

SECTION 1: POLITICAL STRUCTURES AS SEEN BY THE EARLY EUROPEAN VISITORS.

Recorded Tongan History begins in 1616 with the Journals of the Dutch Navigators Schouten and Le Maire. Other navigators may have touched upon Tonga previously, but there is no known record which pre-dates Schouten and Le Maire. These first visitors stayed in the Tonga group from 9th to the 14th May 1676. They called at Tafahi, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafu'ou, named by them Cocos, Traitors, and Good Hope, respectively. These first European visitors did not land on Tongan soil and had very little to say in their journals about political organization. They referred to 'the King' of Niuatoputapu as Latou, who, according to Dr Wood was probably Latumailangi, the first Ma'atu.

The visit of another Dutchman in 1643, Abel Janszoon Tasman, provides much more information about Tonga, although again there is very little comment of the political structure. Tasman was much more interested in describing the appearance and customs of the Tongans and the barter that took place between his men and the Tongan people. He spent several days in Tonga, from January 19th to January 30th 1643, calling at Ata (Pylstaart), 'Eua (Middleburgh), Tongatapu (Amsterdam), and Nomuka (Rotterdam). These Dutch names persisted, and Captain Cook used them when he visited Tonga 130 years later. Tasman spoke of various chiefs who came to see him but did not attempt to describe the form of Government, except during his visit to Nomuka where he made the rather surprising statement that the people there had "no King or leader (they) are also wholly without Government".

Captain Wallis was the first Englishman to visit Tonga. He touched at Niuatoputapu and Tafahi on the 13th August 1767 and named them Keppel (a name which has remained in use as an alternative to Niuatoputapu. even to the present time.), and Boscawen. Wallis, on this one day visit, has left very little comment, with nothing at all about the government of the people. It was left to the next British visitor Captain James Cook, to furnish detailed impressions of government and politics. Cook made three great voyages into the Pacific, but it was only on his second and third voyages, 1773–4 and 1777, that he visited Tonga. During the 1773 voyage into the Pacific, Cook visited Tonga twice: 'Eua and Tongatapu in October 1773, and Nomuka in June 1774. During the 1777 voyage Cook called at Nomuka, Tongatapu, and Lifuka. Cook's impressions of Lifuka, which he discovered, were summed up in the name he gave to it: "The Friendly Island". The name was apparently well chosen, for it was soon adopted universally as the name for the whole group of Tonga islands. Cook has left us a very full description of the government of the Tonga Islands as he understood it, given the shortness of his stay and the language difficulties. Ranking in society, however, had him puzzled and he was never quite sure who was the most significant person in Tonga. He met several important chiefs, each of which, in turn, he thought was the king. At the conclusion of the 1777 visit, however, he had come to an amazingly accurate understanding of the political structure, including the confusing '*Tamaha*' relationship.

The French and Spanish explorers added their observations to the first European attempts to describe the Tongan political structure of the 18th Century. Maurelle, a Spaniard,

discovered Vava'u in 1781, naming it don Martin Mayorga, and its port the Puerta del Refugio. He has provided us with detailed information about his meeting with "the Tupou", most probably the Tu'itonga, and of the great reverence shown to that person by the people. La Perouse, the French Navigator, visited Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, and Tongatapu during his brief visit in 1787. He did not land, but recorded quite a deal of useful information about Tonga, very little of it however of a political nature. He does, tell us that the people in those times did not live in villages, but in huts "dispersed over the fields". Perhaps the most valuable information from the early visitors is provided by two of the first European residents in Tonga; George Vason, one of the artisan Missionaries who landed in 1790, and William Mariner, the cabin boy who survived the Port au Prince massacre in 1806. Mariner's account is particularly valuable. He clears away some of the difficulties that are evident in Cook's mind over ranking in society. Furthermore his descriptions of the relationship between the King and the Tu'itonga, between the civil and the religious authority, indicate that Tongan society was in a state of great change immediately preceding Mariner's arrival and during his years in Tonga. The power and prestige of the sacred King Tu' itonga was being considerably reduced, and in fact his supreme authority was effectively destroyed by Finau 'Ulukalala.

[1] DUTCH EXPLORERS PROVIDE THE FIRST EUROPEAN REPORTS ABOUT TONGA

(i) *"the King himself came" - Schouten and. Lemaire 1616*

[Journal of Schouten and LeMaire, Comments about Niuatoputapu and Tafahi in Alexander Dalrymple, An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean. Volume II. Containing the Dutch Voyages. London 1771 pp. 27-28]

After noon the King himself came with a large vessel under sail, of the same figure before described like an ice sledge, and full thirty five canoes who attended him. This king, or chief, was called by his people Latou; we received him with drums and trumpets, at which they were very much astonished as things to them unheard and unknown. They showed us the highest honour and amity that it was possible to do, bowing the head down, striking their fists on their head, and using many other strange ceremonies. Being a little distance from us the king began to cry out, and to behave as if he made a prayer, after his manner, and all those of his company likewise, without our knowing what that meant, only we judged that it was a congratulation of our happy arrival. Immediately after, the king sent us a matt, with three of his servants; to whom we gave in return an old hatchet, a few beads and a few old nails, with a piece of cloth, which he received very politely, putting it three times upon his head and then bowing the head down in sign of respect and thankfulness. The people who came to the ship threw themselves on their knees and kissed our feet and were astonished beyond measure at our ship. This king could not be distinguished from the other Indians, for he went also quite naked except in being treated with respect, and that he was very well obeyed amongst them. We made signs that the Latou should come on board our ship; his son came on board, whom we treated well, but he himself did not choose or at least would not come aboard but they all made signs for us to go to the other Island with our ship, and that he had there plenty of everything. Amongst other things we exchanged with them

three fish-gigs, which were made of reed, like those of Holland, only a little thicker, with barbs of pearl shells. The king's son returned on shore and the canoe which carried him had on the larboard side a large piece of wood where with they kept it upright; on this wood was a fish-gig ready for use.

