

SECTION 3: THE MISSIONARIES AND THE ASCENDANCY OF KING GEORGE TUPOU I.

The 1820's and 1830s were very significant years for the history of Tonga. During those years, and the years-that followed, two important happenings were taking place. One of these important happenings was the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga, and the other was the struggle between the young chief of Ha'apai, Taufa'ahau, and the Tu'itonga and his followers. This struggle developed into a head-on collision between the forces of the new order - (Taufa'ahau and his followers, supported by the Wesleyan Missionaries,) - and the forces of the old order, ('heathen' chiefs of Tongatapu who did not wish to surrender political power to the young Ha'apai chief, or to submit to the discipline of his new religion.)

The Wesleyan Mission, after a false start in 1822, was effectively established in 1826. Taufa'ahau was baptized four years later in 1831. By the early 1830's, therefore, a partnership of very great and far-reaching significance for the history of Tonga had been formed. Taufa'ahau was a powerful 'evangelist' in the early days of the establishment of the new religion. The accounts of his attacks upon the god-houses, and the destruction of their images are recorded favourably by the Wesleyan Missionaries of that time. During one campaign in Vava'u, 15 god-houses, with their gods, were destroyed in a matter of a few days. This enthusiastic destruction of the old order brought Taufa'ahau and the missionaries very close together, and the partnership endured, in one form or other, for more than 60 years.

During the early years of the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission and the rise of Taufa'ahau, there was a great deal of opposition both to the new religion and to the growing political power of Taufa'ahau. He was, to begin with, simply the lord of Ha'apai. By 1833, however, on the death of Finau 'Ulukalala IV of Vava'u, Taufa'ahau became king of Vava'u as well. Aleamotu'a, his uncle the Tu'ikanokupolu in Tonga tapu, was meeting considerable opposition because of his profession of Christianity. In 1837 he called upon his nephew, Taufa'ahau, to assist him in the fighting that had broken out in Tongatapu. This was the first of three wars fought by Taufa'ahau in Tongatapu - two in support of Aleamotu'a, and one of his own behalf after he himself had been installed as Tu'ikanokupolu on the death of Aleamotula. This final war, which ended in 1852, saw Taufa'ahau as the recognized king of the whole of Tonga.

During the 1852 war, the Wesleyan Missionaries gave Taufa'ahau unqualified support as the champion of protestant Christianity against heathenism and a new force, the Roman Catholic Mission which had been established in 1842. There is, however, in the journals of the Wesleyan Missionaries, a clear dilemma. While on the one hand they detested bloodshed and civil disorder, on the other hand they desired to support the Christian, Wesleyan King, Tupou I, against the heathen rebels, the French Priests, and Roman Catholicism. Thus we find that the civil disorder of those days was compounded of a number of elements.

The wars of Taufa'ahau were not simply a test of political strength, - a struggle between the champion of a Tonga unified under one man and the supporters of Tonga tapu

independent of Ha'apai and Vava'u. There was also the important religious element, - the struggle between Christianity and Heathenism. By 1852 there was more than a little, also, of the political rivalry of Europe as the English Missionaries came into collision with the French priests. Finally, there was the sectarian bitterness of Catholics attacking protestant 'heretics', and protestants joining battle with 'Popery'. On the political front Taufa'ahau emerged supreme over all his opponents, and thus the dominating influence of the Wesleyans was assured.

A. THE FOUNDATION YEARS.

[15] JOSIAH AND THE TAHITIAN MISSIONARIES 1827.

[John Thomas. Letter to General Secretaries. 11th April 1827.
Letter No. 9. Mitchell Library Sydney. A 1959.]

The chief we live under has violated all his engagements to us made at our first landing. He does not like us to teach the children and through his disaprobations but few dare to come.
.....

There is a place named Noogaoloffa (Nuku'alofa) 2 miles from us. The Chief's name is Toobo, this man has given up the Tonga gods. He has destroyed the spirit house and built a School Chapel to the Lord our God in this place, him and his people and as many others as choose to go assemble to worship.

I mentioned in a former letter that two Teachers from Tahiti landed here about three months before us. This chief viz Tooboo, asked them to stop with him to teach him and his people the right way. These people have had some thing to endure from the other parts of Tonga, but the chief continues steadfast, and says he will die rather than give over praying, or having prayer read according to our way.

[16] THE NEED FOR SUPPORT FROM POWERFUL CHIEFS 1829.

[John Thomas. Diary and Letter book. Letter No. 35. June 25th, 1829.
Mitchell Library Sydney. A. 1959.]

Under Ata there are about twelve or fourteen chief's and these live at small towns or villages within three miles of Hihifo. I suppose the people who are under Ata to be about 1,276 souls and providing Ata turns to God there would not be one, but who would follow their Chief In addition to this the chief at Bea and the chief at Nuku Nuku and I may say all the Chiefs of Tonga are waiting for Ata to turn and they will all follow him. This is said to be the case also with the chief's at the Haabai and Vavau. It is said by the head chief on Tonga (viz Tooboo) that if Ata turns all Tonga will turn to God, upon this one hinge it hangs and turns.

Indeed the language of the people now is we want to worship Jehova, but dare not because of the chief, the people are satisfied that their gods are no gods but lying spirits who deceive and destroy them.

[17] FAILURE AT HIHIFO; THE MOVE TO HA'APAI 1829

(i) [John Thomas. Diary and letter book. Letter to Rev. Morley, 18th November 1829.
Mitchell Library Sydney A 1959]

We do not think you will blame us for giving up for the present the Hihifo station to

embrace the Haabais the former being very insignificant compared with the latter and the taking up of the latter will so far as we can judge tend much to strengthen the cause at this place. The King of the Haabais being a near relation to Tupou indeed he considers him as a father also as I am about to proceed in a native Canoe the expense will not be more than if I were continuing here. For if I continue here I should have to put up a few native buildings the same I shall need at the Haabais. However I am only going to make a beginning and to live in a temporary manner among them for the present until we hear from you expressly on the subject.

- (ii) [John Thomas, Diary and Letter Book, Letter to General Secretaries and Committee. from Lifuka , 8/6/1830, Mitchell Library, Sydney. A 1959]

You will see from my hasty letter of February 16 last the flattering opening we had at this island. It was scarcely to be expected however that all was real that there appeared. You know too much of human nature and too much of the uncertainty of the Heathen character to conclude that all this was the work of the Spirit of God but even if half of what we then saw was nothing but show a body without a soul, yet even then we had a glorious opening and while the king continues on our side we are protected in the midst of danger

- (iii) [John Thomas. Diary and letter Book. Letter no. 59. N.D. 1831? from Lifuka. Mitchell Library Sydney. A. 1959.)

It is thought that the Inhabitants of Haabai are about 4,000, and that 1,800 have already turned to the Lord.

[18] CHRISTIAN AND HEATHEN CONFLICT 1827c.

(Letter by Rev, John Thomas, dated March 16, 1846, printed in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, October 1846. pp.1036 – 1038]

"Since I last wrote you, solemn and important events have been permitted to transpire at this place. Josiah, the King of the Friendly Islands, has been removed by death from his people and family, and from the church militant on earth, (we hope,) to the church triumphant in heaven.

In the month of May, 1826, Tubou, the subject of this brief memoir, professedly embraced the religion of Christ, of which he had heard a little, partly by means of foreigners who were here, and especially from one of his own men named Langi, who about that time returned from Tahiti in company with two Teachers who were appointed to the Feejees. There were others, however, who had professed Christianity before this time: but it was the day of small and feeble things with the whole of them, yet not to be despised as the event has shown.

Towards the end of 1827, the "heresy" (as the true religion was called) was gaining ground over Chiefs and people; and, some of the devil's chief Priests having turned also, the other Chiefs and Priests began to be concerned about it, and meetings were called, in order to

know what to do to put a stop to the dreadful evil with which they were now threatened. At length they concluded that these evils had been permitted to come upon them for their wickedness towards their head Chiefs, when they had been taught to identify with their gods; and, in order to cure Tubou of his heresy, they, like faithful subjects of their master the devil, proposed making him King, hoping by this means effectually to secure their purposes. It was indeed, a well-baited hook a deep-laid plan to cure him of religion. The devil has baits of all kinds, but he does not always succeed; yet he does succeed with some. "Ye shall be as gods" succeeded with the best and greatest of women that ever lived. On the 7th of December; 1827, the Chiefs of Tonga being assembled at the west end of the island, called Hihifo, with the greatest (heathen) seriousness and apparent devotion: Tubou was called Tali-ai-Tubou, after the family god, which was a great worldly, as well as divine, honour done him; and he thus became the Tui-ka-no-ku-bolu. For a short time he absented himself from the public means of grace which led some of his heathen subjects to believe they had succeeded in winning him over to their party; but a few weeks convinced them that in this they were mistaken; he was still a worshipper of the true God, and a seeker of salvation by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. This conduct of his gave offence to many of his professed friends at least; for no man is really a friend to another, whatever his sentiments are, if he prevents his salvation.

The newmade King soon found the word of Christ to be true, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself," &c. (Matt. xvi. 24) His heathen friends persecuted him, and those who with him had abandoned the gods of their forefathers; and in various ways endeavoured to harass and perplex them. This persecution, though at first mild in form, was found a source of great temptation, and did afterwards assume a more serious aspect; so that Tubou considered at one time, that he should have to abandon the island, in order to escape the enemies of God and religion; and a large canoe was actually launched for the purpose of securing, by flight, his own life, and the lives of the Missionaries of the Lord Jesus Christ, who had jeopardised their lives by coming to live with him. This took place before he was made King. However, the Lord did not permit the enemy so far to prevail. Tubou rather gained ground by the opposition that was made, and numbers joined themselves to the persecuted worshippers of the true God; for the name of Methodist they had not heard: it was the religion of the Bible that they were taught, and to which they adhered.

