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SPANISH IMPRESSIONS 1781Maurelle and "the Tupou" at Vava'u 1781

[Maurelle. F.A. Narrative of an interesting voyage of the Frigate La Princesa, from Manilla to San Bas (Mexico) in 1780 and 1781. San Bas, September 27, 1781, on board the Frigate Sa Princesa.

in

A Voyage Round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of J.F.G. De La PEROUSE: Published by order of the National Assembly, under the superintendence of L.A. MILET-MUREAU, in Two Volumes. Translated from the French. Vol.1. London. 1799. pp.213-227]

As soon as we had cast anchor, I received a present of fruits, sent from the tubou, and delivered to me, as I was given to understand, by his son. What could this name of tubou, which the equis repeated with particular affection, signify? I thought, at the time, that it probably meant the ^{eiki}equi of the island near which we were, who must have some pre-eminence over the rest, from the respect with which they spoke of him. However it might be, I received his son in the best manner possible, with the view of securing his friendship, that I might experience no difficulty in getting water, but that our arrangements might be promoted by all his authority.

By eight o'clock in the morning we had more than a hundred canoes round the frigate. The cries of the people who were in them, and carrying on their traffic, were so shrill and loud, that it was impossible to hear one another speak on board. They informed us, however, about this hour, that the tubou was coming to pay us a visit. When he drew near, all the canoes on the starboard side retired. I received him with all possible civility. His age and enormous bulk had deprived him of sufficient agility to get up the ship's side; so that the equis, whom I had hitherto considered as so many petty kings, assisted him with their shoulders, while he ascended the ladder. He was followed by his wife, who exceeded in beauty every other woman of the island we had seen, and I could almost have sworn, that she was the daughter of some European, she was so strikingly graceful. As she was at most not above twenty-five, youth still added to her charms. They both sat down on the banco de paciencia, or watch bench; and all the rest, making a profound prostration, kissed the tubou's feet. He brought me as a present a canoe of sweet potatoes. In return, I put on each of them a scarf of flame-coloured silk, reaching from the shoulder to the waist, with a dollar, bearing the effigies of our

august sovereign, suspended to it by a carnation ribband. At the same time I distributed several reals*, with the same impression, as irrefragable proofs to future times of our having touched at these islands. The sub-ordination of the equis to the tubou was so great, that not one of them dared to sit down in his presence. Even his son, who had assumed an air of majestic gravity before his arrival, was now as respectful as the rest. I may say with truth, that the tubou scarcely deigned to honour them with one or two words. I led them to the great cabin; when they were struck with admiration at sight of the equipment of the frigate, and the other things I shewed them. At length, highly gratified with their reception, they departed, after giving us the most cordial assurances of the strictest friendship, and after a thousand kisses and embraces bestowed on me by the old man.

* The dollar is equal to twenty reals: the real is worth rather more than two pence halfpenny of our money.

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The tubou, or king, came to visit me with a grand retinue. The equis were drawn up in two files; the most aged and venerable of them walking next to the king. As a testimony of his friendship, the tubou caressed me greatly, and embraced me a hundred times. His retinue sat down, forming a large circle, in the order in which it came. Two carpets of palms were brought. The king sat down upon one; and made me sit on the other, on his right hand. All kept a profound silence, except that those, who were near the tubou, and whose great age rendered them no doubt the most respectable, faithfully repeated every word he uttered. Presently some roots were brought, with which was made, in a sort of wooden troughs, a drink, that was no doubt very bitter, if we may judge from the gestures of those who drank of it. This refreshment was served in vessels made of leaves of the banana tree. Three or four young Indians offered it first to me and the tubou. I did not taste it; the appearance of it was too disgusting. The person who sat nearest to the tubou pointed out those who were to drink of it, and none was offered to the rest. Sweet potatoes roasted, and bananas perfectly ripe, were then set before me; and of these I ate. A little after two canoes appeared, loaded with the same kinds of provision, to be distributed among my men.

After this refreshment, the tubou returned to his house. I paid him a visit, leaving the first pilot at the head of my troop, with orders to let no person approach, under any pretext whatever.

The tubou gave me the best possible reception. The queen immediately

made her appearance, preceded by eight or ten girls of sixteen or eighteen years of age. They all waited upon her: on some she leaned while others drove away the flies, by which she might have been incommoded. She was wrapped in several mantles, which added greatly to her size; and received us with a smile, graciously repeating the word ^{lelele}leelay, leelay, leelay, which signifies welcome, or I am glad to see you. After this first visit, I made the tubou very few others, for fear he should strip himself of all his clothes, to put them on me, which is deemed a singular favour. The king gave me two large giltheads*, and one of his weapons, which was nothing but a staff of acanat, painted of various colours: and I returned on board, hoping to be able to procure water the next day.

On the eighth in the evening our well was finished, and we drew water from it, to the great astonishment of the Indians; but it was so bad, that we could not think of taking it on board.