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13th at day-break we found two canoes come to trade as in the former days; and immediately after came forty-five others, with cocoas, bananas, hogs, and fowls so that in about two hours we had trucked 700 cocoas, and other things; afterwards. We saw some small vessels, or canoes coming behind, supposing it was the king who came to see us; but seeing that they went to surround us on all sides, giving great room for suspicion, we made haste to weigh and get under sail. The chief 'sail' which they all followed, and which appeared to have the command over the others, carried the figure of a grey and red cock; being then all ranged in order of battle, one of the canoes came to board us, crying terribly and furiously throwing stones against us; we fired two or three shot against the troop, so that some were killed on the spot; the others leaped into the sea and saved themselves by swimming, with the women who were near them. There was about 1,000 persons; so that they seem to have collected all their force to destroy us. Our people were so provoked and enraged against these treacherous rascals, that they were mad to go ashore in pursuit of them and to revenge this outrage, but the president and the council would not consent.

(ii) "they did us great honour and friendship" - Tasman 1643

[Sharp, Andrew. *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*: Oxford 1968. pp.1.53–171.]

('Eua).

On 21st d^o in the morning calm, had the Southernmost island east by South from us about 5 miles. Made our course for the northernmost island (Tongatapu) lies in the Southern latitude of 21 deg. 50 minutes, and longitude 205 Degrees 29 minutes. Sailed to the northwest side of the Island, and let our anchor fall there, in 25 fathoms coral bottom.

Where we came to anchor lies in the Southern latitude of 24 Degrees 20 minutes, and longitude 205 29 minutes. These two islands lie about south east and north west from each other, we could see through between both. It seemed to be about 1^{1/2} mile wide, of which the Southeasternmost was the highest, the northernmost being a low island.

Just as Holland is, [we] have given the northernmost the name of Amsterdam, by reason of abundance of supplies, which [we] got there. The Southernmost we named Middleburch. About noon there came a small canoe with three men from shore close to our ship. They were nude, of brown colour and somewhat more than ordinary height. Two had long thick hair on the head. The third was shorn short. [They] had nothing but a small quaint cloth in front of their male parts. Their canoe was thin and narrow, covered over a large part of the way forward and aft. The paddles of ordinary length, the blade with which they paddled broad in the middle. They called to us several times and we back to them, but could not understand one another.

(We) showed them white cloth, of which we threw a piece of fully 1½ fathom long, overboard, which they seeing paddled towards. But since it was sinking and quite deep under water the foremost from the canoe dived, after the same. He remained a very long time under water. Eventually came up again with the cloth and into the canoe, when he put: the same several times on top of his head; in token of thanks.

[They] came then with their canoe quite a bit nearer. [We] threw them a piece of wood, to which [we] had fastened 2 large nails. Proffered them a Chinese mirror with a chain of Chinese beads, which [we] held toward them with a long stick, to which they tied one of their fish hocks, with a bit of string, which they returned to us in recompense. This fish hook was of mother-of-pearl shell, in form like a small sardine.

They put the chain of beads and the mirror many times on the head, the middlemost in the canoe bound the nails round his neck. But because the slide was in front of the mirror, they could see nothing in it. Therefore [we] proffered them another which they looked in put in on their head.

We showed them an old coconut, and a hen, asked from our vocabulary about water pigs &c but did not understand them nor they us. [They] directed us all the time toward land. After we had given them the above written things, shown the coconut and the hen [they] eventually paddled to land, and made sign, as if [they] would go and fetch the one or the other from land.

At and after noon [we] saw numbers of people walk along beach, some with white flags, from which we presumed, this to be a peace token. Therefore [we] also put out our white flag from aft. Thereupon a small canoe with 4 persons sturdy, men, the body being painted black from the middle to the thighs, their necks hung with large leaves, came to the ship, bringing a little white flag and a cloth of bark of trees.

They put this said flag on the stem of our boat. The wing of their canoe was adorned with sea shells and cockles. We concluded from these presents and adornment, of their canoe (which more so than the other canoes) that it came from the king or head of the land. Therefore presented them with a small Chinese mirror, knife, dungaree and one to 2 nails. We had a glass of wine filled for them. Drank first ourselves so that [they] should not think, we wished to poison them or do other hurt. Having delivered the glass they poured the wine out, and took along the glass to land.

Shortly a crowd of canoes came there, some with 5 to 6 others with 10 to 12 coconuts, all which we exchanged for old nails 3 to 4 for a double medium nail. Some came swimming off all the way from land with coconuts, all which we bought afterwards. An aged man came on our ship whom the others all honoured, so that it seemed one of their chiefs. We led him into the cabin. He did us reverence lowered his head to our feet. We also did him honour according to our fashion. We showed him fresh water in a beaker, which he indicated was to be got on land. [We] presented him with a knife, a small mirror, and a piece of dungaree. On departing from the cabin, one of them was found who had stolen the skipper's pistol with a pair of slippers. We took it back from him without showing the least annoyance.

Many of these people had the lower body painted black to the knees. Some had a mother-of-pearl shell hanging on the breast.

Towards the evening about 20 canoes came close by our ship, which all went and lay in regular order with one another, before (they) came to the ship. [They] made a great noise, calling a number of times Woe, Woe, Woe. &c. Whereupon those who were in our ship went and sat down. And some canoes then also paddled alongside bringing a present from the King, consisting of a fine large pig, some coconuts and yams. The bringer was he who brought the white flag and the bark cloth. We recompensed them with an ordinary serving dish and a piece of copper wire. We exchanged still more coconuts, plantains, yams and a pig &c for nails and beads. About dusk they all left the ship, except one who stayed on the ship to sleep.

On 22nd d^o in the morning early, a crowd of canoes again came to the ship, with coconuts, yams, plantains, bananas, pigs and fowls which we bartered, to wit a young pig for a small fathom of dungaree, a hen for a nail or a chain of beads, the coconuts, yams, bananas &c for old nails.

