

## **SECTION 2: POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND CIVIL WAR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19th CENTURY**

The extracts in this section are rather few in number and a complete picture of the civil war is not given. This is mainly because the sources of information for this period are confined to the writings of two men, George Vason, one of the first Missionaries in Tonga, and William Mariner, a survivor of the captured "Port au Prince" Privateer. A considerable part of Mariner's two volume account of the Tonga Islands is taken up with the story of the civil war in the years 1806-1840. Only a limited number of extracts from Mariner have been included, however, to portray an impression of conditions during those years. Students should refer to Mariner for the full account. Dr Wood in his "History and Geography of Tonga" had drawn upon Vason and Mariner to write a number of chapters on the civil war and students are referred to pages 25-42 of his book as a good secondary source.

It has been claimed that the civil war that raged in Tonga from the 1790's to the 1820's was a direct result of Tonga's contact with Fiji. The claim has been made by Mariner that the young Tongan chiefs and their people who frequently went to Fiji to participate, on one side or other, in the tribal wars there, brought back with them to Tonga a love for this kind of adventure.

The London Missionary Society Missionaries, apart from Vason, did not become participants in the civil war in Tonga but, it seems, were innocent victims of the confused conditions of those days. Two escaped convicts from Botany Bay, Ambler and Morgan, were living in Tonga when the L.M.S. missionaries first arrived. These men, according to Vason and Mariner, created suspicion in the minds of the Tongan chiefs about the intentions of the missionaries. When the civil war broke out, Vason remained with the chief who had befriended him and fought on his side in the war. Three other of the missionaries, who lived at Ha'ateiho, were caught in the fighting and were killed. Vason gives us the details.

William Mariner has provided vivid descriptions of the treachery and bloodshed of this period. He describes Tongatapu as having disintegrated into a number of "petty states" each based upon fortresses that were thrown up all over the country. It was during this bitter civil war that several visiting ships were attacked. The most notorious example of this was the attack upon the Port au Prince by Finau Ulukalala. Finau later used the guns from this ship to overpower his enemies. He did, however, express a certain apprehension about using such superior weapons.

The extracts included do not give the complete history of the civil war. They do, however, give some idea of the political instability and civil war at the beginning of the 19th century.

### **[8] WAR AT TONGA 1800**

[James Orange. The Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham. London 1840, pages 162-173.]

Three years had now elapsed since my settlement in the island, and my prosperity had arrived at its height, when a conspiracy was formed among the natives. It was the time of making the yearly offering to Duatonga (Tu'itonga), which was called natche. He was the high priest of the island, and on this occasion was superior to every one, even to Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) himself, as he was descended from the family who were thought originally to have come from the sky.

Duatonga (Tu'itonga), as the priest of all the islands, and their mediator to converse with the Deity, and insure them plenty, was greatly revered throughout the island, and supported in splendour and dignity by the contributions of the different districts, as well as by the productions of his own ample estate. So that like the ancient priests of Egypt, he was a prince as well as priest: and he received greater homage than even the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) himself. If he was journeying, no native dared to walk or stand while he remained in sight; every one - man, woman, or child, instantly uncovered to the stomach and sat down, and crossed his hands and legs and remained in this posture till he had passed by.

The period of the annual oblation being arrived, all the chiefs from the Arbai Navou (Haapai Vava'u), and all the other neighbouring isles, as well as the chiefs of Tonga, assembled together at Mooa (Mu'a) in the fallow or mansion of Duatonga (Tu'itonga), to present him with their first ripe yams and other first fruits of their fields; a custom, which, however remote the island, seems derived from original tradition, as it resembled the offerings of Abel and Noah, and the other Patriarchs, and which were perpetuated in the Mosaic dispensation. On this occasion, Duatonga (Tu'itonga) personated the Deity of their fields, who they supposed caused them to be fruitful. They paid him the homage due to him whom he represented. With the fruits in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in various dresses, which distinguished the districts over which they presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation, in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotonous song, and upon their bended knees, presented the first productions of their abbees. They then rose up and passed off in the same order, and with the same solemnity.

