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# School and Society in Tonga 1826~1854

A study of Wesleyan mission schools,  
with special emphasis upon curriculum  
content and its influence on political  
and social development.

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H.G.Cummins

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts of the  
Australian National University.

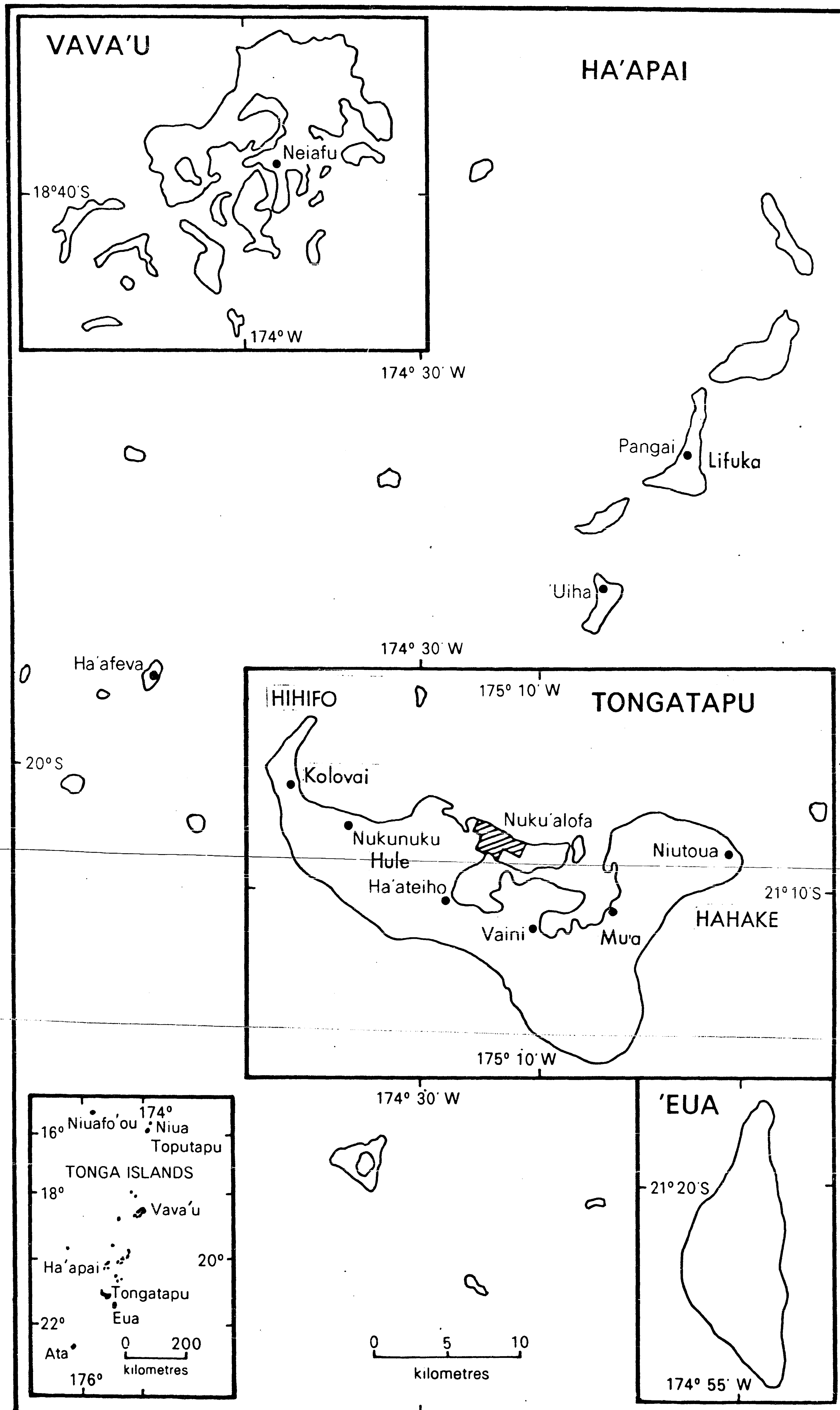
April 1977.

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## 13

va la ka la ka      fe a u a ki      fu a fu a a ga

## 42

ha ma ti fu ma      ma ni fi a ge      ta ki ta ha be  
 ha vi li vi li      ma ta ki ki la      tai fa ka ta tau  
 hi li ga me a      me e ki ta ga      ta gi fa tu ki  
 ji o to o fa      mu i fo nu a      ta gi mo o ni  
 lo lo a a ge      mu i ma ta gi      to le ka le ka  
 ma na va la hi      ta fa ga fa ga      tu a fa fi ni

## 43

tu bu a ge ko      fi a a lu a ki      tai fa fa ka mau  
 to to nu a ki      fi a u la ko vi      tai fa ka i lo ga  
 to to ka a ge      fu a mo u i fi a      to lu o go fu lu  
 o e o e fu a      fi tu o go fu lu      tu bo ta le na fa  
 o no o go fu lu      hi va o go fu lu      tu ku a ga ke le  
 u a o go fu lu      ni ma o go fu lu      va lu o go fu lu

## LESONE LAUTOHI 1.

Liaki koe o hala.

Oua teke manumanu.

Oua teke fia matamora.

Oua teke kaiha.

Oua teke loi.

Oua teke tamati Tagata.

Oua teke kabe kabe.

Ikai teu iloa.

Oku au iloa.

Ko e Tamaji vale au.

## 2.

Fonogo mai koe kiäte au.

Ko e Hotua ofa Jihova.

E lahi ofa o Jihova iake au.

E lahi ofa o Jihova iake koe.

E lahi ofa o Jihova iake mautolu.

Reading lessons from Nathaniel  
 Turner's First Lessons in the  
 Language of Tongataboo, Sydney,  
 1828. First Lessons was the  
 first printed school book used  
 in Tonga.

Bea tubu o agahala ai e na fanau kotoabe. Bea kuo hoko ae mate ki mamani ihe agahala. Bea nae aloofa a Jihova kihe kakai agahala; he nae ikai ha Fakamoui iateki nautolu. Bea nae foaki eia hono Alo, ko Jisu Kalaisi, ke fakamoui akitautolu kotoabe. Bea nae maliu hifo ia mei hevani ki mamani. Bea nae fakaha e Jisu, ae finagalo ofa o ho tau Eiki, ke boto ai a mamani kotoabe. Bea nae kaiga aki akitautolu e Jisu, mo ne liligi hono taataa, koe totogi o e tau hia kia Jihova, ke tau moui ai. Bea bekie ia, bea nau telio hono jino kihe fonualoto. Bea nae toe tuu a Jisu mei he ene bekie, bea toe haele ia ki hevani, kihe nima toomatau o Jihova.

Koe Eiki lahi a Jisu Kalaisi, i hevani, mo mamani. Ke tau tui kiate ia, mo fai kihe ene fekau. Oku afio mau ia i hevani, bea oku ne fakalaloa akitautolu kihe Eiki ko Jihova, ke tau moui ai. Bea te ne laiki ae bule a tevolo, i mamani kotoabe. Ke tau fiefia, mo fakafetai kia Jisu, ihe ene fakavaivaii a ho tau fili, ko tevolo.

E toe haele mai a Jisu ihe aho fakamui, ke fakamau ae kakai o mamani kotoabe:—ae kakai moui, moe kakai mate. Bea e fakataha mai ki hono ao, ae kakai fulibe; bea te ne totogi kiateki nautolu, o fakatatau mo e nau faiaga. Bea iloga ae kakai nae fai mea kovi, kae ikai fakatomala, bea e fekau eia, ke nau alu kihe afi taemate. Bea iloga ae kakai maonioni, ihe e nau tuitala kiate ia, bea te ne fekau ke nau alu ki hevani: bea te nau monuia mauaibe ihe ao oe Otua, mo ho tau Fakamoui, ko Jisu Kalaisi.

TONGATABOO:

Printed at the MISSION-PRESS, Dec. 1834.

## FOLOFOLA E HOGOFULU AE OTUA,

IHE MOUGA KO SAINEAI. EKOTOSI, XX.

Bea nae folofola ae Otua o behe, Ko au Jihova, ko ho Otua; naa ku omi koe mei he fonua ko Ejibite, koe fale oe bobula.

## I.

OUA naa ke tauhi ha Otua, mo au.

## II.

Oua naa ke ta ma au ha imiji, be hamea ke fakatataki ha mea i hevani i oluga, be ki ha mea ihe fonua i lalo ni, be ki ha mea ihe vai, oku ihe lalo fonua. Oua naa ke bunou kiateki nautolu, be tauhi akinautolu: he ko Au Jihova, ko ho Otua, koe Otua fuua au: oku ou fakahoko kihe fanau, hono nunua oe hia ae matua, o au kihe tou tagata e tolu, mo hono fa ae kakai oku fehia kiate au; ka teu ofa atu kihe tou tagata e afe, e tubu fakaholo oku ofa kiate au, mo tokaga kihe eku gaahi fekau.

## III.

OUA naa ke takua noa ae huafa o Jihova ko ho Otua: e ikai behe e Jihova, Oku tae agahala ia, oku ne takua noa hono huafa.

## IV.

MANATUI ae aho Sabate, ke tauhi maonioni ia. Ke ke gaue ihe aho e ono, o fakaoji ai ho gaue: ka ko hono aho fitu, koe Sabate ia o Jihova ko ho Otua; oua naa ke fai ai ha gaue e taha,—

akoe, be ko ho foha, be ko ho ofefine, be ko hoo tamai-oeiki, be ko hoo kaunaga, be a hoo kateli, be ae muli oku nofo kiate koe: he nae gaohi e Jihova ihe aho e ono, a hevani, moe kekekele, moe tahi, bea moe mea kotoabe, oku iateki nautolu; bea malolo ia i hono aho fitu: koia nae tabuaki ai e Jihova hono aho fitu, o ne fakatabui ia.

## V.

KE ke ofa ki hoo Tamai mo hoo Fae, koeuhi, ke lahi ho aho ihe fonua, aia oku foaki kiate koe, e Jihova ko ho Otua.

## VI.

OUA naa ke fakabo.

## VII.

OUA naa ke tono fefine, be tono tagata, be feauaki.

## VIII.

OUA naa ke kailhaa.

## IX.

OUA naa ke lohiakii a hoo kauga-abi.

## X.

OUA naa ke holi kihe fale o ho kauga-abi; bea oua naa ke holi kihe unoho o ho kauga-abi, be kihe ene tamai-oeiki, be kihe ene kaunaga, be kihe ene okasi, be kihe ene asi, be ki ha mea e taha a ho kauga-abi.

The Ten Commandments in code form as they appeared in Koe Tohi Ako [The School Book], Tongataboo, 1835 (2nd Edition).



1<sup>st</sup> Samuel

No. 12.

KOE

## ULUAKI BUKA

## A SAMIUELA.

## VAHE I.

**N**AE ai ae tagata e taha o Lemate-sofini, oe mouga ko Efalemi, kohonohigoa ko Elikena, koe foha o Jelohame, koe foha o Elaihu, koe foha o Tohu, koe foha o Sufi, koe Efalaita.

2 Bea nae ohoana ua ia, koe higoa oe taha, ko Ana, bea ko e higoa o hono ua, ko Benina; bea nae fanau a Benina, ka nae ikai fanau a Ana.

3 Bea nae alu ae tagata ni mei hono site, ihe tau fulibe, ke hu, mo fai ae feilaulau, kihe Eiki oe hosite i Sailo; Bea nae i ai ae ogo foha o Elai, ko Hofinai mo Finiasi, koe ogo bilisite a Jihova.

4 ¶ Bea hoko ae feituulaa ke fai ai e Elikena, bea tuku eia ae mea kia Benina, ko hono unoho, mo hono gaahi foha, mo hono ofefine kotoabe.

5 Bea tuku eia ae mea lahi kia Ana, he nae ofa ia kia Ana; ka nae baa ia.

6 Bea ahiahi kovi, a hono fili kiate ia, ke fakamamahi ia, koeuhi, nae ikai tuku ehe Eiki, ke fanau ia.

7 Bea fai mauaibe ia, ihe

tau kotoabe, ihe ene aluhake kihe fale o Jihova; bea fakamamahi a hono fili kiate ia; koia nae tagi ai ia, mo aukai.

8 Bea behe e Elikena, ko hono unoho kiate ia, Ana, koeha oku ke tagi ai? Bea koeha oku ikai ai teke kai? Bea koeha oku mamahi ai ho loto? Oku ikai teu lelei kiate koe, ihe tama e hogo-fulu?

9 ¶ Bea hili e nau kai, mo inu i Sailo, bea tuu a Ana. Bea nae nofo a Elai koe bilisite, ihe nofoa, o ofi kihe hou oe temibeli o Jihova.

10 Bea mamahi ae laumalie o Ana, bea lotu iakia Jihova, mo tagi mamahi.

11 Bea lea ia, o behe: I Eiki oe hosite, kabau te ke afio mai kihe mamahi a hoo kaunaga, mo manatu kiate au, ka e ikai galo au iate koe; ka ke foaki ki hoo kaunaga, ae tama, bea teu foaki ia ki hoo Afio, ihe aho fulibe o ene moui; bea e ikai ai ae tele ki hono ulu.

12 Bea lotu mauaibe ia, ihe ao o Jihova; bea vakai a Elai ki hono gutu.

13 Bea nae lea a Ana i hono loto be; nae gaue hono lou-

The title page of Koe Uluaki  
Buka a Samiuela [The First  
Book of Samuel], Tongataboo,  
April 1834, item 12 in a  
series of numbered school  
texts.

*Koe balabeli oe tutui,*

VAHE XIII.

*mo hono uhiga.*

2 Bea katoa kiate ia ae kakai lahi, bea alu ia o lieka i vaka; bea tuu ae kakai kotoabe i uta.

3 Bea lea aki eia kiateki nautolu ae balabeli, o behe, Nae alu ae tagata tutui ke tutui;

4 Bea tutui eia, bea mokulu ae tega nihi kihe vee hafa, bea buna mai ae manu, o kai o oji ia.

5 Bea mokulu ae nihi kihe fuga maka, nae ikai lahi ae kekekele; bea tubu leva ia, he nae ikai matolu ae kekekele:

6 Bea hobo ae laa, bea mahunuhunu ia; bea nae ikai ke aka ia, bea mae leva ia.

7 Bea mokulu ae nihi ihe taone; bea tubu ae taone, bea kajia ai ia.

8 Bea mokulu ae nihi kihe kekekele moui, bea tubu ai ae fua e teau ihe nihi, moe ono gofulu ihe nihi, moe tolu gofulu ihe nihi.

9 Ko ia oku teliga ogo, oku lelei ke fanogo ia.

10 Bea hau ae kau tisaibale, o behe kiate ia, Koeha oku ke lea ai kiateki nautolu ihe balabeli?

11 Bea behe age eia kiateki nautolu, Koeuhi kuo tuku ke mou ilo ae mea fufu oe bule o hevani: ka nae ikai tuku kiateki nautolu.

12 He ko ia oku ne mau, e foaki kiate ia, bea te ne mau o lahi; ka ko ia oku ikai *uoga ene* mau, e too mei iate ia, aia oku ne mau.

13 Ko ia oku ou lea ai kiateki nautolu ihe balabeli: he oku nau a, ka oku ikai mamata; mo nau fanogo, ka e ikai ogoi be tokaga ke nau ilo.

14 Bea kuo fakamooni kiateki nautolu ae lea a Aisea, nae behe, Te mou fanogo, ka e ikai te mou ilo; bea te mou mamata, ka e ikai te mou ilo:

15 He kuo ogo noa ae loto oe kakai ni, bea kuo tuli ho nau teliga, bea kuo fakamohe ho nau mata, telia naa nau mamata aki ho nau mata, mo fanogo aki ho nau teliga, mo ilo aki ho nau loto, mo liliu o lelei, bea teu fakamoui pkinautolu.

16 Ka oku monuia ho mou mata, he oku nau mamata: mo ho mou teliga, he oku nau ogoi.

17 He oku ou tala mooni atu kiateki moutolu, Nae holi ae balofite toko lahi moe tagata maonioni, ke mamata kihe gaahi mea oku mou mamata ai; ka nae ikai te nau mamata ki ai: mo nau fie fanogo kihe gaahi mea oku

mou fanogo ki ai, ka nae ikai te nau fanogo ai.

18 ¶ Koia mou tokaga kihe balabeli oe tagata tutui.

19 Ka fanogo ha taha kihe lea ae buleaga, bea ikai tokaga ki ai, bea hau ae toko taha kovi, o fuaa aia nae tutui ki hono loto,—ko ia ia nae mau ae tega ihe vee hala.

20 Ka ko ia nae ne mau ae tega ihe botu maka, ko ia ia oku fanogo kihe lea, mo ne mau fiefia ia,

21 Ka oku ikai ha aka iate ia, bea kataki jii be: he oka hoko kiate ia ae mamahi, be ae fakataga, koeuhi koe lea, bea toe tafoki leva ia.

22 Bea ko ia ne ne mau ae tega ihe taone, ko ia ia oku fanogo kihe lea; bea koe tokaga kihe mama ni, moe kakai ehe koloa oku na kajia ae lea, bea tae lua ai ia.

23 Ka ko ia ne ne mau ae tega ihe kekekele moui, ko ia ia oku fanogo kihe lea, mo ilo hono uhiga, oku fua ia, koe teau ae nihi, moe onogofulu nihi, moe tolu gofulu nihi.

24 ¶ Bea fakaha eia kiateki nautolu ae balabeli e taha, o ne behe, Oku tatau ae buleaga o hevani moe goue, aia nae tutui ki ai e hono eiki ae tega lelei:

25 Bea mohe ae kakai, bea hau hono fili, o tutui ae tea kihe uite, bea alu ia.

26 Bea tubu hake hono muka, o kamata fua, bea toki ha hake foki ae tea.

27 Bea hau ae kau tamaio-eiki kihe eiki oe goue o behe, Eiki, nae ikai te ke tutui ae tega lelei ki hoo goue? bea kuo mau eia ae tea mei fe?

28 Bea behe eia kiateki nautolu, Koe fili kuo ne fai eni. Bea behe ehe kau tamaioeiki kiate ia, Oku lelei ke mau alu o taaki ia?

29 Bea behe age eia, Eikai, telia naa mataki ai ae uite, i hoo mou taaki ae tea.

30 Ka e tuku ke na moui fakataha, o au kihe havesi:

A page from Koe Kosibeli nae tohi e Matiu [The Gospel according to Matthew], Tongataboo, Aug 1835. No 17. Type was in such short supply that two different sorts had to be used in the one small booklet.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.L.	National Library of Australia, Canberra
<u>H.R.A.</u>	<u>Historical Records of Australia</u>
H.S.A.	Hawaiian State Archives, Honolulu
<u>J.P.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Polynesian Society</u>
<u>J.R.G.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London</u>
L.M.S.	London Missionary Society
M.O.M.	Methodist Overseas Missions
M.L.	Mitchell Library, Sydney
N.A.N.Z.	National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington
P.M.B.	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
W.M.M.S.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London
W.M.M.S.A.	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia

NOTE ON SPELLING AND THE USE OF TERMS

Where quotations have been made in this thesis from 19th century printed or manuscript vernacular sources, the original spelling has been retained. When compared with the modern orthography, the most obvious differences are the use of 'b' and 'g' where present usage would require 'p' and 'ng' respectively. Furthermore, in 'old Tongan' there is no glottal stop.

The missionaries' own spelling of English words has been retained where quotations have been made from their journals and correspondence.

The term 'class' as used in this thesis has two distinct meanings. The first use is applied to the small groups of people who gathered for religious meetings. This is the conventional Wesleyan usage. Throughout the text this use of the word will be distinguished by the upper case i.e. Class. The other meaning of the word 'class' is applied to groups of students in school. When such 'classes' are referred to the lower case has been used.

The expression 'member of Society' is synonymous with 'church membership'.

GLOSSARY

<u>famili</u>	family.
<u>fatongia</u>	duty, obligation; in traditional society, labour performed at the command of one's chief.
<u>fono</u>	a meeting at which a chief gives commands; strict or solemn instructions.
<u>ha'a</u>	class; clan (all Tongans claimed to belong to one or other of the <u>ha'a</u> .)
<u>hau</u>	conqueror, sovereign; in traditional society the secular ruler of Tongatapu or the Tonga group as a whole.
<u>hopoate</u>	slave, especially a person captured in war.
<u>hou'eiki</u>	chiefs.
<u>'inasi</u>	a share or portion; in traditional society the annual presentation of food and other commodities to the gods through their representative the Tu'i Tonga.
<u>kaifonua</u>	the common people.
<u>kāinga</u>	relative, relation. In traditional society a ruling chief and his people.
<u>kātoanga</u>	festival, public celebration.
<u>kava</u>	the plant Piper Methysticum and the beverage (used in most ceremonial) made from its roots.
<u>kolo</u>	fortress, village.
<u>lali</u>	a wooden drum.
<u>lau fika</u>	to chant or recite numbers.
<u>laumalie</u>	soul or spirit.
<u>lotu</u>	pray, prayer, worship, religion, especially the Christian religion.
<u>mala'e</u>	meeting ground.

<u>matāpule</u>	chief's attendant or spokesman.
<u>misinale</u>	an annual offering for missions; in recent times the annual offering of the Wesleyan churches.
<u>moheofo</u>	the principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga.
<u>mu'a</u>	in traditional times an attendant of a high chief; offspring of the marriage of a chief with a woman from the <u>matāpule</u> class.
<u>'otua</u>	object of worship, deity, god.
<u>'Otua</u>	the Christian God, Jehovah.
<u>pō me'e</u>	night dance.
<u>pōpula</u>	slave.
Pulotu	the underworld, the land of the dead; Tongan Paradise
Tamahā	the person in Tongan society with the highest ceremonial rank; the daughter (sometimes the son) of the Tu'i Tonga's sister.
<u>tapu</u>	forbidden, prohibited, sacred; prohibition.
<u>taula</u>	priest or priestess of traditional religion.
<u>taula 'eiki</u>	high priest or priestess of traditional religion
<u>tofi'a</u>	inheritance, heritage; a chief's estate.
<u>tu'a</u>	commoner, person without chiefly rank.
<u>tu'i</u>	chief, ruler, king.
Tu'i Kanokupolu	chief of the Kanokupolu line; one of the three leading chiefly lines. By the early 19th century, the secular ruler as opposed to the spiritual ruler.
Tu'i Tonga	the spiritual ruler.
<u>tukuofu</u>	presentation of gifts, especially at funerals and weddings.

P R E F A C E

This study aims at examining the curricula in Wesleyan schools in Tonga during the period 1826 to 1854 in order to assess their influence on political and social development. The theme suggested itself because previous accounts which have discussed education in Tonga have emphasized methods and organization to the neglect of curriculum content.<sup>1</sup> No attempt has yet been made to examine the curriculum, evaluate the degree to which it was understood, and analyse its influence on Tongan society. The substantial body of vernacular source material, comprising numerous school texts, extracts from the Scriptures, and a variety of miscellaneous publications, has not been evaluated. This vernacular material, providing specific detail of what was actually taught in the schools, forms a major source for this study.<sup>2</sup>

The period covered by the thesis spans the first quarter of a century of education in Tonga, beginning with the successful founding of the Wesleyan mission in 1826. The year 1854 has been chosen as a terminal point for two reasons. In that year, following a deputation from London in 1853, that the English Conference decided to transfer responsibility for the missions in Polynesia to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia. In 1854 also, King George Tupou returned from a visit to the colony of New South Wales with new ideas about how the church and schools in Tonga should be organized.

- (1) For examples see theses by Bates, Cato, Hammer, Lātūkefu and Wilkinson (See Bibliography). For published works see Moulton, J.E., Moulton of Tonga, London, 1921; Roberts, S.C., Tamai: The Life Story of John Hartley Roberts of Tonga ... Sydney, 1924; Lātūkefu, Sione, Church and State in Tonga, Canberra, 1974.
- (2) See Bibliography.

The visit to Sydney spelt the beginning of the end of the adult schools, for King George discovered that such schools were not common in the colonies. From 1854 onwards, therefore, the missionaries had to concentrate their educational efforts upon the young.<sup>1</sup>

The study deals only with the Wesleyan Methodist schools because in the period under consideration the Wesleyan missionaries had no rivals in education. The Roman Catholic Church established a mission in Tonga in 1842, but its missionaries devoted themselves to evangelism and medical work and did not set up schools until the late 1850s.<sup>2</sup>

'School and Society in Tonga' falls into three parts. The first three chapters discuss Tongan society before the arrival of the missionaries, the basic doctrinal and organizational structure of Wesleyan Methodism, and the training and background of specific missionaries who worked in Tonga. These chapters provide background information to which constant reference is made in the remainder of the thesis, and they are basic to an understanding of the study as a whole. Chapter IV provides a chronological sketch of the establishment of schools in Tonga and discusses shifts in emphasis and variations in organization during the period to 1854. Chapters V to IX analyse curriculum content and relate it to change and development in specific areas of social and political life. In these chapters attention is focused on the ways in which curriculum content was understood and utilized by the Tongan people.

(1) See chapter IV, p. 121-122

(2) Anon, Memoir of the Late Reverend Joseph Monnier, S.M., translated from the French, Sydney, 1876, pp.22-23.



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CHAPTER I

TONGAN SOCIETY IN THE 1820s

THE WESLEYAN Methodist missionaries who arrived in Tonga in the 1820s came to a Polynesian society whose oral history spanned almost a thousand years.<sup>1</sup> There had been significant periods of change during that time, especially during the two or three decades before the arrival of the missionaries.<sup>2</sup> Although in the 1820s much of the traditional culture was relatively stable, a movement of change which affected political, social and economic relationships was evident. An understanding of the pre-Christian society, and the changes that were taking place, is essential if later missionary involvement is to be seen in its proper perspective.

FOR MANY generations Tonga had been governed by a high chief who in religious and civil affairs was an absolute ruler.<sup>3</sup> He held the title Tu'i Tonga, and traced his ancestry to 'Ahoeitu, claimed by tradition to be the offspring of a Tongan mother and a divine father.<sup>4</sup>

The Tu'i Tonga stood at the head of a rigidly stratified society comprised of hou'eiki (chiefs of

- (1) Collocott, E.E.V., 'An Experiment in Tongan History', Journal of the Polynesian Society (hereinafter J.P.S.) vol XXXIII, No 3, pp.166-169 (hereinafter Collocott, 'An Experiment'). Malia, Soane P, Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique, Lyon, Paris, 1910, p.87.
- (2) See for example Collocott, 'An Experiment', pp.176-182.
- (3) Thomas, John, Manuscript history 'Tongatapu or the Friendly Islands', p.59 (hereinafter Thomas, Friendly Islands).  
[Vason, George] An Authentic Narrative of four years residence at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands in the South Sea, London, 1810, p.67 (hereinafter Vason, Authentic Narrative).
- (4) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.59.

## CHAPTER I

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- (4) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.59.

various ranks), matāpule (attendants and spokesmen of chiefs), mu'a (assistants to matāpule in ceremonial affairs), tu'a (the common people), and pōpula and hoboate (two classes of slaves).<sup>1</sup>

The chiefs rendered allegiance to the Tu'i Tonga, but in their own clearly defined districts they ruled their people without interference from others.<sup>2</sup> A chief's following included kau nofo and kau me'a (friends of the chief) who were in fact inferior chiefs and matāpule. Each of these inferior chiefs had kau tangata (supporters or fighting men) and this group of people (kau nofo, kau me'a and kau tangata) numbering about one hundred, lived in or near the enclosure surrounding their chief's dwelling house.<sup>3</sup> The common people attached to the chief lived in small huts scattered throughout his plantation lands.<sup>4</sup>

The chief exercised absolute control over the lives and property of his people whose duty it was to provide for his personal needs and prepare feasts and presentations on public occasions.<sup>5</sup> Young women wishing to marry had first to obtain his permission. Wrongdoers were punished by beating, binding, enslavement

- (1) Martin, John, An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean ... compiled from the extensive communications of Mr William Mariner, several years resident in those Islands (2 vols), Edinburgh, 1827 (3rd edition), vol ii, pp.87-90 (hereinafter Martin, Tonga Islands).  
Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.173; Watkin, James, Journal, 1832-1839, 2 June 1834; Thomas, John, manuscript history, Ranks of Chiefs, pp.5-7 (hereinafter Thomas, Ranks of Chiefs).
- (2) Captain Beveridge to Reverends Erskine and Leigh, Ship St Michael, Tonga, November 1824, W.M.M.S. Papers, mf M 143, Australian National Library.
- (3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, pp.208-209.
- (4) *ibid*; Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.187.
- (5) Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.304-306; Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.105, 160.

or execution(usually clubbing), each chief being responsible for the punishment of his own subjects.<sup>1</sup>

Major changes in government were instituted, it is believed towards the end of the 15th century, after the assassination of the Tu'i Tonga Takalaua. His son Kau'ulufonua, after avenging his father's death, created a new political position (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua - chief of the Takalaua line) and entrusted to its recipient the practical business of government. Kau'ulufonua's younger brother, Mo'ungamotu'a was installed in this office and other members of the Tu'i Tonga family were appointed as ruling chiefs in various parts of the Tonga group.<sup>2</sup> Kau'ulufonua was able to retreat from the concerns and dangers of government and concentrate on religious matters, in particular the annual 'inasi ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

Political organization was again modified when (it is thought at the beginning of the 17th century) the 6th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungatonga, appointed his son Ngata as the ruling chief of the Hihifo district in western Tongatapu, creating thereby a new title, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This reorganization of the power structure was motivated by the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua's desire to exercise firmer control over Hihifo, but there were probably other reasons as well. The appointment could be seen, in fact, as a diplomatic move designed to satisfy the Samoan party represented in Tonga by Tohu'ia, the mother of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Ngata.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Thomas, manuscript history, *The Mythology of the Tongans*, pp.309-311 (hereinafter Thomas, *Mythology*). Wilson, James, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship Duff, London, 1799, pp.97-98* (hereinafter Wilson, *Voyage of the Duff*). Vason, *Authentic Narrative*, p.148; Labillardiere, M, *Voyage in Search of La Perouse, performed by order of the Constituent Assembly, during the years 1791, 1792, 1793 and 1794* (translated from the French) London, 1800, pp.334-335 (hereinafter Labillardiere, *Voyage*).
- (2) Thomas, *Friendly Islands*, p.65; Gifford, E.W, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 6, Honolulu, 1923, pp.34-5.
- (3) For details of the 'inasi see below p. 24
- (4) Thomas, *Friendly Islands*, pp.68, 72.

This new line of powerful chiefs eventually gained supremacy, by marriage into the Tamahā family, over the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who had created it.<sup>1</sup> Further gains in power and prestige were made when the Tu'i Kanokupolu replaced the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in the duty of providing the moheofo or principal wife for the Tu'i Tonga. The position of moheofo was particularly important as her eldest son by the Tu'i Tonga inherited the title of Tu'i Tonga. Thus the Tu'i Kanokupolu, by providing the moheofo, became intimately linked with the sacred head of the country.<sup>2</sup> After the Tu'i Kanokupolu had presented his daughter as moheofo, he looked upon the Tu'i Tonga as his foha tapu or sacred son.<sup>3</sup>

This pattern of government, with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as the nominal political leader, the Tu'i Kanokupolu maintaining effective political dominance, and the Tu'i Tonga as the religious head, had probably existed for almost a century and a half by the time Captain Cook visited Tonga in 1773 and was puzzled (according to William Ellis his assistant surgeon) when 'no less than three people ... [were] pointed out to us as king'.<sup>4</sup>

The extent of the Tu'i Kanokupolu's power probably depended upon the ability, prestige and general standing of the individual chiefs who held the office - as well as the relative power of the chiefs of other islands in the group. At some periods the Tu'i Kanokupolu seems to have been the ruler of the whole group, while at others the chiefs of Ha'apai and Vava'u exercised considerable independence and the Tu'i Kanokupolu was ruler of Tongatapu only. At other times

- (1) Collocott, 'An Experiment', p.180. The Tamahā had the highest ceremonial rank of any person in Tonga. She was the Tu'i Tonga's sister's daughter.
- (2) Thomas, Mythology, p.304.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) Ellis, William, An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke ... 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780, London (2 vols) 1783, vol i, p.73.

the Tu'i Kanokupolu's authority even in Tongatapu seems to have been severely restricted by powerful chiefs at centres such as Houma and Pea.<sup>1</sup>

The Tu'i Kanokupolu was chosen from among the members of a family who, by the beginning of the 18th century, was known by the name Tupou after their patron god Taliaitupou.<sup>2</sup> It was the task of the powerful chiefs of Tongatapu, the Ha'a Havea led by Ata and the chiefs of Hihifo, to select the Tu'i Kanokupolu from among eligible claimants. The eldest son of the previous incumbent was normally chosen, but this was by no means a strict rule. Considerations of age, physical fitness, and above all, power, influenced the final choice.<sup>3</sup>

This form of government, with its three high chiefs or 'kings' each fulfilling different roles, began to break down during the second half of the 18th century. The first signs of disintegration became evident during the appointment of the Tu'i Tonga Pau in the 1770s. His appointment, according to Thomas, one of the pioneer missionaries who wrote extensively on Tongan history and culture, was not in accord with established custom, for Pau was neither the eldest son of the previous Tu'i Tonga nor the son of the mohefo. He was thus seen as lacking a genuine claim to the title, and his appointment, and that of his brother who succeeded him, was 'a violation of the Tonga order, and must have been considered very wrong ...'. It was the beginning, Thomas thought, of 'great changes in Tonga, as well as the islands subject to its rule.'<sup>4</sup>

The interesting but puzzling 'inasi witnessed by Cook in 1777 highlighted further changes in traditional

- (1) Moulton, J.E., Notes on Tongan History and Customs, pp.46-47, P.M.B. 3.  
Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.79.
- (2) Thomas, Mythology, pp. 249-250.
- (3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.302; Mythology, p.19.  
'S.W. Baker's reply to Consul Layard's charges' provides a full discussion of appointments to the leading Tongan titles. See RNAS 42, microfilm G 1838, A.N.L.
- (4) Thomas, Mythology, p.247.

forms. Tupoumohefo (the mohefo named Tupou) arranged for her son, the son of the Tu'i Tonga Pau, to be elevated to equality with her father. This was 'a very novel ceremony ... an anomaly', as it was not possible that two people 'could fill the office of Tui Tonga [Tu'i Tonga] or have its honours at the same time'.<sup>1</sup> Evidence of this equality was dramatically demonstrated during the 'inasi celebrations when a particularly sacred tapu was broken: the son ate food in his father's presence, and not only so, but he shared his father's meal.'<sup>2</sup>

The breaking of this tapu, together with the unprecedented elevation of the young heir, apparently caused no overt criticism. People, it was said, were content to allow some irregularities out of deference to Tupoumohefo and the high rank she held in society.<sup>3</sup> Encouraged by her success, she ventured further into areas that did not concern her, deposing various office bearers from their positions, and filling them with appointees of her own choosing. Some of these posts were of great importance, including the governorship of Vava'u and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title.<sup>4</sup> At public functions where the Tu'i Kanokupolu was present, she took a place beside him and went so far as to lay aside 'her comely feminine attire' and put on instead 'the usual dress of the Civil Ruler, with a girdle of strong plaited sinnet ...'.<sup>5</sup> Finally, on the 'abdication' of Mulikiha'amea, she installed herself as the Tu'i Kanokupolu.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.81.

(2) For early references to the tapu see Labillardière, Voyage, p.347; Beaglehole, J.C, The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery (hereinafter Beaglehole, Journals of Captain Cook), Cambridge, 1961, vol iii, p.253.

(3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.89.

(4) *ibid*, pp.86-87, 91.

(5) *ibid*, p.87.

(6) *ibid*, p.89. Tupoumohefo was not unacquainted with political affairs. As principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga she was the eldest daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. She was also the sister of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Tu'ihalafatai.



This flagrant disregard for established custom was challenged by Tuku'aho, a chief who had rights to the title and who eventually occupied it. The fighting which broke out (in about 1790) marked the beginning of a period of civil unrest that lasted for more than fifty years and reached well into the missionary period.<sup>1</sup> Tonga was divided into two parties: Tupoumohefo and her friends, and Tuku'aho and those who supported the traditional order. Tuku'aho was victorious and the Tu'i Tonga and Tupoumohefo were driven from Tongatapu to Vava'u where they took up residence.<sup>2</sup> From this time on the office of Tu'i Tonga, in the accepted sense of the term, came to an end. Following the deposition of Pau a period ensued when no Tu'i Tonga was appointed. Finally his brother, who had even less claim to the title than Pau, became the Tu'i Tonga, but died after a short time. Again a period without a Tu'i Tonga followed. At length, in 1806, Pau's son Faununuiava was installed in office. He died in 1810 and the title remained vacant until 1827 when his son, Laufilitonga, the last of the Tu'i Tonga was installed.<sup>3</sup> During the confusion associated with the civil war several Tu'i Tonga did not reside at their traditional seat at Mu'a, Tongatapu. Nevertheless the 'inasi ceremony was still celebrated, with a chiefly garment representing the absent Tu'i Tonga.<sup>4</sup>

The civil disturbances at the turn of the century had left the former political structure in chaos, and when the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in the 1820s there was little evidence of the traditional 'three kings'. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line had ceased to exist following the death in 1797 of its last incumbent,

- (1) During the missionary period there were wars in 1837, 1840 and 1852. See below p.173 for details.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp. 91-93. Thomas notes that Pau died at Vava'u and was buried 'as an ordinary chief'.
- (3) Wood, A.H, History and Geography of Tonga, Auckland 1943, pp.41, 66.
- (4) [London Missionary Society] Transactions of the Missionary Society, volume 1. From its Institution in the year 1795 to the end of the year 1802, London, 1803, p.303 (hereinafter Transactions).

Mulikiha'amea. The Tu'i Kanokupolu had not been appointed since the death of Tupouto'a in 1820, and Tongatapu was ruled by independent chiefs, each lord of his own district. Laufilitonga had not been appointed Tu'i Tonga although his hereditary rights would have allowed him the office. Instead he lived at Ha'apai where he continually challenged Tāufa'āhau the Tu'i Ha'apai. Vava'u was at peace under the rule of Fīnau 'Ulukālala. The unsuccessful attempts by several powerful chiefs to obtain political supremacy over the whole group had effectively destroyed the old order.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS and practices occupied a central place in the Tongan view of life. Tongans believed that disrespect to gods and neglect of religious duties would lead to 'conspiracies, wars, famine, and epidemic diseases, as public calamities; and sickness and premature death as punishments for the offences of individuals'.<sup>1</sup>

The Tongans believed in a spirit world called Pulotu, a far away island paradise where many of their gods resided. In this spirit world, at the head of the pantheon was Hikule'o, one of the 'original gods' and patron of the Tu'i Tonga family.<sup>2</sup> The attendants of Hikule'o, the 'secondary gods', were the souls of deceased hou'eiki and matāpule, ranked in Pulotu in the same order that existed in earthly life.<sup>3</sup> These hou'eiki and matāpule were transported to Pulotu because they possessed what was called laumalie, that is 'spirits or souls that would never die'.<sup>4</sup>

There was no belief in rewards or punishments in the after life. William Mariner, a cabin boy who spent four

- (1) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.150.
- (2) ibid, p.106; Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.85, 91.
- (3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.99ff.
- (4) Rabone, S, A Vocabulary of the Tongan Language, arranged in Alphabetical order; to which is annexed a list of Idiomatic Phrases, Vava'u, 1845, p.146 (hereinafter Rabone, Vocabulary).  
Thomas, Mythology, p.248.

years in the Friendly Islands and published (in 1817) what has become a classic work on Tongan history and culture, asserts that Tongans in fact were amused by the thought of future rewards and punishments. On one occasion he attempted to teach them something of what he understood of the doctrine of hell and 'eternal punishment' and was greeted with the comment from one of his hearers: 'Very bad indeed for the Papalangies [Europeans]'.<sup>1</sup>

The common people did not share the pleasures of Pulotu with the hou'eki and matāpule. 'There was nothing to cheer them', Thomas wrote, 'but it was judged they would exist by eating earth like insects'. They were referred to, in fact, as kaifonua, literally eaters of the land.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the gods of Pulotu, the Tongans believed in the Tangaloa gods of the sky and the Maui gods of the underworld. These gods (there were several of them: Tangaloa Tufunga, Tangaloa Atulongolongo, Maui Kisikisi, Maui loa, Maui Puku &c) were not worshipped in the normal way, however, and did not have special priests to represent them.<sup>3</sup> The Maui were, nevertheless, very much respected, especially Maui Kisikisi who was thought to cause earthquakes and tremors. It was believed that he held the earth on his shoulders and that tremors occurred when he drifted off to sleep. George Vason, the renegade London Missionary Society missionary, witnessed the people's reaction to an earth tremor when they

all cried out as loudly as possible and/had/ beaten the ground with sticks, to awaken him; that by their howlings he was raised from his drowsiness, and the island was held as fast as before upon his shoulders.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.124.
- (2) Thomas, Mythology, p.282; Gifford, Tongan Society, p.108; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p. 91; Latukefu, Sione, Church and State in Tonga, Canberra, 1974, p.9. Authorities differ on the translation of kaifonua, some suggesting 'eaters of soil', others 'eaters of the land'. The word fonua usually carries the meaning of 'land' or 'country'.
- (3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.48; Mythology, p.248ff.
- (4) Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.153.

It was believed that the gods sometimes communicated with men by entering the bodies of living creatures - lizards, sea snakes, sharks, pigeons, snipes and numerous other animals. The movements of these creatures were interpreted as messages, signs or warnings from the gods. Inanimate objects such as shells, clubs, mats, and whales teeth were also revered as representatives of the gods and were placed in god houses.<sup>1</sup> In some instances small wooden or ivory human figures were employed as god representatives.<sup>2</sup> At least some of these were of foreign influence, as was the 'rude wooden image in human form' seen by Thomas in a god house at Hihifo in 1826. It was revered by the people who said that it had come originally from Samoa.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the gods, according to Mariner, were little more than 'tutelar gods to particular private families' and as such were 'scarcely known to any body else'.<sup>4</sup> Others were associated specifically with the elements or with certain geographic features or areas. The gods of the weather, together with Maui and Hikule'o, were appealed to by all the people and could well be termed 'national gods'.<sup>5</sup> All the powerful chiefs had their special gods. Among these, Hikule'o of the Tu'i Tonga family and Taliaitupou of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are the best known.<sup>6</sup>

The human medium between the gods and the people was the priest or priestess. They attended the god houses, cared for the sacred god objects, and brought the

- (1) Te Rangi Hiroa, 'Material Representatives of Tongan and Samoan gods', J.P.S., vol 44, pp.1-28; 'Additional Wooden Images from Tonga', ibid, vol 46, No 2, pp.74-82; Thomas, Mythology, p.249.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.71; See also Watkin, Journal, 1 July 1832; Williams, John, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands ..., London, 1841, pp.318-319 (hereinafter Williams, Missionary Enterprises).
- (3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.71.
- (4) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.104.
- (5) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.152-153.
- (6) ibid, pp.159-160; Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.13; Mythology, p.249ff, 282ff.

word of the gods to supplicants.<sup>1</sup> The divine message was sometimes delivered in normal conversational speech, but quite frequently it was communicated during an ecstatic sequence in which

the countenance becomes fierce and, as it were, inflamed, and the whole form agitated with inward feeling. [The priest] is seized with an universal trembling, the perspiration breaks out on his forehead, and his lips turning black, are convulsed; at length, tears start in floods from his eyes, his breast heaves with great emotion, and his utterance is choked.<sup>2</sup>

One person who had frequently been inspired thus reported that he felt aglow with heat, quite restless and uncomfortable in himself, in a mind quite different from his own, having lost, as it were, his own identity.<sup>3</sup>

It is not clear whether there were different types or orders of priests in Tonga, as there were in other parts of Polynesia. There were some priests who had special functions and responsibilities at the 'inasi ceremony, and the Tu'i Tonga himself acted as priest in times of national disaster as in periods of prolonged drought.<sup>4</sup> There were, too, priests who became inspired during consultations, and those who did not.<sup>5</sup> Thomas has recorded that there were some gods who did not have priests in the ordinary sense of the term but were appealed to and represented by certain 'living chiefs'.<sup>6</sup> There was certainly rank among priests, as the names taula and taula 'eiki suggest. And according to Thomas West, who published an account of his ten years of missionary work in Tonga, they 'took rank from their gods and chiefs'.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Collocott, E.E.V, Notes on Tongan Religion, J.P.S. vol 30, pp.155-156.
- (2) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.101.
- (3) ibid, vol i, p.105.
- (4) Thomas, Mythology, pp.274-275.
- (5) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.101.
- (6) Thomas, Mythology, p.256.
- (7) West, Thomas, Ten Years in South Central Polynesia...., London, 1865, p.257 (hereinafter West, Ten Years).

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- (2) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.101.
- (3) ibid, vol i, p.105.
- (4) Thomas, Mythology, pp.274-275.
- (5) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.101.
- (6) Thomas, Mythology, p.256.
- (7) West, Thomas, Ten Years in South Central Polynesia... London, 1865, p.257 (hereinafter West, Ten Years).

Priests and priestesses were usually persons of rank, sometimes even members of the ruling family, and in many cases were closely related to the chiefs they served.<sup>1</sup> At Hihifo in the 1820s, for example, Fai'ana the priestess was the sister of Ata, the powerful chief of that district.<sup>2</sup> In assuming the office of priest or priestess, a person did not have to give up a previous calling or occupation. The priest or priestess could still cultivate land, work as a carpenter, act as navigator, continue as teacher of the Tongan games and dances, or carry on domestic duties.<sup>3</sup>

The gods were consulted at specially constructed houses. These houses resembled normal dwellings except that they were smaller and more neatly constructed. John Williams of the London Missionary Society visited Tonga in 1830 and was impressed with what he called 'a most beautiful little temple ... the most complete and beautiful that could have been erected with their means and materials and surpassed any structure I had seen in the Pacific'.<sup>4</sup>

God houses were situated, as a rule, near the dwelling of the chief, or on the outskirts of the village set amongst a grove of trees.<sup>5</sup> At Mu'a where the high chiefs lived, archaeological and other evidence suggests that the god houses of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu were situated about thirty yards from their respective dwelling houses.<sup>6</sup>

God houses were numerous throughout the islands. Taliaitupou, for example had at least two dedicated to him in Tongatapu, four in Vava'u and seven in Ha'apai (including one at Ha'ano and one at 'Uiha).<sup>7</sup> When

- (1) Thomas, *Mythology*, pp.256-257.
- (2) Thomas, *Journal*, 26 July 1826.
- (3) Thomas, *Mythology*, pp.256-257.
- (4) Williams, *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 274-275.
- (5) *ibid*; See also Collocott, 'Notes on Tongan Religion', *J.P.S.*, vol 30, p.155.
- (6) McKern, W.C, *Tongan Archaeology*, B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 60, Honolulu, 1929, pp.93-95, 99; Thomas, *Mythology*, p.13, 100.
- (7) Martin, *Tonga Islands*, vol ii, p.105; Thomas, *Mythology*, p.251.

Taufa'ahau and his warriors were helping to destroy traditional religion in Vava'u in 1831 fifteen god houses were burned down in the space of a few days.<sup>1</sup>

Some god houses were specially revered and were treated as sanctuaries where fugitives could shelter.<sup>2</sup> Two of these sanctuaries, which became proverbial, were those of Hikule'o at Mu'a and Ha'ano. Another almost equally famous sanctuary was at the landing place at Ma'ufanga where visitors to Tongatapu were assured of a safe berth. Violation of these sanctuaries was a serious matter and atonement, sometimes involving a human sacrifice, had to be made.<sup>4</sup>

A third type of religious structure was placed over the graves of chiefs. It was a small neat building, (sometimes a complete house, but often simply a thatched roof) supported by four posts. This structure served two purposes: it protected the stone vault from the ravages of wind and rain, and it provided the family and friends of the deceased chief with a centre at which they could gather to say prayers and make food offerings.<sup>5</sup>

The gods were consulted by the chiefs and their people when deliverance or protection was sought from the problems and dangers of everyday life. As John Thomas has commented

Scarcely any thing can be entered upon by the King or chiefs of Tonga before first waiting upon the gods to secure their sanction and cooperation ; before planting the yam seths ... before entering upon a voyage to distant islands ... and before going to war even ...<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Turner, P, 'Introduction of Christianity into the Haabai Group, Friendly Islands' in Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 1 Sept 1872, p.751.
- (2) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.176-177; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.189; Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.95, 797.
- (4) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, pp.92-93, 189.
- (5) Thomas, Mythology, pp.278, 280-281.
- (6) ibid, p.276.



But prayers were not only offered in supplication. There were also expressions of thanksgiving - especially when the yams were harvested and when the 'inasi was celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most common occasion when people appealed to the gods was in time of sickness. Lengthy vigils were not uncommon when persons of rank wished to obtain a cure for themselves or members of their families.<sup>2</sup> It was during these visitations that finger sacrifices were offered. But when common people were ill little notice was taken of them and 'no offerings were presented on their account, nor even the gods sought'.<sup>3</sup>

The chiefs played the leading part in consultations at the god houses for, as Thomas noted, 'such things more especially belonged to them'. The common people, according to another observer, 'had only confused notions' of religious matters. Nevertheless in times of national crisis everyone 'found consolation in calling upon the gods'.<sup>4</sup>

When a chief and his people visited a sacred house to consult a priest, a respectful sequence was observed. The visit normally began with the presentation of kava and food. Special mats were spread out and upon these the priest sat and the god objects were displayed. When these procedures had been correctly observed, the priest would speak the word of the god to the suplicants.<sup>5</sup>

When the death of a chiefly person occurred special religious ceremonies were performed. Only extraordinary circumstances, such as war, would prevent the lengthy funeral ritual from being carried out. Friends and relatives from all over the island, and from all over the Tonga group if it were the funeral of a high chief, gathered to participate in or observe the funeral rites. These included cutting and bruising the body, chanting, singing, dancing, feasting, and

- (1) Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.152.
- (2) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, pp.288-295.  
Thomas, Journal, 21 March 1827; Mythology, p.268.
- (3) Thomas, Mythology, p.273.
- (4) Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.152.
- (5) Collocott, 'Notes on Tongan Religion', J.P.S., vol. 30, p.157.

making presentations of food and native manufactures.<sup>1</sup> There were more than twenty common procedures for mutilating the body, ranging from fepuhi (to burn the cheek bone, draw out the blood, and paint a large round patch on the cheek) to the sometimes fatal faletau (literally 'house of spears' in which a prostrate mourner had spears thrust into his body 'from head to foot').<sup>2</sup> Commoners were interred with none of this ceremonial, the body being placed 'in some private secluded corner, - nearly unknown, and un-noticed by any one except the bereaved family'.<sup>3</sup>

One aspect of the funeral ritual, which was later exploited in the school room was the chant. Captain Campbell and his clerk James Morris were the first to record details of this ritual when they attended a funeral during a visit to Tongatapu in 1817. They began as interested spectators but were drawn into the ceremony as participants. The people formed themselves into a long line, the women followed by the men, and set off to collect sand for the grave. 'On their way,' Morris explained, 'they sang loudly, the women and the men alternately a verse'.<sup>4</sup> Thomas witnessed a similar ritual with the people chanting over 'a few words with a loud plaintive voice ... one party leading the other responding'.<sup>5</sup>

During the funeral of the Tu'i Tonga a human sacrifice was sometimes offered. According to Thomas the Tamahā was in charge of the ritual and had the right to reprieve the person prepared for ritual killing. If she made that decision then the Tamahā would call out: 'Tuku mai ke fakamoui, tuku mai - Give her to me to save her, give her to me'.<sup>6</sup> The Tamahā was then

- (1) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.79, 105.  
Thomas, Mythology, pp.295-296;  
Martin, Tonga Islands, vol 1, pp.134, 310.
- (2) Thomas, Mythology, p.295.
- (3) ibid, pp.298-299.
- (4) /Anon/ A Voyage through the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, Dublin, 1824, p.101.
- (5) Thomas, Mythology, pp.293-294.
- (6) ibid, p.289.

called the rescuer or saviour (fakamou'i means to rescue or save) and the reprieved person became 'a domestic servant in the house of her deliverer'.<sup>1</sup>

A most important public religious ceremony, which involved all Tongans throughout the whole group, was the 'inasi. The biannual ceremony consisted of a presentation by the chiefs and people of prayers and produce to the god Hikule'o through his earthly representative the Tu'i Tonga.<sup>2</sup> The word 'inasi means 'share' or 'portion' and Mariner describes it as

the portion of the fruits of the earth, and other eatables which is offered to the gods in the person of the divine chief Tooitonga ... to insure the protection of the gods, that their favour may be extended to the welfare of the nation generally, and in particular to the productions of the earth, of which yams are the most important.<sup>3</sup>

When the time for the ceremony arrived the conch shell was blown as a signal that people from all over Tonga should make their way to Mu'a to present their offerings. The sound of the conch shell also announced the commencement of a period of tapu when all work and needless moving about were to cease. A crier moved through the countryside announcing the tapu: 'Tapu a e ngaue - cease your work' - a theme that was taken up in song by groups of men and women in the plantations throughout the island.<sup>4</sup> Crowds of people, including representatives from the northern groups, converged upon Mu'a, bringing with them all manner of gifts. Yams were the major item but fish, arrowroot, ironwood, fine mats, pearl shell and rolls of cloth were also included.<sup>5</sup>

The celebration lasted nine days with a special programme for each day including solemn ceremony, fervent

(1) Thomas, Mythology, p.289.

(2) Gifford, Tongan Society, p.345.  
Thomas, Mythology, p.263.

(3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.168.

(4) ibid, p.170; Thomas, Mythology, p.264ff.

(5) Thomas, Mythology, p.267; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, pp.169-170.

prayers and light hearted entertainment. The high point was when a procession of men carrying yams suspended on poles paraded across the mala'e. When the Tu'i Tonga and his chiefs and matāpule were seated before the grave of the previous Tu'i Tonga, appropriate prayers were recited. Following these prayers the food and other goods were distributed. According to Mariner one half was allocated to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, one quarter to the gods (which the priests 'immediately take away'), while the remainder was given to the servants of the Tu'i Tonga. Following the division of goods, a great kava party took place with entertainment of various kinds - boxing and wrestling by day and singing and dancing by night.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE 1820s there was an evident weakening of the sanctions of traditional religion, especially among some of the most powerful chiefs, possibly as an aftermath of the protracted civil unrest. God houses were in some cases destroyed, sanctuaries violated, and priests ignored or abused.<sup>2</sup> At the sanctuary Fanakava in Ha'apai, for example, a massacre took place where

several hundreds were fallen upon, while assembled at the house of Hikule'o and killed ... some chiefs were brought forward and clubbed on the area ... by far the largest number who were killed were not allowed to be buried but the bodies were thrown in heaps on the ground near the house and some on the house floor itself ...<sup>3</sup>

The early 19th century provides numerous examples

- (1) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.168-172; Thomas, Mythology, p.264-265.
- (2) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.173, 177; Thomas Friendly Islands, pp.95-96.
- (3) Gifford, Tongan Society, pp.211-212.

of a declining belief in the efficacy of traditional religion. Mariner's protector, Fīnau, was at times agnostic and it was said by some of his contemporaries that 'his want of religion was indeed almost proverbial'.<sup>1</sup> He even decreed that the most sacred 'inasi presentation be withheld.'<sup>2</sup> Tāufa'āhau, too, was another powerful chief who showed disregard for traditional religion. His victory over the Tu'i Tonga at Velata in 1826 indicated that he had little respect for the one who represented the great god Hikule'o.<sup>3</sup> His decision to build a Christian chapel in Ha'apai (in which a castaway seaman was asked to say prayers) long before a missionary arrived in his island provides further evidence of his attitude to traditional religion.<sup>4</sup>

A variety of factors probably combined to undermine traditional beliefs and practices. Apart from the unsettling influence of war, the growing contact with European visitors with their iron goods, great ships and overpowering weapons, introduced new ideas. Other agents of change were the beachcombers and castaways and the growing number of Tongans who had travelled to New South Wales and Tahiti.<sup>5</sup> Mariner's comment, as he noted the trend of events at the beginning of the nineteenth century was somewhat prophetic:

Thus it appears that the Tonga Islands are undergoing considerable changes, both in respect to religion and politics.<sup>6</sup>

TONGAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS morality, as expressed in the demands of custom and the requirements of traditional law, reflect the 19th century moral philosopher Bradley's dictum that 'What [a man] has to do depends on what his

- (1) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.140. See also pp.289-91; vol ii, p.106.
- (2) *ibid*, vol ii, pp.27, 127.
- (3) Gifford, Tongan Society, p.212ff.
- (4) West, Ten Years, pp.357-358; See also Gifford, Tongan Society, pp.437-8.
- (5) Davies, John, The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830 (ed. C.W. Newbury), Cambridge, 1961, pp.289-290. (hereinafter Davies, Tahitian Mission).
- (6) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, p.128.

place is, what his function is' in society.<sup>1</sup> Behaviour which would be regarded as right and proper for a chief would be unacceptable in a commoner. Within the family, what would be regarded as proper for a man's sister and her children would be improper for the man and his own children. For example, it was quite proper for a chief to ask for property in the possession of any of his subjects. It was also right for a man's sister to ask for property in the possession of her brother's children.<sup>2</sup> At all levels of society, rank, age, and sex gave people rights over the lives and possessions of others.<sup>3</sup>

Although there was a much freer attitude to property in Tongan society, compared with European standards, theft was recognized as a crime. Theft must be differentiated, however, from what may be called 'permissible confiscation' noted above - the rights that rank allow over the possessions of others. Borrowing and begging, as understood by Tongans, must not be confused with theft either, for the communal society with its emphasis upon hospitality, allowed great latitude in these matters.<sup>4</sup>

Theft in traditional society occurred when a person appropriated something to which either rank or relationship gave him no rights. Theft in these terms seems common enough for it was an established practice to place curses and tapu on fences and trees bordering plantations to deter would-be thieves.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Bradley, F.H., Ethical Studies (1876) Oxford Paperbacks, London, 1962, pp.163, 173.
- (2) For examples see Beaglehole, Journals of Captain Cook, iii, pp.911-912, 1309.
- (3) Because of the communal nature of society, and the rights of chiefs, it is perhaps not proper to speak of an individual's personal 'property'. For a discussion of the Tongan attitude to property see Lettre du R.P. Calinon ... au T.R.P. Colin, Tonga-Tabou, October 1841, in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Lyon, 1846, pp.424 ff.
- (4) ibid.
- (5) Gifford, Tongan Society, pp.343-344. See also Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.148.

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- (4) ibid.
- (5) Gifford, Tongan Society, pp.343-344. See also Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.148.

The Tu'i Tonga Pau used a form of 'trial by ordeal' to discover thieves. If something had been stolen then the people were gathered together and required, one after another, to place their hands on a 'sacred bowl'. A guilty person was supposed to die on the spot, and any one refusing to touch the bowl was judged guilty.<sup>1</sup>

The clearly defined areas of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, of right and wrong, were based on the concept of tapu.<sup>2</sup> Many tapu were universal. This category included the tapu surrounding the chief and his person, working and moving about on the tapu days of the 'inasi, wreaking vengeance upon a person who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, and the tapu on brother-sister contact.<sup>3</sup> Other tapu, however, were simply the expressed wish of individual chiefs. A chief, for example, often placed a tapu on the eating of a particular food so that when an important feast day arrived there would be an abundance of that commodity.<sup>4</sup> These individual tapu were respected as much as the 'universal' ones for the performance of the chief's wishes was regarded by the common people as an important religious duty.<sup>5</sup>

Marriages were formalized after certain public and private ceremonies and consultations had been carried out.<sup>6</sup> Many of the chiefs were polygamous and five or six wives were not uncommon.<sup>7</sup> The common man had to be content with one wife if he could obtain one. Among young unmarried people there was considerable sexual latitude, particularly during the pō me'e or night dance where the performers danced naked.<sup>8</sup>

- (1) Beaglehole, Journals of Captain James Cook, vol III, pp.143-144; Wilson, Voyage of the Duff, li.
- (2) Collocott, 'The Supernatural in Tonga', American Anthropologist, No. 23, Oct-Dec No. 4, 1921, pp.415ff (hereinafter Collocott, The Supernatural in Tonga).
- (3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol 1, pp.92-93, 189. Gifford, Tongan Society, pp.21ff, 125.
- (4) Thomas, Mythology, p.287.
- (5) *ibid*, p.273.
- (6) *ibid*, pp.303-311.
- (7) Beaglehole, Journals of Captain James Cook, vol III, p.170; Watkin, Draft Article, 30 Sept 1853, A1450, M.L.
- (8) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol II, pp.146-147. Beaglehole, Journals of Captain James Cook, vol III, p.945.



