of vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking every opportunity to exert his authority; and frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton; as an instance of which he on one occasion gave orders (which were instantly obeyed) that twelve of his cooks, who were always in waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava, should undergo the amputation of their left arms, merely to distinguish them from other men, and for the vanity of rendering himself singular by this extraordinary exercise of his authority.  

The tyrannical and cruel reign of Tuku'aho gave the young, politically ambitious, Fīnau 'Ulukālala II (or Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupō, son of Cook's friend) an excuse for furthering his own ambitions.

Upon the death of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I in Tongatapu,

38 Martin, op. cit., I, 80.
on 12 June 1797, Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupo succeeded him. 39

For some time, Tupoumoheofo, who was living in Vava'u, had been planning her revenge upon Tuku'aho, and she cleverly stirred up ill feelings in the minds of the 'Ulukālala family, under whose protection she was living. 40 These efforts were

39 A confusion has resulted from Thomson's claim (op. cit., 321), that 'Ulukālala I died in 1790. Thomson appears to have based this assertion on an obscure remark, made by Captain Edward Edwards of the Pandora, concerning a man named Fīnau, whom he met in Samoa. Edwards wrote: 'We found here a native of the Friendly Islands, who called himself Fenow, and a relation of the chief of that name of Tongataboo'. E. Edwards, Voyage of H.M.S. 'Pandora'(London, 1915), 49. On the same page a footnote by Thomson states 'he had a finger cut off in mourning for Fīnau 'Ulukālala, who must have died in 1790'. Thomson seems to have been unaware of the L.M.S. missionaries' report (Wilson, op. cit., 250) of 'Ulukālala's death in 1797, for he made the claim that a brother of Fīnau 'Ulukālala succeeded him and became Fīnau 'Ulukālala II, Mariner's friend. Actually this 'Ulukālala, who became Mariner's friend, was the son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I and tradition makes no reference to any brother succeeding him. It was on the basis of Thomson's remark that Wood concluded Fīnau 'Ulukālala I died in 1790, his brother, who succeeded him, died in 1797 and was succeeded by 'Ulukālala's son. Wood, op. cit., 26.

40 According to tradition, Tupoumoheofo was a notoriously ambitious woman, and she has been held responsible for many of the troubles which occurred in Tonga in the subsequent years. (See footnote 60 above.) While her husband, the Tu'i Tonga Pau, was still alive she began to confer upon her son, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, all the honours and rituals which were exclusively reserved for the Tu'i Tonga. Pau resented this and left Tongatapu to reside with the Tu'i Pelehake at Fangale'ounga, Ha'apai. After some time he went on to Vava'u where he later died. Tupoumoheofo joined him in Vava'u before his death. Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote. See also p. 184 below.
greatly assisted by Tuku'aho's own growing unpopularity, particularly after he succeeded to the position of Hau in 1779.

Tupouniua, another of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I's sons, was the first to propose the assassination of Tuku'aho. His half-brother, Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupō, hesitated for a while because Tuku'aho was the father of one of his other half-brothers (by the same mother) Tupou To'a. However, most of the other great chiefs, including the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tamahā of Tongatapu were in favour of the assassination. Finally Fīnau 'Ulukālala II gave his consent, and during the annual ceremony of 'Inasi at Mu'a, Tuku'aho was murdered at night by Tupouniua while Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and their men stood on guard outside. Almost all who were with Tuku'aho that night were slain.

The murder of Tuku'aho threw Tonga into a long and bloody civil war, fought with all the ferocity and treachery

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41 Neill, op. cit., 77; also Blanc, op. cit., 26; Wood, op. cit., 28. His other half-brother by the same father was Fīnau Fisi.

42 Orange, op. cit., 165; Blanc, op. cit., 26-7.

43 For a detailed account of the murder of Tuku'aho, see Collocott, Koe Ta'u 'e Teau (London, n.d.), 23-4; Gifford, op. cit., 89; Wood, op. cit., 29; Thomson, op. cit., 324-5.
which the warriors had learned during their overseas exploits
in Fiji. One of the factions in the war were those people
who were loyal to the **Tu'ī Kanokupolu**, particularly those from
Hihifo, the western part of the island, where Tuku'aho had
resided. They were eager to avenge the death of the Hau, and fighting soon broke out at Hahake.

'Ulukālala and his party sailed to Ha'apai for
reinforcements, and after three days, they arrived back with
a considerable number of men, many of whom, according to Vason,
thought they had come to fight the cause of the **Tu'ī Kanokupolu**.

Meanwhile, all the districts of Tongatapu took up arms,
and several thousand warriors were under the leadership of
Mulikiha'amea, the **Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua**; 'but to the astonishment
of all, a coalition was formed between Mulkaamair [Mulikiha'amea]
and Loogolala ['Ulukālala], to fight for their own cause,
against that of the murdered Dugonagaboola [**Tu'ī Kanokupolu**].
The friends of the late Hau fled to Hihifo and Mulikiha'amea,
supported by the people of Hahake, Mu'a and Ha'ateiho, marched
to Hihifo.

Vason, who lived with Mulikiha'amea, revealed that
an arrangement had previously been made, that upon Tuku'aho's

44 The people of Hihifo (the Western part of Tongatapu), even
to-day, are very proud of their traditional royalist role.

45 Ata, chief of Hihifo, ordered his people to dig up the
remains of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I, who was buried at Ma'ofanga,
and to expose his bones to the sun. This action infuriated
his son, Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupō.

46 Orange, op. cit., 165.

47 Ibid.
death, Mulikiha'amea would become Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had previously held this position, and had vacated it in 1793. He appears to have wanted the position again, and he went to Hihifo with the double purpose of defeating the 'royalists', and of having himself installed Tu'i Kanokupolu under the traditional koka tree. However, these ambitions were thwarted by his being killed on the battlefield at Te'ekiu on 10 May 1799. His death marked the end of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line. Many of his men were also killed and the rest scattered in great confusion.

The Hihifo men pursued some who fled towards Hahake, and when they reached Ha'ateiho, they killed three of the

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48 Ibid., 163.

49 His vacating the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu caused the conflict between Tupoumoheofo and Tuku'aho. In doing this he followed in the footsteps of his father Maeliuaki, who had relinquished the Tu'i Kanokupolu on account of its irksome duties and had become Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. See Wood, op. cit., 26.

50 'Royalists' here refers to the followers of the deceased Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tuku'aho. The term has been used by Wood, op. cit., 29.

51 See footnote 121 above. The L.M.S. missionaries gave a vivid description of the horrors of the war. They recorded how they saw a warrior being killed and, 'a fellow who had severed his head and body asunder was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed him, dipped their hands in his blood, and licked them'. Missionary Transactions, 10 May 1799, 288.
L.M.S. missionaries who were stationed there. One missionary, named Gaulton, fled but his companions and another European were killed instantly. Gaulton returned, and he too shared their fate. The murderers shared their belongings among themselves.\textsuperscript{52}

Vason explained these murders as the result of one of the Hihifo men's vengeance upon the missionaries from whom he had earlier requested some presents, but had been refused. Seeing the missionaries, he decided to revenge himself and was supported by his friends.\textsuperscript{53} Another possible explanation for the attack is that the missionaries were murdered because they were staying with the chief of Ha'ateiho, who with his people had joined Mulikiha'amea and 'Ulukālala, and was regarded as an enemy.

A few of Mulikiha'amea's men, including Vason, fled towards the sea-flats, where they were met by 'Ulukālala and his men who came over by sea. 'Ulukālala directed that they should pretend to their pursuers that they were still fleeing from them, and he and his men joined them, and suddenly turned upon the Hihifo men, taking them by surprise. In their flight, they left behind their aged chief Ata, but 'Ulukālala

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{52} Orange, op. cit., 171.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
decided to spare his life, for he was closely related to one of his own right-hand men. They called Ata's son to come and take him back and they themselves retired to their canoes for the night. 54

On the following morning 'Ulukālala and his army attacked Hihifo. The site of this battle was the surroundings of Pangai, the mala'e (ceremonial ground) of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, where the Hihifo army had assembled. Vason reported that it was a tough and bloody battle, though finally the Hihifo army retreated, leaving many of their warriors behind, dead.

In Pangai, there was a fa'itoka, the burial place of the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ngata, and it was regarded as a sacred place. Many of the Hihifo people took refuge there, believing that the sanctity of the place would protect them from violence. Fīnau 'Ulukālala and his men were tempted to set fire to the sanctuary and destroy their enemies, but they were deterred by the traditional taboos surrounding this place. Instead, they appealed to Vason to do it, since he, as a foreigner, was not bound by these taboos. 55 Vason complied and threw a fire brand into the thatch of a house in the enclosure, which ignited and spread quickly. Many of those

54 Ibid., 173.
55 Ibid., 174; Thomson, op. cit., 329; Wood, op. cit., 32.
sheltering inside were burnt to death or killed by Fīnau 'Ulukālala's men as they tried to escape. The victims included old men, women and children. 'Ulukālala's men dragged the bodies to the beach, 'and after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them - thinking it was just revenge on their enemies to devour them.'

While they indulged themselves in this cannibal feast, the Hihifo men rallied their forces and launched a counter attack. 'Ulukālala's army was taken by surprise and many were slaughtered. The rest sailed to 'Atatā, an island near Hihifo, where they were storm-bound for three days. There they killed every inhabitant they could lay their hands on. Many of the people fled into a cave, but were discovered and were suffocated by smoke. From there they sailed on to Mu'a, where they remained to make plans for a reprisal attack.

At the same time, Tu'ihalafatai, a former Tu'i Kanokupolu and the brother of Tupoumoheofo who had resigned the title in 1782 and had been living in Fiji, arrived at Mu'a with his men. His decision to join forces with 'Ulukālala and

56 Orange, op. cit., 175; Thomson, op. cit., 330; Wood, op. cit., 32.

57 A few years ago, a resident of 'Atatā took the present writer into the cave where there was a great heap of human bones scattered on the floor of the cave.
his friends boosted the morale of 'Ulukālala's warriors, for the new arrivals were still fresh and eager to display their skill in warfare, which they had acquired in Fiji. Eventually, on 29 May 1799, the combined armies launched a fierce attack on Hihifo from the sea, with Tu'ihalafatai and his men leading the attack, anxious not only to show their fighting prowess but also to 'set the glorious example for an heroic spirit.' Tu'ihalafatai was convinced that he did not have long to live because of an illness, and he decided that he would prefer to die a heroic warrior's death than die of illness. He fought with great determination and courage but his strength gradually ebbed, and finally he fell under the spears of his opponents.

The most outstanding hero of the battle was Tupouniua who reportedly killed forty men. Hihifo was defeated and Fīnau 'Ulukālala gained a costly victory for many of his bravest warriors died in the battle. He then sailed to Ma'ofanga, another sacred place where some of the Hihifo people had taken refuge. He banished eight or nine of the chiefs there to one of the islands in the Ha'apai group, and ordered the rest to

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58 Tu'ihalafatai was Tupoumoheofo's brother. This may explain why he decided to join 'Ulukālala's side.

59 Martin, op. cit., I, 83.

60 Ibid.
the various places after disarming them. 61

Now that the whole of Tongatapu had submitted to him, Fīnau 'Ulukālala II decided to proceed to Ha'apai and Vava'u, but before departing, as a gesture of contempt and ridicule for the defeated party, he and his brother, Tupouniua, set up a white pig in Hahake, as Tu'i Kanokupolu and one of his chiefs, named Veahahake, as the pig's representative. 62 At the nearest island of the Ha'apai group, Nomuka, they met with slight resistance from a few supporters of the late Tu'i Kanokupolu, but they soon conquered the whole island. They proceeded through the neighbouring islands meeting only very little resistance and at the same time gathering additional strength, till they reached the island of Hā'ano where a large body of royalists had gathered awaiting their arrival. 'Here they had an obstinate but decisive battle, which terminated in favour of Finow. Thus was the conquest of all the Hapai islands secured, and of which Finow was acknowledged king.' 63

61 Orange, op. cit., 178.
63 Martin, op. cit., 85. Vason, who was an eye witness, recalled 'The whole island [Tongatapu] now submitted to him,... He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governors.' Orange, op. cit., 178.
The chiefs and matāpules who led the resistance were put to death in various cruel ways by order of Fīnau. Describing what happened, Mariner wrote:

Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then scuttled, and immediately sunk; others were taken three or four leagues out to sea, and being put in old leaky ones, and tied hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their fate. Those against whom Finow entertained the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees and left to starve to death... Several of them bore their torments with the greatest fortitude lingering till the eighth day, while others of weaker constitutions died in three or four days. 64

After celebrating their victory at Hā'ano, Fīnau and Tupouniua embarked for Vava'u. The people of Vava'u had known about the assassination of Tuku'aho and were determined to resist 'Ulukālala's ambitions. Knowing the strength of the 'Ulukālala party they decided that the best means of resistance was guerilla warfare. They permitted Fīnau and his party to land without opposition. Avoiding any general engagement, the Vava'u people, under the leadership of the Tu'i Vava'u, who was another half-brother of Fīnau 'Ulukālala named Vuna Takitakimālohi, 65

64 Martin, op. cit., I, 85-6.
65 Vuna Takitakimālohi had the same mother as Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and Tupouto'a. He was a son of Vuna II and grandson of Vuna I, the first Tu'i Vava'u.
'frequently molested him [Finau] with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day from their hiding places; which mode of warfare so exasperated Finow. However, after a couple of weeks of sporadic fighting, the resistance finally collapsed and Vuna Takitakimālohi and his chiefs, including one of Finau 'Ulukālala's own sons, Moengāngongo, who had sided with him, fled to Samoa.

Finau 'Ulukālala II had now become the ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u and, from this time on, the 'Ulukālala family assumed the title of Tu'i Vava'u. After much feasting and celebration which lasted for several months, 'Ulukālala left his brother Tupouniuia to rule Vava'u for him, and he went to Ha'apai to continue the celebrations there and also to prepare his plans for a future conquest of Tongatapu.

Meanwhile in Tongatapu, the royalists determined to avenge what 'Ulukālala and his followers had done at Hihifo. In 1800 Vaha'i, one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs, and the strongest chief on Tongatapu at the time, led the men of Hihifo

66 Martin, op. cit., I, 86.
67 Ibid., 87, 140.
in a war which is known as the Tau Fakalelemoa or Tau Langovaka. They marched from the west to the east of Tongatapu, defeating those who had supported Finau 'Ulukālala in 1799, everywhere they went. Vahe Loto, the centre of Tongatapu, was laid waste so that if ever Finau came back he would not be able to obtain provisions there. Houses were burnt down, and their inhabitants were driven into the sea to drown, or slaughtered like chickens. At Poha, a mount between Hoi and Kolonga at Hahake, the royalists made a great heap of the bodies of their enemies, 'by being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the victory.' They made it high enough for them to be able to look at the island of 'Eua from the top of it. Then they built a fire round a

69 Tau (war), fakalele (drive) and moa (chicken). It meant that Vaha'i and his men drove and killed their enemies like chicken.

70 Lango (roller), vaka (boat or double canoe). When they dragged a big double canoe onto the shore they had to use rollers and everything that stood in the way of the rollers had to go. This was a figurative expression for what happened in this war.

71 Orange, op. cit., 186.

72 'Eua is a mountainous island south of Tongatapu. It is not visible from the ground at Poha.
huge stone, called Pitoi Tangata. When it was red hot, they cut the human bodies open, roasted them on it and ate them in revenge - hence the name of the stone, 'human cooking stone'.

Some of 'Ulukālala's men went to Tongatapu with Vason for supplies, and arrived just in time to witness the horror of the destruction and massacre of their former allies. They had to flee for their lives, without provisions. On one of the islands off Tongatapu, they met Fīnau and his warriors. Joining him, they all sailed for Tongatapu and landed at Hahake. There they observed the shocking and sickening aftermath of the ravages perpetrated by the royalists. They left Hahake to attack the royalists at Hihifo and landed at Ma'ofanga, where they were joined by the people of that place, and then marched on to Hihifo.

Fīnau 'Ulukālala found the royalists well fortified and firmly entrenched, and in the fierce battle which ensued, he was beaten and driven back from Hihifo. He was then compelled to return to Ha'apai, and for several years he made

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73 This stone, the Pitoi Tangata is now lodged in the Tupou College museum. The word pitoi refers to the heated stones which are used in cooking a chicken or pig. They are wrapped in banana leaves and placed inside the carcase before cooking it in the earth oven.

74 Orange, op. cit., 186.

75 Ibid., 187.
no further attempt to invade Tongatapu on a large scale, contenting himself with a series of surprise attacks, particularly at night. In these attacks, a few unsuspecting victims would be killed, property hurriedly destroyed, and the raiders would then quickly escape to their canoes, and sail back to Ha'apai. 76

It was not until the capture of the Port-au-Prince in 1806, which brought an unexpected supply of guns as well as the services of some of the crew of the ill-fated vessel, that another major onslaught was made on Tongatapu. 77

Misery on Tongatapu was further intensified by the feuds between the chiefs of its various districts who struggled for power or tried to assert their independence. When Vaha'i died, two prominent figures emerged, Teukava of Kolovai, and Tākai of Pea, both of whom had been closely associated with Vaha'i. 78 The latter had appointed Teukava as his successor at Polonga, Hihifo, and ordered Tākai to build a fortress at Pea. Soon feuding broke out between Tākai and Teukava.

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76 Ibid.; see also Martin, op. cit., I, 87; Wood, op. cit., 33.

77 See p. 89 below.

78 Blanc, op. cit., 29. Wood states that 'Before Vaha'i died he transferred his personal power (mana) as a fighter to Takai, rubbing a piece of the stem of the plantain between his own hands before putting it on Takai's hands.' Wood, op. cit., 33.
In the meantime, Tupoumālohi, Tuku'aoho's younger brother, returned from Fiji where he had been for several years participating in the fighting of the Fijian chiefs. He built Nuku'alofa as his fortress and on the death of Ma'afulimuloa, he succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He found, however, that he had very little influence among the chiefs, who desired to be completely independent of him and of one another. The threat from Tākaiai and his followers in the nearby fortress of Pea compelled him to leave Nuku'alofa and join forces with Teukava. Teukava was, however, defeated, killed and eaten by a Fijian of Tākaiai's party at Te'ikiu.

Tupoumālohi then left Tongatapu for Ha'apai where he stayed with his nephew, Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aoho, and half-brother of 'Ulukālala. He remained there until his death, but

79 Tupoumālohi was Tupouto'a's uncle and not elder brother as Mariner said. See Martin, op. cit., I, 278; also Blanc, op. cit., 27.

80 Ma'afulimuloa, chief of the Ha'a Havea, had become Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1800 after the white pig and its representative were killed during the battle of Tau Fakalelemoa. One story tells that he was assassinated. See Gifford, op. cit., 91.

81 See Martin, op. cit., I, 283. Before Tupoumālohi settled in Ha'apai with his nephew, Tupouto'a, he and his men went to Vava'u and asked for Fina'u 'Ulukālala's pardon for their support of Fina'u's enemies. They also requested permission to reside in Ha'apai. See Martin, op. cit., I, 285.
before he died, he voluntarily gave up the position of Hau
in favour of his nephew, Tupouto'a.  

THROUGHOUT this period, the contact with the kau papālangi
(Europeans) had an immense influence on the affairs of Tonga.
European goods, especially those made of iron, were highly
prized by the Tongans, particularly the chiefs, who would
ultimately obtain anything bought or stolen by the commoners.  
The appearance of the huge European vessels with their powerful
guns, the display of their deadly pistols and other weapons
arrested the fancy of the Tongans, making their traditional
fighting weapons appear clumsy and inefficient. The chiefs
obviously realized the advantages which these superior weapons
could give them in their struggle for power, while the possession
of European goods brought much social prestige. Consequently,
the chiefs were prepared to use every available means to obtain
them.

82 Blanc, op. cit., 32.
83 See p. 86 below.
84 One authority points out that, 'when whaling ships
frequented Tonga but had not yet invaded Fiji, the Tongans
brought articles such as nails, axes and chisels, and
whales' teeth,' in exchange for sandalwood and other
Fijian goods. Derrick, op. cit., 39.
One of the first recorded instances of this ruthless pursuit of the much coveted commodities occurred when the Dutch mariners, Jan Schouten and Jacob Lemaire, arrived in Tonga in 1616. They were the first Europeans to touch the Tongan group of islands, and on 10 May they anchored at Tafahi, and were met on the following day by the people of both Tafahi and Niua Toputapu. The ship's crew had obtained fresh provisions from them, in exchange for beads and other gifts. The Tongans then tried to steal one of the ship's boats, but the Dutch fired on them, wounding one man. On 13 May, a crowd of nearly 1,000 men in large and small canoes unsuccessfully tried to attack the ship as it sailed towards Niua Toputapu. In Niua Fo'ou, a boat, which was sent ashore for water, was also attacked by the Tongans, two of whom were killed.

When Abel Tasman arrived in 1643 no attacks were made, although some theft occurred. Probably the punishments inflicted by the earlier encounter with the Dutchmen were still remembered. The visit of Captain Wallis, who called at Niua Toputapu in 1767, also went without incident. Captain

85 Wood, op. cit., 15.
86 Kenihan, op. cit., 48.
87 Wood, op. cit., 17.
Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 and called at 'Eua and Tongatapu. No incident occurred and he was impressed by the Tongans who seemed 'healthy, kindly and prosperous'. But on his return from New Zealand, he again called at Tonga, and this time, at Nomuka in 1774, the people stole two rifles and some tools. In their search for the stolen goods, Cook's men fired upon and slightly wounded one man as the thieves tried to escape.

On his third visit to Tonga in 1777, he named Lifuka the Friendly Island, because of the plentiful gifts of food and lavish entertainment given them by Fīnau 'Ulukālala I and the people of Ha'apai, and he was quite unaware that his hosts were secretly plotting to kill them. In Tongatapu some muskets and ammunition were stolen and also some turkeys which had been taken ashore to graze there. As a later observer has pointed out, 'Cook felt that the Chiefs, despite their protestations of innocence, were most blameworthy, for they eventually got the things which the people stole.' As the Tongans' desire for European goods increased, there was a corresponding increase

88 Ibid., 19. See also Low, op. cit., 182-90.
89 Ibid., 214-5.
90 Ibid., 308.
91 Martin, op. cit., II, 71.
92 Wood, op. cit., 22.
in theft and murder attempts.

Captain Edwards of the Pandora touched at Nomuka in 1791, on his voyage in search of the mutineers of the Bounty, and reported that 'the natives were very daring in their thefts.'

In great disappointment he noted that 'with the greatest deference and submission to Captain Cook, I think the name Friendly Isles is a perfect misnomer.' The people of Nomuka attacked a party who went ashore for water and firewood, and one native was shot dead before the party escaped to the ship.

The craving for European goods and weapons was further increased by the arrival of the L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 with their supplies. Fīnau 'Ulukālala I and his followers again secretly plotted to capture the Duff. Soon after the station was established on Tongatapu, thefts occurred. Vason was attacked at night and had his pistol stolen. When the chiefs, at the instigation of the three sailors, Ambler, Morgan and Connelly, who lived among the Tongans, demanded the expulsion of the missionaries from Tonga, Mulikiha'amea replied:

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93 Edwards, op. cit., 50.
94 Ibid., 132.
95 Wilson, op. cit., 104-5.
96 Orange, op. cit., 115.
If the men of the sky, discovered by any attempts of violence, or secret whisperings, that they meant to take our land, and kill us, we ought all to strike hands, and root them out from among us; but they have brought great riches, they have given them to us freely, we reap the good fruits of their living among us, their articles are of great use to us, they behave themselves well; and what could we wish for more?  

However, as has already been pointed out, three of the missionaries were killed for their goods, and the rest had to leave Tonga in 1800, except for Vason who 'went native'.

There is little doubt that the more the Tongans obtained goods, the more they desired them and determined to get them. In 1802, the Hihifo people, with the help of some villainous sailors living among them, captured the American vessel, Duke of Portland. Most of the crew were killed and a white woman named Eliza Mosey was taken by Teukava of Kolovai as one of his wives. Later, in 1804, Eliza managed to escape by swimming to the Union, which had called at Tonga and whose captain and some of the crew had been killed when they went ashore. Eliza Mosey informed the mate of these happenings and

97 Ibid., 117.

98 There were ten missionaries, Bowell, Buchanan, Gaulton, Harper, Shelley, Vason, Wilkinson, Kelso, Cooper and Nobbs. Wilson, op. cit., 105-6.
they escaped.\textsuperscript{99}

Two years later, the \textit{Port-au-Prince} arrived at Lifuka and was captured by Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and his people. They killed the captain and most of the crew, but some were spared to show Fīnau and his men how to use the guns, and the young ship's clerk, William Mariner, was adopted by Fīnau as his son.\textsuperscript{100} With the guns of the \textit{Port-au-Prince} and the services of the Englishmen, Fīnau 'Ulukālala decided to launch another major attack on Tongatapu.

The new onslaught on Tongatapu heralded a new phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and devastating than ever before. The fort of Nuku'alofa was destroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets, manned by Fīnau's white captives, the Tongans with their spears, clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

\begin{quote}
When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{99} See Martin, op. cit., I, 282; Blanc, op. cit., 30; Wood, op. cit., 34.

\textsuperscript{100} For the details of the capture of the \textit{Port-au-Prince}, see Martin, op. cit., I, 67-95.
of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered them.  

On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and, ignoring Mariner's advice to launch a full scale invasion of Tongatapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute shortage of food, due to civil war, some proposed killing the prisoners and roasting them for food. 'The proposal was readily agreed to by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by others because they wanted to try it, thinking it a manly and warlike habit.'

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea entered into an alliance with Fīnau 'Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule. Fīnau was eager to return to Ha'apai and decided to leave Nuku'alofa in the care of Tākai. However, the treacherous Tākai and his men set fire to the fortress while Fīnau and his men were still at Pangaimotu. This angered Fīnau, who

101 Ibid., 98.
102 The priests seem to have been jealous of Mariner's influence.
103 Martin, op. cit., I, 108.
104 Fīnau wanted to return to Ha'apai to lift the tapu which had been put on certain foods since the death of the Tu'i Tonga, eight months previously. Martin, op. cit., I, 110.
wished to return and put an end to Tākai and his people, but the priests advised against this, and instead he sailed for Ha'apai. Fīnau never again attempted to invade Tongatapu, for there were enough troubles in Ha'apai and Vava'u to keep him occupied till his death in 1809.

Tupouto'a, Fīnau's other half-brother, and son of Tuku'aho, had vowed since the murder of his father that he would never drink from the pointed end of a coconut until he had avenged himself upon the murderer of his father, Tupouniuia. The latter had become a popular ruler of Vava'u, which he ruled well. Tupouto'a now made use of this popularity by insinuating that Tupouniuia was only collecting a small amount of tribute from the rich and fertile land of Vava'u, and that he had ambitions to take it for himself and thereby end Fīnau's rule. His increasing popularity with the people and the consequent growth of his power made Tupouniuia potentially dangerous, and when Tupouto'a suggested his murder, Fīnau agreed to the proposal. On the occasion of the marriage of Fīnau's daughter to the Tu'i Tonga, Fatafehi Fuanunuiava, a party of Vava'u people led by Tupouniuia visited Ha'apai. Tupouto'a and his men, with Fīnau's consent, took this opportunity to murder Tupouniuia.

105 Ibid., 112.
106 Ibid., 126.
107 Ibid., 130.
Again, the treacherous and cunning character of Fīnau was revealed, for he remained in the background as he had done at the murder of Tuku'aho and allowed others to implement the plot while he himself pretended to play no part in it.

The Vava'u people who had accompanied Tupouniua were not deceived by Fīnau's pretensions and they returned to Vava'u, determined to avenge the death of their leader. They built a fortress at Feletoa in order to resist Fīnau's power, and they rejected his peace offers.108 Fīnau, with his son Moengāngongo, who had now returned from Samoa, and Tupouto'a and the Ha'apai people, determined to put down the rebels in Vava'u. They made several attempts to invade the Vava'u fortress at Feletoa, but were unsuccessful. Fīnau then offered peace, promising full pardons for the rebel chiefs. He also promised to send Tupouto'a and the Ha'apai people back to Ha'apai and to remain himself in Vava'u. This offer was reluctantly accepted and the fortress was levelled. Soon afterwards, Fīnau held a fono at Makave where the leading Vava'u warriors were suddenly arrested. Some were clubbed to death, while others were bound hand and foot and put into leaky canoes to sink slowly in the harbour at Neiafu.109

Shortly after this event, Fīnau's younger daughter Tomailangi became very ill and died, and Fīnau himself died soon afterwards. His son, Moengāngongo, succeeded him, but his rule only lasted for three years. After his death, the struggle for power began again. His uncle Fīnau Fisi took over, but was killed by Hala'api'api. Then Pāunga of the Tu'i Tonga family murdered Hala'api'api and assumed the rulership of Vava'u.

Meanwhile Tupouto'a had decided to go to Tongatapu in 1812 to assist the Hihifo people against Tākai and the Ha'a Havea. On learning this, Tākai decided to make peace and offered his daughter, Pule, as a wife to Tupouto'a. This offer was accepted, and the Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, the 'electoral college', appointed Tupouto'a Tu'i Kanokupolu and, after his installation, he returned to Ha'apai.

He was soon challenged by Pāunga but, with the assistance of his father-in-law, Tākai, he successfully subdued

110 Ibid., 288-301; Blanc, op. cit., 32; Wood, op. cit., 41.
111 Wood (op. cit., 41) was incorrect in saying that Moengānongo's brother Tuapasi became 'Ulukālala IV, and became ruler of Vava'u from 1810 to 1833. See Blanc, op. cit., 33; Gifford, op. cit., 208.
112 Blanc, op. cit., 33.
Paunga and himself became ruler of Vava'u. Tupouto'a was now ruler of both Vava'u and Ha'apai, and when Tākai died in about 1816, he tried to defeat Tākai's successor, Fa'ē (Tākai's brother), but he did not succeed. Tupouto'a himself died in 1820, but before his death, he told his son Tāuفا'ahau (later known popularly as King George) that, if he wished to rule the whole of Tonga, he must destroy the Ha'a Havea chiefs.

After Tupouto'a's death, the rulership of Vava'u went to another son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala II. This son, Tuapasi, became known as Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi or Fīnau 'Ulukālala III. The young Tāuفا'ahau assumed the rulership of Ha'apai, but no Tu'i Kanokupolu was appointed until 1826.

After the death of the Tu'i Tonga Fuanuminuiva in 1810, no appointment was made until 1827. His son, Laufilitonga, challenged Tāuفا'ahau at Lifuka. Fighting broke out between the two princes in 1824. In 1826 Tāuفا'ahau defeated Laufilitonga and Tāuفا'ahau became firmly established as ruler of Ha'apai.

Arising out of the struggle for power, the chiefs'

113 Ibid.
115 Told by Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote.
116 Wood referred to this 'Ulukālala as 'Ulukālala IV (see footnote 111 above). Tradition maintains that Moengāngongo was never called 'Ulukālala. Hence, Tuapasi was 'Ulukālala III. See Queen Sālote, op. cit., 17.
treatment of the common people had become increasingly harsh, to the point of being intolerably cruel, inhuman and arbitrary. Mariner recorded the following incident:

Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed cutting out the iron fid from the maintop gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work. Calling to a Sandwich islander, who was amusing himself on deck by firing off his musket, he ordered him to bring that man down from aloft. Without the least hesitation, the Sandwicher levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which his order had been obeyed. The shot entered his body, and the fall broke both thighs and fractured his skull. Afterwards, when Mr Mariner understood the language, he asked the king how he could be so cruel as to kill the poor man for so trifling a fault. His majesty replied, that he was only a low, vulgar fellow (a cook); and that neither his life nor death was of any consequence to society. 

Reference has already been made to Tuku'aho's order to have his servants' left arms amputated. Teukava of Kolovai, on the occasion of a kātoanga (festival), 'arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view.'

117 See Williamson, Systems..., 111, 118.
118 Martin, op. cit., I, 68.
119 Gifford, op. cit., 127.
The chiefs used their personal power to seize anything which might arrest their fancy from the kau tu'a. Speaking of this situation, Vason wrote:

They [the chiefs] exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have everything belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence... 120

Traditions were questioned, and the effectiveness of the traditional religion was doubted by some. When the Tu'i Tonga ventured to advise Finau 'Ulukālala II on some matters of warfare, the latter replied, 'My Lord Tuitonga may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in peace and security; matters of war are my concern in which he has no right to interfere.' 121 He also terminated the traditional ceremony of 'Inasi at Ha'apai and Vava'u because he regarded it as useless and wasteful, 122 and he thus deprived the Tu'i Tonga of the most important religious ceremony offered to him, on account of his being the representative of the deity, Hikule'o. 123 After the death of Finau 'Ulukālala II, it was

120 Orange, op. cit., 124.
121 Martin, op. cit., II, 126.
122 Ibid., 27.
123 See p. 44 above.
revealed that he had planned to have the priest of the god Tupou Toutai strangled, on account of his failure to secure the help of the gods in saving his daughter's life. 124

IT is by now apparent that the contacts with the outside world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a radical influence upon the ambitious political leaders of Tonga, who in some instances were prepared to disregard completely the traditions and customs which had helped to maintain peace and stability in Tongan society. As a result, Tonga entered a period, appropriately named a 'Dark Age', 125 at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the murder of Tuku'aho in 1799, Tonga was plunged into civil war, in the course of which the whole country was disgraced by barbarism as vile as any known among the most cruel tribes of Fiji. The last Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was killed during the same war. Neither a Tu'i Kanokupolu nor a Tu'i Tonga was appointed till 1827. Thus when the Wesleyan Missionary Society made its first abortive attempt to establish a mission in Tonga, with the Rev. Walter Lawry in 1822, and when the Rev. John Thomas and the Rev. John Hutchinson re-established it in 1826, there was neither a

Tu'i Tonga (sacred king) nor a Hau (temporal king). The various chiefs of districts governed each one in his own district, and Tonga was in a state of political disunity.
PART II

THE GENERAL IMPACT OF MISSIONARY INFLUENCE ON THE TONGAN WAY OF LIFE
BEFORE considering the general impact of the missionary influence on the Tongan way of life, it is necessary to take cognizance of the type of men who went as missionaries to Tonga, and of the kinds of social, political and religious backgrounds from which they came. An understanding of these questions will undoubtedly throw light upon their various activities in Tonga.

With only a few exceptions, the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who went to Tonga were recruited from the lower-middle and working classes of the British Isles. In a recent study of the politics of English dissent, the author points out that, 'More than other Dissenting denominations, the Methodists recruited their ministers and members from the lower classes.' This, of course, resulted from the concentration

1 There were a few such as Dr Lyth, Dr Miller, Dr Moulton and David Cargill, M.A., who came from the upper middle class and received academic training.

of John Wesley and his supporters on the working people of
the mining and industrial centres of the British Isles, where they were very successful in gaining converts. The
Rev. John Thomas, for example, was a village blacksmith in
Worcestershire. 'His upbringing was rustic, his education
of the slenderest; he was taken straight from the village
forge to be a Missionary at the ends of the earth.' This
was typical of many of the missionaries. The Rev. Peter
Turner began work at the age of seven or eight, when his
father, a cotton spinner in Manchester, took him to help
as a piecer at the local mill. He received his education
at a local Sunday school.

Writing for Blackwood's Magazine in 1890, the Rev.
Coutts Trotter, in an article entitled, 'A Recent Chapter
in Tongan History', described the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries
in Tonga as 'Men often of narrow culture and lacking in

3 M. Edwards, After Wesley (London, 1948), 85-6; W.J. Townsend,
H.B. Workman and George Eayrs, A New History of Methodism

4 G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan
Methodist Missionary Society (London, 1921), III, 278.

5 P. Turner, A brief account of myself, ..., 1; for detailed
discussion of the education of the missionaries, see Gunson,
op. cit., 12.
imagination'. This charge was not surprising, considering the attitudes of the Methodists at home towards the social life of their day. An authority on Methodism recently wrote:

Methodists defined rigidly the things that belonged to the world and the things that belonged to God. They felt they had been called out of an evil world into the new life of the Spirit. The services on the Sunday and the class meetings in the week occupied their leisure hours. They looked with suspicion on all amusements and recreations.

The theatre was regarded as a menace and a danger to morality. John Wesley called it 'the sink of all profaneness and debauchery'. His followers shared this view. In 1808, the Edinburgh Review censured the Methodists for their opposition to the theatre and to other amusements, and in 1818 another reviewer reported that when two theatres, Convent Garden and Drury Lane, were destroyed many Methodists openly rejoiced and made it an occasion of thanksgiving. With regard to literature, they were only prepared to accept a very narrow

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6 C. Trotter, 'A Recent Chapter in Tongan History', Blackwood's Magazine, 1890, 742.
7 Edwards, op. cit., 127.
8 Works of John Wesley, VII, 34.
10 Quarterly Review, November 1810, IV, 491.
and restricted range. The *Methodist Magazine*, the only periodical produced by the Society for many years from Wesley's time, was occupied almost exclusively with sermons, articles on matters of faith, letters and memoirs of devout Methodists.\footnote{11} After the death of Wesley, the Methodist Book-Room 'Published almost entirely religious works or works connected with religion.'\footnote{12} Methodist authors in the early nineteenth century devoted themselves either to publishing sermons or to writing memoirs. The more learned, such as Coke, Clarke, Benson and Sutcliffe, published commentaries on the Bible or wrote philosophical treatises. These, together with religious pamphlets, were eagerly read.

Dancing, snuff-taking and smoking were denounced by the Conference and in the Connexional magazine.\footnote{13} Wesley claimed that dancing made debauchery easy\footnote{14} and might lead young women to numberless evils. The Methodist leaders were particularly severe in their denunciation of spirituous liquors, except for medical purposes. Wesley strongly condemned

\footnote{11}{Edwards, *op. cit.*, 129.}
\footnote{12}{Ibid.}
\footnote{13}{*Works*, VII, 34.}
\footnote{14}{Ibid., XII, 39.}
the sale of spirits, and was deeply concerned with the ravages of gin and rum drinking on the nation. He told his followers that they should not sell to their neighbours anything which tended to impair health, such as 'drams' as spirits were then called.

It is true, [he wrote] these may have a place in medicine; they may be of use in some bodily disorders; although there would rarely be occasion for them,... Therefore, such as prepare and sell them only for this end may keep their conscience clear. But who are they? Who prepare them only for this end? Do you know ten such distillers in England? Then excuse these. But all who sell them in the common way, to any that will buy, are poisoners general. They murder His Majesty's subjects, by wholesale, neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep.\(^\text{15}\)

He demanded that distillation should be abolished, arguing that food was dear because of the immense quantity of corn consumed in distilling. He argued that spirituous liquors were a deadly poison, that they destroyed not only the strength but the morals of those who consumed them, and that therefore it was imperative that distilling should be abolished.\(^\text{16}\) He directed that Methodists should undertake to taste no spirituous liquors unless prescribed by a physician. Those

\(^{15}\) Ibid., VI, 128-9.

\(^{16}\) Edwards, op. cit., 132.
that followed him after his death maintained this attitude, and some went further and refused to drink wine, beer or even tea.\textsuperscript{17}

Gambling of any sort was bitterly opposed, on the grounds that it fostered covetousness, making men deprive their wives and families of money needed at home.\textsuperscript{18} Sports were frowned upon, for they were viewed as a waste of time which might have been spent in honest labour.\textsuperscript{19} They were also regarded as instruments used by the devil 'to fill the mind with earthly, sensual, and devilish passions', making one 'a lover of pleasure more than a lover of God'.\textsuperscript{20}

The Methodists also followed Wesley's example in urging that Sunday should be kept sacred. On this issue they joined that section of the English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views. The \textit{Quarterly Review} complained that Methodists would not allow barbers to work on a Sunday.\textsuperscript{21}

These attitudes were part and parcel of the lives

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} See Wesley's sermon 'On Public Diversions', \textit{Wesley's Sermons}, II, 956
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 955.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Quarterly Review}, November 1810.
of the missionaries, who believed them to be the way of life that Christians should follow. It was this way of life which they endeavoured to force upon their new converts in Tonga.22

The majority of the missionaries who went to Tonga received only a very meagre education, the kind of education available to their social and economic classes at home at that time. Most received their only 'formal' education from the Methodist Sunday schools,23 where pupils were instructed in reading, spelling and writing.24

The Methodists promoted elementary education among their followers with vigour and enthusiasm for it was necessary to be able to read and understand the Scriptures. They believed that sound education should include religion. Therefore it was the responsibility of the parents and churches to educate their children. The role of the State was only to see that this task was properly carried out.25 Wesley himself took the lead. In spite of his narrow views

22 See p. 132 below.
23 See footnote 5, p. 101 above.
on education and his Spartan strictness in discipline, he should be given the credit for starting day schools in Newcastle and in London. He furthered the growth of education by his dissemination of cheap literature. His pamphlets on a variety of subjects, particularly on the major contemporary issues, were published cheaply and widely distributed to an eager reading public. Mainly for the benefit of his preachers, he published a Christian Library of fifty volumes, and gave people in an abbreviated form some of the great masterpieces of ancient and modern literature. 

The Methodists were most enthusiastic in promoting Sunday schools. The Sunday school movement started independently of Methodism, but Wesley gave it his enthusiastic support and soon the numbers of schools, teachers and pupils increased in an astonishing way. The importance of these Sunday schools, as pointed out above, lay in the fact that they provided the only education which many children received. In addition to the teaching of the elementary subjects of

26 Edwards, op. cit., 100.
27 Ibid., 101.
28 It has been estimated that by 1854 there were 401,763 children attending Methodist Sunday schools. See Edwards, op. cit., 104.
reading and writing, and of Bible stories, special attention was paid to the moral training of the pupils. They were taught 'to be diligent and industrious, to behave with respect to their superiors; to avoid lying, stealing, speaking vain words, and to be true and just in all their dealings.'

In spite of their low educational standard, the Sunday schools, in most cases, succeeded in fostering in their pupils a keen desire to improve themselves. Consequently, many from humble origins were no longer satisfied with their existing status, and gradually raised themselves to higher levels in society, through diligence and hard work, gaining not merely educationally but economically and socially as well. Many undoubtedly accepted and followed closely Wesley's advice when he said:

> It is a shame for Christians not to improve on them, whatever he takes in hand. You should be continually learning from the experience of others or from your own experience, reading and reflection to do everything to-day better than you did it yesterday.... Make the best of all that is in your hands.

29 An address made by the Rev. Thomas Taylor, who was President of the Methodist Conference in 1796, and again in 1809, cited by Edwards, op. cit., 106.


31 Wesley's Sermons, I, 709.
Facilities for the formal training of Methodist ministers were not forthcoming until the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, many were thrust into the work of the ministry with very little or no training at all. The only preparation they received for their work was a probationary period of four years under the supervision and guidance of senior ministers. However, with the help of Wesley's own works and directions to his 'helpers', many ministers did their best to remedy the deficiencies of their education, and a number succeeded well. \(^{32}\)

The missionaries took these attitudes to education with them to Tonga. They not only applied them to their work, but they made serious efforts to improve themselves. 'I and my Colleagues,' wrote the Rev. Peter Turner, 'have undertaken to do something in Latin - Greek - and Heb., Logic and Divinity every week.' \(^{33}\) In addition to religious magazines and papers, some included on their reading list works on politics; history (English, Greek, Roman); Pacific research; physics; astronomy; medicine, and also biographical works. \(^{34}\)

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\(^{34}\) P. Turner, *Books Read, 1832-73*, 12.
Those who did not appear to make efforts at self-improvement were sharply rebuked.

I told you yesterday, [wrote the old hand, the Rev. John Thomas to a young missionary in 1833], that I did not think you had made any improvement...since I knew you, and that I feared you do not use the means in order to improve yourself...I felt the more confirmed in my opinion viz. that you had not abilities for the work of an Itinerant Methodist Preacher. But I told you also that I did not give this information to prevent your preaching or strive to improve yourself but rather as a means of stirring you up to do all you can. It is proper that you endeavour to do better in the native language, and I wish you had been more in earnest about it before. I shall be very willing to assist you.  

AS with education so it was with politics. The missionaries inherited their political views from the parent Society at home, and they did all they could to impose these views upon their converts in Tonga. But although they were to a certain extent progressive in their ideas and enthusiasm about primary education, in that they made great efforts to give their people some education, the Methodists did not share the radical political views of some of the Dissenters, being anxious to avoid social and political upheaval. Wesley himself was a Tory. He was born into a Tory and High Church family, and

35 J. Thomas to W. Woon, 5 March 1833, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
36 Edwards, op. cit., 16.
this upbringing was further strengthened by his entering Oxford where there was, at this time, a strong loyalty both to Church and State. Fifty years previously, in 1683, this University had issued a declaration denying that civil authority was derived ultimately from the people. John Wesley had no faith in the people's capacity for government. This is borne out by the fact that it never occurred to him that the laity ought to be represented at Conference.\(^\text{37}\)

Wesley based his political philosophy on the Old Testament, where Kingship was conferred by the seer as the spokesman of God. The people were neither consulted nor allowed to take part in the tasks of government. The King was the vicegerent of God and not the representative of the people. He received his authority from God and to Him alone was he answerable. The merits and demerits of a King depended entirely on whether or not he did those things which were right in the sight of God.\(^\text{38}\) Wesley accepted this view. He gave rulers full powers from God and he believed that they should render account for their actions to God alone.


\(^{38}\) Ibid., Edwards, op. cit.
He gave unqualified support to the parliamentary system as it was, believing that it was working well.\textsuperscript{39}

Despite his Tory sympathies, Wesley was not uncritical of the system. One historian writes:

\ldots his politics were very definitely partisan; but he had a strange independence of outlook. The King in his coronation robes excited in him no awe, and was described by him as swathed in ermine blankets, adorned with a huge heap of borrowed hair, and with glittering baubles; the nobles were triflers unaware of their latter end; the lawyers were dishonest and self-seeking; British landlords in Ireland were absentees, careless of their tenants, and working for the depopulation of the country; the Slave Trade (which even Chatham defended) was that 'execrable sum of all villainies'.\textsuperscript{40}

After his death, his successors maintained his political views. Unlike the other Dissenters who pressed for political reforms, the Methodists dissociated themselves from reformers and viewed democracy with deep mistrust.\textsuperscript{41} Adam Clarke, for example, declared that 'in general, the Executive

\begin{itemize}
\item Edwards, op. cit., 18.
\item Wesley claimed: 'The greater the share the people have in government the less liberty civil or religious does a nation enjoy. Accordingly there is most liberty in a limited monarchy, less under an aristocracy and least under a democracy.' In Some observations on Liberty, 1776, cited by Edwards, op. cit., 47.
\end{itemize}
government must be supported, because if not, down goes the Constitution and up rise anarchy and every possible evil'. 42 He proclaimed that all good subjects 'should avoid everything that leads to popular disaffection'. 43 He also pleaded with the British people to value their privileges, guard their Constitution and protect their King, for anyone who does anything to alienate the people from loyalty to the King was worse than a public incendiary. 44

The horrors of the massacres during the French Revolution, and the abuse of liberty in France, disgusted most people in England. The Methodists identified democracy with licence and irreligion, and this fully persuaded them that their condemnation of it was justified. 45 They regarded the Luddite riots as purely criminal. Jabez Bunting refused to bury a Luddite who had been shot during the riots. He regarded him as an utter criminal, who was not worthy of Christian burial. 46 The Methodist leaders believed that

42 J.W. Etheridge, Life of Adam Clarke (London, 1858), 311.
44 Ibid., 35-6.
46 Ibid., 31.
rebellion was no cure for public evils and they advised the people to, 'Fear the Lord and the King and meddle not with them that are given to change.' 47

The conservatism of the Methodists was further intensified by the growing wealth of the Society. With the growth of industrialism, many Methodists became foremen, managers and in some cases proprietors. This class of people gradually formed an influential minority group and constituted a formidable element in Methodism. Their interests were increasingly bound up with the existing order of society, and consequently they were very much against any radical change. 48 This conservatism, however, did not go unchallenged. There were those who wanted to see more radical reforms in Methodism, such as Alexander Kilham and Rayner Stephens; but the reformers found the strength of conservatism in the parent body an insurmountable obstacle, and they were either expelled or broke away and themselves founded other branches of Methodism. 49

Accompanying this loyalty to a King who owed his

47 Ibid., 32.
48 Ibid., 21.
position to a Protestant Act of Succession was a strongly anti-Roman Catholic bias. John Wesley himself was always friendly in his private dealings with Roman Catholics, and held the Roman Catholic devotional literature in very high regard. One of the Roman Catholic works which he translated, abridged and published for the use of Methodists, was the book by Thomas à Kempis, *A treatise on the imitation of Christ*, which was written in Latin. In spite of this wide tolerance, however, Wesley had a deep distrust of the Church of Rome. This was due, firstly, to the fact that the Roman Catholic Council had decreed that no faith was to be kept with heretics; secondly, he argued that since every Roman Catholic acknowledged the absolute authority of the Pope, he was not able to render full allegiance to a temporal monarch; and thirdly, because the Pope could pardon treason and rebellion as well as every other sin, he regarded the Catholics as potential enemies of the King. Hence, his opposition to the Roman Catholic relief movement and his advocacy of the reinforcement of the Act of 1700 whereby priests could be punished by imprisonment.

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51 Ibid., 19 February 1761.
52 Edwards, op. cit., 113.
Unfortunately, Wesley's successors only inherited his distrust of the Roman Catholics and his opposition to Roman Catholic relief. They did not share his tolerance of Catholic beliefs. They were preoccupied with warning against the practices and influence of the Roman Church. One writer accurately points out:

In the years following Wesley's death the *Methodist Magazine* only referred to Roman Catholicism in order to condemn it. Its attitude to Roman Catholic emancipation was clear and uncompromising. In its pages was quoted, with benign approval, a writer who claimed that Roman Catholic emancipation would be a most dangerous encroachment on Church and State, and that it would be highly impolitic to trust to such an extent people who are manifestly prone to rebellion.  

Later, in 1846, another Methodist paper of high repute, *The Watchman*, spoke of the Roman Church as an 'idolatrous, superstitious, treacherous and tyrannical system'.  

Inevitably the missionaries who went to Tonga shared these sentiments with their fellow Methodists at home.  

Consistent with their allegedly unswerving loyalty to the King, Country and Constitution, were their views on war.

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53 Ibid., 114.


55 See p.497 below.
The Methodists deplored war, and they would do everything within their power to prevent it. But when it came, their loyalty and sense of duty compelled them to throw their whole support behind the government of the country. John Wesley tried to use his influence to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute which led to the American War of Independence. He believed that the American colonists had real grievances. But, when the war broke out, Wesley threw himself behind the British Government and became one of its staunchest supporters. \(^{56}\)

Wesley's successors followed his policy in this regard. When peaceful councils would no longer prevail and England went to war with France, the Methodist gave unswerving support to the Government. Apart from their traditional loyalty to their King, Country and Constitution, they viewed democracy with distrust and associated the French Revolution with infidelity and regarded Napoleon and his ambitious schemes as the forces of anti-Christ. After the sea victories of Nelson, prayers of thanksgiving were offered throughout the whole Methodist Society, and the Conference ordered a prayer meeting every Friday, and a fast day every month for the nation in its peril, and this was continued until the end

\(^{56}\) Edwards, op. cit., 19.
The Methodists, because of their loyalty and strong convictions, made good fighters. This is borne out by an extract from a letter by a naval officer, published in the Methodist Magazine:

There was a set of fellows called Methodists on board the Victory, Lord Nelson's ship, and these men never wanted swearing at. The dogs were the best seamen on board. Every man knew his duty and every man did his duty. They used to meet together and sing hymns and nobody dared to molest them... These men were the only fellows I ever knew to do their duty without swearing and I will do them the justice to say they did it.

These qualities were later reflected in the fighting prowess of Methodist converts during the wars in Tonga in the 1830s and 1840s.

The Methodists were warned not to meddle in politics, but in spite of this admonition they were inevitably drawn into the political issues of the day. One of these burning issues was the question of the slave-trade which Wesley and his

57 Ibid., 148.

58 Temperley states that 'the Duke of Wellington found no better soldiers than those that were Methodists.' Temperley, op. cit., 87.

59 W-M Mag., October 1808.

60 See p. 233 below.

61 Cowherd, op. cit., 17.
supporters bitterly opposed. They considered this commitment as their religious duty and, in so doing, they were brought 'contrary to their professed desires, into the midst of politics'.

The support which they gave to the anti-slavery movement was undoubtedly a direct result of their conviction that the salvation of God was for all people and that each individual, by reading or hearing the Word of God preached, could forsake his sins and turn to Jesus Christ and be saved.

This conviction influenced the Evangelicals of both Church and Dissent to launch, among other projects, the missionary movement of the nineteenth century. The various missionary societies sent missionaries to the British colonies to convert and educate the Negro slaves there. Accounts of the brutal and inhuman treatment of Negroes, written in the missionaries' letters and told to audiences when they returned home, stirred up public feeling against slavery.

The first religious organization to seek the liberation of Negro slaves had been Quaker but, unfortunately, they

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62 Ibid.
63 See p. 124 below.
64 Cowherd, op. cit., 47.
failed to make the question a national issue, owing to their lack of numerical strength and popular techniques for propagating their campaign. John Wesley and his followers were better equipped for the task. In his pamphlet, *Thoughts on Slavery*, published in 1774, Wesley launched a bitter attack. He was influenced by the notion, prevalent in the eighteenth century, that man was endowed with natural goodness, and he subscribed to the romanticized view of the noble savage. The Negroes were innocent children of nature, living a happy-go-lucky life in idyllic surroundings, until they were brutally thrust into bondage. 'He described in detail the brutal manner of their capture, the unspeakable horrors of the outward passage, and lastly the fiendishly cruel treatment meted out to them by their owners.' 65 Throughout the rest of his life he laboured and preached against this injustice. In 1780 he ordered Methodist ministers overseas to free their slaves, 66 and in 1791, a week before his death, he sent a letter to William Wilberforce - the last he wrote - encouraging him in his struggle in Parliament to abolish the slave-trade. 67

65 Edwards, op. cit., 64.
Wesley's successors followed his lead closely, and the Conference of 1802 gave wholehearted and enthusiastic support to Wilberforce. The *Methodist Magazine* praised him and his work, and when he was in danger of losing his seat in Parliament, in 1806, the Methodists sent out circulars to their people, urging them to vote for him. His successful return to Parliament has largely been attributed to this enthusiastic backing from the Methodists. 68

The Conference in 1807, guided by Dr Thomas Coke, who had a great interest in missionary work in the West Indies, 'required any preachers who had by marriage or by any other way, acquired slaves, to take immediate and effective steps to emancipate them.' 69 In 1814, after Napoleon's exile to Elba, the Conference sent a message to the Prince Regent, assuring him of their loyalty and affection, and, among other things, they 'earnestly entreat that His Royal Highness be pleased to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the threatened revival of the African slave trade, and to secure the immediate and universal abolition of that

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69 Ibid., 70.
70 Ibid., 69.
most inhuman and un-Christian traffic.' Throughout the early nineteenth century, Methodist Conferences continued to take up this issue, calling for an end to slavery, and rallying their followers to use their election franchise to this end. This strong anti-slavery sentiment was afterwards reflected in the work of the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga. They persistently advised King George to free the commoners from the arbitrary rule of the chiefs and they were eventually successful in 1862, when the commoners were finally emancipated.

IN contrast to the strong conservatism of their political policy, Methodist theology and the methods of propagating it were inherently liberal. Wesley had emphasized that Christ died for all and that God's salvation was free for every individual who was willing to accept it. His brother, Samuel, brought this out more vividly in some of his hymns. A verse of one of them reads:

70 Ibid., 69.
71 Ibid., 72.
72 See p.321 below.
73 Edwards, op. cit., 40.
My God I am thine;
What a comfort divine,
What a blessing to know that my Jesus is mine!
In the Heavenly lamb
Thrice happy I am,
And my heart it doth dance at the sound of His name.  

In another hymn he wrote:

O for a thousand tongues to sing
My great Redeemer's praise,
The glories of my God and King
The triumphs of His grace!

He speaks, and, listening to His voice,
New life the dead receive,
The mournful broken hearts rejoice,
The humble poor believe.

He breaks the power of cancelled sin,
He sets the prisoner free;
His blood can make the foulest clean,
His blood availed for me.

See all your sins on Jesus laid:
The lamb of God was slain,
His soul was once an offering made
For every soul of man.  

In yet another he declared:

Thy sovereign grace to all extends,
Immense and unconfined;
From age to age it never ends;
It reaches all mankind.

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75 Ibid., No. 1, Verses 1, 4, 5 and 6.
Throughout the world its breadth is known,
Wide as infinity;
So wide it never passed by one,
Or it had passed by me. 76

This promise of a new life in Christ was extended to everyone - outcasts, prostitutes, publicans, and thieves included - in the open-air services which were, in Wesley's time, a great novelty. 77 The large numbers who accepted the open invitation were arranged in classes where people, from all walks of life and from all the social strata, met together on a common level, to sing, pray and share their experiences. 78 One author rightly points out that, 'The democracy of the class meeting helped to undermine the Toryism of official Methodism'. 79

In these classes and his sermons, Wesley laid strong emphasis on the doctrine of Christian perfection or holiness. There were three main doctrines which Wesley emphasized. 80

Firstly, there was the doctrine of Justification by Faith. This was the belief that a sinner can only be saved by faith in the atoning death of Jesus Christ, and that good works and

76 Ibid., No. 77, Verses 2 and 3.
77 See Edwards, op. cit., 43, 45.
78 Taylor, op. cit., 60-2; Gregory, op. cit., 16-20.
79 Edwards, op. cit., 47.
sacraments were not enough. This was the gospel of Evangelical preaching. Secondly, he emphasized the doctrine of Assurance. Once a sinner was forgiven, he could by the witness of the Holy Spirit be certain of his being justified. This could explain the highly emotional tones of the class meetings and love feasts and the constant drive for religious revival. In the third place was the doctrine of Sanctification, Christian perfection or Holiness. This was the task of keeping the new justified life holy from day to day by faith. It meant that Christian perfection should lead to exemplariness in all things. Wesley himself set an example of this kind of life by becoming involved in the great public issues and problems of his day. He issued pamphlets on these questions, and worked unceasingly to help the poor, the sick and the distressed. 81

Unfortunately many of his successors interpreted his teachings in a much narrower way, and the notion of holiness often came to mean in their preaching little more than personal goodness, with little or no regard for the problems of society. 82

This transcendental emphasis drove them to dwell more on the

81 Edwards, op. cit., 22.
82 Ibid., 24.
life to come, in their preaching, than on the here and now.
They laid great emphasis upon the eternal tortures of Hell and
the everlasting bliss of Heaven, with the inevitable result
that greater stress was laid upon emotionalism than upon reason.
Wesley himself was aware of this danger and in his sermon on
Christian perfection he warned:

Beware of the daughter of pride, enthusiasm. Oh
keep at the utmost distance from it. Give no place
to a heated imagination. Do not hastily ascribe
things to God. Do not easily suppose dreams,
voices, impressions, visions or revelations to be
from God. They may be from him. They may be from
Nature. They may be from the devil. .... You are
in danger of enthusiasm if you despise or lightly
esteem reason, knowledge or human learning; every
one of which is an excellent gift from God, and
may serve the noblest purposes. I advise you never
to use the words wisdom, reason or knowledge by
way of reproach. On the contrary pray that you may
abound in them more and more.83

In spite of this warning Wesley's successors fell into the
snare of extreme emotionalism, bringing upon themselves the
justifiable criticism of being otherworldly.84 Notwithstanding
this weakness, the change in individual lives, following upon
conversion, had a marked effect on the life of the community.
'A change in Character meant a change in habits. Money that

83 Wesley's sermon on 'Christian Perfection', Works, XI, 431; see also his sermon on 'The Nature of Enthusiasm', Wesley's Sermons, I, 531.

was spent on drinking, gambling and other amusements was spent
more freely on the necessities of life. This benefited
greatly the trade and manufactures of the country.\textsuperscript{85} Wesley
gave the following advice to his followers:

Gain all you can by honest industry. Use all
diligence in your calling. Lose no time....
Every business will afford some employment
sufficient for every day and every hour. That,
wherein you are placed, if you follow it up in
earnest will leave no time for silly unprofitable
diversions. You have always something better to
do, something that would profit you more or less.
And 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it
with thy might'. Do it as soon as possible. Do
not sleep or yawn over it. Put your whole strength
in the work. Spare no pains. Let nothing be done
by halves, or in a light and careless manner. Let
nothing in your business be left undone, if it can
be done by labour and patience.... Gain all you
can by common sense, by using in your business the
understanding God has given you. It is amazing to
observe how few do this: how men run on in the same
dull track as their fathers.\textsuperscript{86}

He proclaimed that the rich had a responsibility to
the poor and that, after immediate needs were satisfied, money
should be given to alleviate suffering. It has been said that
he himself gave away £30,000, 'and throughout his life had
lived on the barest minimum consistent with health'.\textsuperscript{87} He

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 95.

\textsuperscript{86} Wesley's sermon L, 'The use of Money', \textit{Wesley's Sermons},
I, 708-9.

\textsuperscript{87} Edwards, op. cit., 96.
argued that employers ought to have a sense of responsibility for their workmen and give them a fair wage, and that they should sell their commodities at a just price. He also believed that workmen ought to have a like sense of responsibility and be devoted to their labour regarding idleness as a crime. 

It may now be apparent how many Methodists improved themselves and tended to frown upon those amusements and sports which they regarded as unproductive and conducive to sin.

Wesley and his followers believed that the remedy for all ills was the salvation of the individual. They were convinced that when the individual was 'right with God', not only would eternal life be ensured but the society would be healthy. More important still was their conviction that this salvation could only be achieved through faith in Jesus Christ and that they had been commanded by the Lord to take the Gospel to the utmost parts of the world. John Wesley himself claimed

88 Ibid., 97.

89 Ibid., 94; the French historian, Halevy, claims,

...the extraordinary stability which English Society was destined to enjoy through a period of revolutions and crises; what we may truly term the miracle of Modern England, anarchist but orderly, practical and businesslike, but religious, and even pietist.

Halevy, op. cit., 387.
that the whole world was his parish. Hence their resolution to establish a missionary society and to join the other Evangelical bodies in sending out missionaries to save the heathen throughout the world from the perils of a life without Christ.

FROM this survey we may conclude that the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who went to Tonga were drawn from the British lower-middle and working classes. They had little formal education, but possessed a keen desire and determination to improve themselves. In keeping with the parent body at home, they held the same social, political and religious viewpoints. They had a deep-seated dislike for amusements, sports, and gambling in any form, considering these pastimes as wasteful and unproductive and inclined to lead people into temptation. Politically, they were conservative and they adhered to the system of limited monarchy, upheld the Constitution and were loyal to their country. At the same time, they vigorously


91 Cowherd, op. cit., 47; see also Gregory, op. cit., 180-3.

92 It may be pointed out that monarchy at this time was only limited by the voice of those who had the franchise.
supported the anti-slavery movement, but were very anti-Roman Catholic and violently opposed to the Roman Catholic relief movement. On the religious side, they firmly believed that God's salvation was free for all men and they stressed the emotional approach to salvation and the importance of the world to come, at the expense of the here and now. Moreover, they believed that it was their duty from Christ to take this salvation to the heathen, in order that they should be saved.
ATTENTION has already been drawn to the fact that many of the men who went to Tonga as missionaries were not adequately trained. Nonetheless, what they lacked in academic and professional training, they made up for by their unequivocal sense of vocation and complete devotion to duty. Writing about the work he was going to undertake, John Thomas said:

I was never so conscious of my own unfitness for this great undertaking or of my own nothingness... and I can say, 'Through Christ strengthening me I can do all things', and 'Lord, I am ready to go with Thee to prison and to death'.

Obviously, the missionaries made mistakes, but their final triumph in winning the respect, confidence, and even love of most of the people and their leaders is, to a large extent, a tribute to their sincere devotion, integrity, courage and enthusiasm. Equipped with an absolute conviction of their being called of God, an uncompromising view of the 'peril of the heathen', and an exuberant zeal, these men went

1 See Gunson, op. cit., 34.

2 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., 279.
to Tonga to save the 'lost'. They saw as their mission, the conversion of the heathen at all cost if necessary, even if it entailed martyrdom on the one hand and a complete destruction of the traditional culture on the other.

In discussing the difficulties he had already encountered on his way to Tonga, John Thomas went on to say:

...this is only preparatory to my taking up my abode amongst rude and barbarous tribes, far beyond the bounds of British protection, where I have to live and labour and suffer, and possibly to die. I was never so conscious of my own unfitness for this great undertaking...the question is, then, why do I attempt to go?...it is that I may teach the heathen of the Friendly Islands the way to Heaven. I love their souls. They are in error; darkness has covered their minds.  

In his first sermon, preached in Tonga on Sunday 10 April 1831, the Rev. James Watkin told his congregation about his motives in coming to Tonga. He said that it was the love of Christ; His command and commission 'Go ye out into all the world'; the sympathy for lost souls which the love of Christ supplies, and a fervent wish to publicise the sinners' friend among sinners, that prompted him to leave his own country and come to theirs.

3 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., 279.

4 J. Watkin, to 'Father and Brethren', 25 April 1831, in W.M.M.S., In-letters.
The missionaries' first and foremost task was to convert the people to Christianity. In this they found that difficulties of every sort, including some which they had not expected, had to be faced. The physical discomforts of excessive heat, poor accommodation, and exposure to tropical diseases posed a serious threat to their lives. In fact, death claimed several and many were forced to leave their field of labour on account of ill health. Further obstacles came from their own countrymen who directly or indirectly opposed their work.

Despite the romantic view of native peoples, as the 'innocent and unoffending children of nature' the missionaries found some of the native manners quite abhorrent. One missionary, after working for several years in Tonga, described the people as 'naturally proud indolent forgetful dirty and ungrateful... deceitful.' The hostility of some of the chiefs was also a constant source of worry to the missionaries, and the safety of their belongings and of their lives was continually threatened.


6 See p. 452 below.

7 Whewell to Eggleston, 4 August 1856, Ha'apai, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
Unfortunately, the responsibility for some of their difficulties lay with themselves. Partly, these difficulties arose from their lack of adequate training and qualifications for their task, and partly they reflected an absence of creative or enlightened imagination. They identified Christianity with the moral standards of their own middle-class background at home, and anything which deviated from these standards, they regarded as sinful and deplorable and to be eradicated. They had very little appreciation of the customs and traditions of the people. They condemned dancing, sports, smoking and many other innocent habits of the people, and regarded them as harmful to Christianity and therefore forbidden to the members of the society. 

The failure of John Thomas's efforts at Hihifo, after almost three years may be largely attributed to this. Thomas himself admitted a sense of insufficiency.

What a raw, weak, uncultivated wretch was I when I left old England! And though I have, by study, sorrow, and deep distress, learned something, yet even now how little I know that I ought to know before I can be deserving of the name of a Preacher of the Gospel, much less of a Methodist Missionary!... It is a subject which very much humbles me when I see that through my inability...the salvation of souls is possibly delayed. O Lord, do Thou have

8 Blanc, op. cit., (U.S.A., n.d.), 43. See also Chapters 7 and 11 below.
mercy on me, and on these people! May they not perish through my weakness. 9

The arrival of reinforcements in November 1827 saved the work in Tonga from being abandoned. Among the new arrivals was a man who was much more mature and held more liberal views. This was the Rev. Nathaniel Turner. His experience with the Maori of New Zealand, 10 among whom he had worked for several years before he came to Tonga, seems to have given him many advantages. The experience helped him to develop a sympathetic understanding of the customs and traditions of the people, and gave him a crude familiarity with the fundamentals of the language which enabled him to learn Tongan quickly and thoroughly. 11 When he was asked questions relative to politics, shortly after arrival, Turner answered that because he was a stranger to their country, and consequently to their ways, he would rather say nothing. 12

Where there were disputes among the chiefs on questions in connection with the affairs of the mission, Turner

9 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., 282.
would sit down and discuss the questions at issue with them in a manner the chiefs could understand.13 Williams and Barff, the two L.M.S. missionaries who visited Tonga in 1830, spoke very highly of the love and respect which the Tongans - both Christian and heathen - showed to Turner.14

Assisted by a very able colleague, the Rev. William Cross, the work soon showed very promising results. As early as November 1828, Turner reported that the chapel at Nuku'alofa, where they were stationed, had overflowed and many were outside for want of room.15

Unfortunately, Turner did not stay long. In 1831 he was forced, for health reasons, to leave for Tasmania. By this time, however, the work had been well established at Nuku'alofa and Ha'apai where John Thomas was now working under Tāufa'āhau, who was ruler of Ha'apai. Thomas was assisted by one of the first converts to Christianity in Tonga, Pita VI. Before his departure, Turner had the satisfaction of seeing the new reinforcements settled at their respective posts.

13 Ibid., 2 December 1827.
14 Williams and Barff, op. cit., 64.
16 The work of Hihifo was abandoned in 1829 - see Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., 286.
Among these new arrivals was a powerful man of yet another kind, entirely different from either John Thomas or Nathaniel Turner. This was the Rev. Peter Turner. Unlike his predecessor, Nathaniel, he had no hesitation in involving himself in politics (as an adviser, of course), but what really distinguished him from the others was his fervent desire for religious revival. He had some experience of Methodist revivals at home, and, for him, the religious revival was absolutely essential. 'I prefer some move among the people', he said, 'tho' there may be some few irregularities - I do not like irregularities - but almost anything is preferable to a deadness of feeling.'

Some of Peter Turner's colleagues disapproved of his methods. The Rev. Stephen Rabone, for example, concluded a service at Hihifo, Ha'apai, because the people began to pray and cry to such an extent that his voice was not audible, and eight or ten adults were so overcome that they had to be carried out. He argued that the weak, well-meaning people needed instruction and direction. In a similar situation, Peter Turner applied an entirely different technique.

17 P. Turner, op. cit., 9 April 1847.
18 Rabone, Journal, 27 November 1845.
During the prayers one or another continued to weep and to cry out. At length my own mind could contain no longer and the weeping became general.... I made many attempts to preach as I had proposed but could not speak a half a dozen words. So we turned the service into a prayer-meeting - and allowed some few to relate their Christian experience. It was a wonderful time to many, much weeping and melting of hearts.\(^\text{19}\)

The theological validity and psychological soundness of the revival movement in Tonga have been questioned not only by outsiders, but by fellow workers as well,\(^\text{20}\) yet there is no doubt that the movement was a powerful factor in the conversion of many Tongans to Christianity.

The revival movement began in a village called 'Utui in Vava'u on Tuesday, 23 July 1834, in a service conducted by a Tongan local preacher. Soon it spread to every place in Vava'u. It reached Ha'apai on 30 August and Tongatapu on 6 October.\(^\text{21}\) Peter Turner pointed out that the revival had made many of the young men desire to be employed for God, and upwards of a hundred were brought forward who wished to be

\[^{19}\text{P. Turner, op. cit., 25 March 1853.}\]
\[^{20}\text{P. Turner, op. cit., 28 May 1849.}\]
\[^{21}\text{P. Turner to the Committee, Vava'u, 1 September 1834, \textit{W-M Mag.}, October 1835, 793; Tucker to Committee, 10 September 1834, ibid., 794; J. Thomas to Committee, 6 December 1834, ibid., 795.}\]
employed as exhorters or local preachers. Many fell back to their old ways and Turner himself lamented that 'these movements so soon die away'. However, those who stood firm formed a very strong and militant team of evangelists who proved to be of great assistance to the work of the missionaries. The result was that when Turner finally left Tonga in 1853, the whole of Vava'u, the whole of Ha'apai, the Niuas and a great part of Tongatapu had accepted Christianity. Thus the conversion of the whole of Tonga was almost complete.

The missionaries had realized from the start that the success or failure of their work would depend largely upon their winning the chiefs as converts. As a result, they paid particular attention to this objective. Peter Turner observed that there was no compulsion employed by the King (Josiah Aleamotu'a) to cause the people to embrace Christianity, but he was persuaded to believe that many renounced heathenism because the King and the chiefs did so.

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23 Ibid., 24 November 1844.
24 Peter Turner was in Samoa from 1835 to 1839.
25 The term conversion is used here simply to mean accepting Christianity.
The refusal of Ata, chief of Hihifo, to accept Christianity proved to be one of the most effective sources of opposition hampering the work of the missionaries both at Hihifo and in a great many other parts of Tongatapu. In a letter to the Committee, dated 22 September 1828, John Thomas wrote from Hihifo, 'I am perfectly satisfied that, as it respects the inhabitants generally, they are ready to receive our instruction; and if the Chief (Ata) were favourable, hundreds would sit at the feet of the living God.' Ata's brother, Tōfua, told John Thomas that if Ata were to turn Christian, he would turn too. Tu'ivakanō, the chief of Nukunuku, said to Thomas that he would lotu if Ata lotued. Tāufa, chief of Pea, said the same.

He [Tāufa] frankly told me his mind, [reported John Thomas] he asked if Ata our chief prayed to God. I told him no, he said when he turned him [sic] and his people should turn also, that Ata was older than him, and was his relation....