When the ceremony of offering the first fruits of their fields is completed, they usually have a dance, and often fight with branches of the cocoa-trees, before they return to their respective districts. In appearance they all did so on this occasion; but a plot had been formed for assassinating Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) and making Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) supreme chief. This was planned by one Loogolala<sup>1</sup>, a chief of Tongataboo (Tongatapu) who had attacked to himself a number of enterprising young men, through whose assistance he was much advancing in wealth and power. Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) was his distant relation. To make their design more secret, his two canoes which were large, and filled with his fellow conspirators, set off as though they were going away, but waited off the reef, at Ahogge (Hahake), till evening; when they returned by land, to Mooa (Mu'a); where Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) continued that night, as well as Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) and his party. As soon as they arrived, they proceeded to station an armed watch in every road leading to and from the residence of Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu); that none might be allowed to pass or repass to excite any alarm. Having placed every thing in a state of preparation, a chosen band proceeded in search of the spot where Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) slept. They found all his attendants asleep, but were afraid to slay any one, lest they should mistake the person of the chief and give the alarm. At length he was betrayed by the perfumed oil on his head. This oil is scented with wood brought from the Feejee (Fiji) islands, not far distant from Tonga. The wood is rubbed or scraped into a kind of saw-dust, with a rough fish-skin; with this the oil is mixed, and strained, and then it possesses a strong perfume. This is used only by the principal chief.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ukalala?*

Discovering him by this distinction, they murdered him, and seven or eight of his attendants. This gave the alarm, and the rest fled; but as every road was beset, many of them were killed also. The conspirators then proceeded down to the water, and seizing as many canoes as they needed, broke all the rest, to secure themselves from being pursued during the night.

By the next morning, the alarm was spread through great part of the island, and multitudes flocked to Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) with the particular friends of Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), to inquire into the cause of the outrage, and to rouse him to revenge the death of the chief, on Loogolala. The people of Aheefo (Hihifo), which was the particular district of Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), warmly took up the cause of their chief; and hastily repaired to Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), to fight for it, under his standard.

Loogolala, meanwhile, with his forces, continued at Ahogge (Hahake), to prepare for battle, in the place of the greatest hostility. The enemy, from Aheefo (Hihifo), dared not follow him by sea, on account of the inferiority of their fleet in number and skill. They hastened therefore by land, and met him, just as he had disembarked with his men. Loogolala and his party, all young and unfatigued, and elated with the spirit of enterprise, attacked them with a vigour which they could not withstand. They fled, and Loogolala returned to the canoes, and sailed off for Arbai (Ha'apai), to strengthen his cause by an addition of troops.

In three days he returned with ten sail of canoes, and a considerable number of men, many of whom expected that they had come to fight for the cause of Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), who had formed an alliance with them by marriage, not long before, as previously described. By this time all the districts were in arms, and thousands were ranged under the standard of Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea); but to the astonishment of all, a coalition was formed between Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) and Loogolala, to fight for their own cause, against that of the murdered Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu).

The friends of Dugonggaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) instantly deserted and fled to the Aheefo (Hihifo). Meanwhile, Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) was joined by the three districts of Ahogge (Hahake), Mooa (Mu'a), and Ardeo (Ha'ateiho).

Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), who was the commander in chief, assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu) had been assassinated. They were arrayed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some with only the maro, with black faces and disfigured limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied together, rising from the crown of the head, like a soldier's cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party, I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteemed their warfare were child's play. It was determined to proceed against the district of Aheefo (Hihifo), which was small in comparison of the rest; and to make an attack upon it at the same time, both by land and sea, with all our forces. The next morning, therefore, the conch-shells blew the alarm of battle, and thousands repaired to the standard -- Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal army, of which I was one, marched forward about seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo (Ha'ateiho) -- the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved

companions, but now the objects whom I shunned. They were on our side, and there the chief halted and took some refreshment. I saw them, but as they were in their European dress, and I had only the maro round my loins, I was ashamed to face them. Conscience, at this time, smote me for my apostacy, and whispered "Battle and danger are at hand, and you may be slain: what account can you give before the bar of God; repent and join your companions again, seek the pardon which you need, and return to the way of holiness which you have forsaken." Had I yielded to these suggestions, I might have stayed behind with them; as the natives forced none to battle at Tonga. But I was desirous of accompanying the warriors. I burned for the fight, and pressed forwards to the first ranks. As we were a great multitude, and far superior in numbers to the enemy, we thought ourselves sure of victory. We proceeded, with my old chief Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) in the centre; but with no order, nor under any command of inferior officers.