Women of the highest classes in society had little choice of partners as marriages were arranged for them. In some cases chiefly daughters were betrothed at an early age by their parents. And the Tu'i Tonga, according to traditional usage, had no choice of his principal wife - she was the 'virgin daughter' of the Tu'i Kanokupolu.<sup>1</sup>

Marital fidelity, from the wife's side was one of the principal dictates of traditional religion and apparently 'infidelity among married women [was] comparatively rare'.<sup>2</sup> The same religious constraints did not, however, apply to the men. Marriages could be easily dissolved and one estimate in the early 19th century was that about one third of married women had been married more than once, some of them as many as five times.<sup>3</sup>

Pre-meditated murder among commoners, except where an adulterer was killed by his own people for fear of reprisals from an offended chief, was repudiated as offensive to the gods.<sup>4</sup> However, a chief could kill a person who offended him, even over some small matter, and in war time there were no restraints on killing. Even people sheltering in sanctuaries were sometimes killed. However, prisoners of war were often spared and they then became slaves to their captors. But there were other sources of slaves. A person who angered his chief could be given into slavery as a punishment.<sup>5</sup>

THE TONGAN economy was based largely upon the products of the land and sea. The sea provided fish for food, shell for decoration and ornamentation, and sharks'

- (1) Thomas, *Mythology*, p.304.
- (2) Martin, *Tonga Islands*, vol ii, pp.141; Cf Vason, *Authentic Narrative*, p.133.
- (3) Martin, *Tonga Islands*, vol ii, p.141. See also Vason, *Authentic Narrative*, p.144.
- (4) Collocott, 'The Supernatural in Tonga', p.433.
- (5) Wilson, *Voyage of the Duff*, p.252; Vason, *Authentic Narrative*, p.173.

teeth and skin for tools. Whales' teeth were used as god representatives and were also a valuable exchange commodity in foreign trade.<sup>1</sup> The land produced of itself a wide variety of trees and plants. Pigs and fowl, the only domestic animals, were left to roam and breed freely. Some agricultural products were cultivated: the yam, banana, plantain, and sweet potato for food; the paper mulberry for cloth making; the coconut for building materials, nets, baskets, rope, mats, fans, and combs, as well as food and drink.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Tongans were good farmers, aided by a favourable soil and climate, famines were frequent. They were caused by excessive consumption of food on festive occasions, while entertaining visitors, or during voyages to outer islands of the group. A tapu on certain foods, either before or after some large scale presentation or feast, fell heavily on the common people and they were driven to seek for edible plant roots in order to survive.<sup>3</sup> There was apparently no desire to over-produce to meet the demands of ceremonial and only limited attempts were made to store food, apart from yams, for lean times.<sup>4</sup>

Wealth was determined by the amount of agricultural and marine products one could control. A chief's people, both free and enslaved, were his greatest asset for they provided the labour force to exploit the resources of land and sea.<sup>5</sup> Wealth was redistributed at funerals

- (1) Wilkes, Charles, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842, Philadelphia, 1845, vol III, p.167 (hereinafter Wilkes, Exploring Expedition); Martin, Tongan Islands, vol I, p.267; Labillardiere, Voyage, pp.357, 363, 373.
- (2) Beaglehole, Journals of Captain James Cook, vol III, p.934. Forster, George, A Voyage Round the World in Her Majesty's Sloop Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775, London (2 vols), 1777, vol. 1, pp.436-437.
- (3) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.100, 147.
- (4) Beaglehole, Journals of Captain James Cook, vol III, p.935. Peter Turner records a speech made by Taufa'ahau in 1833 in which the king berated the people for not having made stores of 'bread' (i.e. breadfruit preserved underground in pits). See Turner, Journal, 30 April 1833.
- (5) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.105, 130, 138, 156-157, 180. Martin, Tonga Islands, vol II, p.91.

and weddings when great quantities of food, tapa cloth, mats, and sandalwood changed hands. For the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu the 'inasi, one in July and another in October, provided extensive supplies of Tongan wealth.<sup>1</sup>

The economy depended to some extent on foreign trade. For generations Tongan chiefs had made voyages to neighbouring islands, particularly Fiji and Samoa, in search of merchandise: sandalwood, sailing canoes, ceremonial and other mats, wooden bowls, earthenware pots, war weapons and red feathers.<sup>2</sup> This trade became very extensive in the latter part of the 18th century, and following missionary activity, reached its peak in the mid-19th century.<sup>3</sup>

But by the beginning of the 19th century significant changes in the economy were taking place as foreign goods of a different kind began to find their way to Tonga. Iron goods in particular were obtained in increasing quantities from resident Europeans and visiting ships. Chiefs vied with each other in their attempts to secure a share of this new wealth. Numerous vessels were seized and plundered and in the early years of the 19th century Tonga gained a reputation in shipping circles as a dangerous port of call, especially after the destruction of the Duke of Portland, the Supply, the Rambler, and the Port au Prince.<sup>4</sup>

WITHIN TONGAN SOCIETY there existed a number of trades and professions. Some of these involved the utilitarian skills of canoe building, net making, fishing and

- (1) Thomas, Mythology, pp. 290, 298, 304, 313; Friendly Islands, p.91.
- (2) Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.161; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol i, p.79, 267; Wilkes, Exploring Expedition, vol iii, pp. 55, 167.
- (3) Calvert, James, Letters from Feejee, 1842-43, vol 3, No 14, ML A2810.
- (4) Sydney Gazette, vol vi, 1808, nos, 238, 24 July 1808; 251, 30 Oct 1808; 258, 11 Dec 1808; 292, 16 Aug 1809; 298, 17 Sept 1809.

domestic and agricultural labour. Others were associated more with decorative and ornamental skills such as club carving, whale ivory sculpting and tattooing. Still other occupations, such as stone masonry and funeral direction, were connected with the death and burial of chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

Occupations were determined by class factors. Canoe builders, sculptors, funeral attendants, net makers and fishermen were always drawn from the mu'a and matāpule class. Barbers, cooks and agricultural workers were always tu'a. Other occupations, such as house building, tattooing, and club carving could be followed by either tu'a or mu'a.<sup>2</sup>

In one sense people were educated only in informal ways for these occupations. Children learned by observing their parents and relatives. There was, nevertheless, at certain levels, a conscious effort by elders to teach skills, knowledge, and attitudes to the younger generation. Moral training, for example, was entrusted to the mu'a and matāpule who gathered young people together, especially the young chiefs, and lectured them on customs and behaviour.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from these public lessons each chiefly family carried on its own programme which, although informal, was consciously held to be educational. In the evenings in particular the chief and his family and friends gathered for what Vason called 'nocturnal confabulations' that were designed to refine the mental processes, improve language facility, and instruct in acceptable behaviour.<sup>4</sup> These evening sessions, together with the constant ceremonial associated with the chiefly home, provided an education which raised the recipients above the common people. Vason, who married a chief's

- (1) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, pp.91-95.
- (2) ibid.
- (3) ibid.
- (4) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.94-95.

daughter and lived for a time with his father-in-law, commented:

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and distinct from those of the lower and labourer classes as men of letters, or the polished courtier differs from the clown ...<sup>1</sup>

In fact a popular amusement during the evening 'teaching' sessions was to 'take off the vulgar by imitating their expressions and pronunciation'.<sup>2</sup>

Singing and dancing, essential elements in public ceremony and private entertainment, were also taught in the chiefly households. A chief would gather a troupe of young people from his district and have them taught traditional songs and dances.<sup>3</sup> A characteristic of these songs and dances was their constant repetition yet the complex movements could only be achieved after considerable practice.<sup>4</sup>

There were other important elements of Tongan society that were probably taught informally, rather than deliberately as with singing and dancing. One of these was the complex system of calculating and measuring time. The time from sunrise to sunrise, for example, was divided into more than thirty segments, determined by the position of the sun, moon and stars, and by the activity of various animals and birds.<sup>5</sup>

The morning hours, before and up until sunrise, were divided into the following clearly defined stages: Mafuli 'ae kaniva (the milky way turned -

- (1) Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.95-96
- (2) ibid.
- (3) ibid., p.103.
- (4) Wilson, Voyage of the Duff, p.246.  
Labillardière, Voyage, p.358.  
Thomas, Mythology, p.257.
- (5) The following analysis of Tongan time concepts is based on Collocott, E.E.V, 'Tongan Astronomy and Calendar', Occasional Papers of the B.P. Bishop Museum, vol VIII No. 4, Honolulu, 1922; Rabone, Vocabulary; and Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, Appendix I.

indicating the turn of the milky way towards the east where the sun rises), moa mu'a (first cock), fakaholo fononga (making journey advance - the appearance of a star known to rise not long before dawn), moa mui (later cock), fetu'u 'aho (day star - whose rising closely precedes the rising sun), ata puaka (shadow of pig - pigs are awake and moving about but cannot be seen distinctly), ata (shadow - similar to ata puaka but referring to people rather than pigs), mafoa ae ata (breaking of the shadow - dawn), ma'a 'ae 'aho (a clear day - just about sunrise), hopo 'ae la'a (rising of the sun).<sup>1</sup>

Other terms describing the morning are hengihengi (very early morning), uhu (morning light), 'ahotetea (morning light), and mokomoko 'aho (the cool before daybreak).<sup>2</sup> The forenoon, afternoon, and evening were similarly divided up. Several examples are: fangai lupe (feeding pigeons - a period of about two hours between 9 and 11 am), sisisinga and hoatamalie (both signifying the sun at vertical height or at full strength - midday), tu'u 'apō malie (standing upright of the night -midnight).<sup>3</sup>

As well as these divisions of day and night, days were differentiated from each other in terms of how far distant they were from the present time. 'Aneafi was used to describe yesterday in general terms whereas 'aneafiafi and 'anepō referred to yesterday afternoon and yesterday night respectively. There were also expressions for two or three days previously and two or three days hence: 'aneheafi (the day before yesterday), 'anetu'a

- (1) Collocott, Astronomy and Calendar, pp.171-172.
- (2) ibid.
- (3) Collocott, Astronomy and Calendar, pp.171-172.

'aheheafi or tu'a 'aneheafi (the day before the day before yesterday), 'apongipongi (tomorrow), 'ahoiha (the day after tomorrow), and moitolu (three days hence).<sup>1</sup> These time-divisions allowed reference, therefore, to a six or seven day span, from the present forward or backward three days.

Further time divisions allowed for a period similar to the English year to be calculated. This period was called ta'u, an expression meaning crop or seasonal cycle.<sup>2</sup> The ta'u was divided into twelve segments according to the phases of the moon and the stages of development of the most important crop, the yam. Thus lihamu'a (first nit) was the first 'moon' because at that time small nodules were beginning to show on the young yams. This 'month' corresponded to the English December-January. Lihamui (later nit) signified that all yams, early and late, had begun to sprout nodules. Other 'months' referred to the seasonal rains or to harvesting the crop: vaimu'a and vaimui (early rain and later rain), hilinga kelekele and hilinga meaa (laying earth and laying meaa - the early harvest and the late harvest).<sup>3</sup>

There was no attempt, however, to record successive ta'u.<sup>4</sup> Although numeracy had developed as far as 100,000<sup>5</sup>, this skill was used only for counting everyday items and was not employed to count ta'u. There was a term which referred to a generation (toutangata), but when distant events were recalled they were 'dated' by reference to the Tu'i Tonga or Tu'i Kanokupolu in power at the time. When Thomas was gathering notes on Tongan history his informants recalled events in this way. It was during the rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletu'opeko, Thomas was told, that the god Taliaitupou was adopted by the Tu'i

- (1) Collocott, Astronomy and Calendar, pp.171-172. See individual words in Rabone, Vocabulary, and Martin, Tonga Islands, Appendix I.
- (2) Collocott, Astronomy and Calendar, p.164; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, Appendix, p.xcii; Rabone, Vocabulary, p.180.
- (3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, Appendix I, p.lxxiv; Collocott, Astronomy and Calendar, pp.167-168.
- (4) Labillardière, Voyage, p.382 notes however that the people calculated the time lapse since Captain Cook's visit by counting the number of seasons.
- (5) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, Appendix I, pp. xxix-xxx1.

Kanokupolu as their family deity. It was at that time that the family changed their name from Mataele to Tupou.<sup>1</sup> Thus, because the lists of ruling chiefs were preserved accurately in oral tradition, events could be placed in chronological order, even though the overall time span involved may have been only vaguely conceived.

Number concepts were also learned, in all probability, in informal ways. Items could be counted from taha to kilu (from 1 to 100,000) but the demands of everyday life did not call for the use of the extremely high numbers.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps at very large presentations such as at the Tu'i Tonga weddings 6,000 to 10,000 yams may have been involved. Perhaps larger numbers were required. At some presentations special frames, consisting of four posts set in the ground, allowed the heaps of yams to reach a height of over 50 feet.<sup>3</sup>

Simple division was called for when chiefs distributed presentations and such expressions as fakatolu (divide into three portions) and fakavalu (divide into eight portions) were used.<sup>4</sup> Multiplication concepts are implied by two words that were applied to calculating numbers: tu'o and liunga ('multiplied by').<sup>5</sup> Other number expressions included tefua (one hundred when counting nuts), to'oio (dividing fish into four parts), and lautefuhi (100 stripes of tapa cloth).<sup>6</sup>

Although Tonga in the 1820s was a non-literate society, many Tongans had some acquaintance with European books and European learning. They were able,

- (1) Thomas, *Friendly Islands*, p.73.
- (2) Counting was an important part of ceremonial presentations. See Collocott, 'Supplementary Tongan Vocabulary, also notes on measuring and counting, proverbial expressions and phases of the moon', *J.P.S.*, vol xxxiv, Nos 2 and 3, pp.209-211.
- (3) Thomas, *Mythology*, p.304.
- (4) Rabone, *Vocabulary*, pp.84-87.
- (5) *ibid*, p.204.
- (6) *ibid*, pp.147, 196.



it seems, to communicate readily with European visitors for when the Captain of the whaler Fanny in 1823 attempted to obtain a runaway crew member, the Tongan chief (it was reported) asked for such a specific ransom as '6 muskets, 3 cutlasses, 1 grindstone, 1 carpenter's vice, 20 [pounds] of powder and 100 musket balls'.<sup>1</sup>

Tongans were learning a good deal about the world of the European from the numerous beachcombers who had lived there since the early 1790s - and from the ten members of the London Missionary Society who had attempted to establish a mission in 1797.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the survivors of the Port au Prince - at least Mariner and Brown - had in their own way introduced the chiefs to the utility of writing.<sup>3</sup>

TONGAN SOCIETY in the 1820s, especially in its political and social aspects, displayed evidence of change, and perhaps even a mood for change. In fact, Tonga at that time may exemplify what one recent writer feels was common to much of Polynesia in the pre-contact period - that they had 'explored and exhausted all the avenues open to a non-literate society and now sought an ampler world'.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Log book of the Fanny, Captain Rule, 22 July 1823, P.M.B. 374.
- (2) For presence of castaways see Transactions, vol i, pp.256, 259-261.
- (3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol 1, p.116; West, Ten Years, pp.357-358; Orlebar, J, A Midshipman's Journal on board H.M.S. Seringapatam during the year 1830, London, 1833, p.80.
- (4) Parsonson, G.W, 'The Literate Revolution in Polynesia' Journal of Pacific History, vol ii, 1967, p.39.

CHAPTER II

THE DOCTRINAL, ORGANIZATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND  
OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN TONGA

The missionaries who first commenced work in Tonga in 1822 were members of the Wesleyan Methodist church which came into being in the latter half of the 18th century.<sup>1</sup> As its name suggests, the church owed much to the genius of John Wesley, and although he had been dead for a generation before the Friendly Islands mission was established, his spirit, nevertheless, exerted a powerful influence.<sup>2</sup> Succeeding generations of Wesleyan Methodists continued to preach his evangelical theology, adopt his peculiar system of church government, espouse his moral and social ideas, and in politics become even more conservative than Wesley himself. Thus, when the mission was established in the Friendly Islands in the 1820s, Wesley's ideas and those of Wesleyan Methodism were transported across the seas to Polynesia where they became one of the powerful determinants that shaped educational development and influenced the direction of social and political change.

John Wesley's movement was part of the Evangelical Revival which developed in the English church in the 18th century. The hundreds, and later thousands, who flocked to hear the pioneer field preacher George Whitefield, gathered in similar numbers around Wesley when he too became an open air evangelist. In those great congregations,

- (1) The early Methodist movement divided into two distinct groups: Arminians and Calvinists. Wesley favoured Arminius in the debate over election and predestination, and founded the Arminian Magazine to combat the teachings of the Calvinists. The terms 'Methodism', and 'Methodist' as used in this thesis, refer to the Arminian, non-Calvinist variety and are therefore synonymous with Wesleyan Methodism, and Wesleyan Methodist.
- (2) The Report of the Theological Training Institution for 1843 states that 'training is in every respect, and without compromise, entirely WESLEYAN ... to make them what successors of Mr. Wesley ought to be.'  
W.M. Magazine, 1843, p.57.

sometimes numbering as many as ten or twenty thousand, emotions ran high and hundreds claimed instantaneous conversions.

The emotional scenes that accompanied revival were never more clearly demonstrated than in the enthusiastic reactions to Wesley's preaching. At Newgate, during a preaching tour in 1733, the whole district 'rang with the cries of those whom the Word of God cut to the heart', and there were scenes where 'one and another, and another sank to the earth, they dropped on every side as thunder-struck.'<sup>1</sup> A woman, deeply affected by one of Wesley's sermons, 'broke out into strong cries and tears ... till great drops of sweat ran down her face and all her bones shook.'<sup>2</sup> Reactions to his preaching are clearly described in his journal of 15 June 1739 where he wrote of people who responded with deep emotion

some sank down and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them.<sup>3</sup>

Even Wesley's printed sermons sparked off similar reactions in those who read them. One John Haydon, while reading the last page of a published sermon,

changed colour, fell off his chair, and began screaming terribly and beating himself against the ground ... two or three men were holding him as well as they could ... He beat himself against the ground again, his breast heaving at the same time, as in the pangs of death and great drops of sweat trickled down his face.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Curnock, Nehemiah (ed), The Journals of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., London, 1838 (hereinafter, Wesley, Journal) 27 April 1739; 26 April 1739.
- (2) ibid, 30 May 1739.
- (3) ibid, 15 June 1739.
- (4) ibid, 2 May 1739.

Emotional conversions were not only experienced by members of the great outdoor congregations that thronged to hear Wesley and other revivalist preachers. It was common for children in Wesley's schools to be caught up in 'revivals'. John Hindmarsh, a master at Kingswood School, wrote to Wesley on one occasion to acquaint the school's founder of a religious awakening among the boys. 'The Spirit of God', he wrote, 'even like a mighty rushing wind, ... made them cry aloud for mercy ... about twenty were in utmost distress ... While I am writing, the cries of the boys ... are sounding in my ears'.<sup>1</sup> Two years later Wesley was recording details of fresh revivals at Kingswood, but by 1773 the effects were wearing off and the boys were becoming 'colder and colder'.<sup>2</sup> In that year, however, he was able to note with pleasure that yet another revival was sweeping the school, one which he witnessed himself: boys 'pouring out their souls before God in a manner not easy to be described'.<sup>3</sup>

Similar revivals broke out in later years in the schools conducted by the Wesleyans.<sup>4</sup> The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine of 1854, under the heading 'Religious Intelligence', published a letter from the secretary of a Yorkshire Methodist day school which outlined the events leading to revival in the school. It had been promoted by a series of prayer meetings which were attended by senior members of the school. On the morning following the third evening prayer meeting,

while our highly valued master was giving a gallery lesson there was a general enquiry excited among the scholars "What must I do to be saved?" Several came down to the floor and began to cry for mercy ... The school duties were set aside and we spent the whole of the day in prayer and praise. Many of the students have received salvation, and began to meet in Class.<sup>5</sup>

The Magazine gave regular news of religious awakenings not

- (1) Wesley, Journal, 5 May 1768.
- (2) *ibid*, 18 Sept 1770; 3 Sept 1773.
- (3) *ibid*, 3 Sept 1773.
- (4) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1854, p.158 makes reference to revivals which took place in a number of Methodist schools.
- (5) *ibid*, p.158f.

only in schools but throughout England, the Continent, and America and gave details of procedures to be followed to promote revival.<sup>1</sup> By the 1830s the Magazine and Missionary Notices were able to report similar revivals in Tonga.

Two theological emphases in Wesley's preaching, which were taken up by his followers and became an integral part of the Christianity taught and preached in the South Seas, were the doctrines of the 'New Birth' and the 'Witness of the Spirit'. The 'New Birth' summed up Wesley's own experience in May 1738 when he 'felt his heart strangely warmed' by a sudden comprehension of salvation.<sup>2</sup> The doctrine of the 'witness of the Spirit' affirmed that a person could know and be 'assured' that he had been accepted as a 'child of God'. Again this emphasis had its origin in Wesley's 1738 experience.<sup>3</sup>

DURING his lifetime Wesley carefully moulded the shape of the movement that bore his name. His published works, and in particular the Notes on the New Testament and the Sermons, were required reading for preachers and leaders and represented Wesleyan Methodist orthodoxy. Together with his regulations for the conduct of his Societies and his Twelve Rules of a Helper, they became law, placed next to the Bible in the library of Wesleyan Methodist preachers.<sup>4</sup>

Wesley's Works are full of social comment and advice. Through published sermons, journals, letters, pamphlets and the Magazine, the Wesleyan Methodist viewpoint was proclaimed. A constant theme runs through all his writings: man lives in an evil world which is totally opposed to God and the Spirit, a world which can only appropriately be termed

- (1) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1827, p.338.
- (2) Wesley, Journal, 9 Oct 1738, vol II, p.89; *ibid*, 31 July 1739, p.250; 14 May 1738, vol I, pp.475-476.
- (3) *ibid*, 6 Oct 1738, vol II, pp.82-83; *ibid*, 25 Jan 1740, p.333; *ibid*, 14 May 1738, vol I, pp.475-476.
- (4) Hobbs, J., Journal, 24 Sept, 1833.

'heathen'.<sup>1</sup> As one writer has pointed out, the (Wesleyan) Methodists clearly defined 'the things that belonged to the world and the things that belonged to God. They felt that they had been called out of an evil world into the new life of the Spirit'.<sup>2</sup> When Wesley wrote to Dr Adam Clarke on the death of a friend he commented, 'I am not at all sorry that James Gore is removed from this evil world.'<sup>3</sup>

Wesley's writings clearly illustrate his views on social intercourse and social mores. Dancing and card playing, although considered by some as 'innocent amusements', were to have no place in Methodist societies. The theatre was singled out for special condemnation. He wrote magazine articles exposing its dangers; he preached sermons denouncing its immoral associations; he petitioned city authorities, urging them not to give approval for the building of new theatres.<sup>4</sup> Spiritous liquors he would 'banish ... out of the world' if he had the power. He condemned 'that poisonous herb called hops' on moral and medical grounds.<sup>5</sup> Dress was also the subject of frequent comment. He advised his people to dress 'cheap as well as plain'

- (1) Wesley to Samuel Sparrow, 2 July 1772, Telford John (ed), The Letters of John Wesley, London, 1831 (hereinafter Wesley, Letters), vol 5, pp.327-328; Wesley to Samuel Wesley, 29 April 1790, *ibid*, vol 8, p.218; Wesley, John, The Works of John Wesley ... complete and unabridged ... from the authorized edition published by the Wesleyan Conference Office in London 1872, Michigan, 1958-1959 (hereinafter Wesley, Works), vol 7, Sermon XCIV, p.83.
- (2) Edwards, Maldwyn, After Wesley: A Study of the Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Middle Period, 1791-1849, London, 1948, p.127.
- (3) Wesley to Adam Clarke, 11 Feb 1790, Gill, Frederick C., (ed), Selected Letters of John Wesley, London, 1956, p.229 (hereinafter Gill, Selected Letters).
- (4) Wesley to James Barry, 26 Sept 1787, Wesley, Letters, vol VIII, p.12; Wesley, Works, vol VII, p.34; Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1814, p.224
- (5) Wesley to Lloyds Evening Post, 9 Dec 1772, Wesley, Letters, vol V, p.350; Wesley to Thomas Wride, 11 Dec 1787; *ibid*, vol VIII, p.26; Wesley to the Bristol Gazette, 7 Sept 1789, *ibid*, vol VIII, p.165; Wesley, Works, 'Word to a Drunkard', vol XI, pp.169-171.

and continued:

Let there be no Quaker linen ... no Brussels lace, no elephantine hats or bonnets - those scandals of feminine modesty. Be all of a piece, dressed from head to foot as persons professing godliness.<sup>1</sup>

A strict 'doctrine of work' characterised Wesley's teachings, the principles of which flowed from his own practice. He was a tireless worker and even at the age of 85 his weekly round still included preaching three times on the Sabbath and on as many occasions during the week, meeting Classes, celebrating the Eucharist, attending to business matters, writing letters, and preparing manuscripts for publication.<sup>2</sup> His many hours spent in travelling were never wasted. Many of the abridgements and revisions of books which appeared in the Christian Library were carried out while on horseback. It has been estimated 'that he rode 100,000 miles reading all the while'.<sup>3</sup>

To ensure that his preachers followed his example, Wesley codified his views on work in The Twelve Rules of a Helper. The first rule stated: 'Be diligent. Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Never while away the time', while rule 9 took up this same point and applied it to specific situations: 'Be afraid of nothing but sin; not of fetching wood (if time permit), or drawing water; not of cleaning your own shoes or your neighbours'.<sup>4</sup> In later years this doctrine of work found expression in the instructions that were given to the missionaries to New Zealand and Tongatapu. The pioneers were reminded that 'habits of labour and industry must be cultivated by you ... even as the great Apostle of the Gentiles, working

- (1) Wesley, Works, vol VII, p.24, sermon LXXXVIII, 'On Dress'.
- (2) Wesley, Journal, vol VII, pp.432-435. See entries for 3 Sept 1788, 4 Sept 1788, 7 Sept 1788, 9 Sept 1788, 12 Sept 1788.
- (3) Telford, John, Wesley Anecdotes, London, n.d., pp.87-88.
- (4) Warren, Samuel, Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism. A Digest of all its Laws and Regulations, with a Comprehensive Statement of its Principal Doctrines, London (2 vols), 1827, vol I, p.66 (hereinafter Warren, Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism).

with your own hands'.<sup>1</sup>

One of Wesley's views which was eventually abandoned in England but persisted in Tonga concerns the relationship between men and women in worship. He made it an unalterable rule that there be segregation of the sexes in the services and meetings of the societies. In many cases this meant that meetings had to be exclusively male or exclusively female. Where men and women were present at the same time, there was to be a separation in the room, women on one side, men on the other. Whenever this rule lapsed, or was ignored, the wrath of the 'Father of Methodism' fell upon the offending parties. In a letter to the leaders at Sheffield, who had allowed the intermingling of men and women at service, he warned that two consequences would follow: 'First, I will never set foot in it [the preaching house] more. Secondly, I will forbid any collections to be made for it in any of our societies.'<sup>2</sup> It was, he reminded another preacher, 'A Methodist rule.'<sup>3</sup> In the building of a new preaching house he advised: 'Let the rail ... go down the middle of the room. We have found this the only effectual way of separating the men from the women.'<sup>4</sup>

Education played a prominent role in Wesley's view of remedying the ills of society. He condemned the schools of his day, that catered for the elite, as 'nurseries of all kinds of wickedness'. To send children to them would be 'little better than sending them to the devil'.<sup>5</sup> He believed that children should be sent to schools where a master, with about thirty children, could work in an atmosphere where religion could influence all teaching and learning.<sup>6</sup>

His educational theory was based on the belief that man is plagued by diseases, moral and spiritual, which it is the task of education to combat and remove. Within the family and the school it was the aim of education to cure

- (1) Instructions of the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to Mr Leigh and to Mr Morgan; the former going out to establish Missions in New Zealand and the Friendly Islands; the other to the River Gambia, in West Africa; read to them at a Public Ordination Service, in the New Chapel, City Road, Jan 17, 1821 (hereinafter Instructions of the Committee).
- (2) Wesley to the leaders at Sheffield, 4 Sept 1780, Wesley, Letters, vol VII, p.83.
- (3) Wesley to John Valton, 9 April 1781, *ibid*, p.57.
- (4) Wesley to Zachariah Yewdall, 21 March 1784, *ibid*, p.325.
- (5) Wesley, Works, vol VII, p.83, sermon XCIV, 'On Family Religion'.
- (6) *ibid*.



atheism, pride, love of the world, anger, deviation from the truth, and speaking and acting contrary to justice.<sup>1</sup> The first principle of education, in curing the 'diseases of man's nature', was to break the child's will. This cardinal principle, Wesley asserted, should be enforced from the outset.

In order to form the minds of children, the first thing to be done is, to conquer their will. To inform the understanding is a work of time, and must proceed by slow degrees; but the subjecting of the will is a thing which must be done at once; and the sooner the better.<sup>2</sup>

Wesley's first school was established in his own home where he taught children to read and write and 'cast accounts' in an atmosphere which allowed them to be 'instructed in the sound principles of religion, and earnestly exhorted to fear God and work out their own salvation'.<sup>3</sup> The rules of his first, and subsequent schools, were severe: classes ran from six in the morning till five in the afternoon; all children had to attend an early morning sermon before classes began; there were no 'play days'; children were forbidden to speak in class, except to masters; a child who absented himself for 'two days in one week' was expelled.<sup>4</sup> The times in which he lived, however, saw widespread ill-treatment of children in industry, and Wesley's school rules, including the long hours for lessons, were much more humane than the rules of many of the factory owners.<sup>5</sup>

The children of the poorer classes whose educational opportunities were severely restricted by a number of social and economic factors were Wesley's main concern. Many children were deprived of the opportunity to attend day school by the urgent necessity of supplementing the family income by working in factories.<sup>6</sup> Children of the poor who

- (1) Wesley, Works, vol VII, pp.88-90, Sermon XCV 'On the Education of Children'.
- (2) ibid, p.103, Sermon XCVI 'On Obedience to Parents'.
- (3) Gill, Selected Letters, p.81ff. Wesley to Perronet, 1784.
- (4) Wesley to Perronet, 1784, Gill, Selected Letters, p.82.
- (5) It was common for factory owners to penalize children for offences such as lateness, whistling or talking while at work.
- (6) Matthews, H.F., Methodism and the Education of the People 1791-1851, London 1949, pp.9-12. Curtis, S.J. and Boulwood, M.E.A., An Introductory History of English Education since 1800, London, 1960, p.1.

were forced to work could obtain the rudiments of education at Dame Schools and Common Day Schools, if they could afford the moderate fees charged. These schools were of a very low standard and have been described as little more than child minding centres.<sup>1</sup> Educational opportunities were also offered at the free schools, called Charity Schools, which had been commenced by the Church of England in the early years of the 18th century. By the end of that same century, however, they had waned in popularity, and the Charity school system was in a state of rapid decline.<sup>2</sup>

Wesleyan Methodism stimulated popular education at the turn of the century in two ways. First of all, Methodists espoused the cause of education for the poor and encouraged members of the Methodist societies in many parts of Britain to commence day schools. Schools were established, initially, at London, Bristol, and Newcastle. These were the 'forerunners of a great number of day schools which made Methodism in the last century rank with the Church of England as the greatest force for popular education in England'.<sup>3</sup>

Topics of an educational nature were constantly brought before the Wesleyan people through the pages of the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. Month by month there appeared articles, serialized essays, book reviews, news items, and 'notices' on educational topics.<sup>4</sup> One article, for example, entitled 'On Education' ran in serial form for almost four years. The most advanced methods of teaching were reviewed and recommended.<sup>5</sup> In the early 1840s a special Education Committee was set up by the Conference, and it quickly affirmed its

increased conviction of the paramount importance of giving a scriptural and decidedly religious education to young persons generally, and of the obligation which devolves upon the church of Christ to aid in securing, as far as possible, the means of such an education, particularly to the children of the poorer classes.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Barnard, H.A., A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944, London, 1947, p.3.
- (2) Pollard, Hugh M., Pioneers of Popular Education, London, 1956, p.138.
- (3) Edwards, After Wesley, p.143.
- (4) See Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1822, 1824, 1825 and, in particular 1845.
- (5) *ibid*, 1824, 1837, 1841.
- (6) *ibid*, 1851, p.1028f.

In 1851, after the opening of a teacher training college, the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine reported that the Wesleyan body had 'committed itself, not only to its own immediate friends, but also to the nation at large, as being pledged to take a share in perpetuity, ... in the great work of education ...'<sup>1</sup>

In the early years of Wesleyan day school operations the Conference had no system for teacher training. When David Stow commenced his Normal School and Training Institution in Glasgow in 1827 to teach children and to train teachers, the Wesleyans were immediately attracted by the strong moral and religious flavour of 'the System'. As a businessman, Stow had, in the word of his biographer, been at work 'amid filth, misery, and blasphemies, marking the tendencies of the human intellect, the moral sway of early habit, and the magic that lies in the sympathy of numbers'.<sup>2</sup> The 'sympathy of numbers' became a cardinal principle of his system. It was based on the observation that a fellow feeling among the neglected children in the streets provided a sound basis for social control in the classroom. Thus developed what Stow called 'the public opinion of the class', which was a much more powerful disciplinary weapon than corporal punishment.<sup>3</sup>

To meet the sympathy of companionship in what is evil, he said, we ought to oppose it by the only antidote, viz. the sympathy of companionship in what is good. Let the morning lessons of a week day training school, therefore, be made the basis of the practice of the children during each day, under the superintendence of an accomplished master, in doors at lessons, and out of doors at play. Let the sympathy of numbers, which in towns so materially leads to evil, be laid hold of, on scriptural principles as in the Normal training school on the side of good; and then, and not till then, will the sunken class be elevated, the sinking kept from falling, and the uprising class be safe in bringing up their off-spring amidst the contaminating<sub>4</sub> influence of a city atmosphere.

In order to 'reverse the training process of the

- (1) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1851, p.366.
- (2) Fraser, William, Memoir of the life of David Stow: Founder of the Training System of Education, London, 1868, pp.69-70 (hereinafter Fraser, Memoir of David Stow).
- (3) ibid, p.71.
- (4) ibid, pp.71-73.

street' he insisted upon the necessity of what Wilderspin, another British educational innovator, had called 'the uncovered classroom' - the playground. There was to be constant activity, in doors and out, in order to promote the happiness of the children, and to allow 'innocent pleasures' to act as 'a preservative from impulsiveness, irritability, and passion'.<sup>1</sup> The uncovered class-room 'was their little world, revealing natural feelings and the tendencies of life ...' an arena where 'new forms of mutual intercourse' could be taught.<sup>2</sup> Stow also emphasized the importance of what he called 'picturing out', a method of class-room teaching where, by the use of simple, concrete, and colourful language, the doctrines, precepts, and narratives of the Bible could be communicated.<sup>3</sup>

The Wesleyans used Stow's facilities until they were able to set up a teacher training college of their own. Prospective candidates for this training were carefully selected. In 1845, of the one hundred and sixteen who offered themselves for training in Glasgow, the Wesleyan Committee approved only forty four. Fifty nine were rejected, and thirteen allowed to withdraw.<sup>4</sup> Among those accepted was Richard Amos who was to be appointed, on completion of his course, to the Friendly Islands.<sup>5</sup>

In 1847 the Conference selected a site at Westminster for the erection of a Training College, and the new institution was officially opened in 1851. The Magazine described this event as the 'crowning addition' to the Wesleyan system of education.<sup>6</sup> It had cost £36,000, of which £7,000 had been a Government subsidy.<sup>7</sup> Within a year of its opening Westminster had 'five large schools, duly classified, with about seven hundred children in daily attendance ... and a College containing an average of forty six students ...'. Here, continued the report, 'may be daily seen children of the poor, once ragged and forlorn, but now clean, decently clad, cheerful, well behaved, and making rapid progress in the acquisition of knowledge ...'.<sup>8</sup> The Institution was to

- (1) Fraser, Memorial of David Stow, p.86.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, p.70.
- (4) Mathews, Education of the People, p.129-130
- (5) Missionary Notices, vol IV, New Series, 1846, p.201.
- (6) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1851, p.366.
- (7) *ibid.*
- (8) *ibid.*, 1853, p.469.

become the 'source of information on all matters connected with Wesleyan Education', was to produce 'a complete set of textbooks on elementary subjects', and was to be 'a distinctly Methodist contribution to the educational system of the country.'<sup>1</sup>

The second stimulation of popular education came through the Wesleyans' enthusiastic support for Sunday schools. Robert Raikes has been accorded the honour of commencing the Sunday school movement, but Wesleyans were in the lead from the beginning.<sup>2</sup> Wesley encouraged the movement, and as one writer has argued '... secular subjects were only indirectly taught, but scholars did learn to read, and the more intelligent would acquire a useful general knowledge.'<sup>3</sup> In Wesley's view, however, the Sunday school served important religious and moral ends. When he found that Sunday schools were springing up all over the country he wrote approvingly that, 'So many children ... are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners at least, as well as to read the Bible.'<sup>4</sup>

Education for Wesley had a much wider application, however, than formal schooling in day or Sunday school. Christian growth, he maintained, resulted from, and was stimulated by, knowledge. Self-education, and improvement of the mind, were therefore, essential elements in his scheme of things, and, as he once told one of his assistants, 'The spreading of books is always a means of increasing the awakening in any place'. He continually urged his helpers to distribute his books. Preachers were castigated for laxness in this matter, stewards were urged to improve the selection available to their people, and when members could

- (1) Matthews, Education of the People, p.130. The Wesleyans published a Sunday school magazine which provided teachers with information, educational theory, and practical help with lessons. See for example The Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine and Journal of Education, vol III, New Series, 1868, pp.12, 76, 199, 244.
- (2) Edwards, Maldwyn, John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, London, 1933, p.136.
- (3) *ibid*, p.138.
- (4) Edwards, Wesley and the Eighteenth Century, p.138.

not afford to buy, they were to be supplied 'with money or without'. 'Our little books', Wesley wrote to one of his preachers, 'you should spread wherever you go. Reading Christians will be knowing Christians.'<sup>1</sup>

The education of his preachers was always of paramount importance to Wesley. Many of them were men of little education, and were often criticized as such. While insisting that piety was the only pre-requisite for his preachers, he nevertheless published and printed hundreds of volumes for their education. He was, as he claimed, 'homo unius libri' - 'a man of one book',<sup>2</sup> but this did not restrict him exclusively to that one book. During his lifetime he published many of his journals, letters, and sermons, as well as tracts on various subjects. His editing of The Christian Library provided fifty volumes of some of what he felt was the best literature available.

Wesley also wrote and published grammars in English, French, Greek, and Latin, as well as an English Dictionary. He ventured into the realms of science with his Primitive Physic, (a guide to home medicine), and Electricity made Plain and Simple. He edited and abridged histories of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Jews, and he wrote his own Concise History of England.<sup>2</sup> He only published one novel, Henry Brooke's Fool of Quality, under the more enlightening title The History of Henry Earl of Moreland. Generally speaking he did not approve of novels. In reply to Mary Bishop, Mistress of a very good school who had asked for a list of books for her pupils, Wesley replied

I would recommend very few novels to young persons, for fear they would be too desirous of more ... The want of novels may be supplied by well chosen histories; such as, The Concise History of England, The Concise History of the Church, Rollin's Ancient History, Hooke's Roman History,

- (1) Wesley to Samuel Bradburn, 16 Sept 1780; Wesley to Mary Bosanguet, 17 Nov 1773; Wesley to Richard Boardman, 12 Jan 1776; Wesley to John Mason, 17 Feb 1776; Wesley to John Bredin, 19 Oct 1781; Wesley to Richard Rhodda, 9 Sept 1782, Wesley, Letters, vol VI, pp.55, 200-201, 207-208; vol VII, pp.33, 86, 138.
- (2) Wesley, Works, Sermon CVII 'God's Vineyard', vol VII, p.203.

... and a few more. For the older and more sensible children, Malebranche's Search for Truth, is an excellent French book. Perhaps you might add Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding ... I had almost forgotten that beautiful book The Travels of Cyrus, whether in French or English.<sup>1</sup>

Wesley applied similar principles to the education of his assistants. He advised one preacher to read a chapter of the New Testament every morning, together with the relevant comments from the Notes, and to spend the remainder of the morning 'in reading, meditation, and prayer'.<sup>2</sup> Whenever time permitted he gathered his preachers together for teaching sessions. His journal entry of 23 March 1749, records one such occasion.

My design was to have as many of our preachers here during Lent as could possibly be spared, and to read lectures to them every day, as I did to my pupils at Oxford. I had seventeen of them in all. These I divided into two classes, and read to one Bishop Pearson's On the Creed, to the other Aldrich's Logic, and to both - Rules for Action and Utterance.<sup>3</sup>

His publication of the Arminian Magazine in 1778 was, he said, to help to 'preserve Methodists and make Calvinists quiet', and it contained what he called 'the marrow of experimental and practical religion'.<sup>4</sup> He urged his preachers and leaders to disseminate it as far and wide as possible.<sup>5</sup> For Wesley the publication and distribution of literature was all part of a programme to ensure that Methodists would become what he called 'altogether Christians, scriptural, rational Christians.'<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Wesley to Mary Bishop, 18 Aug 1784, Wesley, Letters, vol VII, p.228.
- (2) Wesley to Zachariah Yewdall, 9 Oct 1779, ibid, vol VI, pp.357-358.
- (3) Wesley, Journal, 23 March 1749, vol III, p.391.
- (4) Wesley to Thomas Taylor, 15 Jan 1778, Gill, Selected Letters, pp.179-180.
- (5) Wesley to Richard Rhodda, 9 Sept 1782, Wesley, Letters, vol VII, p.138; Wesley to Thomas Carlill, 23 Jan 1778, ibid, vol VI, p.296.
- (6) Wesley to Mary Bishop, 5 Nov 1769, ibid, vol V, p.154.

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- (6) Wesley to Mary Bishop, 5 Nov 1769, *ibid*, vol V, p.154.



IN political matters Wesley claimed to be 'ignorant', and further argued that 'politics lie quite outside my province'.<sup>1</sup> He made it abundantly clear that in the Magazine 'no politics shall have a place.'<sup>2</sup> He was, nevertheless, deeply patriotic and strongly attached to the established system, including the monarchy. In 1756, when invasion from France was rumoured, he wrote to the joint Secretary for the Treasury, offering to raise at least two hundred volunteers 'for His Majesty's Service'. The offer made it clear that the troop would support themselves for at least a year if need be.<sup>3</sup> When in the 1760s there was considerable dissatisfaction with George III, he wrote a long letter to a friend in which he asserted

His [King George's] whole conduct both in public and private ever since he began his reign, the uniform tenor of his behaviour, the general course both of his words and actions, has been worthy of an Englishman, worthy of a Christian, and worthy of a King.<sup>4</sup>

Following Wesley's death, the 'No Politics' rule was adhered to, but with greater difficulty. One writer has claimed, it would seem correctly, that it eventually divided Methodism into 'Wesleyans [who] championed authority in Church and State, and were Tories' and 'the Free Methodists [who] raised the standard of liberty, and were avowed liberals.'<sup>5</sup> In the early years of the nineteenth century the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine contained many memoirs of notable Wesleyan Methodists, and these accounts frequently referred to loyalty to the monarchy. In a memoir of Samuel Hick, published in 1831, this attachment to the established system and the King is conceived of as flowing from the scripture itself

- (1) Wesley to a friend, Dec 1768, Wesley, Letters, vol V, p.370.
- (2) Wesley to Walter Churchoy, 18 Oct 1777, *ibid*, vol VI, p.283.
- (3) Wesley to James West, M.P., 1 March 1756, Gill Selected Letters, pp.101-102.
- (4) Wesley to a friend, Dec 1768, Wesley, Letters, vol V, p.376.
- (5) Taylor, E.R., Methodism and Politics 1781-1851, Cambridge, 1935, p.202 (hereinafter Taylor, Methodism and Politics).

His [Hick's] religion, being that of the Bible, inspired him with loyalty and patriotism. He would yield to no man in love to his king and country. His late Majesty King George the Third ... stood high in his esteem and affection ... He admired his virtues, defended his character, praised him in the face of his enemies, and prayed for him with all his heart.<sup>1</sup>

The Annual Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society also served as a continual reminder to missionaries of the official stand of their church vis-à-vis the monarchy. An extract from the Standing Instructions to missionaries which always prefaced the annual reports of the Society contained this specific reference

You know that the venerable WESLEY was always distinguished by his love to his country, by his conscientious loyalty, and by his attachment to that illustrious family which has so long filled the throne of Great Britain. You know that your brethren at home are activated by the same principles, and walk by the same rule; we have confidence in you that you will preserve the same character of religious regard to good order and submission 'to the powers that be' - in which we glory. Our motto is, 'Fear God, and honour the King'.<sup>2</sup>

Wesley was in his day at the same time religious radical and political conservative. Methodism after Wesley retained his conservatism in politics and, with the passage of time, moved to a much more conservative religious position as well. And as far as support for the idea of monarchy was concerned, the missionaries in the field were equally as zealous as their colleagues at home.

WESLEY's most lasting and original contribution to Methodism was the all embracing system of control that he devised for

- (1) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1831, p.221.
- (2) See for example W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1830, xi.

the regulation of the members of his societies. During his lifetime he alone manipulated these controls; after his death the Conference, according to his design, assumed that role. Wherever Methodism spread it was characterized by Wesley's system of 'discipline'.

Wesley began by organizing the interested followers of each village, town or city, into congregations which he called 'societies'. These societies, which met together on a certain day of each week for religious exercises, were initially led by Wesley himself. As the movement grew, and societies sprang up all over the country, he appointed 'Assistants' or 'Preachers' to lead them.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the societies was to provide opportunities for like-minded people to 'pray together, to receive the word of exhortation and to watch over one another in love, that they might help each other to work out their salvation.'<sup>2</sup>

In 1742 the Bristol society was in financial difficulties and one of the members suggested that it be divided into groups or Classes, each under a leader. Every member was to contribute one penny a week until the debt be paid. The system was adopted and as the leaders made their weekly visits to the members of their Classes, they began to take note of the spiritual health of the people under their charge. Wesley had long sought means to detect the 'disorderly walkers' among his followers, and the Class system appeared to provide the answer.

'It struck me immediately', he later wrote. 'This is the thing; the very thing we have wanted so long! I called all the leaders of the Classes together (so we used to term them and their companies), and desired that each would make a particular enquiry into the behaviour of those whom he saw weekly. They did so. Many disorderly walkers were detected. Some turned from the evil of their ways. Some were put away from us. Many saw it with fear, and rejoiced unto God with reverence.'<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Wesley to Perronet, 1748, Gill, Selected Letters, p.68ff.
- (2) *ibid*, pp.67-68.
- (3) *ibid*, p.70.

Thus the system of Classes and Class leaders which found a place in Polynesia in later years came into being and became a distinguishing mark of the Wesleyan Methodists.

Each quarter Wesley visited the Classes personally, questioned each individual member about his spiritual state, and issued 'tickets' bearing his signature, to those 'whose serious and good conversation I found no reason to doubt.'<sup>1</sup> The ticket carried with it the implied recommendation that 'the bearer thereof [*is*] one that fears God and works righteousness.'<sup>2</sup> Possession of a current ticket gave the holder admittance to society meetings and it thus provided Wesley with what he called 'a quiet and inoffensive method' of removing any member of a Class who did not measure up to the required standards.<sup>3</sup>

Classes contained ten to twelve persons, but sometimes as many as thirty, and the need was soon expressed for a more intimate meeting where select groups could gather for confession, prayer, and mutual help. The Classes were, therefore, divided into smaller companies called 'bands' in which each member could, as Wesley put it, 'freely and plainly [*confess*] ... the true state of our soul, with the faults we have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting.'<sup>4</sup>

The creation of the bands did not satisfy the Wesleyan Methodist's need for opportunities to give public testimony to the grace of God. The unfilled need was met by the organization of what Wesley called 'lovefeasts', held quarterly, at which men and women separately, and later men and women together, could eat a frugal meal of a 'little plain cake and water', and could testify publicly to the reality of the love of God for their souls.<sup>5</sup> The result of

- (1) Wesley to Perronet, 1748, Gill, Selected Letters, p.73.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, p.74.
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) *ibid.*, p.75.

all these meetings - Classes, bands, society, and lovefeasts - was that, as their founder said :

... the bands were burst in sunder, and sin had no more dominion over them. Many were delivered from temptations out of which till then they found no way of escape. They were built up in the most holy faith ... they were strengthened in love, and more effectively provoked to abound in every good work.<sup>1</sup>

The word 'discipline' has particular significance for Methodists. By it Wesley meant adherence to the rules and conventions that had grown up around his movement. It referred to keeping the rules of society, Class, and band; it meant ready obedience to the expressed will of Wesley himself; it involved happy acceptance of Wesley's stationing of preachers. To be a good Wesleyan was to offer unquestioning obedience to the ruler and his rules. Any lack of discipline, Wesley asserted, would lead to confusion and the destruction of society and while he lived he worked to have that discipline so fully accepted that after his death there would be peace and unity among the Wesleyan Methodist societies. In a letter to one of his friends he said, in reference to some lack of discipline, '... if this work is not obviated while I live, probably it will never be. None can stem the tide when I am gone; therefore I must now do what I can, God being my helper.'<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1769 the problem of succession was exercising Wesley's mind and he wrote a letter to 'the Travelling Preachers' in which he suggested methods for maintaining unity after his death. He suggested that a Committee could be set up to 'do what I do now.'<sup>3</sup> In 1784 he prepared a 'Deed of Declaration' which gave 'legal description of "the Conference of the people called

- (1) Wesley to Perronet, 1748, Gill, Selected Letters, p.75.
- (2) Wesley to Valton, 3 Dec 1782, Wesley, Letters, vol VII, p.154.
- (3) Wesley to the Travelling Preachers, 4 Aug 1769, ibid, vol V, p.145.

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Methodists". The Deed named one hundred preachers, referred to thereafter as the 'Legal Hundred', and they, as 'The Conference', were to take over supreme authority in the Methodist organization.<sup>1</sup> In the first Conference after Wesley's death the decision was taken that the President and Secretary - the chief executive officers of the church - should hold office for only one Conference at a time.<sup>2</sup> Wesley had ruled as a 'benevolent despot'; the Conference thus ensured that no successor would have the opportunity to build himself into a similar position.<sup>3</sup>

As Wesleyan Methodism expanded, the country was divided into administrative units called 'Districts', each with a minister as 'Chairman'. Each district was made up of several smaller units called 'Circuits' which were in turn composed of the societies in villages and towns of a particular geographic area. Thus a chain of control was established from the society to the circuit, to the district, to the Conference. At the head of the Conference was one person, the President. The 'Circuit', however, became the most important aspect of the system for most Methodists. It was the local base for the church, and although it had grown out of the English county system, it was able, nevertheless, to find a place in Wesleyan Methodism throughout the world. And Tonga was no exception.

THE WESLEYAN Methodist Missionary Society had its origin in 1769, at a meeting at Leeds, when Wesley called for volunteers 'to help our brethren in America.' Two young

- (1) Taylor, Methodism and Politics, p.49-50 ; Laws of the Methodist Church of Australasia, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 181-191.
- (2) Taylor, Methodism and Politics, pp.67-68.
- (3) Wesley made it clear that the stationing of preachers was his exclusive prerogative, that the Conference was called by himself as an advisory body only, that 'my brother and I' were the only judges of what would be printed in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.  
For Wesley's 'despotic' rule see Wesley to Thomas Taylor, 18 Jan 1780, Wesley, Letters, vol VI, pp.375-376; Wesley to Mrs. Bennis, 3 Nov 1772, ibid, vol V, p.343; Wesley to Jonathan Crowther, 10 May 1789, Gill, Selected Letters, p.224.

men responded, a collection of £50 was taken up, and Wesleyanism had its first missionaries.<sup>1</sup> Some years later Dr Coke, a prominent Wesleyan society member, gave further stimulus to the missionary movement when he published a pamphlet entitled An Address to the Pious and Benevolent, proposing an annual subscription for the support of Missionaries to the Highlands and adjacent Islands of Scotland, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, and Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec.<sup>2</sup> Wesley wrote Coke a warm letter of encouragement, offering his complete support for the scheme. He was not always in such sympathy with Coke, however, and in a letter to Dr Adam Clarke, when Coke's mission collections competed with a collection organized by Wesley for chapel building at home, he complained: 'The doctor is often too hasty. He does not maturely consider all circumstances'.<sup>3</sup>

The differences of opinion did not rest with finance. Wesley was also concerned with Coke's recruitment of manpower. 'Ought we to suffer Dr Coke', he complained, 'to pick one after another the choicest of our young preachers'.<sup>4</sup> Wesley, it would seem was much more interested in the growth of the work in England, and perhaps America, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was not officially organized on a world wide basis until after his death in 1791. It was at the Conference of 1814 that an appeal was made for 'the immediate formation of a missionary society in all churches and stations and the appointment of secretaries to conduct the business'.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Alder, Robert, Wesleyan Missions: their progress stated and their claims enforced, London, 1842 (hereinafter Alder, Wesleyan Missions), p.1.
- (2) Wesley, Letters, Vol VII, p.322 (Editor's note).
- (3) Wesley to Dr. Adam Clarke, 5 Nov 1788, Wesley, Letters, vol VIII, p.101.
- (4) Wesley to Peard Dickenson, 11 April 1789, *ibid*, p.129.
- (5) Aikman, J. Logan, Cyclopaedia of Christian Missions; their rise, progress and present position, London and Glasgow, 1860, p.161.



Wesleyan missionaries had gone out to various parts of the world before 1814. Coke left for Nova Scotia in 1786; there were workers on the continent of Europe as early as 1791, and in Africa in 1811. But it was the Conference of 1814 that really gave the incentive and provided the organization that led to the launching of the W.M.M.S. Missions in Asia were established in that year, in Australia the following year, in New Zealand in 1821, and Polynesia in 1822.<sup>1</sup> The W.M.M.S. expanded rapidly. Twenty five years after the first missionary had begun work in Asia there were twenty one main stations there, with twenty two missionaries, seventeen assistant missionaries, and one thousand two hundred and forty members. In 1815 there were only two missionaries in Africa caring for one hundred and forty two members. By 1840 there were fifty two missionaries and four thousand seven hundred and ninety six members. In Australasia and Polynesia, where there were no missionaries at all in 1814, there were forty seven by 1840, caring for nearly eleven thousand members.<sup>2</sup> When making an urgent appeal for funds in 1840, the Reverend Robert Alder pointed out that it was the extraordinary success of the Wesleyan Missionary Society that had led to the financial crisis. There were,' he said, 'in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australasia, and Polynesia, ... three hundred and sixty seven [missionaries] and ... an equal number of salaried teachers, and members in communion ... about eighty thousand.'<sup>3</sup>

The mission to Tongatapu, commenced by Walter Lawry in 1822, was the Wesleyan Church's first venture into Polynesia. In the 1830s Tonga became the base for other missions in the area, first in Fiji, then Samoa. Later missions were established in Rotuma, and finally the Solomon Islands and Papua-New Guinea.

- (1) Adler, Wesleyan Missions, p.p.3-4.
- (2) *ibid*, p.49.
- (3) *ibid*.

From its inception the W.M.M.S. had operated from a highly centralized headquarters, the Mission House, in London. At headquarters the General Secretaries of the Mission carried out the day to day affairs of the society. They conducted all correspondence with Missionaries in the field. They initiated new recruits, who in almost all cases stayed with one or other of the secretaries while waiting for a ship to carry them to the South Seas, Africa, Asia or America. The secretaries were feared by those who came before the Candidates Committee and men like Jabez Bunting, one of the early secretaries, had a reputation for severity. Some of his maxims, which were constantly voiced, were enough to sober young aspirants after the missionary career:

- (1) A Missionary ought to be willing to live any how and to die any where.
- (2) The Missionary will not be murdered though he may be assassinated.
- (3) All persons taken into the work for mission stations are to remain abroad for life.
- (4) So long as the missionary has no wife, the heathen people must have no gospel.<sup>1</sup>

The W.M.M.S. through its Missionary Committee carried out a number of special functions: examination of candidates, discipline of missionaries, finance of the work and appointment of personnel. Through the general secretaries, it proffered advice on specific problems encountered in the field, gave encouragement to missionaries and censured any whose actions were contrary to instructions or Christian duty.<sup>2</sup> Policies were laid down

- (1) Harrison, G. Elsie, Methodist Good Companions, London, (hereinafter Harrison, Methodist Good Companions), p.88.
- (2) Examples can be found in W.M.M.S. Outward Correspondence, 17 April, 1832; 28 March, 1838; 7 April, 1842; 19 Feb, 1844.

in printed Instructions, issued to all out-going missionaries. These instructions covered almost every facet of mission life: barter, housing, household organization, schools and education, political involvement, to name just a few.

An important clause regulated contact between the missionary in the field and the secretaries in London. The Miscellaneous Regulations of 1832 included the following:

In making extracts from your Journals for transmission to the society in London always remember that we do not want trifling details, but such communications as show us what you are actually doing in your mission - what are its state and prospects; and what occurrences have taken place, which may throw any light upon the state of the people, and the effects produced by the gospel, or by school instruction. In countries but little known, all notices of natural productions, scenery, customs, manners, idolatries, superstitions, traditions, are important.<sup>1</sup>

Other regulations stated the Committee's policy on such widely divergent subjects as catechizing, book-room regulations, journeys, marriage and baptism, natives sent to England, quarterage, school reports, solitary stations, and a host of other matters.<sup>2</sup>

The highly centralized administration of the W.M.M.S. could at times be rather clumsy, given the difficulties of communication in the early 19th century. Frequently missionaries in the field wished to take advantage of changing circumstances and new opportunities, but were compelled to await approval from the Committee, which in many cases took from six to twelve months to arrive. It was not unknown for missionaries to wait months for some urgent message from the Committee, only to find that the vessel carrying it had been shipwrecked.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Miscellaneous Regulations: being an Appendix to the General Instructions of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee. For the Private Use of Missionaries, London, 1832 (hereinafter Miscellaneous Regulations), p.16. The 'Standing Instructions' stated that every missionary was 'peremptorily required' to keep a journal. See The Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereinafter W.M.M.S. Annual Report), 1824, xiii; 1855, xv.
- (2) Miscellaneous Regulations, pp.45-46.
- (3) See for example Thomas, Journal, 14 Nov 1829.

The W.M.M.S. drew its support from the members of the Wesleyan societies all over England, and from a small group of interested benefactors. An annual Anniversary Meeting, held in London, stimulated interest, and resolutions of encouragement and approval were moved and seconded by the general secretaries, returned missionaries, representatives of other missionary societies, and a variety of supporters of the cause of missions. These anniversary meetings were usually chaired by a Member of Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the year secretaries and collectors in each church and circuit brought the message of missions to their own local groups. Regular prayer meetings were held and leaders read selections from the Missionary Notices - a monthly magazine containing extracts from the letters and journals of missionaries in the field - to inform and inspire members, and to give direction to prayer.<sup>2</sup>

Papers relative to the Wesleyan Missions and to the State of Heathen Countries, published quarterly, and the missionary section of the Methodist Magazine augmented the main thrust of the Missionary Notices. For the children the Juvenile Offering, a monthly publication, provided simplified versions of anecdotes from the correspondence of missionaries. The workers in the field could thus contribute to their own support. Church members, stirred by what had already been accomplished, or horrified by the depraved and ignorant state of the heathen, subscribed to the W.M.M.S. funds, and the work of mission could continue and expand.

Wesleyan Methodism, which arose as a movement within the Established Church, was at Wesley's death, little more than a group of religious societies. By the early 19th century, however, it had become a highly organized church, strongly evangelical and enthusiastically dedicated to education as an instrument of social and religious change.

- (1) See for example The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, relating principally to the Foreign Missions established by the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., the Rev. Dr. Coke, and others; and now carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference (hereinafter Missionary Notices), London, vol XX, Third Series, June 1841, p.506.
- (2) Alder, Wesleyan Missions, p.76f.