Several women both old and young came to the ship. The oldest women had the little fingers cut off on both hands; - but the young women not. What this signified [we] could not find out.

About 8 o'clock the old person of yesterday again came to the ship, brought us 2 pigs, for which we gave him a knife decorated with a silver band, with 8 to 9 nails as honour. Took him to look below and round the ship. Also had one of our large pieces fired, at which they were very frightened and ran away astonished. But because [they] saw that no one suffered injury there from, were quickly calmed again. We presented this old man with a figured satin cloth, hat and a shirt which [we] put on him.

About noon 32 small canoes and a large ditto furnished with sail, and constructed just as in the Journal of Jacob La Maire in N^o is depicted, appeared alongside our ship from which 48 sturdy men and some womenfolk came on our ship. [They] brought, some cloths of bark, and fruit as coconuts yams and other roots, of which we had no knowledge as gifts. We presented, the chief of these persons with a shirt a pair of trousers a small mirror and some beads, put the trousers and the shirt on his body, by which he was very much adorned.

Among these 18 persons was a rough stout man with a St Thomas arm, and a woman who by nature had a little beard on the mouth. We got the under-mate of the Zeehaen with his trumpet, and one of their sailors with a violin to come to the ship. [We] had them together with our trumpeter and one of our sailors who could play on the German flute blow together and play, which was a surprise to them.

Meanwhile [we] had some water casks put in our and the Zeechaen's boat, in order to go with these people following resolution, to see whether water may be obtained anywhere here. We had a mate go in each boat. Our skipper, Ide Tiercxz, Holman and the merchant Gilsemans, went also with our sloop together with the aged person. And he who had now come, which people would show our men the water place.

In our sloop. [we] put also some musketeers, although these people seemed well-disposed. Nevertheless [we] cannot know what sticks in the heart. Therefore [we] armed our people to prevent mischances. After our vessels had rowed a large part of the way to the north east side of this land.

[They] were brought eventually to three small water wells, where one had to scoop out the water with a Coconut shell. This water was not suitable, all green and disagreeable in colour. Also, so little in quantity that even if it was quite good, we should get here no satisfaction. These people who had shown our folk this place, brought them inland to a pleasure place and decorated baleije, where our men were set down on fine mats. The people brought there nothing but 2 coconut shells with water, one for the chief and the other for our Skipper.

Towards the evening our people returned with a live pig, and reported: that there was no appearance of getting water there. On this day [we] have brought 40 head pigs, each pig for a double medium nail and a half fathom old Sailcloth, and about 70 head fowls, each hen for a double medium nail &c. some yams coconuts and other fruits for beads.

In the evening there was brought to the ship from Land, by one of the chiefs, a roasted pig, yams and other roots. These people have no knowledge at all of tobacco or tobacco smoking. The women go bedecked from the middle to the knees with mats of leaves of trees, the rest naked. [They] have the hair shorter than the men folk. The men's beard is usually 3 to 4 fingers' breadth long on the chin above the mouth it is fairly short; having the moustache not longer than about 2 straws broad. [We] saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace and friendship. The current does not go hard here. The flood runs to the Southwest and the ebb to the north east, which according to our reckoning here a Southwest moon makes. The water flows about 7 to 8: feet up and down.

On 23rd d^o in the morning we went with Skipper Gerrit Jansz, with both boats and sloop to land to dig wells, and to see whether one cannot here get some water. Coming to land (we) at once went to the wells. Indicated to the chief that the wells must be larger. [He] gave at once order to his people who did that same for us. [He] went with us to the beleiji, had a mat spread there, where we went up and sat. Being placed [he] at once had sweet milk and cream served up, fresh fish, all sorts of fruits which may be obtained there in quantity.

[They] did us great honour and friendship. Asked us where [we] came from and where wanted to go. [We] said to them that [we] had been at sea, over a hundred days, at which they were very astonished. [We] said that [we] came there for water, pigs, fowls &c, to which they answered that they had plenty of these, as much as (we) wanted.

[We] got 9 casks with water, and they presented to us four live pigs with a number of fowls coconuts, bananas &c. We presented them in return with 1 fathom cloth, 6 nails and 6 bundles of beads, for which they, thanked us very much. Then [we] went after with the 3 chiefs indicating to them that we wished to leave the white flag at the baleije in token of peace; at which they were very glad. [They] took the flag first one and then the other on their head wanting thereby to show that they sought nothing other than our friendship. Then they fastened the flag to the baleije, as sign that [they] had made an alliance with us.

(Nomuka)

About 2 hours before sunset, our sloop, with the Skipper and pilot major returned, reporting, that on coming to land, [they] had found about 60 to 70 persons sitting on the beach, at which they thought, almost all the menfolk from this Island was present. [They] had no weapons; but seemed a good peaceful people, for [they] found by there many women and children.

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On last d^o in the morning early, sent the boats with our sloop, again for water but since the weather began to look so dark and changeable, [we] have given a signal that they should come back; whereupon [they] came back at once, at noon we to wit, I our skipper, the pilot major, the skipper and merchant of the Zeehaen and the secretary, with both the boats and sloop went to land, to go and take leave there as [we] were of intention to depart. Coming to land many people gathered immediately together. We asked two persons who appeared the most important, for the chief of the land, who thereupon led us into the trees, through confined narrow dirty muddied paths (since much rain had fallen continuously for one to 2 days).

First [we] were brought to the south side of the land, where a number of coconut trees stood planted in order next to each other. From there [they] led us to the east side of same land, where 6 large canoes, covered 2 together, with planks and carrying masts, lay. Here also stood one to 2 small houses which were decorated a little more than ordinarily, to wit enclosed around with reed shoots. From this place [we] proceeded to a basin or brackish inland water of about a mile in circuit.