At length Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) halted to encamp for the night. A division went forward to meet the enemy. For fear I should not witness the battle, I marched forward with them, till night came on, when I entered a hut, while many lay under the trees and slept. As soon as the morning dawned, we were alarmed by a cry of "Kotow gohow," "the enemy is upon us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy had arrived, and had passed us; and another body was hastening to attack us. The former division might have murdered us all; but they wished to push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), in order to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us, and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war." Tow has several correspondent significations, - as an armed body of men; and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots, serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoe hen," "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and discovered that there were many of the enemy with bows and arrows, with which they might have pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still, curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again, to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mulkaamair's (Mulikiha'amea's) son before me, engaged in fight with a stout man; I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph.

Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took

to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a mile.

We were all thrown into a panic and confusion; we lost the power of resistance, and numbers were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprained my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I must have fallen, a sacrifice to the enemy. But I exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, however, was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard the enemy not far behind me, and expected the spear, the club, or the boggebogge, every moment to strike my back. The boggebogge was an instrument of war somewhat like a sword, but round at the top; made of very hard wood, with two edges, but very thick in the middle to give it weight and strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity -- that their instruments, wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ardeo (Ha'ateiho). He had received three or four wounds in the head, before he would retreat. Some, like this chief, were very courageous, and fearless of death: others were timid and cautious.

After we had faced about, our spirits a little revived, and we slowly retreated back, till we repassed the road in which Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) had pitched his tents. But the object of the enemy was thus unfortunately accomplished; for, leaving a few to keep us employed, the rest hastened down the -road, to reinforce their companions, who had been engaging Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea). While we continued fighting, with loss of little ground, but many men, this division kept pouring in their forces, to increase the main body; which so alarmed the party of Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), that their spirits sank, and they took to flight in great disorder. Old Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) was carried on the shoulders of his attendants, on a "fatta," ie. two rails tied together and covered with matting. He saw his danger, and endeavoured in every possible way, to rally his forces; but in vain. At length, the enemy made a grand push, and reached his guards and attendants. These, to the number of eighteen or twenty, were resolved to conquer with him, or to die. They fought with such bravery, that for a time they made the enemy retire; but at last they all fell, overpowered with numbers. Amongst them were two sons of Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), two wives and several relations. They soon seized Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea), but stood over him, in hesitation what to do, till one of the main body that were pursuing his party, came up and said, "kill him;" and, as is commonly the effect of a sudden command in a mob, come from whom it may, they at once followed the advice, and put him to death.

They then continued to pursue Mulkaamair's (Mulikiha'amea's) army till they came to Ardeo (Ha'ateiho), where Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) had halted to take refreshment. When they approached their habitation, the brethren 'came out to look at them, not expecting that they, who had taken no part in the war, would be molested. But amongst the enemy arrived one, who had formerly requested some presents of the brethren, and

had been refused; this opportunity he barbarously improved to revenge himself, and directly running to attack them, others readily joined him. They knocked down Harper and Bowel, and a European who was with them, and immediately murdered them. James Gaulton fled; but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps in hopes of saving them, or through grief, or despair; and immediately shared their cruel fate.

My soul was overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, when I heard this sad account from those who had been eye-witnesses to it. Poor young Gaulton! He was very anxious before the Duff sailed from England, to accompany us; and as an assistant to the cook was wanting, he offered to undertake the service.

When we came to the Friendly Islands, the Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a high esteem for him, on account of his uniform piety and good conduct, consulted together, and elected him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea). We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till, to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair (Mulikiha'amea) with his attendants. To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a call that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time: I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a dying man that sat by her. She stretched out her hand to me, as imploring my help, and groaned with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her, but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo (Ha'ateiho), where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who, all the while, laughed and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a fatta.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man, together with the fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; - but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared.

[9] THE ARTS OF WAR LEARNED FROM FIJI. 1810c

[An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean.  
John Martin, Edinburg, 1827. Vol.1. p.77.]

At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands, the habits of war were little known to the natives. The only quarrels in which they had at that time been engaged were among the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, about 120 leagues to the westward; for, having been in the habit of visiting them for sandal wood, &c. they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike parties against the enemy. The bows and arrows which, before that period, had been in use among the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and fitted rather for sport than war, -- for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the fierce and warlike people of those islands, however, they speedily learned to construct bows and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in the practice of painting their faces and the use of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the minds of their enemies. These martial innovations were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for, having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands. Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and, indeed, they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learned from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first discovery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to those islands before the Fiji people came to them; perhaps their canoes were drifted there by strong easterly winds.