On the 10th of January, 1830, Tubou was received into the church of Christ by baptism, which ordinance was administered to him by the Rev. N. Turner. Out of four of his children who were baptized at the same time, only one survives: the others have passed safely into the world of spirits, having died young. Tubou chose to be named Josiah, after the pious King of Israel of that name, who was a zealous reformer of his day. It had been well, if Josiah at Tongatabu had possessed that zeal for God and for the spread of true religion, that distinguished him after whom he was named: then might this guilty land long ere this have been all Christian. However, although he was not what we should have rejoiced to have seen him, yet he had some thing good in him towards the Lord our God; and had he had the advantage of a different training from his youth up, he would have done much better. "But where little is given, little is required."

Tubou has been, however, the firm and constant friend of the Missionary of the cross, and the friend and lover of good men of whatever name. That he had faults, no one will attempt

to deny who knew him; he had also some good qualities, for which we may glorify God in him."

[20] KING GEORGE AND THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY 1831

[Journal, Peter Turner, June 1831. pp. 76-82, Mitchell Library Sydney. B 301]

Monday 13th,

Praise the Lord O my soul, and all that is within bless his holy name. Glorious intelligence has come to hand during the past week from Vava'u. What hath God wrought: Blessed be his Holy Name and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen.

King George and many of his people have been at Vava'u for a fortnight to be present at some feast. And Mr Thomas and I thought it a good opportunity of writing a few lines to Finau the King of Vava'u to impress upon his mind the importance of Christianity and hoping he and his people would soon embrace Christianity and have a missionary among them to teach them the good and right way. We also informed him that our committee had appointed Mr Cross to come to them if he and his people were willing to receive him; and we requested him to give an answer by the return of King Geo. or Taufa'ahau. I would remark here, that the King of Haabai – Taufa'ahau - though not yet baptized was called King Geo. as he had chosen the name because of the late King of England was called George. The King went as above stated, and has returned to inform us of the success of his visit. He presented our letter written of course by Mr Thomas, to the King Finau, and after much consideration on his part, and much anxiety of mind, he seemed inclined to embrace Christianity and to allow a missionary to go to Vava'u. The King Taufa'ahau used all his influence with him, and the Haabians were very zealous for religion, and did not fail to recommend religion or lotu, to the people. At length Finau wished Taufa'ahau to come and to tell us his mind which was that he was now determined not to oppose the lotu any more, but would receive a missionary: and that we must send him one soon lest he should die before he could hear of the good religion. He said he should much prefer having one from Haabai as he did not like being under obligation to Tonga. It seems there is some unpleasant feelings existing between Tonga and Vava'u. But I cannot as yet understand these differences. We returned him word that Tonga had nothing to do with sending missionaries to him and his people, but that missionaries were sent from England by the fathers of our Church, and that we hoped when Mr Cross could be spared from Tonga he would receive him - that some months would lapse before Mr Cross could leave Tonga owing to the new missionaries there being yet ignorant of the language. With this explanation the King has returned to Vava'u.

In a little time the King and his people came from Vava'u and informed us that many had turned unto the Lord or Xtianity. It appears that heathenism and heathenish delusions will come to an end in Vava'u. As soon as the Vavauans knew that the King was willing to become a Xtian, and would no longer punish those who turned to the true religion many immediately made an open declaration of their renunciation of devilism. Taufa'ahau, and some of his people and a few Vava'u people went to a spirits house and they seemed determined to do the devil all the injury they could. The old priest thought they had

brought some kava - and had come to make some request in his way. He received them with all respect and went into the God house and began to make his incantations in a low rumbling noise then to rise as he became excited and he began to vociferate as tho the spirit has possessed him. Taufa'ahau could endure no longer, but rose up and got hold of the inspired priest and dragged him out of the house, and anointed the old devotee with some mud and bad him cease his lies and foul imposture. The poor old man was glad to escape with his bones whole. The King and some of his party entered the sacred building, and pulled from the cross beams the relics of the god, which was a peculiar shell wrapped in native cloth, and then set fire to the sacred house. Which was soon in flames. Many of the place were dreadfully alarmed, and uttered some awful imprecation upon the destroyers of their ancient gods, and of their sacred houses which none had dared to approach only when permitted by the priests, or to present some offering.

Some came out brandishing their clubs determined to take signal vengeance upon the sacrilegious wretches, who had dared to insult the gods; and to bring a curse upon the land. But when they saw that the King of Haabai was the leader in the rebellion against the gods their hearts misgave them, and they vented their wrath in words and some in lamentations. They left the place, and the people expected that some awful vengeance should overtake the Haabaians, but instead of being dismayed, these destroyers of the gods and god houses went to other heathen temples and in a short time many sacred houses were laid in ashes, and all that remained of these houses of dread were a few fire brands. And thus the system of heathenism which had kept the people in awful bondage and ignorance for centuries - was broken in a day.

In a few days 15 god houses were consumed with their idols. These consisted of whales' teeth, fine mats - clubs - idols rudely carved. Taufa'ahau brought Mr Turner, a great god which was a whale's tooth and used to repose in state clothed in fine mats and native cloth, which never was allowed to see the sun - or to take an airing abroad. Like the Chinese emperor he was too great to be looked upon by vulgar eyes. The poor Haabaians were now in great request and those who only knew a little themselves - who had to become the instructors of others - those who could read a little - and who had mastered a few tunes were of great importance and for many days and nights almost without any intermission so that the poor fellows were almost worn out with fatigue.

[21] THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER: KING GEORGE AND QUEEN SALOTE 1831.

[Baptismal Register. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.] :

No. 97. Joaji Taufa'ahau. Tui Lifuka.
Lifuka 3/8/1839.
(Signed) J. Thomas,

No. 98. Salote Taufa'ahau.
Queen 7/8/1831.
(signed) J. Thomas.

[22] TAUFA'AHAU EMBRACES CHRISTIANITY 1831.

[Missionary Papers. Rev. Peter Turner - 1831-1838. Mitchell Library, Sydney, A I506.]

pp. 22 - 23.

The missionaries, their wives their houses, and especially the new religion were subjects which filled the minds of the people and chiefs. But there was one mind which regarded these things with a sagacity and penetration that far surpassed all his compeers. This was young Taufa'ahau the king of the Haabais. When his father Tupouto'a , the acknowledged king of Haabai died, Taufa'ahau was a minor about sixteen years of age and went to reside with his relative, Finau of Vava'u. For some time there was no king in Ha'apai, but the head chief in each island governed the people under him. But a great chief Fili-moe-ata attempted to seize the government of the Ha'apais and managed to gain the possession of Lifuka, and many favoured his cause. In the meantime, young Taufa'ahau was waiting a favourable opportunity to claim his rights but none offered. Finau was not in a position to render him any assistance, he was not in favour at Tonga, and he was not a warrior. He had more low cunning than bold daring. Thus Taufa had to wait and form his plans. He was naturally sagacious, bola and daring, and feared no danger when his mind was made up to any enterprise.

pp. 25 - 26.

For some years before his conversion he perceived the falsehood and rotten-ness of the whole system of heathenism and that there was nothing in the ceremonies, the sacrifices, the priests or the gods but superstition, ignorance, selfishness, and falsehood. His eyes were open, he could be neither blindfolded by the priests, nor intimidated by those in power. He had tried the priests and found them liars, they flattered the great and gave their responses according to the value of the offering, and the rank of the offeror; and not according to truth. He saw through all this deception, and there are some strange stories told of the tricks which he played some of the Priests and Priestesses when they were so absorbed in their incantations and awful gesticulations so full of the spirit of the gods as to be oblivious to all without. Then it is said, he clubbed some, bedaubed others with dirt and mud, stole their fat pig, and entered their sacred houses. Priests dreaded him and fulminated some awful curses upon his head and counted him a despiser of the gods and a desecrater of the sanctity of their temples.

p.31

He never swerved nor faltered for one day. He made a firm stand and yet he gave his people to understand that no compulsion would be employed to make them Christians - that they would see in his conduct what he wished them to do, and must follow his example when convinced in their own minds. He destroyed his gods houses, collected the gods, some he had split up for firewood, some he hung by their necks to the rafters of his cook-house, and of one giant god he made a post for his house.

p.32

Mr and Mrs Thomas arrived Lifuka 30/1/30.

P. 34

The schools were now commenced in earnest. The male school opened at 6 o'clock in the morning. Mr Thomas attended and conducted the school. Mrs Thomas conducted the

female school which opened at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This has been practice of the missionaries and their wives from the beginning.

p. 48

Taufa'ahau returned to Vava'u. Finau was glad that he had yielded to God. It was soon made known to the Vavauans. Some had been long anxious to "lotu" as they were tired of the gods that could do nothing for them. Their faith in heathenism had become dead.

pp.49-50

The next day Taufa'ahau and some of his chiefs went to the town of Makave, about two miles distant from Neiafu, and entered the enclosures of the god-house, sat down, the old priest came and thinking they wanted to consult the gods he entered the house of his great god, seized his club and began to excite himself and pray for the utterance and inspiration of the god. He became inspired and convulsed, and young Taufa'ahau could not endure this nonsense any longer. He rose, went into the god's house, dragged out the Priest, and anointed him plentifully with mud from the gutter - and threw him on one side, telling him as an old deceiver "to have done with his foolishness". He then went into the house, brought out the god, wrapped in a bundle of native cloth and fine mats, and to the astonishment and dread of some, began to disrobe the god, fold after fold was taken off until the great god was seen in a form of a small spotted shell, which fell to the ground, to the surprise of some, the shame of others, to see how they had been deceived, and some laughed outright. Fire was set to the house, and its glory ascended in flame and smoke. The people of the town were alarmed and men came brandishing their clubs; but when they saw it was young Taufa'ahau and his men, they took a stop backward and were afraid to advance. These destroyers of the gods and idol temples waxed bold in their work, and went from town to town followed by the Vavauans, many of whom lent a willing hand to the work of demolition of the gods, and in two or three days fifteen or sixteen idol temples were consumed, and nothing but charred pests and smoking rubbish told of their former glory, and then the dark cloud of superstition which had rested like a pall for many ages on the minds of the people was dispersed, and the smile of joyous deliverance played on the features of the face, and the people blessed the king at the Ha'apaians, who had been their deliverers from worse than Egyptian Bondage. .

p.53 - August 1831

The King and thirty of his people, principally chief's were baptised. They had been under preparatory instruction for some months and answered the questions well. The king was elegantly dressed in fine mats beautifully plaited, and his head and shoulders anointed with sândalwood and coconut oil and looked in every respect a noble specimen. Before the ceremony was administered, he stood up before the congregation and said, "I rise at this time to give thanks unto Jehovah the great God, the true God for sending his gospel to these dark, bad lands and also his messengers to preach that gospel unto us: so now with all my mind I give myself unto God and to promise to do all I can to promote his cause among my people and in the world. I desire to be made useful to my people "and beg of God to give me his grace to do so."