After [we] had stayed here a little time, [we] asked them again where the Aisij or Latouw (that is king or chief in our speech) was. They directed us to the farther side of this water, and since the sun came fairly low toward the water [we] returned by another way to our vessels. In going there and back [we] saw numbers of plots or gardens in which the beds were made neatly in squares, and planted with all sorts of earth-fruits. The banana and other fruit trees in many places, and almost all standing so straight in-line, that it was a pleasure to behold, giving from it all round a lovely pleasant aroma and odour. So that in this people who had the form of a man (but inhuman morals and customs) also men's ingenuity appeared.

About 2 hours before the setting of the Sun [we] came back on board. These islands lie in the averaged longitude 185 miles more easterly than the islands of Salamon, and by my estimate 230 miles east of the easternmost Islands of Salamon.

Of religion or God's service, these people know nothing. [Nor] have also any idols, images or other heathen relics, nor clergy. None the less [they] are superstitious, since I have seen that one of these persons took up a water snake, which came drifting past his canoe, laid it reverently on his head and then put it back in the water. They also kill no flies (which are here in great plenty and trouble them enough) however many of the same sit on the body. It happened while we lay here, that our mate (by chance) killed a fly, and that in the sight of one of these chiefs, at which this man showed anger.

These people have, on this island, no king or leader. [They] are also wholly without government. Even so they know of wrong and punish the culprits. But this punishment does not happen by law; but by the innocent, generally. This [we] have observed when we were getting water and one of these persons, had stolen one of our pikes with which he ran into the trees which we saw, and over this [we] showed annoyance. The others perceiving the same ran after him, brought us the pike a little later on the way, and punished the wrongdoer or thief. Thus they took an old coconut and beat with it on his back, until the nut burst. Whether this is ordinarily their custom, or whether it happened only for our wish [we] could not know.

[2] ENGLISH EXPLORERS RECORD THEIR OBSERVATIONS 1767-1777

(i) *Niua toputapu and Tafahi as seen by Captain Wallis 1767*

[An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successfully performed by COMMODORE BYRON, CAPTAIN WALLIS, CAPTAIN CARTERET, and CAPTAIN COOK, in the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW, and the ENDEAVOUR: Drawn up from the JOURNALS which were kept by the several COMMANDERS, and from the Papers of JOSEPH BANKS, esq; By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. In Three Volumes. Volume I. London. MDCCLXXIII. - pp:492-494.]

We continued to steer our course westward, till day-break on the 13th of August, when we saw land bearing W. by S. and hauled towards it. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon, we saw more land in the W.S.W. At noon, the first land that we saw, which proved to be an island, bore W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distant about five leagues, and had the appearance of a sugar leaf. The middle of the other land, which was also an island, and appeared in a peak, bore W.S.W. distant six leagues. To the first, which is nearly circular, the three miles over, I gave the name of BOSCAWEN'S ISLAND; and the other, which is three miles and a half long, and two broad, I called KEPPEL'S ISLE. Port Royal at this time bore E. 4° 10' S. distant 47 leagues.

At two o'clock, being about two miles distant from Boscawen's Island, we saw several of the inhabitants; but Keppel's Isle being to windward, and appearing more likely to afford us anchorage, we hauled up for it. At six, it was not more than a mile and an half distant, and, with our glasses, we saw many of the inhabitants upon the beach; but there being breakers at a considerable distance from the shore, we stood off and on all night.

At four o'clock the next morning, we sent off the boats to sound, and visit the island; and as soon as it was light, we ran down and lay over-against the middle of it. At noon, the boats returned, and reported that they had run within a cable's length of the island, but could find no ground: that seeing a reef of rocks lie off it, they had hauled round it, and got into a large deep bay which was full of rocks; that they then founded without the bay, and found anchorage from 14 to 20 fathom, with a bottom of sand and coral. That afterwards they went again into the bay, and found a rivulet of good water, but the shore being rocky, went in search of a better landing-place, which they found about half a mile farther, and went ashore. They reported also, that from the water to this landing-place, a good rolling-way might be made for supplying the ship, but that a strong guard would be necessary, to

prevent molestation from the inhabitants.

They saw no hogs, but brought off two fowls and some cocoanuts, plantains and bananas. While the boats were on shore, two canoes came up to them with six men. They seemed to be peaceably inclined, and were much the same kind of people as the inhabitants of King George's Island, but they were clothed in a kind of matting, and the first joint of their little fingers had been taken off. At the same time about fifty more came down from the country, to within about an hundred yards of them, but would advance no farther. When our people had made what observations they could, they put of, and three of the natives from the canoes came into one of the boats, but when she got about half a mile from the shore, they all suddenly jumped overboard and swam back again.

Having received this account, I considered that the watering here would be tedious, and attended with great fatigue; that it was now the depth of winter in the southern hemisphere, that the ship was leaky, that the rudder shook the stern very much, and that what other damage she might have received in her bottom could not be known. That for these reasons, she was very unfit for the bad weather which she would certainly meet with either in going round Cape Horn, or through the Straight of Magellan. That if she should get safely through the Straight, or round the Cape, it would be absolutely necessary for her to refresh in some port, but in that case no port would be in her reach.

I therefore determined to make the best of my way to Tinian, Batavia, and so to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. By this rout, as far as we could judge, we should sooner be at home. And if the ship should prove not to be in a condition to make the whole voyage, we should still save our lives, as from this place to Batavia we should probably have a calm sea, and be not far from a port.

In consequence of this resolution, at noon I bore away, and passed Boscawen's Island without visiting it. It is a high round island, abounding in wood, and full of people. But Keppel's Isle is by far the largest and the best of the two.

Boscawen's Island lies in latitude 15° 50' S. longitude 175° W. and oplying the Keppel's Isle in latitude 15° 55' S. longitude 175° 3' W.

(ii) Cook's comments During his first visit 1773-1774.

[A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World. Performed in His Majesty's ships the RESOLUTION and ADVENTURE, in the years 1772,1773, 1774 and 1775. Written by James Cook, Commander of the RESOLUTION. Vol.1. London 1777.]

Saturday 21st October 1773. - p.202.