P. 207 "On the island of Tofooa there is a small volcano .....

They began the ascent early in the morning, and, although their progress was much impeded by the quantity of loose pumice-stone, and often rendered very dangerous, they reached the top in about four hours. There was at this time no eruption of flame, which had ceased a few hours before, after having lasted three days. Smoke there was, however, in abundance, but which did not much annoy them, as they were on the windward side. Sundry explosions were also heard from within, like the noise of water being thrown upon burning pitch. The crater was about thirty feet diameter. Whilst they were here, Mr. Mariner took care not to let his companion approach too near, lest he might have some sinister intent. Such precaution was by no means unnecessary, as this species of treachery, when it can be performed secretly, is not unusual, particularly among great warriors, when they have some petty interest to consult. This, however, is not to be considered the natural disposition of the Tonga people, but a practice which, along with that of war, they have learned from the natives of the Fiji Islands, where a man seldom goes out, even perhaps with his greatest friend, without being armed, and cautiously upon his guard.

Mr Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures on the part of his companion. On their return down the mountain, he told his companion that he might have shot him dead, and nobody would have been the wiser; to which the man replied, "I see you are loto boto, like the Fiji people" -- meaning that he

possessed policy and caution against treachery: and added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that I had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect any in you."

[9a] **MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF TONGA 1804c**

Collected from a Person between two and three Years resident among them.<sup>1</sup>

[The Sydney Gazette & NSW Advertiser, Sunday November 4, 1804 Vol. II, No. 88]<sup>2</sup>

This island, which is one of the group denominated the *Friendly Islands*, is situated close to *Happee* and *Anamoie*, with the inhabitants of either or both of which they are generally involved in war; in consequence of which the population of all the islands has suffered considerably, and is at present by no means extensive.

Of this island *Ducava*<sup>3</sup> is acknowledged the principal chief, and is universally respected as such: but he is not, however, without a competitor in the person of a younger brother, who without disputing seems to be vested with the first *executive* power, and shares his kinsman's dignity.

The subjects of this dingy potentate are admitted to a plurality of wives, though few, if any, extend the license further than a *pair*; and this custom appears to be established on a principle of policy, as the number of females exceeds that of the opposite sex in a two-fold proportion, owing to an unrelaxed depopulation consequent on destructive usages and perpetual warfare. Estranged to any religious sentiment or notion, yet superstitious prejudices prevail among them in common with the inhabitants of other countries to which the torch of reason has not yet extended its illumination ray.

Obstinately refusing to credit the possible existence of any other country but their own, they adopt by common consent the strange and ludicrous supposition that such European visitors as have in too many instances unfortunately touched at their inhospitable spot have fallen in state of exile from the clouds, and still retain the power of exciting thunder. Devoid of every idea that could be productive of a probable inference, they regard a European with a jealous eye, because his difference of complexion implies something preternatural; but as wanton barbarity and monstrous plea of necessity are alike admitted in justification of homicide, their cannibal voracity, regardless of complexion, reduces all within their power to one unhappy level.

To such an excess (as our information declares) do they carry the abominable propensity, that upon every visitation of famine, or extreme scarcity occasioned by an unfavourable season, they forsake their habitations and fortify themselves in caverns, as the only means preservation against each other, when in stronger parties prowling at midnight in search of human prey. At such season none dares to venture out by night alone, lest he should behold his friends and family no more: but this is the *dernier* resort, and is admissible only in

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<sup>1</sup> It is likely that this is an account by Elizabeth Mosey.

<sup>2</sup> This article was not included in Geoff Cummins' original document but was discovered by John Griffiths in the Mitchell Library while searching his family history and passed on to Leigh Harkness, who included it here.

<sup>3</sup> Mariner refers to him as Teoo Cava and which may now be written *Teukava*.



the last extremity.

Upon their prisoners of war they exercise every inhuman torture, and afterwards greedily solace upon the wretched victim; and frequently even boasted, that those of the *Portland's*<sup>1</sup> unfortunate crew whom they treacherously inveigled and murdered on their shore served to assuage their inordinate and cursed appetites.