On the other hand, the acceptance of Christianity by Aleamotu'a (King Josiah), King George, Fīnau 'Ulukālala, and later Tamahā, Tu'ivakanō, Tungī and other chiefs was


29 Ibid., 12 June 1829.
of tremendous assistance to the work of the missionaries.

In a letter to Messrs Nathaniel Turner and Cross, FInau 'Ulukālala said, 'My Island, Sir, will turn to our Great God because I am the only chief on the island; I have no one to control me; when I turn they will all turn.'

The original motive behind the conversion of these chiefs appears to have been political. After the death of Tupouto'a in 1820, no Tu'i Kanokupolu was installed for six years. The various sub-divisions of Tonga remained autonomous, each under its own paramount chief. In Tongatapu, the main island, power was at this time virtually in the hands of the Ha'a Havea. It was probably due to their powerful pressure, that the 'electoral college' did not bother to appoint another Tu'i Kanokupolu.

This state of affairs must have considerably influenced Aleamotu'a and his fototehina, Ulakai and those of the Tu'i

30 N. Turner to the Committee, 3 April 1828, W-M Mag. April 1829, 266; J.G. Turner, op. cit., 102-3.

31 See Chapter 2 above.

32 The Ha'a Havea were Ma'afu of Vainī; Tākai of Pea; Vaea of Houma; Tu'ivakanō of Nukunuku; and Fohe of Puke.

33 See p. 23 above.
Kanokupolu lineage, in their decision to accept Christianity. The impotence of their own gods, in the face of their present plight, no doubt predisposed them to accept more readily the idea of the Almighty Jehovah as the only true and powerful God, one who could offer them hope where their own gods failed to do so.

It was at this point that Tākai of 'Oneata in Fiji and Langi of Tonga arrived in Tongatapu in Captain Samuel Henry's vessel with two Tahitian teachers, Hape and Davida. Tākai told Aleamotu'a that the Tahitians had found the true God and the word of life, and that the two Tahitians he saw were going with him to the Fegees to teach his countrymen the way to heaven. Tupou [Aleamotu'a] answered Takai and said It must not be so. If the word of life was a good word [as] he spoke, it must not go....34

Having accepted Christianity Aleamotu'a then sent Tupoutoutai to Fīnau at Vava'u, and Ulukai to Tūfa'āhau at Ha'apai, to advise them, especially Tūfa'āhau, to become Christian. According to one account, the messengers 'explained that Tonga was ruled by the Ha'a Havae, and Ha'a Ngata..."and the rest, and if they fight us on account of the Lotu, we will have the British to help us". Tūfa'āhau thereupon lotued

34 Williams and Barff, op. cit., 70.
and agreed to smash up the confederacy’.  

Finau accepted Christianity on Tāufa'āhau's persuasion. Tu'ivakanō, who had once been a Christian but had apostatized for some time, for political reasons, again decided to embrace Christianity, probably prompted by the fact that he was now certain of strong support from Tāufa'āhau and the Christians.

However, whatever the true motives behind these conversions of the chiefs, clearly they had a significant influence in turning the people from heathenism to Christianity. Their own people turned with them. Those who resisted later turned, after the chiefs under whom they lived had been defeated by the Christians led by Tāufa'āhau.

If the missionaries needed the help of the chiefs to further their objectives, the chiefs of the Tu'i Kanokupolu family were equally in need of the missionaries. The mutual need of each other drove them into each other's arms, and created a powerful union - a force that determined the course of future political events in Tonga. In the final analysis, it may be said that this union was a marriage of convenience.

35 H. Moulton, Notes on History of Tonga, 46b.

36 P. Turner, Journal, 15 December 1832; see this journal for the case of the Tamahā and her people; when Tungi turned to Christianity, two hundred people turned with him.
The success of the union both in putting down political rivals and turning the people to Christianity was undoubtedly regarded by both parties as the work of Providence. When FInau and his people turned to Christianity and the sacred places were burned down throughout Vava'u through the influence of Tāufa'āhau, one of the missionaries declared joyfully 'A king and his people waiting for God's law! Satan's cause trembles and falls; at the name of Jesus idolatory bows down; it is crumbled into dust.... This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

The fact that the royal chiefs were persuaded to accept Christianity for political reasons does not necessarily mean that they did not make sincere attempts to accept the new faith. Dr Lyth reported this instance in his journal:

One circumstance connected with our voyage - struck me with admiration. Our royal Captain towards evening summoned his men to the worship of God and again before sunrise - They sang a hymn together and they knelt down to prayer as the frail canoe urged its way thro' the deep the King himself - the Father of his people acting as Priest.

This and other instances showed that the chiefs who had accepted

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37 Thomas, Journal, 27 April 1831.

38 R.B. Lyth, Journal, 6 February 1838.
Christianity, particularly King George, had undergone some form of religious experience. The Rev. Thomas Adams, speaking of King George in 1859, said 'He has become quite a revivalist. I have been delighted with the manifestation of Christian devotedness in him, and increasingly so latterly. Tonga is highly favoured of the Lord in having such a king'.

As for the commoners, they had nothing to lose but rather much to gain by accepting Christianity. The Tongan religion did not have any place for them, for it was believed, mainly by the chiefs, that the commoners had no souls. Now for the first time the commoners were told that they had souls after all as everyone else had. Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

These indigenous converts, with their very limited training, became class leaders, local preachers, teachers and assistant missionaries. They greatly assisted the missionaries

39 T. Adams to Eggleston, 18 April 1859, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

40 P. Turner (Journal, 5 February 1844) describes how 'Ulukalala and his chiefs decided to prevent Christianity from coming to Vava'u by decreeing that any converts must either renounce their religion or give up their land and go and seek land elsewhere. Baula Nau and three other converts 'determined to suffer the loss of all things rather than give up Xtianity'. See also Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., 301f.
in their strivings to convert the people. Most prominent among these was Peter VI - one of the first seven baptized in Tonga, and of whom the missionaries had good reason to be proud. 'Peter Vee, [wrote Dr Lyth] the first Local Preacher on the plan in point of time and second to none in point of ability preached a faithful sermon and full of appropriate and affectionate application from Heb. XI : 25.' Peter VI was sent to Ha'apai to teach Tāufa'āhau in 1829, before John Thomas was himself able to go there the following year.

When FInau and his people turned to Christianity, Paula Nau was sent to Vava'u as a teacher, before any European missionary was available. One missionary wrote:

The week past has been stormy, which occasioned me some anxiety for five of our Local Preachers who had gone to various islands for the purpose of making known the truth, and were wind bound. I was afraid it would prove a trial to them as it was the first enterprise of the kind, but my fears were dissipated upon the arrival of some of them, for they professed themselves delighted with the work and anxious to prosecute it. One of them had preached 8 times at 4 different islands, others of them 4 times, thus the seed is scattered in places previously unvisited and light is springing up in darkness.'

Almost all of Lofanga turned to Christianity through the work of two native teachers who were local inhabitants. At

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42 Watkin, Journal, 6 August 1832.
43 Ibid., 9 August 1832.
Hā'ano 200 persons were added to the classes on 1 April 1832, also through the work of Tongan teachers.\(^{44}\)

Christianity was also spread to Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou by the native preachers.\(^{45}\) It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou, friends offered to take away the native missionary, Sēmisi Fonua, who was looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain with his flock, even if he should perish with them.

'Nae 'ikai omi au ki heni ke moui be, ka ke mate ai foki. Ko ia oku 'ikai teu manavahe ki he vela ko eni, ka oku ou manavahe ki he fetaulaki mo Sihova i he gataaga o taimi. Ko ia teu nofo be.'

'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but (if necessary) to die. Just so, I am not (so much) afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain.'\(^{46}\)

Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work. The missionaries did not fail to recognize this potential source of strength and they ingeniously encouraged and utilized it.

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44 P. Turner, Journal, 1 April 1832.


46 The Life of Martin Dyson 1830-94, Papers of Rev. M. Dyson, VI, 67.
The missionaries' goods - articles of trade - were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade,' wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause.' Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two stories, with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination, and became the chief topics of conversation not only in Tongatapu but in the other islands as well.

The friendly relationship which existed between the missionaries and the captains of British men-of-war, which occasionally visited the islands, and the respect the latter always displayed for the former, meant a lot to the missionaries and to their work. It enhanced their prestige in the eyes of the Tongans. It is easy to comprehend the reasoning of the unsophisticated mind. 'Surely,' they would think to themselves,

47 J. Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826.

48 J. Thomas, History of the Friendly Is. 74f.
'if the God of the white people could make these men-of-war and their guns and powder, it must be true, that He is the only God.'

The Commander of H.M.S. Seringapatam, the Hon. William Waldegrave, removed five Europeans from Vava'u, who had been troublesome to the work of the missionaries, and the British Consul, George Pritchard, removed two Americans who had robbed the mission and made two others work on its behalf for ten weeks.

In his memorable work, **The History of the London Missionary Society**, William Ellis put his finger on one of the very important factors which helped the work of the missionaries in the islands of the South Seas. He wrote:

> It is generally and justly supposed that medical knowledge is one of the most valuable qualifications a missionary can possess; that its skilful and successful application is one of the best means of gaining influence among the people and predisposing them to regard with favour his endeavours to direct their minds to the heavenly Physician, and the means of healing and life to the soul.

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50 P. Turner, op. cit., 1 November 1849.

The contacts with the Europeans introduced new diseases to the islands which the Tongans were unable to cure, and which subsequently claimed many lives. However, there were also diseases which had been with the Tongans prior to European contact, and which they had come to accept as a matter of course, knowing neither their causes nor any way to cure them. One of these diseases they called tona (yaws). Everyone was expected to suffer from this illness at one time or another, though it was preferable to get it at an early age. Peter Bays graphically described this disease in 1830:

There is a native disease here, which appears to be common to all the South Sea Islanders, and to add to this affliction they have no means of curing it themselves, hence it is left to chance. Five or six men were in a shocking state; I cannot compare it but to the sores on a horse's hide, in some cases as large as a man's hand. It commonly breaks out in dry sores the size of shillings, and half-crowns, and like most scrofulous diseases, it is considered favourable to have it in infancy; when by continual washing and keeping clean from flies, it either wears off or if not, it becomes incurable by native art. In some cases which I saw the sinew of the legs were drawn up, when the joint was affected; in others, two inches of bone were eaten entirely bare by the flies, hundreds of which were then feeding upon the corrupted flesh, while the patient (a name so very appropriate in this present instance) who, either from superstition or so callous or accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.52

52 P. Bays, A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minerva (Cambridge, 1831), 68f. See also N. Turner, to 'Fathers and Brethren', 27 November 1830, W.M.M.S. In-letters.
Afflicted with these traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. It is little wonder that they seriously believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

John Thomas was rather unfortunate in this respect. He had no medical skills. Mataele, the son of Ata, the chief with whom he lived took ill. His relatives took him to the god's house of Kanokupolu. Prayers were offered to the god called Lātūfakahau - who was once a great chief in Tonga. Thomas went to Ata and told him and his people that they were foolish in doing so. He managed to persuade them to bring Mataele to his place. He bled him and gave him a little medicine but Mataele grew worse. So Mataele turned to the heathen gods and his relatives took him to another god's house. After a few days Thomas called to see Mataele and found him much better, and he thought it likely that Mataele would recover, and was quite happy about it. On the other hand,

53 See p.46 above.
however, there was something that worried him. Ata had stated that should his son Mataele die, this would furnish proof that the Tongan gods were a lie, and he would lotu, but should his son recover he would maintain faith in the gods.

There was legitimate cause for Thomas's worry. Mataele recovered, and Ata took this as proof that the gods of his fathers were true after all! From that time on, nothing could shake his faith in the Tongan gods. He bluntly refused to have anything to do with the new god of the white missionary and did everything he could to prevent his people from joining the new religion - the god of which, according to his judgement had been proved false! With a rather distressed feeling John Thomas wrote:

If we could cure the bodies of the people of their various diseases, it would be a great recommendation for us to the attention of the people - as they look to this life chiefly, as is natural to them, but we have neither skill nor means for this, and therefore in most cases, cannot undertake anything of the kind, lest we should do harm to the cause of Christ, by raising the expectation of the people, when we cannot satisfy them. We are obliged therefore to tell them that we did not come to cure their bodies but their souls, and our God saves not from pain and bodily afflictions but sin and hell, but as this latter subject is new to them and most of them care nothing about it, but wish to be made well here, they are prevailed upon to cling to

54 Thomas, Journal, 8 June 1829.
their own Otuas and follow the Tongan ways. 55

Fortunately, for the cause of the mission, other missionaries were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas. Nathaniel Turner wrote of a disease called pala which attacked many people at his station:

It is a running, eating sore emitting a most offensive effluvia. We have found however that the powerful application of mercury, will not only arrest its progress but in most cases effect a perfect cure.... I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him; the whole family, and, in some instances, families, have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. 56

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent. By the forties, dispensary hours had become part of the regular routine. Dyson, writing in the sixties, reported that he had talavai (clinic) from 8.30 to 9 every morning. 57 Baker spent two to three hours a day on

55 Ibid., 31 January 1829.

56 N. Turner, Journal 27 November 1830, in a letter to the Committee, 6 May 1831, W.M.M.S., In-letters; see also Watkin, Journal, 18 June 1832; Rabone, Journal, 29 September 1831.

57 Dyson, Journal, 9 September 1867.
The medicine attracted crowds of Tongans who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who came many miles for a dose of medicine.

The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was difficult for the Tongans to comprehend the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of the medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long established traditional beliefs. The missionaries sought to consolidate their gains and maintain the interest of their converts, to prevent them backsliding. They took measures to ensure that their new followers would retain their involvement.

In addition to ordinary services the converts were organized in classes, and class meetings became an integral part of the mission work. There were classes for those who had become members, where individual members related their spiritual experiences. Here, under the leadership of a missionary or one of the more capable Tongan converts, the members strove to help each other with spiritual and moral

58 S.W. Baker to the President of the N.S.W. Conference, Nuku'alofa, Tonga, 29 October 1860. A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
admonitions.

There were also other classes organized for those who had embraced Christianity but not yet become members. These were designed as a means whereby the new converts would be prepared for membership. Nathaniel Turner, after referring to the memorable day of the first baptism service held in Tonga, said of the candidates:

They have been under preparatory instruction for twelve weeks, and have given up satisfactory evidence of a work of God upon the minds - have chosen the new names for themselves. Mafileo-Noa; Takanoa-Mose; Lauola-Ilaia; Kavamoelololo-Banebasa; Vi-Bita; Lavemai-Siosifa; Mo'ugaevalu-'Ioane, John.59

Nine months after this momentous occasion Turner reported that the number that met in class was 170-80. He went on to say:

Many of them evince a genuine work of God upon their minds. Their ardent desire for Instruction, their great progress in spiritual knowledge, and their strict morality of conduct afford us the most satisfactory proof that they are indeed turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God.60

He also reported that there were about 100 candidates who were under preparation for baptism.

In these classes members were taught the basic

59 N. Turner, Journal, 4 January 1829, W.M.M.S. In-letters.

60 N. Turner to the Committee, 31 October 1829, Nuku'alofa, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
Wesleyan doctrines; and to respect the authority of the Bible as the source of these doctrines. It was taught that there was only one God; His Son Jesus Christ was the Saviour; and the Holy Spirit the Comforter. Man in his natural state was a sinner. The first parents were corrupted by the Devil - sin being the work of the Devil - and being offspring of the first parents everyone was a sinner. The only hope lay in the acceptance of Jesus Christ the Saviour through the work of the Holy Spirit.

On the Judgment Day, those who responded to the work of the Holy Spirit, accepted Christianity and renounced heathenism would go to Heaven where there would be everlasting peace and happiness, and those who refused to do so would go to Hell, where they would be tortured with everlasting fire. The effect which these teachings had on the minds of the Tongans is clearly expressed in the following testimony which was given by one of the early converts:

I have been a very bad man, but I was very ignorant. I knew nothing of Jehovah the great God, but since I have known Him I have turned to Him. He is my only King, my only God. I have no other. I shall soon die, but I care nothing about my body.... But my soul is what I think about, I am afraid of going to the great fire. I want to go to Heaven. 61

Right from the beginning the translation of the Holy  

Bible into the Tongan language was regarded as a vitally important part of the work of the missionaries. 'I would just observe [wrote Nathaniel Turner as early as 1829] that if the conversion etc. of these Islands be our object, then we must have the Scriptures...brought into their language....' Four months later Turner reported that he and his brethren had agreed to proceed in attempting a translation of some parts of the Scriptures. Each missionary was then allotted a portion of the Bible to translate.

The missionaries regarded the Bible as a weapon against heathenism as well as 'Popery' and when the work of translation appeared to be dragging, some of the missionaries complained. 'I am ashamed for the District,' wrote Rabone, 'we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go on well with our work [translating].' However, in 1853, the Rev. Richard Amos was able to write concerning the first complete edition of the New Testament:

62 N. Turner to the Committee, 27 June 1829, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
64 Lyth, op. cit., 17 October 1838; Cross to the Committee, 31 December 1830, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
65 Rabone, op. cit., 12 December 1846.
As far as I have examined the book, I am persuaded that it is decidedly the best edition we have had, and greatly superior to any former one. If it had been printed with accented letters to mark the quantity of vowels, and the catches, or breaks, peculiar to the language, I think it might have been pronounced perfect.66

The bible had a far-reaching effect on the lives of the people. Many committed to memory long passages from it. In a sermon preached in Fiji in 1853, King George declared:

See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge; and that knowledge has come from the Book.... We must read the sacred Book. What kingdom was ever wise without reading? This book is a compass, a chart, telling us where we are and where to go. Can the lotu prosper without reading the Book?....67

Hymns were composed and catechisms written for use in services and classes.68

Love feasts were also organized at which hymns were sung, prayers offered, and members of the congregation were encouraged to relate publicly their religious experiences. Nathaniel Turner recorded that they had their first love feast after the afternoon service on 11 October 1829. One hundred and fifty members attended and 'those who spoke did so in a very pleasing and interesting manner indicating that the word and

66 R. Amos to the Committee, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, 3 November 1853, W-M Mag., September 1854, 871.
68 N. Turner to the Committee, 27 June 1829.
spirit of the living God had been powerfully at work upon their minds.69 Sunday schools were also started with the hope that they would be 'productive of much good' to the rising generation. Prayer meetings were organized and encouraged, and were conducted generally by Tongan exhorters and class leaders.70 Some of the Tongans established family prayer night and morning. Nathaniel Turner wrote how he heard Vi and Takanoa pray, and was both very pleased and edified with them, especially Takanoa. His prayer included 'the creation, Fall and Redemption of man, and expressed in such a manner, as at once assured me that the understanding was clear respecting them, and the heart well affected with them.'71 Again, in another prayer meeting, four of the Tongans prayed with great feeling and Turner said, 'with tears of gratitude, I praised my God for what my eyes beheld, my ears heard, and my heart felt on this occasion...'.72

The need for the converts to read the Bible, Hymns and Catechism demanded the organization and establishment of schools. This was perhaps the single most influential factor

70 Cross, Journal, 3 January 1831, Letter to the Committee, 21 February 1831, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
71 N. Turner to the Committee, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, 27 November 1828.
used by the missionaries in their work. It had a lasting effect on the minds of the Tongans. The missionaries were not slow to see this and they made full use of it. At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850 the members were unanimously agreed with regard to education. 'We must have schools in every place,' they declared, '...thus elevating the rising race with the Bible in their hands, far above the darkness and baseness of Heathenism, and the wicked intrigues of Popery.'

John Thomas and his wife made several unsuccessful attempts to establish a school at Hihifo. Their failure was mainly due, as pointed out above, to Ata's opposition. Before the mission at Hihifo was abandoned in 1829, several of the young men from there moved to Nuku'alofa in order to attend the schools there.

It was at Nuku'alofa that schools really flourished under the leadership of Nathaniel Turner and William Cross. The first school was opened on 17 March 1828. In September of the same year attendance had risen to 150. Nathaniel Turner instructed the males and William Cross the females.

The main purpose of the schools was to teach the

73 Lawry, Journal, August 1851, 823.
74 Cross, 8 September 1828 (Journal extract, 17 March 1828), W.M.M.S., In-letters.
children and adults as well to read and write in the Tongan language. To begin with, the missionaries had to write out everything they taught and it was reported that some read as fast as the missionaries could produce these lessons for them.

The glamour of being able to read and write drew so many people to the schools - young and old alike - that the missionaries could not keep up with their demands.

Never did I see and feel the importance of time so much as I do now, [wrote Nathaniel Turner] the wants of the people are great, and they are continually pressing upon us to furnish them with something to read. The ears of hundreds are opened to listen to the 'Word of the Book' but alas they have no book to-day - Oh! that we had but a Press and some one that could manage it, then would these hungry souls soon feed as in green pasture.

Commander J.M. Laws, of His Majesty's Sloop Satellite, described the situation as he saw it in 1829:

At Tongataboo I found the natives most amicably disposed and their intellectual superiority over those of the Society Islands is very remarkable, though they are very seldom visited by Europeans.... Most of the chiefs and young men could make themselves understood in English, and when we asked them the names of the different islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to a letter with Captain Cook's account, this they have learnt from the English missionaries three of whom are settled here, and who to my

75 Ibid.
76 N. Turner, Journal, 1 June 1829.
astonishment informed me they had begun to teach the natives writing only five months, and in that time they had completely exhausted their stock of Tonga Literature, and were now learning English of their own.77

Owing to the increased pressure on the missionaries' time and energy there was a real need for further teaching aids. Nathaniel Turner reported on 27 June 1829 that they were forwarding a work to the colony to be printed.78 Meanwhile, Cross prepared little books in the form of tracts. Children read them to their parents at home, and not only this, but when the people went to distant parts of the island to visit their friends, they took great pleasure in taking their books to read to them, and some started to read and even to write before they attended school.79 Thus the popularity of school work and the novelty of being able to read and write spread.

This rapidly growing demand for books emphasized the need for a local press. To this end William Woon, the first printer, arrived in Tonga in 1831, and on 4 April of the same

77 J.M. Laws to the Commander-in-Chief of Vessels in India, 3 May 1829, N.S.W. - Governor's Despatches, XV, 1829, 820f.

78 N. Turner to the Committee, 27 June 1829. The work covered the alphabet and spelling lessons; first reading lessons; the history of Creation and the Fall and other Biblical topics; a catechism, Ten Commandments and twelve hymns.

79 Cross to the Committee, 20 November 1829, Tongatapu, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
year his printing press was put up in his office. The first book printed in Tonga was published on 14 April 1831. It was a school book containing four pages, and there were 3,000 copies printed. Printing attracted great attention and people called from all parts of the island to witness its operations. Woon asserted that through the operations of the press, 'much light had been diffused, and the people were renouncing their superstitions, and turning to God with full purpose of heart.'

As the other islands accepted Christianity, schools followed, and the more new schools were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became. Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers, and many were ill-suited for their task. An effort was made to relieve this unfortunate situation by arranging weekly teachers' meetings in order to help teachers with their work, but it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment of an institution for training teachers. The Rev. Richard Amos, a man specially

80 W. Woon to the Committee, 25 April 1831, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
81 Ibid.
82 Woon to the Committee, February 1832, W-M Mag., March 1833, 224.
83 Lyth, op. cit., 11 April 1838.
qualified for this task, was sent to Tonga. This move greatly assisted the work of the mission. A report on the visit of HMS Meander to Tongatapu in June 1850 praised Amos's institution very highly. Later, Circuit training schools were established and in 1866 Dr Moulton inaugurated Tupou College. Dyson observed that these schools 'especially "Tubou College" were educating choice young men who would ultimately fill important positions both in the Church and the State.' He also reported that the Tongan Government, both by direct money aid and official oversight, gave very valuable assistance to educational work.

The improvement of the training of teachers affected corresponding improvement in the number and standard of subjects taught in the schools, as well as the efficiency of teaching. In addition to religious subjects, history, geography, arithmetic and English were taught in day schools, and astronomy, geometry, algebra and physics were added to the syllabus of the institutions. Through the teaching of these subjects, the missionaries definitely went a long way towards undermining some of the superstitions of the Tongans, by supplying scientific explanations of some of

84 W-M Mag., January 1852, 104.
85 Dyson, op. cit., VI, 76.
86 Dyson to 'Melbourne Wesleyan Chronicle', W-M Mag., December 1868, 1144.
the natural phenomena which had been interpreted according to traditional beliefs. For example, earthquakes were thought to be caused by the deity, Maui.

He lies, feeble and sleepy, underneath the earth. When an earthquake threatens, the Tonguese shout the war-whoop in order to awaken old Maui, whom they suppose to be turning round. They fear lest he should get up, and in rising, overturn the world. 87

Meanwhile the infants' or children's school developed by Mrs Wilson at Vava'u proved so successful that it soon spread to the other islands. Young boys and girls now attended and it became very popular. 88 Annual school feasts for examination of the infant schools were organized at least at Vava'u and Ha'apai, and prizes were awarded for outstanding achievement. These annual school feasts captured the imagination and interest of the entire population of the two groups and they became

87 Farmer, op. cit., 136-7. Sarah Farmer describes the lessons in geography and astronomy given by Mrs Tucker (ibid., 332). 'The evenings were spent in conveying to the natives, by familiar illustration, some idea of the first principles of astronomy.... Lessons were also given on eclipses, gravitation, &c. Thus the views of the natives became corrected and enlarged.'

delightful annual events. 89

One of the long term effects of missionary activity was a redistribution of population. Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to the schools. 90 Still others were attracted by the medical services which the missionaries provided. 91 One of the centres thus created was Nuku'alofoa, the present capital of Tonga. Amos wrote of its development in 1853:

The modern town of Nuku'alofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and...its present population has been gathered by the Gospel alone.... Nuku'alofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages) until the lotu collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tu'ikanokupolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations. 92

89 Amos to Eggleston, 15 May 1857, A.W.M.S. (Turnbull), Tonga, Official Correspondence.

90 Cross to Committee, 20 November 1829, Tongatapu, W.M.M.S. In-letters.


92 Amos to the Committee, 3 November 1853, W-M Mag., 1854, 870.
Some new centres were established, as a result of the persecution of Christian converts, who were driven from their own villages. Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. In these new towns and villages the missionaries were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing Christian population. As things began to settle, a new set of superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself. Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to His good pleasure. The missionaries, being men of God, and their properties, were regarded as sacred. The church properties, and the Bible in particular, were held in utmost reverence. The old superstitious fears had now lost their former crude objects, but found new and more refined ones.

We may conclude that in spite of the fact that they laboured under many difficulties of all kinds, the Methodist missionaries were successful in establishing Christianity in Tonga. They perceived the potential value of gaining converts

93 Wood, op. cit., 53.
94 Thomson, op. cit., 309.
among the chiefs, and they fostered good rapport with the people by means such as trade, medical assistance and education. The success of their medicine, and the teaching of such disciplines as geography, mathematics and science helped them to undermine some of the ancient superstitious beliefs, for they were able to supply alternative explanations for at least some of the natural phenomena.

The success of John Wesley in eighteenth century England has been attributed to his power of organization. The same may be said of the Methodist missionaries in Tonga. They organized class meetings, love feasts, Holy Bands, prayer meetings and many other religious activities which enabled their converts to meet with each other and share in common experiences, irrespective of their class or rank. At the same time, the fostering of these associations gave opportunities for instruction in the fundamental doctrines of the new religion.

The Tongans' acceptance of Jehovah as the only God challenged the very basis of their old social order. In the old religion the chiefs alone were thought to have souls and an after-life and were believed to be directly descended from the gods. The new religion offered hope of an after-life to all, irrespective of rank, and the fear of the eternal tortures of hell fire compelled many to accept the new codes of conduct. It also undermined the traditional belief in the divine origins
of chiefly rank and authority. Now the chiefs, by embracing Christianity, had to accept the fact that they and the commoners were equal in the sight of God and if their souls were to go to Heaven, they too had to submit themselves to certain conditions like everyone else.

The Holy Book became the sole authority not only in regard to doctrines, but to life as well. It had a magical grip on the minds of the Tongan people. 'The Book' was something which every convert really treasured, and unlike the good things in former days, which had belonged exclusively to the chiefs, the Bible was the common property of chiefs and commoners alike. This was something unprecedented.

The establishment of missionary influence in Tonga thus had a far reaching impact, not only upon the moral and religious beliefs of the Tongans, but it indirectly struck at the very foundations of the old social, cultural, economic and political structure. A tremendous change in the ways of thinking, of both chiefs and commoners, resulted from the onslaught of Christianity on heathenism.
PART III

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE MAKING OF A KINGDOM
CHAPTER 5

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE RISE OF KING GEORGE

THE missionaries who went to Tonga during the first half of the nineteenth century inherited the political views of Wesleyan Methodism in England at the time. Loyalty to Monarchy, Country and Constitution was unquestioned and could thus be regarded as the basis of the Society's political policies.¹ It is not therefore surprising that in the course of their work in Tonga, the missionaries deliberately and persistently fostered the promotion of a central monarchical authority, the creation of a kingdom, and the establishment of constitutional rule in the country. The political disunity in Tonga which made their task of converting the people to Christianity extremely difficult, also convinced them that it would be in the best interests of the people for the country to be united under a Christian government. Furthermore, they believed that their work would be accomplished more readily if a replica of the constitutional monarchy of their homeland were to be established in Tonga.

They discovered, within the indigenous political framework of the country, an institution which appeared to be

¹ See M. Edwards, op. cit., 15-37. Also see p. 112 above.
potentially equivalent to the familiar model of constitutional monarchy. This was the Hau or Tu'i Kanokupolu. Immediately they started to advocate that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was the central power in Tongatapu and they maintained that the whole Tongatapu group should submit to his authority, in spite of the fact that it was largely nominal and ceremonial and that the real power rested with the hou'eiki of the various kainga. Their decision to support the Hau rather than the Tu'i Tonga showed that they clearly understood the intricacies of the Tongan political system. For, while the Tu'i Tonga was higher in rank, he had very little power over the chiefs and the people because of his remoteness from them, and he

2 It was not until after 1845, when King George became Tu'i Kanokupolu, that the missionaries recognized this position as sovereign over the whole of Tonga. Prior to this, they appear to have believed that the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was confined to Tongatapu, for they recognized the supreme authority of Finau 'Ulukālala in Vava'u and Tāufa'āhau in Ha'apai. After Finau's death in 1833 they recognized Tāufa'āhau as supreme ruler of both Vava'u and Ha'apai.

3 See James Watkin, Journal, 26 September 1835.

4 See p. 50 above.
had gradually become a mere figurehead. 5

The Hau or Tu'i Kanokupolu, who had been installed shortly after the establishment of the mission, was Siosiaia Aleamotu'a, a comparatively weak old man who was quite inadequate for the task which the missionaries envisaged. 6 It was Tāufa'āhau

5 See Blanc, op. cit., 23-4; Wood, op. cit., 10-11; Thomson, op. cit., 304-5. Referring to the Tu'i Tonga, the Rev. S. Rabone (Journal, 10 February 1838) wrote:

This afternoon the Tui Tonga arrived here on a visit this is the greatest personage in this Island but what a creature of imagination what a monstrous cypher he had a handful of people only, cannot speak a word in reference to the Government of the Island - nor anything that concerns it. It is not lawful to eat in his presence or at best not to face him eating or drinking - and there is language only applicable to this useless being - as much utility to the Island as a large mole to a man's face.

6 Rabone (ibid., 24 March 1838) wrote:

The king [Aleamotu'a] has paid us a visit from Nuku'alofa during the week. I begged him to speak to Ata on the subject of religion but he refused declaring it altogether useless but I do not think so, as Ata is known to have said that he waits for Tubou to tell him to lotu. And besides we have seen the influence that other kings and chiefs have in the lotu and the readiness of their people to obey them when they command, but Tubou is not the man.

Later, in 1840 (op. cit., 21 January 1840), he spoke again of Aleamotu'a, saying that the heathen of Tonga, with regard to 'their own king they have no fear nor do they respect him.' See also Thomas to Committee, 16 March 1846, W-M Mag., II, 1846, 153.
(also known as King George) who proved a much more likely candidate, and who appeared to have had similar designs to their own, so that the missionaries placed their hopes in him, even long before the death of Aleamotu'a. After the latter's decease in 1845, the missionaries exerted their influence upon the leading chiefs - members of the 'electoral college' in particular - to choose King George as the successor. In giving the weight of their influence to King George they showed shrewd political foresight. Historians, in retrospect, have fittingly named him

7 In a letter to Nathaniel Turner in 1835, Watkin wrote:

P.S. You will learn that we have removed the press from Tonga to Vavau as a place of greater safety and as being more central, it has given offence to the big boy [Aleamotu'a] we have as a chief at the former place, but his being offended is nothing marvellous.... Taufahau [King George] is worth a thousand Tubous [Aleamotu'a].

Watkin to N. Turner, 30 October 1835, W.M.L.

Recording the departure of King George and his men from Tongatapu in 1838, Rabone wrote in his journal (20 February 1838):

O may the God of the seas take them back in safety and preserve his servant George many years to bless these Islands - Perhaps no man ever obtained such influence in the Fry. Isles as he has nor is it likely anyone was ever half as much respected and beloved. The Xians love him. The Heathen fear him and all parties respect him - God be thanked for such a man such a Xian & such a king.

See also Thomas, Journal, 28 April 1839.

8 Thomas, ibid., 25 November 1845.
'The Maker of modern Tonga'. He succeeded in uniting the whole of Tonga into one kingdom, introduced the rule of law and gave the country a constitutional government.

Two important questions need to be discussed here: firstly, for what reasons did the missionaries support King George in preference to other candidates for the Hau; and secondly, how did they render their support and what part did it play in the ultimate success of King George?

BESIDES the fact that King George was an ardent supporter of their work, the missionaries appeared to have had at least two other reasons for offering their full support to him, and not to any other legitimate claimant. These were, firstly, his hereditary right to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, and secondly, his remarkable gifts for leadership.

These reasons were evident in the text of a laudatory address presented to King George by some of the ex-missionaries, during his visit to Sydney, in December 1853. The address was presented at a missionary meeting held in the Centenary Chapel, York Street, Sydney, and read in Tongan by the Rev. S. Rabone. Part of the statement said:

Your high position by hereditary rank, and the

9 Neill, op. cit., 110; Wood, op. cit., 43.
respect which your energy of character and personal talents had already commanded, all led us to expect much as a result of your personal decision and faithfulness. We have been gratified to hear of your steady devotion to God...your zealous labours in the cause of your own Redeemer, and your deep anxiety for the salvation and welfare of your people. We admire your self-sacrifice in leaving your Queen and family, to take this voyage, for the purpose of learning how you can best improve the temporal circumstances of your people...

After describing the serious condition of the health of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Siosaia Aleamotu'a, Peter Turner wrote in his journal, 'should Tubou be called hence - we expect King George will take his place. He is the only next heir.'

The missionaries were so definite about the right of King George to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, which they now recognized as the monarch of the whole of Tonga, that the Rev. Thomas West, after citing the pedigree of King George and the circumstances which had led to his appointment as Tu'i Kanokupolu, declared:

The assertions, therefore,...that the present king is a usurper, and that he has ascended

10 S.M.H., 24 December 1853, 6.


12 Rabone (op. cit., 24 November 1845) wrote, 'it is expected by many that in case of Tubou's death - George will be inaugurated Tuikanokubolu - or reigning monarch of Tonga.'
the throne of Tonga by fraud and sheer force of arms, and simply from motives of selfish ambition, have no foundation whatever in truth.¹³

King George was the son of Tupouto'a and the grandson of Tuku'aho, both of whom had been Tu'i Kanokupolu. His mother, Houmofaleono, was a daughter of Ma'afu of Vaini,¹⁴ the head of the Ha'a Havea, one of the main ha'a in the country, and definitely the most powerful group of chiefs in Tongatapu at the time. According to Tongan tradition then, King George was endowed by birth with the requisite mana for acquiring political supremacy.

When his father, Tupouto'a, died in 1820, the 'electoral college' delayed in appointing a successor till 1827 when they decided upon Aleamotu'a, who was a brother of his grandfather Tuku'aho. It has been alleged that this delay was due to the anger of the chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, members of the 'electoral college', at the fact that Tupouto'a was taken for burial at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, thereby preventing them from performing their traditional fatongia on such an important occasion.¹⁵

But a more plausible reason for their delay is to be found in

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¹³ West, op. cit., 58.
¹⁴ Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.
¹⁵ Informant, the Hon. Ve'ehala, Keeper of the Palace Records and Secretary of the Tongan Traditional Committee.
the resentment of Tupouto'a, held by the other members of the 'electoral college' - the chiefs of the Ha'a Havea - who dominated Tongatapu, and could not forget his repeated attempts to break their hold. They did not wish to encounter the same opposition from his successor, and therefore, after six years of armed peace on Tongatapu, they eventually decided upon Aleamotu'a with the realization that he was obviously weak and would have no ambition to interfere with any of them. Wilkes, after meeting Aleamotu'a in 1840, wrote:

He had the appearance of being about sixty years old; his figure is tall, though much bent with age; he has a fine dignified countenance, but is represented as a very imbecile old man, fit for anything but to rule; as domestic and affectionate in his family, caring little about the affairs of government, provided he can have his children and grandchildren round him to play with, in which amusement he passes the most of his time.\(^1\)

It is significant that King George's name was not even mentioned among the possible successors to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, by the members of the electoral college in 1827,

\(^{16}\) See p. 94 above.

\(^{17}\) Wilkes, op. cit., (London, 1852), II, 4.

Concerning the death of Aleamotu'a, Rabone (op. cit., 10 December 1845) wrote, 'Of Josaia Tubou little can be said that is worth saying he lived an easy & comparatively [sic] a useless life.'
despite the fact that he was the son of the late **Tu'i Kanokupolu**, was then about 30 years of age, \(^{18}\) and had already shown himself to be an able leader by defeating Laufilitonga at Velata, \(^{19}\) thereby securing his position as ruler of Ha'apai.

King George was the **fahu** of the **Ha'a Havea**, because his mother was the daughter of its leading chief. \(^{20}\) Under normal circumstances the **Ha'a Havea** chiefs should have been his most loyal supporters. However, in this case, power politics far outweighed family ties, social customs and traditions.

It should be clear now that although his rank entitled him to the position of **Tu'i Kanokupolu**, it was not in itself enough to ensure his appointment. After the death of Aleamotu'a in 1845, the 'electoral college' could no longer deny him the position, since he not only had the rank but had proved himself, during the intervening years, to be a man of outstanding gifts of leadership. Wilkes, in 1840, observed:

> He at once attracted all eyes for, on approaching, every movement showed he was in the habit of commanding those about him. With unassuming dignity, he quietly took his seat without the hut, and as if he rather preferred to be a listener than one who was to meet us in council. \(^{21}\)

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18 It is generally believed that King George was born in 1797. See Wood, op. cit., 35.

19 See p. 193 below.

20 See p. 177 above.

21 Wilkes, op. cit., II, 5. See also footnote 7 above.
Born in 1797 at a spot called Niu'ui,22 at Lifuka,

According to the tradition held by Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote and the people of Tongatapu, King George was born at Lavaka's place Kahoua, at Fualu, Tongatapu. It is said that when Houmofaleono became pregnant she developed a peculiar craving for human blood. This so alarmed her father, Ma'afu of Vaini, that he gave instructions to kill the infant at birth, if it were born a boy, for he would be a danger to Tonga. On learning of this, Lavaka (another member of the Ha'a Havea) took Houmofaleono to his 'api, Kahoua, where she gave birth to her child. The tradition among the Ha'apai people claims that Tupouto'a, on hearing about Ma'afu's decision, sent his chief navigator from Ha'apai to fetch Houmofaleono. But before the kalia (double canoe) reached Lifuka, Houmofaleono began to labour. Consequently they called at the little island of Ofolanga where she gave birth to a son. (This version was obtained from Fe'iloaikitau Kaho, who is a descendant of Tupouto'a's chief navigator).

Another version, told by the 'Uiha people among whom Tupouto'a resided, is that Houmofaleono was brought to 'Uiha. From there, she was taken first to one of the small neighbouring islands, where a certain plant grows called ngahu (scaevola), with a strong sickening smell. She soon complained that she felt sickened by this smell, and from that time on the island was called Luangahu (lua - sick or vomit, hence 'sickened by ngahu'). Later they called at another small island, where she really became sick, and this island is still called Luahoko (actually vomiting). From Luahoko they went to another island where they spent the night, and during the night Houmofaleono awoke with pains. Hence the name of the island, Ofolanga (ofo - awake, langa - pain). They hurried back to 'Uiha, but could not reach there in time, so they landed on the western side of Lifuka, and there near the beach she gave birth. This spot is named Niu'ui (niu - coconut, ui - call) which is supposed to be due to the people calling out to each other for a coconut with which to prepare a namoa (baby food made from coconut cream). I recorded this version from the 'Uiha people at a faikava (kava party). It was supported by Siola'a Soakai, a very knowledgeable matapule at Pangai, Lifuka. He recalled a speech, given by Tu'ipelehake, King George's grandson (and grandfather of the late Queen Sālote) which was delivered at the opening of the hospital, now situated at Niu'ui, which referred to the appropriateness of a hospital being built upon the very spot where Tāufa'ahau's afterbirth was buried.
Ha'apai, the infant chief was called Ngininginiofolanga. He was very sick as a child, and during a serious illness he was taken to a deity named Tāufa'ita hi at a place called 'Āhau at Lifuka. He recovered from his illness and the taula (priest) required that his name be changed from Ngininginiofolanga to Tāufa'āhau (Tāufa of 'Āhau).

As Tāufa'āhau grew, it became apparent that Nature had endowed him generously in body, mind and disposition. Physically he was big, strong, handsome and athletic. 'When he made his appearance', wrote Wilkes, 'I could not but admire him; he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned, and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face;...'

No one among his fellows could equal him in physical prowess. Basil Thomson gave an accurate retrospective description of him when he wrote:

23 According to the 'Uiha tradition the first nourishment given to the baby was the namoa which they made from a nginingini (coconut shrivelled inside) which they found in the canoe and which had been brought from Ofolanga.

24 The Tongatapu version claims that the baby Ngininginiofolanga was taken to 'Āhau at Mu'a, Tongatapu. However, there were also places known as Mu'a and 'Āhau at Lifuka and these names are still recalled by the local inhabitants. Tāufa'itahi was also the name of a deity there.

His great natural powers were enhanced by the most careful athletic training. As he surpassed his fellows in stature and length of limb, so was he their superior in all sports that demand skill. None was so fleet of foot, none could meet him in a wrestling - or boxing - match, none could endure against him in swimming in the surf, nor handle a tafaanga laden with fish in a seaway as he; none was his match in a fight to the death.  

Coupled with his magnificent physique was a mind which was alert and progressive, and was obviously ahead of its time. One writer said that 'His incisive, clear and comprehensive mind matched his magnificent frame'. The Rev. J. Waterhouse who visited Tonga in 1841 wrote, 'I was greatly delighted in seeing this Christian King,... His words were few, but well chosen. He does not think aloud, but deliberates, and then speaks.'

His eagerness to learn and to adopt new and useful ideas later proved to his great advantage. He had a strong will

26 Thomson, op. cit., 342-3. Describing King George, West (op. cit., 61) wrote:

Possessed of great prudence and undaunted courage, accompanied by a physical strength before which all his antagonists quailed, he speedily multiplied his partisans, and gained immense influence. His name, or presence, was a host in itself in every battle, and none of his opponents could long withstand him.

27 Collocott, King Taufa, 194.

28 W-M Mag., February 1844, 171. See also Thomson, op. cit., 384.
which even his opponents and severest critics could not help admiring. With physical prowess, resourceful mentality and strength of character far above the average, it is little wonder that he was adored and almost worshipped by his people.

Like most great personalities, King George was very ambitious, but he nonetheless 'knew how to hold his ambition in check until the time was ripe.' As a consequence, 'he was more than a match for his enemies.' One of his great ambitions was to bring into effect what both his grandfather and father had failed to achieve, namely to make the Tu'i Kanokupolu supreme in authority throughout the whole of Tonga. He adopted an ingenious way of bringing this about. He began by trying to eliminate potential powerful rivals, and in the process of doing so he established his own authority, first in Ha'apai in the 1820s, then in Vava'u in 1833, and finally in Tongatapu in the 'forties and 'fifties.

The Tu'i Tonga line was the first to receive his attention. One must recall certain happenings in the previous century between the grandparents of Laufilitonga, heir to the Tu'i Tonga title, and those of King George. Tuku'aho, grandfather


30 See pp. 68, 94 above.
of George, drove away Tupoumoheofo, grandmother of Laufilitonga (who had made herself Tu'i Kanokupolu in about 1793). In her place, he had his own aged father Mumui appointed by the 'electoral college'. Tupoumoheofo had fled to Vava'u and had appealed to the 'Ulukālala family for help. Her appeal precipitated the decision by Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and his half-brother, Tupouniua, to murder Tuku'aho. This family feud persisted and was carried on by Pāunga, who was from the Tu'i Tonga family, when he wrested the power in Vava'u from Hala'api'api. This appeared to have been an abortive attempt by the Tu'i Tonga family to regain power. However, Pāunga was defeated by Tupouto'a, with the help of Tākai, his father-in-law, and Tupouto'a became ruler of Vava'u for a short period. After his death the position was taken by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi.

The sixth Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu'otu'itonga, had a son called Ngalumotutulu who married a daughter of Malupō, chief of 'Uiha. They had a son and two daughters of

31 See p. 70 above.

32 See p. 94 above.

33 See Genealogical Chart C.

34 Ngalumotutulu's mother was Ate, daughter of Fauolo of Ha'afe'a.
whom the elder, 'Ulukilupetea, was an extremely attractive woman. She bore four sons, one to each of the four leading chiefs of Tonga at the time. The first was by chief Tokemoana (whose father was from the Tu'i Tonga family) and was named after him. The second son was called Vuna Takitakimālohi after his father, Vuna II. The third son was called 'Ulukālala Fangupo after his father, 'Ulukālala Ma'ofanga, and the fourth was Tupouto'a, the son of Tuku'aho, and father of King George.

By virtue of his power, Fīnau 'Ulukālala Fangupo became ruler of both Vava'u and Ha'apai and appointed his half-brother, Tupouniua, governor of Vava'u. After Tupouniua's murder and the wars that followed, he moved to Vava'u and made his other half-brother, Tupouto'a, ruler of Ha'apai. Apparently their elder brother, Tokemoana, was not happy at being superseded by his younger brother, Tupouto'a. His distress was even greater

35 She was nicknamed Kete Lei by the Fijians (kete - abdomen or womb, and lei - whale's tooth, which was extremely valued among the Fijians). She was given this name because of the fact that all her sons became holders of important titles in Tonga. (Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote.)

36 Vuna II or Vuna Tu'i'oetau was the son of Vuna I, the original holder of the title Tu'i Vava'u.

37 See p. 65 above.

38 See p. 92 above.
when, on the death of Tupouto'a, the latter's son Tāufa'āhau assumed the position of ruler of Ha'apai. He was awaiting an opportunity to settle his grievance against both Tupouto'a and his son. His chance came when the question of the old custom of moheofo (the giving of the eldest daughter of the Hau as a moheofo, or principal wife to the Tu'i Tonga) arose.

It must be remembered that the son of the moheofo, according to tradition, would have been the successor to the position of Tu'i Tonga. Tāufa'āhau's sister, Halaevalu Mata'aho was to have been taken as a moheofo to Laufilitonga, the Tu'i Tonga. However, the elders of the family were persuaded by Tāufa'āhau to send her instead to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. When Tokemoana learned of this, he sent a message to Laufilitonga, who lived in Vava'u, telling him that he did not like what Tāufa'āhau was doing, for it was obvious that his intention was to put an end to the Tu'i Tonga line by depriving it of an heir. He advised Laufilitonga that it was time to put a stop to Tāufa'āhau, and invited him to Ha'apai, where he would have not only his support but also that of most of the other chiefs. Thus it was on the instigation of Tokemoana that

39 Halaevalu Mata'aho later married Laufilitonga. They had a daughter named Lavinia Veiongo, whose son Asipeli Kupu was maternal grandfather of the late Queen Sālote.
Laufilitonga moved to Ha'apai and made his residence at Hihifo in Lifuka, close to Tokemoana and a few miles from where Tāufa'āhau lived. The Ha'apai chiefs set up their residences around that of Laufilitonga, where it was convenient for them to pay their respects and perform the traditional fatongia to him. Tokemoana confidently expected that there would be a showdown between Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga, and that the former would be defeated, whereupon he himself would become ruler of Ha'apai.

Tāufa'āhau was aware of these happenings and was soon to offer a more serious challenge to Laufilitonga, by eloping with his wife, Lupe Pau'u. The traditional story avers that on the eve of his wedding to Kālisi Mafikaunanga, a younger sister of Lupe Pau'u, the latter paid a visit to her sister while the wedding preparations were taking place. Tāufa'āhau and his men went to the house where the two women were staying and waited outside. His men remarked on how pretty Mafikaunanga was, but Tāufa'āhau replied, ' 'E 'ikai tatau ha me'a mo e tūkua mei Olotelē', 'What comes out of Olotele (the mala'e of the Tu'i Tonga) can never be equalled.' One of

40 Later, Laufilitonga built a fortress called Velata at this place during the conflict with Tāufa'āhau. See also Wood, op. cit., 46.

41 Told by the Hon. Ve'ehala and also by Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.

42 See p.21 above.
his men, knowing the full implication of this remark, went inside and told Lupe Pau'u that Tāufa'āhau was waiting outside. She then joined Tāufa'āhau and they eloped together.

Probably, Lupe Pau'u agreed to elope because Tāufa'āhau was not merely younger than her husband, Laufilitonga, but was the most accomplished and attractive of all the chiefs. However, from Tāufa'āhau's viewpoint, it was clear that he planned to take on for himself in particular and for the Tu'i Kanokupolu line in general, all kingly authority, and he saw that his plan could be furthered by taking Lupe Pau'u from Laufilitonga.

Lupe Pau'u was a daughter of Makamālohi, son of the Tamahā. Makamālohi then was the tamatauhala, the highest rank in society. It followed that his daughter, Lupe Pau'u, was regarded as moheofo, and if she had a son to Laufilitonga, he would have undoubtedly become the heir to the Tu'i Tonga. Later on, Laufilitonga (and the Tu'i Tonga line in general) were again deprived of any possible legitimate successor,

43 Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.

44 Lupe Pau'u was said to be the most beautiful woman in Tonga at that time, see Collocott, op. cit., 196.

45 It may be remembered that the Tamahā was the fahu for the Tu'i Tonga, since she was a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (see p. 14 above). This was why the tamatauhala was the highest rank in Tongan society.
when Tāufa'āhau gave his own daughter by a former wife, Sāloite Pilolevu, who should have been moheofo to Laufilitonga, to the Tu'i Pelehake. 46

The Lupe Pau'u case triggered off the already explosive situation between the heirs of the two royal dynasties of Tonga. Confrontation began with the building of a fort called Velata at Hihifo by Laufilitonga and the erection of another fort at Pangai by Tāufa'āhau. The chiefs of Ha'apai and their respective peoples divided between the two opponents. Laufilitonga received more support, although some who pledged their loyalty remained inactive. In the skirmishes that followed, Laufilitonga's army, which was stronger and better equipped, for they had a few guns, defeated Tāufa'āhau's followers.

In spite of this defeat, Tāufa'āhau appeared never to have doubted his eventual victory. He decided to retreat to Tongatapu for two reasons. Firstly, he wanted to obtain some guns from Kaufana, his relative in 'Eua; and secondly, he wanted to consult his grandfather's brother, Aleamotu'a, and his uncle, Ulakai, concerning the ultimate fate of Laufilitonga. 47

46 Rabone, op. cit., 14 May 1839 - he describes the wedding.

47 Informant, the Hon. Ve'ehala. Blanc (op. cit., 34) gives a different version in which he claims that Tāufa'āhau, after two defeats, finally defeated Laufilitonga by a ruse. Ve'ehala's version, however, was very well supported by the Ha'apai people.
As he was leaving Lifuka, he and his men sang the following tau'a'alo (chant).

Ha'apai e tefua ki Fanganonu  
Kau 'alu ki Tonga 'o fakapatonu  
Liu mai ke ta motuloutou.

Ha'apai assemble at Fanganonu  
While I go to Tonga for the final decision  
Return to render asunder.48

Tāufa'āhau obtained the guns he wanted from Kaufana, and the latter also sent his son, Puakatau, to assist and instruct them in the use of the weapons. Puakatau proved to be one of the most outstanding warriors of the last battle.49

The advice given to Tāufa'āhau by his great uncle and uncle was to defeat Laufilitonga but to spare his life.50 On the return journey with a few men from Tongatapu, he recruited more warriors from the southern islands of Ha'apai, especially

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48 Informant, the Hon. Ve'ehala. See also Gifford, op. cit., 219.

49 Tradition maintains that Puakatau was shot dead by the 'Uiha warriors as he tried to enter the fortress of Velata. Some claim that the 'Uiha warriors were jealous of his outstanding performances, while others believed that the 'Uiha warriors feared that Puakatau would have killed Laufilitonga had he been able to get into the fortress. It was not only that the 'Uiha warriors were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga, but Tāufa'āhau also gave instructions that Laufilitonga's life should not be harmed.

50 This instruction indicated the respect that the Tu'i Kanokupolu family had for the Tu'i Tonga. As long as the latter kept out of politics, he received his due honours and respect.
Nomuka, Ha'afeva and 'Uiha. With the support of these warriors, particularly Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva and the two sons of Malupo from 'Uiha, his victory was ensured.

It was a tribute to Tāufa'āhau's leadership that he was able to win the support of these warriors, largely by his personal approach and great interest in people. These characteristics of his personality proved to be great assets to him in his deep-seated determination to conquer and unite Tonga. When he arrived at Ha'afeva, Havealeta, the chief of the island, and his men were making preparations to go to Velata to assist Laufilitonga if there should be further trouble. After being told of this, Tāufa'āhau returned to his canoes, but he was stopped on the way by the sight of a little girl, the daughter of Havealeta's sister.

A few years before, he had named the little girl after his mother, Houmofaleono. When he lifted her up and kissed her goodbye, his gesture so moved the child's mother, who was watching, that she broke down and wept, and then sent her brother, Havealeta, a message saying that she had decided

51 Tupouto'a's mother came from the island of 'Uiha. Tāufa'āhau had close genealogical ties with the chiefs of 'Uiha. He was brought up there as a child.

52 By birth, Havealeta belonged to the Tu'i Tonga faction.
to accompany Tāufa'āhau to defend him. This impulsive action changed her brother's mind and he gave his allegiance to Tāufa'āhau and accompanied him, after persuading his sister to remain. 53 The 'Uiha people were also planning to assist Laufilitonga, and it was no easy decision for Malupō and his two warrior sons to make, for they were close kin of both Laufilitonga and Tāufa'āhau. However, when the latter arrived in person at 'Uiha to plead for their support, they finally decided with much reluctance to join him.

53 Among the men of Ha'afeva there was a warrior of outstanding calibre. At the heat of one skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered, he intervened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau ploughed their way through Laufilitonga's men, felling scores of them with their clubs, while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory, Tāufa'āhau bestowed upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (standing in the face of defeat), gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later the name Tu'uhetoka became a noble title and was given Ha'afeva as his tofi'a.

54 Told by the 'Uiha people at a faikava (kava party) at 'Uiha, January 1965.
The final battle took place in 1826. After Laufilitonga had acknowledged defeat, he was permitted to remain, as long as he agreed to cause no more trouble. However, he decided to go back to Vava'u with Finau 'Ulukālala who came for him. Later in 1827 he attended the installation of Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu in Tongatapu, and in the same year, he himself was made Tu'i Tonga, and settled at Lapaha (Mu'a) until his death in 1865.

The defeat of Laufilitonga at Velata, was of crucial importance, for it decided once and for all the political future of the Tu'i Tonga on the one hand, and the security of Tāufa'āhau's position, as ruler of Ha'apai, on the other. This victory eliminated one of his most formidable rivals and brought the ultimate objective of uniting the whole of Tonga one step

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55 See Blanc, op. cit., 34; Wood (op. cit., 43) states that 'there were two series of wars, in both of which Tāufa'āhau's chief opponent was Laufilitonga. The first series was before 1827, when Laufilitonga became Tu'i Toga, and the other consisted of fights after that date but particularly in 1832 and 1833.' The missionaries began their work in Ha'apai in 1830, and there is no evidence of any war in Ha'apai from their records since that date, except the destruction of the fortress of 'Uiha in 1833, but no fighting occurred there.

56 Blanc, op. cit., 34; Gifford, op. cit., 214.

57 Wood, op. cit., 57.
Having consolidated his rule in Ha'apai, he now turned his attention to Vava'u, where his father, for a short period, had been ruler. Circumstances were to favour him. With the backing of the missionaries, Tāufa'āhau, who was by now himself converted, persuaded the aged 'Ulukālala Tuapasi to accept Christianity. After his conversion in 1831, 'Ulukālala soon had to face a rebellion by the heathens under the leadership of his half-brother, Lua. He appealed to Tāufa'āhau for assistance, and the latter successfully put down the revolt and sent the ring leaders out of Vava'u. With his half-brother, Lua, out of the country, and his son, Matekitonga, still a minor, 'Ulukālala on his death bed in 1833 had no other choice but to nominate his cousin, Tāufa'āhau, ruler of Vava'u. This decision was doubtless influenced by gratitude for Tāufa'āhau's assistance and admiration.

58 Tokemoana did not survive the war and, after the war, Tāufa'āhau told Laufilitonga that the title Tokemoana should not be conferred any more, and that ended this traditional title.

59 See p. 94 above.

60 See p. 143 above.

61 West, op. cit., 161; Thomson, op. cit., 348.

for him as a leader, and almost certainly there was some pressure from the missionaries.  

As a result, Tāufa'āhau was now ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u. 

During the latter half of the 1830s and the beginning of the 'forties, bitter conflicts flared up in Tongatapu between the Christians and heathens. The leader of the Christian faction was the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Siosiaia Aleamotu'a, who appealed to his grand-nephew, Tāufa'āhau, for help. The response was immediate, for there were ties of kinship as well as the bonds of common religious faith between the two. However, one cannot ignore the possibility that Tāufa'āhau saw this appeal as yet another opportunity to further his own ambitions. It gave him the chance, for the first time, not only to have a showdown with his

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63 It would be surprising if the missionaries did not add the weight of their advice to make 'Ulukālala nominate Tāufa'āhau for the position of Tu'i Vava'u, for at this time they had already seen that the future of both Tonga and their mission work lay with Tāufa'āhau.

64 West, op. cit., 162; Thomson, op. cit., 349; Wood, op. cit., 47; Blanc, op. cit., 37.

father's formidable enemies, the Ha'a Havea chiefs, but also to pave his way to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, which was a necessary final step towards the ultimate unification of Tonga. By 1845 he had become the Tu'i Kanokupolu and ruler of the whole of Tonga.

Taufa'ahau's unrivalled skills as a leader and warrior were matched by an extraordinary political astuteness which enabled him to handle many complicated situations that arose, both before and after he eventually became Tu'i Kanokupolu. It was not easy to maintain a loyal following from all the people who came under his rule. The people of Ha'apai (except in the 'Uiha people's resistance to Christianity) were always loyal and faithful to him from the moment that he had defeated Laufilitonga at Velata. However, things were different in other parts of Tonga.

The Vava'u people soon showed signs that they resented his rule, and to appease them, he shifted his residence there.

66 The last words of advice which the dying Tupouto'a gave to his son Taufa'ahau in 1820 were, 'if you are to be successful, then destroy the Ha'a Havea.' Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote.


68 See p. 223 below.
until things had calmed down, and eventually appointed one of the Ha'apai chiefs, a close relative of his, as governor of Vava'u. But he soon realized the error of this move, and quickly returned the Ha'apai chief to his own people, and made one of the leading chiefs of Vava'u governor. He deliberately side-stepped Matekitonga, who was now of age, anticipating that he would try to restore himself as ruler of Vava'u, if he were placed in such a position. Thus he forestalled a potential rival.

In Tongatapu in 1840, Aleamotu'a dispossessed the leaders of the Hihifo heathen party at Kolovai of their titles, Ata and Vaha'i, and conferred these on two other members of

69 P. Turner (Journal, 29 March 1833) wrote, 'He [King George] has been up to say, that he intends to make Vavau his residence for some time, as the people here are yet unsettled.' Also ibid., 18 December 1839; Rabone, Journal, 10 September 1836.

70 This was Leonaitasi Lolohea of Ha'apea. See Rabone, Journal, 12 November 1836.

71 'Osaiasi Veikune took Leonaitasi's place, and later, in 1847, Veikune was replaced by Naufahu, a grandson of Fīnau 'Ulukālala I. See Blanc, op. cit., 41.

72 Ibid. Concerning this matter, Thomson (op. cit., 349) wrote:

Upon this the Roman Catholic missionaries have founded a charge of usurpation against King George which may be easily answered. The heir died, and before his successor had attained manhood Tonga had become a united kingdom with a Constitution, and to give Vavau an independent government would have brought the whole fabric to the ground.
the respective families, who were loyal to the Christian faction. This move was taken at the instigation of Tāufa'āhau, and ensured the continuing loyalty of the Hihifo District to the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the Christian faction.

Another instance of his shrewd political sense may be seen in his appointment of Ma'afu, son of Aleamotu'a, to Fiji. This was after he became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, when he realized that Ma'afu could be a rallying point for discontented elements in Tongatapu. When the plight of the Tongans in Fiji was exposed to him while he touched at the Lau group of islands on his way back from Samoa in 1847, he decided to send Ma'afu to Fiji to look after the Tongans and Tonga's interests there. This served the double purpose of caring for the well being of the Tongans in Fiji, and disposed of yet another potential threat to his rule.

73 Rabone, op. cit., 7 February 1840.
74 Ata Tōfua, who was deposed in 1840 and sent to Ha'apai with his wife, returned to Tonga in November the same year. (See Rabone, op. cit., 30 November 1840). In May 1841 his title was restored to him (ibid., 17 May 1841).
75 Thomson, op. cit., 361.
76 Blanc, op. cit., 41.
77 Ibid.; Wood, op. cit., 54.
Realizing that the chiefs of the Ha'a Havea were not prepared to submit to his rule as Tu'i Kanokupolu, he decided, in 1847, to move his residence to Ha'apai, giving the administration of Tongatapu to their two leading chiefs, Ma'afu of Vaini and Lavaka of Pea. This was an ingenious design for he could see that it would either satisfy them and thereby obtain their loyalty or it would draw them out in open revolt, in which case he should then be able to put them down by force with justification. Ma'afu and Lavaka took the latter course, and, in 1851, King George moved his residence back to Tongatapu, accompanied by a huge army from Vava'u and Ha'apai, and in the following year, 1852, the last armed resistance to his authority was put down and the last war in the history of Tonga successfully won. By so doing he ensured the safety of the unity of Tonga under the authority of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

There can be no doubt that Taufa'ahau's rank, strong personality and gifts of leadership played a significant part in his achievements. However, it is very doubtful whether he would have been as successful as he was if he had not received the

78 Thomson, op. cit., 357; Wood, op. cit., 52.

79 West, op. cit., 335; Thomson, op. cit., 360; Wood, op. cit., 53; Blanc, op. cit., 42.
whole-hearted backing of the Wesleyan missionaries, who became his strong allies and gave him valuable moral support. Their teachings helped him to develop and refine his character, particularly those human traits, such as clemency and benevolence which later became such marked characteristics. His association with the missionaries aided his intellectual development and gave him increasing insight into the ways and means of dealing with the complexities which he and his country now had to face. His conversion to Christianity undoubtedly assisted him not only to achieve his ambition of welding his people together under a new political system but it helped to sustain and improve it.

80 At the instigation of the missionaries King George visited Sydney in 1853. This visit proved to be a tremendous experience for him. In reply to a written address of appreciation, read to him by the ex-missionaries from Tonga (see footnote 10 above), he said:

When, in my own land, the missionaries used to tell me and my people of what God had done in England and elsewhere, we have listened with very great interest. Some of us believed, and some did not; and I therefore resolved in my mind to come and see this land. I found on my arrival that all I had heard previously was but a little thing compared with what I have seen since. I found that everything I had heard was perfectly true, and, like the Queen of the South, I found that only one-half had been told to me.... And when I am sitting alone in any place, or when I lie down on my bed at night, my most ardent wish is that the people of my land were here to see all the great things that you have done, and to participate in my acknowledgments of your great kindness towards both me and them.

S.M.H., 24 December 1853, 9, col. 1.
to meet the changing needs of his country.

Like several of his predecessors and contemporaries among the Tongan chiefs, Tāufa'āhau had become sceptical of the pagan gods and the traditional religious practices. He had reason to doubt his family gods, for they had failed to come to his father's aid, in his vain attempts to subdue the powerful Ha'a Havea chiefs. They had not helped him either, in the initial stages of the struggle against Laufilitonga. It was partly due to the superiority of the white man's guns that he had achieved victory at Velata. Perhaps, he wondered if the gods of the white man might be more powerful and effective. With a little encouragement from his great-uncle, Aleamotu'a, he had resolved to find out as much as he could about Christianity. After several trips to Tongatapu where he met the missionaries.

81 See p.189 above. King George had only been wounded once during his long career of fighting, and this occurred during the fighting at Velata (Wood, op. cit., 43). According to tradition, he left his back to the protection of the gods and a chief by the name of Faka'iloatonga speared him from the back. However, it was early in the morning, and he was facing the west, and recognized the attack by the shadow of his assailant, and jumped so high that the spear only caught him on his left calf. He pulled the spear out and instantly pinned his assailant into the ground with it. Perhaps the failure of the gods to protect him on this occasion helped to make him sceptical of them!

82 Thomas, Journal, 28 March 1828.
and some of his relatives who had adopted the new religion, particularly his uncle, Ulakai, and great-uncle, Aleamotua, he began to imitate some of the ways of the Christians. He also tried to make his people learn the same. West wrote:

...from that time, he voluntarily abandoned various heathen amusements to which he had been addicted; and he began to observe, in some measure, the sanctity of the Sabbath day, by ceasing from all his ordinary occupations. So anxious was he to make a beginning in the service of God, and to initiate the instruction of the people under him, after the example of the Missionaries in Tongatabu, that he employed the services of a rough, ungodly sailor, then residing under his protection, to trace the letters of the alphabet upon the sands of the sea-shore, for the benefit of those who wished to learn; and he ordered the same man to conduct prayers to the God of the foreigners, in a house which he devoted to that purpose.83

In October 1828, while in Tongatapu on one of his trips, he told Nathaniel Turner about his desire to have a missionary sent to him at Ha'apai. Turner wrote that he was more encouraged by Tāufa'āhau than by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi who had also spoken to Turner on the same subject. 84 However, the missionaries had to be certain that Tāufa'āhau was not just interested in their trade goods, as were many of the other chiefs. Consequently, when Tāufa'āhau visited Tongatapu again in July 1829 in quest of a missionary, Thomas spoke to him freely

83 West, op. cit., 357-8; see also Morrell, op. cit., 50.
on this matter. He wrote in his journal:

I told him I should be glad to go to his land and to teach him and his people,.... I informed him also that we had not much property and that he must not expect property. He said he did not want me for property....

I then asked him what he would do for me if I came to him, as I could not bring our house...he replied, do for you? Why I will be thankful for your body only, and I will clothe you in native cloth if you will wear it - I will feed you free of any expense. You shall not trade. I will build you a house, or get one moved directly for you. I will build a chapel, and come myself and all my people to be taught by you, and if you wish to go away, you shall take whatever you please.

...from all I can see and hear respecting him, he is a free honest open hearted man and that his request calls aloud.85

The missionaries were not slow to recognize that the future of Tonga lay with Tāufa'āhau. Again circumstances appeared to favour him. Ata, the chief of Hihifo where Thomas had worked since 1826, consistently refused to accept Christianity or allow his people to do so.86 By the latter half of 1829, after a serious discussion of the matter with Ata, the missionaries were convinced that the best thing to do was to abandon the mission at Hihifo and send Thomas to Ha'apai

85 Thomas, Journal, 8 July 1829.

86 Except for a few chiefly men like Ulukai and 'Uhila, but they eventually moved to Nuku'alofa where the mission work under N. Turner and Cross was flourishing. See p. 140 above. Also see Farmer, op. cit., 168-9, 187, 194.
to Tāufa'āhau. However, because they had to get the approval of the Committee in London for their decision, they decided to send Peter VI, one of the first to be baptized in Tonga, to teach Tāufa'āhau till Thomas himself was able to go. Tāufa'āhau (who was again in Tongatapu in August, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Tu'i Ha'ateiho, who particularly wanted a teacher, even a Tongan teacher), was very disappointed with the missionaries' decision to give him just a Tongan teacher. He decided to return to Ha'apai without Peter VI. On the way back he and his men ran into an exceptionally severe storm, and with great difficulty they reached Ha'apai. But thinking that the storm was divine retribution for his refusal to take the teacher offered him by the missionaries, he presently returned to Tongatapu, apologized and took Peter VI with him.

With typical enthusiasm and determination, he applied himself to his new faith, attempting to further as much as he could his knowledge of it. Peter VI reported that he led the way for his people in learning to read and write. VI must have told stories from the Bible, probably the stories of the Children of Israel and the Ten Commandments particularly. As a man of

87 J.G. Turner, op. cit., 113.
88 West, op. cit., 359.
action, Tāufa'āhau wanted to test the validity and power of the old gods on the one hand, and to prove that Jehovah was the only true God on the other.

He began by pulling to pieces a large canoe 'which had long been laid up as sacred to their Gods.' Then one day he took Peter Vī and others with him to test the power of the god Haehaetahi. The god's priestess was at a little village called Holopeka in Lifuka. On their arrival they found that she had gone to Faleloa on the island of Foa. Tāufa'āhau decided to go there, and on the way he pulled up a young banana shoot, cut off its hard part, the root, and took the polata (stem) with him, telling his companions that he was going to strike the god Haehaetahi with it. When they arrived at the place, the priestess informed them that Haehaetahi was not there. Tāufa'āhau then asked her to let the god come and they would have kava together.

Hereupon [narrated Peter Vī] the old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Tāufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking-cup,... The cup was then filled and handed by Tāufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Tāufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising

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a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain.90

The chiefs of Ha'apai were upset by Tāufa'āhau's introduction of the new religion, but now after his treatment of Haehaetahi, they were greatly alarmed. A plan was drawn up by their leaders, in which Tāufa'āhau was to be seized and bound, and the small band of followers of the new religion killed. Up to this time Tāufa'āhau had not yet joined the Christians in their religious meetings, but on discovering the chiefs' plot, he decided to join them openly in their prayer meetings.91 Soon afterwards he and VI went out to the bush and collected objects used for worship or magic in the old religion, built a fire and burnt them all.92 Then they went to the sea for a swim. Tāufa'āhau swam out to the deep, calling the name of the gods, Haehaetahi (a shark), Tāufa'ītahi, and others to come to him if they were really gods, but none came.93

It should be noted that Tāufa'āhau did not confine his testing to the heathen gods alone. One day he and his men sailed to Hā'ano. On the way he threw his spear at a

90 West, op. cit., 364.
91 Ibid., 365-6.
92 Collocott, Koe Ta'u 'e Teau (London, n.d.), 75.
93 Ibid.
shark, which he suspected to be Haehaetahi, and missing it he threw Peter VI and another man overboard to fetch the spear and swim with it to Hā'ano. His idea was to test the power of the Christian God, for he reasoned that if He were really God, He would save Peter VI and his companion from the sharks. Fortunately they arrived safely on shore with the spear. ⁹⁴

Convinced by what he had learned and by the results of his tests that the Christian God was the only God, Tāufa'āhau launched a campaign to eradicate heathenism in Ha'apai where he was ruler. He proceeded to burn down god houses and destroy effigies on other islands, persuading and even forcing his people to give up their false beliefs and accept Christianity. When Thomas arrived in 1830, only three islands in the whole of Ha'apai (Nomuka, Tungua, and 'U'ihă) had not yet accepted the lotu. ⁹⁵

It is quite obvious that Tāufa'āhau's conception of Christianity at this stage was rather ill-formed. He had merely accepted the new God on the terms which he had accepted or served the old ones, and he had not fully grasped such Christian concepts as mercy and forbearance. However, he was the ruler of Ha'apai - a savage leader desperately seeking the best for

⁹⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁹⁵ Farmer, op. cit., 204-5.
his people - and there was no other way to find this out than by applying drastic measures to prove whether his scepticism of the old gods was justified and his acceptance of the new faith was right. After being convinced himself, he went on to show to his people by ocular demonstration that infringement of the old religious taboos had no penalties. His rank and position as ruler of Ha'apai entitled him to do what he did. Fortunately for him no adverse fortune resulted, for, had there been any subsequent calamity, the whole course of Tongan history might have been different.

As pointed out above, the missionaries recognized Tāufa'āhau's potential and they determined to assist him and to further their own work through him. In 1830 John Thomas was able to go to Ha'apai and to continue the task begun, in his limited way, by Peter Vi. The following year he was joined by Peter Turner, and in the same year (7 August 1831) Tāufa'āhau was baptized. He led family prayer in his household and later became a local preacher and class leader. After his conversion he never looked back to the old gods. There were occasions of backsliding, but they were due to self indulgence rather than to a deliberate return to his old religion or a

96 Farmer, op. cit., 209.

97 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 52.
revival of the old belief. His interest in the study of the Bible grew, his literacy continued to improve, and his general experience of the wider world continually expanded.  

