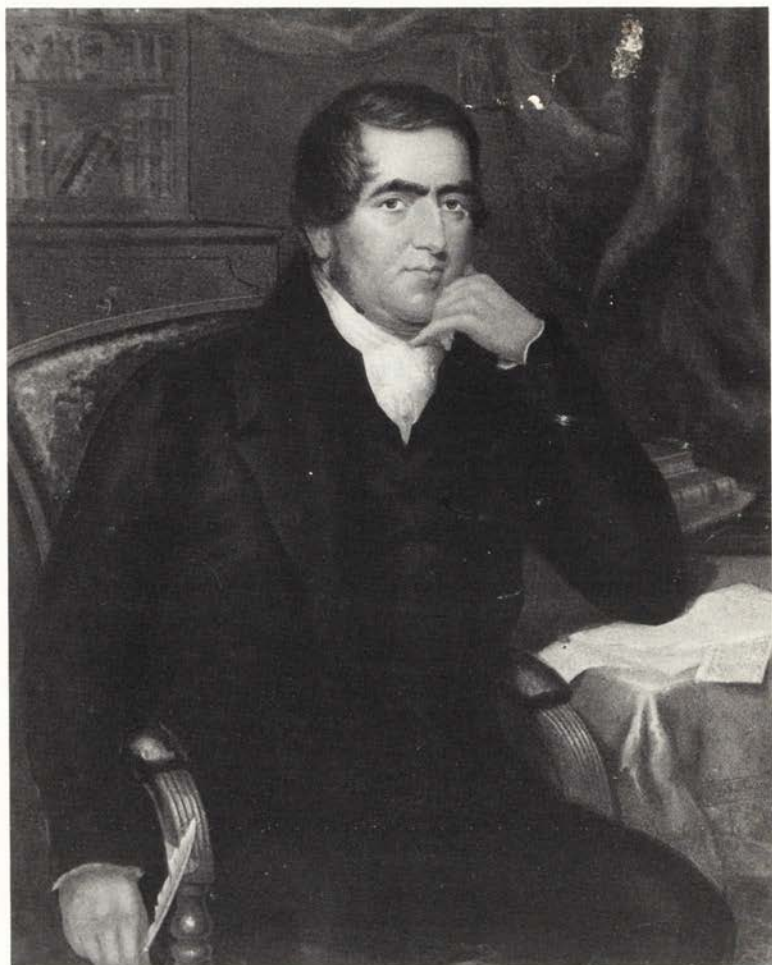


**The Samoan Journals
of John Williams**

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.

This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.



Rev. John Williams
(George Baxter print, 1843.
Courtesy of the Mitchell Library, Sydney)

Pacific History Series No. 11

**The Samoan Journals
of John Williams
1830 and 1832**

Edited, with an Introduction by

Richard M. Moyle

Australian National University Press
Canberra, London, New York
1984

First published in Australia 1984

Printed in Australia for the Australian National University
Press, Canberra

© Introduction and Annotations Richard M. Moyle 1984

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealings for the purpose of study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Williams, John, 1796-1839.

The Samoan journals of John Williams,
1830 and 1832.
ISBN 0 7081 1621 3.

1. Samoa - Description and travel. I. Moyle, Richard M. (Richard Michael).
- II. Title. (Series: Pacific history series; no. 11).

919.6'1304

Library of Congress No. 83-7269

United Kingdom, Europe, Middle East, and Africa: Eurospan
3 Henrietta St, London WC2E 8LU, England

North America: Australian National University Press, PO Box 1365 New York,
NY 10023

Japan: United Publishers Services Ltd, Tokyo

Southeast Asia: Information Publications Pte Ltd, 24 New Industrial Road,
Singapore 1953

PRINTED IN AUSTRALIA BY MACARTHUR PRESS PTY LTD, PARRAMATTA



The Pacific History Series

The Pacific History Series of books provides an outlet for the publication of original manuscripts important to historians and others interested in the Pacific Islands.

- 1 *A Cruize in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas*, by W.E. Giles, edited by Deryck Scarr (1968)
- 2 *The Works of Ta'unga. Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas, 1833-1896*, by R.G. and Marjorie Crocombe (1968)
- 3 *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844*, edited by Dorothy Shineberg (1971)
- 4 *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland the the Caroline Islands*, by James F. O'Connell, edited by Saul H. Riesenberg (1972)
- 5 *The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade*, by W.T. Wawn, edited by Peter Corris (1973).
- 6 *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Roberts, 1797-1824*, edited by Greg Denning (1974)
- 7 *The New Guinea Memoirs of Jean Baptiste Octave Mouton*, edited by Peter Biskup (1974)
- 8 *The Book of Luelen*, by Luelen Bernart, translated and edited by John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg and Marjorie G. Witing (1977)
- 9 *Annotations to The Book of Luelen*, translated and edited by John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg and Marjorie G. Whiting (1977)
- 10 *The Diaries and Correspondence of David Cargill, 1832-1843*, edited by Albert J. Schutz (1977)

Acknowledgments

I would like to record the patient assistance of Colin Cummins throughout the preparation of this book, particularly with the transcription of William's journals. Niel Gunson and Bob Langdon kindly gave editorial and reference suggestions. Much of the labour involved burning the midnight oil. I would like to thank my wife Linden for providing the oil.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	vii
Introduction	1
The 1830 Journal	21
The 1832 Journal	93
Bibliography	287
Index	295

MAPS

1	Central Polynesia	5
2	Tonga	46
3	Samoa	66

Introduction

The 1830 and 1832 journals of John Williams provide the earliest detailed accounts of Samoa when European influence was still in its infancy. Their wealth of ethnographic material has long been recognised by Pacific scholars, although the manuscripts may also be read as fascinating and often dramatic narratives in their own right. They are published here for the first time.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, England was still feeling the effects of an evangelical revival which commenced in the first half of the eighteenth century. Amid the turmoil of the French Revolution across the Channel, the military successes of Bonaparte throughout Europe, and local social and political struggles (which were to result in the Reform Bill of 1832), virtually every nonconformist denomination in Britain heard and heeded the missionary call. The initiative taken by the Wesleyan Thomas Coke, who began mission work in India in 1786, and by the Baptists William Carey and John Thomas, who began mission work in India in 1793, was soon taken up by other churches. The Biblical exhortation 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature' seized the imagination and consciences of evangelical clergymen, nonconformist ministers and a variety of interested laymen to the extent that in 1794 the first formal meeting occurred in London to consider the practicability of establishing a new missionary society. On 22 September 1795, after further meetings, this surge of interest culminated in the formation of the nondenominational Missionary Society (known from 1818 as the London Missionary Society (hereinafter LMS), from its subtitle, to distinguish it from similar Societies, such as the

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society), whose sole declared aim was 'to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations' (Directors' minute, 22 September 1794).

At the urging of the Rev. Thomas Haweis, one of the Society's first directors, Tahiti, 'or some other of the islands of the South Sea' was agreed on as the location of the first missionary attempt (Lovett 1899:1:30). A ship, the *Duff*, was purchased by the Society from donations, and on 10 August 1796, she sailed from London carrying thirty missionaries and their families. The captain's orders were:

that a mission be undertaken to Otaheite [Tahiti], the Friendly Islands [Tonga], the Marquesas, the Sandwich [Hawaiian] and the Pelew [Palau] Islands ... as far as may be practicable and expedient (Wilson 1799:xcii).

In 1797 missions were established at Tahiti, Tonga and the Marquesas. Both the Tongan and Marquesan enterprises were abandoned by 1800, leaving the station at Tahiti. Although itself temporarily abandoned in 1808, Tahiti survived to become the central base of LMS activities in the Pacific, and by 1822 missionaries had settled in other islands of the Society group: at the immediately neighbouring island of Moorea, as well as at Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora and Tahaa to the north-east (Gunson 1978:12, 13).

The fifth of six children, John Williams was born in London in 1796, the year of the *Duff*'s sailing. After elementary schooling, he was apprenticed to an ironmonger where he remained for six years. Converted to evangelical Christianity apparently by chance (his employer's wife found him on the streets one Sunday evening and persuaded him to accompany her to a meeting at Moorfield's Tabernacle), he immediately and enthusiastically immersed himself in the church's program of instruction and visitation. An auxiliary to the LMS had been founded at the Tabernacle by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, himself an ardent advocate of the missionary cause, and Williams was invited to join a class run by Wilks for young men intending to enter the ministry. Through Wilks, Williams's interest in missionary work was aroused, and in 1816, on Wilks's encouragement, he applied to the LMS directors for employment as a missionary (Gutch 1974:7). The minute for his interview by the Society's committee of examination on 5 August 1816 reads:

His examination as to his motives for offering himself in that capacity, as to the Sermons he had heard the preceeding Sabbath and in English Grammar, satisfactory (Gutch, *ibid.*). He was again interviewed the following week, when, according to the minute, he:

underwent a more particular examination as to his views on Christian doctrine. His replies, though on the whole satisfactory, evinced the want of further instruction. He showed considerable talent and appeared to have taken a most decided resolution to devote himself to the Missionary Work, notwithstanding much had been done by his Connexions to dissuade and terrify him from his purpose (*ibid.*).

Accepted by the LMS, and released from his apprenticeship,¹ Williams did not leave immediately for the mission field, despite an urgent need for workers in southern Africa and the South Seas. The committee of examination voted to delay his departure for several months on the grounds of his youth (he was then 19) and imperfect education (Prout 1843:28). Williams continued to busy himself in religious instruction under Wilks's tuition, and also in visiting manufacturers and processing firms in London; these latter activities, doubtlessly stimulated by the practicality of his own former profession, reflected one of Williams's major missionary ambitions – to introduce the arts and comforts of civilised society hand in hand with the spiritual benefits of a superior religion.

In the light of encouraging news of the mission at Tahiti, the LMS directors decided that Williams should be sent there. On 16 September 1816, the committee of examination interviewed another candidate, Miss Mary Chawner, also a member of Moorfield's Tabernacle, who, according to the minute, was 'desirous of going to Otaheite as a missionary and as the wife of Mr Williams' (Gutch 1974:8). The committee carried out its examination, and declared her 'a suitable person to go out as the wife of Mr Williams in the capacity of Missionary to Otaheite' (*ibid.*), and six weeks later the two married. They departed for the Pacific on 17 November travelling via the Colony of New South Wales, and reached Tahiti in 1817, before moving to Raiatea, where Williams was based until his first voyage to Samoa.

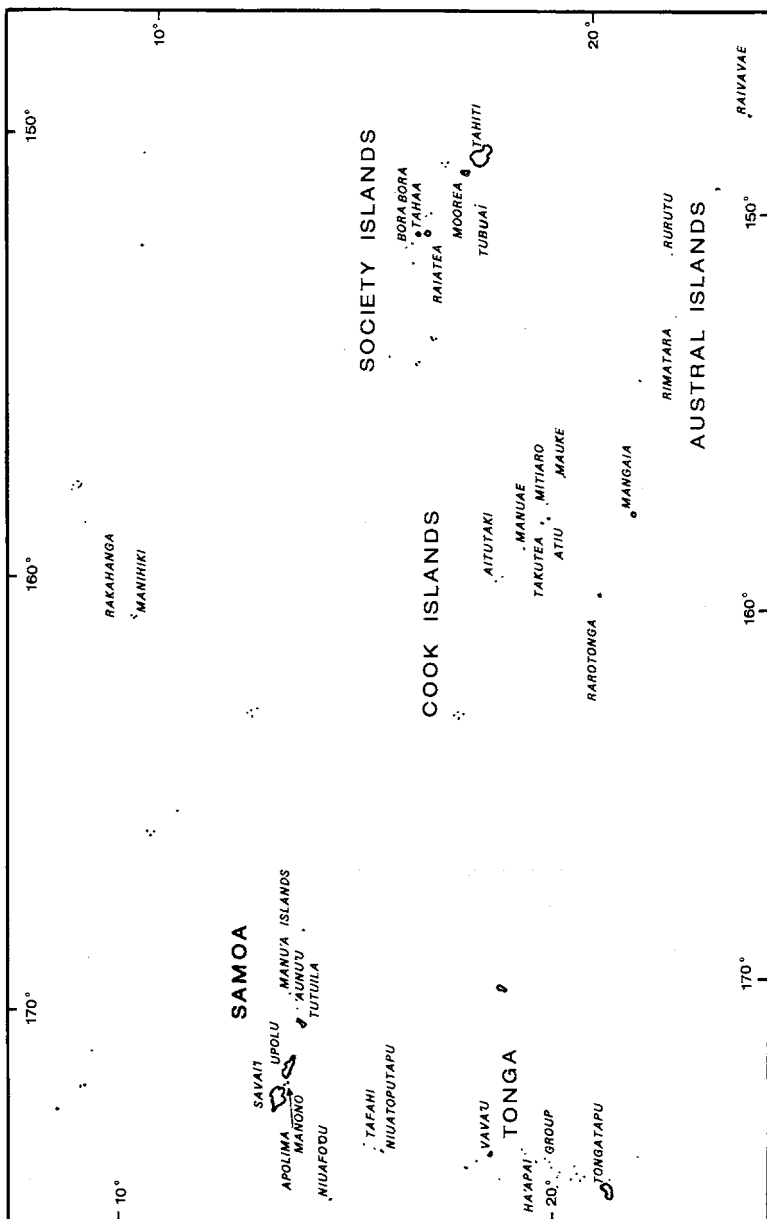
1. His employer accepted an offer from the LMS of £30 as compensation for the seven months remaining (Directors' minute, 17 and 26 August 1816).

By 1821, when Williams was learning of the existence of islands in the adjacent groups and contemplating the extension of his work throughout this area, Polynesian inter-island and inter-group travel was both common and extensive (see, for example, Golson 1972). While it remains a moot point whether Williams's use of expatriate Polynesians, converted or otherwise, was a key factor in the success of his work, it cannot be denied that such people were instrumental in establishing good initial relations between their fellow countrymen and Williams himself when he took them back to their own islands. It was the presence at Aitutaki of a number of converted but homesick Rarotongans which first caught Williams's attention, and which he interpreted as a providential opening for the introduction of the Gospel to that island. In 1823, in the course of looking for Rarotonga, he visited Mangaia and Aitu in the Cook group, and established the first European contact at nearby Mitiaro and Mauke. His eventual arrival at Rarotonga was not entirely joyous, as all but one of his native teachers declined to stay there following the ill-treatment of their wives by the Rarotongan men. During the brief stay, however, Williams made the acquaintance of a chief called Makea (whom he preferred to refer to as the 'King of Rarotonga'), who was eventually converted, and who accompanied him on his 1832 voyage to Samoa. Makea received deference from the Samoan and Tongan elite during this voyage, and there is little doubt that his presence as Williams's companion added considerably to Williams's own prestige.

By contrast, Williams's first visit to Samoa in 1830 seemed set on proceeding without expatriate assistance, when the fortuitous meeting with one Faueā, absent in Fiji and Tonga for almost eleven years and eager to return home to Samoa, provided him with a welcome means of introduction to what was to become the final island group where he personally had an active role in introducing the Gospel.

It is probably no coincidence that the one occasion when Williams arrived unannounced at a foreign island and went ashore without any of his native teachers or homecoming expatriates was to result almost immediately in his own murder, at Erromango, in Vanuatu, on 20 November 1839.

Williams's personal interest in Samoa began at least as early as 1822. Writing to the LMS directors from Sydney (where he had undergone medical treatment), he advised them of his intention to



Map 1 Central Polynesia

visit several islands en route back to the Society Islands — the Chathams, Rurutu, Tubuai, Opara (Rapa) and the Marquesas. He continued his letter with a sketch of a plan which was to occupy the rest of his life:

I had nearly come to England for the purpose of proposing that the Church, the London and the Methodist Societies should jointly fit out a vessel to visit the various islands of the South Seas. My recommendations would have been, that one missionary from each Society should go to New Caledonia, New Guinea, the New Hebrides [Vanuatu], the Navigators' Islands [an alternative name for Samoa], Tongatabu [Tongatapu], the Marquesas, &c. &c. (all large places and numerous inhabited) to ascertain the practicability of forming missionary stations on these islands. At the close of this voyage, a report might be made by each missionary, a mutual agreement entered into by the Societies for the occupation of the different groups. Thus:— those contiguous to New Zealand, and speaking the New Zealand tongue, the Church Missionary Society might consider their charge. Tongatabu and the adjacent islands, in which that language is used, might be undertaken by the Wesleyans; whilst the Marquesas, Chatham Islands, and others, where Tahitian is the common tongue, might fall to our share. The expense to each Society would be comparatively trifling, and great good might result from it; and a person speaking the Tahitian would be able, more or less, to converse with all the South Sea Islanders (quoted in Prout 1843:156-7).

It is difficult not to read into Williams's final comment the suggestion that the LMS should — or at least could — reserve the right to send its own missionaries to any island group, notwithstanding its linguistic affiliations. As will be seen below, the only formal arrangement in Polynesia between missionary societies in which Williams had a hand resulted in very little goodwill and mutual agreement.

In 1824, Williams repeated his interest in Samoa in a letter to the directors (Williams 1838:142). And in 1826 he reiterated the need, as he saw it, for extending the mission to the Marquesas, Navigators, New Hebrides, New Guinea and New Caledonia, but did not repeat his earlier hope of a joint project with the other societies. 'Of the islands we have [already] visited — Rurutu, Aitutaki, Mariota [Marutea], &c. it may almost be said: We came, we saw, we conquered' (Williams to LMS, 19 August 1826). He

concluded this particular letter with a tempting thought — 'If such success has attained us on these islands, is it not reasonable to expect the same at other places....'.²

Following the placement of the native teacher Papeiha at Rarotonga in 1823, Williams returned to Raiatea. Some time later he received word from Papeiha that he and those whom he had converted were enjoying 'uninterrupted prosperity' (Williams 1838:113), but required a few months' assistance in so great a task. On 6 May 1827 (together with Charles and Elizabeth Pitman, who were to become resident missionaries there), Williams and his wife arrived back in Rarotonga. Intending to stay only a few months, Williams was delayed there for a year for want of a vessel.

Williams's own enthusiasm for travel contrasted with the attitude of his wife, Mary. During their enforced stay in Rarotonga in 1827, she learned of her husband's plan to undertake a long voyage, and was initially opposed on the grounds that it might result in his death and the uncertain fate of herself and her children. (Throughout her stay in Polynesia, she was in poor health, suffering from filariasis and a 'dreadful affection in her face' (Gutch 1974:131), and lost seven children through miscarriage or stillbirth.) At this stand, Williams later noted rather coolly, 'Finding her so decidedly opposed to the undertaking, I did not mention it again' (1838:143). Soon after, Mary became seriously ill, and on her recovery, interpreted the affliction as a divine rebuke for her opposition to the voyage (which was to include Samoa). Fearing that further resistance might prove fatal to herself, she readily gave her consent (ibid.), which Williams himself took as 'the first indication of Providence favourable to my design' (ibid., p.144). (At this stage he was also interested in the New Hebrides, and indeed had intended travelling to both groups, as well as to Fiji, on his 1830 voyage. However, adverse accounts he was to receive from the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga caused him to alter his plans.)

Following his wife's abrupt change of mind, Williams set about providing his own means of transport back to Raiatea, and began building a two-masted schooner. Using great ingenuity and with virtually no machinery, he and his native workers succeeded in constructing the *Olive Branch*, a craft 20 metres long and with an 8

2. Further letters in the following year reiterated this view (Williams to LMS, 20 April, 30 May 1827).

metre beam.³ A trip to Aitutaki provided a sea-trial, and shortly after (having got the Buzacotts, fellow-missionaries, settled in at Rarotonga), the Williams family returned to Raiatea, taking the Rarotongan chief Makea along for a two-month visit.

For the LMS, Williams's voyage to Samoa in 1830 was the culmination of an attempt begun more than thirty years earlier to establish a mission station there. The captain of the *Duff* carried instructions from the directors to set down four of the single men from among the missionary passengers at either Tutuila or Savai'i (Campbell 1840:379) during the ship's second voyage to the Pacific in 1798. (After consultation among themselves, the missionaries chose five; no reason was given for the additional man (Gregory 1801:12).) However, three weeks later, the *Duff* was captured by a French privateer (ibid., pp.151ff.), and although the passengers and crew eventually managed to return to England, the incident prompted the LMS to concentrate on the mission in the Society Islands.

After reading Williams's and Barff's account of their 1839 voyage, the directors resolved:

that Messrs Williams and Barff be informed that the account of their visit to the Hervey [Cook], Tonga, Hapai [Ha'apai] and Samoa Islands has afforded the Directors great satisfaction and they will cheerfully render every suitable attention to the field for missionary labour present in those islands. Resolved, that although the directors regard the opening in Divine Providence for introducing the Gospel among the important and populous group called the Navigators' Islands, as requiring the attention of the Society, they do not consider the information to be such as to warrant the immediate appointment of a new mission to those Islands but that should subsequent intelligence afford equal encouragement, it is their opinion that this important field should be occupied by an efficient mission with as little delay as possible (LMS to Williams and Barff, 12 April 1831).

In the wake of the directors' response, the way was left open for

3. According to Newbury (1961:309), he named the vessel *Rarotonga*, later changing it to the *Olive Branch*. Williams himself claims to have named it the *Messenger of Peace* (Williams to LMS, 22 November 1827). It retained the name *Olive Branch* for several years (see, for example, its appearance in Sydney in 1830 under that name (Nicholson 1977:57) and also the title of the 1832 journal). By contrast, in later published references, including William's own book (*A narrative of missionary enterprises...*), the name is given as the *Messenger of Peace*. As both the *Olive Branch* and the *Messenger of Peace*, however, it took its name from its pennant, which showed a dove with an olive branch in its beak (Williams 1838:292).

Williams to return to Samoa 'to make a personal survey ... after the several months should have elapsed from the time of the Teachers commencing their labour' (ibid.). Williams had already told the chiefs and people of the Samoan island of Manono that he hoped to return in about a year (p. 85), but circumstances were to more than double the waiting time. On the one hand, his wife's relapse and political problems at Raiatea occupied much of his time, and on the other hand, when he eventually succeeded in returning to Rarotonga in September 1831 en route for Samoa, a hurricane devastated the island, destroying the ship's provisions and carrying the vessel itself several hundred metres inland. To add to his trouble was his wife bearing a stillborn child a few days later; this was the seventh baby she had lost.

With local help, Williams was able to place his ship on rollers and move it to the sea, after which he returned to Tahiti for provisions for the Rarotongans, whose crops had been destroyed. On reaching Tahiti, he learnt that the people of Raiatea were constructing stills, following the example of a visiting ship's captain. Williams hastened there to try and counter this new threat to his station; the success of his actions was not equivocal. On returning to Rarotonga with provisions, Williams stayed only a few days before setting off for Samoa, on 1 October 1832; Aaron Buzacott had originally intended accompanying him, but was prevented by the need to repair damage caused by the hurricane.

In keeping with the directors' suggestion, Williams paid particular attention to the present and likely future circumstances of the native teachers in Samoa. He repeatedly questioned the chief Malietoa Vaiinupō on his reaction to the possible introduction of European missionaries, and on steadfastness of his own profession of Christianity. The conviction with which Malietoa answered such questions was ably reflected in the journal itself, so much so that on learning of the situation in the following year, the directors were able to note that their earlier queries had been met almost point for point:

That in consideration of the extent and importance of the Samoa or Navigators Islands - the amount of their population, the attention given to the native teachers - the desire expressed by the King [i.e. Malietoa] and chiefs for European instructors - the promise of security and assistance in procuring support - and the wide door effectual[ly] opened in Divine providence for the introduction of the Gospel - four Missionaries and a

Missionary Printer be appointed to proceed to those Islands by the earliest suitable conveyance ... (Directors' minute, 4 October 1833).

On 9 November 1833, six missionaries and their wives set out for Samoa (Directors' minute, 9 November 1833).

Williams's initial landing in Samoa could not have been better timed. Lei'ataua Tonumaip'e'a Tamafaigā had combined in himself the offices of high chief and high priest, although he was not the supreme religious leader Williams envisaged. His assassination just before Williams's arrival in 1830 had left vacant the position of highest political authority in the country. In the war of vengeance following Tamafaigā's death, the forces of Malietoa were virtually assured of victory, and Malietoa himself certain to succeed to the supreme position of *tafa'ifā* (Gilson 1970:70). It is apparent that Tamafaigā was a man with ascriptions of supernatural powers, and these alone commanded a certain respect; this respect was considerably enhanced by his political status as the highest-ranking member of the *mālō*, the dominant group. Although his death did not create a vacancy in the religious leadership comparable with that of the *tafa'ifā* position in the political system, there seems little doubt that Williams's task in introducing a new religion was eased by Tamafaigā's removal. Exactly how much of a rival he might have considered Williams, and what steps he might have taken to oppose him, will, of course, never be known. However, the tolerance by the Samoans of the cults organised by beachcombers and the mystic Siovili suggests that there might well have been no concerted or forceful opposition to the efforts to introduce Christianity, although both Williams and Faueā feared that Tamafaigā would prove an obstacle. On learning of the assassination, Faueā told Williams that the Samoan people were now free to embrace the new religion (p. 69), and for his part, Malietoa expressed pleasure at having been sought out specifically by the bearers of this religion and agreed to allow the teachers to stay. In exchange for giving them his protection and the freedom to proselytise, Williams held out the possibility of European missionaries arriving at some future date.

In his book (*A narrative of missionary enterprises in the South Sea islands ...*), Williams attributed his successful landing of the teachers in Samoa to the timely death of Tamafaigā (1838:570), the providential meeting with Faueā in Tonga, and this man's eloquence in detailing to the Samoans the Society's advance

through Polynesia (ibid., pp. 256-7, 571). To these factors one must add Williams's own forceful personality, local prophecies that Malietoa should expect a new religion to arrive (Henry n.d.:125), and, as mentioned above, the Samoans' tolerance for the gods of other men (Gilson 1970:72). And for the success of the mission by the time Williams returned two years later, one may also cite the impact of advanced technology on a 'primitive' society, the substitution of Christian for heathen worship practices without wholesale humiliation or destruction of sacra, and the Polynesian teachers' deliberate simplification of conversion by means of the superficial acceptance of sin (loc.cit.).

For some time before the 1832 voyage, Williams had been contemplating a return to England on account of his wife's poor health. Back in Rarotonga after the voyage, he furthered his intention by overhauling his ship and sending it to Tahiti to be sold.

In Raiatea, political problems continued, to the extent that most of the beneficial results of the mission work there were negated. Williams himself was still undecided about returning to live there when the arrival of the whaler *Sir Andrew Hammond* at Tahiti en route to England prompted him to travel back home.

Williams was not without his critics during his own missionary enterprises. The labours of the Raiateans in procuring provisions for Williams's earlier vessel the *Endeavour* in 1823 were the subject of complaints, according to Williams's co-worker, John Orsmond (Journal, 14 October 1823). For exploiting local labour in building the *Olive Branch* at Rarotonga, he was taken to task by his colleague Charles Pitman (Journal, 12 September 1827). For spending time on repairs to his ship during a period of political upheaval at Raiatea, he earned the disapproval of James Smith, resident missionary on the neighbouring island of Tahaa (Gutch 1974:93). And for allegedly deceiving both the LMS and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereinafter WMMS) concerning the removal of the Wesleyans from Samoa, he received a stream of criticism from the missionaries in Tonga (e.g. John Thomas to WMMS, 7 April 1837; 7 November 1837; Nathaniel Turner: personal narrative) and Australian Methodists (e.g. Dyson 1875). Details of this last event are given below.

Within a week of his arrival back in London, Williams was introduced to the LMS directors and informed them that 'on account of the impaired health of Mrs W[illiams] he had been

obliged to quit for a short season the interesting field of his labours which he had occupied for 18 years' (Directors' minute, 23 June 1834).

Williams's four years in England were spent in seeking material support for his principal objectives – money for a theological college at Rarotonga, and a ship to enable him to continue his pan-Pacific crusading. He raised funds for the former by extensive speaking engagements throughout the country, but achieved the latter only after the success of yet another venture – the publication of his book. The writing of the book, which drew heavily on material in the 1830 and 1832 manuscripts, was done with the 'kind assistance of Rev. Dr Reed of London, and the Rev. E. Prout, of Halstead' (1838:xi); the numerous annotations and emendations in the 1832 journal, not in Williams's handwriting, appear to date from this period.

While in England, Williams attended to another matter which was to have ramifications even greater than the appearance of *Missionary enterprises* – the removal of the Wesleyan presence in Samoa in favour of the LMS. The LMS directors' minute for 11 April 1836 reads:

Resolved, that as it appears from the statement of the Rev. Mr Williams, himself and the Messrs John Thomas & Nathaniel Turner agreed that the Navigator Islands should be assigned to the London Missionary Society, while the Fiji group should be allotted to the Wesleyan Society, that as it further appears that at the time when the arrangement was made the London Missionary Society had actually several native agents from the Society Islands employed at the Navigator Islands and that the express object of the Revd Mr Williams in undertaking the visit on which he saw the Wesleyan Missionaries at Tonga was to make arrangements for extending the Missionary operations of the London Society in the Navigator Islands ... the Committee do now confirm the agreement entered into by Messrs Thomas & Turner with Mr Williams, namely that the London Missionary Society shall occupy the Navigator Islands, and the Wesleyan Society the Fijies.

To place the veracity of the information supplied by Williams to the LMS in context, it is useful to consider the whole matter of his reliability of reporting.

Other writers (e.g. Gilson 1970) have noted apparent discrepancies between Williams's book and his journals, and indeed

several hundred individual points of difference may be discovered. Limiting reference to the 1830 and 1832 journals, these are of several kinds.

(a) Slight exaggerations; e.g. the estimated seating capacity of the Samoan chapel at Amoa rises from 'about three hundred people' (p. 146) to 'about four hundred persons' (1838:446). Again, the single breathless messenger who arrives while Williams is at Lalomalava village (p. 150) is later enlarged to become the 'chiefs and people of another settlement' (1838:451).

(b) Seemingly trifling changes are made to the times at which specific events occurred. For example, the 1832 landing in Samoa at Sāpapālī'i is given as 'about half past four' (p.114), but later changed to 'about five o'clock' (1838:424). And the time which the two dissident chiefs Malietoa and Matetau were left together to settle their differences is lengthened from 'about three quarters of an hour' (p.162) to 'about an hour' (1838:457).

(c) Specific events in the journals are contradicted in the published account. For example, on arrival at Manu'a, according to the 1832 journal, 'no natives coming off we stood close in with the Vessel & sent in the boat' (p.99), but in the book, we find 'on nearing the shore a number of canoes approached us, in one of which some natives stood up and shouted, 'We are Christians, we are Christians; we are waiting for a *falau lotu*, a religion-ship, to bring us some people whom they call Missionaries, to tell us about Jesus Christ. Is yours the ship we are waiting for?' (1838:411-12). In this particular case, what Williams did was to ascribe to his first contact at Manu'a the more favourable reception of the arrival at the *second* village. Again, whereas the journal has Williams returning to the reconciled chiefs Malietoa and Materau, as mentioned above (p. 162), the book has the two of them going meekly to Williams to announce their agreement (1838:457).

(d) The absence of mention in the journals of spectacular events included in the published accounts, as, for example, the collecting of live snakes by Malietoa's wives and their use as living necklaces (1838:443), and Williams's narrow escape from being accidentally shot by Malietoa himself (1838:338).

For these sorts of differences, one is virtually obliged to choose between the authenticity of an event as described in writing 'on the spot' (as Williams himself once claimed - reported in the *Watchman*, 6 May 1835), or a few days later (as suggested by Prout

(1843:569-70) as being Williams's custom), or as described in print some years later. Certainly, the published descriptions of these and other events read more smoothly and clearly than the originals, and Williams acknowledged assistance from two literary gentlemen in his Preface (see above). However, the question of whether or not the book achieves the author's aim of being nothing more than 'a simple and unadorned narrative of fact' (1838:x1), 'a *cast* of the images and impression which exist in his mind' (1838:vii) would appear open to challenge.

That the book had a profound impact on the British public is evident from the sales, which were in excess of 46,000. However, having aroused the evangelical enthusiasms of younger, and prospective, missionaries, Williams's optimistic descriptions of ideal mission conditions in Polynesia were found to contrast with those experienced on arrival at the waiting shores (Gunson 1978:317-18), and the accuracy of his comments was brought into question. Williams himself did not learn of such criticism, however, and the successful publication of *Missionary enterprises* was perhaps second in importance only to his martyrdom at Erromango in 1839, the two events combining to assure him permanent deference in British missionary circles, and enduring affection in British hearts generally.

As mentioned earlier, Williams's credibility was also brought into question on an even more substantial issue, which received its first published airing in *Missionary enterprises*, but which had been initiated some years before. During his 1830 voyage to Samoa with Charles Barff, Williams spent several days at Tonga with the Wesleyan missionaries Nathaniel Turner and William Cross, where, among other things, he 'made enquiry of our friends at Tongataboo relative to the remaining part of our voyage as to what Places they thought it might be most favourable to make an attempt to settle teachers ...' (p. 47). What is claimed by both Williams (1838:304) and Barff (n.d.) to have followed, but what is conspicuously absent from the journal, and what was not brought before the Tonga District meeting by Turner (Gunson 1978:130) was a verbal agreement that the Wesleyans should have complete missionary charge of Fiji, while the LMS should have exclusive rights to Samoa. Following personal representations by Williams in London in 1836, a resolution to this effect was agreed to by the WMMS (Minute, 14 February 1836) and LMS (Minute, 11 April 1836, quoted above), to the surprise and dismay of Turner and his

colleagues in Tonga. As already noted, *Missionary enterprises* contains descriptions of a number of noteworthy, even spectacular events not included in the journals, but none had the far-reaching and unpleasant consequences of this particular one (see, e.g. Dyson 1875; Wood 1975:263ff; Gunson 1978:130-1). It seems likely that at no other point in the history of the two Missions in Polynesia was so major a decision made on the unsubstantiated word of one man.

Although it would be inappropriate in this present work to comment on earlier published opinion on the matter, the 1830 and 1832 journals themselves contain useful and relevant information suggesting that there was not one agreement, but two, the first occurring in 1830 between Williams and Turner, and the second in 1832 between himself and Thomas. However, from the reaction of both Wesleyans to news of the 1835 decision in London to allot the LMS sole evangelising rights in Samoa, it is apparent that the 'agreement' was, in their opinion, nothing more than a coinciding of views in which they were speaking privately, and as individuals.

Although Williams returned to Samoa in 1838 and spent several months there in 1839, he apparently kept no journal of his residence. Following his murder at Erromango in 1839, his remains were brought to Samoa and interred at Apia.

In attempting to deal with Williams the man, it is evident that his personal identity was both established and sustained by means of a ship. 'Besides its obvious utility, the Ship was also, for Williams, both a symbol of material success and of escape ... In the Ship he found escape from frustration and disappointment in the pure joys of exploratory adventure' (Gunson 1972:88). From relatively humble beginnings, his desire to possess and control his own vessel was to grow to the point where he considered the *Camden*, the 200-ton brig bought in 1838 for the South Seas Mission, to be his own, to use as he alone saw fit (*ibid.*, p. 90). Further, his passion for travel effectively changed him from a missionary-explorer to an explorer-missionary. Indeed his arch-critic, J.M. Orsmond, once referred to him in later life as an 'Explorist' (Journal, 7 July 1839).

Following his 1832 voyage to Samoa, Williams was well aware of the nominal nature of many conversions, and drew up a list of likely real motives for a profession of faith, and desire to have resident European missionaries. However, the implication of each item on this list (journal pp. 280-1; also 1838:572) could not have

failed to produce a positive response in British hearts loyal to the Empire. If, as Williams suggested, the desire for missionaries was in fact prompted by the wish for foreign vessels to call, or for greater longevity, then the commercial and medical world had a huge potential market awaiting it. And if the natives genuinely wanted an end to wars, and protection from malignant gods, then the possibility existed for annexation and colonial administration by Britain. And religion had a crucial role to play in the march of progress towards these enterprising goals.

In Williams's view, Christianity was a prerequisite for civilisation (Daws 1980:59), and in dealing with both natives and Englishmen, he was able to advance a persuasive argument in a quest for Polynesian souls and British sovereigns. On the one hand, the Christian God must be superior, because his followers were materially richer (at least in Polynesian eyes) and possessed a superior technology. And on the other hand, if the spiritual labours of the Mission received financial backing from Britain, the benefits would flow on to the business community as a whole. 'By the simple aid of religion,' reads the motion by the Coal and Corn Finance Committee to the London Court of Common Council in support of Williams's petition for £500 to help pay for his return trip to Polynesia in 1838,

the labours of the Petitioner...have contributed in a great degree to create an asylum in safe and secure harbours which before were unapproachable by reason of the certain destruction that awaited all strangers visiting the inhospitable abodes of savages and cannibals. The mariner is now enabled to recruit his stores from the abundant supplies in islands whose natural fertility has been made available by newly created modes of industry, at the same time opening a further field for commercial enterprises, and procuring an additional market for British manufactures (Municipality of London 1838:98-9).

'The great work of civilisation,' noted the Court, included 'peace, good government, religion and commerce' (ibid.), and each of these was included in the petitioner's designs. The £500 was agreed to.

Williams's growing possessiveness regarding a ship appears to have been but a symptom of a larger reality: an increasing concern for material prosperity. The God whom Williams preached saved the soul but also enabled the repentant sinner to live in civilised comfort as determined by British standards. Material prosperity

was a virtue to both the preacher and convert, and the desire for European goods an indication of the sincerity of the conversion. (While Williams did not establish himself as a trader and thereby both create and meet the material as well as spiritual needs of his flock, he succeeded in setting up his son, John Chauner Williams, in such a position in Apia, then Sydney, and again in Apia (Gunson 1972:94).)

Although Williams was in Samoa for only a total of thirty days in 1830 and 1832, his descriptions of a number of aspects of the society remain unequalled in the literature for their detail and scope. He recorded events as they appeared to him, even if his ingenuousness was to reveal that he did not always escape criticism by the Samoans, or have the better of all discussions and situations. Moreover, he did not consider it beneath his dignity to describe practices which his successors were more interested in condemning - night dances, public defloration of a bride, nudity - and he was not averse to finding positive qualities in the physique, lifestyle and personalities of those whose souls he sought to save. In these respects, his Samoan journals are an invaluable source of early ethnography. His personal feelings as a nineteenth century missionary among heathens do not generally impinge on such descriptions; his liberal condemnation of beachcombers, and linking of the material and spiritual advantages of the religion he was proposing, are effectively compartmentalised in the journals, and presumably were also in his own mind.

While not denying the kindling of the English public's imagination regarding missions, which his voyages certainly achieved, historians other than his biographers have tended to take a broader view of his activities, evaluating both the personal and long-term impacts of his endeavours (see e.g. Wood 1975:261-9; Gunson 1972, 1978:115-18, 136-7; Daws 1980:23-89). Whether one considers him as an agent of empire, or a messenger of grace, *Missionary enterprises* represents Williams the missionary and Samoa as his mission field: the journals reveal Williams the man, and Samoa itself.

In Williams's own words, the 1830 journals should be 'considered as coming from Mr Barff & myself jointly' (Williams to LMS, 18 November 1830), and indeed the writing features 'we' throughout. A few entries appear to be by Barff (e.g. p. 89 'Mr Williams went on shore to hasten our departure'), but elsewhere it is not possible to determine individual authorship on the basis of the contents. It

appears that the journal is not the original document maintained during the voyage, but an enlarged version written by Williams in Raiatea in October or November 1830. On returning to Raiatea after the voyage, Williams wrote to the directors, 'our journal we think will form a most interesting volume we therefore prefer employing a month over it to sending it immediately' (Williams to LMS, 21 October 1830). His intention was not fully realised; the sailing only twenty-six days later of a vessel to England denied Williams and Barff the chance to include 'a short description of each island' as originally planned (Williams to LMS, 18 November 1830). Williams further advised the directors that 'the work is hastily drawn up and that it is the first copy not having time to spare even to write it off a second time...' (ibid.). If Williams himself wrote this 'first copy', it would explain why Barff's entries are not in his own handwriting, but that of Williams. A second copy does exist, however, and is apparently in Barff's writing; the two manuscripts are held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

The 1830 journal was apparently missing for some time, and was discovered in 1915 by Joseph King (former missionary to Samoa, and the organising agent for the LMS in Australasia), who added the following to the first page:

When Captain Morgan's [captain of the *Camden*] journals were handed to me by his son, I found this journal amongst them. It is in the handwriting of John Williams. I assured myself of this by submitting it in London to the inspection of his son who said there could be no doubt about its being the writing of his father.

As with the account of the 1830 voyage, the journal of Williams's return to Samoa is divided into two parts – the journal proper, and sections of analysis or summary. In this journal also, there is evidence that the account as it now exists is a later expansion of notes written during the voyage itself. On 19 or 20 October Williams notes that evidence of a hurricane in 1831 was seen 'at every island I have visited from Tahiti to Niuatabu [Niuatoputapu]' (p. 115). However, he did not visit Niuatoputapu until 6 November (p. 173). At least part of the manuscript appears to have been written in Rarotonga after the voyage; on p. 236 Williams notes that a newborn calf had been eaten by Rarotongans 'a day or two since [i.e. ago]'. Similarly, the reference on p. 215 to J.W. Norie's *Chart* (which was not published until 1833) indicates that the final section of the manuscript was written some time after the voyage of

1832. The work itself is held in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for the Council for World Mission.⁴

The manuscripts make it clear that Williams's knowledge of English grammar and spelling was far from perfect. His sense of punctuation is erratic, with ends of sentences indicated variously by periods, commas, semicolons, dashes, or with no punctuation at all. In several places, particularly where the journal begins a new page, the final word of the previous page is repeated. Elsewhere, sentences are left incomplete, and the subject-matter changes abruptly. In addition to these situations, it is apparent on two occasions that a sheet is missing from the 1832 journal; such occasions are identified in notes. In accord with the general expectation that sentences should begin with capital letters and end with full stops, I have added these where appropriate; punctuation within sentences remains unchanged. I have retained Williams's own division of the material into separated paragraphs.

Williams's spelling reflects to some extent his own low level of formal education. Most noticeably in the 1830 journal, his writing suffers from dyslexia, resulting in such oddities as *lemant*, *Brethern*, *cultavition*, *foilage* and *pslams*. In the 1832 journals, however, most of these errors have gone, but the word 'chief' remains a problem, the vowels being reversed on at least half the occasions the word is used. On the grounds that it does not benefit the reader to struggle with misspellings, and such are unlikely to have been what Williams himself intended, I have made appropriate corrections to the text. However, I have left unchanged all non-English terms and proper names, as it is not possible to attribute consistently any differences between such words and present orthography to errors in spelling: they may possibly reflect regional or historical variations from present-day usage. Additionally, I have retained early nineteenth century spellings, where they appear (e.g. *shew*, *plat*, *bread fruit*) as well as abbreviated forms of certain words. On a number of occasions, Williams uses direct speech, conveying the standard of English and manner of speaking of the people concerned; here too, the original form has been preserved. When writing the Anglicised plural forms of certain non-English words, or proper names,

4. The original copies of both 1830 and 1832 journals have been copied on to microfilm as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project.

Williams often inserts an apostrophe (e.g. *tevolo's*, *papalagni's*, *Venus's*); I have retained the original form in such cases.

For the nineteenth century meanings of Polynesian words appearing in the journals, I have drawn principally on the following sources: *Samoan*, Violette 1879; Newell 1893; Pratt 1911; *Tahitian*, Davies 1851; *Tongan*, Rabone 1845; Colomb 1890; Collocott 1925. For modern orthographies, I have used the following: *Fijian*, Capell 1941; *Hawaiian*, Pukui and Elbert 1971; *Maori*, Williams 1971; *Marquesan*, Dordillon 1931; *Rarotongan*, Savage 1962; *Samoan*, Milner 1966; *Tahitian*, Lemaitre 1973; *Tongan*, Churchward 1959. It should be noted that not all lexical sources quoted consistently record vowel length and glottal stops. Vowel length and glottals are given here as reported in sources consulted; in some cases, these may not coincide with current written convention within the respective regions.

The 1830 Journal

*A Journal of a Voyage undertaken chiefly for
The Purpose of Introducing Christianity among
The Fegees [Fiji] and Haamoas [Samoa]
by Messrs Williams & Barff¹
in
1830*

Monday May 24th. The vessel being ready and the teachers things all on board with the things for Messrs Pitman² and Buzacott³ of Rarotogna [Rarotonga], we assembled in our large Chapel when an address was given to the people by Mr Williams and to the teachers by Mr Barff. After arranging affairs and committing each other in Prayer to the care of our Heavenly Father we took our affectionate leave of the People of Raiatea & commenced our voyage to Borabora Mrs Williams and children with Mr and Mrs Blossom⁴ accompanying us this far. We have seven teachers on board three of whom are married intending to take in four more from the Harvey [Cook] Islands where Mr Platt⁵ had left them on a Preceding voyage.

Three from Raiatea -	Tuatu-ori & Wife
	Umia & wife
	Arue - single
Two from Huahine -	Moia Wife & 3 children
	Boti - single
Two from Morea [Moorea] -	Fuatai
	Faaruea - both single
Rev. J.M. Orsmond ⁶	

1. Charles Barff (1820-60) had arrived at Raiatea in 1817 in the same ship as Williams. He was stationed first at Moorea, then Huahine, and finally Tahaa.

2. Charles Pitman (1796-1884) worked at Tahiti, Raiatea and Tahaa between 1825 and 1827, before transferring to Rarotonga in 1827, taken there by Williams. He remained at Rarotonga until 1854.

3. Aaron Buzacott (1800-64) served first at Tahiti before sailing to Rarotonga in 1828. He served two periods there, from 1828-46 and 1852-7.

4. Thomas Blossom (1777-1855) was sent to Tahiti to run a cotton mill, as part of the civilising influence of the Gospel; the venture was not a success (Gunson 1978:271-2).

5. George Platt (1789-1865) worked first at Moorea, but had transferred to Borabora when Williams and Barff departed on this present voyage.

6. John Muggeridge Orsmond (1788-1859) worked at a number of stations in the Society Islands between 1817 and 1856. He was the first master of the South Seas Academy, an institution set up at Moorea in 1824 for the education of the children of the missionaries.

Nearly two months has been occupied in fitting up & fitting out the vessel for the voyage.

Tuesday 25. Wind being unfair, we were obliged to anchor for the night at the West side of Raiatea consequently it was Mid-day before we arrived at Borabora. Found Mr & Mrs Platt & family well.

Wednesday 26. Employed in repairing the boat & making other little needful preparations for our voyage.

Thursday 27. Took an affectionate leave of our dear friends at Borabora & put to sea for Magnaia [Mangaia]. The wind was strong and the sea rough which tossed our little Bark and soon produced the usual effect on most on board - the sea sickness.

28 & 29. At sea running 6 & 7 miles an hour without intermission.

Friday 30. We were left to our own reflections on this sacred day. The rough sea and frequent squalls prevented us from collecting the People on deck to have a regular service. About half past five P.M. came in sight of Magnaia - at the exact time expected.

Coming in sight of the place where those who have embraced the Gospel have their settlements; a gun was fired - on hearing which the Inhabitants raised a number of lights to let us know they heard the report of the gun - and not long after several came on board the vessel, tho it was dark, to bid us Welcome. Among the rest - Faaruea one of the teachers & the chief of those who have embraced Christianity accompanying him. They all appeared much rejoiced to see us.

Monday 31. Early in the morning the People came off to trade bringing stone adzes, spotted cloth, fowls, and some cured Bananas - being the principal articles of trade the Island affords. After Breakfast went on shore. Could not but admire the pleasant situation chosen for a Settlement a sloping hill rising gradually from the sea. The houses are placed in rows length ways along the side of the mountain. We found some difficulty in landing having to take the boat over the reef but the kindness of the People overcame that difficulty by surrounding the boat in great numbers & lifting her on it and then over it.

On arriving at the houses of the teachers we were surprised to find them so comfortable. Their houses are plastered with lime made from coral, and the floors boarded - the Internal Part of the house divided into rooms by neat plastered partitions comprehending bedrooms sitting rooms &c and looked remarkably neat. Several also of the natives have Plastered houses but built after their own fashion i.e. very narrow, not exceeding eight feet in

width; but so high in the middle that the rafters appeared almost perpendicular. In the midst of the settlement a very good road had been made on each side of which in most places houses were erected. The length appeared full three quarters of a mile.

We had not been long on the shore when we were conducted by the teachers to the house of a Chief called Maignanui [Maunganui]⁷ who to our surprise had cooked a Pig and a suitable portion of taro and other vegetables for our repast. The Chief also made us a Present of Cloth of their own making, and a considerable quantity of food for the use of the vessel as a token of his joy, he said at seeing on his land, and in his own house, "the people from a far land who had brought them the word of life."

We had no sooner returned to the houses of the Teachers Davida and Faaruea than the whole of the baptized were introduced to us each bringing a little cloth, and some of them a little food, to welcome us in their midst and shake hands with us. We were much pleased with their cleanly appearance most of them being dressed in White Native Cloth such as they gave us. The men also had hats and the women Bonnets some of them not very shapely; but they will improve in these things as they increase in knowledge and Piety. The Teachers informed us the number of baptized were as follows -

Adults Male and Female	136
Children of the above	300

In addition to the above they have a few Candidates for Baptism. A very large Portion of the Inhabitants remain heathen; but their Idols temples have all been destroyed together with the Idols, so that it is Probable the whole Population will soon become Christians at least in Profession. We went in company with the Teachers and two of the Chiefs who have embraced Christianity, to visit some of the Chiefs who have not embraced the Gospel. We conversed some time with Kiau the Principal chief of the Idolatrous Party. He appeared very angry at the effects of the late war; said to have been created by the Idolatrous Party in which he said he had lost five of his relatives but we exhorted him to forget that now as his relatives were unhappily killed, and could not be restored to life again! We lamented with him that unhappy war and hoped that if he & his people embraced the gospel they would

7. The published account describes Maunganui as 'principal chief' (Williams 1838:256), noting that he 'appeared to remain steadfast to his (heathen) purpose' (ibid., p.257); by contrast, the journal calls him a 'Christian chief' (p.27).

henceforth live in Peace. We were Pleased to find this Chief more tractable at the close of our conversation and express himself willing to come to a publick meeting to which we invited him and his People in hopes of being able to induce them to attend the instruction of the native teachers.

The country thro' which we passed was in a good degree of cultivation: Aute⁸ or the Cloth Plant, ti⁹ bread fruit, cocoa nutts, &c on the high land, and taro and sugar cane in the valleys. The taro beds were arranged with much order and neatness and were when taken together very extensive. The whole of the Plantations shewed a good degree of Industry which we were informed falls chiefly on the females.

In the evening had a publick service with the People who Profess Christianity. Mr Williams preached to them from 1 Tim 1-15. The Congregation was between five and six Hundred many of the unbelievers having come also on so novel an occasion. The People were all very attentive. Mr Williams spoke to them in Rarotognan which they understood that being almost the same as their own language. Their singing could not be admired for harmony; but the circumstances of their having just emerged from heathenism and singing with all their strength made it exceedingly gratifying. Spent the Evening in very Pleasant and Profitable conversation with the People and the Teachers.

June 1st. We were awoke very early in the morning by a number of Natives who had slept under the window, that they might be near the Strangers. After day break we went to see the School: where about three hundred children were learning the Assembly's Catechism translated by Mr Bourne,¹⁰ and to our great surprise they repeated with accuracy upwards of two hundred questions. It was truly gratifying to hear the dear Children repeat with their Peculiar accents such choice Portions of Divine Truth. We heard a Class of Adults read the first Chapter of Acts with much accuracy and the Intelligent manner in which they answered the questions put to them on the meaning of what they had read did much credit both to themselves and Teachers.

We waited some time after breakfast for the chief we visited

8. The paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).

9. A plant (*Cordyline* sp.) with edible roots.

10. Robert Bourne (1794-1871) arrived at the Society Islands in 1817, serving at Moorea, Tahiti and Tahaa between 1818 and 1827. In 1823 he accompanied Williams on a voyage to Aitutaki, Mitiaro, Mauke and Rarotonga (Williams and Bourne 1823).

yesterday who had promised to come and attend a publick meeting. On making inquiry we were informed by the Christian Chiefs Teao and Maugnanui that he was ashamed and could not come but we hope not withstanding that our visit to him will be attended with beneficial effects & that both he and his people will soon put themselves under the instructions of the Teachers.

We lamented that our short stay would not allow us to make a tour of the Island but one of the teachers informed us he had been several times round and found the People everywhere kind and willing to listen to instruction. That at one of the most populous settlements on the opposite side of the Island they had regular services on the Sabbath and a School. From the Number of People we saw & the account given us by the Native Teachers the whole of the people appeared to be about two thousand – a fine field for Missionary labours.

Some circumstances attending the Introduction and Progress of Christianity at Magnaia or as it is sometimes written Mangeea. The first teachers brought by Messrs Williams and Bourne could not land on account of the wild conduct of the Natives – tearing their cloth from them and plundering them of their little property on the beach. One man was almost strangled by The Savages but he had the presence of mind to get his hand under the cloth at which they were pulling which probably saved his life.¹¹ Consequently no teachers were left at that time. A gun was fired over the heads of the savages¹² which induced them to run away and a boat was sent to take the Teachers who has been so roughly handled on board again. The Teacher Tiera¹³ was sent down in the Endeavour – Captn Dibbs.¹⁴ Some time after he was only plundered of his little bundles but not stripped and after reaching the Settlement lived among the Inhabitants unmolested. Davida was afterwards sent to assist Tiera¹⁵ and was also plundered of his little property on the beach; but not after injured. Tiera did not live long

11. Williams elaborates on this episode in his book. 'Papeiha nearly lost his life, for they put a tiputa (a poncho-like garment) over his head, and commenced twisting it for the purpose of strangling him; but he had, however, the presence of mind to introduce his hand into the aperture, which preserved his throat' (1838:81). The event is not described in the 1832 journal.

12. Mentioned in *Missionary enterprises* (p.80), but omitted from the 1832 journal.

13. Tiera, an unmarried man from Tahaa, was taken to Mangaia in 1824 where he died less than two years later (Gunson 1977:37).

14. Williams bought the *Endeavour* in Sydney in 1822 (Newbury 1961:214n.); John Dibbs was her master until at least 1824 (Cumpston 1977:37).

15. Tiera and Davida (also from Tahaa) were left at Mangaia at the same time (Newbury 1961:322).

after the arrival of Davida, but his Labours were not altogether in vain for the people we were informed were very partial to him on account of his mild deportment. The people imagined that the teachers had come to worship their Gods and were much displeased when they understood they had come to turn them from Dumb Idols to serve the living and True God. After the death of Tiere Davida was compelled to retire into a cave in the mountains to sleep lest he should be murdered in the night. After much labour and patience one after another began to attend Instructions and attach themselves to the Teacher. In 1830 the number had increased to almost 500 Men, Women and Children. Some little incidents seemed almost to indicate the miraculous interposition of Divine Providence in carrying on the work.

The first we will mention was related to us as follows. A number of the Idolators came out of contempt, to hold one of their native dances near the Place of Worship where those who had made a profession of Christianity were assembled to keep the Sabbath when several of them were suddenly seized with sickness which threatened their lives.

On another occasion some of the Idolators were dancing near the Place of worship when one of the Dancers dropped down Dead on the spot. Several other incidents were mentioned to us but the above appeared most worthy of Notice. The above circumstances might have occurred under other situations but the manner in which they did occur whether miraculous or not produced a most powerful effect, both on the party which had embraced Christianity and on the heathen population strengthening the former in their attachment to the truth, and inducing many of the heathen to embrace the gospel.

In 1828 The Idolatrous Party provoked by repeated threats of murdering their teachers those who had embraced the gospel - which ended in a war between the two Parties. The fight was attended with serious consequences. Twenty of the Idolatrous Party were killed and two or three of those who had embraced Christianity. It is not to be supposed that the Party who had embraced Christianity acted as could have been wished, from their very short standing and limited knowledge. We were informed that some of them were very cruel in the War chopping the Idolators to pieces with their axes tho' they besought them on their knees to spare them for the sake of the Son of God.

The idols were all destroyed in the war.

Faaruea and his wife from Raiatea joined Davida in the latter end of 1829 and were likely to become very useful labourers.

The station appeared to us in a high state of prosperity and rapidly on the increase. We found Mataitai vahine at Magnaia, who it was supposed was lost. She left Aitutake [Aitutaki] in a boat for Rarotogna to see Mr & Mrs Williams who were at that time residing at Rarotonga, but from contrary winds &c they missed their way and were three weeks at sea. They finally reached Magnaia, where we found them. She was the wife of one of the Teachers at Aitutake.¹⁶ The ten Aitutakeans who accompanied her we brought back to their own land.