The black woman mentioned in Mrs. Mosey's deposition to have escaped the massacre with herself, was afterwards carried off by the natives of *Anamoie*.

Their general deportment towards each other is not, however, forbidding or austere; their sports are athletic, and their persons nervous: they clothe partially, and never appear in a state of perfect nudity, which would not be permitted by their chiefs; their war weapons consist of the bow and arrow, spear and club. Their canoes are numerous and variously constructed: those used in the ordinary purposes of ferrying and fishing are small but dexterously managed: and their war boats, which possess much regularity of form, are very large and commodious. One of these we are informed, was launched during the short period of the Union's stay, and was reported to be capable of containing 300 men. The island produces vegetables, yams, cocoa nuts, plantains and bananas in tolerable abundance when favored by the season; besides which the natives hold in high estimation the flesh of small sized animal of the dog kind, which many prefer to the finest fish.

When consistent with safety they reside in huts open on one or two sides, and roofed with the plantain leaf lain firmly on cocoa nut branches as rafters: and were they as studious in improving the gifts of nature as their own perfidy of disposition and manner, no doubt can be entertained that they might have lived a happy people, and maintained to the spot of their nativity an exalted rank among the *Friendly Islands*.

#### [10] **PETTY POLITICAL STATES 1806c.**

[An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, John Martin, Edinburg, 1827. Vol.7. PP. 87-88.]

In the meantime, affairs went on very badly at Tonga. Toogoo Aho0 left neither son nor brother to succeed him; but he had several distant relations, each of whom out in claims for the sovereignty. A violent civil contention ensued, and the island was soon divided into several petty states. In the course of a little time, each party had built a fort for itself, so that there were at least twelve or thirteen different garrisoned places upon the island. Thus, was the Island of Tonga, to which war had hitherto been a stranger, torn by civil strife, and at times given up a prey to famine, a situation worse, perhaps, than that under the tyranny of Toogoo Aho0. Besides their domestic troubles, every year they were disturbed by attacks from Finow, who made it his annual custom to make a descent upon one or other of their fortresses, and some times upon several of them in the same season; but they were all so well fortified and entrenched, that their enemy, however powerful, consisting of Hapai. people, under the command of Finow, and the Vavaoo

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<sup>1</sup> The American ship, Duke of Portland. See Mariner's account in the footnote to article [14].

people, under that of Toobo Nuha<sup>1</sup>, had never succeeded, up to the time of Mr Mariner's arrival, in taking or destroying a single fort; that is to say, during the space of seven or eight years.

This piece of history Mr. Mariner heard not only from Finow, but from Toobo Nuha, Tooitonga, and a number of other chiefs, as also, though in detached portions, from several of the inhabitants of the Island of Tonga; and he found an uniform consistency in all their accounts.

#### [10a] EUROPEANS PARTICIPATE IN TANGAN WAR 1808

[The Sydney Gazette & NSW Advertiser, Vol. VI, Sunday, July 24, 1808, No. 238]<sup>2</sup>

From Mr. Seddons, master of the King George, we receive the following information, which appears to be highly interesting to the owners of colonial vessels. The King George touched at Tongataboo on her passage to the Fejees, and received information from the natives that a large ship then lay at one of the Happy<sup>3</sup> Islands; a boat from which, with 20 Europeans and a number of Happy Islanders, had come over to invade Tongataboo; that they had succeeded in taking several large towns, but were obliged to evacuate them soon after, owing to the impossibility of procuring provisions for their sustenance; that the ship had a number of great guns, and had about 100 men on board, half of whom were Europeans. In order to avoid falling in with this vessel, as Mr. Seddons had no room to doubt the truth of the representation, he made for Turtle Island, where he touched the 28<sup>th</sup> of January, and by this means avoided a meeting with a ship of force, with the nature of whose mission he was unacquainted.

The above account in no small degree coincides with an account contained in the Gazette of May 15, stating that a gentleman had received information from an American gentleman in China that a Captain Farrell, of Manilla, was about to fit out a large ship for the Fejee; and if the account given to Mr. Seddons, by the natives of Tongataboo of this vessel's force, is not very much exaggerated, there scarcely can remain a doubt but that her designs are inimical, and should therefore be guarded against by every precaution which prudence can suggest.