The impingement of the missionary teachings on the career of Tāufa'āhau may be discerned from some of his actions, subsequent to his acceptance of Christianity. They clearly demonstrate that he was deeply influenced by the ethics which he had imbibed from the missionaries. When the rebellion in Vava'u was put down in 1831, 'Ulukālala Tuapasi was determined to kill all the ring leaders, including his half-brother, Lualala, who was their leader. Only the timely intervention on their behalf, by Peter Vi, who was acting on instructions from Tāufa'āhau, saved their lives, for he pleaded that they should not be killed, as this was contrary to Christian teachings, but should instead be expelled from the country.

Another occasion for clemency was when Matekitonga, son of Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi, being angered at King George's refusal to make him ruler of Vava'u, joined the rebels at Pea in 1852. After his eventual capture, the chiefs and warriors of Vava'u were so incensed by his treachery that they urged

98 Note the impact of his visit to Sydney at the instigation and with the assistance of the missionaries.

99 Thomas to Committee, 31 October 1832, W-M Mag., February 1833, 139.
King George to kill him, but the King merely told them that Matekitonga had acted foolishly and granted him a pardon. He was allowed to return to Vava'u with the warning that he must cause no further trouble. 100

At the end of the war of 1852, all the rebel chiefs - the Ha'a Havea - his father's formidable enemies, were forgiven and were permitted to return to their respective places. When they tried to thank him for this magnanimous gesture, he told them to express their gratitude to God instead, for if it were not for Him they would all have been killed. 101 Practically all of them were later made nobles, after the Constitution was promulgated in 1875.

It may be argued that Tāufa'āhau saw the political advantages of granting pardons to his opponents, and that his so-called clemency was merely a sham. If this was the case, it would be difficult to understand his refusal to get rid of Matekitonga when the chiefs and warriors of Vava'u demanded the it. There can be no doubt that/clemency he showed to his enemies was of great political advantage to him, and probably he foresaw it, but the fact remains that he himself attributed

100 Informant, Siola'ā Soakai, of Hihifo, Ha'apai.
101 Farmer, op. cit., 408.
this quality in his life to his Christian faith.

Another example of the effect of the missionaries' teaching on King George's life is shown by his benevolence. Undoubtedly he was an extremely ambitious man. He wanted power, and at times he was prepared to be ruthless if anyone or anything stood in his way, but once in control he used his power very effectively to promote the well-being of his people. It would be difficult to deny the fact that he genuinely cared for their welfare.

At a fono he held at Neiafu, Vava'u, in 1833, where people had gathered from various villages and islands of the Vava'u group to be close to the missionaries for religious instruction and medical care, he told his people that although the past hurricane caused the present shortage of food in Vava'u, he himself believed that there were other causes. He continued:

Many of you are idle, and some are wasteful, - and others are thoughtless. We have not taken care of the abundance, God gave us - in the time past. We eat [sic] to our fill, and then we threw much away. We should have made our bread, and should have had many stores of it, then we should have had food to eat in this time of want.... God has been very good in giving us as good a land - but we must dig the soil, and plant or we shall not have much food. My mind is - that those who will not work should not eat, and you will do right to deny the idle young men - when they come to beg your food. There is another thing I wish to tell you about. That you must not all live at Neiafu; but you must go to your own places inland or to the islands; and you must build your houses - cultivate your fields and attend to your schools and to your chapels. And
let the chiefs live with their people in their own places, and not remain altogether here. If you will do this you will have plenty of food and will have the blessing of the Lord upon all your labours. ..., there are some among us who make excuses when they are required to work more by saying they want to read the record of God, but such people cover their idleness by these excuses. It is very good to read God's Word, but you should not neglect your digging - nor your planting, nor your building by reading at improper times. You should do your work of this world, and read when your work is done. You have much time for reading if you will not sleep in the day, - and go about drinking your kava.102

Dr Lyth, the first medical missionary, told him in 1838 about the need for a building to house the sick people brought in from various islands; he immediately expressed his warm support for the project and stated that he would contribute towards its cost.103 Convinced that Christianity was the best way of life for his people, he himself became not merely an evangelist,104 but also a crusader,105 in order to hasten their conversion. At the instigation of the missionaries he introduced the rule of law,106 and in 1862 emancipated the

103 Lyth, Journal, 2 April 1838.
104 Farmer, op. cit., 273-5.
105 See p. 219 below.
106 This is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.
people from the traditional power of the chiefs. In the Constitution of 1875 there was recognition of the equality of all men in the eyes of the law. Lands were distributed among the people, and he bequeathed the revenue from the lease of Crown Lands, to provide his people with free medical treatment and free education. The missionaries also provided him with a crown, a national flag and a national anthem. All these enhanced King George's prestige both at home and abroad, and gave the Tongan people a sense of unity and identity - not merely as Vava'uans or Ha'apaians or Tongatapuans - but as Tongans - with a common allegiance and loyalty to, and pride
in, their King, Country and Constitution.

WE may conclude that the missionaries saw the institution of the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the monarchy of Tonga. They disregarded the Tu'i Tonga, (the other remaining ancient dynasty), because it had practically no political influence among the chiefs and the people. They threw their support behind King George, who eventually succeeded to the position in 1845, and gradually and successfully brought the power of all other chiefs under his control, and thereby united the whole of Tonga into one Kingdom - a dramatic innovation on his part. His ability to do so, appears to have been based on his traditional right to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu, his remarkable gifts of leadership, and finally on the support and guidance given him by the missionaries. The fact that the previous Tu'i Kanokupolu, Aleamotu'a, in spite of his rank and of the missionaries' help, was unable to achieve what King George

111 Watkin (Journal, 7 February 1834) recorded an incident when King George asked a number of people to do something, and one of the elders replied:

If you command us to do a thing we will do it, we will follow you wherever you wish, if you cast yourself into the sea, we will do so too and swim until we are drowned, if you climb the high coconut tree and cast yourself down, we will climb too and all die together.
later achieved showed that the missionaries were not solely responsible for the eventual success of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. It is evident that King George's remarkable gifts for leadership played an important part in it. However, it is equally evident that his natural gifts, particularly his clemency and benevolence which developed largely through the teachings of the missionaries, also played an important part in this success, in that they captivated the imagination and won for him the loyalty, respect, and love of his subjects. Without the missionaries' support, and guidance, therefore, it is doubtful whether King George would have succeeded both in his bid for the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu or his unification of Tonga into one Kingdom.
CHAPTER 6

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE WARS

IN pursuing the difficult objectives of uniting the whole of Tonga under one ruler, and establishing Christian civilization and the rule of law throughout the islands of the group, King George and his missionary supporters set themselves a formidable task. In the beginning they encountered only light resistance, but it was soon evident that the power-struggle could not be won easily, and that their ambitions and aspirations could not be realized without bloodshed and war. The role played by the missionaries in this struggle, and their attitudes towards it, must now be critically examined, with regard both to the causes of the conflict and to the manner in which the wars were fought.

THE missionaries who went to Tonga shared the attitudes of Methodists in England to the question of war;¹ their abhorrence of warfare in general did not prevent them from loyally serving their King and Country in time of war. It may be recalled how John Wesley used his influence to avert the American war of Independence, but when it broke out he became one of the

¹ See pp. 116-7 above.
stauncheast supporters of the British government. Their patriotism owed much to their belief in the Old Testament sense of Kingship. They believed that a ruler was ordained by God and his authority was derived from Him.

Replying to the charges laid against the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga by the Chevalier Dillon, David Cargill wrote:

> The Christians did not take up arms either to propagate their religion or abolish Heathenism. Their design was to suppress rebellion, maintain the authority of their legal monarch, to defend their rights and privileges, and to preserve their lives....

> When they appeared in arms, loyalty to their Sovereign, love of their country, love of their wives and children, and the desire of self-preservation, not hatred to the Heathen, or love of war were the principles by which they were influenced.

> Besides loyalty to King and Country, there was yet another reason which made Methodists feel justified in going to war, and this was to combat the threat of the forces of anti-Christ. This was one of the reasons why they whole-heartedly supported

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2 M. Edwards, op. cit., 19.

3 See p. 111 above.

4 Romans, 13:1.

the British government in its stand during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars.  

The missionaries also felt justified in supporting the wars in Tonga because they were convinced that the heathens would never become loyal subjects of the Tongan monarch unless they accepted the lotu. They feared that victory for the heathens would mean the end of the monarchy, the rule of law and, above all, of their work in Tonga. From the beginning of the mission the heathens were on the offensive. They had the numbers and strength to become a serious danger to the Christian minority. Their aggressive behaviour was due in part to a deep-seated suspicion that the new religion would bring on disaster, by provoking the anger of the gods. The chiefs and priests were also afraid that this lotu would undermine their prestige and deprive them of their privileges. As a result, Christian converts were persecuted and, when they showed no signs of surrendering their new faith, the chiefs felt compelled to drive these determined few from their localities. In

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6 See p. 117 above.

7 At this time Christianity and the rule of law were synonymous in Tonga. See Rabone, Journal, 16 February 1840.

8 See p. 218 below.

9 Farmer, op. cit., 236.
doing so, they unwittingly helped to create a more closely knit and potentially powerful community of Christians, who were later able to overthrow their oppressors who were far from being united. It may be recalled that the gathering place of the exiled Christians on Tongatapu was the small hamlet of Nuku'alofa which, mainly because of this, later grew into the capital of the whole of Tonga.  

Under the leadership of Tāufa'āhau (or King George), the Christians began to take the offensive, first in Ha'apai, when Tāufa'āhau systematically burned down the god houses, destroyed effigies and turned the sacred places into gardens or homesites during 1829 and 1830. As James Watkin wrote:

Part of one of these houses has been employed to erect a house which is appropriated to the good purpose of accommodating strangers and the ground that was devoted to the gods has been reclaimed for the use of man and is now covered with Banana and other Trees bearing fruit to supply the wants of man. So that you see the Devil is losing ground.  

Later in 1833, when the fortress in 'Uiha had been demolished, and the god houses and effigies destroyed, he also recorded that a residence for a teacher was built in the enclosure which had been previously regarded as sacred.  

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10 See p. 166 above.  
12 Ibid., 12 April 1833.
In 1831 King George extended his campaign to Vava'u, where he was assisted by Fīnau 'Ulukālala Tuapasi. Sarah Farmer describes how Fīnau put the gods to test and then burnt them.

The King [Finau 'U Tuapasi] gave orders, that seven of the principal idols should be placed in a row. He then addressed them in language like this: 'I have brought you here to prove you; and I tell you beforehand what I am about to do, that you may be without excuse.' Then, commencing with the first, he said, 'If you are a god, run away, or you shall be burned in the fire which I have prepared!' The god made no attempt to escape. He then spoke to the next in the same way, and so on till he came to the last. As none of them ran, the king gave orders that the sacred houses should be set on fire. His commands were promptly obeyed. Eighteen temples, with their gods, were burned down.¹³

Peter Turner relates how King George and some of his warriors went to the god house at Makave, a village near Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u. When the priest saw them he thought they had come to consult the gods, and he entered the house of the god and proceeded to pray for inspiration. The sight of this so exasperated King George that:

He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the Priest, and anointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter - and threw him on one side telling him as an old deceiver 'to have done with his foolishness.' He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats; and to the astonishment and

¹³ Farmer, op. cit., 211.
dread of some, began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in the form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise - of some, - the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed out right. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke.  

Many were alarmed and took up arms to avenge this sacrilege but, when they saw that it was King George and his men, they became afraid and could not carry out their intentions. As a result, King George and his men 'waxed bold in their work, and went from town to town followed by the Vavauans, many of whom lent a willing hand to this work.'

The missionaries realized that traditionally King George and Fīnau 'Ulukālala were acting within the bounds of their authority, being rulers of Ha'apai and Vava'u. Religiously, they regarded it as a triumph of Jehovah over Baal for 'Thou shalt have none other gods before me...' nor 'make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form...'.

They were so excited about the success of this campaign that one of them declared, 'This tide of glorious intelligence that Vava'u had become Christian spread northward and southward like

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14 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 49-50.
15 Ibid., 50.
16 Exodus, 20:3-4.
The actions of 'Ulukālala and King George, however, sparked off the first armed conflict in Tonga since the establishment of the Wesleyan mission in 1826. Lualala, 'Ulukālala's half-brother, led the rebellion against 'Ulukālala. The destruction of the places of worship was given as the pretext for this uprising. While there was genuine provocation in these acts, the rebellion cannot be viewed in isolation, for it was an extension of the general power struggle which had gone on for quite some time in Tonga. Lualala had his eyes on the rulership of Vava'u, for 'Ulukālala was aging and his son Matekitonga was still very much a junior. The missionaries regarded the uprising as a rebellion against the legitimate authority in Vava'u and consequently they gave, at least, their moral support to 'Ulukālala and King George. However, through their influence, clemency was shown towards Lualala, and he and his followers were saved from being killed and banished from Vava'u.

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17 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 51.
18 See p. 65 above.
19 Some say they were told to go to Fiji. Wood, op. cit., 46; Blanc, op. cit., 36. See also Farmer, op. cit., 213; West, op. cit., 160-2 for a detailed description of the conflict.
'Ulukālala died in 1833 and King George became ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u. By this time the whole of Ha'apai, except 'Uiha, had accepted Christianity, chiefly because King George, the Tu'i Ha'apai, wished them to do so. There were a few objectors, such as Malupo of 'Uiha and his sons, whose refusal was due largely to their attachment to the old religion. They remained politically loyal to King George. Some of the other chiefs of Ha'apai were also still attached to their old gods, but they dared not disobey the wishes of King George and became Christians, at least nominally. Malupo and his sons were able to resist, on account of close kinship and political affiliation with King George. It will be recalled that the King's paternal grandmother was a Malupo, and both he and his father, Tupouto'a, were brought up at 'Uiha by Malupo and the 'Uiha people. Furthermore, Malupo and his sons had supported King George in his previous struggle against Laufilitonga at the war of Velata.20

King George for his part was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed reprisal, but treated the whole matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of Vava'u, it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few of the chiefs in

20 See p. 192 above.
Vava'u, particularly the former supporters of Lualala, concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of Vava'u.\textsuperscript{21} King George used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

Before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō, saying that he had heard it rumoured that there was a plot to assassinate him in Vava'u and he called upon Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. After he reached Vava'u, he secretly arranged for the people of a village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in wait for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha canoe full of warriors arrived, King George informed them that the rumoured plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his pig to kill it as an 'oho (provision) for their return voyage. Two or three warriors remained in the canoe, while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed, the canoe was immediately seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and of course outnumbered

\textsuperscript{21} There were a few in Vava'u who wanted the rulership of Vava'u to be assumed by a member of the 'Ulukālala family. See Blanc, op. cit., 41.
them, bound their hands behind their backs and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When King George saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying, 'Toki taha a Masilamea' ('Masilamea's first') - a great humiliation for the 'Uiha warriors. He then gave them a short lecture on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become Christians. The warriors were kept in Vava'u until he and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. The warriors became converts in Vava'u, and when they returned to 'Uiha, they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Thus the last resistance in Ha'apai was settled without war or bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the heathen chiefs on Tongatapu were enraged by the news of the desecration and destruction of the sacred places of Ha'apai and Vava'u, for it was clear that King George's success in this campaign had significant political implications which they feared. It increased their determination

22 Informant, the Hon. Ve'ehala. See also Watkin, Journal, 21 March 1833.

23 Ibid., 26 March 1833. Referring to this case, Blanc (op. cit., 37) wrote, 'Through a trick he [King George] succeeded in capturing the pagan fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vava'u.' This may refer to the fact that the 'Uiha warriors were detained for a time in Vava'u.
to resist, at all cost, any similar onslaught which King George might be planning to make on Tongatapu. When he visited his great uncle, Aleamotu'a, in Tongatapu later the same year, he learned that the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu were plotting to attack his canoes. He took his uncle's advice to return to Ha'apai, realizing the gravity of the situation which could easily erupt into open conflict and desiring to preserve peace. However, this move did not appease the heathens, who continued to prepare for an offensive. 'All Tonga,' wrote Watkin, in 1835, 'with the exception of this place [Nuku'alofa] are building strongholds, sharpening their spears, and fabricating clubs with which to take away each others lives.'

After the rebellion in Vava'u was quashed in 1831, Lualala had gone to Tongatapu and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the traditional enemies of King George's father. This was a politically significant move. Assisted by the chiefs of Pea, he built the fortress of Ngele'ia,

24 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 52.
26 Blanc, op. cit., 37. See also P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 58. He stated that after remaining in Tongatapu for a while, Lualala went to Fiji and settled at Lakemba where he became 'zealous in the cause of Christ and ended well.'
which became a formidable threat to the Christians at Nuku'alofa.

The Ha'a Havea chiefs were extremely upset when one among them, William Tu'ivakanō, became converted to Christianity. They applied so much pressure on him to give up the lotu that he eventually agreed to renounce his newly found faith in April 1835. The missionaries, however, continued in their efforts to regain him, and in September, Watkin was able to write: 'Tuivakano who apostatized some time ago resumed his profession of Christianity which he certainly did not renounce heartily but allowed political considerations to influence him to take that step.'

The Ha'a Havea chiefs reacted violently to Tu'ivakanō's reconversion. They deposed him and drove him and his followers out of his fortress of Hule and they appointed another member of the family to the title. William and his people fled to Nuku'alofa, where other Christian refugees had gathered under Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

The renewed intensity of opposition forced the Christians to fortify Nuku'alofa. They surrounded the hill where their

27 Watkin, Journal, 19 September 1835.
28 Ibid., 21 September 1835.
chapel stood with a stockade and ditch, so that the place
might be used as a citadel in case of war. Watkin wrote, 'I
hope the mere erection of the fortress will deter the Heathens
from farther hostilities and serve to check the disloyal spirit
which has animated them.' 29 Watkin's statement reveals the
missionary view of the conflict, indicating that they regarded
the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the supreme and legitimate ruler of
Tonga; that hostilities against him and his followers were
therefore rebellious; and that they were hoping that the erection
of the fortress at Nuku'alofa might terminate these hostilities
and thereby save the country from going to war. Subsequent
events, however, proved to be the reverse of what the missionaries
were hoping for.

At Hihifo, one of the late Ata's sons, Setaleki
Ve'ehala and his friends, who had been converted, were driven
from their homes at Kolovai early in 1836. They established a
little settlement on Setaleki's land at Masilamea, two miles
from Kolovai. 30 Many other Christians had to leave Tongatapu
for Ha'apai and Vava'u in order to practice their religion
unmolested. 31 The missionaries were disturbed by the way things

29 Ibid., 25 September 1835.
30 Ibid., 13 February 1836; Farmer, op. cit., 236.
31 Watkin, Journal, 13 March 1836.
had developed in Tongatapu. One of them wrote:

The heathens continue to rage and imagine vain things against the Lord and against his anointed and cause us some trouble and apprehension which require a strong faith to quell them knowing the bloody character and purpose of the heathen who compose the majority in this island.  

Aleamotu'a and King George valued the advice and the moral support of the missionaries, which they were constantly seeking, especially in times of crises. The Rev. Stephen Rabone, who arrived in Tonga in 1836, wrote in August of the same year:

King George is indeed a fine man body and soul he is now preparing to leave for Haabai in the morning, not to return till after our District Meeting when King Josiah of Tonga will meet us and very much is expected as the result of their visit it is hoped it will prove a death blow to the remaining cause of Heathenism in Tonga.

This District Meeting was held at Lifuka, Ha'apai, in October and was attended by both Aleamotu'a and King George. There can be little doubt that the question of the offensive of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu was one of the main issues discussed. This

32 Ibid., 26 February 1836. This statement again reveals the reasons for the missionaries' support of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George. They regarded the heathens as rebelling against the Lord in persecuting the Christians and against the supreme and legitimate ruler of the country, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, referred to in this quotation as 'the Lord's anointed'.

33 Rabone, Journal, August 1836.
meeting of the Hau, Aleamotu'a, and his Deputy, King George, only added to the antagonism of their opponents, who openly showed their resentment when King George accompanied Aleamotu'a back to Tongatapu in November, as reported by Rabone. 'The reception', he wrote, 'was not attended with any particular marks of kindness the Heathen had prepared for war foolishly supposing King George was bringing his people to fight....\(^{34}\)

King George returned to Ha'apai, but the situation in Tongatapu grew worse. Rumours were spreading that the heathen chiefs, members of the 'electoral college' in particular, were planning to depose Aleamotu'a and replace him with someone more loyal to their cause. Aleamotu'a wrote to King George, informing him of the seriousness of the situation in Tongatapu. The latter immediately departed for Vava'u to discuss the matter with the chiefs there. He then left for Tongatapu, accompanied by his uncle Ulakai and others in several canoes. They arrived on 1 January 1837 and on the 6th Rabone received news that the island was viewed to be in a state of war and King George had ordered:

> the strong healthy men of these islands to go to Tonga that in case the Heathen should be foolish enough to fight they may have a force to meet them and in the name of the Lord to put them to flight....

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 12 November 1836.
Many are going in the morning. May they have a fair wind.35

The determination of the heathen chiefs to put an end to the spread of Christianity was fostered by both religious and political considerations. Scepticism regarding the traditional gods which the Tu'i Kanokupolu family had developed, partly on account of the failure of the gods to ensure their success in their endeavour to make the Tu'i Kanokupolu the supreme ruler of the whole of Tonga,36 was not shared by the other chiefs. The others had no reasons for doubting the power of their gods, for they had been quite successful, so far, in maintaining their independence. The Ha'a Havea, in particular, had won their wars against the Tu'i Kanokupolu family,37 and at this time were the most powerful and influential chiefs in Tongatapu.

The political considerations which influenced the heathen chiefs in their rejection of Christianity were bound up with their realization that a victory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George and their new religion would mean the end of their arbitrary powers over their subjects and deprive them of their privileges. They were probably confident of their own strength,

35 Ibid., 6 January 1837.
36 See p.50 above.
37 See p.94 above.
remembering how both Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouto'a, with their warriors from the northern groups had failed to defeat them at the beginning of the century. The heathen chiefs were thus firmly resolved to halt the spread of Christianity, and, if need be, to fight, in order to protect both their religion and their political independence.

It has been alleged that the war between the heathens and Christians, which broke out in 1837, was a purely religious conflict. Basil Thomson, who took this view, stated:

It was a missionary war - a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen.

However, this oversimplified view of a complex situation, completely fails to take into account the underlying power struggle, which was much older and more basic than the religious issues which appeared on the surface to have precipitated this war.

THE war began on 8 January 1837. The heathens chose the Sabbath day on which to attack, thinking that the Christians would not defend themselves, but they were proved mistaken. According

38 See p. 81 above.

to Watkin, who was an eye witness, the Christian fortress was well guarded, and the attackers were easily driven off, although two of the Christians were wounded. Watkin wrote, 'they [the heathens] have therefore actually commenced the war, and God will I trust vindicate his own cause.'

King George waited till the following day, then led his men to attack the nearest heathen fortress of Ngele'ia, which had been built by Lualala with the assistance of the chiefs of Pea. When they came in sight of the fortress, he called his men around him to give them their orders, and before they launched their attack, they prayed together 'and felt (according to their own expression) just as when the revival of religion broke out.'

In the surprise attack that followed all twenty-six warriors in the fortress were killed, 'among whom were some of the greatest persecutors in Tonga, and many of the relatives of Lavaka [one of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea] who is chief promoter of the present war.'

News of this victory reached the mission headquarters in Vava'u, but it was also learned that in spite of this set-back,

40 Watkin, Journal, 11 January 1837.

41 Rabone, Journal, 17 January 1837. It is interesting to see the parallel here with the behaviour of the British Methodist fighting men during the Napoleonic wars. See p. 118 above.

42 Watkin, Journal, 11 January 1837.
the heathens were determined to continue their resistance and gave no sign of intending to surrender easily. Thomas, who received news of the encounter, wrote in February 1837:

Tonga has stood out against God for many years. They prefer darkness to light, because their deeds are evil. The obstinate unbelief of the Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceable dwellings - from their wives and families and parents to go to war, and yet so satisfied are the people of the goodness of their cause. They are most willing to leave all and to go both to suffer and to die if God requires them in his good cause. We have heard nothing for the last three weeks, but hope all is well, and God will continue to interfere in behalf of his cause.  

The missionaries were anxiously awaiting news of a settlement of the war, for they wanted an early peace, though not a peace at any price. Rabone wrote, 'We begin to feel anxious to hear again from Tonga...they are at war if so some will fall on both sides. O may the Lord speedily interpose and give the victory in favour of our Israel.'

On Sunday, 15 January, a week later, the heathens decided to destroy the Christians' plantations thinking that they would not guard their gardens on the sabbath. Again they

43 Thomas to the Committee, 2 February 1837. Letters of the Rev. J. Thomas and his wife.

44 Rabone, Journal, 21 January 1837.
were proved wrong for, while they were busily engaged in this destruction, the Christian warriors rushed upon them and pursued them right to the gates of Pea itself, killing nine and wounding many others. The Christians suffered the loss of one man and another was seriously wounded and died later. On the next day, the Christians burned a sacred canoe and took the small fortress of Te'ekiu.  

King George's next attack was centred upon the fortress of Hule which was Tu'ivakanō's fortress, from which he had been forced to flee. Tu'ivakanō had appealed to King George to destroy the fortress and wipe out his opponents. The King offered the leaders of Hule terms for surrender, but they refused and the fortress was stormed on 25 January. About three hundred men, women and children were killed, Tu'ivakanō himself and his followers playing a leading part in this massacre.  

It is interesting to note the more ruthless and aggressive stand taken by King George during this war. In these two encounters the power struggle had reached its peak.


46 Informant, the late Molitoni Finau, a distinguished lawyer, a member of the Tongan Parliament, and a descendant of the Tu'ivakanō who replaced William.
Lualala had left Vava'u and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs, King George's traditional enemies. The apparent intentions of this dangerous alliance must have awakened in him the old savagery and fighting spirit which had lain dormant for several years to such an extent that they momentarily overshadowed the Christian influence on his actions and life. The serious threat which the heathen opposition posed not only to his own future, but to the future of monarchical authority and the rule of law, and also to Christianity, his newly adopted religion, must all have spurred him on to crush the rebellion with ruthless vigour.

The missionaries did not condemn the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants of Hule. They regarded it as a Divine judgment - an inevitable consequence of the sinfulness

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Later in the 1840 war when he and his warriors besieged Kolovai, King George told his men:

Our late war with the heathen, three years ago, was by the mercy of God, a victorious one. But, though we got the victory, in some things we went astray. We fought not as Christians should fight. Our object then was not to save, but to destroy. But you all now present, hear from me, that we do not so fight again. If, as may be expected, the enemy should come out of their fortress to-morrow morning, let every man endeavour to seize and save his man, and not one to shoot or strike, but in case of life and death.

Farmer, op. cit., 317; Wood, op. cit., 49.
of the heathens. When the news of the massacre reached Vava'u, Rabone wrote, 'It does indeed appear that the Tonga heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction, for they have positively refused to "Lotu", and madly prefer dying in their sins.' Several months later, when Rabone himself passed through Hule, on a trip from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, he wrote:

Hule is the place in which so many lost their lives when King George with his people attacked and destroyed their fortress this took place early in February last, and yet the bones of many are to be seen dried under the sun. I counted 12 skulls in a circumference of 3 square yards. Scores have been buried but many remain as visible mark of God's displeasure against sin - this was an awfully wicked fortress, but judgement has overtaken them and there scarcely remains one that escaped.

Further skirmishes occurred and on 8 February Pea was again attacked and the heathens lost thirteen and the Christians three. Meanwhile King George sent for reinforcements from Vava'u. Referring to this new call up, Rabone wrote that if he understood it correctly, the intention was to make 'a desperate attack upon the Heathen who positively refuse to "lotu" or turn to God without they do this there is no ground of hope for their

48 Rabone, Journal, 14 February 1837.

49 Ibid., 27 September 1837.
being better subjects or in any respect. At any rate, 200 or more men left Vava'u in four canoes in February with Rabone's prayer, 'O Lord do thou undertake for thy people and speedily bring the war to an end.'

Indeed, the war was speedily brought to an end, for with the 200 or more men as reinforcements, the heathens lost heart and ceased their offensive. King George was then able to extract from them a promise to desist from further persecution of Christians as a condition for peace. Although Aleamotu'a and King George were in a winning position, they did not wish to continue the war. This supports the missionaries' contention that the war was largely fostered by the heathen chiefs.

In April the warriors from the north returned to their respective places. Rabone gave an account of the welcome back to Vava'u:

We went down to welcome them back the sight was to me very affecting & interesting,.... We indeed were glad to see them, and more especially when as soon as they spoke they attributed their salvation to God & our prayers for them, some say why what are they? They wonder they are alive but it must be because their friends have prayed much for them.

50 Ibid., 16 February 1837.
51 Ibid., 18 February 1837.
52 Ibid., 12 April 1837.
The fears of the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu that King George might extend his campaign of destruction of the sacred places and effigies proved justified. Everywhere King George and his warriors went during the war they burnt down and destroyed god houses, objects of worship, and sacred places. The *vao tapu* (sacred wood) of the famous sanctuary of Ma'ofanga, which had been so sacrosanct that no one could approach it, on pain of death, was cut down and sold to the sailors for firewood. Many of the warriors from the north took back with them as souvenirs, pieces of wood made into staffs from this sacred place. Later in June, when peace had been restored, Rabone wrote:

> Last night we walked out to the Mafanga of all others the most sacred place in these islands.... King George...burnt down the spirit houses and now all appears desolation he has planted bananas on the most sacred ground and I was glad to see that the Gods & Devils had not prevented their growth they look well and promise abundant fruit in their season.53

IT was soon clear that, in spite of the return to peace, the heathens had not abandoned their resolve to stop the spread of Christianity. Unfortunately, the Christians themselves furnished some provocation which gave the heathens a pretext

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53 Ibid., 23 June 1837.
for further hostilities against them.

The first incident occurred on 25 July 1837. Describing what happened, Rabone wrote, 'I fired a loaded gun as a chief who was near the premises at the time rushed in and seized me attempting dragging me about vociferating in the most devilish manner...'. Rabone did not say what he was firing at, but Commodore Wilkes said that it was a sacred pigeon which was revered by the people. It is very likely that Rabone acted in ignorance. At Kolovai where he was stationed it was flying foxes and not pigeons which were regarded as sacred. In fact one of the most popular sports among the chiefs was catching pigeons. However, there was a fa'ahinga at Kolovai known as the kau Matapā whose land was adjacent to the mission house. These people had originally belonged to Ve'ehala of Fāhefa, but had been invited by Ata to settle at Kolovai. It so happened that Ve'ehala's god was a pigeon. What appears to have caused the upset, was that Rabone was seen shooting by the 'ulumotu'a of the kau Matapā, and he of course

54 Ibid., 25 July 1837.

55 Wilkes, op. cit., II, 6.

56 See Collocott and Havea, Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans (Honolulu, 1922), 146.

57 Informant, the Hon. Ve'ehala.
would still revere the bird.

However, the rough treatment which the heathen chief gave Rabone on account of the shooting incident, grieved the Christians very much. Referring to this, Rabone recorded in his journal:

Almost all our friends from the Foui [the centre of the Christians at Hihifo] had arrived both female & male and all weeping. Ulakai and Setaleki [the two leading Christian chiefs at Hihifo] went to the vagabond & gave him a smart telling too....

Another source of annoyance to the heathen chiefs was the policy of persuading, and in some cases forcing, influential chiefs from Tongatapu to go to Vava'u and Ha'apai, so that they would become converted there. 'Ahomee, a great chief from Hihifo, went to Vava'u in 1837, and when he returned he told Ata that he had become a Christian, much to the discomfort of the heathens. King George visited Tongatapu in December 1837 and tried to influence Ata to accept Christianity, but the latter refused. When King George returned to Ha'apai in February of the following year, Rabone wrote:

We rejoice that Fatu's son Finau is gone with him and also Mahe'uli'uli.... It is in this way that

60 Rabone, Journal, 11 December 1837.
we expect the enemy must be weakened in Tonga at least this is one way viz the removing of certain influential characters to Haabai and Vavau where they will embrace religion return to this their own land and instruct their heathen relatives and people.61

It was when Ulakai decided to seize five apostates from the fortress of Kolovai, in May 1838, and sent them to Ha'apai that the already strained relations between the two factions deteriorated to a dangerous degree.62 The heathens closed their fortress 'for the preacher' and made preparations for war.63

When the situation at Hihifo became too precarious, Rabone decided it was advisable to abandon the mission after he had been there for one year. His relationship with the heathens grew worse and in December 1839, just before the 1840 war broke out, Peter Turner mentioned in his journal that he had been 'informed that as Bro' R. was going to preach a heathen called him to return & to eat his (own) dirt.'64 This was of course regarded as a serious insult by the Christians. Unfortunately,

61 Ibid., 24 February 1838.
62 Ibid., 19 May 1838.
63 Ibid., 20 May 1838.
the missionaries were not in a position to bring about any reconciliation between the disputing factions, because they had already committed themselves wholeheartedly to supporting King George and the Tu'i Kanokupolu even though they were acting contrary to the expressed policy of the Society. 65

In August 1837 Ata and his followers removed by force an old man from his own people on the little island of Atata, and sent him to the Christian settlement of Foui, after he had decided to accept Christianity. This was an infringement of the agreement between the two parties. It was probably Ata's reply to Ulakai's seizure of the five apostates who had been forcibly sent to Ha'apai. However, the Christians were infuriated by Ata's action, and Aleamotu'a conducted a fono at Kolovai on 17 August, at which he said to Ata and his people:

Before the late war I told Lavaka and others that if they did not mind and resist they would be overtaken - they were and now...their bones are dry in scorching sun. I tell you the same. 66

Rabone, who reported the fono, added, 'I pray God this event may be sanctified to the good of all.' 67

65 See p. 364 below.
66 Rabone, Journal, 17 August 1837.
67 Ibid.
Soon after this, the chiefs of Pea applied pressure on one of their number, Moaki, to give up Christianity. After hearing this, Aleamotu'a and Ulakai went to Pea and warned the Pea people 'that they might do as they would - but that the day they began to persecute the Xians the term of peace would be broken and they would again fight.'

The cause of the heathens was favoured by the fact that King George and his warriors from the north were no longer stationed in Tongatapu. It was further encouraged, in 1839, by the death of two very able Christian leaders; one was Uliami Ulakai, son of Tuku'aho and brother of King George's father, Tupouto'a; the other was Setaleki Ve'ehala, son of the late Ata and a nephew of the existing Ata. Because of their rank, traditional mana and personal prowess as warriors, they were revered by both Christians and heathens. They had, on several previous occasions, managed to exert their influence to avert armed clashes between the two factions of the Hihifo community.

War broke out in January 1840. The incident which

68 Ibid., 24 August 1837. See also Farmer, op. cit., 303.

triggered off this war was the removal of some sticks from one of the heathen god houses by the Christians. Why they did so is not known, but the heathens were greatly angered, and were probably awaiting an opportunity such as this to make trouble. They attacked and killed four Christians and war began. Aleamotu'a went to Hihifo, to try to make peace, but he did not succeed. Several other attempts at a settlement were made,

70 Rabone, Journal, 14 January 1840. The Christians probably wanted to show the heathens that there was no divine penalty for this desecration.

71 Ibid., 15 January 1840. Rabone wrote:

Ata and Vahai appear bent upon fully revenging their long quarrel upon the Xians - nor is it known what to do to avert the dreaded storm. Such a thing was perhaps never known before as to commence war in a place where the King was sojourning & where his express object was making peace had it commenced while Tubou was here he would in all probability have gone down at once to stop it...

See also Farmer, op. cit., 314-5; West, op. cit., 281; Wood, op. cit., 49.
but they also failed. \(^{72}\) Eventually Aleamotu'a sent for King George who arrived shortly after with his warriors from the north. \(^{73}\) Kolovai was besieged and surrendered after a short time, \(^{74}\) but Pea, Houma and Vainī continued to resist.

Commodore Wilkes arrived in Tonga on 24 April and

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72 Rabone (18 January 1840) wrote:

It was at length determined that old Maafu the heathen chief & Semisi Fielakepa with Motuabuaka 2 Xtian chiefs should go to Ata & endeavour to restore peace - they left this morning and arrived there about noon - their reception we hear was anything but what it ought to have been considering their object in going - the people were saucy and more than once put their bludgeons to the head of our chief Semisi - this also is a new thing in the land peace makers if not chiefs were always allowed to pass unmolested.... Ata it is said would not speak about terms of peace & it is concluded that he does not wish to make peace....


74 See footnote 47 above.
offered to act as conciliator. He was unsuccessful in his attempt and he blamed the missionaries for his failure. However, one of the missionaries wrote:

An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he published opinions concerning the Missionaries of a damaging

75 Most writers state that the missionaries requested Wilkes to intercede, but Rabone (24 April 1840), who was present, recorded:

Commander Wilkes arrived - several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro T & myself on board - we went and have had a long conversation - principally in reference to the heathen & the present state of Tonga - he expressed his earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties and for the arrangement of this affair has requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning May the blessedness of peace making be his portion.

Wilkes (op. cit., II, 3) states, 'Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker.' See also Thomson, op. cit., 353; Wood, op. cit., 50; Blanc, op. cit., 39.
character, which had no foundation in justice or truth.\textsuperscript{76}

It seems very likely too that the missionaries and their followers were hopeful that after the fall of Kolovai, the others would also surrender, but they were mistaken. They found that the resistance was much stronger and more determined than had been expected. As a result, they appealed to Captain Croker, who arrived on 21 June on the British sloop, \textit{Favourite}, to make peace.\textsuperscript{77} They regarded Croker's arrival as an act of providence; Rabone wrote, 'We view it [Croker's arrival] as an interposition of our Heavenly Father and so hope his visit will be made a blessing.'\textsuperscript{78} Two days later he again wrote, 'We hope the coming of this vessel of the Lord - and that the interference of Capt. Croker may be owned of God and sanctioned

\\textsuperscript{76} West, op. cit., 283. Farmer (op. cit., 320), claimed that the chiefs whom Commodore Wilkes saw were neutral and he did not contact the heathen chiefs who were directly involved in the war:

Yet on the strength of his conversations with a neutral party, Commodore Wilkes concluded, to his own satisfaction, that the heathen party was desirous of peace, and that it was the fault of King George, and of the Missionaries, that the war continued to rage. Men who spend only eight days in a place ought to be careful how they express an opinion regarding the causes of the things that meet their eye.

\textsuperscript{77} Thomson, op. cit., 353-5; Blanc, op. cit., 39; Wood, op. cit., 50; Farmer, op. cit., 322-7; West, op. cit., 284-7.

\textsuperscript{78} Rabone, Journal, 21 June 1840.
by his Government tomorrow is the time fixed for the expedition. 79

However the expedition brought no immediate relief, for Croker was shot dead at Pea. When news of his death reached the missionaries they were confounded. Rabone wrote:

0 what have we felt this day! Cap. C dead - 2 of the men likely to die to-night 17 or 18 men wounded.... Guns etc left in the hands of the heathen. O my God! We stand confused and confounded! What shall we say or do? that ever Cap C shd come here - a worthy kind, good Gentleman but no more! Oh his poor wife & 5 or 6 children!! Lord, Lord pardon our sins and deliver us not unto the evil of our enemies. Great is the rejoicing of Satan & his host. A servant of God and England fallen.... 80

Although the death of Croker appeared to be a triumph for the heathens, it actually caused them great alarm, for they feared that more ships would be sent from Britain to revenge the Captain's death. 81 For this reason they were easily persuaded to accept peace. Fighting ceased after 26 June, an armed peace was restored, and Tonga enjoyed this condition for more than a decade. It looked as though Captain Croker's blood had not been shed in vain after all, and that the missionaries' belief that he had come by Divine Providence was somewhat vindicated,

79 Ibid., 23 June 1840.

80 Ibid., 24 June 1840. See also P. Turner, Journal, 6 July 1840.

81 Wood, op. cit., 51
although the peace which they desired had been accomplished more tragically than they had anticipated.

Thomas, who was stationed in Vava'u at this time, went to Tongatapu in August and discussed peace terms with the heathen chiefs. King George stayed on in Tongatapu with some of his men till the latter half of the following year when they finally returned to their homes in the northern groups.

King George became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. He immediately assumed supreme authority throughout the whole of Tonga. The laws he had promulgated in Vava'u in 1839 were now applied to the whole Kingdom. Another more elaborate Code was promulgated in 1850. The heathen chiefs did not find it easy to observe many of the laws, which were influenced by the missionary teaching which they did not accept, such as those prohibiting Sabbath breaking, fornication, and the exercise of their traditional rights over the commoners' property. Moreover, they did not appreciate the loss of their independence and power. These underlying elements of discontentment were in due course brought to the surface by

82 West, op. cit., 288; Farmer, op. cit., 328; Wood, op. cit., 51.


84 See p. 274 below.
the sympathetic support of the Roman Catholic French priests who were anxious to destroy both the Protestant and British influence in Tonga. Anticipating French assistance, the Ha'a Havea chiefs staged another rebellion against King George in 1852, when war broke out again. However, King George was able to muster enough support from the rest of the Kingdom to successfully defeat the rebel chiefs, and this brought to an end the last war in Tonga.

IN conclusion, it may be said that although these wars were triggered off by religious disputes, they were endemic of the power struggle which had been going on in Tonga for many years, since the quarrel between Tuku'aho and Tupoumoheofo in the 1790s.

Religion and politics were so intricately interwoven in the causes of the wars and in the determination of both sides to be victorious, that they may be more accurately termed religio-political wars, than merely missionary wars or crusades as Basil Thomson arbitrarily claimed them to be.

85 See p. 490 below.
86 See p. 521 below for a detailed discussion of the 1852 war.
87 See pp. 65-7 above.
Apart from their fears that the violation of their religious taboos would bring down the wrath of the gods upon the country, the heathen chiefs could see quite clearly that the disappearance of the traditional religion would mean a triumph not only for Christianity, but also for their political opponents who championed it, in their struggle for power. This was because it would ensure a victory for monarchical rule and the rule of law, and thereby virtually terminate their political autonomy and arbitrary powers over their subjects, and in addition would end the privileges which had been exclusively theirs for centuries.

Similarly, the missionaries and their followers regarded the conflicts from both religious and political viewpoints. They saw in the destruction of places and objects of heathen worship, which had precipitated the wars, a triumph for Jehovah over Baal, and in the heathen efforts to resist the spread of Christianity, a rebellion against God. In the same light, they regarded the massacre of the heathens during the wars as a divine penalty for their rebellion.

From a political point of view, the missionaries believed it would be in the best interests of the people, and of their work, for the country to be united as a Christian civilized nation under the rule of law and monarchical authority.
They regarded the Tu'i Kanokupolu as the monarch of Tonga, and the determination of the heathen chiefs to maintain their autonomy was viewed as an insurrection against the legitimate government of the country. They also believed that Christianity and the rule of law were synonymous, and that unless the heathens gave up heathenism and accepted Christianity they could never become loyal and respected citizens.

As a result, their dislike of wars did not prevent them from giving their unqualified moral support to the Tu'i Kanokupolu side of the conflict, when fighting became inevitable. They convinced King George and his warriors that they were called and blessed by God to carry out His will, and this undoubtedly boosted the morale of the fighting Christians in the battle field. With the blessing of the missionaries, King George and his followers won the wars and the unification of Tonga was achieved and secured.
PART IV

THE MISSIONARIES AND LEGISLATION
CHAPTER 7

THE FIRST TWO CODES OF LAWS - 1839 AND 1850

THE Tongan leaders had no need to consult the missionaries for advice on matters relating to pedigree or the succession to the various titles, but when it came to questions of law in a Christian Society, they were quite aware of their own ignorance of jurisprudence and felt tremendously dependent upon the missionaries for advice. The missionaries in Tonga were well aware of this need and they regarded it as an integral part of their work. This has been well expressed by the Rev. John Williams, in reference to the work of the L.M.S. missionaries in the South Seas:

...it would be criminal were he, [the missionary] while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs. In most cases...; the civil and judicial polity of the heathen, and all their ancient usages, are interwoven with their superstitions;.... The Missionary goes among them, and by the blessing of God upon his labours, they are delivered from the dominion of the idolatrous system which had governed them for ages, and in its stead embrace Christianity. Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read portions of the word of God, which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that these ancient usages are so incompatible with Christian precepts, that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom, then, in this dilemma, can they apply for advice, but to the persons from whom they have derived their
knowledge? And what less can the Missionary do than
give it freely and fully?¹

The important implication of this statement is that the very
nature of missionary endeavours will inevitably bring about an
involvement in the politics of the society in which the missionary
works. This situation is brought about by the nature of man
himself, as Dr Philip, an early mission director, vividly pointed
out. 'Man', he wrote, 'in his individual and collective capacity,
is so constituted, that no improvement can take place in any
part of one or the other without diffusing its influence over
the whole man, and over the whole frame of society.'²

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic
and political institutions had been closely integrated with the
traditional religious system. When the influential chiefs and
their people accepted Christianity,³ this had undermined the
foundations of the old society and its whole fabric had virtually
collapsed. A new foundation of Christian beliefs was now laid,
upon which Tongan society had to be rebuilt. It was to be
based only upon those old customs and traditions which the
missionaries and their chiefly converts thought suitable for

¹ John Williams, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in
the South Seas (London, 1838), 119.

² J. Philip, Researches in South Africa;... (London, 1828),
I, vii.

³ See p.143 above.
the new design, and it was to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss, as to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the missionaries. These converted chiefs, labouring to reconstruct their society upon Christian principles were already the political leaders of their various kāinga, and their continued reliance on the missionaries for assistance ensured that the missionaries had almost as much to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters.

The result was a fusion of Church and State matters. Residences for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and maintained by the people, often not on their

4 See p. 27 above.

5 N. Turner, Journal, 29 November 1827, W.M.M.S.
own initiative, but rather 'in obedience to the command (fekau) of the King. Their conversion was a "mea fakafetogia" [sic] - (a matter imposed upon them by the government).' Peter Turner wrote, '...I must say that the people have done much for us since we came. They have thatched our house - and the house of Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro' Wilson and a house for an academy.' Another missionary wrote, 'we have recently opened a very large and elegant chapel on this island. There is no other house to be compared with it in all the Friendly Islands. It stands on the same site as the Old Chapel, and was built in little more than two months. It was a government concern, there were a thousand persons here for some time in its erection.'

The fusion of Church and State matters caused some confusion as to the leadership of the Church. John Thomas reported of King Josiah Aleamotu'a that, 'In the course of two years I have spent with him he has interfered with me on several occasions, he has got an idea that it is his duty to

6 Whewell to Eggleston, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.  
8 Tucker, Manuscript on History and Agriculture of Tonga, 1835, 2; see also S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands (London, 1855), 353.
govern in the Church of Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them - his place to take into the Society and put out etc. 9

Gradually, the converted chiefs accumulated new unwritten laws which were produced in accordance with the advice they had sought from the missionaries. 10 These laws were later put into written form. This move can hardly be regarded as an illogical development, since the chiefs clearly perceived that most of their ancient usages were quite incompatible with the Christian precepts they had now embraced.

The consummation of this alliance between Church and State came in the remarkable career of Tāufa'āhau (King George). He was an ardent supporter of the Wesleyan Mission cause. In a letter to the Committee in London, the Rev. Charles Tucker wrote of Tāufa'āhau:

You have heard, I suppose, that our excellent King is a class-leader and a Local Preacher. He is a fine fellow, a genuine Christian, a man of noble mind.... We have the very flower of the people on the local Preachers' plan, so far as rank, piety and talent are concerned.... The King is as obedient as any of them to our

9 Thomas, Diary and Letter Book of the Rev. J. Thomas, letter dated January 1834, 153. This case appears to be somewhat similar to the old quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor in the Holy Roman Empire.

10 Blanc, op. cit., 38.
While the progress of the 'Church and State' alliance was hindered on Tongatapu by bitter opposition from a strong and influential band of heathen chiefs, it sailed before the wind in Ha'apai and Vava'u where Tāufa'āhau's rule was uncontested.  

King George was convinced that in general, the ways of the kau papālangi (Europeans) were superior to those of the Tongans, for he was quick to see that they possessed superior wealth, knowledge and, above all, power! He was responsive to innovations and was prepared to learn all he could from Europeans and put what he had learned into practice, whether it was in the field of culture, economics, religion or politics.  

Unlike Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and many other Pacific islands, which had quite large numbers of white settlers, Tonga,
in the first half of the nineteenth century, had only a small number of Europeans, and apart from the missionaries they were mostly escaped convicts and runaway sailors. They did not own land nor established businesses, but lived with various chiefs who had befriended them, so they could not be classed as settlers. The absence of a settler class to whom they could turn, made the chiefs, especially Tāufa'āhau in the early days of his political career, rely almost exclusively upon the Wesleyan missionaries for advice. In 1831 Peter Turner noted in his journal, 'The King came up this morning and wished to have some laws for the regulation of his servants...'.

The missionaries for their part, were not only willing to give their advice, but they expected to be consulted on almost every important matter, so much so, that when their advice was not sought by the chiefs they were deeply disappointed. Thomas recorded in his journal, in February 1831, that in things of small importance he had been consulted by the chief, Tāufa'āhau, but it was a long time since Tāufa'āhau had taken


16 P. Dillon, Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas (London, 1829), II, 260.

was furious when Tāufa'ahāu decided on his own accord to accept an invitation from Fīnau 'Uluḵālala of Vava'u, who was then heathen, to a canoe race. He referred to Tāufa'āhau as 'head strong', because he had not consulted him on the matter, 'but sent word to 'Uluḵālala that at such a time he could come.'  

IT is quite obvious that Tāufa'āhau's venture in legislation was chiefly a direct result of the missionaries' influence. He had great admiration for the prominent figures of the Bible and wanted to follow their examples. He told one of the missionaries, in the course of a conversation which they had on political matters, that, 'he wanted to imitate Abraham and those of whom the scriptures speak.'  

Although there is no direct evidence, it seems fairly certain that the missionaries told King George about the system of government in their homeland and that the King of England and his Parliament ruled the people according to a written body of law. 'I would remark here,' wrote Peter Turner, 'that the

18 Thomas, Journal, 28 February 1831.
19 Ibid., 13 April 1831.
King of Haabai, Taufa'ahau, tho' not yet baptized - was called King George - as he had chosen the name because of [sic] the late King of England was called George.'\(^{21}\) It would also be surprising if the King had not heard from the missionaries and visiting sea captains about the laws and port regulations already existing in other Pacific islands such as Hawaii and Tahiti.\(^{22}\)

It is not possible to certify the degree of Tāufa'āhau's familiarity with the British system of law, but it was under his rule that the first written law in Tonga - the Vava'u Code - was officially promulgated in a fono at Pouono (a mala'e at Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u) on 20 November 1839.\(^{23}\) According to Thomas, these laws had, with a few exceptions, been acted upon in Vava'u for more than twelve months before the Code's official promulgation. They were printed on 16 May 1838.\(^{24}\)

Authorities have pointed out that this simple but remarkable Code was largely Tāufa'āhau's own composition.\(^{25}\)

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21 Ibid., 13 June 1831.

22 For an account of these early Codes of Laws see John Davies, The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830 ed. by C.W. Newbury (Cambridge, 1961), 365-76. See also Gunson, op. cit., Chapter 19.

23 A copy of the original is in the 'Tongan Papers' - compiled by S.C. Roberts (M.L.); see also Appendix A.


However, the influence of the missionaries seems apparent in the Code itself. It has a long preamble written in Biblical language:

I George make known this my mind to the chiefs of the different parts of Haafuluha, also to all my people. May you be very happy.

It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you, he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his works, we are all the work of his hands, and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy. Therefore it is that I make known to you all, to the Chiefs and Governors and People, as well as the different strangers and foreigners that live with me.

That the Laws of this our Land prohibit....

Then followed the eight sections of the Code.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Code is the bold step it made towards limiting the power of the chiefs. This was undoubtedly due, to a large extent, to the advice of the missionaries. The missionaries believed that all men were equal in the sight of God, and they had been long disturbed by the arbitrary power of the chiefs and the inhuman way they often treated the commoners. The attitudes of the missionaries

26 Obviously Taufa'ahau's own ambitions had a lot to do with this move.

27 See p. 95 above.
on the question may be illustrated by the following instances. Taufa'ahau decided to bury without any ceremony an old woman who died at Lifuka, Ha'apai, where the Rev. J. Thomas was working at the time. 'I told him [Taufa'ahau]', wrote the missionary after hearing what happened, 'I wished to do towards a poor old woman as I would towards the rich, and that God was no respecter of persons.' Again, a charge was brought against a chief of one of the islands of Ha'apai, in a Quarterly Meeting, for appropriating to himself yams belonging to other people, and forcing them to cultivate his land for him without receiving any wages, and also tabooing for the King certain pigs belonging to the people. The missionaries' reaction against this action was firm and decisive. One of them reported:

We strongly expressed our disapprobation of such arbitrary methods of obtaining supplies either for the King or Chiefs as well as pronounce our views of the inconsistency of the same with the office of a Local Preacher amongst us and our resolution to retain no such persons as preachers for the time to come.

This attitude of the missionaries is reflected in Section 4 of the Code which reads:

It is my mind that my people should live in great peace, no quarrelling...but to serve the God of

28 Thomas, Journal, 26 March 1831.
peace in sincerity...; they [the commoners] will work for you [chiefs] as you may require them...; but I make known to you it is no longer lawful, for you to hunuki, or mark their bananas for your use, or to take by force any article from them, but let their things be at their disposal.

The setting up of a Court of four magistrates in Vava'u to sit once a month and to have jurisdiction over chiefs and commoners alike, was deliberately designed to put an end to the use of the despotic club of the chiefs as the supreme arbiter in any serious dispute or quarrel, which had hitherto been the custom of the land. Murder and theft in former days had been regarded with indifference unless the person murdered was equal or higher in rank to the murderer or unless the property stolen was a consecrated article. The prohibition of these crimes again reflects the attitude of the missionaries towards the importance of the individual and the value of personal property. Part of Section 1 reads:

N.B. No person shall be put to death, except by the express command of the King.
If any person shall rise up and lift up a club (or any other

31 See Chapter 1.
32 Martin, op. cit., II, 130. See also Dillon, op. cit., II, 12.
33 See Section 1 of the Code, Appendix A.
instrument of death) against another for the purpose of killing him, the person so offending shall be brought before the judge, and judgement passed upon him.

In the words of one of the missionaries, 'Neither chiefs nor peoples were hereafter to take the law into their own hands. The rights of the parties in criminal or disputed matters, were to be decided and maintained by the appointed and responsible courts of law, after a fair and open trial.'

The prohibition of adultery and fornication sprang from the emphasis which the missionaries placed on the sacredness of sex - 'a belief that men and women could only excusably share the joys of love after a ceremony in which, with the sanction of church and state, they pledged themselves to one another in life-long fidelity.' To do otherwise was, in the eyes of the missionaries, a serious sin. One of them reported in his journal, 'In the course of the day, a case was brought before him [Leonaitasi - the King's representative] - of fornication... the couple were publicly flogged. May these chastisements be sanctified to the good of all.'

34 West, op. cit., 164.
35 Section 1 of the Code, Appendix A.
36 Collocott, King Taufa, 199.
37 Rabone, Journal, 22 September 1836.
Fidelity in marriage and the sanctity of family life was always a very important feature in the teaching of the missionaries. After visiting a young man who had been assaulted by the husband of his mistress, Thomas wrote 'If each man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and many sins destroyed.' In order to safeguard marriage it was decreed in Section 8:

In case a man leaves his wife and escapes, she shall claim his plantations and whatever other property he may have left.

In case a woman forsakes her husband, she shall be brought back again to him, and in case she will not remain with him, it shall not be lawful for her to marry any other man while her husband lives.

It may be pointed out that marriages in Tonga were frequently arranged, by parents or by a chief, without reference to the wishes of the couple who were betrothed. A marriage was entered, simply by the woman cohabiting with a man under his roof and protection. She was expected to remain with her husband until such time as he might choose to divorce her. Mariner estimated that about two-thirds of the married women in Tonga had been divorced and had married again several times. The missionaries condemned this custom, not only because they regarded it as immoral and sinful, but also because it had led to several

38 Thomas, Journal, 20 April 1828.
murders, when men of lower rank had taken on the former wives of superior chiefs. 39

The great emphasis the missionaries placed on the holiness of the Sabbath, and of church services, is clearly and unequivocally expressed in Section 2 which reads:

My mind is that all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God, that they should keep the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the word and worship of God in their places of worship.

Should any man on shore or from on ship board come to the chapel for the purpose of sport or to disturb the worship; should he insult the minister or the congregation, he shall be taken and bound and be fined for every such offence, as the judge shall determine.

Another distinct feature of the Code is the importance given to industrious habits and the cultivation of the land. Many missionaries complained bitterly because the Tongans appeared to them incredibly indolent. In a letter to the General Secretary of the mission, the Rev. John Whewell asserted that the Tongans were naturally indolent. 'Only the old and married people,' he wrote, 'profess to work. The young peoples spend their time up to manhood in supreme indolence or in what

39 Ibid., 11 May 1829.
is worse - voyaging from group to group. A few, on the other hand, argued that the people were not entirely an idle race. Their aversion to work was mainly due to the abundance of natural resources from which their simple wants were supplied. Hence, there was no strong incentive for them to work, but when it appeared necessary they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs.

To the missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. 'They [the Tongans] were notoriously lazy formerly,' wrote one of the missionaries, 'but now we endeavour to inculcate the advice of St Paul, That if any will not work they are not to eat. The people have suffered much from famine here.'

A repetition of these sentiments can be clearly seen in the following provisions in the Code:

40 Whewell to Eggleston, 4 August 1856, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.

41 West, op. cit., 144. It may be pointed out that cultivation of crops such as *kumala* and *talo*, which were less liable to be destroyed by severe storm but demanded much more time and effort, could have done much to lessen the dangers of severe famine due to the droughts and hurricanes which could at any time destroy a large proportion of the natural resources. *Talo* in particular could remain underground for several years without deteriorating.

42 Tucker, Manuscript on the History..., 1.
Section 3.

My mind is this:...that you [the chiefs] each show love to the people you have under you, also that you require them to be industrious in labouring to support the government and their duties to you their chiefs; and that you divide to each one of them land for their own use, that each one may have means of living, of supporting his family, of procuring necessaries, and of contributing to the cause of God.

And in order to safeguard the plantations, provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which reads:

And it is my mind that the land should be brought into cultivation and planted; hence I inform you it is unlawful to turn your hogs outside the fence or sty in case a pig being found eating the yams or destroying the produce of the earth, the owner of the pig shall be apprised directly of it, that he may put his pig up, also he shall make amends for the mischief done; in case the owner pays not attention to his pig either to confine it or to recompence [sic] the damage done, and if the pig is again found eating the plantation, it shall then be lawful to kill the pig, and the person owning the plantation shall claim it.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of constant worry to the missionaries. One of them wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the Holy One be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death to this [sic]...islanders.' In after years

43 Baker to Eggleston, 18 December 1861, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.
when one of King George's sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars' and a liability 'to have the spirits taken from him,' was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions (especially those which had any religious connection) was one of uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 'civilization' and the latter with the habits and customs of an English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilized or unchristian, and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the [Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited, through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs, and many of the ancient customs; .... Through the suppression of the ancient songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of Tonga has been for ever lost.' However,

44 Whewell to Eggleston, 3 February 1862, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.
45 Blanc, op. cit., 38.
Section 8 of the new law, consistent with the teaching of the missionaries, proclaimed that:

It is not lawful to tatatau [tattoo], or to kaukau [circumcise], or to perform any other Idolatrous ceremonies: if any one does so, he will be judged, and punished, and fined for so doing.

Except in the case of liquor retailing; drunkenness; inducing seamen to leave their ships with intention of staying in Tonga; and allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.

Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian principles, Tāuفا‘ahau and his magistrates naturally consulted the missionaries on the matter.

The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the king that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed.... We recommended hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. 46

The consultation of the missionaries on this matter had an unpleasant and rather disastrous effect. Mission houses

at Neiafu were burnt down and Peter Turner told Tāufa'āhau that the missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon them.'

Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however, that these laws (which were printed in May 1838) had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this date, for Dr Lyth, who was working at Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King [Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of Ha'apai] and gave them new laws. The meeting commenced by daylight and was ended in about two hours.'

When Tāufa'āhau became Tu'i Kanokupolu on 4 December 1845, it appeared that the same Code - or at least the principles of the same Code - was applied to Tongatapu as well, and to the rest of Tonga, until the new Code was promulgated in 1850.

Knowing that the King would hold a fono with his people

47 Ibid., 18 August 1845.
48 Vava'u came under his rule in 1833.
49 Lyth, Journal, 12 December 1838.
at Nuku'alofa on the morning of 9 January 1846, Thomas wrote to the King the night before, hoping it would assist him in preparing for his meeting with his people in the morning.  

On the day of the **fono**, Thomas recorded in his journal:

> After prayer, I heard the people were assembled with their King - I went down and sat in a private place, in order to hear his address without his seeing me, so that I may not be any hindrance to him. I think he spoke for half an hour. It was as good as a sermon to them... he spoke against the sins so common here - as Sabbath breaking - drinking to excess - adultery - fornication - stealing, etc., and instructed them to avoid such things, as being attended with much fatal consequences upon all....

> He exhorted them to many things and amongst others - that of contributing of oil towards the support of the cause of God - I hope much good will result from the truly Christian address.

BEING conscious of the rapid advance of the general education of his people, King George felt that there was a need for another more comprehensive Code of laws with which to govern his country more efficiently. He frequently and earnestly consulted the missionaries on the subject and at the end 'applied for their official help in framing them.'

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50 Thomas, Journal, 9 January 1846.
51 Ibid.
52 West, op. cit., 212.
The matter was brought up in the Annual Meeting of the missionaries in July 1847, at Nuku'alofa. Lawry, the then General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas, who visited Tonga and Fiji that year, presided over the meeting. After a careful discussion of the whole question, the missionaries suggested that the King should seek the advice and opinion of 'the highest English legal authority in New Zealand' on the matter. The King then wrote a letter on the subject and Lawry conveyed it to the appropriate quarter. In due course, the reply came advising the King that the best he could do was to adopt a Code of Laws similar to the Society Islands Laws published by William Ellis, making any modification necessary to suit the local situation.

The missionaries immediately prepared a translation of this Code of Laws which had been drawn up for Huahine in 1823, and placed it in the hands of the King and his chiefs for their consideration. The King and his chiefs held several meetings to discuss the laws. In these meetings they made many alterations, amendments as well as additions to the laws, and


a rough draft was drawn up.

In June 1850, the King and some of his chiefs attended the annual meeting of the missionaries which was held at Neiafu, Vava'u, to seek the advice and opinion of the missionaries on the rough draft they submitted to the meeting. One missionary wrote:

Upon carefully and unitedly examining and discussing the whole, we suggested several important alterations, which he [the King] and his native advisers were to consider for themselves, and to either adopt or reject as they might deem proper. We were very careful to impress them with the conviction, that these laws must be adopted and promulgated as their own and not as the laws of the missionaries.

One of the things advocated by the missionaries was some standard of appeal, so that the people would not be subject to the whim or caprice of any 'upstart native Judge, who may be as unfit for his office as a want of common sense can make him, but who may have got into office by mere favour or rank.' However, the missionaries found that the King's mind was not fully made up on the question, and he wanted to postpone it till he consulted with the chiefs of Tongatapu.

55 P. Turner to the Committee, 11 June 1850, W-M Mag., 1851, 511.
56 West, op. cit., 212f.
57 P. Turner to the Committee, 11 June 1850, W-M Mag., 1851, 511.
58 Ibid.
Accordingly the King and some of his chiefs from the northern groups sailed for Tongatapu in the mission vessel, John Wesley, to meet with the chiefs there. Thus, in the first week of July 1850, King George held his court at Nuku'alofa during which 'the Code was finally completed and made law by public and regal authority.'

In effect, the Code of 1850 turned out to be a revision and enlargement of the Vava'u Code of 1839 with only a few additional provisions from the Huahine Code. The missionaries were a little disappointed with the outcome, since several things they would have liked to have seen included were absent; at the same time, they found in it much that was contrary to their views. The sentiment of the missionaries was expressed by Lawry who again visited Tonga at this time. On 5 July 1850, he recorded in his journal:

The King is holding his court, and they have now fully agreed upon a Code of laws, which are to be published forthwith. They are not all that we could wish them to be; and this I told the King and Chiefs; remarking especially on the mode of paying the Judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat

59 West, op. cit., 213; see also R. Young, op. cit., 434-42, for the full text of the Code.

60 Neill, op. cit., 98; Wood, op. cit., 59.

61 West, op. cit., 213.
of justice: but the King's apology was, 'we must do things little by little.'\(^{62}\)

In spite of their disappointment, the missionaries believed that, on the whole, the Code of 1850 - with all its defects - was much in advance of the previous Code of 1839, and that it would, 'no doubt, prepare the way for something better still.'\(^{63}\)

As in the 1839 Code, the influence of the missionaries is apparent in the Code itself. Emphasis on industrious habits was again a feature. The Law referring to Men reads:

You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family, as well as yourself, and in order to trade and contribute to the cause of God and the chief of the land; and each man shall seek his piece of land to cultivate. Any man not willing to work, he shall neither be fed nor assisted; all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants and unprofitable to their friends. (Article XXXVI)

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62 Lawry, A Second Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, ... (London, 1851), 81.

63 West, op. cit., 213. Young (op. cit., 442) gave the following comment:

These laws are not all that could be desired, but they are nevertheless, much in advance of those which previously existed; .... The King is aware of their defects, and I have reason to believe that they will ere long be revised, and greatly improved. The power of George is great; but he exercises that power with much wisdom and equity: it may, however, be very unsafe to transmit it to his successor.
Quoting the above article as evidence, Thomson claimed that the missionaries designed the Code mainly for their own profit. 'Their hand', he wrote, 'is detected in the following excellent provision, designed to check the growing indolence of the people, and turn their labour into a channel of profit to the reverend legislators.'

On the other hand, the missionaries felt that they were only doing their duty in trying to inculcate in the minds of the Tongans that it was 'the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church, of personally contributing to the support and extension of missionary agencies.' The Law referring to the Women reads:

You must work, women, and persevere in labouring to clothe your husbands and children; unmarried women shall work to be useful to their relatives and parents. If they do not work, they shall not be fed or assisted; for our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil.

(Article XXXVII).

64 Thomson, op. cit., 221.

65 West, op. cit., 141f.

66 Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband,' he wrote, 'who was, and still is the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home.' It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the ngatu (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.
Sanctity of marriage again is an important feature of the 1850 Code. The Law referring to Man and Wife reads:

Marriage is a covenant between man and woman, that they shall be one and their property one, until the termination of the existence of one of them.

The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy. Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people,' wrote Thomas on 30 March 1831, 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polygamy [sic]. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive them into his family.' This attitude is reflected in Article VII which reads:

3. No man can have two wives, no woman two husbands at once, each to live with his or her lawful partner; should this law be broken, the parties shall be judged, and work as for committal of adultery.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among the Tongans. It was mainly held at night time, and usually it went on until the small hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and in twos they would melt into the dark. This was, of course, horrifying to the eyes of missionaries who, like all Evangelicals, viewed dancing with

67 Thomas, Journal, 30 March 1831.
disgust, as a great enticement to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing was the fact that it was often performed in connection with the old religious ceremonies. This view is expressed in Clause XI. The Law referring to Dances, and other Heathen Customs reads:

Let all people know that Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all Heathen customs; and if any are found practising such, they shall be tried, and, on being proved guilty, work one month; and, in case of repetition, two months. 68

It has been pointed out that the missionaries identified Christianity with 'civilization' and the latter with the customs and habits of an English town or village. In particular it was regarded as civilized for the men to clothe themselves like Englishmen, and still more important for the women to dress as Englishwomen. 'To dress otherwise, leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air was uncivilised, or worse.' 69 This view can be seen in Article XLI. The Law referring to Clothing reads:

The Chiefs, Governors, and people shall clothe.

Blanc has claimed that the European style of clothing was detrimental to the health of the Tongans. Being used to anointing their bodies with coconut oil when leaving their houses, and if caught in the rain receiving no hurt therefrom; they

68 Note Blanc's criticism of this law. See p. 272 above.

69 Collocott, King Taufa, 199.
neglected to change into dry clothes after a wetting, and so developed colds and chest troubles which later turned to the dread scourge of consumption.\textsuperscript{70}

The General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission was very disappointed that the promulgation of the 1850 Code had not been brought about earlier, since he could see no reasons for the long delay,\textsuperscript{71} and he implied that the missionaries, being the advisers, were to be blamed for it. However, Peter Turner explained that the Tongans were very jealous of any foreign interference, and sometimes even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they might not wish to bring them under some foreign government. This was the reason why they had not done more to promote a code of laws like those of the Society Islands and Hawaii. He wrote in June 1850, a month before the promulgation of the second Code of Laws in Tonga, 'We have left them to feel their own wants, and we hope now they will make some move towards improvement in civilization and political economy.'\textsuperscript{72}

\textbf{AMONG} other reasons, the two Codes are important for the fact

\textsuperscript{70} Blanc, op. cit., 43.
\textsuperscript{71} Lawry, op. cit., 82.
\textsuperscript{72} P. Turner to the Committee, 11 June 1850, \textit{W-M Mag.}, 1851, 511.
that they formed the basis of the future Constitution of Tonga. They made two very important steps. Firstly, they limited the power of the chiefs, and thereby raised, to some extent, the social, economic, religious as well as political status of the kau tu'a or me'avale. Secondly, by limiting the power of the chiefs they consolidated the new and powerful position of Hau.

The Law referring to the King (1850 Code) reads:

1. The King, being the root of all government in the land, it is for him to appoint those who shall govern in his land.

2. Whatever the King may wish done in his land, it is with him to command the assemblage of his Chiefs, to consult with him thereon.

4. The King is the Chief Judge; and anything the Judges may not be able to decide upon, shall be referred to the King, and whatever his decision may be, it shall be final.

The Law concerning Taxes reads:

Whatever the King deems proper, shall be done by the people for the King.

The analysis of the two Codes and the evidence available so far (up to the 1850s), indicate that although their influence was quite apparent in the Codes, the missionaries could not, and did not, dictate the laws to Tāufa'āhau and his chiefs. That

73 See p. 264 above.

74 C.f the position of the Hau prior to this period. See p. 55 above.
they did not do so can be attributed to the strong personality of Tāufa'āhau, and the chiefs' suspicion of any foreign interference in the affairs of their country. Having accepted Christianity, Tāufa'āhau and his chiefs sought the advice of the missionaries, that they might govern the country in accordance with Christian or 'civilized' principles. The missionaries offered their advice, but it was left to the King and his chiefs to decide what laws were most suitable for their people. It is quite obvious that the decisions the King and his chiefs had made were made by means of the new 'light' - dim though it might have been - which they had now received through the teaching of the missionaries.
THE missionaries were not alone in regarding the 1850 Code as inadequate for good government. The Rev. Robert Young, who was sent by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee on deputation to the South Seas in 1852-53, stated that King George was aware of the defects of the Code, and he himself had reason to believe that before long the King and his chiefs would revise it. The missionaries entertained the same hope, but it was not in fact fulfilled until some twelve years later.

A new and more comprehensive Code, revising and enlarging previous laws, was drawn up and promulgated by the King and his chiefs in 1862. Basil Thomson called it a constitution, because the Code included provisions which were 'constitutional' in nature, in that they furnished a framework of government. Clauses I, II and IV, for instance, were concerned

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1 Young, op. cit., 442.

2 West, op. cit., 213; Lawry, A Second Missionary Visit...

3 Thomson, op. cit., 223.
with the powers and duties of the King and his Assembly, the Judges and Governors, respectively.  

The promulgation of the Code produced great excitement among some of the friends and supporters of the mission who regarded it as a remarkable achievement on the part of the missionaries. With obviously deep feelings, the Rev. W.M. Punshon, M.A., a prominent member of the Missionary Committee in London, declared:

The Friendly Islands demand a little notice at our hands. A very remarkable instance of the collateral results of Missions has been there furnished us during the year. This extraordinary code is a model of jurisprudence.... In plain straight forward speech, it announces its meaning, which nobody can misunderstand. It is not faultless of course. You do not expect the first Code of laws of any nation to be absolutely without blemish. That is not very common, even in British legislation.... I claim for Christianity first and foremost, a tribute of recognition and of thankfulness; and I claim for your earnest, loving, and unostentatious pioneering Missionaries of the Friendly Islands the tribute that is due to heroes, and the recognition of the sublime greatness which shall outlive the lapse of time.