He chose the name of George, because he said he had heard so many good things spoken of the good King of England and he wished to imitate him. His two sons were brought by him

and baptised. The name of the elder was David, the younger Josiah and his daughter received the name of Charlotte.

[23] THE BAPTISMAL SPEECH 1831

[Thomas to General Secretaries, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Societies, 77 Hatton Gardens, London. Letter dated September 2nd 1831. Lifuka, Ha'abai Island. Diary & Letter Book, Mitchell Library Sydney. A 1959]

p.138

Lifuka, Haabai Island
September, 2nd 1831.

Dear Fathers & Brethren,

I wrote to you a hasty letter in July but the canoe that took it from here not having reached Tonga, the letter was returned and is still with me, and will be forwarded to Tonga in a few weeks at least with this one, I'm now writing.

Through the goodness of God towards us, we are tolerably well in health, and happy in our work, and the Lord is pleased to bless in an abundant manner the labour of our hands upwards of 150 having been added to us in the last two months to God be all the praise. . . .

Sunday August 7th was the day fixed upon for administering the sacred ordinance of baptism to the Chief. On Saturday the 6th a kind of feast was made by him on the occasion when 19 fat hogs were baked and from 5 to 8 hundreds yams besides other things. Mrs Thomas and I were invited about three o'clock to visit the Chief, we walked down found him and his children sitting in his house facing his people who were sitting upon the grass in front of the house forming a ring, on either hand sat the men who with the Chief have been under instruction for Baptism, 27 in number. In the centre sat about two hundred men all neatly dressed in mats &c. The 19 baked hogs - the yams etc. were put in two rows in the middle of the ring. In a short time the hogs were disposed of by the Chief among his people; also the yams. One fat hog he prevailed upon me to accept, wishing me to have several of them but this I declined. One very large one was cut up on the spot but no person eat any part of it present. The Chief wished his people to take what they had home to their wives and families; as soon as the Cava was drank, all left the premises pleased and thankful.

Sunday morning August 7th at the usual time of worship, our large Chapel was filled by the people and many hundreds were sitting outside not being room for them within. It is judged that upwards of 2,000 were present, (our Chief and his people being about to sail for Vavau on Monday, most of the dependant chiefs and officers from all the Islands of this group were present.) Our King or Chief took his seat, and his three children were seated by him they were all very neatly dressed in native dresses such as the native cloth, and different kinds of Mats. All looked very well and what was said of Saul of old, may justly be said of our king, "a choice young man and a goodly, and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he, from his shoulders and upwards he was higher than any

of the people. 1 Sam. 9:2"

After singing and prayer, I read as a text Acts 2:22-41 verse. From this I endeavoured to lead them to Christ. I endeavoured to show them how much they needed a Saviour and pressed upon them the necessity of Repentance, faith and Baptism in the name of God. I trust many felt that the Kingdom of God was at hand and that the Devil was cast out. At the close of the sermon, the King stood forth in the presence of his people and in a very modest and devote manner spoke partly as follows.

The King's Speech.

I stand here in the presence of God, and in the midst of you my people, to make known to you what my mind is towards the Lord Jehovah.

I thank the praying friends in England for having sent a Missionary to my land to instruct me and my people in the things of God. A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way, and serving the Devil with all my might. I was very near burning in the unquenchable fire of hell, but now I thank the Lord Jehovah and his Son Jesus Christ for having sent the Gospel here to teach me and you my people. It is because of this I stand here this day alive.

For the last eight months I have met in Society, and I have been earnestly seeking the Lord, that I might do that which is right in his sight, and I am come this day to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus Christ and to be baptised in his holy name.

I know that I do wrong every day but I do now seek unto Jesus that he will pardon all my sins, and give me a new mind for if there is yet any evil cleaving me from it, if there is any evil cleaving to me, it is very easy for Jesus Christ to save me from it, for this reason I pray earnestly to him that I may be saved.

I here make known to you all - to you my chief's - to you my Matapules (or officers) and to you my relatives and servants and attendants. - I thank the Lord Jehovah and I rejoice on your account as well as my own, we were all a short time ago as food for the fire of hell. But now I believe in the true God, and I am labouring to lead you all in the good way. I am not causing you to be blind I say, therefore, unto all of you: believe in the Lord Jehovah, and see to it that you are not saying in your mind, that to worship and serve God is a thing of little importance; that day in which the world will be consumed by fire (the sky - the sea, and all things be destroyed) perhaps it may seem a trifle to us but a thing of the greatest importance, to those who are now burning in the fire of hell.

The Sermons which our Ministers preach are not from their own minds, but from the sacred word of God. I stand here with my children in the presence of you all, and in the presence of the Lord's Ministers, to give myself to Jesus, that he may do with me as he sees good. Do not you say that what I say is not true, for I speak that which is true; and this my desire for baptism is not of my own heart, but from Jesus Christ, and I attend to it in obedience to him and I wish you all to believe truly in Jehovah.

For although it is true that I am your Chief or head, yet I am not able to do any good thing, but as the Lord is pleased to help me.

Therefore, I am come this day to be baptised in the name of Jehovah, and Jesus Christ. I sincerely thank him for his great love to me, and his love to you my people, and I do now take him for my Lord and my God, and earnestly I desire also to be baptized with the Holy Spirit and to filled therewith.

He then kneeled down in front of the Pulpit, his three children being at his left hand and were all baptised in the name of the Father of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, according to the command of Christ.

The King had chosen for himself the name of our late and much loved Sovereign of precious memory, George a name revered by the South Sea Islands. God grant that he may imitate his faith and pious conduct. His daughter who is a fine girl of about 7 years of age named Charlotte, his oldest son is called David and his youngest, a fine boy about a year and a half old is named after the young pious king of Judah, Josiah.

[24] THE EDUCATION OF A KING 1831 - 1839.

(i) *Meeting in Class*

[Journal, John Thomas, September 1831. Mitchell Library Sydney, di 1959. P.138]

Our King having recently been baptized into the faith of Christ, I write at this time to give you a brief account of it, that you and the friends of Missions may rejoice, that Kings are becoming the nursing fathers of the Church of Christ.

Our king whose name is Taufaaahu began to meet in society last November, the Lord having given him an earnest desire to flee from the wrath to come. Since that period he has regularly met in class, and punctually attended the ordinances of God's house and his profiting is evident to us all, his age, natural disposition, and elevated situation, all seemed to present obstacles in the way of his becoming a humble follower of Christ but the Lord added his richest blessing to our feeble endeavour, and the young -- the sprightly and elevated chief, has been enabled to act with the thoughtfulness -- the seriousness and humility of the man of God.

(ii) *The Baptismal Vow. 1831.*

[Missionary Papers. Peter Turner, 1831 - 1838. Mitchell Library, Sydney, A1506] p. 53.

Before the ceremony was administered, he stood up before the congregation and said; "I rise at this time to give thanks unto Jehovah the Great God, the true God for sending his gospel to these dark and bad lands and also his messengers to preach that gospel unto us; do now with all my mind, give myself unto God to do all I can to promote his cause among my people; my people and in the world. I desire to be made useful to my people and beg of God to give me his grace so to do.

(iii) The King becomes a Lay Preacher. 1833.

[Journal of Rev. Peter Turner, Mitchell Library, Sydney. B. 302 - 305.]

The King was chosen to be a leader and local preacher. It was pleasing to see how readily the leaders and Local Preachers lifted their hands when his name was proposed. He is very zealous in the good cause, and for the honour of God. (October 9th 1833.)

October 12th 1833.

King Taufaahau preached his first Sermon at the town of Mackave 2 miles from Neiafu. Those who heard him gave a wonderful report of the Sermon and how the people were pleased to hear their good king so well and powerfully.

(iv) Further Education: Writing and Recitation. 1839.

[Journal of Peter Turner. Mitchell Library, Sydney. B 302 - 305.]

Monday 18th November 1839.

The King and some teachers have commenced to write and will come every (day) when practicable. They are very deficient in writing.

Monday 25th November 1839.

The people did well in repeating the Sermons on the Sabbath. It was pleasing to see the King set his people the example, both in reading and in repeating the sermons They now read with greater correctness.

(v) The Wesleyan Catechism: An Extract 1847.

[Ko e Uluaki Mo hono ua o e Fehui mo e Tala o e Kalai Uesiliana; Ke ako aki i he ngaahi Fanau mo e ngaahi Lautohi o e kakai ko ia Vavau. Printed at the Wesleyan Mission office, Neiafu, 1847. (Wesleyan Catechism). English translation by Samuela Toa Finau.]

CHAPTER 3 - THE LAWS OF GOD

1. What is the law of God?

The law of God is His Will to all men, regarding the things which they ought to do, and what they should not.

2. Where can we find the laws of God?

In the Holy Bible, in both the Old Testament and New Testament.

3. What does the Bible tell about the law of God?

It says that "the law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good". (Romans 7:12).

4. Did Jesus Christ sum up all the laws of God into two great commandments?

Yes. It says, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment, and a second is like it, you shall love your neighbour as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets". (Mtt, 22:39-40).

5. Does not the Bible contain the detail of the laws of God?

Yes, In the Ten commandments, which were written by God on two stone tablets and given to Moses, which can be found in Exodus chapter twenty.

6. 'Is there any particular name given to these laws of God?