We were no sooner seated in the house, than the eldest of the priests began a speech or prayer, which was first directed to the Afiatouca (fa'itoka: graveyard), and then to me, and alternately. When he addressed me, he paused at every sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I, however, did not understand one single word he said. At times, the old gentleman seemed to be at a loss what to say; or perhaps his memory failed him; for, every now and then, he was prompted by one of the other priests who sat by him. Both during

this prayer and the former one, the people were silent, but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay. Our guides conducted us down to our boat, and we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner.

We had no sooner got on board, then an old gentleman came alongside, who I understand from Attago, was some king or great man. He was, accordingly, ushered on board; when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him my friend) and seated him at table to dinner. We now saw that he was a man of consequence; for Attago would not sit down and eat before him, but got to the other end of the table; and, as the old chief was almost blind, he sat there, and eat with his back towards him. After the old man had eaten a bit of fish and drank two glasses of wine, he returned ashore. As soon as Attago had seen him out of the ship, he came and took his place at the table, finished his dinner, and drank two glasses of wine. When dinner was over, we all went ashore, where we found the old chief, who presented me with a hog; and he and some others, took a walk with us into the country.

Wednesday, October 1773.

My friend Attago having visited me again next morning, as usual, brought with him a hog, and assisted me in purchasing several more. Afterwards we went ashore; visited the old king, with whom we staid till noon; then returned on board to dinner, with Attago, who never once left me. Intending to sail the next morning, I made up a present for the old king, and carried it on shore in the evening.

As soon as I landed, I was told by the officers who were on shore, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen was come to pay us a visit. Mr. Pickersgill informed me that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of some consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their head between their feet; and no one durst pass him without permission. Mr. Pickersgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing-place, where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that notwithstanding what had been told me, I really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship.

I saluted and spoke to him; but he neither answered, nor took the least notice of me; nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed me in my opinion, and I was just going to leave him, when one of the natives, an intelligent youth, undertook to undeceive me; which he did in such a manner as left me no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the island. Accordingly I made him the present I intended for the old chief, which consisted of a shirt, an axe, a piece of red cloth, a looking glass, some nails, medals, and beads.

He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid down by him, without losing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; sitting the whole time like a statue; in which situation I left him, to return on board; and he soon after retired.

I had not been long on board before word was brought me that a quantity of provisions had

come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore; and it consisted of about twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr. Edgcumbe and his party were just reimbarking, when these were brought to the waterside, and the bearers said it was a present from the Areeke (ae 'eiki), that is the king of the island, to the Areeke (ae 'eiki) of the ship. After this I was no longer to doubt the dignity of this sullen chief.

Thursday 7th, October 1773. - p. 207

Early in the morning of the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr, Forster, in order to make some return to the king for his last night's present. We no sooner landed than we found Attago, of whom we inquired for the king, whose name was Kohaghee-too-Fallangou. He accordingly undertook to conduct us to him. But, whether he mistook the man we wanted, or was ignorant where he was, I know not. Certain it is, that he took us a wrong road, in which he had not gone far before he stopped; and after some little conversation between him and another man, we returned back, and presently after," the king appeared with very few attendants.

As soon as Attago saw him coming, he sat down under a tree, and desired us to do the same. The king seated himself on a rising ground, about twelve or fifteen yards from us: here we sat facing one another for some minutes, I waited for Attago to show us the way; but seeing he did not rise, Captain Furneaux and I got up, went and saluted the king, and sat down by him. He then presented him with a white shirt (which we put on his back) a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking-glasses, a dozen of medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he sat with the sane sullen stupid gravity as the day before. He even did not seem to see or know what we were about. His arms appeared immoveable at his sides; he did not so much as raise them when we put on the shirt. I told him, both by words and signs, that we were going to leave his island. He scarcely made the least answer to this, or any other thing, we either said or did.

We, therefore, got up and took leave; but I yet remained near him, to observe his actions. Soon after, he entered into conversation with Attago and an old woman, whom we took to be his mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation; it however made him laugh, in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed, because it exceeded every thing of the king I ever saw; and therefore think it could not be his real disposition (unless he was an idiot indeed) as these islanders, like all the others we had lately visited, have a great deal of levity; and he was in the prime of life. At last, he rose up, and retired with his mother and two or three more.

Attago conducted us to another circle, where were seated the aged chief and several respectable old persons of both sexes; among whom was the priest, who was generally in company with this chief. We observed that this reverend father could walk very well in a morning; but, in an evening, was obliged to be led home by two people. By this we concluded, that the juice of the pepper-root had the same effect upon him that wine and other strong liquors have on Europeans who drink a large portion of them.

It is very certain, that these old people seldom sat down without preparing a bowl of this liquor; which is done in the same manner as at Ulietea. We, however, must do them the

justice to believe, that it was meant to treat us: nevertheless, the greatest part, if I not the whole, generally fell to their share.

I was not well prepared to take leave of this chief, having exhausted almost all our store on the other. However, after rummaging our pockets, and treasury bag, which was always carried with me wherever I went, we made up a tolerable present, both for him and his friends.

This old chief had an air of dignity about him that commanded respect, which the other had not. He was grave, but not sullen; would crack a joke, talk on indifferent subjects, and endeavour to understand us and be understood himself. During this visit, the old priest repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand. Indeed he would frequently, at other times, break out in prayer; but I never saw any attention paid to him by any one present.

After a stay of near two hours, we took leave, and returned on board, with Attago and two or three more friends, who staid and breakfasted with us; after which they were dismissed, loaded with presents.

October 1773. - p.222

I have frequently mentioned a King, which implies the government being in a single person, without knowing for certain whether it is so or not. Such an one was, however, pointed out to us; and we had no reason to doubt it. From this, and other circumstances, I am of opinion that the government is much like that of Otaheite: that is, in a king or great chief, who is here called Areeke, with other chiefs under him, who are lords of certain districts; and perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience.