Before taking our leave of the teachers we gave them a large Portion of the Societys Publications in Tahitian & made each of them a Present, and a Present to each of their wives. We also gave a present to each of the Chiefs who had embraced Christianity exhorting the at the same time to perservere in the good word which they were learning.

About 3 P.M. went on board and took our Departure for Rarotogna with a gently Breeze in our favour, and smooth sea.

June 2. Directing our Course for Rarotogna with a fine steady breeze.

June 3. Saw the fine Island of Rarotogna early in the morning.¹⁷ It had a fine romantick appearance. From the vessel the lofty mountains separated by deep ravines and all covered with a beautiful foliage formed a majestick landscape. Left the vessel in a boat and reached the house¹⁸ of our Friend and Brother Mr Buzacott about noon.

We were sorry to learn from Mr Buzacott that grievous sickness prevailed and was raging like a Plague. That the disease had carried off two hundred and fifty persons at Mr Buzacotts station near three hundred at Tinomana's¹⁹ Place where a Native teacher resided, and about one hundred at Mr Pitmans station,²⁰ and a large number more were past hopes of recovery. The disease the

16. Mataitai was left at Aitutaki in 1823 by Williams and Bourne. (Throughout his journals, Williams refers to the teachers' wives by adding the Tahitian term *vahine* (woman) to the husbands' names.)

17. Williams laid claim to the discovery of Rarotonga (1838:19); it is apparent however that other European ships had visited the island before his own arrival (Maude and Crocombe 1962).

18. At Avarua, on the north-western end of the island.

19. Tinomana was the Christian chief of Arorangi, on the western side of Rarotonga, and one of the four principal chiefs of the island.

20. Ngatangia, at the eastern end of the island.

Brethren informed us was of the Nature of Fever & ague united which in many instances terminated in a diarrhoea and carried them to the Grave.

The Brethren informed us that some time before the Present sickness commenced many of the people were much opposed to the present, or new system, and carried their opposition to such a length as to induce the Missionaries to threaten leaving them. The houses of the Judges were set fire to. The houses of one of the Judges being near Mr Pitmans fine large Chapel the flames reached the Chapel and it was totally consumed. Mr Buzacott's large school house had been twice burned to the ground. During these trying circumstances a large number of the natives manifested the greatest attachment to the Missionaries watching their houses night & day and uniting with them in Prayer to God for his merciful interposition in their trying situation.

The People look upon their present severe affliction as a judgement from God for their past wicked conduct. It was however exceedingly painful to hear of such numbers being snatched away by hand of Death in an hour when they looked not for it. We know however that the Lord does all things well and have reason to believe that the present afflictions will be sanctified to the survivors. It has already had its advantages - many of the ring leaders in mischief having been called away by death. The remaining few have ceased to be Troublesome. The unceasing efforts of Messrs Pitman and Buzacott in administering medicines and other comforts for the relief of the poor sufferers has had the most happy Influence upon all classes who survive in producing increased attachment to their persons and to that precious word of Mercy which they Preach.

The numbers likely to survive the disease are still great. Perhaps not less than two thousand five hundred at Mr Pitmans place and two thousand or upwards at Mr Buzacotts. The third station where a native teacher resides²¹ was said to contain about six or seven hundred.

We were sorry to learn that all our friends the Missionaries had been ill, and Mr Buzacott almost despaired of, but the Lord had mercifully restored him to his family and people. Mrs Pitman suffers much from an incessant Head Ache but we trust the means to which she has lately had recourse will afford her some relief. We

21. Arorangi.

sincerely pray they may all be spared for many years of future usefulness in their very large and important stations.

The external appearance of the stations was truly gratifying. Large and handsome places of worship and school houses. For tho' Mr Pitmans Chapel was burned to the ground it was soon reerected, the school house and dwelling house in like manner. The houses of the Missionaries were very neat and comfortable. Some of the Chiefs also had very good houses 10 Fathoms long & 5 fathoms wide divided into rooms the floors neatly boarded and a neat verandah with a boarded floor in the front the whole of the houses neatly plastered. The great mass of the People also had plastered houses, tho not so well finished as those of the Chiefs.

The houses were so numerous as to give the settlements the appearance of an English village, & neat roads through the Settlements added much to the beauty of the whole.

The extent of cultivation was to us a novel sight almost every Individual having his Kaina [*kainga*] or small farm cultivated with plaintains ti taro yams &c so that the whole settlement appeared one extensive garden.

Spent the evening at Mr Buzacotts in profitable conversation relative to Missionary work. Many of the poor sick Natives came to see Mr Williams tho' they were scarcely able to walk.

June 4. Visited in company with Mr Buzacott Mr Pitmans station. The distance from one station to the other is about seven miles. The road is a tolerable good one in most places and shaded from the sun by the branches of the spreading trees. The land on either side of the road was cultivated all the way and on many little farms a house was standing for the accommodation of the owner when he comes to look after his land for food &c.

Many of the little kainas were much overgrown with weeds on account of the sickness or perhaps Death of the owner. Our friends informed us previous to the late sickness scarcely a weed was to be seen on any of the farms. Spent part of the day in walking thro the Settlement in company with Mr Pitman and found it fully answered the high opinion we had formed of it while viewing it from the vessel yesterday. We did not enter into any of the peoples houses the disease being contagious. It was a sacrifice both to the People and ourselves to be deprived of the pleasure of conversing together.

In the evening service attended the meeting for those who have been baptised. Mr Williams spoke to the people from Numbers

21ch 6v, in their own language. Many of the natives also spoke to edification. A far greater number of natives were present than could have been expected considering the disease was raging at its zenith at Mr Pitmans place. Spent the evening very profitably.

Saturday 5th. Early in the morning returned to Mr Buzacott to prepare for our departure. Got every thing on board and the vessel drew up her anchor and put to sea on account of the wind setting on shore. We remained on shore to attend the forenoon service on the Lords Day.

Sunday 6th. Mr Williams preached to the people in Rarotognan from James 4ch 10v. Mr Barff afterwards spoke a few words to the people in Tahitian and concluded with Prayer. The congregation was much larger than could be expected from the disease which rages among them. The people made a very decent appearance and were also very attentive.

Returned after service to Mr Pitmans station when Captn Johnson²² had sent the boat on shore for us. After taking leave of our friends we started to go on board but from the rain which set in all round we were unable to see the vessel and consequently were compelled to return.

Monday 7. Early in the morning left again to go on board the vessel which we could just see in the offing and got safe on board after about three hours rowing.

We left our dear Friends upwards of six thousand copies of an Elementary book in Rarotognan drawn up by Mr Williams and printed at Huahine. We were happy also in being able to leave them a little medicine to afford some relief to the Poor Natives.

Tuesday 8th. Directing our course to Atiu with a fine breeze. Saw the land about eight A.M. and about noon began to have a fine view of the Settlement which is built upon the top of the mountain which included near one half of the Island. The large new Chapel and the other plastered houses for the Teachers Chiefs and People had a very interesting appearance and reminded us of the change which had taken place when their former habitations had been laid aside with their Idolatry and exchanged for the fine looking houses we saw plastered with lime made from coral.

22. Williams does not identify the crew of his vessel apart from Johnson the captain (Nicholson 1977:57) and Henry the mate (p.89).

One of the teachers called Tehei²³ came off in a canoe to meet us as soon as we were sufficiently near — and we immediately prepared to accompany him ashore which was not done without some difficulty the natives having to take the Canoe over the reef in a very high surf. They effected it without any other inconvenience than a wetting. A large number of Natives were collected on the beach to welcome us on our landing which they did with the strongest expressions of joy carrying the canoe and us in it on the mountain which forms their Island.²⁴

We met several of the teachers on shore who had come to the sea beach to meet us. We learned from them that the Teachers from Mauke and Mitiaro with their wives &c were all assembled at Atiu. The object of their meeting was two fold. First to attend the opening of the New Chapel at Atiu and secondly to attend the marriage of the Chiefs daughter of Mauke to the Chief of Atiu. We were glad to have such an opportunity of seeing them altogether with their wives children and people. Mr Platt had opened the Chapel before their arrival.

The Settlement is more than three miles from the place of landing over a path composed partly of broken pieces of coral and on the rising ground of clay. On reaching the settlement we were much delighted with the beauty of the situation — a fine extending plain on the Top of the low mountain which comprehends a large portion of the Island and open to the pure air from the Sea in all directions. After reaching the house of the Native teacher Tehei the Baptized came in Classes to shake hands with us in token of Christian friendship every separate Class bringing a small present of native cloth. Their numbers were so great as to occupy almost all the afternoon in shaking hands with us, &c. They formed a very pleasing sight. The women were dressed in neat white cloth and bonnets of their own making, and most of the men in very neat Tibutas [*tiputa*] made from the bark of the Aute or Cloth tree.

23. Three teachers from the church at Borabora — Oupa, Tehei and Tutiu — were landed at Atiu in late 1823 or early 1824. When Williams and Bourne visited them in 1824, they were suffering some physical hardship. However, through the initiative of Papeiha, the teacher from Aitutaki whom Williams had with him, the principal chief of the island (Roma-tane, according to Williams 1838:85) was converted literally overnight. Roma-tane accompanied Williams to the neighbouring islands of Mitiaro and Mauke (of which he was also chief), and persuaded the inhabitants to renounce heathenism and accept teachers (Newbury 1961:315-16).

24. This remarkable event is omitted from the published account. However, an identical event appears in the published description of the arrival at Leone, Tutuila, in 1832 (Williams 1838:417), although it is not mentioned in the 1832 journal (see p.107). Considering Williams's occasional licence with chronology, it appears that he simply transferred the Atiu event of 1830 to Leone in 1832. (A similar event occurred earlier in the 1830 voyage, at Mangaia: see p.24).

We could not but remark the striking contrast between their state when the teachers first landed among them and their present condition. It was much feared at the time that the Teachers would have been torn to pieces on the beach, and were actually plundered of all they possessed; but now from the Influence, &c of the Gospel, reason having resumed her place, the law of kindness rules their conduct. We walked out for a few minutes in the Evening to see the fine new Chapel, and the houses of the other Missionaries²⁵ & the Chiefs. The Chapel is a good substantial Building, well plastered and the floor well boarded. The posts and ridge pole were neatly ornamented with cordage of divers colours lapped in the form of diamonds and other figures which gave them a very neat appearance. The Pulpit was fixed on a single post and the diamond lapping on it exceeded any thing of the kind we had ever seen. We were informed the king of the Island did it who is said to be very skilful in the art.

The side posts were all of a very excellent wood and the rafters of the wild Palm Tree thatched with the leaves of the same. It was sufficiently spacious to seat 1800 or 2000 people. The Teachers also had good substantial houses; together with the Chiefs and many of the people's — all neatly plastered with lime & some of them had boarded floors. We observed many houses building of the same substantial materials.

As we could spend but one night on shore with the Teachers they refused to let us both retire to rest together so that one of us was up during the night conversing with them about the Scripture their Missionary work and teaching them to sing some new tunes.

Wednesday 9. Early in the morning had divine service in the Chapel. The place was crowded to excess and many were outside. Mr Barff preached from Psalm 97 iv. After the Sermon Mr Williams administered the Sacrament for the first time in Atiu to about twenty natives who had been selected by the Teachers from among the Baptized of the three congregations of Mauke of Mitiaro and Atiu. The season was one of deep interest both to ourselves and the people, and we trust the Impression made will not soon be effaced.

25. Williams usually reserved the title 'missionary' for Europeans; however, no Europeans were then resident on Atiu (Newbury 1961:316). Presumably the reference is to a Polynesian teacher.

After the services the people of Atiu were requested to give up one of their Teachers to accompany us to Vavao [Vava'u],²⁶ they having four at Atiu; but they refused to part with any of their teachers. One of the Teachers of Mauke²⁷ was next requested to be given up which the people of Mauke almost agreed to part with their Teacher. Being so few it was thought by all one teacher would be sufficient. But as the teacher and his Wife had been many years from home they declined accompanying us wishing first to pay a visit to their relations at Tahaa;²⁸ to which we had no objection. Consequently we received no addition to our numbers from Atiu. Some of the natives proposed questions relative to the Scriptures &c which were answered. We supposed from 1800 to 2000 were present being nearly the whole population of Atiu with some of the People from Mauke and Mitiaro. We were both astonished and delighted to witness such a large and attentive Congregation. They made also a most respectable appearance considering their limited means of obtaining articles of dress. After distributing some portions of Scriptures and elementary books to the teachers for the use of the people and making suitable presents to the two Chiefs and the whole of the Teachers with their wives we prepared to depart.²⁹ The Teachers and many of the people accompanied us to the beach; and offered us their needed assistance in getting over the reef. We reached the vessel in safety towards evening.³⁰

Thursday 10th. Steering for Aitutake with a gentle breeze and but little sea. About Noon saw Harvey's [Hervey's] Island³¹ to the windward. There are two low Islands on the coral reef only a few feet above the level of the sea partly covered with cocoa nuts. The two Islands are both enclosed in the same reef. One was called by the Natives Manuae, and the other Aatu [Te Au-o-Tu]. The water

26. Vava'u, a group of islands in Tonga.

27. Haavi, a Raiatean teacher, was left at Mauke in 1823 by Williams and Bourne, and another, Faraire, was added a year later (Newbury 1961:322-3). It is not clear which man was singled out to accompany Williams on this present voyage.

28. Tahaa, one of the Society Islands.

29. Surprisingly, Williams does not mention Roma-tane, to whom he had good reason to be grateful (see note 23 p.33). This was Williams's first visit to Atiu since 1823.

30. The published account details the capsizing of the boat as it left the reef, and the rescue of Williams by two natives (Williams 1838:268). In his article, Williams ascribes the incident to his 1832 voyage, although, according to his journal, he did not visit Atiu at that time (1835:277-9).

31. The Hervey Islands, so named by Captain Cook, comprise two islets, Manuae and Te Au-o-Tu, which are enclosed in the same lagoon.

is so shallow between them as to allow persons to wade from one to the other.

There were a few inhabitants until within the last year or two: at present there are no inhabitants.

We were informed by a person who resided almost two years on the Islands that the inhabitants were very fierce in war. That the two Islands were continually at war with each other, and nearly depopulated both — they were Cannibals and eat all either killed or that there were taken in war. Note; we heard at Aitutake that a few of the remaining inhabitants of Harvey's Island were there and came there in the following manner. Some Rurutuans & two Americans drifted on the above Islands in a whale boat and during their stay induced the few inhabitants about forty in number to cast away their Idols and embrace Christianity. The persons above mentioned afterwards sailed to Aitutake and told the people there what had been done. The Aitutakeans were so much rejoiced at the news that they sent canoes to fetch them to attend the feasts held in honour of their May meeting. Some of the Harvey's Islanders venturing to return to their own Island in a bad canoe were lost at sea and a few remained on the Island of Aitutake as above mentioned.

Friday 11. Early in the morning reached Aitutake a very picturesque little Island. The natives settlements appeared very extensive stretching several miles beyond the mainland. Soon after day break some of the natives came off and with them Paumoana:³² one of the native Teachers. We accompanied him on shore and were happy to learn things were going on well in the Mission. Went as soon as we reached the shore to pay our respects to the Principal Chief called Tamatoa.³³ He was very glad to see us. He appeared rapidly on the decline from the effects of age and disease peculiar to the Islands. We were glad to learn that he continues equally well disposed to that which is good as on former visits.

We held a private meeting with the Teachers of the Station and the teachers we had brought with us to consult about our future proceedings — when it was determined that if the people of

32. Williams and Bourne had left two Raiatean teachers at Aitutaki in 1823, Paumoana and Mataitai (Williams and Bourne [1823]).

33. 'The grandfather of the King' (Williams and Bourne 1823), This chief was a descendant of an early chief of the same name on Raiatea and is not to be confused with Tamatoa, the king of Raiatea, who had accompanied Williams to Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke and Rarotonga in 1823, and had helped establish initial contacts.

Aitutake should detain Vahineino & his wife, Teachers from Raiatea brought by Mr Platt on a former voyage³⁴ & who were to have accompanied us, which we understood was very probable to request the Church of Aitutake to give up two of their most intelligent and steady members to accompany us, to become pioneers in this good work.

About Noon held a public meeting when the concourse was so great as to fill their large place of worship thirty fathoms long by five fathoms wide. The people were requested to give up Vahineino and his wife but they were exceedingly earnest in detaining them both having formed a very great attachment to them, particularly the females to the wife. Consequently it was agreed to leave them concluding from the attachment of the People. They would be more useful there than any where else. The people were next requested to look out from among themselves to make up the deficiency, and speedily two were named who readily agreed to accompany us. Raki, and Tuava,³⁵ having been accepted Raki manifested much piety & good sense in addressing his brethren and sisters. He said he was glad they had made choice of him. There was nothing he so much desired as to be employed for God.

He did not regard Father mother wife children house or land. That the word of Jesus was his father mother sister and brother and that he was willing to venture his life among the heathen in so good a work.

The meeting closed when the teachers went to prepare for their departure.

After the above meeting the children were collected to be catechised. About four hundred in number. We examined them in two catechisms, one of which they repeated wholly, and ninety seven long questions of the other.

We asked them several questions on the leading Doctrine of the Gospel and were much pleased with the intelligent answers they gave. In the evening met the people at the Friday meeting. None were present but such as make a consistent Profession of Christianity and the number could not be less than Nine hundred. Mr Barff commenced with Prayer and a short address from Acts 8c 5v. After the address many of the natives made some very interesting little

34. It was Williams himself who left Vahineino and his wife at Aitutaki in 1823 (Williams and Bourne 1823; Newbury 1961:319).

35. For the careers of these men, see note 127 p.75.

speeches exhorting one another to love and good works. The Tahitian teachers accompanying us spoke also much to edification, and the meeting was altogether one of lively interest. Towards the close of the meeting Mr Williams asked the two natives selected to accompany us several important questions on the leading Doctrines of the gospel which they answered very correctly. Their wives also expressed their readiness to accompany their husbands in the arduous work.

Mr Williams concluded with Prayer for the blessing of God to rest upon them in their future labours.

The evening was spent until a late hour in conversing with the natives and answering their various questions relative to the scriptures, mode of conduct administration of the Laws &c.

Saturday 12th. The wind being favourable for the prosecution of our voyage we determined to proceed tho the people were exceedingly anxious we should remain during the Sabbath. A number of publications were left with the Teachers for the use of their people with presents of useful articles for themselves such as pens ink paper medicines cloth axes hatchets, chisels, &c.

A valuable present was given to Tamatoa the Chief & his wife & eldest sons. About 2 P.M. took our leave of the Teachers & people who had shewed us no little kindness in supplying us bountifully with provisions for our voyage &c and directed our course towards Palmerston's Island. We received a considerable increase to our numbers at Aitutake. Besides the two teachers from thence with their wives and two children we took on board a Teacher from Borabora³⁶ with his wife and five children designed for Vavao [Vava'u] and left here by Mr Platt the last voyage.

Remarks

The change which has been effected at Aitutake under the blessing of God is truly astonishing. When Mr Williams first left a teacher there in 1821 the people were very fierce their bodies were besmeared with charcoal red clay &c and their gestures were of the most barbarous kind. They did not injure the person of the teacher who first landed among them; but it was some time before they listened to his Message. On Mr Williams' second visit in 1823 many had embraced Christianity and many more did so during his

36. Taihaere, according to Williams (see p.75).

stay among them and from that period Idolatry may be said to have been destroyed. The good work has been progressive and every vestige of Idolatry has since disappeared. The whole of the inhabitants from Sixteen to Eighteen hundred are professedly Christians and we trust not a few truly so.

The Settlement has a very neat appearance from the sea. The plastered houses ranged along the beach above a mile in extent the large place of worship in the middle about thirty fathoms long. The old one is coming to decay but another is erected and almost ready for opening, of the same Dimensions as the same. Much to the credit of the Aitutakeans they have subscribed liberally in aid of the Missionary cause. Upwards of 100 £ was presented to Mr Williams by the Teacher Paumoana the produce of the sale of their subscriptions besides some hogs and a large quantity of sinnet undisposed of.

It is to be lamented that the first teachers turned out not to our expectation. The lewd practices of the natives by whom they were surrounded proved too strong a temptation for them so that they were drawn aside to the wicked practices of the heathen instead of teaching them the way of life.

And it was found necessary to remove some of them and supply their places with men who we have reason to hope will continue to act differently. Not withstanding the Imperfections of the first instruments the cause continued to prosper.

Lords Day 13. Running for Palmerstons Island with a favourable wind and smooth sea. Had Divine service twice on deck. Mr Barff exhorted in the forenoon from 1 Pet. 5c 7v. Mr Williams exhorted in the afternoon from 1 Tim 3c 1v. Tho separated far on the deep we found it to be a day of much enjoyment in singing the Praises of God and exhorting one another to love and good works.

Monday 14th. Saw Palmerston's Islands early in the morning. The Islands lay to windward of us stretching along from E[ast] to W[est] eight in number forming two rows four in each row covered with cocoa nutts ati³⁷ and excellent timber, &c and the other four almost destitute of vegetation. The Islands did not appear to rise more than three feet above the level of the sea and are evidently nothing more than coral reefs, which after the lapse of time have been thus raised by sand from the sea and decomposed marine substances.

37. 'Ati, also called *tamanu* in Tahitian, is the tree *Calophyllum inophyllum*; see also note 239, p.223.

The Islands have been inhabited at no very distant period as the cocoa nuts evince — which had evidently been planted. Bore away for Savage Island [Niue].³⁸ Tuesday 15th. The wind died away during the night but as the sun rose it gradually increased and continued a steady breeze through the day.

We have been remarkably favoured since we left Raiatea, having met with almost no Interruptions from contrary winds for which we desire to be very Thankful.

Friday 18. On this and the preceding days pursuing our voyage with a very gently breeze and smooth sea.

Saturday 19. Early in the morning saw land ahead which proved to be Savage Island. It is but a low Island the highest part being not more than one hundred feet about the level of the sea. The top of the high land formed one straight line from one end to the other. As we approached the Island we perceived it had an iron bound shore all round as far as we could see, rising in most places almost perpendicular with here and there a recess which the Inhabitants use to hold communication with the sea.

We observed also a number of caverns of different sizes opening towards the sea which made it appear that the Island has undergone some great concussion in nature.

We perceived natives on shore in and near the caverns above mentioned. We made signs for them to come off by holding up a piece of white cloth as a flag. The people on shore did the same and held up a piece of White Cloth for us to go to them. A Boat was Immediately let down and several of our natives went in her towards the shore. The natives on the shore shewed hostile motions, having each three or four spears or clubs in readiness besides smooth stones in a belt tied round the body. But on our natives after prayer continuing to make signs to throw them away they did so and then bade them welcome on shore according to the custom universally adopted in these Seas i.e. by presenting something to the visitors with the sacred cocoa nutt leaf, called *tapaau*,³⁹ and a few red feathers tied on it on receiving which the visitor returns some trifle as a token of peace.

38. This name was given by Captain Cook on account of the overall unfriendly attitude of the inhabitants (Beaglehole 1961:2:435); its native name is Niue. Loeb (1926:31) records a Niuean account of Williams's visit. However, in its chronology of events and named individuals, this account differs from Williams's own description.

39. *Tapa'au*, the Samoan name for a coconut leaf floor mat. As the word with this particular meaning does not recur in any other Polynesian language, the reference was presumably added by Williams when writing the expanded journal in Raiatea in late 1830.

After the natives had thus exchanged presents our natives in the boat again made signs for the natives on shore to come off to the vessel.

Three canoes were launched and rowed towards the vessel, but evidently under some fear our natives in the boat leading the way. We could only succeed in getting one old man on board whose appearance was terrifick. His body was besmeared with charcoal his hair and beard long. The latter was plaited. He had no other clothing but a narrow slip of cloth round his loins and passed between the thighs not apparently intended to cover his nakedness. On reaching the deck he was almost frantick with surprise and leaped about from place to place using the most vehement exclamations at every thing he saw as being wonderful beyond description. He held a war club in his hand which he kept whirling round in the air. On our making signs to him to know the use of it he gave us a specimen of their war dance — he distorted his features in a terrifick manner making several motions with his spear to correspond with his distorted countenance and at the same time grinding with his teeth.⁴⁰ Some little presents were made him but he did not appear to value any thing so much as a fish hook. While the old man was on board our boat went on shore to get the Principal Chief to come off. Our natives went a short distance inland and eat some food with the Islanders who appeared friendly, but kept their weapons of war near them. Our natives came off without being able to get a Chief of any consequence to come with them. The old man having satisfied his curiosity was taken on shore to the great joy of his wife and children. Just as our people put the old man on shore a Chief with a number of men following him arrived from another part of the Island.

The Chief would have come off in the boat but the old man and his party would not allow him to get into the boat at their place. Consequently they made signs for us to go round to another part of the Island. Lay on and off during the night in hopes of having more effectual communication in the morning.

Lord's Day 20. As our object was to endeavour to introduce the gospel among the Inhabitants of Savage Island the vessel was sailed round to the other side of the Island — being the West side.

40. This man's actions appear to represent a traditional 'challenge' (Thomson 1902:121-2, 127-31).

Almost as soon as it was day we observed a man on shore waving a piece of white native cloth to invite us on shore and to direct us where to land. The boat rowed on shore immediately with several of our natives and the two Aitutakeans also who we intended to leave if suitable. They all continued on shore some time, and had their boat pulled upon the beach. The Savage Islanders entertained them with an oven of food, some sugar cane &c. Most of the men however kept their weapons in their hands and were also very troublesome in handling their persons and shouting as loud as they could bawl. Our natives very wisely called over the Tahitian alphabet in which the Savage Islanders immediately followed them, which for a time attracted their attention. A person of some note among the Savage Islanders wishing to come on board the vessel our natives were compelled to come with him.

The only thing which seemed to point him out as a Chief was a few shells and some parts of the handle of a clasp knife which hung at a girdle round his loins. On coming on deck he appeared more frantick than the old man at the wonders he beheld. Passing from one part of the vessel to another, and using the most vehement exclamations and wild gestures. After satisfying his curiosity as the other had done a small present was made him and he returned on shore.

Though we had had communication with the people yet from not knowing their language⁴¹ and their wild untractable state we could not make known to them our object. The two native teachers also and their wives we intended to have left were so much alarmed at the frightful appearance and savage gestures of the natives that we could not prevail on them to remain. From the communication we had with them we did not apprehend their lives would have been in danger tho, it is probable they would have been plundered of their little property.

The only means which remained by which we might accomplish in some measure the object of our voyage was to try and get a native or two to accompany us and teach them the word of God, and treat them kindly and after the lapse of a few months bring them back with a native teacher. Three canoes soon approached the vessel and after the ceremony of *utu-ing*⁴² we tempted two youths to stop

41. Yet Williams noted that the old man who had danced on the deck exclaimed, 'Am I a woman, that I should be encumbered with that stuff?' (1838:296) when the native teachers attempted to clothe him.

42. The *utu* was a Tahitian present or token of peace to visitors (Newbury 1961:274n).

on board by holding out to them fish hooks & pearl shells articles they hold in great estimation. And while they were gazing at the wonders they saw we sailed away with them.⁴³ We told the other natives in the canoes as well as we were able to return that we would take the two youths with us and bring them back again if spared. One of them expressed his readiness to go and we were anxious to take the other as a companion for him trusting under the blessing of God, they may be made instruments of introducing the word of life, among their perishing country men.

What made us more cautious in our intercourse with the Savage Islanders was a seaman on board the vessel informing us that a Bark from New South Wales had most of a boats crew murdered by them some time ago, and the parts of the handle of a knife we saw tied to the Chiefs belt we supposed were parts of one of the seamen's knives who had been murdered by them. The Savage Islanders are rightly named by Captn Cook. They have a more savage appearance than any inhabitants we have seen in the South Sea.

The men all naked the females nothing more than a very small apron before scarcely reaching their knees the bodies of the men besmeared all over with charcoal here and there a spot on the face to make them look the more frightful. Their conversation so wild as their gestures but they are not too dark for the gospel to enlighten nor the grace of God to tame.

Left the Island about 2 P.M. and had Divine Service in the afternoon when Mr Barff preached from John 9c 4v. Had a fine wind for Tongataboo [Tongatapu].

Thursday 24. During our progress had sometimes calms and baffling winds which delayed in some small degree our voyage but we still had reason for much thankfulness. In the morning saw

43. The *Missionary enterprises* version tones down this episode, which has all the hallmarks of a kidnapping: 'The only way that now remained by which we might in some degree accomplish the object of our visit, was to endeavour to induce a native or two to accompany us to the Society Islands, keep them for a short time, load them with presents of useful articles, and then restore them to their homes. This we succeeded, after considerable difficulty, in effecting' (1838:298). Two of Williams's biographers commented adversely on the event. Prout called it 'an expedient...which, however benevolent in its design, can scarcely admit of a justification, and led to no useful result' (1843:316). Gutch labels it a 'doubtful expedient' (1974:76). The outcome of the event was little short of disastrous. After a troubled voyage (they thought they would be eaten), the men (named Uea and Niumanga - Prout 1843:523) arrived in Tahiti and spent some months there. Soon after their return to Niue, influenza broke out, and they were blamed. One was killed; the other fled in a passing whaler (Turner 1861:470-1), taking refuge at Manu'a (Prout:ibid.). The Niuean fear of contracting disease from visitors was to remain for some time (Ryan 1977:10-11).

Anamuka⁴⁴ to the north of us about 36 miles. Soon after saw some low Islands belonging to the Haapae [Ha'apai] group which lay between Anamuka and Tongataboo. The wind favouring us Eooa ['Eua] was seen from the mast head about sunset.

Friday 25. Early in the morning perceived we were near to Eooa a fine looking Island of considerable extent not less than 25 or 30 miles around. A range of mountains runs through the centre the only high land in all the group.⁴⁵ On passing Eooa, we had a fine view of Tongataboo a large low and level Island only a few feet above the sea.

We soon entered among the clusters of small Islands which surrounded the northern side of Tongataboo & stretch along round to the west side. The little Islands have a very picturesque appearance scattered at regular distances on the reef about a mile from the main land with here and there an entrance for a vessel through the reef. We counted nine little Islands.⁴⁶ Came to anchor in the afternoon in a fine extensive harbour and shortly after went on shore to visit our friends the Wesleyan Missionaries Messrs Turner and Cross.⁴⁷ It gave us great pleasure to find them enjoying a degree of health and pursuing their labours with Encouraging prospects of great success. They received us with the utmost kindness. Spent the evening in pious and interesting conversation with our friends on the important work of Missions to the Heathen.

Saturday 26th. Went early in the morning with Mr Turner to the native School. It was held in the Chapel erected by Hape and

44. Nomuka, Tonga.

45. That is, in the southern district; several high islands lie to the north, some of which were later visited or seen by Williams.

46. There are 21 small islands of Tongatapu's north coast.

47. Nathaniel Turner (1793-1864) arrived in Tonga in 1827, having spent four years in New Zealand. Prior to his arrival, the mission had declined to the point where in early 1827 the two resident missionaries, John Thomas and John Hutchinson, had decided to abandon it altogether because of constant harassment and little success. As a result of Turner's initiative, the work was rescued, and thrived, through a more sensitive approach to Tongan feelings (Lātūkefu 1974:122-3). For health reasons, he left Tonga in 1831. William Cross (1797-1842) arrived in Tonga together with Turner, and worked mostly in Tongatapu until 1837, when he transferred to Fiji. During their stay in Nuku'alofa, Williams was accommodated with the Turners, and Barff with the Cross family (Turner 1872:117). Although Williams's visit was unannounced, it was not unexpected. Turner noted 'To our very great pleasure, arrived this evening, from the Society Islands, our long-expected brethren and fellow labourers, the Rev Messrs Barff and Williams, accompanied by a number of native teachers, designed for the Navigators' and other islands' (Journal 25 June 1830).

Davida teachers from Tahiti, from the church at Papara over which Mr Davies⁴⁸ presides.

The Building was plastered with lime made from coral, but much of it has been broken away to make the place larger to admit the Increasing numbers who wish to attend religious instructions. The number of scholars were very considerable their progress also in reading and writing was very creditable both to themselves and their teachers. Many of the young females wrote remarkably well & we were informed they employed much of their time in copying those portions of the Scriptures translated by the Missionaries into their own language.

After breakfast went with our friends Messrs Turner & Cross to see the new place of worship erecting on a rising ground.⁴⁹ The Principal Chief of the Island called Tupou,⁵⁰ and many of his men were employed in carrying on the building. They were doing it after the Tongataboo fashion tying all the Parts together with sinnet and instead of plaster a woven work of reeds to enclose the whole.

The shape of the Building was nearly oval and below as scarcely to admit sufficient light but apparently very substantial.

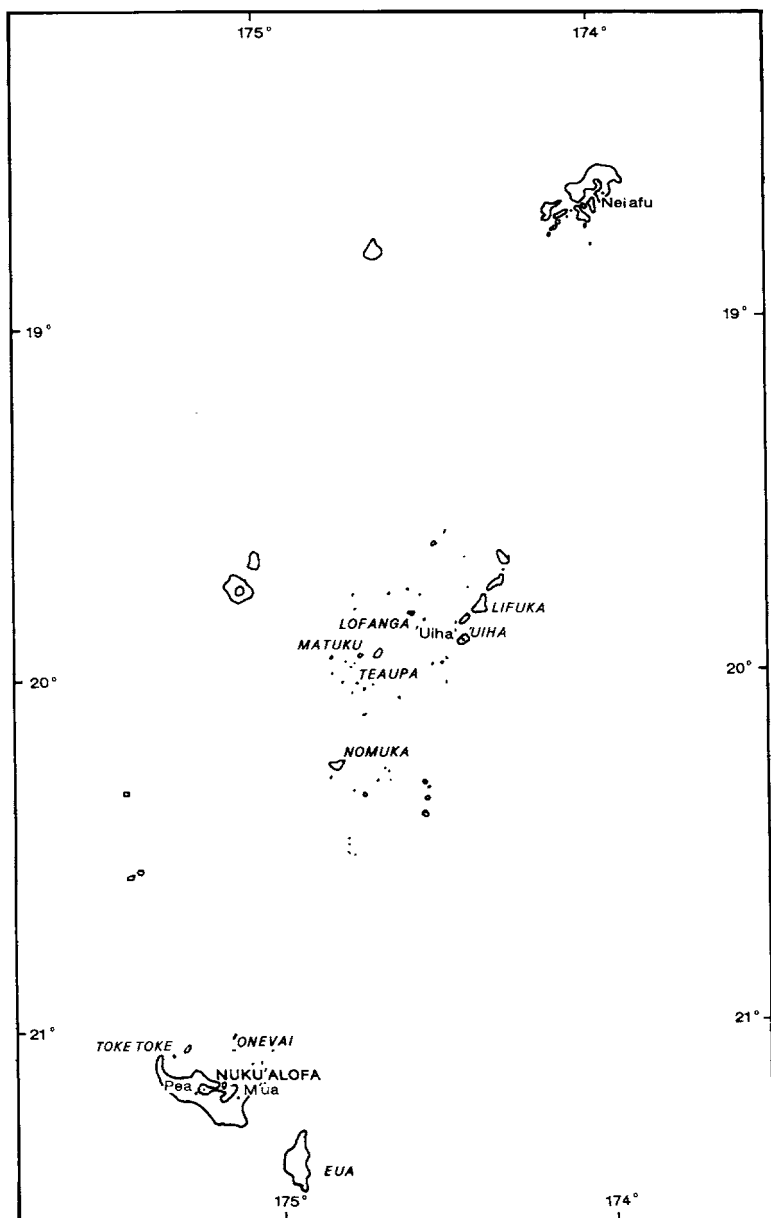
The house will hold seven or eight hundred people and the Missionaries supposed it would not hold all the people who wished to attend Divine service. The site of the new place of worship was formerly a fortification surrounded by two ditches and a double bank on the two banks. Two strong reed fences were formerly erected but they proved a very feeble shelter from the great guns of Mariner and his companions who with the Inhabitants of the Haapaes [Ha'apai] & Vavao [Vava'u] attacked the people of Tongataboo in the above fortress and killed many of them and overcame them.⁵¹ We were informed it is the only rising ground on Tongataboo and is not more than 30 feet high.

48. John Davies (1772-1855), a missionary and former school master who had been in the Society Islands since 1801, author of a history of the Tahitian Mission (Newbury 1961).

49. The small hill called Veiongo, later name Saione (Zion) (Wood 1975:64), is the only elevated ground on the island. The Centenary Chapel of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga now stands there. Williams further describes the building and history of the site in his 1832 journal (p.201).

50. Tupou Aleamotu'a, holding the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, was himself baptised by Turner on 18 January of that year, taking the name Siosaia (Josiah) (Lātūkefu 1974:61).

51. William Mariner and other crew members survived a massacre on the *Port au Prince* in 1806 by Finau 'Ulukalala II and his people at Lifuka. Finau adopted Mariner as his son. Mariner later used the ship's artillery to bombard and overcome the fort at Nuku'alofa. John Martin (1817) recorded Mariner's adventures.



Map 2 Tonga

Agreeable to the plan we had proposed made enquiry of our Friends at Tongataboo relative to the remaining part of our voyage as to what places they thought it might be most favourable to make an attempt to settle teachers, and we received from them the most shocking information relative to some of the Islands we had proposed visiting, viz the New Hebrides⁵² and the Feejee [Fiji] groups. On one of the New Hebrides sandalwood abounds and a number of Gentlemen had placed natives there from many Islands in the South Seas to cut it for them. The natives cutting the sandalwood were attacked with a disease which raged among them like the Plague and carried off several.

Mariner and his companions belonged to the Porto prince [*Port au Prince*] taken by the Chief of the Haapaes at the Island called Lefuga [Lifuka] about 30 years ago. Hundreds of them.⁵³

Some vessels also came from the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands to the sandalwood Islands in one of which was Boki the Principal Chief⁵⁴ and a number of other Chiefs and about four hundred men, who it is believed have all perished. Several pieces of the vessel having been picked up upon the shores of the sandalwood Island scorched with fire it is thought they were blown up. Another Sandwich Island vessel which reached the sandalwood Island had upwards of two hundred men on board and they all perished with the exception of eight,⁵⁵ making the whole number who died from

52. Information on the New Hebrides probably came from Captain Samuel Pinder Henry, who had recently arrived in Tonga from there (Newbury 1961:292).

53. Williams apparently loses his train of thought at this point; the sentence is left incomplete.

54. The value of sandalwood was directly linked to that of tea. Until the mid-nineteenth century, China was almost the sole source of tea, which had replaced ale as the national British beverage during the eighteenth century. Sandalwood was a highly valued incense wood among China's Buddhists, but no local supply existed. Ships rushed to the Pacific Islands when stands of the wood were found there. By 1816, Fiji's sandalwood was exhausted, as was that of the Marquesas a few years later. A sandalwood boom lasted from 1811 to 1828 in Hawaii. In the late 1820s, attention turned to Erromango and other islands in the southern New Hebrides. (Shineberg 1967:16-20). The year before Williams's arrival in Tonga, the sea captain-trader Peter Dillon had taken two parties of Tongans to Erromango, where he had discovered - secretly, so he thought - an abundance of sandalwood. Other captains heard of the find, and 'two vessels were fitted out to seize the island in the name of the "king of the Sandwich Islands" and there to set up a commerce in sandalwood with the Europeans, as in the fat days of the trade at Honolulu. One vessel [*Temeamea*] was put under the command of Governor Boki, the ruler-designate of Erromanga ... and the other [*Becket*] under the orders of another chief' (Shineberg 1967:20). A private British expedition also left Hawaii at the same time.

55. The Hawaiian ship *Temeamea* with 300 men reached Rotuma en route for Erromango, but was never seen again (Shineberg 1967:20); from the size of the work party she carried, the *Temeamea* was probably the vessel thought to have blown up. Shineberg, citing the historian Dibble (1909:207), puts the number of survivors at twenty (1967:22).

disease and other causes near one thousand souls. We were further informed that no period had proved so fatal to shipping in that part of the world.

The *Dr Haweis*⁵⁶ had been lost between New South Wales and New Zealand loaded with supplies for the Missionaries in these seas. The *Menervia* on the Haweis reef, and the *LAigle*⁵⁷ on a reef at Tongataboo. Several vessels had been lost on the Islands and reefs composing the Fegee groups. The above painful circumstances we were informed had made the Inhabitants of the Different groups of Islands desparate, having created an unbounded thirst for plunder.

In consequence of the above painful information we thought it prudent to alter our plan and proceed to the Samoa group leaving the New Hebrides the Fegee's &c until another voyage. Such a series of calamities having just attended those who have visited the group of Islands it appeared to us like flying in the face of danger and tempting the Almighty to go now.

The feeling also of the natives originally savage have been greatly irritated by the above series of disasters and the frequent conflicts between them and the visitors so that it would be dangerous to approach them until they have had time for their irritated feelings to subside.

We may remark further that savages are not able to discriminate between the persons who may have done them some injury and others who may come after with kind intentions towards them but according to their own former expression if the White men have killed any of their number they must kill White men in return whether they are the persons who have injured them or not.

Lord's Day 27.⁵⁸ Early in the morning had divine worship with our Tahitians. Mr Williams preached to them from Matt. 28c 19-20v. After Breakfast attended with our friends the service for the Tongatabooans. A congregation of about three or four hundred were assembled. Mr Turner preached to them from Matt. 28 1 in

56. Williams himself had helped to build the *Haweis* on the island of Moorea in 1817. The first commander was Captain John Nicholson, who made four voyages between Tahiti and Sydney. On two of these voyages, he discovered dangerous reefs. One, south of Tonga, was apparently first known as Haweis Reef. It was the scene of the wreck of the Australian whaler *Minerva* on 9 September 1829 (Bays 1831:138); the reef is now known as Minerva Reef.

57. The whaler *l'Aigle* was wrecked in March 1930; Aleamotu'a sheltered the crew (Wood 1975:43).

58. These Sunday activities are attributed by Turner to the previous day (Turner 1872:117-18).

the Tonga language and the two Missionaries afterwards administered the Sacrament of Baptism to about thirty men. Mr Williams addressed the congregation on the great goodness of God to them in Blessing them with the gospel which Mr Turner kindly interpreted. Mr Williams afterwards preached in English from 1 Cor. 2c 2v to the Mission families and several Europeans &c. In the afternoon Mr Cross preached to the Natives from Matt 28c 18v and the two brethren baptized upwards of thirty females.⁵⁹ Towards evening a third service was held for the benefit of the Tongataboons when thirty eight couple were united in the bands of matrimony⁶⁰ the Tongataboons having in general in their heathen state several wives each.⁶¹

Messrs Turner & Cross have adopted the plan of marrying them on their admission to baptism to any one of their wives they may choose which accounts for the number of marriages above mentioned. We had a specimen of the high Tonga fashion in Dress. It consists in large pieces of a glazed kind of native cloth Plaited with considerable care and the whole lapped carelessly round the body, one end coming under the left arm and hanging down before. Some of them had so much cloth round them as to be scarce able to carry it and we are informed the more cloth the more fashionable. In the evening Mr Barff preached in English from Rom 1c 16v.

The day was one of deep interest to us all. The recollection that a short time ago the Tongataboons were all idolators but now we were permitted to witness an attentive congregation of three or four hundred, and upwards of sixty adults consecrating themselves to God in the ordinance of baptism afforded us matters of joy and thankfulness.

Monday 28. Our friends requested us to accompany them to a native feast. It was held in honour of the persons Baptized yesterday. The feast was kept in two places at the house of an aged

59. Addressing the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in May 1835, Williams claimed 'he had the pleasure of seeing no less than 56 families dedicated to God in the ordinance of baptism' (*The Watchman* 6 May 1835), a claim disputed by the Wesleyan missionary John Thomas (letter to Secretaries, 8 April 1837).

60. The missionaries' accounts of the numbers baptised and married are inconsistent. Turner claims that 40 men and 28 women were baptised, and 30 couples married (*Journal*, 27 June 1830), while Cross puts the figures at 42 men and 30 women baptised, and 30 couples married (*Journal*, 27 June 1830). Williams's own figures differ again.

61. The Christian marriage ceremony was introduced by Turner and Cross a little over a year before Williams's arrival (Farmer 1855:195).

Chief and at the house of Tupou the Principal Chief whose eldest Daughter was Baptized yesterday. We noticed seventeen hogs at one place and twenty two at the other with a proportionate quantity of yams fish taro and native *ava*⁶² or intoxicating root. Unfortunately the Tongataboons strangle their pigs or kill them with clubs or stones so that in baking them whole all the blood remains which makes them uneatable except by themselves. They kindly gave us a part of their food and the old chief gave us the cloth in which he was baptized.

We were informed that though the Tongataboons drink the *ava* several times a day they do not get Intoxicated with it but drink it more as a matter of ceremony.

Wednesday 30. Attended in company with our friends the Wednesday evening Lecture to the natives. Mr Turner preached to the natives on the command to Abraham to go into Canaan.

Went afterwards with Mr Cross to a Little Meeting where thirteen natives were collected together. T'was a Class meeting and was conducted after the manner of class meetings in England. Mr Cross conversed with each of them on their experience, and the necessity of hearty religion.

In the evening held the monthly Prayer meeting to implore the blessing of God on Missionary labours. Mr Williams gave a short address from Mark 10c 16v, and several engaged in Prayer. It was an opportunity of much profit to us all.

July Thursday 1st. In the morning went with Mr Turner into the interior of the Island to see the country and to pay our respects to one of the Principal Chiefs. The country thro which we passed was excellent soil. We noticed several extensive pieces of land under cultivation with yams, Bananas, Sugar cane, &c.

Much of the largest Portion of land lay waste the present number of Inhabitants not requiring it. Formerly the natives say the whole Island was under cultivation but several successive attacks of the Bloody flux and other sweeping diseases have carried off great numbers of the Inhabitants so that the whole Island is thought not to contain more than four or five Thousand tho' it is upwards of one hundred miles in circumference.

We reached the inland settlement called the Bea [Pea] about noon but a few of the Inhabitants were at home being most of them

62. The term in Tongan is *kava*; '*ava* is Tahitian and Samoan word. The dried root of the plant (*Piper methysticum*) is crushed and infused with water to produce a drink.

at their plantations. The Principal Chief of the place we were told was away building a house for the accommodation of captains. Lavaka,⁶³ a chief entertained us with some kava or ava, and the domesticks of the Principal Chief Taofa⁶⁴ [Taufa] presented us with a baked pig and some yams.

We were much pleased with the kindness of the people to us. Though professedly heathen they treated Mr Turner with much respect and us also on account of Mr Turner. We hope the time is not far off when they also will cast their Idols to the moles and to the bats and seek in earnest the Salvation of their souls. The natives informed us we were not more than two miles from the place where the great Battle was fought between the King and Fenau [Finau] when the three Missionaries were barbarously murdered by the rebellious Chief Fenau.⁶⁵

The Settlement had a very neat appearance. One large well built house in the centre with a spacious grass plat round it we were informed was used for the Katagona's⁶⁶ [*kātoanga*] or publick meetings for dancing and other amusements.

The two Principal Chiefs had each of them two or three good houses one for the men and the other for the Chiefs numerous wives. The Principal Chief Taofa we were informed had fifty wives. The houses of the poor people were not near so good. Much land was enclosed with neat reed fences, and planted, with different kinds of food.

We noticed a sacred enclosure where their Idols are kept. We requested admittance but the people were not willing to let us go in. A New Zealand Ti⁶⁷ or idol guarded the door of the sacred enclosure having the face tatooed like the New Zealand's Chiefs. It was made in the shape of a man but not more than three feet high.

63. Lavaka was a leading chief of the Ha'a Havea confederation (Lātūkefu 1974:109).

64. Fa'e (Taufa) was then the principal chief of Pea (John Thomas to secretaries, 8 August 1832). He, with the Fijian Takai (see p.52) and Lavaka, are said to have raised Aleamotu'a to the rank of Tu'i Kanokupolu (Lātūkefu 1974:146).

65. The missionaries were Samuel Harper, David Bowel and Samuel Gaulton (Farmer 1855:111). Benjamin Burnham, a beachcomber, was also murdered (Gunson 1977:101). Finau 'Ulukālala II (Tuapasi) was the ruler of the Vava'u group of islands in Tonga; he vigorously resisted Christianity for some time.

66. A public festivity or celebration.

67. Williams was using the Tahitian word *ti'i* (a carved wooden figure in human form) to describe what he saw. Figures of the size estimated featured in carved doorways and over the gables of Maori meeting houses and storehouses (Buck 1950:129; plates ii-iv). Several ships could have brought the idol from New Zealand. In 1827, for example, Dillon brought 12 Maori to Nuku'alofa (Dillon 1829:1:275).

We could not learn whether it was made at Tonga, or was brought from New Zealand.

Returned towards evening to Nukalofa [Nuku'alofa] where our friends resided much pleased with what we had seen.

Friday 2nd. Our Friends manifested their kindness in having social entertainment for all friends that we might have the pleasure of all meeting together. Capt'n Henry⁶⁸ Lawler⁶⁹ and Johnson also were present. It was a great felicity to us to meet together under such pleasing & peaceful circumstances in such a distant region.

Mr S[amuel] Henry again renewed his request to us to allow him to take two single men from among our native teachers to Lakepa, one of the Fegee Islands. Mr S. Henry informed us that the Chief of Lakepa⁷⁰ had requested him to bring some native teachers to his Islands. That he would not only treat them kindly but also listen to them and receive Instruction. Mr S. Henry had one native teacher on board from the church at Papara Tahiti, with Takai [Tākai], a little Chief from the Fegees, and desired two more to accompany the above.

It appeared to us a very Providential opportunity of introducing Christianity among the Fegees, Mr S. Henry being not only the son of a Missionary but friendly to the cause having both a knowledge of the Fegees and Tahitian languages and considerable influence with some of the Chiefs of the Fegees. Capt'n Lawler kindly offered to take the natives free of expense. Takai also united his requests with Mr Henry that two more teachers might be sent to the almost unnumerable Islands in the Fegees groups. In consequence of the above very favourable opening we agreed to let Hatai and Faaruea go to the Fegees⁷¹ with Capt'n Lawler who was bound direct

68. Henry (see note 52 p.47), a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti (Lātūkefu 1974:38).

69. Probably the sailing master on Henry's vessel. Davies notes that it was Henry who offered the free passage, and in whose ship the native teachers sailed (Newbury 1961:292).

70. Tu'ineau (Lātūkefu 1974:50). The island name is now written Lakeba.

71. The journal of John Davies (Newbury 1961:289-92), resident missionary at Papara in the Society Islands, gives a useful summary of early [mission] work at Tonga and Fiji. In 1824 (Lātūkefu 1974:50), Tākai, a Fijian from Lakeba, and Langi, a Tongan from Nuku'alofa, travelled to Sydney in order 'to see other countries' (Newbury 1961:289). They went on to Tahiti in 1825 and lived at Papara, waiting for transportation home. Davies encouraged them to read in Tahitian, and eventually aroused in them the desire to request teachers for Lakeba. Two Tahitians, Hape and Tafeta, were appointed and the four sailed on the *Minerva* for Fiji in March 1826. Calling at Nuku'alofa en route, the men were detained by Aleamotu'a. Tākai returned to Tahiti that year, leaving the others at Tonga. Through correspondence, Davies tried (unsuccessfully) to get them to cross to Lakeba. Soon after Nathaniel Turner's arrival in Tonga in 1828, Aleamotu'a agreed to allow Hape and Tafeta to proceed to Lakeba, but,

praying they may be made the honoured instruments of introducing the light of Divine Truth among those dark and savage Islanders.⁷² We were anxious to sail in company with Mr S. Henry and Capt'n Lawler to the Fegees but having a great number on board the teachers and their Families chiefly designed for the Samoa's and Vavao [Vava'u], and those lying in an opposite direction to the Fegees, to take teachers to the Samoas being also the primary object of our voyage we determined to sail for the Haapae's [Ha'apai] Vavao's and after finishing the distribution of our native teachers in that Quarter to sail for the Fegees if the wind should favour us.

Saturday 3. Spent the day on board the vessel making all preparation for our departure on Monday morning if all is well.

frustrated by the lack of transportation there, Tafeta returned to Tahiti, leaving Hape alone. (Langi seems to have been absorbed back into obscurity after arriving in 1826.) Captain Henry's ship *Snapper* was due to call at Tonga en route for New South Wales, and Davies wrote to Aleamotu'a and Hape suggesting that he (Hape) travel to Lakeba on it. However, Aleamotu'a had recently heard that a certain notorious Fijian warrior had moved to Lakeba, and advised Hape to postpone his trip. Hape did travel soon after, but back to Tahiti. Meanwhile, Tu'ineau, the chief of Lakeba, had been requesting teachers, informing Henry, who passed the news to Davies. After consulting with his church at Papara, Davies appointed Taharaa, whom Henry conveyed in 1830, along with the ever-enthusiastic Tākai. They visited the New Hebrides and Tonga en route, and were still at Tongatapu when Williams and Barff arrived in June 1830. Tākai and Taharaa sailed to Lakeba together with two of Williams's teachers, Fuatai and Faaruea. Williams later noted, 'I saw Captain Lawler yesterday...he informs me that the Teachers were kindly received but that the king could not agree to embrace Christianity until he had collected all his chiefs of the different islands' (Williams to Directors, 31 October 1830). However, although the teachers 'gave a good demonstration of practical Christianity, they made no attempt to use the language for preaching or praying, and Tākai was disappointed. Tākai had to take them from Lakeba to his own island [Oneata], and it was Tākai who pressed for a Fijian teacher as soon as [the Wesleyans] Cross and Cargill arrived [in 1835],' (Tippett [1954]:1).

72. No mention is made here of prior consultation with the Wesleyans on the matter. In *Missionary enterprises*, however, Williams adds a significant point: following an agreement with Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga and Fiji to the Wesleyans, there was a 'distinct understanding that whenever Wesleyan Missionaries should arrive from England for the Fiji Islands, they should proceed, if they pleased, to the very spot where our native Missionaries were labouring. Mr Barff and myself both assured them that we should feel as much pleasure in being instrumental in preparing the way for the labours of their Missionaries, as for those from our own Society' (1838:304-5). A joint letter, signed by the LMS missionaries Barff, Heath, Hardie, Barnden, Mills and Murray, and sent to the Wesleyan Peter Turner to try to effect his removal from Samoa in 1836, noted 'the two teachers sent at that time to Lakeba and Oneata...went to open the way for your Missionaries' (Buzacott 1836), to which Turner replied, 'This is something new to me that your teachers should prepare or open a way for our Missionaries' (ibid.). John Thomas (see note 78 p.56), writing in 1837, was critical of Williams's act in allowing the Tahitian teachers to go to Fiji, citing the episode as an example of LMS interference in Wesleyan affairs, and a reply to the LMS charge that the Wesleyans had breached the alleged 1830 agreement concerning mutual territories (Thomas to Secretaries, 7 April 1837: letters 11 and 14).

Lords Day 4. In the forenoon Mr Cross preached to the natives from Rev 20c 12v to a large and attentive congregation.

After the above service Mr Williams preached to the Tahitians from Acts 20c 21v. At noon Mr Barff preached in English from Prov 11c 30v. In the afternoon Mr Barff addressed the Tongataboos which Mr Turner kindly interpreted. After the address Messrs Turner and Cross baptized upwards of forty children — children of the adults Baptized the preceeding Sabbath. At seven P.M. Mr Williams preached in English from Matt 27c 35v, and they crucified him, and administered the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. We found it indeed to be a profitable opportunity to us all. An old seaman⁷³ united with us in commemorating the death of Christ who had been on board a ship of war in his youth and addicted to every vicious practice. He had been of late in Mr Williams employ in Rarotogna. Very lately he came to Tonga and since his residence here it has pleased the Lord to affect him with a Disease that threatened his life. During his affliction the Missionaries Messrs Turner and Cross visited him frequently, and administered both to his spiritual and temporal comfort. It is hoped a real change was produced during his severe trial and he now for the first time dedicated himself to God in the ordinance of the Lords Supper.

The old man was much affected at the recollection of his past sins and the goodness of God to such a sinner at the eleventh hour which considerably affected us all.

Monday 5. During the day employed with the natives in getting up the boarding Nets⁷⁴ and making other preparations for our departure. It was impossible to leave on the Monday as we at first intended. Faauea [Faueā] a native of Samoa with his wife child and friend⁷⁵ brought their things to go with us. We were glad to find such a person at Tonga to accompany us in our voyage hoping he would prove of use to us in our Intercourse with his people. He had professedly thrown away Idolatry since he came to Tongataboo but had not made any profession of religion.

73. Thomas Olley (Turner 1872:119).

74. Williams spent a week in Nuku'alofa making and fitting nets to prevent boarders (Williams 1838:309). Despite the precautions, however, the Samoans managed to scale the nets without great difficulty (1838:338).

75. Faueā himself claimed to be a near relation of Malietoa (p.278), and Cross describes him as 'a son of the principal Chief in the Haamoa [Ha'amoa] Isles' (Journal, 9 July 1830). His wife's name is recorded as Puaseiese (Tuvala 1918:15).