They are called the Ten Commandments; they are. Spiritual laws, because they contain all the things the Holy Bible revealed to be followed by all men; not only that, but they are called Spiritual laws in order to distinguish them from all the other laws which were given to the Israelites only, and to be observed by themselves alone

7. What are the Ten Commandments? (Literally; "Tell me the ten commandments")

(1) Thou shalt have none other gods but Me.

(2) Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, and show mercy unto thousands in them that love Me and keep My Commandments.

(3) Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.

(4) Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God. In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

(5) Honour thy father and thy mother; that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

(6) Thou shalt do no murder.

(7) Thou shalt not commit adultery.

(8) Thou shalt not steal.

(9) Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

(10) Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.

8. What is the greatest thing you learn from these laws?

From it, I have learned two great things: my right and proper duty to God; and my right and proper duty to my neighbour.

[25] THE INSTALLATION OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU 1845

[The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, October 1846. London, 1846. pp. 1022 - 1023.]

In a former communication I informed you, that in case of the death of Tubou, it was likely that the present King, George, who was the legitimate heir to the government, would in all probability succeed him: this event has taken place, and George is now head over the whole of the Friendly Islands. The ceremony of appointing him, or of calling him for the first time by the name significant of his office, - the Tu'ikanokupolu, - was performed, as is the usual custom, at Bangi, in Hihifo, at which village, a place of much note in by-gone times of Heathenism, there formerly stood a very large house upon an open space. The day fixed upon was December 4th; and, accordingly, the Chiefs from various parts of Tonga assembled, as well as several from the Haabai and Vava'u groups. A few of the Tonga Chiefs were still in their Heathen state, as Nuku, Maafu Tubou-leva, Tungi, and some others; but all appeared to approve heartily of the measure, and the greatest propriety was manifested. I took my seat behind the King, under an old cocoa-tree, beneath which the King is expected to sit during the ceremony. The company was, as usual, select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about; to prevent which a Feejeean, dressed and blacked according to the custom of his country and armed with club and spear, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony. The day being very fine, and the Chiefs screened from the rays of the sun by the branches of the large trees which have stood for ages upon the malae of Bangi, it was a very interesting meeting? Had it occurred three days later, it would have been the exact date that the deceased King was appointed eighteen years ago; but O, under what very different circumstances! At that time the Chiefs assembled were Heathens with one or two exceptions, and Heathens who were opposed to the spread of the true religion, and had resorted to the measure of making Tubou King, as the means of effectually checking what was then considered a great evil. At that time "the Kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers took counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed." The little band of Missionaries of the Friendly Islands lived all at Tonga, in those days of weakness and fear: they were permitted to be present to witness the novel sight of appointing a Tonga King to his office; but when we reflected that it was to be the means of turning his feet from the right ways of the Lord, and to prevent the spread of the cause of God; which we had come to promote, it took off the pleasure of the ceremony. Still we did not fear as to the cause of God; we could see his hand even in this; and, being encouraged by his faithful word, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh," &c., we waited to see the result, and have not been disappointed. The Chiefs whose province it is to appoint the Tuikanokupolu, are now all Christians; and the assembly that met on the present occasion were, with very few exceptions, Christians; and from principle, therefore, Christians principle, as well as from a firm conviction of George's right, by birth, to the office, to say nothing of his superior qualifications in every respect, he was made choice of to fill the office. I could not help exclaiming, as I looked back to by-gone days, - to what Tonga was then and contrasting it with what it now is, "What hath God wrought!" "Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee." The Lord hath made known his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the Heathen; so that the Heathen themselves can see, and appear to be saying, "The Lord hath done great things for them." George is approved of, because he is a Christian, not in profession merely, but in principle and practice; and, if his valuable life be spared, we do not doubt that he will be made great, a great blessing to the inhabitants of these seas. The ceremony of appointing to office took

place at a cava-meeting. The cava has been considered sacred and almost everything to be settled in these islands is done at a cava-meeting, at which great order is observed. Two persons sit, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, who are called matuas, or "fathers". The first is named Motuabuaka; the other Lauaki. Their office is to relieve the King, and to act on his account. The other Chiefs sit on either side, forming a large circle, the bulk of the people being in front. The cava being prepared before it was served out, various Chiefs addressed the assembly. After Motua-buaka had opened the business, by stating the object of their assembling, the King addressed them also in his turn. The King's cava being poured into the dish, the name was then called; this Motua-buaka called, in doing which he said Tali-ai, Tubou Tu'ikanokupolu. It had been arranged to drop the word Tali-ai, .that being the family-god; but the father had forgotten it, or, I judge, he would not have used it, as the King did by no means approve of it, and will not be called by that name, but by the family name Tubou, George, or his name of office, as above. After these things were over, and the parties had taken some refreshment, we assembled in the fine new chapel at Hihifo for divine service. After reading the Scriptures suited to the occasion, I preached to a deeply-attentive congregation on 2 Sam. xxiii. 3,4: "He that ruleth over men," &. The King and his Queen Charlotte were present. Mr. Wilson prayed at the close.

The King has taken up his residence at Nukualofa, and great peace and harmony prevail: there are a few exceptions from two of the heathen forts; but we hope ere long, that all will acknowledge him, and bring him the accustomed presents; but should they not do so I believe he will "hold his peace."

[26] A VISITING MISSIONARY'S SUMMING UP OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION 1850c.

[Walter Lawry, Friendly and Feejee Islands: A Missionary Visit to Various stations in the South Seas in the year 1847. London 1850. pp. 111-112.]

Their political constitution is despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. In one view, however, the government may be considered as a kind of family compact; for the persons holding titles and offices address one another by the names of father, son, uncle, and grandfather, without any reference whatever to their real degrees of relationship.

Their manner of investing the Monarch with kingly dignity is as follows:- The Chiefs of the various islands assemble on the occasion; and the ceremony takes place at a kava meeting. Two Chiefs, who are called Fathers, sit, the one on the King's right hand, and the other on his left. Their office is to relieve the King, and to act on his account. The other Chiefs sit on either side, forming a large circle; and the bulk of the people in front. Before the kava is served out, the Chief on the King's right hand opens the business of the meeting, by stating the object for which they have assembled. The different Chiefs, and the King also, speak in turn. When the King's cava is poured into the dish, he is saluted by the Chief on his right hand with the title expressive of his office or dignity, Tui Kanokubolu; that is, "King of Kanokubolu."

The ranks of society are, King, Chiefs, Matabooles, Tooas, and Tamaioeikis, or slaves. There are some individuals connected with the heathen priesthood, who are considered superior

in rank to the Kings, and to whom the Kings do homage. The Tamaha was considered to have descended from the gods. The Rev. Charles Tucker says, "I have a god, a whale's tooth, which she sent me; she called it her Kui, that is, 'grandfather,' or 'grandmother,' for the same term is used for both. I have seen King George and his brother carrying her to and from the chapel in her palanquin, as though they were her children or servants. She was looked upon as a sacred person, having had much to do with the gods. Josiah Tubou, the late Tui-Kanokubolu, paid her homage, and gave her, the precedence at the kava-ring. Probably the name will die with the old lady. There are two other persons belonging to the sacred race who are considered superior in rank to the Tui-Kanokubolu; they, however, are but little known, being still Heathen. They are the Tui-Tonga-tagata and the Tui-Tonga-fefine, or literally, the 'Man King of Tonga,' and the 'Woman King of Tonga.' I expect when they die the title will become extinct or obsolete.

The Matabooles rank next to the Chiefs, and are a sort of honourable attendants on them, - their companions, counsellors, and advisers. They see that the orders and wishes of their Chiefs are duly executed, and may not improperly be called their Ministers. They are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information. The sons and brothers of Matabooles assist at public ceremonies, under the direction of the Matabooles. The Matambooles attend to the good order of society, and look to the morals of the younger Chiefs, who are apt to run into excesses, and oppress the lower orders. They are much respected by all classes. Tooas are the commonalty, or the bulk of the people.

The present King of these islands is an exemplary Christian, and a Preacher of the Gospel. The inhabitants are in a transition-state. A new order of things is springing up. Club-arbitration, which formerly prevailed, has been laid aside; a code of laws is being framed, governors are appointed to the different groups, and courts of justice instituted.

[27] THE CLOSE TIES BETWEEN KING AND MISSION BY THE 1850's.

(i) *The repeated addresses the King has given the people.*

[Haapai Circuit Report. 1850. Friendly Islands District Minute Book, Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

Many of our members we trust have made some advancement in the Divine life; and in none has this been more apparent than in the King and Queen. We have been often cheered to hear of the repeated addresses the King has given the people to improve in their dwellings and dress; to be regular in their attendance on the means of grace; and always ready to assist the Missionary, and, in all these things he can say, "Follow me."

(ii) *A Proclamation by the King.*

[Vava'u Schools Report, 1858, Friendly Islands District Minute Book. Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

In consequence of the paucity of labourers and the indifference of the people to the education of their children in past years the Children's Schools had not been attended to as their importance demands: and consequently but a small proportion of the Children were found able to acquit themselves creditably: And had the Lord not wrought for us in arousing the people and moving the heart of our excellent King to put forth his influence in behalf of Education we might still have to complain of but little success - Immediately after the Anniversary King George issued a proclamation that all children should be educated - and that all Parents who do not send their children to School shall endure the imposition of a fine. The result is that every child in the land of competent age is a learner in our schools.

(iii) *"We bless God for much valuable aid".*

[Tonga Circuit Report, 1858. Friendly Islands District Minute Book, Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

True there is much that still we mourn over in our people and in our land, and which we long to see removed -- but we must not fail to bless and praise God for what he has done for us, and is still doing -- we have had many blessed opportunities of proving that the Gospel is still the power of God unto Salvation. The old paganism of the country could not stand before it, it was swept away as with the besom of destruction, it has fallen to rise no more. .

...