It was this church, with its peculiar form of government built upon a foundation of church law, that was established in Tonga. The Wesleyan brand of Christianity was presented as a substitute for ancient Polynesian religious beliefs, and Wesleyan rules, taught in school, Class, and band, introduced written law into the Friendly Islands.

CHAPTER III

MISSIONARIES TO TONGA: THEIR BACKGROUND  
EDUCATION, CHARACTER AND TRAINING

During the period 1822-1854, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London sent some 30 missionaries to establish and consolidate the Friendly Islands Mission. These missionaries were for the most part men of working class-tradesman background: nail makers, brass founders, blacksmiths, textile workers, farm labourers, carpenters, printers and bookbinders. Two only had been trained for mission work at the Wesleyan training institutions at Hoxton and Richmond. The list also includes two doctors, a trained teacher, a bookseller and accountant, and one university graduate.<sup>1</sup> The majority had had little formal education and had learned to read and write at Sunday schools and had then entered upon apprenticeships or commenced unskilled work. Many of them were instructed by village ministers after they had commenced meeting in Class and preaching.<sup>2</sup>

Their pre-missionary preparation involved a few weeks in London with the General Secretaries of the mission. There they were given useful advice and counsel, introduced to returned missionaries, and in some cases, sent for lessons with a retired minister.<sup>3</sup> The wives or fiancées of intending missionaries attended hospitals to learn something of first aid and midwifery.<sup>4</sup>

The missionary candidates were typical of the enthusiastic young preachers who had been trained up in the Wesleyan system of classes, bands, and local preachers meetings. Lacking in most cases specific training for mission work, they were taken from their secular occupations,

- (1) W.M.M.S. Candidates Papers, 1829-1850, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) Turner, Peter, A Brief Account of Myself from my birth to the time I became a Wesleyan Missionary in 1829 (hereinafter Turner, Brief Account); Thomas, Journal, 7 Feb 1825; Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.324. By way of contrast see Rule W.H. Recollections of my Life, London, 1886 where Rule notes that he received 'Nine months' preparation. He studied under the Rev. Richard Watson, an opportunity, he said, that 'very few of my brethren enjoyed'. See pp.19-20.
- (3) Turner, Brief Account; Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.324.
- (4) *ibid.*

ordained, and sent out to the foreign fields.

On the way to their stations they visited various ports of call where they gained new insights as they observed other missionaries at work, or made contacts with colonial laymen of differing trades and professions. Schools in particular were visited and critically evaluated. Richard Lyth, for example, visited an infant school in Hobart Town and was impressed with what he saw, but recorded some reservations. 'The plan adopted needs, I think, to be carefully guarded, lest too much amusement should become incorporated with the instruction ...'.<sup>1</sup> While in Tahiti, en route to Tonga, he again visited schools, but in this instance he was able to observe British methods adapted to the native situation. 'The Lancastrian plan', he noted, 'is adopted as far as practicable'.<sup>2</sup> At Samoa, Lyth was able to witness the creation of a rudimentary code of laws.

This was the first legislative assembly ever held in Tutuila -- The chiefs were seated on their mats in the circumference of the building - forming a semi-circle - opposite to them in the centre were Capt. Bethune, Lieut. Fletcher, the Missionaries etc. seated also on mats in the Samoan style.<sup>3</sup>

The Captain's advice was translated by the resident missionaries as the first Samoan code of laws came into being. Most missionaries were not as fortunate as Lyth. Their ports of call were usually confined to Sydney, Hobart, and New Zealand.

The voyage afforded opportunities for extended periods of reading, and apart from general religious works and Wesley's writings, they read the accounts of Pacific voyagers, explorers and missionaries, which usually included such works as Cook's voyages, 'Mariner's Tonga', the London Missionary Society's 'Transactions', and the Wesleyan Missionary Notices.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Lyth, R.B., Journal, 14 Feb 1837.
- (2) *ibid*, 5 Dec 1837.
- (3) *ibid*, 27 Dec 1837.
- (4) Cargill, David, Journal, 29 Nov 1832; 11 Jan 1833; Lyth, Journal, 15 Nov 1836; 10 July 1837; 19 Feb 1837; Thomas, Journal, 29 June 1825.

In the early years the Missionary Committee Instructions made it clear that the committee expected missionaries to regard their appointments to the islands as life long vocations. When Lawry left the station in the Friendly Islands in 1823 without permission the Committee made a point of reminding its workers that the only acceptable reason for wishing to leave an appointment was breakdown in health. Danger, even of death, was not a reasonable excuse. The Committee resolved 'that every Missionary who shall, in future, return home, without the consent of the Missionary Committee, except in case of extreme danger through sickness, shall be considered as having thereby excluded himself from our Connexion'.<sup>1</sup>

By the 1830s, however, missionary Circulars were urging men in the field to remain at their posts 'as long as health and circumstances permit', emphasizing that such a decision should be left to the guidance of Divine Providence.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the Committee's attitude the turnover in mission staff was rapid. Of the thirty men who came to Tonga during the period 1822-1854, sixteen remained from one to five years, nine from six to ten years, two from eleven to fifteen years, and three only remained for sixteen or more years. Of those in this last category, John Thomas (1826-1859) and Peter Turner (1831-1853) had the longest terms of service and exercised a greater influence over the affairs of the Tonga mission station than any other of the missionaries.<sup>3</sup>

Without exception, the missionaries to Tonga, in keeping with their colleagues sent to other spheres of work, were dedicated to Wesley and his ideas. They read his sermons, journals, and Notes on the New Testament; they appealed to his writings in cases of dispute; they measured their own feeble efforts against his great achievements.

- (1) W.M.M.S. Minutes, 17 Aug 1825, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Circulars, 14 Sept 1831; 30 Aug 1834.
- (3) Thomas returned to England for a brief period, 1850-1853. Turner spent the years 1835-1839 in Samoa.



Lyth was not alone when he recorded in his Journal:

Engaged during the morning with reading Wesley's Journal - What a model of self denial - perseverance - the St. Paul of the 18th Century whose works follow him. O that I could as closely copy Wesley as he Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Following their beloved founder, they were also dedicated to educational improvement through constant reading and study.<sup>2</sup> The Book-Room in London, operated by the Wesleyan society, provided missionaries with special credit and discount arrangements, thus encouraging them to keep up this essential duty.<sup>3</sup> Their lack of childhood educational opportunities was also a constant spur to effort for many. Apart from other considerations, the nature of their work - translating the scriptures, teaching in schools and institutions, writing school textbooks, and constantly revising and correcting the developing written language - forced them to keep up a reasonable level of reading and study. Each individual missionary had to work on his own programme for self improvement, for it was not until 1835 that the training institution was established to prepare the ministers and missionaries of the Wesleyan society.

All the missionaries were expected to share in the total work of the stations to which they were appointed. Printers, for example, were expected to lead Class and band meetings, attend to the sick, and preach in English and Tongan. Teachers visited the sick and dispensed medicine; doctors attended to the schools and made themselves available for numerous other duties.<sup>4</sup> This policy had its

- (1) Lyth, Journal, 18 Nov 1836. See also Hobbs, John, Journal, 24 Sept 1833; Turner, Journal, 6 May 1831; 9 Oct 1831.
- (2) The word 'improvement' appears frequently in the missionaries' journals. See Thomas, Journal, 27 April 1827; Cargill, Journal, 20 March, 1833.
- (3) Miscellaneous Regulations, 1832, pp.9-11;  
W.M.M.S. Circulars, 19 Sept 1827; 27 Aug 1829;  
31 Aug 1835; 10 March 1854.
- (4) For examples see Lyth, Journal, 12-15 Aug 1838 and Hobbs, Journal, 13 Feb 1835; 28 Feb 1835.

drawbacks, and by 1843 at least one missionary was complaining to the Committee that the constant call upon the missionaries to do all manner of tasks led ultimately to the neglect of many important aspects of the work, especially education.<sup>1</sup>

THE PERSONNEL sent to the Friendly Islands probably included a fair cross section of Wesleyan missionaries. Thomas and Turner represent the men of little education who struggled to improve themselves in the face of challenging situations. Between them they served the mission in Tonga for almost fifty years. Woon and Hobbs are representative of the printers while Francis Wilson, Thomas Adams and Richard Amos stand apart, Wilson and Adams as 'Institution men', and Amos as a trained teacher.

John Thomas, whose term of service in Tonga spans the period of this study, was a man of humble origins who received a little education at Sunday school and began his working life as a blacksmith.<sup>2</sup> He attended the Clent Day and Sunday school but at 11 years of age he was taken by his father into the family business to learn the trade of the blacksmith. He did return to school part time during the following summer, but he looked upon his school days as something of a failure. In later life he wrote:

My attainments were very low, but it was thought that if I could manage to cast simple accounts it would be all I should require for my profession. The rule of three I did not reach.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout his lifetime he was painfully aware of his educational deficiencies. His spelling and speech

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1843, p.63.
- (2) Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, Letter No 5, 21 Sept 1826; Thomas Notebook, pp.64, 65.
- (3) Thomas, Notebook, pp.64, 65. The 'Rule' of Three' requires that 'the fourth term to be greater than the second, when the third is greater than the first; or the fourth to be less than the second, when the third is less than the first.' See Walkingame, Francis, The Tutor's Assistant; being a Compendium of Practical Arithmetic for the use of Schools and Private Students, Derby, 1839, p.51.

frequently betrayed him, and what was said by Commander Waldegrave of Cross and Nathaniel Turner in 1830 applied equally well to Thomas: 'They are hardworking, industrious teachers, and of good private character; but are ignorant of their own language.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1824, when Thomas was first accepted as a missionary, the Wesleyan church had no training institution for its ministers and missionaries, and he felt the lack of training keenly.<sup>2</sup> The only preparation that was given him while staying at the Mission house in London was a number of opportunities to converse with 'many an old veteran - who had been long in the blessed Mission field', an exercise which enabled him to gain 'much useful information'.<sup>3</sup> The closest thing to formal training was a series of classes, held several times a week, when 'those whose advantages had been fewer than some others' sat at the feet of a retired missionary.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas suffered from an overwhelming inferiority complex. On the voyage out from England he was continually plagued by doubts and fears. 'I am so vile and ignorant', he wrote, 'that I shall be a burden to the cause, that I shall not be useful ... O I wish I had never left my former occupation!'<sup>5</sup> It was not only his educational deficiencies that made him hesitant. His reading of Martin's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands filled him with forebodings of another kind. In his journal he commented:

I now see some of their state and condition, some of their cruelty ... their Sins and manners - how disgusting is the Idea of living among them ... were it not for this great truth, Our suffering is of God, I should not move a step towards them ...<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Orlebar, J, 'Extracts of a Private Journal kept on board H.M.S. Seringapatam in the Pacific, 1830', Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London (hereinafter J.R.G.S.) vol III, London, 1833, p.187.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.324.
- (3) ibid.
- (4) ibid., p.325.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 27 June 1825.
- (6) ibid., 29 June 1825.

Over the years Thomas made a conscious effort to improve on the meagre education he had received as a child. He spent the time on the voyage in study of various kinds, and had read Mariner several times before reaching Sydney.<sup>1</sup> He devoted whole mornings to study during this time, and on arrival at Port Jackson, came into conflict with the brethren there who wished him to take a share in the work in the colony. He argued that he had one task alone to occupy his mind: preparation for the Tonga Mission. The matter was finally resolved, and Thomas was excused even the privilege of preaching at the Sunday services.<sup>2</sup> In his search for useful books in Sydney he discovered a Hebrew grammar and the simplicity of its structure and language immediately appealed to him. He sent off without delay to England for a copy, feeling that it would be 'useful in translating'.<sup>3</sup>

For Thomas, however, there was always a conflict between the Divine call to mission on the one hand and his own inadequacies on the other. In the early days in Tonga as he struggled with the language and other tasks, the problem often pressed upon him:

I have been engaged today chiefly in my study. Had I possessed more information and a more competent ability for this great work before I left home, then I might have had more time or spent more time in the study of the language than I can now. I have so many other duties to attend to in the temporal affairs of the mission - my own rough and knotty mind to cultivate in knowledge of various kinds which I find I need - ... I see it desirable that persons that come out as missionaries should be well informed persons - a good education - a sound experience - sterling tried piety ... What a

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 29 June 1825.
- (2) *ibid.* See entries between 2 July 1825 and 12 July 1825; 4 June 1826 and 14 June 1826. For the dispute with the brethren see 14 Oct 1825.
- (3) *ibid.*, 6 March 1826.

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 and must know before I can be deserving of the name of a preacher of the Gospel - much less a Methodist - and a Methodist Missionary, such knowledge and experience however I hope to obtain through the divine blessing but then it will require time and application, which time might have been spent in a manner more directly tending to promote the good of the Mission ...<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, by 1850 Thomas had achieved a great deal. He had translated large sections of the New Testament, composed hundreds of hymns in the Tongan language, made a serious study of Tongan history and culture, and had gained the reputation, at least in mission circles, as an authority on things Tongan.<sup>2</sup> His manuscript history of Tonga, running to more than 1000 pages, contains extremely valuable comments on traditional religion, political and social organization and the early history of the mission, even though his knowledge of the niceties of the language left something to be desired.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas' desire for improvement led him to observe critically and to view every new experience as a learning situation. At the Mission House in London he carefully observed Mr. Morley the Mission Secretary, a man he regarded as 'a perfect father of industry', and came away feeling that he had 'learned many lessons'.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 9 April 1827.
- (2) Hobbs, Journal, 24 Aug 1833.  
Farmer, Sarah, Tonga and the Friendly Islands, London, 1855, chapter 7.  
Thomas, Journal, 17 June 1828; 8 Feb 1830; 28 May 1830.
- (3) See Thomas, Friendly Islands, Mythology, Ranks of Chiefs, and Names of Islands.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 7 Feb 1825.

The months of waiting in Sydney presented numerous opportunities for gaining useful information and knowledge. He visited schools and commented critically on what he saw and heard; he spoke with Captain Henry who had recently called at Tongatapu; he spent time with the families of former missionaries to the South Seas; he met George Lilley who had accompanied Lawry to Tonga in 1822; he spent many hours with Henry Nott a visiting missionary of the L.M.S. from Tahiti.<sup>1</sup> Following a session with Nott, which lasted most of the day, Thomas recorded in his Journal

Although Tahite is more than a thousand miles from Tonga, yet it is considered that there is a great similarity in many things ... we were thankful to the God of Missions to learn from one of his honoured servants ... and we are strengthened and encouraged to go forth to our field of toil.<sup>2</sup>

As he sailed from Sydney on the 31 May 1826, after a stay of almost seven months, he did so with a sense of real satisfaction.

Sydney with all thy faults I love thee, I respect thee. It as been a School in which the Lord as taught me many lessons which I hope to remember and to benefit by while I live.<sup>3</sup>

In political matters Thomas shared the same conservatism as the majority of the early Wesleyans. While in Sydney he added his signature to an expression of loyalty, drawn up by the Wesleyan ministers of the colony and presented to Governor Darling, which included, among other sentiments, the undertaking to

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 15 March 1826; 11 April 1826; 21 April 1826; 28 April 1826; 16 May 1826; Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.337-339.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.339. See also Journal, 19 Jan 1826.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 31 May 1826.

keep aloof from every secular and political engagement ...  
 [and] to exemplify in our conduct as well as to teach in our public ministrations, a cheerful obedience to the laws of our country, a firm and zealous loyalty to our rightful Sovereign, and a constitutional submission to the various authorities of His Majesty's realm.<sup>1</sup>

He frequently spoke with pride about King George, and when in the early stages of the mission he was continually opposed by the chief Ata, he wished for British intervention.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas' strict piety and blunt manner often prevented him from entering into harmonious relationships with his friends, acquaintances, and colleagues. On the voyage out he alienated himself from many of the other passengers by his refusal to join in 'any of their amusements'. When 'crossing the line', he made it clear that he was not to be disturbed, and spent the time shut up in his cabin. 'I think it a sceen of nonsense altogether', he wrote in his journal, '... [and] had nothing to do with it'.<sup>3</sup> In Sydney he rebuked people on the street for their drunkenness and entered at least one public house to give a word of reproof to the innkeeper and his wife for swearing. 'The man', Thomas recorded, 'asked me who made me his overseer. I told him I came in the name of God to him to warn him'.<sup>4</sup>

In his relationship with Tamma Now (Tama Nau),

- (1) Wesleyan Missionaries Address to Governor Darling, 10 Jan 1826, Bonwick Transcripts box 53.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 11 Oct 1826; 30 Nov 1826; 19 May 1827; 20 May 1827; 5 June 1827; 19 July 1827; 1 Aug 1827; See also Thomas to General Secretaries 2 Sept 1831.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 11 June 1825; 7 July 1825
- (4) *ibid*, 15 Nov 1825. See also 25 Nov 1825.

the Tongan youth taken to England by Lawry and returned to Tonga by the Committee under Thomas' care, we see further evidence of his difficulty to get along with people. Relationships became so bad that Tamma left Thomas and went to stay at Parramatta with some of Lawry's friends.<sup>1</sup> His relationships with the other brethren in Sydney were strained following disagreements over preaching appointments, circuit work, and the employment of servants for the Tonga Mission.<sup>2</sup> In the early days of the mission in Tonga he quarrelled with his fellow worker, John Hutchinson, and although they lived in the same house, they spent weeks without speaking.<sup>3</sup> These were not simply early days of frustration in the difficult task of pioneering a new station. His chairmanship of the Friendly Islands district, covering a period of nearly thirty years, was characterized by conflict, confrontation, and disagreement with his colleagues and the members of his societies.<sup>4</sup>

NEXT to John Thomas, the Reverend Peter Turner must be ranked as having had the most influence on the growth of the Wesleyan cause in Tonga. During his twenty three years in the Islands, twenty of which he spent in Tonga, he did more than any other missionary to give the Church there its characteristically evangelical flavour.

Turner was twenty five years of age when he was called before the Committee for the Examination of Missionary Candidates in November 1829. He had been a member of society for six years, and a preacher for three and a half. The Committee accepted him, but

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 28 Nov 1825
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 14 Nov 1825; 21 April 1826.
- (3) *ibid* 15-16 July 1826; 29 July 1826; 6 Sept 1826; 30 Sept 1826; 9 Oct 1826; 17-19 Oct 1826; 21 Nov 1826; 21 Dec 1826.
- (4) See for examples Hobbs, Journal, 31 Aug 1833; 24 Sept 1833; Watkin, Journal, 16 June 1834.



the comments in the Minute book are rather formal and betray little of their real feelings about him. The Minutes state simply that he had 'no matrimonial engagements, is free from debt - enjoys good health, and is willing to go to any part of the world under the direction of the Committee.'<sup>1</sup>

In common with many children of working class parents, young Peter Turner received very little formal education. At the age of seven years he was taken by his father, a cotton spinner, to the mills where he commenced work as a cotton piecer. On Sundays he attended a Sabbath School at the village chapel where he learned to read and write and where, he said, 'I learned all I knew until God was pleased to convert my soul ...'<sup>2</sup> After his conversion there began a life-long dedication to the improvement of his mind. As a young preacher he built up what he called 'a Library ... of the most meagre sort' which contained Wesley's Notes on the New Testament, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, an old Methodist Magazine, Baxter's Saints Everlasting Rest, Wesley's Sermons, and Cruden's Concordance. His friends loaned him Dr. Clarke's commentaries, Watson's Institutes, and Benson's 'sermons'.<sup>3</sup> He frequently rose at four o'clock in the morning to read and study. 'O how bitter,' he later wrote, 'were my lamentations at times that my education had been so neglected in my younger years... I saw now its importance and felt its necessity and would have endured almost anything to have had the privilege of going to some school or Institution...'<sup>4</sup>

Although formal schooling had been denied him he did attend several Sunday schools and private

- (1) W.M.M.S. Committee for the Examination of Missionary Candidates, 17 Nov 1829, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) Turner, Brief Account.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) *ibid.*

classes after his conversion. One of these schools was conducted by a popular Independent preacher and drew 2,000 young people from the Maccelsfield district. At a later stage, after leaving the 'large school', he joined a small group of other young men who attended on Saturday evenings at the home of another Independent minister for lectures on Watt's The Improvement of the Mind and Campbell's Rhetoric. One evening a week he spent with his own Wesleyan pastor, the Reverend Isaac Keeling, where he gained further help in his 'pursuit of knowledge'.<sup>1</sup>

Turner's early interest in improving his poor beginnings was not just a part of an emotional religious conversion or youthful enthusiasm. His 'Books Read' is an amazing document, commenced in 1832 and concluded in 1873, which lists hundreds of volumes read during his busy lifetime. On an average he read about forty volumes a year, and a sample from the eighty-three volumes read in 1838 gives some idea of the breadth of his interest. Apart from the numerous religious works, including several 'Memoirs' and 'Lives', the list contains such works as Ellis' Polynesian Researches, Denham's Astronomy, Clarke's Wesley Family (2 vols.), Wesley's Works (9 vols.), Bell's Geography (6 vols.), Wilson's Voyage of the Duff, Williams' Missionary Enterprises, Henry Brooke's Fool of Quality, and Buck's Elements of Medical Jurisprudence.<sup>2</sup>

Educational books figured prominently among his 'Books Read'. These included Todd's Student Manual (read at least six times while in Tonga), Watson's Conversations for the Young, Lectures for Children by Williams, Todd's Sabbath School Teacher ('The best work I have seen on the subject of schools'), Dunn's Principles of Teaching or the Normal School Manual, Practical Remarks on Infant Education

- (1) Turner, Brief Account.
- (2) Turner, Books Read 1832-1873. See entries for 1838.

by Mayo and Mayo, and Spurzheim's Elementary Principles of Education.<sup>1</sup> After almost ten years in Tonga he still had enough of the desire for improvement to join some of his other missionary brethren in a study programme which embraced Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, and Divinity.<sup>2</sup> When mail arrived from England he frequently recorded his pleasure in receiving and reading the latest issues of the Missionary Notices and the Methodist Magazine.<sup>3</sup>

Like so many other Wesleyans he was particularly endeared to Wesley and his writings. He regarded the Works, as 'next to the Bible, and ... the text book of a Methodist preacher.' He read them with 'much pleasure and profit'; he admired Wesley's style which he felt was designed 'to do good and not to make books'; he rejoiced that Wesley still lived 'in his works'.<sup>4</sup> On one occasion, while preaching on a church history theme, he prepared and delivered a twenty six page memoir of Wesley, and noted afterwards that the native congregation 'were suprised, pleased, and benefitted'.<sup>5</sup> At times he regarded the searching questions of the Class and band meetings as 'the ordeal of Methodism', but this was all part of the 'excellency of the Methodist system'.<sup>6</sup>

Peter Turner was, above all else, a revivalist. His journals are full of deep heart searching questions as he pondered the delay in

- (1) Turner, Books Read. The titles quoted are but a few of those read during Turner's years in Tonga.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 23 Sept 1840.
- (3) *ibid*, 6 May 1831; 9 May 1832.
- (4) *ibid*, 6 May 1831; 9 Oct 1831; 18 March 1832.
- (5) *ibid*, 25 Oct 1839.
- (6) *ibid*, 3 Nov 1833; 3 Oct 1839.

revival, or alternatively of ecstatic rejoicing as members of his societies, Classes, bands, and schools fell under the power of 'the outpouring of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>1</sup> He had had some experience of revivals at home, read revivalist literature, and followed the course of revivals in other mission areas and in England.<sup>2</sup> Finney's Revivals in Religion, Howard's Hints on the best means for the Revival of Religion, and Robert Young's The Importance of Prayer Meetings in the Promoting of Revivals of Religion, are among the books read on the subject.<sup>3</sup> Of Finney's work he noted: 'A very excellent work calculated to do much good. In some things the author goes to extremes. We have been profited by its perusal.'<sup>4</sup> In 1833 he recorded in his journal: 'The reading of the revivals in some parts of England has done me good and encouraged me to expect the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in these Islands.'<sup>5</sup> Some writers on the subject, from other mission areas, had pointed out that revivals such as those that had swept England could not be expected among native congregations. 'But I am not of that opinion,' observed Turner, and he was able to produce abundant proof to support his optimism. He prepared the people well and revivals became a feature of the Tongan church.<sup>6</sup>

ANOTHER important group of missionaries, who assisted

- (1) There were several revivals in Tonga during Turner's ministry there. See Journal, 12 Aug 1833, 11 Aug 1834; 25 Dec 1840; 12 July 1843; 24 Oct 1844; 20 March 1846.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 15 April 1833; 22 April 1833; 27 Feb 1834; 27 June 1834. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for the year 1827 gave a detailed plan for promoting revival. See p.338.
- (3) Turner, Books Read, 1841, 1844, 1847.
- (4) *ibid*, 1841.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 15 April 1833.
- (6) See chapter IV, pp.111-112.

the teachers and teaching missionaries, were the printers. In the early years of the mission a press was not seen as a necessity, but as schools multiplied in rapid succession, first in Ha'apai and then in Vava'u, the over-taxed missionaries began to see the need for mechanized production of teaching materials. Armed with small printed books, Tongan teachers, with little more than a smattering of reading and writing themselves, could quickly become the instructors of others.

William Woon was the man responsible for setting up the press in Nuku'alofa in 1831. He was the forerunner of a number of printers and bookbinders (George Daniel, George Kevern, William Brooks, and Walter Davis) who manned the mission press, first in Tongatapu, and later at Feletoa, Vava'u. The Candidates Committee gives us only the barest biographical details of the man who introduced the miracle of printing to the Friendly Islands. He was twenty six years of age, had been a member of society for seven years and a preacher for four. He was engaged to be married and was described as 'a printer by profession.'<sup>1</sup>

On arrival in Tonga, Woon quickly set up the press and within a short time had produced a four page 'Alphabet' for the schools. A sixty four page hymn book followed, and within nine months of operation, the press had turned out an immense number of books.<sup>2</sup> In the early stages Woon worked almost singlehanded, and it was only after the press had been in operation for a considerable time that Tongan helpers were trained to operate it.

If he is to be judged by the number of books put through the press then Woon was certainly a successful

- (1) W.M.M.S. Minutes, Committee for the Examination of Missionary Candidates, 24 Feb 1830, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1832-1833, p.45. The 1834 report noted that during the preceding year, 16,800 books issued from the press. See W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.35.

missionary. He soon became disgruntled, however, and before three years had expired he resigned and went to find work in New Zealand. He was not well accepted by his colleagues. They found fault with his preaching, both in his own tongue and in Tongan. He read his sermons, whether of his own composition or straight from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. In either case comment was made by the brethren.<sup>1</sup> In Tongan he found preaching a burden. On one occasion, after he had been in Tonga for two and a half years, he drew a rebuke from his chairman, John Thomas, for a sermon he began but could not finish. As one of the witnesses recorded, the sermon 'was written and read; but Mr. W. lost his way by not taking care to place the pages correctly so that he was obliged to leave off at about 10 minutes.'<sup>2</sup>

Even before this, Woon had made so little progress in his 'English Studies' that Thomas had made it clear that he would not recommend him at the District Meeting for reception into 'full connexion', and that he would have to remain a probationary minister.<sup>3</sup> It was not only Thomas who was unimpressed with Woon's suitability for the ordained ministry. Hobbs wrote in his journal at the time that the 'mind of the brethren' were 'all ... unfavourable'.<sup>4</sup> The quality of his work was sometimes substandard and on one occasion Thomas had not permitted a book to be issued because 10 out of 20 of the title pages were 'so illegible that he could not offer them for sale ...'<sup>5</sup> Thomas became more and more convinced that Woon was

- (1) Hobbs, Journal, 18 Aug 1833.
- (2) Hobbs, Journal, 8 July 1833.
- (3) *ibid*, 7 Sept 1833; Secretaries to Thomas, Oct 1834, Outward Correspondence, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (4) Hobbs, Journal, 7 Sept 1833.
- (5) *ibid*, 25 Aug 1833.

doing unsatisfactory work, both as a printer and a missionary, and his resignation cleared the way for a more able man to manage the press. That man was John Hobbs.

Hobbs had been transferred from New Zealand to Tonga after relationships with his chairman had become so bad that the two men could no longer work together. He was appointed to the Friendly Islands district under censure from the Committee in London and arrived in Tonga with the reputation of being a difficult man. Thomas had been given very wide powers by the Committee to deal with Hobbs, including the right to 'suspend him at once from his office as a Methodist Missionary' if that was thought necessary.<sup>1</sup>

John Hobbs was the son of an old Cornish family. His father, Richard Hobbs, had been taken into society by Wesley himself, and the whole family were staunch Wesleyans. Richard Hobbs was a coach builder, and when his son John reached the age of fourteen years he apprenticed him as a carpenter, joiner, and agricultural implement maker in the family business. After seven years he qualified as a blacksmith and carpenter. These skills proved very valuable in his first mission appointment to New Zealand where he was soon sought after as a man who could turn his hand to almost anything.<sup>2</sup> An acquaintance later wrote of Hobbs that he was

accustomed to tune the pianos of the settlers, to repair their clocks, to adjust their spectacles, to bud and graft their fruit trees, to give plans for their buildings and boats, to attend their sick and occasionally to perform not unimportant operations...<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Secretaries to Thomas, 17 April 1832, Outwards Correspondence, W.M.M.S. Papers. Hobbs was later cleared of suspicion and the censure was rescinded by the Committee.
- (2) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1888, pp.881, 883.
- (3) ibid, p.884. For biographical details about Hobbs see Spooner, T.G.M., Brother John: the life of the Rev. John Hobbs, Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand), Oct 1955.

When he arrived in Tonga in 1833 it was decided that he should spend as much time at the printing office as possible in order to benefit from Woon's instruction in the art before he retired to New Zealand.<sup>1</sup> Hobbs began with basic tasks, cleaning the press, and with a little help from Woon, and with the Printers Grammar beside him, he was soon able to do composing and distributing.<sup>2</sup> When new roller equipment arrived it was Hobbs rather than Woon who worked out how to attach it to the existing machine, even though the Printers Grammar was 'silent on the subject'.<sup>3</sup> He took great pride in his work and it worried him that books had to be printed in several different typefaces, the smallest type being rather difficult to read. 'What a grievous thing,' he confided to his journal, 'that there is not enough of any of the three sorts of type to print a book of 12 pages without mixing two sorts of type..'<sup>4</sup>

Hobbs' efforts at the office were so successful that within the space of five months Thomas directed him to compose and print a school book of eight pages by himself.<sup>5</sup> Hobbs shared in the work of the mission, even though at times he chafed under the demands of the people who called him away from the office. 'I am often grieved', he wrote, 'to leave the blessed and necessary work of printing the scriptures but the tales of human sorrow often force me from it to administer medicine to the afflicted who might otherwise perish for want'.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Hobbs, Journal, 3 July 1833.
- (2) *ibid*, 5 July 1833; 13 July 1833; 20 July 1833; 17 August 1833.
- (3) *ibid*, 13 July 1833; 25 August 1833.
- (4) *ibid*, 5 Aug 1833; 10 Aug 1833.
- (5) *ibid*, 11 Nov 1833.
- (6) *ibid*, 13 Feb 1835.



Francis Wilson was the first of only two trained missionaries who worked in Tonga during the period to 1854. He came before the Committee in 1837 and expressed a desire to enter the newly established Wesleyan Theological Training Institution rather than commence missionary labours without a proper preparation.<sup>1</sup> He entered Hoxton in 1835 and completed the two year course which consisted of English grammar, composition and elocution, geography and history, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, logic, and philosophy of the mind. Theological studies embraced doctrine, church order and government, with particular emphasis upon Wesleyan discipline. He learned the best methods of critically studying the bible in a course called 'the elements of Biblical criticism.' Preaching skills were learned in lecture rooms and practised in the open air and in village chapels.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson, like John Hunt who attended the Institution in 1835 and who went out as a missionary to Fiji, always looked back upon the days spent at Hoxton as some of the most important times of his life.<sup>3</sup> His training allowed him to work confidently on the revision and translation of the scripture, and his colleagues trusted his ability. It also gave him the background and experience to pioneer a training institution in Tonga where selected young men could be prepared as assistant missionaries and head teachers. He had entered Hoxton in 1838 with what the Missionary Committee had called 'not much reading... a smattering of Latin at school, and a little since he began to preach.' The

- (1) W.M.M.S. Candidates Papers, Book 3, 1837, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1834, pp.677-678. See also *ibid*, 1843, p.58.
- (3) Turner, Obituary of the Rev. Francis Wilson, bound with Sermons, B317, M.L.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Candidates Papers, Book 3, 1837, W.M.M.S. Papers.

Institution programme built upon these meagre beginnings and Francis Wilson set out for Tonga a trained missionary.

Another 'Institution' man appointed to Tonga was Thomas Adams. He entered Richmond College, the southern branch of the Wesleyan Theological Training Institution, in 1845 where he pursued the normal two year course.<sup>1</sup> The academic programme at Richmond instilled into Adams a scholarly approach, and in his work in Tonga, (which included superintendence of the Training Institution and preparation of a revised and corrected New Testament), together with correspondence with his brother, a Cambridge graduate and astronomer, kept the scholarly attitude alive.<sup>2</sup>

The Adams family were of staunch Wesleyan stock, and both Thomas and his brother John began their working lives as labourers on the family farm.<sup>3</sup> John showed little interest in the land and the family sent him to Cambridge where he gained his degree in 1844. Following John's graduation, Thomas too left the farm and entered Richmond to study for the ministry. The programme there followed the same lines as that at Hoxton, for it was policy that the two branches should be to all intents and purposes 'one and indivisible'.<sup>4</sup>

On the completion of his training Adams was 'ordered' by Jabez Bunting to find a wife before proceeding to his missionary appointment.<sup>5</sup> Bunting recommended a good Wesleyan family where there were a number of daughters and soon a match was made: 'a wooing arranged by Jabez Bunting and

- (1) Harrison, Methodist Good Companions, p.94.
- (2) Adams, Thomas, to his parents, 6 June, 1850
- (3) Harrison, Methodist Good Companions, p.89.
- (4) Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1844, pp.146-150.
- (5) See Harrison, Methodist Good Companions, p.88 for Bunting's maxim on marriage 'So long as a missionary has no wife the heathen must have no gospel'.

staged for the benefit of the heathen.<sup>1</sup>

Although Adams was not a trained teacher, he did have a keen interest in education. This interest is demonstrated not only in his zealous supervision of the Training Institution, and his attention to the schools, but also in his enthusiastic private letters to his family and friends in England in which he gave detailed descriptions of school programmes, especially the annual school examination days. In later years, after retiring from the mission field, he supported educational projects at home such as the Leys School at Cambridge.<sup>2</sup>

His attitudes to social questions were, it would seem, much more liberal than some of his brethren in the mission, especially in regard to the liquor question and the ceremony called tuku'ofu - the presentation of food and goods at funerals. In 1862, in a letter to the mission secretary in Sydney, he condemned a narrow attitude to liquor. 'It is not possible,' he wrote, 'to maintain a law of prohibition in those islands.' He objected, too, to disciplining members of society for participation in the tuku'ofu.

I am sorry to see that some of the Natives had been turned out of the Society in consequence of some of the practices connected with Vuna's [King George's son] funeral. I think nothing but sin should cause expulsion from Society - however desirable it may be to do away with old customs.<sup>3</sup>

In response to an urgent appeal from the missionaries in Tonga, prompted by the Rev. John Waterhouse the General Superintendent of the missions in Polynesia,

- (1) See Harrison, Methodist Good Companions, p.97.
- (2) ibid, p.107.
- (3) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1862.

the Committee sent Richard Amos as superintendent of the schools and master of the proposed Native Training Institution. In 1842 Amos had been examined by the Committee and accepted for mission work. The young brass founder impressed the Committee, and the testimonial of his minister stood him in good stead:

He possesses a strong mind and retentive memory and is very persevering in the pursuit of knowledge. He believes our doctrines, loves our discipline, has a matrimonial engagement, and offers himself for any part of the foreign work.<sup>1</sup>

To this favourable testimonial of his local pastor, his superintendent minister had minuted: 'His literary attainments appear only slender knowing a little of Grammar & English Literature.'<sup>2</sup> The Committee posted Amos to Africa, to Sierra Leone, where his missionary career was terminated, at least temporarily, following his 'violence towards a Pagan Negro'. The Committee of discipline recommended 'that Mr. Amos be dropped, but that he be allowed to meet in class'.<sup>3</sup>

Despite its removal of Amos from Sierra Leone, the Missionary Committee was prepared to give him another chance. A short time after his recall and censure he was sent to David Stow's teacher training institution in Glasgow, preparatory to his being appointed to a teaching position in the Friendly Islands. The Missionary Notices of December 1846 gave preliminary advice of 'a Missionary Teacher, who has been trained at Glasgow for this special purpose'.<sup>4</sup>

The Committee's mind was that Amos was to 'take charge of the Educational Department' and to teach the Glasgow system to the native teachers and the children.

- (1) Brown to Committee, 24 May 1842, W.M.M.S. Committee for the Examination of Missionary Candidates, W.M.M.S. Papers. Brown's letter also contains the testimonial from Amos' minister Timothy C. Ingle.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) W.M.M.S. Committee of Discipline, 4 July 1845, included in Candidates Papers, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (4) Missionary Notices, vol IV, New Series, 1846, p.201.

He learned the system well at Glasgow, and on arrival in Tonga he took steps to ensure that he would not be thwarted in the implementation of the scheme by the conservatism of the Chairman of the Friendly Islands district or the district meetings. In a memorial to Walter Lawry, then visiting Tonga as General Superintendent of the New Zealand Mission and Visitor of the Missions in Tonga and Fiji, he set out point by point what he had been sent to Tonga to do, including specific reference to a cardinal principle of the Glasgow system, 'the uncovered school-room'. Lawry reaffirmed that Amos was directed by the Committee to implement the scheme, and Tonga's first professionally trained schoolmaster was soon operating a Norman Training Institution, and superintending the fifty schools of the Friendly Islands district along Glasgow system lines.<sup>1</sup>

One important group of teachers who received little recognition in the official reports and correspondence of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were the wives of missionaries. They were not, strictly speaking, missionaries. The Committee did not examine them as they did male candidates, although husbands were questioned about their wives' 'piety, prudence, [and] general fitness for the Wife of a Missionary'.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to obtain details about the part played by missionaries' wives because in the Wesleyan system of church government they were given no official recognition. They were admitted as members of society, of course, and could become Class and band leaders. In rare cases they were even allowed to preach. But in the decision making processes they had no voice. It was their husbands who attended the Local Preachers

- (1) Amos to Lawry, 17 July 1847, UNC MSS No 197, item 2, M.L.
- (2) Warren, Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism, p.194.

Quarterly and District meetings.<sup>1</sup> Reports of these meetings, therefore, did not contain their views and only referred in passing to their work. Furthermore, it was only the 'preachers' who were 'peremptorily required' to keep journals and send regular extracts from them to headquarters.<sup>2</sup> Many missionaries' wives did keep journals but as they were 'unofficial' documents very few of them have survived.<sup>3</sup>

Although their names did not appear on the appointment lists with their husbands, they were expected to assist in mission work. The special instructions to the pioneer missionaries to New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, for example, urged the wives to assist their husbands in the important task of teaching.<sup>4</sup> For many missionary wives, however, their chief function was to care for their husbands and raise children. Only as time permitted did they teach in the schools and except for incidental references in the Annual Reports and the Missionary Notices, their contribution was all but ignored.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) At the Conference of 1803 a resolution was passed which permitted women to preach, but only if they felt they had 'an extraordinary call from God'. See Myles, William, A Chronological History of the People called Methodists, London, 1813, p.297; Rigg, C.W., A Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Australasian Wesleyan Connexion, Auckland, 1872, pp.176-177; Warren, Chronicles of Methodism, p.290.
- (2) Warren, Chronicles of Methodism, p.207.
- (3) Examples of extant journals are those of Sarah Thomas and Mrs Lyth. See Bibliography.
- (4) Instructions of the Committee of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to Mr Leigh and Mr Morgan ... read to them at a public ordination service in the New Chapel, City Road, 17 Jan 1821.
- (5) Passing reference is made to the work of the women in the W.M.M.S. Annual Reports for 1832-1833, p.46; 1834, p.38; 1843, p.65. The reports for 1837, 1838, and 1839 make no reference to the missionaries' wives.

Nevertheless, some missionaries' wives did devote much of their time and energy to education, especially Mrs Turner, Mrs Thomas, Mrs Wilson, and Mrs Cargill.<sup>1</sup> One other name, however, that of Jane Tucker, stands out above all the others. During her ten years in Tonga she assumed the role not only of teacher but of supervisor of the schools as well.

Jane Tucker (nee Hall) was born on the 1 January 1806, the 13th child of a family of 19 children.<sup>2</sup> Her formal education began at the age of 5 and continued for more than 10 years, first at an establishment conducted by a Mrs Thompson where the children of Methodist families 'received a good education, secular and religious', and later at other schools.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after leaving school she was converted after the Wesleyan fashion<sup>4</sup> and immediately commenced serious study to improve her education.<sup>5</sup> Her biographer explains that at this time Jane put aside 'light reading' and concentrated on books of an 'instructive or religious character'.<sup>6</sup> Her study of the Bible, for example, was aided by constant reference to Benson's commentary.<sup>7</sup>

Jane Hall joined a group of young women in her home city of Bristol who spent their leisure time in charity work. As well as visiting the sick and helping the poor, the group spent some time 'instructing the ignorant'.<sup>8</sup>

- (1) See W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1832-1833, p.46; 1842, p.70.
- (2) White, Mrs G.F., Memoir of Mrs Jane Tucker, wife of the Rev. Charles Tucker, sometime missionary to Haabai and Tonga, London, 1887, p.13 (hereinafter White, Memoir of Mrs Tucker).
- (3) ibid, p.14.
- (4) ibid, pp.15-16.
- (5) ibid, p.17.
- (6) ibid.
- (7) ibid.
- (8) ibid, p.21.

Thus Jane Hall became a 'teacher', an occupation that was to hold a life long interest for her.

In September 1832, at the age of 26, she married Charles Tucker, a young preacher who had offered himself to the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 'the foreign work'.<sup>1</sup> As Jane had been a member of the bands and a Class leader for some years, she would certainly have satisfied the Committee's enquiry in respect to 'piety, prudence, and fitness'. Less than a month after their marriage the Tuckers embarked on board The Caroline for Sydney en route to the Friendly Islands.<sup>2</sup>

On board ship Jane Tucker studied books on medicine and surgery in preparation for missionary work.<sup>3</sup> After arrival in the Friendly Islands she was to put this information to good use in the service of the mission families and the many Tongans who sought her aid.<sup>4</sup> She took pride in her medical skill and in a letter to an English donor of patent medicines she expressed the hope that she could establish a name as 'a successful doctress'.<sup>5</sup>

It was in the educational field, however, that Jane Tucker established a more lasting reputation. Charles Wilkes judged her an 'exceedingly intelligent' person, and as she was the 'principal instructress of both young and old', he gave her the credit for the respectable level of education that he observed in the Nuku'alofa schools.<sup>6</sup> Some of her students had an excellent command of English and could converse with Wilkes on a wide range of subjects.<sup>7</sup>

King George shared Wilkes' opinion of Jane Tucker. He felt that she was 'a very wise woman' and sought her assistance in preparing his sermons.<sup>8</sup> She initially

- (1) White, Memoir of Mrs Tucker, pp.36-37; 54, 57.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, p.59.
- (4) *ibid.*, p.66.
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) Wilkes, Exploring Expedition, vol iii, p.13.
- (7) *ibid.* See also chapter IX, p.271
- (8) White, Memoir of Mrs Tucker, p.77.



refused his request because 'it was not in the province of women to make sermons', but the king's persistence eventually overcame this reserve. Once it became known that she had assisted the king with his sermons, Jane Tucker was besieged by local preachers seeking similar help.<sup>1</sup> Eventually she formed a 'Mental Improvement Class' which met twice a week and was designed to improve the education of about 50 leaders, including Tāufa'āhau.<sup>2</sup>

Jane Tucker's great interest was geography and astronomy. Under her guidance many students learned to read maps and make copies for themselves.<sup>3</sup> She displayed imagination and enthusiasm in teaching the principles of astronomy, when in the absence of globes and models, she used as aids a 'coconut lamp and an orange'.<sup>4</sup> It was probably due to her enthusiasm that geography came to occupy such an important place in the curriculum, especially after she had prepared and translated a small 'geography of the world'.<sup>5</sup> John Waterhouse, General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Polynesia, was full of praise for Mrs Tucker's work, believing that it was due to her 'great pains in instructing them' that many Tongans had received 'much enlargement to their views'.<sup>6</sup>

In various circuits in England after her return from the Islands, she directed her attention to education. She established adult schools for those 'who could only read imperfectly' and she introduced 'Improvement Classes' into Circuits where her husband worked.<sup>7</sup> Her interest in education did not simply spring from a duty to the natives on the mission field. It was a commitment to 'mental improvement' which began with her conversion in the 1820s and remained a driving force throughout her life.

- (1) White, Memoirs of Mrs Tucker, p.77.
- (2) *ibid*, p.83. See also chapter IV, p.115.
- (3) *ibid*, p.84.
- (4) *ibid*.
- (5) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1843, p.67.
- (6) *ibid*, 1842, p.69.
- (7) White, Memoir of Mrs Tucker, p.117, 172.

THE PERSONNEL who served in the Friendly Islands mission varied greatly in their ability, training, temperament and effectiveness and were probably typical of any other group of Wesleyan missionaries in the 19th century. The printers, it could be argued, influenced development more than any of their brethren in that the flood of printed material which issued from the press allowed a rapid and widespread expansion of the educational system. The 'Institution men' had benefited greatly from the training courses offered at Hoxton and Richmond and their presence allowed new developments to take place in the fields of teacher-preacher education and the translation of the scriptures. Amos, the one trained teacher, came to the mission almost twenty five years after its foundation, and his professional training allowed widespread reforms in the educational system to take place. The 'improvers', however, played the most significant role, and it is hard to escape the conclusion that John Thomas, with all his limitations, was the most influential figure of the period. As Chairman of the Friendly Islands District for almost thirty years, his sheer length of service and knowledge of the Tongan situation made him one of the determining influences in religious, social, and political change.

CHAPTER IVESTABLISHING A SCHOOL SYSTEM

THE EARLIEST attempts to educate the Tongan people were made by the ten London Missionary Society missionaries who arrived in the Friendly Islands in 1797.

Beachcombers and castaways had just preceded the L.M.S. missionaries but although they made no claims to educate the people, these castaways had probably taught a great deal, especially about the use of metals and tools.<sup>1</sup>

The L.M.S. missionaries, however, had come specifically to change Tongan customs, manners, and beliefs and formal education was to play an important part.<sup>2</sup>

The L.M.S. philosophy of mission at that time stressed the importance of teaching arts and trades. It was believed that through a knowledge and use of these skills native peoples would be raised in the scale of civilization.<sup>3</sup>

During their brief residence in Tonga (1797-1800) the L.M.S. missionaries had not attempted to establish schools. Apart from the belief that they should teach only their trades, they would have been hampered by language difficulties. In reporting to their superiors in London the missionaries gave an even more important reason

- (1) Transactions, vol i, pp.256-257; Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.68-69.
- (2) For the aims of the London Missionary Society see Lovett, Richard, The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895 (2 vols), London 1899, vol 1, pp.30, 98, 117, 145 (hereinafter Lovett, History of the L.M.S.). For the views of an individual L.M.S. missionary see Vason, Authentic Narrative, pp.18, 112, 115-117, 119, 122.
- (3) Lovett, History of the L.M.S., vol 1, pp.44, 46.

We have learned by experience, as well as observation, that little or no good could be effected amongst them by schools. In the children were found all that diversion that is natural to young minds, both to instruction and restraints, without having it in our power to use any means of subduing it. And in some it was much strengthened by habitual idleness, whereby they are unfit<sup>1</sup> for close application to any thing.

After the departure of the L.M.S. missionaries, and before the arrival of the Wesleyans, some attempts were made to teach individual Tongans the skills of reading and writing. William Mariner who survived the Port au Prince massacre in 1806 taught Finau, his chiefly protector, a good deal about the concept of written communication, while Brown, another Port au Prince survivor, actually taught a few people to read and write simple English.<sup>2</sup> In 1824 Captain Beveridge of the St Michael received a brief note from a young Tongan chief requesting reading material:

Atar very good man. Atar like Book.  
You like good man, me like make book  
you give me book.<sup>3</sup>

On enquiry Beveridge discovered that the young man had been instructed by Brown. Other Captains, too, found that some Tongans could communicate effectively in English.<sup>4</sup>

But it was the arrival of the Wesleyan missionary Walter Lawry, with his wife, William Carlisle, a schoolmaster, and servants Lilley, Tindall, and Wright, that marked the beginning of formal schooling.<sup>5</sup> Lawry was hampered

- (1) Transactions, vol 1, p.279.
- (2) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol 1, pp.113-116; Beveridge to Committee, 11 Sept 1824, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence. See also Orlebar, J, A Midshipman's Journal on board H.M.S. Seringapatam during the year 1830, London, 1833, p.80.
- (3) Beveridge to Committee, 11 Sept 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 28 April 1826; Log Book of the Fanny, 21-22 July 1823, P.M.B. No. 374
- (5) Lawry to Committee, 16 Oct 1822, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

initially in his attempts to teach because he had no command of the Tongan language.<sup>1</sup> He was assisted, however, in communicating the idea of schools by a chief who returned from a visit to Sydney. The chief amazed his fellow countrymen with stories about New South Wales. He was impressed, for example, by the observation of the Sabbath and the numerous schools he saw there.<sup>2</sup> According to Lawry the chief told the people that 'the people of Tonga would never be wise until they adopted the same measures'.<sup>3</sup>

Although Lawry found it almost impossible to commence schools, he did have a vision of what might be achieved if additional workers could be recruited. In a letter to the missionary committee in London he argued

The expense of schools will, I think, be very inconsiderable; but a multitude of teachers might find employment. The collows [Kolo - village], or towns, are numerous on this island, in every one of which there is a fine opening for a school...<sup>4</sup>

Lawry was not to see his vision materialize, however, as he left Tonga in October 1823, entrusting the mission property to Lilley, Tindall and Wright.<sup>5</sup>

Following Lawry's optimistic reports the W.M.M.S. recruited additional workers and in June 1826 John Hutchinson and John Thomas arrived to join the Tonga mission.<sup>6</sup> Tama Nau ( a youth who had received a little schooling in England and who returned to Tonga with Thomas) and Charles Tindall acted as interpreters and the

- (1) Lawry, Journal, 15 April 1823; 23 May 1823; 11 July 1823, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (2) *ibid*, 18 July 1823.
- (3) *ibid*.
- (4) Lawry to Committee, 20 Oct 1822, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol IV, 1823-1825, p.184.
- (5) Lawry, Journal, 18 Aug 1823, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Beveridge to Committee, Nov 1824, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (6) W.M.M.S. Missionary Committee Minutes, 5 Nov 1823; 16 June 1824; 14 July 1824; 15 Feb 1825; 6 April 1825; Thomas, Journal, 23-26 June 1826.

new missionaries were able to settle themselves at Hihifo under the protection of Ata, regarded as the most powerful chief in Tongatapu.<sup>1</sup>

From the outset Thomas made it clear to Ata that he wished to teach the people, especially the children. In reporting to the committee, Thomas pointed out that he had told the chief that they wished 'to teach them to know and to fear the Lord, and many other good things'.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, Thomas had asked Ata 'whether they would allow us to worship our God in the way we liked; whether they would let us have their children to teach; ... and whether they would protect us and our property'.<sup>3</sup> To all these requests Thomas and Hutchinson received an affirmative response and the small mission party believed that they were on their 'providential path'.<sup>4</sup>

Almost immediately some people came seeking instruction and Thomas found a little time to begin elementary teaching. But at this stage the eager students were somewhat of a nuisance as the missionaries were preoccupied with 'temporal affairs' - erecting the double storeyed prefabricated house and store that they had brought with them from Sydney.<sup>5</sup> One of Ata's wife's sons, Lolohea, was particularly keen to learn to read and write so Thomas gave him an alphabet card and taught him the sounds. 'He waited all afternoon in the yard', Thomas noted at the time, 'expecting me to teach him again, but I had too many other things to do'.<sup>6</sup> A week later another youth sought Thomas' assistance with reading and writing, asking in the little English he knew: 'me like book you teach me book'.<sup>7</sup> Again

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 27 June 1826.
- (2) Thomas to Committee, 14 June 1826; Hutchinson to Committee 23 June 1826, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (3) Thomas to Committee, 14 June 1826; Hutchinson, Journal, 27 June 1826, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) Thomas to Committee, 31 Jan 1825, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Thomas, Journal, 15 July 1826; 23 July 1826; 5 Aug 1826.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 15 July 1826.
- (7) *ibid.*, 23 July 1826.

Thomas had to confess to his journal 'But I had not time to teach him'.<sup>1</sup>

As the weeks became months, and still no school had been established, Thomas became more concerned:

I am almost always busily employed, and in general much tired at night - yet I seem to have done nothing - I am dissatisfied with myself - I seem to do nothing to my mind compared with the great object we are come here for - all we have done is nothing - we have yet learned only a few words of the language - we have no place for a school as yet - we refuse to let any of the natives come into our house, as we have not time to teach them ...<sup>2</sup>

A question from one of the young men did not help Thomas' feelings of guilt: 'What for your no let me come to learn read?'<sup>3</sup>

By the end of October, four months after their arrival, the missionaries were ready to commence regular school. The pupils were mostly children, but there were youths and adults among them.<sup>4</sup> Thomas even asked the chief if he would join the classes but he replied that he was too ignorant and too old, 'putting out his hand trembling, showing us that his hand shook'.<sup>5</sup>

Instruction, initially, comprised elementary lessons in the English language. Thomas' books and teaching aids were all in English, his grasp of the Tongan language was elementary, and the people already had an ear for English and a number of them could speak a little of it.<sup>6</sup>

For the first few weeks the students were enthusiastic, but within less than a month the novelty was wearing off and the children were 'very trying ... rude

(1) Thomas, Journal, 23 July 1826.

(2) *ibid*, 5 Sept 1826.

(3) *ibid*, 9 Sept 1826.

(4) *ibid*, 23 Oct 1826.

(5) *ibid*, 25 Oct 1826.

(6) *ibid*, 23 July 1826; 11 Aug 1826; 9 Sept 1826.

Others who visited Hihifo and could speak a little English were Fatu of Mu'a, a chief from Vava'u, an unnamed Ha'apai chief, and Fatta, an old man. See Thomas, Journal, 9 July 1826; 15 July 1826; 23 July 1826; 27 July 1826; 31 July 1826; 26 Oct 1826.

and hardened'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the chief was being difficult: he did not wish the tu'a children to be taught; he objected to the men coming to lessons; and he refused to give the missionaries permission to build a chapel-school house.<sup>2</sup> In spite of all this, attendance was encouraging, and the skillion at the back of the mission house which served as a classroom was crowded with 20 to 25 students each day.<sup>3</sup> And although the chief's attitude was negative, even hostile, Thomas could claim that 'we shall have more children than we can manage', and he was led to think of the possibility of being 'assisted by the natives' in the teaching.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Ata's opposition worried the missionaries. He personally 'watched about ~~the~~ gates and threatened and drove the poor people away' when they came to worship on the Sabbath. On school days he sometimes came to the classes and ridiculed the students.<sup>5</sup> Ata's opinion, which was echoed by many of his people, was that 'it is good for us to worship English fashion but it is not good for them but they will worship Tonga fashion. Our God ~~the~~ say is best for us but their gods are best for them'.<sup>6</sup> The result was, eventually, that no one came when the bell was rung for worship. It was the same the next day when the school bell was rung. Ata came down to the classroom but there was only one pupil there, his own 'son'.<sup>7</sup>

Faced with such strong opposition, which sometimes intensified into threats of violence against the

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 21 Nov 1826.
- (2) *ibid*, 28-29 Nov 1826.
- (3) *ibid*.
- (4) *ibid*, 30 Nov 1826.
- (5) *ibid*, 9 March 1827; 12 March 1827.
- (6) *ibid*, 17 March 1827.
- (7) *ibid*, 25-26 March 1827. The 'son' was Lolohea, son of Ata's wife by a previous marriage.



missionaries, Hutchinson and Thomas decided to abandon the mission and return to New South Wales.<sup>1</sup> While agonizing over their decision to leave the station without permission from the committee in London, Thomas was reminded of the years he had spent at the forge and anvil

If [the missionaries to Tongatapu] had Constitutions of iron I believe they would be broken here for an improper treatment of iron will destroy its good qualities. It will not do to be kept always in the fire.<sup>2</sup>

While Thomas and Hutchinson were preparing to leave Hihifo, two Tahitian missionaries of the London Missionary Society, were establishing themselves at Nuku'alofa under the protection of the chief Aleamotu'a.<sup>3</sup> Hape and Tafeta had left Tahiti on 2 March 1826 and had called at Nuku'alofa en route to Fiji. They arrived in Tonga shortly before Thomas and Hutchinson, and were detained by Aleamotu'a and invited to set up a mission.<sup>4</sup>

Hape and Tafeta were not the first Tahitians to come as missionaries to Tonga. Several years before their arrival, Borabora, Zorobabela and Taute had been left in Vava'u but they met with little encouragement from the people and soon abandoned the idea of teaching.<sup>5</sup> When Hape and Tafeta arrived, Borabora joined them and helped in establishing the mission.<sup>6</sup>

Assisted by Langi, a Tongan who had been to Sydney and had attended school in Tahiti, the Tahitians made

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 19 May 1827; 21 May 1827; 25 May 1827.
- (2) *ibid*, 5 June 1827.
- (3) *ibid*, 14 Oct 1826.
- (4) Davies, Tahitian Mission, p.290.  
West, Thomas, Koe Tohi Fakamatala Jii ki he Ekalesia o Jisu Kalaisi, London, 1859, p.222 (hereinafter West, Koe Ekalesia).
- (5) Davies, Tahitian Mission, pp.316-317.
- (6) *ibid*, p.317.

rapid progress.<sup>1</sup> Four months after their arrival Aleamotu'a allowed them to build a chapel, and by the time it was ready for use many of the residents at Nuku'alofa had become Christians.<sup>2</sup> The Tahitians operated a school and even though the tuition was in Tahitian it was well attended. Prayers were said night and morning, and on Sundays there was worship in the chapel.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas was aware that the Tahitians had established themselves successfully at Nuku'alofa and as he was preparing to leave Hihifo he wrote to the committee pointing out that Aleamotu'a had 'destroyed the spirit house and built a School Chapel to the Lord our God'.<sup>4</sup> Thomas had considered moving to Nuku'alofa many times, and Aleamotu'a and other chiefs had issued invitations. The one thing that prevented him was the simple fact: 'The place is occupied'.<sup>5</sup>

WHEN a 'rescue' ship finally arrived, Thomas was astonished to discover that it had brought three new missionary families to reinforce the Tonga station. Moreover, the leader of the new arrivals, Nathaniel Turner, carried instructions appointing him chairman of the district over Thomas who had been superintendent.<sup>6</sup>

Turner moved quickly to establish a new base for the mission. The day after his arrival he went to Nuku'alofa and worshipped in the chapel the Tahitians had built. About 240 people were at the service and

- (1) Vi, Pita, Narrative, p.18 (hereinafter Vi, Narrative); Thomas to Committee, 16 March 1846, vol IV, New Series, 1846, p.154.
- (2) Vi, Narrative, p.18.
- (3) Turner to Hobbs, 11 Jan 1828, Microfilm M145, Department of Pacific and South East Asian History, Australian National University; Davies, Tahitian Mission, p.291; Vi, Narrative, p.18.
- (4) Thomas to Committee, 11 April 1827, Diary and Letter-book.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 30 Oct 1827. See also Thomas, Journal, 14 Oct 1826; 16 Dec 1826; 19 Dec 1826; 13 June 1827.
- (6) Friendly Islands District Minutes, 3-5 Nov 1827; 27-28 Nov 1827; W.M.M.S. Minutes, 11 March 1828; Thomas, Journal, 2 Nov 1827.