However, these sentiments were not shared by the enemies of the mission, who viewed this Code of Laws with utter contempt. They regarded it as a political blunder instigated by men who were unqualified for such a highly specialized venture. Thomson afterwards wrote:

4 See Appendix C.

5 Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1863, quoted in W-M Mag., 1863, 750.
King George - to his credit be it said - long resisted the importunities of the missionaries to grant his people a Constitution, and ape the form of government evolved in Europe from centuries of civilisation.... In 1862 he yielded, and signed a bran-new Constitution drawn up by the missionaries, after a model devised for the King of Hawaii by a Mr St Julian.6

Both Punshon and Thomson, though diametrically opposed in their attitudes towards the mission, shared in common the view that the missionaries were largely responsible for this Code. However, it is necessary to question the correctness of their assertions. What part did the missionaries in fact play in this historic event? Did they participate in the drawing up of this Code upon the official request of the King and his chiefs, as they had done in the case of the 1850 Code of Laws? These issues must now be considered.

THE second half of the 1850s and the first half of the 'sixties witnessed a steadily widening rift in the 'marriage of convenience' between the State and Church in Tonga. This rift prevented the missionaries as a body from giving King George and his chiefs the kind of assistance which they had previously offered, in their role as political advisers to the King. There were many contributing causes to the rift.

6 Thomson, op. cit., 222-3.
Many chiefs and their peoples accepted Christianity, as has been previously stated, not on grounds of personal conviction but for reasons of loyalty to, or fear of, the powerful King George and his Christian followers. They met in classes and performed religious obligations largely because the King wanted them to do as he and his supporters did. For a time, the emotional fire of the religious revivals, which spread with such power in the second half of the 1830s and also in the 'forties, affected even these nominal Christians, so that scarcely anyone remained untouched by the revivalism in one way or another.

But the effects were not lasting, and gradually the excitement and enthusiasm wore off, particularly amongst the chiefs. Some began to realize that they had a heavy price to pay for their conversion, for they were required to surrender many of the social, economic and political privileges which for centuries had been regarded as the exclusive birthright of their socio-political class. They began to wonder if they had made a sound choice, and some began to react against the missionaries.

Some of the novelty attached to the work of the missionaries had worn off. Literacy which had been a prerogative

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7 See p. 223 above; also p. 417 below.

8 See p. 138 above.

9 See p. 437 below; also Thomson, op. cit., 365.
of the missionaries from the beginning had become common to most Tongans by the latter half of the 1850s, when many had the ability to read and write and could teach others to do the same. Nor was the activity of the press any longer regarded with awe and wonder, and its exciting effect upon the mind of the people was fast disappearing.

The monopoly of the Wesleyan missionaries in the use of medicine, which for two decades had won them admiration, affection and respect from the people, was now seriously challenged by the Roman Catholic Mission. Owing to the great demand for medicine and its short supply, since the Committee provided an insufficient amount, the Wesleyan missionaries were forced to buy extra supplies of medicine and also to charge a small fee for its distribution. The Roman Catholic priests had meanwhile decided to distribute their medicine free among their members.

John Thomas wrote:

The Priests, it seems spare no pains in order to make converts, or rather, to prevent the people from the right ways of the Lord. In case of anyone taking medicine from them that is understood to be a sign of their turning - and some one is sent at once to perform worship in the house, and thus introduce popery into that family. And then, while we require a small remuneration for our medicine - they give it, and give it at any time. But we had to fix a time to give it, and to require our people to come at that time - or go back, in some cases, without it, as we have other duty to attend to, besides preparing and serving out medicine.¹⁰

¹⁰ Thomas, Journal, 6 May 1856.
The missionaries' monopoly of trade, because of their possession of ample supplies of articles for barter, was similarly affected. The challenge this time came not only from the Roman Catholic priests but also from traders who had now established themselves in the various islands of Tonga.\(^\text{11}\)

The absence of respectable settlers in the islands, before the 'fifties, had made it inevitable for King George and his chiefs to rely almost completely on the missionaries for advice concerning the previous two Codes of Laws and also Tonga's foreign relations.\(^\text{12}\) However, this situation was altered by the presence of other European settlers in Tonga, from the mid-'fifties onwards,\(^\text{13}\) who seriously challenged the

\(^{11}\) West, op. cit., 431; also Adams to Eggleston, 18 October 1858.

\(^{12}\) In 1844 Aleamotu'a, then Tu'i Kanokupolu, probably on the advice of the missionaries, 'dictated a letter to the Queen of England, imploring her protection against the French, whose proceedings at Tahiti and elsewhere, had filled him and his people with alarm', Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1846, 44, cited by Farmer, op. cit., 364. The original of this letter is in the Mitchell Library, and a translation is in the Dominion Archives, Wellington, N.Z.

In 1847 King George also sent a letter to Governor Grey of New Zealand for the same purpose. See Lawry, Friendly and Ferejee Islands... (London, 1850), 62. (There is a smaller edition published in the same year, and this information is found on p. 24.) A copy of the letter is in the Dominion Archives, Wellington, N.Z.

\(^{13}\) See West, op. cit., 431.
missionaries' role, as unofficial political advisers, a role which had been forced upon them by the very nature of their work.

Another factor threatening to undermine both the prestige and popularity of the missionaries was the pride of the chiefs. Conscious of the fact that the chiefs were their protégés in religious and educational matters, the missionaries tended at times to adopt a patronizing attitude which the chiefs resented.

One missionary wrote:

The missionaries or some of them are not one with the King and the chiefs. The old missionaries know what they were, remember how they have taught them and that all they are they owe to them; on the other hand, the chiefs are beginning to be ashamed of being reminded what they were, and wish people to remember what they are - and are only - this is certainly one cause, that the missionaries are at a distance with the King or rather he with them....

All these things contributed in one way or another to the gradual decline of the prestige of the missionaries in the eyes of the chiefs and helped to widen the gulf between them. Even King George, himself the hero and protector of the Wesleyan cause, was no exception.

As early as 1850 there was obviously some strain in the relationship between the King and John Thomas, then chairman of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga. On the day he left Tonga for

14 Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., S.W. Baker.
England for the first time after almost twenty-four years of continual service in Tonga, Thomas painfully recorded in his journal, 'Many natives now come to take leave...but the King I leave not in good state of mind...I regret he should have so far yielded to the enemy.'\(^{15}\) Apparently, one of the reasons for these strained relations was due to a suspicion that Thomas had used cunning in order to try to obtain Tonga for Great Britain 'merely because [he] advised the King at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for protection - to offer themselves to be the friends - or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves).'\(^{16}\) This suspicion was aggravated by another case in which, according to the Missionary Committee, a person (most likely Thomas) employed to write to Queen Victoria, in 1856 on behalf of the King, had made an error by representing the King as wishing to cede Tonga to Her Majesty when he had only desired to establish friendly relations with the Sovereign

\(^{15}\) Thomas, Journal, 21 February 1850.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., 19 November 1849.
of Great Britain. The result was that when Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859 he wrote with obviously heavy heart:

The King is not coming, so I shall not have the privilege of bidding him farewell. He is busy, it seems, building his house.... One of his sons, as he is called, expresses his great surprise at this part of the King's conduct - that any house building should have been so important as to detain [sic] him from seeing me before I left.18

WHILE the decrease in missionary influence was obvious in the framing of the 1862 Code, non-missionary influence was quite marked. This was partly brought about by a revival of interest in some of the old Tongan customs and forms of entertainment, which may account for the disappearance of the provisions prohibiting dancing and all heathen customs,19 and partly by the growing contact of the Tongan leaders, especially King

17 This is the letter referred to in footnote 12 above. Lawry (op. cit., 62) wrote:

King George has committed to me a letter to his Excellency Governor Grey, of New Zealand, desiring to be under the shadow of British power, and asking the Governor to inquire respecting a letter which had been sent by a former King of Tonga to the Queen, but to which no answer had been received. The King renews the proposal therein made, that he and his people become not merely the allies, but the subjects, of the British crown. This is done because they fear the French, whose base conduct towards the people of Tahiti is fully known here.


19 See p. 444 below.
The chiefs in Tonga valued the skills and services of Europeans. It had been, at one time, a matter of prestige among the chiefs to have a papālangi (European) resident. King George himself had employed a few Europeans in the palace, as early as the 1840s, including an ex-convict from Australia, to the utter disgust of the missionaries. The King established close associations with the new European settlers in Tonga, met and received advice from friendly sea captains and British Consuls, and also faced the hostile representatives of unfriendly or indifferent powers. An intimate friendship developed

20 Thomas, Journal, 28 February 1856.

21 Lawry, (Second Missionary Visit..., 95) wrote:
The King has learned from the captain of the 'Meander' that he ought to hoist his flag, and the ships of war would salute the same. The King has come to us and said, 'I will fix the flagstaff in the ground, and you will please to prepare the flag'.

22 Thomas (Journal, 27 October 1849) reported:
The Consul [Pritchard] has interested himself greatly in behalf of this place - he has proposed to the King a few alterations as to the Port Regulations - also will write and advise him, as to some better mode of employing persons who have to work for the government.

23 See p. 523 below.
between himself and Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, who exhibited much interest in the affairs of Tonga. These wider ranging contacts must have had some influence on the King's political thinking. They certainly coloured his estimation of missionaries of the 'Thomas school' with the paternalistic attitudes, and he was further driven to seek help and advice from non-missionary sources.

By far the most penetrating non-missionary influence on the Code came as a result of the King's visit to Sydney, and his subsequent political correspondence with Charles St Julian, law reporter of the Sydney Morning Herald, and later

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24 See Grey to George Tupou, 22 December 1847. In another letter, 3 April 1849, Sir George wrote:

This subject of the Education of your son, and of the children of some of your principal chiefs should constantly occupy your mind. The best mode of accomplishing it would be send your son accompanied by some other children to New Zealand. I have myself no children my only little boy having died, and Lady Grey and myself would take every care of your son whilst he continued here. He could live with us whilst the other children could be sent to the Educational Establishment of the Wesleyan Missionaries.

Archives of the Governor-General, Letters to Military and Naval Officers, 11 November 1847-27 December 1854, C 7 33/1, Dominion Archives, Wellington, N.Z.

25 See Young, op. cit., 221.
Hawaiian Consul in Sydney.²⁶

King George embarked on the mission vessel, John Wesley, for a trip to Sydney in 1853. The idea was originally suggested by Rabone. The missionaries believed that it was a good idea for King George to visit New South Wales to see how the people of civilized countries lived and managed their affairs.²⁷ The King eagerly accepted the idea and was ready to leave Tonga on a man-of-war, 'but the Missionaries, fearing that influences unfriendly to his spirituality might possibly act upon him in such a vessel',²⁸ persuaded him to wait for their own vessel, the John Wesley.

The extent of the impact of this new experience on the King's mind remains a matter for conjecture, but one wonders whether he may not have received a similar impression to the one expressed by his son, Tēvita 'Unga, when he visited Sydney in 1872. When 'Unga returned to Tonga, he told the people that he had discovered on his trip that 'rulers' (kau pule) in Sydney were not all ministers of religion but business men! For a

²⁶ See Morrell, op. cit., 131; West, op. cit., 392. St Julian was Hawaiian Consul-General for Australia and the Western Pacific. See Rutherford, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, A.N.U., 1966, 44.

²⁷ Informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Salote. See also p. 176 above.

²⁸ Young, op. cit., 213.
while he refused to have anything to do with the work of the mission.  

There was one experience, however, which left a marked impression on King George, and which later reflected in the 1862 Code of Laws. This was his encounter with poverty, during his visit to Sydney. It has been said that he saw many poorly dressed people, obviously ill-fed, sleeping in the parks. He asked about these people, and was told they were homeless people who had no place to go. This state of affairs was greatly surprising to King George, who, with his innocent and simple logic, could not understand how there could be homeless and poverty-stricken people in a land as large and obviously rich as Australia. His heart was so full of pity for the plight of these people, that he determined that such an appalling situation should never be allowed to arise in Tonga. The King was also very impressed with the leasehold system of land tenure which he saw in Sydney, and he made up his mind that the land in Tonga should be distributed among his own people along similar lines.

This appears to have been the origin of King George's idea of legislating for the individual ownership of land - a

29 W.T. Rabone to his father, 5 July 1872, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.
30 Informants, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, and the Hon. Veʻehala and Siolaʻā Soakai.
revolutionary change in the system of land tenure in Tonga.

The prohibition of the sale of land which appeared in Clause II of the 1862 Code was only a legalization of customary land tenure, but the notion of individual ownership of land by leasehold was something quite new.

One can observe the influence of his overseas experience in the following provisions in the Code:

XXXIV The law concerning tribute

6 And the chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need, which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for any chief to dispossess them, or any other person.

7 And the King affectionately recommends that the size of the farms be increased according to the number of the family.

Although documentary evidence is lacking, it seems highly probable that King George met Charles St Julian in Sydney towards the end of 1853 or just prior to his return to Tonga, in early 1854. St Julian was well known for his interest in the affairs of the island kingdoms of the Pacific. Considering his involvement in Pacific politics, it would be very surprising if he did not present himself to King George in Sydney.

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31 See p. 35 above.
32 See Appendix C.
33 Rutherford, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, 44. Rutherford states that the contact between King George and St Julian was occasioned by the visit to Tonga in 1854 of Henry de Boos, Charles St Julian's consular attaché.
any rate, St Julian wrote several letters to King George in 1854 and 1855.\(^{34}\)

The missionary, Thomas West, reported that he had received an official document from St Julian towards the end of 1854, which the latter had asked him to translate for King George. According to West this document contained three main suggestions: that Hawaii and Tonga would enter into political and commercial relationships; that the King would take steps to secure a formal recognition of his independence by foreign powers; and that he should establish a constitutional government. This document, together with a copy of the Constitution adopted by Hawaii at this time, was accordingly translated and presented to King George.\(^{35}\)

The King appears to have given the submission careful consideration, but he thought that 'the introduction of such a movement would be inopportune.'\(^{36}\) In a letter, addressed to St Julian on 24 November 1854, thanking him for his letters and for his desire to help him and his people to elevate his

\(^{34}\) St Julian to the Minister of Foreign Relations, Honolulu, 3 December 1855, Foreign Office and External Papers, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu (photostat copy).

\(^{35}\) West, op. cit., 393.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.
Kingdom, King George stated:

My Kingdom is established in these days. It has its laws and the people obey them.... I greatly desire in these days to raise my people and my land that they may become civilised like the various Kingdoms of the world...and this is the Book of our Laws that I send you. Do you look into it, and if there be anything that seems strange or wrong you make it known to me and I will consider respecting it.37

St Julian followed this up with another three letters in 1855. In the first, dated 25 April, he stated the objects of his correspondence.

I have not the slightest desire to dictate. I tender advice because Your Majesty has requested me so to do: because it is my earnest desire,... that your Kingdom should be permanently independent; and because it is only by the establishment of a good and efficient government that this permanent independence can be secured.38

His other letters contained a comprehensive outline of the system of government which he suggested might be adopted by King George,39 and also advice on matters relating to foreign relations, military defence and public revenue.40

37 Tupou to St Julian, 24 November 1854, English translation, F/O and External Papers, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu (photostat copy).
38 St Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855, F/O and External Papers, Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu (photostat copy).
39 St Julian to Tupou, 15 October 1855.
40 Ibid.
St Julian emphasized the need to improve the commerce of the country and suggested that Tonga could do so by developing a cotton industry. He pointed out that the fertility and suitability of the soil for cotton growing would attract planters, who would never be short of excuses for seizing the land, and the only way to prevent this from happening would be to have a well organized and well administered government.  

The missionaries' resentment of St Julian's encroachment upon what they regarded as their sphere of influence is demonstrated by a letter, addressed on their behalf to the Colonial Office, 'offering reasons against the appointment of Charles St Julian Esq. to the Office of Consul of the British Government In Tonga, or the Friendly Islands.'

The missionaries saw the advantage to Tonga of adopting

41 Ibid. During the 1860s compulsory planting of cotton was instituted in Tonga though with disappointing results. The British Consul, H.M. Jones, stated in a letter to King George, in 1866, that:

notwithstanding the high price of cotton in the markets of the world large quantities are suffered to lie wasted in these Islands [Tonga]...the power which compelled them to plant cotton should likewise force them to gather it, for one step seems as necessary as the other.

Jones to King George, 31 August 1866. H.B.M. Consul Fiji and Tonga, Outward Letters, II, 4 January 1866-27 August 1869, Fiji Archives, Suva.

42 E. Hoole to B. Lython, 27 July 1858.
a constitutional government and of being recognized as equal by all the great nations of the world; yet despite their belief 'that the Tonguese [had] better capabilities, and greater facilities for becoming an important people, than even the Hawaiians', who, in fact, had achieved international recognition for their independence, they felt that such sweeping reforms and alterations in the political condition as those proposed by St Julian, ought to be brought about gradually. King George appeared to have shared this opinion of the missionaries, for a time, but events of the following years reveal that he was forced by circumstances to adopt many of the measures suggested by St Julian.

Early in 1855 the French Governor of Tahiti, M. Du Bouzet, arrived in Tonga with a Treaty, already prepared in advance, and practically forced King George to sign it. However, this Treaty was important, in that it was the first formal recognition by any foreign nation, of the independence of Tonga and also the sovereignty of King George. Disturbed by the nature of this agreement and the way it was thrust upon the King, West reported that he 'urged upon the King the adoption of the measures necessary to obtain a still more direct and

43 West, op. cit., 393.
44 For the text of the Treaty, see West, op. cit., 388-90. Also Wood, op. cit., 56; Blanc, op. cit., 43.
complete recognition of Tonguese independence from the home governments of France, England and America, such as was obtained by the Sandwich Islands in 1843. \(^45\)

Accordingly, King George addressed an official communication to Queen Victoria on 12 May 1856 asking Her Majesty's Government to recognize and guarantee to the Tongans the independence of their Kingdom. He wrote:

> We are a weak and small Kingdom and fear the encroachments of the great foreign powers. We desire to retain our lands, rule our people in the fear of God, and live in peace. And we entreat that our independent existence as a Kingdom may be recognised by Your Majesty and guaranteed to us. \(^46\)

He continued to plead that Tonga would enter into a Treaty of Commerce and Amity with Great Britain. Owing to an error made by the merchant to whom this communication was entrusted, the letter did not reach its destination till 1858, and was then only to be turned down. In the same year the Captain of a French frigate, *La Bayonnaise*, 'required' King George to depose Siosaia Lausi'i from his position of Governor of Ha'apai, and to convey the Roman Catholic priests, their servants and their

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\(^45\) West, op. cit., 391.

\(^46\) King George to Queen Victoria, 12 May 1856. A copy is also among the Wesleyan Mission Papers in the Manuscript Collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.
luggage to Ha'apai, grant them a piece of land, and build them two houses equal in every way to those occupied by the Wesleyan missionaries - all because Siosaia Lausi'i had refused to permit Father Calinon to land and start work in Ha'apai before he had consulted the King on the subject. These experiences only deepened the King's conviction that there was a tremendous need to establish a government which would be recognized, and whose laws would be respected by the civilized nations of the world, if the independence of Tonga was to be assured.

In order to make these necessary reforms, King George called a fakataha (meeting) of his chiefs the following year, 1859, at Nuku'alofa, which was followed up by one in 1860 in Ha'apai and another in Vava'u in 1861. The King found it very difficult to obtain the chiefs' agreement to the reforms which he himself wanted to make in their laws. The chiefs were unwilling to part with their remaining privileges. In the famous fakataha at Pouono, the mala'e at Neiafu, Vava'u, in 1861, many chiefs the opposed/Emancipation Edict, complaining that the King had already

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47 Morrell, op. cit., 315. For a further account of the difficulties with the French see pp. 520-4 below.

48 Tupou to St Julian, 24 November 1854.

49 Lee to Committee, 4 September 1860, Missionary Notices, 1862, 293; Whewell to Eggleston, 23 June 1862; Blanc, op. cit., 43.
deprived them of their power and consequently of much of their prestige, and now he was going to deprive them of the only remaining privilege upon which they were dependent for their living - the fatongia (enforced labour). 'What would happen to us?' asked Tungi, one of the leading chiefs, 'we cannot fish, we cannot till the land, we cannot do anything for our living. Why don't you just take the ngia and leave us the fato?'

The King, however, saw the answer to the chiefs' complaint in the rent which was to be paid them by the land-holders for their tax-allotments.

King George also seems to have been convinced of the need and of the wisdom of establishing a public revenue, as St Julian had emphasized in his letters. Customs duties were levied on wines and spirits, arms and ammunition. A licence of 100 dollars per annum was required for the sale of spirits, and every male over sixteen was to pay a poll-tax. The following law was enacted in the 1862 Code in order to boost the economy so that people would be able to pay their rent and tax:

Reference to the prohibition in the 1852 Code of taking by force (either by a chief or any other person) the property of any person. See Appendix B, section XIII.

Informant, Siola'â Soakai. Ngia for ngeia meaning prestige derived from power; fato for fatongia, enforced labour. It is a play on words.

See Appendix C, sections XXXVII and XXXIX.
When the land is divided among the people, if there be a part that is not used by the people, as farms, or in any way, it shall be resumed by the Government....

This provision would encourage the productive utilization of land, and indirectly promote the growth of income.

IT is clear that at the time of the preparation of the 1862 Code, the relationship between the missionaries of the 'Thomas school' and the King was so bad that they were all, collectively and individually, out of favour with the King. They were therefore not in any position to be asked by the King and the chiefs to offer advice on the drawing up of the Code.

When John Thomas left in 1859 the Rev. Thomas Adams became the chairman of the mission. Adams was a very able man and was on very good terms with King George who entrusted to him the education of his son. Unfortunately Adams's wife died in 1860 and he had to return to England. The Rev. W.J. Davis, who had served in Tonga from 1848 to 1856, was sent back to Tonga from Australia and was to be the chairman of the mission from 1861 to 1866.

53 King George to Eggleston, 14 September 1858, Wesleyan Missionary Society, MS Papers, 66:8.
Within a year of his chairmanship, Davis became involved in a head-on clash with the King and his chiefs over the funeral of King George's son, Vuna, who died on 2 January 1862. The chiefs and relatives of the King had decided to revive the old custom of tukufo (presentation of gifts at funerals), which was still prohibited by the Society, but had been made legal by the State the previous year. Davis, standing firm by the rules of the Society, decided to dismiss all the chiefs and people who were involved in this matter from membership of the Society. The King took it as a personal insult and decided to resign all his positions in the church, and the Queen did the same.

The members of the Committee were obviously disturbed by this dramatic development, for they knew only too well how much their work in Tonga depended on King George and his support. The Chairman, however, defending his stand in the dispute, wrote to the Committee declaring, 'We must be prepared to do battle with the enemy in high places.' To which Eggleston, the Secretary of the Committee, replied:

54 Whewell to Eggleston, 23 June 1862.
56 Ibid., 5 March 1861.
57 Davis to Eggleston, 18 March 1862, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.
If this means 'do battle with those who speak evil of dignities and bring the discipline of the church to bear upon slanderers and backbiters' I think you have the word of God on your side.... But if 'doing battle' is opposing George and his chiefs in their political measures, or giving countenance to their slanderers and defamers neither God nor man ought to wish prosperity to such conduct. 58

Among the younger missionaries, there was one who had arrived in Tonga in 1860 and who had a rather different outlook. He was not highly educated, but was gifted, vigorous, full of enthusiasm and very ambitious. He appeared to be more liberal than the senior missionaries. This young man was Shirley Waldemar Baker, who was destined to make a name for himself in the history of the little Kingdom of Tonga. He quickly gained the favour of the King and his chiefs who appeared to resent the paternalism of the older missionaries, and were probably longing for someone different. Apparently King George felt that this young missionary was the very one they needed, for it was to him, and him alone among the missionaries, that the King turned for advice. Baker wrote in 1863:

With regard to the new laws, the King asked me my advice and opinion etc. I replied I was a junior minister, it would be better for him to ask one of the Senior Brethren, he said he would not ask me to do or say anything which grieve another - he asked me not as a minister but as a friend.

58 Eggleston to Davis, n.d., A.W.M.S., T.S.L.
I said on those conditions I would give him any advice or anything he wanted, the result is that most of the new laws are the result of my conversations with the King. I wrote them and they were printed almost exactly - I told his Majesty not to take my advice but to use his own judgment upon them - that I would bear no responsibility, he replied he should get all the advice he could and use his own judgment.59

There have been some doubts raised as to the part Baker claimed to have played in drawing up the Code. Because Baker had only been in Tonga for two years, some argued that his knowledge of the language was barely sufficient for such a difficult job. However, Baker appears to have learned the Tongan language very quickly, 'preaching his first sermon in Tongan a month after his arrival.'60 It has also been alleged that Baker did not have the necessary training for this kind of specialized task. 'It may be supposed', argued Consul Layard, 'that this gentleman, from his antecedents, is not especially qualified for making the part of a legislator, and yet he manufactures new Constitutions and Laws, which are accepted.' Baker answered:


60 L. and B. Baker, Memoirs, op. cit., 6; Missionary Notices, April 1861, 243.
I was not aware it was the part of the instructions of Consuls to investigate the antecedents of the missionaries. Before entering the ministry I was studying the profession of my choice, that of the law, and under one who afterwards proved himself to be amongst the first of the profession; hence I have perhaps as good an idea as some others.61

When one examines the 1850 and 1862 Codes of Laws closely one finds that about 75 per cent of the main clauses of the 1862 Code were taken out of the 1850 Code with changes of wording and alterations in the arrangement of clauses. In the 1850 Code, for example, the law concerning land is found in clause XXIX which reads:

The Law referring to the Soil

It shall not be lawful for any chief or people in Tonga, Haapai, or Vavau, to sell a portion of land to strangers (i.e. foreigners); it is forbidden; and any one who may break this law shall be severely punished.62

Whereas in the 1862 Code it is found in the second clause and reads:

II The law concerning the land

It shall in no wise be lawful for a chief or people in this kingdom of Tonga to sell a piece of land to a foreign people - it is verily, verily forbidden for ever and ever; and should any one break this law he shall work as a convict all the days of his life until he die, and his progeny shall be expelled from the land.63

62 See Appendix B.
63 See Appendix C.
The fact that a considerable proportion of the 1862 Code of Laws was a reproduction of the earlier 1850 Code shows that even if Baker's knowledge of the Tongan language was imperfect at the time and the story of his law studies a fabrication, he could still have managed to play the part he claimed to have played in drawing up the Code. Baker had nothing essentially new to contribute to the Code, for most of the provisions which appeared to be new were merely the results of the logical development in King George's own political thinking. Even the laws concerning the emancipation of the people, the credit for which Baker had claimed for himself, seem to stem from King George, who, as early as 1839, had legislated against the old custom of hunuki, that is, marking or tabooing for the chiefs things belonging to the commoners, particularly food crops. In the 1850 Code of Laws one finds the following enactment:

XIII The Law referring to taking anything forcibly

Let all persons know, that taking anything forcibly, or on the score of relationship, is strictly forbidden. If any one takes that which is the property of another without his (the owner's) consent, the Judges shall reprimand him, and he shall bring back that which he took; and in case of his repeating the act, he shall pay four times the value of the article he has taken by force; or, on

64 See Appendix A.
the score of relationship, twice the value of the thing taken to the owner, and twice its value to the King.\textsuperscript{65}

This provision certainly went much further than the first one in 1839, although other provisions in the Code still allowed the chiefs to order their people to work for them. However, this development reached its culmination in 1862 when it was enacted that:

XXXIV 2. All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage, from the institution of this law; and it shall not be lawful for any chief or person, to seize, or take by force, or beg authoritatively, in Tonga fashion, anything from anyone.\textsuperscript{66}

It should by now be apparent that Baker's part in this Code was limited to discussing it with the King and to committing these laws to writing at the request of the King himself. These were important functions of course, for the King and his chiefs were neither capable of deciding whether the laws which they wished to enact were in accord with the legal requirements of civilized countries (a thing which the King especially wanted to achieve)\textsuperscript{67} nor of setting the Code

\textsuperscript{65} See Appendix B.

\textsuperscript{66} See Appendix C.

\textsuperscript{67} Tupou to St Julian, 24 November 1854.
down in written form. Despite his claims, however, Baker appears to have had little to do with the actual content of the laws. The Code which was promulgated was in effect the entire responsibility of King George and to a lesser extent of his chiefs, for they had to give it their approval.

The rift between the King and the missionaries did not affect his acceptance of the Christian principles which they had taught him. King George was absolutely convinced that the way of life that Christian civilization had to offer was the best way of life for his people. Even when he decided to give up his positions in the Society as local preacher and class leader, he never ceased to be grateful for the work done by the Wesleyan missionaries for Tonga. In a speech which he delivered on a school examination day at Nuku'alofa in 1863, King George said:

I wish to express publicly my thanks on behalf of myself and the Government to you the Wesleyan Missionaries, and through you to your Conference, for the strenuous, and generous efforts you make to instruct and elevate the people of this Kingdom. I feel that it is just and right for me to do this. I do not do it by way of flattery...I state now what is the true feeling of my heart. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that whatever of good we have among us; civil or social, domestic or national, temporal or spiritual...we owe it all under God to that noble Christian Institution 'The Wesleyan Missionary Society', and you its indefatigable agents....68

68 Whewell to Eggleston, 27 October 1863, A.W.M.L., L.R., T.M.L.
He then went on to say that thanks should be expressed by deeds as well as words and promised to replace the old chapel with one as good as he and his people could possibly build free of charge to the Society. He then donated 2,000 dollars towards the cost of the proposed new chapel. In fact King George had nothing against the actual work of the mission. What he resented was the paternalism of the missionaries. Together with this was his suspicion that the missionaries were plotting against the much treasured independence of Tonga by trying to get the island Kingdom for Great Britain. 69

The King did not completely ignore the sentiments of the missionaries and still valued their opinions on certain matters. One of the things which worried them for instance, was the method used for the payment of the judges. It consisted of the distribution of convicted persons among them, to labour

69 This was an unfortunate misunderstanding. The missionaries were never opposed to the independence of Tonga. In fact they very much approved of it, for they were proud of the fact that Tonga as a Kingdom was, in a way, the product of their work. However, the missionaries were convinced that their opponents, the Roman Catholic priests, were working with determination to get France to annex Tonga as she had Tahiti. They reasoned, therefore, that if Tonga was to lose its independence, it would be far better for the Tongans themselves, and for the work of their mission, for the country to be under the British government rather than the French. See Thomas, Journal, 19 November 1849.
The missionaries believed that this kind of payment by convict labour would easily corrupt the seat of justice. The King's response to this sentiment may be seen in the following provision in the 1862 Code:

XXXVI  The law concerning Judges, Rulers and Officers

2. The King shall pay from the State Treasury the salaries of the Governors, Judges, Rulers and Officers, and shall pay them quarterly.

3. Criminals shall work for, and pay fines to the State..., and the money shall go to the Government.

Neither were the missionaries happy with leaving the punishment of offenders to the discretion of the judges. They argued that the judges' decisions could easily be influenced by the knowledge that they would be paid for their work by having the prisoners who were about to be sentenced work for them. The spokesman for the missionaries discussed this with the King in 1850 after the promulgation of the Code of Laws of that year, but the King's reply was that he and his chiefs wanted to do things step by step. An example of this modification can be seen in the provisions in the 1850 Code:

VII  The law referring to man and wife

3. No man can have two wives, no woman two

70 Lawry, Second Missionary Visit..., 81.
71 Ibid.
husbands at once.... Should this law be broken, the parties shall be judged, and work as for committal of adultery.

4. Another thing forbidden is, the improper interference of any one to promote or stop a marriage.... Should this law be broken, the punishment to be inflicted shall be with the Judge.

The experiences of the intervening years appear to have convinced King George that the view of the missionaries on this question was correct, for in the Code of 1862 a dramatic change was made, and the same laws expressed thus:

**VII The law concerning Marriage**

3. It shall not be lawful to have more than one wife, or husband...; and whoever shall break this law shall be kept to hard labour for the space of three years,....

4. And besides, it shall not be lawful for any one to interfere to prevent a marriage...; and any who break this law shall be fined ten dollars.

Another matter which had caused some concern to the missionaries was the absolute power of the King, which they believed was far too great. While they were satisfied that King George exercised this power with great prudence and equity, they feared that such power would probably be quite unsafe in the hands of his successors.  

A response to this may be seen in the following provision.

72 See Young, op. cit., 442.
I  The law concerning the King

3. And whatsoever things are written in these laws, it shall not be lawful for the King to act contrary thereto, but to act according to them as well as his people.

From the start, the missionaries had recognized the importance of education in lifting the general standards of the people. 73 One missionary wrote, '...a great work remains to be done. There are multitudes of young persons growing up, who if not blessed with a proper training - physical, moral and religious - will be the pests of society, and worse than heathen, if possible.' 74

At first the Tongans showed great interest and enthusiasm for education, but by the 'fifties many had become apathetic and the majority had ceased to attend school. One missionary wrote in 1857:

We stand by our schools, and are trying to prosecute this department of work with vigour. It is very arduous and often discouraging, through the indolence and indifference of the people. Civilization and commerce are not yet sufficiently advanced to make them feel so deeply the importance of secular knowledge, as to impel them onward in its pursuit as ardently as to conquer the natural indifference of a tropical constitution; hence we are often

73 See p. 160 above.

74 Lee to General Secretary, 20 August 1858, Missionary Notices, January 1859, 10.
discouraged, but 'though faint we yet pursue'.

The missionaries were very concerned about this situation. They discussed the matter with the King and his governors and the result may be seen in the following enactment:

XXXII The law concerning parents who neglect their children's education

Whoever shall neglect to send their children to the schools shall be fined ten dollars.

Naturally, the missionaries were pleased about this, for it must be remembered that the only schools which existed at this time were mission schools. One missionary wrote of this law:

I am thankful to entertain the hope that the King, in conjunction with his chiefs, has enlarged our field of usefulness by compelling parents to educate their children.... Many of the parents took their children away from the school or allowed them to neglect it; but this will not be the case in future. The people have been set at liberty by a good King, and one of their best interests has evidently not been overlooked in the enactment of such a law. Wisdom is the handmaid of Religion, and we hope that our labour to extend the Gospel, by religiously educating the rising generation, will produce much fruit.

75 Whewell to General Secretary, 5 December 1857, Missionary Notices, April 1858, 53.

76 Thomas, Journal, 14 April 1856.

77 Firth to General Secretary, 4 September 1862, Missionary Notices, April 1863, 355.
THE promulgation of the 1862 Code had a mixed reception from the missionaries. Baker praised the event very highly, while another missionary, Whewell, wrote critically:

The doings of this parliament will affect our work in its most fundamental organizations and institutions...in a way you little anticipate.... Our Native Agencies have heretofore been free from all Government work and all taxes - for their work's sake - They are now to be on a level with others in everything - many will leave the work unless we can pay them a small salary. Without this they cannot pay their taxes. It would be easy to pay this if it were likely that contributions would now be equal to years gone by, but this is not probable, because the amount of direct taxation - 12/- per man annually - besides ground rent is more than they can do.... And if the people be so heavily taxed we shall have little oil to send up to the Committee year by year.... The meaning of all this is easily explained. Many of our head chiefs are worldly as the New Zealanders. They have long looked with an anxious eye on the shipments of Mission oil and Europeans have not been wanting to tell them what a fine revenue for them this oil will make. They are now trying it. The result on your balance sheet will be anything but agreeable I fear.

There were other missionaries who feared that the emancipation of the people might encourage the commoners to revive the old heathen customs and ways which were unacceptable to Christianity. In the mission report of 1866 it was stated that:

78 Baker, 11 August 1862, Missionary Notices, January 1863, 349-50; W-M Mag., May 1863, 520.

79 Whewell to Eggleston, 23 June 1862, A.W.M.S., L.R., T.M.L.
The many and great changes introduced by the operation of the new code of Laws, and the state of unrestrained freedom now enjoyed by the people, have not in all cases been wisely used. One complaint is, that some of the young men, taking advantage of the liberty the law gives, are attempting the revival of customs and practices which, since the prevalence of Christianity in the Islands, have not been allowed.

However, they were more optimistic about the long term effects of the change stating that 'we doubt not it will prove a blessing in the end.'

Three decades later, Basil Thomson, blaming the missionaries for the Emancipation Edict wrote:

The missionaries had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these 'serfs' were fed and clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

Thomson was quite wrong here. The emancipation laws did not have the mere object of freeing slaves as they did in England and America with the Negroes. Tonga's emancipation was the freeing of the people from the bondage of an institutional system

80 W-M Mag., January 1866, 926.
81 Missionary Reports, 1866, 22.
82 Thomson, op. cit., 222-3.
akin to feudalism. Wood rightly points out that 'though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to a condition of slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tonga's chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country even in 1862.'

The favourable reactions to the Code, from both Australia and England, was heartening to King George, who wished to obtain the recognition of the world at large for his government. The Tongans, apart from the chiefs who resented the infringement of their privileges, welcomed the Code with unlimited enthusiasm and jubilance. For many of the commoners, in particular, the new codes brought opportunities for greater prosperity, through the distribution of tax allotments and the abolition of the rights of the chiefs over their people's property, though later some felt the burden of taxation just as heavy if not heavier than the traditional fatongia.


84 The full text of the Code was published in the Missionary Notices, January 1863, 343, and was hailed as an example of the influence of the Gospel exerted in promoting the civilization of a people.

85 See Punshon's speech quoted above, p.287; W-M Mag., July 1863, 750.

86 See Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., S.W. Baker.
The beneficial effects were reported by the British Vice Consul, A.P. Maudslay, in 1879 when he wrote:

In 1862...every taxpayer was, under the most solemn oaths taken by the King and Chiefs, guaranteed a good title to his town plot and country land, with liberty to bequeath his title to his heirs and successors. This plan was...a great success. Feeling secure of their lands the people set to work to plant coconuts with so much industry that in a few years the exports of the country were increased enormously.  

IN conclusion, the Code of Laws of 1862 was mainly due to King George's own progressive thinking and matured political judgment. Certainly, it was not forced upon him by the missionaries, nor did it come as a result of their importunities,


88 In a letter to Eggleston, Amos referred to allegations made by Roman Catholic priests and by the writer of some papers on Central Polynesia, which were published in the S.M.H., that whatever King George did and said was by advice of the Wesleyan missionaries and that what was defective in his laws or administration was their responsibility. Amos went on to say:

Nothing is more untrue. No body of ecclesiastics interfere less with government than Wesleyan Missionaries, and did the King of Tonga implicitly obey the instructions of his 'clergy' he would be even a better King than he is, and his rule more consonant with righteousness and truth. He happens to have a will of his own, and like the Hero of Waterloo ignores any 'second in command'.

Amos to Eggleston, 26 October 1857, W.M.S.P.
as Basil Thomson would have us believe. The relationship between King George and the senior missionaries was so awkward at this time, that he did not ask the missionaries, as a body, for their advice in preparing this Code, as he had done with the earlier Code of 1850. However, he maintained friendly relations with some of the younger missionaries, such as Thomas West, Thomas Adams, Richard Amos and Shirley Baker, and he obviously discussed some of the political issues with them. In addition, he turned to non-missionaries, such as St Julian, for advice. He also discussed the reforms which he wanted to make with his chiefs in their ngaahi fakataha (meetings) before the Code was finally drawn up and promulgated.

Nonetheless, the missionary influence in the Code was quite marked, for several reasons. Firstly, there was the King's own religious conviction, which he owed to the missionaries. Secondly, there was the continuing contact which he had with the younger missionaries, mentioned above, particularly Baker who was responsible for drawing up the Code in written form. Finally, the 1862 Code was heavily dependent upon the earlier 1850 Code which the missionaries had helped to formulate.
THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875

THE deterioration in the relations between the Wesleyan missionaries and King George and his chiefs, which was already evident during the latter part of the 1850s became increasingly apparent during the following decade. During this decline in the political influence of the missionaries generally, one among them, Shirley Baker, began to emerge as a significant political figure and was to play a leading part in bringing about the Constitution of 1875.\(^1\)

The King's social ties with the mission had been restored by 1863 when he resumed his normal relationships with the Society and personally supervised the construction of a new chapel at Nuku'alofa which was to become the biggest and

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\(^{1}\) See Rutherford, op. cit., 126-64.
most beautiful chapel hitherto built in Tonga. However, he did not restore the senior missionaries to their former place as his political advisers and confidants and the gulf between Church and State, evident at the time of the 1862 Code of Laws, was to become ever wider.

2 One missionary wrote:

This chapel is entirely the work of native skill - King George himself having been chief superintendent of it - and it is a credit to their taste and talent....

The work has been completed without a single accident to damp our zeal, or blight our joy. The king has had two very narrow escapes, one by the fall of a large tree, cut for a post - the other a cut in the foot by a piece of coral, when out fishing with his large net for the workmen. It well-nigh brought on tetanus, and cost us a vast amount of anxiety: but through mercy he was spared. As soon as he was able to bear up, he was carried to the chapel where he stayed until the work was done, he being generally the last man to quit.

Whewell to Committee, 10 July 1865, Missionary Notices, October 1865, 530-1.

3 Baker wrote in 1863:

The King has shown he is determined to be King and who can blame him, if he governs in a right spirit - but he does not seem to have that confidence in us he had, he sees we are not exactly one - and I say how can we expect them to be one when we are not one.

Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., S.W. Baker. Later, in another letter to Eggleston, 19 December 1863, Baker struck a more optimistic note when he wrote, 'Don't be afraid of our churches here.... After a storm comes a calm - and as to the King I believe with a little prudence on our part He will soon be in our church.'
It has already been noted that the King and his chiefs resented the paternalism of the older missionaries. The missionaries' attitude stemmed largely from their failure to understand or appreciate customs and traditions of the country which were evidently important to the society as a whole, and particularly to its leaders. In addition to this, the King and the chiefs were jealously suspicious of the political motives of the missionaries. Some misunderstandings gravely intensified their suspicions and thereby widened the gap between the two parties further and further.

The missionaries had given their wholehearted support to King George throughout his struggle to unite Tonga and to set up a central government and establish law and order. The culmination of his bid for power was reached in 1845 when he became Tu'i Kanokupolu and was proclaimed King of the whole of Tonga. While the country was secure from external threats the missionaries appeared to be reasonably satisfied with the internal management of the kingdom by King George and his chiefs. However, after the decisive actions of the French in Tahiti during the 1840s, which proved beyond doubt that the European powers had

4 See p. 272 above.
5 See p. 293 above.
6 Ibid.
entered the Pacific and were bound to disturb the politically vulnerable islands of the region, they felt some concern. They realized that the weak indigenous governments were no match for any major power, backed by warships and guns, and that Tonga was no exception.\(^7\)

It was natural for the Wesleyan missionaries to look to Britain, their homeland, for protection. When Thomas advised King George and his chiefs to give their country to the British,\(^8\) he was expressing a genuine conviction that the interests of both the Mission and Tonga would best be served by placing the country under British rule. However, this well-meant advice met with vehement opposition and bitter resentment from the King and his

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7 Morrell (op. cit., 88) refers to the 'fragility of all the missionary kingdoms' in the Pacific and rightly observes:

In the internal problems of adaptation the missionaries were disinterested and often wise advisers; against unscrupulous or irresponsible foreigners or in relations with trading captains or whaling crews they might keep the chiefs steady, and they might win a sympathetic hearing from the captain of a man-of-war on a visit of investigation; but if the captain chose to use his power they were of course helpless. The very existence of the missionary kingdoms depended in fact on the restraint of the Powers interested in the Pacific. Only by a self-denying ordinance such as saved Hawaii for a time could the missionary kingdoms survive at all in an age of power politics.

8 Thomas, Journal, 19 November 1849.
chiefs. They regarded it as a deliberate imperialistic design on the part of the missionaries to enable the government of their home country to annex Tonga.

The newer missionaries, however, were more cautious than their predecessors, and were very careful not to express their opinions on this extremely delicate subject. The rebuff suffered by John Thomas was a sufficient warning to them to avoid advocating such action. Although their real attitudes might not have been different, the only expressed view on record concerning this touchy subject came from the Rev. James Thomas, who was, with Moulton and the other missionaries, bitterly opposed to Shirley Baker's involvement in Tongan politics. In a fit of anger he declared that if Baker's political motto was 'Tonga for the Tongans,' his was 'Tonga for the British.' Needless to say, King George and his chiefs reacted violently to this declaration.

The missionaries preferred to remain aloof and did not give their wholehearted support to what they regarded as

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9 Ibid.
10 Minutes of the Friendly Islands District Meeting, 11 December 1876, Mission House, Nuku'alofa, Tonga.
11 The remark made by James Thomas so infuriated the King and his chiefs that, when he left Tonga in January 1877, he was warned that if ever he came back he would be charged with treason. See 'Unga to Chapman, 4 January 1877, A.W.M.S., T.S.L.
dangerous overseas campaigns planned by King George, thus adding
to his disappointment in them. When King George contemplated
sending troops to Fiji to settle the disputes there between the
Tongans and Fijians, particularly over land questions, and when
he also demanded £12,000 compensation from Thakombau, the
Rev. Frank Firth wrote from Vava'u saying that the chiefs and
there
people/were thoroughly opposed to the war. They felt that Tonga
had nothing to gain in Fiji; also two of their chiefs were
going to Tongatapu to try to persuade King George to negotiate
and not involve the country in war. When the King eventually
decided to abandon his scheme, Whewell jubilantly wrote, 'The
projected visit of King George and his warriors is quite given
up. The letters of the two consuls have led to the happy
result. The good and wise among the Tongans are in raptures
of joy.'

12 Calvert to Rowe, 19 November 1861; Calvert to Rowe, 13
January 1862, W.M.M.S., In-letters. The £12,000 compensation
claimed was for the damages and losses the Tongans suffered
in 1855 when they assisted Thakombau in his fights in Fiji.
King George was driven to demand this huge sum by his
annoyance after hearing that Thakombau had prepared to
cede the Fiji Islands to Great Britain. See Calvert,
3 March 1863; Derrick, op. cit., I, 149.

13 F. Firth to Calvert, 2 February 1863, Calvert to Eggleston,
28 March 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

14 Whewell to Calvert, 4 March 1863, Calvert to Eggleston, 28
March 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
The missionaries opposed these schemes not out of disloyalty to King George and his government, but out of a conviction that they were exceedingly dangerous not only to the King and his people but ultimately to the work of the mission which was their main concern in Tonga. They were convinced that King George had been ill-advised by ruthless Europeans, intent on profit-making and adventure. One missionary claimed that the King was misled by Europeans, who urged him to invade Fiji by saying to him, 'now is your time, Tubou. England will not accept Fiji: if you go we, the Europeans and half-castes will to a man join you, and, you will walk through Fiji without any difficulty.'

It was also said that the King's demand for £12,000 was 'advised...by Mr St Julian, a papist, who is said to have lately paid his debt in Sydney without money.'

The missionaries were grieved by the loss of time, money and property spent on the preparation for the intended invasion of Fiji. They also believed that the excitement it caused was extremely harmful to the moral and religious beliefs of the people.

15 Calvert to Rowe, 19 November 1861, W.M.M.S.; Calvert to Eggleston, 28 March 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert. Calvert to Rowe, 1 April 1863, W.M.M.S.

16 Calvert to Eggleston, 5 March 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

17 Firth to Calvert, 2 February 1863; Calvert to Eggleston, 28 March 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
On the other hand, King George was deeply hurt by the failure of the missionaries to give him any moral support or even sympathy in what was for him an extremely important affair. It was not an easy matter for him to lose what he claimed to be his by right. The disagreement over his plans for the Fijian invasion obviously contributed to the further widening rift between himself and the missionaries.

The King's suspicion of the missionaries was further aggravated by their hospitable and friendly reception to the British Consul, Pritchard. 'H.B. Majesty's Consul from Fiji is here', wrote one missionary, 'just leaving for Fiji again. I hope his visit will do good here. It will be the means of better understanding between King George and the British Authorities in Fiji.' This was a rather naive belief, on the missionary's part, for it was well known in Tonga, that Pritchard was very much against the Tongans in Fiji, and that he had been working hard to invalidate King George's claims to land there. In 1859 he had drawn up a document to the effect that the Tongans had no land rights in Fiji and had compelled Ma'afu, King George's representative in Fiji, to sign it.

18 Dyson, Papers of..., VI, 72.
19 Whewell to Eggleston, 7 May 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
Ma'afu later explained to King George that he had signed the document 'under fear'.

Before his arrival in Tonga on 23 April 1862, Consul Pritchard had written a report on 'The claim of Tonga against Fiji'. He stated in its conclusion:

Viewing the question from the various points raised, I cannot admit that King George has substantiated a case against Thakombau, which can authorize a departure from the settlement contained in the declaration signed on the 14th of Dec., 1859, by Maafu, as King George's Representative, in which are these words (Article II) 'All Tonguese claims in or to Fiji are hereby renounced'.

While in Tonga he wrote:

Every day from the 23rd of April to the 5th of May, the matter [the intended invasion of Fiji] was discussed, but...I could not obtain any satisfactory result. I therefore felt it my duty to state plainly, through the able interpretation of the Wesleyan missionaries on the island, that whatever consequences injurious or even prejudicial to the interests or property of British Subjects, which

20 Derrick (op. cit., 143) writes:

Ma'afu was present, and 'after five hours of argument he consented to renounce all political claims on and in Fiji, and the lands conquered', signing a declaration to that effect in the presence of the chiefs, the Consul, and Commander Campion of the Elk. That considerable pressure was put upon him is evidenced by the thorough-going nature of his renunciation.

21 W.T. Pritchard's Report on 'The claim of Tonga Against Fiji', 20 April 1862, Miscellaneous Papers on Fiji-Tonga Relations.
might result from an invasion of Fiji by Tonga, King George alone would be held responsible and Thakombau fully exonerated. 22

In the end, he succeeded in obtaining a solemn pledge from King George that he would not make war in Fiji. 23

Under normal circumstances the extension of hospitality and friendship to the British Consul by the missionaries would not have caused concern to anyone, but in this particular situation it was different. It was well known that Pritchard had been doing everything in his power, though unsuccessfully, to get the British to annex Fiji. In so doing it was necessary to invalidate Tongan claims to land in Fiji and destroy Tongan interests there, and he certainly did so very effectively. The open and enthusiastic welcome which the missionaries, who were already under suspicion, extended to Pritchard was looked upon with considerable disfavour by King George and his chiefs.

Another cause of much displeasure to the King and his chiefs was the growing friendship between the missionaries and the traders who, during the 1870s, persistently and arrogantly opposed the Tongan Government.

The latter disliked the restrictions placed by the

22 Pritchard to C/O, 15 May 1862, 'Separate' Despatch.
23 Ibid.; Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.; Morrell, op. cit., 316-7; Derrick, op. cit., 151.
government on various features of their trading ventures. Sale of land, for example, was strictly prohibited under any circumstances, making it impossible for them to secure complete ownership of land, and sale of spiritous liquors was severely restricted. At first the traders blamed the missionaries for these prohibitions, but later they realized that the missionaries had become increasingly isolated from politics. They regarded it as unthinkable that they who belonged to the 'Anglo-Australian' civilized race, should be governed by laws produced by a half-civilized king and his chiefs. One of them wrote:

They will find their efforts to stay the tide of immigration useless...and England, being aware of the justice and importance of protecting, if not actually governing her subjects in these seas, the Anglo-Australian race will settle and find a living in the Friendly Islands, in spite of all the laws passed by Kings and chiefs.  

The belief that the British Government would eventually annex Tonga was also shared by some visitors who went to Tonga. A traveller named Holt, who went there on a trading vessel in 1865 suggested in an article which appeared in one of the New Zealand papers, that more people with small capital should take up business ventures in Tonga, for in a few years they would have

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24 See Chapter 12 below.

25 *Fiji Times*, 22 October 1870
made a fortune. With regard to the question of security, he said that Britain would certainly take Tonga in the very near future. 26

A few years later the principal traders sent a petition to the Governor of N.S.W. complaining of the manner in which Europeans were treated, and what they were subjected to in Tonga. They requested the Government to 'define a limit to the arbitrary authority of a government which to say the least, is and only can be semi-civilized.' 27

This disrespect for the laws and government of Tonga, led some traders to defy the decisions of the law courts, with contempt and arrogance. Phillip Payne, for example, was brought before the Court because his horse trampled on and damaged a piece of ngatu (tapa cloth) belonging to a Tongan. He was ordered by the Court to pay 8/- damages to the owner. Payne argued that it was true the horse had damaged the ngatu but he did not order the horse to do so. He then refused to pay the damages and insisted that his case should be tried before a man-of-war. The judges warned him that if he was not prepared to accept the laws of Tonga he would have to leave the country. 'Upon which Payne laughed scornfully at all the judges and said

26 New Zealand Advertiser, 19 June 1865.
27 Rutherford, op. cit., 132-3.
"as if I should pay, and in case I do not will you be able to send me from Tonga?"  

In the main, traders and missionaries, with a few notable exceptions, viewed each other with hostility and treated each other with disrespect. But an entirely different relationship developed between these traditionally hostile factions of the European community towards the latter part of the 1860s and during the following two decades. Miss Eliza Ann Palmer of Sydney, who went to Tonga as a guest of the Rev. and Mrs William G.R. Stephinson from 1869 to 1871, recorded in her diary that she and Miss Payne, daughter of the trader mentioned above, joined a missionary party which went to 'Eua at night. On the following morning Stephinson sent for a sheep farmer on the island named Parker, a hostile opponent of the government, who arrived

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28 Tonga Court Records, 'In re Phillip Payne', 7 September 1870, H.B.M. Vice-Consul and Deputy Commissioner, Tonga. General Correspondence, Inwards, 1878-1944.

29 See Chapter 12 below.

30 It is very likely that the letter to the Fiji Times, signed by 'An Unfortunate Settler', (see p.335 above) was written by Parker. He had a serious dispute with the Tongan Government over his demand for 20/- per head compensation for about 400 sheep which he alleged the Tongans had killed. Parker to March, British Consul in Fiji, 20 August 1871, British Consulate - Miscellaneous Complaints against natives of Tonga and Fiji by Europeans and vice-versa, 1868-71.
with his horses and cart and took the party to his property. Later on in her account of the trip she wrote of another European settler, 'Mr Young spent the evening with us, and brought his native wife. He is a well educated gentleman and belongs to one of the best families in England and yet he is content to bury himself in Eua with his Tongan wife.'

The sharing of similar political sentiments seems to have been a strong factor in bringing the missionaries and European traders and settlers closer together. They had in common a distrust of the direction in which the Tongan government was heading. They also had no faith in its ability to withstand the test of strength of international power politics in the Pacific. Consequently they looked to their home government for protection, and later they were in accord, in their united stand against one of their countrymen, Shirley Baker, who had decided to align himself with King George and his chiefs in their struggle to maintain Tongan independence, and who was therefore accused of being a traitor both to his church and country.

Although the missionaries and traders shared a common political objective, they differed widely both in their motives

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31 Eliza Ann Palmer, Diary, 1869, 32-6.
32 See Rutherford, op. cit., Chapters 5 and 7.
and in their approach. The former were paternal and benevolent in their motives, restrained and tactful in their approach; the latter were generally selfish and vindictive in their motives, forthright and arrogant in their approach. Unfortunately for the missionaries, the King and his chiefs were not in a position to understand the subtleties of the situation. The very fact that the missionaries had social relations with men who were openly in opposition and defiance of the legitimate government of the land, and who made no secret of their desire for Britain to take Tonga, and who also boasted of the certainty of Britain's doing so, must have been very galling to the King and his chiefs. There was little wonder that the gulf between the missionaries and the Tongan leaders in the field of politics grew increasingly wide.

THE missionaries were not unmindful of their changed position with regard to local politics. They realized that they had been relegated to the background. They openly expressed their disapproval and criticism of some of the measures adopted by the King and his chiefs for the political development of Tonga. They favoured a slow, more gradual pace for political progress which would coincide with the people's understanding of civilized ways. Just a month prior to the promulgation of the 1862 Code of Laws the Rev. George Lee wrote to the General Secretary of the
Mission in Sydney:

The restless love of change and the Athenian desire for something new so prevalent among the Tonganese seems to be encouraged or have means for gratification in connection with them. And as the King and Chiefs seem inclined in many things to relax the severity of punishments for crime or suspend or abolish them in favour of a more free and as they call it Sydney-like policy - though in many things their laws are far too lenient now - Many of the bad characters are in hopes of such a change in the constitution of the Islands government as will leave them to face no act as their depraved natures suggest unpunished, uncensured by those in power and unrestrained.33

When the 1862 Code was promulgated the missionaries received it with rather mixed feelings. On the one hand they claimed it to be the direct result of the work of the Mission.

The year 1862 [said the Tonga Circuit Report], is to be immortalized in the annals of Tonga, and the 4th day of June is to be kept for ever as a day of public rejoicing being the date of the signing of the Magna Charta of Tonga. King George has long been known and styled 'the Alfred' of the Friendly Islands; and truly his great desire seems to be to give his people a code of just laws, and establish among them a wise and popular administration. This is one glorious consequence of faithful acceptance of Christianity.34

One missionary wrote enthusiastically, 'New life and thoughts are arising. The Tongans are no longer children. They are just rising into manhood and must have a reason for everything - liberty is proclaimed - on the 1st of January [1863] the Tongan

33 Lee to Eggleston, 16 May 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
34 Missionary Reports, 1863, 35.
flag will not wave over a slave that day - Such is the glorious success of the Gospel...'. 35

On the other hand, there were misgivings felt by the missionaries about certain aspects of the Code and their probable consequences. They were fearful of a general resurgence of heathen customs and traditions, which for decades they had laboured unceasingly to eradicate, as a result of the emancipation of the people from the power of the chiefs, and also the dropping of the clauses making these customs and practices illegal. 36

In the years that followed directly after the promulgation of the new Code, they claimed that the unfortunate effects which they had predicted, were in fact taking place. They accused the government of yielding to the pressure of English precedent, in allowing matters such as fornication to go unpunished. They claimed that there were many who at first interpreted this move as a legalization of sin, and a public expression of the will of the King and chiefs regarding indulgence in vice. 'Many of the heathen games', they lamented, 'though given up [were] not positively prohibited by law, and the natural tendency of the unconverted [was] to revive long gone usages.' 37 The obnoxiousness

35 Baker to Eggleston, 19 December 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
36 See pp. 294, 320-1 above.
37 Missionary Reports, 1866, 25.
of the situation, as far as the missionaries were concerned, may be seen in the following passage from the annual report of the mission for the year ending April 1863:

This year will be memorable in the Church History of Tonga, as the year of sifting and testing the principles and piety of the church. We have to report a very serious decrease, as our schedule will show. The occasion of this decrease, is principally the 'Great Fakataha'.... The designs of this great national movement were good and laudable, but its influence has been destructive to the piety and spirituality of many of our people. The Tongan people were impulsive and as human nature is not more immaculate here, and the restraints of education and example are not so strong as in civilized society - the moral influence of this Parliament has been a great evil to the Lotu people - a temporary one we hope - but an evil, and one which we cannot but deeply deplore.38

The note of pessimism contained in this report was repeatedly echoed throughout the following years. The releasing of the people from a state of semi-barbarian servitude to one of almost unrestrained liberty was seen by the missionaries to have brought about a variety of deleterious results. The Ha'apai Circuit Report of 1865 stated:

The circumstances attending the sudden introduction of liberty to a community of Tonguese are far from being favourable to the cultivation of the religious element. Their ideas of liberty are associated with what is hostile to the advancement of their best interests. Hence the abounding licentiousness among the young, the impatience felt towards

38 Ibid., 1863, 35.
everything that would tend to restrain bad habits and lead to virtue. Profligacy, theft, and bad conduct were never so prevalent as at the present time. We not only have to lament over the ungodliness of those who are without the pale of the Church but also because of many who did run well, but whom Satan hath hindered. 39

Another feature of the Code that caused the missionaries much concern were its taxation provisions. They argued that the exclusion of many from the church was caused by heavy taxation. The Missionary Reports of 1866 stated:

The chief reason, however, which we believe has operated to the exclusion of many from the Church, is to be found in the extreme poverty of the people, in consequence of the new Governmental regulations: by which the tax has been increased one third, thus rendering the Quarterly contribution to GOD's cause a formidable difficulty. And though this is enforced with all Christian affection and love, yet such is the apathy of some, that they prefer quietly to retire or remain aloof from the Society, rather than make the required effort, and so maintain their position in the Church. On account of this we have lost not a few... 40

The missionaries had reason for alarm, for in addition to the decrease in attendance there was a sharp decrease in the amount of money they sent from Tonga to the Committee in Sydney. In 1862 the Mission sent the Committee £2330.5.6., partly in cash and partly in coconut oil, but the amount had decreased to only £1232.13.1. in 1864, a drop of about forty-seven per

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39 Ibid., 1865, 31.
40 Ibid., 1866, 22.
cent, and £532.7.6. in 1865, a drop of about seventy-five per cent. This was indeed a grave matter for the missionaries, particularly when they knew that the Committee in Sydney had a tendency to measure the efficacy of their work in terms of pounds, shillings and pence.

The 1862 Code was also blamed for the young people's growing indifference to education. 'Our Institution', said the Ha'apai Circuit Report, 'has also received our attention but we do not number so many at present as in former years, arising from various causes, one being that the new political changes have exercised a worldly influence upon the minds of our youth.' This was a worry to the missionaries, particularly when it was so obvious to them that education played a vitally important part in the success of the mission's work.

Faced with all these difficulties and disappointments, the missionaries applied themselves vigorously and enthusiastically to the task of revitalizing every facet of their work. Effective attempts were made to gain new converts and to reconvert the apostates, and the annual subscription to the mission fund was

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41 Ibid., 1863, 87; 1865, 98.
42 G. Minns to B. Chapman, 26 January 1874, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
43 Missionary Reports, 1864, 33.
successfully raised. Education received considerable attention and it certainly showed a marked sign of reviving. In fact the missionaries achieved their purpose to a remarkable degree. But their preoccupation with the revitalization of the mission's activities led them consciously or unconsciously to restrict their sphere of influence. By so doing, they unwittingly strengthened the inherent narrowness of outlook which had already become a formidable negative factor in the Church-State relationship.

This inherent narrowness of outlook, which encouraged lack of vision and imagination and bred intolerance, was due in part to the policies of the mission, in its particular emphasis on the life to come rather than the here and now, and its

44 In 1866 local collection rose to £3,770. Missionary Reports, 1867, 110.
prohibition on meddling in politics by its members. It was partly due also to the calibre of the men who carried out the work of the mission. Most of them appeared to be of average intelligence but without proper training and the result was that their energy and drive was not matched by their vision or imagination. For them, the mission was an end in itself rather than a means to an end, and they considered that everything should revolve around it. Their maxim seemed to be 'Tonga for the mission' rather than 'the mission for Tonga'. Hence they objected to 'excessive' spending of money by individuals or groups on anything.

45 At the Public Ordinance Service, in the New Chapel, City Road, London, January 1821, the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society read out instructions to the Rev. Samuel Leigh who was being sent to establish missions in New Zealand and the Friendly Islands and to a missionary who was going to West Africa. The following directive was given:

Should you acquire influence and consideration with the natives of the places of your destination, as we trust by the blessing of God you will, you may be placed in circumstances of some difficulty arising from the quarrels and different views of the various chiefs. Your plain line of duty is to take no part in their civil affairs, and to make it understood that interference in these matters is no part of your object, and that you are sent to do good to all men. This, however, will not prevent you giving them such advice as may be beneficial to all parties when it is desired.

Loose printed enclosure in Thomas, Diary and Letter Book.

46 See pp. 100-02.
but the mission collection.

There were, of course, a few exceptions. The Rev. Egan Moulton was one of these. He came from a scholarly family, and although he had not received any university training, he was definitely, as someone put it, 'a scholar and a gentleman'. He held a broader and more liberal view of the work of the mission. When he founded Tupou College in 1866, he decided that the college should become an institution upon which 'Church and State, in their many divergent channels of departmental usefulness, were to centre their hopes and expectations....' He planned that 'from it the Church would draw its supply of ministers, stewards, officials, and teachers.... While from it also the Government could seek its clerks, magistrates, and other officials.'47 He permitted students nominated by the government to enter the college.

Moulton's fresh approach and wider and more liberal outlook met with severe opposition from his colleagues. Most of his opponents objected simply on the grounds that Moulton had indulged himself in an expensive project which would be of

47 J.E. Moulton, Moulton of Tonga (London, 1921), 47.
little benefit to the mission. Some of them argued that the sole purpose of the college should be to train young men for the work of the mission, and the Training Institution, started by Amos in the 'fifties, was cited as the model to be followed.

48 In his criticisms of the College in a letter to the General Secretary, H. Greenwood charged that:

Mr Moulton has spent hundreds of pounds on that College under the plea that permission was granted by Deputation, and all we had to do was to pass the Balance sheet when the money had been expended.... [and that] while the District Meeting was held as the responsible party for the College, and yet, have not exercised the power as to the suitability or otherwise of the Govt. students who have entered.

Greenwood to Rabone, 10 August 1872, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

49 Ibid., Greenwood stated that 'though a large amount of money was given by the friends in Australia with the idea that the College was for the training of N.A.M's the fruit of all these years in that particular is one catechist.'

J.B. Watkin (to Rabone, 13 December 1871, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert) wrote:

We had some little difficulty about the College, effected a few alterations; I must say that had I known the College would have become what it is - I should have opposed it with all my might - I do not consider that the fruit brought forth, is at all commensurate with the expense incurred - practically the College is almost useless - we have gone too far - have attempted, and in certain sense have accomplished, what we cannot possibly maintain - my opinion is that an Institution like that of the late Mr Amos's would have been far more useful, than the present affair.
While the mission was quite effective at the level of local politics, the narrowness of outlook and lack of vision and imagination of the missionaries prevented it from containing the more ambitious schemes of King George and his chiefs to make Tonga hold her own in international politics, as a nation among the civilized nations of the world.

King George's greatest ambition was to preserve the independence of Tonga. He was convinced that the way to do this was to 'enrol his country among the family of nations of the Earth'. He had been advised by St Julian and Thomas West, that the only way to achieve his ambition of gaining recognition of the Tongan government by the main powers was to establish an efficient system of government which would be acceptable to the civilized countries of the world.

In his description of the functions of a Legislative Council in a letter written to King George, St Julian wrote:

Such fundamental principles should be laid down as would form what is termed a constitution and all subsequent Legislation should be in strict accordance with these principles. In the first instance not much Legislation would be needed. But little probably, beyond the code of laws which Your Majesty has already promulgated.... But with the rise of the

50 See Chapter 8 above.
51 Ibid.
Kingdom will arise an absolute need of Legislation upon many points with which it is now unnecessary to deal. 52

Previous to this fourteen-page letter of advice to King George on how to establish a constitutional government, St Julian had sent a letter and a copy of the Hawaiian Constitution to West, asking him to translate and pass them on to the King. 53

The question of acquiring a written constitution for Tonga had been occupying the King's mind for some time. A number of significant events had made him realize, more than ever before, the urgency of the need for Tonga to become recognized by the main powers. First there had been Consul Pritchard's serious attempts to get Britain to annex Fiji in the 'sixties; then the increasing involvement of the powers in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific in the 'seventies, and finally the actual annexation of Fiji by Britain on 10 October 1874. 54 King George fully appreciated the value of having a constitution as the basis of the laws of the country, but he had to find someone who was capable of drawing up the much needed document.

52 St Julian to Tupou, 26 June 1855, F.O.E.P.
53 West, op. cit., 392-3.
54 Derrick, op. cit., 249; Morrell, op. cit., 361.
As the affairs of government became increasingly complicated, particularly its external affairs, the King recognized the need for the services of a European adviser in the government, as St Julian had pointed out in his letter of 26 June 1855. He therefore adopted an Englishman named David Jebson Moss as his son, gave him the name Tupou Ha'apai, making him his Secretary in 1864. The Rev. James Calvert of Fiji referred to him as King George's 'soapy secretary'.

Moss went to Tonga from Fiji during the 1850s. He was very proud of his Tongan name, and went to considerable trouble to identify himself with his new country and its

55 St Julian to Tupou, op. cit.
56 Calvert to Rowe, 1 November 1846, W.M.M.S.
57 Thomas, Journal, 24 July 1856.
people. He appeared to have been enthusiastic and hard working, but he somehow lacked ability and common sense. Although Moss gave King George and his government several years of useful

In 1864 Moss was deputed by King George to settle disputes between the Tongans and Fijians concerning certain islands in Fiji, to which the Tongans had laid a claim. Referring to Moss, a newspaper correspondent wrote:

This delegate has become a naturalised subject of Tonga, and has discarded his proper name, and has received the Tongan name and title of Tubou Haabai, by which he prefers to be known and addressed. He signs his new name when writing, and it gives no small offence to his dignity to address him by his baptismal cognomen. ... But the delegate does not rest contented with mere adoption of the Tongan name; on all state occasions he acts the character by dispensing with his European civilised garments, and appearing in the garb of a Tongan - to wit, a massy tappa, or native cloth, round his waist, and with a plentiful unction of sandalwood-scented coconut oil on his bare breast, arms and legs.

The correspondent, William Graburn (Levuka, Fiji, 14 January) stated that Moss's attire and demeanour brought derision from the Fijian chiefs and met with contempt from the European settlers and helped to prejudice his mission from the outset. From a newspaper clipping (no source or date) found in A.R. Tippet's scrap book.

Ibid. The same writer tells that Moss hoisted the Tongan flag upon certain Fijian islands which had been purchased by Europeans from their Fijian owners and caused damage to some property, causing the traders to protest to the British consul about his actions. The writer continues:

It is much to be regretted that the settlement of the long-existing disputes between Fijians and Tongans should ever have been entrusted to one so unfortunately incompetent to adjust them as Tubou Haabai, as the matter is a grave one, involving perhaps peace or war between the two nations.
service, it was evident that he was definitely not the man to be entrusted with the highly specialized task of drawing up a constitution - a task which was destined to be the lot of Baker.

BAKER, like many of his missionary colleagues, had received little formal education, but he was quite gifted, highly intelligent and full of imagination and drive. He was, on the one hand, a great and enthusiastic worker, more liberal than most of his colleagues, and also an ambitious and daring opportunist. On the other hand, he had a passion for fame and a lust for power, and possessed an unlimited capacity for making enemies. The conglomeration of these qualities which formed the idiosyncracy of the man also formed the basis for both his achievements and his later downfall.

Physically, Baker was short but stout, very healthy and strong, and impressive rather than attractive. He was born in London in 1836 and there are conflicting accounts of his early youth. One version states that at the age of

60 When Mrs John Hartley Roberts (wife of the first Principal of the newly founded Government College in 1882) was asked by her son why she had not accepted an offer of marriage from Baker, with whom she had been acquainted in her youth, she replied, 'Well, I just did not like him...I couldn't stand him.' 'Well,' said her son, '...I could not stand a bar of him myself, and here is one who is right heartily thankful to God that you trusted to your own girlish instincts.' S.C. Roberts, *Tamai of Tonga* (Sydney, 1924), 12-13.

sixteen, '...he found the alluring gold fever so strong that he ran away from them in the old land, hid himself as a stowaway on board a ship for Australia', and tried his hand at gold mining in Victoria. In 1855 he had become a teacher at a Wesleyan school, on the goldfields in the Castlemain district. He was ordained a Wesleyan minister in 1860, and was sent to Tonga as a missionary, arriving there on 14 August 1860.

Soon after Baker's arrival in Tonga, a very firm friendship developed between him and King George. This friendship, according to Baker's daughters, became a source of annoyance to the senior ministers. Besides requesting Baker to draft the 1862 Code of Laws, the King sought his advice on the design for a Tongan flag, and in 1864 Baker made a formal presentation of a flag to the King and his chiefs. In 1866 he was forced

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62 Roberts, op. cit., 12.
63 Ibid., also Rutherford, op. cit., 24-7.
64 L. & B. Baker, op. cit., 5.
65 Ibid.; Missionary Notices, April 1861, 243.
66 Baker wrote, 'I am thankful today the Lord has given me favour in the sight of the King and his chiefs...'. Baker to Eggleston, 19 December 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
68 Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker; L. & B. Baker, op. cit., 7; See also Chapter 8 above.
to return to Australia on account of his wife's ill health. 70

In his letters to the Committee in Sydney during his first term in Tonga, Baker rightly pointed out that the root of most of the troubles in the mission could be traced to the paternal and somewhat out of date attitudes of the older missionaries. He claimed that what they needed in Tonga was new blood, new ideas, and a fresh approach. He argued that a little prudence on their part would fix the trouble. At the same time he casually referred to his own popularity with the King and his chiefs. 'I would not wish', he wrote, 'to be thought to speak unkindly of any of my Brethren. I believe they have one and all done what they have conscientiously thought to be right (whether it is turned out so is a different thing.)' 71 Later, in another letter, he wrote:

I am thankful to-day the Lord has given me favour in the sight of the King and chiefs.... I believe that more can be done by kindness than by strife - .... Our Fathers who so nobly bore the heat and burden of the day cannot realize the noble tree that has grown up the fruit of their toil - They see Tonga under the old regime.... New life and thoughts are arising. The Tongans are no longer children. They are just rising into manhood and must have a reason for everything. 72

Reaching Sydney in 1866, Baker wrote a long letter to

70 Ibid., 10.

71 Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.

72 Baker to Eggleston, 19 December 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
the Committee in which he gave a glowing account of the farewell speeches made by the Tongans in a valedictory service held for him and his family in his circuit, before they left Tonga. He told how the people had wept as they spoke, and how the Governor had spoken on behalf of the King and his fellow chiefs, praying that God would so order it that they might return to them.