I also observed a third rank, who had not a little authority over the common people. My friend Attago was one of these. I am of opinion that all the land on Tongatabu is private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, a set of people, who are servants or slaves, and have no property in land. It is unreasonable to suppose every thing in common in a country so highly cultivated as this. Interest being the greatest spring which animates the hand of industry, few would toil in cultivating and planting the land, if they did not expect to reap the fruit of their labour. Were it otherwise, the industrious man would be in a worse state than the idle sluggard.

I frequently saw parties of six eight, or ten people, bring down to the landing-place, fruit and other things to dispose of, where one person, a man or woman; superintended the sale of the whole. No exchanges were made but with his or her consent; and, whatever we gave in exchange, was always given them, which, I think plainly showed them to be the owners of the goods, and the others no more than servants.

(iii) George Forster's descriptions of 'Eua, 1773.

[A Voyage Round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, -RESOLUTION, commanded by Capt. JAMES COOK, during the years 1772, 3, 4, and 5.

By GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S. In Two Volumes, Vol.1. London, MDCCLXXVII. pp.428-444]

We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green, which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright, and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceedingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical when compared to the Taheitian songs. They beat time to it by snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus.

.....

The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door, which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance, and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect now changed into an extensive garden where we saw a number of tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas and a few bread-fruit trees.

In the midst of this spot the path led us to a dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety of shrubs, in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed through these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crowds wherever we went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a value that they could not always resist the temptation.

We passed through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house, of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than we had expected.

Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands. But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas, are their principal articles of diet. Their clothing too, compared to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their houses, though neatly constructed, and always placed in a fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these reflections as we advanced towards the landing place where several hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality.

We advanced among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men and women. They hugged very heartily, and frequently kissed our hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion of strength in their agriculture and economy. Their features were extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces, in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and the beard shaven or rather clipped by means of a couple of sharp muscle shells (mytili.)

The women were, in general, a few inches shorter than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely proportioned down to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features, though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals there,

especially of the principal families, to which none of these could be compared.

The complexion of both sexes here was the same, a light chestnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his orders that we concluded his quality.

.....

The immense quantity of arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific disposition, which had strongly shone through their whole behaviour towards us, and which still manifested itself in their readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have sometimes quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on this subject.

.....

The next morning early the captain went on shore with us, and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words, which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the language spoken at Taheitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and Mahine (or O-Hedeede,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally new and unintelligible to them. However, when we explained to them the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them. They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived its defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit, few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return; however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties. The chief, after selling a number of fish-hooks for rails and beads, hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

(iv) Government and administration of law as seen by Cook in 1777.

[A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean; Undertaken by command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere: performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in the years 1776, 1777; 1778, 1779, 1780. Newcastle 1790, pp. 215-220.]

The island of Tongataboo is divided into numerous districts, each of which has its peculiar chief, who distributes justice, and decides disputes within his own territory. Most of these chieftains have estates in other islands, whence they procure supplies. The king, at stated times, receives the product of his distant domains at Tonga taboo, which is not only the usual place of his residence, but the abode of most persons of distinction among these islands. Its inhabitants frequently call it the Land of Chiefs, and stigmatize the subordinate isles with the appellation of Lands of Servants.

The Chiefs are styled by the people lords of the earth, and also of the sun and sky. The royal family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the god distinguished by that appellation, who is probably considered by them as their tutelary patron. The king's peculiar title is simply Tooe Tonga. The order and decorum observed in his presence, and likewise in that of the chiefs, are truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, all the attendants seat themselves before him, forming a semicircle, and leaving a sufficient space between them and him, into which no one, unless he has particular business, presumes to come. Nor is any one suffered to fit or pass behind him, or even near him, without his permission. When a person wishes to speak to his majesty, he comes forward, and having seated himself before him, delivers in a few words what he has to say, then, after being favoured with an answer, retires. If the king speaks to any one, the latter gives an answer from his seat, unless he is to receive an order; in which case he rises from his place, and seats himself cross-legged before his majesty. To speak to the king standing, would here be considered as a glaring mark of rudeness.

None of the most civilized nations have ever exceeded these islanders in the great order and regularity maintained on every occasion, in ready and submissive compliance with the commands of their chiefs, and in the perfect harmony that subsists among all ranks. Such a behaviour manifests itself in a remarkable manner, whenever their chiefs harangue a body of them assembled together, which frequently happens. The greatest attention and most profound silence are observed during the harangue; and whatever might have been the purport of the oration, we never saw a single instance when any one of those who were present showed signs of his being displeased, or seemed in the least inclined to dispute the declared will of the speaker.

It is a peculiar privilege annexed to the person of the king, not to be punctured, nor circumcised, or rather supercised, as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, all who meet him must sit down till he has passed. No person is suffered to be over his head; but, on the contrary, all must come under his feet. The method of doing homage to him, and the other chiefs, is as follows: the person who is to pay obeisance, squats down before the great personage, and bows the head down to the sole of his foot, which he taps or touches with the under and upper side of the fingers of each hand; then rising up, he retires. We had reason to think, that his majesty cannot refuse any one who is desirous of paying him this

homage, which is called by the natives mo e moea; for the people would frequently think proper to show him these marks of submission when he was walking; and he was on those occasions obliged to stop, and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed this respectful ceremony. This, to so corpulent and unwieldy a man as Poulaho, must have been painful and troublesome; and we have sometimes seen him endeavour, by running to get out of the way, so to reach a convenient place for sitting down.

.....

The word taboo has a great latitude of signification. They call human sacrifices tangata taboo; and when any particular thing is prohibited to be eaten or made use of, they say it is taboo. They informed us, that if the king should go into a house belonging to one of his subjects, that house would in consequence become taboo, and could never be again inhabited by the owner of it; so that wherever his majesty travels there are houses peculiarly assigned for his accommodation. At this time Old Toobou presided over the taboo; that is, if Omai did not misunderstand those who gave him the intelligence, he and his deputies had the inspection of all the produce of the island, taking care that each individual should cultivate and plant his quota, and directing what should and what should not be eaten. By so prudent a regulation, they take effectual precautions against a famine; sufficient ground is employed in raising provisions: and every article is secured from unnecessary consumption.