Turner was overjoyed at the prospects: 'Language cannot express what were the feelings of my soul. Nothing I have ever seen of the kind ever gave me so much satisfaction'.<sup>1</sup> Within a few days Turner decided to take up residence at Nuku'alofa and join the Tahitians.<sup>2</sup> In a report to the committee in London, Turner went to some lengths to explain his actions. He had decided to move to Nuku'alofa, he said

1. Because we believe there is a people here prepared for the Lord, and sincerely desiring to be taught the way of truth.
2. Because the Chief & People are so Solicitous for European Missionaries to reside amongst them to instruct them and to form them something to read.
3. Because the present Teachers themselves are very solicitous for us to come, principally because they are anxious to go to the Feejees where they were appointed as soon as an opportunity offers.
4. Because this place appears to us of greater importance than any other on the Island of which we have yet heard, on account of its central Situation, its being near to several other populous Towns and Villages to which we could have easy access and its being near to the best anchorage ground for Vessells and the best placed by far for langing Property and
5. Because the present Teachers though good and useful Men appear to us very inadequate to the work which we have reason to believe the<sub>3</sub> Lord is beginning in this place ...

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.44.
- (2) *ibid*, p.46; Thomas, Journal, 5 Nov 1827.
- (3) Turner to Committee, 4 Jan 1828, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

The arrival of three missionary families in Nuku'alofa to take up residence with Aleamotu'a sparked off immediate opposition from the anti-lotu chiefs, and for a time Aleamotu'a was induced to give up public support for the new religion.<sup>1</sup> However, within six months he began to attend worship again, a decision which marked a turning point in the mission's history. Writing some years later Nathaniel Turner noted that

From this date our cause steadily progressed and acquired a stability it had not before possessed. Strangers came from a distance to witness our proceedings and attend our services and not a few to forsake their heathen homes and take up their abode at Nuku'alofa, because of their attachment to the lotu.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the support of Aleamotu'a and several other chiefs, a number of 'miraculous' healings further strengthened the missionaries' position. The cure of Tupoutoutai (Lolohea's brother), a young chief who was seriously ill, was particularly fortunate. News of it brought hundreds flocking to Nuku'alofa to seek the new religion for themselves.<sup>3</sup>

Early in 1828 the Wesleyans revived the school that had been established by the Tahitians and within a short time there were 80 pupils. The aim at this stage was 'to teach both children and adults to read their own language', a significant departure from Thomas' policy at Hihifo.<sup>4</sup> Within six months the school role had grown to 150, and several students had made enough progress to allow them to be employed as teachers, being able to 'spell words of five and six syllables and ... to read the written hymns, prayers, and lessons from the Scriptures'.<sup>5</sup>

(1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, pp.46-47.

(2) Turner, Personal Narrative, p.229.

(3) ibid, pp.320ff.

(4) Cross, Journal, 17 March 1828, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.130.

(5) Cross, Journal, 21 Sept 1828, ibid p.132.

As numbers further increased it became necessary to reorganize the school. Two schools were formed: The Male School (which met at daybreak 'before the men went to their occupations') and the Female School (which met at three o'clock in the afternoon 'when their Tapa beating &c for the day was over').<sup>1</sup> The student teachers were tutored separately each day to 'keep them in advance of their Classes'.<sup>2</sup>

While the schools made rapid progress at Nuku'alofa, the situation at Hihifo remained difficult. Ata had given permission to build a school house but his opposition to the lotu kept many people away. Describing the situation Thomas complained

Our school fluctuates. Yesterday we had more than 20 and today only 9. <sup>3</sup> The Chief does not come near us.

Nevertheless prospects for the mission as a whole were encouraging. Nathaniel Turner's arrival had saved the mission from abandonment and led to the production of the first vernacular literature. Turner was helped by a knowledge of the Maori language and, after establishing a regular Tongan orthography, he prepared simple texts for use in the schools.<sup>4</sup>

The first printed book in the Tongan language was a 24 page reader, published at the Sydney Gazette office in 1828. It followed the pattern of the English school readers of the time and contained the alphabet, syllables, short reading passages, and several prayers and hymns.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Turner, Personal Narrative, pp.226-227.
- (2) *ibid*, p.227.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 31 July 1828.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, 25-27 Nov 1827; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.44.
- (5) Turner, Nathaniel, First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands; to which is added a Prayer and Several Hymns, Sydney, 1828 (hereinafter First Lessons) ; Compare with Blair, David, Reading Exercises for the use of Schools, London, 1827; Markham, William, An Introduction to Spelling and Reading English (new improved edition), Alnwick, 1847.

Before the arrival of these printed books the missionaries had to prepare all school 'books' in manuscript. When the school rolls began to increase this was a time consuming task so the more advanced pupils were employed to assist.<sup>1</sup> Even with the advent of the printed word, there was still a constant demand for additional manuscript books. To satisfy this demand Turner devised a 'Lending Library' stocked with multiple copies of small manuscript books which could be 'lent out ... as required'.<sup>2</sup>

With the increase in teaching material (both printed and manuscript) and in the number of student teachers, it was possible to establish schools in several small villages close to Nuku'alofa. These schools, at Havelu, Hofoa, and Fanga, were conducted by the most advanced scholars under the superintendence of the missionaries.<sup>3</sup>

INTEREST in schools, chapels, and books did not only centre on Nuku'alofa and the adjacent villages. There were requests from other parts of Tongatapu<sup>4</sup>, and from the northern islands of Ha'apai and Vava'u. In July 1828 the missionaries reported to the committee that they had received urgent requests from Fīnau'Ulukālala of Vava'u and Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai for workers 'to come and instruct them in the knowledge of Jehovah'.<sup>5</sup> With Ata still strongly opposed to the lotu at Hihifo the missionaries decided to abandon that station and send Thomas to Ha'apai where there were more hopeful signs of success.<sup>6</sup> His arrival there marked the beginning of hundreds of conversions first in Ha'apai, and later in

- (1) Turner, Personal Narrative, p.227.
- (2) *ibid*, pp.227-228.
- (3) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1830, p.42.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 28 May 1829, 5 Aug 1829, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (5) Cross, Journal, 30 July 1828, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.131. See also W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.139; Thomas, Journal, 2 Aug 1828.
- (6) Friendly Islands District Minutes, 25 Sept 1828; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1830, pp.40, 42. See also Henry to Leigh, 10 March 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.181.

Vava'u and Niuatoputapu.

The way at Ha'apai was prepared for Thomas by one of the most reliable and able scholars from the Nuku'alofa school. Armed with alphabet cards, manuscript books, pens and paper, Pita Vi was sent to instruct Tāufa'āhau and his people until Thomas could make arrangements to leave Hihifo.<sup>1</sup> Vi commenced a school at Lifuka, residence of Tāufa'āhau, and the chief and a number of his people gathered for instruction. Peter Turner has reconstructed the scene as Vi began his work

Look at the little group. Peter [Vi] a converted Heathen in the centre, the King and a few others surrounding him and he reads a lesson ... then points out one by one in order the letters of the alphabet. He repeated them - they followed him until they can distinguish and point out some of the letters. All the pupils could not get near enough to see the manuscript lesson book. Those who could quickly learned the letters and a few would get together and sing them, until they became familiar to them.<sup>2</sup>

At the first opportunity Vi wrote to the missionaries in Tongatapu informing them that the mission had been established: the King gave his whole attention to learning to read, he commanded his people to do likewise, and god houses and god objects were being destroyed.<sup>3</sup> By the time Thomas arrived a few months later the people had learned much about the lotu and Tāufa'āhau and a number of his subjects could read and write.<sup>4</sup> There was, moreover, widespread support for the new religion and Thomas was able to inform the

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 19 Oct 1829.
- (2) Turner, Missionary Papers, p.30. See also West, Koe Ekalesia, p.224.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 1 Nov 1829; 9 Jan 1830. See also Vi, Narrative, pp.22-24; Thomas Journal, 22 Dec 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.421.
- (4) Turner, Missionary Papers, p.33.

committee that 'there are not more than three islands out of twenty, but have turned to the Lord. I have had from two hundred and fifty to four hundred hearers every time I have preached'.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas organized the school in Ha'apai along lines similar to those employed at Nuku'alofa. He divided the classes into a Male School and a Female School, and a simple catechism and manuscript books were used as a basis of instruction. Taufa'ahau remained the chief supporter of the school and Thomas recorded with satisfaction:

It is pleasing to see the King of these islands standing up with the people to be catechized and to hear him answer the questions in common with little children and with so much simplicity.<sup>2</sup>

At this stage people of all ages attended the schools, but adults were by far the more numerous. The daily programme involved sounding the letters of the alphabet, reading and catechising. School was commenced and concluded with singing and prayer.<sup>3</sup> Within twelve months the classes had grown to 170 in the Male School and 150 in the Female School, and there were 28 native teachers. The scholars had made satisfactory progress and had learned the first page of the Conference Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas followed Turner's example at Nuku'alofa and established a lending library. Three times a week the little manuscript books were recalled and reallocated, ten to twenty changing hands at each session.<sup>5</sup> The library books reached a wide audience. Not only did

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 25 Jan 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.402.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 21 June 1830.
- (3) *ibid*, 10 May 1830.
- (4) Thomas to Committee, 26 Nov 1830, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 2 Oct 1830; 16 Oct 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vii, 1832-1834, pp.120-121.



borrowers lend them to others but those who could transcribe made copies for themselves. In this way, Thomas reported, 'Books find their way into all the islands so that I suppose there is hardly one of the eighteen inhabited islands of the group that has not part of God's word upon it, or some school book'.<sup>1</sup>

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the schools were established in Ha'apai without any difficulty. Thomas had many disagreements and confrontations with Tāufa'āhau, especially during the first year at Lifuka, and these quarrels affected the schools. When Tāufa'āhau was annoyed with Thomas he stayed away from school and attendance dropped. When he returned attendance improved accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

The arrival in Nuku'alofa in 1831 of a printer and a press had a profound effect on the development of the school system, especially in the northern islands.<sup>3</sup> With the mass production of text books, schools were established away from the missionary headquarters. By June 1832 for example there were Tongan teachers at five islands in the Ha'apai group apart from Lifuka. As Turner explained to the Committee

These native teachers receiving nothing from us but books, written and printed, and necessary instructions, they go to instruct their fellow countrymen in the lessons of salvation, and also to read and write.<sup>4</sup>

The Tongan teachers who were sent to appointments away from the main settlement at Lifuka were expected to carry out a variety of tasks. They were not simply 'teachers' but they had to 'conduct the public worship, meet the classes, conduct the schools, and watch over the people'.<sup>5</sup> Turner felt that even if their only

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 2 Oct 1830.
- (2) *ibid*, 8 April 1830; 12 April 1830; 16-17 April 1830.
- (3) Woon to Committee, 13 Sept 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1832-1834, p.104.
- (4) Turner to Committee, 16 June 1832, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (5) Watkin to Committee, 24 July 1832, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

qualifications were that they could 'read the word of God correctly, can sing a little, and can pray' it was still correct policy to send them out in charge of schools.<sup>1</sup> Like their missionary tutors, what these Tongan teachers lacked in education and training they made up for in enthusiasm.<sup>2</sup> The result was that by 1834, 234 Tongan teachers conducted schools at 11 out of the 18 islands in the Ha'apai group, providing regular instruction for almost 2,000 people.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of schools in the other northern groups followed the Ha'apai pattern. Once Fīnau the ruling chief of Vava'u decided to lotu, thousands of his subjects joined him. As he had said: 'When I turn they will all turn'.<sup>4</sup>

Again it was Tongan teachers who led the movement. Pita Vi and other teachers from Ha'apai went to Vava'u with Tāufa'āhau in 1831 and spoke to Fīnau about Christianity. After some initial resistance Finau agreed to lotu. God houses were destroyed and people gathered for Christian worship.<sup>5</sup> The Ha'apai teachers found themselves in great demand and were fairly exhausted by constant instruction of new converts. As one of them reported: 'I was four nights and did not sleep, but talking with people, reading, praying, and singing'.<sup>6</sup> Thus, as Turner put it, 'those who only knew a little themselves had to become the instructors of others - those who could read a little - and who had mastered a few tunes were of great importance'.<sup>7</sup> This was the pattern of educational expansion in other islands as well, especially Niuatoputapu.<sup>8</sup>

- (1) Turner, Missionary Papers, pp.65-66.
- (2) Watkin, Journal, 24 July 1832, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence. See also chapter III, pp.68, 75. for details of missionaries' training.
- (3) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.39.
- (4) *ibid*, Report for 1828, p.139.
- (5) Thomas to Committee, 9 June 1831, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Turner, Journal, 13 June 1831,
- (6) Thomas to Committee, 9 July 1832, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (7) Turner, Journal, 13 June 1831.
- (8) Turner, Journal, 1 June 1833; 23 June 1833.

Once the people of Vava'u were ready to be instructed in a regular way, Thomas sent several Tongan teachers to carry on the work until a missionary superintendent could be recruited. With a few teaching aids - 'several portions of the word of God, the Conference Catechism, some Sermons, and about 100 copies of the first book printed in Tonga' - they set off to instruct thousands.<sup>1</sup> To ensure that education reached as many pupils as possible, Fīnau gathered the people to the main centre, Neiafu.<sup>2</sup>

Early in 1833 Fīnau died and Tāufa'āhau, who succeeded him as Tu'i Vava'u took up residence at Neiafu to consolidate his political position. Almost immediately he ordered the various chiefs and their people (who had been residing in the capital in order to attend the schools) to return to their respective villages.<sup>3</sup> Large numbers of people were involved in these moves, four hundred alone settling at the village at Feletoa.<sup>4</sup>

Tāufa'āhau's decentralization policy led to increased demands for teachers who were required to accompany the chiefs and people to the villages and establish schools and conduct worship.<sup>5</sup> The extent of the system at this stage can be gauged by the statistics supplied to the committee in 1834. In Vava'u there were 102 teachers caring for 1,450 pupils under the superintendency of one missionary who, by the way, felt guilty that he personally did so little for the schools.<sup>6</sup> The committee was pleased with these developments and boasted in one of its publications

- (1) Thomas to Committee, 12 July 1831, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 25 Feb 1833.
- (3) *ibid*, 3 July 1833, 9 July 1833, 20 Aug 1833.
- (4) *ibid*, 6 Sept 1833.
- (5) *ibid*, 20 July 1833, 14 Aug 1833, 6 Sept 1833.
- (6) *ibid*, 18 April 1833.

A mission of greater promise, or, we may add, of more extraordinary success, both as to the rapidity and the extent of its progress, does not, we believe, exist on the face of the earth.<sup>1</sup>

Reports of such spectacular success referred only to the northern islands. In Tongatapu, although the schools at Nuku'alofa and surrounding villages catered for more than 1,000 students and there were some schools in a few outlying villages, the mood generally was still one of opposition.<sup>2</sup> Out of a population of about 10,000 Thomas estimated that at least 8,000 were still 'in the grossest idolatry'.<sup>3</sup> The populous villages of Houma, Pea and Ma'ufanga continued to refuse offers of teachers and preachers.<sup>4</sup> The only consolation to the missionaries was that many of the Christians' books found their way into heathen villages and were read by those who had learned a little from their lotu friends and relations.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, at Nuku'alofa some interesting developments in education were taking place. Mrs Thomas had commenced sewing classes and the women were making European type dresses and bonnets.<sup>6</sup> More importantly, the 'examination day', which was to become extremely popular in later years, was inaugurated. In describing this first of many public examinations, held on Whit Monday 1833, the missionary commented:

One of the children repeated 30 hymns; another 16; several repeated from 12 to 14 hymns; and some others the first part

- (1) Missionary Notices, vol vii, 1832-1834, p.416.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, pp. 36, 39.
- (3) Thomas to Committee, 8 Aug 1832, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (4) In the W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.39, these villages are not represented despite frequent visits to them by the missionaries. See Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.924-926.
- (5) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.926.
- (6) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.38.

of the Conference-Catechism, with the Appendix; and others the reading lessons. Some very little children repeated three, and some four, verses of hymns ... we doubt not, that if spared to see next Whit Monday, that many of the children will do much better.<sup>1</sup>

THE YEARS 1834 to 1840 saw significant changes in education in the Friendly Islands, brought about by several unsettling developments in church and state. Heading these developments was the religious revival which broke out in Vava'u in 1834. The people had been led by the missionaries to expect revival<sup>2</sup>, and on the 22 July 1834, while a Tongan teacher was preaching at a small village near Neiafu, 'the power of God had come down upon the people'.<sup>3</sup> The revival was a movement of intense religious feeling which the Tongans called 'dying with love'.<sup>4</sup> Turner's description of the chapel at Feletoa, where he had been summoned by a teacher who did not know what to do, is typical of what happened as it spread throughout the group:

the chapel was still full crying for mercy ... about 200 were lying on the floor as dead persons, who swooned away by complete exhaustion of body and the overwhelming manifestation of saving power. We were quite astonished and stood in speechless awe before God ... it was wonderful and far surpassed all I had seen or read of ...<sup>5</sup>

The immediate effect of these 'Pentecostal Days'<sup>6</sup>

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1834, p.38.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 15 April 1833; 22 April 1833; 7 June 1833; 10 Sept 1833; Tucker to Orton, 10 Sept 1834; Thomas to Orton, 6 Dec 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 23 July 1834.
- (4) Cargill to Committee, 1 Sept 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 27 July 1834. For details of revival see also Tucker to Orton, 10 Sept 1834, and Thomas to Orton, 6 Dec 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (6) Turner, Journal, 27 July 1834; 29 July 1834; Tucker to Orton, 10 Sept 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

was to disrupt all regular activity. School classes were abandoned because, as Turner put it, 'Persons ... are so much affected that we have to turn the school into a prayer meeting'.<sup>1</sup> From Ha'apai the missionary reported that school had been suspended for several weeks and in place of classes there were 'prayer meetings six times a day'.<sup>2</sup>

When the initial excitement subsided hundreds of new scholars applied to enter the schools, teachers dedicated themselves more fully to their work, and old school buildings were renovated and new ones erected.<sup>3</sup> On some islands every person, 'not one exception', was meeting in Class and had been baptised.<sup>4</sup> Just twelve months after the commencement of the revival Tucker reported that in the entire Ha'apai group there was only one person not baptised.<sup>5</sup>

The statistics provided for the 1834 School Report illustrate the effect of the revival upon the educational system. Schools had increased from 18 in 1833 to 54 in 1834. At the same time the number of teachers increased from 125 to 461 and the pupils from 2,243 to 3,203.<sup>6</sup>

To meet the new enthusiasm for instruction, the printing office increased its efforts. In 1834, 50,000 books were printed, including 15,000 alphabets and 10,000 catechisms. The annual report boasted that the printing office staff had completed 'many more books as was ever printed in any year yet'.<sup>7</sup> Although the books were

- (1) Turner, Journal, 11 Aug 1834; See also 29 July 1834.
- (2) Tucker to Committee, 1 Sept 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 20 July 1834; 18 Aug 1834; 15 Sept 1834; 12 Oct 1834; 6 Dec 1834; Tucker to Orton, 10 Sept 1834; W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Friendly Islands District Minutes, Vavau School Report for 1834.
- (4) Tucker, Journal, 26 Aug 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol viii and ix, 1835-1838, p.223.
- (5) Tucker to Committee, 17 Sept 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol viii and ix, 1835-1838, p.320.
- (6) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Vava'u Station Report and Vava'u School Report for 1834.
- (7) *ibid*, Printing Report for 1834.

printed in Tongatapu, and the mission headquarters was there, that island still remained opposed to the lotu. The number of schools increased by only one during the revival years 1833-1834, and a mere 280 pupils were added to the school rolls.<sup>1</sup>

Religious revival had far reaching implications for Tongan society as a whole and in fact was an important factor in precipitating a political crisis. The revival movement helped to polarize the country into Christians and Heathens and the end result was an outbreak of bitter fighting in 1837.<sup>2</sup> During the years of conflict leading up to the fighting the schools were often in a state of confusion. In many smaller villages they were abandoned altogether. At Nuku'alofa the schools were overcrowded with refugees who had been driven from their villages by anti-lotu chiefs.<sup>3</sup> The northern schools were even more drastically effected as many of Tāufa'āhau's leading warriors were drawn from the ranks of the teachers and preachers. The Vava'u report for 1837, the year of the bloody fighting in Tongatapu, boasted:

Heathenism could never present  
such a band of warriors as  
[Vava'u] has found either for  
loyalty, firmness or courage;  
Not fewer than 148 Local  
Preachers were taken from this  
Groupe.<sup>4</sup>

As a result many of the Vava'u schools were without teachers, and pupils were summoned to Neiafu where they were kept together and given some instruction.<sup>5</sup>

Tāufa'āhau's ruthless crushing of opponents in Tongatapu was followed by a short period of peace. Several heathen fortresses agreed to accept the lotu, at

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga School Report for 1834.
- (2) *ibid*, Tonga Station Reports for 1834, 1835, 1836 and 1837. Thomas to Committee, 6 Dec 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol viii and ix, 1835-1838, pp.151-152. For details of the war see chapter VI, pp.166-173.
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga School Report for 1835; Tonga Station Report for 1837.
- (4) *ibid*, Haafuluhao Report for 1837.
- (5) *ibid*.

least nominally. A missionary reoccupied the old Hihifo station and two teachers and their wives were sent to the fortress of Pea to commence schools and Classes.<sup>1</sup> However, hostilities broke out in 1840 and again the schools were seriously disrupted. Some were suspended. Those in the 'capitals' were overcrowded, and the teachers were once more the king's most loyal warriors.<sup>2</sup>

The revival of 1834 was also largely responsible for the extension of education to the neighbouring islands of Fiji and Samoa. The needs of these two groups had been discussed at the District meeting in June 1834, and after the revival a number of teachers offered themselves as missionaries.<sup>3</sup> Three missionaries in Tonga were also appointed as superintendents of these new fields: Cargill and Cross for Fiji and Peter Turner for Samoa.<sup>4</sup>

The troubled years of the late 1830s and early 1840s served to highlight a growing dissatisfaction among the missionaries in regard to their educational work. They felt that the schools lacked system and were thereby inefficient and that they catered too little for the youth of the population. Consequently few young people attended classes. The books available (for the most part portions of scripture and the Wesleyan Catechisms) were too narrow in content and too few in number. Even the word 'school' could not be used without qualification. They were more like Sunday schools than day schools, providing little more than a morning and evening service of worship.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Station Report for 1837.
- (2) *ibid*, Haafuluhao Report for 1840; Minutes of Annual District Meeting, 1842; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1842, p.70.
- (3) Bulu, Joel, An Autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas, London, 1871, p.18.
- (4) Missionary Notices, vol viii and ix, 1835-1838, p.206; Committee to Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, Oct 1834, W.M.M.S. Out Correspondence.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Reports for 1836 and 1837; Tonga School Reports for 1839-41.



These deficiencies in the school system several missionaries thought, could be attributed to two main factors: the missionaries had so many other things to do that they could not pay sufficient attention to educational matters; and native teachers were inefficient school masters because they had not received proper training.<sup>1</sup>

A number of innovations were introduced in the late 1830s in an attempt to revitalize the schools. In Ha'apai, for example, the pupils were placed in classes according to their reading ability (which revealed that many of them could not in fact read), and school hours were increased from one hour a day to three hours daily.<sup>2</sup> Mrs Tucker commenced a special school for selected leaders (including the King and Queen) and taught writing, arithmetic and geography. For teaching the latter subject, maps, globes, and a geographical catechism were employed.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, when Waterhouse (the General Superintendent of the South Seas Missions) arrived in 1841 on an official visit, the missionaries had to confess that the schools 'are not what they should be for a people who have had the gospel for more than half a score of years'.<sup>4</sup>

During Waterhouse's month long visit a number of decisions were made to improve the ailing schools. It was decided to establish a training college, called 'The Friendly Islands Wesleyan Academy for the Training of Native Assistant Missionaries', to educate the most promising teacher-preachers. The meeting also decided to ask the committee to 'send out a man & his wife thoroughly schooled in the best system of Education on religious principles' to train native Teachers both men and women for the schools in the district & the adjacent islands.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga School Report for 1836; Minutes of Special District Meeting, 23 March 1841.
- (2) *ibid*, Haabai School Report for 1836; Lyth, Journal, 11 April 1838; 14 Aug 1838; 27 Aug 1838.
- (3) *ibid*, Haabai School Report for 1836.
- (4) *ibid*, Haabai School Report for 1840-1841.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Special District Meeting 23 March 1841.

The schools themselves were to be put on a more regular basis. To this end a set of rules was drawn up to be observed in all schools in the Friendly Islands. A committee of management consisting of school visitors, superintendents, and teachers, was to control the schools. Schools were to be opened and closed each day with singing and prayers. A register of scholars and teachers was to be drawn up for each school. This roll was to be called at the commencement of every school session. Absentees, both students and teachers, were to be dealt with according to set procedures. The superintendents were given authority to administer 'reproof and correction' and students could be expelled for 'swearing, lying, pilfering or any kind of gross immorality if persisted in'. Finally, 'a public and careful examination' of every school was to be held at least once a year.<sup>1</sup>

WHILE awaiting the arrival of the much sought after educationalist the missionaries implemented the decisions of the 1841 District meeting: the rules were published, classes reorganized, desks were made, and the public examinations carried out.<sup>2</sup> And although a good deal of interest was generated, at least some missionaries felt that very little real advance was being made. The educational system reminded Peter Turner of Elijah's vision of the 'valley of dry bones'.<sup>3</sup>

An experiment commenced by Mrs Wilson in Vava'u temporarily banished Turner's pessimism.<sup>4</sup> She began a small 'Infant School' which concentrated on the younger children.<sup>5</sup> It was an instant success and similar schools sprang up in all the main centres. Within twelve months reports were referring to the infant school system as the

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Special District Meeting 23 March 1841. See Appendix III for full text.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 13 June 1841; 19 June 1841; 24 Dec 1842.
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1842.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 28 Nov 1845; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1845, p.44.
- (5) Up until the late 1830s adults and children attended the same classes. The first attempts to separate them into special schools were made in 1838. See W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1838, pp.40, 42.

most promising aspect of the work.<sup>1</sup>

In many respects the infant schools differed very little from other schools, except that for the first time the very young had special schools established for them. Reports indicate that there was the familiar diet of rote learning and catechizing.<sup>2</sup> A new element, however, was causing considerable interest - the learning of English. A description of an examination-day illustrates the extent to which English was being taught in the infant schools. The children

repeated the 7th chapter of Genesis ... Then the y repeated 6 verses of the same chapter in English which was very good. Then they repeated the first Chapt/er of the 2nd part of the Conference Catechism with all the references - chap. & verse in English ... They were exercised in reading & spelling in English, and in figures ...<sup>3</sup>

The infant schools became the centre of attraction at examination days and after one successful kātoanga the missionary observed: 'If ever we rejoiced we have indeed rejoiced at what we have both seen & heard in the examination of the schools'.<sup>4</sup>

The people, too, obviously enjoyed these examination days for the occasion provided an opportunity for a kātoanga. Dressed in fine mats and ornamented with garlands of flowers, the children excited the spectators with their chants and other exercises.<sup>5</sup> At the conclusion of the examination, which often went on for several days, a large feast was held. At one 'school feast' at Vava'u in 1846, 700 pigs and 'other things in abundance' were consumed.<sup>6</sup> The thought of an approaching

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report of 1845; Vava'u School Report for 1845.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 9 Jan 1844; 2 Jan 1845.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 21 Jan 1846.
- (4) *ibid*, 21 Jan 1846.
- (5) *ibid*, 21 Jan 1846; 10 June 1846.
- (6) *ibid*, 10 June 1846.

'school feast', one missionary commented, was an important element in stimulating pupils to attend school and learn their lessons.<sup>1</sup>

While Mrs Wilson had helped to revitalize education with the infant school system, her husband was providing a select group of teachers with proper training at the newly established Training Institution.<sup>2</sup> The initial intake at the Institution was only five students and by the third year of operation there were only 15 teachers receiving training. The course comprised 'Scripture reading, spelling, writing, catechism, geography, a short course on the leading doctrines of Christianity, and a few elementary rules in arithmetic'.<sup>3</sup> Some of the more able students were also taught English.<sup>4</sup>

In the midst of the debate on improving efficiency and adding interest to the schools an event occurred which compounded Wesleyan educational problems. It was the arrival in 1842 of two Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>5</sup> Their presence caused 'anxiety and alarm' and spurred the Wesleyans to double their educational efforts to combat the teachings of the Catholics.<sup>6</sup> Renewed interest was shown in the press in the belief that the more scripture portions that could be placed in the peoples' hands the safer they would be from the teachings of the 'agents of Rome'.<sup>7</sup> In some schools the 'verse system' was introduced in an effort to imprint Biblical teaching on the minds of the pupils. The hope was that each pupil would learn by

- (1) Turner, Journal, 31 May 1846; 6 Aug 1846.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1843, pp.65-67.
- (3) ibid, 1844, p.45; 1845, pp.44-46.
- (4) ibid, 1844, p.45.
- (5) ibid, 1843, p.60.
- (6) ibid, p.61; 1844, p.44.
- (7) ibid, 1844, Translation and Printing Department Report, pp.46-47.

heart a number of verses each day. According to one missionary the scheme was successful: every one who could read the school books and Scripture portions, learned a number of verses 'by heart every week' - some as many as four chapters.<sup>1</sup>

THE LONG awaited professional educationalist arrived in Tongatapu in 1847.<sup>2</sup> Richard Amos had had missionary experience in Africa and had been trained at David Stow's Institute in Glasgow. On arrival in Tonga he set up a 'Normal' school and commenced education on the Glasgow system. In addition Amos was placed in charge of the Training Institution that had lapsed on the death of Francis Wilson in 1846.<sup>3</sup>

Amos took his dual responsibility seriously and within a short time both the Normal school and the Institution were fully operative.<sup>4</sup> His course of instruction for the teachers embraced reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, bible training lessons, natural history and philosophy, and English language and grammar.<sup>5</sup> He found that it required 'line upon line' to make scholars of the majority' and he felt that a three year course of training was necessary 'to prepare these Natives to take charge of schools on the Glasgow system'.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1843, p.61.
- (2) Frequent reference was made in missionary reports and correspondence to the need for a trained school master to take charge of the educational system. See for example Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report for 1846-47; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1843, p.63.
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, 1847, question 10(2).  
W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1849, p.36.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1851, p.41; Friendly Islands District Minutes, Reports of the Training Institution, 1850, 1851, 1852, F.W.C. Archives.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Report of the Training Institution, 1850, F.W.C. Archives.
- (6) *ibid.* For details of the Glasgow system see Chapter II, pp.47-48, and Appendix IV.

Under Amos the Institution and the 'Normal' school (which were on the same site and were operated as a combined institution) became a show place. The Glasgow system attracted the children who, according to Amos, were 'lingering about our gate' long before school was due to start.<sup>1</sup> The public examinations also reached their peak under Amos who was able to add new and interesting elements to the festival. His report of the examination day at Nuku'alofa in 1851 illustrates an increased educational content. The children

read the scriptures, after which they sang Madan's 'Denmark' to words substituted for 'before Jehovah's awful throne'. Then they repeated half the fourth chapter of the Second Catechism, which was followed by an English lesson from McCulloch's Third Reading Book and an exercise in English and Tonguese in the form of alternate sentences. The geography of Africa followed and they then spelt the names of the animals of Africa. They worked sums in the first five rules of arithmetic and their examination was concluded by the simultaneous repetition of the arithmetical tables.<sup>2</sup>

But although Amos' schools at Nuku'alofa excited and impressed visitors, especially on examination days,<sup>3</sup> the bulk of the schools scattered throughout the islands showed little improvement, even under the teachers trained at the Institution. Although initially it was felt that these teachers had given 'a new and mighty impulse' to the system<sup>4</sup>, it was soon realized that the schools were being

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1849, p.37.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga School Report for 1851-52, F.W.C. Archives.
- (3) Young, Robert, The Southern World. Journal of a Deputation from the Wesleyan Conference to Australia and Polynesia: including Notices of a Visit to the Gold-Fields (Third Thousand), London, 1855, (hereinafter Young, Southern World), pp.228ff; Brierly, O.W., 'Brief Geographical Sketch of the Friendly Islands, with an Account of the Visit of H.M.S. Meander ... to the Island of Tongatapu, June 1850', in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London (hereinafter J.R.G.S.) Volume the twenty second, London, 1852, pp.100-101.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1853.

carried on just as they had been for many years. The Ha'apai school report for 1854 emphasized the problem when it claimed that the inefficiency stemmed from 'want of proper materials for carrying on Education in the proper sense of the term'. Furthermore schools staffed by teachers who had been trained by Amos were 'but little if anything in advance of those under the care of teachers who have not been so favoured'.<sup>1</sup> In fact it appears that the Glasgow experiment was a failure. For when the annual report was prepared for the year 1854 it was pointed out to the committee that the Glasgow system had not been taught at the Institution or introduced into the schools. Not even 'a modified form of it as might be found necessary from the habits and mental character of the Tonguese' had been established.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from this general dissatisfaction with the system Tāufa'āhau's visit to Sydney in 1853 created new problems for the missionary educators. The visit to the colonies marked a fall off in interest in adult schools, for in Sydney King George learned that 'in the colonies adult day schools are not common'.<sup>3</sup> It is true that for some time the missionaries had found it increasingly difficult to attract the elderly and the youth to their schools. The Sydney visit, therefore, provided an excuse for those who did not wish to attend, and it gave the missionaries a strong argument for dropping the difficult area of adult education.<sup>4</sup>

By the mid 1850s, therefore, the educational system had turned full circle. In 1826 Thomas had begun teaching a few children. From 1830 through to the 1850s young people and adults, as well as children, attended

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report for 1854.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Native Training Institution Report for 1854, F.W.C. Archives.
- (3) *ibid*, Vavau School Report for 1855.
- (4) *ibid*, Haabai School Report for 1854.

the schools. From 1854 onwards, although some schools for adults and young people continued, the main emphasis was on the infant schools and the children who formed what the missionaries regarded as the all important 'rising generation'.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1845 ; Lyth, Journal, 11 April 1838 ; Wilson, Journal, 4 Dec 1842, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, p.341.



## CHAPTER V

THE RULE OF LAW

From the outset the presence of the Wesleyan missionaries influenced political developments. Although initially many of the chiefs were opposed to their religion, objections to the new faith were effectively silenced when Tupou of Tongatapu, Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u embraced the lotu. Once these three principal chiefs became Christians, many of the lesser chiefs quickly followed suit and found a place for themselves in the new order. The organizational structure of the school and the church provided numerous opportunities for persons of rank and authority to assume positions of leadership. The demand for teachers and preachers allowed chiefs, or the sons and close relatives of chiefs, to adjust to the new order with a minimum of disruption to their former position and status.<sup>1</sup>

Repeatedly we find the missionaries speaking of their leading teacher-preachers as 'respectable chiefs.'<sup>2</sup> When Robert Young visited Tonga in 1850 he found that most of the Nuku'alofa schools were headed by chiefly persons. One school, of 96 young men, was described as 'the King's school, being under his patronage.' The children of the 'Normal Institution' were led by 'the young prince.' A school of 100 adult women was directed by the Queen (Charlotte). Other schools were also superintended by persons of rank: 'the wife of the Chief Justice,' an 'aged Chief,' and a 'Great Chief, the son of the late King Josiah.'<sup>3</sup> Those

- (1) Turner, Journal, 23 Jan 1833; 25 Oct 1833; 9 Oct 1834; Watkin to Secretaries, 27 Feb 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, pp.206, 208; Thomas, Journal, 29 June 1835, *ibid*, p.436.
- (2) *ibid*.
- (3) Young, Southern World, pp.229-230.

who did not become teachers or leaders of schools were able to play a useful part in supporting the schools in their villages, assisting in the preparation and presentation of their pupils at examination days, supervising the erection of new school buildings, or in organizing and leading voyages to place teachers in new appointments in various parts of the Friendly Islands, or in Fiji or Samoa.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the lotu was easily absorbed into the traditional political structure, and the conversion of the leading members of the hierarchy ensured that the faith would be widely accepted. Tāufa'āhau in particular could see how the old and the new had entered into a useful association. He pointed this out to Robert Young and Walter Lawry in 1850 when, in summarizing the events of the previous twenty five years, he wrote:

The benefits of this religion to Tonga are, that it has brought peace to our land. Its present settled and happy condition we all attribute to religion's influence. All the Chiefs and people acknowledge this. This lotu leaves everyone in his proper sphere. A Chief is a Chief still. A Gentleman is a Gentleman still. A common person is a common person still.<sup>2</sup>

Several years later, in writing to Charles St Julian, King George repeated this conviction: 'Chiefs are Chiefs: Gentlemen (Matapule) are Gentlemen: people are people.'<sup>3</sup>

While it is true that the missionaries taught that all men were equal, it must be noted that the emphasis on that doctrine of equality was placed much more strongly on spiritual matters than any others. In the sight of God all men were spiritually equal, all having sinned, all

- (1) Turner, Journal, 1 June 1833; 14 Aug 1833; 28 April 1834; 20 July 1834; 15 Sept 1834; 9 Jan 1844; 10 June 1846.
- (2) King George Tupou to Walter Lawry, 16 July 1850, quoted in Lawry, Walter, A Second Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, in the year MDCCCL (Elijah Hoole, Ed.), London, 1851 (hereinafter Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands), p.105.
- (3) King George Tupou to Charles St. Julian, Foreign Office and External Papers, H.S.A.

needing to participate in the death of Christ for all men. In the political sphere, however, the teaching of school supported the existing hierarchical order. While the arbitrary power of chiefs was always singled out for criticism, this did not mean that the existing structure as such had to be destroyed and replaced with something different, something more democratic. On the contrary, we find that school books like Koe Tohi Ako taught respect for the status quo, and students learned that man's responsibility to God and his fellows required:

Love all people, as you love yourself. Show great love to your father and mother, be submissive to them, take care of them with a loving heart and always work for them. Be obedient to the earthly king, and observe all his good commands. Be submissive to the teachings of the Ministers of God, and obey your matapule. Be submissive to all persons of rank ...<sup>1</sup>

This aspect of the missionaries teachings owed much to their Instructions which pointed out:

It is ... part of your duties as Ministers, to enforce by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. ... we have confidence in you that you will preserve the same character of religious regard to good order and submission 'to the powers that be' - in which we glory ... and we recollect who hath said, 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.'<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the fact that the missionaries came from a hierarchical society, similar in many ways to the one they

- (1) Koe Tohi Ako, Tongataboo, March 1835 (2nd Edition). No 2 (hereinafter Koe Tohi Ako) Lesson IX, p.4.
- (2) 'Instructions to Missionaries', W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1830, xi.

found in Tonga, these instructions gave further warrant for the support of the status quo.

But there were other reasons. At the practical level of administration it was convenient to be able to call upon chiefs and matapule to order, control, and punish the people under their care. Peter Turner's journal entries illustrate the extent to which the missionaries were able to depend on the existing and traditional order.

All the Chiefs and matapules have been commanded [by King George] to assemble with all their people to report the conduct of all their people. The result of the investigation is that scores of young men have been in the habit of indulging in sinful and foolish sports. Some work has been assigned them ...<sup>1</sup>

The journals of other missionaries also illustrate the missionary dependence upon the traditional system by which chiefs and matāpule controlled and disciplined their own people.<sup>2</sup> School classes, church Classes, services, and bands, and the monthly civil court days, gave ample opportunity for the leaders of pre-Christian Tonga to remain the leaders in the new Christian society, for the hou 'eiki to maintain their hou 'eiki station.<sup>3</sup>

It would seem then that the school did not seek to change the basic and traditional fabric of Tongan politics - the complex system of control centred upon the district and village chiefs and matāpule under one or more paramount chiefs. The school did attempt, however, to refine this system in some respects, to provide new dimensions to the traditional structure, to offer a religious Jewish-Christian-Wesleyan rationale for necessary changes, and to introduce a

- (1) Turner, Journal, 23 Sept 1841. See also *ibid*, 27 Aug 1840.
- (2) Cargill, Journal, 7 Feb 1834; Turner, Journal, 11 July 1831; 25 Feb 1833.
- (3) Turner, Nathaniel, to Secretaries, 10 Sept 1830, quoted in *Missionary Notices*, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.535; Watkin to Secretaries, 27 Feb 1834, *ibid*, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, pp.206-207; Thomas, Journal, 29 June 1835; *ibid*, p.436; Turner, Journal, 23 June 1833; 9 Oct 1834; 25 Oct 1834.

new concept of law. As far as leadership at the highest levels was concerned, Tongan society during the period 1826-1854 not only regained some of the stability that had existed before the outbreak of war in 1799, but returned to a much more ancient form of government where one chief was recognized as the Hau of Tonga. It was this regaining of stability that Tāufa'āhau obviously had in mind when he wrote to Lawry in 1850.<sup>1</sup>

In the modifications of the operation of political power and authority which attended the missionaries teaching, two concepts assumed major importance: the institution of Kingship upon a Biblical model, and the evolution of legal codes based on the Ten Commandments and the Wesleyan Rules of Society. These two concepts formed an integral part of the missionaries implementation of their instructions to 'civilize and convert', and an examination of the school curriculum reveals that these were frequent themes in the reading material used in the classroom.

Through a number of agencies, but principally in the schools, the missionaries began a programme of instruction designed to establish a firm foundation upon which an orderly system of government could develop.<sup>2</sup> This involved destroying the prevalent attitude that the chiefs were gods, or potentially so, and substituting a belief that Jehovah alone was the one true god, the great King of all Kings, the supreme Hau.<sup>3</sup> Chiefs and people were taught to regard themselves as being under the rule of Jehovah and his law, and through the schools they were shown how this system had been instituted for the people of God in ancient

(1) See above p.124.

(2) The missionaries were well aware that they had entered Tonga at a time of great political instability. See Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan 1827 where the comment is made that the people 'seem much confused, having no head man'.

(3) The quotations from the school books that follow are from the Authorized Version of the Bible. It was this version that was used by the missionaries in their translation work, and the Tongan readers follow it verbatim.

Israel. Through extracts from Jewish history as recorded in the Old Testament, the people learned that Jehovah was the great king of all mankind, that he appointed the earthly kings, and that king and people were bound together under Jehovah's laws.

In the early printed books<sup>1</sup> the 'kingship of Jehovah' was a common theme. The very first printed book, it must be granted, stressed other attributes of Jehovah such as his love, wisdom, and power. It did include, however, reference in a prayer to Jehovah as 'our creator, our Heavenly King'<sup>2</sup> and the first of the six hymns which followed the reading passages began:

Jehovah you are our King  
dwelling in Heaven  
Maker of everything  
the things of earth.<sup>3</sup>

The revised version of this first book placed a much greater emphasis upon the kingship of Jehovah. Several of the reading lessons made it their theme, as did a number of hymns.<sup>4</sup> The Hymn Book, Koe Tohi Hiva, published in 1831 made frequent use of the theme 'Jehovah is King', a doctrine which was hinted at in almost all of the fifty eight hymns, and explicitly taught in six of them.<sup>5</sup> The Alphabet, Koe Motua Lea, designed to teach reading, made use of this concept in one of its three practice lessons: 'Jehovah is our true God; he is the King of all the people.'<sup>6</sup> The School Book, Koe Tohi Ako, contained among other

- (1) Until the printing of the New Testament in 1847, most products of the mission press were small four or twelve page booklets used in the schools as lesson books. They also served as reading material in private and public worship. Most were translations of parts of the Old and New Testaments.
- (2) Turner, N, First lessons in the Language of Tongataboo, Sydney, 1828, p.20 (hereinafter First Lessons)
- (3) ibid, p.21.
- (4) A First Book in the Language of Tongataboo, containing Spelling and Reading Lessons; to which are added a Catechism, the Ten Commandments, a Morning and Evening Prayer, and Several Hymns, by the Wesleyan Missionaries, Sydney, 1830, pp. 13, 52, 70, 72, 77, 79 (hereinafter A First Book)
- (5) Koe Tohi Hiva, Tongataboo, July 1831 (hereinafter Koe Tohi Hiva), hymns 1, 26, 43, 49, 54 and 56. See also hymns 2 to 6 which emphasize the 'Lordship' of Jehovah.
- (6) Koe Motua Lea, Tongataboo, Dec 1834. No 1 (hereinafter Koe Motua Lea), p.3.

references to the rule of Jehovah, a translation of the Lord's prayer which prayed for the coming of God's rule, and which gave glory to God as the source of government and power.<sup>1</sup> A short time later a selection of Psalms was printed which indirectly referred throughout to the rule of Jehovah, and which enunciated the doctrine explicitly in a number of cases.<sup>2</sup> Psalm 22 can be taken as typical:

All the ends of the world shall remember  
and turn unto the Lord: and all the  
kindreds of the nations shall worship  
him. For the kingdom is the Lord's; and  
he is the Governor among the nations.<sup>3</sup>

From the base that 'Jehovah is King over all nations', there developed a second aspect of the divine order: the appointment of the Tu'i Maama or earthly king.<sup>4</sup> On arrival in Tonga the missionaries discovered that the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu was vacant and that in Tongatapu there was 'no king'.<sup>5</sup> The island was ruled instead by a number of powerful chiefs who exercised sovereignty in their own districts as petty kings.<sup>6</sup> After the appointment of 'Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu, the missionaries felt that Tonga had a rightful sovereign, and they accepted that Finau the Tu'i Vava'u, and Tāufa'āhau the Tu'i Ha'apai, were kings in their respective islands. They referred also to the 'kings' of Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu.<sup>7</sup> At least up until 1833, therefore, the missionaries were in the habit of speaking and writing about Tonga as being ruled by a number of kings. It was not until 1845 that they began to apply

- (1) Koe Tohi Ako, p.8.
- (2) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu, Tongataboo, April 1833. No 7 (hereinafter Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita), 5:2; 10:16; Koe Same, Tonga, Oct 1834. No 15 (hereinafter Koe Same) 24:7-10; 29:10.
- (3) Koe Same, 22:27-28.
- (4) Koe Tohi Ako, lesson 9, p.4.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 30 Jan 1827. Thomas learned of the political situation during conversation with a European who had resided for many years in the Tonga group. See *ibid*.
- (6) *ibid*.
- (7) W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1828, pp.137-139; Thomas, Journal, 5 Dec 1826; Cargill, Journal, 7 Feb 1834; Hutchinson to Secretaries, 31 Aug 1826, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.

all 'king' references exclusively to Tāufa'āhau, who had by that date become Tu'i Ha'apai, Tu'i Vava'u, and Tu'i Kanokupolu as well.<sup>1</sup> The main concern of the missionaries in the early period seems to have been the desire to strengthen loyalty and support for 'lawful authority' and 'the powers that be',<sup>2</sup> and in order to do this they appear to have chosen certain parts of the Old Testament which illustrated similar patterns in the history of the chosen people. The passages in question were published in five small school books which emphasized a common theme: the Israelite Kingship, its basis and operation.<sup>3</sup>

Whether the missionaries deliberately set about to translate Israelite kingship passages is a question difficult to determine. Their choice of these passages could perhaps be defended on logical or devotional grounds. The Psalms contained the most popular and best loved passages in the Old Testament, ranking second only to the New Testament in appeal. Isaiah was the foremost of the 8th century reforming prophets. The story of Samuel and Saul has always been a favourite Old Testament incident. In every case the missionaries began translating from chapter one. They had not selected passages from these books to emphasize. Regardless of motive, however, it is important to note that these passages were introduced at a particularly significant time.

The social and political context into which these

- (1) There is evidence, however, that before that date the missionaries thought of Tāufa'āhau as becoming sole ruler on Tupou's death. See Turner, Journal, 28 Nov 1845.
- (2) 'Instructions to Missionaries', W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1830, xi.
- (3) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu, Tongataboo, April 1833; Koe Uluaki Buka a Samiuela, Tongataboo, April 1834; Koe Buka a e Balofite ko Aisea, Tongataboo, May 1834; I Samiuela, Tongataboo, August 1834; Koe Same, Tongataboo, Oct 1834.



booklets found their way is worthy of note. Tāufa'āhau had just become Tu'i Vava'u, adding the populous Ha'afaluhao group to his domains.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries at this time were beginning to call Tāufa'āhau 'King George I of the United Kingdoms of Haabai and Vavau'.<sup>2</sup> Some time before this John Thomas had identified Tāufa'āhau with the first Israelite king. Like Saul of Biblical times, he was the tallest man in the country, and Thomas was reminded of the words of the Old Testament story as Tāufa'āhau made his baptismal vows. 'What was said of Saul of Old,' Thomas wrote, 'may justly be said of our king, "A choice young man and a godly, and there was not among the people of Israel a goodlier than he, from his shoulders and upwards he was higher than any of his people".'<sup>3</sup> In the mid 1830s religious revival had swept thousands of new converts into the church, and made them amenable to religious teaching, none more so than Tāufa'āhau himself. His conversion had been distressingly emotional, yet deeply spiritual. It inspired in him a greater determination to follow the will of Jehovah as represented in the scripture.<sup>4</sup>

The revival had also stimulated a renewed interest in the schools, and thousands of scholars, many of them adults, regularly attended for instruction.<sup>5</sup> Out of an estimated population of 20,000, almost 12,000 were attached to the lotu in some way (by attending worship, Classes, or bands), and more than 6,000 were registered as actually attending school for instruction.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) See chapter IV, p.109.
- (2) Watkin, Draft article, 30 Sept 1833, Watkin Papers, A1540, M.L.
- (3) Thomas to Secretaries, 2 Sept 1831, in which Thomas was quoting I Samuel 9:2, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (4) Bulu, Joel, An autobiography of a Native Minister in the South Seas, London, 1871, p.17.  
See also Tucker, Journal, 24 April 1835; 6 June 1835; 17 Sept 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, pp.315, 316, 319-320.
- (5) See chapter IV, pp.111-112.
- (6) See W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1835, pp.34-35; Friendly Islands District Minutes, 6 Oct 1836.

For the non-Christians in Tongatapu the revival also stimulated a renewed interest in traditional religion. It hardened their resistance to the lotu and inspired them to commit overt acts of 'rebellion' towards Tupou and his nephew Tāufa'āhau. The 'heathens' represented a minority in terms of total population, but in Tongatapu they were a significant majority,<sup>1</sup> and therefore presented a serious threat to political stability, at least in that group. It was into this situation of intense religious feeling, which had polarized the country into Christians and Heathens, that the kingship stories of the Old Testament were introduced into the schools.

The 'Samuel readers' contained the story of the prophet of that name, detailing his rise to power, his 'rule' over Israel, his decline in old age, the institution of the kingship, the installation of Saul as the first king, and the details of the covenant of kingship.<sup>2</sup> Saul's military campaigns in defence of his kingship, against internal and external opposition, were also included.<sup>3</sup> The selections from the Psalms taught a number of kingship ideas, and the Isaiah passages, although not so strongly monarchical, emphasised the fate of a people and their king who did not follow Jehovah.<sup>4</sup>

The Psalms and Samuel readers taught, first of all, that monarchy is divinely ordained.<sup>5</sup> This point of view is frequently expressed.

... The Lord said to Samuel, hearken unto their voice, and make them a king ...  
 And when Samuel saw Saul, the Lord said unto him, Behold the man of whom I spake to thereof! this same shall reign over my people ...  
 And Samuel said to all the people, see ye him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there

- (1) See chapter IV, p.110.
- (2) Koe Uluaki Buka a Samiuela, Tongataboo, April 1834. No 12 (hereinafter Koe Uluaki Buka a Samiuela) chapters 1-7; I Samiuela, Tonga, Aug 1834. No 14 (hereinafter I Samiuela) chapters 8-12.
- (3) I Samiuela, chapters 11-14.
- (4) Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea, Tongataboo, May 1834. No 13 (hereinafter Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea), chapters 7 and 8.
- (5) The Isaiah booklet hints at the divine origin of kingship but does not explicitly teach it.

is none like him among all the people?  
And all the people shouted and said,  
God save the king.

...  
[the Lord said] ... Yet have I set my  
king upon my holy hill of Zion. I  
will declare the decree; the Lord hath  
said unto me, Thou art my son; this day  
have I begotten thee.<sup>1</sup>

The readers also taught that kingship involved duties and responsibilities; that the king, the people and Jehovah were bound together in a covenant relationship; that the basis of the covenant was Jehovah's law, the Ten Commandments.

Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it before the Lord.

...  
Now behold therefore whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have desired; and behold, the Lord hath set a king over you. If ye will fear the Lord, and serve him, and obey his voice, and not rebel against the commandment of the Lord, then shall both ye and also the king that reigneth over you continue following the Lord your God: but if ye will not obey the voice of the Lord, but rebel against the commandment of the Lord, then shall the hand of the Lord be against you, as it was against your fathers ...

...  
But if you shall do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.<sup>2</sup>

The Samuel readers emphasised the necessity of the King's obedience to the law of God

And Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou hast not kept the commandment of the Lord thy God, which he commanded thee: for now would the Lord have established thy kingdom upon Israel for ever. But now thy kingdom shall not continue ... because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee.<sup>3</sup>

(1) I Samiuela 8:22; 9:17; 10:24;

Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 2:6-7.

(2) I Samiuela, 10:25; 12:13-15; 25, p.p.6, 8-9.

(3) I Samiuela, 13:13-14, p.10.

See also Koe Same, 25:4, 10, 14, p.7.

The catechisms used in the schools at this time also taught this same basic fact of kingship under Jehovah. Question 53 asked:

- Q.53 How did Saul rule?  
 A. In the beginning he ruled well, but later he rebelled and was cast off by God.
- Q.54 And how did Saul end?  
 A. He was cast off by God, and he was wounded in battle with the Philistines, and fell on his sword, and died.

In contrast to Saul, the story of David (also in question and answer form) taught that he

was a prophet; and he ruled in accord with God's will; and he saved Israel from all their enemies; and ruled his people well.<sup>1</sup>

A third feature of the Samuel and Psalms readers was their teaching that the divinely appointed king had to face opposition, rebellion, and war, in order to protect his position and his people. The readers showed that if the king kept the commands and served the Lord, then Jehovah would give him the victory. In the Psalms in particular there is this element of assured victory for God's anointed. This lesson was emphasised in numerous ways.

And it was so on the morrow that Saul put the people in three companies; and they came into the midst of the host in the morning watch, and slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day; and it came to pass that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together ... Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance ... Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. ... Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed he will hear him from his holy heaven with the saving strength of his right hand.

(1) Koe Fehui moe Tala mei he Folofola ae Otua, Tonga, Feb 1834. No 11 (hereinafter Koe Fehui moe Tala No 11), Part V, Questions 56ff, pp.6-7. Later questions trace the history of the chosen people and explain the exile as God's punishment of the Israelites and their wicked kings. See ibid, pp.7-8.

...  
 For the king trusteth in the Lord, and through the mercy of the most high he shall not be moved. Thine hand shall find out all thine enemies; thy right hand shall find out all those that hate thee ... the Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath ... For they intended evil against thee: they imagined a mischievous device, which they were not able to perform.<sup>1</sup>

The teaching in the schools was supplemented from the pulpit and the kingship themes, on the Israelite model, were common. The most famous names - Saul, David, and Solomon - were most frequently chosen, although Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Jeraboam were also mentioned.<sup>2</sup> On a number of occasions the missionaries recorded in their journals that when preaching about one of the Israelite kings, they addressed their message specifically to Tupou or Tāufa'āhau. Thomas records hearing a sermon by Cross in which the preacher, while elaborating on the sin of King Jeraboam 'addressed Tupou personally, exhorting him to live to God'.<sup>3</sup> When Tupou was baptised a Christian in 1830 he was given the name Josiah 'after the pious reformer in Israel of Old'. In all probability the missionaries hoped that this first Christian King in Tonga would emulate his illustrious namesake.

A cursory reading of the Old Testament books translated for school use reveals that the idea of law - a written law frequently styled 'the commandments' - is inextricably bound up with the Biblical view of kingship. In the previous discussion of kingship reference to law and

- (1) I Samiuela, 11:11; Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 2:8-9; Koe Same, 20:6; 21: 7-9, 11.
- (2) References to Biblical kings are numerous. See for example Thomas, Journal, 31 May 1829; 23 Aug 1829; 30 Sept 1829; 17 March 1830; 8 May 1830; 23 May 1830; Turner, Journal, 11 Sept 1831; Turner, Nathaniel, Journal, 5 April 1829; 3 May 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.315; Cross, Journal, 24 Aug 1828, ibid, p.131.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 30 Sept 1829; 23 May 1830.

the commandments have only been incidental.<sup>1</sup> We will now examine more closely the development of this concept of law and the school's role in promoting it.

On the voyage out from England, John Thomas made an outline of the material he intended to translate, first of all, into the Tongan language. High on his list of priorities was the Ten Commandments and what he called 'rules for the regulation of their conduct - as suited to that station and the word of God.'<sup>2</sup> When leaving Sydney he penned an entry in his journal outlining his apprehensions at leaving a land where there were 'privileges both Civil and Religious - the arm of British Government, wholesome laws - and religious ordinances - the house of God - religious ministers and the religious public' for a land where presumably none of these benefits of society existed.<sup>3</sup> On arrival in Tonga he found that his early predictions were fully realized. During the early months he wrote to the Secretaries in London, describing the Friendly Islands as a place 'remote from Civil society and under a diabolical government', where the people were 'notorious for fornication, lying, and theft.'<sup>4</sup> He prayed for the day when, through the instrumentality of the mission and its teachings, all this would pass away. Other missionaries, who came later, shared his views.<sup>5</sup> Thus began a programme of teaching and preaching, together with the institution of the rule oriented Wesleyan system of church government, which introduced the concept of written codes of law to the Tongan people.

The first printed school book provided as its first practice reading lesson a quaint variant of the Ten Commandments:

1. Cast away sin
2. Do not covet
3. Do not be proud
4. Do not steal

(1) See above p. 133

(2) Thomas, Journal, 8 Oct 1825.

(3) *ibid.*, 31 May 1826.

(4) Thomas to Mason, 21 Sept 1826, Diary and Letter Book, Letter No. 5, A1959, M.L.

(5) Cargill, Journal, 11 Feb 1834 reflects this view. "When the rank weeds wh. have overgrown the moral soil of their hearts have been rooted out it may be turned to good account".

5. Do not lie
6. Do not kill
7. Do not swear
8. I do not know
9. I know now
10. I am an ignorant child.<sup>1</sup>

In the other lessons in the book students were taught that the commands of Jehovah were 'good commands', and in the Catechism pupils learned that evil entered the world because Adam refused to obey the law of God.

Q.18 What was Jehovah's command to Adam?  
Jehovah commanded Adam not to eat of the sacred tree

...

Q.20. Whose command was it to eat the fruit?  
The Devil's, who came embodied in a snake.

Q.21 Was Jehovah angry with Adam for eating the sacred fruit? <sup>2</sup>  
Yes, Jehovah was very angry.

The revised edition of First Lessons<sup>3</sup> continued to instruct the pupils on the importance of law in society. One lesson contained a summary of the Ten Commandments, in free translation. Another reminded readers that God's word was 'all true', and that God had given good commandments to his people so that they could follow them and avoid the rule of the Devil.<sup>4</sup> The booklet also included the Ten Commandments presented in catechism form:

How many commands did Jehovah give?  
What is the first command?  
What is the second command? etc.<sup>5</sup>

Koe Motua Lea (The alphabet), published in 1831, and reprinted a number of times over a twenty year period, contained numerous references to law. Lesson I stated

- (1) First Lessons, p.13.
- (2) ibid, pp.17-18.
- (3) A First Book.
- (4) ibid, pp.13-17.
- (5) ibid, pp.67-68.

I have a desire to be wise. The ignorant mind is bad. I will do the good commandments ... I will take care to do good. I will believe the commands of God.<sup>1</sup>

Other lessons stressed the importance of knowing and obeying the law of God:

I will walk in His good way. I will believe the commands of Jehovah. It is bad to be disobedient. But it is a good thing to believe.... I will take notice of the teaching.<sup>2</sup>

A school reader for more advanced pupils, published in 1831, continued instruction on the theme of society based on law codes. Lesson nine, for example, singled out the 5th commandment for special attention, and a lesson was also set aside for teaching respect for the Sabbath day.<sup>3</sup> This little book concluded with a translation of the Ten Commandments, set out for the first time in numbered code-like form.<sup>4</sup>

Other booklets were published which reinforced these teachings. A translation of Genesis 1-8 unfolded the drama of God's relationship with man and his world. Throughout that drama the fact that law has been established for man to live by, and that disobedience to that law brings judgement and punishment, are recurring themes.<sup>5</sup> In later books a clear connection is forged, linking the keeping of God's law with national safety and prosperity for both king and people.<sup>6</sup>

Thus far we have been examining the role of the school and school books in teaching the concept of Biblical law.