I can only say that I wept, [wrote Baker] and felt as much in parting from my Haapai flock, dark though their skin may be, as though I was parting from a people of my own nation, and my own tongue.

Many have endeavoured to cast a slur upon their love, and so doubt the genuineness of their attachment; let those do so who will. I believe in it, for in my greatest trial, in the hour of my deep affliction, in the day of need, they rallied round me, my grief was their grief, my sorrow their sorrow, and ever shall I remember their little acts of kindness with heart felt gratitude....

...despite all the dangers in voyaging - debilitating and depressing as is its climate, tropical as is its heat, coarse as its fare, and strange and rough as may be its customs. Yet, nevertheless, I love Tonga...I love its prayer meetings, its love feasts, its simplicity, and above all, its love to the Gospel and to Methodism.73

It would be difficult to question the sincerity of Baker's motives for criticizing the work of the mission, or the genuineness of his deep affection for Tonga; but when his remarks are viewed in relation to the later course of his

73 Missionary Notices, October 1866, 582-3.
career, one wonders whether these seemingly innocent remarks were not also part of a clever design to further his own ambitions. His remarks implied that the failure of the other missionaries to get on with the chiefs, and their paternal and out of date approach, disqualified them for the task in hand, while he himself, with a more up to date approach, had gained the confidence and deep affection of the King and his people. When the Rev. George Lee returned to Australia in 1868 and the chairmanship in Tonga fell vacant Baker was back in the following year as the new Chairman of the District, in spite of the fact that Stephinson had been in the District for about twelve years continuously.  

Baker's obsessional desire to make a name for himself and to achieve power inevitably coloured his later activities. It was probably at the root of the somewhat doubtful stories which he told of his own origin and educational

74 William G.R. Stephinson served in Tonga from 1858 till 1870. He returned to Australia and later became President of the N.S.W. Conference. See A Complete List of the Missionaries of the Methodist Church who have served in Tonga, compiled by G.B. Minns.
It certainly made him fanatically intolerant of any rival to his fame, or any opposition to his power and authority. It also made him bitterly resentful if his work received no praise or recognition from the mission authorities in Sydney. In their report to the Committee, the members of a deputation, which was sent to Tonga together with Baker in 1869, praised Moulton's work in the college very highly.

This was far too much for Baker to take. He saw in Moulton and his work a threat to his own prestige and honour. So he decided to do all he could to crush both Moulton and the college.

Baker claimed that he was the son of an Anglican clergyman who was the Headmaster of the Oxford Home Grammar School, London, and that he was educated 'for the ministry, but had a greater desire to become a lawyer, and pending his decision he went out to Australia to visit his uncle Parker, who was Crown Protector of the Aboriginals'. This is the version told by his daughters (op. cit., 5) and part of it is cited by Roberts (op. cit., 12). However, neither of these claims has been satisfactorily proved. Rutherford, after an exhaustive search, could find no trace of Baker's alleged father in any records nor was the existence of the school substantiated (Rutherford, op. cit., 21). Even the relationship between Baker and his alleged uncle Parker is in doubt (Rutherford, op. cit., 26) and no one seems to have any knowledge of the origins of his doctorates (D.M. and LL.D.). It is rather strange that such important matters should have been omitted from his memoirs. (See also Rutherford, op. cit., 437.)

The Deputation's report claimed that Tupou College was 'a positive wonder', and Moulton 'a cyclopedia of accomplishment'. Missionary Notices, July and October 1869, 148; Missionary Reports, 1870, 22.
He started to campaign against the college, which eventually developed into a bitter dispute.

Baker charged Moulton with creating a false impression to the world, of things taught and accomplished in the college. He alleged that the college was a nuisance and hindrance to the work of the mission, and was only causing unpleasantness. However, the Committee gave their support to Moulton, and Baker, resentful and disappointed, wrote to the General Secretary in Sydney:

I feel tempted to resign.... You say you hope that God in his mercy will defend the College and make it a great blessing - I can only say Amen. I have

77 Moulton wrote to Rabone (19 July 1872), 'Mr Baker is said to have stated at a Katoanga that the children were more boto [clever] before he went up to the Colonies than they are now. How he can make such a statement I don't know.' A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

Later he wrote (2 June 1873), 'you are well aware of the feeling entertained by our chairman towards the College, and through his influence our members have been greatly reduced, he himself for instance has not sent a man for two years.'

78 Greenwood to Rabone, 10 August 1872, A.W.M.S., T.M.L. See also Rutherford, op. cit., 88-91.

79 Baker to Rabone, 5 July 1872, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.

80 This statement is inferred from the content of Baker's letter to Rabone, above.
done more for the College than any other man... yet the Committee and Conference are not satisfied. 81

In an attempt to win the favour of the Committee, Baker turned all his energies and gifts to the task of fund-raising, knowing full well that the Committee was badly in need of money. He certainly had a flair for collecting funds. At his first Missionary Meeting in December 1869, the contributions came to £5,480, 82 and this amount was nearly £3,000 in excess of local expenses and was equal to the combined contributions of all the Methodists in Australia. 83 Baker duly received the praise he had worked for, when the January issue of Missionary Notices in 1870, gave the full details of this 'noble sum...contributed in one year by this earnest and devoted Christian community.' 84 However, Baker did not enjoy this praise for long, for the

81 Ibid.
82 £4,558 in cash and £922 in oil. Missionary Reports, 1870, 118.
83 Ibid.
84 Missionary Notices, January 1870, 178. It continued:

It is hoped that this instance of unparalleled liberality on the part of a people but recently in heathen darkness will not only serve to excite the thanks-giving of many, but also to stimulate those with fuller light and larger privileges, to renewed and increased exertion in efforts and gifts for the missionary work.
dubious and ruthless methods he employed in raising funds, antagonised the traders, who were in friendly relationship with the other missionaries, brought unfavourable comment from contemporaries, such as the Earl of Pembroke and Dr Kingsley, on the work of the Committee, and also provoked severe criticisms from his own colleagues. 'The Earl and the Doctor' described the Missionaries in Tonga as 'canting sharks'. Moulton wrote, 'It's a great mercy the Earl and the Doctor did not come to Tonga or they would have made statements more astounding than they did', and George Minns wrote:

I cannot report such improvements in the general condition of our mission work. Our success is represented by £s.d.! The disparity between our finances and our spirituality - is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the Missionary Notices!.... The Miss. affair is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse as sure as I am Geo. Minns. Let us wait a few years..., for there are difficulties ahead.

Frustrated by his colleagues' opposition Baker wrote:

I believe Messrs Moulton and Minns want me out of

85 Greenwood to Rabone, 5 July 1872, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
86 South Sea Bubbles (by the Earl and the Doctor), 251.
87 Moulton to Rabone, 10 September 1872, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
88 Minns to Chapman, 26 January 1874, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
the district.... My life at present is a perfect misery & I do not think I am called to endure it any longer.

Permit me to remark when I took charge of the district we used to draw some hundreds a year from the Committee. Now we send up thousands over and above our expenses.... I think I have done my duty to Tonga - Methodistically in advancing Tonga as a nation. I may truthfully say no one will ever be able to leave their [sic] mark as I have done - through me they are free, most of their laws they owe to me - and yet all I get from my brethren is persecution - so I think now my children are growing up and my wife's health is failing it is time for me to leave.89

In fact Baker was worried over the security of his position, and he was unable to hide his fear. He wrote to the General Secretary:

I want you to give me your official opinion, not only for my own guidance but also for the future guidance of the district. The simple question was put by one of the highest chiefs here to this effect - 'Who would have been superintendent of the Tongan Circuit if Mr Moulton had happened to be appointed Chairman'.... If after my success I am not worthy to be chairman I am not worthy to have any position in the Wesleyan ministry here, especially to have one 4 years my junior to be placed over me.90

But when he found out that the Conference had made no change, he excitedly wrote:

I need not say that not only myself - but also the King and Queen and Chiefs and people were all anxiously waiting to see the decision of

89 Baker to Chapman, 30 December 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
90 Baker to Chapman, 9 June 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
Conference, had it been against me I believe trouble and disaster would have ensued, but I am grateful the great Head of the Church so ordered the deliberations of Conference that all is peace.  

Baker then ceased to talk about leaving Tonga any more. 'As regards my asking to return', he wrote to Chapman, 'I know I shall never be happier than in the mission work.... ...by God's [sic] I will remain at my post until it appears it is His will for me to go...so I will work on'.  

He then started to advocate that the Mission could do quite well with fewer missionaries. 'With three men', he argued, 'like Brother Watkin and a schoolmaster (layman) for the College, I would undertake to work the whole of the Friendly Islands District for ten years to come - we have too much European Ministerial help.' This was an obvious way of getting rid of his opponents.

Less than a year after he had become chairman of the Mission, in 1870, Baker had to face charges of immoral

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91 Baker to Chapman, 13 May 1874, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
92 Baker to Chapman, 4 June 1874, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
93 Baker to Chapman, 16 July 1874, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
behaviour brought against him by his colleagues. He managed to absolve himself from the charges, but it was clear that opposition from his own colleagues was steadily growing stronger. In 1871 the bitter dispute over the college had at length come to a head. The Committee, as pointed out above, came down in support of Moulton, much to Baker's disgust. In 1872 his colleagues were more vocal in their criticisms of his missionary meetings, and the statement in *South Sea Bubbles* brought upon him a sharp reprimand from the Committee.

Frustrated by the mounting opposition of his colleagues, hurt by the apparent lack of praise for, and appreciation of, his 'success' from the Committee, Baker turned to King George and his chiefs, not only for support, but for public recognition, by championing their aspirations and ambitions. Baker knew that King George's two great ambitions were to maintain Tonga's political independence and eventually to make the Mission in Tonga an independent conference.

Towards the end of 1872 Baker left Tonga to attend the Conference in Sydney in January 1873. He took with him a letter from King George asking the Conference to make the

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94 Minutes of Special District Meeting held at Lifuka, Ha'apai, 23 August 1870, Friendly Islands District Meeting Minutes Book. For detailed discussion see Rutherford, op. cit., 84-6.
Mission District in Tonga an independent Church. The other missionaries reacted against this move. Minns, for instance, wrote:

This is a very critical period in Tonga and I am particularly anxious that no change should be made in the mode of working our church without much careful deliberation.... We all hope that the time may come when this change may be effected in Tonga. Yet I am fully persuaded that day will not be in my time. There is a possibility of going too far, and of going too fast also.

Moulton also wrote:

I was very much surprised to see in the 'Advocate' that Mr Baker presented the request of the agents in these Islands, that Tonga should become an independent District, and that the matter was carried in Conference and only prevented by the Committee. I am sure, Sir, however anxious you may be for such a 'consummation' yet you will reprobate any such attempt as that on the part of a Chairman to steal a march upon his brethren. Not one of us knew anything about it and no request was sent up. I have spoken to Mr Baker on the subject and he says he was wrongly reported, having said 'request of the King' not missionaries. But it is very evident to me from the remarks made and resolution moved that the Conference understood it to be our request.

These letters from Baker's colleagues indicate that they did not object to the idea of an independent Church. What

95 Moulton to Rabone, 2 June 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

96 Minns to Chapman, 4 May 1873, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

97 Moulton to Chapman, 2 June 1872, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
they objected to was the timing and also the way Baker had carried out the scheme, for it was quite contrary to Methodist usages. The Methodist procedure was that everything had to go through the Quarterly Meeting, then the District Meeting, before it went to the Conference. Baker ignored this constitutional procedure, and in order to justify his action before his authorities, he wrote:

I forgot to mention the remarks made concerning what I said in Conference. You will be surprised to hear...that the request I read in Conference I read at our Preachers Meeting here on my way to Conference and the Brethren Moulton, Rabone & Greenwood being present no objection was made to it by them, and hence I did as I did in Conference, moreover I made the same remarks in my speech at Saione our circuit church here at the Misy. Meeting the day previous to my sailing for Sydney. The King was in the Chair the Brethren Moulton - Rabone & Greenwood were present - they again made no objection, and yet, I am charged as I am.... Surely this is a cunning world - and gets queerer every day.98

It must be pointed out that the terms 'Preachers' Meeting' and 'Missionary Meeting' are ambiguous and misleading. The Preachers' Meeting and Missionary Meeting which Baker referred to in his letter, would have meant in Sydney, the Quarterly Meeting and District Meeting respectively, but the Tongan Preachers' Meeting was the weekly meeting of local preachers to obtain their instructions for the following week.

98 Baker to Chapman, 30 December 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
and there was literally no discussion at such meetings. The Missionary Meeting to which Baker was referring was simply the annual collection day, and not the District Meeting which would only have been attended by the missionaries.

WHEN Baker took over the chairmanship of the mission, he was reminded of the Society's rule that missionaries were not allowed to involve themselves in politics. For the first two years at least, he seemed quite content with the prestige of the new position and refrained from openly aligning himself with King George and his government. In the latter half of 1872 he deliberately and decidedly turned to politics again. As has been pointed out, the King was in need of someone capable, whom he could trust, to be his political adviser. His secretary, David Moss, had proved disappointing. His relationship with most of the missionaries was such that he was not in a position to ask any of them for help. Moulton was a good and close friend but was averse to becoming involved in politics.  

99 See footnote 45 above.

100 See p. 351 above.

101 It is very likely that Moulton shared with his colleagues and other Europeans the belief that King George's government would not be able to hold its own in the face of international pressure. Besides, it was the policy of the mission that its agents should not meddle in politics; see footnote 45 above.
Seeing this opportunity of winning the King's favour and support in the face of declining prestige in the eyes of his colleagues and the Committee, Baker literally threw himself at the King's lap. He became the King's physician, financial, political and spiritual adviser.

When Baker left to attend the Conference, held in Sydney in January 1873, he wrote, 'I made a request to the King concerning the alteration of certain laws and customs - they have had a meeting of the chiefs and passed them all.... I am aware of the great responsibility laid upon me and of the powerful influence I yield [sic]....' Baker managed to get the King to dismiss David Moss in 1872, and he virtually

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102 In 1873 Baker lent the government a handsome sum towards the establishment of a sugar plantation (Baker to Chapman, 3 December 1873). In 1875 Baker established a Government Savings Bank in Tonga. Baker to Chapman, 3 May 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.

103 Baker to Chapman, 12 May 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.

104 Rabone wrote in 1872:

Mr Moss it seems is in a scrap 'Private' I heard that he and Capt Welsh owe the Government some £400. Each £200. Mr Baker and the Captains of the 'Rotumah' 'Jiaosi Vuna' and 'Taufaahau' with Mr Cocker have been examining the Government Books, & this is the result.... He was dismissed as soon as he returned from Sydney on account of his being so often drunk in Sydney etc.

W.T. Rabone to his father, 8 May 1872, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
became the King's secretary himself. Cries of opposition arose from various quarters, and Baker, defending himself, wrote in November 1873:

The King has officially appointed Mr Cocker a Sec. - and so I suppose the good friends will be quiet - All I have ever done has been to give the King my advice, but have always left him to act according to his own judgment anything that has been done has been the King's act not mine he may have acted on my advice but with himself has been the responsibility and certainly I cannot see any harm in it. Shall I let him in times of perplexity and difficulty let him [sic] be guided by men who are sworn enemies of the lotu and all that is good - No...

At their District Meeting in 1873 severe objections were raised by Moulton against Baker's involvement in politics. Serious discussion followed although no formal charges were laid against the Chairman. In December of the same year Baker reported to Chapman:

At our D.M. Br. Moulton did not bring a charge against me but objected to my assisting the Government, as I had done and that I was virtually Sect. and also that I had the management of the Govt. Sugar plantation.

I replied that as to the first, I was not Sec. nor had I acted as Sec. I have perhaps taken too prominent a part in assisting the King. And as matters were I intended to keep in the back ground and have as little to do with the Government as I could help, saving that I should always claim my

105 Baker to Chapman, 20 November 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
right to advise the King when he sought my advice.

I may simply add. It is a misfortune this has happened just now when the King is thinking of revising his constitution instead of refusing to help him I believe the right course would have been to have helped him. However a future day will show who is right.  

The King wanted a Constitution and had obviously told Baker so. At the same time he probably asked Baker to draw up the Constitution for him, for, while Baker was in Sydney towards the end of 1872, he used the opportunity to seek advice and assistance on legal and constitutional matters from the Premier of N.S.W., Sir Henry Parkes, who gave him a copy of all the Laws of the Government of N.S.W. since its inception, and also from the Hawaiian Consul General, Reeve, who had succeeded St Julian.  

As a result, in 1875 Baker was able to hand to King George his own very much coveted Constitution, which was then presented to the Parliament which ratified it on 4 November of the same year.  

Although Baker had hinted to the missionary authorities in Sydney that the King desired to have a Constitution, his work

106 Baker to Chapman, 30 December 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
107 Rutherford, op. cit., 149.
108 Wood, op. cit., 58. 4 November is still a public holiday in Tonga. The Constitution was published in Tongan in the Koe Boobool, II, No. 6, September 1875.
in drawing it up was a closely guarded secret, for when it finally came out, his missionary colleagues reacted unfavourably to it.

Watkin, who usually supported Baker, wrote:

You will have heard ere this of the Constitution which has been set up - it will look or sound well from a distance; the affair to my mind has been altogether too hurried;.... I think our Chairman has gone a little too far in the affair.109

Later he again wrote:

I am not envious in the least of his [Baker's] position in the Church or of his influence with the King - he is welcome to all and if he is anxious to have the honour of making a nation of the Tonganese, he is quite welcome to this also. But 'tis not in mortals to command success'.... I am sorry that the Chairman did not consult his Brethren when he was preparing this constitution for the Tonguese. I think (without pretending to possess a little of the Chairman's knowledge) we might have made a few suggestions which might perhaps have been of a little use - at any rate this Constitution came out quite unexpectedly except perhaps the King.... I stood by Mr Baker, formerly, because I could so do conscientiously - and I am as conscientious now in failing to see as he sees, and act as he is acting.... I am very much afraid that the political scheme embodied in the Constitution set up - will have the effect of splitting up, than of consolidating this small government of ours.110

Another missionary wrote complaining of the difficulties

109 J.B. Watkin to Chapman, 12 January 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

110 Watkin to Chapman, 10 June 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
of raising funds in 1876 because of the adverse effects of the new Constitution:

...were it not for the fact that a so called Constitution has been introduced into Tonga - an affair, which so far as our work is concerned and the interests of our nation in the South Seas, I wish had been blown to Hongkong and buried there.

This year has been a very difficult and unpleasant year to me principally through this Constitution. The work in this Circuit has been hindered, interfered with and injured by it. And hundreds of £ sterling that would have entered the Church, have through it been turned into other channels. 111

However, Baker did not share these pessimistic views of his colleagues; instead he wrote jubilantly in 1876 of successful meetings, and of over 200 new members joining the society in one week. He added, 'The new state of things is working well to the admiration of almost all - as far as Tongatabu is concerned and all the years I have been in Tonga 17 years now I never knew it in a better state spiritually'. 112

IN conclusion, the political influence of the missionaries, as a body, underwent a marked decline during the 1860s and 'seventies. This can be attributed to the paternal attitude of the missionaries towards the King and government of Tonga, the inherent narrowness of the Mission's policies, the preoccupation of the missionaries

111 James Thomas to Chapman, 15 September 1876, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
112 Baker to Chapman, 22 July 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
with the various activities within the narrow confines of the mission, and also their lack of faith in the ability of King George's government to withstand the pressure of international power politics. The King and his chiefs for their part, misunderstood the real motives behind some of the missionaries' behaviour and attitudes.

One among the missionaries, the Rev. Shirley Baker, decided to disassociate from the policy of his colleagues and championed the cause of the King and his chiefs in their legitimate struggle to make Tonga an independent nation and an independent church. There can be no doubt that Baker was motivated in his actions by self-interest, but nor can it be denied that he had a love for the Tongans and a sympathy for their aspirations. It is to be regretted that he sometimes reverted to the use of rather dubious tactics in order to achieve his ends. However, in his determination to stand by the Tongans, in the face of bitter opposition from almost every quarter, and to champion a cause which the settlers and his colleagues regarded as lost, Baker showed a great deal of courage. In doing what he did, he enabled King George and his chiefs to bring about what, in fact, all Tongans regarded as one of the greatest achievements in the history of their country - Ko e Fokai 'o e Konisitūtone - the granting of the Constitution.
CHAPTER 10

THE CONSTITUTION, 1875

AT the opening of the Parliament of 1875 at which the Constitution was discussed and passed, the King gave an admirable and moving speech. He outlined the position of the country, its foreign relations, and the laws he had recommended for Parliament to pass, and referred to the draft Constitution:

You are called upon to meet and deliberate on the new work to be done by the Government, to pass the Constitution, and to govern the land and to have the law of the country in accordance with it. The form of our Government in the days past was that my rule was absolute, and that my wish was law and that I chose who should belong to the Parliament and that I could please myself to create chiefs and alter titles. But that, it appears to me, was a sign of darkness and now a new era has come to Tonga - an era of light - and it is my wish to grant a Constitution and to carry on my duties in accordance with it and those that come after me shall do the same and the Constitution shall be as a firm rock in Tonga for ever.¹

In contrast to the more common process of constitutional development in modern states, where guarantees of constitutional liberty have usually been wrested from the rulers by popular demand, the King's speech indicates that in this case, the

¹ Neill, op. cit., 101; Neill quotes an English translation; the original speech was published in Koe Boobool, II, No. 6 (Supplement).
Constitution was bestowed upon the people by their monarch.

In Tonga there had never been any formal or even informal demands for a constitution from the rank and file of the people, and, in spite of opposition from some of the chiefs, the King granted the Constitution. Watkin reported that, as far as he could learn, the feelings of the chiefs and people were against the Constitution. Earlier he had written, 'sufficient time was not allowed to discuss the constitution; the complaint of the Chiefs is that they were not allowed to say what they wished - but were told to take what had been prepared for them, and be thankful.'

Evidently, the Constitution was a major concession on the King's part, and the principal motives which actuated him to make the concession were clear: to maintain Tonga's independence by gaining recognition for it from the great powers; and to ensure its future internal stability and integrity,

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2 Watkin to Chapman, 10 June 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert. The opposition to which Watkin referred was mainly from among those chiefs (and their followers) who had not been included among the Tongan Nobles, created by the Constitution.

3 Watkin to General Secretary, 12 January 1876; see also Baker to Eggleston, 19 December 1863, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker. Referring to the King's role in the 1862 emancipation laws, Baker stated, 'and the man who is doing this for his fellow men has had to do it alone - in spite of his chiefs, in spite of deep-rooted prejudice.'
particularly after his death. However, this memorable document ought not to be viewed in isolation, for it marked the culmination of several progressive attempts by King George to achieve acceptable, Christian, civilized legislation for his country. 4

The first simple written Code of Laws in Tonga, the Vava'u Code of 1839, contained some constitutional measures. Although it did not end the rule of the chiefs, it put a stop to their arbitrary powers over their subjects and it established the rule of law. Judges were appointed and foreigners were expected to respect the laws. It also ensured the supremacy of the power of the King. Clause 1 read:

N.B. No person shall be put to death, except by the express command of the King.

And Clause 8:

In reference to the small and light offences, each chief will examine and adjust, in his own place but all the more important offences must be brought to Mua at Neiafu. N.B. ....

On the day of hearing it is expected that the following persons will be present, viz. Jobe Soakai, Osaiasi Veikune, Eliesa Kijikiji, and Tiofilusi Kaianuanu. N.B. The King will be present and take a part whenever convenient. 5

4 See p. 285 above.

5 See Appendix A.
The more comprehensive Code of Laws of 1850 contained more constitutional measures. It laid down a comparatively more elaborate system of government.

I. - The Law referring to the King

1. The King, being the root of all government in the land, it is for him to appoint those who shall govern in his land.
2. Whatever the King may wish done in his land, it is with him to command the assemblage of his Chiefs, to consult with him thereon.
3. Whatever is written in these laws, no Chief is at liberty to act in opposition, but to obey them together with his people.
4. The King is the Chief Judge; and anything the Judges may not be able to decide upon, shall be referred to the King, and whatever his decision may be, it shall be final.

II. - The Law Concerning Taxes

Whatever the King deems proper, shall be done by the people for the King.

In these clauses the King's position is decidedly consolidated; the supremacy of his rule clearly and definitely expressed; and the power of the chiefs severely limited.

The position of the judges was also defined.

III. - The Law Referring to the Judges

1. It is the province of the King to appoint all the Judges in his kingdom.
2. This is the office of the Judges - If anyone or more be charged with having committed a crime, it is the business of the Judges, when such are brought to trial, to hear the person by whom the

6 See Appendix B. The 1850 Code was printed in full in Young, op. cit., 434-42.
charge is made, as also the statement of the prisoner. The trial being over, and his guilt proved, the Judge shall then pronounce sentence, according to what is written in these laws.

3. The remuneration which the Judges and Officers shall have made to them by the King, is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, not labour for them at their respective places.

A brief allusion to the business of the judges also followed.

The provisions regarding the chiefs read:

V. - The Law of the Chiefs and those who govern

1. The Chiefs to whom these Laws refer are those whom the King has appointed to govern portions of the land, and their people.
2. It is with those Chiefs only to harangue and govern their people, and it is not admissible for any other to order or govern those people.
3. ....
4. This is the labour which the Governing Chiefs shall lawfully demand from their people yearly, even to the extent they may think proper; and such Chief shall pay strict attention in seeing the King's work properly executed, but in case of his negligence, his people shall do the less for him.

The land question was also given attention. Its provision read:

XXXIX. - The Law referring to the Soil

It shall not be lawful for any Chief or people in Tonga, Haabai, or Vavau, to sell a portion of land to strangers (i.e., foreigners); it is forbidden; and any one who may break this law shall be severely punished.

Individual ownership of property was also touched upon in Clause XIII where it was made an offence to take anything forcibly or on the score of relationship, without the owner's consent.

When one views these constitutional provisions,
embodied in the 1839 and 1850 Codes, from the standpoint of a primitive society, they appear quite radical and even revolutionary. But in comparison to the legal codes of the developed nations they were obviously lagging far behind. Even the first Constitution of Hawaii in 1840 seemed more advanced, though it preceded the Tongan Code by ten years.

Reference has previously been made to the correspondence between St Julian and King George between 1854 and 1855, in which the former advised the King on how to establish a constitutional government. St Julian, who was disappointed with the apparent lack of progress and slowness of reform in Tonga, published an article in the Sydney Morning Herald in which he alleged that King George was planning to extend his sovereignty to Samoa and Fiji. He urged that this should be prevented, because it would only perpetuate barbarism and might also give rise to dangerous friction between the great maritime powers who had subjects living on these islands. In this article he stated:

7 The Hawaiian Constitution was promulgated in 1840 and was known as 'Hawaii's Blue Laws of 1840'. See H.E. Chambers, Constitutional History of Hawaii (Baltimore, 1896), 13; R.S. Kuykendall, Constitutions of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 21, Honolulu, 1940), 7.

8. See pp. 299-303 above.
His [King George's] government of his own islands is totally inefficient except for the wants of the merest savages, and, with the true feeling of a semi-barbaric chief, he obstinately resists all improvement. He still holds, too, the office of a local preacher under the Wesleyan missionaries. His own Kingdom will certainly fall asunder when he dies. How, then can he hope to hold more extended dominion?

The General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission wrote a strongly worded reply, objecting to St Julian's article. In it he stated:

...I deeply regret, that an article so damaging to one who has fought so hard for the elevation of his people should be sent to England on your authority. There is one part of the paragraph correct, that he still holds the office of Local Preacher, but the other part I repudiate as a slander upon his character until proof is adduced from a reliable source....

St Julian wrote to Eggleston, defending his stand, and arguing that what he had written represented opinions which had long been held by 'unprejudiced lookers-on', and that he was himself unable to deny that they were apparently well founded. He therefore thought it would have been unfair to have suppressed them. He claimed that his statement concerning the inefficiency of King George's government was fully justified:

...I am unable to deny its truth, [he wrote] when I remember that the Tonguese laws, imperfect as they

9  S.M.H., 9 January 1858.

10 Eggleston to Editor, S.M.H., 11 January 1858. MSS. A.S. 60 (M.L.).
are, are administered by chiefs who divide among themselves, by way of remuneration for their trouble, the fines and labour of those whom they convict and when I remember too that they have proved powerless for the enforcement of some of the simplest contracts known to civilized men -

That King George having brought his governmental system to its present condition had hitherto expressed the strongest disinclination to make such further improvements as would fit his state for the duties imposed on civilized governments and justify its admission within the pale of internationality...

...I should be glad, as you well know, to see King George not only recognized by all the maritime powers and invested with an extended role if the conditions precedent of qualifying his government to fulfil international obligations were complied with. But ere this be, he must give up his canoe progress, feasting and cava parties, must have an organized government, and an effective code of Laws impartially administered, must relieve the lower orders from the exactions of chiefdom, must encourage industrial improvement, must give up his local preachership and stand neutral between all sects and classes of his subjects.\textsuperscript{11}

St Julian was Roman Catholic and he was also, at this time, seeking a government appointment in the South Pacific Islands.\textsuperscript{12} He told King George in his letter of 3 December 1855 that one of the judges in Tonga should be a white man. In view of these facts, it was not surprising he should have strong opinions concerning King George's role as Methodist local

\textsuperscript{11} St Julian to Eggleston, 13 January 1858, MSS A.S. 60 (M.L.).

\textsuperscript{12} St Julian was seeking an exaquator from the British government to act as British Consul in Tonga. However the missionaries wrote to the Secretary of State, objecting to his appointment. See Rutherford, op. cit., 45; also p. 302 above.
preacher, and the King's apparent reluctance to accept the suggestions which he had made for constitutional changes in Tonga.

In general St Julian's arguments were valid and sound. However, he failed to appreciate the fact that there were problems peculiar to each region which would inevitably influence not only the kind and degree of change to be made, but also the appropriate time for such action.

King George's efforts to gradually introduce the rule of law in Tonga had not gone unchallenged. All the way there had been strong resistance both to his authority and the rule of law, particularly from the heathen chiefs.13 The last war of resistance had broken out in 1852, just two years before St Julian began correspondence with King George. No doubt the King appreciated the importance of St Julian's advice and realized the need to bring about measures of political change which would be internationally acceptable. However, he was wise enough to realize that he needed to allow a little time to elapse, for old wounds to heal, and for the people as a whole, particularly his opponents, to grow accustomed to accepting the authority of his government before further reforms could be ushered in effectively.

13 See p. 252 above.
In 1862, ten years after the last war in Tonga, King George seems to have thought the appropriate moment had arrived for further reforms. The die-hards, who yearned for the unlimited privileges of former days, had passed away with time, and a new generation had grown up accepting the King's authority and prestige, and respecting and appreciating the rule of law. The comprehensive constitutional measures, including much of what St Julian had suggested, were introduced in the 1862 Code and were wholeheartedly accepted by most of the people. 14

The 1862 Code contained important new provisions with regard to the power of the King, which were additional to the constitutional measures introduced in 1850.

I. The Law Concerning the King

3. And whatever things are written in these laws, it shall not be lawful for the King to act contrary thereto, but to act according to them as well as his people.

This was a triumph for the rule of law. The introduction of this measure by the King indicates the secure position which he had achieved. The whole country now accepted his kingship, admired his abilities and leadership, and he had won the respect, loyalty and love of all his people, including those who disagreed with some of his views. In the minds of his subjects, the King's

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14 See p. 322 above.
will and the laws of the country were identical, and to obey the laws was to obey the will of their beloved sovereign.

Perhaps the most revolutionary constitutional measures introduced in the 1862 Code were the emancipation of the common people from serfdom, and the setting up of State revenue, out of which the remuneration of government officials was to be paid.

XXXIV.- The Law Concerning Tributes

1. All laws formerly printed in the Code of laws of Tonga relating to serfdom are repealed....
2. All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage, from the institution of this law; and it shall not be lawful for any chief or person, to seize, or take by force, or beg authoritatively, in Tonga fashion, any thing from anyone.
3. Everyone has the entire control over every thing that is his.
4. All Chiefs and people shall pay tribute (or taxes) to the Government; and the King shall pay the salaries of all Governors, Rulers, Judges, Officers, (Police) and other persons in Government employ. The tribute for the first year shall be three dollars each person....

It may be recalled that a further provision dealing with the allotment of farm lands to the people was also contained in this Code. 15

The constitutional measures contained in the legislation discussed so far, were largely incidental. The primary task confronting

15 See Appendix C. Also p. 307 above.
the legislators up to this stage was the formulation of laws.

It was not until 1875 that a planned Constitution was drawn up and promulgated. This Constitution was a long document of 132 articles which were contained in three main divisions: Declaration of Rights; Form of Government; and The Land.

The Declaration of Rights consisted of 32 articles. It contained the usual safeguards, following very closely that of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852.16

The first article reads:

Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for men to be free, as He has made of one blood all nations of men, therefore shall the people of Tonga be forever free, and all people who reside or may reside in this Kingdom. And the lives and bodies and times of all people shall be free to possess and acquire property all doing as they like with the fruit of their hands, and using their own property as they may seem fit.

The other articles guaranteed the liberty of every individual, the equality of all men - chiefs or commoners, Tongans or foreigners - before the laws of the country; freedom of worship; freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The people's right to expect the Government to protect their life, liberty and property was also guaranteed, and consequently they

16 Rutherford (op. cit., 149) suggests that Baker obtained a copy of the Hawaiian Constitution from Reeve, the Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, whom he visited in 1872, seeking 'friendly advice and assistance'. See also Chambers, op. cit., 17-20.
were expected to 'assist and pay taxes to the Government according to law'. The right to vote for the representatives to the Legislative Assembly was given to anyone (native born or naturalized) who had reached 21 years and paid taxes, and who had 'not been guilty of any major crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery and embezzlement or alike crime'.  

Jury work was expected of everyone eligible to vote, except in the case of government officials and others who were exempted.

The influence of the Methodist missionaries was evident in such sections as the provision concerning the Sabbath Day.

Art. 6. The Sabbath Day shall be sacred in Tonga for ever and it shall not be lawful to work, or artifice, or play games, or trade on the Sabbath. And any agreement made or document witnessed on this day shall be counted void, and will not be protected by the Government.

In the provisions controlling the labour traffic it was stated that agreement and contract should be made between the employer and the recruits and 'be lodged in the Government Offices, stating the amount of payment they shall receive, the time they shall work for him, and promising to take them back to 17 See Constitution of 1875, Clause 22. (Appendix D.)

18 Those exempted were: Members of the Legislature, missionaries, assistant missionaries, teachers, school-masters, collegians, Institution lads, servants of the Government, clerks of the Bank, military officers, the guards and artillery-men, and all other officials of the Government.
their own land,' and that the Government would see that this contract be carried out. It continued:

Art. 3....But it shall not be lawful for any one to make any contracts with any Chinese to come and work for him, lest the disease of leprosy be brought to Tonga the same as exists in the Sandwich Islands....

It appears that the latter part of this provision was heavily influenced by the anti-Chinese sentiments current in Australia and elsewhere at the time.

The second section dealing with Form of Government also closely followed the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852. It declared:

Art. 34. The form of Government for this Kingdom is that of a Constitutional Government under His Majesty, King George Tubou, his heirs and successors.

The supreme power of the Kingdom was divided between the Executive, consisting of the King, Privy Council and Cabinet; the Legislative Assembly; and the Judiciary. 19

The prerogatives of the King were clearly set forth and the rules of succession were laid down. Succession to the throne was declared to be hereditary through King George's son David 'Unga and his heirs or descendants by marriage. In the event of there being no lawful descendant of David 'Unga's line, the throne should descend to Henry Ma'afu and his lawful heirs, and if there should be no lawful heir, the King should appoint

19 See Appendix D,
his heir if the House of Nobles was agreeable to it (in this decision, representatives of the people had no voice), and a public pronouncement of the heir chosen should be made during the King's lifetime. However, if there should be no heir or successor publicly proclaimed, the Premier would have to call the Cabinet and the noble members of the Legislative Assembly and they would choose by ballot someone among the chiefs to succeed to the throne, and thus begin a new royal lineage. It was also stated that no one should ever succeed to the Crown of Tonga who had been judged and found guilty of any infamous crime, or who was insane, or an idiot. 20

The King was Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, but he could not declare war without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. With the consent of the Privy Council, he had power to grant pardon to convicts except in cases of impeachment, and to convene the Legislative Assembly. If he were displeased with it, he could dissolve it and command new representatives to be chosen, but he could not lawfully dismiss any of the nobles of the Legislative Assembly, except in cases of treason. He was entitled to make treaties with foreign nations, but again could do so only with the consent of the

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20 A Prince Regent had to be appointed in the case of a Junior Heir or during the King's absence.
The person of the King was declared sacred. He governed the land, and all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly must receive his signature before they became law. He had the prerogative of bestowing all titles of honour, but he could not lawfully take away any title except in cases of treason. With the advice of his cabinet, he had the prerogative of arranging what money should be legal tender in the Kingdom. Finally, he had power to proclaim martial law for any part of the land, or for the whole land during civil war or war between the Kingdom and another country.

The next division after the King was the Privy Council, which was composed of the Cabinet ministers, the Governors and the Chief Justice. Its functions were to advise the King in his work and to serve as a final court of appeal.

Following the Privy Council was the Cabinet. It was composed of the Premier, Treasurer, Minister for Lands and the Minister for Police. The ministers were appointed by the King, 'from the Nobles, or from the representatives of the people, or from persons outside, and if so they shall enter the Legislative Assembly.'

21 Constitution, Clause 63, part 1. (Appendix D.)
The duties of the Premier and of each of the Ministers were laid down. The Premier appointed town officers, took care of government roads and government vessels and houses. He provided for the military and for the courts; supervised the work of the Registrars; appointed all Police Magistrates; had charge of the Great Seal of the Government, and of all other governmental activities not already under the province of other Ministers. He also represented the Government to other nations.

The duties of the Treasurer consisted of supervising the collection of duties, licences and taxes (as determined by the Legislative Assembly); receiving all revenues from the courts and land leases and paying all government expenses. The Minister for Lands took care of all governmental premises, town sites and town roads; supervised the position of houses in the town and decided the leasing of lands to foreigners (with the consent of the King and Privy Council). The Minister for Police was entrusted with the maintenance of peace and the prevention of all disturbance. He supervised the police and saw that the laws of the land were carried out.

Each Minister had to draw up an annual report of the work of his department which was forwarded to the King and the Legislative Assembly, and he was also answerable to the Assembly for any matters relating to his department. As noted above, the Privy Council also included the Governors. The King
appointed the Governors to Ha'apai, Vava'u, Niuafou'ou and Niua Toputapu. While they were members of the Privy Council they were not eligible for membership of the Legislative Assembly.

The Legislative Assembly was composed of the ministers, nobles and the representatives of the people. The nobles consisted of twenty chiefs who were appointed for life by the King to the Legislative Assembly. The titles of the nobles of Tonga were to be hereditary among their lawful heirs. Nine nobles were appointed from Tongatapu, five from Ha'apai, four from Vava'u, one from Niuafou'ou and one from Niua Toputapu. The number of nobles in the Assembly could not be increased to more than twenty unless the representatives of the people petitioned it.

There were twenty representatives of the people who were to be elected by ballot; 'they shall cross out the names of those whom they are not willing to vote for, and leave those names to stand they wish to vote for, and then sign their name to the paper.' Nine representatives were to be chosen from Tongatapu, five from Ha'apai, four from Vava'u, and one each from Niuafou'ou and Niua Toputapu.

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22 A noble member of the Legislative Assembly had to be 21 years of age, not insane, an idiot or guilty of a major crime.

23 Clause 67. (Appendix D.)
The elected members of the Legislative Assembly like the nobles, had to be of sound mind and free of criminal records. They were elected for a period of five years by all the adults eligible for suffrage.  

The King appointed the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. It had the full power to legislate, subject to the Constitution, but the Acts required the King's signature for validity, and bills vetoed could not be rediscussed in the same session. It had power of impeachment. It had the duty to determine the amount of taxes, duties and licences and it had the sole right to pass the estimates of the expenditure of the Government.

The Legislative Assembly had power to discuss amendments to the Constitution, so long as the amendments did not interfere with the Declaration of Rights, the laws concerning foreigners, the succession to the throne, and the inheritances and titles of the nobles and chiefs of the land. Any amendment passed should be left until the following session, and if still approved and passed again three times, and also received the King's consent, it should then become part of the Constitution.

The Judicial power of the Kingdom was vested in the Supreme Court, the Circuit Court and the Police Courts. The

24 See p.386 above.
Supreme Court consisted of the Chief Justice and two associated Justices. These Justices of the Supreme Court were to be appointed by the King with the consent of the Cabinet. They should hold their office during good behaviour and subject to impeachment. Their salaries could not be diminished during their continuance in office. It was with them to arrange the manner of holding the lower courts, and also to draw out all forms, and make rules for all the business of the same.

The King and the Legislative Assembly decided the number of Circuit Courts to be held in the Kingdom, and these were held by one of the justices. All cases brought before the Supreme Court and the Circuit Courts should be tried by a jury of twelve. The King and the Legislative Assembly also had the power to determine the number and frequency of Police Courts and the Legislative Assembly should regulate the powers of the Police Magistrates.

The provisions concerning Land in the Constitution made it unlawful for anyone, whether he was King, chief or commoner, 'to sell one part of a foot of the ground of the kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance with this Constitution.'

25 Clause 109. (Appendix D.)
The King had to appoint the nobles, who together with their titles held hereditary lands known as tofi'a. The laws of inheritance for these were set out in the third section of the Constitution. It was lawful for the nobles who owned various districts of land to lease portions of their tofi'a to the people as 'api 'uta (bush allotments) for terms of 21, 50 or 99 years. The amount paid for these leases had to be determined by the Legislative Assembly. In cases of failure of payment the noble of the tofi'a concerned could reclaim the land for himself. Permission from the Cabinet had to be obtained before any land could be leased to a European resident. It was stated that this clause 'was not made to prevent the leasing of land to white residents, but to prevent any Chief acting foolishly in leasing the whole of his land to white residents, and driving the Tongese into the sea.'

All town sites and all the beach frontage in the Kingdom belonged to the Government. The Government was legally entitled to lease town allotments known as 'api kolo to both

26 See above.

27 The correct plural form would be ngaahi tofi'a but for convenience they are referred to here as tofi'a.

28 Another name for the 'api 'uta is 'api Tukuhau.

29 Clause 130. (Appendix D.)
Tongans and foreigners for a period of 21 years. The King's premises at Nuku'alofa, Lifuka, Neiafu, and also the Church premises (Wesleyan and Roman Catholic) were exceptions and held leases for 99 years. It was not lawful for anyone to lease any 'api kolo greater than 5 acres or 'to lease to any white resident or white residents in company any land in the interior ('uta) upwards of 1000 acres added together.'

Any lands which were not owned by anyone or any tofi'a which failed to have legitimate heirs should revert to the Government, and the Government had the right to lease such lands.

The Constitution of 1875 marked the culmination of a gradual process by which King George had attempted to bring to Tonga the type of legal and constitutional machinery which would enable her to gain recognition from the civilized nations and maintain her own independent and stable government. Many of the provisions of this Constitution departed altogether from traditional precedents. This applied, for instance, to the laws of succession, not only to the throne but also to the hereditary titles of the whole country.

30 Clause 118. (Appendix D.)
Traditionally, succession to the throne was not automatically from father to the eldest son, but was decided upon by an 'electoral college' from among several claimants. The selection of successors to the other chiefly titles had been in the hands of the principal chiefs of the ha' a to which the title belonged. Usually they chose the most capable candidate as the successor. This was essential at a time when the welfare of the whole community depended almost entirely on the wisdom and abilities of its paramount chief. However, there had been bitter rivalry among the various claimants which often resulted in open conflict and war between factions.

By the 1870s there was considerable speculation among both Tongans and European settlers and British administrators in the South Pacific, as to who would become the successor

31 See p. 23 above.
32 See pp. 26-7 above.
33 See F.J. Rendell to Captain W.C. Chapman, 19 August 1874, RNAS, 42. Rendell wrote:

King George's legitimate heir is Henry Maafu..., but the presumptive heir is David Ounga, who is King George's illegitimate son. It is anticipated that this will lead to serious complications on King George's death as each man has a large party in his favour. Maafu is more popular, both with whites & natives, as David is said to be a very treacherous and untrustworthy character, so much so that his talent for lying is proverbial among the natives, and he is supposed to be very unfavourably disposed towards Europeans.
to King George, after his long reign, extending from his rulership of Ha'apai since 1820, of Vava'u since 1833 and of the whole of Tonga since 1845. Many prophesied that civil war would break out over this question if nothing were done about it.

As early as the 1850s the missionaries had repeatedly requested King George to declare a successor. St Julian had also dealt with the matter in one of his letters of constitutional advice.

No doubt, King George was well aware of the threatening political storm hovering over the Kingdom and ready to burst immediately upon his death. The law of succession was a way of forestalling any such disaster. Subsequent events have proved the soundness of King George and his advisers in this matter, for Tonga was

34 Amos to Eggleston, 26 October 1857. Amos wrote:

On the 9th of December 1856 I invited the King and Queen to dine with the Prince at our residence on Olobeka Hill, and on that occasion I told His Majesty that some persons blamed him for not publicly proclaiming George as his successor. His reply was 'It is unnecessary - all the Chiefs know my mind... he is my only legitimate son - I was never married to the mothers of my other three sons, either after Tonga or Christian fashion - he is too young to proclaim yet, a boy who is still a spider-catcher is not fit to sit with the elders of the people - I shall one day proclaim him as my successor with the title of Prince of Ha'afuluha. - I stated that it would be well to proclaim George that he might be acknowledged by civilized governments.

35 St Julian to King George, 27 June 1855.
spared the tribal wars which raged for several years in neighbouring Samoa over this issue.  

Another departure from Tongan tradition was the adoption of Constitutional Monarchy. It has already been noted that under the indigenous system, power actually rested with the paramount chiefs of the various districts. However, with the help and guidance of the missionaries King George had managed to unite the whole of Tonga into a Kingdom, and in the process he had consolidated power into the position of the monarch, so that he became absolute ruler. He was not satisfied with this situation, as his speech at the opening of the 1875 parliament indicated. The new Constitution placed certain important checks upon his authority.

Although the King's power was still great, in that he could veto legislation and had the prerogative to appoint and dismiss the ministers of the Crown, he could no longer

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36 R.M. Watson, History of Samoa (Wellington, 1918), 50-1, wrote:

The whole of the native wars of which we have knowledge, and there were seven of them prior to their ending after seventy years with the annexation of the group to Germany and America in 1900, arose from disputed succession to title.

37 See p. 55 above.

38 See p. 374 above.
lawfully act on his own in matters of political importance without the approval of either the Cabinet, the Privy Council or the Legislative Assembly. By comparison with the pre-constitution days, there were drastic limitations of the King's powers. Some have claimed that, in practice, King George failed to adhere strictly to this part of his Constitution. This was understandable, for he was an extremely able ruler, whose subjects accepted and revered him, irrespective of whether he acted in accordance with the letter of the Constitution or not. At the same time, the primary purpose of the Constitution was to make the Tongan government acceptable in the eyes of other nations, and to furnish a blue print for his successors and future generations of Tonga. In both these respects the Constitution proved successful.

There was a vast difference in the composition and working of the new Legislative Assembly and the traditional fakataha which had actually been a council of chiefs. The fakataha were held at irregular intervals, depending upon whether the King wished them to be held, and the chiefs acted in a purely advisory capacity. There were several quite revolutionary features in the new Legislative Assembly. For

39 See King George's speech quoted on p. 374 above.
instance, it included an equal number of chiefs and representatives of the people and, for the first time, commoners joined the chiefs in discussing political matters. This was a remarkable innovation in a land where commoners had been regarded as mere tools and possessions of the chiefs.

The teachings of the missionaries on the equality of all men before God had significantly raised the social status of commoners and their participation in church organisations together with the chiefs had helped to prepare the ground for their greater social and political acceptance. This was further assisted by the founding of Tupou College in 1866, by the Rev. J.E. Moulton, who implemented a policy of treating all students alike, be they chiefs or commoners. The only hierarchy recognized within the College was a hierarchy of intellectual achievement. Since significant numbers of commoners passed through the college, a mutual respect began to develop between them and the chiefly class, and this made it less difficult for the nobles to accept the constitutional provisions for commoner representation in the Assembly. Only those chiefs who had failed to gain a place for themselves in the Assembly showed any resentment.40

It seems a strange paradox that the very Constitution

40 Watkin to Chapman, 10 June 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.
which set out to limit the powers of the monarchy should have created a new landed aristocracy with increased powers. This would appear to be the very reverse of what both the missionaries and King George had been trying to achieve with the earlier legislation, which aimed at limiting the power of the chiefs, and raising the status of commoners. In the new Constitution a certain number of chiefs were now to be chosen by the King and made the nobles of Tonga;\textsuperscript{41} they were to be given tracts of land to be their tofi'a or hereditary estates.

The new Constitution, in effect, gave the nobles a legitimate form of indirect power over their people. The fact that the commoners received their leases of land from the nobles made them feel obligated to give polopolo (first fruits) of their crops, the best of anything produced or acquired, or their services to the nobles. Observance of these obligations was regarded as evidence of one's loyalty and as a sign of good citizenship. Applicants and would-be-applicants for land had to be particularly generous with their gifts if they were to win favour with their landlord.

Later on, when provisions were made in the laws

\textsuperscript{41} In the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 upon which this was modelled, the King appointed thirty nobles for life. See Chambers, op. cit., 19.
allowing the commoners to register their land, the noble would allot a piece of land for a trial period, the length of which depended upon his own personal whim. If he was satisfied with the applicant's 'behaviour' (particularly his generosity and servility) he would then permit him to register the land, but if he were displeased, he could take back the

42 According to Dr A. Maude, who surveyed land tenure in Tonga, the earliest registration known to the Lands Department in Tonga was in 1898. (Personal communication, Maude to Latukefu, 20 October 1966.)

43 See A. Maude, Population, Land and Livelihood in Tonga, A.N.U., 1965, 105. Maude refers to the abuses which could arise from the 'probationary' period which was required before permission to register the land was granted.

In effect, the tenure of land under these conditions is that of unsecured and permissive occupancy and is a vulnerable one, depending as it does on the will of the title-holder. Since the Emancipation of 1862 the chiefs of Tonga, of whom the nobles are the only ones now recognized in the Constitution, have lost most of their power over their people; they have, however, retained some control over the distribution of land, for the title-holder's approval is needed before the grant of an allotment on his estate can be registered by the Minister of Lands. By law the objections of an estate-holder to the grant of an allotment may be overruled by the Minister, but few villagers would ever take him with a complaint against a noble.... Since throughout the period of 'probation' a farmer will be careful to give food and other gifts to the title-holder to improve his chances of obtaining the necessary approval, and since after registration with its consequent security of tenure such gifts are considerably less frequent, some nobles delay registration or even refuse it indefinitely so as to retain some economic control over their people.
land and give it to someone else. Even in the last few years, there have been instances where nobles held *fono* at which they threatened to expel those whom they did not regard as 'good citizens' from their *tofi'a*. 44

The commoners' tribute and subservience which openly acknowledged the superiority of the nobles, helped to water down the declaration in the Constitution that all men were to be equal in the eyes of the law and that everyone had a right to his life and property, which was viewed by many chiefs as a threat to their power and prestige. The chiefs naturally desired to see these acts of submission perpetuated in order to maintain their privileges. The continuance of these customs in modern times has proved a major obstacle to the social, economic and political development of the people. 45

Economically the nobles continued to amass wealth at the expense of the common people. A recent study of land tenure in Tonga has shown that some of the nobles became reluctant to subdivide their *tofi'a* into bush allotments for

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44 Although I have not actually been present in any of these *fono* I have heard of several incidents of this kind in the past; to-day it would be an extremely rare happening.

45 There are of course other factors which must also be considered such as lack of ambition, customary obligations, etc. See A. Maude, op. cit., 164.
those who were eligible for them and that they also tried to hinder those who already held leases from registering these allotments. The nobles of course realized that once such land had been registered, they could no longer reclaim it, providing that its holder abided by the land laws. They further realized that their land was their sole means of securing their privileges. As a result, a considerable proportion of land remained unregistered, and the resulting insecurity of tenure diminished incentives for land improvement, since the tenants were only concerned with satisfying their immediate wants.

From the perspective of the present, the creation of the landed nobility would appear to have been a blunder, for it helped to create some of the very problems which it had sought to eliminate. However, this move must be seen in relation to the time in which the Constitution was actually promulgated. It may be regarded as an ingenious step on the part of the King and his constitutional adviser, Baker,

46 See footnote 44 above.

47 Quite recently a land survey was completed in Tonga and the subdivision of much of the ngaahi tofi'a was undertaken. At the present time the Lands Department is busy distributing them to successful applicants. See also Maude, op. cit., 107.
to make some concessions to the chiefs in the face of their mounting resentment at their loss of power. It was also based upon the realization that the Constitution could not succeed without the support of the powerful chiefs, particularly if King George's immediate successor should prove to be a weaker ruler. The creation of the nobility helped to quell the opposition from the most powerful chiefs and won their support and loyalty. It is significant in this respect, that the King's basis for selecting the nobles was not that of traditional rank but of the numerical strength of their supporters. Those with large numbers of people living under them were more likely to prove troublesome than those of higher rank, but without supporters.

The land section of the Constitution, particularly the prohibition on the sale of land, and the provisions making it unlawful for any noble to lease land to European settlers without the consent of Cabinet, has proved to be immeasurably beneficial to Tonga. Firstly, it ensured that a great proportion of the land remained in Tongan hands. Secondly, it helped to maintain the political independence of Tonga. Sale of land would have attracted a great many European

48 This was stated by the King in his speech at the close of the 1875 Parliament in which the Constitution was ratified, Boobooi, II, No. 6, (Supplement).
settlers, and with a larger economic stake in the country they could have applied more effective pressure on the great powers to annex Tonga. 49 Thirdly, it saved Tonga from the racial problems which other islands, particularly Fiji, have had to face. The virtual absence of European plantations in Tonga made it unnecessary to import labourers from other places.

IT cannot be said that Baker, the author of this Constitution, was an authority on constitutional matters; nor did he bring to the highly specialized task he had decided to undertake an adequate educational background or training in law. 50 However, he followed the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 very closely, adapting it through the help of King George, to the local conditions and needs of Tonga. His other sources appear to have been the English Constitutional practice, 51 which he probably derived from the Laws of N.S.W. which had been given

49 The activities of the settlers in Fiji and Hawaii are good examples of this. See Morrell, op. cit., 82, 148; Derrick, op. cit., 223; Chambers, op. cit., 8.

50 See p. 358 above.

51 Neill, op. cit., 100.
him by Sir Henry Parkes, the previous Tongan Codes and the Bible.

Critics were quite merciless in their denunciation of the Constitution. A. Mackay, a business man who was in Tonga during the height of Baker's power, and who was very anti-Baker, asserted that the Constitution was unsuitable, unworkable and abortive, and certainly reflected no credit on anyone connected with it. Basil Thomson wrote, 'that the pretentious document, "Seeing it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free", with its complicated machinery, designed to deceive strangers into the belief that Tonga was a State growing in importance and prosperity, was utterly unsuited to the Tongans.' Alfred Maudslay, who was British Consul in Tonga in 1878, claimed that he had never met 'a Tongan from the King down who pretended to understand it and if one might form any judgement from the

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52 See p. 370 above. In his speech at the opening of the 1875 Parliament (see footnotes 1, 49) King George referred to the copy of the laws which Baker had brought with him from Sydney. See also Rutherford, op. cit., 149.


54 Thomson, op. cit., 229.
English translation, this was little to be wondered at.\(^5\)

These criticisms were not groundless. It was true that the people of the time could not understand most of the Constitution, and that able, but perhaps biased, observers were genuinely convinced that it was unsuitable and would not work. However, time has proved that the critics were over pessimistic. Later, J.S. Neill, who was British Agent and Consul in Tonga for ten years from 1927 to 1937, gave a more favourable evaluation of its worth:

The 1875 Constitution has been amended from time to time, but it remains, in substance, the law of the land. When first granted, for many years after, it was quite beyond the understanding of the people. Its life has been marked by vicissitudes, for its provisions were sometimes disregarded, but it is now administered as its Royal Founder would have wished and, in my experience, faithfully observed.\(^6\)

The success or failure of the Constitution may be measured by its acceptance, nationally and internationally. Naturally, the Constitution was accepted by the people. In his Tongan paper, called Boobooi, Baker did his best to explain its meaning before it was promulgated. He compared the function of the Constitution in government to that of the Bible in the

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56 Neill, op. cit., 100-1.
church. King George stated in the speech, quoted earlier:

> When the Constitution has been passed it shall be a palladium of freedom to all Tongans for ever. It is quite clear now that they are free; and let this be the most valuable privilege of the country, for by the passing of the constitution a Tongan can boast that he is as free as were the Romans of former days and as the British are now.\(^5^8\)

The Tongans accepted the Constitution in this spirit and were immensely proud of it, even though they did not understand it fully. The day of its promulgation was declared a holiday annually - 4 November. It has since been a popular theme glorified by poets, talked about in the faikava (kava party) and was, as Thomson pointed out, regarded by the Tongans as 'Holy Writ'.\(^5^9\) This very sanctity which the Constitution had assumed in their minds posed some further problems, for it made them reluctant to accept any amendments to it, even when such were required to meet the demands of a new era.\(^6^0\)

Internationally, the Constitution with all its limitations,

\(^{57}\) *Boobooi*, II, No. 1 (March 1875), 2-3.

\(^{58}\) *Boobooi*, II, No. 6 (Supplement).


\(^{60}\) Thomson (D.P.M., *op. cit.*, 229) states: 'My principal difficulty lay in the Constitution. Though the king readily consented to the abrogation of the laws, he had an almost superstitious dread of tampering with the Constitution.'
led the civilized nations of the world to recognize Tonga's independent sovereignty, and the country came to be regarded as having a government capable of managing both its internal affairs and external relations.

In conclusion, constitutional development in Tonga was gradual and reached its culmination in the 1875 Constitution. Although the missionaries cannot be held fully responsible, they played a significant role in this development. The impact of their teachings on King George and his people, not only religiously but as agents of Christian civilization, was so effective, that these teachings, together with other factors, produced a gradual but marked change in Tongan society. The assistance the early missionaries gave as a body, with earlier legislation, was of great importance, and although most of the later ones were reluctant to become too deeply involved in politics, Baker

61 In the following year, after the promulgation of the Constitution in 1875, a treaty between Germany and Tonga was signed. Thomson, ibid., 368. This was followed by treaties with Britain, in 1879 and America in 1888. Wood, op. cit., 59.

62 In actual fact, Tonga was not able to manage its own affairs. Hence the sending of Thomson in 1890 and the Treaty of 1900 giving the British Consul the power of veto over finance and external affairs. However it saved Tonga from being annexed. See Thomson, Savage Island (London, 1902), 153.
gave his wholehearted assistance to King George in his political innovations, arguing that he was entitled to do so, when the King had called for his help.

The main criticisms levelled against the Constitution were not that it was legally unacceptable, but that it was too advanced for the people. True, the Tongans did not fully understand it at the beginning, and for a while they were unable to administer it properly, which caused some discontent. But these short term deficiencies were far outweighed by the long term benefits which Tonga has reaped from it. Its mere existence provided a means of political education for later generations. Its unquestioned acceptance and reverence by the people assisted in the maintenance of internal stability, thereby ensuring slow, perhaps, but definitely peaceful and continuing development. It gave rise to a feeling of security never felt before, particularly in respect of Tonga's independence and integrity as a nation.
PART V

OPPOSITION AND COUNTER-INFLUENCES
THE OPPOSITION OF THE TONGANS TO THE INFLUENCE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARIES

SELDOM has there been a more rapid and effective indoctrination of a people than that achieved by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Tonga. Less than two decades after the re-establishment of the mission in 1826, the whole of the northern groups, Ha'apai and Vava'u, were under the influence of the missionaries. Before the end of the third decade practically the whole of Tonga had come under the sway of Christianity. This state of affairs was brought about either directly, as many became members of, or adherents to, the Society, or indirectly as the whole Kingdom came under the new political system which owed much to missionary influence.

The achievement of the mission in Tonga was not one of unimpeded progress, for the missionaries encountered quite formidable opposition from all levels of Tongan society. Their path was never smooth, but one of alternating hope and

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1 The first Wesleyan Methodist missionary, the Rev. Walter Lawry, went to Tonga in 1822, but owing to his wife's ill health he returned home the following year. See p. 97 above; Wood, op. cit., 44.

2 See Chapter 5.
disillusionment.

Referring to the success of the mission, one missionary jubilantly declared, '...with tears of gratitude I praised my God for what my eyes beheld my ears heard, and my heart felt.... How encouraging this to our former labours in N.Z....' Yet another wrote, 'It is true the clouds are now very black and the prospect very cheerless...but storms do not continue always, even in a storm we hope for fine weather, and our afflictions may be beneficial to us and to others who see and hear what we endure, and if God is glorified we ought to be content. I had only 4 boys at the school to-day.' The same writer on a later occasion in a fit of indignation wrote, 'It is a grief to me that the people are not allowed to attend. I cry to God for them that he would bend or breake [sic] the stubborn [sic] neck of our chief who seems to hinder the people here.'

It is quite evident that opposition to missionary influence came from all levels of Tongan society. The commoners as

4 Thomas, Journal, 30 January 1828.
5 Ibid., 18 April 1829.
well as the chiefs and priests formed part of this opposition. The opposition of the latter is more readily understandable, in view of the undermining of their privileges through the breakdown of the old social order, but the opposition of commoners may appear more puzzling, in view of the obvious benefits which they had obtained through the influence of the missionaries which had helped to raise their social status and had curbed the tyrannical powers of the chiefs under whom they were more or less slaves. It is necessary to ask who were the commoners who were in opposition to the missionaries' work and what were the reasons behind their grievances?

In the first place there were those who, following their chiefs, bluntly refused to join the Society. They remained either as heathens or joined the Roman Catholic mission. In the second place there were those who followed their chiefs and joined the Society but later reacted against it.

With regard to the former, their opposition seems to have been basically a conservative reaction against anything new. It sprang from a genuine desire to preserve the status quo. They felt that the old standards and scale of values embodied in their much treasured customs and traditions had been good enough for their ancestors and were still good enough for them. In reply to a question put to him by the
missionaries, Nathaniel Turner and John Thomas, Ata, the chief of Hihifo said:

I have and always have had great love for Mr Thomas, and should be glad for him to continue with me; but I will not attend to your religion. My mind is fixed.... It is very good for you to attend to your God, and I will attend to mine;...I am not angry with you or Mr Thomas; but I will not turn for him, or any other should another be sent from England.  

John Thomas reported Ata as having told him 'that he would not pray but that he wished to end in the way he was in, it being the way his friends were in before him'. It was indeed a sincere sentimental attachment to the status quo and a genuine fear of foreign infiltration. Obviously, the commoners feared that Christianity as presented by the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries with its 'strange' scale of values and moral standards would annihilate most of their customs and traditions. They saw evidence of this in the missionaries' strict prohibition against smoking, dancing, games and other customs such as presenting gifts of koloa and articles of food and drink at chiefs' funerals, a custom known as tukufo.

The second category consisted of those who blindly


7 Thomas, Journal, 19 January 1829.

8 See p. 441 below.
followed their chiefs and joined the mission without any personal conviction whatsoever. They attended church services, prayer meetings and love feasts, and many were swept off their feet by the emotional hysteria of the mass conversion at the religious revival meetings of the late 1830s and early 1840s. Before they really knew where they were, they found themselves enlisted as members of the mission. For many, such a decision could only have been made under the influence of mass hysteria. However, when the accumulation of emotions and the excitement of mass enthusiasm wore off, when the glamour and novelty of initial conversion died down, when it had become clear that their hope for material gain through accepting Christianity was not to be realized and that by accepting Christianity they had to give up many of their heathen practices, discontentment and tedium made their appearance. One missionary reported, 'Many people here had turned to the Lord, before they knew to what they had turned, and since they have heard and begun to understand the Word of God and have found that religion is not a play thing, but something that requires them to give up their sins or burn in hell fire for ever some of them think very hard of this, and there has been a great struggle amongst them.'

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9 Thomas to the Committee, 8 June 1830, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
It is quite clear that it was not feasible for the new converts to shake off their traditional world of ideas over-night and to absorb the abstract ideals and principles of Christianity. The result was that many of these new proselytes retained heathenism in one form or another. In spite of the acceptance of Jehovah as God and of the veneer of Christianity the belief in the malignant omnipresence of the spirits of their departed chiefs or relatives was still held; the old heathen moral standards were still retained almost in entirety; and heathen practices were secretly adhered to, feeling them to be more correct, more natural and indeed better.

The missionaries were not unaware of these things, but instead of viewing them as part of the cultural development of a primitive society, they regarded these as means used by the devil to destroy the souls of the unfortunate heathens and to obstruct the cause of the Almighty, and since they were recruited to carry out Jehovah's war against the devil, they could make no compromise. This attitude of mind may explain why the missionaries were so intolerant of the heathen practices of the Tongans. With almost fanatical enthusiasm they determined to stamp out heathenism in all its forms; for such, they sincerely believed, was their call - their rightful and honourable duty. When they began
to put this determination into practice, many of their converts reacted violently against them and their work, giving the missionaries much heartache.

The people were antagonised by the seeming intolerance of the missionaries, who regarded most of the established Tongan habits and traditional forms of entertainment as filthy habits and vain pursuit. While such views were consistent with the evangelical background of the missionaries they completely ignored the high value which many Tongans placed on these traditional activities. Smoking, eating dogs, traditional dancing and many harmless amusements were all looked upon as vices, not to be indulged in by any converts.

The prohibition on smoking appeared to be based on health and moral grounds. Writing to the General Secretary of the Mission in defence of their stand on the question the Rev. George Lee said:

...smoking in Tonga is very different from smoking in Australia for instance. Not only is it very injurious to health as people all swallow the smoke and are very irregular in their food, but it is made a means and foundation of much evil, and all smoke from the least even unto the greatest. Old and Young - male and female - young men children and maidens. So that if you were in Tonga and saw the working of this evil, you would respect the Judgement of Father Thomas and the missionaries who commenced this mission in their condemnation and renunciation of smoking as a silly nasty dirty custom production of much evil as well as 'an uncleanly and unwholesome self-indulgence'.

10 G. Lee to Eggleston, 16 May 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
The missionaries also regarded the prohibition as a preventive against criminal offences, and a means of checking the natural indolence of the Tongans. The Rev. John Waterhouse, in a letter to the Committee in London, declared that the reasons behind the prohibition of smoking by law and the happy effects which prohibition had produced gave him unqualified satisfaction.

He continued:

If a man sought licentious intercourse with females, going for tobacco was his usual excuse. If he wanted to steal, he preferred the same plea; and thus with regard to almost every other crime. This bad custom led them to herd together, men, women and children; and universal filth was the result. Now, they are cleanly in their persons and in their houses, the members of each family associate together, and the din of industry is heard with the early dawn of the day.11

There was yet another reason for the missionaries' view on this question. One of them put it this way:

Up yonder you find it hard work to get a Local Preacher - here we find it as hard or harder work to keep back unsuitable or newly converted men. It is the great ambition of the Tonganese to become Preachers and the prohibition of Tobacco among the Preachers & Office Bearers is admirable as a test of principle and one means of knowing whether it be the will of God the applicants or those recommended should be put on trial as L.Ps. or have their names placed upon the plan.12

Eating dogs was also regarded by the missionaries

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11 J. Waterhouse to the Committee, 8 September 1840, W-M Mag., 1841, 418.

12 Lee to Eggleston, 16 May 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
as being inconsistent with converts 'as a people professing Godliness.' The missionaries admitted that there were no Biblical grounds for their objection to this habit. It appears then that the only reason for the objection was the fact that dogs were not eaten in their home country. Even though there was a great famine and the people hardly found anything to eat the missionaries still mourned over this matter.

Traditional dances were prohibited, and this appeared to be based on moral and religious grounds. Dancing was usually performed at night and into the small hours of the morning; sexual appetite was thereby whetted, and its satisfaction commonly and unblushingly sought in an indiscriminating fashion outside the holy sanction of Christian matrimony. The missionaries decided that this kind of 'filthy and unwholesome entertainment' was a means of encouraging the people to sin. Therefore it must be stopped at all cost.

Because dancing was usually (although not always) performed in connection with religious ceremonies, it was looked upon by the missionaries as a facet of idolatory. Furthermore the missionaries were infuriated when they watched

13 Rabone, Journal, 14 November 1840.
14 Ibid.
15 Dancing was made illegal in the 1850 Code of Laws. See p. 282 above.
their congregations snoring their heads off during divine service after late performances the previous night.

In the course of the service [one missionary reported] I perceived several asleep, and considering that it was occasioned by their having been sitting up at Bo mee or night dance, last night, after I had concluded my subject, I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God. 16

Another form of amusement indulged in by young women called tukipotu was also prohibited. This was performed with the instruments they used in beating the native cloth; instead of the normal beating, three, four, or even more persons, got together and engaged in some fancifully rhythmical beating which was highly entertaining as far as the Tongans were concerned. In spite of the fact that tukipotu was never performed at night, and that it was always held either under the shadow of a tree or in a shed where anyone could see the performers, the missionaries thought it highly improper because the performance inevitably attracted young men into the company of the young performers. 17

The missionaries also prohibited entertainments

16 Thomas, Journal, 24 May 1829.
17 Dyson, Papers of..., IV, 9 April 1868.
such as foot races, boat races and a game called *lafo*. Probably the objection sprang partly from the Puritanical view that Christians should not indulge in vain entertainments, but keep themselves busy with useful occupations. However, it appeared that what the missionaries objected to most were the heathen customs associated with these games - such customs as the painting of faces and the gathering of foods

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18 *Lafo* was a disk-throwing game, usually played by teams of two, one from each side sitting at each end of a mat pitch. Opponents threw alternately and each man threw five pieces. The disks were called *tupe* and were made of coconut shell. They were of different sizes and were known (from the smallest upwards) as: *tukumu'a*, *hilingatukumu'a*, *lautaki*, *hilingatoekai*, *toekai* or *tukumuli*. Sometimes large disk-shaped and reddish-brown beans from a vine called *pa'anga* were also used.

The game was played on a mat pitch called *paenga* which was usually ten to fifteen feet long and two and a half to three feet wide. The mat was bolstered up along the sides, usually with a bed of a sort of fern called *nahu*, so as to present a concave surface. The object being to make the disk stand as close as possible to the edge of the mat.

The score was reckoned from six to ten, these five points constituting an *ulu* game, and the winning side was that which scored the greater number out of five *ulus*. If the sides became equal with two *ulus* each, the fifth game would be scored from one to ten, thus having ten points. The game was also played by teams of ten - two groups of five each at either end. The leaders of the fives sat at the ends of the mat pitch, two pairs facing each other, while the remaining parties of four sat round the corners, at the sides of the mat, and turned slightly aslant so as to face along the mat. Each man had but one piece to throw. See Collocott and J. Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* (Honolulu, 1922), 143.
into a heap to the greatest height it could reach before it
was distributed. One missionary declared, 'This worldly
amusement will prove to have been a snare to some of our members.
All members who ran must be expelled.' Lafo was prohibited
because the loser had to provide the winner with a basket of
food, and this was regarded as gambling.

Defending their stand on these questions Minns wrote:

We have persistently set our faces against the
performance of heathen games. The character of the
Tongan mind is such, that there must be a complete
separation from, and abandonment of everything
approaching the spirit of heathenism. Customs
innocent in themselves, lead to heart-burnings
and wickedness. The experiment has been tried
over and over again, and our experience is, that
not only heathenism in its darkest character must
be destroyed, but that our members must come out
from its very spirit, and touch it not even in its
mildest forms. Some have questioned the course
we have pursued, and complaining have said, that
we have deprived the people of all their innocent
pastimes, and given them nothing in return.
Innocent pastimes indeed! A very superficial
acquaintance with the Tongan character, is
sufficient to convince any man, that that which
appears innocent in itself, is often a fruitful
source of crimes in the islands. We cannot for
the honour of our cause tolerate the renewing of
heathen games.

While it may be agreed, as the missionaries argued,
that the Tongan forms of entertainment were not wholly innocent,

19 Dyson, Papers of..., IV, 9 April 1868.
20 Minns to the Committee, 4 November 1870, Missionary
Notices, 1868-1888, 258.
their spokesmen have failed to indicate what substitutes were to fill the void caused by their taking such pastimes from the people. The unfortunate result of the course the missionaries pursued was the emergence of severe opposition from their own followers. They failed to see that the only result of such harshness was to force these entertainments underground where they existed in their worst forms. The 'rebels' began to perform their prohibited amusements secretly in small isolated hamlets among shaded palm groves. After a while they grew audacious enough to venture out into the open and to indulge in their traditional amusements in the close neighbourhood of the missionaries, much to the latters' repugnance. 21

Their other form of reaction was to join the Roman Catholic mission where the priests sanctioned these entertainments and even encouraged them. Minns wrote:

The principal attraction of the Romish Church

to day, is the fakanuha [sic].... A few years ago when their cause seemed too retrograde, the priests instituted enquiries, as to the best means of holding their grounds, and for gaining the young into their midst. A chief, one Finau Taeiloa, recommended the fakanuha [sic] as an experiment, and well it has answered its purpose. The priests saw the influence it would have, and immediately gave it their sanction and authority and thus it has become quite an institution of their mission. One shudders to think, that a heathen custom, and a fruitful source of crime should have the sanction of men professing to be ministers of the Lord Jesus.