He had been almost 11 years from his home during which period he had visited most of the Islands in the Fegees. We were frequently shocked with his accounts of the cannibalism of the Fegees devouring men women and children who were taken prisoners or killed in war either cooked or not and that such was their love of human flesh they would watch for their enemies from day to day to obtain an opportunity of killing them secretly to make a repast.

A large canoe arrived from the Fegees and brought the news of The Wreck of two more vessels on the dangerous reefs in that quarter. All the large Tonga canoes are built at the Fegees,⁷⁶ and the large bowls in which the Tonga people mix their ava. The Fegee Islands abound with a very durable kind of timber for canoe building but the Tonga islands afford very little of any kind. For the satisfaction of the two native teachers we proposed sending to the Fegees we went with them to Takai the Fegee chief. After Takai had assured the two teachers they would be kindly treated both by himself and his country men and that it would not be long before they would all listen to instruction he related the following particulars relative to the introduction of Christianity at Tonga. Takai said he went to Tahiti in company with Mr S. Henry and requested Mr Davies Missionary at Papara to give him a native teacher to take to his own land, to teach the Fegeesans the word of life.

Mr Davies gave him two Hape and Davida, and they were both conveyed in the Snapper with Takai through the kindness of Mr S. Henry, as far as Tongataboo. Tupou, the Principal chief of Tonga, being informed by Takai that the Tahitians had found the true God and the word of life, and that the two Tahitians he saw were going with him to the Fegees to teach his country men the way to heaven Tupou answered Takai, and said It must not be so. If the word of life was a good word as he spoke it must not go to the tail first but must begin at the head. Do you and the two Tahitian teachers stop here with me and teach me and my people that good word and when we know it perhaps we may embrace it too and when I and my people have embraced the word you speak of let it be taken to the Fegees. Hape and his companion were accordingly

76. Contact between Fiji and Tonga at the time of European discovery of the two island groups was extensive, for the purposes of trade, intermarriage, and migration (Derrick 1950:121-2). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a common reason for Tongans to travel to Fiji was to replace their own canoes with the superior type made in the Lau archipelago because of the more durable timber found there.

detained at Tongataboo and Tupou with many of his people soon embraced the gospel and at the request of the two teachers built a Chapel and plastered it after the manner of the Tahitian Chapels, which he observed you have seen. About two hundred had embraced the gospel previous to the arrival of Messrs Turner and Cross who took up their abode with Hape on their arrival from the Colony. Mr Turner observed he was so much delighted at the beginning made by Hape and Davida that he presented Hape. That Tongatboons take the lead among all the Islands in their vicinity and are called the head and all others the tail. The present was one of the best coats he had. We were much rejoiced to hear that the Lord had in a manner almost accidental introduced the gospel into such a large Island as Tongataboo and thus prospered the way for the more efficient labours of our esteemed friends.

Two places on Tonga had been occupied by our friends in connection with the Wesleyan Missionary Society — one called Maia [Mu'a] — about ten miles to the east of Nukalofa [Nuku'alofa] and the other called Hihifo⁷⁷ about ten miles to the west, but at both these places the people remained Idolators at the time of our visit. One tribe had completely abolished Idolatry but the tribe under Tupou where the Tahitian teachers resided as mentioned above so great are advantages on the side of a native Teacher at the commencement of a mission over a European one colour, almost one language and a oneness of habit gives them these superior advantages. It will be some consolation to the Directors and friends of the society to know that tho the first Missionaries failed in their efforts to turn the people of Tonga from darkness to light that has been done in some small degree by a Disciple of the Missionaries who came from England nearly at the same time as we were stationed on the Tahitian Islands.

Tuesday 6. After having spent a very pleasant week with our friends and received from them many marks of affection we parted with Mr & Mrs Turner on the beach bidding them an affectionate farewell and took Mr & Mrs Cross with us on board to visit Mr Thomas⁷⁸ missionary at the Ha'apaes [Ha'apai]. While the anchor

77. The name of a district.

78. John Thomas (1796-1881) arrived in Tonga in 1826, and was sent to Kolovai, in Tongatapu's Hihifo district. The persistent refusal of the chief Ata to be converted, together with related problems, led to the eventual closure of the station, and Thomas's withdrawal to Nuku'alofa in 1829 (Latūkefu 1974:28). He was transferred to Lifuka, in the Ha'apai group, only a few months before Williams visited him there.

was being weighed we took the two native teachers we had agreed to send to the Fegees by the favour of Capt'n S. Henry & Lawler on board his vessel.

We furnished them with a part of all the useful articles we possessed Axes Hatchets Chisels adzes cloth medicines Paper pens, ink, pencils slates, &c., and an extra quantity of some articles to give to the Chief where Providence may Direct them.

They appeared in good spirits and much encouraged at the prospect before them. We promised to visit them if possible in the course of twelve months.

Remarks

During our stay in Tonga, we frequently visited the Chief Tupou, and were much pleased with his general deportment. We received from him a present of two fine hogs and a large quantity of yams. We made him a suitable present in return. Tupou kindly entertained all our native teachers and their families at his house more than a week.

The females⁷⁹ were employed during the week in preparing materials and making a neat bonnet like their own for Tupou vahine. They made use of the leaf of the sugar cane which abounds at Tonga, as well as the Society Islands. The Queen appeared at the house of God on the Lords Day in her new bonnet and a neat English Dress and made a respectable appearance. Such was the anxiety of the Tonga females to obtain Bonnets that they begged from our female teachers all the spare bonnets that they had. The Tonga females will for the future with the assistance of Mrs Turner & Mrs Cross be able to make bonnets for themselves of the leaves of the sugar cane having witnessed all the process of making the Queens by the Tahitian females.

Few among the Tongatabooans have got a little finger.⁸⁰ We enquired the reason of such deficiency and were informed they cut off a joint of the little finger when any of their children or near relations were taken ill, and held it bleeding before the god to obtain his favour on behalf of the sickness. In case of another

79. That is, the teachers' wives.

80. The practice of finger-amputation (*to'o nima*) had attracted the attention of earlier travellers to Tonga (e.g. Tasman (Heeres 1898:27) and Cook (Beaglehole 1961:2:268)), who interpreted it merely as a token of grief following a death. Mariner was possibly the first European to realise the sacrificial nature of the act (Martin 1817:2:222-3).

relative being sick they cut off another joint so that most of them have lost both little fingers by repeated mutilation.

If any of their family are taken ill after both fingers have been entirely cut off they make the stumps bleed and hold them up in the face of the blind Idol, to turn away his wrath. For like the Tahitians the Tongatabooans thinks the death of every Individual is in consequence of the anger of some God but the gospel will teach them to seek a better remedy for the salvation of both Body and soul than cutting off their fingers.

Left Tongataboo for Lefuga [Lifuka] of the Haapae groups with a fine westerly wind, the ship steering a N[orth] E[ast] course. Towards evening saw a number of small Islands to the Leeward some inhabited some not. Being informed by the natives on board there were a great number of Islands ahead we went under easy sail during the night lest we should run into danger.

Wednesday 7. Early in the morning saw some high Islands before us the two highest called Kao and Tofua. On Tofua we saw clouds of smoke ascending from a volcano on one of the mountains which the natives called *ole afi a Devolo*⁸¹ - The devils fire. The reefs extended in all directions before us leaving only one small opening near Tofua but we were directed by some natives on board through a good opening between two small Islands under our Lee, one called Matuka [Matuku] which we passed to our right and the other Teauva [Teaupua] which we passed to our left. Having passed the above Islands we steered directly East for Lefuga where Mr Thomas resides and in a few hours saw the Island ahead. About noon we were put into great perplexity by finding rocks and shoals ahead and a short distance farther an extensive reef with low Islands here and there upon it forming a complete barrier between us and Lefuga to which we were bound.

We were compelled to about ship and beat up to the West from whence we had run and finally anchored for the night under the lee of an Island united by a reef with some very small Islands on it on the West side of the Bay. The Island under which we anchored affords good shelter when the wind is West and good anchorage at twenty fathoms with a sandy bottom. The name is Lofugna [Lofanga].

81. As this statement uses the Samoan definite article *'o le* rather than the Tonga *ko e*, it probably originated from Fauea's party. The same statement appears in *Missionary enterprises* in Tongan: *'Coe afi a Devolo' [Ko e afi a Tevolo]* (1838:313)

Thursday 8. Early in the morning weighed anchor and sailed for Lefuga thro' an opening near the Island which we anchored during the night and shortly after anchored at Lefuga in a fine extensive bay on the West side of the Island. Went on shore as soon as the anchor was down with Mr & Mrs Cross and found Mr Thomas the resident Missionary standing on the beach to receive us and welcome us on shore. We were glad to learn that Mr & Mrs Thomas enjoyed good health and were prospering in their work among the natives. Mr Thomas kindly conducted us to the residence of the Chief Taufaa⁸² [Tāufa'āhau] a fine tall intelligent man. He appeared glad to see us and treated us with much respect. The Chief walked up with us to Mr Thomas's to converse about one of the objects we had in view in calling at Lefuga which was to converse with Fenau [Finau] Chief of Vavao [Vava'u], about a native teacher we had brought from Porapora [Borabora] to be left at Vavao, in case Fenau should receive him. The Chief and also the Missionaries advised that we should go to him and Messrs Thomas & Cross kindly offered to go with us.

We found Fenau and many people playing at their favourite game called Palo⁸³ i.e. throwing a spear so as to come down perpendicular and fasten into the end of a post of soft wood erected for that Purpose, like a Tahitian Patia fa.⁸⁴ The Chief being informed we wanted to converse with him he went with us to his temporary abode and seated himself upon the mast of one of his canoes which lay alongside and we seated ourselves near him.

We began by telling him how sorry we were that the native Teachers first sent to his Island had acted so improperly, and that we were directed to tell him from the Church at Porapora how much they lamented the improper conduct of their Brethren and in order as much as possible to make amends for the injury done, they had sent another of their number in whom they could confide, and begged he would accept him and his family, and take them under his protection and suffer his people to be taught the word of God.

82. Tāufa'āhau, ruler of the Ha'apai group, had accepted Christianity partly because of the prior conversion of his grandfather's brother and the encouragement of Aleamotu'a's nephew Ulakai, and partly because he was disenchanted with the traditional religion (Latūkefu 1974:61-2).

83. William Mariner gives a short description of this sport (Martin 1817:2:343), which he calls *tolo* (hurling): Williams may have misheard the same name.

84. *Patia fa* - literally, to hurl a spear at the mark.

The Chief answered that the former teachers had not acted so bad — that he would not listen to them nor suffer any of his people, and further that he and his people were still of the same mind, and would have nothing to do with the lotu⁸⁵ for a long time to come.

We might leave the man and his family if we pleased. He would not kill them, but he would not regard the lotu or new religion or allow any of his people on pain of death.⁸⁶ We observed that he might soon die and then he would have to lament that he had chosen darkness rather than light. He answered it would perhaps be best to die Dark.

In consequence of the chiefs answer and his very forbidding appearance and also his general character as an enemy to the Christian religion we thought it would be best not to leave Taihaere and his family at Vavao but take them with us to the Samoas.⁸⁷ Messrs Thomas & Cross kindly interpreted for us to the Chief.

Mr Thomas informed us that Fenau had presented Taufaahau Chief of the Haapaes with a large double canoe about six weeks before our arrival to induce him to cast off the Christian religion

85. See note 106 p.68.

86. Brandishing his journal as he addressed the WMMS in 1835, Williams reconstructed Finau's statement: 'If you place a teacher with me, I shall treat him and his family with kindness; but if any individual - man woman or child - listens to his instructions, his head shall be beaten to pieces with a club' (*The Watchman* 6 May 1835).

87. Williams does not explain why he tried to leave an LMS teacher under the very noses of the Wesleyan missionaries (see also note 72 p.57). In his book, he notes 'the desirableness of every [missionary] society having a distinct sphere of labour among a heathen people' (1838:305), but appears to believe he was not interfering on this occasion. The context of the interview with Finau was that the LMS teachers should come back rather than begin new work. Bearing in mind that the LMS missionaries first occupied the station from 1797 to 1800 (Wood 1975:11-12), and that native teachers were 'induced to relinquish it to the Wesleyan brethren' (Williams 1838:303), Williams probably thought he had an historical as well as a moral right to at least offer further workers. Thomas Heath, newly appointed secretary of the Samoan mission of the LMS, took this view in writing to the Wesleyan Peter Turner to try to persuade him to leave Samoa in favour of the LMS. Heath claimed, 'This is the second instance in the Pacific in which other men have laboured & the Wesleyans have entered into their labours. Tonga was the first' (Buzacott 1836). Thomas said nothing of the incident in his journal at the time, but later expressed resentment at Williams's act. Writing in 1837 to the Wesleyan Secretaries following the news of the alleged agreement between the two Societies regarding Samoa, Thomas noted that it had been Williams's desire to leave teachers with Finau, before being rebuffed: 'To us, it did appear that they were hawking teachers about.' Thomas doubted that the LMS could even consider following up the teachers with European missionaries wherever they went, or that they intended to prevent WMMS missionaries from travelling freely, unless they had a 'wish to obtain the whole of the Islands of the South Seas as theirs' (Thomas to secretaries, 18 April 1838: letter 14).

and return to his idols but the Chief of Lefuga stood firm and refused to barter the word of the true God for a canoe and told the people who brought it they might pull it upon the beach it would do for fire wood meaning he esteemed the canoe only as fire wood when compared with the word of Jehovah.

The Chief of Lefuga told Mr Thomas it was well he had come before the canoe arrived as he should have been compelled to avoid sending for him for some time to have prevented a quarrel with Fenau. Mr Thomas informed us that he has a few individuals from Vavao who had embraced the gospel and resided with him at Lefuga to avoid the displeasure of their Chief who he hoped would make useful pioneers among their country men.

Went after dinner with our friends to look at the establishment of the Chief Taufaaahau and we were astonished both at its extent and neatness. The chief had not less than six good houses, in as many enclosures all remarkably neat with even grass plats around the houses and very neat reed-fences surrounding each separate enclosure. We were much surprised at the superior manner in which some of the houses were executed⁸⁸ the neatness and number of the rafters being not more than three inches apart the very neat manner in which the whole building was tied together with sinnet. The lapping resembled different figures all very handsome but no two posts alike in the ornamental lapping. We were conducted by Mr Thomas and the chief into the sacred residence of the gods⁸⁹ but strange to tell instead of being laid up as formerly with the utmost care they were all hanged up by the neck around the wall plate of the house out of contempt.

The Chief having been urged by some of the Principal Chiefs of the Island around him to return to Idolatry had taken such a decided step to prevent their importuning him any more. The little idols were made somewhat in the shape of a human being but not more then 14 or 18 inches long. They were all goddesses that

88. Cross, who was more familiar with Tongan houses than Williams, also commented favourably. 'He has some good houses erected in a most masterly manner. They are much superior to any I have seen in Tonga[*tapu*]. His largest house is used as a chapel; I suppose it will contain more than four hundred persons' (Cross to secretaries, 8 July 1830).

89. Williams later claimed that this residence had been turned into a cooking-house (*The Watchman* 6 May 1835) and 'a sleeping apartment for his female servants' (1838:320), claims which Thomas disputed (Thomas to secretaries, 7 April 1837), saying it was 'a royal palace and it was in this palace that the wooden gods were hanging when Mr Williams saw them'.

we saw. One of those hanging by the neck was requested and immediately given to us.⁹⁰

We went also into a fine large house belonging to the Class establishment, having a spacious area round it and the whole enclosed with a reed fence. We were informed it was the place where they used to hold their Katognas [*kātoanga*] or meetings for dancing and other amusements, but now it was used as a place of worship, and tho very large was scarcely large enough to hold the members who came to hear on the Lords day.

Mr Thomas told us that about 70 had given in their names as candidates for baptism who were under instruction preparatory to that ordinance. The School also was well attended and many were making great progress both in reading and writing. We felt with our friends abundantly thankful to the Author of Salvation for the great success which has already attended their labours and the wide field before them white already to the harvest. Spent the evening of the day with our friends in conversation of the important work of Missions.

Made particular enquiry of Mr Thomas concerning the three native teaches sent from Borabora to Vavao some years ago. He informed us that all of them either by example or force had apparently abandoned Christianity. He had been informed that Fenau threatened them with death if they continued praying or reading the word of God and any of his people if they listened to them. Two of them mixed with the Idolators in their practices and one of the two died in that state.

We saw Taute one of the two in Fenau's train at Lefuga and he told us with much shame that he had acted very wickedly and despaired of mercy at the hands of God. We exhorted him to repentance before it was too late. Borabora, the third of the native teachers we were told stood firm for some time but finding no prospects of success and thinking they were abandoned by the persons who sent them no ship visiting them from thence for many years he also relapsed, but not to such an extent as the others.

As soon as Borabora heard his country men Hape and Davida were at Tongataboo and that a great number of the Tonga people

90. Williams at first claimed there were three gods (*The Watchman* 6 May 1835), later changing the number to five (1838:321). Addressing the Wesleyan Methodists in London in 1835, he displayed the one he had obtained; an illustration of such an idol, presumably the same one, appears in *Missionary enterprises* (1838:321). For a detailed description of what may be this very image, and also three of the other four, see Buck 1937:74-6. Tāufa'āhau sent Turner another of the figures as 'a significant token of his sincerity in turning Christian' (Turner 1872:117).

had embraced the gospel he made all haste to Tonga and was of great assistance to Hape & Davida. The Tongataboos say to this day that the words of Borabora greatly affected their hearts and made them tremble particularly his deathbed exhortations. Mr Thomas believes his repentance was sincere and that he died in peace.⁹¹

Friday 9. Early in the morning Fenau the Chief of Vavao came off seated on the top of his large canoe in state. We took him on board and gave him the only article he requested which was some rum and two broad chisels in addition. He made but a short stay the Chief of Lefuga having sent a messenger for him, requesting his company to drink native kava which we understand was a polite way of getting him out of the vessel.

Went on shore and took Fenau with us, and took breakfast. We prepared to depart, our kind friends accompanying us to the shore. We called upon the chief Taufaahau and found him a little indisposed. He was lying in bed and two females were holding a lighted torch near him to warm his neck which was in some Pain.

We requested him if well enough to accompany us on board the ship which he consented to do. We took an affectionate farewell of Mrs Thomas and Mrs Cross on the beach, the gentlemen accompanying us on board the vessel. The Chief gave us four good pigs and a large quantity of yams for the use of the vessel and we made him a present in return of cloth tools paper &c.⁹² A son⁹³ of Borabora's the late teacher came on board and we made him a small Present out of respect to the memory of his Father. Took leave of our Friends the Missionaries and the Chief and immediately commenced our voyage to the Samoa groups.

We were much rejoiced at what we had seen at Lefuga and trust the Lord will continue to smile upon the Labours of his Servants.

91. The three Tahitian teachers were taken to Vava'u around 1822 (Gunson 1977:109); they were named Borabora, Taute and Zorobabela. Taute took his wife and child with him, and joined the non-Christians when his wife died. Borabora, who married a Tahitian woman he met at Vava'u, adopted Taute's child. He too forsook his calling and attached himself to Finau. Hape later persuaded him to resume his work at Nuku'alofa, but he soon fell ill and died. The third teacher, Zorobabela, also deserted and joined the non-Christians (Newbury 1961:317).

92. Cross's own account adds that 'The chief presented our friends with 2 pigs and a quantity of yams. Messrs Williams and Barff presented the chief in turn with several articles of hard ware cotton print, writing papers slates &c. The chief appeared pleased and said the paper &c was of great use to him' (Journal, 8 July 1830).

93. He later lived with the Wesleyan missionaries; one of these, James Watkin, called him 'a good lad and of great promise' (Journal, 17 August 1834, quoted in Gunson 1977:111). He died in 1834 after a shooting accident (ibid.).

Remarks

When the Chief of Lefuga and the Haapaes went to Tonga to attend a Katogna or meeting for publick dancing &c he heard about the lotu or Praying system and that Tupou Chief of Tongataboo and his Party had embraced the new religion. He treated it with contempt at first, but on further enquiry he was led to see the excellence of Christianity and invited Mr Thomas to go with him to Lefuga to teach him and his people the word of God. Mr Thomas told him he could not go at that time but would send Peter⁹⁴ a Tonga convert and if he gave a proof of his sincerity by throwing away his idols and attending to Peter he might send a canoe for him. The Chief no sooner reached Lefuga than he cast away his idols and turned his Pigs into the sacred enclosures. He afterwards went round his numerous Islands and requested the people to follow his example. The Inhabitants of the Islands listened to him, but the Inhabitants of two Islands⁹⁵ refused to deliver up their gods and prepared to defend them by force of arms.

The Chief informed them that he did not come to force them to become Christians or to lotu but to persuade them and since they preferred their Idols he would leave them to do as they pleased.

The Chief having this far given a proof of sincerity in casting off his idols and embracing Christianity sent one of his very large canoes for Mr & Mrs Thomas who had reached Lefuga about six months before our arrival.

Taufaahau has 22 Islands under his government 17 of which are inhabited.⁹⁶ The inhabitants are very numerous on each Island — Mr Thomas supposed about 3000 on the whole group.

At the time of our visit to Lefuga a great number of visitors were collected there from Vavoa and the surrounding Islands from Tongataboo, and the Islands near it from all the Haapaes and one canoe from the Fegees a distance of near 600 miles. The object of their assembling was to attend the marriage of the Chief Taufaaahau. The wife had lived with him more than twelve months and the Katogona or Publick meeting had been determined

94. Peter Vī, a native of Ha'apai and one of the earliest converts, became the first teacher in Tongatapu (Wood 1975:47). Initially, Tāufa'āhau had refused to take Vī back to Ha'apai with him, but during the journey, he encountered a severe storm; attributing this to his refusal to accept the Tongan teacher, he later returned to Tongatapu and collected him (Lātūkefu 1974:63).

95. Farmer (1855:204-5) claims there were three; Lātūkefu (1974:65, citing Farmer) and Wood (1975:48, without citation) agree, and name the islands as Nomuka, Tungua and 'Uiha.

96. The number inhabited at the time was sixteen, according to Farmer (1855:204).

on ever since.⁹⁷ Since the above arrangement had been made the Chief has embraced Christianity but he could not dispense with the above meeting lest he should vex the neighbouring Chiefs.

We were informed that the Bride refused to embrace Christianity at the request of her husband which displeased him so much that he intends sending her home as soon as the marriage ceremony is over.⁹⁸ The Chief of the Vavau⁹⁹ had received on his arrival 70 baked hogs 6 large turtle¹⁰⁰ and 1000 large yams as a small repast on landing and a like quantity of food was in readiness for the Chief of Tonga¹⁰¹ and his Party who were expected the day we left. Several hundred pigs were provided with vegetables &c in proportion for the feast when the Marriage ceremony is performed.

All the Haapae Islands are remarkably low only a few feet above the level of the sea. Kao & Tofua were the only Islands we saw in the group of any height.

Saturday 10th. In the fore part of the day running towards the Samoa's with a fine Breeze in our favour. Towards evening the wind became tempestuous. The wind was so furious during the night that the Ship was laid to.

Monday 12. The gale continued with unabated fury attended with frequent squalls so that all who were not concerned in navigating the vessel were shut up in the dark cabin below. Our little bark rode over the furious waves with great safety. A furious Gale of wind affords many useful lessons. It teaches the Power of Omnipotence over such mighty Elements and the inability of feeble man to struggle against them.

Wednesday 14. The Gale abated in some degree yesterday and we began to make sail but did not make much progress either yesterday or today the sea was so tempestuous. Wished ardently for the Land. So many of the natives were ill from the wet and close state of the vessel.

Thursday 15. Felt much anxiety in the morning lest we should be driven to leeward of the Samoa groups Islands, but while we

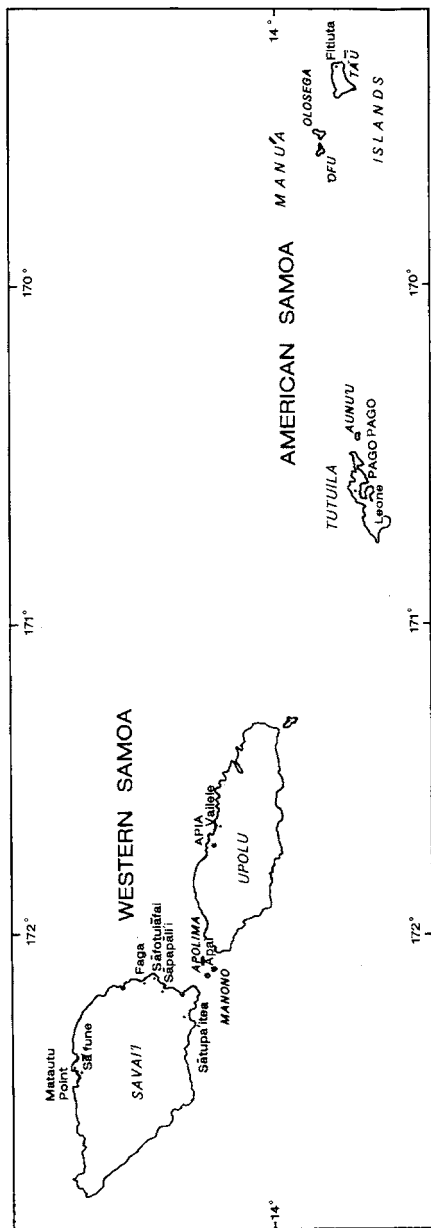
97. A gap of up to several years between the matrimonial ceremony and consummation of the nuptials was not uncommon among highranking chiefs; see, for example, Vason (1810:140).

98. The bride was Finau's wife's sister (Wood 1975:48). After Williams left for Samoa, and in the course of his celebrations at Lifuka, an unsuccessful attempt was made by enemies of the Christians to poison Tāufa'āhau. The Tongan teacher Peter Vi called on Thomas and Cross, who administered an emetic, saving his life (ibid.).

99. That is, Finau 'Ulukālala, ruler of Vava'u.

100. This figure is enlarged to ten in the published account (Williams 1838:324).

101. That is, Tupou Aleamotu'a.



Map 3 Samoa

were foreboding evil good was at hand. The mate called out from the mast head, Land to leeward. We were all much rejoiced and felt abundantly thankful to the Lord for all past services for tho we experienced some inconvenience during the Gale we had been mercifully preserved, and the vessel had sustained no injury.

The land was seen at 10 A.M. and about 3 P.M. we came up with it. We were filled with astonishment at the size and beauty of the Island. It answered well the description given by the French Navigators. A very large Island equal to Tahiti in beauty fertility and size.

The native name of the westernmost Island we first made was Savai [Savai'i]. La Perouse calls them Navigators from the constant use they make of the canoe in rowing from one bay to another and from Island to Island.¹⁰²

Friday 16. Calm most of the day with a heavy swell which put our vessel in more danger than the gale. We expressed our surprise to Faauea the Samoa Chief who had come with us that the people did not come off to us. He told us they were afraid. That some years ago a large vessel was seen near the shore and a canoe went off. The captain hoisted the canoe on board and took it away with him and told the natives to swim on shore.

Lords Day 18. Beating to the East End of Savai to the residence of Malietoa.¹⁰³ About noon observed from the east a bay¹⁰⁴ which appeared well sheltered from the east wind. We came to anchor thinking to refresh our sickness and then proceed the remainder of our voyage to the east end but the anchor did not hold so that we were compelled to go to sea immediately. We were long enough however to have considerable intercourse with the natives. A great number of Canoes came off to whom Faauea the Samoas Chief spoke the people recognised him immediately and addressed him

102. Impressed by the numbers and speed of the Samoan canoes, their distance from land and means of construction, the French explorer Bougainville coined the term 'Archipelago of the Navigators' in 1768 (Bougainville 1772:II:132). The term 'Navigators Islands' became the more popular English name for the group.

103. Vaiinupō attained the title Malietoa following the death of his father Malietoa Fitiseamanu (Krämer 1902:I:245). On his conversion to Christianity, he took the name Tavita (David). His war in 1830 was one of succession, being part of his bid to gain the four paramount titles (called *papa*) of Tuiatua, Tuia'ana, Gato'aitele and Tamasoāli'i; the position of such a titleholder was known as *tafa'ifa*. Vaiinupō's success marked the first occasion on which any Malietoa had been *tafa'ifa* (Gilson 1970:59). (On his deathbed in 1841, he announced that the *tafa'ifa* was to die with him, ostensibly to prevent further war (Gilson *ibid.*:117); although his announcement was not heeded nationally, the position was not held by anyone else.)

104. Safune, according to Tuvalē (1918:15).

as their Etu Chief.¹⁰⁵ Those who came on board saluted him in the royal way which was the Chiefs of rank touched noses with him and men of inferior rank touched his hand with their noses. We were much delighted with the manner in which he was introducing the object of our voyage by telling them that ours was a Pahi-lotu,¹⁰⁶ a Praying ship, that we had come to bring them the word of life. He told them also of the number of Islands which has become lotu Tongataboo, the Haapae, Rarotogna Tahiti, and a great number of other Islands the names of which we had forgot, and he said they are all much better since they embraced Christianity. Wars have ceased among them. Ships visited them without fear and anchored in their harbours and brought them an abundance of Property. And you can see he observed that their God is superior to ours. They are clothed from their head down to their feet and we are naked. They have got large ships and we have only got these little canoes. On hearing Faaueas speech they all exclaimed It would be good to lotu too.

Several of our sick people had been taken on shore to get a little refreshed and we were sorry to have to send for them so soon. But from the short visit they made on shore much advantage was derived.

The people entertained them with some food and seemed anxious to shew them every kindness so that they came on board again much pleased with their expected new residence & the people on shore were left to talk about the wonders of which they

105. *Aitu* or *aitu* (Pratt 1911:43), meaning 'god' or 'spirit' rather than 'chief'. In his 1832 journal, Williams records the word as applying to the gods owned by individual villages (see e.g. pp.126-7). The most likely explanation - that Faauea had been taken for dead on account of his long absence from Samoa and was initially thought of and referred to as an *aitu* (spirit) of his real self - is supported by an incident occurring in 1832. When Williams made an unscheduled return to Samoa from Niutatoputapu in unusually fast time, he noted that some people referred to the crew as spirits (see p.186).

106. It seems odd that Faauea, a Samoan, would use the Tahitian term for a ship (*pahi*) instead of the Samoan (*va'a*); Williams changes to the Samoan word in his 1832 journal. The term *lotu* generally refers to religion. Williams translates it several times as 'a praying system'. The pre-contact meaning is not known, but from the fact that Williams includes his own translation suggests that it differed from one already in use. Pratt, for example, defines *lotu* as a verb meaning 'to turn from heathenism' (1911:186). Williams may have adopted the Tongan use of the word (where it means 'to pray') before his arrival in Samoa. He apparently considered the physical position adopted during prayer as a distinguishing characteristic of Christianity; the Rarotongans, for example, singled out the teachers' praying on bended knees shortly after the first arrival in 1823, asking what it meant (Williams and Bourne [1823]). Although prayer itself was a part of indigenous religion in both Samoa and Tonga, kneeling apparently was not.

had heard. The solemnities of the Sabbath were unavoidably much disturbed.

Tuesday 20. Still beating up to the east end of the Island, and paying all the attention to the sick natives our circumstances will allow. A great number of natives came off in their Canoes as we drew near the Island of Aborima [Apolima] at the east end of Savai and in one of them a European called John Wright.¹⁰⁷ John had resided several years on the Island and had obtained a good knowledge of the Samoan language and came to offer himself as our Interpreter in which capacity we were glad to accept him. We inquired of John where the Principal Chief Malietoa was and he informed us that he was at Upolu fighting with the people of that Island. That one battle had taken place a few days before and that another battle was likely to be fought soon which might terminate the war. The occasion of the war we were told was the People of Upolu had killed a man called Tamafagna [Tamafaigā]¹⁰⁸ the offspring of the spirit. He reigned with uncontrolled sway killed who he would and saved who he would plundering others of their property and seizing their wives and daughters at pleasure. His crimes at length returned upon his own head for the people of Upolu killed him and the Chiefs of Savai being related to him were revenging his death. The people of a small Island called Manono were united with the Savaians in the war. When Faauea heard that Tamafagna was dead he exclaimed *Ua lotu lo tatou enua ua mate a Debalos*.¹⁰⁹ The devil is dead our land will embrace the new religion.

He was killed about 15 days before our arrival. It is thought he would have used all his influence to oppose our object he himself being almost the object of adoration but he was removed.

Several of the relatives of Faauea came off bringing a number of pigs for sale but when Faauea informed them that we were friends and had come to bring them teachers Tamalelagi¹¹⁰ [Taimalelagi] the eldest present apologised for not knowing and ordered all the pigs to be put on board as a present. When the natives learned we were friends they untied their long flowing hair and we were

107. In his journals, Williams speaks well of only two Europeans resident in Samoa (the other being Stevens, former surgeon in the whaler *Oldham*; see p.139). Wright later shifted to Apia, and became involved in its political intrigues (Ralston 1977:55-6).

108. A fuller account of Tamafaigā appears in the 1882 journal (see pp.129-31).

109. In modern orthography, *'Ua lotu lo tatou fanua, 'ua mate le tevolo* — Our land is converted, the devil is dead.

110. Gatuitasina, known as Taimalelagi, was a younger half-brother to Malietoa Vaiinupo (Krämer 1902:1:245).

informed it is a custom among them to tie up their hair among enemies and to untie it among friends.¹¹¹

Faauea and his brothers urged that the teachers should go on shore at their family residence, Tapalagni,¹¹² assuring us that Malietoa their eldest brother and King would not let them go any where else for there he could protect them. All the men with one exception¹¹³ went on shore leaving their wives and children on board to see what kind of Reception they were likely to meet with before they fetched their wives and children. We followed them with our Prayers that the Lord may give them entrance on the field of labour. A canoe was sent away by Faauea and his brothers to Upolu to bring Malietoa from the seat of war.

Wednesday 21. Canoes came off according to appointment to take on shore the women and children¹¹⁴ and property. The teachers who went on shore yesterday came in the canoe and gave a very favourable account of the kindness of the people the beauty of the country and great number of Inhabitants so that every one of them was anxious to get on shore as soon as possible. The confusion in getting the people and their property into the canoes was very great for a time. According to the customs of the heathen everyone was shouting as loud as he was able but they were shouts of joy at the arrival of so many visitors and so much property and consequently gave us pleasure.

We felt much rejoiced that we had got the teachers on shore under such pleasing circumstances.

Remarks

While the natives were getting their property into the canoes we saw the smook ascending from a village in flames at Upolu, where the two parties were fighting. We hope the Word of Peace they take on shore will soon put a stop to the ravages of war.

111. The unfastening of long hair was an act of respect when in the presence of a superior (Stair 1897:120); Williams later realised this (see pp.231,241).

112. The traditional name of Malietoa's residence is Feagaimaleata (Krämer 1902:1:329). 'Tapalagni' may be *papalagi*, the term for a European. In the published account, Williams attributes the use of this word to his first encounter with Samoans, at the bay prior to the arrival at Sāpapālī'i (1838:329).

113. Aromata, who died four days later (see p.79).

114. Concern was expressed at the initial disappearance of the children once on shore; they had been taken to local houses and fed before being returned to their parents (Williams 1838:341).

In the evening Malietoa arrived from Upolu, in a very large and handsome canoe. The Chief came in consequence of the messenger sent, no doubt but the hope of gain was the chief's inducement but not withstanding we were glad to see him and more particularly so as he highly approved of our having sent the native teachers on shore at his place. The Chief appeared near sixty years old¹¹⁵ and rather stout. War he gave us to understand was his great Delight.¹¹⁶

His people seemed to treat him as a person almost Divine. Faauea & his little son kissed his feet and when he arose from his seat in the cabin to go on shore one of his Domesticks immediately sprinkled the place with water.¹¹⁷ The Chief went on shore to see that our native teachers were taken proper care of and we promised to follow him in the morning.

During the night it poured of rain. We felt very thankful that the natives were safe on shore. The heavy rain in a crowded vessel might have greatly increased their violent colds.

Thursday 22. Much time was employed in arranging the presents for our Native Teachers and the Chiefs to whom it is always necessary to make some small present under such circumstances.

We left the vessel about 9 A.M. but from the distance the vessel was from the shore¹¹⁸ did not reach the settlement before 9 at night. What made us longer than we might have been was most of the men were weakly with the severe cold and the boat very leaky from the injury she had sustained during the gale. We were thankful that we got within the reefs when we did or we might have been driven out to sea.

The Chiefs were very kind. After being informed how weak our men were with so long a pull they sent a large canoe down to the Settlement. On reaching the Place every thing was done to facilitate our landing.¹¹⁹ The multitude of people arranged

115. This estimate is later increased to 'about sixty five years of age' (Williams 1838:336).

116. The published account describes a sensational event at this point. Fearful of the number of Samoans swarming on board, the captain loaded a blunderbuss and left it ready, below deck. Malietoa noticed the gun, picked it up and pointed it, fully cocked, at Williams. John Wright advised Malietoa to stop just before the trigger was pulled (Williams 1838:337-8).

117. The sprinkling of water desanctified the area, as Williams himself hinted later in his journal (p.156). On land, the juice of the *niuui* coconut was sprinkled on anything used by a high chief (*ali'i pa'ia*) 'so that it may be made common' (Pratt 1911:187).

118. They had not anchored the vessel, and during the night were taken some 10-12 miles by the current (Williams 1838:338).

119. In his book, Williams describes himself and Barff as 'the very first Englishmen who set foot upon their shores' (1838:339).

themselves on each side leaving a space in the middle where a large fire was blazing to give us light while landing our little property and pulling up the Boat. After landing we were conducted to the Chief Malietoa to pay our respects to him on his own shores. The old Chief and his corpulent queen were seated in a small house surrounded with a crowd of people. He appeared glad to see us and thanked us for coming on shore to see him on his own land. We told him we could not stop long now, we were very sorry for it but being tired with our long voyage we would come in the morning and stop longer. On leaving the house of the Chief we passed a large house where a great number of people were assembled together. We looked in and found that it was a native dance. A number of men and two or three women were moving their legs and arms in time to some rude tune. A mat stretched on some reeds formed a drum¹²⁰ which they struck upon and women were singing¹²¹ in time to the drum to add to the rude harmony.

A large number of girls were keeping up a fire to give light to the performers. We did not observe anything obscene in the Dance, but it appeared to require great exertion for they perspired profusely.

A great crowd of people attended us in our journey to and from the Chiefs but everyone was ready to assist us in our way — some by carrying torches and others by leading us by the hand and when the torches went out some of them carried Mr Williams in their arms lest he should stumble against the stones. After reaching the house of Tamalelagi where our native teachers were all comfortably settled and after partaking of some tea &c the First ever made on Samoa¹²² — we committed ourselves to our heavenly Father and slept remarkably well. We felt abundantly thankful that the Lord had thus far prospered our way far beyond our most sanguine expectations in affording the natives a peaceful entry on the field of labour, and not only so but the natives were kind to the sick native teachers bringing them the best of food and preparing regularly a native cough mixture to heal their malady. We looked upon the present kindness of the Samoans as a good sign of future success in the great work which brought us here.

120. *Tu'itu'i* - several lengths of bamboo wrapped in a mat and beaten with sticks to accompany group song.

121. '...a song in honour of the arrival of "the two great English chiefs"' (Williams 1838:341)

122. 'Williams on tea was particularly evangelical. He was sure the drink was a potion that would transform the islander. As he said, get a Polynesian into the habit of taking tea and he would go on to crave all the good things the West had to offer' (Daws 1980:44). However, there appears to be no record that Williams personally introduced tea-drinking in Samoa.

Friday 23rd. Early in the morning had family Prayer with our people at which the young chief Tamalelagni and his wife attended. After Prayer divided the property we had brought on shore among the native teachers which consisted of axes hammers chisels hatchets cloth beads &c with a large quantity of the Societies Publications.

After breakfast we prepared to visit the Principal Chief Malietoa with the present we had brought for him.

At the suggestion of our native teachers and Faauea, we divided the present in two adding a little more to give the most to Malietoa, he being the Principal Chief and the lesser division to Tamalelagni a younger Brother. The two Chiefs had agreed to divide the teachers among them four to reside with each chief. The large house where the dance was held the night before was the place of meeting.

A great number of people were collected when we arrived¹²³ but the Chief had not come. On hearing however of our arrival, he sent two of his Daughters two stout good looking women, to spread the mats to sit upon and soon after the Chief appeared bringing a present of mats and native cloth. The Chief held one end of the cloth and mats in his hands leaving the other to drag after him in the form of a train which an elderly female bore slightly off the ground. The Chief came in twice in the above mentioned manner and presented the mats and cloth to us rather in a stately and graceful manner.

After the Chief was seated we began to tell him the object of our coming. That it was not to get any of his property tho we thanked him for what he had given us and the kind manner in which he had received us. That we had brought him some native teachers to reside on his Island with his permission to teach himself and his people the knowledge of the true God. That we wished him to take them under his Protection that their persons should not be injured nor their little property plundered. That he would allow them a house to worship in and as many of his people as thought proper to attend worship with them. That he would allow them to teach his people to read and write and that if he and his people listened to the native teachers it was very probable that Missionaries from England would be sent to his land to carry on more effectually

123. '... we found a great concourse of people waiting to witness this important interview with *le alii papalangi* [*le ali'i papalagi*], or the English Kings' (Williams 1838:343-4).

what the natives might commence. That we would strongly advise him to put an end to the war with Upolu Immediately. John Wright kindly interpreted for us.

The Chief answered, and said that he was exceedingly glad to see us. That he thought much more of us than of any property we could give him. That he would take care of the natives we had brought and also give them the large house in which we were assembled to worship in and allow any of his people who might wish to be taught the lotu or Praying system. That with the regard to the war, he could not do away with the present but after this fight he would endeavour to prevent a like occurrence.

We requested him to use his influence to prevent the death of Teoneula [Tuinaula] the Chief of Upolu who went to Tahiti in the Snapper Capt'n S. Henry to get native teachers to come to his land.¹²⁴ Malietoa promised to save him for our sakes if it lay in his Power. An unexpected piece of respect was shewn by Tamalelagni the younger chief to Malietoa the elder. After receiving his present¹²⁵ from us he handed it over to Malietoa saying, I am it is true a great man here as well as you but you are my eldest Brother. You take the whole of the present given to us and divide it as you think proper. Malietoa seemed much pleased with the humility handed Tamalelagni's division back to him saying Keep what has been given to you, you are welcome to it from me.¹²⁶

At the close of the meeting the old chief told his people what a large quantity of property had been given to him. Axes hatchets chisels knives beads &c and gun which to him was worth all the rest. The Chief took each article of importance and put it upon his

124. The voyage occurred in the mid-1820s, and in the company of the Samoan visionary and prophet Siovili (although Williams was apparently unaware of this until his 1832 visit; see p. 123). The two men went first to Tonga, then to the Society Islands with Captain Henry (Freeman 1959:187). References in one of the hymns composed by Siovili and quoted in the 1832 journal (pp.112-3) suggest that the men may have returned to Samoa via Britain, New South Wales and Tonga. Williams's appeal to Malietoa was on the understanding that Teoneula was among the forces opposing Malietoa's army in Upolu. This man was probably Tuinaula (also called Saiva'aia), paramount chief of Sātupa'itea village in 1830. Converted to Methodism in 1829 while in Tonga (Dyson 1875:13), he returned to Samoa and fought against Malietoa. He went back to Tonga after the war, telling the teachers that it was his only place of safety (see p.129). Rebuffed by Malietoa when he requested a teacher for his own village, Tuinaula petitioned the Wesleyans in Tonga for a resident missionary. He later became a leader in the Methodist church in Samoa.

125. A knife, mirrors, and several pairs of scissors (Williams 1838:347).

126. The published account records a change of emphasis: 'No, brother; these *alii papalagi* [*ali'i papalagi*] English Kings, have given it to you: it is all yours and you must keep it' (1838:347).

head according to their custom saying *Faafetai le toohi* [*Fa'afetai 'i le to'i*] &c thank you for the axe &c a greater mark of politeness than we had witnessed on any other heathen land except Tongataboo.

The Chief commanded his people to go immediately and collect a present for us in return of pigs sinnet and vegetables which they instantly obeyed.

Our native teachers had visited the two Chiefs the day before each carrying a small present in their hand according to the custom of the Society islands. They informed us the chiefs were much pleased with such a mark of respect and we trust it will have its beneficial effect in forwarding the great object. The teachers left at the Samoas are as follows

Huahine	Moia (married and 3 children)
	Boti - Single
From Raiatea	Toata ori both married
	Umea
	Arue - Single
From Borabora	Taihaere, married and five Children
From Aitutake	Rake, married and two children
	Tuava, married ¹²⁷

We felt glad that Taihaere designed for Vavao [Vava'u] had been rejected by Fenau [Finau], the chief of that Island, the Samoa groups being of sufficient extent to employ fifty teachers when once they begin to attend generally to religious instructions.

In the afternoon the Chief sent for me to look at the present he had collected for us. It was a very respectable present upwards of twenty pigs a quantity of vegetables some sinnet and two or three pieces of turtle shell. The chief said he was sorry he could not give us more — most of the pigs having been destroyed in consequence of the war. We thanked him for what he had given me, and told him there was enough to supply our little vessel. Towards the cool

127. Gunson (1978:357-63) provides information on the careers of all but one of these teachers:

Moia [Moea] remained in Samoa until 1842, when he was dismissed for immorality;

Boti stayed until 1836, after which no records exist of him;

Toata-ori — no mention;

Umea [Umia] was still in Samoa after 1837;

Arue remained in Samoa until 1836, after which no information is given;

Taihaere remained until 1840, when he was dismissed for immorality;

Rake stayed until 1840, when he too was dismissed for immorality;

Tuava died sometime before 1836.

of the evening took a walk thro the settlement. We were much surprised at the apparent cleanliness of the people. The outside and inside of their houses was remarkably clean. The houses were most of them built on raised pavements made even at the top with small stones. The shape of the houses was completely circular like the houses at Tognataboo¹²⁸ and thatched with the leaves of the sugar cane. Every part was well tied together with sinnet. We were told that it was the work of the females to clean away the rubbish both inside and outside of their houses every morning and throw it into the sea, which accounts for the cleanly appearance of the settlement. The houses stood very thick along the beach on each side of the path and we were told the houses were equally thick further inland. The Inhabitants appeared very numerous as we passed along the settlement. On returning from our walk we met four of our teachers with their wives and children moving with their little property to the residence of Malietoa agreeable to the wish of the two chiefs. We readily approved of such a plan hoping it would afford them greater facility in getting food and in pursuing their labours. Spent the Evening after Tea and family worship in conversation with our natives giving them all the advice we could under present circumstances relative to their future labours.¹²⁹

The gun¹³⁰ was given with much reluctance as the weapons we proposed were very different, but the Chief Malietoa pleaded that he should become the laughing stock of all his brother Chiefs if we did not give him a musket. They would say a vessel had come to him from the far land but had not brought him one Musket.

Saturday 24. Immediately after the family worship the Principal Chief Malietoa sent for us. On our arrival at his place of abode we found him seated on the edge of the pavement of stones on which two of his houses stand. He told us he wished us to go to Upolu to get water for our voyage and that he would go with us to protect us, but that he could not go that Day, for strange to tell the old man had bought a young wife with part of the present made him

128. The Samoan *faitele* is indeed almost circular (see, e.g. Buck 1930:24); houses in Tonga are usually elongated (see, e.g. Gifford 1929:116).

129. The published account adds 'Our rest was much disturbed by a company of warriors, who had just arrived from some other part of the island, and who kept up a rude and noisy dance, to still ruder music, during the whole of the night' (Williams 1838:349).

130. Williams does not comment on his reason for carrying a musket and blunderbuss (see p. 79) on board, although the musket had been used earlier on the voyage to signal the ship's arrival at Mangaia.

yesterday and must need remain a day or two to arrange matters respecting her.

The marriage ceremony was then going on not far from us. A number of women were singing rather a disagreeable dirge¹³¹ in honour of the new married couple and it was not long before a number of more women came walking in a kind of procession singing as they came and joined the above mentioned in the song of praise.

We were told that the wives of Principal Chiefs are in general purchased of the parents and that if a sufficient price is paid to the relations the young woman never refuses to go to the Purchaser tho he may be both old and uncomely in his appearance as in the present instance. The young woman purchased by Malietoa was better looking than any female we had seen on the Island but the Chief was not only aged but far from handsome. We hope the day is not far distant when the light of the glorious gospel will chase away all such works of Darkness.

We were informed that young women designed for sale are carefully watched during their youth to prevent improper liberty being taken with them and even after a girl is sold and falls into the hands of a new master he appoints one or two young men to take care of her, and particularly to prevent eloping again to her relations for in that case he would have to repurchase her or fight for her.

After Breakfast we walked two or three miles thro the settlement in the opposite direction to that in which we walked yesterday. We greatly admired the beauty of the place. The road was composed of firm sand very level and the houses arranged on each side of the road. Nearly all the houses were erected on raised Pavements but much nearer together than the part of the settlement we saw yesterday. Our natives who went inland informed us the houses were very numerous there also so that we thought the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity of the teachers would amount to several thousands.

And if the Inhabitants are numerous in proportion all round Savai there cannot be less than 20 or 30-000 inhabitants. On returning from our walk we were glad to see the vessel standing up for the settlement to receive us on board. We hastened to the

¹³¹ In the published account, this is changed to 'A group of women...chanted, in a pleasing and lively air...' (Williams 1838:350).

residence of the native teachers to write letters for each of them to introduce them to the notice of any kind gentleman who may happen to call at the Islands.

We walked up to the residence of Malietoa to take our leave of him but did not find him at home. We witnessed however a new ceremony in honour of his marriage. Four females dancing — the person who took the lead was the newly purchased bride. She was repeating some ancient tale and moving her arms and fingers in a variety of different forms. The feet moved but little. Three Chief women stood at the three opposite angles and imitated her in their motions with the arms and fingers.

Two or three elderly men and a woman¹³² were beating upon a mat with sticks keeping time and singing after the bride. We were informed that it was one of their grandest dances. We did not however observe anything to admire. The tune was monotonous and rather melancholy. The dress of the bride was somewhat neat a strong piece of cloth tied round her loins reaching almost to her feet and over it a handsome mat fastened under the arms and reaching down to the floor on which it dragged. Two or three rows of light blue beads¹³³ round the neck and a neat wreath of flowers round her head. The other females were much inferior in dress.

After leaving the abode we prepared to depart. Our native teachers with their wives and children accompanied us to the place of starting. Taking leave of them was very affecting to us all. They all of them wept much and we also were much affected. Some of the teachers had been members of our Churches for almost ten years, during which time they had conducted themselves worthy of our esteem and we trust also they will prove worthy of the charge reposed in them. From eight hundred to a thousand natives crowded the beach on our starting who readily assisted us down with our boat and greeted us on our departure after their own fashion by loud bawling.

132. The singers are changed in the published account to 'three or four elderly women' (Williams 1838:351).

133. Blue glass beads had been in demand in Samoa as an item of barter long before Williams's arrival. On Roggeveen's visit in 1722, la Pérouse's in 1787 and Kotzebue's in 1824, they were preferred over any other single item (Krämer 1902:2:3ff). Krämer suggests that the beads came to Samoa from Fiji, which had been discovered by Europeans 79 years before Roggeveen's visit. However, a Tongan origin is also possible, arising from the frequent inter-group contact, as both Schouten in 1616 (Schouten 1619:37) and Tasman in 1643 (Dalrymple 1771:2:76) used them for barter with Tongans, and Edwards in 1791 met Samoans at Upolu who claimed to have been given such beads by Cook at Tongatapu (1915:56).

We had scarcely got out of the harbour when we perceived the old Chief Malietoa coming after us in his large canoe and his newly purchased wife sitting close behind him upon the fore Part of the canoe. We concluded the Chief had fixed his mind upon some other article of property which he was coming to crave.

The Chief of Manono called Matetoea¹³⁴ was just on before us leading the way. Both the chiefs reached the vessel some time before us the canoes rowing much faster than boats in general. We were soon appraised of the object of the old chiefs visit viz to beg a blunderbus which he had been told we had on board. He was very earnest in his request and it was thought prudent to comply hoping it would induce him to be more kind to the native teachers we had left under his care.¹³⁵ We were much grieved to learn when we arrived on board that little Aromata¹³⁶ was dead. He died of the severe cough which has raged on board together with a shortness of breath peculiar to persons of his description. His back was unusually crooked and we have found that persons of his description are easily carried off in case of any additional disease. The little man was pious and prepared for the great change we hope.

We prevailed upon the chief Malietoa to take him on shore to our people and let them bury him on a small Island about half a mile from the shore¹³⁷ thinking it would give much greater satisfaction to his friends to learn that he had been decently interred on shore than cast into the sea.

We were now ready to turn our faces homeward having accomplished the object of our voyage far beyond our most sanguine expectations. We expected nothing more in a first voyage than a peaceable residence for our native teachers among the people which could scarcely be objoined in the commencement of most of the missions in the South Sea but in the present instance we had spent two very interesting days and nights on shore with

134. He is called Matetau in the 1832 journal; see also note 139, p. 82.

135. In the published account, the blunderbuss is not mentioned. Instead, Malietoa is portrayed as making a purely social, even chance visit: 'On coming on board, Malietoa informed us that he was going to the war, which he would conclude as soon as possible, and return to Sapalii [*Sapapāli'i*], and that he was taking his new wife with him, lest she should run away home again during his absence, in which case he should have to re-purchase her' (Williams 1838:354).

136. The further identity of the man is not known, although he had been employed by Williams for several years (Williams 1838:355).

137. Two islets are located inside the reef at Sapapāli'i.

our people and instead of insult every mark of kindness which could have been expected was shewn to us.

In retracing the steps in Providence which have led to as favourable a beginning at the Samoa group, we were led to reflect on the journey of Takai to Tahiti Hape and Davida accompanying him by the way of Tongataboo to the Fegees their detention at Tongataboo and the introduction of Christianity at Tonga — first by the two Tahitians and carried on more effectually by our esteemed friends the Wesleyan Missionaries — Faauea the Samoan Chief residing at Tonga at the time they embraced the gospel and having received favourable impressions of Christianity, tho it does not appear he made any Profession — our calling at Tonga and taking Faauea his wife child and friend with us and he given the Samoans in general and his own family in Particular a favourable account of the lotu, or Praying system obtained for our native teachers a very favourable reception and turned the opinion of the Samoans much in favour of the lotu especially as they were informed by Faauea that the Chief of the Haapaes and many of his people were lotu and the inhabitants of many other Islands more than he could ennumerate which induced many of them to commence learning immediately and we humbly pray that the little beginning may continue to increase like the little leaven hid in three measures of meal till all the Islands of this large and interesting group shall know Jehova the true God and Jesus Christ our Lord whom he has sent.

Remarks

The Samoa Islands comprehend two groups four Islands in each group. Savai Aborima [Apolima] Manono and Upolu form the Leeward Islands. The Islands stretch along from S[outh] E[ast] to N[orth] W[est]. It appeared to us that Savai the Westernmost Island of the Leeward group was much larger than Tahiti and that Upolu the easternmost of the Leeward group was not less than Tahiti. Manono and Aborima are but small, and lay between the two large Islands.

All the Islands of the leeward group were clothed with beautiful verdure to the tops of the mountains. The productions much resemble those of Tahiti. Cocoa nutts appeared very abundant. Bread fruit rather inferior to that at Tahiti. Sugar cane seemed very fine with the leaves of which they thatch their houses. Taro appeared to us inferior from the want of proper cultivation. Bananas were very abundant and appeared very fine. We were told

that arrowroot abounds all over the Islands. The Samoans are very indifferent gardeners. Trusting to the natural fertility of their soil they carelessly plant and seldom take any more care about what they have planted till they want it for food. We sailed half way round the large Island of Savai and every place we touched at seemed well filled with Inhabitants and we were told the Inhabitants in some places extended a mile or two from the shore. On such a large Island as Savai which we judged to be at least 200 Miles round there could not be less than 20 or 30000 inhabitants. Upolu is almost of equal extent and population with Savai. The two small Islands are full of Inhabitants.

The Island of Savai is very high a range of mountains extending through the Island from S[outh] E[ast] to N[orth] W[est] highest in the centre gives it a very majestick appearance. Upolu also is mountainous but not near so high as Savai. Manono is not more than 30 feet about the level of the sea but we were informed it was the garden of the Samoa group in beauty and fertility. Aborima is about 100 feet above the level of the sea and appeared only like a huge rock rising almost perpendicular except on one side where the natives have a landing place. It is very fruitful.