- (1) Koe Motua Lea, lesson 1, p.3. For details of reprinting of this basic reader see Friendly Islands District Minutes, 1835-1852, and in particular the Printing Office Reports 1851-1852.
- (2) Koe Motua Lea, lesson 2, p.3.
- (3) Koe Tohi Ako, lesson ix, pp.4-5.
- (4) ibid, p.7.
- (5) Koe Tohi eni, oe Fakatubu oe Laqi, mo Mamani, Tongataboo, Sept 1832. No 3 (hereinafter Koe Tohi eni oe Fakatubu). The booklet contained the story of the sin and punishment of Adam and Cain, and the saga of the great Flood by which Jehovah punished sinful mankind.
- (6) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 1; 18:21-22; 19:7-14; Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea, chapters 7 and 8.



In all the examples quoted, the school was acting in a most direct manner: stating the origin and basis of law and teaching the content of law. There were other aspects of the school's activity, however, which contributed more indirectly to the acceptance of written codes.

Firstly, the schools were conducted according to rules. In the early days of the schools, the rules were unwritten ones. They regulated the times of meeting, the programme to be followed, behaviour to be observed, classroom organization and other administrative matters to be adhered to. These school rules were firmly administered. In Ha'apai in the mid 1830s, Richard Lyth frequently found it necessary to apply the sanctions of the rules, and even the sons of the highest chiefs in the land were not exempted.<sup>1</sup> Compliance with the rules did not come easily to the scholars, and in 1839 Lyth produced a new set, based on the 'Rules of the W.M. Sunday Schools-York, Page 24 - Rule 1-6.'<sup>2</sup> By the late 1830s the missionaries saw the need to standardize the rules throughout the group, and at the District Meeting in 1841 a set of rules for all Wesleyan schools was drawn up, based for the most part on the practices that had evolved over the years.<sup>3</sup> The school, therefore, was a training ground where people learned the nature, function, and sanctions of law, albeit at an elementary level.

Secondly, the school was responsible for developing a level of literacy which made possible the widespread distribution of 'Methodist Law'. As early as 1829 there is evidence that the missionaries were reading over the Rules to their congregations and prior to a large number of persons being baptized in 1831 (they had fulfilled a six month period of probation) they had shown evidence of 'complying with the rules of our society and the laws of God.'<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Lyth, Journal, 11 April 1838; 20 July 1838; 22 Sept 1838.
- (2) *ibid*, 3 May 1839.
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, 1841. See Appendix III for details.
- (4) Watkin, Journal, 2 Oct 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.211.

Some time later Watkin reported to the London Committee that he had been reading and explaining the Rules of society to his class members and was able to hand each member a copy.<sup>1</sup> These early copies were presumably in manuscript, for it was not until 1834 that the Rules were put through the press and distributed by the thousand. Hobbs the printer was engaged in February 1835 on a new edition of the Rules because 'the first edition 6,000 in number presented twelve months ago [were] nearly all expended'.<sup>2</sup>

In printed form the Rules appeared as No. 10 in a series of what Hobbs described as 'school books,'<sup>3</sup> and were probably used in class for reading material for advanced pupils. Wesleyan organization required that the Rules of Society were to be read at least once a quarter, and copies given to members. From the early 1830s it became possible to implement this aspect of Methodist discipline, for the schools had been successful in teaching large numbers of people to read - or at least to repeat by rote the material they had been drilled with in class.<sup>4</sup> The Rules were revised and reprinted a number of times over the years. During the short period that John Hobbs was mission printer he put 10,545 copies through the press.<sup>5</sup>

The content of the Rules was in many respects an elaboration on the Ten Commandments and Christ's 'great commandments', to which a number of specifically Wesleyan emphases were added.<sup>6</sup> Wesley's Rules of Society were, in many of their clauses, easily translated into Tongan. Warnings against 'drunkenness, fighting and

- (1) Watkin, Journal, 1 July 1832, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.419.
- (2) Hobbs, Journal, 28 Feb 1835.
- (3) *ibid*, 3 July 1833.
- (4) See chapter IV, pp.110-111, 117, 120.
- (5) Hobbs to Secretaries, 26 Aug 1836, 'List of books personally printed since taking over'.
- (6) Compare details in Appendix I and Appendix II

quarrelling, brawling, unprofitable conversation, and unedifying songs,' would be easily understood by the Tongans. Other rules, however, must have caused a good deal of bewilderment, especially those which warned against 'buying and selling uncustomed goods' or 'giving or taking things on usury i.e. unlawful interest.'<sup>1</sup> On the other hand there were precepts which had no place in Wesley's version of the rules, but were introduced by the missionaries in Tongan to deal with specific problems. These forbade heathen customs, 'devilish' funerals, circumcision, a number of traditional dances, and the practice of tattooing.<sup>2</sup> The Rules of society were not merely suggested guidelines for behaviour. Their requirements were mandatory and offences against them led to the exercise of sanctions. Warnings were given for minor offences, but more serious faults led to expulsion or suspension from the fellowship, punishments regarded with shame by affected members. Tāufa'āhau himself was not exempt from the sanctions of the Rules, and on at least two occasions he was expelled from society for what the missionary called 'improper conduct'.<sup>3</sup> After the great revival in 1834, when the numbers meeting in society increased dramatically, the rules of the Bible, and of Wesleyan Methodism, were applied very widely indeed, especially in Ha'apai and Vava'u where thousands of people were required to live under the law.

Kingship and law teachings were not presented in isolation. The missionaries, naturally enough, saw many similarities between the Tongan people and the recorded history of Israel. In their teachings, in order to explain the significance of specific ideas and concepts, they placed

- (1) Koe Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu-Fehui, Tongataboo, Jan 1834. No 10 (hereinafter Koe Akonaki) pp.2-3; Koe Gaahi Fekau eni ki he Jiaji o Kalaisi oku ui ko Ueseliana, Vavau, n.d., pp.2-3. For a translation of Koe Akonaki see Appendix II.
- (2) Koe Akonaki, pp.2-3.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 9 April 1833; 25 May 1833.

considerable emphasis upon the religious and cultural history of Israel for it was out of this history that their own ideas of Kingship and law had arisen. Turner, on one occasion, pointed out that it was relatively easy to teach Biblical history because the people were 'fond of narrative & History.'<sup>1</sup> In their writings they frequently used Old Testament images to describe their people and their condition.<sup>2</sup> They provided Biblical names for the candidates for baptism, and their journal entries following the administration of that sacrament read like a roll call of prophets and patriarchs.<sup>3</sup> Their main chapels in Tongatapu and Vava'u were called Zion and Ebenezer recalling Jewish precedents.<sup>4</sup>

The Tongan people, and especially the chiefs, appear to have readily accepted many of these elements of Jewish-Christian culture, and to have identified with it. A prominent chief on his baptism day chose the names Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac, for himself, his wife and his son. A leading Tongatapu priest, on conversion to Christianity, identified with his biblical counterpart calling himself Zechariah, his wife Elizabeth, and his son John.<sup>5</sup> Joel Bulu, one of the first Native Assistant Missionaries, referred to the lotu as an ancient institution and spoke of 'Our fathers of former times, the Jews ...'<sup>6</sup> Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, chose the name Josiah, after the Jewish king of that name, and Tāufa'āhau gave the same name to his youngest son on his baptism.<sup>7</sup> In this process of trans-

- (1) Turner, Journal, 20 May 1832.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 10 Jan 1830; Thomas to Secretaries, 8 Aug 1832 quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.431; Thomas to Secretaries, 28 Jan 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (3) Watkin, Journal, 22 April 1832; Thomas, Journal, 20 Dec 1829.
- (4) It was a common practice in England to call chapels after Biblical temples, in particular, Zion. However, within the context of other teachings about Jewish history, Zion and Ebenezer would suggest a Jewish precedent.
- (5) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.110.
- (6) Sermon preached by Joel Bulu, 10 May 1851, in Lyth, Missionary Pocket Book, p.101.
- (7) Thomas, Journal, 10 Jan 1830; W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1832-1833, p.41.

mitting the basic elements of Jewish-Christian culture and history, the school played a leading role. Although supported by sermon and Class, it was in the schoolroom that the bulk of the population learned by heart the great stories of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

There is considerable evidence to show that King George saw the Biblical teachings as a model for his own policies. In August 1830 Thomas gave Tāufa'āhau a manuscript copy of the Ten Commandments<sup>2</sup> and early in 1831, when problems arose in his own household over the duties of servants to their master, Tāufa'āhau sought and obtained advice from the missionaries. His main concern was for a list of rules for the control of his servants, and Peter Turner, while unwilling to commit himself until consulting his brethren, laid down scriptural guidelines. In conversation at the time Tāufa'āhau expressed the desire 'to imitate Abraham and those of whom the Scriptures speak.'<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the period under study there are numerous examples of this desire to base decisions and policies on some biblical warrant. While being entertained on board the Meander in 1850, King George made a speech of thanks to the Captain as a representative of Great Britain, from whence had come 'the Sacred Book, that we might live thereby.'<sup>4</sup> Some short time later, during the visit of the deputation from London, he preached a sermon which included reference to the preservation of his country and his people. In part he said

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 ... What do the people who are wise? They delight in the law of God, and in that law meditate both day and night. What else should they do? ... Seek to obtain the book if you have it not.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Apart from the translations of Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, and Samuel, the missionaries included a great deal of Old Testament history in the catechisms that they published. One catechism, for example, contained a section on famous persons of the Old Testament. See Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4 pp.6-8.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 10 Sept 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.119.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 24-26 Dec 1831.
- (4) Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands, p.63.
- (5) Young, Southern World, p.443.

At about the same time, King George's principal magistrate emphasised that the laws of the land were based upon the Biblical model:

We love the Holy Book; for it is our riches, our light, and our teacher.  
 ... If a King decree laws for his people, and any of his people cast away his laws and not obey them, are they not the king's enemies?  
 ... Jehovah has set up His laws for the whole world to obey, and are not those laws in the Bible?<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of the 1939 Law reveals that, although it is composed of a number of separate and distinct strands, it owes much to the Ten Commandments and the Rules of society (Tongan version). The preamble is strongly reminiscent of the Samuel and Psalms readers which taught that the sovereign was of divine choosing.

It is of the God of heaven 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 hand, and the sheep of his pasture ...<sup>2</sup>

Most of the Ten Commandments are represented in the code. The 1st and 2nd commandments are presupposed throughout, particularly in the preamble and sections 2, 3 and 4. The 6th, 7th and 8th Commandments are reproduced in section 1 which prohibits murder, adultery, and theft. Section 2 which urges respect for the sabbath and prohibits 'worldly occupations and labours', owes its origin to the 4th Commandment. In section 4 Chiefs are not to 'mark' the goods of their people, or 'take by force any article from them', clauses which clearly represent the teachings of the Ten Commandments on covetness and stealing.

- (1) Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands, pp.111, 113, emphasis supplied.  
 (2) Koe Gaahi Lao ki he kakai o Vava'u mo Haafuluhao, Vava'u, Me 16, 1838. An English translation of this Code is found in W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1840, pp.129-132.

A number of items in the code of 1839 were originally introduced to the Tongans through the publication of the Rules of Society. The summary of religious duty (Section 2), the prohibition of quarrelling or backbiting (Section 4), and of lifting up a club 'or any other instrument of death' against a fellow (Section 1), all restate clauses from the Rules. Traditional matters which were banned in the 1839 code were also taken from the Tongan version of the Rules where strictures against tattooing, circumcision, and 'idolatrourous ceremonies' had been in force since 1834.<sup>1</sup> The laws urging people to work (Sections 3, 4 and 5) can be regarded as the codification of the school lessons which urged people to 'always work' which condemned laziness as 'bad', and which taught that the 4th Commandment required work for six days and rest on the seventh.<sup>2</sup>

There are strands, however, which have little connection with the school and its teachings. The 'Port Regulations' supplied by Capt. Crozier, translated by Thomas, and put through the mission press by Brooks, regulated contact between visiting Europeans and Tongan residents. After minor additions suggested by Tāufa'āhau, in regard to wooding and watering, the regulations came into force in 1836.<sup>3</sup> It appears that no copy of these regulations, Tonga's first 'civil' code, has survived, but it is most unlikely that they would differ markedly from the port regulations that other British Captains issued to places like Tahiti or Samoa. In fact at least one clause in the Code of 1839, which is obviously one of Captain Crozier's 'laws', reproduces almost word for word Section 3 of the port regulations issued in the Society Islands in 1826 which placed a penalty on any person enticing a sailor to

(1) Koe Akonaki, pp.2-3.

(2) See Koe Motua Lea, p.3; Lyth, Journal, 6 March 1838.

(3) Thomas, Journal, 21 Nov 1836; 1 Dec 1836.

Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.1064-1065.

desert ship.<sup>1</sup> The 1836 port regulations would appear, then, to be another element in the 1839 code. The final sentence of the code, making it 'unlawful' to cut timber without permission to do so, was also, it would seem, an attempt to control the activities of visiting seamen wishing to take in 'wood and water'.

Practical problems experienced by the missionaries also influenced the form of the 1839 code. Mr. Thomas' journal reveals that the strict morality of the missionaries was not always welcomed by seamen when they found the women debarred them. On several occasions they threatened Thomas and he was forced, as he puts it, to have the natives put them 'in charge'. One Sunday afternoon, when a plot was uncovered to ambush him as he left the chapel, the Chief of Makave (where Thomas was preaching) provided a personal bodyguard of twenty of his men, armed with clubs and spears, to escort the preacher home 'which', Thomas recorded, 'was rather a novel sight on the Lord's day.'<sup>2</sup> It was, in all probability, incidents such as these that led to the inclusion of the following clause in the code

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<sub>3</sub> such offence, as the judge shall determine.

Similarly, the provision that anyone 'retailing ardent spirits' should 'pay a fine to the King of Twenty Five Dollars and be liable to have the spirits taken from him', may owe more to a desire to keep the peace, than to any Methodist position on alcohol. Some very nasty incidents occurred in the 1830s, one of which saw the son and heir of a chief seriously stabbed

- (1) Ellis, Polynesian Researches, 1829, vol ii, pp.455-456.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.1020. See also *ibid*, 1016.
- (3) Koe Gaahi Lao ki he kakai o Vava'u mo Haafuluhao, Vava'u, Me 1838, Section 2; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1840, p.130.



by a drunken seaman, and such incidents demanded firm measures if further bloodshed were to be averted.<sup>1</sup>

As far as the 1839 code is concerned, there was very little in it that was new. Much of it had been introduced, piecemeal, over a period of years and Thomas commented at the time that the spirit of the laws had been acted upon for some time past.<sup>2</sup> As early as 1832 the Captain of H.M.S. Zebra, while lecturing a group of beachcombers 'reminded them that although they were British Britain did not govern so they were to obey the Christian laws of the King and Chief'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the main provisions of the new law had been propagated in the schools for almost a decade.

The code promulgated in 1850 has been seen by a number of writers as an elaboration and an extension of the 1839 law.<sup>4</sup> In a sense this is misleading as it was an adaptation, not of the 1839 code, but of the Huahine code of 1822. It bears little resemblance to the 1839 code, but has much in common with the Huahine laws. The Ten Commandments and the Rules of Society, nevertheless, can still be seen as influencing the legislation of 1850.<sup>5</sup> The Tongan element, however, is much more pronounced in the 1850 code. In 1839, Section 3 contained the only clauses which protected chiefly privilege, whereas the 1850 code has a number of 'chiefly' paragraphs. Section 111, sub-section iii ensured that at least some of the chiefs (that is those who had become the judges of the new order) would have the benefit of forced labour (fatongia) guaranteed to them:

- (1) Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, Letter 118, 1832, p.139ff. Thomas recounts the incident involving the Captain and crew of the whaler Mary Jane. One of the crew members was killed and, it was rumoured, part of his body was roasted and eaten.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 20 March 1839.
- (3) ibid, 14 May 1832.
- (4) Lātūkefu, Church and State p.128; Wood, History and Geography of Tonga, p.56.
- (5) Young, Southern World, pp.448-450, especially sections VII, VIII, IX, XII, XV and XIX which represent the precepts of the Ten Commandments and sections XI, XIV, XXXIX and XLIII which codify elements of the Rules.

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.<sup>1</sup>

section V ensured that the chiefs had exclusive control over their own people without fear of interference from other chiefs. The only restriction was that they were to rule their people according to the law. Governors were given discretion on the amount of 'fatongia' they could require from their people:

This is the labour which the Governing Chiefs shall lawfully demand from their people yearly, even to the extent they may think proper.<sup>2</sup>

Another clause gave the chiefs power to 'wave' to canoes, and in cases 'of emergency' to call vessels under sail to come to anchor.<sup>3</sup> The traditional 'law' that persons catching the large fish and turtles should present them to their chiefs also passed into codified law:

XXXV. The Law refering 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, and third he catches shall be the Governors, the fourth his, and so on.

...

XLII - The Law refering to catching fish.

Any persons catching the larger fish shall not do as they please with them, such as the turtle, albicore, bonito, and ulu, &c, but on obtaining one, shall take it to the Chief; the second he takes shall be his, and so on afterwards.<sup>4</sup>

These chiefly elements of the new code were a concern to the missionaries, and although they tried to have them

- (1) Koe Gaahi Fono oe Buleaga ko Toga, mo Haabai, mo Haafuluhao, Vavau, 1851, III, iii. An English translation of these laws is to be found in Young, Southern World, pp.446-453.
- (2) ibid, V, iv.
- (3) ibid, XXXI.
- (4) ibid, XXXV, XLII.

removed before the code was adopted, the king and chiefs remained adamant. The best the missionaries could do was to force a compromise and complain that the new code was 'not all that could be desired.'<sup>1</sup>

It must not be forgotten that the 1850 code was influenced by a number of outside factors. Walter Lawry was responsible for advising that legal aid from New Zealand be sought, and it was the advice of the New Zealand expert Sir William Martin that led the missionaries to take the Huahine code as a model. The Huahine code was quite acceptable for, according to Lawry, it had been drawn up many years previously by a Methodist local preacher in Sydney.<sup>2</sup>

The effect of the specific kingship teachings, as distinct from those incorporating an emphasis upon law, is more difficult to evaluate. It is clear that the missionaries saw Tāufa'āhau, and to a lesser extent Tupou Aleamotu'a, in terms of the Israelite king.<sup>3</sup> Lyth perhaps summed up the missionary attitude when he recorded in his journal: We have reason to be thankful to God ..... especially that he has set such a man as King George to reign over the people.<sup>4</sup> Yet it would be wrong to suggest that the missionaries created the Tongan Monarchy and used the schools to educate Tāufa'āhau and his people to accept it. This would be to overlook Tāufa'āhau's rise to power by means of skill in war (which provided a strong support to his legitimate hereditary claims), a movement which commenced before the missionaries arrived in Tonga. As an outstanding warrior and leader of men he had gradually eclipsed all others and would, in all probability, have emerged as sole ruler of Tonga, with or without the aid of the missionaries. What the school did, however, was to give

(1) Young, Southern World, p.454.

(2) Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands, p.82.

(3) Thomas, Journal, 30 Sept 1829; 23 May 1830.  
Rabone, Journal, 21 Jan 1837; Young, Southern World, p.237.

(4) Lyth, Journal, 19 Feb 1839.

his monarchy many of the peculiar facets which characterized it for more than half a century: the image of Tāufa'āhau as Prophet, Priest, King, and Father of his people.<sup>1</sup>

The Biblical and patriarchal flavour of his rule owed a great deal, it could be argued, to Israelite history, and in particular the kingship texts that he learned in school. These books presented the model of a simple 'constitutional' monarchy based on the reign of a divinely appointed king, ruling his people under the constraints of Jehovah's law. The 1839 Code of Laws, which he wholeheartedly supported, began with a prologue which certainly presented him in that light.<sup>2</sup>

The influence of the Biblical model is to be found everywhere. He spoke and preached on the words of King Solomon;<sup>3</sup> he used the language of the Samuel readers on several occasions when speaking to his people of his relationship to them;<sup>4</sup> he called his sons after Israelite kings: his heir after Saul's illustrious son David, and his younger son after 'the young king of Judah, Josiah.'<sup>5</sup> He chose words reminiscent of kingship Psalms for the motto of the Tongan Coat-of-Arms: God and Tonga are my inheritance.<sup>6</sup>

The Biblical model, however, was not the sole influence upon Tāufa'āhau's thinking. The missionaries frequently told the Tongan people, especially the chiefs, about their home country, England. They made references to the English kings, in particular the Georges. When Thomas found that Tāufa'āhau wished to control the appointment of teachers in the schools he remarked:

- (1) Lyth, Journal, quoted in Papers Relative to the Wesleyan Missions, vol LXXV, March 1839.
- (2) See preamble to the 1839 Code of Laws, W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1840, p.129.
- (3) Tucker to Secretaries, 17 Sept 1835, quoted in Papers Relative to the Wesleyan Missions, No LXXV, March, 1839; Young, Southern World, p.455.
- (4) Baker, Memoirs, p.9; King George's Speech to Parliament, 1875, in Koe Boobooi, vol II, No 6, Sept-Oct 1875.
- (5) Turner, Missionary Papers, p.53.
- (6) The use of the word 'inheritance' (tofi'a) conveyed a wealth of meaning. In Tongan tradition his title of Tu'i Kanokupolu gave him the land as his 'inheritance'. In the Christian sense, the words of the Psalms had found fulfillment and the Lord had given him the heathen for an inheritance. See Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 2:8 and Koe Same, 20:7-9.

... I have taken an opportunity of speaking to the chief on the necessity of not interfering in some things respecting the Church of Christ. I told him I acknowledged him as my Governor, as my residence is here, but he must not wish to govern me in respect of the things of God. He must allow me to know what was proper for me to do in respect to the Society or the Church of Christ. I endeavoured to give him to understand that while our king in England governed his subjects, he did not interfere with the affairs of the Church. This was managed by the Ministers of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The visits of British warships also provided opportunities for the Tongan people to learn about England and the king who had sent such powerful vessels to the Pacific. Apart from other services of value to the missionaries and their cause, the captains often lectured and sometimes removed unwanted or troublesome Englishmen. After one such occasion, Thomas noted in his journal:

I feel thankful to God that I belong to King George, and that His Majesty's loyal officers are ready to rescue the person and the character of his suffering subjects from the hands of wicked and rebellious (sic). The fear of the King of England is upon the islands of the South Seas and the visit of His Majesty's vessel has a happy tendency <sup>2</sup> to forward our cause in these islands.

The Captains themselves played their part in keeping the King of England and his attitudes before the people of the islands. 'It is said,' wrote Thomas after the visit of Captain Waldegrave of the Seringapatam in 1830, 'that the Captain has endeavoured to teach the people at Tonga that King George and his officers are the friends of the

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 29 April 1830.  
 (2) Ibid, 9 June 1830.

missionaries.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries seized these opportunities to put in a word for the English king. Ata was told, on one occasion, that 'our king and his chiefs or Ministers would rejoice to hear that Tonga prayed to God.'<sup>2</sup>

An analysis of the evidence, however, shows that the missionaries were intent upon creating a certain attitude of reverence towards the English kings and their naval officers, rather than attempting to teach specific details of British law. They did teach that England was a land governed by king and law, but until the 1860s they taught little more. By that date it was clear that the Tongans were developing in their understanding of law and that a more sophisticated system was needed. The school book, Koe Tohi Talanoa contained a considerable amount of material of a political nature, with specific lessons on the British system. Under the heads of The King, The Parliament and The House of Lords, this little book taught the British model of government.<sup>3</sup> The British marriage law was obtained by the missionaries about this time when they were advising Taufa'ahau on what they regarded as necessary reforms for Tonga. The missionary request for British law only came, it must be noted, after Taufa'ahau had heard from visiting sea captains about the law in England, and had proclaimed what he regarded as a suitable compromise for Tonga.<sup>4</sup>

The emphasis in the early years, however, seems to have been on the goodness of King George of England, his support for the lotu, his wise Christian rule, and his power as evidenced by the Man-o-war with its officers and guns. It was this emphasis that led Taufa'ahau to choose George as his Christian name.<sup>5</sup> A recent study has suggested that

(1) Thomas, Journal, 11 June 1830.

(2) *ibid*, 18 April 1829.

(3) West, Thomas, Koe Tohi Talanoa ki he mea kehekehe, London, 1860 (hereinafter West, Koe Tohi Talanoa) pp.167-169.

(4) Davis to Eggleston, 6 Sept 1861, MOM 170, M.L.

(5) Turner, Missionary Papers, p.53.

a British model was used in the early days of the development of kingship and law.<sup>1</sup> This argument, however, is based on speculation, the author himself admitting that evidence for it is lacking.<sup>2</sup> To conjecture that a British model was used is to ignore the mass of evidence which demonstrates that in the early years (prior to 1860) the missionaries were teaching the model they knew better than that of their own country: a Biblical model of kingship, and a Hebrew-Wesleyan model of law. In this process they were not merely following their own knowledge and natural inclinations. The Missionary Committee in London set the pattern when they advised Turner and his fellow missionaries:

You will need great wisdom, and prudence, in your treatment. Great fidelity on the one hand, and great mildness and affection and forbearance on the other will be requisite. These Sovereigns of the Isles have so much to unlearn that it must naturally follow much time will elapse before a complete revolution in all their views and feelings on all religious and moral subjects, and on the subject of government especially will be effected. May God himself enable you by his grace so to conduct yourself towards the king that you may be enabled to lead him on in the good way, and fashion him in all things, according to the rule of the gospel.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Lātūkefu, Church and State, p. 121.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Beecham to Turner, 27 Oct 1834, emphasis supplied.

## CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOL AND CIVIL UNREST

VERY EARLY in the mission's history, the missionaries and their school became a divisive force in Tongan Society. The missionaries came as teachers and their Instructions urged them to commence this important duty at the earliest opportunity. Buildings were to be erected for the purpose 'as soon as is possible, and in the most economical manner,' and it was further required that

the Brethren and their wives [should] adopt such methods of instruction as they may on mutual consultation judge most suitable, and that they themselves act as Teachers.<sup>1</sup>

In a small way, almost immediately after arrival, they commenced teaching, even before a school house had been erected.

The missionaries brought with them a considerable amount of trade with which they planned to purchase land, labour, building materials, and food.<sup>2</sup> Their residence at Hihifo was of considerable economic advantage to Ata and his people who provided not only protection but the goods and services that the missionaries required.<sup>3</sup> This sudden inflow of wealth to Ata did not go unnoticed by the other chiefs who, in order to obtain a share of the trade for themselves, made frequent visits to Hihifo. Fatu from Mu'a, Taufu from Pea, Vaea from Houma, Vaha'i from Fo'ui, and Tupou from Nuku'alofa, all visited the missionaries, making gifts of foodstuffs and receiving

- (1) Instructions of the Committee. Thomas' own copy of these Instructions is to be found with his Diary and Letter Book, A1959, M.L
- (2) ibid; Secretaries to Thomas, 18 April 1825, W.M.M.S. Outwards Correspondence.
- (3) See report of 'Goods released from the Mission Store', Friendly Islands District Minutes, 1828.



presents of axes, plane irons, files, and chisels.<sup>1</sup> When rumour reached the chiefs that Ata had turned Thomas and Hutchinson out of their house, several sent messages, or came in person, to offer alternative accommodation.<sup>2</sup> Chiefs from the northern groups, including Tāufa'āhau from Ha'apai, also paid visits to Hihifo.<sup>3</sup>

Ata, by acting as protector of the missionaries, suddenly became the centre of attention in the whole of the Friendly Islands group, and the rivalry and ill feeling created among the powerful chiefs became worrying to him. He advised the missionaries, when opposition first arose, to employ some of the people of other chiefs in land clearing and building work, apparently hoping that this would reduce the feelings of jealousy that had developed over the trade issue. There was even the possibility, Ata told the missionaries, that a war could eventuate.<sup>4</sup> Later, however, as the initial conflict subsided a little, he advised the missionaries to be careful in their dealings with visitors, and made it clear that he desired to regulate all their contact with chiefs from other districts. 'He wished us,' Thomas wrote at the time, '... not to let strange chiefs in to see our place ... he wished us to let him know their names and then he will let us know whether or not they may come in.'<sup>5</sup> When he heard that the Tu'i Ha'apai (Tāufa'āhau) intended paying them a visit he urged them 'not to let him in.'<sup>6</sup> He expressed his annoyance when a chief from Nuku'alofa offered to supply them with timber for building, and he became enraged some time later when he discovered that they had given advice to a chief who had come seeking their opinion.<sup>7</sup>

It was not only contacts with chiefs and people from other districts that Ata wished to regulate. He also

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 31 July, 1826; 1 Aug, 1826; 28-29-30 Sept, 1826; 9 Oct, 1826; 16-17 Nov, 1826; 1 Dec, 1826; 4 Dec, 1826; 11 Dec, 1826; 19 Dec, 1826; 5 Feb, 1827; 8 Feb, 1827; 14 April 1827; 16 April 1827; 4 June, 1827; 25 June, 1827; 28 March, 1828; 14 April, 1828.
- (2) *ibid*, 28 Sept, 1826.
- (3) *ibid*, 28 March, 1828.
- (4) *ibid*, 10 July, 1826; 8 Nov, 1826.
- (5) *ibid*, 8 Nov, 1826.
- (6) *ibid*, 4 Dec, 1826.
- (7) *ibid*, 29 Jan, 1827; 19 May, 1827.

desired to limit the amount of influence that the missionaries exerted over his own people. Through barter the missionaries enjoyed influence and were able to exercise considerable control. They regulated the times for trading, selected only those goods that they desired, and settled upon the prices to be paid in exchange for various goods and services.<sup>1</sup> Before the first year was up, however, Ata had moved against the missionary monopoly of trade, and after a dispute over payment for work done he placed a tapu on all barter operations.<sup>2</sup> When finally he allowed trading to recommence, it was conducted on a very different basis. Ata himself acted as superintendent, decided what articles were to be offered for 'sale,' and set the prices to be paid by the missionaries. Food and other items became much more expensive under his superintendence, and Thomas complained to his Journal:

[the people] are very imposing and want a great deal for their goods - they tell us that if they sell their things for a little, the Chief will be angry ... he (Ata) advised me to purchase the pigs and yams that were brought for they did not know when there would be another day for trading so that we had contrary to our judgement to buy several more pigs - we painfully feel the grasp of the savage ...<sup>3</sup>

The sentiment expressed here, and on numerous other occasions, reveals that Ata had gained effective control of the teachers. His conflict with the missionaries and the religion they represented centred on the issue of control, and he made it clear that he did not wish to forfeit his independence through association with them. In fact the reverse was more to the point, and Thomas noted with obvious annoyance

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 14 July, 1826; 17 July, 1826;  
5 May, 1827.  
(2) *ibid*, 17 May, 1827.  
(3) *ibid*, 24 May, 1827.

It appears to me that he will not only oppose us in our object at Hehefo [Hihifo] but he wishes us so to be under him as to consult him in everything ... thus he continues to oppress us and seems to wish to have us like Slaves or Servants to him ... if they should be subdued to the French or British power and made to fear then they may hear God's word, but they are now full of self and pride and sin.<sup>1</sup>

With the passing months the opposition to the lotu increased in intensity. The chief forbade his people, on pain of death, to attend the services of worship conducted at the mission house, and at times called his people together in a 'great assembly' to deprecate the lotu. On one such occasion the missionary reported:

... the Chief showed no regard to our manner and practices. He called those fools that came to our worship and spoke in a sneering way of all that prayed to Jehovah and threatened to kill his men if they came to our worship ..<sup>2</sup>

The result was that very few people came near the mission house on the Sabbath. Ata had followed up his threat by personally preventing his people from attending. He 'sat very near the gate and saw who came and spoke to some of them not wishing them to attend ..'<sup>3</sup> Several months later Ata was still guarding the mission gates on the Sabbath and 'threatened and drove the poor people away and would not let them come ..'<sup>4</sup>

Despite this strong opposition from the chief, there were those who risked even death to meet with the missionaries in worship. The lotu was attracting some followers but in the process it was becoming a divisive force. The few were coming 'with or without the consent

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 19 May, 1827.
- (2) *ibid*, 12 Oct, 1826.
- (3) *ibid*, 15 Oct, 1826.
- (4) *ibid*, 12 March, 1827; see also 10 March, 1828.

of the chief,' and Thomas learned that there were 'several chiefs and many others' who were 'suffering reproach from their deluded countrymen because they [were] enquiring after the true God.'<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the ban on attending the lotu remained in force.

The missionaries were thwarted in other directions as well. They had requested permission from Ata to build a chapel-school house and had met with a firm refusal. The matter was raised repeatedly but the answer was always the same.<sup>2</sup> After one such request Thomas noted:

He soon gave us to understand and in a cool and deliberate manner that he was the same man and had the same views of our object, he was when he opposed Bro. Hutchinson and me. He said he did not on any account like prayer, or want to pray and that if the people came to our prayer he would kill them, that the boys should not come, or he would serve them the same ... we might teach the boys we had in our own house if we chose, but not the people outside ... we talked and reasoned with him, but he kept to his point ..<sup>3</sup>

In all probability it was a desire to contain missionary influence that led Ata to oppose their request to build a school house and chapel. With the construction of additional buildings the lotu would have greater opportunities for expansion, and chiefly influence would, in consequence, suffer some decline. The existing premises, the missionaries dwelling house, was already a thorn in his flesh, and had been the subject of several serious quarrels.<sup>4</sup> The house, located quite near Ata's own dwelling, had become an object of wonder, not only for the people of Hihifo, but for those in other districts in Tongatapu, other islands in the group, and even visitors

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 3 Feb, 1827; 20 March, 1827.  
 (2) *ibid*, 15 Oct, 1826; 28-30 Nov, 1826; 9 March, 1827; 7 May, 1827; 8 March, 1828; 10 March, 1828. Permission was finally given on 15 April, 1828.  
 (3) *ibid*, 10 March, 1828.  
 (4) *ibid*, 27 Sept, 1826.

from Samoa.<sup>1</sup> The house's two storeys, wooden doors, metal locks, glazed windows, weatherboard walls and wooden floors, all served to inspire amazement among all who saw it.<sup>2</sup> Ata envied the missionaries their grand house, and when it was rumoured that Hutchinson would return to New South Wales, he expressed a wish to move in and take possession of the vacated portion.<sup>3</sup> Previously, when a dispute had arisen over payment for some thatching work, Ata ordered the missionaries out of their newly completed house, stating that he would occupy it himself.<sup>4</sup> Ata's continued opposition to the missionaries request to build a school-chapel probably sprang from fears that a house of worship would be more impressive than a dwelling house, for in Tongan society that would certainly have been the case.<sup>5</sup>

But there were other reasons why Ata opposed the missionary teachers and their attempt to build a school. He had observed the effects of missionary education upon the behaviour of Watson Nau (Tama Nau), who had taken up residence with Thomas at Hihifo. Ata noted that this youth walked about 'like a chief' and his general behaviour was becoming insufferable. Ata told Charles Tindale that on several occasions he was tempted to take a club and kill Tama Nau.<sup>6</sup> '... it is not the custom of the country,' Ata complained, 'for a person of his low order to wear superior Tappa in the presence of a chief ... again ... it is one of the greatest insults which can be offered for a Tonga man to pass by a Cava ring. This Tammy Now [Tama Nau] has done.'<sup>7</sup> Thomas, unsympathetic or ignorant of the implications of rank and respect in Tongan society, saw in Ata's complaint a simple moral failing: 'Here is an instance of the depravity of the human heart, they envy this poor boy that which they have not themselves.'<sup>8</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 16 April, 1827; 1 Aug, 1827.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, 30 Nov, 1826.
- (4) *ibid.*, 27 Sept 1826.
- (5) See Chapter II, pp.20-21.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 17 Aug, 1827.
- (7) *ibid.*
- (8) *ibid.*

Presumably Ata saw things differently. Tammy's education had given him a disregard for the position of chiefs, slighting their 'invitations' to kava and insulting them by affecting their manners, and attempting to imitate their distinctive dress. Education, to Ata, seemed to be levelling the distinctions, breaking down the ranks, and undermining the customs of the land. It is not unlikely that it was for these reasons that he set himself to thwart the missionaries at every point. It probably explains, too, his strong objection to the missionaries wanting to teach the tu'a class, but why he allowed them to teach some of the chiefly children, including his own son.<sup>1</sup>

The fierce opposition to the missionaries' desire to teach, the frequent refusals of their request to build a chapel-school, the threats of expulsion and the determined attempts to contain their influence, all serve to highlight the degree of conflict that had developed between Ata and the newcomers. At the centre of this confrontation lay the missionary teachers and their school.<sup>2</sup>

CONFLICT and confrontation did not confine itself to Hihifo. With the arrival of three missionaries and their families to reinforce the Friendly Islands Mission, opposition to the new order crystallized and a definite anti-lotu party emerged. Aleamotu'a had been worshipping at Nuku'alofa since the arrival of the Tahitian missionaries in March 1826.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the leading chiefs of Tongatapu took little notice of Tupou's connection with the lotu of the Tahitians, but the situation was materially altered when British missionaries settled at Nuku'alofa in 1827.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 13 July, 1826; 15 July 1827.
- (2) The 'school' was conducted in a skillion at the back of the mission house until permission was given to erect a separate building.
- (3) Pita Vi in his 'Narrative' does not mention opposition to the Tahitians even though they built a school and conducted regular worship. See Vi, Narrative.
- (4) Wood, A Harold, Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church, vol I, Tonga and Samoa, Melbourne, 1976, p.38.

The anti-lotu chiefs converged on Nuku'alofa, and in a series of meetings endeavoured to persuade Tupou to give up the new religion.<sup>1</sup> When Tupou remained firm in his decision to 'keep praying,' threats of violence were made against him and the missionaries. Tupou responded by launching his great sailing canoe in preparation for flight to Samoa, an extreme decision which he later re-considered on the advice of friendly chiefs.<sup>2</sup> Eventually, in order to achieve their object, the opponents of the lotu offered to install Tupou in the vacant position of Tu'i Kanokupolu if he would cease support for the missionaries and their religion.<sup>3</sup> Tupou yielded to this pressure, was installed as the Tu'i Kanokupolu in December 1827, and the missionaries were thus deprived of the support of one of the highest ranking chiefs in the land. The opposition's plan seemed, at first, to have succeeded, for public worship was forbidden and the school at Nuku'alofa was closed.<sup>4</sup> Within six months, however, the missionaries were again able to re-open the school and re-commence public worship, with Tupou himself openly supporting them.<sup>5</sup> The anti-lotu party did not forgive Tupou for what must have appeared to them as a betrayal, and in the years that followed, they challenged his leadership on a number of occasions. Because of his support for the lotu they attempted to remove him from office and fill the vacancy with another chief sympathetic to their cause.<sup>6</sup> The confrontations which, in 1826-1828, were rather localized, took on more widespread proportions as the lotu spread and became more firmly entrenched.

- (1) Turner, Nathaniel, Journal 15 Nov-29 Nov 1827, in W.M.M.S. Annual Report; 1828, pp.46-48, Vi, Narrative.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, pp.47-48.
- (3) Vi, Narrative; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, pp.47-48.
- (4) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.375; W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.51.
- (5) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.51.
- (6) Vi, Narrative.

WHEN THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES arrived in Tonga in the 1820s, the country was still disturbed by the hostilities that broke out in 1799. Within months of Thomas' arrival, Taufa'ahau and Laufilitonga became embroiled in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole group.<sup>1</sup> Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars,' the missionaries felt it a duty to teach the new way - a way of love and mercy and peace. They saw the Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in fighting, enjoying war as a pastime.<sup>2</sup> But as the Christian teaching began to take root, the missionaries frequently noted in their reports to the Committee, that one of the most obvious fruits of the gospel was that the people no longer cherished war. Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler Elizabeth observed that the people:

appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of the ... missionary Mr. Thomas - at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered ... many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.<sup>3</sup>

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the '30s, the missionary present at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to learn war no more.' As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.<sup>4</sup> Other new chapels were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common.'<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug, 1826; 26-27 Oct, 1826.
- (2) Watkin, in an article for the Methodist Magazine, 30 Sept, 1833 writes: 'The inhabitants were hateful and hating each other, war was the delight of the Friendly Islanders.' See also Turner, Peter, Journal, 23 June, 1833 where King George comments that he had previously delighted in war until told by the missionaries that it was 'a bad thing.'
- (3) Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship Elizabeth, 26 Feb 1832; 28 March 1832.
- (4) Tucker to Secretaries, 17 Sept 1835, quoted in Papers Relative to the Wesleyan Missions, vol LXXV, March 1838.
- (5) Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct 1834.



Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831 and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the missionaries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting, stood in marked contrast to the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted:

The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity who loves its enemies - he therefore would not hear of any being put to death.<sup>1</sup>

A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The business of reducing the people who have so long opposed has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'<sup>2</sup> Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga used a military image, pointing out that 'now they are soldiers in the army of Jesus.'<sup>3</sup>

Undoubtedly the school played a significant role in introducing and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour of Christianity. In the early years of the Mission there was a frequent emphasis in the school books on the importance of living in friendship and fellowship. All hatred was condemned as a bad thing, except the hatred of sin. 'Fellowship is a good thing' Koe Motua Lea taught in two of its five lessons. Hatred it was taught was a bad thing when directed towards other people, but lies and evil speaking men should hate.<sup>4</sup> In this early

- (1) Turner, Journal, 21 Aug 1831.
- (2) Watkin, Journal, 26 March 1833.
- (3) Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec 1831, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (4) Koe Motua Lea, lessons 1 and 2, p.3.

book the Devil was the only enemy.<sup>1</sup> Books 2, 4, 5 and 6 taught love and forgiveness as part of the Christian ethic. Koe Tohi Ako, which contained the Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiving trespassers, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people.'<sup>2</sup> The Catechism Fehui moe Tala approached this area by asking a question about mans responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given:

It is right to obey my parents  
and submit to my earthly superiors  
[Eiki Mama] ... do good, love and  
forgive all people.<sup>3</sup>

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, where the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother, were told.<sup>4</sup> These parables stressed the responsibility for Christians to show love, concern, and forgiveness towards those who have wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the Wesleyan Rules of Society, urged members of Society to avoid fighting, quarrelling, and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.<sup>5</sup> Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through the person of Jesus Christ.<sup>6</sup> At least one missionary devised a novel method of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences.' James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the schools, included the following questions and answers:

Who are they who love war?  
Answer. The true sons of the Devil.  
Who are they that seek war?  
Answer. Wild beasts thirsting for  
blood.

- (1) Koe Motua Lea, Lesson 5. p.4.
- (2) Koe Tohi Ako, Lesson, IX, p.4.
- (3) Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4, Section 5, Q.45, p.4.
- (4) Koe Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu, pp.3-4, 5-9.
- (5) Koe Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui, pp.2-3.
- (6) See for example, First Lessons, pp.13, 20.
- (7) Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec 1832.

Before 1833 therefore, there was nothing in the school books to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in classes was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.<sup>1</sup> Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'<sup>2</sup>

And yet the thirties saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the lotu from the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u, gave impetus to the anti-lotu party who began to persecute Christians and disrupt the preaching of the new religion.<sup>3</sup> By January, 1834 relations between the two parties became strained almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou.<sup>4</sup> Their arrival was awe inspiring: some fifty large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'. Thomas was impressed.

Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a scene since it was a land.<sup>5</sup>

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and, although talk of war was on many lips, their presence ensured at least a momentary peace. 'This island is quite a stir,' wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands.'<sup>6</sup> Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau returned to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading

- (1) First Lessons P.13; Koe Motua Lea, Lessons 1 and 2, p.3.
- (2) Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct 1834.
- (3) Thomas to Secretaries, 6 Dec 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.152.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.221.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb 1834; 3 March 1834; 30 March 1834. The lali referred to is a wooden drum.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 10 March 1834.

of weapons. Taufa'ahau had 'a large club and a gun beside him,' and 'many of his people were sitting about, or near him, all armed, and on the look out for the foe.'<sup>1</sup>

The religious revival which broke out in the northern islands a few months later further inflamed the already excited and tense atmosphere.<sup>2</sup> The revival swept the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups and thousands were deeply affected. All normal activities came to a halt - work ceased, classes were abandoned, and prayer meetings and services of worship were held throughout the day and evening.<sup>3</sup> It was, as one missionary put it, 'a week of Sabbaths.' Of all the islands in the group only Tongatapu was relatively unaffected by the revival. There, although some Christians were caught up in the movement, the heathen majority remained untouched.<sup>4</sup>

The effect of the revival was to cement the northern groups into a solid unity behind the missionaries and King George. In Ha'apai the missionary reported that there was only one heathen in the whole group.<sup>5</sup> The great religious movement also divided the country more clearly into Christians and Heathens - the heathens almost without exception residing in Tongatapu. Christians in that group insulted heathens during their most sacred 'inasi' ceremony, and heathens responded by driving Christians from their villages.<sup>6</sup>

A crisis developed in 1835 when, at the opening of a new chapel in the village of Nukunuku near Nuku'alofa, the wavering chief of the village came out strongly in favour of Christianity and he and hundreds of his people joined the

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 19 March 1834.
- (2) The revival began on the 22nd July 1834 while a Tongan teacher was preaching at the small village of Utui near Neiafu, Vava'u. See Turner, Journal, 23-27 July 1834.
- (3) Tucker to Secretaries, 10 Sept 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.150.
- (4) Thomas to Committee, 6 Dec 1834, *ibid*, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, pp.151-152.
- (5) Tucker to Committee, 17 Sept 1835, *ibid*, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.320.
- (6) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Station Report, 1834.  
Thomas to Secretaries, 6 Dec 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.151.

church.<sup>1</sup> After the opening festivities had subsided the anti-lotu party took the chief prisoner, deposed him from office, gave his title of Tuivakanoa to another man, and drove the Christians from the village. The exiles took refuge at Nuku'alofa and Tupou ordered that work on fortifications begin immediately.<sup>2</sup> Watkin tells us that when services were held at Nuku'alofa on the Sunday after the arrival of the exiles, guards were posted at various parts of the fortified wall of the village. 'All the watchers,' he noted at the time, 'had teachers with them, and held religious services at their respective stations.'<sup>3</sup> The next day Watkin decided to leave Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of Ha'apai.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime, revival continued in the north, bringing thousands into the church and schools.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling, the missionaries through their schools, classes, and sermons, introduced the Old Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worshippers, and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small booklets: two from I Samuel (containing the story of Saul's battle with the opponents of his rule and the rule of Jehovah), Isaiah I-9 (containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and apostates), and two booklets of Psalms (for the most part a series of Israelite war songs).<sup>5</sup>

The books from Samuel taught that King Saul met with armed resistance.<sup>6</sup> This was inevitable as Israelite

(1) Watkin, Journal, 20-30 Sept 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, pp.449-450.

(2) ibid.

(3) ibid.

(4) ibid.

(5) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu, Tongataboo, April, 1833; Koe Same, Tonga, Oct 1834; Koe UluakiBuka a Samiuela, Tongataboo, April 1834; I Samiuela, Tonga, Aug 1834; Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea, May 1834.

The decision to prepare these booklets was taken at the District Meeting of December 1832. Thomas agreed to prepare Psalms, Turner was to translate Samuel, and Watkin was to commence work on Isaiah. See Watkin, Papers, A1540, M.L. By December 1832 the Northern Islands were all Christian. Only Tongatapu remained predominately heathen.

(6) See chapter V, 132, 134-135.

kingship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.<sup>1</sup> It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, the Israelite historian continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents.'<sup>2</sup> Apart from the enemies from within, there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day,' and as the school booklet proclaims as its last sentence: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel.'<sup>3</sup>

The extracts from Isaiah prophesy doom for the 'sinful nation ... the people laden with iniquity ... seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters,' pointing out that they have 'provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward ... the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.'<sup>4</sup> Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient,' whose land 'is full of idols,' who 'worship the work of their own hands.' These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord,' and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'<sup>5</sup> - a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga or the heathen of Israel. The tone of Isaiah was ruthless.

Therefore is the anger of the Lord  
kindled against his people, and he  
hath stretched forth his hand  
against them, and hath smitten

- (1) I Samiuela, 8:20; 11:1-13.
- (2) ibid, 10:27.
- (3) ibid, 11:11; 14:12.
- (4) Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea, 1:4-5.
- (5) ibid, 2:8; 5:24.

them ... and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched forth still ... and in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea; and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens therefore.<sup>1</sup>

Isaiah's message of doom is dramatically presented in his parable of the vineyard where the Lord decrees 'I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: And I will lay it waste ..'<sup>2</sup> The teachings of the Isaiah booklet can perhaps be best summed up in some key words from the first chapter:

If ye will be willing and obedient,  
ye shall eat the good of the land:  
But if ye refuse and rebel, ye  
shall be devoured by the sword:  
for the mouth of the Lord hath  
spoken it.<sup>3</sup>

It is in the books from the Psalms, however, that the war theme is most explicitly and extensively taught. The two booklets contain the first thirty one Psalms, all of which follow, to a greater or lesser extent, the theme of destruction by war. The basic teaching of these songs is simple. Firstly it is taught that the heathen assume a threatening attitude towards Jehovah and his chosen ones:

Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and his annointed, saying: Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Koe Buka ae Balofite ko Aisea, 5:25, 30.
- (2) ibid, 5:5-6.
- (3) ibid, 1:19-20.
- (4) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 2:1-3. See also 3:6-7; 5:4; 10; 8:2; 9:3-6.

secondly there is the affirmation that although there is a danger for those who follow Jehovah, they will nevertheless ultimately triumph over the heathen. Typical of this teaching are the following extracts from Psalm 18 and Psalm 2.

Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare my decree; the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.

Thou hast delivered me from the strivings of the people; and thou hast made me head of the heathen ...

It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivered me from my enemies; yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me; thou hast delivered me from the violent men.<sup>1</sup>

A third and prominent strand is that victory will come to the followers of Jehovah through the annihilation of the heathen opposition. Psalm 18 illustrates this point of view more explicitly than many others

I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again until they were consumed. I have wounded them that they were not able to rise: they are fallen under my feet. ... Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies: that I might destroy them that hate me.

They cried, but there was none to save them: even unto the Lord, but he answered them not.

Then did I beat them small as the dust before the wind: I did cast<sub>2</sub> them out as dirt in the streets.

- (1) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 2:6-9; 18:43, 47-48.  
See also *ibid*, 4:8; 5:11; 7:1; 23.
- (2) *ibid*, 18:37-42.



Other facets of the theme are that Jehovah will give strength to the king and people to make war; and that previously rebellious subjects will be humbled and forced to submit to the king's rule.<sup>1</sup>

What emphasis the missionaries gave to these books in the day to day programme of the church and school is difficult to determine. It is quite likely, however, judging from the numerous other comments about war in their writings, that they placed a good deal of stress upon these themes. During the unsettled years of the 1830s they frequently chose texts for their sermons from Old Testament stories about war with the heathen. In December 1836 King George and his close relative and adviser, Ulakai, visited Thomas at Vava'u to discuss the best policy to be followed in what appeared to be the inevitable outbreak of war.<sup>2</sup> What passed between the missionary and the King was not recorded at the time, but in the weeks that followed Thomas preached on texts which told of the clash between Jehovah's chosen people and the heathen opposition. In an atmosphere of extreme excitement, becoming more inflamed daily by fresh reports of the determination of the heathen to wipe out the Christian population of Tongatapu, Thomas spent Saturday 7 January reading and expounding 2 Chronicles 20; 1-30.<sup>3</sup> In the light of subsequent events, the details of this chapter are significant. It tells the story of King Jehoshaphat and his victory, with the help of Jehovah, over concerted heathen opposition. Two themes emerge clearly from the narrative: The battle is the Lord's, his people do not have to fear, and the destruction of the heathen will be complete.

(1) Koe Same, 18:34-45.

(2) Thomas, Journal, 20-21 Dec 1836.

(3) The morning service was devoted to reading and explaining verses 1-13, and in the afternoon verses 14-30 were expounded. See Thomas, Journal, 7 Jan 1837.

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If when evil cometh upon us, as the sword, judgement, or pestilence, or famine, we stand before this house, and in thy presence (for thy name is in this house) and cry unto thee in our affliction, then wilt thou hear and help.

O God wilt thou not judge them [the heathen] for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us; neither know we what to do; but our eyes are upon thee.

Ye shall not need to fight in this battle; set yourselves, stand ye still and see the salvation of the Lord with you. Of Judah and Jerusalem; fear not, nor be dismayed; tomorrow the Lord will be with you.

And the Lord set ambushments against the children of Ammon, Obah, and Mount Sier, which were come against Judah, and they were smitten. ... And when Judah came towards the watchtower in the wilderness, they looked upon the multitude, and behold, they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and none escaped. ...<sup>1</sup>

The next day, as a party of warriors was leaving Vava'u to join forces in Tongatapu, Thomas gave the chief supervising the expedition a copy of the sermon to be read or handed to King George on arrival in Tongatapu.<sup>2</sup> The chief and his party arrived in Tongatapu on Sunday 8 January, and were able to reinforce King George's army for the impending encounter.<sup>3</sup>

While Thomas was preaching victory for God's people in Vava'u the heathens of the fortress of Ngele'ia little more than a mile from the Christian stronghold of

- (1) The verses quoted are selections from 2 Chronicles 20:1-30 which Thomas used as a text for his Cromwellian style harangue. See Journal, 7 Jan 1837. Thomas does not indicate which verses were emphasized but he does say that the whole of verses 1-30 were read and explained. His other sermons, however, tend to indicate that he was providing the Israelite model which showed leaders such as Joshua triumphing over the fallen heathen. See pp.173-174.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 6 Jan 1837.
- (3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.1074.

Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8th January, while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.<sup>1</sup> Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the Sabbath. But this was followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed. Twenty of the inhabitants were killed and the remainder taken prisoner, its fortifications razed, and its buildings burned to the ground.<sup>2</sup> A week later, also on a Sabbath, the heathen party again attacked the Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the Sabbath were followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his warriors stormed the fortress at Hule, annihilating its population of some 300 men, women and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of ashes.<sup>3</sup>

The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1799. They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

The model they provided was that of the children of Israel and their struggles oftentimes bloody, to preserve their king, their country and their very existence against heathen opposition both from within and without.<sup>4</sup>

That Thomas identified with the Old Testament model is clear. The day before the massacre he had chosen the text Joshua 5:13-15 when addressing a crowd of almost two thousand people at Vava'u. The text told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before the siege of Jericho. The divine personage in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the lord,' and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in the latter day assaults on Jericho.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Spinney to Committee, 28 Jan 1837; Watkin to Secretaries, 24 March 1837; Tucker to Secretaries 28 Jan 1837; W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) See Chapter V, pp.132, 134-135.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan 1837.

In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua 10 which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.<sup>1</sup> In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the Biblical historian describes the fate of one after another of the heathen chiefs who were set upon by Joshua and his army. All these battles ended in triumph for Joshua and his army, and the text becomes monotonous in its repetition of the chorus

and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let some remain.<sup>2</sup>

It is obviously these texts, and the ones employed on January 7th, that Dillon learned about when he called at Nuku'alofa some months after the massacre at Hule. His accusations in the personal letter to Thomas at the time, and in the later published attack, strongly resemble the Joshua text: 'You assured those murderers of success,' Dillon wrote, 'as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible.'<sup>3</sup>

Thomas' position is clear. After hearing of the bloodbath in Tongatapu, he preached on the text: 'So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.'<sup>4</sup> He wrote approvingly of the chief at Neiafu who, in an attempt to shame deserters from King George's army, called a special meeting and asked all those who had left the war 'to get into the middle of the ring.' Some thirty men responded, most of whom could 'give no good account of themselves, or their conduct.' Commenting on the incident Thomas remarked:

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan 1837.
- (2) Thomas, *ibid*, refers to a sermon based on Joshua 10 which tells of Joshua's support of the Gibeonites against heathen opposition. The extract above is from Joshua 10:30. See also Joshua 10:32, 33, 35 and 37 for repetitions of this 'chorus'.
- (3) Dillon, Peter, Letter to Richard More O'Farrell, Esq., M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty, Whitehall, London, from the Chevalier Dillon ... [London], 1840 (hereinafter Dillon, Letter). p.6.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 19 Feb 1837

I fear that some fine young men are lacking in courage. I think it rather disgraceful of them ... leaving the field before the war is ended.<sup>1</sup>

Writing to his parents Thomas revealed, perhaps, his deepest thoughts on the question of the war and its relationship to the gospel, the mission, and the king.

Tonga has stood out against God for many years, they prefer darkness to light, because their deeds are evil. The ostensible 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 go forth to suffer and to die if God require them in his good cause ... we hope to get more places to preach at than we have ever had, so that we shall most likely ere long want two or three missionaries at Tonga.<sup>2</sup>

Thomas' hopes were realized. Tāufa'āhau and the Christians were victorious and hundreds of heathens lay dead among the ruins of their fortresses. The Psalms reader had indeed been prophetic when it taught: 'Thou hast destroyed cities; their memorial has perished with them.'<sup>3</sup>

'We shall now I judge,' he informed his parents, 'gain access to the whole of Tonga. King George is conquerer but he gives all the praise to God.'<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 21 Feb 1837. See also Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haafuluhao Report, 1837 where Thomas comments: 'Heathenism could never present such a band of warriors ... Not few than 148 Local Preachers were taken from this groupe ...'
- (2) Thomas to his parents, 2 Feb 1837.
- (3) Koe Gaahi Same a Tevita, 9:6.
- (4) Thomas to his parents, 2 Feb 1837.

Thomas wrote to the Committee in similar vein, rejoicing over the victory of the Christians, unable to contain his pleasure at the prospects that the war had opened up for the mission. Speaking of 'the war which has been ended so much to the honour of Jehovah of Host, and his glorious cause in these seas' he continued:

our way ... [has] been opened by it, to reoccupy Hihifo ... also our way has been opened to the two other principal heathen settlements in Tonga where preaching has already been commenced by the local preachers, and we have every reason to believe that the whole of Tonga, will be Christian, and not only so - but the good effects of this successful war with the heathen and their gods, by our Christian kings and their people, will be felt in all the islands in these seas and that in consequence of Tonga-great Tonga - Tongatapu, having been conquered by Vava'u and Haabai Christians, thousands will turn unto God as even the heathens themselves say God the true God fought against them in the war ...

Other missionaries shared Thomas' views. They had preached the Israelite model, and had assisted in the translation of the conquest literature for use in school and church. Their reports to the committee echo the views of their chairman.

Stephen Rabone, Thomas' brother-in-law, gave unequivocal support to King George and his army of teachers and leaders. His journal provides numerous references to the king, and there are prayers for his preservation and hopeful predictions that Jehovah will triumph over the powers of darkness.<sup>2</sup>

But it was men like Hobbs and Tucker who espoused the Israelite model most clearly. Tucker's summing up of the causes of the war, influenced by Jeremiah's condemnation of rebellious heathens, is an example:

- (1) Thomas to Secretaries, 23 June 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (2) Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan 1837; 21 Jan 1837; 12 Feb 1837; 15 July 1837.