The same day I paid a second visit to the king and queen, who failed not to send me every evening a large quantity of sweet potatoes roasted, considering, without doubt, the great number of persons I had to supply with food.

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In this manner we were employed on the 10th, 11th, and 12th, when we had taken on board all the water we wished. A great number of canoes, however, came off to the ship to barter; and the confidence of the natives in us was such, that many of them slept on board.

During this period the king had invited me to a feast, which he intended to give; and when I landed on the 12th, I saw, in the thick wood near the harbour, an extensive circular space, so completely cleared, that there was not a stump of a tree left. Soon after, the Indians repaired to the tubou's house, two and two, carrying on their shoulders long poles, from which were suspended abundance of sweet potatoes, bananas, cocoanuts, and fish. The tubou ordered all this provision to be carried to the spot of ground recently cleared, where it was piled up in a square heap two yards high.

The equis and venerable elders came to conduct the tubou, who took me by the hand, and we repaired together to the vast circle, where two thousand Indians waited for us. We sat down on palm-carpets prepared for the purpose; and all the people did the same, observing however the distinction of casts or families, one not intermingling with another.

* Dos dorados. The Spanish word dorado, used as an adjective, signifies gilded: as a substantive, I know no other meaning it has than that of gilthead, a well-known fish.

+ I do not know what wood this is.

The king then offered me all this provision, and sent it to the long-boat, which it completely filled. When the bearers of it had returned to their stations, profound silence was observed, when the king spoke. Those to whom age or rank gave a right of sitting near the king repeated all his words.

I knew not what would be the end of all this; however I ordered my people, with the first pilot at their head, to be ready with their muskets and pistols, to fire if they perceived any hostile movement.

Immediately a strong robust young man stepped from the ranks, his left hand placed on his breast, and striking his elbow with the right. Going round the circle, he played several gambols before the groups that were not of his tribe; till another advanced from one of these groups, making similar gestures; when they began to wrestle, closing with each other, and striving with such eagerness, that their veins and tendons appeared ready to burst. At length one of the combatants fell with such violence, that I thought he would never have risen again. He did rise, however, covered with dust, and retired without daring to lift up his eyes. The conqueror came to do homage to the king, and those of his tribe sung; but whether in honour of the victor, or opprobrium of the vanquished, I am unable to say.

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The ties of friendship being now drawn so close between us, that the tubou even called me his ^{foha} hoxa, that is to say his son, I took leave of him and the queen, and returned to the boat. The shore was covered with Indians, who were eagerly caressing my people, for having condescended to be present at their festivity. The victors even took me on their shoulders and seated me in the boat. The tubou, who saw the multitude from his house, and knew how much uneasiness I felt, when the Indians mingled with my men, ordered his captains to drive away the islanders, and so great was his anger, that he came out himself armed with a club, and belaboured indiscriminately all who fell in his way. The crowd fled into the wood: but two, who had been most severely handled, were left for dead on the spot: whether they recovered or not I never heard.

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This port (Port of Refuge), which I named Puerta del Refugio, is formed by three tolerably large islands, and many smaller ones. To the whole group I gave the name of don Martin de Mayorga.

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The equis constantly wear a mother-of-pearl shell suspended from the neck, and have both their little fingers cut off close to the hand.

The tubou exerted every effort to induce me to repair with the ship to the place of his usual residence, where I should find a much greater abundance of provision: and I certainly should have complied with his request at the first invitation; particularly as he and all the Indians assured me, that I should there find better shelter, and more convenience for repairing my rigging; but the nature of my commission would not allow it.

During the short time of my stay, I could not learn what were the functions of the equis, how they were distributed, what was the nature of the tubou's authority, or what the extent of his power. On the latter days of my stay in particular, my vexation was so great, that I could think of nothing but getting to sea.

1781, March.

Departure from Puerta del Refugio, in the Islands of don Martin de Mayorga, in latitude $18^{\circ} 38'$ south, longitude $179^{\circ} 52'$ east from Paris.

On the 20th of March, having cleared all the islands, the wind being east-north-east, I hauled as close to it as possible, keeping as near as I could a south-east course. In this run we discovered to the east-south-east 7° south a very lofty island at fifteen or sixteen leagues distance; and at sunset we saw three others, stretching from the south to the west-south-west 5° west, the easternmost being distant five leagues. This obliged me to tack at nine in the evening. At one I put about again to the southward, to approach the islands. In some of the nearest we perceived at least fifty fires.

No sooner had the sun risen, than several canoes arrived in succession, laden with the same provision and fruits as those of the former islands. The market commenced, and shreds of cloth were the price of the goods.

The tubou of these islands sent me two hogs, and a few cocoas, with an invitation to repair to the island where he resided. At length he came on board himself; that he would give my crew a pile of sweet potatoes as high as the main-mast. He appeared to be jealous of the kind reception we had met from the tubou of Mayorga.