It was the young people, full of life and desire for amusement, who were predominant in the opposition to the missionaries' attitudes in these matters. This was a tremendous blow to the missionaries' hope of future success. Peter Turner lamented that the youth of both sexes in his district were so indifferent and wicked. Many ceased to go to church and the

22 This game was known as faka-Niuia. It consisted of a body of men and women who sat in a group chanting verses composed about a particular theme, to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beating on the ground of bamboo pieces which were opened in one end, and also the clapping of their hands.

The bamboo pieces varied in size and they produced a variety of hollow sounds. They were used in an upright position with the opening at the top. Three different kinds of clapping were used, each differed from the others in time, pitch and the sound it produced. The differences in pitch and in sound were caused by clapping the hands in different positions.

23 Minns to the Committee, 4 November 1870, Missionary Notices, 1868-1888, 258.

congregations dropped, and others joined the Roman Catholic mission. According to John Thomas, 'Popery [was] much more suited to the Tongan easy flesh pleasing habit than the religion of the Bible.'

Later, however, the successors of the early missionaries modified the prohibitions exercised by their predecessors. Moulton, for example, 'seemed inclined to allow racing with certain restrictions - not to run with painted faces was mentioned as one.' Dyson allowed tukipotu because he could not see any more harm in it than there was in ladies amusing themselves at the harmonium. He also confessed that he felt more inclined to ignore the rule against tukufo.

The missionaries were also firm and uncompromising in their stand on the question of sex. Underlying their prohibition of old habits and traditional forms of amusements was their attitude to sex. The missionaries regarded sex as sacred and sexual intercourse, they advocated, was only to be practised after being sanctioned both by Church and State

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25 Dyson, Papers of..., IV, 13 November 1878.
26 Thomas, Journal, 1 May 1856.
27 Dyson, Papers of..., IV, 13 November 1878.
28 Ibid., 9 April 1878.
29 Ibid., 29 June 1878.
in holy matrimony. Any sex indulgence outside the confines of marriage was a grave sin - a powerful instrument used by the devil to destroy the normal relationship between God and His children. They preached that offenders who were guilty of this sin would be thrown into hell where they would be eternally tortured. In addition to their preaching of premarital chastity, the missionaries also emphasised the importance of fidelity after marriage. Both these views clashed bitterly with the Polynesian traditional attitudes to sex. The clash strengthened and perpetuated the opposition to the missionaries' influence, particularly from the young people and the chiefs.

Another point of conflict between the Tongans and the missionaries was the tremendous emphasis placed by the latter on industrious habits as a desirable trait to be
expected of their new converts. Born and reared in a country where the climate was so favourable that elaborate shelter and clothing were not regarded as necessities; where articles of food and drink could easily be gathered from its natural vegetation, or produced in its rich fertile soil with very spasmodic effort, and a crude method of cultivation, the Tongans were averse to any hard and persistent manual work.

True, it was the commoners who did all the manual work in Tonga before the arrival of the missionaries, but as has been pointed out above, enough could be produced with minimum effort to meet the needs of their chiefs and priests as well.

30 It may be necessary to point out here that the missionaries inherited from their Puritan connection a certain view of or attitude to work. It was regarded as a 'discipline imposed by the will of God, and to be undergone, not in solitude, but in the punctual discharge of secular duties. It [was] not merely an economic means to be laid aside when physical needs [had] been satisfied. It [was] a spiritual end, for in it alone [could] the soul find health, and it must be continued as an ethical duty long after it has ceased to be a material necessity.' See R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (London, 1948), 242.

Wesley also preached that 'personal responsibility involved more than a stewardship of money. In particular it involved a right use of time', and the Methodist Conference of 1862 declared that next to luxury, idleness should be avoided 'or it [would] destroy the whole work of God in the soul'. See E.D. Bebb, Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life 1660-1800 (London, 1935), 93; Wesley's sermon on the use of money, Wesley's Sermons, I, 708-9; Conference minute (1862 ed.), 716.
as their own. In former days the commoners assisted in the building of fale 'otua for their gods, but these buildings were only small huts which were neither difficult to build nor tedious to maintain. The only houses of some importance and complication were those of their chiefs. However, after the arrival of the missionaries big and elaborate churches were required to hold the large congregations that thronged to them; good sized school houses were needed to accommodate the large number of scholars who flooded the schools in the initial stages, wishing to learn to read and write; and residences for the missionaries as well as dwelling places for the native assistant missionaries and native teachers also had to be provided.

It was all very easy for the chiefs to promise the missionaries to build and maintain houses as well as fences around the mission properties, but the work fell on the shoulders of the commoners. Little wonder that at times, the commoners, particularly those who did not have any personal religious conviction, were reluctant to work with great diligence at the jobs they were given. The Rev. John Thomas reported:

Yesterday the people by the King's order came and put up a reed fence for our...premises. I gave them a very severe reprimand, and insisted upon their doing it better, or I said they should do it over again. This is about the third or 4th
fence these people have put up for me, neither of which has been at all consistent with them as disciples of that Saviour whose Minister they allow me to be. 31

Again there was the annual contribution which was needed for the support of the mission as well as contributions for the expansion of the mission elsewhere. The dual obligations were regarded by the missionaries as the rightful duty of Christian converts. However, it appeared that these contributions were often not voluntarily given but were more or less forced upon the people.

I made enquiries of each leader as to whether or not their members had contributed the oil required.... To my grief I found some had not done so...I fear there is a sad lacking of true Christian liberty - The King spoke and said the oil should be made.... When one said some had not the means the King said they could make the oil to sell etc. 32

The missionaries also expected their converts to look after their material needs, since they had left their own homes to come all the way to Tonga to give the Tongans spiritual and intellectual help. 'I must work', lamented one missionary. 'The natives will not - one came yesterday but did not come again.' 33 On another occasion the same

31 Thomas, Journal, 16 June 1838.
32 Ibid., 15 September 1856.
33 Ibid., 15 January 1857.
I regret to find such a great backwardness in the natives to work for us - or for the cause of God - except indeed we pay them, at the same rate the oil merchants do - not considering that, it is their duty to contribute...towards the expense of the mission.\textsuperscript{34}

Complaining because his fence was not repaired by the people Thomas said that the Tongans showed great want of regard for their missionary; and that he could not get any work done for love or for property. He also asserted that it was 'in accordance with their engagement to find the missionary a home - and keep it in repair.'\textsuperscript{35} On another occasion, he exclaimed with obvious grief and disappointment, 'Oh what stupid ingratitude have I witnessed amongst the inhabitants of the South Seas towards those whom God hath sent to do them good!'\textsuperscript{36}

This outlook of the missionaries led them at times to unfair bargaining in trade. They believed that their converts should ask less for their goods from them than from the traders, since the missionaries had come to Tonga not to trade or make money for themselves, but for the sole purpose

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 26 July 1856.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 1 May 1856.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 4 September 1830.
of helping the Tongans. Apparently some people resented this attitude. John Thomas reported in his diary that the people in his district were forbidden to bring anything to sell to him. 'This is through Tofooa the Chief's brother.' He went on to explain the reason for the veto, 'He is displeased with us, and says we wanted to buy a large quantity of yams for a spade.'

The missionaries abhorred the apparent indolence of the Tongans, believing that it was a favourable breeding ground for sin. They also believed that the only way to set them on the way to civilization was to encourage them to cultivate industrious habits, whether it was in connection with their homes, their church, their chiefs or their missionaries. However the missionaries' view of work was entirely foreign to the natural inclinations of the Tongans and it was obviously difficult for most of them to understand, let alone to follow it. Hence their opposition to it.

MUCH stronger opposition came, as might be expected, from the kau taula (priests or priestesses). Although the priestly class in Tonga did not have the same socio-political position and prestige which the members of their order enjoyed in some

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37 Thomas, Calendar and Diary, 4 May 1827.
other places in the Pacific, they were still treated by the Tongan people with a certain amount of respect and perhaps, at times, with fear. 38

Mariner tells us that the veneration offered to a priest depended upon the rank of the god that inspired him. He says that a priest, when inspired, commanded the reverence of the whole people; if the king (Fīnau 'Ulukālala of Vava'u) happened to be present he retired to a respectful distance and showed his deference by sitting down among the body of the spectators. Even the Tu'i Tonga would do the same because of the belief that at that time the god himself existed in the person of the priest. 39

The power of the priests was second only to that of the chiefs, though it partook more of a religious nature. 40 Their power to talatuki (curse) was revered by all. So strong was the Tongan belief in it that once a person knew he had been talatuki'i by a priest he generally pined away and fell a victim to his own fears. 41

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38 See p. 45 above.
39 See p. 28 above.
40 West, op. cit., 257.
41 Ibid., 258.
The priests were always consulted as to the will of the gods with regard to sickness, natural disaster, voyages, war and so on. A fee was charged for the consultation, and although proportional to the rank of the applicant, it was always very high, for the priests did not neglect to seize the opportunity for personal aggrandizement. West claimed that:

Even over the warrior-chiefs, the priests exercised a powerful influence, and often made their religious fears and blind devotion subservient to their covetous desires. In sickness, or when under the fear of sorcery, their favourable consideration was only to be secured by gifts proportionate to the rank of the applicant. Incantations to be practised upon enemies, or counter ceremonies, to ward off imaginary evil influences from them, could only be obtained at great cost.\(^2\)

Watkin complained that idolatry taxed the Tongan people very heavily. He said that if they went to the sea and caught fish, part of it had to be given to the priest or priestess and they did the same with their yams and everything else.\(^3\)

It appeared certain from the beginning, that the intrusion of Christianity with its stronger and more sophisticated order of priesthood meant the decline, and in due course, the disappearance of the traditional priesthood, together with all the power, honour and privileges its members

\(^2\) Ibid., 257.

\(^3\) Watkin, Journal, 7 February 1834.
had enjoyed for centuries. This was a significant loss, and as might be expected, the members of the old order had to fight to retain their position.

Describing the state of affairs in his station John Thomas said:

The priests and priestesses now seeing that the Tonga worship was being brought into great discredit, they gave utterances - while inspired by the gods, which roused some of the chiefs who favoured them to use means to put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Some common persons who had been bold enough to slight or cast away the Tonga gods were beaten and others threatened - and all were termed foolish who had taken up at once with this new thing which the papalangis - foreigners had brought.44

After the death of a man at Hihifo, old Fai'ana, the priestess, told the people that she had had a dream in which the deceased had told her that the missionaries had informed him that if he lotued he would not die, intimating that the missionaries had lied.45

Again, after a severe storm one priest told the people that Pulotu Kātoa (one of the most revered gods) had been 'tired with the tardy movements of his faithful worshippers, the Tonguese heathens in reference to making war upon the Christians [had] at length taken the matter into his own

44 Thomas, History of..., 57.
45 Thomas, Journal, 30 January 1829.
hands and his weapons of war [were] to be drought and storms....'

However, it is quite evident that the opposition raised by the priests was not in any way comparable to that offered by the chiefs. It seems that the honour and privileges that the priests had enjoyed in the old order were nothing in comparison with those which the chiefs themselves had enjoyed. But the fact that they mostly chose to throw their weight behind the opposition of the chiefs was quite significant.

IT was the chiefs who had most to lose from the encroaching influence of the missionaries. Here lay the basis for their antagonism, and, because they had traditionally held all power in their hands, their opposition was severe and was clearly understood by the missionaries.

The missionaries' teaching that all men were equal in the sight of God; their belief that everyone was a sinner by nature and that in order to get to heaven everyone, irrespective of rank, had to submit to certain moral discipline, and their preaching that no one, chief or otherwise, had any right to appropriate to himself any property belonging to another, were foreign to the Tongans and were particularly unpopular with the chiefs, since these doctrines tended to undermine their status and authority. Hence they were not

46 Watkin, Journal, 21 December 1835.
Almost every heathen custom, which the missionaries regarded as contrary to Christianity and civilization and were determined to eradicate, played some part in upholding the dignity and privileges of the chiefs. It was therefore inevitable that the majority of the chiefs should clash with the missionaries, with regard to the maintenance of these traditional customs.

The missionaries, for one reason or another, appeared to have lacked the ability to differentiate between those customs which were incompatible with Christian principles and those which were contrary only to their own British middle-class moral standards. For this reason they failed to appreciate the psychological and social significance of some of the old customs and traditions to the Tongans themselves. An example of this may be seen in the perpetual conflict between the missionaries and the chiefs over the question of tukufo. This custom was performed at the funeral of any member of a chiefly family. On such an occasion the people under the rule of the chief concerned, his friends and relatives in particular, would bring gifts of ngatu, mats of various kinds, and articles of food and drink to him.

From the commoners' point of view, this was an expression of their love and respect for the deceased, sympathy
for the bereaved, and also a manifestation of their regard and loyalty to their leader. For the relatives it provided a legitimate excuse for an extended family gathering, where they learned to know each other personally, and also their various responsibilities to each other, according to their customs. The warmth of filial devotion and the strength of family ties were further kindled and strengthened on such occasions. The bereaved chiefs themselves were comforted and appreciated the fact that the commoners' (or rather their subjects') sorrow and devotion were being expressed in a practical way.

The chiefs were often reminded on such occasions of their responsibilities to their people and this helped to maintain good relationships between them and their people, all of which furthered the maintenance of stability and order in the community. The missionaries did not seem to understand, let alone to appreciate, these implications. The fact that some of the ngatu and mats were used to wrap up the deceased for burial, and that the food presented was prepared to feed the people present, caused the missionaries to view the tukuofo, rather mistakenly, as an offering to the dead. 47

47 Firth to Eggleston, 21 February 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
Tukufo was also regarded as a means used by the chiefs to accumulate their own wealth at the expense of the commoners. 'I wish to see the tukufo - quite put down -', wrote John Thomas, 'but this is the craft by which many Tonga chiefs have their wealth. They would be glad to keep it up'.

It may be pointed out that the chiefs did not demand the tukufo. It came from the people quite spontaneously and freely and from a sense of responsibility.

Another point of conflict between the chiefs and the missionaries was the jealousy of the former towards any rival for their authority. The priests of the old order exercised power over the people only during their brief periods of inspiration. For the most part they were, like the rest of the population, under the power of the chiefs. The missionaries held a different view of their own power. They regarded themselves as heads of their respective stations. Therefore all their converts, chiefs, and people alike, had to obey


49 This statement is mainly based on the present writer's personal experience, being a Tongan. Things are slightly changing now, but in the past the loyalty of the commoners to their chiefs was unquestionable, in spite of the obvious harshness of their rule.

50 See p. 329 above.
them - their pastors - in all matters connected with the
Society. 51 For this reason and also because they were
always convinced that they had a superior background, the
missionaries often condescended to, and even despised the
chiefs, who were naturally antagonized by such an attitude.
Ata, the chief of Hihifo, always complained that Thomas was
trying to make himself chief over his (Ata's) own people and
that Thomas kept telling the people that he was not afraid
of him. 52

Again the chiefs, in spite of their covetousness of the
white man's wealth and power, were always jealous of any foreign
interference with their political affairs. The chiefs sometimes
even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they
might not wish to bring Tonga under some foreign government. 53

Thomas described the reasons for the chiefs' suspicion in the
following words:

At one time I am charged with being too friendly
with the French.... Then again at this time,
I am thought to have used cunning in order to get
the Friendly Islands for the British Government -

51 Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, 153.

52 Thomas, Journal, 18 October 1828; Thomas to the
Committee, 9 April 1829, W-M Mag., July 1830, 496.

53 P. Turner to the Committee, 11 June 1850, W-M Mag., 1861,
Part 1, 511. See also p. 329 above.
merely because I advised the King at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for protection - to offer themselves to be the friends - or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves).\footnote{Thomas, Journal, 19 November 1849.}

This state of affairs obviously did not help to soften the opposition of the chiefs to the missionaries' influence.

The elevation of King George to the position of Hau made him the first real temporal ruler of the whole of Tonga. The fact that the missionaries deliberately supported both his claim and his quest for power at the expense of other equally legitimate claimants was bitterly resented and strongly opposed by many of the chiefs. 'I visited several families this morning...', wrote Thomas.

I conversed with Tuitonga people - with Tuibelehake, Lauaki - and others. It is said that some persons here, rather wish that another and not Joaji should be appointed to office. I have spoken my mind to a few about it - as King Tubou nominated George at his death bed - and as there is no person so suitable for the office. I have laid the matter many times before the Lord, that his will may be done in this affair and that Tonga may have a man to govern it who will seek its good.\footnote{Ibid., 25 November 1845.}

The chiefs of Tongatapu expressed their fear of what they regarded as the ambitious design of King George, backed by the Christians, to extend his rule from the northern groups.
where he had already been ruler, to Tongatapu. This led to the wars of the late 'thirties and early 'forties.  

Never before in the history of Tonga had any Hau become the actual ruler of Tonga. True, it was officially recognized that the Hau was the temporal ruler of the whole of Tonga, but his authority was nominal and purely ceremonial. The actual power over the people rested with the local chiefs.

Before King George became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845, Tongatapu was virtually dominated by the chiefs of the Ha'a Havea, whose centre was the fort of Pea - the scene of both the death of Captain Croker in 1840 and the last war in Tonga in 1852.

After King George's succession to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845 his legislation, which was obviously influenced by the missionaries, and which was imposed indiscriminately over the whole population of Tonga - Christian and heathen alike - was opposed by the heathen chiefs. This opposition was finally quashed in the war of 1852.

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56 See p. 225 above.
57 See p. 55 above.
58 See p. 249 above.
59 See Chapters 7 and 8.
60 See p. 251 above, and p. 521 below.
IN conclusion, it was inevitable that there should be some opposition among the Tongans to both the missionaries' influence and to the political system which they had helped to initiate and support. It was basically a resistance to culture change, a clinging to traditional values and a determination to maintain the existing privileges and pleasures. The opposition from the commoners and priests was not in itself of great significance politically, but the fact that they threw their support behind that of the chiefs added weight to this source of opposition. Although there was never a sufficiently powerful opposition to undermine the missionary influence, nor the new monarchical system and the rule of law, it was strong enough to effect some modifications. Combined with the more liberal outlook of the newer and younger missionaries, it brought some relaxation of the more extreme prohibitions instituted by the early missionaries. It restored to the people their old innocent customs and entertainments which had been indiscriminately prohibited by both the mission and the state. Hence the disappearance from the 1862 Code of Laws of the clauses in the previous laws which had specifically outlawed these practices, thereby alleviating the discontent not only of the chiefs but of the young people as well.
CHAPTER 12

THE INTERFERENCE AND INFLUENCE OF NON-MISSIONARY EUROPEANS

THE missionaries, influential as they were in political matters, were not the only Europeans to stimulate changes in Tonga. Other Europeans also played their part in the process. They may be broadly classified into the following categories: escaped convicts, ships' deserters and castaways; whalers, traders and settlers; officials and travellers; and those whose interest in Tongan affairs was maintained through correspondence. Although the number of Europeans actually resident in Tonga or visiting the islands was quite small in comparison to other South Sea islands, they still made some contribution to development.

THE arrival of the First Fleet at Port Jackson on 26 January 1788, and the subsequent establishment of the first European settlement in the Pacific had far-reaching consequences for the whole South Seas region. ¹ The impact of this penal settlement was

¹ Morrell, op. cit., 26.
soon felt in Tonga. Whether this was on account of Cook's reports concerning the friendly nature of the inhabitants of Tonga, or because Governor Phillip had been instructed to obtain women from the Friendly Islands as wives for convicts, or for some other reason, there were soon escaped convicts who found their way to Tonga and settled among the Tongans.

Ships from various Europeans nations and the United States of America frequented the South Seas, attracted by the opportunities for trade in such diverse items as sandal-wood, pork, beche-de-mer, turtle shell, coconut oil and also by whaling. Others brought scientific expeditions for the exploration of the newly discovered islands. Many of these vessels visited Tonga and some were captured and their crews massacred. Some mariners survived and, like the escaped convicts, remained in the islands of Tonga. Ships' deserters, as well as sailors abandoned on account of illness or misadventure, also made their homes among the Tongans.

2 See Thomas, Journal, 29 April 1831; Watkin, Journal, 17 September 1833; Thomas, History of..., 69; Blackett, op. cit., 124.

3 Low, op. cit., 308.

4 Lord Sydney to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, 18 August 1786; C.M.H. Clark, Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1850 (Sydney, 1958), 36.

5 See pp. 84-9 above. See also Dillon, op. cit., I, 274.
These men had one common characteristic; none of them sought to interfere with the way of life of the inhabitants of Tonga. They were quite content to live among the Tongans and to accept their way of life. They had good reason to feel contented for many of them were devoid of any social standing in their homelands. In Tonga, on the other hand, they lived among the chiefs, some of them being accepted as close friends and advisers, and they were accorded all the honours and respect normally shown to the nobility. One of the best known of these castaways was William Mariner of the Port-au-Prince, who became the adopted son of chief 'Ulukālala and was duly respected and given all the privileges which this status warranted.

Most of these men possessed special skills which were of great value to the chiefs, such as the working of metals, since iron tools were highly prized by the Tongans. Captain Peter Dillon, in 1827, found an American living with a chief in 'Eua. Dillon was told by him that he had been employed in repairing fire-arms, fish hooks and the like, and that he was kept amply

6 H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and castaways', J.P.S., LXXIII, 1964, 293.

7 It must be pointed out that there were some exceptions. William Mariner of the Port-au-Prince, for example was one of them. See Footnote 8 below.

8 The story of Mariner's life and his experiences in Tonga is published in Martin, op. cit., I and II; see also p. 89 above.
supplied with produce of the country and highly esteemed by the natives. The chief had shown him great kindness and had honoured him with his daughter for a wife.

Europeans were regarded as extremely useful additions to a chief's household and their mere presence became a source of social prestige. Consequently, they were keenly sought after, and at times there were disastrous consequences, as can be seen in the following incident which was told to Dillon by John Singleton, one of the survivors of the Port-au-Prince.

...the chiefs of these islands, [he said] pride themselves much on having Europeans resident among them; a feeling that gave rise to the following unfortunate affray: The morning on which the ship [Astrolabe] was about to sail, two of the crew, unperceived by the sentinels, had leaped from the side into a large canoe, where they were concealed by the natives. The canoe immediately pulled for the shore, and shortly after a boat, with eight or ten men and an officer, put off for Pangimodoo to procure sand; but the canoe reached the shore first. The chief of this canoe having acquainted those on shore that he had two Europeans with him, the other chiefs became jealous and said, 'we must have some white men to live with us as well as you'. The ship's boat had by this time reached the land, and the men on board being unarmed were seized by the natives and taken ashore.

Had Captain Dumont d'Urville been aware of the real reason for this seizure of his men, he might have been more lenient in his

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9 Dillon, op. cit., I, 262-3.
10 Ibid., 269.
handling of this unfortunate affair. As it happened, two armed boats were sent from the ship to search for the men. The search party burnt down several houses and wounded two Tongans, who later died, and one of their men was killed, without finding any trace of the kidnapped men. Finally, the Captain decided to cannonade the village of Ma'ofanga for two days, with the result that 'on the third day, those persons were re-embarked, without having received any injury.'

On the whole, however, relations between these beachcombers and the Tongans were harmonious and they lived quite amicably together before the arrival of the missionaries. In a few instances they were even instrumental in opening the way for the work of the missionaries. Lawry used Singleton of the Port-au-Prince as an interpreter. Before Thomas and Hutchinson arrived in 1826, Lolohea, one of the first converts in Tonga, and his brother who lived in Vava'u were impressed by a few words about Jehovah spoken to them by a sailor who

11 Ibid.

12 Lawry, Diary, 16 August 1862; Nathaniel Turner (Journal, 2 December 1827) mentions how he spent most of the afternoon at the language, with Singleton. N. Turner to Committee, 4 January 1826, W.M.M.S., In-letters. Rabone employed William Diaper in odd jobs and the latter records how he also helped to copy Rabone's manuscript book of sermons in Tongan. W. Diapea, Cannibal Jack:... (London, 1926), 193.
lived in the island. King George also persuaded a sailor who lived under his protection to show him and his people how to write and conduct prayers to the Christian God, and in 1827 'Ulukālala Tuapasi of Vava'u persuaded a sailor to write a letter for him to the missionaries in Tongatapu asking for

Strange sight! A poor, graceless wanderer, from the land and the religion of his fathers, compelled, by the imperious will of a heathen chieftain, to do homage to the God whom he, baptized heathen, had disowned and disobeyed, but after whom the unbaptized heathen himself was now seeking, if haply He might be found.

13 Farmer, op. cit., 179.
14 West, op. cit., 357-8.
Some of these men were affected by the religious revival in Tonga and later joined the mission. Two sailors deserted a small whaler in one of the islands of the Ha'apai group. They found their way to the island of Ha'afeva where one of them attended a prayer meeting. One of the missionaries wrote: 'The young man from Boston attended the prayer meeting one morning; and though he knew nothing of the language, yet so powerful was he wrought upon by the Holy Spirit, that he roared aloud by reason of the disquietude of

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15 J.G. Turner (op. cit., 102-3) quotes the following letter:

Mr Turner.

SIR,—I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongataboo, teaching my friend Tubou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson for some Missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. I am tired of my spirits. They tell me so many lies that I am sick of them. Since Tubou-Totai came to see me, I have had no sleep for fear Missionaries will be so long before they get here. But if a ship should come to your island, be so good as to send one of your Missionaries to me, so that my people may see I have turned my evil spirits away. My island, Sir, will turn to the great God, because I am the only chief on the island. I have no one to control me: when I turn they all turn. To be sure I did try to take a ship, [a vessel they had tried to take some months previously] but there will be no more of that. Tubou-Totai tells them all that their spirits are lies. Be so kind, Sir, as to go quick about Missionaries as time will allow. So no more from me a wicked sinner.

(Signed,) FINAU, (his mark,) xxx
his soul on account of sin, and remained weeping after the
service was over.'16

The arrival and continued presence of the missionaries
in Tonga was not, however, welcomed by most of these men.
They feared that the missionaries would expose them to their
chieflly hosts and thereby undermine their prestige and newly
found privileges,17 and destroy the Polynesian way of life
which they favoured and wanted to preserve. Consequently,
some made every effort to make life unpleasant for the
missionaries. Nathaniel Turner wrote:

Today we have heard more serious reports concerning
the intentions of our Enemies. They now say that
they cannot hurt Tubo [King Siosaia Aleamotu'a],
but they will put a stop to the Lotu by putting
an end to us.... Report says that two Frenchmen
are at the bottom of all this. These men are
runaways from a French Discovery ship that was
here some time ago. They are now residing with a
powerful chief in the interior. They endeavour
to persuade this chief and others with whom they
have acquaintance that if they suffer us to remain
and our religion to spread, by and by the English
will come and take their country from them.18

John Thomas told of an Englishman by the name of James who
had since been captured in Tonga by the Captain of a British

16 Tucker, Journal, 12 September 1836, W-M Mag., November
1837, 855.

17 See Diaper, op. cit., 241-2.

18 N. Turner, Journal, 17 November 1827, Letter to Committee,
4 January 1828, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
man-of-war for his part in stealing a vessel at Van Diemen's Land. According to Thomas, James, while in Ha'apai, planned to kill him and Tāufa'āhau, 'and the reason he assigned for so strange a conduct', wrote Thomas, 'was because I knew of his crime, he having confessed it to two Englishmen who made it their business to inform me of it.'

Woon, complaining about the conduct of these men, wrote, 'We have been much tried of late from the wicked conduct of some of our countrymen, who seem to defy the laws of God.... Some have been so wicked as to say, that our religion is a lie.'

Although the convicts, ships' deserters and castaways do not appear to have made any positive contribution to political development, their presence among the Tongans and their work in making and repairing tools for them stimulated the general desire for change. Their negative reactions to the missionaries and to the emerging monarchical authority, which the latter had encouraged and assisted, met with disfavour from the British officials and in some instances they were deported. Indirectly, the prestige of the missionaries was enhanced as these men were discredited and their prestige among

19 Thomas Journal, 29 April 1831.
the Tongans also waned.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century the discovery of rich new whaling grounds in the western and central Pacific brought many whalers to the area. Tonga received its share of these visits and the whalers engaged in trade, exchanging beads, cloth, iron tools and muskets for fresh provisions of fruit, vegetables, pork and other native produce. The missionaries felt rather uneasy about the presence of the whalers. Nathaniel Turner wrote, 'Tonga is now becoming a place of resort for shipping, especially whalers, and we may expect it will be much more so. This may in some respects be attended with advantages; but we have already cause to fear it will materially militate against our cause.'

Later it became increasingly clear that the uneasiness of the missionaries rested upon their fears that the whalers


22 Ibid., 104; see also J.I. Brookes, International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands (Berkeley, 1941), 12.

called at the islands not merely in search of provisions, but also to win the favours of the Tongan women. Yet in this respect, the teachings of the missionaries had been readily accepted. The whalers, for their part, felt antipathy towards the missionaries and tried to seize every opportunity to discredit them and undermine their work. They gained sufficient influence to delay the conversion of some islands. Writing of 'Ata island, in 1857, Amos claimed that the people of this remote island would have been converted long before; but for the bad influence of whalers who visited the island for the basest purposes, and who told the unsuspecting people that they had better remain heathens, as religion and missionaries would do them harm, and cause death in the land....

24 There were of course exceptions such as Captain Macy of the whaler Wisscasset from America. He visited Tonga in June 1836, and by the end of August, Rabone recorded in his journal that he was 'agreeably surprised by the return of the Wisscasset; Cap. Macy who left here a few weeks ago...'.

When the vessel finally left Tonga in September, he wrote:

Cap. Macy left here this morning. May he have a most prosperous voyage. He is one of the kindest men I ever knew. May the Lord reward him for all the kindness he has shown to us.

Rabone, Journal, 27 June, 30 August, 12 September 1836.

25 P. Turner (Journal, 28 April 1832) reported that the Captain and the supercargo of a vessel which left Tonga three days previously, had done 'all they could to induce some of the females to go on board but all their efforts were futile.'
The statements of these white heathens were confirmed by the pagan sorcerers of the land, and the poor people dreaded Christianity as a great enemy which it was their duty and interest to resist for ever. 26

However, the whalers' visits were short and infrequent, and their influence and opposition, which was never very strong, disappeared with the decline of the whaling industry after 1850.

The attention of traders to Tonga was first aroused by Captain Cook's praise of the Tongans for their keen interest in trade. He claimed that 'no nation in the world understands traffic or barter...better...neither are there perhaps any Indians that traffic with more honesty and less distrust.' 27

Many years later, Captain Peter Dillon, a well known South Seas trader, added to this view when he wrote:

I may safely say that Tonga is the best island in the South Seas for ships to recruit their supplies at, provisions there are in such plenty. 28

These glowing reports soon made Tonga a popular port of call for shipping. 29 Traders of all kinds called for provisions, both before and after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission.

26 Amos to Committee, 11 September 1857, Missionary Notices, April 1858, 57.

27 J. Cook and J. King, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (London, 1784), I, 384. See also Morrell, op. cit., 23.

28 Dillon, op. cit., I, 276-7.

29 See footnote 23 above.
On the whole, the traders and missionaries did not get on well, but there were a few traders who were convinced that the work of the missionaries was definitely advantageous to trade and commerce. Many of them were sons of missionaries, who had been born or brought up in the islands. These men maintained good relations with both the missionaries and native leaders and mutual respect, friendship and help prevailed among them. They did their utmost to assist the work of the missionaries who naturally reciprocated. Samuel Pinder Henry, a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti was friendly with King Josiah Aleamotu'a of Tonga. Arrangements were made with King Josiah to obtain some Tongans to accompany Henry to the New Hebrides to cut sandalwood. Sickness prevented Henry from joining his vessel which called for the men. Unknown to him, his crew had brought some prostitutes in the ship from New Zealand. When the King, who had already become a convert, found this out, he decided to prevent the Tongans from boarding the vessel. However, Nathaniel Turner, who was acquainted with Henry and knew of his reputation for assisting missionaries throughout the islands, asked the King not to break his promise and thereby penalize him for the misconduct of his crew. He pleaded that it would have been a different matter, if Henry himself had been aboard the vessel. The King was eventually persuaded to drop his objections and the Tongans were permitted to join
Such dissention as did take place between some of the traders and the missionaries may be attributed to a number of factors. Certain missionaries were worried about the affects of trade upon their converts as the following passage in a missionary's letter shows:

The influence of Trade is a source of serious apprehension to us. The people have a strong desire for our style of dress. Showy and expensive dress 'fakapapalagi' is the height of their highest aspirations. This is attended with many evils - the more they expend in dress the less they have to give to God - this is one evil - The more their mind is engrossed in the idea of dress (fakasanisani) beautiful, the less it contemplates God and things divine.31

The traders were resentful of the fact that missionaries had helped to teach the people the value of money. In the early days they were able to fill their ships with provisions in exchange for a few guns, beads, nails, pieces of hoop iron and cheap calico and printed cloth. After the establishment of the mission and the introduction of schools, the people were taught the internationally accepted value of money and of articles of trade among the civilized countries.


31 Whewell to General Secretary, ? August 1856, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
They soon refused to trade for the cheaper goods and wanted either payment in money or more valuable articles. Peter Turner recorded on his way to Tonga by ship in 1831:

Many on board think with ungodly captains that missionaries do more hurt than good among heathens, because they cannot do with them as they did while their minds were held in darkness and error. They cannot now buy a fine hog for a large nail, or a piece of hoop iron.32

In defending the mission against the accusations made

by Captain Petter Dillon, the Rev. David Cargill wrote:

Dillon to Richard More O'Farrell [scil. O'Ferrall], Esq., M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty, 4 December 1840 (London, 1840). This letter is full of innuendos and unsubstantiated charges. It begins by alleging that Captain Croker, who was killed at Tongatapu, volunteered 'his services to the Wesleyan Missionaries, at Tonga, to murder and destroy the remnant of the innocent, unoffending natives of those Islands'. He then refers to an accompanying letter in which the 'facts' are set forth, as he had learned them on his seventh visit to the Friendly and Fiji islands, late in 1837. The earlier letter which Dillon addressed to Thomas, 20 November 1837, charged Thomas with the following iniquitous crimes:

...you assisted a blood-thirsty, usurping assassin to mount the throne of the deceased King, and excluded the hereditary Prince from his birthright and government; to you, I understand, the credit is due of dethroning the minors and of placing an individual at the head of the government, who had no more claim to it than I had, and whose only recommendation to office is, that he was an humble instrument of torture, death, and destruction in your hands,... The people of those Islands assert, ...that you have introduced through him tortures and punishments before unknown and unheard of in those once happy isles - happy, I say....

Dillon published a lot of Mariner's account of Tonga in his Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, and he was certainly familiar with the horror and cruelty of the traditional Tongan wars and the brutal and inhuman manner in which the chiefs often exercised their power, yet his letter conveys the impression that Tongan society prior to the coming of the missionaries was in an idyllic state of happiness.

Dillon's letters were accompanied by yet another letter, supporting his allegations, purporting to be from Joseph Meyrick, Esq., M.D. The latter was vehement in his denunciation of John Thomas, stating 'But blood, Sir, innocent blood, is on the head of that man - man have I said - rather let me name the cunning very Reverend Blacksmith - that MONSTER!'.
We are informed, (page 3,) that, in 1827 the Chevalier 'procured an abundant supply of hogs, poultry, etc, for a few glass beads'; and that 'on his last visit it was with the greatest difficulty he could procure sufficient for his own mess, for which he had to pay dollars'. For once, I believe, the truth of any of the statements in the work which I have been examining. In 1827 the people were ignorant and poor, and would exchange their commodities for almost any article of European manufacture. In 1837 they valued 'a few glass beads' no more than their disappointed and chagrined visitor valued such trifles.34

Another source of conflict was over the question of the sale of liquor in Tonga. Selling 'grog' was a source of handsome profit for the traders. The missionaries, however, objected strongly to this form of trade. They were convinced that it was harmful to the people and would ruin their efforts. One missionary wrote:

Some traders not satisfied with 2 or 3 hundred percent on their goods and the difference in the value of oil (here £12 - in Sydney £30 or more) have introduced ardent spirits as article of trade. We expect commerce will follow in the wake of Christianity, but when it attempts to unchristianize an infant Christian people we deplore it.35

34 Cargill, op. cit., 29-30.

35 Whewell to General Secretary, August 1856, A.W.M.S., T.M.L. For a general discussion of the behaviour of European traders in the Pacific, see J. King, Christianity in Polynesia... (Sydney, 1899), 12-15.
Through the influence of the missionaries, King George legislated against the sale of liquor in Tonga, which further angered the traders. Later the Chairman of the Mission wrote to the General Secretary in Sydney:

I am much obliged to you for your remarks about the Capt's of trading vessels - they all saving one vessel that of Macarthur's sell grog hence I am their enemy - and they are vexed because they can't sell grog the same as in Samoa.

Some of the traders began to settle in Tonga and established their businesses there in the latter half of the 1850s. Their numbers steadily increased during the 'sixties and 'seventies. Some maintained cordial relations with the missionaries, for at times they required each others' help. There were others, however, who antagonized the missionaries by cheating the natives, in their greed for profit. One missionary wrote to the General Secretary in Sydney:

The traders upon their own acknowledgment have been acting falsely, charging their scales, falsifying them, so that while a native looked upon the figure and saw the hand pointed to 14 lbs, there were really 16 or 17 lbs...it is a patent fact that they have thus cheated the natives.

36 See Appendix A, Section 8.
37 Baker to Chapman, 22 July 1876, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
38 West, op. cit., 143, 431.
39 See pp. 337-9 above.
40 Greenwood to Rabone, 21 August 1872, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
In order to protect the people from this kind of exploitation, while at the same time affording the mission some financial assistance, the missionaries offered to pay higher prices for copra. They decided that the mission price for copra was to be a shilling for 14 lbs, arguing that the people would prefer them to the traders who had agreed among themselves only to offer a shilling for 16 lbs. This naturally infuriated the traders. 41

Another major source of discord between the traders and the missionaries was over the question of native women. The missionaries alleged, for example, that Dillon's bitter attack on the Rev. John Thomas and their Mission was prompted not only by the spoiling of his trade but also by what he thought to be the interference of the missionaries with his more 'private affairs'. Dillon appears to have had mistresses at his ports of call, including a young woman in Vava'u. During his absence from Tonga she decided to accept Christianity, and when Dillon arrived back in the islands she refused to have anything further to do with him. He tried every means to win her back, and failing verbal persuasion he tried to woo her with expensive gifts. The girl took these to Thomas to ask his advice, upon which he suggested she should return them to

41 See Footnote 60 below.
Dillon. 42 This she did, which further angered Dillon, and probably spurred him on to do all within his power to ruin not only Thomas but the Mission as well.

Another example of such clashes over women was reported by Rabone who commented upon certain incidents in his journal which 'made us ashamed of the name of Englishman'.

It appears that a Captain Brind of the trading vessel Tower Castle called at the island of Rotuma and, as several Rotumans wished to go to Tonga, he offered to take them. On leaving the island he took one female as his mistress, but after being at sea four days, in a fit of drunkenness, he threw her overboard. His crew rescued the woman, without his knowledge, and stowed her away. Meanwhile, he had taken another female, a young virgin, who was on her way to Tonga to marry a young chief. These actions grieved both the Rotumans and the Tongans very deeply. On a later voyage, he returned to Tonga and invited some Tongans and Rotumans on board, among whom was the young chief, who objected to his wife going. A fight broke out between one of Brind's men and the chief, who aimed a blow but missed the Englishman, whereupon the latter closed in upon him

42 W.M.M.S., General Information, Friendly Islands, No. 4.
43 Rabone, Journal, 2 August 1836.
and murdered him. When this became known to the Tongans, a few hours later, they took the murderer and knocked his brains out.

John Thomas recorded the following episode in his Journal, in 1831:

The captain that was here last has left an ill savour behind him.... He tried several persons in order to get a woman for his base purposes, but I am happy to know that he did not succeed. One chief viz. Tuihaatuho told him he could not let him have one and when he (the Cap.) applied to Taufaahu he told him he could not do it, that he feared Jehovah and also he met in Society and wished to do as I taught him. These things would have a very bad tendency upon the infant cause here. 44

So deep was the feeling of some missionaries against 'worldly' sea captains that Peter Turner wrote:

Mr Robson of the brig [Snapper] dined with us and took tea so that the evening of the Sabbath was not so spiritual and profitable as we would wish - our conversation was too much on worldly matters. How often have we found after being in the company of worldly persons that we have received contamination. 45

The missionaries believed that the conduct of some of these captains was responsible for some of the 'evil doings' of the natives, of which they later complained when they returned to their home ports. 46

44 Thomas, Journal, 19 March 1831.
45 P. Turner, Journal, 14 April 1832.
46 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 75.
The traders were also resentful of the laws for which they believed the missionaries were entirely responsible.

William Diaper, also known as 'Cannibal Jack', who was a trader in Tonga in the 1840s, in a somewhat exaggerated manner wrote:

These gentlemen [the missionaries] had framed the laws first, and then the king and chiefs signed and ratified them afterwards. Through these laws, enacted by the most narrow-minded bigots - men of very little or no education and less brains - they had, among the rest of their misdeeds, managed to ruin one poor white for life, by flogging him with a piece of whale-line, with three overhand knots in it, laid on by a powerful savage, winding it round his naked loins and ribs, and the only wonder is, that it did not, there and then, cut the very life clean out of him!...

These ridiculous laws were carried to such a pass, that people going to chapel on Sundays, were often fined or imprisoned for breaking the sabbath.... The influence of these culpable proceedings of the former missionaries lasted right up to my time in Vavao, and how long afterwards, I am unable to say - at any rate, it tended very much to degrade all foreigners - some of them quite respectable people - in the eyes of the natives....

Some traders refused to abide by the laws; Captain Cooper of the Lady Wellington would not pay the harbour dues demanded of him by the King. The missionaries however had a ready reply to those who sneered at the laws:

Property and life were guarded by the sanctions and power of law duly administered. Domestic relationships

47 Diaper, op. cit., 239-40.

48 Rabone, Journal, 23 August 1836.
were observed and honoured; while the general morality of the people was such as commanded the admiration of all right-minded visitors, although it had, more than once, elicited the bitter sneers of lascivious and unprincipled men, who in former times, when visiting these shores, rioted in unbridled and unchecked lust.49

Some of the dissatisfied and resentful traders did their best to ruin the missionaries and undermine their work. Peter Turner relates how he showed every kindness to the captain and supercargo of the schooner Snapper, but they tried by every means to injure the mission in the eyes of the people and because they were unable to induce women to go on board and could not obtain cheap provisions, the captain 'heaped all manner of foul epithets and slang terms upon us and on the

49 West, op. cit., 164-5.
King for attending to missionaries. Captain Peter Dillon is alleged to have supplied Lualala and his followers with guns and offered to take them on his ship to Tongatapu to destroy the lotu people. In 1837 he is supposed to have supplied the heathen chiefs of Tongatapu with long knives to be distributed among the strong men of their followers with instructions to use the knives during a proposed meeting between King George and his chiefs and the heathen leaders, so as to surprise and kill the Christians. Dillon later wrote a strong letter of accusation to a member of the House of Commons, charging John

50 P. Turner, Missionary Papers, 76f. Shortly after this, the captain went to 'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai which had not yet accepted Christianity, in order to obtain a tripot belonging to a wrecked whaler, since it could be sold for a high price in Fiji as a cooking pot. When he arrived at 'Uiha, the people refused to surrender the pot and he decided to obtain it by force. He seized and held the chief hostage, much to the anger of the people who were ready to resist forcibly. However, their chief spoke to them, whereupon they calmly delivered the pot and the chief, who was then released, accepted the price which was offered to him for it. On the following day, the people returned, ostensibly to trade, but they suddenly attacked, killing the captain and seizing the remainder of the crew who were taken ashore and stripped of their belongings, their vessel also being completely denuded. When news of the incident reached King George, he went to 'Uiha with a party of warriors and ordered the people to release the crew and give back what remained of their belongings (all the food and liquor had been consumed). He returned them safely to Lifuka, where the missionaries looked after them, and the King then returned them to Tongatapu, in his own canoe, to be given a safe passage home.

51 Cargill, op. cit., 18f.

52 Ibid.
Thomas with the inhuman, cruel and despotic acts\textsuperscript{53} supposedly perpetrated by his followers. In the same letter, he held the missionaries responsible for the wars in Tonga, claiming that they had forced the Tongans to accept their teachings and join the mission.\textsuperscript{54} He also blamed the grave food shortage in Tonga, which had made it difficult for him to obtain adequate provisions, upon these wars, and indirectly, upon the missionaries.\textsuperscript{55}

The later 1860s marked a somewhat different phase in missionary-trader relationships. By then, there had been a marked increase in the European settler population and it had become more stable and unified. Unlike the transients of the earlier periods, these European settlers now had more lasting economic interests in Tonga, and from their point of view the work of missions and the stability of government afforded them a more favourable climate for commerce and trading. Many of the later settlers were of superior social standing to their earlier counterparts and they came from relatively higher social, economic and educational backgrounds. Some of them got

\textsuperscript{53} See Footnote 33 above.

\textsuperscript{54} These allegations reveal that Dillon either gravely misunderstood the background and causes of the wars in Tonga and had been misinformed by those who were bitter opponents of King George and the missionaries, or he deliberately distorted the facts to suit his own purpose. See Chapter 6 above.

\textsuperscript{55} Cargill, op. cit., 29-30.
on well with the missionaries and rendered valuable service to the King and his government. Moss, for example, was adopted by King George and became his secretary for almost a decade. Calvert wrote of him in 1864:

He is now Secretary to the King...he has examined the accounts of the three provinces and found out deficiencies in each case. It is said he got the door closed at a late gathering of the chiefs and King to reconsider the laws and regulations of the land; and he would not give up until he conquered....56

Another European trader, Joshua Cocker, became a local preacher and a close friend of the missionaries.57 Later he became secretary to the government in Tonga.58

However, by the early 1870s some of the traders had become very discontented with the laws of Tonga and particularly

56 Calvert to Rowe, 1 November 1864, W.M.M.S., In-letters.
57 Thomas, Journal, 6 April 1856.
58 Baker to Chapman, 20 November 1873, A.W.M.S., L.R., Baker.
with the way they were executed by untrained magistrates. 59

They were also upset by the arrangements for the purchase of copra between the mission and the German firm of Godeffroys which were aggravated by Baker's system of accepting promises from church members, which were paid directly in copra, thus by-passing the traders. They felt that this was an attack

William Diaper (op. cit., 214-7) describes how he took to court a Tongan who had assaulted him, and the case was heard by 'A fellow who acted in the triple capacity of governor, ordained minister of the Gospel, and judge, albeit not fit for any of the three, seeing that he was prejudiced to a most abnormal extent against the foreigner, and prepossessed in favour of his countrymen.' (Ibid., 214.) The judge argued in favour of the prisoner and became so excited that he threatened Diaper with a club, at one stage during the court proceedings. However, the prisoner in the end confessed his guilt, and King George later suspended the governor from being judge and appointed another in his place.

Basil Thomson (Savage Island, 178) recalls that 'In Mr. Baker's days no one knew the law - not even the magistrates'. He tells also the following case:

It reminded me of a legal judgment delivered during Mr. Baker's term of office, when two men, indicted for the theft of a pig, were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for conspiracy, because in the evidence it had transpired that by mutual agreement one of the accused had kept watch while the other did the stealing. 'Therefore', said his worship, 'not only did you steal the pig, which is a small matter in itself, but you conspired together to steal it; and having sought in the index of this code for the clause concerning conspiracy, I find the minimum sentence to be ten years. To that term I sentence you, and you may think yourselves fortunate that I do not punish you for the theft as well.'

Ibid., 160.
licence fees were to be introduced, the European traders were infuriated and held a protest meeting in November 1873 at which they demanded 'no taxation without representation' and twenty-three residents petitioned the King for the right to elect two Europeans to the annual fakataha. Among the European settlers there was now a firm body of opinion which favoured the annexation of Tonga by Britain and which tended to ridicule the Tongan government and its laws.

THE presence of missionaries and other Europeans in the islands of the Pacific, as well as the growing rivalry among the great powers for a stake in the region, brought warships from these nations regularly to the islands. These visits were on the whole beneficial to the political development of Tonga, and those with more hostile intentions such as some of the French warships, only emphasized the need for an efficient and internationally acceptable government. Since most of the

60 Rutherford, op. cit., 96.
61 Ibid., 139.
62 See pp. 335-7 above.
63 See pp. 525-8 below.
missionaries and settlers in Tonga were British, and since Britain exercised a policy of minimum intervention with the indigenous rule of these islands, many British men-of-war called in Tonga and offered valuable advice and assistance both to the missionaries and to King George and his government. The appreciation of these friendly visits may be discerned from the remarks made by King George in a speech which he gave on board the Meander in 1850:

I return you my thanks for your kind visit. It is only thanks which your visit demands. The honour you have put upon me to-day is great. I thank you for these favours....

It is great love shown to a weak and friendless people, that a wise and powerful nation, such as Britannia, should cast its shadow over us. Under this shade we live. ...

Your visits have always been friendly visits. Has it not been so from the beginning? I flatter you not. I do not speak thus because I am on board this great ship, or because one of the Queen of England's nobles is sitting besides me. I speak in truth. If my departed ancestors could speak here to-day, would they not bear me witness? Ever since of old has not your course of conduct been uniformly gracious? We know it has; and if every member of my body had a voice, the only word which it would speak would be, thanksgiving!65

The British officials who visited Tonga had shown their

64 Morrell, op. cit., 150; J.M. Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific, 1786-1893 (Sydney, 1948), 27.

65 W-M Mag., 1851, 723-4; Farmer, op. cit., 414-5. See also W.T. Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences;... (London, 1866), 348-9.
support for the work of the Wesleyan missionaries from the very early years of the mission and they approved the establishment of law and order. In 1831 Thomas reported in his journal that a man-of-war was in Tongatapu and that the Captain had arrested an Englishman who was planning to kill him (Thomas) and King George. 66 Four years later, Watkin wrote of the captain and crew of the sloop Hyacinth:

Capt. Blackwood is a fine young gentleman and the officers are apparently real well bred men. I am much pleased with them on the whole. It is a real treat to meet with men who know how to behave themselves in these latitudes. 67

Courteous conduct and cordiality were even more evident during the visit of Commodore Erskine to Tonga in 1849. When King George visited the ship, its commander recorded the event as follows:

He was received with a guard of honour; and on his leaving the ship, a salute of thirteen guns was fired, an attention which has been shown to him by several British ships of war, and which he is said to prize, as an acknowledgment of his sovereign authority. 68

Commodore Erskine's sympathetic and encouraging approach are demonstrated by his readiness to support the Tongan authorities

66 Thomas, Journal, 29 April 1831.


68 Erskine, op. cit., 125.
when Europeans had committed misdemeanours. In Vava'u he found several American, English and Australian ships' deserters. One of them, who was from New South Wales, applied for a passage home to Sydney, but when Erskine found that this man was wanted by the native magistrate, who had sentenced him to a fine, or in default of payment, to work for a given time on the public not roads, he decided to interfere with the course of the law and refused to take him aboard. He wrote:

No one seemed dissatisfied with this decision; and I was not sorry to have an opportunity of proving to the white man that attempts on the part of the natives to establish and enforce just laws would meet with no opposition, but rather with encouragement, from British officers. 69

This was welcome encouragement for the missionaries and for King George and his Government.

British consuls also visited Tonga in the course of their official duties. George Pritchard, who was Consul in Samoa, came to Tonga in 1849, and Thomas recorded that 'he has proposed to the King a few alterations as to the Port Regulations - also will write and advise him, as to some better mode of employing persons who have to work for the government.' 70

His son, W.T. Pritchard, who was Consul in Fiji, paid a visit

69 Erskine, op. cit., 118.
70 Thomas, Journal, 27 October 1849.
to Tonga in 1862 and persuaded King George to sign an agreement, abandoning his plans to invade Fiji.  

Travellers who visited Tonga sometimes exercised considerable influence on the Tongan Government. Among such visitors was a business man from Honolulu named Sawkins who arrived early in 1854. He seems to have given valuable advice to King George on matters relating to law and commerce. In a despatch about Tonga to the Minister of Foreign Relations at Honolulu, St Julian wrote concerning this matter:

Some reforms have, however, been affected and others are contemplated. The King has promised Mr Sawkins to remove the port charges, and he has set apart... Observatory Island - a small island facing Nukualofa, about a mile and a half in circumference, - as a depot for coal, etc., in the hope of inducing the directory of the Panama line of steamers to make Tonga a stopping place.  

The last, but not least important, group of non-missionary Europeans who influenced Tongan affairs were those who did not visit Tonga in person, but maintained a close interest in its affairs. There was the friendly correspondence, referred to earlier, between Sir George Grey, the Governor of New Zealand, and King George. The singularly importance correspondence

71 W.T. Pritchard, op. cit., 289-90. See also pp. 332-4 above.

72 From a newspaper clipping (no source or date) found in A.R. Tippet's scrap book.

73 See p. 296 above.
between the King and St Julian was another instance. In the same despatch quoted above, which contained a remarkably accurate assessment of the political situation in Tonga, St Julian went on to say:

Under these circumstances I have so far officially recognised the sovereignty of King George as to take the necessary steps for the establishment of friendly intercourse between his government and myself, as the representative of his Hawaiian Majesty.  

His influence upon the constitutional development of Tonga has already been dealt with. In addition, he advised King George to have military forces to enforce the laws. As a result, an army was set up, and West reported late in the 1850s that 'the king owns several schooners, mounted with small cannon, and carrying a national flag.' These forces, miniature as they were, did play some part in maintaining peace and order in Tonga.

IN conclusion, the early beachcombers who preceded the missionaries in Tonga did little to interfere with the existing social order, but they helped to foster the general desire for change. The arrival of the missionaries and the establishment of the rule of law in Tonga was not welcomed by most of these men, nor was it particularly welcome to the other European traders and

74 See Footnote 72 above.

75 Watkin to General Secretary, 5 September 1871, A.W.M.S., L.R., Moulton, Watkin, Calvert.

76 West, op. cit., 431.
transients who saw the missionaries and the emerging monarchical rule as a threat to their position and to their own selfish interests. Many, such as Dillon, were unsrccupulous, and though they cloaked their opposition in the guise of humanity and love of the native people, the real motives were far less altruistic. Their attacks on the missionaries and their work were exceedingly slanderous and failed to gain the support of the home authorities. Their campaign to undermine and destroy both the missionary work and King George's government failed.

In the later phase, the more stable European settler population favoured the maintenance of law and order, but some felt they had genuine grievances against what they regarded as narrow missionary laws, often ineptly administered by untrained indigenous officials. By the 1870s, these Europeans had formed a pressure group to voice their protests and they made no secret of their desire to see Tonga annexed by Britain.

These reactions, while they were not strong enough to destroy the missionaries' work or lead to the collapse of the Tongan government, were disturbing enough to encourage and stimulate political growth and to highlight the need for an efficient, stable and internationally recognized government.

On the more positive side, there were many European visitors including captains of British men-of-war, British consuls and others, and in addition those, like St Julian,
who maintained their interest in Tonga through correspondence, who gave helpful advice and assistance to the missionaries and to the Tongan authorities, and thereby helped to foster and encourage the political development of Tonga.
CHAPTER 13

THE COUNTER-INFLUENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION

IN 1842, the first Roman Catholic mission was established in Tonga and became an effective counter-influence to the Methodist missionaries in the affairs of the group. The decision to send Roman Catholic missionaries to the South Seas can be traced directly to the influence of the Irish adventurer Dillon, at whose instigation the Bishop, de Solages, submitted a scheme

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1 Dillon contacted Bishop de Solages and outlined a scheme for sending French Roman Catholic missionaries to the South Seas, expecting that he would be called upon to lead the French expedition. He outlined his plans in a letter to the Bishop in September 1829, in which he began by telling of the deep distress which he had felt, during his long sojourn in the South Seas, at seeing the entire population of some islands adhering to the Protestant faith. He proposed that a party of French missionaries should be sent via South America on board the yearly government cargo boat, which could then land them at various islands in the Pacific. He stressed his own connections with the Polynesian chiefs saying that he could persuade them to accept the missionaries. In Tonga he claimed that the high chief of the district of Ma'ofanga was his special friend and that his people would readily receive the missionaries with pleasure.

Although the Bishop forwarded Dillon's letter to the Prince de Polignac, chief minister of the French government, in order to secure support for this scheme, Dillon was not chosen to lead the French expedition. See Davidson, Peter Dillon and the South Seas, 1788-1847, especially Chapters 19, 20 and 21.
for carrying the Gospel to the South Seas.  

This scheme was approved in Rome on 22 December 1829, when the Sacred Congregation, at the direction of Pope Gregory XVI, divided the prefecture of the South Seas into two portions. Eastern Oceania was confided to the Picpus Fathers, the first Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Oceania being the Right Reverend Monseigneur Rouchouze, who had been working in Hawaii since 1827. His jurisdiction covered the Hawaiian Islands, Tahiti, the Marquesas and other eastern Pacific Islands. Western Oceania, comprising the area between the Cook Islands and New Zealand was confided to Bishop de Solages, who unfortunately died that year and the project had to be postponed for another two years. In 1835 Pope Gregory XVI established the Apostolic Vicariate of Western Oceania and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda sought for a Vicar Apostolic for the Vicariate, and for a body of priests to assist him.

2 Bishop de Solages contacted the Cardinal Prince de Croy, the first president and Patron of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, requesting him to submit a proposal for sending French missionaries to the South Seas to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda at Rome. The Cardinal complied and wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation in September 1829. See Lillian Keys, The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier (Christchurch, 1957), 41.

3 The order of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, known as the Picpus Fathers, was founded by Abbé Coudrin. In 1825 the Holy See had confided to them the evangelization of the Hawaiian Islands. Ibid., 33.
Eventually this important task was entrusted to the young chaplain of a boarding school for boys named 'La Favorite' in the Diocese of Lyons, Jean Baptiste François Pompallier.\(^4\)

On the advice of Archbishop de Pins of Lyons, who had been working with the Marists, Pompallier turned to the Society of Mary for his priests.\(^5\) Several Marists offered themselves for this new venture and the Archbishop sent their names and that of Pompallier to Rome, with the recommendation that the latter be made the Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania. De Pins also recommended the Marist society to undertake the work of that region, urging that an approbation be given to the society in order to encourage and strengthen it. These were approved in Rome by Pope Gregory XVI in April 1836.\(^6\)

One of the factors which assisted the success of

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4 Ibid., 36-7, 44.


Bishop Pompallier wrote:

Two motives induced myself and several well-disposed priests of the Archdiocese of Lyons to enrol for this mission the members of the Society of Mary, then only in a state of formation. Firstly, to make the society known to the Holy See, and secondly, to secure for the newly-proposed mission individuals not only to commence it, but a nursery, as it were, for future missionaries who would form a spiritual posterity to succeed the first workers.

6 Keys, op. cit., 44.
the Roman Catholic mission was the high calibre of its priests. One writer has accurately observed that the Roman Catholic priests who were sent out to the South Seas were 'more highly educated and cultivated than the greater part of those sent out by the various Dissenting bodies'. Bishop Pompallier was himself a scholar and a man of piety and zeal. Father Chevron who, with Brother Attale, was entrusted by Bishop Pompallier with the task of establishing the Catholic mission in Tonga was also highly educated. He had entered the Ecclesiastical College at Belley at the age of 15 in 1826, studied philosophy in a seminary for three years before becoming a teacher, and in 1831, at the age of 24, he was ordained priest. Most of these Marist priests, in addition to their being well-trained, were noble and dedicated men, sincere in their beliefs, unequivocal in their sense of vocation and faithful to their calling. Perhaps the dedicated spirit of these men may best be shown in a letter written by their leader, Bishop Pompallier, to the members of the Council of the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons:

7 [Pembroke and Kingsley], op. cit., 251.
8 Keys, op. cit., 45.
9 A. Monfat, Les Tonga (Lyon, 1893), 48-61.
As for us privations and death are a gain,....

Ah, the more we survey this distant mission, the more we find there difficulties insurmountable to human prudence left to itself alone. But we are full of confidence; nothing is impossible to Jesus Christ. It is He who sends us by his august Vicar, our Holy Father the Pope, who has blessed us. Besides, there are the promises of the Divine Master; ....

We congratulate ourselves as being poor instruments in the Hands of God. We congratulate you, gentlemen, with gratitude with respect and with affection....

We cannot forget you in the lands that we must water with our sweat and perhaps, happily, with our blood....

One of the Protestant missionaries claimed that it was 'unreasonable, ungentlemanly, and unchristianlike for a body of Roman Catholicks to come to these shores and enter into other mens' labours.' While it is difficult to dispute the truth of this accusation, it is only fair to remember that these men, like the Protestant missionaries, were only following the sincere (though perhaps at times misguided) belief of their church. At this particular time it was still the pre-occupation of the Roman Catholic Church to direct its efforts against 'heresy', as much as heathenism. This was

10 Keys, op. cit., 51-2.

evident in Dillon's letter, when he wrote that he was deeply pained when he 'saw the entire population of some of the islands become adherents of ministers of another religion.'

Likewise, on 12 March 1832, de Solages wrote to Pope Gregory XVI and also to the new French King, Louis Philippe, 'begging for facilities to offset the progress of Protestant missionaries in Oceania.'

The accepted Catholic view as expressed by Bishop Blanc, a later historian, writing in the Tongan Catholic Paper, Taumua Lelei, is as follows:

The reason for the decision made by Pope Gregory XVI [to send the Roman Catholic priests to Tonga] was his carrying out the commandment given to the Catholic Church by Jesus Christ, saying that it [the Church] should spread and continue to spread His Will and His Commandments to all people of the Earth, so that they should know the one True Church and follow it....

There is no other Church unto which Jesus Christ gave that command but the Catholic Church. Consequently the servants of the Church had to go out to all parts of the world where there are people, irrespective of whether they were still pagan or belonged to any other Church or religion.

In Tonga there were people who were still pagan and others had joined the Protestant Church, but they had not yet known the true Religion

13 Ibid., 42.
and this was the purpose of sending Bishop Pompallier by the Pope and for the same reason, the Roman Catholic priests sailed to Tonga.

They came in order to lead into the Catholic Church, both Pagans and Protestants and this is the real task of the True Servants of Jesus Christ throughout the world, because they hold fast to the Commandment which was given by the Lord to the Catholic Church, to teach all peoples of the world. And there was no such commandment to any other Church.¹⁴

It was with such a conviction that the Roman Catholic priests went to Tonga and, because of this uncompromising attitude, which matched that of their Wesleyan counterparts towards them, the clash between the two parties became inevitable.

Like the marriage of convenience between the Methodist missionaries and the Tu'i Kanokupolu family in Tonga, the Roman Catholic mission in Oceania was wedded to the French government. The Catholic missionaries appreciated the advantages of having the protection and assistance of the French government and, being Frenchmen themselves, they foresaw the possibilities of their work promoting the interests of France.¹⁵ Bishop de Solages, for instance, had emphasized the military value to France of Pacific outposts, in his proposals for the South

¹⁴ Taumua Lelei, July 1931, 4. (Translation)

¹⁵ From the time of Napoleon I the anti-Church sentiment in the French government forced the Church to emphasize its patriotism in its seminaries. Keys, op. cit., 25.
After his return from Rome, Bishop Pompallier paid two visits to the French Royal Family. On the first occasion he only saw Queen Amelie, who promised him a gift for the mission. On his second visit he managed to see both the King and Queen, and also the King's sister, Madame Adelaide, who was notably devout and is said to have had much influence on her brother. The Bishop received from Louis Philippe an order for 1,500 francs and letters of introduction addressed to 'The Commanders of the French Squadron, stationed in the Southern Ocean, Valparaiso', dated 24 September 1836, and signed by the then Minister of the Navy and Colonies. The letter reads:

This letter will be handed to you by his Lordship Francois Pompallier, Bishop of Maronea, Vicar Apostolic of the Western Islands of the Pacific who, in the course of his august mission, may often perhaps require the support and good services of the ships of state. I request you to receive this prelate with the honours and the attention due to his office and his person, and I most particularly desire you to seize every opportunity of giving him the assistance which his situation may require and which yours will enable you to afford. You will give similar instructions to the commanders of ships under your orders. I shall witness with pleasure all that they and yourself

16 De Solages to Baron d'Haussez, 5 October 1829, cited by Davidson, op. cit., Chapter 28, 8.
may do to be useful to his Lordship the Bishop of Maronea. 17

Bishop Pompallier later stated that he had reason to attribute his 'deliverance from civil intolerance and the annoyances of the English Protestant ministers in Oceania' to this 'powerful and efficacious protection' that the King accorded him. 18

From the French government's viewpoint, the furthering of nationalism appeared to be the prime motive in their enthusiastic and unrestrained support of mission work. The resurgence of nationalism which followed France's defeat at Waterloo led to an intense rivalry and desire to outdo Great Britain. 19 French nationalism was closely linked to Roman Catholicism and it was the ambition of the French government to revive French prestige and restore her position as a world power and enlightened nation, by such means as spreading the state religion, 20 particularly in those parts of the world

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18 Pompallier, op. cit., 12.
20 In the charter signed by Louis XVIII in 1814 it was declared that 'the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion is the religion of the State.' Keys, op. cit., 27.
where English Protestantism was gaining ground. After the fall of Napoleon, the French government was often dominated by anti-clericals who sought to curtail the church at home, but at the same time gave unqualified support to Catholic missions abroad, because this would serve a national purpose.

Laplace, in his narrative of his cruise around the world in the late 1830s, commented upon Great Britain's extensive influence in Oceania and that her influence might at any moment be converted into political rights. He also pointed out that 'the foundation of Britain's position was religion, therefore it might be undermined by a technique similar to that which the English had used to build it.' Louis Philippe had the reputation of being an opportunist who was prepared to be friendly to the Church if such a policy was advantageous, and who favoured missionary effort because he believed it would advance his colonial ambitions. However, political motives were not the sole basis for the French government's support, if one considers the comments made by Father Colin, founder of the Society of Mary, on the attitude of the French officials. Writing to Bishop Pompallier he said:

21 Oliver, op. cit., 98.
22 Brookes, op. cit., 76.
They all ask for French establishments in the most important islands of Oceania; and they look for success out of missionaries' influence. They say if these islands are made Catholic they will be made French.... I do not think that in these new projects the French Government is inspired solely by politics. It is also intent upon protecting religion and people. There is general indignation at the behaviour of Englishmen who are said ruthlessly to destroy savage peoples.24

All the evidence indicates that the Roman Catholic priests went to the Pacific with the full blessings of both the Church and the French government, and with the double purpose of winning the islanders, heathens and heretics alike, to the 'one true Catholic Church' and at the same time promoting French national interests in those islands, particularly where British interests might be undermined.

POMPALLIER and the members of his team left France aboard a French vessel, the Dolphin, on Christmas eve 1836 and they finally reached Valparaiso in June 1837, where they were received by the Picpus missionaries. They remained there, stranded, for two months awaiting a vessel that could take them to their destination. In August 1837 they departed on board the Europa on a course to the Gambier Islands and

24 Ibid., 148.
Tahiti, where they chartered a small schooner called the 
*Raiatea*, which belonged to the American Consul, Moerenhout (later French Consul at Tahiti). With the aid of this schooner they were able to reach their destination with greater freedom, speed and at less expense. 25

When they finally reached Vava'u, which was the first port of call, Bishop Pompallier managed to obtain two interpreters, one a Frenchman and Catholic, the other an American and Protestant. Through these two interpreters, according to the Bishop's own account, he established social communication with King George who, in the absence of the two Wesleyan missionaries, John Thomas and William A. Brooks, showed him cordiality and kindness and agreed that two of his company could remain on the Island. However, when Thomas and Brooks returned two or three days later, the Bishop learned from one of the interpreters that the missionaries 'had done nothing but beset the mind of the king in order to constrain him not to receive any member from my company on his island.' Being unable to speak the language, the Bishop raised no objections and bade the King farewell, promising him that when he had learned the language he would

25 Ibid., 60.
return to see him again and then 'he [the King] would understand all things better according to my wishes and hopes for the happiness of himself and his country.' According to the Bishop, all he wanted to do was to leave two of his company in Vava'u to guard the mission stores and to correspond with the missionary stations they expected to establish elsewhere.  

It was not unreasonable that the Bishop should wish to establish a depot in Vava'u, one of the islands under his episcopal jurisdiction where law and order already existed. His stores would be safe there, and those who would look after the depot would 'keep up correspondence with those among [them] who were going to other islands still plunged in the darkness of ignorance.'

The Wesleyan missionaries however, who had been working there since 1831, were not convinced that the Bishop's plan to leave two of his company in Vava'u was as simple as he tried to make it appear. Consequently, they voiced their objections to the Bishop. According to John Thomas's account of the incident, the Bishop honoured them with a visit the day

26 Pompallier, op. cit., 17. His biographer, however, said that 'The King at first agreed, subject to the approval of Mr. Thomas, the chief missionary, that the Bishop should leave two of his company at Tonga to study and teach there.' Keys, op. cit., 62.

27 Pompallier, op. cit., 17.
he and Brooks arrived back from Ha'apai after attending their District Meeting. After offering to give them any supplies they might have wanted from his vessel, the Bishop told them that he wanted two of his company 'merely to remain' in Vava'u. The missionaries replied that it was a matter for the King to decide. The Bishop then informed them that the King had led him to believe that it was a matter for the Wesleyan missionaries to decide.

I then requested his Lordship to let us know his object as we understood he had Missionaries on board, and if he wished to know whether or not we wished him to leave Missionaries here to act as teachers of religion, we begged most respectively [sic] to assure [sic] his Lordship that we did not wish him to do so as our people were all Christians, and under our care and to have Missionaries of another creed and discipline would not be for the good but evil of our people, but that if his Lordship merely wished to leave two persons on shore here, we begged to say again, it was for the King to decide and not us....

His Lordship regretted that we should object to his leaving Missionaries here and said that were he in our case he should not do so.... I told him it was the good of the people I sought and I was sure, it would not lead to edification but confusion, if there were other Missions here, as the people were one, under one King and as one family also we had come to them in their heathen state had sought them and brought them to the path of truth and goodness, and it was only just that we should wish to keep them as they were our children, the fruit of our labour in the Lord.28

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The Bishop then assured the missionaries that he did not want his men to act as teachers or interfere in any way with religious matters.

We informed his Lordship [continued Thomas] that as they were Missionaries it was not to be expected but that they would interfere with religious subjects. We thought that was a duty they owed to the Society which had sent them out, on that ground only it was we objected to their being here, but if it was merely to remain here I stated again it was for the King to determine.29

The Bishop, however, persisted in his belief that John Thomas had it in his power to decide the matter. Thomas then offered to accompany him to the King and hear what he had to say on the subject. The Bishop accepted the offer, and they all set off to the King's house. Thomas described this encounter:

We found the King sitting on his mat. I took my seat by him, as in the Tongan fashion, but his Lordship did not nofo ki lalo [sit down]. He then proposed to the King by means of the Frenchman whether or not he would allow two men to remain at his islands. The King asked for what purpose? His Lordship replied that he merely wished them to remain to learn the language. The King asked for what purpose? he said he wished them to know it. The King said he had told him before he did not wish them to remain here. The Bishop pressed the King to allow it saying they should not interfere with his people and that he could send them away anytime, say in two or three months, if a vessel called, and moreover he expected a vessel to call here. The King said it was not

29 Ibid.
true that they would not interfere with religion that the Bishop had already interfered by telling him before we came home that his the Bishop's was the old religion and consequently the true one, that what we taught was new and lately sprung up, and the King said they must not remain but go away for he did not need them here, and as they had now a vessel they must go away in it.30

Despite the numerous discrepancies between the two accounts of the incident, 31 several factors appear certain. The Bishop's account shows an unfortunate lack of knowledge, or appreciation, of the real character of the King. He clearly under-rated the degree of conviction with which King George had accepted Christianity, through Methodism. During the past three years he had been deeply involved in the religious revival which began in Vava'u and then spread throughout Tonga. He identified himself with the Methodist mission and was instrumental in gaining new members. Obviously, he watched with pride and satisfaction the growth of the mission, and for the Bishop to tell him that the Catholic Church was the old, and therefore true, church, implying that the King's own

30 Ibid.

31 Several factors may explain these discrepancies. There was the obvious difficulty of direct communication; the use of an unreliable interpreter; the fact that the Bishop wrote his little book several years after the event; and also the understandable bias on both sides.
church was not, must have been a great insult to him, arousing in him (if he had not had them before this incident) some feelings against both the Bishop and the Roman Catholic Church. The Bishop's allegation that the Wesleyan missionaries decided the matter for the King, implying that the King was a puppet of the missionaries, was based on an underestimation of both the intelligence and character of King George. It was quite natural for him to seek the advice of his missionaries in cases such as this one, for he was well aware of the limitation of his knowledge of the white man's laws and way of life, let alone religion, but in the end he always made his own decisions. John Thomas himself often complained that the King did not take any notice of him. 32

The Wesleyan missionaries felt justified in their objection to the establishment of a Catholic mission in Tonga where their own mission had already been established. They feared that this would only confuse the people and bring difficulties to their work as well as to the country as a whole. Events which followed in the 'forties' and 'fifties proved that they were right. They also had good reason to doubt the real motives of the Bishop in his attempt to leave two

32 See pp. 261-2 above. Amos (to Eggleston, 26 October 1857) wrote of King George: 'He happens to have a mind of his own, and like the Hero of Waterloo ignores any Second in Command.' W.M.S.P.
of his men in Vava'u. The missionaries were well aware of the
train of events associated with the landing of Catholic
priests in Tahiti in 1836. However, one cannot overlook the
fact that there was a decidedly anti-Roman Catholic bias among
the Wesleyan missionaries. They had inherited this outlook
from the parent body at home, 33 and in Tonga they made no
secret of their hostility to the expanding work of the Catholic
priests. Their letters during the 1840s and for the next two
or three decades after the establishment of the Roman Catholic
mission in Tonga were full of these anti-Catholic sentiments. 34

The Wesleyan missionaries had underestimated the
calibre of the man with whom they were dealing. Bishop
Pompallier had tremendous courage, determination and strength
of character, and he had no intention of giving up easily.
He kept his word to the King that he would come back, but
before that he decided to strike his first blow at the Methodists
by establishing mission stations in 'Uvea and Futuna. With
regard to this unexpected move the Bishop afterwards wrote:

I at once gave the captain orders to set sail
for the islands of Wallis ['Uvea] and Futuna....
I had learned during my stay at Vava'u that
the Protestant missionaries intended establishing
their mission in these two islands, whither I

33 See p. 497 above.
34 See p. 531 below.
myself was going before them and without their knowledge. They thought I was going to Ascension Island.... Such indeed was my intention.... It was only at Vava'u, that intolerant and first-inhabited island I visited within the bounds of my jurisdiction, that God caused me to conceive the resolution of carrying the work of salvation to Wallis and Futuna, in order to save these two islands from Protestantism and the intolerance which it had established at Vava'u, and finally to bring to the true fold this interesting people, who as yet had not exchanged paganism for heresy.\textsuperscript{35}

Meanwhile, Dillon, after his return from the Pacific at the end of 1838, continued to maintain his contact with France and the French missionaries. In a letter to Father Colin, in February 1841, he alleged that after Captain Croker's death in 1840, the Tongans had banished their cruel oppressors, the British missionaries, from Tongatapu, and were now asking for French missionaries and for the protection of the French Crown.