By another good regulation, an officer of rank is appointed to superintend the police. This department was administered while we continued among them, by Feenou, whose business (as we were informed) it was, to punish all delinquents: he was also generalissimo, or commander in chief of the forces of the islands. Poulaho himself declared to us, that if he should become a bad man, Feenou would dethrone and kill him; by which he doubtless meant, that if he neglected the duties of his high station, or governed in a manner that would prove prejudicial to the public welfare, Feenou would be desired by the other chiefs, or by the collective body of the people, to depose him from his sovereignty, and put him to death. A monarch thus subject to control and punishment for abuse of power, cannot justly be deemed a despotic prince.

When we take into consideration the number of islands of which this state consists, and the distance at which some of them are removed from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke of subjection might be apprehended. But they informed us, that this circumstance never happens. One reason of their not being thus embroiled in domestic commotions may be this; that all the principal chiefs take up their residence at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other isles, by the decisive celerity of their operations; for if a seditious and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenow, or whoever happens to hold his office, is immediately dispatched thither to put him to death; by which means they extinguish an insurrection while it is yet in embryo.

The different classes of their chiefs seemed to be nearly as numerous as among us; but there are few, comparatively speaking, that are lords of extensive districts of territory. It is said, that when a person of property dies, all his possessions devolve on the sovereign; but that it is customary to give them to the eldest son of the deceased, with this condition annexed, that he should provide out of the estate for the other children. The crown is hereditary and

we know, from a particular circumstance, that the Futtasaihes, of which family is Poulaho, have reigned in a direct line for the space of at least one hundred and thirty-five years, which have elapsed between our present visit to these islands and Tasman's discovery of them.

Upon our inquiring of them whether any traditional account of the arrival of Tasman's ships had been preserved among them till this time, we found that this history had been delivered down to them from their ancestors, with great accuracy: for they said that his two ships resembled ours, and also mentioned the place where they had lain at anchor, their having continued but a few days, and their quitting that station to go to Annamooka; and for the purpose of informing us how long ago this affair had happened, they communicated to us the name of the Futtafaihe who reigned at that time, and those who had succeeded him in the sovereignty, down to Poulaho, who is the fifth monarch since that period.

It might naturally be imagined that the present sovereign of the Friendly Isles had the highest rank of any person in his dominions. But we found it to be otherwise; for Latoolibooloo, who has been already mentioned, and three women, are superior in some respects to Poulaho himself. These great personages are distinguished by the title of Tammaha, which implies a chief. When we made inquiry concerning them, we were informed that the late king, father of Poulaho, left behind him a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that she, by a native of Feejee, had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, are of higher rank than the king. We endeavoured to discover the reason of this pre-eminence of the Tammahas, but without effect. The mother and one of her daughters, named Tooeela-kaipa, reside at Vavaoo. The other daughter, called Mougoula-kaipa, and Latoolibooloo the son, dwell at Tongataboo. Mougoula-kaipa is the lady who has been mentioned as having dined with Capt. Cook on the 21st of June. Latoolibooloo was supposed by his country men to be disordered in his senses. At Eooa, or Middleburg, they showed us a considerable quantity of land, which was said to be his property; and we saw there a son of his, a child who was honoured with the same title that his father enjoyed.

(v) The observations of Cook's Assistant Surgeon 1773.

[Ellis, W. An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in his Majesty's ships RESOLUTION and DISCOVERY, during the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780; in search of a North-West Passage between the Continents of Asia and America. Including a faithful Account of all their Discoveries, and the unfortunate Death of Captain COOK, Illustrated with a CHART and a variety of CUTS. By W. EILIS, assistant surgeon to both vessels. The. Second Edition. Vol.1. London, MDCCLXXXIII. . pp.65-69, 113-17.]

Having got up our anchors, we again made sail, and on the 6th, at three in the afternoon, anchored off Anamooka, about three quarters of a mile from shore.

One of Captain Cook's: reasons for stopping here a second time, was to look at some melons and cucumbers, the seeds of which he had planted soon after our arrival in May; but to his great regret they were in a very poor state, having been nearly destroyed by vermin.

The day after our second arrival here, we were informed that another great man from Tonga-Taboo, or, Amsterdam, was arrived, whose name was Fatafee-Powlahow. This gentleman soon after came on board; he was above the middle size, exceeding fat, and appeared to be about forty. His attendants were numerous, and there was not one of them but told us that this man was the real king of Tonga-Taboo, Anamooka, Happi, and in short all the islands which we before supposed Feenow king of. This strange account surprised us a good deal, as every body had taken it for granted that Feenow was sovereign, every mark of .. respect and submission being paid him, and how to account for the usurpation (if such it was) of this man, was a circumstance we could not readily succeeded in.

Feenow had gone the day before our departure from Happi, to a neighbouring island called Vaavow, from which he was to return at the end of three days, with a large stock of red feathers and various other things. The time elapsed, but no Feenow appeared. This circumstance, though it did not strike us then, appeared against him now with double force, and gave us great reason to suppose, that our old friend had really assumed a title to which he had no right, and that in fact he was absent for no other reason, but to avoid an interview with Powlahow, in the course of which all his consequence must fall to the ground.

Powlahow, during his stay on board, paid great attention to the different parts of the ship, and, amongst other questions, asked us what we came to these islands for? He said, we appeared to be in want of nothing, and that we all looked well and in health. A question of this kind came so unsuspected, that at first the Captain was at a loss what reply to make; but recollecting himself, he told him he came there by: the order of his King, who was a great and mighty prince, and was desirous of entering into a league of friendship with him; that there was a large stock of hatchets, knives, beads, red cloth, &c. on board, which he would barter with him for hogs, and such articles as the island produced. This answer satisfied him very well, and, at the desire of the Captain, he went down with him into the great cabin, where he received a present suitable to his rank, and then went on board his canoe very much pleased.