I have him hopes that I would gratify him as soon as I got to the south-ward of the islands a-head of us: but they all agreed in asserting, that the passages were closed up by reefs and shoals, and that I should find a good bottom if I steered my course by the island of the tubou, and the lofty island, towards which I was already standing.

Though they all asserted, that this great equi was the sovereign of forty-eight islands, all of which they named very circumstantially, I did not perceive, that they paid him the same respect and attention as were shewn to the tubou of Refugio. As soon as he came on board, he took off his mother-of-pearl shell, and hung it round my neck, as a testimony of strict friendship; and after having spent five or six hours with me, he returned to one of the islands, hoping that I should join him the next day.

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A FRENCH EXPLORER'S OPINIONS 1787
La Perouse at Vava'u and Tongatapu

[A Voyage Round the World, performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of J.F.G. De La PEROUSE: Published by order of the National Assembly, under the superintendance of L.A. MILLET-MUREAU, in Two Volumes. Translated from the French. Vol. 11. London. 1799. pp. 166-173.]

December 1787.

On the 27th December we made the Island of ^{Vava'u} Vavao, the north point of which bore from us at noon due west, our latitude being $18^{\circ} 34'$. This island, which Cook never visited, but which he knew from the report of the natives of the Friendly Islands, is one of the largest of this archipelago. In extent it is nearly equal to Tongataboo; and it has the advantage over it of being more elevated, and not wanting fresh water. It is in the centre of a large number of islands, which ought to bear the names of which Cook has given a list, but which it would be difficult to us to class. We cannot with justice ascribe to ourselves the honour of this discovery, which is due to Maurelle, and which adds to the archipelago of the Friendly Islands a number almost as considerable as that already explored by captain Cook.

At China I had procured an abstract of the journal of this Spanish navigator, who sailed from Manilla in 1781, with dispatches for America; which he attempted to reach by the southern hemisphere, following nearly the track of Surville, and endeavouring to get into a high latitude, where he reasonably expected to meet with westerly winds. Maurelle was unacquainted with the modern methods of ascertaining the longitude, and he had never read any of the narratives of late navigators. He directed his course by the old French charts of Belin; and made up by great accuracy in his reckonings and bearings, for the imperfection of his methods, his instruments, and his charts. Like M'de Surville he ran along the coast of New Ireland; observed several small islands, which Bougainville, Carteret, and Surville had already seen; discovered three

or four new ones; and thinking himself near the islands of Solomon, he first fell in with an island to the north of Vavao, to which he gave the name of Amargura, or Bitterness, because it afforded him none of the refreshments, of which he began to be in need. He had not an opportunity of seeing a second island, which we observed to the eastward of this, and which is not discernible above three or four leagues off, because it is very low; but at length arrived at Vavao, where he anchored in a tolerably commodious harbour, in which he procured water, and a considerable quantity of provision. The particulars of his account are so accurate, that it is impossible not to recognise in them the Friendly Islands, and even the picture of Poulaho, who, being the principal chief of them all, resides occasionally in several, but mostly, as it appeared, in Vavao. I shall not enter into the farther particulars of this voyage, which I mention only from a motive of justice to Maurelle. This Spanish navigator named the cluster of Vavao the Islands of Majorca, after the viceroy of New Spain; and that of Hapase, the Islands of Galves, after the brother of the minister for the Indies: but as I am persuaded, that it is infinitely better to retain the names of the natives, I have thought it best to use these in the plan drawn by M' Bernizet. This plan has been executed conformably to the latitudes and longitudes determined by M' Dagelet, which are far more accurate than those of Maurelle, who has placed them almost six degrees too far west: this mistake, transmitted from age to age, and copied by one geographer from another, would have given birth to a new archipelago, existing only upon maps.

In the course of the 27th we made several tacks, to fetch the island of Vavao, the west-north-west winds having driven us a little to leeward of it. Having lengthened my stretch to the north in the night, that I might be able to extend my view twelve or fifteen leagues beyond the island, I saw the Margoura of Maurelle, which bore west of me; and on getting nearer to it I perceived a second island, very low, and covered with trees. The Island of Margoura, on the contrary, is pretty lofty: and it is probable, that they are both inhabited. After we had set all the points, I bore away for Vavao, which was in sight only from the mast-head, and is the most considerable of the Friendly Islands, those that are scattered about on the north and west not being comparable to it. About noon I was at the entrance of the port, in which Maurelle anchored. It is formed by small islands, which are of tolerable height, leaving between them narrow but very deep channels, and affording complete shelter against the winds from the offing. It would have been infinitely agreeable to me, to spend a few days in this harbour, which is far superior to that of Tongataboo: but the anchoring ground is within two cable's lengths of the shore, and in such a situation a

long-boat is often necessary, for carrying out an anchor, to warp off. Every moment I was tempted to relinquish the design I had formed of not anchoring till I reached Botany Bay: but reason and prudence kept me firm to it. I wished; however, to have some intercourse with the natives; and in consequence brought to pretty near the shore: but no canoe came off. The weather was so foul, however, and wore such a threatening aspect, that I was little surprised at this; and as the horizon became every minute more gloomy, I made sail myself before night to the west, towards the Island of Latte, which was in sight; and is lofty enough to be seen at the distance of twenty leagues in clear weather.