...if his Majesty Louis Philippe [he declared] would now come forward I could procure for him the sovereignty of Tonga and all the Friendly Islands at the trifling expense of a few thousand francs.\textsuperscript{36}

Dillon also suggested that perhaps a French colonizing company could be formed to buy land in Tonga under his guidance,

\textsuperscript{35} Pompallier, op. cit., 18.

\textsuperscript{36} Dillon to Colin, 10 June 1841, cited by Davidson, op. cit., Chapter 28, 32.
and that the mission should begin work in Fiji. He informed Colin that he had written to 'friends in Tonga telling them to advise the chiefs not to let the Wesleyans to return and to expect Roman Catholic missionaries soon'.

He made a further suggestion that 'perhaps the Marists should abandon New Zealand now that it had become British and concentrate on Tonga and Fiji, where they could benefit France as well as the Catholic religion'.

After carefully considering Dillon's proposals, Father Colin rejected some of them but approved of Dillon's suggestion that missionaries should be sent to Tonga and Fiji. He decided to support this idea by sending missionaries to Tonga.

In 1841, when news reached Pompallier of the murder of Father Chanel at Futuna, he wrote to the captain of the French corvette *L'Aube*, M. Lavaud, on 6 November 1841, expressing his indignation at what he believed to be the apathy of Captain d'Urville of the *Astrolabe* in not visiting the missions at 'Uvea and Futuna while he was in those waters, but instead taking as a passenger to a neighbouring island,

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37 Ibid., 33.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
the 'intolerant' John Thomas at whose instigation the King had banished him and his missionaries from Vava'u four years before. The Bishop complained that he could not understand why no ship had visited 'Uvea and Futuna, despite the letters which he had sent to the French stations and consuls at Valparaiso, Tahiti and to the ministers of foreign affairs and of the admiralty. 40

Lavaud immediately placed the corvette L'Allier and her commander, Captain du Bouzet, at the Bishop's service. With this protection the Bishop fulfilled his promise to return to Vava'u. According to his own account:

We left Akaroa with the Sancta Maria and the corvette the Alliertowards the end of November. The first stoppage we made was at the harbour of refuge in the Island of Vavau. It was Christmas time, and I celebrated the Holy Offices with great solemnity on board the Allier, which was anchored off the shore. The commander, M. Bouzet, rendered the Catholic Bishop military honours off this island, firing a salvo of artillery; then he called together all the chiefs of the tribes to a great meeting on shore, where, with dignity, loyalty and firmness, he read them a well-deserved lesson on civilisation. He reproached them with the civil intolerance [imposed by the Methodist missionaries] they had shown me nearly four years before, in refusing to allow me to stay on their island. He exacted from them that, for the future, they should not behave in a like manner to any French subject,

40 Keys, op. cit., 178-81.
whosoever he might be. All the chiefs received the advice of the noble commander with docility.41

Referring to this incident, the Rev. Stephen Rabone wrote in his journal that the chiefs of Vava'u were asked whether they had heard what the French had done at Tahiti and other places. He claimed the Tongans were aware of their intention to 'force Popery' upon them and that they could often be heard praying earnestly and sincerely to the Lord to steer the French vessels in any direction but to their islands. In his opinion, the conduct of the Roman Catholic priests only served to affirm the common notion 'that it is a work of greater mercy with them to convert us hereticks tho' by fire and sword to their system - than to enlighten the minds of dark and untaught heathen'.42 He claimed that there were many other heathen islands where the Roman Catholics could expand 'all the resources of their charity', but they would not go there because 'agitation' was one of their watch words. He deplored the use of a man-of-war to threaten a few quiet,

41 Pompallier, op. cit., 78; see also Taumua Lelei, June 1931, 4; Keys, op. cit., 184; Farmer, op. cit., 360-3. Brooks (op. cit., 84) claimed that, 'The French government and the French commanders consistently confused the issue in Oceania by insisting that the expulsion of French missionaries was a deliberate insult against their nationality, when the crux of the situation was obviously only the question of freedom to proselytize.'

42 Rabone, Journal, 1 January 1842.
unarmed natives, adding that in such an unequal contest they might indeed gain something:

...but He, whom they profess to follow has left directions enforced by his own example diametrically opposed to such doings. Such conduct can therefore never receive his sanction and blessing. May the Lord consume this and every other deadly error with the breath of his mouth and save these poor Islanders from the curse of Popery. Amen & Amen.43

Bishop Pompallier and the two vessels left for 'Uvea and Futuna, where he stayed for the following five months, to smooth out some of the difficulties in the work of his mission stations there. On 9 June he finally left Futuna, taking with him Father Chevron and a catechist, Brother Attale. They departed aboard the Sancta Maria which was accompanied by a large canoe in which were more than thirty Tongans from Tongatapu who had been living in 'Uvea for some years and had been converted to Catholicism. They now wished to return to Tonga to help to convert their people and they had asked the Bishop for at least a priest and a catechist, 'to sustain them in the practice of salvation and to endeavour to obtain the conversion of all their island'.44

After four days, they arrived at Lakemba (Fiji) and

43 Ibid.

44 Pompallier, op. cit., 79.
were met by another party of Tongans, one of whom was Fifita'ilā, son of the celebrated Fa'ē of Pea. At this stage there had been no firm decision as to where the mission station should be established, for the Tongans from 'Uvea did not agree among themselves. However, Fifita'ilā advised them that their only hope would be with Moeaki of Pea. The Bishop enquired who Moeaki was, and was informed that he was a chief of high rank whose paternal uncles, Tākāi and Fa'ē, and grandfather Lavaka, were responsible for making the present Hau, Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This information pleased the Bishop.

On 30 June 1842 they arrived at Pangaimotu and the Bishop sent two messengers to inform Moeaki of the new mission and of the proposal to establish it under him in Pea. Moeaki and Lavaka welcomed the Bishop's proposal and invited him to Pea.

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45 According to Monfat, the Tongans, led by Fifita'ilā, appealed to the Bishop for priests. Monfat, op. cit., 180. It is interesting to note that the chiefs of Pea were members of the Ha'a Havea, the traditional enemies of King George and the Tu'i Kanokupolu family. See p. 178 above.

46 For more detailed discussion on the election of the Hau, see p. 25 above.

47 Taumua Lelei, June 1931, 4.
On 2 July the Bishop and Father Chevron conducted the first mass held in Tonga under a tree at Pangaimotu. Next day, the Bishop's party landed on the main island. They first called on Aleamotu'a, but he would not accept the new mission, saying that they already had one. He directed them to Moeaki. That day, the Bishop and Father Chevron held the first mass on Tongatapu, in the house of Moeaki. His wife Fie'ota and their three children, and two others, joined the Church that day. Aleamotu'a had not anticipated that Moeaki would accept the Catholic mission, since he was at that time a Methodist and, when he found out that Moeaki had accepted the new mission, he became very angry and repeatedly sent messengers to urge him not to do so. Meanwhile, Fie'ota pleaded with Moeaki to turn Catholic, and Lavaka added his weight in support of her, so that finally Moeaki was converted to Catholicism on 7 July 1842. Bishop Pompallier then left Father Chevron in charge of the mission with Brother Attale

48 Fie'ota was a sister of Fifita'ila, a daughter of Fa'ē. Concerning the part she played in the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission in Tonga, Monfat (op. cit., 186) wrote: 'She had some influence on Moe [Moeaki] either through her qualities or through her birth; for she was Fae's daughter, and Tokai's [Tākai's] niece,.... All these names had been highly valued on the island, particularly since Commodore Crocker's defeat.'
On his return to New Zealand Pompallier wrote to Lavaud, on 19 October 1842, and gave an account of the work he had done:

From Fiji I went to Tongatapu, [he wrote] where I passed ten days. The Wesleyan party by its missionaries and chiefs protested furiously against me, but I opposed it calmly by word and authority. I have been told that this island has ten or twelve thousand souls. About nine or eleven thousand are in favour of me. The great chiefs of Bea have received one of my priests whom I offered them with a catechist. The principal chief of Bea has already turned to the Faith with several others of his celebrated Fort, where I said the first Mass on 2nd July.... We touched at Vavau, the intolerant island which takes upon itself to yield nothing of its intolerance for the French, in spite of the letter and threats of M. du Bouzet.

The founding of the Catholic mission in Tonga was a staggering blow to the Wesleyan missionaries, for obviously Bishop Pompallier had scored a victory over them at this stage. They were absent, attending a District Meeting, when the Bishop

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49 Taumua Lelei, op. cit.; Keys, op. cit., 187; Farmer, op. cit., 365; Wood, op. cit., 51; Blanc, op. cit., 42.

50 The Bishop was either misinformed or misled to believe this. Farmer (op. cit., 368) claimed in 1855 that the number of people who joined the Roman Catholic mission had never been more than 300 at any one time.

51 Keys, op. cit., 189.
and his followers arrived at Tongatapu. Expressing deep disappointment and indignation, John Thomas reported that upon returning to Tongatapu he found:

to my great grief, that, during our absence, the Roman Catholic Bishop had succeeded in placing a priest at the Bea where the Chief Moeaki, a man who professed Xty, but who was not a member, or even baptized, has embraced the heresy; and as the Bishop has brought a number of Tonga men from Wallis's Island, who have embraced their dogma, he will have the means of greatly annoying us. It is thought that had Tupou [Aleamotu'a] exerted himself, he might have prevented this evil from taking place.52

Apart from Pea, two other Catholic centres existed on Tongatapu, one at Holonga and the other at Kotongo (Kolonga). Both were formed from the people who came from 'Uvea with Bishop Pompallier in 1842, and who had returned to their own places of origin.53

Having now established their roots in Tonga, the priests proceeded with vigour and enthusiasm to pursue the task which they firmly and sincerely believed God had called upon them to perform: namely, the conversion of all Tongans, Protestant and heathen alike, to the 'true faith.' They also felt that they owed it to their country to undermine British

52 Thomas to the Committee, 22 July 1842, W-M Mag., March 1843, 261. See also Farmer, op. cit., 365.

53 Taumua Lelei, July 1831, 31.
influence in Tonga and, if possible, foster French interests.

According to Methodist accounts, the priests itinerated for a time to the various places where the Wesleyan missionaries were already well established, 'endeavouring to subvert the faith of the native converts', and 'in the prosecution of this object, they resorted to every species of calumnious misrepresentation.'

They alleged that at Hihifo the priests told the people the Methodists were misleading them, for they were of Mr Wesley's religion, which only began one hundred years ago 'and Mr Wesley was no better than Jovili' (an impostor, who was in the Navigator Islands a few years since, and who deceived many) and, also, that their Bible was full of error.

Later, Peter Turner recorded in his Journal, in 1848, that while at Mu'a he 'procured a small book belonging to the Romish party' which the priests had given to a heathen there. An extract from it reads:

It is three hundred years since Luther was separated from the Church of Jesus Christ and

54 West, op. cit., 290.

55 Siovili; see J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes (eds.), 'The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult...', Anthropology in the South Seas... (New Plymouth, 1959), 185-200.

56 Farmer, op. cit., 365.
commenced his religion of mere men and that Wesley has only lately been separated from Luther and begun his religion himself - just according to his own mind.

That the curse of Luther and Wesley are the same and also the curse of Lucifer: for Lucifer was separated from God, because of his refusing to attend to his majesty; and Luther and Wesley were separated from the Church, for their refusing to listen to the church and were driven away that they might be like him (viz the devil).  

Realizing the importance of the Tongan language to their work, the priests applied themselves to learning it, having been greatly assisted by the fact that it had already been reduced to writing by the Methodist missionaries, and aided by their earlier contacts with Tongan speakers at 'Uvea. A few years later, one of the Wesleyan missionaries admitted how greatly he admired the way in which the priests had mastered the language. Their command of the language enabled them to establish schools by the late 1840s. Like the Wesleyan missionaries, they trained and sent their more gifted members as teachers in the various places where they had converts.


58 Bishop Pompallier (op. cit., 15) had expressed his opinion on the question of language thus: 'It is important from the outset not to teach religion, nor to make known your intention of changing that of the country. You can only succeed in the ministry of teaching when you are sufficiently conversant with the language of the people.'
It is very evident that the priests are following our example in some things.
1. In sending some - to act as teachers in the various places in which they have a few.
2. They are now commencing schools.
3. And in going out among the people. 59

In spite of their untiring efforts, the priests were not very successful in converting the masses to their faith as they had hoped to do. The Rev. George Miller reported in 1845: 'Popery, hitherto, thanks be to God, has not made much progress in Tonga. Many of the Heathen see that it is the old thing in a new garb.' 60 Later, in 1850, another Wesleyan missionary wrote, 'there are now 4 Romish Priests on Tonga, but they are losing their influence among the people; and with all their seeming compliances, and "pious" fraud, they are cast into the background. The reason for this is, we have God and truth in our side.' 61 As will presently be shown, the Wesleyan missionaries succeeded in convincing their converts

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60 G. Miller to Committee, 31 July 1845, W-M Mag., 1846, 158.
61 P. Turner to Committee, 11 June 1850, W-M Mag., 1851, 510. Another missionary (Adams to Parents, 6 June 1850) wrote 'Some of the Tongans are opposed, in heart, to George our King and the Priests work with them and promise them the assistance of France &c but the help does not come - and the people are beginning to see thro their false pretences.'
that 'Popery' was a system of lies and that the French missionaries were agents of France, whose real intentions were to create disturbances which could be used by their country as an excuse to annex Tonga.

Since the priests failed to make much impact upon established Methodist areas, they abandoned the itinerant system and concentrated their efforts upon the few centres in which they had established themselves. In addition to Pea, Holonga and Kotongo, these now included Ma'ofanga and Houma. 62

The priests were as aware as the Wesleyan missionaries of the importance of converting the influential chiefs to their work. Once they had learned that the highest chief in all Tonga was the Tui Tonga, Laufilitonga, who lived at Mu'a and who was still a heathen, they concentrated all their efforts upon trying to win him. Father Chevron first visited him in 1842, but Laufilitonga rejected his overtures. In 1843 Bishop M. Douarre arrived from France on his way to New Caledonia. He and the other priests paid Laufilitonga a visit. The

62 See Taumua Lelei, July 1931, 3. After the 1840 war a few of the Ma'ofanga people continued to remain at Pea. Some of these people were converted to Catholicism after its establishment there in 1842. They returned to Ma'ofanga and started the Catholic mission there. Father Chevron, after repeated failure, finally managed to obtain a few converts at Houma, which had recently become a Methodist area.
Tu'i Tonga showed them sympathy and promised that he would accept Catholicism. However, when the new Vicar of Central Oceania, Bishop Bataillon, first visited Tonga in 1844, Laufilitonga still refused to be converted. 63

The Wesleyan missionaries were equally unsuccessful. Peter Turner alleged that when he and John Thomas went to Mu'a to see the Tu'i Tonga, he ran away to the bush and refused to see them. 64 It seems that political issues were involved. Bishop Blanc points out that the main reason for Laufilitonga's not accepting either Catholicism or Protestantism was that Tāufa'āhau (King George), who had defeated him in war many years ago, had accepted a lotu papālangi (foreign religion), and the missionaries supported him. When the Catholic mission, another lotu papālangi, arrived, Laufilitonga could not understand that there was a vast difference between the two, and so he preferred to remain heathen. 65

However, Father Chevron persisted and finally Laufilitonga recognized that the two missions were not the same and permitted Father Chevron to reside at Mu'a in 1847. In the following year, 1848, he decided to accept Catholicism.

63 Ibid., 4.
64 P. Turner, Journal, 6 March 1843.
65 Taumua Lelei, July 1931, 3-4.
and attended the mass on Sunday 24 September. He was baptized by Bishop Bataillon on 30 September 1851.\textsuperscript{66}

The Wesleyan missionaries claimed that the conversion of the \textit{Tu'i Tonga} was an integral part of the priests' general plans to destroy their influence on the people of Tonga. They alleged that the priests were secretly encouraging the 'spirit of disaffection, which the termination of the war of 1840 had not removed from the minds of several important heathen chiefs.'\textsuperscript{67}

They claimed that after King George (who championed the Methodist cause) was appointed \textit{Tu'i Kanokupolu} in 1845, the priests began, at first secretly and then openly, to try to undermine his authority. The Rev. Thomas West wrote that the priests

first of all attempted to advance the claims of their principal convert, the Tuitoga, to the supreme government. They asserted his right not only among the natives, but to captains of merchantmen, and ships of war, belonging both to England and France; whilst they denounced

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., November 1931, 3; West, op. cit., 289.

\textsuperscript{67} West, op. cit., 291.
At an encounter with two of the priests from Mu'a, who were on board the Mary Jane anchored at Nuku'alofa in November 1848, Peter Turner accused them of trying to make the Tu'i Tonga King of Tonga, among other things. 'These things', he wrote, 'I told to the priests and showed them how unbecoming it was for them to meddle so much with the chiefs and the Government of the Islands.'

Turner then wrote two long letters to King George, 'giving an account of the state of affairs in Europe and of France in particular.' In the same letters he urged King George to come to Tongatapu, noting that 'A word from him goes a long way with many of the heathens.'

King George reacted promptly, as West has recorded:

No sooner, however, did the latter become acquainted with these facts, than he manned a

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68 Ibid. Kingship in the autocratic sense had disappeared from Tonga a few centuries before the introduction of Christianity. The struggle to revive it was unsuccessful until the coming of the Wesleyan missionaries who supported the rise of King George. From a traditional viewpoint, the Tu'i Tonga would have been an equally legitimate claimant, as was King George, but the former, Laufilitonga, was not as gifted for leadership, nor nearly as powerful, as his rival.


70 Ibid.
few canoes, and sailed direct to Mua, where he publicly charged the priests with the offence, and where he also confronted the Tuitonga. The latter denied all participation in any attempt to advance himself to civil power; and declared further that he had no right to it, nor did he wish it.71

The effect of this meeting was quite significant as West points out; that the Tu'i Tonga 'was perfectly truthful and sincere, in [his] assertions, [might] well be doubted; but, nevertheless, his public disavowal of all claims, as opposed to those of the lawful sovereign, effectually prevented any further open attempts on the part of the priests, to be his advocate.'72

Again, according to the Wesleyan missionaries, when the priests failed in their bid to undermine King George's power by making Laufilitonga King of Tonga, they adopted another method. This was to claim that the chiefs of Pea, Mu'a and Houma had every right to rule their people quite independently of King George and his laws.73

Although the Ha'a Havea chiefs had agreed to support King George and to accept his authority, at the fono which he held after his installation as Tu'i Kanokupolu,74

71 West, op. cit., 291.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
74 Thomas, Journal, 6 January 1846; see also p. 275 above.
reason for resisting King George's laws resulted from the priests telling them that to submit to these laws, which King George had promulgated at the instigation of the English missionaries, meant submitting to the King of England and not to King George. The priests also promised the chiefs their support and the support of French men-of-war.  

King George then decided to move his court to Lifuka, Ha'apai, leaving the administration of Tongatapu to Ma'afu and Lavaka, two of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. It seems very probable, as pointed out above, that King George did this in order to test their loyalty. If they faithfully carried out their responsibilities and maintained peace and order on Tongatapu, he would be satisfied for that would prove that there was no further hostility or resentment towards his authority and the law of the country. But if, on the other hand, they seized upon this opportunity to rebel and undermine his authority, then with his solid following in the rest of Tongatapu, Vava'u and Ha'apai, he could easily crush any rebellion.

75 P. Turner, op. cit., 5 November 1848; see also Morrell, op. cit., 313.

76 See p. 199 above.
Unfortunately, Ma'afu and Lavaka chose the latter course. They started to rebuild the fortress at Pea. When news of this reached King George, he sailed for Tongatapu to investigate the matter, but Ma'afu and Lavaka denied the rumours and King George returned to Ha'apai, after the promulgation of the 1850 Code of Laws. However, the truth could no longer be contained, and, when an appeal came from the Governor, Sunia Haumono, and his friends in Tongatapu, King George decided to move his residence to Nuku'alofa in 1851. At this stage Ma'afu and Lavaka openly defied his authority and gave asylum to any fugitive from the laws promulgated by the King. Vaea and Fohe, two other Ha'a Havea chiefs, fortified Houma, ready to support Pea in the event of war.  

West wrote on 19 January 1852 that Father Calinon, who was stationed at Pea, told the Wesleyan missionaries in Tongan, in the presence of many influential Tongans, that 'the town of Pea was certainly preparing for war', intimating that the priest approved the course taken by Pea. However, in spite of repeated efforts on the part of the Wesleyan

77 West, op. cit., 305.

78 Ibid., 309. Rumours of a letter written by Father Calinon and Lavaka offering Tonga to the French were denied by the Catholics. See Taumua Lelei, November 1931, 4.
missionaries, the Ha'a Havea chiefs had determined to defy the authority of King George and, if attacked, to fight.

Basil Thomson, who was a particularly severe critic of the Wesleyan missionaries, had this to say: 'The priests had set their followers in the road that leads to civil war, and for the misfortunes that overtook them they had only themselves to thank.'

King George declared war on Pea and Houma on 1 March

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79 West paid a visit to Vaea, chief of Houma, and during their interview a conversation occurred, which West (op. cit., 310-11) later recorded:

Vaea, in the course of our interview, said, 'You see us armed, not that we are at war, or wish to fight, but because Tubou' (the hereditary name of the Tongan kings) 'is angry with us, and because he is preparing to attack us. He wants to force us to become Christians; but sooner than that shall be, we will fight and die.' To this assertion I thought it my duty to make the following reply:- 'It is no business of mine to meddle with your political affairs; but I will say this, that King George does not, and never did, wish to compel you to become Christians: he leaves that to your own free choice. He only asks you to keep the general laws of the land, and to abide truthfully by your voluntary oaths of allegiance to his person and government. As the proof of what I say, you may go to the Christian towns all over the country, and you will not find one place fortified for war, or a single man carrying musket or club. Go and visit the king, as is your duty, submit to the laws, and desist from your warlike preparations and conduct, and I pledge my word that all will be well with you.'

80 Thomson, op. cit., 355.
1852. He asked the French priests to leave Pea in case harm might come to them, but they replied, 'It is not the way of the Catholic priests to desert their followers in their time of distress. So we shall stay at our station even [unto death] if we should be killed.'

Meanwhile M. Nallier, the commander of a French vessel from Tahiti, the Henri, arrived in Tonga on 13 April with Bishop Bataillon on board. Nallier informed the King that he had orders from the French Governor at Tahiti to remove the French priests to Tahiti if he found them in danger, and if they so desired. However, after being told the cause of the war and the steps the King had taken with regard to the personal safety of the priests, the Commander replied:

If they wish to go away, I can remove them to Tahiti; but if they choose to remain, the consequences are with themselves. You, as king, have done your duty in offering them protection; and if they get shot by accident, they will nobly fall in the performance of their duty, and no Government in the world will complain of either you or them.

Bishop Bataillon, however, addressed a letter to the King asking him whether it was true that the purpose of the war was to destroy the remainder of the heathens and the adherents of the Roman Catholic mission. The King

81 Taumua Lelei, December 1931, 6.
82 West, op. cit., 323.
replied:

The report you heard...was a lying report. This
is not a religious war but a civil war.... The
object of the present war is to subject the rebels
to the government of their country. There is
one thing however, I must make known to you. It
appears evil in my eyes that your converts in
general have joined the heathens in opposing my
rule.84

Skirmishes occurred between both sides, with the
loss of several lives on both sides. On 21 April the King,
'not wishing to sacrifice human life unnecessarily' by storming
the heathen fortresses,85 resolved to besiege them, in order
to starve the rebels into submission. Pea was besieged by
four divisions from Nuku'alofa, Mu'a, Ha'apai and Vava'u,
and Houma was entrusted to Ata and the Hihifo warriors.86
Apparently there was a hope among the rebels that the Bishop
would return with a French man-of-war by the end of April.87
After a while, however, the priests decided that one of them
should go to Tahiti to inform the officer commanding the

83 Amos, 1 June 1852, Missionary Notices, March 1853, 39.
Amos adds, 'I did not see the note...but the above is
the substance of it as detailed to me after in
conversation.'

84 Farmer, op. cit., 405; Morrell, op. cit., 313.

85 West, op. cit., 324.

86 Wood, op. cit., 53.

87 Farmer, op. cit., 407.
French men-of-war of their danger. Consequently Father Calinon left for Tahiti on the Atalina on 27 June. Undoubtedly Father Calinon's trip raised considerable hope among the rebels for French intervention to settle the war in their favour. But after a month of expectation, Houma could not hold out any longer, and on 11 July, Vaea and Fohe surrendered. Commenting on this, West wrote:

It was known that only one thing had...sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property.

Meanwhile, Pea held out a little longer, believing that a French man-of-war might arrive on any day to assist, and at the same time the King instructed his army to attack Pea immediately if a French man-of-war were sighted. On 9 August a ship appeared and everyone waited anxiously to ascertain if it were the long expected French ship. However, it turned out to be the H.M.S. Calliope, commanded by Captain Sir Everard Home, a personal friend of King George. Sir Everard offered

88 Taumua Lelei, December 1931, 6.
89 West, op. cit., 329.
90 Wood, op. cit., 53.
protection to the priests of Pea in his ship, but the priests declined the offer saying that they were in the fort for the sole reason of administering to their people and that they were prepared to lay down their lives, if necessary, for the sake of their calling.91

However, on 17 August 185292 Pea surrendered and on the following day its fortifications were levelled and Sir Everard Home witnessed the way in which King George did everything he could to save the lives and property of the French priests. Before leaving Tonga, Sir Everard wrote to King George verifying his actions on these matters.93

Meanwhile, Father Calinon returned in a small vessel, 'and when he found the war ended, declared that he would have ample reparation in due time. He subsequently departed for

91 Taumua Lelei, December 1931, 6. Commenting on this, Thomson (op. cit., 358) wrote: 'The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.'

92 Taumua Lelei, December 1931, 5. The date given by Wood, 11 August, for this event is not correct. Wood, op. cit., 53.

93 Farmer, op. cit., 411; Wood, op. cit., 54.
Tahiti, where he lodged certain charges and claims, against
the Tonguese, before the French Governor. Eventually
the long awaited man-of-war, La Moselle, arrived on 12 November,
with Calinon on board. Its commander, Captain Belland, made
enquiries regarding the complaints lodged in Tahiti by Father
Calinon. Apparently the captain was quite satisfied with
the King's account. West, who was present at the inquiry,

wrote:

On every point Captain Belland seemed satisfied.
The king was armed with abundant documentary
evidence, and proved himself a capital diplomatist....
At the conclusion of the inquiry, Captain Belland
desired me to say to the king that he was perfectly
satisfied with his entire conduct. 'Tell him,' said he,
'that I have seen and conversed with many chiefs,
in the South Sea Islands, but I have never met his
equal. The French have acknowledged his authority
by directing me to him as supreme ruler in Tonga.
He must, however, employ his authority in protecting
all foreigners from insult, and must allow his
subjects to choose what religion they please; but
all must submit to the law of the land. Tell him
also that, should any Frenchman be guilty, in
future, of such intermeddling with his government
as has been proved orally in this case, he has
only to procure proper documentary evidence of the
fact, and the French Government will not fail
promptly to punish the offender, by his removal
from the country, or otherwise, whether he be a
priest or merely a layman.'

Belland then decided not to submit to the King the 'documentary

94 West, op. cit., 337.
95 Ibid., 339.
claim for heavy pecuniary compensation, on behalf of the Roman Catholic missionaries for damages to their property.\(^9\)\(^6\) He also decided to take Father Calinon back with him to Tahiti.\(^9\)\(^7\)

Evidently Father Calinon was dissatisfied with the outcome of the inquiry and succeeded in having the case re-opened. In January 1855 he returned to Nuku'alofa with the French Governor of Tahiti. The Governor appeared to believe that King George had been treated too leniently by Captain Belland. King George was then 'required to sign on 9 January a treaty of peace and friendship reminiscent of those dictated by French naval officers in Tahiti and Hawaii in earlier years.'\(^9\)\(^8\)

The Treaty had already been prepared in advance for him to sign. It stated that there was to be perpetual peace and friendship between Tupou and Napoleon III; the Catholic church was declared free in all the islands of Tonga and its members were to have all the privileges accorded to Protestants; those who had been exiled or deprived of their property on account of religion were to be allowed to return to their homes and have their property restored; French subjects residing in

\(^9\)\(^6\) Ibid., 340.

\(^9\)\(^7\) According to West (op. cit., 339) Captain Belland refused to permit Father Calinon to return to Pea or to reside in Tongatapu.

\(^9\)\(^8\) Morrell, op. cit., 314.
Tonga and visiting ships and crews were to be protected in their persons and property by the King; French ships were to enjoy the most-favoured-nation privileges in regard to anchorage, pilot dues and other charges; and King George's subjects were to have a right in all French possessions to the advantages accorded to the French in Tonga. 99

Wood has rightly pointed out that the treaty was important as the first official recognition, by a foreign nation, of King George's sovereignty and Tonga's independence. It showed that he was regarded 'as fit to rule his country and to prevent trouble happening to Europeans resident in Tonga.' 100 Although this was quite true, it may be added that the treaty was evidently designed to become a means of promoting the interests of the Roman Catholic church and consequently of French imperialism. 101

The Treaty of 1855 gave the Catholic

99 For the full text of the treaty see West, op. cit., 388-90.
100 Wood, op. cit., 56.
101 An article in The Empire, 10 December 1855, 4, reads:

Tonga has recently been threatened with new troubles from the machinations of a French Priest named Calignon, who has already made himself conspicuous in Tongan politics, and whose present aim appears to be to endeavour to embroil King George's Government with that of the French Governor of Tahiti, so as to afford the latter a pretence for an armed intervention. Either through the influence of Calignon, or from the zeal of the present Governor of Tahiti for the joint propagation of Romanism and colonization, several French ships of war have recently visited the Friendly Is, and every arrival has been seized on by Padre Calignon to further the Political status of Romanism; and, by spreading tales among the natives about 'what the French will do', to induce them to join the lotu Popi.
priests renewed determination, after the humiliating drawbacks they had suffered, in both their failure to achieve the conversion of the masses to their faith and in their political manoeuvring which had led to the civil war of 1852. The fall of Pea removed the last obstacle to King George's rule throughout the Kingdom, and was at the same time a tremendous blow to the Catholic cause which had associated itself with the rebel elements. However, equipped with the rights now sanctioned by the treaty and which they had always claimed to be theirs, they wasted no time in pursuing the restoration of their lost prestige and the fulfilment of their well defined objectives. On a wide variety of fronts they launched their assaults with vigour, beginning with political agitation.

Soon after the departure of the Governor the priests began to visit various districts, including some such as Hihifo where they had not a single adherent, in order to establish permanent residences. Later, in July 1858, Father Calinon and another priest arrived at Lifuka, Ha'apai, intent upon establishing a Catholic mission there. The Governor of Ha'apai, Siosaia Lausi'i, tried to temporize, saying that he had to obtain permission from the King, who was at Vava'u

102 West states (op. cit., 429) that at first the priests made a request to King George for a grant of land at Nuku'alofa, but the King evaded it.
at that time, before allowing them to land. This refusal gave Father Calinon an excuse to appeal to the French frigate, La Bayonnaise, which had arrived in Tonga. Its captain immediately sent for King George and Siosaia, the Governor. King George tried to explain that the Governor had acted in accordance with the laws of the land, and that he did not realize that he had broken the treaty in doing so. He appealed to the captain that the matter be judged by a third party and failing this he offered to pay compensation for any inconvenience that might have been caused to the priests by the Governor's action. This offer was refused and the captain demanded that King George should 'depose the Governor, Josiah; to convey the French priests, their servants and their baggage to Haapai; and to grant them a piece of land and build them two houses equal in every respect to those occupied by the Wesleyan missionaries.'

The only concession, made at the suggestion of Father Chevron, was to give the Governor of Ha'apai three months in which to carry out these undertakings. 'The King had no alternative,' wrote Thomas, 'and in [a] few days, his own vessel had to take the Priests on board with their things and

103 Eggleston to S.M.H., reprinted in Missionary Notices, January 1859, 17; Adams to Eggleston, 18 October 1858, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.; Morrell, op. cit., 315.
remove them to Lifuka - where the Protestant chiefs and
people are working almost night and day in order to get
these houses built.' ¹⁰⁴

Referring to this incident Whewell wrote, 'I fully
understood "the Treaty" a copy of which I sent you, two
years ago, to give them a legal right to go anywhere in the
dominions of King George of Tonga. That was its plain verbal
meaning to my mind, though that never was the King's idea of
it.' ¹⁰⁵

Provocation continued and, in 1860, Father Calinon
wanted to conduct a Catholic burial in the Wesleyan cemetery.
Governor Siosaia was approached and, after consultation with
the Wesleyan missionaries, he sent a message to the priest
to say that he could bury his dead at any other burial place
but the Wesleyan. Father Calinon regarded this as an insult,
for 'he sought a piece of ground only four feet by four to
inter in for the time being, which was refused and this
being the case, he considered himself persecuted by the
natives, and that the treaty had been broken which granted
equal privileges to Catholics and Protestants - therefore
considered himself justified in bringing the matter to a man

¹⁰⁴ Thomas to Eggleston, 19 August 1858, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
¹⁰⁵ Whewell to Eggleston, 16 February 1859, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.
of war.' He then sent his complaints to the priests in Tongatapu, who were to present them to the commander of a man-of-war. As a result the captain of a French warship, which called in Tonga in March 1860, demanded that Siosaia be deposed, threatening that otherwise he could 'carry off King George to New Caledonia'. His demands were carried out, and Siosaia was deposed.

Eventually, however, the priests became aware of the fact that their involvement of the power of the French Navy did more harm than good to their cause. Father Chevron wrote in November 1861:

We find that this visit [man-of-war]...has been a lesson for us not to rely too much on the assistance for our Missions from the French Government. We would have given a better account of ourselves had we settled matters with the chiefs ourselves. We thank the good God for the lesson and we propose to go ahead in the knowledge that the only thing we can expect from the French Government is unpleasantness, even if it seems to be anxious to defend our rights....

107 Morrell, op. cit., 315.
108 The captain also complained that no Catholic had been given office in the Tongan government. Stephinson, Journal, 7 August 1860.
109 Father Chevron to Father Poupinel in Sydney, 11 November 1861, Villa Maria Monastery, Sydney. (Translation)
Another avenue of attack was directed at one of the most important aids to the success of the Wesleyans - their treatment of illness. The Wesleyans offered their medicines, but having no funds to cover medical supplies, they usually purchased them with their own money, and then charged a small fee. The priests obtained some degree of popularity through their decision to distribute free medicine. Eventually, however, a Protestant society was formed in England to obtain medical supplies for the South Seas.  

Another source of conflict concerned the validity of marriages performed by the Wesleyan missionaries, some of which the priests refused to recognize. One of them was reported to have told King George that he and the Queen, and

110 Professor W.H. Harvey to N.B. Ward, 29 July 1855, W-M Mag., 1856, 174-7. The Protestant Missions Medical Aids Society owed its origin to Harvey's letters to Ward. In one of these letters Harvey wrote from Tongatapu, where he was visiting, 'The French influence has gained its hundred: what I call bribery gains its tens. The bribe is a dose of physic! The newest dodge of the Jesuits is the gratuitous distribution of medicine. Seeing that the Missionaries distributed and charged for their doses, they have commenced to distribute gratis, to whoever will come and lotu (or "profess") with them! And then they contrast their own liberality with the closeness of the Missionaries. 'We come to you in love' say they; 'but these, to make a gain of you.' The Jesuits can afford to be liberal; for, for the ten cases they may have to supply, the poor Missionary has his hundreds, - consuming pounds of calomel and hundredweights of salts.'
all the Tongans married by Wesleyan ministers, were living in adultery for 'the Pope and the Bishop [said] so and he believe[d] it'. The priests, on the other hand, denied that they had nullified all marriages contracted by the Wesleyan missionaries:

We do not dissolve any marriage truly contracted, but we declare only that some marriages contracted in the presence of the Wesleyans are null, because of canonical impediments which the Pope and all the Bishops of the world recognise as nullifying impediments.  

Later, in another letter in December 1860, Father Monier explained in more detail their stand on this issue:

We were thinking that perhaps in Tonga these contracts [of marriage] had more strength than elsewhere. But after having examined everything and weighted everything in the presence of God, we agree that the behaviour of the Methodists in our Archipelago must have pushed the natives into a substantial error about the indissolubility of marriage. Most of them have told us that they had never intended to bind themselves until death, but only until one of the parties becomes guilty of adultery, and the practice of their missionaries justifies their claims.

Undoubtedly the priests had no hesitation in remarrying some of the people who had previously been wed by the Wesleyan

111 Lee to Eggleston, 8 September 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

112 Father Monier to Father Poupinel, 1 November 1860, Villa Maria Monastery, Sydney. (Translation)

113 Father Monier to Father Poupinel, 18 December 1860, Villa Maria Monastery, Sydney. (Translation)
missionaries. One of the Methodists wrote regretfully, 'A few depraved characters have got married by the priest, their lawful wives or husbands being still living and undivorced.... They became Papists in order to accomplish their carnal purposes but care not about popery as a system.'

So thoroughly disgusted were the Wesleyan missionaries by these actions of the priests that one of them wrote:

Another source of grief is the conduct of the Semi Heathenish priests of Rome - who have been marrying a man (whose wife is living) to another woman.... What is Romanism? Is it not spiritually what fallen Babylon is 'the abode of every unclean spirit'.... The popish establishment is like a reservoir to collect all obnoxious things in the land.

Accusations of toleration of polygamy in order to win converts were also made against the priests. Lawry reported that the 'French Priests allowed the Tui Tonga all his wives, and other heathen practices; and yet have offered to baptize him and many others, and by so doing, make them, as they say, real Christians, and not mere heretics as our people.'

The Roman Catholic priests appeared to show more

114 Lee to Eggleston, Nei'afu, Vava'u, n.d., 1861; see also W.J. Davis to Eggleston, 30 July 1861, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

115 F. Firth to Eggleston, 21 February 1862, A.W.M.S., T.M.L.

116 Lawry's report of his visit to Tonga and Fiji in 1850, W-M Mag., 1851, 921.
understanding and sympathy towards the customs and traditions of the Tongans than did the Wesleyans. Their open encouragement of some traditional practices was a direct challenge to the intolerance of the Protestant mission and it flaunted some of the laws formulated by King George under Wesleyan influence. The Code of Laws of 1850 declared that all heathen customs were forbidden; this blanket prohibition was deplored by the Catholic priests. Writing almost a century later Bishop Blanc, in *A History of Tonga*, was able to say:

At the instigation of the Missionaries, Taufaahau framed many laws, which he strongly enforced. It seemed to be the aim and object of the former to instill into the minds of the people the idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end they prohibited, through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs, and many of the ancient customs; even the smoking of tobacco was made a punishable offence. Through the suppression of the ancient songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of Tonga has been forever lost.117

While the Wesleyan missionaries would not tolerate dancing, games and Sabbath breaking, among other practices, by their members the priests showed much greater leniency and even encouraged some.

It remains true that the Roman Catholic priests showed greater tolerance towards Tongan traditional culture,

117 Blanc, op. cit., 38.
but their reasons for doing so were not clear. It is difficult to decide whether they were prompted by a genuine understanding and appreciation of Tongan traditions or were more tolerant on account of their Gallic Roman Catholic background, which was relatively free of puritanical austerity, or whether they were primarily motivated by a desire to undermine the work of the Methodist missionaries. The latter may well have been the case, in view of events in other groups where Roman Catholics were predominant and where their priests did not show the same tolerance which was shown in Tonga. The Roman Catholic mission at the Gambier Islands was an example of this.\textsuperscript{118}

The Wesleyans, however, had only one interpretation and viewed the priests' attitudes on these matters as a deliberate attempt to entice away their followers. One missionary wrote in 1863:

\begin{quote}
Of late Popery has been making desperate efforts in this part of the Circuit. They have been practising the old heathen games, thinking that, although they could not bring over the people by persuasion, or buy them with presents, they might attract them with these games. The Gospel, however still triumphs. The games had not the effect expected. The people say, 'If this is religion, what need had we of the Gospel? Did not we do these things when we were yet heathen?'
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118} [Pembroke and Kingsley], op. cit., 257.

\textsuperscript{119} J. Clifton, 13 May 1863, \textit{W-M Mag.}, 1864, 270.
A year later another missionary wrote that the French priests had been breaking the Sabbath, by assembling the people to sing songs and play different games, on the Catholic mission premises 'as part of their religion, to keep them [the people] out of mischief.'

IN conclusion, it appears that the Roman Catholic priests went to Tonga to carry out what they believed to be God's will. In the execution of their mission they inevitably clashed with the Wesleyans, who had preceded them and who held the same conviction. It was quite evident that the Roman Catholic mission constituted the most formidable counter-influence which the Wesleyan missionaries ever had to face. The strength of the Catholic priests lay in the fact that they met the Methodists on their own ground and used techniques similar to those which had brought success to the Wesleyan mission.

However, they failed to undermine the formidable foothold which the Wesleyans had already gained. In the first place, they were handicapped by their late start; secondly, they failed in their political manoeuvres, in that they tried to back a defeated candidate for the Kingship of Tonga, and

120 Firth, 20 February 1864, W-M Mag., 1865, 175.
a few rebel chiefs, against the growing popular power of King George; thirdly, their attempts to involve French men-of-war in their political agitation only strengthened anti-Catholic and anti-French sentiments, particularly among the chiefs, who were jealous of any foreign interference in their country; and their lack of Sabbatarian restrictions and their tolerance of traditional customs were viewed with horror by the majority of those who had accepted the Wesleyan missionaries' teachings and who regarded the priests' leniency towards traditional customs as a countenancing of that heathenism from which they so earnestly sought to dissociate themselves.

The successful maintenance of peace and order by King George eventually forced them to come to terms with his government. Although the Roman Catholic missionaries made blunders, particularly political ones, much of their opposition was justified and it forced both the Wesleyan missionaries and King George to adopt a measure of tolerance contrary to the spirit which had characterized the earlier phases in Tonga. Finally, the measures laid down by the Treaty of 1855 constituted an important contribution to the political development of Tonga.
CHAPTER 14

THE CONCLUSION

IN spite of the Society's official policy of 'no politics', its missionaries in Tonga participated significantly in the political development of that country during the period covered by this study. They did not precipitate political development as such, for the indigenous political system had undergone a process of evolution – quite dramatic at times – long before any Wesleyan Methodist missionary set foot in Tonga. Similar processes of change also occurred in other Polynesian and some African societies where there was a transition from tribal society to state. In the case of Tonga, however, the missionaries' influence was crucial in deciding the direction which political changes took, subsequent to their arrival. This was a natural consequence of the task which they had undertaken and of the circumstances in which they found themselves.

The missionaries' primary task was the conversion

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of the heathen. Although many of them were inadequately educated and equipped for this work, they were men of deep conviction and strong faith. Believing themselves to be 'ambassadors of the Lord', chosen by God for the noble task of saving the lost, they determined to carry out this mission with ruthless indifference to its effects either on their personal safety or the indigenous culture. They were convinced that Jehovah, in the end, would inevitably triumph, in spite of all the difficulties and occasional set-backs. Hence there could be no compromise. Working through the existing political leaders, and using every available means at their disposal, such as providing medicines, promoting education, and conducting religious revival meetings, they soon succeeded in making the majority of the population of Tonga at least nominally Christian.

As politics were so closely interwoven into the total fabric of Tongan society, it was unavoidable that they would be affected by the new teaching. When the religious basis of the old order was undermined, much of the framework of the traditional society collapsed with it. Christianity became the foundation on which the new structure had to be built. It was inevitable that the missionaries should become the principal designers of the new social order, particularly in its early stages. They were mainly responsible for the destruction of the old; the chiefly builders were ignorant
of the new design; and unlike other island groups in the Pacific, Tonga had no other Europeans qualified to act as an alternative source of guidance, at this time. It follows that, while the policy of non-involvement in politics might succeed in their home country, where monarchy and government already rested firmly on Christian principles, the missionaries in Tonga realized that they had to Christianize politics if their primary objective was to be achieved.

They had brought with them the ideals and values of their parent Society, and they sought to transplant these in their land of adoption, maintaining them to be the best standards by which Christians ought to live. Seeing a resemblance to a monarchy in the Hau or Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty, they threw their support behind it, and believing it to be the supreme authority in the whole of Tonga and an instrument of the Lord in converting the Tongans, they gave it their firm and loyal support. They regarded the heathen chiefs' opposition as a rebellion against legitimate authority and also against Jehovah, which had to be crushed. Hence, their stand during the wars, and their support for the unification of Tonga under a monarchical political system.

After convincing King George of the need to establish the rule of law in Tonga, the missionaries willingly gave their advice, when they were approached by the King and his chiefs
before the drafting of the Codes of 1839 and 1850. Although
the final content of these Codes was entirely the work of King
George and his chiefs, the missionary influence was quite apparent
in them. Unfortunately for the work of the mission, success
and prosperity brought arrogance, complacency, conservatism and
intolerance. Gradually a rift between the missionaries and
the King took place, and was aggravated by the narrow policies
of the former, their lack of vision, and their paternalistic
attitudes towards the Tongan leaders. Consequently, the
missionaries failed to contain the more ambitious political
aspirations of the King and his chiefs. This failure led the
latter to seek help from non-missionary quarters, and much of
this independent advice was incorporated into the 1862 Code.

However, the King and his supporters remained faithful
adherents of the mission, and although the political influence
of the missionaries as a body waned, there was one among the
brethren who decided to dissociate himself from the views of
his senior colleagues, and championed the cause which the King
and his chiefs firmly espoused, namely, the maintenance of
political independence and sovereignty of Tonga. It was to this
'rebel' missionary, Shirley Waldemar Baker, that the King turned
for advice and assistance in drawing up the 1862 Code and the
Constitution of 1875. While the sincerity of Baker's motives
may be doubted, the fact remains that he was championing an
admirable and legitimate struggle on the part of the King and his chiefs, to preserve Tongan independence from the encroachment of the great powers, which were threatening the integrity of the smaller Pacific island groups at this time. The much-ridiculed Constitution proved to be instrumental in saving Tonga from foreign interference, giving its people a feeling of security and self respect, and providing them with a vehicle for political advancement.

The influence of the Wesleyans in Tongan affairs did not go unchallenged for there was strong opposition not only from the Tongans, but also from non-missionary Europeans and from the Roman Catholic priests who had also gained a foothold in Tonga. This was partly in reaction to the puritanical excesses which had found their way into the laws of the state; to the sometimes arrogant and self-righteous attitudes adopted by some of the missionaries towards their own countrymen; and to their intolerance of any other influence encroaching on what they claimed to be their territory or sphere of influence, particularly the Roman Catholic mission.

Campaigns were launched from various quarters to destroy not only the influence of the missionaries and discredit their work, but also to attack the system of constitutional monarchy which they had helped to establish and support by their open championing of King George. However, these campaigns
did not succeed in undermining the influence of the missionaries nor in destroying King George's rule, though they were sufficiently powerful to bring a recognition of at least some of the grievances of the opposition.

IN the final analysis, the greatest credit for the successful transition to a constitutional monarchy is due to Tonga's remarkable ruler, King George. He recognized the advantages of adopting Christianity and he seized on every available opportunity for furthering both his own interests and those of his people. It was he who took the initiative, and though he sought the advice of the missionaries and often relied heavily upon it, it was he alone who made the final decisions. His astuteness as a statesman and politician led him to look further afield for advice, and he did not confine himself to the missionary sphere alone; it is quite erroneous to look upon him as simply a puppet in their hands.

At the same time, it would be equally mistaken to claim, as some writers have done, that conversion of the rulers to Christianity in Tonga and other places in the Pacific, was simply a means used by these politically ambitious individuals
to serve their own economic and political ends. This interpretation, applied to King George and the Tongan situation would be quite superficial and misleading. King George's adherence to Christian principles throughout the later stages of his career, after his conversion, had a positive effect on his political actions, as this study has shown. His adherence to the missionaries' teachings went much deeper than mere lip-service. They helped him to develop his remarkable gifts for leadership, which enabled him to surmount severe opposition.

2 E.g., W.C. Webb, 'The Abolition of the Taboo system in Hawaii', J.P.S., LXXIV, 1, March 1965, 32. This writer states (ibid.):

In both Tahiti and Tonga, and also in Mangareva and Mangaia where the small size of the respective social universes inhibited state formation, Christianity was adopted first by the 'ins,' or at least by the single most nearly dominant group, and provided ready-made a substitute system in which rulers could rise above the ruled and could govern in a less inhibited fashion. It also served, of course, as a route to domination in that Christian adherence assured a source of European goods via the missionaries.... Another indication that Christianity was only a very convenient means to an end may be found in Tonga since, although the sacred high chieftainship (the Tui Tonga) was not finally abolished until the introduction of Christianity, the first steps in that direction were taken two generations before in the early period of European contact.... During much of this period Christianity was a very minor or even negligible factor.
and to withstand the vicissitudes of his long reign during the most critical period of Tongan history. Without the guidance and assistance of the Wesleyan missionaries he could hardly have succeeded in his ambitions, and to this extent their influence on Tongan political changes during this period was considerable.

Tonga's political integrity was assisted to some extent by her geographical isolation and by the fact that it was less attractive to planters than, for instance, the neighbouring Samoa and Fiji groups, but ultimately it was the favourable combination of circumstances which brought together a ruler such as King George and the Wesleyan missionaries, which helped to determine the political destiny of Tonga. Without this conjunction, the course of political development in Tonga might have had a very different outcome, and perhaps the little Kingdom would have suffered the same fate as the other small kingdoms of the Pacific, such as Tahiti and Hawaii which failed to survive into the twentieth century.
GUIDE
TO
GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

A  TU'I TONGA LINE (Cf. Gifford, op. cit., 5)
B  TU'I HA'ATAKALAU A LINE (Cf. Gifford, op. cit., 83)
C  TU'I KANOKUPOLU LINE (Cf. Gifford, op. cit., 86)

H.H. Ha'a Havea
H.N.M. Ha'a Ngata Motua
H.N.T. Ha'a Ngata Tupu
T.H.T. Tu'i Ha'atakalau a
T.K. Tu'i Kanokupolu
T.T. Tu'i Tonga
T.V. Tu'i Vava'u
1 Aho'eitu - c. 950
2 Lolofakangalo
3 Fanga'onone
4 Lihau
5 Kofetu
6 Kaloa
7 Ma'uhau
8 'Apuanea
9 'Afulunga
10 Momo
11 Tu'itātai
12 Tala'ātama
13 Tu'i Tonga Nui-tamatou (Fictitious king)
14 Talaiha'apepe (1st break)
15 Talakaifaiki c.1250
16 Talafapite
17 Tu'i Tonga Ma'akatoe
18 Tu'i Tonga Puipui
19 Havea I
20 Tatafu'eikimeimu'a
21 Lomiaetupu'a
22 Havea II
23 Takalaua c.1450
24 Kau'ulufonua I c.1470 Mo'ungamotua (1st T.H.T.)
(2nd break) 25 Vakafuhu 26 Puipuifatu
27 Kau'ulufonua II
28 Tapu'osi
29 'Uluakimata (Tele'a)
30 Fatafehi
31 Kau'ulufonua III 1643
32 'Uluakimata II
33 Tu'ipulotu I
34 Fakana'ana'a
35 Tu'ipulotu II
36 Pau (T.T. in 1770 d. c.1784)
37 Ma'ulupekotofa (d.1806 - 3rd break)
38 Fuuanunuiava d. 1810
39 Laufilitonga d. 1865
B

1 Mo'ungamotu'a
2 Tanekitonga
3 Vaemataoka
4 Siulangapo
5 Vakalahimohe'uli
6 Mo'ungatonga

7 Fotofili

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8 Vaea
9 Moeakiola
10 Tatafu
11 Kafoa
12 Tu'i'onukulava
13 Silivakaifanga

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14 Fuatakifolaha (Father was Tongataulupekifolaha - Status - unknown; Mother - Fusipala, daughter of Mataele Ha'amea - 4th Tu'i Kanokupolu; Daughter - Mapatoutai, married Mulikiha'amea.)
15 Maealiuaki (Tu'i Kanokupolu)
16 Mulikiha'amea (Tu'i Kanokupolu)
APPENDIX A

CODE OF VAVAU, 1839 *

These are the names of the King and the Chiefs in Council at Vavau Haafuluhao.

GEORGE The King

Jobe Soakai, Steward or Governor
Osaiasi Veikune, Chief Judge or Magistrate
Eliesa Kijikiji, Judge
Tiofilosi Kaianuanu, Judge

I George make known this my mind to the chiefs of the different parts of Haafuluhao, also to all my people. May you be very happy,

It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you, he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his works, we are all the work of his hands, and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy. Therefore it is that I make known to you all, to the Chiefs and Governors and People, as well as the different strangers and foreigners that live with me.

That the Laws of this our Land prohibit.

1.

Murder, Theft, Adultery, Fornication and the retailing of Ardent spirits.

If any shall transgress these laws of ours, the case must be made known to the proper authorities, that the judge may examine into it.

If any woman shall beat herself or by drinking any liquor or by useing any means cause her child to depart from her, her case shall be brought before the judge.

In case of ones eating a poisonous fish or shell fish, knowing it to be destructive to life, the case shall be brought before the judge.

And should one die from taking poison, knowing it to be such, he shall not be buried in the christians burial ground or as a christian.

* Spelling throughout as in original
In case of a person being found dead a man, woman, or child and it is not known by what means the person came by his or her death, the judge shall be informed of the case, upon hearing of which he shall fix upon a house to which the body shall be removed, he shall then choose three men out of the four nearest villages to the place where the corpse was found, being twelve in number, who shall assemble at the place appointed with the judge, who shall inform them of the object of his calling them together, they shall then proceed altogether to view the body, and the place where it was found, after which they shall return to the house and sit in judgment on the case, and each speak his mind as in the presence of God, as to the cause of the persons death, viz whether by the visitation of God or by violent hands, and if their minds are satisfied that the person has been killed, they shall make every enquiry in order to discover the perpetrator who if found shall be brought to judgment, put into confinement, and wait the consequence of his crime.

N.B. No person shall be put to death, except by the express command of the King.

If any person shall rise up and lift up a club (or any other instrument of death) against another for the purpose of killing him, the person so offending shall be brought before the judge, and judgment passed upon him.

2.

My mind is this. That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they should keep holy the sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the word and the worship of God in their places of worship.

Should any man on shore or from on ship board come to the chapel for the purpose of sport or to disturb the worship; should he insult the minister or the congregation, he shall be taken and bound, and be fined for every such offence, as the judge shall determine.

3.

My mind is this. That each chief or head of a people, shall govern his own people, and them only; and it is my mind that you each show love to the people you have under you, also that you require them to be industrious in labouring to support the government and in their duties to you their chiefs; and that you divide to each one of them land for their own use, that each one may have means of living, of supporting his family
procuring necessaries, and of contributing to the cause of God.

4.

It is my mind that my people should live in great peace, no quarrelling, or backbiting, having no wish for war, but to serve the God of peace in sincerity, therefore I wish you to allow to your people some time for the purpose of working for themselves; they will work for you as you may require them in working your Canoe; in planting your yams, and bananas, and in what ever you may require their services; but I make known to you it is no longer lawful, for you to hunuki, or mark their bananas for your use, or to take by force any article from them, but let their things be at their own disposal.

5.

And it is my mind that the land should be brought into cultivation and planted; hence I inform you it is unlawful to turn your hogs outside the fence or sty: in case of a pig being found eating the yams or destroying the produce of the earth, the owner of the pig shall be apprised directly of it, that he may put his pig up, also he shall make amends for the mischief done; in case the owner pays not attention to his pig either to confine it or to recompence the damage done, and the pig is again found eating the plantation, it shall then be lawful to kill the pig, and the person owning the plantation shall claim it.

6.

In case of an Englishman, or any other foreigner wishing to remain in this land, he will be expected to obey the laws of the land and contribute in some way, (as he may have the means) to the support of the government, by working occasionally for the King, or by what means he may choose, while he does this, the laws of this land will protect him and his from evil.

7.

I beg of you my Cheifs and heads of the people that you pay attention to these words, and make known these laws to your people, and see that they practise them.
In reference to the small and light offences, each chief will examine and adjust, in his own place but all the more important offences must be brought to Mua at Neiafu.

N.B. The day for hearing cases of disorder at Neiafu, is the first Tuesday in the month and you need not come at any other time.

On the day of hearing it is expected that the following persons will be present, viz. Jobe Soakai, Osaiasi Veikune, Eliesa Kijikiji, and Tiofilusi Kaianuanu.

N.B. The King will be present and take a part when ever convenient.

In case of a person retailing ardent spirits, he shall pay a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars and be liable to have the spirits taken from him.

In case of a man either living on shore, or from on ship board, being drunk and, causing disturbance, he shall be taken, and imprisoned, and for the first offence pay a fine of six dollars, which fine shall be doubled in case the offence is repeated.

In case a man living on shore, shall entice or otherwise induce any seaman to leave his vessel for the purpose of living on shore he shall pay a fine of eight dollars to the King; in case a person fails to make known one whom he knows to have run away from his vessel, such an one shall be fined according to the nature of the offence.

In case a man leaves his wife and escapes, she shall claim his plantations and whatever other property he may have left.

In case a woman forsakes her husband, she shall be brought back again to him, and in case she will not remain with him, it shall not be lawful for her to marry any other man while her husband lives.

It is not lawful to tatatau or to kaukau or to perform any other idolatrous ceremonies, if any one does so, he will be judged and punished and fined for so doing.

It is unlawful to leave the island in a clandestine manner, also to give away or enslave any person.

It is also unlawful to cut down timber without liberty so to do.
APPENDIX B

THE 1850 CODE OF LAWS

I. - The Law referring to the King

1. The King, being the root of all government in the land, it is for him to appoint those who shall govern in his land.
2. Whatever the King may wish done in his land, it is with him to command the assemblage of his Chiefs, to consult with him thereon.
3. Whatever is written in these laws, no Chief is at liberty to act in opposition, but to obey them together with his people.
4. The King is the Chief Judge; and anything the Judges may not be able to decide upon, shall be referred to the King, and whatever his decision may be, it shall be final.

II. - The Law concerning Taxes

Whatever the King deems proper, shall be done by the people for the King.

III. - The Law referring to the Judges

1. It is the province of the King to appoint all the Judges in his kingdom.
2. This is the office of the Judges: - If any one or more be charged with having committed a crime, it is the business of the Judges, when such are brought to trial, to hear the person by whom the charge is made, as also the statement of the prisoner. The trial being over, and his guilt proved, the Judge shall then pronounce sentence, according to what is written in these Laws.
3. The remuneration which the Judges and Officers shall have made to them by the King, is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places.

A brief allusion to the business of the Judges

1. There shall be no respect of persons with the Judges in their trial of offenders. Though the offender be a Chief, or next in rank, he shall be tried according to these Laws; it
being unjust to differ between the trial of a Chief, and that of a common man.

2. On no account for the Judges to receive food or payment from those about to be tried: should any one so receive, and it be discovered, he shall be deposed from his office, having acted unjustly.

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4. The day of trial arrived, and the Judges seated, the prisoner, complainants, and witnesses, shall be brought before them; and the Judge then state the crime with which the prisoner is charged, and about to be tried for.

5. The Judge shall then inquire of the accused, whether the charge against him be true or not; and if he admits its truth, the Judge shall at once pronounce sentence; but if he denies it, the Judge shall order the witnesses to state what they know, the accused being at liberty, if he can, to produce witnesses to prove his innocency of the crime of which he is charged.

6. Should the accused wish to question the witnesses on anything they may state, he is not at liberty to address them, but make known his inquiry to the Judge, and for the Judge to put his question to the witnesses, that on no account there be either talking or quarrelling in the presence of the Judges; and if any one breaks this law, it is with the Officers present in court to put a stop to it.

7. And with regard to any serious crime, such as murder, incendiaryism, the burning a canoe, or personal assault, or the like, - when the Judges shall have tried the case, and they are of one opinion as to the punishment to be inflicted, not for it to be enforced immediately, but for the Judges and King to confer; and should the King deem it proper to lessen the punishment, well, but not for him to increase it.

IV. - The Law referring to Witnesses

If any one accuse another, or any one confirms it, but on trial it is afterwards found that both the accuser and witnesses have lied, the punishment which would have been inflicted on the accused, the Judge shall order to be enforced against the accuser and false witness; but when any one works unjustly through a false accuser and a false witness, the Judges shall order the false witness to pay him who has laboured contrary to justice, according to his amount of work done for the Governing Chief, and punish the false witness accordingly to the punishment unjustly inflicted on the accused.
V. - The Laws of the Chiefs and those who govern

1. The Chiefs to whom these Laws refer are those whom the King has appointed to govern portions of the land, and their people.
2. It is with those Chiefs only to harangue and govern their people, and it is not admissible for any other to order or govern those people.
3. And any one, not being a chief of high rank, who shall break this law, shall be tried for the same, and be ordered to pay to such persons according to the work they have been made unlawfully to do for him.
4. This is the labour which the Governing Chiefs shall lawfully demand from their people yearly, even to the extent they may think proper; and such Chief shall pay strict attention in seeing the King's work properly executed, but in case of his negligence, his people shall do the less for him.

VI. - The Law referring to Officers

1. On the perpetration of a crime being made known to the Judges, it is the province of the Officers to take care and bring the offender to the place of trial on the day appointed.
2. On the accused being brought before the Judges, it is for them to prevent confusion and quarrelling between the persons on trial and the witnesses; and should any speak loud, or shout, it is for them to put a stop to it, and demand silence.
3. The trial of offenders being over, and they being condemned to pay or work, it is for the Officers to see that their payment is brought on the appointed day, and to see that the work of the offenders is performed in a proper and correct manner.
4. It is with the King to remunerate the Officers according to their labours.
5. It is the duty of the Governing Chief of the land or place to bring the offender to the place of trial.

VII - The Law referring to Man and Wife

1. Marriage is a covenant between man and woman, that they shall be one, and their property one, until the termination of the existence of one of them.
2. Those who are eligible to marry must be 16 years of age, and no one who is less than 16 can be married.
3. No man can have two wives, no woman two husbands at once, but each to live with his or her lawful partner; should this law be broken, the parties shall be judged, and work as for committal of adultery.
4. Another thing forbidden is, the improper interference of any one to promote or stop a marriage. Where the parties are of one mind to marry, they shall not be prevented, unless there be a just and sufficient cause; should this law be broken, the punishment to be inflicted shall be with the Judge.

5. When a man and woman marry, their parents shall no longer govern them; they shall act as they like, and no relative shall forcibly influence them; should they, it is with the Judge what punishment to inflict.

6. From the present evil and impoverishing system at marriages, whatever the friends may think proper to present to either the man or woman about to be married, it shall be his or hers, and on no account be again distributed.

7. Let all men know that it is just to labour and provide food for their families, and in case of their voyaging, to leave food for them; and whosoever shall neglect to keep this law, the Judge shall inflict punishment to the extent he may think proper.

8. In reference to man and wife separating, this is the law:- Nothing can justify their separation but the crime of adultery committed by either party. And if any man cast away his wife, or any woman her husband, save for that crime, the Judge shall order the offending to support the offended party, and on refusal, the man or woman offending shall labour until such time as he or she shall be willing to live together again. In case of separation, these things are to be regarded:-

   (1) the thing which makes it lawful for a man and wife to separate.

   (2) But the thing which is right and commendable is, to forgive, and live together again; and on no account, after so doing, ever more to refer to it.

   (3) In case of either party doing wrong, and the other takes no notice of it at the time, but they continue to live together; at any future time, when the mind of the injured party may be pained towards the other, he or she shall not then be at liberty to refer to it.

   (4) Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter: since the marriage contract is a command of God, the Minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the Minister must pronounce them separated, in the large Chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party.

   (5) All parties who have separated, but not according to this law as here written, shall be considered as man and wife; and it shall not be lawful for either again to marry whilst both are still living.
(6) Where both parties do wrong, and it is their minds to separate, they may separate; but it shall not be lawful for either of them to marry until one of them become deceased.

VIII. - The Law referring to Adultery

When a man or woman shall be tried for adultery, and be found guilty, if the man has transgressed, he shall pay to the injured man, with whose wife he has sinned, three large hogs and sixty yams, and afterwards work three months; and where the woman sins, the payment shall be the same as in the other case.

IX. - The Law referring to Fornication

When a case of fornication is tried, and proved, the guilty man shall work for two months, as also the guilty woman. Where the crime is repeated, the parties shall work three months, and so on.

X. - The Law referring to Illegitimate Children

Let all persons know it shall not be just for a relative to take forcibly a bastard child from its mother, but by her consent only; and if any one break this law, the Judge shall order the child to be restored.

XI. - The Law referring to Dances, and other Heathen Customs

Let all people know that Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all Heathen Customs: and if any are found practising such, they shall be tried, and on being proved guilty, work one month; and on being proved guilty, work one month; and, in case of a repetition, two months.

XII. - The Law referring to the Sabbath-day

The breaking of the Sabbath is a great sin in the sight of God. Work which cannot be dispensed with, such as preparing food for a sick person, may be done, or any unforeseen accident occurring; but other works, such as house-building, making canoes, gardening, seeking fish, journeying to a distance, and assembling together for wicked purposes, are all forbidden. Any person found guilty shall work one month, and on repetition of the crime, two months.
XIII. - The Law referring to taking anything forcibly

Let all persons know, that taking anything forcibly, or on the score of relationship, is strictly forbidden. If any one takes that which is the property of another without his (the owner's) consent, the Judges shall reprimand him, and he shall bring back that which he took; and in case of his repeating the act, he shall pay four times the value of the article he has taken by force; or, on the score of relationship, twice the value of the thing taken to the owner, and twice its value to the King.

XIV. - The Law referring to Fighting, Quarrelling, and things very disorderly

Should any persons fight, quarrel, or create any disturbance, they shall work three weeks; and if all concerned be equally bad, their punishment shall be the same.

XV. - The Law referring to Murder

Persons committing murder, from an evil mind, shall be hung.

XVI. - The Law referring to Manslaughter

The signification of manslaughter is, the killing another accidentally, whilst working, or with the weapon of another, but not designing to kill. Should such a case occur, be tried, and an individual found guilty, but it appear that he had no bad design towards the deceased, or expectation to commit such an act, but that it was purely accidental, he is not guilty and shall be discharged. But on trial, if it be discovered that they quarrelled, or fought, or fought with clubs, or wrestled, or did anything from which sprang the death of one, but which was not done with an intent to kill, he shall work for the space of two years.

XVII. - The Law on producing Abortion

That to which this law refers is a most disgusting crime, and highly deserves punishment. In case any woman should take any medicine, or eat anything, or do anything, in order to produce premature delivery, and she be tried and found guilty, she shall work for the King a whole year.

XVIII. - The Law referring to Incendiarism

Should any person set fire to a canoe, or house, with intent to destroy it, and be found guilty, such person shall pay the value of the house, as well as of all the property it contained.
XIX. - The Law referring to Robbery

If any one steals a thing from the house or plantation of another, or from elsewhere, the thief shall pay four times the value of the thing stolen, half to the person he robbed, and half to the Government. Any one stealing a trifle, whom the Judges think proper to punish, it shall be done unto him as they may see to be right.

XX. - The Law referring to the breaking, or committing a nuisance on, a Canoe

If any one breaks, or commits a nuisance upon, a canoe, the property of another, and is detected, he shall be tried, and the Judge order him to pay a carpenter for repairing her. The offender shall afterwards work for Government according to the extent of damage he has done to the canoe. This law extends also to a similar injury done to a house.

XXI. - The Law referring to breaking of Fences

Should a man or woman break the fence of any one, the person so transgressing shall repair it, and work for Government according to the extent of the injury committed. If the animal of any one, whether dog, pig, or goat, shall injure a good fence, the property of another, the owner of such animal shall repair the fence; and should he not afterwards secure the animal in his own premises, but permit it again to injure a fence, he shall forfeit his animal to Government, and Government shall do as it deems proper with it.

XXII. - The Law referring to Pigs, and all destructive animals

In case the animal of any one be discovered injuring a plantation, or anything else, it shall first be made known to the owner of such animal that he may put it in a sty, or tie it up. If the same animal should destroy a second time, the Judge shall order the owner of it to pay the person who has sustained the injury, that which may be equivalent to it, and forfeit the destructive animal to Government. But should the fence injured be an old or rotten one, the owner shall pay for the first damage it does, agreeable to this law, but he shall not forfeit his animal to Government for the first offence.

XXIII. - The Law referring to lost Property

1. Anything, the property of a person being lost, and found by another, the finder knowing the owner, but does not make it
known to him, shall be tried as for theft. Anything being
found, but the owner unknown, it shall remain with him who
finds it.
2. Payment shall not be demanded by the person who finds
the lost property of another.

XXIV. - The Law referring to such persons as shall make known
a Crime about to be perpetrated

Should any persons agree to commit a great evil, whether two,
three, or ten; and they shall have determined to perpetrate it,
but one shall repent and make known what they were going to
do, he shall be forgiven; but all the others concerned shall
be punished according to the evil they intended committing, even
as though it had been committed.

XXV. - The Law referring to Chiefs and People who may cause any
Evil to arise in the Land

If such Chiefs or people are discovered, the same shall be banished
from the land they live in, into another land; nor shall they be
permitted to return to their land, but it shall be with the
Government, their returning or remaining until the end of their
lives.

XXVI. - The Law referring to Voyaging

Should any Chief, with his crew, voyage and do wrong in any
land, on his return they shall be tried, and punished according
to the evil committed. It shall not be lawful for persons
voyaging to bring away the people of the shores they may visit,
unless at the request of the Chief of such land, - in that case
they may; but if they are brought away without the knowledge
of the Chief of that land, such Chief so taking them shall pay
ten dollars.

XXIX. - The Law referring to the Soil

It shall not be lawful for any Chief or people in Tonga, Haabai,
or Vava'U, to sell a portion of land to strangers (i.e. foreigners);
it is forbidden; and any one who may break this law shall be
severely punished.

XXX. - The Law referring to Carpenters

Carpenters, working at their trade, shall do their work faithfully,
and shall be paid by those for whom they work; but should
those for whom they work not pay them, the Judge shall order them to pay them even more than was originally designed.

XXXI. - The Law referring to waving to Canoes

Canoes may be waved to, and should the canoe not come to the beckon, the person in it shall be fined a pig. In particular cases of urgency, Chiefs may wave to a canoe under sail.

XXXII. - The Law referring to the Roads of the Land

The Chiefs shall see that the roads are hoed. The payment for not hoeing a road of any length, shall be a pig and twenty yams; and the not hoeing a short path, the fine shall be twenty yams.