Manono is about seven miles in circumference and Aborima between two and three miles round. It is to be lamented there are so few harbours in such an interesting group of Islands. We could not hear of one good harbour at the largest Island Savai. There are some deep bays affording good anchorage when the wind blows from the shore. On the small Islands there is only just room for a boat to land. On a more strict examination perhaps good anchorage might be found on Savai. We were told there is at least one good harbour at Upolu with plenty of good water and fire wood easy of excess, but that Island being the seat of war at the time of our visit we did not venture to go there, tho we have reason to believe Malietoa could have protected us as he promised. We were told that all the inhabitants of the windward group were at war and that Tutuila the largest Island was the seat of war, consequently we did not visit them as we had intended. We heard that the men who stole a small craft from the colony of N[ew] S[outh] Wales and afterwards a boat from Huahine were at Tutuila, and that John Bow the leading person in the gang had been shot in the war.¹³⁸

The triumph of the wicked is short.

138. Williams obtained a description of the death of one of the Europeans, possibly Bow himself, in 1832 (see p.161).

The Samoans are a fine race of People. The men in particular are well proportioned in their form and many of them have handsome features. Some few are very stout and of gigantic stature particularly Matetoa the Chief of Manono who slew six warriors who attacked him in one of their wars hence his name Matetoa warrior killer.¹³⁹

The females in general are not so good looking as the men their features rather coarse and their bulk too great to be handsome.

We saw a few females who deviated from the above descriptions and might be called good looking. The habits both of men and women are exceedingly loose. We do not recollect meeting with any females so destitute of shame.

The men are all tatooed much in the same manner as the Tongataboons from the buttocks down to a little below the knees made almost entirely black which appeared to us an advantage in their naked state. The Samoans wear but little clothing. The men are never seen with any other clothing than a small tea leaf apron¹⁴⁰ scarcely answering the end of clothing. Most of the females wear the tea leaf apron like the men but some of the Chief women wear a neat kind of mat woven by themselves from something resembling the flax found in the South Seas but as we did not see the plant we do not know whether or not it resembles the flax plant of New Zealand. They do make an inferior kind of cloth which they stain all over on one side with a black substance but they use it to sleep under.¹⁴¹ They also make a small kind of mat which they weave with a remarkably fine thread from a species of the Palm leaf.¹⁴² These mats are much sought after by the Tongataboons, who come from Tonga in their canoes to purchase them a distance of six or seven hundred miles as an article of dress for the Tonga Chiefs. Seven large canoes had visited the Samoas from Tonga just before our arrival to purchase the above articles.

139. In 1838, Williams was able to report, 'When Matetau, a chief mentioned in the Missionary Enterprises, became really converted (he is now a deacon of a Christian Church), he called together his friends and relations; and having a large stock of muskets, clubs, &c, he distributed them all, not reserving even one for himself; and then holding up the Gospel of Matthew, he said to them, "This is the only weapon with which I will ever fight again." He had been a great warrior.' (Williams to LMS, quoted in Prout 1843:529).

140. Leaves of the *tī* (*Cordyline* sp.) bush, made up into kilts (*titi*).

141. *Siapo* - bark cloth made from the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).

142. The *'ie tōga* or fine mat, made from leaves of the cultivated pandanus.

Four had returned again and the other three were waiting for a favourable wind to return.

The people had very little to offer for sale a few hogs some little baskets a few clubs and spears. We saw but two or three pieces of turtle shell in our intercourse with them. Like all heathens they appeared very knowing merchants and used every art to get all they could but they were very lively with all, which is indeed their natural disposition. A kind of careless contentment was depicted in all their countenances.

Their canoes were superior to any thing we saw among them. Some of them were large and made remarkably well and the shape well adapted for speed being sharp at both ends but from the outrigger being too near the canoe very easily upsets. We did not observe any double canoes but all singles.¹⁴³

The Samoans appear remarkably fond of birds particularly a very pretty kind of pigeon which they domesticate and carry about with them on their canoes generally tied so that the bird can fly a certain distance and return. From what we could learn the Samoans have no Idols but pay some kind of worship to some invisible spirits. Moso¹⁴⁴ was said to be the chief of these spirits. It is only in case of sickness &c that they trouble these spirits with their Prayers. Pigs vegetables cloth mats &c were the articles presented to these Divinities. The Samoans offered no human sacrifices. They were not guilty of the crime of Infanticide so prevalent in most of the Islands of the South Seas which may account for the large number of inhabitants everywhere seen. The late Tamafaigna was supposed to have unlimited influence with the supposed spirits worshipped by the Samoans which raised him almost to the elevated rank of a god and enabled him to rule over the Leeward group with uncontrolled sway. But about fifteen days before our arrival the people had become weary of his tyranny and killed him. We were told at Tongataboo he was likely to prove a great obstacle.

143. The traditional Samoan double canoe called *va'atele* was gradually replaced by the *'alia*, modelled on the design of the Fijian *ndrua* (Haddon and Hornell 1975:241). The last *va'atele* was still in existence in 1838 (Stair 1895:617). The last *'alia* survived until the years of the German administration (1900-14), when it was presented to the Kaiser (Haddon and Hornell 1975:242).

144. Turner characterises Moso as 'one of the great *land* gods, in opposition to Tangaloa, the god of the heavens' (1884:36-7).

Their government is but of a very indifferent kind every Principal Chief having almost equal authority in his own place. Malietoa was called the Principal Chief of the Leeward Islands now that Tamafaigna was dead. He was however no real authority but at his own place except in case of war or anything which concerns the people as a body when they look up to him as their Leader.

A mere trifle is sufficient to create war among them such as the running away of a purchased wife and falling into the hands of another. It does not appear that their wars are bloody. Five or six killed on each side would be reckoned a great number. Their weapons of war appeared far from formidable. Little clubs about three or four feet long and little spears about 6 feet long some parts not thicker than a finger were the Principal weapons we saw. They have lately got a few guns among them which are viewed as frightful weapons.

The very report of a gun makes them fly and thereby probably saves many lives.

The language of the Samoans is a mixture of three different dialects. The Tahitian, which it strongly resembles in many words the Rarotognan which it resembles in the nasal consonants gn &c and the Tongataboon which it resembles in the use of the C and K. In addition to the above they make great use of the S which is not used by any of the above mentioned Islands, hence the name of the groups by the natives is Samoa and the largest Island of the Leeward group Savai. A large portion of their words have the v in them but in other respects they retain the identity of words at other Islands as for instance a stranger is taatae [*ta'ata'e*] at Tahiti tagnata-ki [*tangata-ke*] at the Harvey group tagnata-ese [*tagata'ese*] on Samoa. The variations are much the same in numerous other words. An English Missionary knowing the Tahitian and Rarotognan would soon be able to preach to the Samoans but the Tahitians will not be able to pronounce their consonants. We trust however they will know enough to make good progress and that others will be sent to carry on the good work more effectually.

Lords Day 25. Spent most of the day in beating up to Manono to put John Wright on shore and the Chief of that Island Matetoa. About two P.M. the boat left to take them on shore and returned late in the evening. Matetoa offered to send his son with us but we were afraid an accident might befall him and therefore preferred leaving him. John Wright received a small present for acting as

our Interpreter and the Chief Matetoa¹⁴⁵ out of respect to his high character. The Chief was urgent with us to promise him two native teachers when we came again and said he would build a Chapel for them. We told the Chiefs and people we would return in about twelve months if nothing unforeseen occurred to prevent. We trust the war will be over before that period and make room for a multitude of native teachers.

Tuesday 27. Becalmed under the lee of Upolu which gave us the opportunity of observing the great extent of the Island. It appeared to us near one hundred miles in circumference. Occupied part of the day attending the sick which we had the pleasure of observing were in a state of recovery.

Thursday August 6. We had calms and light breezes for almost a fortnight. We made some little progress towards Savage Island¹⁴⁶ but tho we got into the latitude of it we could not beat up to it the wind was so light with perhaps a strong current setting to the westward.

Friday 7. After many fruitless efforts to reach Savage Island it was determined to put about and sail for Lefuga or Tongataboo our water being almost out our sick natives being all well which gave us much pleasure.

Lords Day 9. Spent the day as profitably as our circumstances would allow. About midnight the wind changed to the northwest. It was thought prudent to put about immediately and embrace such a favourable opportunity of running to the Eastward hoping the wind will go gradually round to the west and continue some time.

Wednesday 12. Had a fine steady breeze from the N[orth] W[est] for the last two days which carried us to the east, almost four hundred miles. Today the wind went suddenly round and headed us so that we made but little progress to the windward.

Friday 14. Frequent squalls with rain. The wind from the south east which tho not very favourable enabled us to make some progress. Towards evening it was thought that Rarotogna was in sight but it proved a mistake.

Lords Day 16. The wind continued contrary with frequent

145. The present comprised 'two axes, two hatchets, four knives, two pairs of scissors, a small looking-glass, and some blue beads' (Williams 1838:353).

146. This was to return the two Niueans kidnapped earlier (Williams 1838:359), in contrast with Williams's declared plan to keep them at the Society Islands for 'a short time' (1838 p. 298); see also note 43, p.43.

squalls. In the evening the appearance of the heavens was terrific and a strong gale was expected. The Captn gave orders to double reef the sails and take down the main yard &c. For a very short time it blew one of the most furious gales we had encountered since leaving home.

Monday 17. About four P.M. the fury of the gale abated and the wind began to blow steady from the southward which was favourable for us. About seven P.M. Rarotogna was seen ahead. It afforded us great pleasure to hear the mate call out land ahead, our last Barrel of Water being almost half consumed. The wind was strong and carried us forward six and seven miles an hour towards the land.

About three P.M. had a fine view of Aroragni [Arorangi] on the west side of the Island where Tinomana resides. The neat white houses peeping thro the trees which lined the beach had a very favourable appearance.

About four in the afternoon reached Avarua where Mr Buzacott is stationed. Our arrival quite surprised them we had come so quick as to allow them no opportunity for a Messenger to arrive from Aroragni. As soon as the anchor was down we went on shore and had the pleasure of finding Mr & Mrs Buzacott and family well. We were also much delighted with the visible change in the health of the natives. When we touched here on our way to the westward only two or three children presented themselves on the beach with a sickly man or two scarcely able to walk but now the whole sea beach near the landing place was crowded with people all in apparent good health and much rejoiced to see us. Mr Buzacott informed us the people began to recover from the raging disease soon after our departure and that our visit had been beneficial in effecting their recovery by exhilarating their spirits and raising in their minds the hopes of recovery. It is known that the state of the mind has great influence on the body but more particularly in heathen countries or lands lately heathen when a person conceiving he shall die, gives up all hopes of getting better. His spirits sink, and he numbers himself with the dead. His dejection of mind prevents the effects of medicine and death is generally the consequence, which we were informed was the case with many during the late painful sickness but that our former visit had been the happy means of removing that dejection of mind in a great degree. Spent the evening very profitably in conversation about the good work of Missions.

Tuesday 18. Early in the morning went with Mr Buzacott to the childrens school. The number of children greatly surprised us. There could not be less than six or seven hundred. Our friend had got them into excellent order. The children were learning to write and read at the same time the elementary books we left with them. The slates and pencils were both novel but answered the purpose very well. The former were black stones rubbed to an even surface on one side and the pencils were the long prickles from the sea egg.

Many of the children wrote very well with their rude apparatus and were making good progress in reading. Mr Buzacott informed us that the late sickness had had a very beneficial effect upon all classes but particularly upon the minds of the Chiefs who have united in forming the commendable resolution to seek earnestly the salvation of their souls, and endeavouring with the strength of the Lord to live agreeable to the gospel and also to use all their influence to induce their people to do the same. In consequence of the above resolve the Principal Chief Makea had sent round a messenger to request that every child on the Island of sufficient age should attend school which accounted for the great increase of children. After school the adults brought us some small Presents of cloth food &c and shook hands with us in token of affection. It gave us great pleasure to see them all so happily restored to health again. Scarcely an Individual had escaped the late disease and one thousand had been cut off by it so many dying the people used in the first place all their canoes for coffins. Afterwards all their doors, and window shutters and last of all their mats and cloth which not proving sufficient they could only cover the middle leaving the lower and upper parts uncovered and thus cast them into the grave.

In the afternoon walked to Natagnia [Ngatangia] where Mr Pitman resides. We were happy to find Mr & Mrs Pitman in better health than formerly and also their people happily restored to health. The house like Mr Buzacotts was crowded with natives, who came to see us on our return. We could not but rejoice at meeting them again under such altered circumstances. Spent the evening in very edifying conversation on the deeply interesting subject of Missions to the heathen.

Wednesday 19. Early in the morning accompanied Mr Pitman to the childrens school. The number filled us with astonishment. There could not be less than eight or nine hundred. They were learning to read and write in the same manner as at Mr Buzacotts

station and appeared in the same state of forwardness. The children were examined as at Mr Buzacotts station in Watts first catechism¹⁴⁷ which they went through with great correctness. Mr Williams addressed the children in Rarotognan and related some anecdotes relative to our voyage which interested them much. After school the children and all the people assembled in the large chapel which was nearly full. Mr Williams exhorted them from John 10c 16v, and gave an outline of circumstances which occurred during our voyage which interested the people much. Immediately after service we left for Avarua and after dinner left with Mr Buzacott in his boat for Aroragni where Tinomana resides. This station has not been long formed, but it is not withstanding in a great state of forwardness. A very neat chapel has been built. A number of good houses all neatly plastered with lime made from coral. The houses for the chiefs and the native teacher Papeiha were neatly floored. The situation of the Settlement is a very pleasant place and far exceeds either of the other stations in the neatness of arrangement.

A remarkably even road runs thro the settlement, about ten or twelve feet wide with a row of Ti-trees on each side. The houses of the people are on each side of the road surrounded with little gardens in which various kinds of vegetables were growing. We observed a large new school house in a great state of forwardness.

Towards evening we met the people in their handsome new Chapel. The place was completely filled. Mr Williams preached in Rarotognan from Acts 11c 18v, and gave the people an outline of our voyage which interested the people very much. Great numbers assembled at our residence in the evening to ask questions on different subjects which proved edifying to us all. Some presents of cloth and food were brought us as a small token of their affection.

Thursday 20. Early in the morning took our leave of the people at Natagnia,¹⁴⁸ and travelled inland to Avarua Mr Buzacotts station. The Distance between the two stations we supposed to be about eight miles through a country under cultivation almost all the way with Bananas Mountain Plaintains &c. The soil appeared a fine rich clay all the way. Mr & Mrs Pitman came from Natagnia to take leave of us.

147. Isaac Watts's *First set of catechisms and prayers*, which went through several editions in the eighteenth century.

148. Williams had arrived at Arorangi the evening before, according to his previous journal entry.

After dinner took an affectionate farewell of all our dear Friends much rejoiced that we were leaving them in such comfortable circumstances and with such prospects of great success. The Brethren informed us there are still not less than six thousand inhabitants on the Islands after committing near one thousand to the Earth. Sailed for Magnaia [Mangaia] with a fine Westerly wind.

Friday 21. Early in the morning saw the Island of Magnaia and about ten P.M. came up with it. Some canoes came off and in one of them was Faaruea the teacher from Raiatea & the Chief Magnanui [Maunganui]. We were sorry to learn some little difference had taken place among the teachers and people but trusting Mr Williams their Missionary will be able to restore peace. The mate Henry went on shore to purchase a few curiosities. We expected his return in two or three hours but some thing detained him the whole night.

Saturday 22nd. Early in the morning Mr Williams went on shore to hasten our departure. While on shore he had the pleasure of settling their difference and leaving them in harmony. A large house for Magnanui had been built since our former visit. A number of Idolators with their Chief had begun to attend instruction and the teachers had every prospect that all the inhabitants would soon embrace the Gospel. Left Magnaia and directed our course for Rurutu or Tahiti as the wind may suit.

Thursday 26. Saw Rurutu to the North sooner than we expected. It was thought that a current had helped us forward. In the afternoon saw Rurutu and towards evening were almost up with it.

Friday 27. Early in the morning anchored under the Lee of Rurutu. The Island had a very fine appearance from the vessel Hill and Dale beautifully diversified and covered with luxuriant foliage, the neat place of worship, schoolhouse and white houses of the people pressing thro the rich foliage which lined the beach. After breakfast went on shore and were met by the people on the beach with every mark of attention and esteem. The chapel was a very neat building & many of the houses of the People were very neat.

We were sorry to learn that on account of some slight quarrel a few of the inhabitants had removed to another place. They had however built themselves some very neat plastered houses at their new settlement and continued to act consistently. Went over the mountains to see the settlement on the south side of the Island. The road was very steep and difficult in many places and the

distance not less than seven miles. It appeared much the largest settlement and contained the greatest number of inhabitants.

There were many neat plastered houses. The Chapel had been a good building but was coming to decay. The people entertained us with a very good dinner. Returned after dinner to the settlement on the north side and the people with us.

Towards evening had service with the people. Mr Barff addressed the people from Phil. 3c 1v and gave an outline of the circumstances which took place during our voyage. Mr Williams afterwards baptized a number of children and two adults and concluded with prayer. A second meeting was held to settle their differences. The first subject of their conversation was relative to their late teachers. Unhappily their two teachers could not agree and also entangled the natives in their quarrels so that the church at Raiatea with Mr Williams had thought proper to call them both home. We called for one of them but were sorry to learn that he had left the Island last March in a boat of his own.¹⁴⁹ We fear much for their safety. The Rurutuans said at the meeting they wished to have but one teacher for the future and Mr Williams promised to send them one.

The second subject of conversation was that the Rurutuans should select two of their most intelligent number to go to the heathen, which they readily agreed to do.

The third topick of conversation was their quarrels which we are happy to say were settled to the satisfaction of all, the members who had separated promising to return and unite with their brethren. Having succeeded so well in making peace in their little society we went on board the vessel with gladness and took our departure for Tahiti.

Lords Day 29. Had a remarkable fine breeze from Rurutu to Tahiti so that we ran upwards of 300 miles in about forty eight hours. Came up with the land in the Evening.

Monday 30. Early in the morning went on shore at Bunauia¹⁵⁰ [Punaauia] and found Mr and Mrs Darling well. We felt very thankful to the Lord who had so mercifully preserved us during so long a voyage performed among heathen lands dangerous rocks and reefs and brought us so near home in safety.

We have gone in little more than four months a distance of more

149. A detailed account of the voyage by one of the teachers (Puna) appears in the 1832 journal (see pp.182-3).

150. A settlement on the west end of Tahiti. David Darling (1790-1867) settled there in 1819.

than four thousand miles without sustaining the least injury. We were glad to learn from Mr Darling that our Dear Wives Children and People were all well. Went in the evening to Mr Pritchard's station.¹⁵¹ We were happy to find them all well.

Remained at Tahiti until Friday making arrangements with the brethren relative to the vessel.¹⁵² During our stay gave the Tahitians an account of our voyage in which they appeared to feel deeply interested.

Sept. Friday 3. Left for Morea [Moorea] the vessel sailing direct for Papetoai¹⁵³ while we went in the boat to Afareaitu.¹⁵⁴ We were happy to find Mr & Mrs Orsmond and family well. Had a meeting with the Church members at Afareaitu and Mr Barff related to them the particulars of our voyage in which they felt a lively interest. Mr Williams related to the youth in the Academy¹⁵⁵ the particulars relative to our voyage to draw their minds to subjects of that nature.

Saturday 4. Left Afareaitu for Papetoai where Mr Simpson¹⁵⁶ labours which we reached in the Evening and found our friends well.

Lords Day 5. Mr Barff preached in the morning from Heb 5c 2v and gave the people a general account of our voyage in which they felt deeply interested. Administered the Sacrament afterwards which was a season of profit to us all. In the afternoon Mr Williams preached from Acts 6c 3v on the office of Deacons and afterwards, Messrs Williams and Simpson set apart two members who had been chosen by the Church to the sacred office by Prayer and the laying on of hands. The services of the day were very interesting.

Left in the evening fearing the wind would detain us in the harbour if we stopped till morning.

Monday 6. Reached Huahine about midnight and found all well. Our joy was mutual at meeting again after the absence of Sixteen weeks.

151. George Pritchard (1796-1883) had been stationed at Papeete since 1825.

152. Williams intended to overhaul the ship and send it to Tahiti for sale, a move the LMS directors were to oppose (Directors to Williams, 8 March 1832).

153. A bay on the northern coast of Moorea.

154. A settlement on the east coast of Moorea.

155. The South Seas Academy, established at Tahiti in 1824 for the education of the children of missionaries.

156. Alexander Simpson (1801-66) was originally intended for the Marquesas, but returned to Moorea following an unsuccessful attempt to settle there in 1829 (Newbury 1961:235n).

The 1832 Journal

*From Rarotogna [Rarotonga] to the Navigator Islands
[Samoa] Tognatabu [Tongatapu] etc - Containing an
account of the language manners customs etc of the
people - also much interesting Missionary information
1832 & 1833*

*Narrative of a Voyage
performed in the
Missionary Schooner
Olive Branch
by J Williams
1832*

1832 Thurs 11 October. We took an affectionate leave of my dear wife & children with Mr & Mrs B[uzacott] who accompanied me down to the beach as did most of the inhabitants all uniting in wishing us well & praying that the blessing of God might attend us in our journey. The King Makea appeared in good spirits. His friends & people expressed considerable sorrow at his departure. The teacher Teava¹ & wife wept a good deal at leaving. It is a source of great consolation to know that we are followed by the affectionate sympathies of those who love us & the fervent prayers of all who are interested in our welfare. At Sundown we made all sail with a fine fair wind & set a direct course for Palmerstons Island.

Sat 13. We made Palmerstons Island about 5 oclock in the afternoon. The wind being fair & night coming on determined to pursue our course rather than waste the night in lying to to procure a few cocoa nutts. The Teacher & his wife very sick.

Sabbath 14. Wind still fair rather light. Service on deck. Spoke from 1st Epistle Peter Chapr 12 v. Let your conversation be good and honest among the Gentiles - Tahitian version. In the evening when conversing with one of our Native sailors I found that he was one of the crew of a Boat that drifted down to Tognatabu some years ago. I was much interested with the account he gave of their residence at Togna &c. He says they were months at sea. Five of their number died. At length they were thrown on the Reef at Togna. They managed to swim to the beach where the natives put them in baskets & carried them to the King. He took care of them by which means they soon recovered their strength. They then left the heathen Chief & went to the Tahitian teachers Hape & his companion whom they assisted in building a Chapel which was well filled on Sabbath days as Tupou the King & most of his own people had embraced Christianity. He gives a pleasing account of the arrival of Messrs Turner, Cross & Wiese,² also of the critical situation they were all placed in some months after by the anger of the heathen party who were determined to make War upon them & kill them all. That the heathen party came armed & surrounded the fence of the Missionaries houses. That the King, Missionaries, Tahitian teachers & all the Christians were inside the fence praying to God to defend them against the rage of the heathens.

1. A Rarotongan convert whom Williams was taking to Samoa as a native teacher.

2. John Von Mangerhousen Weiss (1812-52) arrived in Tonga in 1827 together with Turner and Cross, and stayed one year.

Just at this time the sound of a Musket was heard at the sea beach. The heathen party went to see what it was when they found that it was a powerful Chief named Palu,³ who although a heathen came to defend his relation Tupou. Upon seeing this the heathen were afraid & returned to their respective houses. He says that fire wood was actually obtained & ovens prepared to bake the Missionaries in. A short time after the heathens came & fetched Tupou away. He thought well to accompany them when they not only detained him there but used every means in their power to induce him to abandon his profession & allow them to injure the Missionaries. It appears however that he was firm & steadfast in his profession & faithful to his friends and Missionaries. He sent word to the Missionaries not to leave their fences or enclosures but teach & hold their worship there, which it seems they did for two months. At length Tupou succeeded in making his escape when they were again allowed to worship abroad without molestation from the heathen. I felt much for poor Mr & Mrs Turner on hearing the account. No doubt they thought they were about to experience a repetition of their sufferings at New Zealand.⁴ However God has been better to them than they feared. They have been permitted to weather the storm & greatly honoured as the instruments nursing & maturing the work so auspiciously commenced by the Tahitian Teachers who are certainly good pioneers in the great work of converting the Heathen & turning them from worshipping Idols to the service of the living God.

Tuesday 16. Wind still favourable. Making rapid progress. Have been employed since we left writing an account of the disastrous war in the Society Islands.⁵ The teacher having got in I desired him to engage in family prayer in the evening. I was much pleased with his fervour & his matter. He has certainly an excellent gift in prayer. His ideas flow very fast, his similes very apt, his language figurative. He commenced his prayer by addressing God and his greatness saying if we fly to heaven we find thee there. If we dwell on the land, thou art there. If we sail upon the sea, thou art there. This affords us comfort so that we sail without fear because O God

3. Palu of Mu'a, the ruler of Hahake district, and 'the most powerful chief in Tongatapu' in 1822 (Gunsong 1977:107).

4. Nathaniel Turner's missionary work had begun at Whangaroa, New Zealand, where he was assaulted several times, and robbed of his belongings (Wood 1975:39).

5. In 1831, Tapoa, chief of Tahaa, together with supporters from Borabora, claimed the supremacy of Raiatea. Williams advised the Raiateans to resist Tapoa, with force if necessary, and sought mediators from Tahiti. Tapoa attacked in Williams's absence, but the Tahitian chiefs secured a nominal reconciliation before general warfare erupted (Prout 1843:342-5).

thou art here. The King of our bodies has his subjects to whom he issues orders to do his work. They go about it, but he himself goes with them. His presence inspires them with zeal. They go about their work with life & it is soon & effectually done. O Lord thou art our King. Thou hast issued thy orders to thy subjects to do a great work but let thy presence go with us to quicken us & enable us to persevere in thy work until it is accomplished. Thou hast said that thy presence shall be with thy people who go to do thy work even unto the end of the world. Fulfill O Lord this cheering promise. O Lord I see there is a compass in this Vessel by which they steer the right way it being their guide. Do thou be our compass & direct us the way to steer in order to avoid the obstructions & difficulties in our work. Be to us O Lord a Compass of Salvation. He then proceeded to quote various passages of Scripture such as the heathens are to be given to Christ for his possessions. In Abrahams seed all the nations of the earth are to be blessed. Having quoted these & several other passages he proceeded saying these O Lord are thine own words & afford us comfort in our Work. Enable us therefore to be steadfast & unmovable always abounding in the work of the Lord for we know we shall not labour in vain.

After prayer he asked me how it was that David in the Psalms spoke so much of Jehova & Paul in his Epistles so much of Jesus Christ since both were inspired. I explained to him the difference of the Old & New dispensations.

Wed. 17th. At day light this morning we sighted land. On coming up with it, it proved to be Manuâ⁶ [Manu'a] the easternmost of the group. We desire to be thankful for the favourable winds that we had had a fine run of between seven & eight hundred miles in a little better than five days without touching rope or sail since the day we bid adieu to our friends on the beach at Rarotogna. The land is exceedingly high & is to be seen at a great distance. It was nine oclock before we were up with it. No natives coming off we stood close in with the vessel & sent in the boat.⁷ She very soon returned bringing with her a Raivavae

6. Manu'a comprises the three islands of Ta'u, 'Ofu and Olosega. Ta'u is also a village on the island of the same name.

7. Fitiuta village, on Ta'u is situated on a high outcrop. It has no protective reef, and landings to the north and east of the settlement area are not visible from the village area itself. Because of its exposed coastline, there are no outrigger canoes, which explains the quiet reception. In the published account, however, Williams omits reference to this inauspicious start, substituting a description of his arrival at the neighbouring village of Ta'u, and presenting this as an account of his first reception (Williams 1838:411-12); see also note 10, p.100.

man⁸ who it appears was drifted down here in a boat from the Island of Tubuai. The account he gives is that they were returning to Raivavae from Tubuai when they lost themselves. They were 3 Months at sea. Twenty of their number died. At length the remaining men were dashed on the reef of a small Island about 70 Miles to the Eastward of all the Navigator Islands.⁹ They crawled on shore found plenty of cooa nutts & fish. They were there some months when some captain was kind enough to convey them to the Island of Manua where they have been about 3 years. They have built a small place of worship & have been regular in their worship ever since their arrival but have not succeeded in inducing any person but one to embrace their religion. The persons now living are Hura & his wife, Teurahau, Ratia, Haavahia, Paraifara. A few of these number have died on Manua. Paraifara who came on board informed us that a canoe had come up about a month ago from Savai [Savai'i] & Upolu where the Mission is formed & had brought intelligence that the teachers were well & that vast numbers had embraced Christianity. This was cheering news. The canoe had returned about ten days ago. Hura who it appears acts as a kind of superior over the Raivavae natives wrote to the teachers requesting a supply of books. It appears that he has eight portions of Scripture & can both read & write. We sailed round the Island after sending Hura some books on shore & promising to call on our return home. On doubling the West point a very pretty settlement presents itself to view called Taū¹⁰ [Ta'ū]. Here we were boarded by several canoes to whom we made ourselves known as a folau lotu or a Christian ship. Immediately a fine looking man in a canoe coming towards us was pointed out to us as a Tama lotu, a Son of the word. He was distinguished from his heathen companions by a piece of white cloth bound round his head. He jumped on deck expressed himself very glad to see us ordered his people to give us all the cocoa nutts they had. We made him a trifling present in return with a number of spelling books in the

8. Williams took him on board when he left Fitiuta.

9. Muliava, or Rose Atoll.

10. The published version of the reception at the village of Ta'ū is more impressive: 'On nearing the shore, a number of canoes approached us, in one of which some natives stood up and shouted, "We are Christians; we are Christians; we are waiting for a *falau* [*folau*] *lotu*, a religion-ship, to bring us some people whom they call Missionaries, to tell us about Jesus Christ. Is yours the ship we are waiting for?"' (Williams 1838:411-12).

Tahitian language¹¹ said a word or two of encouragement to him, & bid him adieu promising to call again if possible on our return. Here a very nice young man joined us by begging us to give him a passage to Tutuila.¹² The people of this settlement are said to be a very quiet inoffensive people & are imposed upon by all, killed by all who please thus to oppress them. They had about four months ago suffered a sad defeat in a war with the people of the neighbouring Island of Orosegna [Olosega] wherein they lost thirty five people. The war was occasioned by one of their people being killed by the Orosegna. They thought to revenge it fitted out a fleet of about a hundred canoes & were driven away with great violence by the Orosegna people. We enquired of them if they would like a Missionary to instruct them. They replied in the affirmative. We gave most of them books desired them to carry a small present to their Chief & advise him from us to leave off war & become a Christian. With this we took our departure & sailed over to Orosegna & Ofu ['Ofu] two Islands joining each other & about 5 miles distance from Manuâ. We arrived at Orosegna at about 3 oclock in the afternoon & stood into the bay where the two Islands meet. A canoe came off to us with an old Chief & a young English lad who said he left the New Zealand Whaling Schooner¹³ from Sydney & had been here about eight months. I enquired¹⁴ if they had heard any thing about religion at Savai & Upolu. They said No. We explained to the old Chief who we were & what was our object. He said he should much like to be taught & begged hard to leave an individual with him for that purpose promising to treat him well & listen to his instruction.¹⁵ He was very anxious that we should remain with him all night, but being desirous to reach Savai by Sabbath day we declined staying. He was very desirous to

11. Probably one of the several such books prepared by John Davies; Newbury (1961:xvii-xix) lists five of these.

12. It was not Williams's practice to give passages to all who requested them. The published account adds the reason in this particular case: 'He stated that he was a Christian, and that he wished much to carry to the people of his own island the good news of which he was in possession. I, of course, readily acceded to his request' (Williams 1838:413).

13. *The New Zealander* (Nicholson 1977:part 2:25).

14. The question was put to 'an old chief' (Williams 1838:413).

15. The enthusiasm for the gospel was no less great at Manu'a than elsewhere in Samoa. Erskine notes 'In 1835 two Rarotongans, the first Christian teachers, were placed here by the London Missionary Society, and three years afterwards four were added from the recent converts of Upolu. So successful had these men been in their mission, that Mr Hunkin [a beachcomber turned lay missionary who had arrived in Manu'a in 1842], on his arrival, found the whole population nominally Christian, with the exception of about thirty persons...' (1853:38).

obtain muskets & powder. We told him we had none to part with.¹⁶ Ours was a religion ship. We had books to teach him of the true God the way of life but no muskets with which to destroy each other. We advised him to leave off war & become of the true religion. He said it was very good but there was no one to teach him & how was he to know. He was very urgent that we should go & sleep on shore & as an inducement offered a fine young woman he had in his canoe. Her clothing consisted of nothing but a round about of leaves which on coming on the vessel she dropped off & put a piece of white cloth on. On leaving the vessel she put off her white cloth in presence of all & girded her leaves round her waist leaving the left thigh completely bare which it appears they pride themselves in shewing. Her head was shaven bare with the exception of a long lock & tuft over the left temple.¹⁷ Here we learnt that a third individual of those murderers who stole Mr Barffs boat¹⁸ had met with a tragical end having been murdered by the natives. (As I have since learned the particulars of this altogether wonderful man I shall give an account of him by & by.) Night coming on we stood away for Tutuila. During the evening I obtained all the information I could from the Raivavae man & our passenger relative to the worship religious rites etc of the Manua people. They have no maraes or houses for their worship, or idols of any description.¹⁹ They worship a great Spirit they call Tagnaloo²⁰ [Tagaloo]. They at times go into the bush & pretend to hold conversation with Tagnaloo. They do not offer sacrifices of any description.

When they go to war they cry out to Tagnaloo to help them — make them strong — subdue & crush their enemies. They have no priests. The Chief prays as well as all the people. In sickness also they mutter their prayers to Tagnaloo who they say resides in

16. The vessell was, however, carrying firearms (see p.139).

17. This hairstyle, called *tulagita*, 'was restricted to young females during their virginity' (Stair 1897:121).

18. The *Phoebe*, stolen from Shoalhaven Bay by a group of convicts, sailed to Huahine in early 1828, where several acts of theft and murder were committed. (For an account of the *Phoebe's* voyage, see Robert Langdon, 'How the Tahitians got their flag', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, November 1970, pp. 73-7, 133.) The ship then sailed to Samoa, where it was wrecked. Williams gives a more detailed account of the events later in the journal (pp.158-9).

19. The frontispiece to Stair's *Old Samoa* (1897), captioned 'Samoa war-canoes, idols and weapons', depicts four standing wooden figures. A more celebrated idol presented to Queen Victoria by the LMS missionary Thomas Heath in 1840 appears to have been in use at Āmaile village in Upolu (Davidson 1975:352-5).

20. The principal Samoan deity (Stair 1897:212).

the skies. Pigs are sacred all the year round except six days in every seven months when they eat as many as they possibly can. The King came to Hura & his party & begged of them to refrain from eating pigs as he was afraid of his god. He said to them have you not any compassion for me that you eat pigs always. Hura & his party replied that they were Christians. God had given them all things to enjoy & they could not consider any thing of the kind as sacred. That they were strangers & he ought to have compassion on them & not wish them to do what would incur the anger of their God. With this he consented to let them alone. In war they scalp those they kill & take the scalp with some ava ['ava] to the king crying out at the same time to the gods of war Foilagni²¹ [Fuai Lagi], Fanogna²² [Fanoga], Toato²³ [Tuato] on which there is a pig killed for the man who obtained the first victim called sami toto, bloody sea. This he is to eat all himself. Then there is a great number killed for the whole army. In preparing to go to war they beat their heads very much so that the blood streams from them & burn their bodies faces, eyes etc in order to make their gods propitious to them. This they do while they cry out Tagnaloa e, ia malosi le nuu, ia turia tasi nuu e fia tau mai.²⁴ O Tagnaloa make your people valiant, conquer & drive those who make war upon us. Fo'iragni E, Fanogna E, Toatoa E, make us valiant. They sometimes bring the scalp to the relations of a person who has fallen in war. This was the case in the war fought about 3 months ago. The scalp of a man who had killed his father was brought to a young woman. This she burnt gradually upon a fire & beat it to powder. She then cooked food on it which she ate with great delight. There are three settlements on the Island of Manua each under its respective Chief one of which has a kind of supremacy in consequence of being the Malo²⁵ [mālō] or stronger. Adjoining the Island of Orosega is Ofu a small Island almost depopulated by its frequent war with Orosega.

21. *Fuai lagi* - Beginner of the heavens - 'a god of one of the small islands, and seen in the sea-eel' (Turner 1884:32).

22. *Fanoga* - Destruction - 'the name of a war-god and supposed to be incarnate in the Samoan owl' (Turner 1884:25-6).

23. Tuato was a Samoan warrior who with a single blow killed a prominent Tongan fighter during Tonga's occupation of the country. Tuato came forth from the ranks following a general representation to the war god Vave. Tuato himself may well have been venerated, but there appears to be no record that he was deified (Turner 1884:66).

24. In modern orthography, *Tagaloa ē 'ia mālosi le nu'u, 'ia tulia le tasi nu'u e fia tau mai* - Tagaloa, let the village be strong; chase away the single village wanting to fight us.

25. For a detailed account of the *mālō* see p.239, and also note 235 p.221.

Thurs 18. Early this morning we made Tutuila a fine large island about 40 or 50 Miles West of Orosegna. We were soon surrounded by many canoes some of them large carrying twenty & thirty men. We did not think well to let too many natives on board, so we kept a press of sail on the vessel not withstanding which, the canoes paddled so fast that they kept up with us with ease. A canoe came alongside having an Englishman on board who represented himself as William Gray & said that he had been there about three years. Shewed me a paper from Captn Stavers²⁶ of the Offley who had been there a short time ago. I enquired if there was any war on the Island as the people wanted powder and muskets. He said No but he thought there would be shortly between two districts. I asked him if there were any who had become Christians. He replied that there was a young man called *Salima* who had been very diligent in "turning the people religion". That he had turned two or three hundred but he had heard that at Savai & Upolu the inhabitants had all become Christians. I enquired very particularly where I could find this young man who was so well employed. He told me he could not tell for he travels about so much it would be difficult to know where to go for him. I therefore sent him some Alphabets, & spelling books in the Tahitian language with a trifling present & a letter stating that I was glad to hear he was so well employed, stated that I was sorry I could not see him but intended if possible to make Tutuila on my way home when I hoped to be able to see him & the heathens whom he had induced to embrace the Christian religion. The Character given me of him by Gray was as follows. "I thinks hes a very good man Sir he's always reading his bible. The people offers him pigs & cloth but he wont take any thing from them. They offers him women but he says he'll have none but his own wife." I asked Gray if he was on good terms with him & if he opposed him at all. He said No - I cant read myself so I lets him have it all their own way.²⁷ He continued saying the people asks me if its good. I says yes its good its all one its only another name. They calls their god Tagnaloa & says he lives in the

26. As captain of the *Tuscan*, P.W. Stavers had acted kindly towards missionaries in the Society Islands on several occasions (Newbury 1961:283; Williams 1838:468).

27. He was also called Norval. Among his converts were Mauga, chief of Pagopago, and his son. He had translated part of the Anglican Prayerbook into Samoan, and taught his converts to repeat it. When English missionaries arrived in Tutuila in 1836, they found services were being held regularly, led by one of Norval's converts. However, on hearing of the imminent arrival of these same missionaries, Norval himself left Tutuila, and was not heard of again (Murray 1876:33-4).

skies. I asked him if they had any Maraes or Idols. He said they had no Maraes but had two large shells²⁸ they kept in the Chief's house which Tagnaloa sent from heaven to them in a thunder storm. He said the heathens make game of those who embrace Christianity & make songs about them. I told him that was nothing new. That was done to the present day in our own Country so we must not wonder at heathens doing it, but from the nature of his conversation I thought that he encouraged them in making game. He assured me he did not. He informed me of one of the Christians being killed a few days ago. It was not however for becoming a Christian but for running away with another mans wife. This man informed me three boats have been taken at this Island. One at a small Island called Aignuu²⁹ ['Aunu'u] off the N[orth] Point of Tutuila about two miles from the mainland between which & the mainland we were then running another two at the West point of Tutuila all of which had been retaken without the loss of life. Having obtained all the information I could I determined to proceed gently down the coast to see if perchance we might find the young man who is engaged in teaching the people, likewise to observe the coast & if possible find a harbour. About half way down the coast we stood into a deep bay called Pagnopagno [Pagopago] facing nearly south. There is a shoal off the mouth of it³⁰ but the water appears sufficiently deep for a vessel of any draught of water. Towards the head of the bay there appeared to be a deep bight making up a considerable distance inland. The native we had with us said that it was the case but that there were many stones. Not liking to stand too far in with the vessel & being afraid to explore the place in our boat lest she should be taken from us we again stood out to sea. From what I saw I think that there is a very safe harbour in this bay.³¹ We were afterwards informed that the settlement where this young man resides is a long way inland up the bight at the bottom of this bay. We again ran gently down the coast until we came to a

28. Conch shells were but one incarnation of Tagaloa. In various districts the snipe, or a wooden bowl, or a hollow stone, or a group of small stones were held sacred to this god (Turner 1884:53).

29. Assuming that Williams wrote the consonants as he heard them, the substitution of the velar nasal ŋg for ʔ is in keeping with his later claim of differences in pronunciation between the eastern islands and the rest of Samoa; see also note 228 p.216.

30. Taemā shoal.

31. 'There is good anchorage anywhere in the inner harbour, in depths of from 6 to 25 fathoms...Sailing vessels will experience no difficulty in entering the harbour as the trades blow directly in' (Hydrographic Department 1932:438).

Bay called Leone which was the residence of the young man we brought from Manuâ. Here we were boarded by a canoe under sail belonging to his friends. We were delighted to see the little thing skim over the surface of the water. We were running six knots an hour but the canoe played round & round us like a fish. The sail is so constructed that it lifts the whole forepart of the canoe out of the water so that there is nothing to drag through the water but the hinder part of the vessel which is made so clean & tapering that it meets with no resistance. It much resembles the hinder part of the dolphin. They are however very tender & upset in a moment which was the case with the one alongside of us but the dexterity with which she was righted was surprising. The canoe was thrown on her beam ends the sail lying flat on the water. A native immediately ran out on a pole to the windward side of the canoe. This pole is jagged to form steps & extends about 8 or 9 feet from the centre of the canoe. The vessel righted instantaneously & away they sailed.³² A canoe now came alongside having a Tama lotu, a Son of the Word on board. We gave him a hearty welcome. He informed us that there were about fifty Christians on shore. That they had erected a place of worship & much wished to see me on shore. Accordingly we stood in with the vessel. When I took the little boat & went on shore my people were rather alarmed & did not like me to go but our passenger assured me there was no danger.³³ The Chief seeing me keep aloof from the shore made all the people sit down the Christians by themselves every one of them having a piece of white cloth either around their heads or over their shoulders to distinguish them from their heathen brethren. This being done the Chief waded up to his breasts in water to the boat & was urgent with me to land.³⁴ Upon this I ordered the people to put

32. It is unclear whether the craft is the large dugout canoe (*'iatolima*) or the plank canoe (*amatasi*). The use of footholds in one or more of the booms does not appear to have been a national practice (Buck 1930:378-80, 404-5).

33. Williams notes that he 'desired the native crew to cease rowing, and unite with me in prayer, which was our usual practice when exposed to danger' (Williams 1838:415).

34. The published account adds an exchange between Williams and the chief. In reply to Williams's fears that he could not trust himself among them, and might be injured or taken prisoner, the chief, speaking in Samoan, assured him that they were Christians. 'You Christians!' I said. 'Where did you hear of Christianity?' 'Oh,' he exclaimed, 'a great chief from the white man's country, named Williams, came to Savaii, about twenty moons ago, and placed some tama-fai-lotu "workers of religion" there, and several of our people who were there began, on their return, to instruct their friends, many of whom have become sons of the word...' (Williams 1838:416).

in with the boat which they did with some reluctance.³⁵ Upon landing the Chief Amoamo³⁶ took me by the hand & led me to the group of Christians each of which I shook by the hand & gave to each an alphabet or spelling book. There was both men women & children about 50 in number. I had not sufficient knowledge of the language to understand much that they said or to make them understand much from me. I found that they had partly embraced from Salima & partly from reports from Savai. That they knew but little more than that and they cast away the worship of their Spirits & acknowledged Jehova as their God. Some of the women had a shaggy mat round their middle others plaited leaves forming a kind of apron about ten inches wide the whole of the other part of the body naked rubbed over with oil & a preparation of ginger or turmeric. A small piece of white cloth tied round the head or neck distinguished them as Worshippers of Jehova. Rude & unseemly as they appeared I could not help viewing the poor people with much interest. They had erected a small Chapel & kept the Sabbath very strictly. I took encouragement & believed it to be the commencement of a great & good work. I went & viewed their little Chapel. It is rather a rude building without forms spread with cocoa nutt leaves & encircled with a fence. I could not ascertain the nature of their worship & could only long for the day when faithful labourers would teach them how to worship him whom now they ignorantly worship. After viewing the Chapel we went to the Chiefs house. I asked him if he was a Christian. He said No, but that if he had anyone to reside with him to instruct him he would become a Christian directly. He asked me if I had us one to leave with him. I said No not at present but when the vessel came again we would endeavour to bring him one. He said he would wait till then. I replied he had better be *lisilisi*³⁷ in haste to become a Christian; he might die in the Devils service before a teacher came & where would he go to then. A man now entered the house saying

35. The published account has more drama than the journal, concerning the landing at Leone. 'I immediately exclaimed, "I am the person you allude to; my name is Williams. I took the workers of religion to Savaii twenty moons ago!" The moment he heard this, he made a signal to the multitude, who sprang from their seats, rushed to the shore, seized the boat, and carried both it and us to the shore' (Williams 1838:417). Williams's journal does indeed record the carrying ashore of the ship's boat, but it was at Atiu in 1830; see also note 24, p.33.

36. Although Williams retains this spelling in the published account, Murray notes that the correct form is Amuamu (1876:20n).

37. Not included in any of the dictionaries, but translated by Williams as 'become a believer' (Williams 1838:419).

that he had lately been to Savai,³⁸ had seen all the teachers mentioned their names, said he had seen the Chapel, & how many people worshipped there. That they taught him a prayer which he said in the Chapel on Sabbath day. We walked through the settlement. The Chief wished for powder & muskets. Told him we had no such things. He then asked for some beads a row of which I put round his neck, with which he & the people were highly delighted. We now entered the large dancing house. Among other things that attracted notice was two places boxed off with mats. On enquiring what was the object of those he relied they were "go below". I again asked what go below was. He replied "go below girl". He had picked up a few words of English. I thought that at the time that such an exhibition was a striking argument against the dances which some travellers have so liberally condemned the Missionaries for putting down.

On my arrival on board the vessel I found the people from the neighbouring valley were waiting for me & wished me to go on shore there.³⁹ The Chief assured us that himself & nearly all his people were Christians, that they had erected a large Chapel in imitation of the one built by the Teachers at Savai, from which place he had lately come & brought the "*lotu*" religion with him. He himself had been taught by the Missionaries, & to convince us of the truth of what he said, he placed his hands before him in the form of a book & repeated a Chapter out of the Tahitian spelling book, partly in Tahitian & partly in Samoan after which he said let us pray, & kneeling down on our little quarterdeck in broken Tahitian & Samoan. Fully intending to come & spend a few days with these infant Christians on my return we declined going on shore it being night. I also expected that on my return I should be able to converse a little with them which I cannot do very well at present. We made the Chief a trifling present. Gave him some books, said what we could to him by way of encouragement, & stood on for Upolu, which is about 40 Miles distance. Le One

38. The published account adds a lengthy conversation with this man, including several passages of direct speech. It concludes with a request for a missionary to stay at Leone. Williams notes, 'I truly grieved at being compelled to tell him that I had no Missionary. On hearing this, he was affected almost to tears, and would scarcely believe me; for he imagined that the vessel was full of Missionaries, and that I could easily supply the demand' (Williams 1838:418).

39. The book details the meeting: 'As soon as I stepped on board, the chief seized me most cordially; but esteeming me greater than himself, he only rubbed his nose on my hand' (Williams 1838:420).

[Leone] the place where I went on shore is the very place where the two boats & Crews were seized. This of course I did not know until afterwards.⁴⁰ Both the Chief & people behaved remarkably well to us.

Friday 19. Having a very light breeze it was late in the afternoon before we made Upolu, when being becalmed off the East point two canoes came off, the Chief of one of which with many of his people had become Christians.⁴¹ They confirmed the good news we had heard as we came along that nearly all the people of Upolu & Savai were Christians. The Chief wished us to go on shore but we being a long distance off & it being near night I declined. He said he was *manao tasi lava ia Jehovah*.⁴² We gave them some books made them a trifling present & wished them farewell promising if possible to call again. Towards sun down we observed a canoe pulling very hard towards us. On drawing nigh we perceived two Englishmen on board. On being admitted on board & finding who we were they began to tell their exploits in "turning the people [to] religion". They assured me that they had turned between two & three hundred "religion". One of them had been to Savai & was acquainted with the teachers. Gave a good account of the teachers, their labours etc. Of course I began to enquire the nature of the labours of these two men when the head man gave me the following account. Why Sir I goes about & talks to the people & tells em that our God is good & theirs is bad & when they listen to me I makes em religion & baptizes em. Sure said I you baptize them do you & how do you do that. Why Sir I takes water & crosses em on their foreheads & breasts & then I reads a prayer to them in English. Of course said I they understand you. No Sir they says they knows its good though they don't understand. Of course said I you know what baptism is & what is the design of that sacred ordinance. "O yes Sir its making people religion". Wishing to get all the information I could out of these Ratcliffe highway⁴³ runaways I was not in haste to express my horror at their conduct at baptizing the poor ignorant heathen. Consequently I shifted the subject to

40. Two boats from the *Oldham* were seized at Leone. Williams's claim of ignorance at the time of his own visit is contradicted by the statement in *Missionary enterprises* that he was wary of landing because of the place's history (1838:416).

41. According to the published account, these people 'were waiting for the "religion-ship" of Mr Williams to bring them Missionaries' (Williams 1838:421).

42. In modern orthography, *manao'o tasi lava 'iā leova*-wishing only for Jehovah.

43. Ratcliffe Highway in London became notorious following the brutal murder of seven people in twelve days in 1811; see Critchley and James 1971.

the manner in which they spent the Sabbath. He informed me that the whole of the people they had "turned religion" met together on Sabbath days when one of them read a Chapter in the bible & read a prayer out of a few leaves of an old prayer book they had got. "Then we tries to explain to them as well as we can but we dont know the religion language." But they says they knows its good. Have you tried said I to teach one of them to read. He said no but he had taught one to say grace in English. Upon this he called the Chief to him & told him to say Grace. The Chief commenced & repeated word for word after his teacher. The poor ignorant man mightily pleased with the apparent attention I paid to him continued, I does a great deal for these people sir. I goes miles to see em when there sick. Ive been nine miles today to see a sick man. I asked him what medicine he gave them. He said None, but reads a Chapter & a prayer over them & when they gets well they generally "turn religion". He informed me of two cases a day or two ago when his prayers had been effectual to the healing of the sick. A man was taken very ill with a sad pain in the bowel. He was sent for when he read a chapter & prayed. The pain left the belly & flew to the head when he again read & prayed. In the morning the man was well. Another was a violent swelling in a mans arm which he prayed away. This had such an effect on the people that says he I have made nine religion today. His other little comrade immediately said & I have have made two. Wishing to know if they extorted the peoples property from them for "making them religion" I said the people I suppose are highly pleased with you for taking so much pains with them & would give you almost anything they have. Yes he says they'll do any think for us. They gives us food & pigs & cloth but we tells em we dont want that. Only just enough to cover ourselves with.⁴⁴ We being a long way off the shore & the men not liking to return begged to be allowed to go in the vessel to Savai & I wishing to have futher intercourse with them we agreed to take them. In the evening I enquired of them how long they had been engaged in this work. They replied about three months. I enquired what induced them to begin after having remained idle on the Islands for about a twelvemonth. They said that what they had seen & heard at Savai partly induced them. The people were anxious to be taught & the young man at Tutuila

44. Williams disputes this statement in *Missionary enterprises*, where he claims outright that 'they extorted property from the people' (1838:421).

wrote to all the white men on the Islands to set the people a better example & teach them religion. They said that there were a great many white people about the Islands all of whom were "turning the people religion". They informed us of a Native of the Navigator Islands [Samoa] who had been to Tahiti & was teaching the people the greatest nonsense. That he had told them that he held intercourse with Jehova. That the Lotu of the Missionaries of Savai was pepelu [*pepelo*] deceit. That his was right. That the 6th day (Saturday) was the Sabbath. That as many as eight or nine villages had embraced his religion. He told them that if they embraced his religion they would not die. His name is Joe Vili [Siovili]. However about 80 of his people had died lately. They gave me a hymn that he has composed & taught them to sing as they do their new songs in dancing. He appears to be a clever artful designing individual. His poetry takes with the people. The specimens I obtained were as follows.

Na afio mai Sua vili⁴⁵
 Le Manuaō e tu mai gna tai
 Ua te knifey ma le pulu fana
 Ma le teu fana
 Sulusulu fai adu lifi ola
 Au mai ai lo tatou lopa sulī
 Ole luai mai lo tatou ala vaa.

The nearest translation I can obtain is

Behold come is *Suavili
 A Man of War will present itself on the sea
 With knives & muskets Balls
 And Ramrods

*his own name

45. A possible reconstruction and translation of the text are as follows.

Na afio mai Siovili Siovili came

Le manuaō e tū mai i gātai The warship stands offshore

Ma le naifi ma le pulu fana With knives and bullets

Ma le teufana And ramrods

Sulusulu fai atu le fia ola Persist in asking to be saved

'Aumai ai lo tātou lopa sulī So [the ship] will bring our beads

'O le tuai mai o lo tātou alova'a. We are late in rowing the boat.

notes

line 6

lopa - red seeds (*Adenanthera* sp) threaded for necklaces.

sulī - possibly from the English 'jewel', or a reference to the *sulī* starfish.

Run in haste to be saved
 She will bring for us blue beads
 How long is our ship coming on her watery way.

Another⁴⁶ which has a chorus.

Suane la le vaa i na folau	Ulai, Ulai
Suane la le vaa i na folau	Ulai, Ulai
Rua tau nuu ae i Baratane	Ulai, Ulai
Ofi ai le alii o le lagni	Ulai, Ulai
a tagni fafeau ai	Ulai, Ulai
a tagni fafeau ai	Ulai, Ulai
Se auvili tasi e i la folai letu sasaê	Ulai, Ulai
Vai ola ua tubu i Eva 'i	Ulai, Ulai
Suane la le vaa i na folau	Ulai, Ulai
Rua tau nuu ae i Balanêfê	Ulai, Ulai
Ofioi le alii tele	Ulai, Ulai
Siliniu oni manu tele	Ulai, Ulai
Sua ane laa le vaa i na folau	Ulai, Ulai
Rua tau nuu ae nuu alofa	Ulai, Ulai
Ofioi le Alii o Jehova	Ulai, Ulai

46. A possible reconstruction and translation are as follows.

Sua ane lâ le va'a inâ folau The ship tacked so as to travel
Sua ane lâ le va'a 'inâ folau The ship tacked so as to travel
'Ua lâ taunu'u ai 'i Peretania They arrived in Britain
Afio 'i le ali'i o le lagi Went to the lord of the sky
'A tagi fa'afeau ai Where they pleaded their request
'A tagi fa'afeau ai Where they pleaded their request
Siovoli tasi i le folau 'i le itū i sasa'e Siovoli alone was in the journey to the east side
Vai ola 'ua tupu i Eva Living water has sprung up in Eva
Sua ane lâ le va'a 'inâ folau The ship tacked so as to travel
'Ua lâ taunu'u 'i Palanêpê They arrived at Botany Bay
Afio 'i le ali'i tele Went to the great chief
'Ua sili nu'u 'o ni manu tele Villages with large animals are best
Sua ane lâ le va'a 'inâ folau The ship tacked so as to travel
'Ua lâ taunu'u 'i Nu'ualofa They arrived at Nuku'alofa
Afio 'i le ali'i 'o leova. Went to the Lord Jehovah.

notes
 line 3

There is no record of Siovoli having gone to England; *Peretania* may possibly be a contracted form meaning 'land of the British', namely the Society Islands mission.

line 7

The 'east side' could be a reference to Tahiti, or to the side of an island in Samoa or Tonga.

line 8

'Eva' could possibly be 'Eua, the Tongan island.

The refrain *Ula ē, ula ē* necklaces, necklaces — follows each line of the text.

The nearest translation I can give is

Dash did the ship of the *two sailors through	Necklaces O
the waves	Necklaces
Dash did the ship of the two sailors through	Necklaces O
the waves	Necklaces
They two arrived at the country of Britain	Necklaces O
	Necklaces
A great Lord is King of the Skies	Necklaces O Necklaces
Cry to be sent, cry to be sent.	Necklaces O Necklaces
*Seauvili tane sailed with the ship	Necklaces O Necklaces
dashing through the waves	
And the living water is come to Eva*	Necklaces O Necklaces
Dash did the ship of the two sailors	
through the waves	Necklaces, etc
And they two arrived at Botany Bay	Necklaces, etc
The Governor is a great King	Necklaces, etc
*Silinuu is a place of great pigs	Necklaces, etc
Dash did the ship of the two sailors	
through the waves	Necklaces, etc
They two reached the land of	
compassion	Necklaces, etc
A great Lord is King Jehova	Necklaces, etc

*He accompanied a Chief Teoneula [Tuinaula] to Tahiti.
He says therefore they two are the Lords of the song.