The King spent some two or three months at this place in the middle of the year and took a lively interest in the good work of the Lord here by preaching in various places and uniting with our excellent local Preachers in holding Prayer meetings, that penitents might find pardon and that souls might be quickened and saved. The conduct of the King has had a good effect upon his people in every part of the land, and we bless God for much valuable aid in this laborious circuit.

B. THE WAR OF 1837.

[28] CIVIL STRIFE AND THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR 1836-1837

[Journal. Stephen Rabone, November and December 1836 February 1837.
Mitchell Library Sydney, MSS 47 pp. 66; 70-71; 77]

Saturday 12th November 1836, Feletoa Vava'u.

Last evening the Canoes arrived from Tonga and Ha'abai which took King George and accompanied King Josiah in his return, their reception was not attended with any particular marks of kindness the Heathen had prepared for war foolishly supposing King George was bringing his people to fight in this they were disappointed he has forgot to war as also his people

Friday 23rd December 1836

With our letter from England which was left at Tonga we received one from Bro. Watkin, in which he stated. Tonga to be in a tumultuous, and unsettled state. The heathen want to go to war with Xtianity to this end they wish to depose their King Josiah and have one more favourable to their views and practice. The King has written to our King George informing him of the state of things and he came here from Lifuka to consult with the great chiefs of this place. Yesterday he returned having consulted and agreed that himself and William Ulakai shall go to Tonga with a number of canoes and people and if the people will fight, to bring away their King and the praying people and let them fight among themselves, they have long been talking and preparing for war and although it is the custom to talk much and do little yet those who know them and their ways begin to be apprehensive that it will issue in a civil broil.

SUNDAY 12th February 1837

Within these few minutes past we have heard the beating of the "Lali". Which announces a sail of some kind in sight. We hope it is a canoe from Tonga . . . Since writing the above Joeli has returned from Neiafu and brings me several letters from the Brethren Watkin and Tucker and most awful news, not less than 300 men, women, and children have been murdered in the taking of the Kolo at "Hule" and from the beginning of the war only 6 of the Christians are fallen, it does indeed appear that the Tonga Heathen are given to a Retrobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction, for they have positively refused to "lotu" and madly prefer dying in their sins"

[29] UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR KING GEORGE

[Stephen , Rabone Journal Vol.2. January - December 1837.
Mitchell Library Sydney. MSS 47.]

Friday Jan, 6th.

This afternoon we were somewhat: surprised by the beating of what is called the 'Lali' a sort of drum used to call to sail, war, etc, etc. We soon learnt however that a canoe had arrived from Ha'apai bringing news that Tonga was viewed as in a state of war and orders from King

George (who had arrived there very early on the morning of the 1st.) for the strong and healthy men of these Islands to go to Tonga that in case the Heathen should be foolish enough to fight they may have a force to meet them and in the name of the Lord to put them to flight. Our Governor Leonaitasi is leaving this evening with a few people - others are expected to leave tomorrow. We deeply and sincerely sympathise with Bro. and Sister Watkin who with their family are still living at the fortification if war should take place they would probably have again to leave but, the Lord we know will take care of them. We pray he may speak peace to the Heathen and scatter the people that delight in war. Amen.

Sunday 8th.

Attended the Native Services today and tho I understood but little that was said yet found it profitable to wait on the Lord in the Sanctuary. May the divine blessing succeed the labours of this day in every place. The minds of the people are a good deal exercised about Tonga. Many are going in the morning. May they have a fair wind.

Monday 9th.

The canoe with as many people as could go left this place this morning for Tonga. 2 or 3 left Neiafu so that if they arrived from here and Ha'apai there will be a strong force. O may they be kept by the power and grace of God from sin and satan.- Amen.

Monday 16th.

This morning Bro and Sister Spinney came up to spend the day with us. This afternoon we went to see what is called the "vai to" it is certainly a frightful cavity perhaps from 120 to 150 feet below the surface and so perpendicular that it is with the greatest difficulty we got down and up. When coming up Siouli came running to inform us that the canoes had arrived from Tonga and that war had actually commenced, that several of the Heathen party were dead and one of our teachers named Metuisela from Ha'apai, I hope to have more correct information tomorrow morning by Bro. who preached here.

Tuesday 17th

Bro. had not been up according to our expectation, this morning all the people had orders to leave the places they now inhabit and during the war 'Nofope' [stay] at Neiafu. Two or three are given for this, however the principal one I have heard is that in case the Heathen at Tonga should by any means get away and made an attack upon this Island they may meet with some resistance this is the orders of our King George who has always got his thoughts about him. In a note received from Bro. Thomas this morning he tells me that 22 lives were already lost on the heathen side and one of the Xtian party, that the Xtians had taken one small "kolo" or fortification from the Heathen, and that one Heathen chief named _____ with his people had actually put himself under the protection of our people at Nuku'alofa. Bro and Sister Watkin have left and are at Lifuka so Tonga is again without a missionary. - One canoe returns with people in the morning and the other on Thursday morning. Lord help us. Amen.

Tuesday Evening (17th)

The canoe we expected to sail tomorrow morning is ordered to have this evening and altho our people have not known it many minutes, almost all the men are gone, but oh, what crying! What distress! While I write the noise of wives - mothers, children all crying, nea

roaring in the road is dinning. We feel very much for them. Joeli my teacher is gone. I may never see them again. - Well I doubt not if I am faithful to the grace of God, I shall meet no mean army of them in glory - they are gone to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Hallelujah! Jesus shall reign this is a mighty but perhaps the expiring struggle of the prince of darkness in Tonga. God grant it may prove so - Amen & Amen.

Thursday 7th December 1837. p.114

We hear that a large folau arrived yesterday from Haabai that King George is come with 23 Canoes and carrying upward of 2000 men. The Heathen are afraid; O God, do thou sanctify this visit to the good of Tonga.

Saturday 10th Feb: 1838.

This week Ulakai has been down here and has been talking away to the Heathens, some of whom he has been scolding for their opposition to the Religion. May it produce the designed effect and may many be saved in the day of the Lord. This afternoon the TuiTonga arrived here on a visit. This is the greatest personage in this island - but what a creature of imagination, what a monstrous Cypher - he had a handful of people only, cannot speak a word in reference to the Government of the Island - nor anything that concerns it. It is not lawful to eat in his presence or at least not to face him eating or drinking - and there is language only applicable to this useless being - as much utility to the island as a large mole to a man's face.

[30] THE HEATHEN FEAR OF TAUFAAHAU 1837.

[Tonga Circuit Report 1837. Microfilm record of the Methodist Missionary Society, London. F M 4/ 1397, Reel 6. Mitchell Library ,Sydney.]

The Heathen now acknowledge that the Lord he is God, yet so awfully infatuated and hardened are they that they still adhere to what they them selves acknowledge to be a system of lies. The whole island is in a state of peace, the heathen in consequence of the severe punishment inflicted on them, dare not persecute for the fear of King George Taufaahau whose very name almost strikes terror into them.

C. THE WAR OF 1940.

[31] CAPTAIN WILKES COMMENTS ON THE CAUSE OF THE WAR. 1840.

[Wilkes, Charles. U.S.N. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the years 1838,1839,1840,1842, 5 Volumes. Philadelphia. 1844. Volume 3. p.17.]

One can readily enter into the feelings of the heathen, who are inhabitants of the sacred Tonga, and have always been looked up to by the inhabitants of the rest of the group, who were obliged to carry thither offerings, &c., to the gods, as superior to themselves, when they see an attempt made to subjugate them, by those whom they have always looked upon with contempt, and to force upon them a new religion, and a change in every thing they have hitherto looked upon as sacred. Such feelings are enough to make them war against any innovation in their social polity and laws; and after having been acknowledged from time immemorial as pre-eminent throughout the whole group, including Wallis, Hoorn, Traitor's and Keppel's Islands, it is not surprising that they should be found the active enemies of religious encroachments. Their vexation is augmented by the disappointment they experienced in the last election of the King of Tonga (Tui Kanakabolo); Tubou although the brother of his predecessor, was chosen by them in preference to Mumui, the son, because they believed him to be favourable to their side, and opposed to the Christian party. Mumui on the other hand, was brought up by the missionaries, speaks English tolerably well, and is the missionaries principal school-teacher. Mr Tucker informed me that Mumui is now considered as the son of Tubou, and will be entitled to the succession, for which both Faatu and Taufaahau, are likewise candidates, on the death of Tubou.

[32] MISSIONARY COMMENTS ON THE CAUSE AND COURSE OF THE WAR

[Journal, Vol.2. Stephen Rabone. Mitchell Library, Sydney. MSS 47)

1840 War.

Tuesday, December 31st, 1839. pp.185–186.

In reference to the present state of Tonga since I last wrote in my journal we have had several misunderstandings among the heathen and several fortresses have reported preparations for war. We grieve most about Hihifo at that place there has been little but digging fortresses and war like proceedings for many weeks past. The Heathen and the Christians cannot agree - we do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character. However they are not worse than they have been for some time past – I confess I do not anticipate that they will even agree for any length of time. They are very near each other this circumstance with the differences of their pursuits, designs, and wishes all unite to make me fear they will not agree - while in many particulars they are too connected that it would be an impossibility almost to separate them.

P.191. January 20th.

O what confusion and uproar every where prevails - fences building - houses being lifted into

the fortress. Messages sending messages being received and altogether one scene of confusion and unpleasantness. O for peace and quiet. Lord undertake their own cause and save all the people.

Tuesday 21st,

This morning we found the Canoe had left for Haabai and Vava'u. The wind has been fair and the day fine so we hope they are at Lifuka this evening - and that they will proceed on to Vava'u tomorrow K.G. being there just now. The Heathen will now be fearing and expecting every day, Of their own King they have no fear nor do they respect him - We hear curious reports from the Heathen many of which we do not believe - some we fear are too much like truth to be disputed. O these un-Friendly Islands - what treachery, deceit and bloodshed and murder would their history develop could it be secured - to hear of some things is almost too much for common feelings.

P.192. Thursday 23rd January 1840.