The next morning Feenow arrived, and in the presence of some of our gentlemen, who by chance were with Powlahow, acknowledged him as his superior, and paid him the homage of a subject, but with a countenance so expressive of shame, that every one who saw him felt for and pitied him. Feenow's conduct was however natural enough; for most people are anxious to appear greater than they really are, especially if they are likely to gain any thing by it, which most probably was the case with him; and in this respect it answered his purpose very well, for he received many presents on that account, which otherwise would not have been given him. We found, however, that though he was not king, he was one of the principal men, and generalissimo of the king's forces, and upon all occasions led them out to battle.

The form of government with respect to its foundation is much the same as at the society Isles; but it is carried on with much greater order and regularity, and a superior degree of respect is showed to the king. No one dares to address him without first paying him homage, which is done by kneeling down and bowing the head to his feet, which the person

afterwards gently taps once with the fingers and knuckles of each hand, after which he seats himself at a distance, and then proceeds to relate his business. The agees¹ always sit at a distance, forming a semi-circle, the king being in front with four or five of his attendants behind him, and generally an old woman near him, with a fan.

The crown is hereditary, and has been in the present family for five generations. The king's authority, though absolute in almost every respect, is still in some measure curbed by Feenow and Tubow: the former, Powlahow told us, could dispossess him of his throne, and kill him, if he was a bad man. By which he probably meant, that if he neglected the duty of his station, or acted in a manner that would prove prejudicial to the good or welfare of the state, Feenow could lawfully depose and kill him. Tubow is likewise a man of the first consequence; his business is to inspect the wenuah taboo, that is to examine the state of the islands with respect to their produce, and if there is a probability of any one species of provision falling short (which sometimes is the case, particularly when the season proves dry), he is to taboo it, or issue an order to forbid its being touched till the next season. By these wise precautions they are entirely divested of the fear of want. Some few days before our departure from Amsterdam almost every thing was tabooed, as our long stay had pretty well drained them of every thing they could spare.

The lower class of people are kept in great subjection by the chiefs, who in fact do just as they please with them, and seem to regard them as an abject set of beings, over whom they have an unbounded right. During our stay at Anamooka, immediately after the market for the day was over, one of the agees ordered the crowd to disperse, and every one to retire to his home; which they not doing so readily as he thought they ought, he caught up a large stick, and fell upon them most furiously. One man was knocked down, and when taken away was to all appearance dead. The agee took no manner of notice of it, and walked away as unconcerned as if nothing had happened.

[3] SPANISH IMPRESSIONS 1781

Maurelle and "the Tupou" at Vava'u 1784

[Maurelle, F.A. Narrative of an interesting voyage of the Frigate La Princesa, from Manilla to San Bas, September 27, 1781, on board the Frigate La 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 superintendance 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

¹ *Eiki* meaning lord or chief.

probably meant the equi¹ 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 full 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 reals², 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 showed 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 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

¹ *Eiki* meaning lord or chief.

² The dollar is equal to twenty reals: the real is worth rather more than two pence halfpenny of our money.

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 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 giltheads¹, and one of his weapons, which was nothing but a staff of acana², 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.

.....

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 rear 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 on the ground 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

¹ 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.

² I do not know what wood this is.

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.

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 rights 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.

.....

The ties of friendship being now drawn so close between us, that the tubou even called me his 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.

.....

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.

.....

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.

.....

1784, March

Departure from Puerta del Refugio, in the Islands of don Martin de Mayorga, in latitude 18° 38' south, longitude 179° 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 to 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 ahead 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.

[4] 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. MILET-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 Vavao, the north point of which bore from us at noon due west, our latitude being 18° 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 our selves 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 1784, 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 Hapae, 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 Tonga taboo: 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, 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 Kiemen'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 overset 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 tattooing, 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. He 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 Maouna, 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 Maouna; 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 group 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.

[5] 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, (Mumui)¹ the principal chief, or Dugonagaboola (Tu'ikanokupolu), of the island, soon arrived himself, and confirmed the message which Ambler² 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

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.

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 Tonga taboo (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 (Fatafahi) the chief of the former and Vaharlo (Ve'ehala) the chief of the latter, acknowledged him as their superior.

.....

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 guests. 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.

.....

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.

.....

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.

[6] 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 Tootonga, Veachi, and the priests.

We here speak of Tootonga 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 Tootonga'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 Tootonga, 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 Tootonga as if actually existing. The family name of Tootonga 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 Fili Tonga. He is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

Tootonga 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, Tootonga, 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, the 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 Tooitonga; 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 Tooitonga. 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. Tooitonga 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 Tooitonga. For instance if the king or any chief but Tooitonga be sick, they say he is tenga tangi; but Tooitonga being sick, he is said to be Booloohi. 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 Tooitonga 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 Tooitonga 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 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.7. 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 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 Tooitonga, 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 Tooitonga or Veachi, or the How. Tooitonga and Veachi may easily be conceived sources of nobility, on account of their supposed divine original, and the how because he holds the reigns of government, and is invested with power. The family, Finow, who is the present How, say, that they descended neither from Tooitonga 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 Tooitonga. At all events, this is certain, that the present acknowledged fountains of nobility are Tooitonga, 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.

MOOAS 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 fonnooa, or peasants: but some of them are employed occasionally in the various occupations of performing the tatoow, cooking, club-carving, and shaving, according to their abilities.

[7] CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY: THE KING AND THE TU'I TONGA, 1810c.

[An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, John Martin, Edinburg, 1872. Vol.2, pp. 125-128.]

The two divine personages, viz. Tootonga 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 Tootonga 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 Tootonga ventured to advise Finow (the late king) respecting his war like 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, Tootonga 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 Tootonga 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 Tootonga 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 Tootonga, 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 where on 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 (Toongooa¹), 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.

¹ Tungua?