*his own name

*his own district

*name of his land

I cannot be positive that I have done the man justice in giving the exact meaning he intended to convey. I enquired of many people & could get no other than that which I have given. They say that his *Bebesi [*pese*] are very difficult to interpret. That he is a deceiver, his object is nothing but to get women and property. He has succeeded in getting three. A few days ago he went inland under pretence of conversing with Jehovah. On his return he said that Jehovah informed him that such & such a young woman was to become his wife. She was therefore sent for & delivered over to him.⁴⁷

*poem, song etc

47. For a detailed study of this and other introduced cults in Samoa, see Freeman 1959.

Saturday 20. A breeze sprang up about 8 o'clock last night. We pursued our way till 12 when not being well acquainted with the coast we stood on & off under easy sail till day light when we found ourselves thirty or forty miles from our port. We had no idea of the immense size of Upolu.⁴⁸ Running down the coast I had both time & opportunity to converse with the two seamen on baptizing the people. I asked Jerry how he came to think of baptizing the natives. He said he thought it was "turning them religion" but if I said it was wrong he would not baptize any more. I told him it was certainly wrong & very wrong for an ignorant man like him to baptize poor heathens who were as ignorant or more so if possible than himself. I told him I looked upon it as a great piece of presumptuous wickedness & if he persisted in it he might expect some severe judgement from God upon him. I said to him suppose you were to go to England just naked as you are now with your navel tattooed & the lower parts of your tattooed belly shewing as it is now with nothing in the world but a hat & an old pair of trousers on & go into a large Church or Chapel & stand up there to baptize people. What would the people think of it. He says I see I am wrong sir, & I'll not baptize any more. I told him that there could be no harm in his teaching the people to read or write & telling them all the good he could, but I thought both he & his comrade were ignorant wicked men & to attempt to administer the sacred ordinance of baptism was a fearful thing. About three o'clock we passed the little Island of Manono when Matetau & Johnny⁴⁹ came off. Matetau embraced me cordially & rubbed noses. I asked him if he had become religious. He said No, he had been waiting for me. I told him I had fulfilled my promise & had brought him a teacher to reside with him. That I was in haste to get over to Sapapalii [Sāpapāli'i] & that I would come over in a few days again to Manono. That he might either go with us or go on shore & wait our arrival. He preferred the latter. He went on shore & we stood over to the large Island where we landed at about half past four. The poor Teachers & wives were overjoyed at seeing us. They feared we should never come near them again. After the first expressions of joy were over which is shewn by all the South Sea Islanders by crying we began to converse upon the success that had

48. Some 868km², with about 200 km of coastline.

49. Probably John Wright, whom Williams had used as an interpreter in 1830; see note 107, p.69

attended their labours when we were happy to find that in the two large Islands of Upolu & Savai that about Thirty villages had embraced Christianity. That very many were waiting our arrival before they became Christians doubting whether we should ever come again or no. The Old King Malietoa was away from home on a wood pigeon catching expedition an amusement of which the Chiefs are very fond. Messengers were dispatched immediately to inform him of my arrival. The house of the Kings brother Tuiano being nearest the landing place I went there first but recollecting the extreme jealousy of respect that exists among these people I determined to remove & take up my lodgings for the first few nights at the old Kings knowing that he would feel much hurt if on coming home he should find me at his Brothers.⁵⁰ At a little past six all the teachers went out to different houses in the settlement to perform family prayer few people as yet having acquired sufficient knowledge to officiate themselves. On their return we spent the evening in giving them an account of the state of their own Islands, the war etc. They were exceedingly grieved to hear such a dismal account. We heard this evening of the mournful death of Mrs Cross, wife of the Revd Mr Cross Wesleyan Missionary in Tognatabu [Tongatapu]. It appears that they were going in a Togna canoe to the Haapai [Ha'apai] Islands when they were overtaken with a foul wind which carried away their mast or yard, & were driven back to the west end of Tognatabu, & in the night were dashed on the reef, where she was dashed to pieces. On searching for Mrs Cross she was found dead in the bottom of the canoe.⁵¹ Some natives lashed some boards together placed her upon it & swam on shore. They swam also on shore with Mr Cross. I expect it was the same dreadful gale of wind we experienced last December at Rarotogna [Rarotonga]. Marks of its ravages are apparent at every Island I have visited from Tahiti to Niutabu [Niuatoputapu] a distance of about 15 hundred miles. Many of the Tognatabuans were drowned. Thus are Missionaries exposed to perils at sea as well as by land. I also heard an account of Puna & his party, the Teacher of Rurutu who was lost at sea about two years ago. It seems they made Niutabu where they remained three

50. The statement is reworded in *Missionary enterprises*: 'Although Malietoa was absent, I determined to take up my residence at his home, knowing it would afford him pleasure to find me there on his return' (Williams 1838:425).

51. Williams later records a detailed account of her drowning as told to him by Cross himself (pp. 199-200).

or four months when Puna taken ill was anxious to get to a place where Missionaries resided. Consequently put to sea for Tognatabu when by a contrary wind they were driven to Nuafoou [Niuafu'ou] where the natives burnt his little vessel, & where also he died two days after his arrival. An Englishman who had lately come from there said that a severe war was raging on the Island & if the opposite party succeeded Puna's wife & the Rurutuans would all be killed. That they were grieving sadly to get home. On hearing this I determined if possible to go there & take them in.

Sabbath 21st. At about nine oclock we went to the Chapel. It is a building after the Tahitian model but thatched with sugar cane leaves & rather roughly executed. There are but few forms in the house. The floor is covered with cocoa nutt leaves plaited. The teachers have succeeded in inducing the people to lay off their dress of leaves & wear cloth but the greater part of the body is still exposed both of men & women. As all the Christians came from the two neighbouring villages our congregation consisted of about seven hundred. Makea the noble looking Chief of Rarotogna excited much attention. He was dressed in European Clothing with a fine Red surtout coat presented by Mr Buzacott just before our departure. One of the teachers commenced by giving out a hymn in the Tahitian language which the teachers only sang. He then read a Chapter out of the Tahitian testament putting as much of it as he could into the Samoa language. He then engaged in prayer in the Samoa dialect,⁵² after which I preached a short sermon in the Tahitian language from This is a faithful saying &c which one of the teachers interpreted. The people appeared to pay attention; but few of them appeared to understand the object of preaching to them. The congregation presented the rudest appearance of any I recollect preaching to on any occasion. Some of the Chiefs had beautifully fine mats over their shoulders or girt round the middle. Others had a piece of cloth thrown carelessly about them as though it was a burden to them. Some with long stiff hair standing erect like the bristles of a hedge hog. Others with long frizzly hair giving to their heads a very large appearance. Others with long hair hanging over their shoulders. Others having it bound up on top of the head forming a large round beautiful top

52. The published account reads, 'One of them read a chapter of the Tahitian testament, translated it into the Samoan dialect, and engaged in prayer with great ease and fluency' (Williams 1838:425).

knot. The ladies were equally fanciful in their decorations. The heads of some was shorn bare except a tuft over the left temple from which a long tail was left to dangle down the cheek while the tawny skin was made to shine with a profusion of scented oil. The body was tinged all over with a preparation of turmeric which was laid on thicker under the arm pits about the breasts & face, which gives them an orange red tinge of which they are extremely fond. Notwithstanding the singular appearance of the congregation it was impossible to view them without a great degree of interest as a people just emerging from the darkness in which they have for ages been enveloped to behold the light of life. On returning home I enquired of the teachers why they had not taught them to sing. They informed me they had commenced but the females immediately took what they obtained to the dancing houses & sang it to their dances. They were therefore afraid to teach them any more at present.⁵³ I asked them if they had not taught them to make their nice white Tahitian cloth.⁵⁴ They said they themselves had made a great deal for the Chiefs but they could not get the women to learn. They were so intolerably lazy. They liked the cloth very well indeed to put round their middles but they could not induce them to cover their persons of which they are exceedingly proud especially their breasts which are generally very large. They are continually wishing the teachers wives to lay aside their garments & "faasamoa" [*fa'a-Sāmoa*] do as the Samoan ladies do, gird a shaggy mat round their loins as low down as they can tuck up the corner in order to expose the whole front & side of the left thigh anoint themselves beautifully with scented oil, tinge themselves with turmeric put a string of blue beads round their neck & then faariaria⁵⁵ [*fā'alialia*] walk about to shew themselves. You will have, say they, all the *Manaia*⁵⁶ [*mānaia*] the handsome young men of the town loving you then. However the teachers wives are

53. This contrasts with the apparent success at introducing Christian songs claimed only two years later by Barff (n.d.). However, Barff did not remain at any village for more than a few hours on that occasion, and could not have known of any long-term results of his teaching.

54. Unlike the practice in Samoa, some varieties of Tahitian bark cloth were sun-bleached and used while still in a white condition (Oliver 1974:1:146). Although Samoan bark cloth is thin and white after sun drying, it is normally coloured with various dyes before use (Buck 1930:292, 294). Later in his stay in Samoa, Williams himself saw strips of white cloth (p.149).

55. *Fā'alialia* — to make a display.

56. *Mānaia* — a high chief's son, 'a special position which is institutionalised and endowed with certain ceremonial duties and privileges' (Milner 1966:128).

not yet converted to the fashions of the Samoa ladies. At about one o'clock Malietoa came home. He came immediately to our house. He was dressed in a beautiful mat girded round his loins a white shirt & a neat waistcoat. He was looking exceedingly well. He began by expressing his sincere pleasure at seeing me again. He feared he never should have enjoyed that pleasure. They had been expecting me a very long time. He then congratulated me on looking so well. They are exceedingly complimentary. He then said he was happy to be able to present all my people to me in health & that neither their persons or property had been touched. He was very thankful that the good word of Jehova was brought. Very many had believed & those who had not would now see what the teachers said was true since I had come again according to my promise & their assurances. He said his heart was *mana'o tasi lava i le lotu a Jehova*⁵⁷ - that is single in its desire to know the word of Jehova. I replied by saying I was extremely happy in meeting him again & seeing him so hearty & well, & stated that the reason of our not being here at the time promised was the accident our vessel had met with. I was very happy to see that he had performed all that he had promised. I then introduced Makea to him as the King of Rarotogna. He viewed him with an eagles eye, made many enquiries about him & then called him a handsome man & said he was not able to be equalled by any Chief on the Samoas.⁵⁸ In the afternoon the Service was conducted the same as in the Morning. I spoke to them from John 3 - 16 God so loved the world &c Its vexing to be tongue tied! I felt it much.⁵⁹ Here was a congregation of near a thousand people⁶⁰ ready to hear the word of Salvation & I obliged to parcel little sentences out to them through a stammering interpreter. After Service one of the Teachers arose & said Friends, For a long time past we have been subjected to ridicule & reproach by some of you. You have represented us as deceivers & said much evil against us. Here is our Minister Mr Williams for

57. In modern orthography, *Mana'o tasi lava 'i le lotu a Ieova* — Wishing solely for the religion of Jehovah.

58. Makea is described as 'six feet two inches tall in height, without shoes, which he never wore, and so stout that he looked rather short than tall. His thigh ... was exactly the size of my body, his feet and legs up to about two inches above his knee, as well as his hands and arms to a little above the elbow, were most beautifully tatooed. His colour was fair for a native, which displayed the tatooing to advantage. We had no means of weighing him, but I should think he was nearly five cwt' (Sunderland and Buzacott 1866:142).

59. In the published account, Williams describes the giving of the sermon as 'a delightful employment' (1838:428).

60. Later enlarged to 'not less than a thousand persons' (Williams 1838:428).

whom you said you would wait. You can now ask him any questions you please upon the truth of what we have told you. Further there is an imposter who has taught some of you to keep Saturday as the Sacred day & some of you have rejected us & adhered to the advice of an ignorant & wicked man. Here is Mr Williams who is from the foundation of truth England. He with his brother Missionaries is the fountain from which all true knowledge in these Seas has come.⁶¹ Now ask him upon all the points that you have doubted us. He is our Root.

After a short interval Malietoa came forward & made a long & sensible reply to the teachers, the substance of which was, not to regard what insignificant individuals might say, but let every person from this time put away all suspicions & evil feelings. That now surely they were convinced of the truth of what they had heard. Let all Savai, all Upolu embrace this great religion. That the Samoa people were very simple to listen to what * A stinking pig should say to them about religion & regard a stinking pigs Sabbath. For his part his whole soul should be given to the word of Jehova & he would use his utmost endeavours that the Word of Jehova might encircle the land.

After the old Chief had done speaking I desired one of the teachers to say that if they would all collect together tomorrow I should be happy to answer any questions they might propose - which was agreed to. After service we spent an interesting hour in baptizing two of the teachers children. They expressed a wish that their children should be baptized in private lest the Samoans who imitate every thing they see should go & baptize their own. Yielding to their suggestions we held our little meeting in our own dwelling, after which the teachers went to the different houses in the settlement to perform family worship. While they were away I composed three hymns in the Samoa language⁶² to which we arranged three simple easy tunes which the teachers intend to try to teach the people.

*Stinking pig is a common term to express contempt of a person & Malietoa used it in contempt of the imposter.

61. 'He and his brother Missionaries are the fountains from which its streams have flowed through these islands' (Williams 1938:428-9).

62. To Williams's credit must also go the writing of the first publications in the Samoan language. Taken and distributed in 1834 by Barff and Buzacott, these comprised 'the first Elementary books printed in the Samoan Dialect — a small reading and spelling book — a small Catechism and a small hymn book. These little works had been drawn up by Mr Williams before he left for England, and we printed them at Huahine' (Barff n.d.).

Translation

E aso sa i leinei	A holy day is this
E aso tele foi	Also a great day
Tatalo tatou sau alii	Let us worship the great King
Le Etu moni foi	The true & only God
2	2
Faafetai tatou atoa	Let all unite in thanks
Alofa tele lava	Great indeed his mercy
Ua au mai ia le aso sa	In giving us a Sacred day
Ma lona atalii	With his beloved Son.
3	3
E aso sa i leinei	A holy day is this
E aso lelei foi	A truly good day
Faalogno tatou tasi lava	Let all with one heart believe
Le ubu ola nei	The Word of Salvation

63. A possible reconstruction and translation are as follows.

E aso sã lenei This is a sacred day
E aso tele fo'i And also a great day
Tatalo tãtõu 'i se ali'i We pray to a chief
Le aitu moni fo'i. Who is also the true spirit.

Fa'afetai tãtõu 'ãtoa We all give thanks
Alofa tele mai Very great love
'Ua 'aumata le aso sã [He] brought the sacred day
Ma lona atali'i And his son.

E aso sã lenei This is a sacred day
E aso lelei fo'i And a good day too
Fa'alogõ tãtõu ta'itasi lava Let each of us listen
['I] le upu ola nei. To this living word.

notes

verse 1, line 3

The original *sau alii* could conceivably be *sau ali'i*, a ghost (see note 267 p.241), but this is far from Williams's own translation of 'the great king'.

line 4

Elsewhere in his journal, Williams uses *Etu* to refer to personal and village gods, i.e., *aitu* rather than *atua*, a higher order of gods in the Samoan cosmology, though this latter term is now in use for the Christian God.

Another⁶⁴

Alofa tele lona nei	Great is his compassion
Ua alofa ia ai tatou	His mercy to us
Alofa tele o Jesu Christ	Great the love of Jesu Christ
I oti mai i êi.	To die upon the earth
2	2
E tama pele o Jesu Christ	A beloved Son was Jesu Christ
E Atalii lelei	A very good Son
Ua oti mai i lalo nei	But he died down here below
Ia ola foi tatou	To obtain Salvation for us
3	3
Faalogno uma lava foi	Let every one believe
Lo tatou loto nei	With our whole hearts
Ia malolo le atamai	That our Souls may obtain salvation
Ia sau o Jesu Christ	When Jesus Christ shall come.

Spent the evening pleasantly with the Teachers listening with interest to the journies they had taken the difficulties they had encountered & the progress of their success since they landed on this Island.

Monday 22. Early this morning a number of pigs was brought to us with some taro & bread fruit after which we were called to attend the meeting of the Chiefs. After mutual salutations I stated that I had come according to my promise made to him on our former visit. That the time then specified had passed but the reason of our detention was the accident that had befallen our vessel. I was very happy to hear from my people that he had fulfilled all that he promised me at that time, & that he & so many of his people had become Christians. The old Gentleman made a most sensible reply

64. A possible reconstruction and translation are as follows.

Lona alofa tele nei This is his great love
'Ua alofa a'i 'iate i tâtou With which he loves us
['O le] alofa tele o Jesu Christ [It was] the love of Jesus Christ
'Ia oti mai i 'inei. To die here.
E tama pele 'o Jesu Christ Jesus Christ was a beloved young man
E atali'i lelei A good son
'Ua oti mai i lalo nei He died down here
'Ia ola fo'i tâtou. So that we too might live.
Fa'alogo 'uma lava fo'i Let us all also listen
'I lo tâtou loto nei Now with all our hearts
'Ia mâlô le atamai So that wisdom may triumph
'Ia sau 'o Jesu Christ. And Jesus Christ may come.

after which Makea the King of Rarotogna was introduced. He gave an account of the introduction of Christianity to his Island & exhorted Malietoa and the Chiefs to lay a firm hold of the true God & his word for this alone would render them happy & peaceable.⁶⁵ The old Chief replied to Makea assuring him of the sincere attachment he had to Christianity and his full determination to hold it firm. After this I told him that Jehova's people in England had written to me saying they were willing to send out white Missionaries to instruct him & his people if he was sincerely desirous to be instructed & to become a true worshipper of Jehova. That as they were only waiting to hear from me before they sent them I wished him & his Chiefs to be very true & faithful in what they said. Did he really wish to become a Christian. Did he fully intend to leave off war & would he protect both the persons & the properties of the Missionaries that might come to him. He appeared rather surprised & somewhat hurt that I should doubt the goodness of his intentions after the proof he had given me in fulfilling all that he promised when I was here before. I told him I was fully satisfied in my own mind upon the subject for of all that he promised me nothing had failed. He promised to put an end to the war in which he was then engaged as soon as possible & engage in no more. This he had done. He promised on his return from the war to put up a place of worship. This he had done. He promised to become a Christian himself. This he had done. He promised to protect the persons & property of my people & to provide them with food. This he had done.⁶⁶ I looked on him as a Chief who spoke the truth but the good people in England did not know him as I did & if I go there to invite Missionaries to his land they will naturally say to me, Who is Malietoa. Does he really wish to be a man of God. Will he preserve us from insult. I should say Yes. The People in England are not frequently duped & they will say How do you know. Having asked you all these questions in

65. This brief description of Makea's speech, which is said to have 'entertained and delighted the people', is expanded considerably in the published account to extol not only Christianity but also European values (Williams 1838:430).

66. Barff (n.d.) records the teachers' opinion that the success of their work derived from one of their number having enough medical knowledge to bleed Malietoa when he was suffering from a fever. Despite Malietoa's earlier promise to Williams, the teachers had been suffering from lack of provisions. Following the success of the bleeding and his subsequent recovery, Malietoa was more constant in his attention to their material needs, and more receptive to their evangelising. 'From this singular beginning the great change began' (p. 9), and the conversion rate accelerated.

publick assembly of all your great Chiefs & Captains I shall be able to give them most satisfactory answers to all their enquiries.⁶⁷ With this he clasped his hands & said Aue te fefe - tele poto [*Auē ta fefe, tele poto*]. Oh how fearfully wise these people are. Having settled this question by his assuring me of his having but one desire to know love & serve Jehova, & that if Missionaries came with as much property as would extend from the Sea Shore to the mountains it should never be touched while he lived,⁶⁸ also of his full determination never to go to war again. I proceeded to state that when Mr Barff & I was here before his relation Matetau of Manono begged that he might have a teacher. In fulfillment of that promise I had brought one down for him. This occasioned considerable debate as Malietoa wished the Teachers for the various Islands to be brought to him first & then those Chiefs who wished to become Christians were to apply to him. He said that if it was otherwise there would be many different systems in the Islands but if all came from one place which was to be a kind of head quarters there would be one head to look to which would destroy at once any difference of system. We plainly saw the drift of this reasoning. It was to give him a kind of supremacy over the whole of the Islands but as there existed a serious difference between the Manono people & Malietoa who lately wished to make war on him, I thought it by all means advisable if possible to get them together & let them adjust their differences. Consequently to do honour to Matetau offered to send the vessel over for him knowing that he would consider it degrading himself to come over if sent for in a canoe. This was agreed to. The Chief then asked me in publick assembly my opinion of the follies taught by Seauvili [*Siovili*] & the propriety of the Saturday being regarded as Sabbath day. I replied that perhaps the man might have been to Tahiti but he had

67. Williams's letter suggesting that European missionaries be sent to Samoa received prompt attention by the LMS directors (Minute for 30 September 1833) who, only two weeks after its arrival, resolved that four missionaries and a missionary printer be appointed to proceed there as soon as possible (Minute for 14 October 1833). Fourteen days later, the directors announced the appointment of three missionaries (Minutes for 28 October 1833). However, the size and composition of the group was to change, and six missionaries and their wives finally arrived in Samoa in May 1835. They were Barden, Hardie, Heath, McDonald, Mills and Murray (Barff n.d.).

68. The published account adds further excerpts from the conversation, including Malietoa's request for Williams and his family to live with him, Williams's counter-proposal to go and bring more missionaries from England, and Malietoa's reluctant agreement, "'Go, go with speed; obtain all the Missionaries you can, and come again; but we shall be dead, many of us will be dead before you return'" (Williams 1838:432).

never united himself to any Missionary there. Consequently all the knowledge he had gained in the voyage was in pulling ropes on board ship. He was an ignorant & wicked man. His system was folly & deceit. He was contemptible & unworthy of regard. They then asked me to state what was *Sa*⁶⁹ [*sā*] according to the doctrines of Christian Religion, saying that they would abandon that which was bad. I replied that there were many things among them that were *Sa* or bad but we thought that force or authority to put them away at present would not be judicious. When they were a little more enlightened in the doctrines of Christian Religion they themselves would see the evil of many things in which they now delighted & would put them away. War they knew was bad. Thieving they knew was bad. Adultery in some cases they themselves condemned. Lying & cheating they acknowledged was bad. All these were *Sa* in the Christian religion. Dancing naked was filthy and many other customs of which I had heard were bad by their own sense. In a short time they would be able to distinguish between good & bad & of themselves would see the propriety of casting away those which were bad.

They then asked my opinion on bathing on Sabbath days. From what I had seen of their bathing bouts I gave it as my decided opinion that midday bathing on Sabbath was not advisable⁷⁰ but if they felt disposed to wash themselves with decency morning & evening to do so. I told them further that the teachers we had brought them had been under instruction of myself & brother Missionaries many years & could give them advice on all these points. They replied that the teachers had told them just the same as I had. The old Chief then expressed a wish that we not leave him soon & begged me to examine the harbour to see if possible to bring the ship in for his love for us would not begin to decrease soon. We promised to stay many days with him also to examine the harbour & if possible to bring the vessel to anchor. After the meeting a present of ten pigs & some bread fruit was brought to us. The remaining part of the day was spent in conversation with the teachers & procuring from them an account of what had taken place since I left them. They were extremely ill for some time after with the disease that afflicted them when we left them. The lives of two were despaired of but in about two months they all got round.

69. *Sā* — forbidden.

70. The prohibition on Sunday bathing in the sea still applies in many locations in Samoa, with individual villages determining their attitude regarding any shoreline owned by them.

The disease also raged among the natives & they charged them with bringing the disease to them.⁷¹ The women however treated them with kindness for the men were away at the war. A few days after we left a great number of people arrived from all parts of the Island who with Malietoa & his brother Tuiano took departure for Upolu the seat of war. Tuiano had already professed his intention to become a Christian & had attended family prayer morning & evening. On leaving he begged the teachers to pray for him that he might be saved in the war. About a fortnight after he returned saying that God had heard their prayers for him. They had had a severe encounter with the enemy. Many had fallen & he escaped. The heads of many of their own people were brought over for internment. The howlings & lamentations of the women through the settlement as the heads of their relations were presented was very doleful & distressing. Many of the women & children now began to attend worship so much so that the house was full on Sabbath day. The Kings Son Mariota⁷² also came over from the seat of war & with his fathers consent became *lotu* & determined to stay with us. We now began to think of building a Chapel. Malietoa hearing this approved our design & sent another Son over to assist us desiring also that we would pray for him. Tuiano their uncle wished the Chapel to be on his ground to which the young men would not agree. A serious quarrel resulted. We therefore thought it prudent to desist for the present. Mariota went over to Upolu to his Father who gave orders that it should be erected on a grass flat near the sea beach facing his own dwelling. However we did not at this time go on with it. We now thought it would be well that some of our number should go over & see Malietoa & carry him a small present. Consequently Tai, Maia & Boti prepared to go. Mariota accompanied them. Some friend informed them that it was necessary to show Mariota the present they were about to make his father & he would go with them for he was left in charge during the fathers absence & according to the custom of the country had the Teachers presented it without first acquainting him he would have felt much hurt & in all probability seized the present either from them or his Father. They passed through many villages both

71. It was influenza. 'They say that the first attack of it ever known in Samoa was during the Aana war in 1830, just as the missionaries Williams and Barff, with Tahitian teachers, first reached their shores. The natives at once traced the disease to the foreigners and the new religion' (Turner 1884:138).

72. Possibly a misspelling of 'Malietoa', by which title Vaiinupo's sons may also have been known.

going & coming in most of which they stayed a day or two & many people in most villages heard them gladly & not a few became Christians. There was no fighting during their stay in Ana⁷³ [A'ana] the seat of war for the Ana people had taken to their fortress on the mountain & Malietoas army was encamped beneath forming a kind of blockade. Just as we left continued the teachers one of the besiegers was killed. He went a little way inland to get some food & when the enemy who it appears were always on the alert hiding themselves up trees, behind clumps or wherever they could find concealment sallied out & took him. His own party succeeded in getting his head. While we were there a Chief from Savai who had come over to the war said he felt a great desire to be taught the word of Jehova. That he would return in a few days to Savai when he would hold a fitiligna⁷⁴ [*fetalaiga*] with his people & family & send to us. We told him we should be happy to come to his settlement whenever he should send for us. On our return home we found our wives & families under great concern for us as we had exceeded the time specified. Shortly after our return home a messenger arrived from the Chief with whom we conversed at Upolu stating our wish that we should come & instruct him & his people how to become Christians. Accordingly three of our number went. The settlement is very large containing near a thousand people. On our arrival we found the Chief with his family & many people were assembled in the large house of assembly. After the usual ceremonies of salutation the Chief asked us if we had brought a fish spear. We replied no we had not. What did he want with a fish spear. He said to spear an Eel which was his Etu⁷⁵ [*aitu*] or god to cook it & eat it, which would effectually convince all of the sincerity of his intentions to become *lotu* or Christian. We asked him if he had no other Etu. He replied that the spirit of his god resided also in a *fowl which was also the subject

*From what I can ascertain each chief has his own Etu or object in which the spirit of his god resides & whatever that object is is sacred & not eaten or killed by any person in his own settlement. Some regard the snakes others a species of eel, others the snipe others the wood pigeon others a peculiar kind of fish some one thing & some another as the object in which the Spirit of his god resides. The eel & fowl appear to have been this Chiefs Etu. One Chief does not appear to respect the Etu of another Chief for fowls are eaten by all.

73. A'ana, the western district of Upolu. Williams appears to have been aware of the glottal in the name, as it is written AAna on one occasion in the journal.

74. *Fetalaiga* — the speech of an orator. Williams uses the term more broadly in the journal, translating it variously as 'meeting' and 'general trial', equating it with *fono*, the general term for a formal gathering. In the book, the word appears as 'faiata-linga' (Williams 1838:437).

75. *Aitu* — ghost or spirit; in the present context, 'epiphany'.

of his worship. Several of these were caught baked & eaten on the occasion after which we wrote the names of all who wished to become Christians & offered a prayer over them. This appears to have been the method adopted by the teachers on almost all occasions. When a Chief had expressed his wish to become *lotu* he has come to the Teachers & expressed his intention. They have appointed a day in which they promise to come to his settlement by which time he has a little feast prepared of which all partake who feel inclined to abandon their heathenism. On these occasions also the god of the Chief is killed or one of the same species of animal in which his spirit resides for it does not appear that the spirit of his god resides in any one particular but if a fowl is the residence of the Spirit of his god all fowls are sacred. If a snake or eel all snakes & eels are sacred & not eaten by the Chiefs & people the Spirit of whose god resides there. If the animal is edible it is eaten also on these occasions which effectually according to native notions renders unsacred what they had held as most sacred. After this the teachers generally preach a sermon to them & offer up a prayer. Since the converts have become so numerous they have omitted writing their names. The teachers spent the Sabbath here. They objected to hold worship in the large publick building of the settlement as it is the house in which all their dances & heathenish games are carried on. When we consider the disgusting & dreadfully indecent nature of some of them we much approve the conduct of the Teachers. On our arrival at the house of worship we were astonished to see so many of them dressed in European clothing. The mystery has since been unravelled. A gang of convicts stole a little vessel from Moreton Bay New South Wales & making the Navigator Islands took a good deal of the property out of her & scuttled her. She consequently sunk at a distance from the shore. The clothes worn by the natives were what these run away convicts⁷⁶ had given them. The account given by one Brown whom they forced to navigate the vessel for them is that they killed some of the crew committed many depredations at Moreton Bay & even fired into the government house. Murdered three of their own number on the voyage down. On our return home continued the teachers we found the Chiefs & people of our own settlement very

76. In 1838 at least one convict from the ship was still resident on Savai'i (Gutch 1974:125), and the last survivor is said to have died in 1840 (Hutton 1874:203-4). Williams met one of them later in his 1832 visit (see p.166).

angry with us for going to any other place. It was jealousy. We told them that it was not our intention to leave them but we must go about to other settlements as our object was to teach all & make all Christians. A Sabbath or two afterwards we thought to go & see our new converts again. Accordingly three of us went & spent the Sabbath there, Many were added to their number & those who had become *lotu* had abandoned their indecent dances. On our return home turning a point of land we were startled at beholding at Ana the seat of war the mountain in a blaze & concluded that Malietoa & Manono had succeeded in taking the fortress of the poor Ana people which proved to be the case. This disastrous war had continued with unabated fury for nearly nine months in which many of our people fell victims so that the dead & wounded were brought over every day. The cries & lamentations of the women together with their frantic behaviour in wounding their heads with stones & sharks teeth added to the appearance of the victims some of which were sadly hacked & mangled others only the head was obtained was a source of continued distress to us, so that although the termination was attended with such sad havoc among the enemy we could but rejoice at its conclusion.

The conquerors made immense fires & threw men women & children alive into them.⁷⁷ On being reproved for such barbarous conduct they replied their anger was great at losing so many relatives that the Chiefs could not restrain them. However Malietoa it appears saved all who fled to him for refuge & has obtained a great name through the country for so doing. The teachers were afraid that Teoneula⁷⁸ [Tuinaula] a Chief that had been to Tahiti & experienced a great desire to have a Missionary at his settlement had fallen in the war as his party was conquered. He however succeeded in making his escape & came over to Savai to a settlement about 8 miles from the Missionary Station. They went to see him. He had received *Seven* wounds in the course of the war. He told them how much he was against fighting but was obliged. That he knew of our coming on our former voyage & much wished to see us but could not get to us being pent up in the fortress by the besieging army. They invited him to come & take up his residence

77. Citing a verbal comment from Samuel Ella, Stair puts the total deaths in the fire at 400 (1897:256). The site of the massacre was named Tito.

78. Tuinaula; see note 124, p.74.

with them. He however was afraid & said that Tognatabu [Tongatapu] was his only place of safety. Consequently as soon as his frightful wounds were healed he departed for Tognatabu. The origin of this disastrous war was the people of Ana's killing the *Tama faigna*⁷⁹ [Tamafaigā] *Spirit Chief*. He does not appear to have been a great Chief by birth but immediately his mother was delivered said that the child was an Etu & that the spirit of the God was in him. Consequently a great Chief took him to rear & he became their Tama faigna. All that I can gather of this celebrated Tama faignā is it was believed that the Spirit of the Devil rested in him & that he had power to inflict disease & death. He was consulted as an Oracle or prophet on all important occasions & his decisions were always law. He possessed no power as a Chief but all the Chiefs paid a kind of homage & brought presents to him. His presence inspired a kind of awe so that all would creep away & hide themselves as he passed by. No one could touch a portion of his food on pain of death. Property pigs & all the women in the Islands were at his command. If he took a fancy to a young girl he had nothing to do but to send a message to that effect which was immediately complied with. I had heard two anecdotes related of him that may tend to throw light on his character & office. On one occasion a Tognatabu canoe came here to trade. Among other things a young woman was purchased. Just as the canoe was about to sail the purchased girl ran away & hid herself. The Tognatabuans seized another girl in lieu of her & put to sea. The relatives immediately went to Tama faigna to state their grievance. He replied Dont grieve about that. A foul wind will blow the canoe back tomorrow & you can get the girl again. The canoe was really driven back next day with a foul wind according to Tamafaigna's prediction. This circumstance tended in no small degree to heighten his popularity. The other was that at the conclusion of a former battle all the conquered people fled into the bush. The

79. Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a Tamafaigā, a war-priest of Manono, rose to power following Manono's defeat of the A'ana district, traditional home of the Samoa kingship, in a war termed 'o le peiga o le mālō (the crushing of the mālō). The victory elevated Manono's political importance (with Vaiinupō eventually gaining the kingship) in connection with parts of Savai'i and Upolu, through which the Tamafaigā was able to insinuate himself to having the four royal titles (Tuia'ana, Tuiatua, Gato'aitele and Tamasoāli'i) bestowed upon him. The combination of power was sufficient for him to be revered almost as a god, hence his apparently complete freedom of action and enormous social authority. Stair (1897:250ff) has a concise account of the man's rise and fall.

conquerers commenced pursuit & search. A fine young virgin was taken & of course brought to Tamafaigna. She began to bewail & lament for her Father & Mother who would fall in the general massacre that was going on. This Tamafaigna taking a fancy to the girl immediately clothed himself in some particular dress & went out. The massacre was stopped instantaneously & thus two or three thousand lives might be spared. Having gratified his desires with respect to this young woman he sent her away to her parents. A young chief afterwards purchased her for three canoes three hundred hogs & other things in proportion. She is still a fine young woman. I had the pleasure of seeing her. She is respected as being the means of saving so many lives. Notwithstanding the unlimited power possessed by this man he was so excessively tyrannical that he exasperated the people so that the Chiefs of Ana laid a plot to kill him. He was generally attended by five or six wild young Chiefs going about from settlement to settlement committing all manner of depredations, killing their pigs, demanding their food seizing their property & dragging the Chiefs wives away. On the occasion of his death he had gone attended by his wild tribe of young Chiefs to Ana. After having shot their pigs & taken food he said he would sleep there & demanded that a certain chief woman⁸⁰ should sleep with him that night. Considerable objections were made to it. However he would have no Nay, so the Chiefs of Ana held a fitiligna [*fetalaiga*] & determined to kill him in the night. The brother of the woman he demanded went to her & desired her to sleep with him & when he was about to lie with her to offer resistance & make a noise which should be to them a signal. A place was screened off with cloth for them to sleep in. His comrade chiefs laid themselves down on either side of the screen to protect their leader. Towards midnight the woman began to make a noise according to the previous arrangement when the conspiring Chiefs armed with clubs & axes rushed into the house. His wild companions immediately cried out "they have come to kill us", "they are come to kill us" & ran out of the house, in doing which one received a blow with a hatchet which inflicted a sad wound on

80. This was 'on his return from Lau'i'i, where he had gone for the placement of his house in Manono. [He] stayed in Faleasi'u in order to sleep with the beautiful *tāupōu* [ceremonial village virgin] Leuteifuiono' (Krämer 1930:2:397). The attacking party was led by Tuimui of Fasito'outa village (Stair 1897:252).

his back. The others escaped unhurt. Tamafaigna ran⁸¹ down into the sea up to his neck. His pursuers followed him when he cried for mercy offering them the Malo or supremacy if they would but spare his life & he with the Chiefs of his party would become *vaivai* the weak or submitting party.⁸² He also offered a fine string of blue beads which were round his neck & on which great value is placed if they would but spare his life. Immediately the beads were from his neck they struck him a blow with a sharp axe which severed it from his body after which they carried him into the house cut off his legs, & his arms & parts of generation. They then cut off his legs for gadding about to other peoples settlements. They cut off his hands for seizing other peoples property & dragging their women. They cut off his parts for having connection with other mens wives, & they cut out his tongue for his intolerable insolence. All the whole of his party immediately threatened vengeance against his murderers⁸³ & they have revenged his death with frightful severity for all the districts in AAna are depopulated & in sailing along the beautiful coast for ten or twelve miles not a habitation is to be seen. Not that they are all destroyed but those who have escaped have taken refuge among their friends & relations being driven away from Ana. The Chiefs however have begun to consult upon allowing the fugitives to return & take possession of their lands again. His skull was obtained & is in the possession of the Chief who brought him up.⁸⁴ It is pretended that his Spirit still resides in the skull & to keep up the villainy (for many of the sensible Chiefs know it to be nothing else) the Chief pretends to consult this head by taking it down placing it before him & in a low tone of voice holding conversation with it. Tribute is also demanded for the Spirit of Tamafaigna residing in the skull. Of course those who have embraced Christianity have ceased to make presents. The body of the Tamafaigna was not allowed to be tattooed his blood being too precious to be spilt. Many of the Chiefs used to upbraid him with the vileness of his conduct saying he was

81. His escape may have been impeded by a spear wound in the side (Stair 1897:252). Two of his companions were also killed, the remainder being spared through the intercession of Tagutuoleao, a chief of Falefa, who happened to be in the village at the time (ibid.).

82. Williams later provides a detailed account of the *mālō* and *vaivai* (p.239); see also note 235, p.221.

83. At least two fled to Tutuila, later settling there (Murray 1876:76).

84. Williams identifies this man as Pea (p.137), and a few days later met him on Manono (p.162). Other remains of Tamafaiga were recovered (p.266).

a deceiver & had no Spirit residing in him or he would not act as he did. He has left one daughter a little girl about seven or eight years of age. I saw her at a settlement called Satapaitea [Sātupa'itea]. It is said that she will be the future Tamafaigna unless the introduction of Christianity removes the sanctity which invests the office or abolishes it altogether which is by far the most probable. A woman who was Tamafaigna of a neighbouring Island very nearly sacrificed the life of an Englishman indeed of three or four. A canoe had arrived in safety, the voyagers immediately presented to this Tamafaigna a basket of Kava as an offering for being conducted in safety over the deep. This was deposited in the spirit house. One of the Englishmen went & stole it. On its being discovered to be stolen, suspicion fell on these run away sailors & the Tamafaigna told the Chief that they must all be killed or he & his Island would be visited with some sore judgement. The devolo told her so. The Englishman who actually stole the kava did not like that others should suffer for his folly went to the Chief & told him that he had stolen the kava. The Chief went to the Tamafaignā and she said that nothing but his death would preserve him & his Island from the anger & vengeance of the Devil. Consequently he returned with an intention to kill the Englishman. A Samoa Chief interposed & said that he had become a Christian consequently did not believe that the spirit was in the Tamafaigna & should object to the mans death. Allowing that the Spirit was in what did this Englishman know about their spirits & their sacred kava. If it had been one of their own people who had stolen the kava knowing it to be the Tamafaigna's it would be different. On hearing this the affrighted Chief returned to Tamafaigna & related what had passed. She immediately became inspired & said Why should they put an ignorant papalagni [*papālagi* - foreigner] to death who had no knowledge of their ways & customs. Affirming that the true spirit was now in her it was only his little imps when she demanded his death. From all I can learn there was more knavery than foolery in their system. After the war was over the Teachers proposed to build the Chapel to which Malietoa consented. They set about it with spirit. All those who had embraced Christianity worked at it & it was soon finished. Malietoa prepared food took a great many hogs & went on a kind of prowling expedition⁸⁵ to a settlement on the opposite side of the

85. A *malaga*; Williams gives a detailed description later in the journal (pp.251-3).

island. Most of the Christians followed him. He would present his food – fish & pigs to the Chiefs of the place & they in return would present a quantity of Tapa's⁸⁶ & mats. On these occasions sham fights fencing matches⁸⁷ & dances are exhibited by both parties. It appears that the Christians regarded the Sabbath & held their worship while the heathens were at their games. Many embraced Christianity at this settlement from seeing the worship of the Christians & hearing their account of the new religion. When Malietoa & his party returned some people from the heathen settlement accompanied him to fetch some of us to go & instruct them how to worship Jehova. Intending to open the Chapel the following Sabbath we did not return with the messengers but promised to come after the Sabbath. On the Saturday morning previous to the opening of the Chapel Malietoa collected all his family with all the Chiefs & people. He also sent for the teachers. When all were collected together he stated to them his determination to renounce his heathenism & become a Christian, but wished his children still to adhere to their heathen spirits saying he would make a fair trial of the goodness of each & whichever proved the best adhere to it. His children objected saying they wished also to become Christians. If the system was bad would such wise people as the English hold it? Would they be at the trouble of bringing it to them if it was bad. However the old father was resolute & said No — you hold our Spirits for a time & I will become a worshipper of Jehova & you look on to see if it goes well with me. If it does you can easily follow me at any time. If I die or it goes ill with me you have still your Spirits which you have not abandoned.⁸⁸ The young men seeing the obstinacy of their father pretended to yield & stayed away from worship on the Sabbath day. It was only pretence⁸⁹ for they had previously eaten their *Etu* [*aitu*] a kind of

86. The Samoan name for bark cloth is *siapo*. *Tapa* is the name for it in the Marquesas, Tuamotus and Rarotonga (with the cognate form *kapa* in Hawaii) (Walsh and Biggs 1966:109).

87. The reference is to club fights (*taufeta'iga*); Williams later gives a description of this 'very favourite amusement' (p.248).

88. A more dramatic account appears in *Missionary enterprises*, where Malietoa is quoted as saying, 'Do you not know... that the gods will be enraged with me for abandoning them, and endeavour to destroy me? and perhaps Jehovah may not have power to protect me against the effect of their anger! My proposition, then, is that I should try the experiment of becoming his worshipper, and then if he can protect me, you may with safety follow my example; but if not, I only shall fall a victim to their vengeance — you will be safe' (Williams 1838:435).

89. Williams excuses their conduct in the published account as mere impatience on the part of the young men; no mention is made of any 'pretence' (1838:436).

fish called *Anae*⁹⁰ [*'anae*] but they had been very careful afterwards to drink a quantity of scented oil made from the cocoa nutt to prevent them from swelling or suffering any injury. It is I think the most effectual preventative for distention of the bowels superstition could invent, for I suppose it would act as a powerful purgative & effectually expel the Etu or any other foul spirit that might be there disturbing the internal peace of the body.⁹¹ We opened the Chapel on the following day when it was nearly full of worshippers. The following Sabbath all his wives & children attended, saying that they had given their Spirits trial enough. They wished also to be Christians. The old gentleman made no further objection. Fauea [Faueā] the man Mr Barff & I brought from Tognātabu has been particularly active in advising his country men to become Christians. He succeeded in advising a Chief with his whole people to do so. They held a consultation as to what to do with their Idol papo the god or spirit that conducted them in their wars. It was first agreed to burn it. That was objected to by some, it appearing perhaps too horrid. It was afterwards agreed to drown it in the sea. Fauea was carrying it out for the purpose of sinking it in the sea when one of the teachers took a canoe & went after him & got it from him. On my arrival they gave it to me. It is nothing more than an old piece of matting about two yards & ½ long & four or five inches wide.⁹² On the fame spreading that the Chief with the people of Salatulafai [Sāfotulāfai] had drowned their Spirit in the sea there was great surprise expressed at their folly. Alas, Alas what will they do for a Spirit to lead them to war.⁹³ After this the whole of Sapapalii [Sāpapāli'i] Malietoas district brought us a present of a baked pig & some food & expressed their wish all to become worshippers of Jehova. They were taken into the Chapel a short exhortation given to them & a prayer offered on their behalf. It now became a very frequent

90. The grey mullet (*Velamugil* sp.)

91. At this point, the published account gives a detailed description of some 500 words recounting the 'singular ceremony', attended by a 'large concourse of people', at which several people, including Malietoas's sons, caught, cooked and ate their own *aitu*. Williams adds, 'This, I presume gave rise to the custom, which since then has been adopted by all those who wished to embrace Christianity' (1838:437). He does not mention that the *aitu* were brought for destruction at the explicit request of the teachers, as noted in the journal (p.135).

92. Possibly the mat of the kind used in the game of *lafoga*, in which different sized discs of coconut shell were pitched from one end to the other; see Buck (1930:564).

93. Particularly in time of war, the behaviour of animals sacred to a village or district was observed carefully in the hope of obtaining a favourable omen (Turner 1884:23ff; Krämer 1902:1:151).

occurrence that the Chief & many of the people of the district who wished to become Christians would come to us to signify their wishes. Sometimes the Chief only would come. At others the people of districts from Manono, or Upolu or Savai if a long way off would send one or two intelligent persons to stay a month or two with us to obtain what knowledge they could from us & return in order to be able to conduct the worship on Sabbath days. On most occasions we desired them to bring their Etu's. Some brought a little piece of white cloth, others brought a speckled shell others the leaf of a tree some a turtle others a bird & others a particular kind of fish all of which were too contemptible to preserve. About this time the teachers were sent for by the Chief on Malava⁹⁴ [Lalomalava] a district about three miles from their own residence. They went when the Chief & all his people expressed their wish to become worshippers of Jehova, & wished to be instructed in his will. Two of the teachers stayed some days there, teaching exhorting & praying with them. They likewise visited the settlement every morning & evening for a considerable time till at length Boti one of the teachers formed an attachment to the place & people & has taken up his residence there as their teacher. The Chief of Malava has shewn a great degree of firmness in holding fast his profession against the threats of his heathen country men. It appears that there are two or three Chiefs of nearly equal authority at Malava & they were angry with Tagnaloea for bringing a teacher of the word to reside there, saying the Spirit would be angry with them & come & kill them all therefore send him away. Tagnaloea replied he should not send him away. He had a desire to be a worshipper of the true God. That no Spirit would come to hurt them. Why was not Malietoa & all Sapapalii killed by the Spirit. The Teachers of the word were many there & had been there for a length of time. They threatened to fight him if he did not. He came down to Malietoa in his troubles, also to the teachers. Malietoa sent a messenger to the opposition Chiefs but with no good effect. The teachers wished Tagnaloea to allow Boti to return with them a few days until the rage of the heathen Chiefs subsided. He replied that he did not interfere with them in the worship of their Spirits & did not see why they should with him. He would therefore prefer Boti's stopping where he was. He sent a message to the opposition Chiefs to that effect saying that he did not wish to

94. One of the sections of the village of Iva.

fight & would not stir out of his own house for the purpose unless they came there to attack him. Then he would pray to Jehova & resist them with all the force he could muster. This enraged them much so that they threatened him with vengeance & began to collect all their people together for the purpose of attacking Tagnaloo. He also collected all his people together in the large house in which they worship on Sabbath days armed them & sent for the teachers. They also remained with Tagnaloo & his party all the day & all night exhorting & praying with them waiting with the expectation of being attacked every moment. However the heathen Chiefs thought better of it & dispersed their people without offering any violence to the Christians. They soon however renewed their attempts to annoy the Christians by instituting or rather commencing a certain kind of worship to their Spirits which lasts for two or three months & on certain nights in these months no light of any kind is allowed on pain of death. This the heathen Chiefs no doubt knew would not be regarded by the Christians consequently they put them to the test & issued their orders by messengers. One was sent to Tagnaloo of Malava saying that such & such a night was sacred to their spirits & no light was to burn that night. He sent a spirited reply that he had done reverencing their Spirits & he should pay no more respect to that night than to any other. That he had become a man of Jehova & his word should be his guide as far as he knew. They again threatened him with war. Their anger was increased by the Christians using the Sacred Shell as a trumpet to call the people to worship. These were the two alleged crimes for which they determined to punish Tagnaloo. The heathen Chiefs sent word to Malietoa of the obstinacy of Tagnaloo & begged that he would support them in enforcing him to comply with their wishes. Malietoa replied that he could do no such thing. That Tagnaloo had renounced the worship of their spirits & it was unjust to force him to respect their heathenish customs. Tagnaloo also sent his messengers to Malietoa hoping that he would support him in resisting the oppressions of the heathen Chiefs. Malietoa returned a satisfactory answer to Tagnaloo & desired him by no means to yield & again become a worshipper of Devils. The heathen party were now greatly enraged & it is said threatened not only to make war upon Tagnaloo but to burn the Chapel at Sapapalii & kill the Teachers & began in earnest to make serious preparations for war so much so that the women children & property belonging to

Tagnaloe & his party were brought down to Sapapalii. The teachers all went up & by great persuasion induced Tagnaloe to yield the disputed points to refrain from lighting lights on the night the heathen wished & to cease blowing the Shell as a trumpet to call the people to worship. Both he & Malietoa were against yielding but the teachers advice prevailed. The sacred night arrived when the heathen Chiefs sent spies all about the Christian settlement of Malava to see if there were any fires kindled when unfortunately they saw a young man kindle a light to light his pipe. This afforded them a pretext for commencing their fight. The women children & property were again taken to Sapapalii & the teachers with the Christians waited in a state of preparation in the house of worship for the threatened attack. Malietoa having heard that they had used some very disrespectful language towards him sent for them & rebuked them sharply. They kissed his feet made their submission & departed. They seeing that the old Chief was decidedly in favour of the Christian party desisted from the threatened attack.⁹⁵ Thus the affair ended but to the time of my arrival they annoyed the Christians on Sabbath days as much as they could by dancing singing & making noises near their place of worship but I suppose my visit will give such a superiority to the Christians that if any do remain heathens they will cease to annoy.

The teachers took several journies to different parts of Savai also to the adjacent Islands of Manono & Upolu in all of which wherever they went they were received with kindness & heard with attention. The Samoa canoes being so very easily upset & they having no boat have not travelled so much as they intended or wish. About three months before my arrival there had been a great talk of war between the Manono people & Malietoa. It appears that he went over there on a visit when the Chief who has Tamafaigna's head proposed to demand a tribute for it from different settlements. Malietoa replied that there was no Tamafaigna & he would not agree to demanding any tribute for any thing of the kind. He replied that Jehova of the Skies was his God & with his consent there should never again be a Tamafaigna. This exasperated *Pea* the Keeper of Tamafaigna's head & he proposed to kill Malietoa.

95. The events following Tagnaloe's refusal to send away his teachers are summarised in a single sentence in the published account which is not confirmed in the journal: 'As Tagnaloe refused to do this they prepared for war; but as soon as they saw that Malietoa had come with a large party of his followers to the assistance of their friends, they were intimidated and withdrew' (Williams 1838:440).

Matetau a great Chief & also Malietoa's relation on Manono would not give his consent to it. Accordingly he sent word to Malietoa of the proposition that had been made to him desiring him at the same time to come over for safety to his side of the island. The old man came to Hapai [Āpai] to Matetau's side of the Island & in a day or two returned home. Vavasa⁹⁶ [Vaovasa] & the party who proposed killing Malietoa expected nothing but that he would make war upon them, & perhaps some expressions might have been used by Malietoa's sons & other friends on hearing the narrow escape he had had of being killed which would tend to heighten their fears. It was said that Malietoa would come on them in the night. They therefore removed their women, children & property to the Oro [ʻolo] or fortress on Aborima [Apolima] & prepared to defend themselves, which Malietoa having no intention of making war himself looked upon as a determination on the part of Manono to attack him. He consulted with the Teachers as to what would be best to do. They advised him by no means to go to Manono but to request peace & if the Manono people came to his place & fought him then to fight vigorously in his own defense. Of this he approved. Malietoa was very much hurt indeed at being thus treated by the Manono people & nothing but his having become a Christian prevented him from revenging the insult offered to him. For Vavasa who proposed to kill him some years ago actually killed one of Malietoa's favourite daughters. It appears that this Vavasa happened to take her in the war & of course wished to reserve her to himself as a wife. The young girl would not accede to his wishes & all the people raised their voices against Vavasa saying it was a base thing in him to take so great a lady to wife. With this he took his club saying if he did not have her no one else should & struck her a blow on the head which split her skull in two & killed her instantaneously. Old Malietoa has never forgotten this. His sons also urged this upon him but he said he was determined if possible now he had become a Christian to end his days in peace. When the Manono people saw they could not exasperate the old Chief to attack them they removed their women & children home again. The teachers say that they experienced much anxiety during the existence of these misunderstandings. They had enjoyed about two months quiet on my arrival, which

96. Vaovasa is a title rather than a personal name; the identity of this particular man is not recorded.

had become a subject of general anxiety so much so that scarcely a day elapsed but Malietoa would come into the Teachers house & ask them how much longer would it before I came. The visit has been at a very suitable time & I trust will be attended with lasting & important benefits. On finding that none of the people could write or read I questioned the Teachers upon it & they assured me that the people neither men women or children could apply themselves to it with sufficient energy to obtain the alphabet for before they had sat down five minutes they would cry out, *Aue te musu tuu pea* [*Auē ta musu tu'u pea*] Oh how tired I am put it away. The account which I have given I obtained from the teachers having spent a greater part of the day for that purpose.

Tues. 23d. early this morning a number of canoes went off to find out the harbour where the deepest water was in order to point it out to me. When I went off this was their professed object instead of which they all went off direct to the vessel for the purpose of bringing her in whether or no. I having sent no orders to that effect to the persons in charge they would not allow them to come on board. The natives being rather obstinate excited the fears of those on board that their intentions were hostile, consequently armed themselves & paraded the decks. In this situation I found them on my arrival. I immediately ordered all the arms to be taken below & as many natives as chose to be admitted on board, but not having found any good place for anchoring the vessel I determined not to attempt taking her to anchor. The anchorage is fine inside but the inlets are shoal & full of sunken rocks. On my arrival on board I was astonished to see the vast number of Englishmen run away sailors. They were no less than twelve. Some of them pretended to want a passage but the [illegible] of such characters is far better than their company. They are a complete nuisance to the Islands. Among the number was a respectable young man who was surgeon of the Oldham whaler Mr Stevens.⁹⁷ He left her at the Island of Manono in consequence of the conduct of the captain & crew. It has proved a merciful providence to him that he did leave her for the unfortunate vessel has since been taken at Wallis' Island [Uvea] & all hands murdered by the natives. From all the accounts however that we have heard much blame is attributed to the captain. It is reported that he & all his crew were intoxicated. In this state he armed the principal part of his men & went on shore

97. The vessel was seized in April 1832 (Krämer 1902:2:20); only a cabin boy survived (p.180).

was in the act of dragging forcibly the Kings daughter with other females on board when the natives rose & massacred them all. They immediately proceeded to the vessel & killed the remaining few on board taking possession of the vessel themselves. Mr Stevens informed me that she had a considerable quantity of oil on board & a vast quantity of property belonging to Captn Perkins whom they unfortunately lost at Rio de Janerio. The command then devolved on the first officer who if half that is reported of him be true was not fit to have command of a dung cart much less of a large vessel. It is the same captain who had two of his boats taken from him at Tutuila some months before. Mr Stevens stating his situation & requesting a passage to Tahiti I readily consented to take him.⁹⁸ On returning on shore I prepared to go to a settlement called Amoa about eight miles distant both the Chiefs of which with nearly all the people have embraced Christianity. They sent a messenger on the Sabbath day requesting me to pay them a visit. I sent word I would on Tuesday. Accordingly I prepared to go. Malietoa hearing that I intended to go to Amoa sent a messenger requesting me not to go saying that if they were sincere in their professing Christianity they would on hearing on my arrival who was a Teacher of the word would have come with a pig & some food to pay their respects to me. I replied that we were in the fault for we had sent word that we would visit them, consequently we could not go from our word. Among themselves as Chiefs they might stand upon these little forms of etiquette but I was a Tamafailotu [*tama failotu*], Teacher of religion and did not regard them. He then requested that I would defer my visit till tomorrow as he had a small present to make to which I consented. Towards afternoon Malietoa with his three principal wives came to our house bringing a present of several pieces of native cloth a white & a grass mat. The teachers also prepared their little offering after which I made Malietoa & Tuiano his brother a present of Three axes six knives 2 pr scissors 2 Bill hooks & several strings of Blue beads each. To the teachers their wives & all their children, Fauea [Faueā] the Chief we brought with us from Togna had a mat two pieces of turtle shell for me as a present. I went to his house & received it making him a present far exceeding in value that which I received from him. He has performed his promise made to Mr

98. On arrival back in Rarotonga with Williams, Stevens assisted at Mary Williams's latest confinement, and she was safely delivered of a son, named after two of Williams's missionary colleagues, William Aaron Barff (Prout 1843:395).