XXXIII. - The Law referring to the digging Graves

It shall not be lawful for any other than the appointed persons, called 'Haatufuga,' to dig graves; but, should there be no Haatufugas where the deceased is to be interred, in that case only others may dig the grave. The relatives of the deceased shall pay to the Haatufuga according to the work done; and, should the friends of the deceased refuse to do so, the Judges shall compel them to pay the Haatufuga.

XXXIV. - The Law referring to Deceased Persons

There shall be five days of cooking food for the Chiefs, four days for the matabule or gentlemen, and three days for the common people; the 'tukuofo,' with the 'toka' and the 'lanu kilikili,' shall be given up; and if the friends have not wherewith to inter the dead in, others may furnish what is needed. The thing most becoming is, for the relatives to take care of the afflicted whilst yet alive; to feed, clothe, give drink, &c., and contribute something towards the burial before his decease. The people shall please themselves about the cooking at the burial. If the corpse is buried as to-day, not to cook until to-morrow; and not for the burial to be as a feast, for it is a visitation of God to that family, and it is right that they should humble themselves before God.

XXXV. - The Law referring to the Tortoise

If any man catch a tortoise, and take the first he catches to the Governor, and then take another, the second shall be his,
the third he catches shall be the Governor's, the fourth his, and so on.

XXXVI. - The Law referring to Men

You shall work and persevere in labouring for the support of your family, as well as yourself, and in order to trade and contribute to the cause of God, and the Chief of the land; and each man shall seek his piece of land to cultivate. Any man not willing to work, he shall neither be fed nor assisted; all such persons being useless to the land and its inhabitants, and unprofitable to their friends.

XXXVII. - The Law referring to the Women

You must work, women, and persevere in labouring to clothe your husbands and children; unmarried women shall work to be useful to their relatives and parents. If they do not work, they shall not be fed or assisted; for our assisting the indolent, is supporting that which is an evil.

XXXVIII. - The Law referring to Chiefs, and those who have people under them to govern

The duty of such is, to make known these laws to the people they govern, whether they keep them or not; and, if they do not keep them, exhort them to do so: but, if they still break them, make known their disobedience.

XXXIX. - The Law referring to persons who depreciate the character of others, and to Evil-speakers

If there is any one who shall depreciate the character and speak evil of the King, the Chiefs who govern the people, the Judges, or the Missionaries, and, when tried, are found guilty, the Judge shall order him to be punished according to the evil he has done.

XL. - The Law referring to Foreigners

If any foreigner desire to reside in this kingdom, and will act agreeable to the laws of this land, the laws of this land shall protect him; but if he breaks the laws of this land, he shall be tried as the people of this land; and if any of the inhabitants injure him in any way, they shall be punished accordingly. Foreigners shall pay yearly according to the portion of land they hold, whether large or small; and it shall be with the Judges to demand such payment from the foreigners.
XLI. - The Law referring to Clothing

The Chiefs, Governors, and people shall clothe.

XLII. - The Law referring to Catching Fish

Any persons catching the larger fish shall not do as they please with them, such as the turtle, albicore, bonito, and ulua, &c., but, on obtaining one, shall take it to the Chief; the second he takes shall be his, and so on afterwards.

XLIII. - The Law referring to Disobedience

All persons disobedient to the King, or to the Governors of the people, shall be taken to the Judge to be punished, according to the evil they have done.

Translated by G.R.H. Miller.
I. - The law concerning the King

1. The King is the root of all government in the land, and it is with him to appoint those who shall govern in his kingdom.
2. But should the King intend any weighty matter to be done in his land, it shall be with him to assemble the Chiefs and Governors to take counsel with him upon it.
3. And whatsoever things are written in these laws, it shall not be lawful for the King to act contrary thereto, but to act according to them as well as his people.
4. The King is the Supreme Judge, and any case which the Judges cannot settle shall be brought to the King, and the King's decision shall be final.

II. - The law concerning the land

It shall in no wise be lawful for a chief or people in this kingdom of Tonga to sell a piece of land to a foreign people - it is verily, verily forbidden for ever and ever; and should any one break this law he shall work as a convict all the days of his life until he die, and his progeny shall be expelled from the land.

III. - The law concerning the Judges

1. It is the province of the King to Commission judges in his kingdom.
2. This is the duty of the judges - when any one is accused of a crime, and is brought before the court, it is the duty of the judge to hear the statement of the accuser and also of the accused; and after the crime is proved against the accused the judge shall sentence him to punishment according to what is written in these laws. A short admonition to the judges on their duty - show no partiality in judging criminals; be he chief or gentleman, judge according to the laws; for it is unjust to make a difference in judging chiefs and common people.
3. It is forbidden to the judges to take a bribe from a person about to be judged, and should any judge do so he shall
lose his office and give up the bribe to the Government.

4. The judges shall put no one on his trial until they have received certain information.

5. On the days of judgement, when the judges are set, there shall be brought into their presence the accused, accuser, and witnesses, and then shall the judge state the offence with which the prisoner is charged.

6. The judge shall then ask the accused if he be guilty of the charge, and if he plead guilty the judge shall at once pass sentence; but if he plead not guilty then witnesses shall be called to prove the charge; and it shall be lawful for the accused to call witnesses to prove his innocence if he be able to do so.

7. It shall be lawful for the accused to examine the witnesses against him, but the questions shall be put through the judge, that there be no confusion or dispute in the presence of the judges, and if any act otherwise the officers of the court shall silence him.

8. And in case of any great crime, as murder, house burning, canoe burning, and such like, when it has been judged by the judges, and the punishment is determined, it shall not be executed immediately, but the King and the judges shall consult, and if the King wish to lessen the penalty he may, but he cannot increase it.

IV. - The law concerning witnesses

If any one shall accuse another, or bear witness against another, and it shall afterwards be found that the accusation, or the witness was false, the punishment due to the accused, had the crime been proved, shall fall upon the false accuser and false witness: and if any one shall be unjustly put to hard labour in consequence of the false accusation or false witness, the judges shall make the false accuser and false witness pay back to the accused the amount of labour done for the Government.

V. - The law concerning Governors or Rulers

The Governors to whom this law applies are - those whom the King has commissioned to govern a territory and its people, and it shall be the duty of such Governors to make known these laws to the people whom they govern, and if any Governor fail in this he shall be fined thirty dollars, and if he neglect his government, or the national works appointed by the King, or Government, he shall lose his office.
VI. - The law concerning Officers (i.e. Police.)

1. The duty of officers is - when an offence is reported to the judges it is their duty to bring the offender to the court on the proper day.
2. And in the presence of the judges it is the duty of officers to see that no confusion arise among the prisoners and witnesses, and should any arise it is their duty to silence it.
3. And after judgement is given; and the guilty are sentenced to fines of money or labour, it is the duty of officers to see that payment be made on the proper day, or that the labour be well and duly performed. It is the province of the King to pay the officers.

And because this land now pays tribute the prisoners shall work for the Government every day, and one officer shall be stationed where prisoners are at work, and see that the work commences at sunrise, as ordered by the King or Government, and lasts diligently until sunset. Also to watch the capital each day, to inspect its streets, to tell of some of the convicts for the purpose of levelling and sweeping the streets, and to appoint two of themselves to watch the capital during the night, and this shall be done from sunset until sunrise, the two so watching to be free from duty on the following day.

VII. - The law concerning Marriage

1. Marriage is a covenant made between man and woman, to dwell together as one, until the death of one of the parties; marriage is both a religious and a civil compact.
2. The parties eligible for marriage must be sixteen years of age, nor is it lawful for any one to marry under that age; and should any one break this law he shall be fined ten dollars.
3. It shall not be lawful to have more than one wife, or husband, but each one shall live with the person to whom he or she is married; and whoever shall break this law shall be kept to hard labour for the space of three years, and shall put away the person to whom he or she was last married.
4. And besides, it shall not be lawful for any one to interfere to prevent a marriage, if the man and woman wish to be married; and let no one forbid it, except for a great and just reason; and any who break this law shall be fined ten dollars.
5. And when parties are married their parents shall have no further jurisdiction over them, but they are at liberty to do as they please; nor let any friend interfere with their affairs; and if any break this law they shall be fined five dollars.
6. Because the present usage at marriages is bad and impoverishing,
if any friends wish to make a present to parties going to marry, it shall belong to the man and woman, it shall not be again distributed; and if any break this law he shall be fined twenty dollars.

7. The Wesleyan Missionaries and the priests of the Pope's religion are the persons to celebrate marriage, severally to the people of their own religion; and if a Wesleyan marry a Papist, or a Papist a Wesleyan, man or woman, the marriage shall not be one-sided, but the ceremony shall be performed by the ministers of both churches; and whoever shall break this law shall be fined ten dollars and the marriage shall be invalid.

8. The ministers shall please themselves whether they call the banns of marriage for three Sabbaths in their places of worship or not, each one according to the usage in his own church; and the marriage performed without calling of banns shall be lawful if the parties bring a certificate from the Judges appointed by the King to the minister, to certify to him that there is no civil obstacle in the way of their marriage. But should any Judge give a certificate unjustly to man or woman whom he knows cannot lawfully marry, he deceives the minister celebrating the marriage, and shall himself be fined in the penalty of one hundred dollars.

9. All the marriages celebrated in the Wesleyan and Papal churches by their ministers shall be valid, and the King and chiefs will protect them if they be according to these laws; but if any marriage take place illegally it shall be void.

10. And in the matter of divorce. It is not lawful for them to separate except for adultery; and in case of separation the innocent shall be at liberty to marry, but the guilty shall not marry again until after the space of three years, when they may marry. In divorce observe the following things:-

11. Know that the separation of man and wife is a very difficult thing, for it was God who instituted marriage. And let them who wish a divorce be judged by the Governors and Judges to see if it be right that they should separate; and the minister shall divorce them in the church before the people, in the same way that they were married.

12. If any one wish to marry without calling of banns he must first make it known to the Rulers or Judges, and if he be free to marry he shall receive a certificate from the Rulers or Judges to make known to the minister his condition; and if he obtain no such certificate, and a marriage take place without one, that man shall pay a fine of one hundred dollars.

13. No one shall be able to cast off causelessly either wife or husband, and whoever does so shall be judged, and fined a
hundred dollars.

14. When a marriage is celebrated the man shall make it known to the Scribe, that it may be registered; and if he delay it more than three weeks, he shall be fined one dollar. And this law shall also apply to divorces, which must be reported to the scribe that he may register the day of their separation.

VIII. - The law concerning adultery

When a case of adultery is judged and proved, the offender shall pay to the injured party the sum of fifty dollars, and shall work for Government a whole year, and whether it be man or woman the punishment shall be the same.

IX. - The law concerning fornication

When a case of fornication is judged and proved, the culprits shall be put to hard labour for two months, and if two offences three months, and so on; if a child be born in consequence of fornication, the father shall be bound to maintain it for the space of thirteen years, which maintenance shall be two shillings a week paid to the mother of the child.

X. - The law concerning murder

Those who kill others from malice shall be hung.

XI. - The law concerning manslaughter

The meaning of manslaughter is this - if any one meet his death through another, but the other did not intend to kill him, and after it is judged and found that the offender really had no hatred towards the deceased, nor intended to kill him, but that it was purely an accident, he shall escape; but if it shall transpire in the examination that the parties had differed, or wrestled, or fought, or cudgelled, or done anything which caused death, the criminal shall be put to hard labour for two years.

XII. - The law concerning abortion

If a woman shall purposely injure herself, or take drugs, or do anything to procure abortion, when it is judged and proved, she shall work as a convict all her life.

XIII. - The law concerning house burning and canoe burning

If any one shall set fire to a house or canoe, intending
to destroy it, when found out, judged and proved, he shall make good all damages, and if life be lost through the fire he shall be hung.

XIV. - The law concerning robbery

If any one shall steal anything from another's farm, or elsewhere, he shall pay the owner the value of it, and work for the Government according to the magnitude of his crime.

XV. - The law concerning Sabbath breaking

It is not lawful to work on the Sabbath day - either to build houses, or canoes, or to farm, or go fishing, or such like; but there are things that may be done on the Sabbath, such as providing for sickness, or accidents. And whoever breaks this law shall be fined eight dollars, and for the second offence sixteen dollars.

XVI. - The law concerning fighting and quarrelling

If any are determined to fight, let them go into the bush and fight it out, but it is expressly forbidden to fight in a public road, or green; and whoever commenced the quarrel shall be fined six dollars: but if both be to blame both shall be fined.

XVII. - The law concerning destroying canoes

If any one shall break or injure a canoe belonging to another, the Judges shall make him pay to the owner the value of the canoe, and he shall work for Government according to the offence.

XVIII. - The law concerning destroying fences

If any one destroy another's fence he shall make it good again, and work for Government according to the nature of the offence. If the animal of any one destroy a good fence, the owner of such animal shall make the fence good again; and if the owner neglect to keep the animal at home, and he destroy fences again, the animal shall be forfeit to the King.

XIX. - The law concerning voyages

If a chief make a voyage, and he and his crew do evil in any land, on his return he shall be judged, and punished
as his crimes deserve. It shall not be lawful for voyagers to bring back any inhabitants of other lands against their will, but when the King of the land grants permission they may let them come; and if any one bring a person by force the captain of the canoe shall be fined ten dollars. And this shall be the usage of voyagers— if a vessel sail the vessel shall have papers from the Rulers, and then it is lawful to go; but if a vessel sail without papers it shall be seized, as it is a runaway, and be fined thirty dollars.

XX. - The law concerning all destructive animals

If an animal is known to destroy the crops of another person, it shall be made known to the owner of the animal, that he may keep him fenced in, or tied; and if he neglect it, and the animal commit further depredation, the Judges shall order the owner of the animal to pay an adequate sum to the injured party, and the destructive animal shall be forfeit to the King; but if the animal went through a rotten fence, then the payment shall be for the first damage only, nor shall the animal be forfeit according to this law.

XXI. - The law concerning lost property

If one lose a thing and another find it, and the finder know to whom it belongs but does not restore it, he shall be treated as a thief, and judged; but if the owner cannot be found it shall be the finder's; and if the owner be found, the owner shall pay to the finder one-third of the value of the property so found, as a reward.

XXII. - The law concerning turning King's evidence

Should any conspire to commit a great crime, as murder, or some great evil; and after the conspiracy is arranged, if one should repent, and reveal the conspiracy, the King shall pardon him, but the other parties concerned shall be punished as though the crime intended had actually been committed.

XXIII. - The law concerning indecent assault

If judged, and proved, he shall pay to the woman thirty dollars, and work for Government ten months.

XXIV. - The law concerning rebellion

Should any chief or people stir up strife, or instigate
rebellion, that chief or people shall be banished from the land; nor shall it be lawful to return, but it shall be at the pleasure of the King whether they return, or be exiled until death.

XXV. - The law concerning sleeping

If a man enter a woman's sleeping apartment he shall work for Government three weeks, if a man and woman (unmarried) sleep under the same coverlet they shall both work a fortnight.

XXVI. - The law concerning calling canoes

It is not lawful for people to call canoes for no reason, but one cause can justify it, which is that his own canoe is in danger, and if in such case the canoe does not come it shall be fined fifty dollars.

XXVII. - The law concerning public roads

The roads shall be cleaned after two months, and within a fortnight, and shall be inspected on the third week, and the people and Rulers shall attend to this, if the Rulers do not attend to it, the fine is four dollars, and the fine for not cleaning the roads is to be one shilling for five fathoms.

XXVIII. - The law concerning funerals

It is not lawful for all persons to conduct them, but undertakers only; and if there be no undertaker in the place, then any person may conduct them, and the friends of the deceased shall properly pay the undertaker, which if they do not, the judges shall order them to pay him five dollars, which shall be paid to whoever undertakes the funeral.

XXIX. - The law concerning slander and evil speaking

If anyone shall speak evil of the King, or Ruling Chiefs, or Judges, or Missionaries, or anyone else, and it be judged and proved, he shall be fined ten dollars.

XXX. - The law concerning foreigners

Any foreigner wishing to dwell in this kingdom must obey the laws of the land, and be judged as the people of the land, and if any here injure them, they shall be judged, and punished as they deserve. And the foreigners shall pay to the
King an annual rent for their premises, according to the size of the allotment on which they live, whether large or small, and the Judges shall collect this rent from foreigners annually. It shall not be lawful for any foreigner to come and dwell in the land ignoring the King, or Governor.

XXXI. - The law concerning cocoa nut trees

If any one wish to cut down a cocoa nut tree he must first plant three cocoa nuts, and then cut down the tree, but should he cut down the tree and neglect to plant the nuts, he shall be fined five dollars.

XXXII. - The law concerning parents who neglect their children's education

Whoever shall neglect to send their children to the schools shall be fined ten dollars.

XXXIII. - The law concerning impudent persons

Whoever shall commit depredation, or nuisance, upon the dwelling of another, and gets beaten for it, the person inflicting the punishment shall be held justified.

XXXIV. - The law concerning tribute

1. All laws formerly [sic] printed in the code of laws of Tonga relating to serfdom are repealed, and the following is the law of Tonga instituted by the King and Chiefs of Tonga, in the Parliament House at Nukualofa, in Tongatabu, on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two (1862).

2. All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage, from the institution of this law; and it shall not be lawful for any chief or person, to seize, or take by force, or beg authoritatively, in Tonga fashion, any thing from any one.

3. Every one has the entire control over every thing that is his.

4. All chiefs and people shall pay tribute (or taxes) to the Government; and the King shall pay the salaries of all Governors, Rulers, Judges, Officers, (Police) and other persons in Government employ. The tribute for the first year shall be three dollars each person. This tax is right; and after the proclamation of this law no people will provision canoes, or support voyagers gratis, because if a canoe go on the business
of the King or Governor, it will be provisioned at Government expense and all national works will be paid for by the State. And if other voyages be undertaken, the voyagers must look to their own friends to provide for them, but it shall not be lawful for the Rulers to order any one in the land to which they go, to wait upon them as vassals; or to appoint any work to be done by any one for himself, or the state, except clearing his own frontage on the public roads.

5. The rent to be paid by the people to their lawful chiefs (or landlords) shall be two shillings a year each person.

6. And the chiefs shall allot portions of land to the people as they may need, which shall be their farm, and as long as the people pay their tribute, and their rent to the chief, it shall not be lawful for any chief to dispossess them, or any other person.

7. And the King affectionately recommends that the size of the farms be increased according to the number of the family.

8. And these are the persons who shall pay tribute - all males of sixteen years of age and upwards.

XXXV. - The Decree of a Festival

And it was on the fourth of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, that civil liberty came to Tonga, when that day shall arrive in each year, all and every land in this kingdom of Tonga shall keep it as a festival, in memory of the liberty of Tonga, and it shall be so for ever and ever.

XXXVI. - The law concerning Judges, Rulers, and Officers

1. If any Governor, Judge, Ruler or Officer be drunk, the King shall immediately depose him, and stop his salary.

2. The King shall pay from the State Treasury the salaries of the Governors, Judges, Rulers and Officers, and shall pay them quarterly.

3. Criminals shall work for, and pay fines to the State as they have done, and the money shall go to the Government.

4. Fines may be levied for these offences - cursing, drunkenness, and light offences: but adulterers, fornicators, and all such as violate weighty laws, shall be put to hard labour upon the roads, and works appointed by the King or Governor to be done.

5. And fines shall be paid in money, according to the week or month to which the sentence of the criminal refers.

6. And to add to the salutary effect of their sentence, the convicts working for Government shall provision themselves, no food will be provided by the Government.
XXXVII. - The law concerning Spiritous Liquors

1. It shall be lawful to sell spirits by license from the King, but not otherwise.
2. The price of the annual license shall be 100 dollars.
3. And these are the regulations for sellers of spirits:
   (1) He shall sell nothing else, but spirits only. If he wish to carry on other business besides, he must have two licenses, one for spirits, and another for general trade.
   (2) On no account whatever, must they sell on the Sabbath.
   (3) They may sell from sunrise, until 10 o'clock p.m.
   (4) On no account must they sell to one who is drunk.
   (5) It is forbidden to mix drugs with the spirits.
   (6) If any licensed person persist in breaking these laws, his license shall be revoked, and not renewed hereafter.
   (7) If any one sell without a license, he shall pay the penalty of 200 dollars.
   (8) The payment shall first be brought to the King, or Governor, and then the license shall be given to the applicant.

4. All spirits landed shall pay duty, and the party landing them shall pay the duty.
5. Brandy, Rum, Gin and that kind, shall pay two dollars a gallon duty - all kinds of Wine, one dollar a gallon. This law relates to all foreign liquors.
6. For all spirits made in Tonga, the duty shall be a dollar a gallon - all Tonga wines shall be free.
7. He that breaks these laws shall be fined 100 dollars, or to be sentenced to six months hard labour.
8. Every one found drunk in the road, or on the green, or in another person's premises, shall be fined five dollars.

XXXVIII. - The law concerning the Scribe (or Registrar)

The King has, with the chiefs, appointed three Registrars to be the Scribes of the kingdom - one at Tongatabu, one at Haabai, and one at Vavau; and it is their duty to write the affairs of the kingdom - births, marriages, divorces and deaths.

1. If after three weeks the birth of a child be not registered, the parent of the child shall be fined one dollar.
2. And if a person marry, but do not register his marriage, he shall be fined one dollar.
3. And if parties be divorced and do not register the divorce, they shall be fined one dollar each.
4. And if a funeral take place, and the death be not registered, he to whom the dead properly belonged shall be fined one dollar,
as it is not lawful to bury any one whose death is not
registered. These laws are made that the King and Chiefs
may know if the land is prospering, or otherwise and to
prevent confusion.

5. It is also the work of the Scribes to collect the tribute,
and to make known the pleasure of the King or Governor. When
the time fixed for making the tribute, (by the King, or Governor)
is expired, and there be some who have not paid up, it shall
be lawful for the Scribe to sell by auction as much of their
property as will pay the tribute.

XXXIX. - The law concerning fire-arms and ammunition

It is not lawful for any one in this kingdom to land
arms or ammunition, be he Tonga man or foreigner, without the
knowledge of the King or Governor; and if the Government do
not wish to purchase them, they may be landed, but he who lands
them shall pay duty - for a musket or rifle, two dollars, and
for a cannon, ten dollars. For large shot, four dollars a
bag, and for loose powder, one shilling a pound.

XL. - The law concerning the division of lands

When the land is divided among the people, if there
be a part that is not used by the people, as farms, or in any
way, it shall be resumed by the Government. And when any
one dies, leaving his land to no one in particular, it shall
be claimed by the State.

COMMENT ON THE 1862 CODE OF LAWS
BY L. ZINES, SENIOR LECTURER IN LAW,
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CANBERRA, 16 March 1962

I have been asked for comments on the above laws:

The code appears to owe its force and validity to
the fact that it was passed by the Tongan Parliament. However,
in addition to containing laws directed at subjects or citizens,
it has provisions of a 'constitutional' nature.

Clauses I, III and V are concerned with the powers
and duties of the King and his assembly, the judges and the
Governors respectively. To some extent, therefore, the code
purports to be, also, a framework of Government.
The language and style of the code is certainly not that which would be used by a Parliamentary Draftsman or, indeed, any lawyer. The result is that there are a number of ambiguities that could undoubtedly have caused difficulty in attempting to apply the provisions of the Code to particular situations. For example, the meaning of 'manslaughter' as set out in clause XI is far from clear, and the law relating to divorce (clause VII subclauses 10 and 11) is confused.

From the little I have been able to read regarding the conditions of Tonga at the time, it would seem to me that the Code would, by and large, have been quite a workable one. An attempt seems to have been made to state matters in such a way that they would be understood by as many people as possible.

The use of popular language does cause considerable legal difficulty as I have suggested above. However, it seems to me that in the present case it could have been beneficial. The Code is recognised as resulting in the 'emancipation' of the common people of Tonga. Its aim was to ensure the 'rule of law' - that all persons would be punished only for a breach of the law and would be treated equally before the law. The Code, therefore, may be viewed, not only as an instrument of law but as a means of education in the rights and responsibilities of a people who had only recently emerged from a condition of serfdom. Looked at in this light the use of popular language may have had advantages. It is noted, for example, that in clause V the Governors are required to make the laws known to the people whom they govern.

Whether the 'code' was suited to the conditions of the time I am not competent to say. The critics in this regard seem to have been some nineteenth century Englishmen who expressed doubts whether the Tongan people were ready for 'emancipation'. An English Administrator or lawyer to-day, in similar circumstances, would probably be more wary of expressing an opinion. The criticism can only be met by an examination of the actual success or otherwise of the code during the period in which it operated. In any case, from a twentieth century point of view, even if the object of the code had completely failed - and I understand that it did not - it could still have been an attempt that was well worth making.
APPENDIX D

CONSTITUTION OF TONGA, 1875

PART I

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

SEEING it appears to be the Will of God for man to be free, as He has made of one blood all nations of men, therefore shall the people of Tonga be for ever free, and all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom. And the lives and bodies and time of all people shall be free to possess and acquire property, all doing as they like with the fruit of their hands, and using their own property as they may seem fit.

2. No one shall be obliged to work as a servant to another excepting he is willing to do so, saving in breaches of the law: and any slave running away from any country to Tonga [if he is not running away from the law of any land in consequence of being a murderer, thief, or guilty of any crime or debt] shall at once be free on putting foot on Tongan soil; for no one shall ever continue to be a slave under the protection of the Flag of Tonga.

3. Any one wishing to bring people from different islands to work for him, it shall be lawful for him to agree with them for how many years' service they shall work for him; and an exact copy of the agreement and contract made between him and them shall be lodged in the Government Offices, stating the amount of payment they shall receive, the time they shall work for him, and promising to take them back to their own land. And the Government will see such contract carried out on behalf of those who may engage and those who may be engaged. And any such persons coming shall be subject to the law of the land, and shall pay taxes and duties the same as all people residing in this kingdom. But it shall not be lawful for any one to make any contracts with any Chinese to come and work for him, lest the disease of leprosy be brought to Tonga the same as exists in the Sandwich Islands. But it is not by this intended to prevent any Chinese coming to Tonga, but to prevent them coming as labourers the same as is done in many places. But any Chinaman wishing to reside in Tonga must first produce a doctor's certificate that he is free from such disease: then it shall be lawful for him to reside in Tonga.
4. There shall be but one law in Tonga, one for the Chiefs, and commoners, and Europeans and Tongese. No laws shall be enacted for any special class to the detriment of another class; but one law equally the same for all persons residing in this land.

5. All men are free to perform their worship and to worship God as they may deem fit in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences and to assemble to perform their worship in such places as they may appoint to do so. But it shall not be lawful for them to construe this privilege [liberty] to commit evil and licentious acts under the name of worship; acts which are not in accordance with the law and peace of the land.

6. The Sabbath Day shall be sacred in Tonga for ever and it shall not be lawful to work, or artifice, or play games, or trade on the Sabbath. And any agreement made or document witnessed on this day shall be counted void, and will not be protected by the Government.

7. It shall be lawful for all people to speak, write, and print their minds and opinions, and no law shall be enacted to forbid this for ever. There shall be freedom of speech and newspapers [Press] for ever. But this does not nullify the law relative to libel, and the law for the protection of His Majesty and the Royal Family.

8. All people shall have the right of writing to or petitioning the King or Legislative Assembly, and assemble and consult concerning things which appear to them necessary to petition to the King or Legislative Assembly for the purpose of making enactments or repealing, so long as they meet peaceably without arms and without disorder.

9. The law of the writ of Habeas Corpus is the right of all people, and it shall never be suspended for ever excepting in cases of war or rebellion in the land, and then it shall be lawful for the King, with the consent of the Legislative Assembly to suspend it.

10. No one shall be imprisoned or punished because of any offence he may have committed until he has been judged according to law, in the presence of a court having jurisdiction for the same.

11. No one shall be judged or commanded to appear before
any court, or punished for not appearing, unless he has previously received a written indictment. [Except in cases of impeachment or for small offences within the jurisdiction of the police magistrate, or for contempt of court whilst the court is sitting.] The written indictment shall clearly explain what is charged against him, and why he is to be judged. And when being judged the witnesses against him shall be brought face to face and he shall hear their evidence, and it shall be lawful for him or his counsel to question [cross-examine] them and to bring in any witnesses of his own, and to plead or explain himself or through his counsel, because of what he may be charged. But any one who shall be indicted for any great crime such as treason, rebellion against the King, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery or embezzlement, or of a crime of the like nature shall be tried by jury. This law shall be inviolable for ever. And all large debts shall be tried by jury, but it shall be with the Legislative Assembly to determine what shall be the amount of debt that shall be tried by jury.

12. No one shall be judged twice for any offence for which he has already been judged, whether he was acquitted or convicted, except in cases where the guilty persons shall confess after having been acquitted by the court, and then only when there is sufficient evidence to prove the truth of the same.

13. No one shall be judged for any thing else but what appears in the writ or warrant that for which he was brought to be judged.

14. No one shall be compelled to witness against himself, [in any criminal case] nor shall his life, property or liberty be taken away but according to law.

15. It shall not be lawful for any judge, or for any jurymen to sit in any case which concerns his relative either as plaintiff, defendant or witness. It is not lawful for any judge to sit in any case which concerns himself. It shall not be lawful for any judge or jurymen to receive any present or money or any thing else from any one who is about to be judged, or from any one of his friends, but for all judges and jurymen to be entirely free, and in no case whatever to be an interested party or accomplice in their duties.

16. It shall not be lawful for any one to enter forcibly the house or premises of another, or to seek any thing or
to take any thing the property of another, excepting by the
command of the judges according to law. But should there
be any one who shall lose any property or other things and
know that it is hidden in any place, house or premises, it
shall be lawful for him to make affidavit in the presence of
the judges that he thinks that it is hidden in that place.
He shall describe particularly the nature of the property so
hidden and the place that he thinks that it is so hidden,
and the judges shall issue a search-warrant to the police to
seek the property according to the affidavit so made.

17. The King conducts his Government on behalf of all the
people, not for the purpose of enriching or benefitting any
one man, or any one family, or any one class, but on behalf
of all the people without partiality, but for the good and
benefit of all the people of his kingdom.

18. All the people have the right to expect that the
Government will protect their life, liberty and property,
and therefore it is right for all the people to assist and
pay taxes to the Government according to law. And if at
the same time there shall be war in the land, and the
Government shall take the property of any one or any thing
from any one, the Government shall pay to whom it belongs
that which is right. And if the Legislative Assembly shall
decree to take from any one or any number of persons their
premises or a part of their premises, or their houses for the
purpose of making Government roads or other work of benefit
to the Government, the Government shall pay that which is
right; such payment shall be made according to the
directions of four arbitrators, two to be chosen by the
Government, and two by the person or persons to whom belong
the premises or houses. And these four shall choose another
to be their chairman, and what they shall agree to shall be
considered the lawful payment.

19. It shall not be lawful to increase or decrease the taxes
or duties but with the consent of the Legislative Assembly.
Nor shall any money be paid out of the Government Treasury,
or debts contracted with the Government, but as shall be
arranged by the Legislative Assembly, excepting in cases of
war or rebellion or fearful epidemic or a like calamity.
And in such case it shall be done with the consent of the
Cabinet, and the King shall call together at once the
Legislative Assembly, and the Treasurer shall give the reason
why that money was expended, and the amount.
20. It shall not be lawful to enact any retrospective laws.

21. All the military shall be obedient to the laws of the land. Whether they belong to the Guards, the Artillery, or to the Militia (see 23rd clause) and should any of them break the laws of the land, they shall be judged in the courts of the land the same as any one else. And it shall not be lawful for any officer to quarter any soldier to the premises of any one for them to provide for him, except in time of war, and then only as shall be enacted by the Legislative Assembly.

22. Any one who shall have arrived at the age of 21 years and pays taxes, the same being one of the land, or one who has taken the Oath of Allegiance and can read and write, and from the time of the Constitution becoming law has not been guilty of any great crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery and embezzlement or a like crime [these depriving a man of his liberty as a subject, preventing him from joining in the government of the land, according to the 25th clause of this Constitution] it shall be lawful for him to vote for representatives to the Legislative Assembly, such election being made by ballot. And on the day appointed to vote for representatives to the Legislative Assembly he shall be free from summons because of debt, but this law does not refer to the issue of warrants because of crimes in accordance with the 25th clause of this Constitution.

23. It shall be lawful for the military (that is Guards and Artillery) though they may not pay taxes, if they have arrived at the age of 21 years and if they can read and write, and if they have not been guilty since the passing of the Constitution of any great crime as mentioned in the 25th clause, for them to vote for representatives to the Legislative Assembly: and when the day of election shall arrive, the Commanding Officer shall so arrange for them to have time to go and ballot. During the time of peace it shall not be lawful to press any one to join the military excepting for the purpose of completing the number of the Guards if they cannot be completed from those who are willing to join: such being the case the number required to complete the Guards shall be divided out to the different lands according to the number of the population, and it shall be arranged thus:- All the unmarried men of the land shall draw lots, and those to whom the lot falls being equal to the number of those apportioned to that land, they shall join the Guards for a period of seven years; and it shall be with the King and Legislative Assembly to determine how many.
But if there should be any disturbance in the land it shall be lawful for the King to call all those capable of bearing arms to join the Militia and to make laws for their government: and when peace shall be proclaimed the Militia shall be dispersed, and the military of the land shall consist only of the Guards and Artillery. (See clause 22 relative to the military.)

24. Any one who shall have arrived at age, and shall be able to write and read, and since the passing of the Constitution shall not have been guilty of any great crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery, and embezzlement, or any like crime, in accordance with the 25th clause, and has paid his taxes, and is not heavily in debt so that if judged it would appear that he would not be able to pay his debts, it shall be lawful for him to enter the Legislative Assembly if chosen by any electorate as a member according to law. But any one holding a position of trust or payment in the Government, it shall not be lawful for him to enter, excepting members of the Ministry. And any judges receiving payment, - either one of the high judges or police magistrates, it shall not be lawful for him to enter the Legislative Assembly. This law has reference also to all Governors whilst they hold the position of Governor.

25. It shall not be lawful for any one who has committed a great crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery, embezzlement or a like crime, if such has been done since the passing of the Constitution, for him to hold any position in the Government of Tonga, whether one of payment or honour, or to vote for representatives to the Legislative Assembly if he has not received pardon from the King and it is expressly declared in his pardon that he can again hold his position in the kingdom, his liberty as a subject and lawful to vote for representatives to the Legislative Assembly according to the 22nd clause.

26. It shall not be lawful for any one holding a position in the Government whether one of payment or otherwise, to hold any position or receive any payment from another Government, without first obtaining permission from the King and Legislative Assembly. And it shall not be lawful for any one holding a position of payment from the Government to trade or work for any one else.

27. All men who have arrived at the age of 16 years shall pay taxes whether they have plantations or not. And all
foreigners or strangers who shall come and reside in this land, whether as traders, or carpenters or artificers, whether they have premises and plantations or not, after they have resided six full months in the land shall pay taxes the same as all other people, notwithstanding they may have trading licenses or may pay for leases or not.

28. Any one who shall be really poor, whether arising from sickness or old age, if he cannot really pay taxes, whether a Tonga-man or foreigner, shall appear before one of the high judges on a day appointed by the Government, and it shall be lawful for them to give him dispensation to be free from paying taxes; but it shall not be lawful for them to free any one holding a lease of land, as such cannot come under the class of paupers.

29. Although it is hereby appointed that all men who have arrived at the age of 16 years shall pay taxes, yet it shall not be lawful for them to become the heir of any inheritance or any name until they have arrived at the age of 21 years. But the Royal family shall be considered to have arrived at the age of maturity at 18 years.

30. All the people of the land who shall have arrived at the age of 21 years and pay taxes, can write and read, and have not been guilty of any great crime as explained in the 25th clause of this Constitution shall be liable to serve on juries; and once every year the names of all those who are liable to serve shall be printed. Any one who neglects to take his turn shall be punished as shall be enacted by the Legislative Assembly. But members of the Legislature, Missionaries, assistant missionaries, teachers, schoolmasters, collegians, Institution lads, servants of the Government, clerks of the Bank, military officers, the Guards and Artillery-men, and all officials of the Government shall be free from this law.

31. Any foreigner or stranger from any one of the great nations who shall be guilty of any great crime as expressed in the 25th clause of this Constitution, or who shall owe a large amount, [it is with the Legislative Assembly to enact what shall be the amount of debt which shall be judged by jury] shall be judged by jury, six being foreigners resident in the land who pay taxes, and six Tonga jurymen whose names stand on the jury list of the place where the court is held.

32. That any nation which has recognised Tonga as a kingdom, it shall be lawful for the people from that nation after they
have resided in Tonga for the space of two years to take the Oath of Allegiance. Such persons shall have the same privileges as the native born subjects of Tonga. And for the benefit of strangers residing in Tonga after the 1st January eighteen hundred and seventy-six, any law which may be enacted by the Government shall be printed both in Tongese and English. And if in the arraignment of any foreigner it shall appear that there is a difference of meaning between the law published in English from that published in Tongese, the case shall be judged according to the English version of the law, which shall be held to be the meaning of the law. And should any foreigner be judged and there shall be no Tonga law to meet the case, he shall be judged according to the British law which shall be held to be the law of Tonga in such cases, until a law has been passed by the King and Legislative Assembly to meet the same.

PART II

FORM OF GOVERNMENT

THE form of Government for this kingdom is divided into three divisions: 1st, the King, Privy Council, Cabinet. [The Ministers.] 2nd, the Legislative Assembly, 3rd, Judicial. These three shall always be distinct, and it shall not be lawful for any judge to be a member of the Legislative Assembly.

34. The form of Government for this kingdom is that of a Constitutional Government under His Majesty, King George Tubou, his heirs and successors.

35. The Crown and Throne of this kingdom is possessed by His Majesty, King George Tubou; and it is hereby confirmed that it shall be possessed by him, and to him who was begotten by him David Uga, and to him who was begotten by him Wellington Gu, and to them who shall be begotten by him in marriage; and if there shall be no heirs by marriage of Wellington Gu it shall descend according to the law of descent. This is the law of descent: It is lawful only for those born in marriage to succeed. The succession shall be to the senior male child, and the heirs of his body: but if he should have no descendants, to the second male child and the heirs of his body, and so on until all the male line shall be ended. Should there be no male child it shall succeed to the first
female child, and the heirs of her body; and if she should have no descendants it shall descend to the second female child and the heirs of her body until the female line is ended. And if there should be none of this line, lawful descendants, by marriage to succeed to the Crown of the King of Tonga, it shall descend to Henry Maafu and his lawful heirs, those that shall be begotten from his body by marriage, and to their heirs that shall be begotten by them: and if there shall be no lawful heir the King shall appoint his heir if the House of Nobles are agreeable to it. [The representatives of the people have no voice in the same.] And the same shall be declared heir to the Crown publicly during the King's life. Should there be no heir or successor appointed to the Crown; one who has been publicly proclaimed the Premier shall call together, and in his absence the Cabinet, the Nobles of the Legislative Assembly; [the representatives of the people having no voice in the same] and when they meet the House of Nobles shall choose by ballot some one of the Chiefs that they are agreeable to succeed as King. And he shall succeed as the commencement [new sturps] for a new Royal family, and he and his heirs from his body born in marriage shall possess the Crown according to law. And in the event of there being none to succeed according to this law, the Premier shall again call together, and in his absence the Cabinet, the Nobles of the Legislative Assembly in accordance with this law, and they shall choose a King, one to succeed to the Throne, the beginning [or sturps] of a new Royal family, and so on again according to this law for ever.

36. It shall not be lawful for any member of the Royal family, - any one likely to succeed to the Crown, - to marry any person without the consent of the King. And if any one should thus marry it shall not be considered a legal marriage, and it shall be lawful for the King to forfeit the right of such a one for on no account to succeed to the Crown of Tonga, or his heirs. And if he shall thus act, it shall succeed to the next one in succession to him, and he shall be considered the heir, and the offender shall be considered as dead.

37. After this Constitution shall become law His Majesty shall take this Oath on a day appointed, and it will also be taken by those who shall succeed in the succession to the Crown:- 'I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God to keep in its integrity the Constitution of Tonga, and to govern in conformity with the laws thereof.'
38. No one shall ever succeed to the Crown of Tonga who has been judged and found guilty of any infamous crime, or who is insane, or an idiot.

39. The King is the Commander-in-Chief of the forces on the land and sea. It is with him to appoint the officers, and to make arrangements for the training and governing of the forces as he shall think best for the benefit of the land; and it shall not be lawful to make war without the consent of the Legislative Assembly.

40. It shall be lawful for the King, with the consent of the Privy Council, to grant pardons to all who have broken the law after conviction, saving those who have been convicted according to the 55th clause, - cases of impeachment. For such it shall not be lawful for him to grant any pardon.

41. The King, by the consent of the Privy Council, convenes a Legislative Assembly, and they shall always assemble in the principal town of the Kingdom, - Nukualofa. It shall not be lawful to meet in any other place except in case of war. And if the King shall be displeased with the Legislative Assembly it shall be lawful for him to dissolve the Assembly, and to command for new representatives to be chosen for them to enter the Legislative Assembly. But it shall not be lawful for him to dismiss any one of the Nobles of the Legislative Assembly except in cases of treason, and then only in accordance with the 48th clause. But it shall not be lawful for the kingdom to remain without a Legislative Assembly for a longer time than two years; and if anything extraordinary shall arise in the land, the Legislative Assembly shall be called together at once to consult about it.

42. It is with the King to make treaties with foreign nations; but it shall not be lawful for him to make treaties contrary to the laws of the kingdom, or to alter the duties without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. But it is with the King to appoint his representatives to other nations according to the law of nations.

43. It is the prerogative of the King to receive and acknowledge public ministers, and to send word to the Legislative Assembly, by writing, things concerning the kingdom, and also concerning matters that he wishes to bring under their notice to consult about.

44. The person of the King is sacred. He governs the land,
but his Ministers are responsible. All laws that have passed the Legislative Assembly must have His Majesty's signature before they become law.

45. Should the King die before his heir is 18 years of age, a Prince Regent shall be appointed according to the 46th clause.

46. Should the King wish to voyage from the land, it shall be lawful for him to appoint a Prince Regent who shall administer the affairs of the kingdom during his absence. And if the King should die whilst his heir is under age, - that is, not arrived at the age of 18 years, - and has not left a will as to whom he wished to be Prince Regent whilst his heir was yet young, the Premier or the Cabinet shall call together at once a Legislative Assembly [the representatives of the people having no voice in it] and they shall choose by ballot who shall be Prince Regent; and the one whom they choose shall administer the affairs of the kingdom in the name of the King until the years of the Prince, the heir, shall be complete.

47. The King is the Sovereign of all the Chiefs and all the people. The kingdom is his.

48. It is the King's prerogative to give all titles of honour, and to appoint and give all distinctions of honour. But it shall not be lawful for him to take away the name of any one who has an hereditary name, such as Chiefs of the divisions of the land, and Nobles of the Legislative Assembly, those to whom the lands belong, and the hereditary name of the Legislative Assembly according to the 41st clause of this Constitution, except in cases of treason. And if any one shall be judged and found guilty of treason it is with the King to say who of that tribe shall succeed to the name and inheritance of the guilty party.

49. It is the prerogative of the King, with the advice of his Cabinet, to arrange as to what money shall be legal tender in this kingdom, and to make arrangements for the coining of currency money of this land which shall be impressed with the King's head upon it. But until other arrangements shall be made by the Legislative Assembly, the following shall be the legal currency in this kingdom: all English money and French money, except 1 franc pieces, all United States money, quarter dollars, half dollars, and all gold.

50. Should there be civil war in this land, or war between this land and another, it shall be lawful for the King to proclaim martial law for any part of the land, or for the whole of the land.
51. The Flag of Tonga, the flag of King George, shall not be changed for ever, and shall always be the flag of this kingdom. And the present Royal Ensign, shall be the ensign of the Royal family of Tonga for ever.

52. Inheritances of the King and the property of the King is his, to do with it as he pleases. The Government shall not touch it, nor shall it be liable for any Government debt. But all houses built for him by the Government and any inheritance which may be given to him as King shall descend to his successors as the property and inheritance of the Royal line.

53. It shall not be lawful to judge the King in any court for a debt, without the consent of the Cabinet.

PRIVY COUNCIL

54. The King shall appoint a Privy Council to assist him in his work in great and important affairs. The Privy Council shall be composed of the Cabinet in accordance with the 55th clause, and the Governors in accordance with the 58th clause, and the Chief Justice. And if any thing shall arise in the land, or any great dispute because of any debt, or concerning any inheritance, if such has been judged in the Supreme Court it shall be lawful to appeal to the Privy Council to re-judge the same, and such shall be the final court. But it shall not be lawful for the Privy Council to re-judge any criminal case; only civil cases and the like.

CABINET

55. The Cabinet of the King or his Ministers shall be the Premier, Treasurer, Minister of Lands and Minister of Police. It is the prerogative of the King to appoint the Ministers. They shall hold their position during the pleasure of the King. It shall be lawful to impeach the Ministers by the Legislative Assembly if their administration and work is not according to law. The Ministers shall enter the Legislative Assembly as Nobles of the Legislative Assembly; and any order which may be passed by the King and Privy Council shall not have any effect in the land until the signature of the Minister to whose department of work such order concerns is attached. And if such order shall be wrong he alone shall be responsible.
(1) It is with the Premier to appoint Buie Kolos, [Mayors] and to make arrangements for the cleaning and inspection of Government roads; to make new roads; to take care of the Legislative House, prisons, and all houses of the Government; and to take care of and govern the vessels of the Government. It is with him to provide for the military, and for the houses of the military; to provide for the various courts; to see to the work of the Registrars (those whose duty it is to register births, marriages and deaths); and also to appoint all Police Magistrates. He also has charge of the Great Seal of the Government and to all the working of the Government which does not belong to any other particular Minister. He also represents the Government to other nations (Minister of Foreign affairs); and transacts all business in connection with the same.

(2) It is with the Treasurer to see that the taxes are collected as arranged by the Legislative Assembly; to collect the duties and payment for licenses; to receive from the Premier fines from the courts; from the Minister of Lands payment for leases, and to pay all the debts or expenses of the Government as enacted by the Legislative Assembly.

(3) It is with the Minister of Lands to take care of all Government premises and town sites; to make all town roads; to arrange for the proper position of the houses in the town; and to make arrangements for the leasing of lands to foreigners with the consent of the King and Privy Council; and to see that the Government leases are complied with in accordance with the Constitution as enacted by the King and Legislative Assembly.

(4) It is with the Minister of Police to see that the land resides in peace, and to prevent all disturbance; to see that the police report all breaches of the law; and that the laws of the land are carried out as it shall be enacted by the King and Legislative Assembly; to govern all the police; to prosecute in the Supreme and Circuit Courts, or those persons who have been committed from the Police Courts; to see punished all prisoners as sentenced by the judges, and that every thing is carried out as far as concerns the laws of the land.

(5) Each Minister shall draw up a report once every year, explaining to the King the nature of the work of his department; such report shall be sent by the King to the Legislative Assembly when it assembles, and if the Legislative Assembly shall wish to know any thing concerning the department of any Minister,
he shall answer the question made by the Legislative Assembly and explain every thing in connection with his department.

56. Each member of the Cabinet shall have an office in Nukualofa, the principal town in the kingdom; and it shall be with him to see how all the servants in his department perform their duties. And the Government shall build or rent offices suitable for the carrying out of the work of each Minister.

57. When the Legislative Assembly shall meet, the Minister of Finance [Treasurer] shall report on behalf of the Cabinet, the first week of their meeting, all monies which have been received and expended during that year, or since the last meeting of the Assembly, and the nature of the receipts and expenditure.

58. The King shall appoint, with the consent of the Cabinet, Governors to Haabai, Vava'u, Niuafou, and Niuatobutabu, but because of the King residing in Tonga and also the Premier no Governor shall be appointed to Tong [sic] Tabu, (because of their [sic] being no work to do). And it shall not be lawful for the Governors to enter the Legislative Assembly; but they shall be members of the Privy Council whilst they hold the office of Governor, and they shall be Governors only during the pleasure of the King.

59. It shall not be lawful for any Governor to enact any laws; but his work is to see that the land where he resides complies with the laws. They shall be changed every seven years. If their administration be wrong it shall be lawful to impeach them by the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the 58th clause which has reference to the Ministers.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

60. It is with the King and Legislative Assembly to enact all laws; and the Nobles and representatives of the people shall sit in one House. And when the Legislative Assembly shall agree upon any thing, the same having been read and voted for by the majority three times, it shall be presented to the King for his pleasure; and if he approves of the same and fixes his name to it, it shall at once become law. Voting shall be considered either by the raising of hands or standing up in division, the same as is done in the Legislature in
Sydney, or by ballot according to the various clauses of this Constitution, or by speech, - 'aye' or 'no' as is the manner of Legislative Assemblies.

61. The Legislative Assembly shall be called the Legislative Assembly of the kingdom of Tonga.

62. The Legislative Assembly shall meet every second year in the second week of June, or before that time if the King shall wish it; and if any important affairs transpire in the land it shall be lawful to command the Legislative Assembly to meet to consult about the same.

63. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of the Ministers in accordance with the 55th clause, and the Nobles and representatives of the people.

(1) Ministers. - It shall be lawful for the King to choose his Ministers from the Nobles, or from the representatives of the people, or from persons outside. And if so they shall enter the Legislative Assembly in accordance with the 55th clause.

(2) NOBLES. - After the Constitution shall be passed the King shall appoint twenty Nobles who shall be members of the Legislative Assembly; such Chiefs shall become the Nobles of Tonga and their heirs for ever in accordance with the 48th clause; and they shall be appointed as follows:- Tonga Tabu, 9; Haabai, 5; Vavau, 4; Niuatobutabu, 1; and Niuafoou, 1.

(3) REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. - The land shall choose twenty representatives of the people who shall be appointed as follows:- Tonga Tabu, 9; Haabai, 5; Vavau, 4; Niuatobutabu, 1; and Niuafoou, 1.

64. The following Oath shall be taken by the members of the Privy Council:- 'I solemnly swear in the presence of God I will be truly obedient to His Majesty King George Tubou the rightful King of Tonga; and I will keep righteously and prefectly the Constitution of the Government of Tonga; and I will assist to the end of my power and ability in all things in connection with the Privy Council.' The following Oath shall be taken by Ministers 'I solemnly swear in the presence of God I will be truly obedient to His Majesty King George Tubou the rightful King of Tonga; and I will keep the Constitution of the Government of Tonga, and perform my work in my department to the end of my ability for the benefit of
the King and this Kingdom.' The following Oath shall be taken by the Nobles and representatives of the people:- 'I solemnly swear in the presence of God that I will be truly obedient to His Majesty King George Tubou the rightful King of Tonga; and I will keep righteously and perfectly the Constitution of the Government of Tonga, and perform truly and righteously the duties and work of the Legislative Assembly.' The members of the Privy Council shall sign their Oaths and read them in the presence of the King; members of the Ministry shall sign their names to the Oath and read the same in the presence of the King; the Nobles and representatives of the people shall sign their names to the Oath and read the same in the presence of the Legislative Assembly.

65. The King shall appoint the Chair of the Assembly from one of the Chiefs of the Legislative Assembly; but all other officers shall be appointed by the Legislative Assembly. They shall make all rules in connection with their meetings in accordance with the usage of other Legislatures.

66. No one shall succeed to the position of Noble until he shall have completed the 21st year of his age; and no one shall succeed to that position, or enter the Legislative Assembly, who is insane or an idiot, or who has been guilty of a great crime as is stated in the 25th clause. It shall not be lawful for the King to increase the number of Nobles to more than twenty, saving at the petition of the representatives of the people; and that repeated twice or two years between each petition for him so to do, and it shall then be lawful to increase their number by the King according to the petition.

67. The representatives of the people shall be chosen by ballot. It shall not be lawful for any one to enter the Legislative Assembly who is insane or an idiot; only those who are free in the law according to the 24th and 25th clauses. The mode of ballot shall be as follows:- The names of the candidates who have been nominated, shall be printed, those who are desirous to enter the Legislative Assembly, from which the voters shall choose (those are entitled to vote according to the 22nd clause), and they shall cross out the names of those whom they are not willing to vote for, and leave those names to stand they wish to vote for, and then sign their name to the paper. Such papers shall be collected by the scribe [Registrar] who shall be appointed by the Premier for the purpose; and he shall see whose right it is to enter the Legislative Assembly; and he shall announce on the day of election who has been elected, and report the same at once to the Chair of the Assembly. He shall also collect all the
ballot papers, and such ballot papers shall be preserved in the Government offices for the space of seven years.

68. It shall not be lawful for any one who is insane or an idiot to vote in the election for representatives of the people to the Legislative Assembly, only those who are free in the law according to the 22nd clause.

69. If any one shall use threatenings or shall use bribery for the purpose of getting people to vote for him, and he should become elected to enter the Legislative Assembly, such a one shall be unseated by the Legislative Assembly when the same shall be reported to them and when judged it shall be found to be correct.

70. With reference to all laws in connection with the King, Royal Family, and Nobles of the Legislative Assembly, the whole of the Legislative Assembly (that is both Houses) shall first vote together in accordance with the 60th clause, after which it shall be lawful only for the Nobles of the House to vote; and if they shall be willing to the same after it has been read and passed three times by a majority of the Nobles, it shall be taken to the King at once for his pleasure; and if the majority of Nobles are not willing, the same shall be dropped, although it may have passed the majority of the whole of the Legislative Assembly, and if also it is not approved of by the King it shall not become law in accordance with the 60th clause of this Constitution.

71. If the Legislative Assembly shall agree and pass any law in accordance with the 60th and 70th clauses of this Constitution it shall be taken to the King, and if he does not approve of the same it shall not be lawful for the Legislative Assembly again to discuss the same in that session.

72. It shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to judge the conduct of its members; and although all members of the Legislative Assembly may not be present it shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to discuss and pass laws should one-third of the members of the Legislative Assembly be present, or ten members. But if there are less they shall adjourn from that day to another day until one-third of the House shall be present, or ten members. But when they meet again if there still be less than one-third of the House or ten members present, it shall be lawful for them to command the presence of all the Nobles and all the representatives of the people; and if they do not attend it shall be lawful for them to declare their punishment for such disobedience.
73. If any one shall speak or act disrespectfully in the presence of the Legislative Assembly, it shall be lawful for them to imprison the same for thirty days; and if, while the House is in session, any one shall write libellous articles on the Legislative Assembly, [false reports] or threaten any of its members or his property, or shall rescue any one that has been commanded by the Legislative Assembly to appear before them, it shall be also lawful for them to imprison the same for thirty days.

74. Should any one of the Nobles act unbecoming his position either whilst the House is sitting or not, it shall be lawful for the Nobles to judge the same. [But it shall not be lawful for the representatives of the people to take part in such judgment]. And it shall be lawful for them to depose him from his position as a Noble; and should such be the case it shall be with the King to appoint one in his stead from his tribe to the Legislative Assembly. But it shall not be lawful to take from him his name or his inheritance excepting for treason.

75. The Legislative Assembly shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and the 'ayes' and 'noes' of the Legislative on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered in the journal of the Assembly.

76. The Nobles and representatives of the people shall be free from arrest whilst the Assembly is sitting, excepting in cases as enumerated in the 25th clause. And no member of the Legislative Assembly shall be liable to judgment for any thing said in the Legislative Assembly.

77. It shall be lawful for the Nobles and also the representatives of the people to impeach any one of the Ministers or Govenors or Judges for mal-administration [or misconduct], and when the same shall be judged and shall be proved to be true, the Legislative Assembly shall have power to depose the same from his position, but it shall be with the Courts to punish the same according to law should he be brought before them.

78. If any one of the representatives of the people should wish to resign his position in the Legislative Assembly it shall be lawful for him to send in his resignation to the Speaker, and after sending the same his connection shall end with the Legislative Assembly.
79. Should any one of the representatives of the people resign or die, the Speaker shall immediately command that electorate which he represented to elect one in his place. But the Legislative Assembly shall not in consequence adjourn although their number may not be complete but they shall go on with their proceedings.

80. All the representatives of the people shall be chosen every five years, but it shall be lawful for the King to dissolve the Legislative Assembly of the representatives of the people although their five years may not have expired should he so wish to do, and to command the electorates to choose again representatives to the Legislative Assembly according to law.

81. It shall be with the Legislative Assembly to arrange the amount of taxes which shall be paid by the people, and also the amount of duties; also the amount of payment which shall be made for licenses; and it shall be with them and them only to pass the estimates of the expenditure and work of the Government in accordance with the 19th clause. And when the Legislative Assembly shall meet it shall be with the Minister of Finance to report the amount of revenue received in the two years preceding the meeting of the Assembly, and also the amount of money paid in the expenditure of the Government. And it shall be with the Legislative Assembly to determine the amount of estimates for the expenditure of Government for the two succeeding years. Whatever may be the amount which they may determine for the expenditure and support of the Government the Ministers shall distinctly carry out such estimates made by the Legislative Assembly.

82. It shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to consult with regard to any amendments of the Constitution should such amendments not interfere with the laws of liberty [Declaration of Rights], the laws with reference to foreigners, the succession to the throne, and the inheritances and titles of the Nobles and Chiefs of the land. And any clause of the Constitution which the Legislative Assembly may wish to amend shall, after it has passed three times, be left over until they meet again in the next Assembly to be held after two years. And if they shall still approve of it and it shall be passed again three times, it shall be lawful to take it to the King, and if it receives his consent such amendment shall become part of the Constitution.

83. The enacting style in making all laws shall be, - 'Be it
84. To avoid confusion in the making of laws, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed by its title.

85. The present laws of the land shall still be in force until altered by the Legislative Assembly, excepting in such cases where they are contrary to the spirit of this Constitution. And any law which may be passed contrary to the spirit of this Constitution shall not become law or be put in force.

JUDICIAL

86. The Judicial power of the kingdom shall be vested in the Supreme Court, Circuit Courts and Police Courts.

87. The Supreme Court shall consist of the Chief Justice and two associated justices, any two of whom may hold a court. And should the Chief Justice not be there the senior associated justice shall preside. All three justices have equal powers and rights.

88. It is with the King with the consent of the Cabinet to appoint justices to the Supreme Court. And the justices of the Supreme Court shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall receive their salaries from the Government as may be arranged by the King and Legislative Assembly. And whilst they hold their position, although it may be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to increase their salaries, it shall not be lawful to diminish them. But should it appear to the Legislative Assembly that the conduct and adjudication of any one of the judges is altogether wrong and inconsistent, it shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to impeach and judge such an one according to the 77th clause.

89. It is with the justices of the Supreme Court to arrange the manner of holding the lower courts, and also to draw out all forms, and make rules for all the business of the same.

90. Should any case of impeachment be tried by the Legislative Assembly of any one of the Governors, or Ministers or Justices, the Chief Justice shall preside in the Legislative Assembly whilst the case is being heard. But should at any time the Chief Justice be impeached by the Legislative Assembly, the King shall appoint some one to preside during such trial.
91. Should the Supreme Court be held and the three judges be agreed in any case, or any two of them, such decision shall be final. And it shall not be lawful to grant a new hearing, if such was a trial for crime in accordance with the 25th clause. But should it be a cause for debt or dispute about any inheritance it shall be lawful to appeal to the Privy Council in accordance with the 54th clause.

92. The powers of the Supreme Court shall extend to all cases in Law and Equity arising under the Constitution and laws of this kingdom, and treaties made or which shall be made; and to all cases affecting Public Ministers and Consuls, and all cases of Admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

93. It shall be lawful for the King, or the Cabinet, or the Legislative Assembly to require the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court on important questions of law and difficult cases.

94. It shall not be lawful for any Justice or magistrate to sit alone on any new trial or appeal in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

95. The Chief Justice and Associated Justices shall take the following Oath:- 'I swear in the presence of God that I will be obedient to King George Tubou the lawful King of Tonga, and that I will perform righteously and truly with impartiality my work as a Justice in accordance with the Constitution and laws of this land.' The Justice shall sign and read this Oath in the presence of the Cabinet.

96. It is with the Legislative Assembly to decide what shall be the court fees in the various courts; but in case any trial shall take place where the Minister of Police is prosecutor no fees shall be paid. A copy of all cases judged in the Supreme Court shall be kept in the Record office of that court.

97. It shall not be lawful for any Justice or Police Magistrate to receive a portion of any fine or fines which may be paid by persons because of breaches of the law; or for the Government to portion out prisoners to work for any Justice, or magistrate, or police, or juror, or any other person as payment for work done by them.

98. It is with the Legislative Assembly to regulate the mode of summoning and empannelling jurors, or what fees they shall have.
99. It is for one of the Justices to hold the Circuit Courts, and it is with the King and Legislative Assembly to arrange how many Circuit Courts shall be held in this kingdom.

100. All cases tried before the Supreme Court and Circuit Court shall be by jury, and any one prosecuted for the committing of any crime as stated in the 25th clause, or any case which has been committed for trial from the police court shall be tried by a jury of twelve; and this law shall not be repealed for ever.

101. It is the duty of jurors in all criminal cases to pronounce whether the person accused is guilty or not guilty according to the evidence produced, [and the evidence alone]. In civil cases they award payment or compensation as the case may be, and according to the merits of each case.

102. It is the duty of the Justice or magistrate in criminal or civil cases to direct the jury as to the principles [sic] of the law bearing upon each case as it is tried and thus to assist them in their deliberations as to what conclusion it is right for them to come to. It is also with the Justice or magistrate to decide all questions of law, or as to the admisibility [sic] of evidence which may arise during a trial.

103. It shall be lawful for the Circuit Courts to judge all criminal and civil cases, but not to judge both kinds of causes on the same day. Different days shall be appointed to hold the Criminal Sessions, and also different days to hold the Civil Sessions.

104. Should any case be tried in a Circuit Court, and the plaintiff or defendant not be satisfied with the decision of that court it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Supreme Court. And if it shall appear to that court the decision of the Circuit Court was wrong it shall be lawful for them to reverse the judgment.

105. The Chief Justice shall report once every year to the King with regard to the administration of justice and the state of morals, and as to what improvements or changes in the law it appears to him ought to be made. When the Legislative Assembly meets, the King shall lay this report before the Assembly in the same manner as the reports of the Ministers.

106. It is with the King and Legislative Assembly to regulate
how many police courts shall be held in this kingdom, and how often. And it shall be with the Legislative Assembly to regulate the powers of the Police Magistrates in criminal and civil cases, and also the amount of debt he can judge, and what cases are to be committed to trial to the Circuit Courts. Criminal and Civil cases shall be held at different times as stated in clause 103, which has reference to the Circuit Courts.

107. Should any one of the Legislative Assembly lay an accusation against any one of the Cabinet, or Governors, or Justices for the purpose of his being impeached by the Legislative Assembly, the impeached officer shall have a written accusation of the same seven clear days before it shall be lawful to try the same. Such trial shall be held in the same way as all trials are to be held, as stated in the 11th clause. After all witnesses shall be heard the accused shall retire whilst the Assembly deliberates; and when the Legislative Assembly shall have arrived at a decision he shall be brought before them and the decision of the Legislative Assembly announced to him. If found guilty it shall be lawful to remove him from his position; but if acquitted it shall not be lawful to impeach him again on the same grounds in accordance with clause 12.

108. Causes which warrant impeachment are those as stated in clause 107, breach of the laws or the regulations of the Legislative Assembly, maladministration, incompetency, destroying and embezzling the property of the Government, or the performance of acts which may lead to difficulties between this country and another.

THE LANDS

109. It is hereby solemnly declared by this Constitution that it shall not be lawful for ever for any one of this country, whether he be the King or any one of the Chiefs or any one of the people of this land to sell one part of a foot of the ground of the kingdom of Tonga, but only to lease it in accordance with this Constitution. And this declaration shall be a most solemn covenant binding on the King and Chiefs of this kingdom, for themselves and their successors for ever.

110. It is hereby declared by the Constitution, that the Government shall hold and possess the sites of all towns
in this kingdom at present inhabited; and it shall be with the Minister of Lands to hold in trust and govern the sites of all such towns on behalf of the Government, in accordance with the 3rd paragraph of clause 55 of the Constitution Act.

111. It shall be with the Cabinet to fix what shall be the payment for the various leases in the different towns as they may seem fit; but it shall not be lawful to lease any ground in any town to any one for a period of upwards of 21 years, saving for Church purposes, - the two denominations which are now here, the Wesleyan and the Roman Catholic, according to the 117th clause: - and also to the King for his premises in Nukualofa, Lifuka and Neiafu, which shall be leased for a period of 99 years. But should there be premises of any great Chief of any town whose was the town according to former custom, and such land was the inheritance of his forefathers - it shall be lawful for that Chief to have a lease of that land, and his heirs after him, for a period of 99 years - and they shall pay to the Government, whether such premises be large or small, the sum of one dollar per annum on account of such lease.

112. And if any one shall lease any premises in any town from the Government it shall be lawful for him to re-lease such premises or any portion of such premises to others, should he so wish to do. And it shall be with those who thus re-lease such premises to pay to the Government according to the original lease.

113. It shall be with the Minister of Lands to define the boundaries of all towns now inhabited and such shall be possessed by the Government. Such boundaries shall be printed in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE and after being proclaimed it will be tabu to enlarge the sites of the towns owned by the Government. And should any high Chief feel aggrieved at the boundaries of the towns thus proclaimed by the Minister, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to have it adjudicated, according to the 123rd clause of this Constitution.

114. The deeds, as have been prepared and approved of by His Majesty King George, are hereby proclaimed the model deeds of the Government of Tonga, according to which all future deeds of leases, either for the Government or the Chiefs, shall be made. Those deeds of leases to which His Majesty has affixe his royal signature, such model deeds, together with the Constitution, shall be preserved in the
office of the Government at Nukualofa.

115. This Constitution does not affect any leases which have been made by the Government or any leases which they have positively promised shall be made, whether leases of land in the interior or in town; such leases will be protected by the Government. But this arrangement does not include any new lease which may be made after the Constitution becomes law.

116. No more leases shall be granted [beyond those which have already been made] of any town sites in any town either to the Wesleyan Church or to the Roman Catholic Church, or for the premises of a teacher, should there not be more persons, including both men and women of such Church, those who have arrived at the age of 16 years, [leaving out the children] equal to the number of twenty in such town. And no more leases of sites for school-houses, or the premises for school masters will be granted should there not be in such town children to the number of thirty, constant attendants at the school of such Church.

117. It shall be lawful for the two Churches, - the Wesleyan Church, and the Roman Catholic Church, - to have leases of their premises, in accordance with clause 111, for the term of 99 years. But it shall not be lawful for them to use those premises for any other purpose than that of religion, or to re-lease to any one else for them to use or reside therein; and shall such be the case, and when tried found to be true, the leases of such premises shall revert to the Government.

118. It shall not be lawful for the Government to lease to any white resident, or to any one and his family, any town site greater than 5 acres; and it shall not be lawful for the Government to grant permission to any Chief to lease to any white resident or white residents in company any land in the interior upwards of 1000 acres added together.

119. All the beach frontage of this kingdom belongs to the Government from 50 feet of high water mark. But it shall be lawful for the Government to lease a portion of any beach frontage for the purpose of erecting a store, jetty or wharf; and it shall be with the Minister of Lands to grant such lease with the consent of the Cabinet.

120. The deed of any lease granted by the Government to any
white resident shall be made out in the English language.

121. Should the King or Cabinet be willing to grant any lease and such lease be made, the Minister of Lands shall sign his name to such lease in the name of the King, and affix the seal of the Government; and such deed shall be witnessed by the Premier and Treasurer, and an exact copy of it shall be kept in the office of the Minister of Lands, and such registry shall be preserved for ever.

122. It shall be with the Cabinet to arrange what shall be the charge for registering deeds in the office of the Government [The office of Minister of Lands]. The leases made by Chiefs, and all sub-leases shall not be considered to be in force until such shall have been registered, and the deed first registered will be the one protected by the Government.

123. Should any dispute arise between the Government and any Chief because of any town site [or site of a town], or between one Chief and another because of any lands, it shall be lawful for them to petition to the Government to have it adjudicated. The manner of adjudication shall be as follows: The Minister of Lands shall choose four arbitrators, and those who are appealing for adjudication shall also choose four arbitrators, and the Minister of Lands shall appoint either one of the justices or one of the police magistrates to provide over such Court of Arbitration, and all parties shall abide by the decision to which that court may come. But should either the petitioner (or petitioners) or the respondent (or respondents) be not satisfied with such decision, it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Supreme Court; and if he be not satisfied with the decision of the Supreme Court it shall be lawful for him to appeal to the Privy Council, and whatever the King and Privy Council shall decide upon shall be final.

124. After the Constitution has come in force the King shall appoint and cause to be printed in the GAZETTE and BOOBOOI the names of those Chiefs that held titles which shall be hereditary together with their lands from father to son, - that is the Nobles who shall enter the Legislative Assembly according to the 63rd clause, and those also who may not enter the Legislative Assembly but who shall hold hereditary titles and land.

125. This is the law of inheritance: It is lawful for those
only born in marriage to inherit. The law of inheritance shall be to the senior male child and the heirs of his body; but if he should have no descendants then to the second male child and the heirs of his body; and so on until all the male line is ended. Should there be no male child, the inheritance shall succeed to the first female child and the heirs of her body; and if she should have no descendants, then to the second female child and the heirs of her body, and so on until the female line is ended. It shall then revert to the eldest brother of him whose was the inheritance, commencing with the first and his heirs in succession, to the last and their heirs in accordance with this law of inheritance. And if the brothers shall have no descendants it shall descend to the eldest sister and the female line, as it had previously done to the male line. And if these should have no descendants, and there should be no legally begotten heir (in marriage) it shall revert to the Government in accordance with the 127th clause.

But in case a female shall succeed to the inheritance of any one of the Nobles, and should take this place, it shall be lawful for her to appoint the male heir that succeeds to her in accordance with this law of inheritance to represent her in the Legislative Assembly, or she may consult her relatives as to whom shall represent her, (until such time as she may have a son and he becomes of age). Should this be so arranged, such representative shall receive one-third of all monies received because of the inheritances belonging to such title. But should a party be appointed unfit for such a position, it shall be lawful for the King and Legislative Assembly to command her to choose another representative. This regulation has also reference to the hereditary inheritances of all Chiefs who hold hereditary titles and lands. And should at any time any Chief refuse to take his legitimate title, it shall be lawful for that particular tribe to consult and appoint some one to that position; but should they appoint a person unfit for such a position, it shall be lawful for the King and Privy Council to command to seek a substitute.

126. Should there be any inheritances which are not still owned by any one, - a Chief to whom properly belongs a town or district of land, such land shall revert to the Government, and it shall be lawful for the Government to lease such lands in accordance with the 127th clause, and the Government shall be at liberty to use such monies for the benefit of the Government.
127. Should it occur there are no legitimate heirs to any portion of land, [hereditary titles] such lands shall also revert to the Government, and the Government may possess it in accordance with the 126th clause.

But should his Majesty desire to appoint any one to such lands and titles, it shall be lawful for his Majesty so to appoint; and any one so appointed shall become possessors of said title and lands, and his heirs.

128. It shall be lawful for the Chiefs to whom belong the various districts of land, to lease any such land to the Tongese for the various terms of 21, 50, and 99 years, as they may so arrange. But should any Tongese not be willing to lease the lands (they have hitherto held) from their Chief, they shall pay to their Chief to whom belongs that district of land; as shall be directed by the Cabinet. But after the space of two years it shall be lawful for the said Chief to command for the said lands to be given up to him, and to lease the said lands to any one who may be desirous of so doing; or to allow the said Tongese the use of the same lands for another space of two years, in accordance with this regulation, and to continue to do so as long as he be so willing.

129. It is with the Legislative Assembly to regulate what shall be the payment per acre to be made by the Tongese for their garden lands, and whatever shall be decided upon by the Legislative Assembly such regulation shall be binding upon all the Chiefs until the space of 21 years shall have transpired from this Constitution coming in force. After the space of 21 years it shall then be lawful for the Chiefs to make what agreements they like with the people.

130. It shall not be lawful for any Chief to lease any premises to any white resident without having first obtained the permission of the Cabinet. This clause is not made to prevent the leasing of land to white residents, but to prevent any Chief acting foolishly in leasing the whole of his land to white residents, and driving the Tongese into the sea.

131. Should any one lease any premises, whether town sites or country sites, either from the Government or Chiefs, it shall be lawful for him, should he be so desirous, to bequeath such sites by will, in accordance with the 125th clause.
132. This Constitution became the law of Tonga on the 4th day of November, 1875.

GEORGE TUBOU, King

POSTSCRIPT

This Constitution was originally compiled, at the request of His Majesty King George, by the Rev. Shirley W. Baker; afterwards amended and completed by His Majesty himself, together with certain alterations made by the Legislative Assembly, 1875.

By his Majesty's request the Rev. S.W. Baker translated this Constitution from Tongese into English.

WELLINGTON. T. GU.

Aide-de-Camp.
APPENDIX E

MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED IN TONGA 1822, 1826-75
(Compiled by G.B. Minns, 1930)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Served in Tonga</th>
<th>Died in Tonga</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawry, Walter</td>
<td>1822-23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas, John</td>
<td>1826-50, 1856-59</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Hutchinson, John</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Woon, William</td>
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<td>Cargill, David</td>
<td>1834-35, 1842-43</td>
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<td>Died in Tonga</td>
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