The name of Latte is in the list of the Friendly Islands given by Cook; and it was assigned to this island by Maurelle, in his journal, from the report of the natives of Vavao; who told him, likewise, that it was inhabited, and afforded anchorage. It may be observed here, how important it is to the science of geography, to retain the native names of countries; for if, like the ancient navigators, or like Maurelle himself, we had made an error of seven or eight degrees in our longitude, we might have supposed, on falling in with this island, that we were at a great distance from the Friendly Islands. Similarity of language, manners, and dress, would have been insufficient to remove our doubts; because it is well known, that all these people resemble one another, though at a considerable distance: but identity of name, and the slightest description of the figure and extent of an island, constitute a certain proof of the identity of the place.

. (Tongatapu)

On the 31st of December, at six in the morning, we made this island from the mast-head. At first we saw only the heads of the trees, which appeared to be growing out of the sea. As we approached we raised the land, but only five or six yards. Presently we made van Kiepen's Point, and the ridge of breakers without it. At noon it bore from us east, distant about two leagues. As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated: the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees. It is to be observed, however, that this was the rainy season; for, notwithstanding this enchanting appearance, it is more than probable that extreme drought must prevail on this low island during part of the year; on which not a single hillock is to be seen, and the surface of which is as flat as the sea in a calm.

The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains. Seven or eight canoes were soon launched, and advanced towards our frigates: but the natives, more of husbandmen than mariners, managed them with timidity. They durst not come alongside of our ships, though they were lying to, and the sea was very smooth; but jumped into the water, eighteen or twenty yards off, holding cocoa-nuts in each hand, with which they swam to the ships, and which they bartered very honestly for pieces of iron, nails, or little hatchets. Their canoes were in no respect different from those of the Navigators' Islands; but none of them had sails, and it is probable that they would not have known how to manage them. The greatest confidence soon took place between us. They came on board: we spoke to them of Poulaho and Feenow; and had the air of being old acquaintances, meeting one another, and conversing of their friends. One young islander gave us to understand, that he was the son of Feenow; and this, whether true or false, procured him several presents. On receiving them he uttered a cry of joy, and endeavoured to make us sensible by signs, that if we would anchor on the coast, we should there find provision in abundance, which their canoes were too small to bring out to sea. In fact they had neither fowls nor hogs in their canoes. Their cargoes consisted of a few plantains and cocoa-nuts; and, as the smallest wave upset these ticklish boats, live animals would have been drowned before they could have been brought on board.

These islanders were obstreperous in their manners; but their features had no expression of ferociousness; and neither their stature, nor proportions, nor the supposed strength of their muscles, were such as could have intimidated us, had they been unacquainted with the effect of our arms. Their physical qualities, without being inferior to ours, appeared to have no advantage over those of our sailors. Their language, however, their tatooing, and their dress, announce them to have a common origin with the natives of the Archipelago of Navigators; and it is evident, that the difference existing between these people in their personal qualities arises only from the dryness of the soil, and other physical causes proper to the territory and climate of the Friendly Islands. Of the hundred and fifty islands which compose this archipelago, the greater number consists only of uninhabited and uninhabitable rocks: and I do not hesitate to assert, that the single island of Oyolava is superior in population, fertility, and real strength, to all these united, in which the natives are obliged to water the fields, that afford them subsistence, with the sweat of their brow. To this necessity for agriculture perhaps they are indebted for the progress of their civilisation, and the invention of some arts, which compensate for their

deficiency of natural strength, and protect them against invasion from their neighbours. We saw no weapon among them, however, but the patow-patow, of which we bought several; but they did not weigh a third as much as those we procured at Maoua, which the people of the Friendly Islands would not have had strength to wield.

The custom of cutting off two joints of the little finger is as prevalent here as at the islands of Cocos and Traitors; while this testimony of affliction for the loss of a relation or friend is almost unknown at the Navigators' Islands. I am aware, that Cook supposed the islands of Cocos and Traitors made part of the Friendly Islands; and that he rested his opinion on the report of Poulaho, who was acquainted with captain Wallis's intercourse with those two islands, and who even possessed in his treasury, before Cook's arrival, some pieces of iron, which the Dolphin had bartered with the people of Traitors' Island. Yet I am of opinion, that these two islands are included among the ten, which were named to us by the natives of Maoua; because I found them exactly in that direction which they pointed out, and farther east than the longitude assigned by captain Wallis: and I have thought, that, with Quiros's Island of the Handsome Nation, they might complete the groupe of the finest and largest archipelago in the South Sea. Still I must confess, that, in stature and external appearance, the people of Cocos and Traitors' Islands resemble those of the Friendly Islands much more than those of the Navigators' Islands, from which they are nearly equidistant. After having thus given the motives of my opinion, it will cost me little on all occasions to subscribe to that of Cook, who made such long stay in the different islands of the South Sea.