Barff & myself on our first voyage by exerting himself to induce his country men to become Christians. The remaining part of the day I spent in consultation with the Teachers. They wished that Teava the new teacher I had brought for Matetau at Manono should remain a short time with them until he acquired a little knowledge of the language. Knowing the jealousy existing between the parties I did not approve of the proposition but wished him to go over at once to his Station one of them accompanying him & staying a week or two with him which was determined upon. We then consulted upon the propriety of a removal of some of them to different parts of the Island or to Upolu. After considerable debate it was thought best to remain altogether at present & itinerate. A difficulty against visiting other Islands is the want of a suitable conveyance the canoes being so tender that they seldom go to sea without being upset. We consequently determined that they should build a larger boat Teava having a pair of bellows supplied him by Mr Buzacott & I having a hundred weight or two of Iron on board would enable them to effect their object. This being so necessary an appendage to the Mission it was determined that they should begin it as soon as possible.⁹⁹ Another subject of conversation was the erection of a good substantial Chapel as a model for all the other settlements to imitate. I gave a decided preference to the Samoa buildings above the Tahitian as being more substantial & being better adapted for a place of worship than the Tahitian the Tahitian houses being long & narrow these nearly round. Beside the Samoa houses are thatched with the sugar cane leaf & require a greater pitch to the roof than is given in the Tahitian construction. In addition to these advantages another is that the natives in all the settlements know how to build houses of their own construction whereas if the Tahitian is adopted the Teachers will not only have to superintend but to do a great deal themselves towards the erection of the building. I advised by all means to plaster it, put doors & windows & cover the floor with mats.¹⁰⁰ We then consulted

99. 'They completed their task in a few weeks; and the boat has proved invaluable in the prosecution of their labours. As it was our invariable practice to impart all the mechanical knowledge we could to our native Missionaries, before we took them to their stations, they experienced no difficulty in effecting this important object' (Williams 1838:442).

100. The result impressed Barff during his visit in 1834. 'The [foundation] at Sapalii was erected on a pier built down in the sea, and a large circular Chapel was erected upon it, wattled and plastered, well thatched over with the sugar cane leaf, floored with mats. and fitted up with seats, and pulpit ... there were some other plastered Chapels but inferior to the above' (Barff n.d.).

about the erection of a comfortable dwelling house for themselves but thought the boat & Chapel demanded their first attention. We thought it would not be well to advise the natives to adopt other buildings with plaster etc for their dwelling houses, those they at present live in being clean & airy & well adapted to the climate mostly supplied with a kind of matting under the eaves which they can draw up or let down at pleasure. We next conversed about their dances games & past times whether it would be prudent in the present state of things to interfere in them. My advice was that those dances which were manifestly obscene such as dancing naked, singing their filthy songs & such like they should advise the Chiefs who became Christians to prohibit in their settlements but an entire prohibition of them at present I did not think advisable. Their fencing matches exercises in darting the spear for amusement¹⁰¹ pigeon catching etc etc where no immorality is connected I thought best not to notice. At present there was nothing but a bare profession. They did not know the excellence of the principles of the religion they had embraced therefore it was not from a conviction of its superiority that they embraced it. Therefore being a people much given to amusements they would lament the loss of them greatly & perhaps take a total dislike to a religion which prohibited that in which their whole life & comfort consisted. Further they at present resembled the fish caught in the net in the parable of our Saviour. There was no distinction or separation at present made by holding meetings with those who appeared to be more sincere in their profession with a view to baptizing them. Then would be the time to enforce on them the renunciation of those things which are inconsistent with a decided & sincere profession of Christianity. The subject of plurality of wives was also considered, some have two others as many as six. We resolved that it was necessary to state that such a practice was inconsistent with Christianity but as no meetings were as yet formed for the special instruction of those who sincerely wished to become Christians no step could at present be taken in it. Many however I have heard of themselves put away all but one wife so that I think the accomplishment of the object will not be found so difficult as at first sight it may appear. It is however a subject fraught with perplexity. In many instances a man has two wives with whom he

101. Probably the game of *tāgūtī'a*, in which a javelin is made to ricochet off a ramp and fly through the air; see Moyle 1970.

has lived for many years & has a family by each feels an attachment to both, & of course is at a loss which to put away. If he is allowed to keep his two others will make it a pretext for keeping half a dozen so that prudence & consideration must be exercised in the management of this affair. I have thought that in some instances perhaps it might be well to allow them to retain their wives & yet admit them into Christian communion, but the wild young Chiefs who have so many wild young girls to none of which he is lawfully married according to the custom of the country of course the putting of them away would be attended with no difficulty for that is frequently done. For when a young Chief wishes to marry a *maitai*¹⁰² [*tama'ita'i*] or lady she will not hear of his proposition until he puts away all his other wives. This he does without hesitation. Consequently if it is done in these cases without difficulty or inconvenience it may be in another.¹⁰³ We then consulted upon plans to induce the people to learn & we determined that each teacher should begin with a few say three or four & as soon as they could read & write their country men would in all probability see their superiority & learn too. We proposed also translating an easy catechism & getting a few of them to repeat it which will in all probability excite others. The teachers said they feared that they would take it to their dances as a song to dance to. I told them to protest against that & if they did so to go into the dancing house & desire them to desist telling them it is a sin.

My people were engaged in scalding & salting our hogs today an operation the Samoa Islanders had never seen before. They as usual expressed their wonder at the wisdom of the white people. We had no pan large enough to boil water to scald our pigs. The natives who are seldom at a loss of a substitute heated a quantity of stones red hot which they put into a large trough of water which made it boiling hot in a few seconds. It is a simple substitute & easily obtained but I should not have thought of it, neither do I recollect seeing it done before all the years I have been in the Islands.

This afternoon I had the honour of being surrounded at tea time

102. The polite term for a woman.

103. Only seven years later, while visiting Tutuila, Wilkes (1845:2:78-9) noted, 'Most of the people look back to the days when polygamy existed with regret, and cannot understand why they are restricted to one wife. They say, "Why should God be so unreasonable as to require them to give up all their wives but one for his convenience"'.

by his Majesty's five wives¹⁰⁴ three of which are about five & forty or fifty years of age the other two are girls about seventeen or eighteen. On being invited to partake they drew nearer & formed a circle dropping their little roundabouts off their loins on to the ground. They curled the small tail end of it into the lap just barely concealing the only part that they make even a pretension to conceal. Having asked a blessing they eat heartily & cheerfully of what was placed before them. This is the first time I have had the honour of eating with *five naked* queens. The natives appear to take the greatest pride in exposing their persons. During conversation this evening I found that the Navigator Islands [Samoa] were visited with the dreadful gale of wind we experienced at Rarotogna & here it was attended with a violent shock of an earthquake four of which the Teachers informed me they had experienced since they have been here. The one in the December gale was very violent. The natives were much afraid. Many said that Devolo was angry with them for allowing the *lotu* or word of God to come. An Englishman who had taken up his residence with the Teachers & supported them with his advice on all occasions was reading his bible at the time when a Chief¹⁰⁵ desired him to put his book away as Devolo was shewing his rage at that religion. The teachers hearing the general expression of the peoples mind as to the occasion of the gale gave them on the following Sabbath day a faithful statement of their evil practices &c. Told them that it was their own conceited conduct that caused Jehova to testify his anger in sending so severe a gale. This it appears prevented them from again imputing the disaster to the introduction of the *lotu*. The Kings son & other persons of distinction being present I was desirous to know their opinion as to the cause of the shocks they so frequently experience. They replied that a man by the name of Tii tii ataragna [Ti'iti'iatalaga] was holding the land of Savai in his left hand & that he occasionally gave it a shake. That if he supported it with his right & shook it he would shake it to atoms.¹⁰⁶

104. The published account adds details arising from the meal: 'In the course of conversation, I found that a species of serpent abounded in the Samoa Islands, and having expressed a wish to take a specimen with me to the Society islands, who had never seen one, the ladies immediately ran out of the house, and returned about half an hour afterwards, each having a live snake twined about her neck' (Williams 1838:443). In the confusion surrounding a leak in his ship, Williams lost these snakes (1838:499).

105. This one man is later enlarged to 'some people' (Williams 1838:444).

106. In Samoan mythology, Ti'iti'iatalaga brought fire to the islands. However, in Turner's account (1884:209-11), it is Mafui'e, not Ti'iti'iatalaga, who shakes the world to produce earthquakes.

This Tii tii had a quarrel with Mafuie who struck him & broke his left arm which accounts for the weakness in the left arm of all men. I said perhaps he was tired holding so heavy a weight so many years. They laughed & said they did not know why he shook it whether in fun or anger or whether he was tired of his burden. I am busily employed in all intervals in obtaining words & sentences in the language. By taking a native with me I shall be able to compile an elementary book with a tolerable degree of accuracy.

Wedney 24. Early this morning we prepared to go on our intended visit to a settlement called Amoa where all had become Christians & where a Chapel had been erected. We passed the beautiful settlement called Safadulafai [Sāfotulāfai] the appearance of which is enchanting. The broad sandy path with the stately government house, the beautiful green patches of grass on which club fencing &c is exhibited together with the stately trees overshadowing the foot path the neat clean houses of the inhabitants peeping at you through the luxuriant groves of bread fruit give to the whole a respectability of appearance not to be expected among the savages in the South Seas. Men & women were dressed in their best & took their stations by the side of the way under the shady trees to see us pass. We were sorry to see a little chapel here in connection with the ignorant native who has set himself up as a Teacher. They keep their Sabbath on the Saturday. As we passed we took no notice of any person the Chief sent requesting us to call when the Teacher who accompanied me sent word that as I knew nothing of Seauvili [Siovili] whom they follow & would not countenance his lies & nonsense I should not call to see him. This he did unknown to me. He afterwards said that he thought by shewing respect to those of our own profession & contempt to them would be likely to have the most effect on them. Leaving the two beautiful settlements of Safadulafai we reached Fagna [Faga]. This does not equal the former in appearance but is a pretty & respectable settlement. Here also the Chief had become a Christian. We called at his house when he presented me with a piece of cloth & a mat. We returned a present to him, advised him to erect a Chapel in which to worship & to hold fast his profession. Not many appeared to have become Christians here. We passed on to Amoa which is a fine & extensive settlement but does not equal that of Safadulafai. It is governed by two young Chiefs about 25 years of age. They appear both to be zealous in the cause of Christianity. We first went to see the Chapel. It is rather a

rough building capable of containing about three hundred people.¹⁰⁷ The doors & a desk the Teachers are to make the following week. The Chiefs & Christians assembled in the large publick building when several baked pigs were brought to us also a quantity of bread fruit & taro. The Chiefs then stated that they felt honoured by our visit. That had we not sent word that we were coming they & all their people would have come to see us. That they had prepared a little food of which they begged our acceptance. Makea accompanied me on this journey & was treated with much respect by them. I told them I was happy to hear that they had embraced Christianity. That alone induced me to come & see them. We exhorted them to be steadfast in their profession to beware of being led astray by run away seamen or others who might tell them any thing against the religion of Jesus. That it alone could render them happy now & procure for them the salvation of their Souls hereafter. They asked me many questions similar to those asked by Malietoa at our first meeting. Similar answers were given. Just as our conversation was about to end we were interrupted by the appearance of a line of females following each other in goose like procession about seventy in number each bearing something in her hand. On entering the house they placed before me a baked pig & a quantity of cocoa nutts taro etc when the Chief woman spoke as follows. That she had just heard that I had come up to the settlement & fearing that I might not reach so far as hers she had collected the Christian females together & come to pay her respects to me as the Chief to whom she was indebted for the knowledge of Jehova. That their offering was small for none of their husbands had yet become "Sons of the word". I replied to what she said through my interpreter. One of the Teachers expressed my pleasure at seeing so many of them who had renounced the worship of their Spirits, exhorted them to diligence & steadfastness. On enquiring how so many had been induced to become lotu I was informed that this Chief obtaining all the knowledge she could¹⁰⁸ & then returning to her own place instructed those who wished to be instructed & to conduct their worship. As soon as her stock was expended she would pay another visit for a week or a

107. Later enlarged to 'about four hundred persons' (Williams 1838:446).

108. In answer to Williams's enquiry as to her identity, the reply was given: 'Oh,' said they, 'we know her well, her settlement is five miles away, and some time ago she came and resided with us a month, during which time she was exceedingly diligent in her attendance on our instruction...' (Williams 1838:448).

fortnight to obtain a fresh supply. By her influence & persuasion she has induced between seventy & a hundred females to profess religion. It was a novel unexpected & interesting sight. They had decorated themselves off with as much care as ladies do in England when they meet persons for whom they entertain a high respect, & in their own estimation looked equally fine. The dress of the Chief woman who was tall & well made consisted of a red shaggy mat round the loins hanging down about half way to the knee with a corner tucked up to expose the whole of the left thigh nearly up to the hip. Her body was oiled with scented oil which made it shine most brightly in the sun. She was then tinged off with an orange coloured rouge prepared from the turmeric. Under the arm pits & about the root of the breasts it was more freely applied than in other parts. A row of large blue beads decorated her neck while a pair of bracelets on the same coloured beads were strung round her arms. Her head was shaven bare with the exception of a tuft of hair a little larger than a crown piece over the left brow¹⁰⁹ from which a lock about six or seven inches dangled gracefully about her cheek. Some of the company were young ladies of rank wearing beautifully white shaggy mats¹¹⁰ without the application of tumeric rouge. They also were ornamented with the blue bead of which they think as much as the ladies of princes & noblemen are of their pearls & diamonds. These young chief girls had long hair on each side of the head¹¹¹ indicating they were virgins. Others of inferior rank had provided themselves with *New* roundabouts which were nothing more than leaves something like bullrushes plaited together at the ends & tied round the middle. It is tied very low down & hangs about half way down to the knee. Some of these were oiled but not rouged, & had a bead or two in their ears or suspended round their neck. We returned to the two young Chiefs as well as to the Chief woman a present each. The food was then divided according to the Tahitian custom an equal portion being put out for the persons by whom it was presented. When each division is separated a speaker calls out the name of the Chief person of the party & points out his division. The Samoa chiefs would not accept any part of the food they had given saying it was not their

109. Later changed to the 'left temple' (Williams 1838:449).

110. The '*ie sina*'; see Buck 1930:272-3.

111. This description is contradicted in the published account, where the 'unmarried daughters of chiefs ... retained a rich profusion of graceful curls on one side of their head, the other being shorn quite bare' (Williams 1838:449).

custom. After having settled our business here we returned to the settlement & found an interesting young Chief had returned from a Malagna [*malaga*] a journey to see his friends & obtain property. His name is Riromaiava¹¹² [Lilomaiava] a relation of Malietoa's. On my arrival he came in to see me. He talks a little English & is of very pleasing manners. He saluted me in English. How do you do Sir. I replied very well thank you.¹¹³ How do you do. O me very well. Me very glad see you. Me no see you. You come long time ago. Me away in bush make fight. O prenty prenty fight. Me hear you bring word Jehova. Me want prenty see you. Me prenty how di do you. Me prenty¹¹⁴ cry. I said why did you not come. He said he was afraid as there was too much prenty of the fight. I asked him if he had become a Christian. He said yes, & wished much to love Jehova & Know his word. I asked him if he had learned to read or write. He said he had tried very hard but he was too much prenty fool & could not succeed. I told him not to be discouraged. He would soon be able to do both by diligence. He said he wished very much & would try his utmost & would not be *musu* tired.¹¹⁵ He was very inquisitive about the various Islands I had visited & said how much he wished to go with me & see Christian lands. Being much interested with him I spent full an hour & half in conversation with him. Among other things I questioned him about the cruelites exercised in the war. Why did they burn the women & children & old people. He replied that Samoa was prenty fool, prenty wicked. I said why also do you kill the cocoa nutt trees & destroy the Bread fruit trees etc. They did not make war upon you.¹¹⁶ He replied with great emphasis You no know?! Samoa prenty fool prenty fool. Look they go fight cocoa nutt trees, cocoa nutt trees no fight them. Me very angry. Samoa prenty, prenty, too

112. The identity of this man is not clear. Williams later met the chief of Sātupa'itea who also held the title of Lilomaiava (p.165).

113. A 'Sir' is added to Williams's reply in *Missionary enterprises* (Williams 1838:453).

114. Lilomaiava's pidgin English is patched up somewhat in the published account, where he is reported as saying, "'Me hear that white chief bring the good word of Jehovah, me want plenty to see you; me heart say, 'How do you do?' me heart cry to see you'" (Williams 1838:453). Their conversation also included the subjects of '... England, the usages of civilised society, the principles of Christianity, and numerous other topics, which convinced me that he was worthy of the esteem in which he was held' (1838:454). Lilomaiava's knowledge of English was obtained from 'a sailor who had been left at the islands sick, and who was a very decent well-behaved man' (1838:455).

115. *Musu* — unco-operative, rather than physically tired.

116. Williams's attitude on this occasion contrasts with the objective manner later in the journal in which he describes the destruction of property during war (p.244).

much fool. I bid him good night¹¹⁷ intending frequently to spend half an hour with him. Having spent some days with Malietoa & the teachers at his place I shifted my quarters & took up my abode now for the remaining part of my time on shore with his Brother Tuiano & the teachers under his care. Evening was spent in writing out a prayer & blessing in the Samoa language also in translating the Lords prayer which is exceedingly difficult.

Thursday 25. Early this morning I prepared to go to Malava to Boki's¹¹⁸ station. We passed one of the Devils villages, as they are termed. In our way to most of the houses there were small pieces of white cloth suspended under the eaves of the houses. They were about 4 inches wide & ten or twelve long. It appears that the pieces of cloth are to intimate that some sacred ceremony is going on inside & that no person must enter the house on pain of death. It was the chief of this settlement that threatened Tagnaloa & the people of Malava with war if they lighted fires & blew the trumpet shell. Their sacred ceremony has continued now better than two months & is not yet ended. Passing on a mile or two we reached Malava & were invited into the government house. Being seated the Chief entered & shook hands with us saluted us very respectfully. He is a middle aged man of sedate appearance. He had a white shirt on & a hat which gave him to us a far more civilised appearance. The teachers speak of him as having evinced a very decided attachment to Christianity. Shortly after the salutation he left the house saying he would return in a few minutes which he did accompanied by better than a hundred persons men & women bringing cloth, the men pigs & food. Another chief from a neighbouring settlement now entered with his Christians they also bringing cloth & food. He took his seat by Tagnaloa who addressed me, saying he was highly honoured in being visited at

117. Williams's chronology in the published account juxtaposes this conversation and the visit to Lalomalava, so that he meets Lilomaiava on returning from Lalomalava, rather than from Amoa, as stated in the journal. Thus, while the journal notes that Williams leaves for Lalomalava the following morning, the book has him agreeing to share a morning meal with him (Williams 1838:454). It is during the course of this meal, and not on the previous night as indicated in the journal, that the subject of war and the naming of Lilomaiava's children after Williams's own children is raised (op. cit.).

118. Boti, a Society Islands missionary. If Williams's spelling represents a variant pronunciation of his name, and is not a spelling mistake, then it would appear that the substitution of *k* for *t* in spoken Samoan had already begun by 1832. In the preface to the second edition of his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan language* (1876), Pratt notes that such a change was then in progress, but does not state when it had started. On one occasion in their own journal of 1834, Buzacott and Barff also refer to this man as Boki.

his station by so great a Chief as myself, a Chief of Religion. That he had become a Christian & that his thoughts & heart were in love with the Word of Jehova. They had therefore collected a little food & cloth for me of which they begged my acceptance.

I stated in reply that I was very happy indeed to see that he & his brother Chief with so many of their people had embraced the Christian religion. That alone was my object in coming to them. That the Christians in England were sorry that they should live in ignorance of Jehova & his Son Jesus Christ & had given much of their property in order to send the Gospel to heathen or Devils countries. That it would afford them great pleasure to hear that so many Chiefs & people of Samoa had become Christians. That my object was not to obtain their property from them. Of this we had an abundance in our own country. I would therefore accept of a few of the pigs & a little food also one of each of the pieces of different pattern cloth as a sample to shew English Christians the nature of their *ofu* ['*ofu*] clothing & return the rest. To this they objected & would by no argument allow me to return a single article.¹¹⁹ Having spent an hour or two in conversation with them & making the Chiefs a present of axes scissors beads etc we engaged in prayer & took our leave. They are building a very good Chapel here capable of containing about three or four hundred people. There were two other Christian settlements about two miles further. A messenger arrived out of breath¹²⁰ wishing me to go up to see them but being much fatigued I could not effect it. Thus I have visited Six Christian settlements on Savai. Eight or ten remain unvisited. On my return to the Missionary Station I found the vessel had come back from Manono without Matetau, he not willing to come over. Seeing the necessity of getting these two Chiefs together to have a clear understanding with each other & establish a friendly feeling I determined to invite Malietoa & Tuiano to go over with me in the vessel. On hearing that Matetau would not come Malietoa was much hurt & said some hard things against him. That he could never look on him again as a relation. However he at length agreed to go over with me of which I was glad as had I left without effecting a good feeling between these

119. 'I therefore sent the food on board the vessel, and presented the cloth to Makea' (Williams 1838:451).

120. In the published account, the breathless messenger is replaced by 'the chief and people of another settlement, about three miles distant' who 'came to beg for a Missionary; and two messengers from a large settlement, about six miles further, on the same errand, and also to solicit the honour of a visit' (Williams 1838:451).

two powerful Chiefs I should have left an important work unaccomplished which might have endangered the Mission. The remaining part of the day was spent in receiving presents from all Malietoa's relations also Tuiano's to each of whom I had to make a return which was a heavy tax on my little stock & which I would gladly have avoided if I could. Presents also were made to several individuals who had behaved kindly to the teachers in supplying them with food. My friend Riromaiava also sent a messenger wishing me to come over to his house. On my arrival he gave me a pig & a mat & two pieces of turtle shell saying he was poor but begged me to accept that as a token of his regard which I did & spent another hour in his company. He enquired about Mrs Williams & my children. He enquired the names of my children. On being told one was John the other Samuel he begged I would allow him to take the name of John & give his little boy about two years old the name of Samuel to which I consented. He begged hard that I would bring my wife & family to Samoa & live, saying he had too much plenty how di do for Mrs Williams & the children. The tears came in the poor mans eyes as he spoke. He asked me if they did not cry for me when I was away. I replied yes very much.¹²¹ Oh said he me prenty sorry Wiliamu fefine [*fafine*] & Wiliamu boy¹²² they too much prenty cry for you. You are so long away. I understood from him that his patrimonial estate was at Upolu¹²³ said to be a beautiful place but being beaten in the last war he is obliged to take refuge with his relation Malietoa, but that he expected soon to be reinstated in all his possessions when he hoped that a Missionary would be placed with him for he had a great desire to be poto - wise in the word of Jehova.¹²⁴ From all that I see & could hear of this young Chief I think he is a very well disposed man, possessed of a good deal of sound sense & fine feeling. Malietoa consults him on all occasions of importance although nearly treble his age. A poula lagni [*pōula lagi*]¹²⁵ or heavenly

121. Williams later added, 'But Mrs Williams is as anxious as myself that the poor heathen should know about Jesus Christ and salvation, and therefore willingly makes the sacrifice' (1838:455).

122. Above the words 'William fefine' is written 'Mrs Williams', and above 'Williamu boy' is written 'children'. *Fafine* is the Samoan term for 'woman'.

123. Sagafili village (Krämer 1902:1:183).

124. By the time of Williams's next visit, in 1838, Lilomaiaava was 'a powerful preacher. Mr Heath [one of the 1835 contingent of missionaries to Samoa] calls him the Whitefield of Samoa' (Williams to LMS, quoted in Prout 1843:527).

125. Although *lagi* does mean 'sky' or 'heavens', it is also the verb 'to sing'; a more accurate translation of the phrase is 'sung night-dancing'.

dance was given in honour of his return from his journey to which maitai's [*tama'ita'i*] or ladies of the houses of both Chiefs came & invited me. Indeed they had begged to be allowed to perform one of their best dances in honour of my arrival but not knowing the exact nature of their dances & whether or no they would be allowable on Christian principles I declined the proffered honour & afterwards the invitation. However in the evening when the lights were blazing I sat in the doorway of our own house & saw & heard all that passed the government or assembly house being within twenty yards of our dwelling. I must confess I did not hear or see any thing immoral or indecent in the whole performance. As soon as the Chiefs wives & daughters returned home I requested them to give me the songs they sang as I heard my name, & the Word & Christian religion repeated frequently. My curiosity was excited. I likewise wished to form an opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of allowing professors to retain the practice. They gave me seven or eight some longer & some shorter than others but I cannot find an indecent word or phrase in either of them. That they have songs & dances of the most disgusting & filthy nature is known so much so that I fear the most modest & chaste description of them could scarcely be read in England, but these I did not see or hear neither did I think it well to enquire into them, but speak of them with disgust. We find in the languages with which we are well acquainted that to many parts of native composition it is extremely difficult to give the decisive meaning intended to be conveyed by the author. This difficulty I have experienced in a greater degree here for interpreters generally make but a sorry hand in conveying any idea except that of buying & selling & a few common everyday occurrences.

One of the songs sung at the dance -¹²⁶

*Paraparau ana ia Williamu
 A to niu i malama a duu adu
 Fua o le toelau nei ê ngalo
 Ia manatua mai le nuu lotu a Sina
 Toe ole malo, ma le Atua ua tasi
 Sa i mea u ma faiva o papalagi

* A Raiatean word

126. A possible reconstruction and translation of the text are as follows:

Paraparau ane 'iâ Uiliamu Let us speak on about Williams

'A tō niu i malama 'a tupu atu When coconuts are planted at dawn, they grow

Fua o le to'elau, 'aua ne'i galo Fruit of the east wind, do not forget [him]

'Ia mantua mai le nu'u a Sina Remember the Christian village of the white [man]

Toe 'o le Māld, ma le Atua 'ua tasi Still the Victor, with a single God

Sai mea 'uma faiva o papalagi. Everything about the Europeans' jobs is fine.

Translation

Let us talk of Mr Williams
Let cocoa nuts grow in peace for him for months
When strong the easterly winds our thoughts forget him not
Let us greatly respect the Christian land of the white chief
For we now all *malo, for we have all one God
Now no kind of food is sacred we catch & eat all kinds of fish -
even the sting ray.

Another:¹²⁷

Aue ata nau i le manu ua folau solai Williamu
Aue ata nau i le manu ua tae mai leilei sau
Ua tafiua Samoa talavā le ite le nuu o alii
Ole fenua nei ua tapu, ua sasa, tasi alofa'i
Sau omoe tau ia ai.

Translation

The birds are crying for Mr Williams his ship has sailed
another way
The birds are crying he is a long time we dont know
whether he will ever come again
We are tired of the taunts of the insolent Samoans who
knows that *white* Chiefs land?
Our land is sacred evil practices are bad, how we feel
for the word
Come & sleep & let us dream about him.

* Malo is a term used for a people who carry the sway being victorious in war in contradistinction to vaivai - a conquered or beaten people.

127. A possible reconstruction and translation of the text are as follows.

Aue ata nau 'i le manu Alas, my longing for the bird; Williams has fled by sea
Aue ata nau 'i le manu 'ua tae mai le 'ile'i sau Alas my longing for the bird; he is late, he still
has not come
'Ua ta fiu Samoa tala vā le 'i'ite i nu'u o ali'i I am tired, Samoa [of hearing] the prophet talk of
separation from the village of chiefs
'O le fanua nei 'ua tapu 'ua sasa, tasi le alofa The land here is sacred, it is most sacred; a single
love
Sau o' moe tau 'i ai. Come and sleep, and thereby reach him.

I should like to give some of the longer ones but find it difficult to give a precise meaning to many of the lines. The poetry appears to me very good the language figurative the ideas rather of the high cast. One begins -

Fly o *Lupe¹²⁸ fly into the great expanse &c &c
Fly o Lupe, fly into the great expanse &c &c

In another is

*Piotaulua has risen. *Taulua also has risen but
the War Star has ceased to rise
For *Sulueleele with the king have embraced
the sacred word
And war is become a *Sa* evil thing.

*a large bird

*names of stars

*name of the Kings daughter

I perhaps may be able at some future day to give a more satisfactory specimen of their poetry.

An Englishman¹²⁹ came to me today from a large district called Satupaitea [Sātupa'itea] saying his Chief¹³⁰ had sent him to request me to come. That he had embraced Christianity had erected a Chapel & was very religious. That he had put away all bad dances & discountenanced all bad practices. That he wished very much that I would come round & see him. I sent him some books & a trifling present but said I feared it was too much out of my way to come down there it being near twenty miles to Leeward. I heard also that there was another large settlement quite close where the Chief with all his people had become religious. Thus the word runs & is glorified. Now is the time for Missionaries to come. The field indeed is literally ripe. As my object in presenting

128. The native pigeon.

129. Possibly the escaped convict whom Williams again saw when he visited Sātupa'itea five days later (see p.166).

130. Probably Tuinaula, a convert of the Wesleyans in Tonga (see note 124). In 1830, Williams had requested Malietoa to spare his life (p.74).

this narrative is to give to the religious publick & the Directors of our noble Society a correct idea of the state of the Samoa Islanders I think I cannot do it more effectually than by noting the various incidents that occurred during my intercourse with them. This afternoon I went down to the water to wash my feet. One of the teachers little girls accompanied me. One of the kings wives was there sitting on the bank with his daughter Sulueelele a young woman about twenty three with other females of rank. They asked me where I was intending to sleep. I replied at Tuiano's with the teachers. They said I had better come to their house there were none but females there. I said no that was *Sa* [sā]. They said Surely you are much afraid of Mrs Williams. No I replied I am not afraid of her. I am afraid of Jehova. Mrs Williams is a long way off & cannot see my actions but Jehova is here & sees & knows all we say & do. Mooni lava [*moni lava*] very true was the reply they made. It is a mea sa i le lotu [*mea sā i le lotu*] such practices are inconsistent with the Christian religion. I must say that the females in my presence generally behaved with the greatest decorum & their was although at times very jocose on all occasions quite chaste.

Friday 26. Having accomplished our work here we this morning prepared to go over to Manono. I therefore got the Chiefs together & had my last interview with Malietoa. I again questioned him particularly as to his full determination to hold fast the Religion he had embraced. He replied again in the most emphatic manner that his desire was very great indeed for the word of Jehova, *Manao tasi lava* [*mana'o tasi lava*] one true whole desire, & his present intention was to live & die a Christian. That he wished much for the Salvation of his Soul & that the Word be made known. I then questioned him about war. He said he would never fight again unless people came to his own place to kill him. His words were I have cast away war, I have trodden it under foot, I am sick & surfeited of war, I have no wish ever to fight again. I then again proposed the residence of European Missionaries. He said he would love them very much, & if they had property to reach from the sea beach to the mountains they might leave it exposed & no one would touch it.

I then proposed to him to encourage the people to learn, especially his own sons & daughters for a knowledge of reading & writing would be an invaluable acquisition to them & to the Islands in general. He said he was aware of it, but the Samoa

people were a people soon tired. They wanted patience, but he would insist on some learning which would act as a stimulus to others. I then proposed that he should erect a good Chapel explained to him the kind of place I would advise, to which also he agreed. We then conversed over minor things such as not to appear or feel hurt with the Teachers if they went to other villages as our object was to teach all Savai & all the other Islands the word of life. He said it was very good. He also wished it & would go with them in some of their journies as his presence might give effect to their instruction. Having arranged with the Chiefs all that appeared important, I then said that I was about to leave them for Manono, & Upolu, when Malietoa said we have determined to go with you. I desired them to prepare as it was drawing well on in the day. Consequently the old gentleman attended by three of his wives went off. Tuiano Riromaiaava, & other Chiefs also went with us, so that we had a ship full. It took us however till near dark getting off pigs food, cocoa nutts &c &c. The people in general evince a great deal of feeling at parting, begging & entreating me as I passed to bring Mrs Williams & my children, & come & live with them to tell them the word of Salvation. The wind being foul we had to beat over to Manono. The Teachers accompanied us. During the night it rained hard, but the old Chief would not come down in the cabin as he still retains some of his superstitious notions, such as his presence renders a place sacred, & must be sprinkled with water after he has left it. If food comes near him no female must eat it. With other little customs which they say are not superstitious, or in connection with the worship of their gods, but modes of respect which they shew to superior Chiefs. They were curious in examining the different parts of the vessel. My bed cabin with the bedding & cover lid pleased two of the ladies much, so much so that they wished to occupy it, but not wishing to have my bedding soiled with their oily rougy skins, I declined the honour, & pointed out the lockers to them as a comfortable sleeping place. They said Mooni [*moni*], true, but it is not so soft & pretty as yours alluding to an Indian Palempore¹³¹. I use as a coverlid. They came several times & patted the pillows & put them to their cheeks, saying lelei, malu [*malū*] – good soft. However they appeared to sleep very soundly in the lockers, except when we tacked ship, when off they would roll, but did not appear to evince any fear.

131. A kind of chintz bed-cover.

Saturday 27. Early this morning we made Manono. I went on shore in the Boat to fetch Matetau off. We were detained some time while a pig & an oven of food was cooked for us. During this time I took a walk nearly half round the Island & was treated with great respect by the Chiefs of each village I went to. In one village the Chief & many of the people had embraced Christianity. He invited me into his house, & placed all the lotu's, or Christians, near me. They have built a small Chapel in which they worship. They wished to make me a present of a pig, but having plenty & not having any thing to make a return with I declined accepting it. The Chief of another settlement who invited me into his house had not become a Christian. I told him that I had brought a Teacher for Manono who would take up his residence with Matetau, but that he would [serve] him & all Manono. I enquired what objection he had to religion, stated the advantages of becoming a Christian, & invited him to follow the example of Malietoa, Matetau & others. He smiled & said perhaps he should by & by. I afterwards understood that he did on one occasion cast away his heathen spirits, but on being told by some one that Sabbath day was so sacred, that he must not smoke his pipe, he became disgusted, and took to his Spirit worship again. On returning from my little excursion I found Mr Stevens in trouble. The Chief with whom he was residing refused to let him come. If he did come away, he would not give him his clothes or any thing belonging to him. On hearing this, I offered to go up, & use my influence on his behalf. On our way thither his son came to say that Pea his Father was very sorry for Mr Stevens, & if he would come up he would allow him to come away & take every thing belonging to him.

On our arrival at the settlement I was invited into the government house & entertained by the young Chiefs & others while Mr Stevens & the old Chief settled their business. The old Chief then came & took up his seat by my side saluted me with great respect, hoped I would not be angry at his detaining the Doctor. Their object in not liking to part with him was that they had formed an attachment to him, & that he conducted their worship on Sabbath days for them & that if he left they should be at a loss how to do on Sabbath days. Mr Stevens read in English & John¹³² a person been living many years on the Island interpreted as well as he was able

132. Presumably John Wright; see notes 107, p.69 and 49, p.114.

what was said. He then proceeded to state that he was much afraid of me for not long since he had had an Englishman killed. I asked him the reason he had so acted. He stated that he was so wicked & cruel a man that their lives were in danger. That although he had lived at Manono & had always been treated with the greatest kindness by them he invariably fought against Manono in their wars. That he was so great a warrior so excellent a marksman with his gun that he killed more of their people than all the army beside.¹³³ That they had taken him twice having conquered the party to which he attached himself & spared his life on both times, but the last time it was on the whole condition that he would never fight against Manono again. That if he did they would kill him instantaneously. That about three months ago they were upon the eve of fighting a great battle when he went over to the other party & made arrangements to unite with them against Manono. Dreading the destruction that he would effect amongst them they had held a fono or consultation & determined to put him to death. That he & his people were afraid that they had sinned & the death of the man would be revenged by the British. Having had a full account of the man & his proceedings previously I was prepared with my opinion upon the subject & I stated explicitly that I thought he was perfectly justified in taking the life of so wicked & cruel a monster & that the British Government would never be angry with them for so doing. Had the man been living quietly & peaceably among them & they took his life away the British would resent it, but as the man had acted as such a desperado among them & made such fearful havoc among them they had only need to state this & their conduct would meet the approbation of every captain who touched there & of the British Government in England. The individual alluded to was one of the convicts¹³⁴ who ran away with a fine Island timber boat from New South Wales. They came to the Society Islands where this man with three or four others stole Mr Barffs whale boat from Huahine. Being pursued by several natives in another boat unarmed they fired into them with blunderbusses loaded with coopers rivets & blew five of the poor unfortunate natives to atoms.¹³⁵ They proceeded west & reached the Samoas.

133. The published account adds that he was said to have killed more than 200 persons (Williams 1838:465).

134. They had previously been on Norfolk Island (Churchward 1888:10).

135. Queen Maihara of Huahine, in a formal letter of protest to Governor Darling in Sydney, put the number of dead at only two (Rhodes [1934]:1:240).

Here it appears that they entered with savage delight into the native wars & having muskets & blunderbusses with powder & shot which they stole from Mahine¹³⁶ of Huahine they made fearful slaughter of the poor Indians who had nothing but clubs & spears to defend themselves against the destructive weapons that *Christians & civilised* nations use when arrayed in frightful hostility against each other. The cooper who was head of this murdering gang soon fell a victim to his own temerity for seeing a number of the enemys party crowded together he ran towards them & fired his blunderbus & killed & wounded fifteen Indians at one fire, nine I believe on the spot. Three died afterwards & three recovered. Immediately after he fired the natives rushed on him before he had time to reload & beat out his brains with a club. The Chief however for whom he was fighting thought so highly of him that he obtained the body. Cutting off his head he carefully repaired the fractured skull sewing it neatly together with fine sinnet & has it in his possession to the present day. It is said he worships it as his *Etu [aitu]*. This was at Tutuila.¹³⁷ Another of the number was drowned in this war on endeavouring to make his escape.¹³⁸ Thus judgement was executed speedily on these cruel men. The third who has lately met the death he richly merited was allowed a longer time to exercise his brutal powers. His native name was Taluavaa.¹³⁹ He first united himself to a chief called Jack Spratt.¹⁴⁰ Jack Spratt engaging in war at Tutuila took Taluavaa with him. Jack Spratt was wounded & taken but the party offered to spare his life if he would give up his Englishman who had killed so many of their people in order to be revenged of him, but Jack Spratt said no he would rather die himself. Accordingly they killed him. The Chief then rushed forward with his spear poised quivering in the air about to dart it into the Englishman who stood ready to defend himself with his more deadly weapon. On drawing near to

136. A leading chief of Huahine.

137. Possibly John Bow, whom Williams mentioned in 1830 (p.81).

138. An eyewitness account differs in several respects. The blackbird John King Bruce claims that when he came to Samoa, only two other Englishmen were resident. These two were sworn enemies, and the 'Manono' man eventually succeeded in killing the 'Savai'i' man. Some time later, this Manono man was himself clubbed to death by Samoans from Manono (Churchward 1888:10-11).

139. 'Irish Tom' was his English nickname (Pritchard 1866:199). Pritchard's account of his death differs in its detail from that of Williams.

140. His identity and Samoan name are unknown.

Taluavaa the chief defied him & his musket saying he was a Spirit & never to be shot. That he had been shot at before, but the man was not born that could shoot him. With this he again poised his spear & was just about to make a dart when Taluavaa fired & brought him to the ground having put one bullet through his forehead & the other through his neck. This determined the war & this Englishman rather Irishman was acknowledged by his own party & nearly all round the Island as the greatest Chief. Pigs, & cloth food, & women were all at his command.

The next war he engaged in was against Manono he taking part with AAna [A'ana], a large district on Upolu. This war he kept up nine months & killed a vast number of people. There were ten Indians who were the most clever in using the musket appointed to fight against him only, but they could never get a chance at him being so much afraid of him. There were people always on the look out & immediately it was said here comes the white man, everybody ran for their lives, so that he used to black himself over with charcoal & grease his body & go naked like the natives in order not to be known. By this means he would get near enough to fire & it is said that he seldom or never missed. If he was chased not a man in the Islands could overtake him he was so amazingly swift in his feet. This is wonderful for natives are astonishingly fast runners. If he was overtaken & obliged to fight native fashion he could use club & spear with a dexterity that very few could equal. Seldom a day past but he shot one or two or more. One day he shot seven the heads of which were cut off & placed before him in a row while he eat his meals. He would on all occasions besmear his body all over with the blood of his victims & in this state return to their fort in the mountains where he would be welcomed by his party & pigs, cloth, food, & the finest young girls presented to him. Frequently the party who went out with him would make a kind of stage on which to carry him back in triumph. He would be entirely naked besmeared from head to foot with the blood of his victims whose heads would be placed in frightful array around him on the stage.¹⁴¹ On one occasion being closely pursued he was obliged to take to the water & swam a distance of (it is said) nine miles when a heavy surf dashed him against the rocks in a dark night up which he managed to climb & crawled away exhausted into the bush. It being the enemy's coast, as soon as he found himself a little

141. An eyewitness description is contained in Churchward 1888:10.

refreshed he took to the mountains where he lived like a wild man for three months upon roots or herbs or any thing he could find. At length he gave himself up. The Indians had the generosity to spare his life, & to return him his wives. The way the Chiefs obtained a knowledge of his intentions & intrigues was through one of his wives with whom he quarrelled. He had told all his plans to her which she partly in revenge & partly out of affection to the Chiefs made known to them. They then held a *fetiligna* [*fetalaiga*] or private consultation as to what they should do when all his crimes were canvassed over from the beginning & *everyone* voted for his death. A Chiefs son was accordingly appointed to execute the bloody sentence. He entered the house of Taluavaa about 12 oclock at night with a Greenland whalers mincing knife concealed about his person. He addressed himself to his victim in friendly terms saying Come let us go & fetch your wife back. The Irishman replied No I shant go tonight. Leave it till morning. The young Chief pressed him to but he persisted in refusing. At this time he was sitting up near Mr Stevens. His body was inclined a little forward playing with his tobacco pipe when the young Chief went behind him, & struck him a blow across the neck with this mincing knife which severed his head nearly from his body. He was dead in an instant for he fell down without speaking or groaning or moving. The young Chiefs companions rushed in immediately with clubs & spears with which they mangled the body & then dragged it down to the sea beach. It is said that had the Monster received the slightest intimation of their intention he would have defied the whole Island but not having the slightest suspicion he fell an easy prey to the just vengeance of the injured Indians. Mr Stevens was sitting close by his side at the time so that he was covered with blood which gushed from the mans neck. He also had a narrow escape as in running away he received a severe blow with a club. He succeeded however in making his escape to another Chiefs who afforded him protection. It was not intended to do him harm but natives once set agoing in the work of blood are difficult to restrain. Thus terminated the career of one of the greatest Savages I ever read or heard of. After having arranged our business with the old Chief Pea,¹⁴² I introduced the subject of Christianity. He said he had not embraced Christianity himself but his son &

142. Presumably the same Pea who had custody of Tamafaiga's head; see pp. 131 and 137; also note 84, p. 131.

many of his people had & they regarded the Sabbath at his settlement. He said he should like a Teacher very well to be placed with him. I replied that one was settled with Matetau but he was not the exclusive Teacher of Matetau. He was for the whole of Manono & would occasionally come & worship at their place. That it was not far off & all who were desirous of learning might with ease go & be taught. He replied it was very good & in all probability he should have embraced the good religion by the time I came again. We took our leave of him with other Chiefs & people & hastened on board taking Matetau with us. I stated to both Malietoa & Matetau that my object in wishing them to meet together was that they might settle their differences & establish a solid friendship. That they were the two principal chiefs in the Islands. That I had placed teachers with them both so that they were become a kind of head quarters to the new religion but if differences subsisted between them it would be ruinous to the cause. That I should go away for half an hour & leave them to themselves to arrange their future intentions. Old Malietoa spoke first which he did immediately on my concluding. What he said was excellent. The other took it in good part, & replied with equal good sense. I then left them for about three quarters of an hour & on my return¹⁴³ I asked them how they had arranged matters. They replied that all was good. They had determined to be of one heart & one mind in supporting the religion we had brought them & that they would both use their influence in future to prevent all wars. That they two had now one heart & no difference would again exist between them. We now prepared to send the teacher Teava on shore with Matetau. When all his things were placed in the canoe we united in prayer on the ships deck & bid them farewell in the name of our Lord. We made Matetau as handsome a present as our circumstances would allow. I desire to be thankful that we have been able to effect a reconciliation between these powerful chiefs & to commence the Mission on this important little Island under such favourable circumstances. It took us three days to accomplish but we look on the time as well spent. Being ready to depart I sent to desire that all the run away sailors would leave the vessel when

143. In the published account, the two chiefs come to Williams and announce their reconciliation (Williams 1838:457).

they all came & begged to have some present for being on board the vessel. I replied they had been a nuisance to me. They had used our fire wood, drank our water eaten up our provisions & now wanted to be paid for it. That I would rather have paid them for staying out of the vessel as now I must go to look for a harbour to replenish my stock which they had consumed. They pleaded hard for a trifle as a present to their Chief with which each was residing. At length I gave a something to each of them thinking that each possessed a certain influence more or less with the Chief & people where they resided & it was possible that they might injure or retard the progress of the Gospel if their minds were soured against us. So acting upon the principle taught by the fable of the Lion & the mouse I thought it best to secure the good will of these worthless men by a trifling present. I however fully determined if I come again not to allow one to step his foot on board the vessel.¹⁴⁴ This conduct would not do in a new place where you are not known. In such circumstances it might be dangerous to provoke the resentment of these vile run aways. They generally insinuate themselves into the good graces of the Chief by telling him that they are related to the King or some Principal Chief in England or by telling him that their Father or Brother is coming shortly in a vessel for them when they will make him handsome presents or by some other lie so that if you are not known or cannot speak the language of the islanders to whom you go you expose yourself to serious injury by offending these worthless men.

Having finished our business at Manono we prepared to return to the Mission Station at Sapapalii. We had a rough squally night so that most of our passengers were heartily glad to reach their home again where we landed them early on Sabbath morning. When I took final leave of the Teachers & Chiefs I felt very poorly which occasioned both teachers & natives to express much feeling at parting. Manono is a small insignificant Island compared to the Islands of Savai & Upolu being little more than five or six miles round the others being about two hundred. It however is mighty in political importance. There are about two thousand inhabitants belonging to it. It has many dependant settlements on Savai &

144. By contrast, the LMS was kindly disposed towards *employed* seamen, and supplied to the South Seas missionaries Bibles, Testaments and selected homilies to be distributed to such people (LMS, directors' minute, 26 December 1831).

Upolu & is a kind of head quarters to the Leeward group having from time immemorial been victorious in every war that has been fought adjacent to Manono that is. About half a mile off is the Island of Aborima [Apolima] which is a most singularly formed Island. It is of an oblong shape inaccessible except at one small opening between two rocks. The Island resembles a common basin with about a quarter of it broken off. The settlement is in the hollow & has a remarkably pretty appearance & as you sail past the only place at which it is perceptible, the Island is said to be very fertile which is apparent inside but the appearance is barren enough on the outside. This is the fortress or stronghold of the Manono people so that if they are hard pushed on any occasion they fly to their inaccessible fort & if their enemy has the temerity to pursue they suffer for their temerity for they pass a tripping line under water across the little entrance between the two rocks & immediately a canoe enters they pull up the line & overthrow the canoe. People are then ready with spears & stones which they discharge from the rocks on the enemy while swimming in the water. Here also they carry their wives children & property when about to engage in a serious war. Here also are kept the chronicles of their wars which is a large basket into which a stone is put at the conclusion of every victory they have obtained. Mr Stevens informed me that he counted them not long since & there was the astonishing number of one hundred & ninety seven. I much wished to go on shore to see the people & place & made the attempt two or three times but the surf was so high I did not think prudent to risk it. We lowered the boat & went close in but the appearance of the surf dashing against the rocks was too terrifick. There are about a hundred inhabitants on the Island all of whom have embraced Christianity. Having determined to go to Niua [Niuatoputapu] in quest of Puna & family with the Rurutuans we stretched over for Upolu determining to find a harbour if possible to fill up our water, & obtain fire wood & provisions for our homeward passage & also for our additional passengers. The wind being against us we had to beat all day & I being poorly we had no service.

Monday 29. The wind still being foul & the harbour a long way to windward I determined to bear up & run for a bay in the south side of Savai where we dropped anchor on our former voyage. The wind being strong we made Manono in a few hours. We ran close in with the land & sent the boat on shore to see Teava & to know

how he liked his place & people. In about an hour the boat returned with a letter from him of which the following is a translation.

To Mr Williams

Dear Friend

I like this place very well. The Chief is kind. They supply me with food. We had service yesterday in the large house. It was full of worshippers. The Chief with many people have become Christians. This morning we collected to learn when the house was again full of people all anxious to be taught. We are happy & comfortable. May the Lord protect you while journeying on the deep. I feel for Mr & Mrs Buzacott.

Iaorana oe ia Jesu¹⁴⁵

Teava

We have received your present.¹⁴⁶

Leaving Manono we again ran past Aborima where we had a narrow escape of rubbing the sides of our vessel against the rocks for just as we were weathering the point the wind which was dead on the shore failed us. The current which is very great & runs round the Island occasioning great commotion on the water began to twirl us about so that we were within a few yards of the frightful rocks against which the sea was breaking with fearful vengeance. A little breeze providentially came to our assistance & in two minutes we were out of danger. A messenger was sent off by the Chief requesting me to come on shore which I again attempted but there being such a frightful surf on at the little entrance I thought it would be presumption to attempt it so I returned to the vessel & stood away for Savai hoping to find a safe harbour in which to lie & refit while we replenished our stock of water, provisions & fire wood, & we reached a large bay called Satupaitea [Sātupa'itea] just before dark. Several canoes came off to us in one of which was the principal Chief of the large settlement. His name was Riro-maiava¹⁴⁷ [Lilomaiava]. He had been to Tognatabu [Tongatapu] where he had embraced Christianity had erected a place of worship

145. This phrase is translated as 'Blessing on you, through Jesus' in the published account (Williams 1838:458), which presents a more positive version of the letter.

146. Teava was transferred to Aunu'u Island in 1837, and in 1838 to Leone, where he remained until at least 1869 (Murray 1876:64, 110).

147. Also known as Tuinaula; see note 124, p.74.

& many of his people had become Christians. We stated what we wanted all of which he said we could procure in abundance. It was off this bay that the little Schooner from Moreton Bay N[ew] S[outh] Wales was sunk. One of the convicts was living with the Chief. He also came on board. Not knowing it at the time I did not question him upon the affair. Hoping to attain our object at this place we determined to lie on & off till the morning. The Chief went on shore promising to have wood & food for us by day light.

Tues 30. Early this morning I took the boat & went on shore to see if we could find anchorage for the vessel. The water was exceedingly deep until you get in among the sunken rocks & reefs so that it would not have been safe to drop anchor. I determined therefore to get some bread fruit & fire wood here & prosecute my search somewhere else for an anchorage. We intended to make the bread fruit into masi that is ferment it & pack it closely in a tight cask which answers equally well as placing it under ground as the natives do. My reason for doing this was, because we could obtain no provisions at the Samoa Islands that would keep & having some arrow root on board, we could make very palatable food of the sour bread fruit & arrow root. On reaching the shore we enquired for the fire wood & bread fruit the Chief had promised to procure for us the preceeding night. We found that the bread fruit was on the trees & the fire wood in the bush. Thus in true Samoan Character you would think from the promises he made that the vessel would not carry the quantity to be provided & when all came to all there was none at all. We therefore set our own people to work cutting up a dead tree & commenced purchasing bread fruit with blue beads, knives &c. Thus we obtained two boat loads of fire wood & about two hundred heads of bread fruit, but a poor compensation for our detention. Having obtained all we could I went through the settlement. It is rather large contains many houses & perhaps near a thousand people. We all assembled in the large Government house when I said a few words to them by way of encouragement to hold fast the profession of the Religion they had embraced & promised if possible to supply them with a Teacher next time our vessel came. We then visited the Chapel. It is rather a small rough building capable of containing about a hundred persons with no seats & nothing but a few old mats on the floor. I told the Chief that Malietoa was about to erect a proper house in which to worship Jehova the great & good God. That when it was finished he had better go & see it & invite one of the Teachers down to assist him in

erecting one of the same kind to which he assented. On leaving just as I was about to step in the boat a young woman with a fine white mat on made through the crowd & offered her garment for sale. Thinking the lady had made some kind of provision in case of selling her ball dress I gave her the number of beads she demanded when without any ceremony she took off her mat & handed it to me standing with the utmost unconcern among the crowd without the slightest covering on her. On my saying that ladies in England did not thus expose their persons a young friend standing by lent the tail end of her round about the dimensions of which was not such as to afford too ample covering to herself so that when divided between the two they had to stand very close together to derive any advantage from it even to their front parts. However no person present & there were perhaps 200 appeared to offer the slightest insult to her or take any notice than if she had been regularly clothed. As we passed Aborima a canoe came off to us having two men & a young woman on board. The men had their round abouts on formed of leaves which I wanted to obtain as a curiosity. Before I could go below to get a piece of native cloth as a covering for him, he had desired the young woman to give him her mat which she had done & when I came on deck she was sitting in the canoe with perfect unconcern without a particle of clothing on, so that they appear destitute of shame. The bay of Satupaitea is an open extensive bay with two large settlements both of which have embraced Christianity. If there was but anchorage for a vessel it would form a most suitable spot for a Missionary Station. On arriving on board I was much perplexed not knowing which way to go. The wind however was very light & we had to work out of the bay. As soon as we were clear it fell dead calm so that we had a whole night to think over our plans & adopt that which appeared best. Water provisions & fire wood we wanted & obtain them we must from somewhere or other but where, we were at a loss to know.

Wed 31. The wind coming from the westward we determined to run again for Upolu where we were informed was two or three good harbours. We again passed Aborima but took care to keep further off. The Chief again sent a messenger requesting me to visit them on shore. The Chiefs messenger saluted me with the greatest respect kissing the soles of my feet. I was not aware of what he was about to do thinking he was about to examine my shoes. The wind being fair to run for the harbour & having lost so much

time in search of one I could not gratify the Chief by visiting his settlement. By carrying all sail we reached the harbour of Apia about sun down when our wind died away consequently we had to wait till morning to get in. Riromaiava Malietoas eldest son boarded us just before dark. We requested that he would accompany us & stay with us while we were at anchor to which he consented.

Thurs Nov. 1. This morning I went in with the boat to examine the harbour & see the Chief. Finding the harbour to be good we made a signal to the vessel to stand in which she did & came to anchor in about six fathoms water. The harbour is spacious & convenient & safe, easy of access & egress & will no doubt become a place much visited by whalers as soon as it is known & as soon as it is deemed safe to anchor among the Islanders. There is a fine run of water into which the boat can go towing the casks & filling them about a hundred yards from the sea beach. As soon as we dropped anchor we were surrounded with canoes & our little vessel was deluged with natives. Silence being commanded Riromaiava gave orders to his Duu laafale [*tulāfale*] or orator to state who I was, where from, & what I wanted. He stated that Malietoa his Chiefs Father had given me his name & all the respect that they would shew to Malietoa must be shewn to me. He strictly charged that no theft should be committed on board & that all should bring me pigs & bread fruit & yams. Having concluded his speech preparations were immediately made to obtain our wood & water. On going ashore I was invited into the government house when I held a long conversation with the Chief advising him to become a Christian stating to him the advantages of our religion. He said he had no objection to it, but had no one to teach him. He asked me my opinion of the harbour. I told him I thought it a very fine harbour indeed. He requested me to inform captains of ships of it & desire them to come to it. I replied I was perfectly willing so to do, but English captains would ask me about the Chief whether he was of our religion or no & I should reply no he is Devolo [*tēvolo*], of the Devils party & then they will be afraid to come. He then said No dont tell them so, for I am determined to become *lotu*¹⁴⁸ but wait till tomorrow by which time I shall have consulted my people. Leaving the Chief I took a long saunter inland to observe the country the wood the state of cultivation etc. After walking

148. In the published account, Williams claims that the chief had decided to become a Christian prior to meeting him (1838:459).

about three miles through an uncultivated part where stately trees grew in wild luxuriance surrounded with brush wood & trees of meaner growth, we arrived at a beautiful plain the site of a little village. The grass plat was extensive, the young bread fruit trees luxuriant the houses were scattered thinly here & there. Our appearance startled the sequestered inhabitants. The Chief ordered mats to be brought & spread on the grass, also a supply of cocoa nuts. We stated to him who we were & the object we had in view in visiting the Samoa Islands. Stated also how many Chiefs had become Christians & invited him to follow their example. He replied that he had heard that the *lotu* new religion was very good & he wished to know about it but had no one to tell him consequently he was in ignorance. We stated that the Missionaries from Savai would be round Upolu shortly & by inviting them to stay a day or two at his place he might obtain some information We returned by a circuitous route to the settlement. The land appeared very rich Very little indeed was under cultivation except small parts in the immediate vicinity of the settlements. The country in the interior is well wooded. It being nearly dark we prepared to go on board. The Chief requested us to stay & witness the "heavenly dance"¹⁴⁹ he was preparing for our entertainment, but not thinking it savoured much of the heaven to which we aspire we declined the proffered honour.