It is not impossible, at the same time, but that this hostility may have been designed against the natives of Tongataboo principally; owing to the vile and treacherous-murder four years since of Captain Pendleton and Mr. Boston, who were well known at Manilla, and whose lamentable death was universally regretted. It was confidently asserted by *Elizabeth Mosey* the unfortunate woman who after a captivity of several years escaped on board Captain Pendleton's ship the Union [of New York] and by her timely information prevented the whole of the ship's company from being cut off, that a quantity of specie and other valuable property, the spoils of plundered vessels, was still in being; which might operate as a stimulus to the capture of their towns.

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<sup>1</sup> *Tupouniu'a?*

<sup>2</sup> This article was not included in Geoff Cummins' original document but was found by John Griffiths in the Mitchell Library while searching his family history and passed on to Leigh Harkness, who included it here.

<sup>3</sup> *Ha'apai*

On Friday returned the Pegasus, after an unsuccessful cruise of nine weeks in search of the Harrington. She was last off Tongataboo, and returned . . . . . for some week's past felt severely a scarcity of provisions, as she took on board only a sufficiency for 6 weeks for 50 men, and the actual number were 58, including the military detachment.

At Tongataboo Captain Campbell learnt that the American brig Eliza, Captain Corey, had been there, and sailed for the Fejees the 14<sup>th</sup> ult.

#### **[10b] MOMENTOS OF HOSTILITIES 1808**

[The Sydney Gazette & NSW Advertiser,  
Vol. VI, Sunday, September 18, 1808, No. 246]<sup>1</sup>

While the Pegasus was at Tongataboo, which did not exceed 24-hours, a number of boats went alongside to trade; the chief articles for barter consisting of their war weapons, many of which were purchased. Among these a club was exhibited by an old man, who affirmed it to be the same which the unfortunate Mr. Boston had been assaulted with and murdered. This declaration was made to a boy a native of the island, who went from hence in the Pegasus, and was here known by the name of Tongataboo Jack, most probably without a wish to have the circumstances divulged, the mention of which could not fail to attract attention, and exciting horror. Thus dolefully recommended, the weapon was purchased, and is in the present possession of Sergeant Johns.

#### **[11] FOREIGNERS AND GUNS IN THE CIVIL WAR 1810c**

[Mariner Vol.1 - p.161.]

Early the following morning, Finow divided his army into three grand divisions: the right wing was commanded by Toobo Toa, the left by Lioofau, chief of Haano, and the centre by himself. The guns were allotted, two to the centre, and one to each flank, and were managed by seven Englishmen, besides Mr. Mariner and a black native of South America, taken by the Port au Prince in one of her prizes. Matters being thus arranged, and Finow having repeated the orders he had formerly issued, viz. that his men should keep themselves perfectly steady, and not attack the enemy till they were quite close to them, -- the army began its march towards the garrison.

p.165 Mr Mariner requested Finow to order these men in, that a cannonade might be opened upon the enemy; but the king objected, stating, that as they ventured forward in an open body, he would receive their attack, and fight them upon equal term; that these guns gave him too great an advantage, such as he scorned to take; that it was more honourable

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<sup>1</sup> This article was not included in Geoff Cummins' original document but was found by John Griffiths in the Mitchell Library and passed on to Leigh Harkness, who included it here.

to fight them man to man, than to use against them arms that rather fitted for the hostilities of spirits than of men; at the same time he returned his thanks for the advantages formerly derived from the use of these weapons, which he thought well calculated for the destruction of forts.

## [12] A PEACE TREATY

[Mariner, Vol.1 p.195]

The next morning the chiefs and warriors of Felletoa, with several women, were seen coming towards Neafoo, advancing two and two, all armed, painting and decorated with streamers, forming altogether a very beautiful and romantic procession bringing with them abundance of gnatoo, yams, &c. as present to their relations. In this way they came into the king's presence on the malai, where he was seated with his chiefs and matabooles. The Vavaoo people then laid down their spears, which were afterwards shared out to three of Finow's principals chiefs, who again shared them out to all those below them in rank.<sup>1</sup>

## [13] RIVAL CLAIMS TO AUTHORITY 1810c

[Mariner, Vol.I. pp.302-303]