Surely God has a controversy with  
Heathen Tonga and is now punishing  
them for their rejecting the gospel,  
persecuting his followers, and for  
their rebellion against the king.<sup>1</sup>

John Hobbs even more explicitly drew upon the Biblical model in describing the conflict of 1837. The Tongan Christians, he reported, had to keep watch by night and day 'exactly as the Israelites did in building the walls of Jerusalem.'<sup>2</sup> In drawing attention to this similarity he was reminded of Dr. Adam Clarke's comment on Israelite determination to protect their faith: 'A people thus interested, who once take up the sword, can never be conquered.'<sup>3</sup>

For Taufa'ahau the struggle of the 30's had much more broader significance than a purely heathen Christian contest. For him there was a complex political context: the longstanding civil disturbances dating back to the closing years of the 18th century, the opposition of the Ha'a Havea, his own place in the line to the Tui Kanokupolu title, the 'ingratitude' of forgiven enemies who had again taken up arms against him. Nevertheless, the teachings of the missionaries gave him a religious-Christian rationale and sanction for prosecuting the war. His behaviour indicates that, at least on the surface, Christian teachings were influencing his decisions and attitudes. He approached the bloody battles of 1837 in the spirit of prayer. After the Ngele'ia massacre he pointed out that he 'had not sought to be engaged in war, [but] the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his cause.' He led his warriors in prayer before both Hule and Ngele'ia and the prayers he offered immediately

- (1) Tucker to Secretaries, 3 Feb 1837, quoting journal 28 Jan 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence. Tucker's reference recalls at least two Biblical passages: Jeremiah 25:31 'The Lord has a controversy with the nations -- he will give them that are wicked to the sword;' and Hosea 12:2 'The Lord hath a controversy with Judah, and will punish Jacob according to his ways.'
- (2) Hobbs to Secretaries, 7 Nov 1837.
- (3) *ibid.* Hobbs quotes Dr. Clarke's commentary on Nehemiah 4:14, p.759. The quote in full in Clarke reads: 'They had everything at stake; and therefore they must fight pro aris et forcis, for their religion, their lives, and their property. A people thus interested, who once take up the sword, can never be conquered.'



before the assault upon Hule filled his warriors, many of them teacher-preachers, with an emotional thrill which they later likened to their experiences 'when the revival of religion broke out.'<sup>1</sup>

There is little here that savours of a momentary lapse by Tāufa'āhau into pre-Christian behaviour as suggested in a recent study.<sup>2</sup> In fact, when Tucker spoke to King George about the bloody battle at Hule he told the missionary that

[he] had no intention whatever when marching to the place to destroy the women and children, but gave orders to save them - but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword - he said he believed it was the just judgement of God upon the people of that place.<sup>3</sup>

This 'impulse from heaven'<sup>4</sup> to put all to the sword bears a striking resemblance to the contents of the books he had been reading in school, and the sermons he had been hearing from the pulpit for some considerable time before the outbreak of hostilities in 1837. It may be possible to explain Tāufa'āhau's tactics in some other terms but their resemblance to the Biblical pattern is remarkable. Like Jehoshaphat he had prayed with his people before battle.<sup>5</sup> He divided his army into three divisions as Saul had done when fighting the Ammorities;<sup>6</sup> After routing the enemy he, like the Biblical king, collected the spoils.<sup>7</sup> Father Chevron's charge that the Wesleyans (presumably Tāufa'āhau and his warriors) broke the teeth of heathen wrongdoers and opponents coincides with the Psalms

- (1) Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan 1837.
- (2) Lātūkefu, Sione, Church and State in Tonga, Canberra, 1974, p.110.
- (3) Tucker, Journal, 22 March 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (4) Beecham to Thomas, 28 March 1837, W.M.M.S. Outwards Correspondence.
- (5) Brookes, Journal, 16 Jan 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence; II Chronicles 20:18.
- (6) Tucker, Journal, 15 Feb 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence; Koe Uluaki Buka a Samiuela 11:11.
- (7) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.1078; II Chronicles 20:25.

reader: 'Thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly.'<sup>1</sup>

During and after the fighting of 1837 the missionaries sent letters and reports to the Mission Secretaries in London, informing them of the details of the war and its outcome. It is in these reports that a clear identification is made between the history of Israel and the situation in Tonga: that in the Friendly Islands in the 1830s God's judgement was falling upon the heathen idolators who had rejected his law, just as surely as it fell upon the Israelite unbelievers of old.<sup>2</sup> Thomas could think of no better way to sum up his feelings on the outcome of the war than to quote to the Secretaries a verse from Psalm 126:

When the Lord turned again the  
captivity of Zion, we were like  
them that dream. Then was our  
mouth filled with laughter, and  
our tongue with singing: then  
said they among the heathen, the  
Lord hath done great things for  
them.<sup>3</sup>

Tucker wrote in a similar vein, rejoicing that the Lord had fulfilled his promises.<sup>4</sup>

The Committee in London, however, did not share the missionaries enthusiasm. Nor did they agree with the identification of events in Tonga with Old Testament precedents. In an extremely critical letter to Thomas, Beecham (one of the Secretaries) pointed out that the circumstances surrounding the incident appeared to be of 'a very revolting character.' The conduct of King George was in some respects 'highly objectionable,' and the Committee viewed the king's strategy of storming the fortress with 'unmingled abhorrance.' Beecham further

- (1) Lettre du P. Chevron, Tonga, II Julliet 1842 quoted in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi; Tome Quizieme, Lyon, 1843; Lettre du P. Chevron, Tonga-Tabou, 24 Juin 1843 quoted in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Tome Dix Septieme, Lyon, 1845. Cf Koe Same Tevita, 3:7.
- (2) Thomas to General Secretaries 23 June 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence. See also Tucker, Journal, 3 Feb 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.
- (3) Thomas to General Secretaries, 23 June 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence. See also Koe Gaahi Same, 14:7.
- (4) Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence.

objected that the style of the reports 'resembled too much that of the sacred historian who narrates the destruction of the Canaanitish nations in pursuance of the express command of God,' and he suggested that 'a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian Missionaries, who are expressly sent "into all the world" to announce the merciful intentions of Heaven towards "every creature"...' <sup>1</sup>

THE 1837 WAR was not the final civil war in Tonga. In 1840, and again in 1852, opposition from heathen chiefs and their people to Tupou and George led to fresh outbreaks. These latter wars, however, were fought in a very different spirit from those in 1837. They had much more in common with the earlier conflicts of 1831 and 1833. A number of factors, it would seem, contributed to a return to a more pacific approach.

To begin with, the missionaries had been severely reprimanded by the Committee in London, and they had been ordered to emphasise more of the 'merciful intentions of heaven'. In regard to King George they were told to 'faithfully perform your duty ... and endeavour to lead him to more consistent views of the character and requirements of Christianity - which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career.' <sup>2</sup> The missionaries obviously carried out this task for, at a fono tau before the attack upon Fo'ui in 1840, King George explained to his warriors that during the 1837 war they had not acted properly.

... 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,

- (1) Beecham to Thomas, 28 March 1838, Outwards Correspondence, W.M.M.S. Papers.
- (2) *ibid.*

hear from me, that we do not so fight again ... let every man endeavour to seize and save his man, and not one to shoot or strike, but in case of life and death.<sup>1</sup>

In the 'battle' that followed, seige tactics were employed and there was none of the bloodshed that had marked the storming of Hule.<sup>2</sup>

In the schools the missionaries used Matthew's gospel to teach some of the 'merciful intentions of Heaven towards 'every creature.' The extracts translated from this gospel contained the sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes, which taught the blessedness of mercy and peacemaking, and outlined man's responsibility to his neighbour.<sup>3</sup> Pupils read and learned stories which illustrated the importance of seeking peaceful solutions to problems, the need to 'turn the other cheek,' and the paradox of loving one's enemies.<sup>4</sup> These little booklets from Matthew, which were very popular in the schools - especially as examination day material, provided a marked contrast to the death and destruction teachings which characterized the Psalms-Isaiah-Samuel texts.

It must be noted, however, that before the missionaries received the rebuke from the Committee, they had themselves decided to focus attention upon the mercy and forgiveness of the gospel. The extent of the slaughter at Hule, it would appear, came as a shock to them,<sup>5</sup> and it is significant that the first publication to appear after that black day was a selection of reading lessons on love and mercy. In almost every lesson in this book there are words such as fakamo'ui (save) 'ofa moe fiemalie (love and comfort), fe'ofofani (fellowship), and mo'ui (life). The little booklet concludes with the

- (1) Tucker to Secretaries, 15 April 1840, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol 1, New Series, 1841, p.421.
- (2) ibid.
- (3) Koe Kosibeli moe tohi e Matiu, I-IX, Tongataboo, Feb 1835.
- (4) ibid., 5:21-26; 38-40.
- (5) See for example Rabone's Journal, 12 Feb 1837.

story of the son who rejected his father, left his home, wasted his wealth, but who was, nevertheless, welcomed back by the loving and forgiving parent.<sup>1</sup> This merciful treatment of the rebel son stands in marked contrast to the harsh punishment prescribed for such persons in the Old Testament texts.

Apart from the teachings in the school, the missionaries endeavoured to deprecate warlike attitudes by punishing teachers who showed any tendency in that direction. The local preachers meeting was the instrument used to examine, rebuke and chastise teachers, and the minute books of those meetings reveal the lengths to which the missionaries went in trying to counteract the 'war spirit'. Over a ten year period, through the forties and into the fifties, the minutes contain entries under the heading 'Objections to Preachers' of which the following is a sample:

M.M. was reprov'd for being out with S.M. in a war-like attitude.  
 T.K. implicated in war.  
 J.N. went armed with Fiji weapons to Fu'amotu.  
 T.S. was suspended for three months for acting improperly in reference to the war -- going wandering with other men towards Houma on the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

In the Minutes of the meeting for the March quarter of 1848 there is a special note on the question of war which reads:

The local Preachers were cautioned against the war spirit and were entreated to act as peacemakers in every instance and not to join with those who wish to promote discord and confusion.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas himself played a leading role in ensuring that the conflicts were settled in a peaceful manner. He visited forts, urging heathens to support King George, and wherever possible he spoke out against war.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to

- (1) Koe Gahi Lesoni Kuo Hiki mei he Tohi Tabu, Vava'u, 1838.
- (2) Local Preachers Minute Book, Sept 1842; March 1848; March 1852.
- (3) *ibid*, March 1848.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 4 Sept 1842; 19 Sept 1842.

note however that his fellow missionary George Miller did not, apparently, follow his Chairman's lead. His favourite text was part of chapter 22 of 2nd Samuel, where the writer, repeating almost word for word from Psalm 18, speaks of the destruction of the heathen and the deliverance of the followers of Jehovah. In villages in many parts of Tonga, Miller preached on the text:

I will call upon the Lord, who is  
worthy to be praised: so shall I be  
saved from mine enemies.<sup>1</sup>

There were, it would seem, a number of other factors which tended to temper the missionaries teaching, and to influence Taufa'ahau's policies. The missionaries and the Wesleyan Missionary Society had received damaging publicity from the circulation of Dillon's accusations against Thomas over the 1837 affair. Dillon's letter, together with a supporting document from a former medical man resident in Tonga, charged Thomas with 'religious cunning and Jesuitical intrigues' in propagating the gospel by means of war. The Committee arranged for a refutation to be published and were able to report that Dillon had been adequately dismissed by the able pen of David Cargill. But the parent body, and the missionaries in the field, were thenceforth more guarded when dealing with such matters.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who made the rebel forts of Bea and Mu'a their headquarters, must also be considered as a significant influence on Wesleyan policy and practice. With the Catholic presence came frequent visits from French men of war, the priests who arrived in 1841 having the aid of the French Warship Alier. A Wesleyan missionary commented upon this new state of affairs at the time.

- (1) Miller, Journal 25 June 1843; 2 July 1843; 11 July 1843; 18 July 1843.
- (2) The answer to Dillon was published as A Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands, London, 1842.

Such is the magnanimity of the French Government, and such the spirit of Popery in the nineteenth century!--- the Commodore and the cannon in one vessel, and the Bishop and the crucifix following in another!<sup>1</sup>

The French threat was real enough. During the disturbance at Pea in 1852, one of the priests set out in a French whale boat to seek the intervention of the Governor of Tahiti. A man of war did finally arrive, Tāufa'āhau was examined by the Commander, and a treaty guaranteeing freedom of religion for Catholic missionaries was forced upon him.<sup>2</sup>

The political situation in 1852 was significantly changed in other directions as well. In 1845 Tāufa'āhau was installed as Tu'i Kanokupolu, thus uniting the three main island groups into a kingdom under his sole rule. His subjects in Ha'apai and Vava'u had been loyal subjects for many years prior to this, and his new position allowed him to apply to Tongatapu the laws that had stabilized his northern domains.<sup>3</sup> Thus, by 1850, the opposition to him and his religion, was centred upon three forts in Tongatapu where a relatively insignificant minority of heathens refused to accept his sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> Under these circumstances the danger of widespread turmoil and civil war was unlikely and harsh policies were therefore unnecessary.

The school and its curriculum played an influential, though changing role in relation to civil war during the period 1826-1854. Initially the school had been instrumental in presenting teachings which deprecated war and encouraged forgiveness and brotherhood. As a deep rift developed in Tongan Society, and as conflicts between Christians and heathens became increasingly bitter, the

- (1) Wilson, Francis, Journal, 27 Dec 1841, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, p.347.
- (2) West, Ten Years, p.388.
- (3) See chapter V, pp.143ff.
- (4) All opposition was effectively silenced with the taking of the Pea fortress in 1852. For details of the Pea incident see West, Ten Years, p.322; Blanc, Bishop A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands, p.42; Rev. Father Chevron to his brother, Tonga, 6 Aug 1852, Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol 13, London, 1853, pp.288ff.

schools' reading material reflected a strong 'holy war' doctrine. These teachings culminated in the massacres at Ngele'ia and Hule in 1837. Through the 40s and into the early 50s, with the heathen opposition diminishing before the continued rise to power of King George, and with the London Committee's orders clearly in mind, the missionaries ensured that the school reflected a more pacific stance.



## CHAPTER VII

FESTIVALS, CEREMONIES AND PASTIMES

A STRIKING feature of Tongan society at the time of contact was its gaiety and friendliness.<sup>1</sup> Singing, dancing, feasting, kava drinking were all part of that happy life style, described by a visitor in 1831, as a scene of 'contentment and harmless gaiety'.<sup>2</sup> With the arrival of the Wesleyan Methodists, however, a totally different attitude to social activities was introduced: that amusement was wrong, enjoyment suspect, dancing evil, and drinking (of spirits particularly) a sure means of spiritual degeneration.<sup>3</sup> As a general rule Wesleyan missionaries were opposed to what many would regard as 'harmless gaiety', and the missionaries who came to Tonga were fair representatives of the Wesleyan position.<sup>4</sup> Dr Lyth, for example, is not out of character as a Wesleyan, when he recorded reservations about the degree of enjoyment children should obtain from their lessons. The methods he saw in operation in Hobart Town he thought would have to 'be carefully guarded, lest too much amusement become incorporated with instruction'.<sup>5</sup>

By 1831 the missionaries had gained extensive influence with the Tongan people, especially the most powerful chiefs (Tupou in Tonga, Tāufa'āhau in Ha'apai, and Fīnau in Vava'u), a position which they were to enjoy until the end of the century. We might assume from their beliefs that the missionaries made every effort to disparage traditional activities, in preference to Christian

- (1) Burney, John, Journal, 1 Oct 1773; 3 Oct 1773; Bennett, George, 'A recent Visit to Several of the Polynesian Islands', United Service Journal, August 1832, p.91 (hereinafter Bennet, Recent Visit); Vason, Authentic Narrative, p.103; Swire, Herbert, The Voyage of the Challenger 1872-1876, vol II, Golden Cockerel Press 1938, p.8.
- (2) Bennett, Recent Visit, p.91.
- (3) For Wesleyan attitudes to amusements see Chapter II, p.42
- (4) For example see chapter III, p.68
- (5) Lyth, Journal, 24 Feb 1837; See also 29 July 1837.

ones, and if we are to accept the opinions of many visitors to Tonga, this was what was achieved. One commentator, in 1874, observed

... they are ... extremely fond of dancing, but owing to certain parts of their dances being improper from the missionaries point of view these pious fools have ... put that down ...<sup>1</sup>

The result, this writer noted, was that a 'dullness and ennui' had 'taken the place of the former gaiety and activity of the islands',<sup>2</sup> an opinion shared by various writers before and since.<sup>3</sup>

Within the bounds of their fairly narrow attitude to social questions, there existed among the individual Wesleyan missionaries a wide divergence of opinion. They differed, for example, over such questions as length of hair, clothing the upper part of the body, and smoking.<sup>4</sup> On subjects such as singing, dancing, voyaging, funeral ceremonies, kava drinking and the like, they were much more in concert.<sup>5</sup> The response of Thomas is probably typical. When the chief 'Ata suggested that he attend the traditional amusements, he penned in his journal: 'This we cannot do'. With these activities he associated 'much filth and abominable conduct.'<sup>6</sup> They all thought that these activities were wrong and should be discontinued. But whereas some spoke of these things as evils, others regarded them more as inappropriate.

- (1) Swire, Voyage of the Challenger, Vol. II, p.10.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) See for example Blanc, A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands; California. 1934, p.38; Annales de la propagation de la Foi 1834, p.431.
- (4) Hobbs, Journal, 24 Sept 1833; 4 Nov 1833.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 22-26 July 1826; 31 July 1827; 13 July 1828. Cf Watkin, Journal, 28 May 1832; 30 May 1835; Rabone, Journal, 22 April 1833; 7 April 1837; 30 June 1837.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 31 July 1827; 13 July 1828.

Some of these activities were considered more wrong than others. The night dance was never acceptable, whereas voyaging could be so, dependent upon the circumstances surrounding it.<sup>1</sup> Although from a later date, the comments of the missionaries in the annual reports for the years 1861-63 sum up long standing attitudes towards voyaging

The annual festival ... has been productive of much irregularity and mischief -- the several islands have been drained for the time of men, women, and children, and old and young of both sexes have been allowed indiscriminately to amingle exercising an influence the most demoralizing and pernicious. These circumstances have had their natural and legitimate result. Sin to a greater extent has been indulged in, into which some of our weaker people have fallen ...<sup>2</sup>

Voyaging, for purely 'worldly' purposes placed people in spiritual and moral danger. On the other hand, voyaging for religious, or ostensibly religious reasons, particularly when there were Christian chiefs and people in the party, was more acceptable. Voyaging for school purposes was sometimes necessary, but even then the dangers were seen.<sup>3</sup> For an island people, voyaging was often unavoidable. The missionaries therefore tried to make it as safe as possible.

Time, experience and often necessity altered missionary views. In the early days of the mission, kava while not approved of, was not condemned, presumably because of the central place it occupied in Tongan society. Thomas went to kava circles on occasions and sometimes even took a little himself.<sup>4</sup> Later in his missionary career however he was strongly opposed to it

- (1) Voyaging with Christian chiefs at the helm was acceptable. Many other types of voyaging were condemned. See Friendly Islands District Minutes, 1861-1862; Dyson, Martin, Life of a Meltham Methodist (hereinafter Dyson, A Meltham Methodist).
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai Circuit Report 1862.
- (3) Dyson, A Meltham Methodist, p.88.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 2 March 1828; 27 April 1829.

and regarded it as a great obstacle to the pursuit of the Christian life.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand policy toward singing and dancing softened over the years. In the early law codes dancing was outlawed, but in later years it made a re-appearance in modified form through the school programmes as missionaries tried to introduce more interest into the school's activities.<sup>2</sup>

While it is true that policy changed on such things as singing, dancing and kava drinking, the missionaries maintained an attitude of continued hostility to activities associated with the traditional religion: the 'inasi and the butu or funeral ceremony. 'inasi was offered to the great god Hikule'o, and the funeral ceremony was intended to show respect to one who had gone to take his place in the Tongan chiefly paradise.<sup>3</sup>

Much of Tongan pre-christian social activity was seen as the product of 'living in darkness'. It was assumed that when the light of the gospel shone into many hearts, then these activities would disappear. As Thomas put it early in his career after witnessing the 'inasi

It was to me a cross to see it rather than a source of gratification. If I was sufficiently acquainted with the language as to show them the evil and folly of its superstitions I should think it my duty to attend some of their meetings in order to so, but I am not ... I hope the time is not too far distant, when these people shall turn from these vanities to serve the living God.<sup>4</sup>

THE NORMAL programme for the school day, which varied little

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 25 Feb 1856.
- (2) Young, Southern World, pp.226-231 Cf Thomas, Journal, 26 Jan 1856.
- (3) For details of these ceremonies see chapter I, pp.22-25.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 10 Oct 1826.

during the period 1826-54, involved a 'Singing-prayer-reading-catechizing-singing-prayer' pattern, usually in that order.<sup>1</sup> After the lotu was established as the chiefly religion, with its disfavour shown towards traditional amusements and pastimes, these school 'skills' were taken up as substitutes for the activities that were no longer acceptable. In spare time, on voyages and journeys, in the early morning and at dusk, even throughout the night, the skills learned in school were adapted for leisure time activity.

From the outset the missionaries attempted to teach the people new songs.<sup>2</sup> One of the first pieces translated by Nathaniel Turner in 1827 was a short hymn.<sup>3</sup> That the Tongans had a natural feel for and love of singing was attested by numerous early visitors.<sup>4</sup> The task faced by the missionaries, therefore, was to direct this natural aptitude into acceptable channels. Thus the words of the songs that were taught in the schools expressed the major doctrines of the new religion, and the tunes to which they were set were, initially, common English tunes.<sup>5</sup> These songs, taught in the schools, were employed in the morning and evening devotions which from the beginning were characteristic of the new order. As early as 1830 the ship-wrecked sailor, Peter Bays, recorded in his Journal

It is a grateful reflection to hear the natives singing hymns and praying so long before sunrise: themselves are the larks ... Although the abbes (Apis) are a considerable distance apart, I ... heard psalm singing in half a dozen places at one time, both morning and evening.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) For details of school organization see chapter IV, p.106
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 9 Dec 1827; 21 March 1838; 26 April 1828; 17 June 1828.
- (3) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1828, p.48.
- (4) See above p.186  
Vason notes, Authentic Narrative, p.116, that the only thing about the worship of the L.M.S. missionaries that attracted Tongan interest was their singing.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 9 Dec 1827; Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands, p.238. Farmer lists such tunes as Irish, Shirland, Job, Portugal New, Devizes, etc.
- (6) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.130.

When Robert Young, head of a deputation from the Missionary Committee in London, visited Tonga in 1853 he too was most impressed by the singing of the people at their devotions morning and evening. 'It is truly exhilarating to be in any of their towns or villages at the hour of family worship. I have been so priveleged; and, as I listened to prayer and praise ascending from nearly every dwelling, my heart was filled with the deepest emotion, and my spirit felt as if at the gate of heaven.'<sup>1</sup>

Singing was also an important feature of all the organized meetings of the church: bands, lovefeasts, Class and quarterly meetings.<sup>2</sup> As time went by, the emphasis upon singing and chanting in the school became more pronounced, and visitors found that this method, which suited the natural inclinations of the people, was used very extensively. As one observer commented

... the pupils chanted almost everything; this mode of receiving instruction being very attractive to these merry islanders, and making a deeper impression on the mind than the same truth would do unassociated with tune.<sup>3</sup>

Resident missionaries, however, did not always see chanting in the same light. At an anniversary in Vava'u Peter Turner complained that the people were obviously more interested in the chanting of numbers than in listening to the Word of God being read.<sup>4</sup> One can appreciate the people's enthusiasm for chanting numbers when it is realized that this activity allowed them to preserve traditional tunes. We are indebted to Robert Young for the description which shows the influence of traditional Tongan singing and dancing:

- (1) Young, Southern World, p.268.
- (2) Woon, Journal, 5 Sept 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.255.
- (3) Young, Southern World, p.233.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 21 Dec 1846.

[a school] of 150 men, under the patronage of a great Chief, the son of the late King JOSIAH, was full of vigour. They read, spelled, went through part of the Second Catechism, answered questions in Scripture Geography, and worked a few sums in Arithmetic, with as much energy as if the war-whoop had been sounded, and they were preparing for battle; and when they chanted the multiplication table to one of their wild native airs, the effect was startling, and produced a powerful influence upon the assembly.<sup>1</sup>

Traditional tunes, by the 1850s were also being used as vehicles of Christian sentiments. At the same school examination at which Young heard the men chanting to a 'wild native air', he recorded, with obvious pleasure, hearing a simple hymn sung to a 'native chant'. The author of these simple but moving lyrics was an old woman, Jochabed Fehia, a member of the married women's school superintended by Queen Charlotte.<sup>2</sup>

Christian material, from the school books, had been used at a much earlier stage as substitutes for the old wording of the work chants.<sup>3</sup> David Cargill when travelling in the Vava'u group, heard just such a chant while a group of men were carrying his wife home after a day's visiting the schools.

She was seated on a mat tied to two poles, & elevated on the shoulders of four natives who were relieved at short intervals:- in this easy position she was carried home, while the natives kept up their spirits & shortened the distance by repeating the Lord's prayer & Creed.<sup>4</sup>

Some of the marriages of Christianity and tradition met with strong opposition from the missionaries. During

- (1) Young, Southern World, p. 232.
- (2) ibid, p.228.
- (3) For an example of workers employing a work chant see Labillardière, Account of the Voyage in search of La Perouse, p. 350.
- (4) Cargill, Journal, 11 July 1834.

the late 1840s there developed a pastime called lau fika bōuli (literally read or say figures by night). Once brought to the notice of the missionaries it was outlawed, and Thomas and the other brethren urged upon the teachers, at their regular meetings, the need to discontinue the practice. At one Quarterly Meeting the Chairman urged the King and the 120 Local Preachers present to use their influence 'to prevent night meetings, night schools, lau fika bouli etc'.<sup>1</sup> The congregation of large numbers of people at night without supervision was enough to make the missionaries suspicious and want to ban 'reading figures at night' and 'night school'. It could lead to 'ungodly conversation' and unnecessary levity. But perhaps there was another concern. The people had revived and modified war dances and 'native airs' and used them to chant figures and repeat other school lessons.<sup>2</sup> The youth in particular were in the vanguard of this movement to revive old customs. Few details are given in the journals, but we can assume that the young people, under the pretext of chanting numbers, had reintroduced a new form of the pō me'e, the long prohibited night dance.<sup>3</sup> This dance was performed naked, by torch light, and frequently culminated in sexual intercourse. Hence the strong missionary opposition to 'night school' and 'chanting numbers by night'.

Catechizing, repeating, and memorizing also provided people with leisure time activity. Catechizing, with its leader and response structure, was readily accepted as a teaching method because of its association

- (1) Miller, Journal, 28 June 1848. See also 2 July 1848; 22-23 July 1848.
- (2) See above p.192
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai Reports 1843, 1844, 1845, 1849.
- (4) Miller, Journal, 28 June 1848. For missionary attitudes to the night dance see Watkin, Journal, 10 April 1833; Brooks to Committee, 1 Jan 1837, In Correspondence, W.M.M.S. Papers.



with Tongan culture. Many of the traditional dances, and a number of songs, used a leader and response technique. At funerals, when the women carried the baskets of sand from the beach to the grave, this method was used.

Thomas observed the custom and recorded that the women walked in 'single file' to the beach singing 'a mournful kind of song ... or rather chant over a few words with a loud plaintive voice as *Nofo e fale lelei! e tali e haele!* one party leading the other responding.'<sup>1</sup>

Some years previously a sailor, James Morris, observed a similar event, except that in his account both men and women joined in the work. On the way back from the beach, with their loads of fresh clean sand, 'they sang loudly the women and the men alternating a verse ...'<sup>2</sup>

The monotony that westerners associate with constant repetition of the same words or ideas was obviously not felt by the Tongans. Monotony and repetitiveness were characteristic of Tongan singing, and early voyagers recorded that, what obviously pleased the participants, tended to bore the European spectators. Labillardière notes that on one occasion a special dance was put on for them by the *Tu'itonga Fefine* and the dancer 'sang indeed, nothing but *apou lellay, apou lellay; apou lellay, apou lellay;* which she continued repeating for half an hour at least.'<sup>3</sup> Tongans seemed to enjoy the repetitiveness. Years after Labillardière's experience, Peter Turner recorded that the pupils of a particular school came down to the beach to bid him farewell after a quarterly visit and repeated the numbers to nine million! The performance went on, possibly for some hours, as the missionary says they began on the way to the beach, continued while the boat was loaded, and they could still be heard as the vessel passed out of

- (1) Thomas, *Mythology*, p.292.  
 (2) A Voyage through the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, Dublin, 1824, p. 101.  
 (3) Labillardière, A Voyage in search of La Pérouse, p. 352. See also p. 350.

sight and hearing.<sup>1</sup>

In the minds of the missionaries, and almost certainly in the minds of the Tongans, the whole range of activities offered by the school and the church, provided acceptable substitutes for the amusements and pastimes of the heathen days. When William Cross visited Hahake in August, 1828 he could not help commenting on the contrast between Mu'a and Nuku'alofa. In Mu'a, where the lotu had not gained acceptance, many of the traditional manners and customs were still practised. At Nuku'alofa, on the other hand, Christianity had provided substitute activities and had 'furnished many of them with employment of a different nature.'<sup>2</sup>

In England similar new and acceptable substitutes had been provided for those who entered Methodist Society from English 'paganism'. It has been said that Methodism took from the pitman 'his dog and fighting cock, and gave him a frock coat for his posey jacket; hymns for his public house ditties, and prayer meetings for his pay night frolics.'<sup>3</sup> Similarly in Tonga, Methodism provided acceptable alternatives. In the early 1830s Watkin felt constrained to compare the present Christian society with the former pagan days, and he wrote

to this [comparison] I am led by hearing singing in one direction and the repeating of catechisms in another, and these are substitutes for the libidinous song and dance and foolish conversations.<sup>4</sup>

Years later, other missionaries made similar comments, noting that the lotu had filled the gap left after the decline of heathen amusements.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Turner, Journal, 5 Aug 1846.
- (2) Cross, Journal, 2 Aug 1828, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.131.
- (3) Edwards, After Wesley, p.137.
- (4) Watkin, Journal, 28 May 1832; Woon Journal, 5 Sept 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.255.
- (5) Brooks to Committee, 1 Jan 1837, W.M.M.S. Inwards Correspondence; Dyson, A Meltham Methodist, p.88.

READING and writing, two other skills learned in the school, also found expression outside the classroom. Of these two activities, reading was more easily acquired and practised, and the missionary journals provide abundant evidence to show how it was utilized. John Thomas' small 'circulating library' was always taxed to the limit, and it 'pained' him to have to send people away empty handed.<sup>1</sup> These little manuscript books had a wide circulation, as a journal entry in 1830 indicates:

This evening from twenty five to thirty persons received books at our gate; these will be read from fifty to one hundred people and thus divine knowledge is diffusing itself among this people ...<sup>2</sup>

Apparently borrowers, who had the use of their library books for two or three days, made copies for themselves and their friends. When commenting on the success of the library system Thomas wrote that the books 'find their way into all the islands, so that I suppose there is hardly one of the eighteen inhabited islands of this group [Ha'apai] that has not part of God's word upon it, or some school book.'<sup>3</sup> After the setting up of the press and the publication of the first books in Tonga, news of the arrival of a consignment in the outer islands usually led to a rush to the mission house. As soon as the people heard that a new book had been received from Tongatapu, Turner observed, 'they assembled around Mr. Thomas' gate to beg a book ... He began to distribute them, but the rush was so great and the people so eager [to] obtain them that they nearly broke down the gate and fence. And those who were so fortunate as to obtain a book ran holding it up shouting 'a book, a book, from Tonga.'<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 13 Nov 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.123.
- (2) *ibid*, 16 Oct 1830.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 2 Oct 1830.
- (4) Turner, Missionary Papers, p.44.

The wide distribution of books and the constant and eager demand of the people to borrow or buy them, does not in itself prove that the people were actually reading. A variety of motives could have inspired this desire for books: prestige, curiosity, the desire to do the acceptable thing, the belief that the written or printed page possessed magical power. Some may even have used the paper for making cartridges or for smoking. There is evidence, however, that suggests that at least some people obtained books for reading purposes. King George, on occasions, asked the missionaries for books when he was going on a journey or an expedition. After school one morning he went to the mission house seeking reading material because he was going out fishing for a few days and 'wished some books to read.'<sup>1</sup> When making his visit to Finau in Vava'u in 1831 he took with him, to read on the voyage 'a copy of the translation of the book of Jonah - also the 9th and 10th chaps of Matthew's Gospel.'<sup>2</sup> In 1837 Stephen Rabone visited the Chief 'Ahome'e on a number of occasions, and found him busily engaged in learning the alphabet from his copy of the 'First book'

'It is a matter of affecting interest to me', Rabone wrote, 'that a Chief, forty or forty five years of age, should spend all his spare time in reading over the letters of the alphabet. But a few weeks past, he would not perhaps have looked at a book, but now it is his principal work to learn to read.'<sup>3</sup>

In many cases reading outside the classroom was associated with informal teaching. Those with a

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 14 June 1830.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.727.
- (3) Rabone, Journal, 5 Sept 1837, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.134.

little knowledge themselves became the teachers of their friends. Turner noted that 'all that can read carry with them their books, and are eager to make known their contents wherever they go'.<sup>1</sup> Some years later Turner was still able to note that people carried their books with them. Many of them had bound the numerous little books together and 'generally [took] their library with them whenever they go on a voyage or journey'.<sup>2</sup> Children sometimes acted as teachers to their parents. Thomas tells of an incident when several little girls, who had learned to read at school, begged for books so that they could teach their parents this wonderful new skill.<sup>3</sup> Others who had learned to read at school taught their friends and relatives. While on a visit to Hihifo from Nuku'alofa, the Rev. William Cross came upon a group of people at Kolovai who were keen to obtain books. On enquiry, Cross found that quite a few of them could repeat the letters of the alphabet.

They were very earnest in their request for books; and not a little anxious to discover to us that they knew the letters. We distributed among them about a dozen of a First Book. Those who knew the letters have learned them when visiting those who have embraced Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

Reading, listening to reading, or learning to read, occupied people at some quite unlikely times. When the new chapel was being built at Lifuka, people came from all the outlying islands and districts of the Ha'apai group to share in the construction. While awaiting their turn on the building, some were seen sitting in the

- (1) Turner, Journal, 12 Sept 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, pp.535-536.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report 1836.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 19 Nov 1830.
- (4) Cross, Journal, 20 Sept 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.208.

shade reading their books and Tucker noticed one rather aged chief 'reading aloud, as well as he could, to one of the Local Preachers, whom he had desired to instruct him'.<sup>1</sup> Peter Bays had observed a similar occurrence some years earlier at Nuku'alofa when building work was in progress. Tupou was there 'with his catechism in his hand behind him, learning his lessons by heart like a school boy, ... overlooking the men at work enlarging the missionary premises.'<sup>2</sup> King George often passed the time of day at the printing office, correcting the manuscript books that the missionaries had prepared for publication, and hearing the proofs being read as they came from the press.<sup>3</sup>

Writing, too, provided a new skill that could be used to occupy leisure hours. In the schools it always received less attention than reading, catechizing, and memorizing. There were several reasons for this. The missionaries found it difficult to keep up the supply of slates, paper, pens and ink, and the people themselves seemed to lack an aptitude for it. Writing and drawing were not as much a part of their culture as singing and repetition were, being confined to decorating tapa cloth, or engraving clubs and spears. Apart from this, it was much more important, in worship and general church organization, to be able to read than to be proficient at writing.

It is clear that some learned the art readily, for the missionaries refer to the great assistance given them in the copying out of manuscript books by the advanced scholars.<sup>4</sup> Captain Laws, as early as 1829, was surprised to find that 'most of the Chiefs and young Men

- (1) Tucker, Journal, 23 July 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.317.
- (2) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.131.
- (3) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.1222.
- (4) For details see chapter IV, p.104

could make themselves understood in English; and, when he asked them the names of the different Islands, many of them would take a slate and write them down, some agreeing to the letter with Captain Cook's account ...<sup>1</sup>

Despite Captain Laws' statement it is probably true to say that the bulk of the population were unable, for one reason or another, to write with much proficiency. The missionaries were aware of the problem, and as late as the 1840s made a deliberate effort to teach writing more effectively. Desks were made, slates and paper and pens were requested of the committee, and Mrs. Tucker commenced special writing classes for a select group of about fifty students, which included King George.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, out of class, writing equipment still remained a problem. Some were lucky to be able to obtain some paper, ink and pens from visitors. One youth befriended the log keeper of the Elizabeth whaler and for a present of a few shells, he received 'one or two sheets of paper, a pen and a little ink'.<sup>3</sup> This was quite a treasure, and the lad 'was exceedingly delighted, and almost immediately after jumped into his canoe and paddled ashore.'<sup>4</sup> Others however, who were less fortunate, were forced to practise their writing in the sand or on banana leaves.<sup>5</sup>

For those who were proficient at the skill of writing, there was always ample opportunity to practise it. Ransome notes that when he called at the house of Tupou at Nuku'alofa, he found the chiefs children busily 'engaged in writing.'<sup>6</sup> Captain Waldegrave, H.M.S.

- (1) Commander Laws to Commander in Chief in India, 3 May 1829, H.R.A., vol XIV, New Series, p.739.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai Circuit Reports, 1835, 1836; Haabai School Report 1842; Vavau School Report 1842. See chapter IX, p.268.
- (3) Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship Elizabeth, 16 Dec 1831.
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) Watkin Papers, Draft article, 30 Sept 1833, A1540, M.L.
- (6) Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship Elizabeth, 15 Oct 1831.

Seringapatam, a visitor in the 1830s, found a number of people in their homes 'employed in copying histories of the bible or hymns', and observed that their 'continued leisure' gave them ample opportunity for such pastimes.<sup>1</sup> Peter Bays was of a similar opinion. He discovered that Tongans who had become Christians 'write hymns and send presents to each other, to distant villages, and to the Haabai islands ...'<sup>2</sup> He shared Waldegrave's opinion that education provided opportunities for interesting diversions in a society where many people, he felt, spent their 'leisure hours' in 'sleep, or in walking about doing nothing.'<sup>3</sup>

In the early days of the mission, before the introduction of the press, quite large portions of school material were copied by persons employed for that purpose.<sup>4</sup> Cross informed the Committee in 1830 that one young person, the daughter of a chief, had copied forty chapters of the New Testament between 1 May and 20 June.<sup>5</sup> Thomas employed a number of people to help him and Mrs. Thomas to keep up the supply of 'library' books.<sup>6</sup> Much of this organized copying became redundant with the arrival of the press in 1831, but many individuals continued to make their own manuscript books, even from the printed copies. They had learned to read using manuscript, and at least some preferred it to the printed word.<sup>7</sup> What is more, the copied book cost nothing, whereas printed books had to be bought.<sup>8</sup> Watkin pointed out that many people made manuscript copies 'even though they have 5 printed books.'<sup>9</sup>

- (1) Orlebar, 'Private Journal', J.R.G.S., vol 3, 1833, p.186.
- (2) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.133.
- (3) ibid, p.130.
- (4) For details see chapter IV, p.104.
- (5) Cross, Journal, 20 June 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.481.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 2 Oct 1830.
- (7) See John Williams' speech to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society's Anniversary meeting, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.95.
- (8) For references to costs see W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1832-1833, p.45; ibid, 1835, p.35.
- (9) Watkin, Journal, 25 Oct 1832, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.512.



IT HAS BEEN suggested that the skills taught in the schools found a ready use in leisure time activity particularly by person of rank and their children, during the first ten to fifteen years of the mission's history.

By the 1840s however the missionaries were finding it increasingly difficult to interest two groups in education.<sup>1</sup> These groups were the young people and the elderly. Of the adult schools and of adult interest in reading and writing, the 1854 report of the Ha'apai schools complains:

Our Adult schools are no doubt gradually losing their hold upon the intellect and attention of the people, and this not from any want of zeal either on the part of your missionaries or those attending to the schools, but from natural and unavoidable causes. The majority of those who compose our adult schools are of such an age as completely incapacitates them from any advancement in learning beyond that which they have already attained, viz the bare ability to read and commit portions of scripture to memory. Maps and Arithmetic &c are beyond their comprehension and the art of writing is equally removed from their reach. Hence it naturally follows that they begin to lose their relish for that which consists merely in an exercise of memory, unaccompanied, as is generally the case, by any enlightenment or enlargement of the mind.<sup>2</sup>

The young people had lost interest in the schools for different reasons. There appeared little in the programme to interest them, and there developed a restless yearning for the old amusements. Throughout the 40s and

(1) See chapter IV, p.121

(2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1854.

into the 50s the annual reports of the missionaries bemoan the fact that the young people are not interested in the schools and the benefits of education.<sup>1</sup> Their lack of interest was not merely a passive resistance to the missionaries. They were, in fact, actively attempting to pursue another, and more traditional life style. The novelty had worn off and they wanted more exciting pastimes than those the school could provide. Their solution was to turn to traditional activities. As one missionary complained referring to the young people's lack of interest in the schools: '... nor yet are they neutral, but are earnestly desiring & in some cases strenuously exerting themselves to revive former heathenish customs and practices.'<sup>2</sup> The missionaries, through the meetings of the teachers and preachers, tried to suppress this movement, but with little success. The problem was beyond them. The young people were not interested in the activities of the school or the church, and the only way to restrain them was to appeal to the king and seek, as one of them put it, 'the secular arm in many matters of this kind to prohibit these heathenish and demoralizing practices.'<sup>3</sup>

One area of traditional culture which was disapproved of by the missionaries, and which they unsuccessfully attempted to prohibit, was kava drinking. Kava was central to Tongan social and religious life,<sup>4</sup> and no amount of disapproval by the missionaries could stamp it out. There was no specific teaching against kava drinking in the schools, but attempts to confine it and discourage its use were made by putting pressure upon the teachers.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) See for example Friendly Islands District Minutes, School report for Ha'apai, Vava'u and Tonga for the years 1845-1855.
- (2) *ibid*, Haabai School Report, 1843-1844.
- (3) *ibid*, Tonga School Report, 1848.
- (4) See chapter I, pp.22, 25.
- (5) See below p.205 for details.

The missionary hatred for kava stemmed from a number of different sources: its preparation was offensive; its effects were thought to be similar to that of alcohol; its preparation and drinking were time wasting; its connections with heathen ceremonies were polluting; and its importance as a ceremonial gift to the gods was to a Christian idolatrous.<sup>1</sup> From the beginning there had been opposition to kava, but during the 1840s a serious attempt was made, through the teachers and preachers, to restrict its use in the church. At Quarterly meetings of teachers and preachers the Chairman often spoke out against practices regarded as unwholesome, and kava drinking was usually among them.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the 40s the issue was raised many times, but it apparently met with passive resistance from the teachers. At this stage the issue was to 'drink but sparingly of kava'.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the decade, the line was hardening, and the Tonga circuit report for 1848 referred to 'heathenish habits ... such as ... the drinking of the native kava, if not to drunkenness, yet to the injury of the work of God in the souls of many of them ...'<sup>4</sup>

But the people did not wish to give it up, and the missionaries continued to use all the influence they could muster to have its use confined as much as possible. They were never able to carry their point, however, even when they retreated to the very limited ban on kava drinking on the sabbath. Thomas commented

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 3 Feb 1830; 24 Jan 1841; 20 Feb 1856; Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp.1039-1940; Rabone, Journal, 29 Nov 1836; Cargill, Journal, 3 Oct 1838; Turner, Journal, 16 April 1832; Miller, Journal, 12 June 1843; 28 June 1848.
- (2) Miller, Journal, 12 June 1843; 27 March 1844; 2 Oct 1844.  
Cf Local Preachers Meeting Minute Book, Minutes 8 July 1857; Leaders Meeting Minute Book, Minutes 23 Sept 1863, in Collocott Papers, UNC MSS 206-207, M.L.
- (3) Miller, Journal, 2 Oct 1844.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Circuit Report, 1848.

in 1856 that kava drinking was more prevalent than it had been in heathen times,<sup>1</sup> a state of affairs that the school had probably contributed to in no small way. The exclusiveness of the chiefly pastime had been eroded by the head teachers who, if not chiefs themselves, had attained a quasi-chiefly position by virtue of their important position in the village, and their links with the missionaries and the King. Among these head teachers, as with teachers in general, kava drinking was an important pastime. While on the one hand the missionaries argued against kava drinking, and through their church courts brought down sanctions upon offenders, on the other hand the head teachers by their example encouraged people to maintain the practice. The problem is illustrated in a long entry, in the Local Preachers Minute Book, commenting on a confrontation over the issue:

Jone Maiava is removed from the office of head teacher at Felemea, and Sitiveni Kaufusi from that of school master of the same place being more or less implicated in drinking kava on the sabbath. After a strict & general inquiry respecting drinking kava on the Sabbath, it was found that nearly all our Head Teachers drink kava more or less on the Lord's Day. It being so general, it was found difficult to punish the Teachers as we desired. They were censured and informed that any future delinquencies in this particular would be punished with expulsion from the work. The Local Preachers were again informed, that drinking Kava on the Sabbath with any neighbour or stranger, in their own houses, or in that of a friend, would be followed by dismissal. They were also informed, that the presenting of kava was highly improper on the sabbath day. They are at liberty to drink a little in their own houses if they consider it necessary, but the utter disuse of this root on the Lord's Day was urged as the 'more excellent way'.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 20 Feb 1856.
- (2) Local Preachers' Minute Book Ha'apai, 1845-1857, UNC. MSS. 207, M.L.

But the missionaries could not even hold this last line of defence. Kava remained part of the social life of the people, and the best that could be done, at a much later date, was to bring in legislation stipulating that kava was to be ground or grated between stones, and from that time kava chewing carried a £10 fine.<sup>1</sup>

THE MISSIONARIES, from the very foundation of their cause, adopted an attitude of opposition to kātoanga - large gatherings of people for social intercourse involving feasting, food presentations, singing, sports, and dancing. The most important kātoanga was the 'inasi, and opposition to it sprung mainly from the fact that it was a special presentation to the god Hikule'o.<sup>2</sup> There were other kātoanga, however, but they were usually associated with the marriage or funerals of chiefs.

Voyaging was associated with most of the important kātoanga. Canoe loads of people would sail south, for example, to the annual 'inasi, or to be present at a wedding or funeral.<sup>3</sup> People from as far away as the Niuaus would voyage to Tongatapu for these special occasions.<sup>4</sup> To the missionaries the kātoanga presented potentially dangerous situations. Its religious aspects were of course condemned as pagan, and its voyaging presented ample opportunity for immorality, as did the dancing, particularly at night, associated with kātoanga.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the mission reveals that initially the much loved kātoanga disappeared from social life, at least for Christians, but that gradually it was re-introduced, in a Christian form, through the organization of the school. Festivals known as the

- (1) Tonga Government Gazette vol 2, No 7, 24 Nov 1880. A regulation also forbade 'any spinster' from joining the men in kava drinking after sunset.
- (2) See chapter I, p.24.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 12 April 1828; Miller, Journal, 26 Aug 1847.
- (4) Thomas, Mythology, p.267.
- (5) See above p. 193.

Schools Examination Days were held throughout the groups, and once every six months (and later annually) a major festival was held at the main centres of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu, and Lifuka.

The idea of the examination day at which pupils performed to an audience of interested spectators, developed in English educational practice in the early 19th century. It was an integral part, initially of David Stow's system, and as he was the educational authority favoured by the Wesleyans,<sup>1</sup> it is not surprising that the examination day found a place in the schools in the Pacific.<sup>2</sup> The first examination day was held at Nuku'alofa in 1834 and the report of the missionary observer at the time, gives an interesting foretaste of bigger and better things to come

One of the children repeated 30 hymns; another 16; several repeated from 12 to 14 hymns; and some others the first part of the Conference Catechism, with Appendix; and others the reading lessons. Some very little children three, and some four, verses of hymns. The season was very gratifying.<sup>3</sup>

During the visit of the Rev. John Waterhouse in 1841 a set of regulations was approved by the District Meeting, making the Examination Day a permanent feature of the Tongan schools system. Rule 11 of the 'General Rules & Regulations for the Wesleyan Schools in the Friendly Islands District' stated: 'A Publick & careful examination of each school shall take place at least once a year.'<sup>4</sup>

From this time on the school examination day began to grow in importance and magnitude. The element of festiveness grew with the numbers, and in the late 40s

(1) See chapter II, p. 47.

(2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1844, pp. 39-40; Young, Southern World, pp. 307-308.

(3) ibid, 1834, p. 38.

(4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Special District Meeting, 23 March 1841.

and early 50s some immense gatherings were held. This was true particularly in Vava'u, where people from the outlying districts and islands converged upon Neiafu, swelling the population of the 'capital', creating an extensive temporary settlement of coconut thatch huts. Thousands of people enjoyed days of feasting, singing, worshipping, and watching the lengthy demonstrations on the mala'e.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Adams letter to his parents captures one such scene:

We have held the Anniversary of our infant & Adult schools during the past month (August) and it has gone off well. The Schools of the different places throughout the group assembled at this place (Neiafu) so that we sat six full days from 8 A.M. to 8 or 9 P.M. listening to the lessons which were recited by the Scholars, both Adult and children. About 80 different schools assembled and each repeated at least one chapter of Scripture I Chapter in the Conference Catechism, & 2 Chapters in a Geography which has been printed in their own tongue - besides other lessons. After the recitation had been gone through a day was set apart for a general feast - when instead of tea, cakes & the usual fare in Old England on School Anniversaries we had pigs and yams, fish and native puddings in abundance. Each school marched in order to the green in front of the town Hall carrying their flags and each dressed in first rate Tonga style -- ... it had quite an imposing appearance to behold the multitude seated on the green and the food all collected in front of the Hall - the bill of fare was (as nearly as I could ascertain) 48 pigs - baked fish about 600 - of all sorts and sizes from the shark downwards - Tonga puddings 312 - and of cooked yams more than 700 baskets besides 2½ tons weight of yams not cooked which were presented to the Mission - During the Anniversary the people from the different places slept under the trees - or coconut leaves

(1) See for example Peter Turner's account of a school festival, Journal, 2-10 June, 1846.

woven for the purpose ... they wear immense dresses on such high days - think of a man rolling himself up in 30 or 40 yards of fine matting. A goodly number came out in European costume.... It is a season of religious excitement to our best natives - many are the ascriptions of praise to the Lord of the Harvest for sending them the Gospel ...<sup>1</sup>

Peter Turner informs us that, when King George was present at school feasts, special presentations were made to him:

each school brought a present of food to the King and the visitors. Each child brought a yam & some brought fowls &c. The schools were ornamented with garlands, which they laid down before the King & chiefs.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the interest created by the presence of kings, chiefs and missionaries (and sometimes important overseas visitors) there was the excitement generated by the chanting of school lessons to traditional tunes. One observer noted that the lessons were performed with a great deal of 'vigour' and that they resembled the 'war whoop', producing a 'startling' effect and exercising 'a powerful influence upon the assembly.'<sup>3</sup> At least one missionary saw the school feasts as being 'dangerous' but none the less useful:

'There was a peril,' Martin Dyson reminisced, 'in bringing the teachers and scholars together on one island, but it was now customary and desirable. It gave the young people a voyage and a picnic & usually at this time of the year both wind and weather were favourable.'<sup>4</sup>

Much of this traditional influence on the school activities, and in particular upon the examination days, developed after Thomas left Tonga in 1850. On his return several

- (1) Adams to his parents, 3 Sept 1850.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 10 June 1846.
- (3) See below p.192.
- (4) Dyson, A Meltham Methodist, p.88.



years later he saw a great deal that disturbed him

'I do fear,' he wrote, in 1856, 'that the amusements which the new school system has introduced have been greatly abused to the serious injury of Christianity in this place. The togi oni-teketeke [decorating the hair with sand], ai kakala [decorations of scented flowers] &c with the lau fika [chanting numbers] &c are little different to the boula mee [night dance] &c of heathen times the Lafa - ako fika [a throwing game, sometimes employed to teach children to count] &c.<sup>1</sup> It was dark when I left the chapel.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that these annual school festivals resembled very closely the annual festival of heathen times, the 'inasi'. The points of similarity are numerous: the huge gatherings of chiefs and people from the various districts; the voyaging; the presentations of food and other commodities; the variety of activities performed over a number of days; the traditional dressing, feasting, and entertainment. 'Chiefs were chiefs still', and 'people were people still', 'gentlemen were gentlemen still'<sup>2</sup> but Jehovah had replaced Hikule'o, and King George and his ministers had taken the place of the Tu'i Tonga and his priests.<sup>3</sup> The impression is that, within the organization established by the missionaries, the Tongans had revived an 'inasi' greater than the 'inasi'.

INITIALLY the Wesleyan school system introduced skills and activities which were seen by the missionary teachers as providing substitutes for traditional amusements and pastimes. In time, however, the school room skills became a vehicle for the resurrection of traditional activities. Singing, dancing, feasting and voyaging.

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 26 Jan 1856.
- (2) Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands, p.105.
- (3) See for example a description of school feasting in Turner, Journal, 2-10 June 1846.

following the ancient pattern, thus became characteristic of the system by the 1850s. This retention of traditional though modified pastimes and amusements was due in no small way to the fact that the hundreds of schools throughout the group were in the charge of Tongan teachers. It must be added, however, that the departure of Thomas in 1850, and the arrival of Amos in 1849 with the Glasgow System training, allowed entertainment to become much more a part of the school system,<sup>1</sup> and the claim of some visitors that all the gaiety had disappeared from Tongan life was at best a half truth.

(1) For details of the entertainment element of the Glasgow system see Appendix IV.

## CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW MORALITY

BY HEATHENISM, men are devoted to Satan before they are born. Parents catch the earliest opportunities of instilling all its vile and corrupting principles into the infant mind. In this way children are nourished and brought up, and literally go astray from the womb ... The children of heathenism are taught, in fact, to commit and delight in the most vile and shameful practices ... which awefully debase their minds and shock the feelings of people who possess the pure word of God.<sup>1</sup>

This negative statement of traditional 'pagan' morality could well be taken as an official expression of the Wesleyan Missionary Society since variations on this theme frequently found a place in its publications.<sup>2</sup> The Society hoped that Christian teaching would facilitate radical changes in pagan morality.

The committee expected that the brethren working in Tonga would bring about 'a complete revolution' in indigenous attitudes to moral questions.<sup>3</sup> On the voyage from England, Thomas learned something of what he called the 'disgusting sins and manners' of the Tongans from his reading of Mariner's Tonga Islands<sup>4</sup>, and although the prospect was not an attractive one, he determined to live there and 'teach them better'.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, to find that moral teachings figure prominently in the reading material prepared for use in the Wesleyan schools in Tonga.

- (1) Papers Relative to Wesleyan Methodist Missions, vol III, March 1821, page 2.
- (2) *ibid*, vol XXIV, June 1826; vol XXX, Dec 1827; vol XXXIV, Dec 1828.
- (3) Beecham to Turner, 27 Oct 1834, in Turner, *Missionary Papers*, A1506, M.L.
- (4) Thomas, *Journal*, 29 June 1825.
- (5) *ibid*.

There were no more important elements in missionary moral teachings than those about sexual matters. The particular emphasis was upon monogamy, fidelity in marriage, continence for the unmarried, widowed, and divorced. Such teachings flowed naturally from the missionaries' English Wesleyan background and more specifically from their Instructions which required them to 'civilize and convert'.

On arrival in Tonga Hutchinson and Thomas were shocked at Tongan attitudes to sexual behaviour. Even before he had a proper grasp of the language, Thomas was constrained to take to task a high chief's wife for what he regarded as disgusting behaviour: she had 'allowed another man to lie with her, and a young man said to be her brother'.<sup>1</sup> Such a woman, Thomas noted, was a 'disgrace to any Country', and added: 'The Gospel will have much to remove at this place; here are sins of no ordinary magnitude'.<sup>2</sup> Earlier Thomas called upon a young man who had been badly injured during a domestic argument and recorded later in his journal: 'If each man had his own wife at Tonga many evils would be avoided and much sin destroyed'.<sup>3</sup>

Almost all the books printed in the early years for school use made reference to the Christian view of marriage. One of the earliest books introduced a series of prohibitions including stealing, lying, killing, and covetousness, and although reference to the 7th commandment was conspicuously absent, the 'sin' referred to in Liaki ko e hala (cast away sin) may refer to sexual sins.<sup>4</sup> A simple catechism,

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 23 May 1829.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, 20 April 1828.
- (4) First Lessons, p.13.

a short time later, provided the model of 'one man one wife' in the story of Adam and Eve. Eve, created from one of Adam's ribs, was styled ono Ohana (his wife), an expression repeated a number of times in the remaining lessons of the catechism.<sup>1</sup> Another early text listed sins to be avoided including stealing, murder, &c but there was no specific reference to such sins as adultery. The exhortation, however, to 'cast away all sin towards Jehovah' may in fact have encompassed these sexual sins.<sup>2</sup>

But there were texts that provided specific teachings about sexual relationships. One early lesson told the story of God's distress at Adam's being 'alone' and so a wife was provided for him. Adam's comment to his wife: 'You are bone of my bones, flesh of my flesh'<sup>3</sup> was given a strong monogamous emphasis with the explanation 'Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and the two shall be one flesh'.<sup>4</sup> King Herod's immoral relationship with his brother's wife provided another lesson about marriage relationships. In the story John the Baptist reprimanded the king with the words: 'It is not lawful for you to have her'.<sup>5</sup>

The School Book contained a number of teachings on the marriage theme. Most importantly it provided a clear definition of the missionaries' attitude to sexual morality. An earlier translation of the 7th Commandment which prohibited adultery was expanded and made all inclusive. The simple command 'Do not commit adultery', became in the Tongan translation

- (1) First Lessons, pp.17ff.
- (2) A First Book, lesson VII, p.13. The missionaries frequently referred to sexual sins simply as 'sin'. See for example Thomas, Journal, 23 May 1839; Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, letter 118, 1832; Friendly Islands District Quarterly Meeting of the Local Preachers, March 1852, F.W.C. Archives.
- (3) A First Book, lesson XXXIII, pp.39-40.
- (4) Koe Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu, Aug 1833. No 9 (hereinafter Koe Gaahi Lesoni No 9), lesson V, Jenesi Vahe 2:18-25.
- (5) ibid, lesson xxxv.

'Do not commit adultery with a woman; do not commit adultery with a man; do not fornicate'.<sup>1</sup>

By 1831 a basic foundation had been laid. From Old Testament sources the missionaries taught that God had created man and provided him with a wife; God's law demanded that a man be faithful to his one wife, and that a woman be faithful to her one husband; while unmarried people were not to indulge in sexual intercourse. In 1832, however, there appeared a small school book that began to teach some of St. Paul's views on marriage.<sup>2</sup> Selections from Romans and Corinthians recalled the flood teaching of Genesis<sup>3</sup>, emphasising that punishment awaited those who did not abide by Jehovah's law. Capturing St. Paul's characteristic repetitive style the missionary teachers warned their Tongan readers that people would be judged for sexual sins, that each person individually would be called to account, and that tribulation and distress awaited those who committed sexual sins. On the other hand, peace, honour, and glory were promised to those who were blameless.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore the teaching stressed that sexual laxity was a sin against Jehovah and that Christians should shun 'adulterers and fornicators' by refusing even to eat with them.<sup>5</sup> Students were warned to buna mei he tago (flee from fornication) because the human body is the temple of the Holy Spirit 'which you have received from God'.<sup>6</sup>

With the publication of extracts from Matthew's gospel, teaching on sexual morality broadened to include Christ's sermon on the mount. Besides the

- (1) Ko e Tohi Ako, p.7.
- (2) Ko e Gaahi Lesoni eni Mei he Tohi Tabu, No. 6.
- (3) Koe Tohi eni oe Fakatubu Lessons XII-XV, pp.12-16. While the language of the flood story is ambiguous the implication is that Jehovah punished the people for sexual sins. See Genesis 6:1-6.
- (4) Koe Gaahi Lesoni eni, mei he Tohi Tobu, Tongataboo, Dec 1832. No 6 (hereinafter Koe Gaahi Lesoni No 6), pp.3-4.
- (5) ibid, pp.11-12.
- (6) ibid.

finer strand of teaching that all the rules and regulations of Scripture can be fulfilled by loving God and one's neighbour; Tongans learned that 'whoever looks on a woman to lust after her has committed adultery with her already in his heart'.<sup>1</sup> Added to this was the explicit teaching that 'divorce' or 'putting away', except for reasons of 'fornication' led people to commit adultery.<sup>2</sup>

In later years as other books were translated and published for school use, the remainder of the New Testament teachings on sexual morality were made available. They added little, however, to the basic teachings of the early years, though the teaching on monogamy was reinforced by Paul's letters to the churches at Thessalonica, Colossae and Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> Timothy's letter to Titus taught that to be selected as church leaders men had to be 'the husbands of one wife'.<sup>4</sup> Paul's letter to the Corinthians gave advice to the married, widowed, and the unmarried, and summed up much of what the missionaries had been teaching from the beginning: chastity among the unmarried and fidelity within monogamous marriage.<sup>5</sup>

Most missionary teaching on sexual morality consisted of translations of scriptural passages. In some cases, however, individual missionaries devised their own teaching material. James Watkin's little Catechism, designed to combat some of the 'prevailing evils', provides an example:

Q. Who are they who have more wives than one?

Ans. Thieves from other men, sinners against God, and in the high way to destruction.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) No. 16, Koe Kosibeli nae tohi e Matiu, Tonga, Feb, 1835, 5:27.
- (2) ibid, 5:31-32.
- (3) Koe Tohi oe Fuakava Foou a ho tau Eiki ko Jisu Kalaisi, London, 1852, Efeso 5:22; Kolose, 3:18-19; Koe Uluaki Ibiseli a Baula ki he kakai Tesalonaika, Vava'u, May 1838, 4:3-4.
- (4) Koe Ibiseli a Baula kia Taitusi, Vava'u, May 1838, 1:6.
- (5) Koe Tohi oe Fuakava Foou a ho tau Eiki ko Jisu Kalaisi, London, 1852, I Kolinito 7:1-40.
- (6) Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec 1832.