Fridy 2d. Early this morning we were surrounded with canoes & crowded with natives so much so that we were quite annoyed. We put every thing out of the way that we thought they could steal. They were extremely anxious for tin to make their pipes with our sottish country men having taught them the use of that noxious herb tobacco.¹⁵⁰ Not being able to obtain tin they thought copper would answer the purpose & tried to take some of the ships stern post but being caught in the act we obliged their canoes to keep a more respectful distance. A Malagna [*malaga*] passed us this morning which is something like the Upehepehe¹⁵¹ formerly of Tahiti or strolling players. Here they travel by water. The malagna

149. *Pōula lagi*; see note 125, p.152 and p.247.

150. Williams had earlier attempted to establish a tobacco export industry in the Society Islands (Gutch 1974:33). His present attitude may have been a reaction against the imposition of a tobacco tax by the State of New South Wales, and the subsequent failure of the venture.

151. Williams describes a *malaga* later in the journal (pp.251-3). *Upehepehe* is the Tahitian term for a form of entertainment.

consisted of one very large & several smaller canoes.¹⁵² They did not put up at the settlement but passed on to a settlement inland about a mile beyond. They immediately commenced their exhibitions by a fencing match at which it is said they display surprising dexterity I did not know of it till afterwards or I certainly should have liked to have seen their skill in that department. About ten o'clock I went on shore to see the Chief & to have some further conversation with him. He was seated in the large government house with perhaps most of the principal people of the settlement. I was saluted with the greatest respect by the name of *Malietao* & addressed in the language used when the highest & most sacred Chiefs are addressed. He requested me to take a seat by his side when he commenced by saying that he had determined to become a Christian & wished me to perform the ceremony of making him so. I told him that we used no particular ceremony on such occasions any further than the party wishing to become a worshipper of the true God Jehova states his determination publicly of renouncing his heathen gods & worshipping Jehova. That if they have any idols they either burn them or give them up to the Missionary. Pomare of Tahiti gave his up to the Missionaries to be sent to England that the English Christians might see what foolish gods Tahiti worshipped but as he had no idols the only ceremony I could perform was that he should state publicly his determination to renounce his belief in his heathen Spirits & his wish to become a worshipper of Jehova the true God. I would then write his name in a book as a follower of the true religion & offer up a prayer to our God on his behalf. The Chief then desired that all who were not inclined to follow his example would go outside the house while prayer was offered but those who wished to become Christians were to remain & worship Jehova. About twenty persons withdrew & remained outside & about eighty men women & children remained during prayer.¹⁵³ I bitterly felt the evil of Babels Confusion being obliged on this interesting occasion to pray in the Rarotogna language. I had written a prayer in the Samoa tongue but had left it on board in my desk consequently had no alternative. After prayer the Chief requested me to state to him what was required to a consistent profession of religion. I told him

152. Known as *fuālalo*, it was apparently a common formation (Pratt 1911:153).

153. The total number present is changed in the published account to 'about a hundred and fifty' (Williams 1838:460).

it was impossible for me to give him in so short a time all the information that he would require but stated that the Sabbath was to be regarded a Sacred day, a day in which we worship our God. That lying, stealing, fighting prostitution were *Sa* [sā] or evil things in the Christian religion. He replied that it was good. He then addressed all his people, desiring that they would not do anything in contempt of his New Religion saying he had given all their choice & those who wished to retain the worship of their Devolo might do it, but not to speak evil or do anything to bring his religion into disgrace.¹⁵⁴ Some short time after the Chief said to me I am much perplexed. I have embraced the new religion, am ignorant myself & have no one to teach me or to perform Service on the Sabbath day for me. Tagnaloa a young Chief of the next settlement Vailele who had embraced Christianity & had been to Savai to be instructed joined our party. He is in the habit of performing Service at his own place on Sabbath days. I requested him to come for a few Sabbaths to Apia to assist his uncle until he should be able to obtain a person from Sapapalii. I further advised him to select a steady intelligent person & send over to the Missionaries to be instructed in the worship of our God. Puni-puniolu¹⁵⁵ now presented his child a fine little boy saying that he had been made a believer in Seauvili's [Siovili's] foolery but as I had informed them that he was a wicked imposter, he wished his boy to become a Christian too. I accordingly advised him to call his Boy by a Christian name which I also wrote down & as several other persons came in & wished to be among the worshippers of Jehova I repeated a prayer over them.

The Chief from the inland settlement I visited yesterday sent a messenger requesting me to attend as he wished to become a Christian too. Tagnaloa also the Christian Chiefs from Vailele brought me a present of pigs & food & wished me much to visit them. Another Chief also from a large settlement about four miles off was very pressing that I would go to his settlement as he had long wished to become a Christian & had nobody to make him so. It drawing towards evening & I having to visit the Christian settlement of Riromaiaava Malietoa's Son I was under the necessity of forgoing the pleasure which the gratification of the Chiefs

154. By contrast, the published account stresses the mutual nature of the noninterference between Christians and non-Christians: 'Do not revile my proceedings; neither will yours' (Williams 1838:460).

155. His identity is not known.

wishes would have afforded me. We therefore having obtained wood & water & purchased a tolerable good supply of provisions made presents to the various Chiefs & got under weigh. On reaching Riromaiava's district I determined to go on shore & visit them. On landing we had to walk about two miles before we reached the settlement. The land was quite uncultivated except in the vicinity of the settlements we passed. Some of the trees were very large. We passed a small settlement who were living the Chief said in compact with the Devil. We at length arrived at Riromaiava's settlement. Was invited into the government house a fine new mat spread & all the Chiefs collected together. Presently a fine stately woman entered apparently about six & twenty years of age. She was introduced to me by the name of Maria & was Malietoa's eldest handsomest favourite daughter. She said she was sorry she had not seen me before. That she was with her husband in the fort who was fighting against her father Malietoa at the time we visited Samoa formerly since which they had been conquered & she had been over with them. Had spent much of her time with the Teachers from whom she had obtained a knowledge of religion to which she was attending. All the Christians who happened to be at home being collected together the Chief requested me to say a few words of exhortation to them which I did as well as I could through my lame interpreter. I then engaged in prayer with them in the Tahitian language. Making Riromaiava & his sister Maria as handsome a present as circumstances would allow I bid them farewell. They all however accompanied me down to the boat & lamented that my stay was so short with them. Among other persons was the wife of the monster Taluavaa. She is a fine looking young woman about 18 years of age having part of her hair thickly plastered with lime gave her rather a singular appearance. This however is a frequent occurrence with them. The lime burns their hair & gives it a brown tinge of which they appear very fond. I reached the vessel at sun down. We now made all sail for Niua tabutabu [Niuatoputapu] or Keppels Island in search of Puna the teacher of Rurutu & his party.

Saturd 3d. Being becalmed nearly all night it was midday before we passed Manono. On reaching this Island I was much pleased to receive a visit from the Teachers, Tai, Moia, Raki & Teava. The three former had been to open two Chapels at Upolu. On their way home they had come to see their new companion & to spend the Sabbath day with him. He was in high spirits well pleased with his

people & prospects. I expressed my pleasure to them in attending so promptly to my injunction to visit & assist Teava. They informed me that nearly all who had been induced to follow Seauvili's imposture had abandoned his party & come over to them. I made arrangements with them for going round Upolu & visiting especially the Chiefs Punipuniolu of Apia with his brother Chief inland Tagnaloa of Vailele etc. Not expecting to see them again we took an affectionate leave of each other & parted we making all sail for Keppels Island. In this interview the Teachers informed me of a captain who touched here not long since. As is customary many natives visited his vessel. On going up to the captain they saluted him respectfully & thinking to recommend themselves & their country told him that they were lotu. On enquiring of his interpreter he was told that they said they were of the same religion as himself upon which he stormed & swore & stamped to think black negroes should be of his religion & drove them out of the vessel. I do not know the name either of the captain or his vessel or otherwise his name & nation should be transmitted to posterity to enjoy all the honour that would be attached to such a transaction. The conduct of the captain spoken of above forms a striking contrast with that of Captain Swain¹⁵⁶ of the Sarah & Elizabeth. He touched here about six months ago & as soon as he heard there were Missionaries on the Islands he immediately hove away for the place where they resided. Receiving them on board made them presents. He treated the Chiefs also with respect. Hearing that I was expected soon to visit the Samoa's he left a letter for me saying who he was, & stating many things in commendation of the teachers. He stated that in addition to his own inclination to encourage Missionary labours he had instructions from his Owner Mr Sturges who I believe belongs to the respectable Society of Friends to visit Missionary Stations for supplies & to afford the Missionaries any little comforts that could be spared from his vessel & afford the Missionaries any other assistance in his power. To such owners & such captains we feel our obligations & desire that honourable mention be made of them.

Tuesday 6th. Early this morning we were close in with Keppels Island. A canoe coming off we ascertained that Puna's wife & children were on shore. Of this we were glad as we expected that we

156. Possibly Captain W.C. Swain of New Bedford, after whom Swains Island is said to have been named.

should have had to go to Niuafoou [Niuafo'ou] Island about 90 miles to the west of Niua tabutabu. I wrote a note to Puna vahine stating who I was & what was my object in coming & desired her to send me word whether it was safe to come on shore & whether the Chiefs would make any objection to her coming away. The man returned with a note saying that there would be no danger & begged me to send a boat on shore for her & her family. We learned that her husband Puna was dead & that she was living with a young man of Rurutu who had shared their dangers. Standing close in with the vessel we were visited by one of the Kings Sons Mafoa attended by an Englishman. The Englishman informed us of the Snappers being taken at the Haapai [Ha'apai] Islands. He himself was on board at the time & saved his life by jumping over board. He however lays the blame principally to the captain. The account he gave was as follows. The people of an Island called Uiha ['Uiha] the only Island in the group that had not embraced Christianity¹⁵⁷ had a large trypot which was wanted by the captain & owner of the vessel who also was on board. Finding some difficulty in obtaining it, they detained the Chiefs son on board until the pot was delivered according to a previous agreement for it seems that the owner had sent a boat over to Uiha previous to his going to the Samoa Islands to purchase this trypot. The Chief then agreed to dispose of the pot for a musket & Keg of powder but desired that they would call there with the vessel on their return from the Samoa Islands. The vessel was accordingly brought to anchor off Uiha on their return. The boat was sent on shore for the pot when a demand of five muskets with other things was made. The owner wishing much to obtain this trypot told the Chiefs son who was on board & had been for two or three days the pot had been agreed to & he must have it & would detain him till he got it & that if he attempted to make his escape that he would shoot him. The pot was accordingly brought off. When the young Chief who it appears was not confined or ill treated as it has been reported was told he was at liberty the people determined to be revenged & in order to blind the owner & captain sent their women & children on board to trade for turtle shell which completely lulled the suspicion of the English people. They went down to dinner during which time the natives sent all their women & children out of the vessel & commenced their war dance. The owner & captain

157. They did so in 1833 (Lātūkefu 1974:66).

with crew went on deck to witness it when the captain & owner were thrown over board. The owner with some others made for the boat which was towing astern. The captain Mr Gardiner¹⁵⁸ being a poor swimmer clung to a rope hanging by the side of the vessel when a man shot him dead. Two other Englishmen were massacred in the fray. By this time the owner & those in the boat had got a good part of the way to the Island of Lefuga [Lifuka] where the Missionary Settlement is. The natives chased them with their canoes overtook them & brought them back. This all happened on the Sabbath day. The natives soon began to plunder the vessel. The Tui Haapai¹⁵⁹ [Tu'i Ha'apai] or principal Chief of the group came over in the evening. The vessel was given up to him & he immediately returned it to the owner, but the natives had taken her so far in & a strong wind setting on shore she was dashed on the Rocks & broke to pieces.¹⁶⁰ This accords with nearly all the accounts of vessel taking & massacre on the part of the natives that I have heard of during my long intercourse with the South Sea Islanders. Therein the first place exists in the minds of natives in general an eager desire to plunder most vessels that come & when any offense is given however slight that affords them a pretext to gratify their propensity. This appears to me to be the case with the Snapper. The natives being mad after the property exhibited, the parties belonging to the vessel being totally regardless of the Sabbath gave the natives to see that they had no connection with the Missionaries. Demanding the pot, & detaining the young Chief especially threatening to shoot him if he ran away gave the natives (in their estimation) a sufficient pretext to plunder & murder as they did.

158. R.N. Gardiner was the master, and the owner a Mr Hall (Nicholson 1977:57).

159. That is. Tāufa'āhau.

160. Prior to sailing to 'Uiha in June 1832, the *Snapper* had called at Lifuka, where the owner was given hospitality by the Wesleyan missionaries Watkin and Turner. The owner was critical of missions generally, and tried unsuccessfully to entice women aboard his ship. Ignoring advice from Tāufa'āhau not to go to 'Uiha, he sailed there, stating that he would have better trading conditions with the non-Christians. Following disagreement over the trypot, the crew caught and bound the chief Malupo, and anchored a short distance offshore overnight. Next day, the ship was attacked, the captain and two others killed, and the cargo plundered. When the news reached Tāufa'āhau, he travelled to 'Uiha and freed the remaining crew, despite Malupo's being a former enemy of his, and forced the 'Uiha people to return the stolen goods. The sailors were taken to Lifuka and accommodated by the missionaries (Wood 1975:43, 50-1). One of the dead crewmen was eaten by a group of Fijians visiting a nearby island (James Watkins to secretaries, 31 May and 2 June 1835).

It is said that either the captain or owner said many things disrespectful of the Missionaries & of the natives who had embraced Christianity saying that the Tevolo's were the best. If they did it was imprudent & would all tend to encourage the natives in their evil designs towards them, for many persons are indebted to Missionary influence for safety & protection of which they appear insensible.

On receiving the note from Puna vahine I immediately prepared to go on shore. The poor woman sent her two children to meet me & conduct me to the hut she was living in. Native like she clung to my legs & wept aloud for a long time. It is nearly or full four years since I saw her & I dont know that I ever saw a greater alteration in a person in so short a time. From a stout middle aged good looking woman she is reduced to a thin meagre looking infirm person. I expressed my surprise at the alteration in her appearance. She said her troubles had been very great, what with the loss of her husband the ill treatment she had received from run away sailors who after the death of her husband stole all of her little property the difficulty she had experienced in getting food for her children together with the grief for the loss of the means of grace & the anxiety she had to return home to her lands & friends had almost brought her to the grave. On enquiry I found that of the Rurutuans who were of the original party some had gone to sea with the Chief of Niua about three months ago in hopes of reaching Tongataboo [Tongatapu] & have never been heard of since. Others had gone to Niuaafou an Island about 90 miles to the westward & from there had gone to the Fiji Islands in some vessel to cure beech le ma¹⁶¹ [bêche-de-mer]. I desired her to make haste & get her little property on board while I went to see the Chiefs & take a view of the Island. One of the first things that attracted our notice was an immense canoe from the Haapai Islands bound for the Samoa group. The King of the Haapai's was sending one of his wives back to her father Matetau of Manono with great presents. She is a fine young woman about twenty years of age. She was much pleased to hear that we had seen her Father so lately & that we had placed a Teacher with him also that the Samoa Islands had embraced Christianity. On hearing that we were going to the Haapai Islands she asked us to carry a letter to her husband which she immediately commenced writing. She wrote a very fair hand, &

161. An edible sea-slug.

signed her name Salata Charlotte¹⁶² by which name she was baptized by Mr Thomas. The canoe is expected to carry about one hundred & thirty persons. They are all professors of Christianity & it is hoped that their visit to the Samoa Islands will tend to confirm & strengthen the natives in their attachment to Christianity. Also when the Samoan natives see the facility with which Charlotte & others read & write it may act as a stimulus to them in the acquisition of those important branches of knowledge. This is the first canoe that has visited the Samoa Islands carrying professors of the Christian religion.¹⁶³ It is to be hoped that they will not imitate the example of their heathen country men who visit that group. It is a most hazardous voyage to make. The distance is about five hundred miles. It is true they have a kind of half way house in Niua tabutabu but winds & waves are not to be depended on. If the wind continues light & fair they generally make an astonishingly quick passage as their canoes are sharp & long drawing little water & carrying an extraordinary large sail, the yard being from 90 to 110 feet long. Just before I landed at the Islands there were no less than Nine Togna Canoes there all of which with the exception of one had left to return to Togna some of which are known to be lost. Others have gone to the Fiji's two are broken one at Niua fou another at Niua tabutabu so that from what I can ascertain not above *One in three or four* complete the voyage in safety. We heard that the Revd Mr Cross had been here a short time ago. He came in a whaling vessel & returned in a Togna canoe!! They are altogether unfit for a Missionary to travel in leaving the great danger of being lost totally out of the question. A decent good looking young man introduced himself to me as the Faifekau or Teacher,¹⁶⁴ saying his name was Samuel. He was dressed in a white shirt with black waistcoat of pleasing appearance & good address. He conducted me inland to see the place of worship. It is the large house in which

162. Although of high rank, Salata (?Salote) should not be confused with the Tongan Lupepau'u, Tāufa'ahau's official wife, who was baptised Queen Salote in 1834 (Wood 1975:50). Salata was escorted back to Manono by a Samoan orator called Mafua. 'Several chiefs of Savai'i became converts out of respect for the orator Mafua ... and several members of the first Christian party were appointed by Mafua to teach the Samoans to read' (Gunson 1977:106).

163. Canoes taking Samoans converted by the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga had made such voyages for some years prior to 1832; see p.129.

164. The first evangelism in Niuaotupapu occurred either through Tongan teachers (as claimed by Lātūkefu 1974:69, citing Peter Turner's journal entry for 1 April 1847), or by the efforts of William Cross (as suggested by Wood 1975:54). In either case, the first attempts had begun only a few months before Williams's own arrival in November 1832.

the natives used formerly to hold their public dances etc. He informed me that about half the inhabitants of the Island had embraced Christianity the whole of which I should not take to exceed four or five hundred. One of the Chiefs sons had also become a Christian the other was still obstinate in his attachment to their heathenish customs. Our attention was attracted by a singularly hollow roaring & clattering of sticks. On enquiring of Samuel what it was he informed me that it was a party of faka Devolo [*fakatevolo*] or devils people dancing. Being in our road we made up to them although we did not wish to claim relationship. They were about forty in number all men. They were ranged in two lines facing each other as in a country dance forming a lane down between them about four or five feet wide. Each man had two short sticks one in each hand about 2 feet six long. Every sixth or eighth had instead of two short sticks one long swish. Some were completely besmeared with charcoal & rubbed with oil which rendered them not only black but shining characters in the exhibition. Others were fantastically touched off with the same material. A broad ring round each eye a large round patch on each cheek & forehead with various rings stripes & daubs in other parts of the body. Others to make the contrast greater interspersed streaks of lime giving them a zebra like coat. Thus equipped with their grass aprons to cover their nakedness they commenced their capers which consisted of violent motion in every imaginable direction each striking with admirable dexterity both sticks of his antagonist one over the head the other under the thigh. Sometimes they were squatting on the ground bringing their short sticks in contact in all manner of ways. At other times they would all at once jump an amazing height in the air & bring their sticks in constant contact sometimes facing each other, other times in a twinkling of an eye they were back to back or side to side. The clattering of the sticks kept admirable time to their hoarse, gruff hollow voices as they sang. I could not obtain the song they sang on the occasion. It was said to be a calling upon their gods to bring their Chief Maatu¹⁶⁵ [*Mā'atu*] back who had gone to sea about 3 months ago & had never been heard of. In about a quarter of an hour they were obliged to desist having exhausted their breath. It was a laborious performance for the perspiration poured off them. I saw nothing in the performance worth noticing but the dexterity & surprising

165. The titleholder was either Pungakaitafola or Ikamāfana (Gifford 1929:285).

agility they displayed. It is said to be a Wallace Island [Uvea] dance.¹⁶⁶

A messenger arrived from Tavana the Chiefs other son. I waited upon him. He is far more prepossessing in his appearance than his brother & has much more the manners of a Chief. His premises are respectable. Being invited to take a seat by his side he enquired who I was & what was my business & where I had been & where I was going. On being informed that my only object was to fetch the poor woman & family & take them home he expressed himself surprised & delighted at so great an act of kindness. Said how thankful he should be if some person equally kind would find his poor Father & bring him back. He asked me if I had heard any thing of him or his canoe in the course of my travels. I told him that I had not but that I still had a long journey before me & that if I should find his Father I would either take him to some Island from which he might reach home or put him in the way to find it. He expressed himself very thankful. I then asked him if he had embraced Christianity. He replied that he had not. I stated that the Tongataboons had become Christians the King of the Haapai's with his people had also. That most of the Chiefs & people of the Samoa Islands had renounced the worship of their Devolo's & wished to know what objection he had to Christianity. He smiled waived the subject & began talking about something else. After having answered the question he asked I again attacked him on the subject of Christianity. He replied by one of his Mataboole's [*matāpule* - orators] that he had no objection to the *lotu* but his Father Maatu who it was supposed was lost at sea was a determined enemy to it & that if he *should* return & find that he had embraced a religion to which he had such an aversion that he would be outrageous with him. He would therefore remain as he was until it was satisfactorily ascertained that his Father was lost. I was astonished to find so great a number of run away sailors here. They are a noisesome pestilence in the South Seas. They were I believe all bound to the Navigator Islands [Samoa] where at present there are enough to paralyse the effects of the most zealous Missionary labours. One of Mr Joseph Underwoods Sons was here to whom I would gladly have given a passage out of the respect I have for his Father¹⁶⁷ had I known it at the time. It was not until we had left the Island that I was informed of it.

166. The dance was the *sōkē*, still performed throughout Tonga.

167. Joseph Underwood, a prominent Sydney merchant and shipbuilder.

Both Tavana & his brother Mafoa made me a present of about forty yams each saying it was a season of great scarcity or they would give me more. It drawing towards evening we prepared to depart, making presents to the two Chiefs the teacher & the person who had taken care of Puna & her family. We took our leave & went on board. At this Island we met a man who had lately come from Wallis' Island [Uvea] who confirmed the report of the Oldham Whaling Vessel's being taken there. The account he gave us was that the captain & nearly all his crew were in liquor. The captain armed them in liquor as they were & went on shore to drag women off to the vessel among whom they began to drag off the Chiefs daughter when the natives rose on them & massacred them all with the exception of a little cabin boy. The Zebra Brig of War had been there but did not succeed in getting the vessel out. The natives set her on fire & burnt her down to the waters edge before the Zebra could get in to anchor.¹⁶⁸ It is said that these were the most inoffensive race of men to be found in the South Sea Islands until a person by the name of Manini from the Sandwich Islands settled amongst them. If I am informed aright the natives made him King of their Island & he soon began to exercise his Kingly authority in the most tyrannical manner. It is said he imposed a heavy tax upon all yams, hogs, &c sold to shipping also a tax of a Dollar per head or other property for every female whom he permitted to visit vessels for the purposes of prostitution. These were the variety of arbitrary proceedings to which they were not accustomed and which induced the natives to put him to death. It seems he had taken every precaution he could to keep out of the power of the natives by erecting a fort mounting guns, having his house on poles so that he ascended a ladder through a trap door drawing up the ladder after him, but all to no purpose. If natives are bent upon mischief they are so exceedingly artful in the accomplishment of their designs that it is difficult to prevent them. In the present instance it is said that they invited him out to shoot pigeons. A native sang out to him here's one & as he was taking aim someone struck him in the back of his head with an axe.

In the affair of the Oldham especially the setting fire to her I would strongly suspect that some vile run away sailors advised the natives to do it.

168. The account is substantially correct; a detailed description appears in the *Sydney Herald* of 19 July 1832.

The Zebra man of war it appears lost one marine in the contest with the natives but killed a great many in return. It is reported that as many as Sixty were shot. The natives ultimately came down with a flag of truce & made peace with the commander promising never more to molest or kill the crews of vessels calling there.

Thus a fine vessel of many thousand pounds value with a vast quantity of property & to say the least the lives of *Eighty persons* is sacrificed through the Vile drunken conduct of *One Man*.

While the natives are so severely punished for seeking recompense for injuries they receive ought not some steps be taken by government to punish those who inflict unmerited injuries on the natives which excite them to such acts of cruelty. There are two Islands near together the one is called Niua tabutabu [Niua-toputapu] the other Tafahi named by the English Keppels & Boscowens Islands. Tafahi is a large high sugar loaf Island iron bound shore with but few inhabitants. Niua tabutabu is a pretty Island - low & contains more inhabitants than the other which is in subjection to it. There are several sunken rocks at a considerable distance off the land. They appear to lie at about right angles that is West from Tafahi & N[orth] from Niua tabutabu. The sea appeared to break at intervals of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour. We saw three distinctly. I should take them to be seven or eight miles from the land. We were very near them before we saw them. In addition to these sunken rocks in the vicinity of the land there is a very dangerous reef¹⁶⁹ bearing N[orth] b[y] E[ast] 25 miles.

It was my intention on leaving Niua to have stood to the southward touching at Tognatabu in my way but the wind being strong from the S[outh] E[ast] we were compelled to stand the contrary way hoping in a day or two to get a slant of wind to carry us towards home. Consequently we stood towards the Navigators again.

Wed 7. Being disengaged today I desired the teachers wife Puna to give me a history of what had befallen her since they left Rimatara¹⁷⁰ which she did as follows. Mr Platt having left orders in one of his visits to Rurutu that Puna was not to act any longer in the capacity of Teacher but to prepare to return with me when I should call determined to go to Raiatea in his own little vessel a decked schooner about 20 tons. He accordingly put to sea having

169. Curacoa Reef (Tilly 1886:271). Tilly also refers to a reef near Tafahi, which may be the 'sunken rocks' seen by Williams (ibid.).

170. One of the Austral Islands.

about ten Rurutuans with him two or three American Seamen his own wife & family. After being several days at sea without seeing land they concluded that they had lost their way. They sailed about for nearly three weeks when they made an uninhabited little Island. Finding no food of any description on it they determined to put to sea again so filling their casks with water a fine spring of which they found on this little Island they set sail. After beating about three weeks more they made a large low Island. The natives came off to them in great numbers & appeared friendly. They could understand each other tolerably well they say. One of the Americans with two Rurutu natives proposed to go on shore previously arranging with Puna that if the natives were kind & friendly that they would erect a white flag on shore. They accordingly went & although they waited a fortnight on and off the Island no white flag was hoisted so they concluded that the poor people were put to death as soon as they landed. Of this however they are not certain for they had frequent intercourse with the natives during their stay who when they asked for their companions said the King had carried them to the Marae & would not let them come off. Now whether he had carried them to the Marae & made gods of them or whether he carried them to the Marae in the character of Sacrifices is uncertain. I think it not improbable that they are alive & being perhaps the first strangers they ever saw have made them Sacred to the gods. This Island is called Maniiki [Manihiki]. Being overtaken with a heavy breeze of wind they were obliged to run to an Island called Rakaana [Rakahanga] about 30 miles distant.¹⁷¹ Here they landed to get cocoa nutts finding houses & large canoes but no inhabitants. They had two natives on board from Maniiki but as soon as they landed they ran into the bush & hid themselves. It appears that the houses & canoes belong to the people of Maniiki who first live on one Island & then on the other eating up the produce of one & then proceeding to the other. They saw several dead bodies preserved here as natural as life with the long black hair flowing as if living. Their canoes are some of them very large built entirely of the cocoa nutt. Of the Islands the Aitutakeans have a tradition they are five in number Maniiki Rakaana Mautorea¹⁷² & Pakaiana.¹⁷³ I received information of

171. 'I should suppose [the distance] from the widow's account to be about twenty-five miles...' (Williams 1838:469).

172. Present name unknown; Marutea, in the Paumotu group, is perhaps the closest to Williams's spelling, but this identity is questionable.

them from the old King of Aitutake [Aitutaki] about ten years ago since which I have heard of them by message from a Captain Norton I think who fell in with a canoe at sea. Taking the natives on board his vessel he steered in the direction they pointed & made the Island & landed the people. On coming to Aitutake he told Vahineino our Teacher there to inform me that Maniiki &c &c was N[orth] E[ast] of Aitutake. If the captain had been so thoughtful as to have left the latitude & longitude of the Islands I would have visited them before now. Puna¹⁷⁴ says the natives were stout robust men much like the Paumotu Islanders. The wind continuing strong & foul they were obliged to bear away & leave their poor companions to their fate.

After being at sea six or eight weeks longer they made Niua tabutabu where the King Maatu took them under his protection. The people of the Island wished to plunder them but the King would not allow it. Puna & his party proposed to Maatu to become a Christian. He replied that he had heard of Christianity. That it was a good religion but that he would not be in a hurry to adhere to it. He had a little boy who was pining away with sickness. This he placed under Puna's care to try the goodness of the religion proposed to him. The child remained with them a fortnight when not getting any better he took it away again. The child ultimately died & this appeared to give Maatu a decided turn against religion & although Puna & his party remained four months on the Island & attended the means of religion only one person joined their party. He wished them to leave Maatu to go to his own district promising to build them a place of worship & become a disciple but Puna took ill & being impressed with an idea that he should not get well was very anxious to get to a place where he could enjoy intercourse with Missionaries. He accordingly determined to fit out his little schooner again & set off for Tognatabu. Three run away seamen undertook to carry his vessel there. They put to sea & after five or six days beating about they made Niuafofua about 90 miles west of Niua[toputapu].¹⁷⁵ Puna was very weak so much so that he died the day after he landed. Before he died he sent for the Chief advised him to become a Christian recommended his wife &

173. Present name unknown; Fakahina, in the Paumotu group, is perhaps the closest to Williams's spelling, but this identity is questionable.

174. That is, Puna Vahine; see note 16, p.29.

175. The distance is said to be 175 km west-north-west from Niuafofua (Wood 1972:76).

children to his special care. The Chief Fatufiri¹⁷⁶ [Fotofili] evinced a good deal of feeling at losing his guest so soon. He wept bitterly on the occasion. He afforded all the consolation he could to his wife by kindness & by having the body taken within the precincts of his own enclosure & decently interred. From all that I could learn poor Puna closed his career with the feelings & hope of a Christian. He had been about Nine or Ten years Teacher at the Island of Rurutu. He had been diligent in instructing the people. His feeling was ambition which gave rise to the unhappy quarrels between himself & his equally ambitious colleague.¹⁷⁷ The people partook of their spirit & formed a division in the hitherto united Island. On all our visits we had to exert our influence to settle their differences. At last we were obliged to remove them both. His colleague Mahameni I took home with me & intended to have taken him on my return from my former voyage to the Samoa Islands but he¹⁷⁸ urged on by his ambition & conceit of his own abilities set off in his own little boat better than three months before my arrival & this is the unfortunate termination of blind ambition urged by ignorant conceit. The day after Puna's death the little vessel was hauled on shore & set fire to by the natives for the purpose of obtaining the iron out of her. In addition to this the vile run away seamen broke open the box & desk of Puna in which he had some dollars. It has been said Three hundred but I should not suppose there were so many. However all were stolen by these abandoned men who afterwards quarrelled & fought about the division when one received a blow on the head which fractured the skull & after lingering a few days he terminated his miserable existence.

Fatufiri faithful to his charge took care of the widow & family and also embraced Christianity. About a month after this a conspiracy was formed & the poor Chief was put to death. He had shewn a full determination to adhere to his profession for he had entered the sacred god houses & taken all the dedicated offerings of kava which he had prepared & drank it which he said was in their Island most sacred & having done this it was impossible for him to return to his Spirit worship again. The opposing party also wished to put Puna & her party to death but Fatufiri would not

176. A hereditary chief whose estate is on the island.

177. Mahainene (Newbury 1961:283).

178. That is, Puna.

allow it. These with other offences determined them to plan his death. Accordingly a message was sent to him to come & see a fort that was preparing when a man seized him around his waist & another cleft his head open with an axe. A severe war ensued which lasted five months but as Fatufiri's side retained the superiority Puna & her party remained unmolested. The death however of Fatufiri put an end to the introduction of Christianity. Puna losing her protector found it necessary to unite herself with one of the young men who had come with them from Rurutu for she experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining food for her family. After staying at Niuafoou near twelve months & finding no prospect of getting to Tognia she begged a passage in a canoe that was proceeding to Niua tabutabu where she had been about four or five months previous to my arrival. There are some peculiarities in the Island of Niuafoou. It is subject to volcanic eruptions. The large crater is at present filled with water which is occasionally boiling hot. The natives say that eruptions at times are very terrific. During the residence of Puna & her party frequent & severe shocks of earthquakes were experienced. The natives are not very numerous I should suppose about four or five hundred. They speak the Tognia language & have the Tognia customs. Their wars are not over bloody. During the five months of hostilities only about thirty persons were killed. It has been reported that they have now embraced Christianity & that a native of Vavau [Vava'u] is acting as their teacher. One very remarkable circumstance occurred during their residence at Niuafoou. A single Aitutake canoe arrived there with three natives in it one of whom was lost in swimming on shore. They were near three months at sea having drifted *Sixteen degrees* of longitude without sighting any land.

Had the wind favoured us about this time we should have made a very quick voyage & have been back to Rarotognia in less than six weeks but wind being strong against us we could not make any higher than the Samoas the very place we set off from six days ago.

Friday 9th. At daylight this morning we descried a vessel lying to under the lee of Manono. Making Manono I first went on shore to see the Teacher & Chief who I found were on board the vessel. We then steered our course for the vessel. On going on board I found it to be the Elizabeth Whaler Capt'n Deanes. We found Matetau & the teacher Teava on board to both of which Capt'n Deanes had shewn great attention & had given them handsome presents.

Matetau was glad to see us especially when we told him that we

had seen his daughter & that she might be expected the first fair wind. The natives would scarcely believe that we had been to Niua & back again in so short a time & said if we really had we must be Spirits. I spent the day with Captn Deanes & made some purchases of him. He informed me that Captn Curry¹⁷⁹ of Sydney was in sight yesterday but having got a large whale had drifted to the leeward of the Island. I should like much to have seen Captn Curry with whom I am well acquainted. He is also lately from N[ew] S[outh] Wales & we should have heard the news. I hear that the Reform Bill is rejected¹⁸⁰ that riots & disturbances exist to a great extent & that the awful disease Cholera Morbus is raging on the continent & in England. It is pleasing & gratifying to hear news from good old England even if it is bad news for our interest in her welfare is not diminished by time or distance. With respect to the rejection of the Reform Bill I am not competent to form an opinion whether it is good or bad news but from the notion I have conceived of it I should think it a fearful inroad on the power of the Executive department of Government an alteration in the constitution & to say the least a dangerous experiment, but the good King with his Ministers & Parliaments have wisdom enough to decide this important question without my aid & to them I think the good people of England ought to entrust the affair without rioting plundering & murdering each other. At sun down we stood to the northward hoping that in a day or two the wind would favour us & we might be able to make Tutuila.

Saturday 10. Finding the wind & current so strong against us we could not get round the N[orth] end of Upolu so we bore up again & ran through the Islands once more. Towards evening I visited Captn Deanes again & took tea with him. He advised me to proceed to the Southward as far as 28 or 29 S[outh] L[atitude] when I should fall in with strong westerly winds. Accordingly I left him with that intention. Soon after I left him he sent his first officer after me to inform me that Mr Samuel Henry was at Tognatabu waiting for an opportunity to get to Tahiti having come there with Captn Curry from N[ew] S[outh] Wales. Knowing his circumstances

179. James Currie was captain of the whaler *Deveron* (Nicholson 1977:86).

180. The Reform Bill was given a second reading on 27 March 1831 after a vote of 302 to 301 in favour, and became law in 1832. It redistributed the seats in the British Parliament, and lowered the property qualifications to vote, so that most men of the middle class received the right to vote. In addition, the Bill made the right to vote a matter of national law, rather than of local custom.

& those of his wife & family at Tahiti I determined if possible to call at Tongataboo for him, which having to go to the southward would not be much out of my way.

Sabbath 11. Winds very light. Service as usual. At sun down a sad disaster befell us, a disaster that we little expected. It came on us like a thunderclap. At sun down the vessel was as usual ordered to be pumped out which took generally from five to seven minutes morning & evening. After pumping near half an hour the water came up as clear as ever. I sent down to examine our water casks & found that one of the lads had bored a gimblet hole in a 130 gallon cask & neglected to drive a plug in which accounted for an additional quantity of water being in the vessel but not to the extent of what was actually the case. Having got the vessel pumped dry orders were given to let her stand till morning before they pumped again to see whether there was actually a leak in the vessel or no. At four oclock in the morning the mate came to inform me that the vessel was half full of water. On examination we found that she actually had Three feet of water in her hold.¹⁸¹ We immediately set to work with both pumps. After pumping about half an hour¹⁸² we found on examination that we had gained Six inches on the leak. By persevering for two hours & a half we succeeded in getting the vessel dry. We had now time to reflect on our situation & to consider what was to be done in our critical situation.¹⁸³ The first thing we did was to put our pumps in the best possible repair our circumstances & means would afford. To our comfort we found that one pump would keep her dry so we took out one at a time which having repaired thoroughly we refixed. We then attacked the other. By eleven oclock in the forenoon this was effected & we had two good pumps to depend on. Our next object was to search diligently for the leak. Some were employed in the forepart of the vessel removing the ballast, while others were employed in the same way in the after part. Others were crawling about in all directions listening to the rush of water

181. In the published account, no mention is made of the initial discovery of the leak on the previous day: 'At midnight the mate awoke me with the startling announcement, "You must get up immediately, Sir; the ship has sprung a leak, is half full of water, and is sinking fast." I ran on deck instantly, and found, to my consternation, nearly four feet of water in the hold' (Williams 1838:471).

182. The period is doubled in the published account (Williams 1838:472).

183. This was not the first time that Williams's voyaging had been affected by a leaky vessel. The *Endeavour* set out from Sydney in 1822 but had to turn back to repair leaks (*Sydney Gazette*, 8 March 1822).

but after several hours exertion we were compelled to abandon our attempts without having obtained any satisfaction further than we supposed our leak to be aft & Low down. We could not conceive what had occasioned it, we having been becalmed near two days. We had it is true carried a full press of sail to a strong breeze about five days ago but if the vessel had been strained or any thing given way we naturally thought that we should have experienced its effects sooner. We thought perhaps in rebuilding the vessel we might have missed a trunnel¹⁸⁴ [trenail] hole but then she had been running near six months & if a trunnel hole it was natural to suppose that it would have leaked before.

Towards evening determining to prepare for the worst I had all our empty bamboos washed out ready to fill with water our two bags of biscuit put in a handy place, some old cocoa nuts also placed convenient for putting into the boats, having two boats & a canoe. We counted the people put the boats in good order, & arranged in my own mind the persons who should go in each boat. Thus a day of consternation & anxiety & distress has passed over me such as I scarcely ever experienced. I have been enabled however to maintain entire self possession & make all arrangements with the utmost coolness.

I have felt very much indeed for my dear wife & children. If they knew my situation now how great would be their distress. They poor things are counting the days & saying that by next Sabbath day or a few days after they hope to be gladdened with the seeing us off the harbour at Rarotogna whereas we are here near a thousand miles to leeward in danger of sinking with our leaky ship.

It is to all appearances a frowning providence but a smiling face may one day be known to have been hidden behind it. I do not apprehend that we shall lose our lives. If the leak should increase on us it is my intention to keep as near to land as I can in going to Tognatabu so that if we are obliged to take to our boats we may not have far to go. We must make all possible speed to Tongataboo where we must heave down & find the leak & stop it if possible. I am extremely grieved at the detention it will cause & the consequent anxiety to my dear Mrs W[illiams] & family & friends.

Tues 13. Spent a sleepless anxious night waking every half hour that the ship was pumped. Listened with the utmost anxiety to hear the pump suck which hearing would drop off again for a little

184. Wooden pins holding together the outer and inner planks of the vessel.

while. As I lie in bed I traced over in my mind almost every plank & every seam & every butt end in the vessel from stem to stern post & from keel to deck & I do not think any thing can possibly have given way. I feel confident that every thing is well fastened. I dreamt about dear Mrs W[illiams] & family. I fear they will suffer much anxiety on account of the length of time I shall now of necessity be away. The leak does not increase. Today we have renewed our exertions. In endeavouring to find one leak have torn up my cabin floor & cut away some of the lining plank of the vessel but to no purpose except that of strengthening our opinion that the leak is aft & low down. Poor Makea the King is sadly cast down. We have been talking about home. Oh sweet home. He frets much for his younger children. Leak much the same. About seven minutes pumping every half hour keeps the vessel tolerably dry. Making very slow progress. A light foul wind.

Wed. 14. It is a common saying One evil seldom comes alone. We find it so today, for in addition to our leak we have a strong head wind to contend against. Leak does not increase on us. We today ripped up the floor of the dining cabin together with more of the lining plank of the vessel in hopes of being able to discover our leak but without success.

Frid. 16. Early this morning we made the Island of Vavau [Vava'u]. I determined to call to see our Wesleyan Brethren & to know if they had any commands to Togna. It took us from about ten o'clock till dusk to beat up to the Anchorage.¹⁸⁵ I immediately took the boat & went on shore to see Mr & Mrs Turner.¹⁸⁶ Makea the King accompanied me. He is always ready to go on shore where a Missionary resided but does not like to trust himself on shore where that is not the case. We were rather astonished as we walked up to the Mission premises to see the natives all under arms some with spears some with clubs, others armed with the more formidable weapon from whose mouth issues fire & brimstone & smoke. On arriving at the Mission premises we found that Mr Turner was at a little distance from his dwelling at work at his new house. They are at present occupying premises belonging to King Fenau [Finau]. Wishing to see Mr Turner first I desired the natives

185. At Neiafu.

186. Peter Turner (no relation to Nathaniel Turner whom Williams had met in 1830) transferred to Samoa in 1835 (Wood 1975:270), and incurred the indignation of the first group of LMS missionaries from England in the following year, who regarded him as a trespasser on their own allotted territory; see also note 87, p.60.

to conduct me to him. On meeting & stating who I was he gave me a hearty welcome & led us to his dwelling where we were introduced to Mrs Turner. We spent a pleasant evening together. Mr Cross I found was intending to go to N[ew] S[outh] Wales shortly, & had left Vavau only a few days previous to my arrival for Tognia for that purpose. Poor Finau the King with whom Mr Barff & I conversed when we were at the Haapai's formerly is very ill¹⁸⁷ & had gone a little journey in hopes that a change of scene would be of benefit to him. I was happy to find that nearly the whole of the inhabitants of Vavau have embraced Christianity. The congregation is large on Sabbath days consisting of from two to three Thousand people. They have put up a large plan of worship but it appears from Mr Turners account that it is not near large enough.

Mr Turner appeared pleased with his prospects of usefulness but not particularly elated. I think he stated that there were about Two hundred meeting in class Eight hundred Candidates for baptism. He did not appear inclined to be over hasty in administering that ordinance. Prudence appeared to him necessary at the present crisis. This is high commendable in newly arrived Missionaries. Mrs Turner kindly provided a good supper for us offering an apology for the manner in which it was served up also for the accommodations their temporary habitation afforded. I assured her that it was unnecessary as it is what we had passed through on many occasions. The house is rather small divided out into three small apartments with native cloth. The reed fence enclosure in which it stands is extensive. Mr & Mrs Turner had been here about four months. Mr T appears to have made respectable progress in the language. By the account of his labours he gave me it is evident he does not spare himself. I felt considerable interest in listening to the details of the progress of the Mission at Vavau for from the determined opposition of Finau when we saw him two years ago when he threatened to put to death any of his people man woman or child who should embrace the religion of the Gospel it was not to have been expected that in so short a time he himself with every man, woman, & child in his Island should embrace the religion to which he appeared at that

187. He died in 1833 (Thomson 1894:349). Shortly before his death, he nominated King George (Taufa'ahau) as his successor, thus making him ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u (Latukefu 1974:65-6).

time to have such an utter aversion.¹⁸⁸ But so it is in the ways of God. Frequently a blessing is near when it was thought to be a long way off. At that time many of the respectable Vavauans had actually left their Island & were living as it were in exile at the Haapais under the ministry of the excellent Mr Thomas. One would hope that they felt something familiar to what the holy apostle expressed when he said he counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus for whom he had suffered the loss of all things & counted them but dross that he might win Christ & be found in him. Although the poor persecuted Vavau people might not possess the enlightened holy love by which the Apostle was constrained yet the sacrifices they made to obtain a knowledge of the Gospel must endear them to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ & cause them to rejoice that those who suffered voluntary exile for the sake of the Gospel can now return to their own possessions in the land of their forefathers & enjoy in uninterrupted tranquility the blessings they sought in exile.

Both Mr & Mrs Turner appear to have their hearts engaged in their work. I asked Mrs Turner if she did not feel the loneliness of her situation much & how she could possibly content herself in this altogether out of the world place. She replied that truly it was trying to be so circumstanced but her only desire was to be where the Lord would have her & then she thought she could be reconciled to any place however lonely. I enquired how they came there. They to my astonishment informed me they came in a Native Canoe. On enquiring how they obtained their supplies they informed me that they were landed at the Missionary Station at Togna & when a Canoe *happened* to be coming to the Haapai islands they were put on board & conveyed there & when another Canoe *happened* to be coming to Vavau they were sent by it which occasioned much inconvenience as they had at times to wait for several months beside the danger the goods are exposed to by being conveyed a hundred & fifty miles in Canoes. Another serious inconvenience our friends are subject to is bad water & even a scanty supply of that so much so that they are at times obliged to

188. Finau 'Ulukālala, at first merely curious about Christianity, finally expressed a desire to renounce his gods in 1830 after personal representation by Tāufa'āhau, but only after also being promised a resident missionary in return, and after having put his gods to a trial by fire (which consumed them) (Thomson 1894:347-8).

purchase it by cocoa nut shell fulls. Another trouble our friends complained of was the backwardness of the people to do any thing for them without payment. Mr Turner is having a house put up for which he is paying the Chief but the workmen are extremely backward to do any thing but that which they cannot possibly avoid doing saying it is forced work. Our friends also have to purchase every particle of food they eat. These are some of the drawbacks & trials the Missionaries experience on the Island of Vavau. It evidently shews us that the Natives are at present insensible to the obligations they are under to the Missionaries. It is however to be hoped that they will shortly be able to appreciate as they ought the invaluable blessings of the Gospel & in proportion as they do that they will love & esteem those to whom they are indebted for those blessings & when that is the case they will shew their esteem by acts of kindness towards their teachers. But until that does take place we must exercise patience & charity which however at times is very difficult especially for new Missionaries whose noble English Christian feelings are all in lively exercise. They immediately begin to reason logically upon what they see & say that if these people were real Christians they would love their Ministers & instead of extorting an exorbitant price for every thing they brought they would bring them trifling articles & feel a pleasure in supplying their little wants.¹⁸⁹ They begin also to compare their feelings in England towards their Minister to those evinced by their Converts to them & are frequently apt to draw hard conclusions.

It was Friday night when we were there. Mr & Mrs Turner kindly invited me to stay the Sabbath over with them which I should gladly have done under almost any other circumstances but considering the length of time I should be away in consequence of our unfortunate leak & the great anxiety that my dear wife & family would experience many & many a day before I could get home I begged to be excused. Mrs Turner asked me how long I should be away from home. I replied I feared it would be twelve weeks. She with true female sympathy replied instantly How can poor Mrs

189. Williams's comments on food purchases were perhaps premature, given that the Turners had not long been settled at Vava'u. Since 1820, it had been the practice among LMS missionaries in the Pacific to be paid £35 per annum for married couples, and £5 per child per annum 'for native food', although the Directors expected that the mission families would be 'gradually enabled to maintain themselves without assistance from the Society' (Directors' minute, 14 February 1820).

W[illiams] bear it. I wont press you to stay a *day* with us. It would be cruel. I know how I should feel if Mr Turner was away from me so long. The natives appeared to have made very respectable progress in reading & writing & were very urgent to obtain books. At about 9 oclock after having family prayer together we returned on board. Found the vessel leaking more as she lies at anchor than at sea in a heavy breeze of wind.

Sat. 17. Very early this morning the water being very smooth I sent the natives to dive about the vessel & examine her thoroughly to find if possible where our leak was but without any success. We made a thorough tear up of the cabin floor & used every method we could devise but all without success. Received a note from Mr Turner begging my company to breakfast but being so fully employed I was obliged to forego the pleasure & not succeeding in finding the leak determined not to delay another hour. So we got under weigh & about 11 oclock were clear out from the land. The Island of Vavau is not a single Island but a vast number of Islands composed principally of barren rocks entirely inaccessible & uninhabitable to human beings. Here & there are little sandy bights where a few natives according to the size of the habitable spot erect their dwellings. We were a whole day beating up to the anchoring place which is completely land locked. Very intricate as Islands intercept your passage all the way. It appeared to all on board the most dreary place imaginable. The height of the perpendicular sides the barren appearance of all these Islands together with the death like stillnes that prevailed. Being shut in also on all sides by these high weather beaten rocks spread a dreary gloom over us all which was not a little enhanced by the vicious sound of the sea engulfing itself under the hollow base of Islands & the screech of the sea gulls the flying fox & other birds that reign in undisturbed possession of the dreary barren rocks of the Vavau Islands. We appeared to ourselves to have gone to the end of the world. The Missionary Settlement however is upon a large extended flat & is a very pretty place. When you get there you are agreeably surprised to find so pretty a place inhabited also by human beings not one of which had we seen till we got near to the anchorage. Mr Turner informed me that the population of the whole of the Vavau Islands might be near three Thousand most of whom return from their different places of abode on Saturday & spend the Sabbath at the Missionary Settlement.

On getting out to sea we found to our mortification that we had

a strong head wind to contend with against so that instead of being about twenty four hours getting to Tonga we were *Six days*. We made Kao the Volcano Island & were becalmed under it for a whole day. It was not however in eruption. The next day we stood over among the Haapai Islands & ran for Lefuga [Lifuka]. On sighting it the wind headed us. We immediately put about & stood for Tonga. In less than two hours the wind headed us again. We then stood for a small Island¹⁹⁰ near to Uiha ['Uiha] where the Snapper Schooner was taken. On landing I found that all the inhabitants had been lately baptized by Mr Turner. We purchased a little provision & again set sail with a fair wind for Tonga. In about an hour it headed us again so there appeared no alternative but to pursue our journey with the wind fair or foul gale or calm. On Thurs 22d after a trying anxious passage of *Twelve* days from the Navigator Islands we made Tonga having been pumping incessantly night & day the whole time not knowing the leak might increase on us & sink us. We made the Leeward end of Tonga. Mr Henry kindly sent a boat off to us. We found on enquiry that the Missionaries were all well. That Captain Hunter¹⁹¹ had sailed about three days before our arrival for New South Wales. He has brought intelligence that the obstinate Poraporans are bent again upon war with Raiatea. I am sincerely grieved at it but cannot do any thing in it. Not being acquainted with the intricate extensive & dangerous reefs that surround Tognia I requested the young man whom Mr Henry sent off to remain on board all night & bring the vessel in in the morning. I then took the boat & went on shore. We had a very long distance to pull so that we were four or five hours before we landed. Mr Henry met me on the beach. We walked up to the Mission premises found Mr & Mrs Thomas & Mr Cross both of whom I had the pleasure of seeing in a former voyage. Mr & Mrs Woon¹⁹² also are stationed here. I received a cordial welcome from them. Spent a very pleasant evening in hearing & telling of the work of the Lord. Our friends had not received any very late news from England. I read however a paper wherein there was a full account of the controversy in which

190. Possibly Lofanga.

191. Hunter had had amicable dealings with the LMS missionaries some years earlier, in his capacity as captain of the brig *Governor Macquarie* (Newbury 1961:247). On this present occasion, his ship was the schooner *Uliatea* (Nicholson 1977:91).

192. William Woon (1803-58) was stationed on Tongatapu from 1831-4 as printer to the Wesleyans. He later transferred to New Zealand.

the Bible Society is engaged.¹⁹³ It is a delicate question. If there is a people against which true Christians may exercise a holy indignation surely Socinians¹⁹⁴ are that people. Mr Henry informed me also that a very serious breach had happened in our Society between the respected Treasurer & Directors which had occasioned a very great falling off in the funds in the Society.¹⁹⁵ I hope it is not the case as the fields for Missionary labourers in the South Seas are white unto the harvest. How various How Numerous are the enemies Satan raises against the good work of the Lord both at home & abroad both among its professed friends as well as from other quarters. I hope it may be only report.

Fridy 23. Very early this morning Mr Henry & I took boat & went off in search of the vessel. It was blowing very hard. We took some provisions & determined to land on a small Island about six miles from the Main¹⁹⁶ to be near the vessel as soon as she should come in sight. We had forgotten to take any water with us & commenced digging in various places but without success. We desired our people to climb the trees & look for the vessel. Not seeing her we determined to go to another Island where there were cocoa nuts. In walking across to our boats we fell in with a nest of water snakes. The old mother with thirty or forty young ones all lay curled & twisted together. We attacked them & killed the mother

193. The early history of the British and Foreign Bible Society was characterised by many splits and disputes on matters of doctrine (see, for example, Owen 1816 for the first ten years). Although basically evangelical, the Society was interdenominational, and supported by people with widely ranging doctrinal views. At the end of 1831, an attempt was made to split the Society by the formation of 'The Trinitarian Bible Society' (*The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* XI:46, 1832).

194. Socinianism was a movement originating in the sixteenth century whose principal teachings included 'a rationalist interpretation of Scripture with an emphasis on the early part of the Old Testament and New Testament; an acceptance of Jesus as the revelation of God but nonetheless solely a man; nonresistance; the separation of church and state; and the doctrine of the death of the soul with the body except for selective resurrection of those who persevered in obeying Jesus' commandments' (Douglas 1978:912). The term 'Socinian' was also used more generally in the nineteenth century, to apply to all forms of unitarianism.

195. At their meeting on 22 December 1831, the LMS directors learnt that their treasurer, Williams Alers Hankey, was a slave-owner. Unwilling to condemn slavery outright, the directors claimed that Hankey's situation was 'unavoidable, and his conduct such as to render his Christian character unimpeachable' (Minute for 23 December 1831). The matter was discussed more fully at a special meeting on 4 January 1832, but again no statement of principle resulted. It is apparent that the directors were divided in their views on slavery, and embarrassed at the treasurer's predicament. Hankey, who had held the post since 1816, tendered his resignation five days later. In August 1834, the Act of Emancipation came into force, and in later years the LMS was an outspoken critic of slavery (Lovett 1899:2:363).

196. Possibly 'Onevai, although it is difficult to identify from among the thirteen islands lying 10 km or less from Nuku'alofa.

with three or four of the young ones taking the large one with us into the boat to skin & stuff. The water snake has a pretty appearance. It is ring streaked white & black the streaks being regular & at equal distances from head to tail & about an inch wide. It is covered all over with scales. It was very easy to kill. It was about 3 feet 6 inches long & nearly as big round as a ladys wrist. On approaching the boat we perceived a vessel coming in from the eastern passage which we at first took to be ours but perceived afterwards that she had three masts when I concluded that it was Captain Deanes whom I had seen at the Navigators & who informed me that he should in all probability see me in Tonga. On reaching the small Island to which we directed our course for some cocoa nutts we found a company of fisherman preparing their nets. One of my Rarotogna natives took the snake out of the boat & was about to place it on the rocks to dry when the fishermen one & all set up a furious cry at him calling him a mischievous man for killing their god & in a very rough angry manner ordered him to put it into the boat again. He no doubt would have got a severe clubbing if we had not been there. They soon after left us but gave strict charge to us not to allow that paognata [*pau'u tangata*] mischievous man to bring the Otua [*'otua* - god] on shore saying it was the Otua god of their Chief. They were of course of the heathen party & some of them quite naked. Indeed the Tonga men are the most unconcerned about exposing their persons of any natives that I have seen in my extensive ranges in the South Sea Islands. It was now near 12 oclock our food was done & we had eaten & no vessel in sight. Imagination is always on the alert & I had been imagining many things supposing that the vessels leak had increased during the night & they had all gone to the bottom. How should I get back to Rarotogna & what would be the consequence of my going back without the Chief. While I was musing over my imaginary troubles how my dear wife & children would be afflicted by my long absence etc etc a man cried out from the top of a tree that the vessel was in sight. I started up from my melancholy musings & climbed the tree myself to be sure that my troubles were only imaginary & had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing her at a considerable distance standing in for the reefs.