All our intercourse with the inhabitants of Tongataboo consisted in a simple visit, and one so remote is seldom paid. We received from them only such refreshments as are offered to neighbours by way of collation in the country: but Mr Dagelet had an opportunity of verifying the rate of our timekeepers. The great number of observations made at Tongataboo, as I have said, by captain Cook, left no doubt respecting the exactitude of the situation of the Resolution's observatory; and he thought proper to make it in some sort a first meridian, by referring to it the relative situations of all the Friendly Archipelago, and even the other islands which we had visited in the southern hemisphere. The result of Mr Dagelet's observations, obtained from a great number of lunar distances, differed less than seven minutes from that of Cook's: thus Mr Dagelet, admitting the longitudes of this celebrated navigator, followed also his own; and convinced himself, that comparisons with positions already determined might increase our confidence in timekeepers, but were not necessary for their verification, as a series of lunar distances, taken under favourable circumstances, leave nothing to be desired in this respect.

VASON'S COMMENTS ON POLITICAL ORGANIZATION 1800c

[James Orange, Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham. London 1840. pp.102; 128-129; 139-141.]

The venerable Moomooe, (Munui) the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), of the island, soon arrived himself, and confirmed the message which Ambler had brought. Our interview with him and the rest of the natives, gave us a very pleasing impression of their disposition and manners.

He made us a friendly offer of a habitation and land at Aheefo (Hihifo) seventeen miles distant from the place of anchorage, near the residence of Toogahowe (Tuku'aho), a principal chief; that we might be under his protection. This Toogahowe (Tuku'aho) was the son of Moomooe, and nephew of Feenou (Finau), Toogahowe (Tuku'aho), who was the friend of Captain Cook, and reigned over Eooa ('Eua), when that celebrated navigator landed on this island. By a course of warlike exploits, in which his power over the other chiefs was confirmed, he became the Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), or principal chief of Tongataboo (Tongatapu). The extensive district of Aheefo (Hihifo), consisting of the western part of the island, was immediately under his government, as the liege lord; but the two other districts, into which the island was divided, of Ardeo (Ha'ateiho) and Ahogge (Hahake) were also subject to his control and Futtafaihe (Fatafehi) the chief of the former and Vaharlo (Ve'ehala) the chief of the latter, acknowledged him as their superior.

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This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed: and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the badoo, or kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the quests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day which is however sometimes diversified with boxing or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening.

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs.

The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour not only for themselves but for their superiors; and after all, their little stock is not secured to them by that inviolable right of private property, and personal safety which in our unequalled land of liberty and law, renders the poorest peasant as secure and independent as the senate that guards, or the sovereign that rules it.

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It was the custom of the inferior chiefs to send men two or three times a week, to fadongyeer (fatongia), ie. to dig plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola (Tu'i Kanokupolu). Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labourers were at work, at the same time, on his estate. That no offence might be given, I applied to him to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the idea of my thinking to fadongyeer (fatongia) for him as he considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

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The freedom from taxation, or fadongyeer (fatongia), granted to my abbee ('api) its increasing beauty, and fertility, and the ease which my tenants enjoyed attracted numbers to it; so that, though I made additions to it, by the permission of the chiefs, as will be afterwards mentioned, I soon had as many labourers as I needed, and was obliged to refuse several who were desirous of living with me.

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[Note: (1) The words in brackets are the present day spellings of Vason's attempts at spelling Tongan names, places names, etc.

(2) Ambler was an escaped convict from Botany Bay.]

THE POLITICAL HIERARCHY 1810c

[An account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827. Vol.2. pp.82-91]

"The rank or estimation in which individuals are held in society at the Tonga Islands, may be most conveniently treated of, first under three different points of view, viz. religious, civil, and professional, with reference to their mythology, political subordination, and their arts and manufactures; and, secondly, with reference to old age, female sex, and infancy. In this chapter, we propose to speak merely of rank in society, and the degree of respect due from one man to another; all which is determined in regard to every individual, by one or other, or more of the foregoing circumstances, mythology, politics, arts, age, sex, and childhood.