This afternoon after our Females Leaders Meeting - Bro. T. and I went into the King's house. During our conversation with him 4 or 5 of our people arrived from Foui all blackened and prepared for war. They came to bring the news that a certain party belonging to Foui had gone out of their fortress and had killed 2 more of the Heathen party - We left as soon as we heard their message and I felt exceedingly grieved - especially as the King had given explicit orders to the Foui people to keep in their fortress till George had arrive from Haabai. But it is one of the most difficult things imaginable to restrain these semi savages from war when once commenced. In fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of war and bloodshed -- we talk - we write - we promise - we threaten - but the old disposition of the people breaks thro' all. The King has ordered 100 of our people to take back the men who brought the painful intelligence - lest they should be way laid by the Heathen. O God remember the Heathen for good - and saves the people from evil.

Friday 24th,

We hear nothing of importance today - the people returned that went to Hihifo and again we are grieved to hear that instead of doing simply what the King ordered them to do (viz to see the men safe at Foui and return) they went and surrounded the fortress of the Heathen called them to come out - fired upon them and they in return fired upon our people - and one was very near being shot - so near that the bullet tore off his dress, but they escaped without further mischief. Everything is now lawful, that men like to do - but we pray for that time when such a state of things shall be no more. May the Lord hasten it. We are anxiously awaiting the arrival of G. from Haabai but can hardly expect him as the wind is very strong and not very fair.

Tuesday 4th February 1840. p.195.

Another and I suppose the last message was sent this morning to Hihifo and this afternoon he returned with 3 old men called Matabules or chiefs from the fortress - they came to say they were willing to make peace etc., but not willing to embrace the lotu. - Kings Josiah and George spake freely to them and they appeared humbled and confessed their disobedience to Tupou etc. K.G. told them he should do down to Hihifo in the morning - the old men went before with the professed object of preparing for his reception. O may the Lord go with his servants and save them from the hands of all them that hate them.

Thursday

King George and his people with a part of the people from this place left here in the course of last night and arrived at Hihifo before day light. While at the Foui and consulting with the chiefs there in reference to their all going to make peace with the heathen, a man arrived who had ran from the Heathen fortress - and immediately informed K. George of what he heard in the Heathen fortress - it appears that on the return of the 3 old chiefs who came here to talk with the Kings - the whole of the Heathen Chiefs held a consultation and on hearing that G. intended to visit them on the morrow they formed and agreed upon the diabolical plan of murdering K. G, as soon as he should enter their fortress - they were of one heart and the men who possessed guns were directed accordingly - accidentally this young Backslider from God heard of the affair and could find no rest till he made his escape from the fortress and made known the affair to G. and his people. A man was immediately dispatched to enquire the truth of this report and after various attempts to deny it - Ata himself confessed to the truth of the affair.

K.G. and his people did not therefore go to the fortress, but returned here this evening in order to consult with Tupou and the Chiefs here as to what must be done. One thing they have determined upon - viz to depose the present 'Ata and Vaha'I - which we expect will take place in the morning. But O God we give the praise and glory of the preservation of the King to Thyself - it is not the first affair of this very character in Tonga - the late war furnished a similar affair at Hule - and in the end they were all swept away. - We pray it may not be so in this instance. We believe it will not. We now guess why they wished G. to go in a small vaka or if not to go with a few people etc - their feet are swift to shed blood - but they never knew the way of peace.

Friday 7th.

This morning I was at the great Kava party when another 'Ata and Vaha'i were installed. There was considerable ceremony - after the said persons were called to their proper seats in the Kava ring - Kava was made and then it was called to take the first dish of Kava to Ata - from which time Ata is his name - so of Vaha'i - the latter is one of our Local Preachers - and proves that Truth "They that honour me I will honour etc." We hope this will tell upon the pride and obstinacy of the Heathen. They perhaps would not anticipate that such a thing would be done.

[33] WHEN WILL THE WAR CEASE? 1840

[Journal of Rev. Peter Turner. Mitchell Library, Sydney. B. 306.]

June 1st 1840.

I was in hopes some thing would have been done more effectively to terminate the war. But one reason is the people have been visited with an influenza so that not more than one half of the Xtians has been able to do anything. The influenza was brought by an American vessel I have received a note from King Geo, in which he expresses his affection towards us and thanks me for my letter of advice to him. He hopes that I shall continue to give him my advice.

Monday 22 (June 1840)

'..... O when will the war cease. Our people are going astray. The Schools and the society are torn to pieces.....'

[34] AN ATTEMPT AT MEDIATION. CAPTAIN WILKES 1840

[Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N. Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, Vol.3. pp. 7 - 12]

Nuku'alofa is a station of the Wesleyan Mission, the heads of which, Messrs. Tucker and Rabone, paid me a visit, and from them I learnt that the Christian and Devil's parties were on the point of hostilities; that Tautafa'ahau or King George, of Vavao, had arrived with eight hundred warriors, for the purpose of carrying on the war, and putting an end to it.

Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker. I there fore sent a message to the chiefs of the Christian party, to meet me in fono in the morning, and late at night received a notice that they would be prepared to receive me. On the morning of the 24th, I landed with all officers that could be spared from other duties.

We were led through all this confusion to the small hut of Tubou or King Josiah; here we were presented to his majesty, with whom I shook hands. He was sitting on a mat winding a ball of sennit, which he had been making, and at which occupation he continued for the most part of the time. He has the appearance of being about sixty years old; his figure is tall, though much bent with age; he has a fine dignified countenance, but is represented as a very imbecile old man, fit for any thing but to rule; as domestic and affectionate in his family, caring little about the affairs of government, provided he can have his children and grand-children around him to play with, in which amusement he passes the most of his time. Seats were provided for us from the missionaries' houses, and were placed in the hut, whose sides being open, gave us a full view of all that was passing without. King Josiah, with his nearest relatives and the highest chiefs, about ten in number occupied the hut, together with the missionaries and ourselves. The warriors were grouped about in little squads, in their various grotesque accoutrements.

When all was apparently ready, we waited some few minutes for King George. When he made his appearance, I could not but admire him; he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned, and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face; all which were seen to the greatest advantage. The only covering he wore was a large white tapa or gnato, girded in loose folds around his waist, and hanging to the ground, leaving his arms and chest quite bare.

He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed he was in the habit of commanding those about him. With unassuming dignity, he quietly took his seat

without the hut, and as if rather prepared to be a listener than one who was to meet us in council. This was afterwards explained to me by Mr. Tucker, who stated that King George is not yet considered a native chief of Tonga, and, notwithstanding his actual power here and at Vavao, is obliged to take his seat among the common people. On observing his situation, and knowing him to be the ruling chief de facto, I immediately requested that he might be admitted to the hut; and he was accordingly requested to enter, which he did, and seated himself at a respectful distance from the king, to whom he showed great and marked respect.

I proposed myself as a mediator between the parties, and that each party should appoint ten chiefs, to meet under my direction and protection, in order to arrange all the difficulties between them; that these should meet on neutral ground, on the island of Pangai-Moutu, about halfway between the heathen fortress of Moa and Nukualofa.

Anxious to know the actual cause of the war, I made every inquiry that was in my power, and satisfied myself that it was in a great measure a religious contest, growing out of the zeal the missionaries have to propagate the gospel, and convert the heathen. With this is combined the desire of King George, or Taufa'ahau, who is already master of Hapai and Vavao, to possess himself of all the islands of the group. About three years prior to our visit, a war had broken out in Tonga of a similar character, and the Christian party being hard pressed; sent to ask the aid of King George who came, relieved them, and defeated their enemies.

.....

Indeed his (King George's) whole conduct did not leave us any doubt what his intentions were, and that the missionaries and he were serving each others cause. I mentioned my suspicions, relatives to King George's ambition, to the missionaries, and how likely it would be to prevent any reconciliation or peace with the heathen, and was much surprised and struck with the indifference with which Mr, Rabone spoke of the war. He was evidently more inclined to have it continue than desirous that it should be put a stop to; viewing it, in fact, as a means of propagating the gospel. I regretted to hear such sentiments, and had little hope, after becoming aware of them, of being instrumental in bringing about a peace, when such unchristian views existed where it was least to be expected.

[35] AN ATTEMPT AT MEDIATION - ANOTHER VIEW

[Stephen Rabone. Journal, Vol.2, Friday April 24th 1840. – Mitchell Library Sydney. MSS. 47]

This afternoon arrived here the ----- Cormadore Wilkes of the U.S. Ex.Ex. Several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro. Tucker and myself on board - we went and have had a long conversation - principally in reference to the heathen and the present state of Tonga - he expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties. And for the arrangement of this affair had requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning. May the blessings of peace making be his portion. Altho I thus wish and desire - I confess I am not half as sanguine in my expectations as Com. Wilkes - but may I be disappointed.

About 10 o'clock Saturday morning arrived on shore Com. Wilkes with a considerable number of his officers. We all met at Josaia's house with Josiah and George and all the chiefs concerned in the government. The Com. expressed a determination to make peace if possible. He brought with him a written document which he submitted to Josiah and George and which they approved in which he requested an audience with the Heathen and Xtian chiefs at any place they might choose to meet, in order to reconcile their differences and make friends. No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believed for a moment that the heathen chiefs would thus meet Josiah and George, he himself was sanguine and "had no doubt" but he should accomplish the object. The writing was translated and sent first to "Fatu" - then to "Lavaka" and then to "Vaea". The Com. waited - had a tent erected on shore in part for their accomodation and meeting provisions were taken on shore and on Sunday night or Monday morning arrived from the Heathen Maafu an old blind chief who has little or nothing to do in the government. However he was the only representative from the heathen - accompanied by a man calling himself "English named George" but who is two fold more a Heathen than the heathen themselves. He remained a few hours but during last night he and His party made their escape - taking with them all their biscuits, beef, etc. and thus effectively convinced the Com. that they are heathen and can lie-steal and anything else for the sake of a little food - and that to make peace with the heathen is not such an easy matter as it was evidently imagined to be by Com. Wilkes. We highly valued the object in view and the motives by which Com. W. was actuated - but are not at all disappointed in the way the heathen have treated him.