The late How was no sooner deceased, than all those principal chiefs who had, or imagined they had, any claims to the government of Vavaoo, were expected to take up arms to assert their cause. Among these was Voona Lahi, otherwise Tooa Calao, who, it may be recollected, returned from Samoa with the late king's son, and was chief of Vavaoo at the period of the Tonga revolution, being afterwards dispossessed of his island by Finow. -- Toobo Toa was another chief who it was thought would put in a claim, on account of his great strength in fighting men, and for having killed the late chief of Vavaoo (Toobo Nuha)<sup>2</sup>. A third chief was Finow Fiji, the late How's brother, who perhaps had a greater claim than either, on account of his relationship. He was also a brave warrior and considered to be a man of great prudence and wisdom; but although brave, when occasion called forth his courage, he was remarkable for sage counsel, and for strong aversion to every kind of conspiracy or disturbance; and it was supposed by some that he would not lay any claim. Such was the opinion entertained by the prince and his party; but the two other chiefs and their dependents thought otherwise of Finow Fiji, and expected he would prove a very powerful claimant. Apprehensions were also entertained respecting the young chief Voogi, who assisted in strangling the child; for though it was not supposed he would lay claim to the sovereignty, yet being known to be strongly in the interest of Toobo Toa, his conduct required to be strictly watched. These were the chiefs, whose behaviour at this moment the young prince had to notice with a watchful eye. He had considerable confidence, however, in the sincerity of his uncle, and Toobo Toa was at the Hapai Islands.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr Mariner believes this to be always the case on such occasions: but it was the only instance of a peace formally established, that happened while he was there.

<sup>2</sup> *Tupouniu'a*

Such was the state of political affairs at the time of Finow's death.

#### [14] BLOODY FIGHTING AND CIVIL WAR 1806c

[Mariner Vol. I. - pp. 278-283.]<sup>1</sup>

Soon after Cow Mooala's arrival from the Fiji Islands, Finow received intelligence from Toobo Toa (chief of the Hapai Islands) that a canoe had arrived at Lefoonga, from the island of Tonga, with a chief, and two young matabooles. They came to petition Finow for pardon, in behalf of a great chief, named Toobo Malohi, older brother of Toobo Toa, who had been long resident at the island of Tonga, and had defended the cause of Finow's enemies. As this chief brought very interesting information of all the recent events at the island of Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions in the order in which they happened, and conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

Toobo Malohi had been chief of the fortress of Nioocalofa<sup>2</sup>, on the island of Tonga, which, the reader will recollect, Finow besieged with the four carronades, and afterwards burnt to the ground. In consequence of which Toobo Malohi left it, with such of his followers as could save themselves, and fled up the country, to seek refuge in some other fortress. This chief had always been unfortunate. At the time of the great revolution of Tonga, and the early successes of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji Islands with his followers, and had resided there some time, gaining experience in the art of war. On his return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nicocalofa, from which he was driven as already related. He next took refuge in some other fortress; from which, owing to the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause, he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a third; whence also he was exiled by some untoward circumstance; and became, in fact, a wanderer whom nobody would receive in a sincere and friendly way. At length, however, he thought he had found a permanent asylum in the fortress of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had made Finow a present of extraordinary well trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his followers in a very cordial manner, considering them a great acquisition to his strength; for, they had the reputation of being all great warriors, well schooled in the military practices of Fiji.

Teoo Cava, finding that no enemy thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo<sup>3</sup>. He was successful in his attack and took it with an inconsiderable loss of men; which being done, he determined contrary to the advice of his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. The reason the matabooles gave for objecting to this measure, was the readiness with which the enemy made their retreat. This they thought argued an intention of returning speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition blinding him, however, to his own proper interests, he neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his forces, reserved the choicest half, including Toobo Malohi and his warriors, for his own personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo, and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo. In the course of the following night, the enemy made a desperate attack upon them, Having resolved to burn the place to the ground, they had appointed four hundred men to