To divide society into distinct classes, and to discourse of the degree of rank or respect accruing to individuals, accordingly as they may belong to one or other of these classes, would be a task very difficult to execute, and perhaps impossible in respect to the people of these islands; at least, not without making numerous exceptions and explanations, which would only be the means of rendering the description both tedious and complicate. For one and the same individual, (a priest), who to-day is held in scarcely any estimation, may to-morrow, (under the influence of inspiration), take place of every body present, seat himself at the head of the cava ring, be respected as the god himself, and his discourse attentively listened to as oracular. Again, - the king himself, whom one might suppose to be the greatest person in the country, (and in fact he has the greatest power), is by no means the highest noble, but must yield in point of rank to many others. In this order of things, therefore, we shall first speak of those persons to whom rank and respect is yielded, on the score of religious circumstances; and these are ^{Taitonga} ^{Uvachi} Tooitonga, Vcachi, and the priests.

Tokipulohaka(?)

We here speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing in his full rank, with all the public honours of religious estimation; but it will be recollected, that, before Mr Mariner's departure from Vavaoo, the king had done away entirely with all the ceremonies formerly considered due to the divine character of this chief. As this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that, if affairs still remain in the same state at Vavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be;

but, if there should happen some violent political change, it is possible the son of the late divine chief may be raised to that honour. We therefore speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing. The family name of Tooitonga is Fatafehi, and the present head of the family, the only son, (of legitimate rank), is now (1817) a youth of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; his name is Fatafehi Low^u Fili Tonga. He is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged descendants of chief gods who formerly visited the islands of Tonga; but whether their original mothers were goddesses, or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga, as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in rank: - the word imports chief of Tonga, which island has always been considered the most noble of all the Tonga-Islands, and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of residence, and, after their decease, to be buried there in the tombs of their ancestors. This island, moreover, gives name, by way of pre-eminence, to all the islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a country; and withal it has acquired the epithet of sacred, taboo, and is thus sometimes called Tonga Taboo, denoting its excellence. From this circumstance it is erroneously noted down in our charts Tongataboo; but taboo is only an epithet occasionally used. The respect which is shown to Tooitonga, and the high rank which he holds in society, is wholly of a religious nature, and is far superior, when occasion demands it, to that which is shown even to the king himself; for the king, as will by and by be seen, by no means of the most noble descent, but yields in this respect to Tooitonga, Veachi, and several families related to them; and if he were accidentally to meet any chief of nobler descent than himself, he would have to sit down on the ground till the other had passed him, which is a mark of respect that a common peasant would be obliged to show to any chief or Egi whatsoever. For this reason the king never associates with any chief superior to himself; and always endeavours to avoid meeting them; and they in like manner endeavour to avoid him, that he might not be put to the trouble of sitting down while they passed; for if any one were to forego this ceremony in presence of a superior Egi, some calamity from the gods would be expected as a punishment for the omission. Sitting down is with them a mark of respect, as standing up is with us, before a superior; upon the principle, perhaps, that in this posture a man cannot so readily attack

or assassinate the person in whose presence he is; or it may be that in this posture lowering his height is significant of his rank or merit being humbled in presence of the other.

There are many ceremonies which characterize the high respect and veneration shown to Tootonga; but as in this place we are discoursing of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description of the latter must be deferred till we come to speak of religious rites. Here we shall only mention, in a general way, of what these ceremonies chiefly consist.

1. The grand ceremony of inachi, which is performed once a year (about the month of October), and consists in offering the first fruits of the year to Tootonga. It was supposed that if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people.
2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.
3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.
4. Peculiarity of the mourning for his decease.
5. Tootonga is not circumcised, as all the other men are, unless he goes to foreign islands to undergo this ceremony: nor is he tattooed.
6. Peculiarities of speech, used in regard to Tootonga. For instance if the king or any chief but Tootonga be sick, they say he is tenga tangi; but Tootonga being sick, he is said to be Boooloohi. So with many other words that are used exclusively for him, and which will be noticed hereafter.

These things are mentioned in this place, merely to afford an idea of the high veneration in which Tootonga is held; for to whom but the greatest personage can such peculiarities belong? Notwithstanding his high rank, however he has comparatively but very little absolute power, which extends in a direct and positive manner only over his own family and attendants. As to his property he has somewhat more than the generality of the nobles, but much less than the king, who by his arbitrary sovereignty can lay claim to almost any thing. Thus all that can be said in this place of Tootonga is, that he is by far the greatest Egi, having the credit of a high divine original, and that all respect and veneration is therefore due to him.

VEACHI, as mentioned before, is another Egi of divine original, but far from being equal to Tooitonga. The king, indeed, avoids his presence, the same as he would that of Tooitonga, and always pays him the usual obeisance when he happens to meet him. But he has no peculiar marks of high respect shown to him, as are shown to Tooitonga: that is to say, no ceremonies that are, in themselves, peculiar and different from what are shown to other chiefs by their inferiors. There is this one universal acknowledgment, however, viz. that he is a great chief descended from a god that he is next in rank to Tooitonga, and superior to every other chief. His name has no known literal meaning that Mr Mariner can discover.