[36] KING GEORGE'S TACTICS

[Wilkes, Charles. USN. op. cit. pp.28-29]

On the evening of the day on which King George visited the ship he held a council, in which he addressed his chiefs and warriors on the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour; and measures were taken to prosecute it accordingly. The meeting took place in the malai opposite his house while he sat in the doorway with his two children, with the church-people forming a circle around him. At this meeting was seen the noted chief and Feejee warrior who has already been spoken of, fully armed, in the background. After the council had debated and talked over the subject fully, King George gave some commands, which several messengers were sent to execute and the council was dismissed in a truly primitive style and language: "Let every man go and cook his yams."

After the assemblage was dismissed, the king and chiefs remained some time in consultation. In this council, an attack upon the heathen towns was arranged. The next morning, smoke was seen ascending from some of the heathen villages, and word was brought to me afterwards, that King George, having sallied forth with eight hundred warriors at midnight, had burned two of the heathen towns. Although he had ordered seven hundred more warriors to follow him at daylight, he did not pursue the heathen, who fled before him. On his return in the evening he held an ava feast in honour of his success; at this meeting, Lavaka and Ata, or the chiefs who held these titles, were formally degraded from their offices by the king, - a stroke of policy that is thought will have much influence in

alienation of this people, as it has usually had that effect; I, however, very much question its success in the present instance when the parties have such a deadly animosity towards each other; for the very authority by which the act of degradation is performed has abandoned the religion by which the act was sanctioned.

[37] AN APPEAL FOR BRITISH HELP BY THE MISSIONARIES 1840

[Thomas West, Ten years in south Central Polynesia etc etc, London 1865. pp.284-286]

Soon after the departure of the American commodore, (Wilkes), further aggressive acts on the part of the heathen followed. The Missionaries were kept in a state of constant alarm and danger, from the 12th of May until June 21st. Various fatal encounters, between the rebels and the loyalists, took place on a small scale during that interval of time, all of which tended to embitter the animosity of the combatants. On the latter date, H.M.S. "Favourite," commanded by Captain Croker, arrived. He had received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Thomas, while at Vavau, requesting his amicable interposition, to arrest, if possible, the further progress of the war. Upon landing, therefore, at Nukualofa, he immediately intimated to the allied kings his readiness to do anything he possibly could to terminate the war. Such, however, was the state of affairs, that the two Missionaries addressed the following letter to the captain, which, in itself, will best explain the exposed and dangerous position in which they and their families were placed.

NUKUALOFA, TONGATABU, June 22nd, 1840.
To Captain Croker, of H.B.M. S. 'Favourite,'

Sir,

We, the undersigned, being Missionaries labouring under the auspices of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in this island, gratefully hail your visit here at this critical juncture as a gracious interposition of Divine Providence, and earnestly implore, as British subjects and Christian Missionaries, your protection and assistance in behalf of ourselves and families.

In consequence of the civil war which is now raging on this island, our lives and property are in great danger day and night. Our premises stand outside of the fort, and are, consequently, comparatively unprotected; and we have no means at our command of removing to a place of safety; the fort being far too small to contain all the Christians who have run thither from the different villages and out stations to save their lives.

The heathen have tried to fix on a plan to take Nukualofa by storm; but have been mercifully prevented. They have repeatedly made incursions, both by day and night, to within a short distance of this place. On Thursday last, they killed four aged men from here, within about two miles of our premises, and mangled their bodies by cutting off their heads and carrying them away as trophies to their fort.

We heard the alarm, and also that they were chasing others of the Christian party towards this place. Knowing our defenceless condition at the time, - King George, with nearly all the

people, being twelve miles off in another direction, - we knew not where to run for safety; but thought it not prudent to risk our lives, and those of our families, by remaining in our houses where we were. We, consequently, had to abandon the premises, with all our property, and the property of the Mission; but, providentially, the rebels retired, after coming within a short distance of our town.

The Kings Josiah and George, with their people, are alarmed about our safety; and Josiah himself, with a few old men, kept watch at our gates on Wednesday night last, while King George and the people were away.

There are three fortresses in rebellion against the king and government of this island, counting about 1,400 men. The Christian party number 800 men: and whenever King George and the people go out against one fortress, we and the few left here are exposed to the rage and murderous intentions of the other two. It has been at such times that the rebels have latterly committed depredations, coming on several occasions very near our premises. We cannot depend upon the natives keeping regular watch and often fear, when lying down at night, lest our dwellings should be burnt, and ourselves murdered, before morning. We have no means at our command of removing our families and property either to Haabai or Vavau or any other place for the time being. In these painful circumstances we cast ourselves under the shield of British protection, earnestly begging you, as the representative of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, whose subjects we are, to assist us in the removal of our families to some place of safety.

(Signed) CHARLES TUCKER,
STEPHEN RABONE."

After receiving this letter, and promising the protection claimed, Captain Croker, by the request of the allied kings, undertook to act as mediator between them and the rebels, the conditions of peace being drawn up by him, and approved of by the two kings.

[38] CAPTAIN CROKER'S FATAL ATTEMPTS TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT 1840

[Journal, Vol.1. Stephen Rabone, p.224-225. June 1840.
Mitchell Library Sydney. MSS. 47.]

Sunday June 21st 1840.

We were informed that the "Man of War" was near the anchorage. It came to anchor at about 7 o'clock and Captain Croker her commander came on shore - he had called here at considerable expense of time and provisions to see if he could render any assistance towards establishing a peace among the two parties of this island. We view it as an interposition of our Heavenly Father and do hope his visit will be made a blessing - he has spoken with the Kings and they are to present to him their request in writing tomorrow morning. O may this affair be of the Lord, I preached at George's place this afternoon and thus close the labours of this day.

Mon, 22

"Captain Crocker" has read and received the petitions of the Kings for help and has determined on helping them. But in what way we do not yet know. We hope that God may direct him in all he does.

Tues. 23.

Captain Croker has determined to take a force guns and ammunition to the Bea and so in case of them objecting to his terms of peace - to drive them out of their fortress. We fear they may be fool hardy and suffer for it, but we are at a loss what to say or think. We hope the coming of the vessel is of the Lord - and that the interference of Captain Croker may be owned of God and sanctioned by his Government. Tomorrow is the time fixed upon for the expedition.

Wed. 24.

O What a day! Captain Croker and his people to the number of 100 or more left here with King George and his people this morning for the Bea. They arrived about 10 o'clock and soon a message was brought here that Captain C was admitted into the fortress and that the heathen were willing to make peace. Scarcely had we given thanks to God in our minds for this joyful news - but we heard the reports of guns - now our joy was turning to sorrow and we supposed what we after know was the case that the heathen had at first professed a willingness to accede to terms of peace but that their object was something very different from that. But what a tale did we soon hear that Captain Croker had determined on attacking the fortress and himself led the way without first battering at it with his large guns. The heathen waited for them and Captain Croker was dead - shot dead by the heathen. O what have we felt this day! Captain Croker dead - 2 of the men likely to die tonight 17 or 18 more wounded, among these 1 Lieuts and 3rd all discomfitted and Guns etc. left in the hands of the Heathen. O my God! We stand confused and confounded! What shall we say or do? That ever Captain Croker should come here - a worthy, kind good Gentleman - but no more'. O his poor wife and 5 or 6 children. Lord, Lord, pardon our sins and deliver us not over into the hands of our enemies. Great is the rejoicing of Satan and his host. A Servant of God and England fallen and many others wounded. Our hearts were broken when today they brought the Dear Captain wrapped up in cocoanut leaves. We hope well concerning his soul - but

D. THE WAR OF 1852.

[39] LOCAL PREACHERS DISCIPLINED FOR WAR-LIKE ACTIVITIES 1842-1852.

[Local Preachers Minute Book, 1841 - 1861. Tongatapu Circuit.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Nuku'alofa.]

1842 September Quarterly Meeting.

Objections.

N...M... Preached frequently without telling where his text was.

S...M... was reprovved for acting in an improper way towards a man in the road at night. Also for neglecting the means of Grace. I hope he will reform.

M...M... was reprovved for being out with S...M... in a warlike attitude.

1848 March Quarterly Meeting.

Suspended M...M., for acting heathenish at the burial of his child - he had 140 roots of Kava prepared with about 30 umus.

T...K... implicated in war - vete -- loi -etc.

J...N... went armed with Fiji weapons to Fua'amotu.

....

N.B. The local Preachers were cautioned against the war Spirit and entreated to act as peacemakers in every instance and not to join with those who wish to promote discord and confusion.

1852, March Quarterly Meeting

1. What Preachers are present?

Ans, W.Webb, T.West, G.Daniel, R. Amos -- the King and upwards of 140 Local Preachers.

2. Are there any objections to any whose names are on the Plan?

Ans. A...M... was suspended from his work for one Quarter in consequence of his improper behaviour in reference to a young woman his niece -- sleeping on the same mat.

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.

A...M... dropped for tempting a female to sin.

[40] A THREATENING SITUATION 1849

[Thomas West, Ten years in South Central Polynesia etc etc. London 1865.
pp. 210-211 An extract from his journal of the 20th March 1849]

March 20th, 1849.

A fleet of canoes arrived a few days ago, escorting King George hither. We hear by the natives that there is considerable danger of war breaking out in Tongatabu, between the two heathen fortresses of Houma and Bea. I do not understand the precise origin of the quarrel; but it appears to be a mere struggle for ascendancy between Maafu and Veea, the ruling chiefs of those two towns and fortresses. Haapai is at peace, and so is Vavau; but how long this may, continue I do not know. But for the presence of Missionaries, and the

salutary influence of religion, I am afraid there would soon be sad disturbances even here. The present formal, and formidable, visit of the king, is connected with another reported plot for his assassination, and for the purpose also of instituting an inquiry into certain seditious speeches, which some of the chiefs are reported to have made among the people, during the last few months. As on the former occasion, so now, all the accused parties have denied the truth of the reports, and have publicly signified their continued allegiance to the king's person and government. The population at large rejoice, beyond doubt, under the wise, kind, politic, and Christian rule of King George. This is also true of the great majority of the chiefs; but there are a few designing men who, to serve their own ambitious purposes, would gladly advance the claims of the children of the late Ulukalala. This is they dare not do openly. They well know that the nomination by Zephaniah Ulukalala of King George, as his successor, even to the exclusion of his own son; and the subsequent ratification of this nomination by the chiefs of the land, were legitimate acts; and in perfect accordance with Tonguese law and custom. Nor must it be forgotten, that these events only restored the kingdom to the lawful representative of those from whose hands it had been wrested, by rebellion, in former years. It is now hoped, that the active measures adopted by the king, and the wisdom which marks all his movements, will put a final stop to these fruitless machinations of his enemies.