Other missionaries devised similar aids to instruction.<sup>1</sup>

At first glance it may appear that the missionary teachings on sexual relationships were readily accepted. Marriages became a feature of church life from an early date and prominent among the first people seeking the ordinance were Ulukai, close relative and advisor to Taufa'ahau, and Uhila a leading priest of the traditional religion.<sup>2</sup> When Uhila 'put away' all but one of his six wives, shipwrecked sea captain Peter Bays noted in his journal: 'there is no person but what must admit that this man is either a sincere Christian, or a madman and a fool'.<sup>3</sup> Aleamotu'a (King Josiah Tupou of Tongatapu) also accepted the Christian requirement of monogamy. Before receiving the sacrament of baptism in 1830 he spoke to his people at some length about the lotu and his references to marriage bear the marks of close study of the new teaching:

And this is my instruction or advice to you young men and women: love or attend to me, and be diligent in religion. Each of you seek his wife or husband and live together as you ought, lest I should not find some, or some one of you in Heaven when I go; then you will ask, 'Where is he?' - He is gone to the bad place, and then we shall not all dwell together.<sup>4</sup>

The chief, however, appears to have been preaching to the converted, for we read in Thomas' journal that several months earlier seventeen couples from Tongatapu had entered into Christian marriages. It must be noted, however, that some at least of these couples had been 'living for years as man and wife but had not been married'. Thomas thought it proper for them, therefore, to undergo a Christian marriage.<sup>5</sup>

Although marriage was not universally accepted

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 10 Sept 1830.
- (2) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.111.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) *ibid.*, p.128. Bays is quoting an entry from Nathaniel Turner's journal. The journal in question was destroyed along with Turner's other personal papers, in a fire in 1838. See Turner, Nathaniel, Personal Narrative, p.1.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 20 Dec 1829.



at first (there were only 27 marriages in 1829 and 68 in 1830) it soon became an established part of the new order. Mass marriages were not unusual in the early 1830s and James Watkin's reference to 'the arduous duty of marrying 35 couples' at one session is by no means uncommon.<sup>1</sup> The extent of the acceptance of the new teaching on marriage can be gauged by Watkin's claim that between November 1832 and September 1833 no fewer than 700 marriages were solemnized.<sup>2</sup>

Among the hundreds who sought marriage in the 1830s, young men formed an important group.<sup>3</sup> For them it was an opportunity to obtain a wife where in the old order they would have had to wait upon the will and pleasure of their chiefs. The chiefs had most to lose: traditional control of the women of their district; their numerous wives; power over the men who had to seek permission to marry. But surrender this power and privilege they appeared willing to do, and if Peter Turner's boast is correct, by August 1834 in Vava'u there were 'only three living in polygamy'.<sup>4</sup>

Missionaries suggested that chiefs who were willing to give up polygamy should marry their chief wives, advice that was heeded in most cases. Some chiefs, however, married 'secondary' wives. Tāufa'āhau, like some other chiefs, put away all his wives and chose a new one.<sup>5</sup>

The changed attitude to sexual matters in the Friendly Islands was noted by numerous visitors during the 1820s and 1830s. Nathaniel Turner, after residence of two years, commented that 'not a single female, to our knowledge, belonging to Nukualofa, has been induced to go on board any vessel since our arrival for improper

- (1) Watkin, Journal, 22 Aug 1832; 2 April 1833; Turner, Journal, 20 March 1831.
- (2) Watkin, Papers, Draft of article for Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 20 Sept 1833, A1540, M.L.
- (3) W.M.M.S. Annual Report 1832-33, pp. 44-45.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 17 Aug 1834. For references to other chiefs giving up polygamy see Watkin, Journal, 27 March 1834; 20 April 1834; 3 Sept 1834.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 20 March 1831; 25 March 1835; 28 March 1835. Watkin, Journal, 27 March 1834; Rabone, Journal, 12 Sept 1836; Thomas, Mythology, pp. 32; 61.

purposes'.<sup>1</sup> As a result, the missionary continued, 'Nukualofa has been pronounced [by sailors] the worst place to which they ever sailed'.<sup>2</sup> Another missionary noted that he and his brethren had come in for severe criticism from visiting seamen who could not obtain women. 'On this account', Peter Turner recorded at the time, 'they have not failed to load poor missionaries with all the unrespectful epithets they could think of. These are the men who say that the natives have been made worse by missionaries -- because they cannot satisfy their base desires as formally' (sic).<sup>3</sup> At places where Christianity had not been accepted, however, visiting seamen could still procure women. Thus the heathen village of Mu'a received regular calls from whaling ships and Thomas complained that whalers used to 'drink to excess - riot and revel on board and on shore burn in their lust and commit the most abominable sins'.<sup>4</sup>

Mu'a, however, was an isolated case and the general impression is that by the mid 1830s the Biblical-Wesleyan model of sexual morality was accepted by chiefs and people alike. James Watkin's comment, after marrying 14 couples at Koula in 1833 reveals missionary feelings about the way in which Christian teachings had been instrumental in stimulating change:

'... to me it was a pleasing scene, and is an encouraging indication of the spread and influence of Christianity ... now they know it to be not only wrong to have a plurality of wives ... but they know also that the Marriage contract is binding and lasting, and very many who have been united Tonga style i.e. like the feathered race for a season, now voluntarily come to the Altar ... [and] take the vows of Love and Constancy until death do them part.'<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Turner, Nathaniel, Journal, 14 May 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829 1831, p.317.
- (2) ibid.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 28 April 1832.
- (4) Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, Letter 118, 1832.
- (5) Watkin, Journal, 2 April 1833.

It is doubtful, however, if many of the people who entered Christian marriages, did so with the same understanding of the 'vows of Love and Constancy until death do them part' as the missionaries. For although by the 1830s Christian marriage had become widely accepted, and its requirements were taught regularly in school and church, a significant number of people were unable or unwilling to adhere to it in ways acceptable to the missionary teachers. It could be argued that some entered into Christian marriage simply to conform to the dictates of the new order, or that Tongan society placed too many temptations in the way of the missionary concept of fidelity and chastity. But it is more likely that many Tongans attempted a compromise: to accept the requirements of Wesleyan sexual morality while holding substantially to their former habits. Whatever the reason, the missionaries found many difficulties in the way of establishing the Biblical-Wesleyan model of chastity, monogamy and fidelity.

In some respects missionary teaching was too successful. By the mid 1830s they found that many people were rushing into marriage with ungodly haste. To combat this 'evil' they introduced the British system of 'Publishing the Banns'.<sup>1</sup> This was necessary, one missionary informed his superiors in London, 'to deter the people from marrying too hastily', while the Chairman of the Mission assured the Committee that he was taking 'every precaution to prevent improper marriages'.<sup>2</sup>

The difficulty of keeping people to the requirements of the new code was referred to many times in the missionaries' journals, and leaders and teachers were frequently the offenders. In the early days in Ha'apai a crisis developed when Pita Vi's wife Sarah committed

- (1) Tucker, Journal, 11 May 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vols VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.315.
- (2) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.1000. The practice, however, was apparently unpopular with young people who objected to having to wait the two weeks required by the banns. See White, Mrs. G.F., Memoir of Mrs Jane Tucker, wife of the Rev. Charles Tucker, sometime Missionary to Haabai and Tonga, London, 1877, p.86.

adultery. Tāufa'āhau sought advice on the problem as Sarah was a baptized member of the church. Thomas argued that Sarah's action had separated her 'from her husband and from the Church of Christ' and that Pita was entitled if he wished to 'cast her away'.<sup>1</sup> After some controversy, during which Tāufa'āhau opposed Thomas' advice and ordered Sarah and Pita to live together again, the adulteress was 'put away' and Pita was married to a more suitable person.<sup>2</sup>

The incident caused considerable comment and on one occasion the chief Tuita asked Thomas whether or not it was wrong for a person who belonged to the church to 'commit fornication'. When Thomas answered that it was certainly wrong the chief replied: 'Why then ... does such a man ... come to my place to do it, for he is a man that prays?'<sup>3</sup> Thomas replied: 'I taught them to give up all their sins but they did not act as I taught them but were stubborn and rebellious..'<sup>4</sup> The chief's question worried Thomas, and while reflecting on the issue in his journal he wrote

it is too true that the wicked conduct of those who are called praying people, hinders the work of this place ... I am ashamed of the conduct of those who have acted and still continue to act so bad.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas did not name names, but one of the leaders whose conduct concerned him was Tāufa'āhau who was slow to accept the teachings in regard to sexual morality. When he was baptized in 1831 no mention was made of his wife, although three of his children by different wives received the sacrament with him. Some time later his actions led the missionaries to suspend him from meeting in Class because of 'improper conduct'.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 26 April 1830.
- (2) *ibid*, 26 April 1830; 30 April 1830.
- (3) *ibid*, 13 May 1830.
- (4) *ibid*.
- (5) *ibid*.
- (6) Cargill, David, Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill, London, 1841, p.44.

Tāufa'āhau was angered by the exercise of discipline and in defending himself recalled that Solomon was more guilty than he was. After all, he said, he should not be blamed for following a natural desire.<sup>1</sup> His teachers, however, pressed him to marry and settle down, an action that he eventually took, remaining faithful to his one wife till the end of his days.<sup>2</sup>

One cause of conflict between the missionaries and their people was an apparent misunderstanding about the nature of conversion to the lotu. Many people seemed to think that once they had accepted Christianity and commenced attending the teaching, worship and meetings of the church, they had fulfilled all necessary requirements. Thomas' comment in 1830, which was repeated in one form or another by a number of missionaries, touches on the difficulty

'... I told them that if they were living in sin, then praying would not keep them out of Hell. Many of the people live in gross sin, as adultery, fornication, lying &c yet think that because they have begun to lotu or pray to Jehovah, they shall end in Heaven; but I cried out to tell them they would not ...'<sup>3</sup>

Problems relating to sexual morality continued to cause the missionaries concern for many years. In Ha'apai in the late 1830s Richard Lyth made reference to a number of cases which indicate how difficult it was to keep church members to the new sexual code. Lyth's journal entries refer to a chief who was punished for adultery, a class member who was disciplined for 'breach of promise ... a serious evil in this circuit', and a leader who was suspended 'for adultery'.<sup>4</sup> The minute books of the Local Preachers Meetings also reveal that infringements against the sexual code were

- (1) Cargill, Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill, p.44.
- (2) Tāufa'āhau had been married in the traditional manner to a number of women, including Fusi, Naukaunanga, and Asipau, before marrying Lupepau'u in a Christian ceremony in 1834. See Thomas, Friendly Islands, pp. 309; 630; 636; Mythology, pp. 32; 61.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 28 Feb 1830.
- (4) Lyth, Journal, 11 June 1838; 5 Aug 1838; 29 Aug 1838.

common. 'Objections to Preachers' at the March meeting of 1852, for example, included such charges as 'improper behaviour towards a young woman', and 'tempting a female to sin'.<sup>1</sup> In later years references to similar offences by teacher-preachers were frequent: 'arranging with a girl to sin with her', 'indecent and improper conduct with a woman', and most frequently 'committing fornication'.<sup>2</sup> In the 1870s the Tupou College rules provided that 'in case of fornication the students shall be expelled and not allowed to return until the expiration of five years'.<sup>3</sup> At about the same time a church rule relating to baptism of illegitimate children stated that 'All women who have sinned must meet in class two (2) years before their children were baptized'.<sup>4</sup>

One is inclined to conclude that if so many teachers, preachers and leaders found it difficult to abide by the code, then infringements among the rank and file would have been just as frequent or more so. Young people in particular caused most concern. In the 1840s they not only 'rebelled' against the teaching and committed 'fornication', but they refused to attend the schools. Exasperated missionaries called upon the king to use his personal influence and the power of the state to force young people to accept the dictates of Christian morality. The Code of Vava'u of 1839 had prohibited adultery and fornication<sup>5</sup> and in the 1850 code, which applied to the whole of Tonga, laws regulating sexual relationships occupied more space than any other single law.<sup>6</sup> But the power of the law had little effect, and one missionary late in the

- (1) Friendly Islands District Quarterly Meeting of the Local Preachers, March 1852. F.W.C. Archives.
- (2) *ibid*, 30 Sept 1868; April 1869; Oct 1870; Nov 1870; Jan 1871. F.W.C. Archives.
- (3) District Meeting Minutes 1871, Rule 20. F.W.C. Archives.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Journal, 1871. List of Rules. F.W.C. Archives.
- (5) Code of Vava'u, 1839, clause I, in W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1840, p.130.
- (6) *ibid*, clauses VII, VIII, IX and X, p.131.

1850s complained to his superiors that sexual offences were more common among the young people than ever

we have scarcely a young man or a young woman who is not or has not been judged for fornication or adultery, and they seem to glory in it. The young women will refuse offers of marriage - refuse the offer - boast of refusal and then sin grossly - pay the penalty in months of servitude to the judges - or oil or Money, or other Tongan property which their parents and friends (Christian) will assist them to raise ...<sup>1</sup>

The role of the school in attempting to establish and maintain the sexual code of the new morality seems clear enough. It provided thousands of people of all ages with a knowledge of the new 'law'. Moreover, many Tongan teachers were able to establish at least nominal compliance with the demands of the lotu.

At 'Uiha in 1833 James Watkin was called upon to marry 24 couples who, he said, 'had been meeting in class ever since Baula the Teacher went to reside there'. During his visit Watkin was impressed by what he called the 'complete change' that had transformed the island as a result of Baula's teaching.<sup>2</sup> Other missionaries had similar comments to make about Tongan teachers.<sup>3</sup>

But the school's role as an effective agent in changing indigenous attitudes to sexual morality must, nevertheless, be seriously questioned. In practice there was far from universal support for the sexual code.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the missionaries' dependence upon other powerful factors to support their teaching,<sup>5</sup> leads to the conclusion that the school, while providing knowledge, could not effectively change peoples' actions.

- (1) Whewell to Committee, 24 Dec 1856. MOM 170, M.L.
- (2) Watkin, Journal, 25 Sept 1833.
- (3) Cargill, Journal, 12 Feb 1834.
- (4) See above pp.222-223.
- (5) See below pp.224-225.

TONGAN ATTITUDES TO PROPERTY were a constant concern to the Wesleyan missionaries and they concentrated considerable energy in trying to effect a change. Before arriving in the islands they were aware that the Tongans had gained the reputation of being 'addicted' to theft and had become notorious for seizing and plundering visiting ships.<sup>1</sup>

Hutchinson and Thomas, on arrival, believed this reputation well deserved. After losing numerous articles Hutchinson referred to the Hihifo people as 'dextrous thieves' who had an insatiable 'thirst for property', while Thomas wrote of their 'craving disposition' and found it necessary to have a loaded gun in the house, to walk about during the day armed with a sword, and at night to sleep with weapons by his side.<sup>2</sup>

Within Tongan society itself the missionaries felt that the common man's property, if he had personal property at all, was at the mercy of chiefs who appeared greedy and covetous in the extreme.<sup>3</sup> The newcomers did not understand or appreciate the rights, privileges, and duties of people within their famili, kāinga and ha'a, which created a very different attitude to property.<sup>4</sup> Thomas, for example, precipitated a serious conflict when he made payment for thatching the mission house roof. Instead of presenting the trade goods to the chief so that he could distribute them to his people, Thomas first paid the workers their half of the agreed price and later handed the remainder to the chief. Ata's reaction was violent. He threw the trade goods in all directions, abused Thomas, and threatened to take the whole of the mission's goods by force.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Beaglehole, Journal of Captain Cook, iii; pp.101, 929, 1310; Martin, Tonga Islands, vol 1, pp.57ff.
- (2) Hutchinson to Secretaries, 31 Aug 1826; Thomas to Secretaries, 9 Jan 1826; W.M.M.S. In Correspondence. Thomas, Journal, 13 Aug 1826; 21 Aug 1826.
- (3) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Nov 3-5, 27-28, Nov 1827; Watkin Papers, Draft Article; Watkin, Journal, 4 April 1834.
- (4) See Chapter I, pp.26-27.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Nov 3-5, 27, 28, 1827.



Thomas' view, based on this and other incidents, was that the chief was a 'covetous wretch' and that the people had to be taught a new way.<sup>1</sup>

The basic teaching on property was contained in the Ten Commandments and the Wesleyan Rules of Society. The 8th and 10th Commandments - Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not covet - were the most repeated teachings, being translated first in 1828, but with reprints and revisions in 1830, 1831 and 1842.<sup>2</sup> The concepts were translated by using the Tongan expressions kaiha'a (to steal) and manumanu (to covet).<sup>3</sup> The Rules of Society extended the teaching of the Commandments by urging people not to buy or sell stolen goods.<sup>4</sup> The Tongan version of the Rules however, went well beyond Wesley's Rules and attempted to prohibit the common practice of 'selling' or 'giving away' their relations.<sup>5</sup> It was hoped that this 'law' would prevent people from regarding members of their families as goods and chattels to be disposed of at will.

Apart from these direct commands and rules the missionaries taught in a number of ways that the individual, whoever he was, had rights to personal property. Their own strict control over the mission store made it clear that no one was to touch another's property without permission. Two chiefs, Uhila and Tupoutoutai, learned this lesson quite early when they received a severe scolding for, as Thomas put it, 'going into my store house, without first speaking to me'.<sup>6</sup>

The missionaries' strict attitude to property often angered the chiefs and at times led to quarrels. When Tāufa'āhau asked Thomas for some property, including a boat cloak, the missionary refused. And he went further. He wrote the chief a letter rebuking him for wishing to 'command my garments and my trade'.

(1) Thomas, Journal, 8 Jan 1827.

(2) First Lessons, p.13; A First Book, p.68; Koe Tohi Ako, p.7; Thomas, Journal, 24 Aug 1842.

(3) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol II, pp.lxxiii, lxxviii.

(4) Ko e Akonaki p.3.

(5) ibid.

(6) Thomas, Journal, 3 Dec 1829.

The chief's hostile reply, 'written upon two slates in a very pert and saucy and insulting manner', mocked Thomas for thinking too much of his possessions which were after all the chief said, of inferior quality and 'only fit for poor men'.<sup>1</sup> The dispute became protracted, Tāufa'āhau feeling peeved that although Thomas had received considerable Tongan property, in the form of labour, timber for his house, and food, the missionary refused the simple request for one item of clothing.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the chief could detect the contradiction between the Galilean preaching and Thomas' practice. Finally Tāufa'āhau suggested that it would be best for the missionaries to follow their own customs and for the Tongans to 'follow the customs of Tonga', adding that other Pacific people, namely the Fijians and Samoans, 'each had their own way of proceeding'.<sup>3</sup> When Thomas pressed the matter, saying that they were, nevertheless, 'wrong', Tāufa'āhau politely asked him to leave. The incident points up the intransigency of the two different attitudes to property and indicates the Tongan unwillingness to yield to the Western point of view, an unwillingness that has persisted to the present day.<sup>4</sup>

There were, however, certain attitudes to property that were accepted without much controversy or resistance. An example was stealing from visiting ships. As early as 1829 Captain Laws of H.M.S. Satelite commented favourably about the conduct of the people on board his ship while in port at Nuku'alofa.<sup>5</sup> The Pacific trading captain, Samuel Henry, was similarly impressed during a visit to Nuku'alofa, pointing out that 'on former voyages I was always

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 3 May 1830.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) *ibid.*, 10 April 1830.
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) Captain Laws to Commander-in-Chief in India, 3 May 1829, quoted in Historical Records of Australia, vol. XIV, Series 1, p.740.

obliged to keep up my boarding nets ...' and that 'It is now perfectly safe for any vessel to visit Tonga'.<sup>1</sup> Another captain, according to Peter Turner, commented that 'If the deck of all the vessel were covered with valuable articles not one would be touched by the natives'.<sup>2</sup> When Thomas looked down upon the harbour of Vava'u one afternoon in September 1835 and saw it afloat with whalers he was moved to comment in his journal:

This is a novel sight here, but such is the change which religion has made among the inhabitants of Vavou, that Captains have no more cause to fear danger here than they have in any English port.<sup>3</sup>

The situation, it would seem, was vastly changed from the days when 'Shipping News' in the Sydney Gazette warned seamen to take extreme care in Tongan waters.<sup>4</sup>

There were exceptions, of course, and some careless captains lost their boats or their possessions because they put in at places where they could not shelter under the protection of Christian chiefs.<sup>5</sup>

In general, however, Tongan ports were now safer and the missionaries and their superiors in London were quick to claim that the change was the result of Christian teaching.<sup>6</sup>

This may well have been the case. But there are other explanations. When Tāufa'āhau was questioned about the ships that were plundered in pre-Christian times he explained that although his people had taken vessels and stripped them of their contents this was now seen as contrary to their own interests. For, he

- (1) Henry to Leigh, 10 March 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.181.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 11 Aug 1834.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 20 Sept 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vols viii and ix, 1835-1838, p.438.
- (4) Sydney Gazette, vol VI, No 251, 23 Oct 1808; No 258, 11 Dec 1808.
- (5) See for example the account of the plunder of the brig Snapper, Turner, Journal, 12 May 1832.
- (6) Missionary Notices, Dec 1829, editorial comment pp.180-181. For general references to the influence of Christianity see W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1830, p.40; 1831, p.44; 1832-3, p.39.

said, 'Instead of getting more property by it, they get less as vessels will not call upon them'.<sup>1</sup>

The Tongans also learned quite early that visiting Captains could sometimes take severe retaliatory action. This was certainly the case in 1827 when Dumont d'urville shelled the village of Ma'ufanga (Tongatapu) causing great damage to property and some loss of life.<sup>2</sup> The power of the cannon was a power to be respected.

If the missionaries could assert that their teachings had made the ports of Tonga safe for traders and other visitors, they could claim only limited success in other areas for their teaching about property. One difficult problem was how to convince chiefs that they should allow their people complete rights to private property, thus giving up their traditional call upon the goods and services of their people.<sup>3</sup> Some early boasts were over optimistic. James Watkin claimed in 1833 that although there were 'small scale' exceptions, for the most part the days when the commoners were exposed to the 'rapacity of any chief who pleased to pay them a visit' were over.<sup>4</sup> Chiefs now, Watkin continued, 'respect the rights of the poor'.<sup>5</sup>

Chiefly control of property continued, however, as an incident in Ha'apai in 1838 illustrates. At the Quarterly meeting a chief, who was a local preacher, was charged with 'appropriating for himself the peoples yams & labour' and of 'tabooing the peoples pigs for the king'.<sup>6</sup> The missionaries expressed strong disapproval of the practice and pointed out that local preachers would in future be

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 28 March 1828.
- (2) Dillon, Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas ... to ascertain the actual fate of La Perouse's Expedition ... (2 vols) London, 1829, vol 1, pp. 263 ff.
- (3) See chapter 1, pp. 26-27
- (4) Watkin, Journal, 4 April 1834.
- (5) Watkin, Papers, Draft article, A1540, M.L.
- (6) Lyth, Journal, 11 Sept 1838.

suspended for such actions. It is interesting to note that in the civil code that was promulgated some months later a specific section was devoted to chiefly privilege vis a vis the property and persons of the common people. While allowing the chief to call upon the labour of his people to assist in boatbuilding and crop planting, the law directed that the common people be given some time for themselves. In relation to their property the law was quite explicit. It informed the chiefs that

... it is no longer lawful for you to hunuki, or 'mark' their bananas for your use, or take by force any article from them, but let their things be at their own disposal.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, although chiefly privileges were theoretically curtailed by this law, and although both school and church taught that it was wrong to covet and steal, traditional practices continued. At heathen villages, of course, the Tongan attitude prevailed unquestioned, as Father Calinon found at Pea in the 1840s. He was frustrated by the 'begging' and 'borrowing' and felt that, as it was impossible to reform 'all their primitive notions on our model', some middle course would have to be established between the 'individuality' of the European and the 'community' of the Tongan. In a long pessimistic letter to his superiors in Rome he complained that his property was no longer his own and that his saws, axes, gardening tools, and even cooking utensils 'circulate incessantly in their hands'.<sup>2</sup>

Among Wesleyans, although there was acceptance of the new teaching on the surface, custom still persisted. The practice of sharing wedding gifts, in which the persons of rank received the largest portion, was one example. After one wedding the missionary lectured the guests, pointing out that the newly married couple were 'to do exactly

- (1) Code of Vava'u, 1839, clause 4, in W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1840, p.130.
- (2) Calinon to Colin, Oct 1845, quoted in Annales de les Propagation de la Foi, vol XVII, Lyon, 1846, p.430. See also *ibid* pp.424-425.

as they pleased with all that their friends had brought them'. Commenting further on the custom of sharing Rabone remarked: 'they call it love, but I ... give it another name'.<sup>1</sup>

In the 1870s, even after the 'Edict of Emancipation', chiefly power over commoners' property was still widely in force. Shirley Baker, Wesleyan missionary and close advisor to King George, attacked the practice through the columns of his newspaper, Koe Boobooi. In a satirical column entitled 'The Kingfisher', Baker berated the chiefs for holding on to their traditional privileges. Baker's Kingfisher reported:

'... I noticed the path to a house of one chief being worn smooth by the feet of people taking things to that chief and I said, 'Don't they know that it is forbidden to take presentations' and they told me it wasn't a presentation but just doing their duty as they were relations of the chief. Oh Dear! I can't for the life of me see the difference between presentations and doing their duty, as it is the same thing to me, as they are both taking things to the chief. And I scratched and scratched my head but I still couldn't see the difference. This cunning world!'<sup>2</sup>

The missionaries were faced with other difficulties regarding individual ownership of property in Tongan society where communal attitudes were basic. Conflict arose when people took things 'without permission', an action regarded as wrong by the missionaries but held as an integral part of their way of life by the Tongans. Again Father Calinon's experience bears witness to the practice. He argued that houses, children, food and any object at all, although regarded as having specific owners, could in reality be claimed by others.<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Rabone, Journal, 8 Jan 1838.
- (2) Koe Boobooi, No. 4, vol II, 1 June 1875.
- (3) Calinon to Colin, Oct 1845, quoted in Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Tome XVII, Lyon 1846, p.424.

The minutes of the Local Preachers Meeting frequently refer to preachers being suspended for 'stealing'. In more than one case the accused claimed that the articles were in fact taken without permission, but that it was simply a 'me'a fakakāinga pe' - 'only a family thing'.<sup>1</sup> At a later date, too, in cases brought before the civil courts, numerous persons accused of stealing claimed that it was simply a family matter, or, as one offender put it, 'It is our custom to borrow from each other'.<sup>2</sup>

There were, it has been argued, actions that in traditional society Tongans regarded as theft.<sup>3</sup> In this area, too, Wesleyan teaching met with limited success. The missionaries were concerned, not only that people were being charged before the courts of both church and state, but also that many were being repeatedly punished to little effect.<sup>4</sup> In fact there is evidence to suggest that thefts in this category actually increased under missionary instruction which had undermined some of the sanctions of traditional society. In pre-Christian Tonga such offences would have been punished with enslavement or death. However, as these penalties had been removed, and as the substitutes (beating, fines and road making) provided no real deterrent, theft increased.<sup>5</sup>

Teaching continued, and sanctions were applied by both church and state, but little progress was made in establishing the Wesleyan doctrine of property. No amount of teaching or punishment could destroy the basic Tongan attitudes. And although over the years theft, as Tongans understood it in traditional society,

- (1) Friendly Islands District Quarterly Meeting of the Local Preachers, 12 Jan 1870. F.W.C. Archives.
- (2) Koe Boobooi, vol II, No 2, 1 April 1875. See also Moala v Matiu, vol II, No 3, May 1875 and Crown v Inoke, vol II, No 7, Sept 1876.
- (3) See Chapter I, p.27.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 14 Dec 1840; 9 May 1840; 28 Nov 1842.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 9 May 1840.

eventually decreased, the traditional rights of the chiefs and the ancient usages within the kāinga have persisted to the present day. To Tongans the chief always enjoys rights and privileges in relation to property, and at all levels of society the group is always more important than the individual.

WESLEYAN METHODISTS had a clearly defined doctrine of work, derived from Wesley's teaching and example,<sup>1</sup> and it always occupied an important place in Wesleyan moral teachings. Predictably it found a place in the new morality that was introduced to Tongans through the Wesleyan schools.

The doctrine of work flowed from the 4th Commandment which, in Wesleyan interpretation, required work on six days and 'rest' on the seventh. Dr. Adam Clarke's commentary on this Commandment pointed out, in fact, that 'he who idles away time on any of the six days, is as guilty before God as he who works on the Sabbath'.<sup>2</sup> Thus, as well as teaching respect for the Sabbath, the missionaries in Tonga emphasized that 'laziness is bad'.<sup>3</sup>

From the beginning the Sabbath was referred to as the 'aho tapu - the 'tabooed day'.<sup>4</sup> This did not mean, however, that persons should be 'lazy' or 'waste time doing nothing'.<sup>5</sup> Rather they were to attend worship, read, sing and pray.<sup>6</sup> This was the sacred 'work' that was to be done on the day that Jehovah had made tapu.<sup>7</sup> Other work, of a secular kind including buying and selling, was not

- (1) See chapter II, p.43 for Wesleyan Methodist attitudes to work.
- (2) Clarke, Adam, Holy Bible: Commentary and Notes vol 1, p.417.
- (3) Ko e Motua Lea, Lesson 1, p.3.
- (4) A First Book, Lesson xxxi, p.28.
- (5) Ko e Tohi Ako, Lesson xii, p.5.
- (6) Ko e Tohi Ako, Lesson xii, p.5.
- (6) ibid.
- (7) ibid.



to be done.<sup>1</sup>

These teachings sprang directly from the Ten Commandments and the Wesleyan Rules. In the 1840s, however, a somewhat different approach was introduced when a small geography book was placed in the schools.<sup>2</sup> This book provided a summary of almost every country in the world (including Pacific islands) and apart from basic teachings about size, location, and major products, the geography book contained notes on 'the character of the people'. In essence the booklet taught that a country's progress, prosperity, and position in the scale of nations depended on how far its people were hard working, intelligent and Protestant.<sup>3</sup> Thus Germany, England, and Scandinavia were praised as industrious nations. By contrast, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey were portrayed as populated by backward and in some cases lazy people. The Spaniards, for example, were characterized as 'very slow at working' (literally 'slow footed') and 'not very intelligent'.<sup>4</sup> Their country was depicted as 'confused, weak, poor, and retrograde'.<sup>5</sup> The final comment on the Spanish people was 'They are Papists'.<sup>6</sup>

Work themes were frequently chosen as sermon topics by the missionaries. Turner often preached on the text: 'I must work the works of him who sent me, while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work'.<sup>7</sup> Cargill on occasion chose to preach on the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, emphasizing the text: 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?',<sup>8</sup>

(1) Koe Akonaki, p.2.

(2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1845, p.46.

(3) Ko e Jiokalafi: ko e Fakaaha ae mea jii ki he gaahi Buleaga moe kakai o Mama Ni, bea moe Jiokalafi oe Tohi Tabu, Vava'u, 1850 (hereinafter Ko e Jiokalafi). pp. 11-13, 19-20. The approach adopted by the missionaries was similar in tone to that of contemporary geographies published in England. See for example Stewart, Alex, A Compendium of Modern Geography, Edinburgh, 1846, p.117; Reid, Alexander, Rudiments of Modern Geography, Edinburgh, 1839, p.45.

(4) Koe Jiokalafi, p.19.

(5) ibid.

(6) ibid.

(7) Turner, Journal, 15 Oct 1839.

(8) Cargill, Journal, 18 May 1834.

while John Spinney made good use of the 4th Commandment as a text, emphasizing not only the 'rest' of the Sabbath, but also the requirement to work on the other six days.<sup>1</sup> There were other points at which the teaching in church and in school overlapped. David Cargill, for example, spent some time in Chapel one Sabbath reading from a school text on the subject of Sunday observance.<sup>2</sup>

The different elements of the work ethic were received by the Tongans with varying degrees of enthusiasm. From the beginning the 'aho tapu' concept was welcomed and when Charles Tucker arrived to commence missionary work in 1835 he recorded with obvious pleasure: 'I never saw the Sabbath kept so holy as it is here'.<sup>3</sup>

There were sometimes questions about how 'aho tapu' teaching was to be interpreted. When a canoe arrived at Ha'apai from Vava'u on the Sabbath early in 1830, Taufu'ahau, unsure of the implications of greeting the ship and bringing the people ashore, sought Thomas' opinion. Thomas advised the chief not to work on the Sabbath by assisting the visitors and, although it cut across customary demands of hospitality, Taufu'ahau accepted the missionary's advice. He called his people together and warned them, Thomas tells us:

Not to go to the beach ... or expose themselves to their foolish relations who were just arrived but to attend to the word of God and mind as they did not turn to the old ways again. He ordered his chiefs and Houeiki to be about him and did not approve of the Conduct of his Relation who had come on the Sabbath and therefore would not meet him, but let him remain until the Sabbath was over.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Lyth, Journal, 6 March 1838.
- (2) Cargill, Journal, 18 Feb 1834.
- (3) Tucker to Secretaries, 10 Jan 1834, quoted in Missionary Notices, Vol VIII, 1832-1834, pp. 591-592.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 7 March 1830.

Aleamotu'a at Tongatapu was equally insistent that the 'aho tapu be respected. Henry Ransome, a whaler, found that the chief required that food for the Sabbath be prepared on Saturday, for on the Sunday 'not even fruit is then allowed to be gathered'.<sup>1</sup>

Some writers have tended to explain Tongan acceptance of the Christian Sabbath in terms of their 'natural indolence'. One author noted that the Sunday laws were strictly enforced but added: 'As idleness is a privileged condition among savages and barbarians, such laws met with much favour'.<sup>2</sup>

This kind of explanation does not, however, do justice to the Tongans. The idea of an 'aho tapu was basic to traditional religion. During the 'inasi ceremony it was the task of one of the priests to ensure that work ceased and that the tapu was respected.<sup>3</sup> Breaking this tapu was regarded as a serious offence and could lead to death.<sup>4</sup> George Miller, as late as 1847 at Mu'a, discovered that this tapu for the 'inasi was strictly enforced among the heathen population of the village. All noise was taboo and Miller agreed not to strike the lali for school or worship.<sup>5</sup> Observing the reverence shown during the tapu days of the 'inasi Miller noted in his journal: 'O that the day of the Lord was held so sacred by them as this day has been'.<sup>6</sup>

Much earlier, when Thomas had sent a message to Ata the chief of Hihifo asking that the people be quiet during the Sabbath, the chief sent a message that it was not one of his tapu days so he would continue to work.<sup>7</sup> From the evidence, therefore, it is probably more accurate to argue that because the 'aho tapu was a basic

- (1) Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship Elizabeth, 23 Oct 1832. See also Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.130.
- (2) Featherstone, A, Social History of the Races of Mankind, London, 1888, p.131.
- (3) See chapter I, p.24.
- (4) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol II, p.169; Thomas, Mythology, p.264f.
- (5) Miller, Journal, 8 Oct 1847.
- (6) ibid.
- (7) Thomas, Journal, 24 Feb 1827. See also 12 March 1827.

concept in traditional society, and because it found a parallel in the teachings of the new morality, it was readily accepted and respected by those Tongans who had begun to lotu.

The other aspect of the doctrine, urging people to work six days of the week, met with little success. The missionaries' chief aim in this respect was to encourage the Tongans to become agricultural labourers in the English sense of the term - going out daily into the fields to till the soil.<sup>1</sup> The work ethic, apart from being part of the Wesleyan morality, was essential, the missionaries felt, to ensure that famines could be averted.<sup>2</sup>

The Tongan response to this teaching was to continue very much as they had done for centuries. When work had to be done - whether it be planting crops, building canoes, weaving mats, or constructing houses - then it was done.<sup>3</sup> When churches had to be built, for example, the work was done with speed and enthusiasm.<sup>4</sup> But the people did not respond to regular work for six days. Even when Tāufa'āhau took up the cause, as he did after a partial famine in 1833, there was little noticeable change. On that occasion the king had urged the idle and those who did little work to 'dig the soil and plant' and concluded in a Pauline turn of phrase: 'My mind is that those who will not work should not eat', a point of view that later found its way into the Code of 1850. Although somewhat pessimistic,

- (1) Instruction to Wesleyan Missionaries, Code of Vava'u, 1839, Clauses 3 and 5; 1850 Code of Laws, Clause xxxvi; Turner, Journal, 30 April 1833; Thomas, Journal, 14 Aug 1835.
- (2) Watkin, Papers, Draft article, 30 Sept 1833; Turner, Journal, 30 April 1833; Rabone, Journal, 30 June 1838.
- (3) Miller, Journal, 19 June 1849.
- (4) Wilson, Journal, 13 July 1843, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, pp.628-629; Rabone, Journal, 7 Aug 1836.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 30 April 1833; 1850 Code of Laws, Clause xxxvi, in Young, Southern World, p.453.

Whewell's comments to the Mission Secretary in Sydney in 1856 perhaps sum up what had been achieved in this regard after nearly 30 years

Nature has bestowed upon them lavishly the means of subsistence. They need not therefore toil much. Their disposition tallies with the peculiarity of their circumstances - they are indolent. One consequence of this disposition indulged is they are miserably poor. Another their missionaries are miserably tired.<sup>1</sup>

VIOLENCE AND CRUELTY to the person was another area towards which the missionaries directed their teaching. In traditional society punishments such as binding, beating and killing were common enough.<sup>2</sup> Enslavement was also practised, particularly during wartime. In some cases these acts were carried out in order to please the gods and so avert some unpleasant circumstance. Sacrifices of the finger, and on rare occasions of the person, fall into this category. The bloody funeral rituals, in which the dead persons relatives were the main participants, were characterised by cruelty and violence, much of it self inflicted.<sup>3</sup>

On many of these issues the schools teaching was rather indirect and general. People were urged to love one another, to do good to all people, and to live in harmony and friendship.<sup>4</sup> Forgiveness was also stressed and the 'Golden Rule' was presented in school books and preached from the pulpit.<sup>5</sup> On some matters, however, the teaching was quite explicit. Murder was condemned, fighting and quarrelling were singled out for disapprobation, and cutting and bruising of the body

- (1) Whewell to Eggleston, 2 June 1856, MOM 170, M.L.
- (2) See chapter I, p.10.
- (3) See chapter I, p.23.
- (4) Ko e Motua Lea, p.3; Ko e Tohi Ako, pp. 3-4.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 9 March 1842. Ko e Kosibeli nae tohi e Matiu, Feletoa, Vava'u, 1836, 16:7-12.

at funerals was discouraged.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the customs of finger sacrifice and enslavement were shown as contrary to Christian teaching.<sup>2</sup>

An obvious example of acceptance of the new teaching concerned funeral customs. As early as 1829 some chiefs who had embraced the lotu ordered that they be given a Christian burial. One chief requested from his death bed that 'no Tongan customs be observed', pointing out that he was 'peaceful and happy' because of 'the love of Jesus Xt to me'.<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel Turner was pleased with the response to this request and noted at the time: 'Not a single extravagant expression of grief was manifested though he was a Chief of considerable rank, and much respected'.<sup>4</sup> At other chiefly funerals there was a similar absence of cruelty and violence.<sup>5</sup>

On some occasions, when chiefs were unsure of what the new teaching required they sought missionary advice. When a relative of Tāufa'āhau died in 1830 the chief came to see Thomas to seek the lotu teaching on acceptable mourning customs. Two points in particular concerned him: the wearing of funeral mats and the cutting of mourners hair. Thomas' advice was that wearing mats was acceptable but that cutting hair was not.<sup>6</sup> The more violent acts, such as cutting and bruising the body, finger sacrifice and sacrificial killing, were apparently seen as unacceptable by Christian Tongans themselves. Among the heathen population, however, these things did persist and the last human sacrifice was offered during the fatal illness of Fatu of Mu'a in 1842.<sup>7</sup> At Christian funerals

- (1) Ko e Tohi Ako, p.7; Ko e Akonaki, pp. 2-3; First Lessons, p.13; A First Book, p.67.
- (2) Ko e Akonaki, p.3.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 20 April 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.316; ibid, 24 May 1829, p.323.
- (4) ibid.
- (5) Turner, Journal, 11 Sept 1831; 17 Sept 1831; Turner, Journal, 25 July 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.534.
- (6) Thomas, Journal, 17 April 1830.
- (7) ibid, 24 May 1842.

weeping replaced the traditional cutting and bruising.<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that the teaching was accepted widely because a number of high chiefs, including Tāufa'āhau set the example. For the relatives of the deceased the teaching was welcome because it provided liberation from considerable suffering. Father Grange's comment was that the people were overjoyed at the 'liberation' that Christianity had brought.<sup>2</sup>

Enslavement, because it was an integral part of the chiefly system, posed more difficult problems. The missionaries learned quite early that it was an important means used by chiefs to punish offenders. When Hutchinson complained that a woman had spat in his wife's face the chief offered the offender as the missionary's slave.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, when Thomas complained to the chief that a man had climbed the mission fence and stolen some melons, Ata 'commanded him to become my slave', urging Thomas to take him and 'try him like a dog'.<sup>4</sup> In such cases, however, the missionaries refused the offers and forgave the offenders.<sup>5</sup>

Some people were quick to take advantage of the changed circumstances. Thomas tells how two men, who had allowed fire to destroy a house belonging to Tāufa'āhau, sought refuge at the mission house from their irate chief.<sup>6</sup> In traditional society they would have fled to Fanakava or some other 'house of refuge' to avoid the chief's anger.<sup>7</sup> When Tāufa'āhau discussed

- (1) Turner, Journal, 25 July 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.534. Tucker, Journal, 19 Sept 1836, *ibid*, vols VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.554.
- (2) Grange to Nicoud, Tonga-Taboo, 1 July 1843 quoted in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol vi, Jan 1845.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 19 Sept 1827.
- (4) *ibid*, 16 April 1829.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 19 Sept 1827.
- (6) *ibid*, 13 Oct 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.121.
- (7) See Chapter I, p.21.

the matter with Thomas, the missionary used a selection from one of the school books which taught a lesson on forgiveness. Thomas urged Tāufa'āhau to act according to the teaching, a course of action which the chief grudgingly agreed to follow.<sup>1</sup>

slavery teachings were having an effect by the early 1830s. When Tāufa'āhau assisted Fīnau to put down a rebellion in Vava'u, the captive rebels were not killed or enslaved in the traditional manner. Fīnau would have done so, but Tāufa'āhau objected, and the missionary observer attributed the change of attitude to the effect of Christian teaching.<sup>2</sup> On other occasions, too, Tāufa'āhau showed mercy and refrained from making slaves or 'prisoners of war'.<sup>3</sup>

But although the making of 'new slaves' began to wane as chiefs accepted Wesleyan teaching, there still remained the problem of 'existing slaves'. Tāufa'āhau was eventually led to believe that he should liberate his personal slaves (those he had received from his father, and those he had gained himself), but it was not until almost thirty years later, in 1862, that all slaves were liberated by the 'Edict of Emancipation'.<sup>4</sup>

It may appear from these observations that the missionary teaching led to a much more peaceful society where cruelty and violence rarely found a place. But such was not the case. Alongside teaching that urged love and forgiveness, the school literature provided another, somewhat contradictory, model: that of death and destruction for those who rebelled against 'Jehovah and his annointed'.<sup>5</sup> Jehovah's 'law' was

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 13 Oct 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.121.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 21 Aug 1831.
- (3) Watkin, Journal, 21 March 1833; 26 March 1833.
- (4) Tucker, Journal, 21 Aug 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vols VIII and IX, 1835-1838, p.317; 1862 Code of Laws, clause xxxiv, sub-sections 1-4. Ten years before the 'Edict', Tāufa'āhau had held a meeting of chiefs and declared that 'All slaves are hereby set at liberty', but this proclamation was apparently not effective (See W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1853, p.38).
- (5) See Chapter VI, pp.241ff.



presented in such a way that while love, mercy and forgiveness were to be shown to those who were 'obedient', death and destruction awaited those who were 'disobedient'. Hence bloody wars could be fought and Christian warriors could go off to do battle 'for God and his cause'.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, although it is true that many instances of cruelty and violence disappeared in the face of Christian teaching, other forms of violence came to characterise the new order. Wrong doers, for example, were punished, first by beating them in the face with the fists and later by flogging.<sup>2</sup> Visitors such as Captain Belcher who called at Tonga in 1840 seemed to believe reports that three and a half inch rope had been used 'to inflict punishment on women', and that some offenders had died following severe punishments.<sup>3</sup> His opinion was that punishment was dealt out 'too unmercifully' and that in this respect Tonga compared unfavourably with other mission areas in the Pacific.<sup>4</sup> Captain Dillon, too, was critical of the amount and severity of flogging in the Friendly Isles.<sup>5</sup>

Although Belcher and Dillon may have been guilty of some exaggeration, flogging was, nevertheless, a common enough occurrence. One missionary's comments in 1836 provide a glimpse of floggings from 'the inside'. Stephen Rabone, in discussing the actions of a chief in Ha'apai noted that several young men who had stolen a boat were 'bound and flogged', while two men and a woman accused of fornication were 'all publically flogged'.<sup>6</sup> Rabone approved of the violence

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haafuluhao Report for 1837. See also chapter VI, pp.173-174.
- (2) Rabone, Journal, 22 Sept 1836; Turner, Journal, 28 Feb 1842.
- (3) Belcher, Edward, Narrative of a Voyage round the World performed in Her Majesty's ship Sulphur during years 1836-1842 (2 vols), London, 1843, vol ii, P.26.
- (4) *ibid*, pp.26-28.
- (5) Dillon, Letter, p.6.
- (6) Rabone, Journal, 22 Sept 1836.

and commented: 'May these chastisements be sanctified to their good & the good of all'.<sup>1</sup> Father Chevron wrote critically of this kind of treatment and referred also to the 'breaking of teeth', a punishment inflicted by Wesleyans upon heathen opponents.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a new form of punishment, inspired in all probability by a school reader.<sup>3</sup>

THERE WERE several other 'moral' questions that worried the missionaries but which did not find a place in the teachings of the school books. These included kava drinking,<sup>4</sup> dog eating, and tobacco chewing and smoking. Initial missionary disapproval of smoking and dog eating led to a decrease in these matters, but later in the 1840s there was a return to previous practices.<sup>5</sup> This can partly be explained in terms of a general reaction against the new morality, but other factors are also significant. By the 1840s there was no longer harmony among the missionary brethren on some of these issues and Thomas and Turner, the 'old guard', were being opposed by newer men who allowed much more freedom on these and other matters.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, there were by that date other missionaries, the Marist priests, some of whom had much more liberal views than the Wesleyan missionaries.<sup>7</sup>

ALTHOUGH WESLEYAN writers have hailed the Tonga mission as one of their missionary society's greatest successes, stressing the important role played by education, the school was perhaps not as influential in bringing about moral change as they have suggested.<sup>8</sup> One missionary

- (1) Rabone, Journal, 22 Sept 1836.
- (2) See chapter VI, pp.178-179.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) For a discussion of kava drinking see chapter VII, p.204.
- (5) Thomas, Journal, 12 Sept 1836; Turner, Journal, 18 Nov 1840; 18 March 1845.
- (6) Turner, Journal, 5 Oct 1843.
- (7) Grange to Nicoud, 1 July 1843, quoted in Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol VI, London 1845, p.10; Chevron to his family, 24 June 1843, *ibid*, pp.18-19.
- (8) West, Ten Years, pp.52, 278; Young, Southern World, pp. 251, 267, 276; Findlay, G.G. and Holdsworth, W.W., The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (5 vols), London, 1924, pp.259-260, 263; W.M.M.S. Annual Reports, 1830, p.40; 1834, p.34.

in the field realized that changing peoples 'manners' would be a long slow process. He was led to observe that even in England many 'foolish prejudices' such as belief in fairies, witches and ghosts 'are retained by the poor and illiterate'.<sup>1</sup> He came to appreciate the truth of his own words, for ten years later he was complaining that in matters of conduct 'We have still to repeat our lessons - seventy times before they will remember them'.<sup>2</sup> When explaining the need for repeated instruction, Turner pointed out that the people were very 'forgetful'.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this was wishful thinking. It is certain that Tongans would not have conceived of their failure to do what they were taught in terms of forgetfulness. It is more likely that they would have pointed out that they had 'learned' the things that fitted into their basic philosophy of life (for example Sabbath observance) but that they had not 'learned' those things which were contrary to that philosophy (for example individualistic attitudes to property).

The missionaries themselves came to realize that although the school could provide knowledge of the new morality, other powerful forces were needed to obtain acceptance and internalization of that morality. The power and influence of King George was one of these powerful forces. Turner's comment, when King George was ill on one occasion, sums up their dependence upon him: 'I fear should he be removed from us, that many will throw off all restraint'.<sup>4</sup> They depended too on the sanctions of the civil and religious courts to

- (1) Turner, Journal, 16 April 1832.
- (2) *ibid.*, 5 Oct 1843. Whewell to Eggleston, 2 June 1857, ML MOM 170.
- (3) Turner, Journal, 5 Oct 1843.
- (4) *ibid.*, 2 March 1845.

produce at least an outward compliance with the 'law'.<sup>1</sup> And some missionaries, revivalists such as Peter Turner, depended upon the 'cleansing' influence of religious revival to internalize, at least temporarily, the precepts of the new morality. As Turner noted with pleasure after a successful revival in 1846:

We hear no foul language now, or low horselaugh -- all is quiet. One of the judges came up saying they had nothing to do, there was but one during the last month - and that was not a great crime.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Turner, Journal, 9 July 1833; 31 July 1833; 3 Oct 1839; 27 Aug 1840; 23 Sept 1840. Local Preachers Minute Book 8 Jan 1851; 6 Aug 1851; 6 July 1866.
- (2) Turner, Journal, 3 March 1846.

CHAPTER IX

BROADENING HORIZONS

THE PRIMARY AIM of the Wesleyan school system, expressed by William Cross in 1828, was to establish basic literacy by teaching 'both children and adults to read their own language'.<sup>1</sup> The Christian religion was to be the vehicle for achieving literacy, and if missionaries needed reminding of this fact they had only to read their instructions: 'You are teachers of religion: and that alone should be kept in view'.<sup>2</sup>

Despite this categorical instruction, the church fathers expected that literacy would lead to much more than a knowledge of Christianity. The missionaries were to 'civilize' as well as 'convert'<sup>3</sup> and so 'civilized' concepts such as numeracy and the accurate calculation and recording of time found a place in the curriculum. Moreover, geographical knowledge and concepts helped the people to navigate the ocean more accurately and safely, understand the size and nature of the world of which they were a part, and appreciate the variety of life and culture that it contained. Literacy was to broaden the horizons and assist in the process of civilization.

When Hutchinson and Thomas commenced work in Tonga in 1826 they had available to them an elementary grammar and vocabulary of the Tongan language.<sup>4</sup> The work of Dr Martin and William Mariner, it contained an

- (1) Cross, Journal, 17 March 1828, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.130.
- (2) Warren, Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism, vol I, p.201.
- (3) Instructions of the Committee.
- (4) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol II, i-xciii.

analysis of the language and a 2,000 word vocabulary. Although the missionaries subsequently modified Martin's orthography and complained of the many errors in the text, they still depended on it in their initial attempts to translate Christian principles into the Tongan language.<sup>1</sup>

Although Dr Martin felt that a purely spoken language could not be 'richly endowed with variety of words, choice of expression, or clear and adequate definitions',<sup>2</sup> the missionaries found it extensive enough to express their teachings. John Williams of the L.M.S. was impressed with the 'great variety of phraseology' and the numerous 'turns of peculiar nicety' in the Polynesian languages,<sup>3</sup> a view shared by David Cargill who had done extensive translation work in both Fiji and Tonga.<sup>4</sup> A modern view of the language is that, because of the wide range of prefixes and suffixes, 'the actual and potential Tongan vocabulary has no conceivable limit'.<sup>5</sup>

Initially the missionaries attempted to teach through the medium of a second language. Thomas at Hihifo taught in English and Hape and Tafeta at Nuku'alofa used Tahitian.<sup>6</sup> These early attempts, however, were soon given up in favour of the vernacular as Nathaniel Turner began expressing in simple language the basic Wesleyan teachings.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Thomas, Journal, 29 June 1825; 13 July 1825; Beveridge to Committee, Nov 1824, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Turner, Journal, 12 Dec 1827, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (2) Martin, Tonga Islands, vol ii, iii.
- (3) Williams, Missionary Enterprises, 1841, p.452.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1840, p.132.
- (5) Churchward, C.M, Tongan Dictionary, London, 1959, p.vii.
- (6) Turner to Committee, 4 Nov 1827, M.W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Vi, Narrative.
- (7) Turner to Committee, quoting Journal, 11 Nov 1827; 24 Nov 1827; 25 Nov 1827; 2 Dec 1827, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

Three small school books (First Lessons, Koe Motua Lea and Koe Tohi Ako) summarized the missionaries religious teaching, although numerous other books filled out details and provided examples from both the Old and New Testaments. The Lord God was described as the tu'i or king of all mankind and was given the proper name Jehovah. Although His special residence was heaven, Jehovah was everywhere, knowing and seeing all things.<sup>1</sup>

Jehovah was depicted as the creator of all things, including the first people, Adam and Eve. In the beginning these first people were wise, holy and at peace but because they refused to obey the simple commands of Jehovah, the beauty of Paradise was destroyed. Adam and Eve's disobedience was called sin which brought with it death. Through the first parents sin and death have been transmitted to all the 'children of Adam', - to all mankind.<sup>2</sup>

But Jehovah was a loving and merciful God and he planned to rescue man from sin and death. He sent his son Jesus (born of Mary and the Holy Spirit) to the world to save mankind. Jesus loved all men, and finally sacrificed himself for them, pouring out his blood and paying the price for the 'sin of mankind'. After his death he rose again and went to dwell in Heaven with Jehovah his Father.<sup>3</sup>

To be saved a person had to feel sorry for his sins, believe in Jesus and call upon him for mercy. Jesus would then give a person a 'new heart' and that person would in a spiritual sense be 'born again'. The process of being born again was prompted by the

- (1) Koe Motua Lea, p.3; First Lessons pp.13-14; 15, 18; Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4, p.1; Koe Tohi Ako, lesson VIII, p.3.
- (2) Koe Motua Lea, p.4; First Lessons, pp.16-18; Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4, p.2.
- (3) Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4, p.9; Koe Motua Lea, p.4.

Holy Spirit who alone made it possible for a person to repent and believe. The Holy Spirit also gave a person the certainty that he had been 'saved' and was now a 'child of God'.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus, like Jehovah, was called the Eiki lahi (great Lord) of heaven and earth. His work in dying for mankind destroyed the power of man's great enemy the Devil. Furthermore, Jesus would come again to the earth to judge mankind, rewarding or punishing people according to their deeds. Evil doers and those who had not repented would be sent to hell, 'the everlasting fire'. On the other hand, those who were holy and repentant would go to heaven 'the place of light and all the good things of God'.<sup>2</sup>

A person could learn about Jehovah and his creation and about man and his salvation by reading the 'word of God'. This tohi tapu (sacred book) contained 'the word of God' and the 'will of God' and it brought light and wisdom to dark and ignorant souls and minds.<sup>3</sup>

In attempting to teach these Christian notions the missionaries utilized the vocabulary and concepts of traditional life and religion. Thus the existing concepts of otua (god), laumalie (spirit), fakamou (deliverance or rescue), ofa (love), hia (sin) and fakamau (judgement) &c were used in outlining basic Wesleyan doctrine.<sup>4</sup>

It was necessary, however, to modify or expand some of these Tongan concepts. Thus God was called 'the one true God', the 'great Lord', and 'the truly great Spirit'.<sup>5</sup>

- (1) Koe Fehui moe Tala, No 4, p.3; Koe Tohi Ako, lessons V and VI, pp.2-3.
- (2) Koe Motua Lea, pp.3-4; Koe Fehui moe Tala, No 4, pp.3-4.
- (3) Koe Tohi Ako, p.4; Koe Motua Lea, p.3; Koe Fehui moe Tala No 4, p.6.
- (4) In the earliest translations the only new words are Tonganized forms of proper names such as Jehovah, Heaven, Hell, Jesus &c. See First Lessons pp.13ff. Existing vernacular terms were used for God (otua), Spirit (laumalie), love (ofa), and judgement (fakamau). See First Lessons pp.13, 15, 19.
- (5) First Lessons, pp.14, 16; Koe Motua Lea, pp.3-4; Koe Tohi Ako, Lesson 1, p.1.



Expressions such as 'the word of God' and the 'will of God' were probably part of indigenous religion but phrases such as 'the people of God' and the 'children of God' were possibly innovations. For these concepts no new words were necessary.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the expression tohi tapu was a new concept explained by the compounding of two existing words - tohi (to make marks or draw) and tapu (the sacred thing). Frequently, however, the expression buka tapu (sacred book) was used as a synonym.<sup>2</sup>

It was only the names of people and places, as a rule, that introduced completely new words into the language. Heaven and hell, for example, were simply Tonganized and became hevani and heli. Personal names were treated in the same way. They formed a particularly large class of words including such names as Ebalehame, Aisake, Abisolome, Josifa a Alimatea, Kigi Akaliba, Maata, Mele, Pita, &c.<sup>3</sup>

In translating Wesleyan theological concepts the missionaries employed the chiefly language with the special structures and vocabulary used by Tongans when addressing chiefs. In all probability this resulted from translation practices whereby young chiefs assisted the missionaries in preparing their lesson material. Thomas explained that he read over his lessons 'line by line' with a native assistant who gave the 'correct expressions' for what was being taught.<sup>4</sup> Presumably these 'correct expressions' included the chiefly forms of address because folofola (chiefly word for 'word') was used for the 'word of God' rather than lea, the common expression. Similarly,

- (1) Koe Tohi Ako, lesson VI, p.3; Koe Fehui moe Tala, No 4, p.12.
- (2) Koe Motua Lea, p.3; Koe Tohi Ako, p.4.
- (3) Koe Fehui moe Tala, No 4, pp.6-8. The English equivalents of these names are Abraham, Isaac, Absolam, Joseph of Arimathaea, King Agrippa, Martha, Mary and Peter.
- (4) Thomas, Journal, 22 Sept 1828, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.132.

ta'ata'a (the word used for a chief's blood was used to describe the 'blood of Christ' rather than the ordinary word toto, the blood of a commoner).<sup>1</sup>

In the late 1840s, however, some missionaries were having misgivings about the use of chiefly language when speaking of Jehovah and Jesus Christ and when the New Testament was reprinted, common rather than chiefly language was used in many cases. However, when a complete revision of the New Testament was being prepared in 1849 the missionaries were forced to revert to the chiefly language because the Tongans would use no other. Thomas Adams, in charge of the revision project, explained to his superiors in London that the respectful language 'used by the people generally when addressing their principal Chiefs, and formerly used in the service of their gods' was reintroduced into the New Testament 'because the Natives constantly used [it]'.<sup>2</sup>

Tongan comprehension of the teachings of religious concepts varied. The notion of a Christian or Biblical name, for instance, was accepted enthusiastically from the outset. People received Christian names at baptism, and candidates were careful to choose names with appropriate status and attributes. Aleamotu'a, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, was named Josiah after the Israelite king of that name, while his wife chose Mary 'because it was the name of our Lord's mother, and also of her who sat at the Lord's feet to hear his word, and whom she appears to be ardently desirous of imitating'.<sup>3</sup> A leading priest and his wife and son chose the names of their biblical counterparts: Zechariah, Elizabeth, and John.<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Koe Motua Lea, p.4; Koe Tohi Ako, pp.1-2.
- (2) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1851, p.126.
- (3) Cross to Committee, 9 April 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.317; Turner, Journal, 7 June 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, pp.324-325.
- (4) Bays, Wreck of the Minerva, p.110.