Priests, or ^{Idon King} FAHE-GEHE. The term fahe-gehe means, split off, separate, or distinct from, and is applied to signify a priest, or man, who has a peculiar or distinct sort of mind or soul, differing from that of the generality of mankind, which disposes some god occasionally to inspire him. These inspirations, of which an account has been given Vol. 1. p/101, frequently happen, and on such occasions the priest has the same deference and respect shown to him as if he were the god himself. If the king happen to be present, he retires to a respectful distance, and sits down among the body of the spectators. So would Veachi, and so would even the high divine chief Tooitonga, because a god is believed to exist at that moment in the priest, and to speak from his mouth. At other times a priest has no other respect paid to him than what his own proper family rank may require. They generally belong to the lower order of chiefs, or to the matabooles, though sometimes great chiefs are thus visited by the gods, and the king himself has been inspired by Tali-y-toobo, the chief of the gods. During the time a priest is inspired, he is looked on with more or less veneration, according to the rank of the god that inspires him. But more upon this subject under the head of Religion.

The civil ranks of society may be thus divided - HOW, or KING, : EGI, or NOBLES: MATABOOLES: MOOAS, and TOOAS.

The ^{Idon} HOW, or KING, is an arbitrary monarch, deriving his right to the throne partly from hereditary succession, and partly from military power, which latter he is occasionally obliged to exert to secure himself in the former. His power and influence over the minds of the people is derived from the following circumstances, viz. hereditary right; supposed protection of the gods, if he be the lawful heir; his reputation as a warrior; the nobility of his descent;

and, lastly, but not least, the strength and number of his fighting men. He, of course, possesses the greatest power of any individual; but, in respect to rank, as before observed, he is differently circumstanced. Nobility consists in being related either to Tocitonga, Veachi, or the How, and the nearer any family is related to them, the nobler it is.

EGI, or NOBLES. All those persons are egi, or nobles, or chiefs, who are any way related either to the family of Tocitonga or Veachi, or the How. Tocitonga and Veachi may easily be conceived sources of nobility, on account of their supposed divine original, and the How because he holds the reins of government, and is invested with power. The family of Finow, who is the present How, say, that they descended neither from Tocitonga nor Veachi, but are altogether a distinct race. The fact probably is, that Finow's family is a distant branch of one of the others; but having at length ascended the throne, it drew its rank and consequence more from this circumstance, than from such distant relationship. The present Finow's father was the first of his family that came to the throne, which, as already detailed, he did by usurpation and expulsion of the then reigning family. The hows before that time, as far back as they have credible records, which is not more than about four, or, at most, five generations, were all relations of Tocitonga. At all events, this is certain, that the present acknowledged fountains of nobility are Tocitonga, Veachi, and the king, in the order in which they here stand. In every family nobility descends by the female line; for where the mother is not a noble, the children are not nobles; but supposing the father and mother to be nearly equal by birth, the following is the order in which the individuals of the family are to be ranked, viz. the father, the mother, the eldest son, the eldest daughter, the second son, the second daughter, &c., or, if there be no children, the next brother to the man, then the sister, the second brother, the second sister, &c. But if the woman is more noble than the man, then her relations, in like order, take precedence in rank, but they do not inherit his property, as will be seen in another place. All the children of a female noble are, without exception, nobles.

MATABOOLES rank next to the chiefs: they are a sort of honourable attendants upon chiefs, are 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, and are more or less regarded according to the rank of the chief to whom they are attached. They have the management of

all ceremonies. Their rank is from inheritance; and they are supposed to have been, originally, distant relations of the nobles, or to have descended from persons eminent for experience and wisdom, and whose acquaintance and friendship on that account became valuable to the king, and other great chiefs. As no son of a mataboole can assume that rank and title till his father be dead, the greater part of them are beyond the middle age of life, and, as it is their business to make themselves acquainted with all rites and ceremonies, and with the manners, customs, and affairs of Tonga, they are always looked up to as men of experience and superior information. Some of the matabooles are adepts also at some art or profession, such as canoe-building, or superintending funeral rites:- this last, though a ceremony, the generality of matabooles do not attend, as it is also a distinct profession. Those few that are canoe-builders are very perfect in their art, and only make canoes for the king, or other great chiefs. The matabooles also make themselves acquainted with traditionary records, and hand them down to their sons.

MOCAS are the next class of people below the matabooles; they are either the sons or brothers of matabooles, or descendants of the latter. As the sons and brothers of matabooles are mooas, and as no mooa can become a mataboole till his father or brother whom he is to succeed be dead, so, in like manner, the sons and brothers of mooas are only tooas, and no tooa can become a mooa till his father or brother whom he is to succeed be dead. The mooas have much to do in assisting at public ceremonies, such as sharing out food and cava under the direction of the matabooles. They sometimes arrange and direct instead of the matabooles, unless on very grand occasions. Like the latter, they form part of the retinue of chiefs, and are more or less respected according to the rank of their chiefs. Most of the mooas are professors of some art.