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter 11

<sup>2</sup> *Nuku'alofa*

<sup>3</sup> *Nukunuku*

effect their purpose, each of whom was armed with a spear, and a lighted torch fixed at about a foot from the point of it. At a signal every man threw his flaming weapon at the fencing, or into the garrison, and, by the aid of this new invention, the place was set on fire in several points at the same time. With the view of rendering themselves more secure, the besieged had removed all the draw-bridges over the dry ditch round the fencing, except one. There was no ready means of escape, therefore, from the conflagration, which soon spread far and wide, except by one narrow path; and hundreds consequently were compelled to leap into the ditch, the sides of which were too steep to climb. Among these was Teoo Cava, who, with several other great chiefs and warriors, managed to get out, by climbing up the backs of those whose fidelity, at the utmost peril of their own lives, prompted them to lend their superiors this friendly assistance. Teoo Cava, having got out of the ditch, was now making the best of his way, unarmed, to Hihifo, when he was met by a native of Fiji, belonging to the enemy's party, who gave him the watch-word, which he was unable to answer. Instantly the Fiji warrior struck him so violent a blow on the head with his club, that he buried it in his brains. The club had got so locked into the broken skull, that he could not immediately withdraw it; and he probably would have left it there, but discovering what a great chief he had killed, his club, we presume, from that moment appeared exceedingly valuable - the pledge as it were of future greatness. The triumph of his feelings, therefore, prevented him from seeing or hearing another man, who was fast approaching; and whilst he was in the act of disengaging his weapon, his own brains were knocked out, and his speculations as suddenly destroyed, by one of Teoo Cava's men, whose swiftness of foot brought him just in time to revenge his fallen chief, by laying his enemy prostrate by his side. But dangers were thickening round this warrior, and he was compelled to leave the body of Teoo Cava on the field, and secure his own existence by a speedy flight to Hihifo; were all who succeeded in making their escape quickly arrived. The body of Teoo Cava was soon found by the enemy; it was conveyed to their fortress, cut to pieces, and (must it again be said?) dressed for food!

Among the garrison of Hihifo was a chief named Ata, who had great reputation for political wisdom and military skill. He was a native of the island, and at the time of revolution, when his friends and acquaintance went over to the Hapai Islands for peace and safety, he resolved to remain for the sake of his oldest and most sincere friend, Teoo Cava, and to assist and stand by him to the last. As Teoo Cava was now no more, Ata, conscious of his skill in war, and the confidence which all the men placed in him, proposed to take upon himself the command of the garrison; and his offers were gladly accepted. The other garrisons of the island soon hearing of the death of Teoo Cava, and the great losses he had sustained, several of them entered into league against Hihifo, and shortly commenced a siege, which lasted fourteen days; but at length, quarrelling among themselves, and finding the besieged hold out so manfully, and withal being struck with awful astonishment, at the extraordinary bravery of Maccapapa, who was said to be invincible by the immediate protection of the gods, they raised the siege, and each partly repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, lest it should be taken possession of by some enemy. During the siege of Hihifo, the women made themselves remarkable by their resolute assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for want of men, it should be taken by the enemy. The widows of Teoo Cava<sup>1</sup>, however, were so afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is said, strangled

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<sup>1</sup> Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind the circumstance, mentioned in the Second Missionary Voyage, respecting Eliza Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American ship Duke of Portland, Captain

themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Tooboo Malohi now sent word to his brother, Toobo Toa, that, being weary of his unquiet and harassing life at Tonga, and being desirous to settle at Hapai, he wished his brother to petition the king in his behalf, and to obtain leave for himself and his chiefs and matabooles to reside at Hapai, and be henceforth tributary to him; which message was brought to Toobo Toa by a chief and two young matabooles, as before stated. Having communicated this request of his brother and his followers to Finow, after a little consideration the king gave consent that they should reside at the Hapai Islands, upon condition that Toobo Toa kept a strict eye upon their conduct, and was answerable for them, which was immediately agreed to. Toobo Toa thereupon got ready a large canoe, and proceeded to Hihifo to receive his brother, who came on board with all his chiefs and choice warriors, the remainder of his attendants following in another canoe. Having touched, in their way, at the Hapai Islands, they proceeded on to Vavaoo, to pay their respects to Finow, and to receive his pardon.

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Lovat Melon. The date is not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronounciation they call *Ducava*), the crew were all murdered, except three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey and the black woman. The latter was still in Hapai Islands when Mr Mariner left. She had become insane, but lived as a sort of domestic (being harmless) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived in Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr Mariner has since accidently heard from a woman who had been to Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterward to Tonga with a ship that went for the purpose of laying a cargo of pork, and was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji Islands.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Mariner is not quite certain whether this report is correct; for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.