In the face of all these disturbing and evil influences the cause of religion and civilization continued steadily to advance in Vavau; and the very occurrences we have named, only tended to elicit, and to display more clearly, the real power which Christianity was attaining in the restraint and guidance of the native population.

[41] THE WAR REPORTED TO THE MISSIONARY COMMITTEE 1851

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book, Tonga Circuit Report. 1851-52.
Archives of the Free Wesleyan Church, Nuku'alofa.]

There is however another topic and one upon which we enter with deep feelings of sorrow. A dark cloud at present hangs over us; our work is in a fearful state of confusion, the land has again become the scene of war and bloodshed. For some time past the heathens have been assuming a hostile appearance and refusing submission to the just laws of their Christian King. They have now proceeded to open acts of rebellion and have thus involved the land in war. For further information upon this matter we refer to the account of the war accompanying the minutes.

[42] THE OFFICIAL WESLEYAN ACCOUNT OF THE WAR. 1852

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book. A special report appended to the Minutes for 1851-52, dated 6/4/1852, Signed Peter Turner, Chairman]

The War in Tonga

The Brethren now assembled in Annual District Meeting beg to lay before the General

Committee the following statement respecting the war at present in progress in the island of Tonga. Full particulars will be given in the letters and journals or the brethren on the spot but we deem it right to lay before you in this form our united deliberations upon this important subject.

The present war is entirely of a political character although it involves in it a collision of our Christian Societies with the heathen and Roman Catholic portion of the population. For several years past the heathen population at the fortresses of Bea and Houma have been assuming an hostile attitude and have as far as possible opposed and thwarted the Authority and government of the King whilst at the same time they have failed repeatedly to acknowledge by word of mouth his right to the supreme control and Sovereignty. Since however the month of June 1851 when the King removed from Haabai to reside permanently at Tonga the rebellion of the heathen chiefs has assumed a more open and determined aspect, until, having accomplished the completion of their respective fortresses they threw off all further restraint and declared their desire for war. Meantime the King, exercised the utmost Christian forbearance - sent message after message at different times to solemnly declare his wish for peace and his fixed determination to prevent war and that any party whether Christian or heathen violating his orders in that respect should be punished. All his messages were treated with contempt, and for self-defence all the loyal portion of the people were called in from all the out villages and towns and concentrated at the respective fortresses of Nuku'alofa, Mua, and Hihifo with the smaller forts of Maofanga, Nukunuku, Folaha and Teekiu. The heathen having declared their determination for war and every overture for peace having been spurned no alternative was left for King George but to take measures to repress the rebellion and maintain his lawful Authority. Such being the position of affairs a skirmish soon took place and many have now fallen on both sides.

With regard to the Roman Catholic part of the people and their share in the rebellion we beg to make the following statement - In the fortress of Bea there are a number of Romanists and two Roman Catholic priests and a few foreigners. Before the war commenced the King wrote to the priests stating distinctly that the war was not a war of religious party - that he had no desire to persecute nor intimidate their religion, but that as he was determined to subdue rebellion, they, the Romish Priests and foreigners must prepare to leave the fort and reside at some place of safety until the conclusion of the war. A correspondence ensued between the priests and the King which ended in their refusal to leave the fort, and this is the precise position of all parties at the present moment.

The Roman Catholics and heathen in Bea and Houma have joined their forces against the King and the Priests refuse the offers made of a safe conduct from the King to any part of the Island where they might wish to reside until the war be terminated.

We as in duty bound have endeavoured in every way to retard and prevent the war but at the same time while we utterly disclaim any desire for war we are unanimous in our opinion that the King has made every concession consistent with his position as a true Christian man and lawful Sovereign.

[43] CONDUCT OF KING GEORGE DURING THE WAR 1852.

(i) [Journal of Peter Turner. Mitchell Library, Sydney. B.310.]

21st April 1852.

There is something worthy in the conduct of the king. Many of the chiefs and the people are wishful to take the two fortresses by storm and so put an end to the war, but he seems only wishful to starve them into surrender. For as he says if I give permission to do so -- many would be killed on both sides -- and neither I nor any other could prevent the people from killing all they came in contact when thus excited. Most of those who had been cut off belonging to the lotu party have been guilty of some imprudence by the neglect of some orders.

26th August 1852

Sir Everard Home ("Calliote") honoured us with a visit and he looks quite well and has not aged since the last interview we had with him. He expresses himself as highly pleased with all he saw at Tonga and eulogizes very highly the conduct of the King in the late war and declares "he has never met with his equal among the natives of these seas". To these we carefully subscribe with all our hearts.

[44] THE WAR ENDS 1853.

[Friendly Islands District Minute Book, Tonga Circuit Report 1853]

The past has been a year of severe trial. At its commencement Tonga had become a scene of war and bloodshed; our villages had all been abandoned, and our people collected in a few places temporarily fortified for the occasion. Much confusion prevailed throughout the land. With deep sorrow we have seen many unstable souls carried away by the demoralizing influence of war. They have yielded to temptation and fallen into the snare of the devil: while on the other hand we have met with abundant encouragement in witnessing the Christian spirit manifested by the great majority of our church members during the war We recognize with gratitude the Hand Divine in bringing to a happy termination the late painful affairs in Tonga. We have no longer to be escorted by an armed force to the scene of our labours. The dark cloud has dispersed. The footsteps of divine providence are not now in the thick darkness in reference to this island Our villages have become re-peopled and the deserted house of God is again the place of joy and singing.

New villages have also sprung up, and in every place a house is dedicated to the worship of the Lord of Hosts. Heathenism has received its death blow. All the people from the large fortresses of Houma, Vaini, Folaha have abandoned their devilish superstitions, and have become, at least nominally, worshippers of the one living and true God.

The inhabitants likewise of Bea - who for the most part have embraced popery, as well as the remnant who were still heathens- have generally joined our congregations Our work is most encouraging throughout the island.

(ii) [Thomas West. Ten years in South-central Polynesia: being reminiscences of a Personal Mission to the Friendly Islands and their Dependencies. London 1865., pp.337-340.]

The priest who went away during the war to seek French aid, returned in a small trading vessel from Samoa; and when he found the war ended, declared that he would have ample reparation in due time. He subsequently departed for Tahiti, where he lodged certain charges and claims, against the Tonguese, before the French Governor.

Accordingly, on the 12th of November, 1852, a French ship of war, "La Moselle," commanded by Captain Belland, anchored off Nukualofa. The same priest who had gone to Tahiti was on board. We were told, by one of the respectable officers of the ship that this priest had been careful, during the voyage, to impress the commander with the conviction that stubborn resistance might be expected from the Tonguese. On approaching the land, he also drew the attention of the officers to a number of people, scattered along the reef skirting the shore, that he had no doubt these were armed men waiting to resist any attempt at landing. This led the captain to beat the men to 'quarters, and to shot all his guns. When, however, they had approached sufficiently near, they discovered that the people lining the reef were only some old women quietly seeking for shell-fish. The captain was both angry and mortified that he should have lent himself to such idle tales; and the priest, poor man, hardly knew where to hide himself from the bantering of the midshipmen and others, who, but for his clerical garb, would have criticized his conduct rather more freely than he would have relished.

On Tuesday, the 16th, a formal investigation of all the circumstances attending the origin, conduct, and close of the war took place. Captain Belland had been specially commissioned by the Governor of Tahiti to conduct the inquiry, and to take such steps as he might deem proper in reference to the claims advanced by the French priests for pecuniary damages, &c. Mr Adams, not having been in Tonga when the war began, desired me to be present on behalf of the Missionaries, and by the request of the king. The whole conference occupied nearly five hours. Every particular in relation to the war was rigidly examined, especially in regard to the course the king had pursued toward the French priests. On every point Captain Belland seemed satisfied. The king was armed with abundant documentary evidence, and proved himself a capital diplomatist. A noted man in the South Seas, called Charlie France, interpreted. He did his duty fairly, upon the whole; but in two or three instances an attempt was made to misconstrue the words both of Captain Belland and those of the king. Of course I took exception to his interpretations, when a frown and caution from the commandant, who seemed to know his man, and who was determined not to be trifled with, had a salutary effect. At the conclusion of the inquiry, Captain Belland desired me to say to the king that he was perfectly satisfied with his entire conduct. "Tell him," said he, "that I have seen and conversed with many chiefs, in the South Sea Islands, but I have never met his equal. The French have acknowledged his authority by directing me to him as supreme ruler in Tonga. He must, however, employ his authority in protecting all foreigners from insult, and must allow his subjects to choose what religion they please; but all must submit to the law of the land. Tell him also that, should any Frenchman be guilty, in future, of such intermeddling with his government as has been

proved orally in this case, he has only to procure proper documentary evidence of the fact, and the French Government will not fail promptly to punish the offender, by his removal from the country, or otherwise, whether he be a priest or merely a layman." As an evidence that Captain Belland was in earnest, and of the estimate he had formed of the conduct of the priests, he refused to permit M. Calignon to return to Bea, or even to reside on any part of Tongatabu. Accordingly, he carried this priest back with him to Tahiti. So fully convinced was the Commissioner of the blamelessness of King George that, although he held in his possession a documentary claim for heavy pecuniary compensation, on behalf of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, for damages to their property, he never submitted this claim to the king, nor did he ask for a single farthing on their behalf.