Both matabooles and mooas have the business of attending to the good order of society, to look to the morals of the younger chiefs, who are apt to run into excesses, and oppress the lower orders (the tooas), in which case they admonish them, and if they pay no attention, they report them to the older chiefs, and advise that something should be done to remedy such evils. They are very much respected by all classes. Tooas are the lowest order of all, or the bulk of the people. They are all, by birth, ky fonnoa, or peasants: but some of them are employed occasionally in the various occupations of performing the tattoo, cocking, club-carving, and shaving, according to their abilities....."

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY: THE KING AND THE TU'ITONGA. 1810c.

[An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, John Martin, Edinburg, 1879. Vol.2. pp.125-128.]

The two divine personages, viz. Tooitonga and Veachi, or those who are supposed to be peculiarly of high divine origin, have already been spoken of as far as their rank is concerned. In respect to their habits, we might very naturally imagine that, in consequence of their high rank as divine chiefs, they would very frequently be inspired by the gods, and become the oracles of divine will; but this, as far as Mr. Mariner has seen and heard, has never been the case; and it seems strange that the favour of divine inspiration should be particularly bestowed upon men seldom higher in rank than Matabooles, Such however is the case; and, to reconcile it with propriety, we may suppose that Tooitonga and Veachi are supposed to be of too high a rank to be the mere servants of the gods, and mere instruments of communication between them and mankind, but rather as the highest and most worthy of mankind, and next to the gods in rank and dignity. These two persons, however high in rank, have very little comparative power. Mr. Mariner once witnessed an instance where Tooitonga ventured to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his warlike proceedings against Vavaoo, at the time when his aunt, Toe Oomoo, revolted. For this purpose he went into the house on a malai, and sent a messenger to the king to say that he was there; which is the polite mode of telling a person you want him to come, that you may speak to him. He did not go to the king's house in person to communicate what he had to say, because, being the superior chief, every thing would have been tabooed that he happened to touch. When the king arrived, Tooitonga mildly addressed him on the subject of his aunt's revolt, and advised that he should endeavour to accommodate matters rather than involve the country in war: to which the King shortly replied, "My Lord Tooitonga" may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which he has no right to interfere." He then left him. Thus, in all respects, we are to regard Tooitonga as a divine chief of the highest rank, but having no power or authority in affairs belonging to the king. It is presumed, however, that when the Tonga Islands were in a state of peace, that is before the people had acquired their warlike habits, that Tooitonga, as well as Veachi, had some influence even in matters of civil government, that their advice was often asked, and sometimes taken. Veachi used often to lament to Mr. Mariner, that those happy days were passed away when they used to live in peace and happiness

at the Island of Tonga, when every body paid the highest respect to the divine chiefs, and there were no disturbances to fear, the land being well cultivated, and frequent rich presents sent to them: others made the same complaint. In short, it would appear that tempora mutantur, the almost universal cry of dissatisfaction, is heard at the Tonga Islands as well as elsewhere; but the distant prospect generally appears more beautiful than the place whereon we stand. In all probability, Tooitonga and Veachi had great reason to complain, particularly Tooitonga, respect towards whom was evidently falling off even in Mr. Mariner's time; for, formerly, it was thought necessary, when Tooitonga died, that his chief wife should be strangled and buried with him, but, in respect to the two last Tooitongas, this was not performed. Again, the late king would not allow Tooitonga to give him any advice in matters of war, but insisted that he should remain in peace and quietness at his own side of the island: and lastly, the present king, when the late Tooitonga died, would not allow his son to succeed to that high title, but, at one bold stroke, freed the people from a burden of taxes, by annulling the title of Tooitonga, and the expensive ceremony of Inachi. Veachi, being a sensible, good, quiet sort of man, who interfered in no public matters, and who had nothing to do with the people of any other island but his own (Toongooa), was still suffered to retain his dignity, and probably does to this day. In that case, he is the greatest chief at the Tonga Islands: for the late Tooitonga's son, if he have not since been made a Tooitonga, is below Veachi in rank. Thus it appears that the Tonga Islands are undergoing considerable changes, both in respect to religion and politics; and in the communication between Vavaoo and the Haapai Islands, and between both places and Tonga, should remain closed for a number of years, it would be a curious inquiry, to investigate what changes the language will undergo in those respective places. In regard to the priests, their habits are precisely the same as other persons of the same station; and when they are not inspired, all the respect that is paid to them is that only which is due to their private rank. Mr Mariner recollects no chief that was a priest: he has, indeed, seen the king inspired by Taly-y-Toobo (who never inspires any body but the king), but he is not considered a priest on this account; those only being considered such, who are in the frequent habit of being inspired by some particular god. It generally happens that the eldest son of a priest, after his father's death, becomes a priest of the same god who inspired his father. When a priest is inspired, he is thought capable of prophesying, or rather the god within him.