Selecting a name was a matter of serious consideration and one missionary pointed out that it was 'remarkable how particular they are in enquiring into the character of the person we propose to them for the choice of names'. If they discovered that a biblical character had sinned or was 'immoral' then 'they will not be called after them'.<sup>1</sup>

The school books provided models for those 'enquiring into the character' of biblical personages. One section of a catechism, for example, provided notes on the more than 50 biblical characters.<sup>2</sup> John Williams, who called at Nuku'alofa in 1830 did not approve of the missionaries encouraging people to take biblical names because he thought that the native names had a dignity in themselves and that the blending of the traditional and the biblical (as for example in Mary Tupou) produced an 'incongruous combination of terms'.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the Tongans seemed to take pride in their new appellations and in Tonganized form the biblical names combined readily with the traditional ones.<sup>4</sup>

Christian names however did create some difficulties and misunderstandings and were, perhaps, surrounded by a certain amount of superstition. One man was most concerned that while absent from his island he had not been recorded in the Class register. He feared that his name had been 'blotted out of the Book of Life'.<sup>5</sup> Another man, an 'old warrior', was seen 'running with all speed in order to get in time to join the class', and when questioned by the missionary expressed the fear that his name would not be recorded in the Class papers.<sup>6</sup> Others were faced with different

- (1) Turner, Journal, 7 June 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vi, 1829-1831, p.324.
- (2) Fehui moe Tala, No 4, pp.6-7.
- (3) Williams, Missionary Enterprises, pp.261-262.
- (4) Names such as Joel, Mary, Moses, &c were Tonganized as Joeli, Mele, Mosese.
- (5) Watkin, Journal, 19 March 1832.
- (6) ibid, 23 June 1834.

problems. Apparently the new names were difficult to remember because of their unfamiliar sound. One candidate for baptism could not remember his name and after unsuccessful prompting from the missionary, was sent home without receiving the sacrament.<sup>1</sup> Another man who had brought his son for baptism was unable to provide the necessary details for the baptismal register because he could not remember his wife's name. In desperation he turned to the people present and asked 'What's her name?' But as no one knew the wife's name, the husband had to 'return home and enquire'.<sup>2</sup>

Other religious concepts appear to have been accepted with little difficulty. The creation and salvation theology of the missionaries was comprehensible because in its basic concepts it differed little from Tongan beliefs. The idea of God separating the waters and raising up the dry land resembled the Tongan creation story in which Maui pulled up land out of the sea.<sup>3</sup> The creation of man, or more specifically of woman, in which one person was created from part of another had its Tongan counterpart in which one creature was cut in pieces to form the first people Kohai and Koau.<sup>4</sup> The birth of Jesus was similar to the birth of the first divine Tu'i Tonga who was the progeny of a Tongan woman and the God Eitumatapua.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the death of this divine son at the hands of his brothers, followed by his rising from the dead after nine days, paralleled the biblical story of the resurrection of Jesus.<sup>6</sup> The idea of a 'saviour' or 'deliverer' (fakamo'ui) was also understood because the Tamaha could assume that role if she wished and save a condemned person from ritual death.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Lyth, *Tongan and Feejeean Reminiscences*, vol 1, pp.9-10.
- (2) *ibid.*
- (3) Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, p.26ff.
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) *ibid.*
- (7) See chapter I, p. 23

Even the difficult concept of the Trinity had its counterpart in Tongan mythology in that Maui, Tangaloa, and Hikule'o were great gods over and above the local deities.<sup>1</sup> At least some Tongans in the early 19th century identified Jehovah with Tangaloa,<sup>2</sup> and James Watkin seems to have encouraged his people to see Jehovah as the new Maui. During an earthquake Watkin noticed that the people did not beat the ground with sticks in the traditional manner and noted: 'Most of them now know better; and many of them put their trust in him "who holds the world and all things up"'.<sup>3</sup>

There were several aspects of Wesleyan theology, however, that presented difficulties and created fears in the Tongan mind. Foremost among these was the teaching about hell. In traditional life neither tu'a nor 'eiki had anything to fear from death.<sup>4</sup> The Christian's hell, however, gave both 'eiki and tu'a cause for alarm. The school books gave terrifying descriptions of the 'everlasting fire',<sup>5</sup> and at least some scholars had nightmares about the horrible 'pit'. One man dreamt that the 'God of judgement' commanded

an angel to come and seize him and cast him into the lake of fire which he saw the ascending smoke and awful waves of liquid fire, he heard the wailing of the damned and saw his own mother who had committed suicide many years [ago] by strangling her tongue hanging out of her mouth as when found after death she beckoned to him to come who horrified him exceedingly, as the individual who was commanded to cast him into hell approached him his horror increased but before the messenger of evil seized him the Mediator interposed and a longer respite was granted him.

- (1) Young, Southern World, p.255; This view was put by Dr. S.A. Havea during a course of lectures at the University of the South Pacific - Tonga Centre, in 1973.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 3 June 1830.
- (3) Watkin, Journal, 30 April 1832, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vii, 1832-1834, p.417. See above p.17.
- (4) See Chapter I, pp.16-17.
- (5) Koe Tohi Ako, lesson VII, p.3.

Those who saw the man suffering this terrible dream said that his hair 'stood on end, the sweat rolled down his face, and he trembled horribly'.<sup>1</sup>

What seemed to worry the people most was that, according to the missionaries, even lotu people could be cast into hell. A chief, whose brother had been killed in a fight in Ha'apai, asked Thomas whether or not his brother had gone to 'the fire'.<sup>2</sup> Although Thomas 'settled' the question by claiming that he did not know, the incident highlights a fear about hell that troubled Tongan minds for many years.

It was a worry to chiefs and people in Ha'apai after many of them had become lotu. People were 'astonished' by the doctrine and Taufa'ahau asked the missionary for an explanation,<sup>3</sup> even though Thomas had been teaching that anyone, whether lotu or not, would be 'cast body and soul into hell' if they were 'living in gross sin, as adultery, fornication, lying &c'.<sup>4</sup> Once this doctrine was accepted, hell and its dangers became an integral part of the theology of Tongan teachers.<sup>5</sup>

Another concept which caused difficulties was the teaching that claimed the Christian God ('Otua) was the only God.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that the destruction of god representatives, god houses, and the traditional priesthood did not destroy the 'otua themselves.<sup>7</sup> The missionary journals hint that this was the case. In Ha'apai in the 1830s, when the people were all supposedly Christian, respect was paid to Maui during an earth tremor, although the missionary explained that the people were much more

- (1) Watkin, Journal, 26 July 1834.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 26 Oct 1826.
- (3) *ibid*, 2 May 1830.
- (4) *ibid*, 28 Feb 1830.
- (5) Young, Southern World, pp.246-247.
- (6) See above p. 249
- (7) For details of destruction of material aspects of traditional religion see chapter IV, pp.

restrained than they would have been in heathen times.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, when there was an eclipse of the moon, the people apparently paid respect to the gods.<sup>2</sup> Some time earlier a lotu person who was seriously ill was 'carried to the Tonga spirits' because, it was claimed, they had cured him on former occasions.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1840s and 1850s the young people were causing the missionaries concern by their desire to revert to traditional culture. The missionary reports lack specific detail but it is not unlikely that worship of the traditional gods was among the 'heathenish customs and practices' that the young people were reviving.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that in Tongatapu, where there was a large heathen population, some people openly rejected the lotu and joined their heathen friends 'in all the polluting and senseless fooleries of idolatry'.<sup>5</sup> Even as late as 1848 the missionaries were complaining that in Tongatapu lotu people were 'easily enduced' to join with heathens on 'various occasions'.<sup>6</sup>

The missionaries had attempted to denigrate the 'Tongan spirits' by identifying them with evil, and over the years the term 'otua became synonymous with the devil or devils. Initially the 'otua were called spirits, lying spirits or false spirits. Later they became 'demons' and the priests were said to be 'priests of Satan' and god houses were called 'devil houses'.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Watkin, Journal, 30 April 1832, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, p.417, 1832-1834.
- (2) Watkin, Journal, 6 Jan 1833.
- (3) Thomas, Journal, 8 Jan 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.309.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai Circuit Report, 1843-1844.
- (5) *ibid*, Tonga Circuit Report, 1842.
- (6) *ibid*, Tonga Circuit Report, 1848.
- (7) First Lessons, p.16; Thomas, Journal, 20 Nov 1828; Wilson, Journal, 13 July 1843, quoted in Missionary Notices, Vol II, 1842-1844, New Series, p.628-629.

By the 1840s the 'otua had become tevolo (devils), a term that is still in use today.<sup>1</sup>

To what extent the 'otua or tevolo were 'worshipped', and are still respected, is a matter of conjecture. In the early years of the 20th century Father Berger and Father Mace found active belief in and reverence for Seketua, an ancient sea god.<sup>2</sup>

Father Mace was with a group of people in a boat when Seketua (a great fish) appeared. Some sticks of kava were immediately thrown to the god while others were prepared for drinking. The beverage was distributed to all on board, but only after the first cup had been poured into the sea for Seketua. Father Mace was amazed at the 'fervour and commitment' with which the people prayed to the god.<sup>3</sup>

In Tonga today one can witness respect for ancient 'otua. When a tornado (known as 'otuakui - literally blind god - and called 'ahiohio) approaches, people beat on tins and walls and make as much din as possible in the belief that the blind god can be driven away by noise.<sup>4</sup> There are other present day customs, especially those associated with funerals, which have their roots in antiquity and which demonstrate, if not a residual belief in the 'otua, then a respect for ancient traditions originally associated with those gods.<sup>5</sup> The Christian teaching 'Oua naa ke tauhi ha Otua, mo au' (do not have any other gods except me)<sup>6</sup> was probably never accepted in the strictly monotheistic terms taught by the missionaries.

- (1) Wilson, Journal, 24 Feb 1842, quoted in Missionary Notices, Vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, p.342. Wilson speaks of 'devil houses' and 'devil gods'.
- (2) Gifford, Tongan Society, p.312-313.
- (3) ibid, p.313.
- (4) In 1969 and 1971 I personally witnessed this reaction when a tornado was approaching the school where I was teaching.
- (5) The tapa cloth wall erected around a grave as the body is being interred is one example.
- (6) Koe Tohi Ako, p.7.



The theological concept that the missionaries felt was least understood was the teaching about the 'new birth' and the 'witness of the spirit'.<sup>1</sup> Many converts had followed their chiefs, or been coerced by them, into the new faith. They had become Christians, as one missionary put it, 'because the King and chiefs do'.<sup>2</sup> They had obeyed their chiefs and did not understand what more was necessary. Turner was perplexed by the problem and commented

I have smiled at some of our leaders who have seemed somewhat surprized when we have exhorted them to seek sinners: they have replied nearly all the people have become religious<sup>3</sup>

Even after years of instruction many people still did not comprehend the spiritual implications of the 'new birth' theology. They could recite the catechisms and other lessons by heart and could repeat chapter after chapter from the scriptures but they could not, the missionaries reported, 'speak with confidence of the pardon of their sins'.<sup>4</sup> A few leaders such as Benjamin Latuselu and Joel Bulu professed to understand what was meant by 'experiential religion'. 'My heart', Latuselu told the missionaries on one occasion, 'is hot with the love of God and .. I am assured of the pardoning love of God to my soul'.<sup>5</sup> But he was an isolated individual, at least until the religious revivals broke out.

The missionaries depended upon religious revivals to give meaning to much of their spiritual teaching. Thomas expected 'a deeper work' among the people and informed his superiors

We long to see a Pentecost at the Friendly Islands that the hearts (as well as the heads) of the people may be turned to God.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) For details of this doctrine see above p.41
- (2) Turner, Journal, 11 July, 1831.
- (3) *ibid*, 28 May 1832
- (4) *ibid*, 22 April 1833.
- (5) *ibid*, 10 Sept 1833.
- (6) Thomas to Committee, Jan 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.

Thomas saw several 'Pentecosts' during his thirty years in Tonga, and it was on such occasions that large numbers of people claimed to comprehend the spiritual concepts that were taught in school texts and catechisms.<sup>1</sup> Without the enthusiasm generated by these emotional religious movements much of the theological teaching would have seemed abstruse.

IN THE FIELD of numeracy the missionaries found that they had a sound foundation upon which to build.<sup>2</sup> Their first ventures in this area, therefore, saw them simply listing the vernacular names for the numbers from 1 to 100,000. These vernacular names were linked with their appropriate indo-arabic symbols and the Roman numerals were also provided from 1 to 1,000.<sup>3</sup> Once the symbols had been learned, arithmetical tables were taught. For many years little more than repeating numbers and chanting the tables was taught in school.<sup>4</sup> By the 1850s, however, an arithmetic text book was prepared and at an examination in Ha'apai in the late 1850s 'questions in the Arithmetic .... up to the division of money, were done by many of them, without any explanation or hesitation'.<sup>5</sup> Some time later, when the traveller Julius Brenchley attended a school examination in Nuku'alofa, pupils were working arithmetical problems 'as far as the rule of three'. One of the questions put during the examination, which was easily answered by most students, was 'If a piece of Tapa measures so much, how many will it require to reach from Tongatapu to London, the distance being, say fifteen thousand miles'.<sup>6</sup>

- (1) Turner, Journal, 29 July 1834; 6 Aug 1834; 18 Aug 1834; 12 April 1846; Cargill, Journal 20 Aug 1834; Friendly Islands District Minutes, Vava'u Station reports for 1834, 1835, 1844, 1846-7.
- (2) See chapter I, pp.35-36 for details of traditional number concepts.
- (3) Koe Tohi Ako, p.5.
- (4) Turner, Journal, 26 Aug 1844, Sept 1846.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai. School Report for 1858.
- (6) Brenchley, Julius, Jottings during the Cruise of H.M.S. Curacoa among the South Seas Islands in 1865, London 1873, p.130.

In everyday classroom lessons, however, number work was usually confined to chanting the tables and counting. On examination days these exercises were very popular. Spectators enjoyed the performance and the missionaries often commented on the beautiful 'tone' of the chanting. The scholars, for their part, frequently chanted their tables and counted the numbers for hours.<sup>1</sup> At one examination day festival they even counted 'how often each letter of the alphabet occurred in a [chapter]'.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the popularity of lau fika (chanting numbers) at least some missionaries doubted whether any real advance had been made in numeracy. Writing to his brother in 1853, Thomas Adams explained that education was still in its infant stages and added: 'a few natives can manage a sum in Reduction' while 'multiplication would gain you a good degree here'.<sup>3</sup> It was not until the arrival of Dr Moulton in the 1860s that any significant advances were made in mathematical knowledge.<sup>4</sup> In the earlier period, however, the emphasis on counting and chanting probably served its purpose. On examination days it was one of the most popular items and at feasts and presentations it was enough to be able to record (as Turner did after a misinale in Vava'u in 1844) that the gifts amounted to '6,000 yams, 43 pigs, 230 fowls, 48 muscovy ducks, 3 turkeys, 120 dresses of native cloth, some fish hooks and some oil'.<sup>5</sup>

(1) Turner, Journal, 21 Jan 1846.

(2) *ibid*, 3 Sept 1846.

(3) Adams to John Adams, 17 Oct 1853.

(4) See for example W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1871, p.150, which states that students were studying 'Euclid, Trigonometry, Elements with Solutions of Triangles, Measurement of distance, with theodolite and chains, Algebra to simultaneous equations, Evolution &c, Arithmetic, Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal, Proportion, Interest, Mensuration of Surfaces and Solids.'

(5) Turner, Journal, 5 July 1844.

THE SCHOOL had a permanent effect on Tongan attitudes to time - not so much on the basic concepts as on the methods of measuring time and recording events.<sup>1</sup>

In fact the school books introduced the word taimi (time) as there was no appropriate word to describe the concept in the vernacular.<sup>2</sup> In place of the ancient words and expressions that described time in terms of changes in the environment, the missionaries substituted precise mechanically calculated segments: momeniti (second), miniti (minute), houa (hour), uike (week) and moniti (month). The vernacular terms aho (day) and ta'u (12 month seasonal cycle) were retained.<sup>3</sup> The rather limited Tongan system of referring to days was regularized and made more precise by the introduction of names for the days of the week.<sup>4</sup>

Initially the days of the week were simply called Monite, Tusite, and so on.<sup>5</sup> However, special days soon came to be called by more descriptive names. Sunday, referred to by the missionaries as the Sabbath, became known as Sabate. Saturday was 'preparation day' for both missionaries and people. Missionaries prepared for their Sunday services of worship and the people prepared their food so that no work would be done on the aho tapu. Thus Saturday became known as tokanaki (preparation). Wednesday became known as Pulelulu, from a Tahitian compound word meaning assemble and pray (pure - pray and ruru to assemble).<sup>6</sup> Mid week services were held on Wednesdays and the word was probably introduced into Tonga by Hape and Tafeta and would have been familiar to Tongans who had been to Tahiti.<sup>7</sup> The name Tosite (Thursday) also disappeared.

- (1) For traditional attitudes to time see chapter I, pp.33ff.
- (2) Koe Tohi Ako, p.5, gives a series of notes on the 'vahevahe oe Taimi' (the division of time).
- (3) Koe Tohi Ako, p.5.
- (4) ibid.
- (5) ibid.
- (6) Davies, John, A Tahitian and English Dictionary with introductory remarks on the Polynesian language ... Tahiti, 1851.
- (7) See chapter IV, p.99

It was called Tu'apulelulu- the day after the prayer day. The word for month (moniti) was also dropped in favour of mahina (moon), an expression from the traditional Tongan calendar.<sup>1</sup>

There is evidence that the European method of dividing time was readily accepted, probably because of its advantages. While in terms of 'months' and 'seasons' of the year it differed little from the traditional calendar, it did allow for an easier and more reliable calculation of recurring events. The Wesleyan system of church government with its weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual meetings provided an incentive for people to be aware of the time of the week, month and year.<sup>2</sup>

The new time concepts created a need for almanacs and from the 1830s they were in great demand, especially from chiefs.<sup>3</sup> At first they were hand written, but by the 1840s the demand was such that 'a small Native Almanack on a half sheet of foolscap' was put through the press.<sup>4</sup> Martin Dyson claims that by the 1860s the European calendar was so widely used that agreement could not be reached when people discussed the former division of the year into 'moons'.<sup>5</sup>

The skill of writing, coupled with the European method of counting the years, allowed for a sophistication in recording and recalling events that was not possible in the traditional order. Tongans who began committing a record of events to paper used precise dates rather than the former practice (in oral history) of referring to an event as having taken place 'during the rule of

- (1) At what stage moniti was replaced by mahina is not clear. In 1832 moniti was still being used but by 1853 it had been replaced by mahina. See for example Young, Southern World, p.236.
- (2) Some of the regular meetings of the church were Sunday and mid week services of worship, weekly Class and Band meetings, Quarterly meetings of the Society and of Local Preachers, and Annual District meetings. See chapter I for details of Wesleyan organization.
- (3) Watkin, Journal, 15 April 1833; Thomas, Journal, 18 Oct 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VII, 1832-1834, p.121.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1845, p.46.
- (5) Dyson, Life of a Meltham Methodist, p.83.

such and such a Chief'.<sup>1</sup> Jotame Havea's brief autobiography, written in 1868, displays an interesting combination of the new and the old. In the early part of his story he adopted a Tongan style chronology, referring to his birth 'at the time of the first rise of the lotu in Vavau'.<sup>2</sup> Later in the narrative, however, he dated events precisely. The 8th July 1854, for example, is cited as the day he 'received the forgiveness of ... sins'. Other important dates were similarly recorded: in December 1861 he was placed on trial as an Assistant Missionary and on 1 December 1865 he was admitted fully into the office.<sup>3</sup>

Jotame Havea was, however, an exception. His personal history is one of a very small number that were produced during those years.<sup>4</sup> But there were other attempts to record history. One example was the Tamaha's decision to commit to writing some of the ancient traditions of Tonga. John Thomas, whose copious writings on Tongan history and culture were commenced in the 1850s, drew extensively upon this material. In acknowledging his debt he wrote

The Tonga Oracles have treasured up the names and doings of their kings and great ones, in succession, which have been thus preserved in memory, until the time came when, some things have been, either by the Tongans themselves, or by others, committed to writing; from which well attested traditions ... we proceed to give some account.<sup>5</sup>

An understanding of Geography was considered by the missionaries as a useful aid in broadening the peoples'.

- (1) See chapter I, p.35
- (2) Havea, Jotame, Narrative (hereinafter Havea, Narrative).
- (3) Havea, Narrative.
- (4) The only other narrative of the 1850s that appears to have survived is that of Joel Bulu. Pita Vi's narrative was of a later composition, presumably about 1875.
- (5) Thomas, Friendly Islands, p.71. See also Collocott papers, Royal and Chiefly Genealogies, which according to Collocott was based on the Tamahā's narrative 'commenced on 27 May 1844'.

horizons. Such a knowledge would not only make a study of the Bible more meaningful, but it would enlarge the students' view of the world as a whole. Geography books were first introduced in manuscript, but by the 1840s they were made available in printed form.<sup>1</sup> The geography books introduced Tongan students, not only to the various countries of the world - their size, location, population and main products - but also to the nature of the people who inhabited them.<sup>2</sup> A translation of the teachings on Egypt illustrates the approach

Where is Egypt situated?

It is situated in north east Africa. Its border in the north is the Mediterranean Sea, in the east the Red Sea, and in the south, Nubia.

What is the size and nature of the country?

Its length is 500 miles and at its widest part it is 250 miles, although at some places it is much less than that. It is a flat country with few hills. It is very fertile. The rainfall in Egypt is very low and it is very hot as well. But the river Nile floods over the plains every year, and that is why food is abundant.

What are Egypt's main products?

Grasses and trees are plentiful. The animals are the horse, ass, camel, and various other animals.

What is the character of the people?

Previously the people were famous because of their wisdom and power, but in these days they are weak, ignorant, and poor. Various peoples live in Egypt, including Arabians, Turks, and Jews. The population is 2,500,000.

- (1) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1845, p.46.  
 (2) See for example Koe Jiokalafi pp.14-15.

What are the largest cities in Egypt?

Cairo and Alexandria.

Situated near Cairo are some amazing structures called the Pyramids, built in days gone by. Some people think that they may have been built by the children of Israel, as vaults for kings. But this is not certain. Thousands of people go there to see them.<sup>1</sup>

The geography texts, which covered some 53 countries, introduced hundreds of new words into the language and presented students with a confusing array of new facts. But the geographies provided much more than the names of places, peoples and products. They introduced concepts of space, distance, and direction on a world scale. Longitude, latitude, the zones of the earth, the equator and the tropics, the hemispheres, and the cardinal points of the compass, were all discussed in catechetical form.<sup>2</sup>

Much of this information was simply of academic interest to be paraded on examination days or during school inspections. Nevertheless, students seemed to enjoy geography, especially maps, and could locate places on them with ease. When a visiting clergyman Josiah Thompson tested some trainee teachers in 1850 he was 'pleased with their knowledge of Geography'.<sup>3</sup> Captain Keppel of H.M.S. Meander, on which Thompson served as chaplain, also questioned the students who 'pointed out the places on the chart without any hesitation even naming and pointing out the small islands in the Mediterranean'. The Captain was amazed when one of the teacher trainees, when asked 'to show the track which should be taken by the Meander, for England' was

(1) Koe Jiokalafi, pp.40-41.

(2) ibid, pp.1-3.

(3) Thompson, Josiah, Journal, 21 June 1850.

(4) ibid.



able to perform the task correctly.<sup>1</sup>

There were, however, practical benefits to be derived from a study of geography. A knowledge of maps and the compass made navigation a safer undertaking and missionaries were quick to instruct Tongan sailors in this new skill. The first recorded account of the compass being used on a Tongan boat comes from Thomas' journal of November 1831 where he describes a voyage from Ha'apai to Vava'u and return. King George was at the helm and the people on board were amazed when, with the compass as their only guide, the boat arrived safely in port.<sup>2</sup> A few weeks later Thomas asked the Committee to send out 'a few dozen Pocket Compasses'. They would be 'excellent articles of barter' Thomas informed his superiors and would be 'very valuable to the natives in making their voyages'.<sup>3</sup>

It is doubtful, however, whether the compass and charts came into general use during the period to 1854. While it is true that Mrs Tucker had drawn a very accurate chart of the Ha'apai group by 1834<sup>4</sup> (showing latitude and longitude, with all the islands named, and the reefs clearly marked) Thomas West's comments suggest that in practice the teaching was only making slow progress. In a book of readings for school use, published in 1860, West noted that although many sailors were using the compass, few understood or were paying enough attention to the charts.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the century the compass and chart were apparently

- (1) Brierley, O.W., 'Brief Geographical Sketch of the Friendly Islands with an account of the Visit of H.M.S. Meander ... to Tongatabu ...' quoted in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Volume the twenty second, 1851, p.101.
- (2) Thomas, Journal, 10 Nov 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol vii, 1832-1834, p.322.
- (3) Thomas, Cross, and Woon to Committee, 29 Dec 1831, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (4) A copy of this chart which appeared professionally drawn was enclosed with Watkin to Committee, 20 Dec 1834, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence.
- (5) West, Koe Tohi Talanoa, pp.15-16, 68-69.

stock in trade, for when a missionary in the 1920s was preparing a paper on traditional Tongan navigation, he found no one could name the constellations or provide accurate sailing directions according to ancient usage. For his paper he had to depend on the diary of the chief Tuku'aho, who had recorded the information in the latter years of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup>

A WRITTEN LANGUAGE, a small collection of vernacular literature, and a comprehensive system of schools and instruction. This is what the Tongan people enjoyed by the middle of the 19th century. Thousands, it was claimed, could read and write.<sup>2</sup> Books were in great demand and had become one of the most popular items of barter.<sup>3</sup> Individual Tongans took great pride in their books, covering them, binding them together into single volumes, and carrying them wherever they went.<sup>4</sup> At school examination days it appeared that the people had a wide knowledge, answering questions on such diverse topics as the geography of Africa, the creatures of the natural order (including the beaver, porcupine, swan, and ostrich), as well as a broad range of Biblical and theological topics.<sup>5</sup>

There are indications, however, that the level of literacy was not as high as reports suggest.

- (1) Collocott, 'Tongan Astronomy and Calendar', p.3.
- (2) Papers Relative to the Wesleyan Missions, March 1855, No. CXXXIX, p.2.
- (3) Cargill, Journal, 18 Feb 1834; Brooks to Committee, June 1837, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1836; Wilson to Committee, 19 April 1842, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, p.343.
- (4) Brooks to Committee, June 1837, W.M.M.S. In Correspondence; Tucker, Journal, 11 May 1835, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VIII & IX, 1835-1838, p.315; Turner, Journal, 12 Sept 1830, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.535.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga School Report, 1851-1852. Young, Southern World, pp.229-232.

Writing, for example, received little attention. In the day to day programme of the school the missionaries placed more emphasis upon chanting, repeating, and catechizing and except on rare occasions, it was not an item on the agenda for examinations.<sup>1</sup> Attempts to provide special tuition in writing seem to have met with only limited success and it was not until after Waterhouse's visit in 1841 that a determined effort was made to teach it in a systematic way.<sup>2</sup>

One reason why writing was not given prominence in the school programme was that the class rooms were not designed to encourage it. There were no desks and pupils had to write as best they could while sitting on the floor.<sup>3</sup> Waterhouse saw this as a hindrance to proficiency so one of his requirements was that desks should be provided for the pupils. With some difficulty this recommendation was carried into effect and the physical conditions for learning to write were enhanced greatly.<sup>4</sup> Despite this improvement, however, there was still a great lack of what one missionary called 'the whole apparatus of writing': pens, paper, ink, pencils, and slates.<sup>5</sup> Where proper materials were wanting, pupils practised their writing on the ground or on banana leaves.<sup>6</sup>

But there may have been other reasons why writing was less popular than chanting and catechizing. The bulk of the school population had little need for the skill. For leaders of course it was a necessary prerequisite. The system demanded that they prepare

- (1) Turner, Journal, 11 Feb 1831, quoted in Missionary Notices, Vol VII, 1832-1834, p.20.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1835; Wilson, Journal, 16 June 1841, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol II, New Series, 1842-1844, p.345.
- (3) Lyth, Journal, 17 April 1838; Friendly Islands District Minutes, Vavau School Report, 1835.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1842, Vavau School Report 1842; Turner, Journal, 19 June, 1841.
- (5) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1842; Turner to Committee, 15 May 1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI, 1829-1831, p.314.
- (6) Watkin, Draft Article, Sept 1833, A1540, M.L.

lessons and sermons, write letters and reports, and keep a register of the spiritual state of Class members.<sup>1</sup> The ordinary villager, unless he aspired after leadership, saw little practical use for the skill.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a hint that people were opposed, for some reason, to learning to write. When Lyth attempted to get his people in Ha'apai to build desks for the school house he found that they resisted the idea and he was forced to conclude that it 'was evidently an attack on their prejudices'.<sup>3</sup> Some years later, when missionary teachers were concentrating more attention on writing they met with limited success and complained that there was 'a great indifference & want of perseverance' among the pupils.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the 'prejudice' and 'want of perseverance' arose from the fact that, unlike some other school activities, writing was an individual activity and could not be practised in groups or chanted at festivals.

There was not the same resistance, however, to the idea of reading. It was a group exercise and found a regular place in the day to day programme of the school.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless it was not a popular activity at school examinations. Even teachers found it a difficult skill to master and during the late 1830s one missionary found it necessary to pay special attention 'to the reading of the teachers' in order that they could perform the task 'more correctly'.<sup>6</sup> Among the students at large, a

- (1) Turner, Journal, 25 Dec 1839  
Watkin, Journal, 11 April 1833; 5 April 1834;  
Woon to Committee, 28 May 1833, W.M.M.S. In  
Correspondence. Cross to Committee, 9 April,  
1829, quoted in Missionary Notices, vol VI,  
1829-1831, p.317.
- (2) Young, Southern World, p.240.
- (3) Lyth, Journal, 15 April 1838.
- (4) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School  
Report, 1840-1841.
- (5) See chapter IV, pp.105-106.
- (6) Turner, Journal, 14 Oct 1839; 3 Nov 1839;  
9 Nov 1839; 25 Dec 1839.

reorganization of the schools revealed that many who were thought to be able to read could not do so.<sup>1</sup> In fact many of the young people resisted attempts to educate them and could not even read 'their first book'.<sup>2</sup> At the other end of the educational scale the pupils in the adult schools were unable to make significant progress beyond the 'bare ability to read and commit portions of scripture to memory'.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1840s an attempt to encourage people to read led to the production of a quarterly magazine, Koe Aahi Fakakainga (The Friendly Visitor).<sup>4</sup> The little 12 page journal was not popular, however, and after only a few issues it was discontinued. Robert Young felt that the 'Visitor' failed to catch the imagination of the people because it was issued 'in parts'. However, as the normal school books were often distributed in single sheets as they came off the press, Young's reasoning seems dubious. It is more likely that the unfamiliar stories and articles in Koe Aahi Fakakainga could not be read by the people because they were not learned by rote in the classroom or set as examination day exercises.

By the late 1850s more than one missionary was distressed at the low level of literacy among the people generally. Not a little of the blame, one of them thought, rested with the missionaries who had not done enough toward providing a vernacular literature. Of the preachers and Assistant Missionaries John Whewell complained

- (1) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1836; See also Turner, Journal, 28 June 1841.
- (2) Friendly Islands District Minutes, Haabai School Report, 1844.
- (3) *ibid*, Report for 1854.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1846, p.43.

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- (3) *ibid*, Report for 1854.
- (4) W.M.M.S. Annual Report, 1846, p.43.

Scores of ~~them~~ cannot read intelligently their own Bible ... What can they know. See their literature. Mr Thomas' hymns - a translation of our I & II Catechism - ...~~a~~ Geography - an unfinished Bible and the 'Morning Service'. This would be something for an English man but a Tonga Man's cast of mind and calibre of intellect and range of observation are as different as the same natural object appears viewed through different ends of a telescope.<sup>1</sup>

Yet there were some people who had attained high levels of literacy. King George was one, and his chief justice Shadrack Mumui was another. The King was able to correspond with people such as Sir George Grey in New Zealand and Charles St Julian in New South Wales as he sought ways and means of developing his country.<sup>2</sup>

Mumui's ability to discuss world events surprised Commodore Wilkes who, while he felt it was 'ridiculous to be questioned by a half naked savage upon such subjects', readily admitted that the chief 'seemed quite familiar with some of the events that have taken place during the last fifteen or twenty years'.<sup>3</sup>

Among the teachers, especially the assistant missionaries, there were those who had reached a respectable level of literacy: Pita Vi, Joeli Pulu, Timote Katoa, Jotame Havea, and Benjamin Latuselu.<sup>4</sup> But of course they had benefitted from close association with the missionaries

- (1) Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug 1856. MOM 170, M.L.
- (2) Tupou, King George to Charles St. Julian, 24 Nov 1854; St. Julian to King George Tupou, 26 June 1855; 15 Oct 1855; Grey, Sir George to King George Tupou, 22 Dec 1847; 19 June 1849; 3 April 1849; 6 June 1850.
- (3) Wilkes, United States Exploring Expedition, vol III, p.18.
- (4) Three of these teachers wrote 'Narratives' which provide some of the only indigenous accounts of the foundation and progress of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga. See Bibliography under Bulu, Havea and Vi.

and some of them had received what amounted to private tuition.<sup>1</sup> One is led to conclude, however, that apart from these men and a few others like them, the school system with its emphasis upon rote learning and catechetical instruction ensured that the majority of the people could read little more than that which they had learned by heart.

There can be no doubt that twenty five years of education stretched the minds and broadened the horizons of large numbers of people. The question is only one of degree. While on the one hand some Wesleyan publications claimed extravagantly that the history of Christendom could not 'furnish another instance in which the gospel has worked such mighty wonders in so short a time amongst such heathen tribes',<sup>2</sup> a Tongan observor was much more cautious. In a letter to Walter Lawry in 1850, Shadrack Mumui remarked

I do not expect [civilization] suddenly in the present generation, for we are the remnants of Heathen people. The utmost of the good they will obtain will be religion to save their souls. But civilization, and fashion, and different kinds of knowledge, I see even some approaching towards them at this time; but dark are the minds of many ... one man becomes wise quickly, but, the masses are slow to learn.

- (1) Pita, Vi, for example, was the language teacher and translation assistant of Nathaniel Turner. See Turner, J.G., The Pioneer Missionary: Life of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, Melbourne, 1872, p.106.
- (2) The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, vol I, No. 3, 21 Aug 1858.
- (3) Shadrack Mumui to Walter Lawry, 15 July 1850, quoted in Lawry, Walter, A Second Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands in the Year 1850, London 1851, p.108-109.



## C O N C L U S I O N

The analysis of the school curriculum has been fruitful in that it has provided new insights into a number of areas of Tongan history. As a method of approach, the concentration on the vernacular sources could well be applied to other mission areas such as Fiji, Samoa or Tahiti.

For Tonga the study of curriculum content has allowed new dimensions to be added to a number of conventional explanations. It allows the development of the rule of law to be seen in a wider perspective. A perusal of the school texts and missionary journals shows that the main provisions of the first civil law code had all been introduced as early as 1834 and had been widely taught for a number of years before the promulgation of the Code of Vava'u in 1839.

Similarly, it is possible to demonstrate that in King George's mind there was not necessarily any conflict between the new teaching on the one hand and merciless killing on the other. In fact, it appears that, true to the biblical model, he saw it as his 'Christian' duty to destroy those who had 'taken counsel together, against the Lord, and his anointed'. Furthermore, a study of the curriculum provides a broader canvas against which to view the evolution of the Tongan monarchy. It is not suggested that Tāufa'āhau was inspired to become king in accordance with the biblical model. Nor is it proposed that the missionaries were king makers. Rather it would seem that biblical teachings gave a particular character to the kingship that emerged under Tāufa'āhau. Once Tāufa'āhau had become a Christian he consciously followed the biblical model in his rise to paramountcy in the Friendly Islands.

Some of the biblical models presented in the classroom caused conflict and tension. Christian moral teachings, for example, produced a 'double standard' as Tongan students of all ages tried to hold in balance the demands of custom and the requirements of Christian law. The conflict had its origin in a list of prohibitions published in the first school book in 1828. It has never been resolved.

In other areas the tension was felt more by the missionaries than by their students. Men such as Thomas were alarmed at the way in which traditional activities were incorporated into the school programme by teachers, and at how easily certain elements of the curricula aided this process. Nevertheless, the school and its curricula became firmly wedded to traditional ways, especially the kātoanga, and the people were able to participate in as much voyaging, feasting, singing and dancing as they had enjoyed in pre-Christian times.

Viewing the influence of the curricula as a whole on political change and development, one is led to conclude that when models presented in the classroom could be either incorporated into traditional culture or accommodated without too much disruption to the traditional religious beliefs, or were clearly in the interests of the pupils, then they were adopted. On the other hand, when a model was seen to be in conflict with strongly held beliefs and practices it was resisted, or at best, a compromise was arrived at. Christian teaching was accepted, but not at the expense of many traditional ways which have been maintained to the present day.

By the 1850s Wesleyan education had influenced the lives of thousands of people of all ages and had contributed to making Tonga a literate Christian country with its own 'constitution' and system of law. Even if the level of literacy was not as high as visitors believed or missionaries hoped for, and

despite the fact that many aspects of the teaching were not adequately understood, the school and its curricula had, nevertheless, played a crucial role in political and social development.

APPENDIX IRules of the Society of the  
People Called Methodists<sup>1</sup>

I. In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did two or three more the next day) that I would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together; which, from thenceforward, they did every week, viz. on Thursday in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them (for their number increased daily) I gave those advices from time to time which I judged most needful for them; and we always concluded our meetings with prayer suitable to their several necessities.

II. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, and then in other places. Such a Society is no other than "A company of men having the form, and seeking the power of godliness: united, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation."

III. That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each Society is divided into smaller companies, called Classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every Class; one of whom is styled the Leader. It is his business,

1. To see each Person in his Class, once a week, at least, in order
  - To inquire how their souls prosper;
  - To advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require;
  - To receive what they are willing to give, towards the support of the Gospel.
2. To meet the Ministers and the Stewards of the Society once a week, in order
  - To inform the Minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprov'd;
  - To pay to the Stewards what they have received of their several Classes in the week preceding: And
  - To show their Account of what each person has contributed.

(1) Warren, Chronicles of Wesleyan Methodism, vol 1, pp. 261-265.

IV. There is one only condition previously required of those who desire admission into these Societies, viz. "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins:" But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their Desire of Salvation,

First, By doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind: especially that which is most generally practised.

Such as

The taking of the Name of God in vain:

The profaning the Day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling:

Drunkenness; buying or selling spirituous liquors; or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity:

Fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother: returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling:

The buying or selling uncustomed goods:

The giving or taking things on usury, i.e. unlawful interest.

Uncharitable or unprofitable Conversation: particularly speaking evil of Magistrates or Ministers.

Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us.

Doing what we know is not for the Glory of God; as,

The putting on of gold or costly Apparel:

The taking such Diversions as cannot be used in the Name of the Lord Jesus:

The singing those songs or reading those Books, that do not tend to the knowledge or love of God:

Softness, and needless self-indulgence:

Laying up treasure on earth:

Borrowing without a probability of paying: or taking up Goods without a probability of paying for them.

V. It is expected of all who continue in these Societies, that they should continue to evidence their Desire of Salvation;

Secondly, By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power, as they have opportunity; doing good of every possible sort, and as far as possible to all men;

To their Bodies, of the ability that God giveth, by giving Food to the Hungry, by clothing the Naked, by helping or visiting them that are Sick, or in Prison:

To their Souls, by instructing, reproofing, or exhorting all we have any intercourse with; trampling under foot that enthusiastic Doctrine of Devils, that "We are not to do good, unless our Hearts be free to it."

By doing good, especially to them that are of the Household of Faith, or groaning so to be: employing them preferably to others, buying one of another, helping each other in Business: and so much the more, because the World will love its own, and them only.

By all possible Diligence and Frugality, that the Gospel be not blamed.

By running with patience the Race that is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily: submitting to bear the Reproach of Christ; to be as the filth and off-scouring of the world; and looking that men should say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.

VI. It is expected of all who desire to continue in these Societies, that they should continue to evidence their Desire of Salvation:

Thirdly, By attending on all the Ordinances of God: such are,

The public Worship of God.

The Ministry of the Word, either read or expounded.

The Supper of the Lord.

Family and private Prayer.

Searching the Scriptures; and,

Fasting or Abstinence.

VII. These are the General Rules of our Societies; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written Word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who

habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them who watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways: we will bear with him for a season. But then, if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

J. & C. WESLEY.

May 1, 1743.

## APPENDIX II

KOE AKONAKI KI HE KAKAI LOTU-FEHUI, /The Teaching for  
Catechumens/, Tongataboo, Jan 1834. No 10.

Koe Akonaki ki he Lotu Fehui

Ko e tau moui i mamani, oku fuonounou, mo ahiahi; he oku ahiahi akitautolu, ehe Otua; ke ne ilo be te tau tokaga kiate ia, be ikai.

Nae tuku mai ehe Otua, ene folofola, ke faka boto aki ho tau loto, ke tau moui ai, mei he e tau agakovi, moe bule a ho tau fili; ko tevolo.

Bea ka fakahoko ehe Eiki, ene folofola kihe loto oe tagata, aki hono Laumalie lelei, bea a leva ae tagata, ihe ene ilo ene agakovi kihe Otua: bea toki manavahe lahi ia kihe ene Afio: bea teteteteia, o amanaki, e to hono nunua o ene agahala; bea e to ae ae ki heli; bea toki hu lahi ia, mo holi, ke moui ia mei he houhau o Jihova.

Bea koe kakai kuo behe ho nau loto, koe mea lelei e nau hoko kihe lotu-fehui, koeuhi ke fakaha ho nau loto, o fanogo kihe akonaki, ke nau monuia ai.

Bea koe kakai lotu-fehui, kuo liaki e nau agahala kotoabe kia Jihova; bea oku nau tokaga kihe ene folofola kotoabe; o nau holi ke maoni oni ho nau laumalie; koia oku nau fakataha ai ihe uike kotoabe, ke fai ae hu, mo nau fanogo kihe akonaki; bea oku nau fevakai aki akinau tolu, ihe ofa; mo nau fetokoni aki akinautolu, ihe e nau gaue ke moui ho nau laumalie.

The Teaching for Catechumens

Our life in this world is short and full of trials, since we are tested by God in order to find out whether we take notice of him or not.

God gave us his word to make our souls wise so that we are saved from our evil ways and the rule of our enemy the devil.

And if God communicated his word to the heart of man through his Holy spirit, then the spiritually blind will be awakened, the hard hearted softened, and man would feel sorry when he realized his sin in the sight of God. And he would be terrified before God and tremble, expecting that the consequences of his sins would cast him into hell; and he would then pray earnestly and desire to be saved from the wrath of Jehovah.

And it is a good thing for people whose hearts are such to become catechumens, in order to make known their hearts, and listen to the teaching, so that they may be blessed.

And the catechumens who have cast away all their sins to Jehovah and pay attention to his word and desire to make their souls holy, should meet every week to pray and listen to the teaching; and they should watch over each other in love, they should help one another in their working out of their salvation.



Bea ko ho nau tokotaha, ko ho nau takimua ia; bea ko ene gaue, ke mamata kihe ene kakai kotoabe ihe uike fulibe ke fehui kiateki nau-tolu taki taha, ke ne ilo, be oku fefe ho nau lotu, be oku nau gaue ke fakamoui ho nau laumalie, be ikai; ke valoki ae agakovi, mo ako kihe lotu fakabouli, mo fakafiemalie, kihe lotu mamahi, o tokoni aki nautolu.

Bea ko ene gaue e taha, ke hau kihe Faifekau, ihe uike kotoabe, ke fakaha kiate ia, ae mahaki, be ae niihi oku agakovi.

Bea oku ikai lelei, ke ulu i lotonoabe ae kakai kihe lotu-fehui; ka ko kinautolu be, oku holi ke nau moui mei he houhau ae Otua, moe afi o heli. Bea kabau, oku holi mooni ha taha, ke moui hono laumalie mei he houhau ae Otua, bea e fakaha ia, ehe ene aga e fai.

Bea koe mea lelei kiateki nautolu, oku fie lotu-fehui mau aibe, ke fakaha e nau holi ke moui, ihe e nau jiaki ae mea agahala kotoabe, ihe aho fulibe; ke oua naa nau takua noa ae huafa oe Otua, be maumau i ae Aho oe Eiki, ihe e nau gaue fakamama, be ihe e nau fakatau; ke oua naa nau inu ke kona, be fuhu, be ke, be kalaga noabe, be feiteitani, be kabekabe, be fuakava noabe, be tukitala; ke oua naa nau fai ae tuki fakaaugafa, be totogi kovi, kihe kakai agakovi, be fakakikihi kovi, be faa lea ihe fakatau.

And one of them is their leader; his task is to see his people every week to question them individually so that he might know how it is with their hearts, whether they are working to save their souls or not; to rebuke those of bad character and teach the ignorant and careless and comfort the sorrowful and help them.

Another of his tasks is to come to the minister each week and report those who are sick and any that are of bad character.

And it is a not good for a person to become a catechumen light-heartedly; but only those who desire to save themselves from God's wrath, and the fire of hell. And if anyone truly desires to save his soul from the wrath of God, he has to reveal it in the way he acts.

And it is a good thing for those who wish to continue as catechumens to show their desire to be saved by casting away all sinful things every day; they should not take God's name in vain, or break the Lord's day by worldly work or in their buying and selling; and they should not drink to get drunk, or fight, or quarrel or speak foolishly or be angry with each other, or swear, or take a false oath, or curse; they should not break an oath, or take revenge against sinners, or be argumentative, or use many words in buying and selling.

Ke oua naa nau fai ae tagifetuki, be ae febuhi, be ae tekefua, be numa tabu, be maumau i ae jino; ke oua naa nau fai butu fakatevolo, be tatatau, be tono fefine, be tono tagata, be feauaki, be jinifu. Bea oua naa nau mavae ae unoho kuo fakamau; bea oua naa nau fakatau ae kaiga, be foaki. Ke oua naa foaki ke fokonofo, be fai ae fakabunuga. Ke oua naa fai ae jika, be ae faiva aoga kovi, be ae fakatau kuli, be ae fakatau moa. Bea oua naa nau fonoga noabe, be folau noabe, be nofo fakabikobiko.

Ke oua naa nau fakatau ae mea kaihaa. Ke oua naa nau jiaki ae fekau lelei oe Tui mama, be fakakovi ae faifekau ae Otua, ihe e nau loi, be taeofa kiate ia; ka nau fai kihe ene akonaki. Ke oua naa nau fai kihe kakai, aia, oku ikai lelei ke fai, ehe kakai, kiateki nautolu. Ke oua naa nau fai ae mea, oku nau ilo, oku kovi kihe Otua; ke oua naa nau ai ae vala fakalaukau. Ke oua naa fai ae mee, moe ula, be ae mea fakamama; he oku kovi kotoabe ki ho tau Eiki, ko Jisu Kalasi.

They should not tangifetuki (beat the face with the fist during mourning) or febuki (burn the cheek bone, draw out the blood and paint a large patch on the cheek), shave the head, or nima tabu (the practice of placing a tapu on the hands of a person who had touched a corpse — such a person had to be fed by others until the period of tapu was over), or cut the body; they should not celebrate heathen (literally devilish) funerals, or tattoo, or commit adultery, or fornicate, or practice polygamy. They should not separate from their legal wives; and they should not sell their relatives or give them away. They should not foaki ke fokonofo (a practice whereby a chiefly wife would provide a second wife, often a younger sister, for her husband), or compel a girl to marry against her wish. They should not fai 'ae sika (a competitive game of skill using the javelin), or play evil games, or have dog fights or cock fights. And they should not go on journeys without reason, or go voyaging without reason, or dwell in laziness.

They should not sell stolen things. They should not reject the good commands of the earthly King, or speak evil of the minister of God, by telling lies or saying unkind things about him; but they should do according to his teaching. They should not do to other people what they do not want other people to do to them. They should not do what they know is evil before God; they should not wear showy dress. They should not do the traditional dances (mee and ula), or do worldly things; for they are evil in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Ke oua naa nau hiva, aki  
ae hivehiva launoa, be nofo  
fakafiemalie, be fai e nau  
motuaaga. Ke oua naa nau  
fokotuu maa nautolu, ae  
koloa i mamani, be nonoo ae  
mea, ka e ikai amanaki ke  
toe omi.

Bea ko kinautolu, oku fie  
lotu-fehui mau ai be, oku  
lelei ke fakaha e nau holi  
ke moui ho nau laumalie, ihe  
e nau fai ae mea agalelei  
kotabe. Ke nau fai mea lelei  
kihe jino oe kakai. Ke  
fafaga ae fiekai, mo fakavala  
ae telefua, mo vakai ae  
mahaki; o ofa kihe kakai  
kotoabe.

Ke fai lelei kihe laumalie oe  
kakai. Ke ako kihe kakai  
vale, mo valoki ae kakai  
agahala; mo ahiahi ke nau  
aoga kihe kakai kotoabe.  
Ka nau fai agalelei lahi  
kihe kakai oku tui mooni: ke  
nau feofoofani; he oku ofa be  
ae kakai mama, kihe kakai mama.

Oku lelei kihe kakai lotu-  
fehui, ke nau fai boto; telia  
naa ogoogo kovi ae Kosibeli a  
Jisu Kalaisi. Ke nau alu mau  
ai be ihe hala lelei o jiaki e  
nau motuaaga. Ka nau fua ho  
nau kolosi, ihe aho kotoabe;  
o faakataki ae manuki oe kakai  
agakovi ihe e nau ofa kia Jisu:  
mo nau amanaki, e fehia ae  
kakai fiateki nautolu; mo  
lohiekina akinautolu; koeuhi,  
koe huafa o Jisu Kalaisi. Bea  
ko kinautolu oku holi, ke lotu-  
fehui mau ai be, koe mea lelei  
ke fakaha e nau holi kihe moui,  
ihe e nau tokaga kihe folofola  
kotoabe ae Otua.

They should not sing worthless  
(or silly) songs, or sit about  
carelessly, or practice their  
traditional customs. They  
should not store up wealth in  
this world for themselves,  
or borrow things, without hope  
of returning them.

And it is good for those who  
wish to continue as catechumens  
to make known their desire to  
save their souls, by doing good  
always. They should do good to  
the body of the people, to feed  
the hungry, and clothe the  
naked, and visit the sick and be  
kind to all people.

To do good to the souls of the  
people, to teach the ignorant  
and rebuke the evil doers and  
try to be useful to all people.  
But they should do good  
especially to the true believers,  
those of the fellowship; for  
the worldly people will love the  
people of the world.

It is good for the catechumens  
to act wisely, else the Gospel  
of Jesus Christ is brought in  
to ill repute. They should  
always walk in the good path, and  
reject their old traditional  
ways. But they should bear  
the cross every day; and forebear  
the ridicule of the evil people  
for the sake of their love for  
Jesus; and they should expect to  
be hated by the people, and have  
lies told about them because of  
the name of Jesus Christ. And  
it is a good thing for all those  
who wish to continue as  
catechumens to show their desire  
for salvation by the attention  
they pay to every word of God.

Ke nau faa katoa kihe lotu lahi a Eiki; mo nau tokaga kihe malaga ae faifekau oe Otua. Ke nau fa'i ae Sakalameniti, oe beki a Jisu Kalaisi; moe lotu fakaha i ho nau fale, mo nau lotu ihe fufu, mo nau faalau ihe buka tabu, mo kumi lahi, ke ilo hono uhiga.

Koe akonaki eni, kihe kakai lotu-fehui; bea oku ako mai ia, ehe Otua, aki ene folofola. Ke tau tokaga, o fai ki ai; he ko ho tau botoaga ia, ihe mea te tau tui ki ai, mo ia te tau fai.

Bea oku tohi ia, e hono Laumalie, kihe loto oe kakai kotoabe, kuo a mooni.

Bea kabau oku iateki tautolu, ha toko taha, e ikai tokaga ki ai, ke fai, - ka oku ne liaki ae akonaki ni, koe mea lelei, ke fakaha ene aga kihe akonaki; bea te mau valoki ia ihe ene agakovi, mo mau kataki jii be ene aga; bea kabau e ikai fakatomala, e ikai nofo mo kimautolu: ka e tuku age ia; bea to kiate ia a hono kovi.

They should always meet together for the main service of worship to the Lord; and pay attention to the sermon of the minister of God. They should take the sacrament of the death of Jesus Christ; and have family prayers in their homes, and private prayers, and always read the sacred book, and search diligently to understand its meaning.

This is the teaching for the catechumens; and is taught by God through his word. We should take notice of it, and act according to it, since it is our wisdom in the things we believe in, and the things we do.

And it is written, by the Holy Spirit, in the hearts of all people, who are truly awakened.

And if there is one amongst us who does not take notice of it, to do it - but rejects this teaching, it is a good thing to make known his attitude to the teaching; and we should rebuke him for his evil ways, and bear with him for a time; and if he does not repent, he should not live with us: but leave him be; and his evil will fall upon himself.

APPENDIX IIIGeneral Rules and Regulations for the  
Wesleyan Schools in the Friendly Islands

1. These schools shall be under the management of a Committee, Visitors, Superintendents & Teachers.
2. The Committee to consist of the Missionaries, Visitors, & Superintendents.
3. The Committee shall meet once a month at such time & place, as the Missionary shall think proper.
4. Each school shall be opened & concluded by the Superintendents with singing & prayers.
5. A Register of the names of the scholars shall be carefully kept. The Superintendent shall call over & mark the names of the teachers daily, and every teacher shall call over & mark the names of his scholars.
6. That those scholars who have been absent from the school without leave, shall be reported by the teachers to the Visitors of the schools & to the Committee at the monthly meeting when they shall determine what is to be done.
7. That any teacher absenting himself or herself from the schools without a sufficient cause shall be reported to the monthly meeting of the Visitors & the Committee.
8. That the Superintendent shall be authorized to administer reproof & correction during the school hours.
9. That the Visitor or Visitors shall be required to attend the Schools at least once a week to examine them in all their departments & they shall be at liberty to give any instructions which they think necessary both to the Teachers & Scholars.
10. That the repeated absence of any scholar from School or his being found guilty of swearing, lying, pilfering or any kind of gross immorality if persisted in, shall exclude the offender from the benefit of the school.
11. A public & careful examination of each school shall take place at least once a year. The School belonging to the place where the Annual District Meeting is held, shall hold its Annual Examination during the District Meeting, & any Missionary shall be at liberty to examine the Scholars.

## APPENDIX IV

Hints and Memoranda to Students on Points of the Training System.

Extracts from David Stow's The Training System of Education, including Moral Training for Large Towns, and Normal Seminary for Training Teachers to Conduct the System, London, 1859.

pp. 337-340.

52. Physical exercises are the primary points to attend to in the process of training, and may be used as an end as well as a means to an end. You ought to use them in both views, but chiefly in the latter, viz., to secure the attention, and to find access to the mind in the exercise of the intellectual and moral faculties.
53. Be exceedingly careful of your children's health and physical habits in both the covered and uncovered school-rooms. A stronger sympathy exists between the intellectual, the moral, and the physical powers than is generally imagined.
54. The great secret of securing the attention of children, and thereby training their mental and moral powers, lies in a proper and continued variety of physical or bodily exercises ...
55. Let physical exercise not only precede, but accompany, every mental exercise, otherwise you cannot secure proper attention.
57. ... the younger the children are, the more physical exercises do they require to keep up their attention. If you mistake as to quantity, at all times let it be by giving too many, rather than by conducting too few.
67. Let the movements to and from the playground generally be accompanied by vocal music - some cheerful animating rhyme or other. If the sentiments expressed be of a direct moral tendency, so much the better.
75. If you desire to train your children properly, mentally as well as physically, give them plenty of fun. If you don't give it, they will take it, and that in the form of mischief. Let the natural bouyancy of youth have its full play at proper times. Direct them in, but do not deprive them of sport, and you will secure their confidence and obedience, and also acquire a knowledge of their real dispositions and character.
82. Vocal music is an essential part of the system in every department ... Nothing tends more to soften, to enliven, and to train your children, than a lively air or verse at intervals during the day, or an anthem in the middle of a lesson, suited to the subject.

## APPENDIX V

The First Principles in Christian Education

Extracts from John Todd's The Sunday School Teacher, London, 1850, chapter II.

In every science, and in every department of knowledge, there are certain points, or what may be called First Principles, which must be definitely understood, and which must be used as starting points by all who would succeed. These are not theories which each one adopts for himself, but they are discoveries of the combined wisdom and experience of all who have examined the ground ...

1. Lay it down as a first principle in Christian education, that the first object of the teacher is to form right HABITS in the scholar ... A child may acquire thoughts slowly, yet if he has formed the habit of acquiring each thought fully and distinctly, and of retaining it when acquired, he will eventually become a wise man ... Let it be impressed on the mind of the teacher, that it is not so much the amount of knowledge which you communicate to each scholar, that is to make your teaching a blessing, as are the habits which you aid him in acquiring ...
2. That the teacher should endeavour to fix the great principles of God's truth in the mind of the child. What I mean is, that while you lead the child to commit to memory, do not fear that he cannot be made to comprehend and embrace the great principles of revealed religion ... Till within a short time, catechisms of all kinds have nearly been proscribed in most of our schools, and the impression seems to be gaining ground, that they were to be laid aside with the rubbish of other times, with things and modes, good perhaps in their day, but not adapted to the day in which we live. The objections seem to be, that the memory alone is cultivated by learning catechisms; that the child cannot understand them. The answer to these objections is two-fold. First, that it is one very important part of education to exercise and cultivate the memory; and few other things will do it better or faster than the catechism. Secondly, that it is not true that the child cannot be made to understand the catechism ... I do not believe there is any greater difficulty in teaching a catechism, than in teaching many parts of the Bible ...
3. A progress of education, from EXAMPLE, is continually going on in the mind of every child ... There is no way but to be, habitually and permanently, such as the child ought to see you appear ... A word too much, or a word too little, may be forgotten; but impressions made upon a child by example are at once moulded into his character.
4. Religion must be taught from the very earliest dawn of intelligence ... The mind of every child must and will be growing and strengthening every day; and daily, too, will it receive new impressions and thoughts. These must educate that mind; and a child who sees his

parents and teachers careless about religion, and ignorant of God and his government, is not left to choose for himself; he is educated to forget his Maker, and to trample his laws and commands.



NOTE ON SOURCES

A most valuable source for this study has been the extensive printed vernacular material from which it has been possible to draw up a relatively complete list for the period 1828-1850. The few unobtainable items are examples of the 'alphabet cards', the 'native Almanacks', and the 1836 'Port Regulations'. The latter item, which was published in English and Tongan, would provide the only missing link in our understanding of the development of law codes in Tonga.

In respect to manuscript vernacular material the picture is far from complete. Apart from a few autobiographies by Tongan teachers, very little seems to be extant. None of the early manuscript school books, or the 'titles' that made up the 'circulating library', appear to have survived. The availability of these sources would provide additional information about the earliest attempts to devise curricula, especially in the period 1826-1831, before the advent of the mission press.

The letters, personal papers and journals of the missionaries, together with the official minute books of the W.M.M.S. (London), and the New South Wales and Friendly Islands Districts, have been another major source for this study. Fortunately the bulk of this material has been preserved and is available in the holdings of the W.M.M.S., London (available on microfilm in Australia), the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the National Library of Australia, Canberra, and the Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa. A significant gap in the official records is the Friendly Islands District Minutes for the years 1828-1832. Another serious lack in the manuscript sources is the absence of anything but a few of the journals and letters of the missionaries' wives. These writings were 'unofficial' and many of them have apparently not survived.

One particularly useful manuscript source is John Thomas' extensive writings on Tongan history and culture. His work provides many observations, and records numerous facts and details not to be found elsewhere. From his arrival in Tonga in 1826 till his final departure in 1859

he kept copious journals which recorded not only the daily round of events but also comments on a variety of historical and cultural matters. It was from these journals that Thomas wrote his 17 volume 'Tongatapu or the Friendly Islands', a manuscript worthy of editing and publication. Thomas' strict attention to detail (he often corrected the errors of fact in other people's writings), and his stern 'historian's code', make this source particularly valuable.

Works on Wesleyan Methodist polity, especially the rules, instructions and regulations, have given useful insights into missionary motives and organization.

In attempting to understand the background to the vernacular texts, 19th century English school books have been invaluable. It is not possible, however, to determine with any certainty which of these texts provided the models for translation into Tongan.

It is regrettable that the European beachcombers and castaways who lived in Tonga during the period under review have not left any written records. Long time residents such as William Brown and William Singleton could have provided useful comment. Much valuable information is available, however, in the accounts of visitors, especially the masters of English warships. Unfortunately their writings appear somewhat partial to the mission cause and lack critical evaluation of the missionaries' work. More observers such as Sir Edward Belcher would have allowed, perhaps, a more adequate picture to be drawn.

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