We immediately made sail with our boat & about three oclock got on board where we heard a most dismal tale. It had been a dark blowing rainy night & they had experienced the narrowest possible escape of being dashed on the reef in the severe gale of

wind they had experienced which only lasted two hours. The poor King of Rarotogna greeted us most heartily. He had eaten nothing since I left the vessel. I wished him to go on shore with me but he preferred staying on board. They had certainly experienced more tossing about during that one night than we had experienced during the seven weeks we had been at sea, for every thing was turned topsy turvy the Spirit Case upset, the bottles broke the spirits run into my clothes bag, the oil spilt the binnacle broke, the eye of the boom sheet carried away. It was still blowing hard but Mr Henry being well acquainted with the harbours & reefs succeeded in getting us to safe anchorage that night. One thing affected me very much. It was seeing the reef on which poor Mrs Cross lost her life. We beat round it in working into the harbour consequently I had a good opportunity of observing it. It is a small reef not $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long between two wide extensive openings so that if they had only been so fortunate as to have been a little way further on either side they would all have escaped unhurt. We all enjoyed a nights rest after the many nights of anxiety we had experienced since we sprang the leak.

On Saturday 24 we got under weigh early this morning & beat to the Missy Settlement where we arrived about two oclock & found that the vessel which came in the eastern passage yesterday was the Elizabeth Captn Deanes. He came on board as soon as we came to anchor expressed his sorrow at our misfortune & kindly offered any assistance in his power the use of his carpenter or smith, with blocks or tackles or any thing else we might want. We thanked him for his kind offer & promised to avail ourselves of it in case we needed his assistance. Captain Deanes could sympathise with us for he unfortunately got his beautiful ship on the rocks off Vavau about twelve months ago & she has been leaky with him ever since. We determined to remain off the settlement till Monday morning when we were to take the vessel to a suitable place to unload her & heave down. As soon as we came on shore the King Tupou sent a messenger down to invite Makea up to see him. He was received in true Togna style. He was requested to take his seat by the side of the King who had a *Mataboole* [*matāpule*] or speaker on either side of him. We with the King & matabooles were in the house sitting with our faces towards the under chiefs who formed a half circle outside. A baked pig was then brought & placed in front of the King about the centre of the ring with some baskets of yams. The pig is then taken off the basket of yams & all is exposed to view.

One of the mataboole then says Fakafetai le buaka lahi. Fakafetai le umu ufi. Fakafetai le ngaue. Fakafetai.¹⁹⁷ Thanks for the large pig. Thanks for the oven of yams. Thanks for the labour. But I have forgotten the large root of kava which was the first thing brought & thanks were returned to that. Indeed they keep repeating thanks for a considerable time. The pigs & yams were then presented to Makea & he was welcomed to the Island of Tonga requested to stay & take a cup of kava with them. One of the mataboole then desired the people to prepare the kava. This they did by splitting it up in small pieces & each taking a mouth full to chew which being well masticated they put it into a wooden bowl & pour water upon it straining out the refuse with a fibrous bark or grass something like tow.¹⁹⁸ It is then fit to be drunk. The person who is officiating at the bowl fills a cup & cries out that the cup is full. The mataboole then calls the name of the person to whom it is to be taken who claps his hands together producing a hollow sound by way I suppose of answer to the call upon his name. I remarked on this occasion that the Matabule called his own name first & then clapped his own hands & the third cupful he called out the name of the King which appears is according to Tonga etiquette. After Tupou Makea's name was called then mine. I just put my lips to it by way of compliment & then passed it to my left hand friend the Matabule who was as fond of a second cup of kava as tipplers are of a second glass of grog. Seeing the ease with which the Tognia men chewed this hard root also that it came from their mouths so very dry I being fond of trying experiments thought I would try my powers of mastication on this celebrated root. Accordingly I chose a little piece out of the heart but before it had been in my mouth half a minute I was glad to put it out again for it is extremely bitter & produced a great discharge of saliva. The Tonga people had a laugh at me & said that the papalagni's [*papālangi* - foreigners] were clever at most things but not at chewing kava. We took our leave of the King & his Matabule & Chiefs thanking them for the honour they had shewn us & went to see the Missionaries to whom I introduced Makea. He stayed tea with us. Mr & Mrs Thomas & Mr Cross made him some little presents for which both he & myself felt obliged. I went in this evening to see Mr & Mrs Woon. They being lately from England

197. In modern orthography, *Fakafeta'i ē puaka lahi; fakafeta'i ē 'umu 'ufi; fakafeta'i ē ngaue; fakafeta'i.*

198. Coarse and broken flax or hemp, commonly used for caulking.

could give me much information about Ministers the state of religion etc which was very interesting. Spent a profitable evening with Mr Thomas conversing upon the language & missionary work in general. He is a man of stirring piety. Mrs Thomas fitted me up very comfortable accommodations in an adjoining house used by Mr Thomas I believe as a study. Thus although I am far from my dear wife & family I am comfortably & kindly entertained by friends who are engaged in the same work. Poor Mr Cross this evening gave me a full account of the loss of his excellent wife which does not differ materially from that given me by the natives of Rarotogna except that Mrs C[ross] expired in his arms. There was several very remarkable circumstances attending her death. She had an impression on her mind that she should never reach Vavau & that her death was near. She had goats & pigeons & poultry of which she used to take great care. There arose a sad mortality among them so that they died off one after another in an unaccountable manner. This Mrs C[ross] looked on in an unfavourable light & thought it was the prelude to her own disallusion. Packing up their goods she on one occasion appeared rather careless how she did what she had in hand. Mr Cross spoke to her about it. She replied it is of little consequence my dear I shall never see Vavau. Oh said Mr Cross dont say so. We are sure to see it my dear if we are spared for we are appointed there. Ah said she you may but I never shall. On the morning of their departure she wept bitterly & appeared very reluctant to go. She had had a dream on the night I believe preceeding their departure that she was in drowning circumstances surrounded by water & it appeared to her that she was under a kind of cataract & the water falling on her & deluging her. This was literally fulfilled poor thing when the foaming Surf curled its merciless head over the devoted victim of its fury. Mr C[ross] informed me that she prayed earnestly after the mast of their canoe was broken & when danger began to be apparent to be kept from a watery grave. At length the canoe struck on this small reef & soon went all to pieces. Mr & Mrs Cross were left on the reef where the surf every two or three minutes came in upon them with the greatest violence. Mr Cross being taller & stronger than poor Mrs Cross was enabled to keep his head above water. When the water left them poor Mrs C[ross] was fervent in prayer to be kept from a watery grave but there being no prospect of either of them surviving they consoled each other with the prospect of both entering glory together & calmly resigned

themselves to the frightful death that appeared inevitable committing both body & soul into the hands of their divine Master. The last words Mr Cross heard Mrs C[ross] utter were those of prayer. He had no idea that her spirit had fled until he found that as he held her head under his arm her body & legs were floated by the waves as they rolled in. Mr Cross was assisted in getting to a small Island¹⁹⁹ where he landed. The natives made a fire which served as a beacon to the poor natives who were swimming about they did not know where & by which many lives were saved. As it was Twenty men were drowned.²⁰⁰ Since this distressing event took place Mr Cross has been all but lost twice in canoes. In coming from Niua to Vavau they were Eight days at sea & after all made the Haapai Islands where Mr Cross was taken on shore all but dead. Again it appears he had a narrow escape in coming from the Haapai Islands to Tonga. Had I any thing to say or do in the Mission I should be very averse to the going to sea in native canoes. They are undoubtably fine canoes but after [all] they are canoes & are very dangerous canoes carrying such an immense sail & have no means of reducing it in proportion to the greatness of the wind. Beside being lashed together with sinnet they will work & part asunder in a sea way. In a light fair wind with smooth sea they make astonishingly quick passages but the life of a Missionary is certainly too valuable to be endangered unnecessarily. A larger decked boat of about fifteen or Twenty Tons ought to be owned by the Mission by which the stores & supplies of the Missionaries could be forwarded with safety immediately on their arrival at Tonga & the Missionaries with their families could go from Island to Island at any time with safety & comfort & without being dependent on the Chiefs or natives for the use of their canoes. It would cost a mere trifle yearly as there are plenty of sailors always at Tonga. One could be employed at trifling wages to take constant care of the boat & when she is to be sent on a voyage two or three natives could be hired for a trifle each to go. Had the Mission possessed a small vessel of this description poor Mrs Cross would in all probability have been spending her strength in the service of the Tonga Mission to the present day. The Wesleyan Missionary Society is liberal & from its known liberality we must conclude

199. Toketoke island (Hunt 1846:51).

200. Cross himself puts the figure at fourteen men, one woman, and five children (Cross to secretaries 7 January 1832).

that had they known that such a conveyance would add to the safety & comfort of their Missionaries they would have supplied them with it long before this.²⁰¹ There is a probability of Mr Henry settling at Tonga with whom the missionaries will have opportunity of employing occasionally a small vessel which perhaps may answer their purpose of the Brethren better than having one of their own.

Narrative of Voyage continued

Part III

Sabbath day 25. We attended native service. The Chapel is a spacious & substantial building erected on a hill²⁰² which is celebrated in the annals of Tonga as the spot where they suffered so signal a defeat by the Vavauans when played upon by the big guns from the Port au Prince. The ditches dug on that occasion forming their entrenchments are almost perfect to the present day. The congregation consisted of about six hundred persons. About forty of the females were dressed in European clothing with bonnets & shawls. The floor of the Chapel is covered with mats of the cocoa nutt leaf. There are no seats or forms. The greatest attention was apparent. Many scarcely took their eyes from the preacher the whole of the time. Mr Cross in delivering his discourse appeared fluent in the language. The singing is conducted by Mr Woon who has an excellent voice & a good knowledge of Music which is a valuable acquisition to a Missionary going to the Heathen. It has often excited my astonishment that so little attention is paid to this in our Missionary seminaries & that it does not enter the minds of Missionaries & those who have the care of their education that the Heathen will be dependent on them not only for making their Hymns but for teaching them also to sing the praises of God. Therefore to direct the attention of the Missionary Student to the rules of practical composition as well as to singing appears highly

201. The WMMS later acquired a ship, the *Triton*, which first arrived in Tonga in 1840 (Wood 1975:80); other ships followed.

202. The same site as that described in the 1830 journal; see p.45.

desirable. The natives have both poetry & music which being monotonous produces a most pleasing melancholy sensation. Their chords are very fine & beautiful. They mostly sing in octaves. At no Missionary Station however has the native method of singing been adopted. I am not aware of any particular objection to it except that lewd & lascivious ideas might be associated with some of their tunes but this however is not the case with all. The singing at Tonga is tolerably good when led by Mr Woon. The voice of the men is gruff & hollow. That of the females is more melodious. After native service by the request of the Brethren I preached in English from Petr – receiving the end of your faith even the Salvation of your Souls. There were about twenty five persons present. Mr Woon preached in Tongan in the afternoon. The congregation was nearly as large as in the morning. Considering the short time Mr Woon has been here & how fully he has been occupied in printing he has made respectable progress in the language. After native service we had another English Service when Mr Thomas gave us a pious discourse from Psalms – As the hart panteth after the water brook &c. Thus we have been enabled to spend a Christian Sabbath in a heathen land. My only drawback to comfort this day has been thinking that I was so far from my family & friends that they will experience much anxiety on our account before we can possibly get home.

Monday 26. We began to unload the vessel landing all the valuable articles at Mr Henrys house at Nukualofa [Nuku'alofa] then took the vessel up to Pagnaimotu [Pangaimotu]. Mr Henry kindly superintends the whole business to which he is more accustomed than I am. The day hung heavily on my hands. Spent the evening pleasantly with Mr Thomas conversing upon the prospects of the Mission. The King appears decidedly firm to his profession. His wife they hope is sincerely pious. Indeed all speak well of her. She is always employed at home in attending to the wants of her little family making bonnets or writing (When I was at the kava party the other day she was copying off a translation of the acts of the Apostles. She writes a pretty hand) or in attending religious meetings schools & visiting the sick. Mr T[homas] informed me that they had several stations at different places at which preaching was kept up regularly by their native exhorters. They feel much the want of a horse. Had they one they could travel much more themselves. Walking long distances in these climates is very fatiguing. At Hihifo where Mr Thomas experienced so

much opposition from Ata²⁰³ they have succeeded in inducing many to embrace the Gospel among whom are Ata's Sons who in consequence of the determined opposition shewn by Ata have formed a little settlement of their own nearer to the residence of the Missionaries where regular service is kept up by their exhorters the Brethren visiting occasionally. Tupou the King it is said loses much by his firm adherence to the Christian religion. It is Ata's place in their system of government to supply all the wants to the King or see that they are supplied especially with food but since he has embraced Christianity Ata entirely neglects the duties of his office. Tubou being of any easy turn of mind & knowing that the minds of the Chiefs are sore towards him for embracing Christianity he submits willingly to his losses of property food & respect.

Tues 27. This day we succeeded in heaving the vessel down keel out when after a little search we found the cause of all our troubles. It was a large Augur hole through the keel intended to receive an inch & ¼ bolt by which the dead wood is fastened to the keel. A fresh hole had been bored a little distance from it & the bolt driven in there without plugging up the former. The dirt & mud had got so hard into the hole that the vessel had run for nearly Six months during which time she had gone many thousand miles without leaking!! At length the water found its way in & the mud fell out which occasioned us all this Expense loss of time & anxiety. The Carpenter took an augur & cleared out the hole pulling out a quantity of stones & dirt. He thinks that had the hole been clear that with both pumps we should hardly have kept the vessel above water. I am thankful it is no worse. Two minutes work repaired our damage. I thought all along that it could not be a butt end started as I think the vessel is as well fastened as it is possible to be. In about a weeks time we hope to be ready for sea again. Purchased a quantity of yams today for sea stock. The Tongatabuans must grow an astonishing quantity of yams for they eat scarcely anything else themselves & although the season is ten months gone by yet they bring the yams for sale by canoe loads. Soon after Captain Deanes & I left the vessel the people on board neglecting to plug the hole of the round house up the vessel filled with water & went down but Mr Henry seeing what was about to take place gave orders to haul upon the ropes by which means she grounded in shallow water, but unfortunately our stores of Tea & Sugar & flour & biscuit & salt were all pickled together for they had been left in

203. See note 78, p.56.

the cabin not thinking that any disaster of the kind would happen. However this is a small part of our trouble. We can get yams & pork & water & shall not starve on that. Our greatest concern is the anxiety my dear wife & family will experience in consequence of my long absence.

Wed. 28. Attended service this afternoon. Mr Cross preached. A couple were married after service. The bride was a good looking young woman about 18 or twenty years of age. The young man was about the same age of very slightly appearance. She was dressed in high Tonga fashion indeed both were. The dress of the female was exceedingly awkward & inconvenient. It consisted of a vast quantity of cloth wrapped round her forming a great bulk in front so that when she sat down she was obliged to lean & have a person support her behind.²⁰⁴ Her breasts were bare. She was so profusely anointed with scented oil about the head face neck & breasts that it made my eyes run with water to look at her. The husband had five or six fine mats girt about him one outside the other having also the upper part of his body bare which was also plentifully suffused with sweet scented oil. The Brethren had adopted part of the Church of England service which they have translated into the Tonga dialect. After service I accompanied Mr Woon to a burial. Several of the heathen friends of the corpse attended & appeared rather inclined to make game of the ceremony of interment. The Brethren held a prayer meeting this evening at which two seamen living on shore attended. They related their experience with some degree of simplicity. Mr Cross presided. Spent a few hours very pleasantly indeed with Mr & Mrs Woon. Mr W[oon] has an extensive knowledge of the various dissenting Ministers of note which rendered his company a treat not frequently enjoyed. Mr Cross related a circumstance this evening which unravelled the mystery of the Vavauans appearing in arms when we called there. Some short time since a Vavau canoe coming to the Haapai Islands missed her way & got drifted to Tonga. They put in at Hahaki²⁰⁵ [Hahake]. The Hahaki people not having embraced Christianity desired the Vavauans, after supplying them with cocoa nutts etc, to

204. The bride and groom each sit in the lap of a relative in the mothers' line for part of the marriage ceremonies. These attendants, supporters in more ways than one, are called *fa'ā* (mothers) and may be of either sex (Gifford 1929:193).

205. A district on Tongatapu.

go to their Christian friends at Nukualofa. The Vavauans however were obstinate in remaining & I believe committed some depredations such as taking yams & cocoa nutts. This exasperated the people of Hahaki who rose upon them seized their canoe took their property & tore up their sails. Tupou Ulakai²⁰⁶ & other Chiefs were exceedingly angry at hearing the treatment their friends had received & sent messengers to enquire into the matter. A new sail was made by the Hahaki people. The canoe with all the property was returned. They were supplied with food & sent down to Nukualofa. A deputation was sent by the Chiefs & People of Hahaki to the king to make submission & offer explanations. In making submission they come clothed with leaves generally of the convolvulus bringing a present of kava & food. Tupou accepted the submission pardoned the offenders being satisfied with their explanation. The first fair wind he sent the Vavauans to their destination the Haapai's where they related their tale of Woe. The King of Haapai being a near relation to Finau the King of Vavau looked upon the insult as offered to himself. Being a very high spirited noble minded man he was not likely tamely to submit to such an insult but immediately manned a fleet of eight or ten double canoes carrying from fifty to a hundred men each all of whom he armed as completely as his circumstances would allow. The wind being fair he departed for Tonga to demand an explanation of the treatment his friends had received. Tupou who looks upon Tui Haapai [Tu'i Ha'apai] as his Tamaiti [*tamaiki* - child] pacified him by saying restoration & submission had been made. He had accepted the apology & pardoned the offenders & hoped he would think no more of it but return in peace to the Haapai's which he did a few days afterward. The people of Vavau had heard of Tui Haapai's expedition to Tonga but had not heard the result & feared seeing so many natives on board our vessel, that the Tonga people had come over to be revenged on them for being the cause of the quarrel. Consequently prepared for a vigorous defence.

This affair has however turned out to the disadvantage of the Heathen party generally. Vavau is the grand emporium of the idolatry of the Friendly Islands & each Chief has his Spirit house &c at Vavau. Ulakai a great Chief at Tonga was so vexed at his

206. A nephew of Aleamotu'a; see note 82, p.59.

Vavau friends being ill treated that he sent word to Vavau to destroy all gods & god houses on Vavau belonging to the heathen Chiefs of Tonga which was accordingly done & although the heathen chiefs are mad with rage they cannot help themselves as the Christian party are too formidable for them. Thus their wrath is restrained. Mr S[amuel] Henry who informed me of this circumstance was laughing at a heathen Chief about the affair who replied that they were curious beings now & supposed in future they must live without a god.

Mr Cross related another circumstance that I dont recollect has been equalled by any captain visiting the Society Islands since the Missionaries have resided there. I have not the pleasure of knowing the captains name or the name of the vessel that was unfortunate enough to have him for a commander or the honour of the deed should be attached thereto. It seems since Finau & the Vavauans have embraced the Christian religion women have not been allowed to go on board for the purpose of prostitution. This offended Mr Captain --- who went to Finau either to demand or request that he would allow the women to come off as heretofore affirming that King William²⁰⁷ sent women off to shipping. The wary Chief not thinking that to be the case proposed to go to Mr Cross & let him affirm it in Mr Cross's presence. He had the effrontery to go accompanied by the Chief & some other person when Finau informed Mr Cross that the captain was angry with him for not sending women off to the vessel saying that the great King William of England does so. Mr Cross told the Chief that England was a very great place & that notwithstanding the most vigilant superintendence evil to a great extent was committed but that King William was too great & too good a king to send prostitutes on board ship. Finau said he plainly saw how it was & told the captain that he might go away as soon as he pleased for he should have no women there.²⁰⁸

Thurs 29. The Brethren being busily engaged holding their district meeting Mr Henry kindly superintending the work at the vessel I had time upon my hand which I spent in reading Dr Cokes

207. William IV.

208. Peter Turner reported a similar incident, possibly the very same, occurring on 25 April 1832 (Journal, 28 April 1832, quoted in Latūkefu 1974:37).

Sermons²⁰⁹ Watsons Institutes²¹⁰ & after which I took a walk to a place called Maofagna [Ma'ofanga] where Fakafenua the high priest of Tonga resides & of which he is chief. Here is the principal & most sacred depository of departed Chiefs.²¹¹ There is an extensive enclosure or reed fence inside which there are many small houses erected over the graves of the dead which are generally covered with white sand & are kept free from weed. The gigantic trees with their varied & rich foliage²¹² afforded a grateful shade which together with the death like stillness that prevails gives a degree of solemnity to the place which you cannot help feeling as you saunter through these sacred regions of the dead. The death like silence is broken by the occasional screech of the vampire bats²¹³ that hang pendant in great numbers about the tops of the lofty toa [ironwood] trees having selected this spot as if conscious of the security afforded them by the manes of the dead. Having seen all that I could here we passed on to the habitation of the Chief. On arriving at his house we found that he was not at home but saw his Six ladies who were busily employed painting a piece of native cloth fifteen or twenty yards long & four wide. They paint it all by hand with a colouring prepared from the juice of various trees. They were very inquisitive to know who I was. After conversing a little while with them they asked me for some tobacco of which the natives are all very fond. Knowing this I had put a little in my pocket before I set off. We were now informed that Fakafenua had returned & was in a canoe house which was undergoing repairs at a little distance from where we were

209. Thomas Coke, the first overseas Wesleyan missionary, and founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, established a mission in the West Indies. Commonly called 'the father of Methodist Missions', Coke had nine of his sermons individually published.

210. Watson, R. 1823. *Theological institutions, or, a view of the evidences, doctrines, morals and institutions of Christianity*. 3 vols. London, Wesleyan Methodist Bookroom.

211. 'Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of their prestige and importance, the priests received food and other gifts from the people' (Latūkefu 1974:8). Each lineage in 'Tonga apparently had its own deity with a presiding priest (Gifford 1929:317). Peter Dillon, visiting Tonga in 1827, refers to 'my old friend, Tuckafinawa, the high priest and chief of Mafanga,' a 'good old chief who had been so essentially serviceable to me' (1829:1:295). Fakafenua's authority extended as far as Rotuma (op. cit.).

212. During a war with rebels at Ma'ofanga in 1837, Tāufa'āhau's army deliberately cut down these trees, to expose the falsity of heathen claims for the grove (Wood 1975:67).

213. Fruit bats (*peka*).

standing. On arriving at the canoe house I was directed to take a seat by the Chief. Food was about to be eaten. A bowl of kava was also prepared. A small portion was placed before me with two small fishes. I asked Fakafenua if it was agreeable that I should ask a blessing before we eat. He replied that it was good, very good. Accordingly I did so & being rather hungry I ate heartily. A cup of kava was presented to me but I preferring a pure cocoa nutt just touched it with my lips & gave it to the Chief. He now began to enquire of my Rarotogna attendant who I was. He native like did not make me appear little in the eyes of our host but stated that I was a very great Faifekau [minister] & had carried the lotu, Christian religion to a vast number of Islands enumerating them all. The crafty Chief keeping his object in view began to compliment me on my greatness to have influence at so many places & said How *rich* you must be. How contrary to Tonga Chiefs who are all majiva [*masiva*] very poor. He then enquired what was made at the different Islands. I told him, mats, cloth & nets. That is the very thing I want. Have you not a net to spare. I was pleased with the ingenuity of the beggar & told him I had a net to spare which I would send to him. He said no he would come for it but I thought if he came for the net he might want something else so insisted on sparing him the trouble of coming so far. I had also a pair of scissors in my pocket of which I made him a present, & came away.

When I spoke to him about embracing Christianity he waived the subject dexterously. He at length said it was very good & perhaps by & by he should become a Christian. He did not approve of being forced. When the desire drew of its own accord he would follow the example of others & renounce the gods of Tonga. I returned home & dined with my kind friends Mr & Mrs Woon. After dinner I went to his printing office. The Press is a noble piece of machinery of Cast Iron. Little do the natives know of the inestimable value of that important & wonderful effort of human ingenuity that is now employed in printing the words of life for them. One however who knows its value in his own country cannot but feel a sort of sacred pleasure at seeing this mighty engine so important to the interest of men at work on the Heathen shores of Tongatabu. Mr Woon has now in hand a portion of Pauls Epistle to the Romans. He has been here not quite two years.

His press began its operations in April 1831 since which time he has up to Novemr 1832 printed Twenty nine Thousand One hundred Copies of small books containing Four Million Seven hundred & Seventy two Thousand & 400 pages.²¹⁴ This certainly does credit to the diligence of the worthy Missionary who has charge of the noble engine. He did great part of the press work himself. Herein he was to blame. It is however a failing that most young missionaries fall into. They are prodigal of their strength at first little thinking that they are in a different climate to that of England which will divest them of the overplus of strength soon enough without the aid of over exertion on their part. Such a work says much for the diligence of Brethren who supplied the matter as well as for him who superintended the printing department.²¹⁵ Indeed if stirring piety, prudence & persevering devotedness to the cause of God among the heathen would ensure success our Wesleyan Brethren of the Friendly Islands will have a distinguished portion. It is no mean honour to be the instrument of supplying the inhabitants of a heathen land with Four Million pages of Gospel truth in their own language & to teach them to read & understand it. This honour our Brethren have. Previous to the arrival of the press the Brethren wrote all that they put into the hands of the natives who quickly learning the art of writing copied the manuscripts of the Brethren off so that hundreds of natives have a good deal of written Gospel truth in their hands which some can read better than they can the printed works. This I think is the case with Tupou the King. Although good Mr Nathaniel Turner is not here²¹⁶ to see the extensive diffusion of books among the Friendly Islanders yet he will rejoice in hearing of the accomplishment of an object his heart was so much set on & to which he contributed so essential a part. Both he & Mrs Turner I was informed wept for joy while on their knees they returned thanks to God for the blessing they were permitted to witness.

214. Possibly this figure was misheard when, in 1835, Williams produced his journal and read aloud the total; on that occasion, the number was 4,700.072 (*The Watchman*, 6 May 1835).

215. Woon's fellow missionaries in Tonga did not share Williams's high opinion, Thomas, for example, complaining that he was a competent, though slow printer (Wood 1975:44); Woon later resigned and joined the New Zealand mission (Gunson 1978:164).

216. Turner, whom Williams met on his 1830 visit to Tonga, left the mission in 1830 for health reasons (Latūkefu 1974:51). However, just before leaving, he saw the first works printed in Tonga - a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school book (Wood 1975:44).

Frid 30. At home nearly all day writing & reading. Obtained some Sydney newspapers from Mr Henry in one of which is a very long extract from Captn Beecheys publication.²¹⁷ In some papers also published in England I see that Mr Bennet Surgeon of the *Sophia*²¹⁸ has his charge against us for causing the females of Tahiti to divest themselves of their beautiful long jet black hair which flowing gracefully around them rendered them such perfect Venus's in Cooks time. In the course of my reading I stumbled over a little piece in a paper headed "Sweet simplicity". It ran thus. In December last a raw looking young country man was brought before the Magistrates of Marlborough Street for rioting & throwing stones at the Statue of Achilles in Hyde Park London. When called upon for his defence he said he was accidentally passing through the park when he saw a "parcel of chaps peltin a himmage a cause it had not got no breeches on so as hadn't got nothin to do he thought he might as well have a shy too just for bit past time like & he did not think there was no harm in pitching a bit of a stone at a thing wot had not no feeling". I thought the Missionaries were something like the Statue erected in honour of the illustrious conqueror of Bonaparte. Every one passing must have his shy but I thought it could not be for the same cause assigned by the country lad, for all the Missionaries of all the Societies that I have seen had "breeches on" & not being so brazen as the Statue of the illustrious Wellington we feel the unfriendly raps we receive make a greater impression on us than the stones pelted by the country lad did on the Statue "wot had not got no feeling". It must be perhaps because we have no brains but I can assure all gentleman pelters that although Missionaries have not the extensive learning necessary to obtain titles to their names as long as Monkeys tails they have one & all that ever I have seen a good share of common sense. Many however of Captain Beechey's remarks are worthy of consideration.

217. Beechey, F.W. 1831, *A narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait...* London, Colburn and Bentley. Beechey was outspoken in his criticisms of the missionaries, particularly those in Hawaii. A number of his private letters were incorporated into an article in the *Quarterly Review* for March 1825, which William Orme (1827) repudiated.

218. In 1829, Samuel Henry organised an expedition of ships to obtain sandalwood from the New Hebrides. George Bennett travelled in one of the vessels (the chartered ship *Sophia*) as naturalist and surgeon (Shineberg 1967:17).

Account of Books printed

		<i>Copies</i>	
1st Book	elementary	2500	4 pages
2d do.	Scripture lessons	3000	12 do.
Hymn book		1500	64 32 Mo ²¹⁹
3d Book	Scripture lessons	2000	32 do.
4 Book	catechism	4000	12 pages
1st do.	2d Edition	4500	4 do.
do.	do.	1000	
Small work	Rules	3000	4 pages
1st Book	3d edition	2000	4 do.
5th do.	Scripture lessons	2800	12 do.
3rd Book	do. 2d Edition	2800	16 do.
		29100	

Composed & printed by Mr Woon at Tongataboo from April 1831 to Novemr 1832.

Receiving information from Mr Thomas respecting the Chief or Tui Haapai [Tu'i Ha'apai] what a surprising character he is. So firm resolute. With what impartiality he administers justice among his people. How firm he is in supporting Christianity in his own & the neighbouring Islands. At Vavau the brother of Finau who is a great warrior & has been residing at the Fiji Islands many years lately returned. He opposed the introduction of Christianity collected all the disaffected Chiefs & malcontents & determined to fight. They took up their position on a separate Island & erected a fort. Finau communicated the information as speedily as possible to his Son Tui Haapai who lost no time in flying to the help of his relation in so good a cause. Fitting out his fleet he set sail. On arriving at Vavau they laid siege in form to the fort which offering greater resistance than was expected Tui Haapai sent a canoe to his own Island to bring a big gun. The canoe meeting with foul winds was a long time gone during which time he headed his party led them on to storm the fort which they succeeded in carrying. He had given orders not to kill a single individual if it could be avoided which was happily effected. The

219. Tricesima-seculo; a printer's term for a sheet of paper folded to form a section of 32 leaves (64 pages).

punishment inflicted on the lower orders was a good pummelling with the club. The Brother of Finau with other Chiefs had a good canoe given them & were sent to sea to go where they liked but never to return to Vavau. They are at present at Tonga.²²⁰ During a former visit of his to Tonga the heathen Chiefs were very much exasperated with him for the unceremonious manner he treated the gods burning both them & their houses & threatened to come upon him in war every day. He sent word that he was perfectly prepared for them. If any of them wished for war they had nothing to do but to come.

In his late expedition to Tonga finding that Tupou would not let him go with his fleet to Hahaki he sent a challenge to the Chiefs Son to meet him at any of the small Islands off Tonga either with a picked number of men or single handed & decide their quarrel. It was not however accepted.

He has put away every one of his wives & living at present without any.²²¹ It is thought that his object is to shew his people by example that he is willing to make such sacrifices & why should not they. It is supposed that when the effect is produced that he will select one & be regularly married to her. He appears to be a man of an astonishing bold imagination, Majestic in his aspect & noble in his actions. I know of no Chief to equal him in the South Sea Islands. There is nothing mean low & beggarly about him, but a noble independence pervades the whole of his conduct.

Sat. Decr 1. Mr Henry brought down the vessel from the Island to the settlement. She is quite tight. We hope to sail Tuesday or Wednesday.

Sabbath 2. We had services as on last Sabbath. Mr Thomas & Mr Woon taking native services Mr Cross & myself the English.

Wedy 5th. Mrs Thomas kindly supplied us with some Tea & sugar ours having got spoiled when the vessel overturned. Both Mr & Mrs T[homas] & Mr & Mrs Woon gave me small presents for my dear wife & children. I enjoyed my visit to Tonga much. Shall always feel a lively interest in the work of the lord here & reflect with pleasure on my intercourse with my Missionary Brethren.

220. Lualala, a half-brother to Finau, was politically opposed to him, and led a force of non-Christians to Otea, on Kapa Island, Vava'u. After defeat at the hands of Taufa'āhau and Finau, Lualala was told to return to Fiji, but instead travelled to Tongatapu, settling in the fort of Ngele'ia, near Ma'ofanga, and attaching himself to the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the opponents of Aleamotu'a (Wood 1975:53).

221. In 1834 he married Lupepau'u, baptised Salote, in a Christian service (Wood 1975:50).

Captn Deanes of the Elizabeth sailed today. I am under obligations to that gentleman for assisting me to many little things required for the use of the vessel. I wish him a prosperous voyage.

I held at different times conversations with Mr Thomas on the Fiji Mission. We have three native Teachers there. From the accounts received it appears they are not over successful. Takai [Tākai] & his family have embraced but few else. Mr Thomas thinks that as the Fiji Islands are so near to Tonga & that as there is such frequent intercourse between the Tonga Islands & the Fiji especially as Tupou is acknowledged there as a kind of Superior over them, that group would fall more naturally under the auspices of their Society. I fully acquiesced in what he said & would gladly have gone down to the Fijis & brought our people away but I have been already so long from home. However I stated that if they thought to take any steps towards the introduction of the Gospel among the Fiji Islanders by no means to be deterred from so doing by the presence of the Teachers from our Society being there for we had an abundance of work for them at the Samoa Islands & should in all probability remove them by the first opportunity. It appears that the principal objection the King & Chiefs of the Fiji islands have to Christianity is the loss of their women & the abandonment of their games dances etc. The great Chiefs have sixty eighty & a hundred wives & concubines. This also is the principal objection the Chiefs of Tonga have to Christianity & give it as their reason for remaining Faka devolo [*fakatēvolo*] in connection with the Devil. They dont like to give up their wives & confine themselves to one. They are mightily fond also of canoe racing & other past times of which the reception of Christianity will debar them the enjoyment. I had a good deal of conversation with Mr Thomas on this subject whether in some instances they did not find great difficulties connected with the putting away some of the females & whether the parties were allowed to marry. Did they not at times return to each other. He replied that they had found the difficulties less than they had anticipated & that the instances in which the parties took to each other again after having separated fewer than might have been expected. That now they had little trouble that their system was generally known & the parties who determined upon becoming Christians knew before hand what was required of them & generally came with a mind prepared to make the required sacrifice. With regard to their canoe races & other past times they set their faces against the professors of

religion attending such places in consequence of the debauchery with which such scenes usually terminate. How far the suggestion of Captain Beechy could be acted upon viz allowing the continuance but placing such past times etc under restriction is a subject I think worthy of the consideration of Missionaries in general. There are no whole districts in Tonga with the Chief at their head that have embraced Christianity but that of Nukualofa. There are many persons however at the different districts that have come out from among their heathen brethren & in the face of opposition from their all powerful chiefs have enrolled their names among the disciples of Christ. Some have suffered banishment & confiscation of lands but I do not think that the Chiefs generally are violent in their opposition to their people who are desirous of becoming Christians. I should think the general conduct of the professors is consistent for the Tonga people as a people especially the females are not near so flighty & lascivious as the natives of the Tahitian Samoan & other Islands. They conduct themselves generally with a great degree of modesty. In addition to this the brethren according to their rules exercise a very vigilant superintendence over their members.

The Brethren have to purchase every article of food they obtain from the natives even to a cocoa nutt. They dont appear at present to feel sensible of their obligations to those who have left home & kindred & friends to teach them the words of life. It would tend much to enhance our opinion of the sincerity of their profession to see them express their gratitude to their benefactors by bringing trifling presents of food occasionally. It would also endear them much more to the Missionary to receive at their hands those expressions of attachment. At present the Brethrens books afford an article of barter with which to procure their provisions but in all probability the demand a year or two hence will not be so great as it is now. Mr Thomas did give me an account of the number of their members at the different islands but I have mislaid it. I think however it is as follows -

Tonga	800
Vavau	200
Haapai	2000

Upon the whole I think the Brethren have great cause for thankfulness for what the Lord has effected by them. Their prospects are encouraging. The Society with which they are connected have cause to rejoice that they have such pious devoted

labourers to prosecute their benevolent designs. My sincere wish is that Twenty more such may speedily arrive to strengthen the hands of the excellent Brethren already in the field & to commence the work of Mercy among the numerous & degraded Fiji cannibals who are as numerous as the sands on the sea shore, and although connected with a different Society & known by a different name we preach the Same Christ the same heaven & as long as the poor heathen are taught to know Christ as the way of salvation it makes little difference by whom that knowledge is communicated. Christ is made known, the Soul of the sinner is saved & the God of all grace is glorified.

My sincere prayer is that the special blessing of God may rest upon the labours of my respected Brethren the devoted Missionaries of the Friendly Islands.

Description of the Navigator Islands

The Navigator Islands is the name given to the Group which was discovered by the unfortunate La Perouse.²²² The reason assigned for giving them this name appears to be the superior construction of the canoes of the inhabitants & their surprising dexterity in the water. The group is divided into two the windward & leeward comprising in all Eight Islands. The native name for the Group is *Samoa*. They extend about four degrees East & West. The names given to them in Norie's *Epitome*²²³ differ from those given in his *Charts*²²⁴ which is an inconvenience neither of which however are correct. Those in the *Epitome* I suppose are French names with the exception of *Pola* which I take to mean Upolu but if so they have omitted to set down the principal island. They have set down *Pola* as the westernmost Island whereas Savai the largest of the group is to the westward of Upolu.²²⁵ Herein Captain Cook has evinced his superior sense to most other circumnavigators of our own & other Nations by giving the true native names to the Islands he discovered and the places he visited. If he at any time differed from this judicious practice he invariably attached the

222. The European discoveror was the Dutchman Roggeveen in 1722, 65 years before la Pérouse (Krämer 1902:2:3).

223. Norie, J.W. 1805, *New and complete epitome of practical navigation*. London.

224. Norie, J.W. 1833, *A general chart [of the world] for the purposes of lying down a ships track on her voyage from England to the...Pacific Ocean*. [London.]

225. Krämer (1902:2:13, footnote 3) gives a detailed explanation of the faulty nomenclature.

native name as well as the English as in the Friendly Islands he calls Tongataboo, Amsterdam or Tongataboo. Hereby inconvenience is avoided to persons who may afterward visit the same places. Knowing the native name of the Island they can ascertain immediately from the natives whether the bay, harbour, or anchorage spoken of is at that or an adjacent Island which cannot be done when English French or Spanish names only are given to the places laid down & described. To shoals & uninhabited Islands of course the above remarks are inapplicable. The first land you make running from the Eastward is a small uninhabited Island about 70 miles to the Eastward of the Group which would give the longitude about 167.50 W[est] 14.12 S[outh] Lat[itude].²²⁶ This is not laid down either in Chart or Epitome. There is also said to be an extensive & dangerous reef in the same latitude about four or five degrees to the Eastward. Not having the latitude & longitude I merely mention its supposed situation for I have every reason to believe it is in existence. The first inhabited Island is in 169 W[est] 14.9 S[outh] Lat[itude]²²⁷ called by the natives themselves Magnua [Manu'a] but by the other Islanders Manua the natives of the windward group giving a nasal twang to many words which their brethren to the Westward reject.²²⁸ It is a large round lumpy island very high seen forty five & fifty miles off. There appears but little low land. The shore appeared very bold. We did not perceive any shoals or reefs off the paths we visited. There is no harbour neither do I know of a shoal off the land where a vessel might drop anchor in case of emergency. On the North & N[orth] W[est] sides a boat can generally land with safety. Pigs & provisions yams excepted are to be procured in abundance & very reasonable. Sinnet is also made in abundance here & is to be purchased very cheap. The natives especially at one of the settlements are looked upon as a conquered despised people by the natives of the other Islands who kill them without any concern on all occasions. This is generally the case in most of the groups in the South Seas. One Island is singled out as subjects of oppression from which they obtain their slaves or human sacrifices. In single

226. Rose Atoll, named by the French explorer Freycinet in 1819. It lies 125 km to the east of the Manu'a group, in latitude 14° 32' south, 168° 11' west (Hydrographic Department 1932:434).

227. Now called Ta'u; its precise location is latitude 14° 14' south, longitude 169° 34' west (Hydrographic Department 1932:434).

228. This contrasts with more recent opinion (e.g. Milner 1966:xiv) that Manu'a was, or still is, the last place in Samoa to retain the *t* and *n* in everyday speech, as opposed to the *k* and *ng* sounds in general colloquial use elsewhere.

Islands a particular district is as it were devoted to oppression. This was the case with Aroragni [Arorangi] at Rarotogna [Rarotonga] from which district all their sacrifices were obtained sometimes families. At Manua I should not take the inhabitants to be very numerous. From Two to three thousand I should think was about the number. From Manua we sailed to Orosegna [Olosega] & Ofu ['Ofu]. These are two Islands joining each other at right angles & about ten or twelve miles from Manua.²²⁹ There is no safe anchorage here either but safe smooth landing for boats. The trade is the same as at Manua. The inhabitants not so numerous. Indeed the people of Ofu are nearly all destroyed by the Orosega people. There did not appear any danger off the land. The next Island is Tutuila 170.16 W[est] 14.20 S[outh] L[atitute]²³⁰ which will be about fifty miles west of Orosega. This is a large noble Island from eighty to a hundred miles in circumference. It was at this Island the unfortunate colleague of La Perouse M. D'Angle lost his life in consequence of which the bay in which they anchored is called Massacre cove.²³¹ I am not aware of any good harbour here for large vessels. I think there is one at least for vessels of 100 tons burden in a bay facing South called Pagnopagno [Pagopago]. The land is moderately high & can be seen at thirty & forty miles off. The coast I believe is free from danger. There are some shoals a mile or two off the land on the S[outh] side but there appeared five & six fathoms of water on those over which we sailed. However I would not advise a vessel of great draft of water to run incautiously along within a mile or two of the coast. With the Eastern & Northern sides I am unacquainted. There is a fine bay facing S[outh] W[est] into which a vessel can run with safety & anchor except with a S[outh] West wind. The name of this bay is Leone. Here the boats of the unfortunate Oldham whaler were taken. I was not aware of this when I landed, but in no place have I landed where better arrangements were made or greater order preserved. The body of the people were made to sit beneath the large shady trees which line the shore. At about fifty yards from the beach the Christians seated in a group by themselves as I have before stated

229. The closer of the two, Olosega, is 5.7 kilometres from Ta'u Island (Hydrographic Department 1932:435).

230. Tutuila's position is latitude 14° 19' south, longitude 170° 34' west (Hydrographic Department 1932:435).

231. La Pérouse, 1799, *A voyage round the world...1785-88 by the 'Boussole' and 'Astrolabe'*. 3 volumes. London, Robinson. The chief association with Samoa is the clash at A'asu on 11 December 1787, in which eleven Frenchmen, one Chinese, and an unknown number of Samoans were killed. De Langle was commander of the *Astrolabe*.

distinguished by a white badge while the Chief waded up to his breast in water to invite us to land & to assure us of the most perfect safety. I was informed that the Chief was advised by some of these run away seamen to detain the captain when he came on shore & by that means obtained considerable property as a ransom & I have no doubt of the truth of the information for many of the Englishmen on these Islands are lazy, low life worthless men, the vilest of the vile & are ready to do any deed however desperate to accomplish an object that they may desire. Many of them are prisoners who have escaped at different times from N[ew] S[outh] Wales. Others are the most lazy & worthless of crews of different vessels that occasionally touch here for it is generally speaking none but the scum of the crew that are too indolent to work on board that will skulk on shore to live & lounge in idleness on the bounty of savages. These men are generally speaking great obstacles to the Missionary work. I am inclined to think the information I received true from the circumstance of the regret the people generally express to the present day at the disaster that befell the unfortunate colleague of La Perouse. Some of the Chiefs have beads & other trifles that were obtained from the La Recherche on which they place great value & which they transmit to their children as valuable relics but after all whatever befell the Oldham under the conduct of such an utter madman as the unfortunate commander appears to have been & while manned with such an abandoned crew, is no criterion on which to judge of the treatment of other vessels with decent commanders & well behaved crews are likely to receive at the hands of any people with whom the Oldham may have had intercourse.

Upolu is the next Island of the group. It is from 150 to two hundred miles in circumference. The mountains are sufficiently high to be seen fifty or sixty miles distance in clear weather. They are richly clothed with verdure to their summits & in some parts on the N[orth] E[ast] side are romantick. I am not aware of any danger at any distance off the coast. On the S[outh] W[est] side there is a reef reaching from Upolu to the small island of Manono. There is also a reef extending all along the West to N[orth] E[ast] side of Upolu. In some places it extends a considerable distance from the land some two & three miles. The water too in places is shoal at some distance off the reef but I am not aware of any danger within a mile or two there being a sufficient depth of water for vessels of any size over the shoals that we sailed. This is the only Island in the

group that is at present known to have good harbours, these on the N[orth] & N[orth] East sides. There are three. One at Apia facing about North so that it is with the common trade wind easy of ingress & egress. The harbour however is sufficiently spacious to beat both in & out has a fine sandy bottom & is free from rocks & shoals. The water is perfectly smooth, & I should suppose the harbour quite safe in any wind. This harbour is in the district of Apia spoken of by the natives as *Te ava i Apia*²³² [*Ole ava i Apia*] the harbour at Apia. There are two other harbours within a few miles of Apia called Fagnaloa [Fagaloa], & Safata [Sāfata] both of which are large good harbours & easy of access. There are very many openings in the reefs which are formed from half a mile to two miles from the main land but the water is too shallow inside to admit any thing more than a large boat. Indeed the reefs are generally speaking different from those surrounding the Society & Tahitian Islands. Those are one solid, connected regularly formed piece of marine masonry with the various openings sufficiently deep & spacious to admit of the largest class vessels. The reefs about the Samoas are formed of so many distinct unconnected clumps of rock & as they jut in & project out the barrier they form is not a regular line as those of the other Islands but uneven & unconnected. (There is a proposition in the Sydney Herald²³³ that the British Government should form a settlement at one of the South Sea Islands in order to afford a safe retreat for Vessels to refit obtain provisions etc without being either obliged to leave their whaling ground & prosecute a voyage of many degrees to reach a place of safety & obtain refreshments, or expose themselves to the danger of seeking their harbour & refreshments among the savages. The fate of the unfortunate Oldham whaler together with that of the Snapper Schooner have induced the remarks of the Editor of the Sydney Herald. Should the government really have any intention of complying with the suggestion above alluded to I should think from various considerations the Samoa or Navigator Islands were the most eligible for such an establishment. Their central situation, the goodness of the harbours, the excellence & abundance of water & provisions, the amazing extent of land the abundance & goodness of the timber are so many important recommendations. They are undoubtably all essential to the

232. Williams persists in using the Tahitian *te*; the Samoan equivalent of this phrase is '*o le ava i Apia*, literally, the channel at Apia. *Taulaga* is the normal term for a harbour.

233. Issue of 19 July 1832.

prosperity of a settlement. Should any thing of the kind be ultimately thought of by the B[ritish] Govt Upolu is certainly the most suitable Island of the group. They must rise into notice. The capabilities of the Islands are vast, & no doubt but as soon as the natives are sufficiently civilised by the benign influence of Christianity that their rise will be rapid. Being in the vicinity of the Friendly Islands the extensive Fiji group the New Hebrides beside the numerous isolated Islands which bedeck the bosom of the Pacific Ocean intercourse would be easily maintained & of course a civilising influence would be felt by those thousands & thousands of benighted heathen who inhabit numerous Islands some of which are large & beautiful. From the neighbourhood of the Samoas to the coast of New Holland [Australia] whether we consider the prospect before us in a commercial or religious point of view it cannot be looked upon with feelings of indifference. The number of the Islands their capabilities, the field for commercial enterprise the darkness in which they are enveloped even in these things tend to excite our interest respecting them. Add to this the millions of souls by which they are inhabited. Add still to this the awfully degraded state they are in. Consider the thousands that annually pass off the stage of time into the eternal world without any ray of Gospel light to cheer their dreary war or afford them a spark of consolation, living & dying in darkness. Surely these considerations are enough to excite us to use the means at least to communicate the knowledge of those things by which alone they can be raised to the rank of civilised beings & which alone can communicate to them happiness here & hereafter.)²³⁴

Manono is the next of the group & is joined by a shoal & reef which extends from the S[outh] W[est] corner of Upolu passes round Manono & rejoins Upolu on the other side of Manono. The coloured water extends a considerable distance from the reef on the S[outh] & S[outh] W[est] sides also on the N[orth] side or back of the Island but I am not aware of any particular danger. There are several good boat entrances about this little Island & safe anchorage for small craft about 30 to fifty Tons. A good road stead also.

234. In accord with Williams's ever-expanding horizons of evangelism, he approached the WMMS in 1835 with a plan for the conquest of the entire Pacific region. The Weslevans reacted with qualified approval: 'The plan proposed by Mr Williams of the London Society for the occupation of all the Islands of the great Pacific was also mentioned and met with the hearty concurrence of the Committee as far as it is understood by them' (WMMS minute for 8 July 1835).

This Island although small in size is of great importance. It assumes & retains a kind of political superiority of the whole of the Leeward group. This it has gained by conquest having never been beaten. It has many dependant settlements on the large Islands of Upolu & Savai. When engaged in War it calls to its aid all its vassals & they form a force which nothing can withstand. They are called the Malo [*mālō*]²³⁵ or Victorious people. The records of their victories kept in their "Basket of Chronicles" which I have mentioned in my acc[ount] of Aborima [Apolima] proves that they deserve the appellation. It is however said that the Manono people although always victorious are a decidedly peaceable people & never in any instance are the commencers of a war. The Island is badly supplied with water. They obtain enough for use by sinking wells which they have done all round the Island & of which they are very careful. The Island is very thickly inhabited but in peaceable times many hundreds who actually belong to Manono go to their friends, relations or own establishments at the larger Islands where provisions are more abundant. Aborima is a large oval clump about two miles in circumference & stands about half way between the reef that encircles & attaches Manono to Upolu & Savai. It is most likely the crater of an extinguished volcano. There are two clear passages for vessels of any size & burden one between it & Manono & the other between it & Savai. The one between Savai & Aborima is the largest both are equally safe the water being blue to the sides of the rocks.

Savai is the eighth, the last & largest Island of the group. It is said to be two hundred & fifty miles in circumference. This I should think its full dimensions. With the East, South & West sides I am acquainted. The coast is perfectly free from danger, the water being deep close in with the shore, except on the East side where a reef extends about a mile & a half from the land. This is an unconnected chain of rocks consequently there are many openings through which boats & small vessels of small draft of water might enter with safety. On the North side I was informed there was a large deep bay with a sandy bottom which could afford good & safe

235. Large-scale fighting was a frequent occurrence in pre-nineteenth century Samoa. The primary aim of such conflicts was the establishment of a *tafa'i fa* (see note 103 p.67). The political party headed by such a person was called the *mālō* - the Strong (in contrast to the losing party, called the *vai vai* - the Weak). The main advantage gained from warfare was the authority to dictate matters of a ceremonial and ritual nature (e.g. rights of succession, bestowal of senior titles), themselves largely of prestige-making significance (Gilson 1970:61-3).

anchorage for vessels & into which a large river empties itself.²³⁶ The Missionaries are at present settled on the East side. Vessels can lie on & off with great safety in the straits between the two large Islands of Savai & Upolu. They are from two to fifteen miles wide & perfectly clear. If you enter from the S[outh] side you pass between Aborima & Manono or Aborima & Savai. If from the N[orth] you come in from the open sea. The Island of Savai is very high. Can be seen at many miles distance sixty to seventy. The mountains are covered with luxuriant foliage to their summits especially the immense mountain which forms the body of the Island. It is a superb Island & yields in beauty extent & importance to few Islands in the South Seas. The provisions at present to be obtained are Pigs, Bananas, taro, cocoa nutts & bread fruit. Yams are not abundant. The natives will no doubt plant yams as they are more frequently visited with shipping & a sale afforded for the produce of their labour. At present provisions are very cheap. A large hog can be obtained for six or eight large sky blue beads. Scissors Knives hatchets etc etc are all acceptable property but at present the large sky blue bead is the gold & silver of the country. Their eyes sparkle with joy when they see them. Tin also was in great demand. For half a dozen sheets of tin cut up in small pieces a large vessel might have obtained refreshments enough for a cruise. They have lately taken to smoke tobacco & they want the tin to line their pipes with. As shipping increase of course the price of articles in demand will increase in proportion. The two large Islands of Upolu & Savai are mountainous. There are however beautiful & extensive valleys with a vast deal of low land reaching from the sea beach to the foot of the mountains from five to fifteen miles wide. This is generally speaking entirely uncultivated for the portion the natives cultivate is so small it is not worth taking into the account. Many thousands of acres are lying waste. The soil appeared to me very rich. It produces its crops without any cultivation except that of pulling up the weeds & planting the banana or yam or whatever else they have in a hole made for the purpose & then leaving it to take its chance. They may occasionally weed their plantations a little but the cultivation of their ground does not appear to occasion them any great trouble. They appear to me much like the Tahitians in this respect. Their

236. The only 'large deep bay' on Savai'i's north coast is Fagalele, but this lacks any river; indeed, there is no 'large river' on this entire coast.

ingenuity does not consist in the cultivation of the soil. In this their Tongatabuan neighbours far exceed them but the reason is evident. The Tongatabuans depend almost entirely on the cultivated produce of their land for their subsistence & are brought into the wholesome dilemma of working or starving whereas the Tahitian like the light hearted Samoans can work or play rove abroad or stay at home, dance or sleep conscious that his beautiful grove of bread fruit by which his cottage is surrounded & under whose shade he can enjoy a cool repose in the heat of the day will afford him a rich & plentiful supply. Besides this the mountains abound with wild yams & other roots together with plaintains, Bananas, papaw Apples, Vi [*vī*]²³⁷ or chestnuts consequently the Samoan Indian does not labour at the cultivation of the soil with the diligent perseverance that stern necessity imposes. Not withstanding this they cultivate vast quantities of taro of which they appear more fond than of the yam.²³⁸ However when shipping become more frequent among them & make a demand for yams they will no doubt cultivate them for sale. I have been informed that in the interior there is a vast deal of lava & in the valleys quantities of pumice stone is to be found but this I cannot affirm. There are no appearances of lava, puddling or pumice stone in the parts I visited but the soil generally was of a rich clay substance so that coffee, sugar, cotton & other tropical productions could be raised to an indefinite extent. The Islands are also well watered. There are many fine large rivers also lakes of fresh water so that in many places machinery could be erected with great facility. The great abundance of good water certainly enhances the value of these beautiful Islands. The Islands are well wooded. There is among other valuable timber a species of pine which grows amazingly large & straight. It is also in abundance in the mountains. The tamanu²³⁹ is also abundant here. This is a very valuable timber for ship building. Nails driven in it is scarcely possible to draw. Beside this the iron lasts a considerable time longer than in any other wood in the Islands. We have lately made

237. A large tree (*Spondias* sp.) with edible fruit.

238. Unlike the situation in Tonga, where it is part of the normal diet, the yam in Samoa is usually eaten only in time of famine. Those families who cultivate it at other times are often considered particularly poor.

239. A large tree (*Calophyllum* sp.) used in building canoes and furniture; Island mahogany (Parham 1972:121). Williams was intimately familiar with this wood: the *Messenger of Peace* was constructed entirely from it (Williams to directors, 22 November 1827).

furniture of this wood & think that in the hands of English cabinet makers it would equal the rose wood in beauty. Several cargoes have been taken to the Spanish main from the Society & Tahitian Islands some of which has been transmitted to the continent of Europe, Germany, France &c but I have not yet heard the result of the speculation. I have also sent a specimen to New South Wales for the opinion of the cabinet makers there. If it is approved it will become an article of commerce for the people of no trifling importance. The short distance that I went into the interior convinced me of the fineness & abundance of the timber for I saw many trees especially of the *toi*²⁴⁰ fifty & sixty feet long two & three feet in diameter & perfectly straight. This is a fine wood of close grain & very tough. The heart is a deep red the outer part of a silvery white forming a waved appearance something like watered ribbons. This timber is applicable to all parts of ship building, from the keel to the mast & yards. It is equally good for machinery house work, & furniture. It takes a most beautiful polish. The *toa* or Iron wood so abundant in the other Islands I do not recollect to have seen here.²⁴¹ The cocoa nutt is very abundant here & some of the nutts are of an amazing size. Some of the bread fruit is of a different species to that which grows in the Society Islands having a seed inside lying by the side of the core. This circumstance when related by me at Tahiti & the Society Islands excited the curiosity & amazement of the natives & one of the first things that Makea, the King of Rarotogna who accompanied me on the voyage, enquired for was the bread fruit with seed in that he might be convinced that there was such a thing in existence. The *ifi* or chestnut grows to gigantic stature.

There are birds & reptiles to be found here of which the Tahitian Society & other Islands have no knowledge. The Screech Owl is one.²⁴² There are doves of various descriptions & plumage. These the natives render very tame & bring to shipping to sell which they will do for two blue beads cage & all whereas perhaps they have paid three times as much to the bird tamer to tame it for them. The large wood pigeon called by them *Lupe* is very abundant. These also the natives catch & tame by way of amusement. There are a few at some of the Tahitian Islands. They are fine eating. Wild ducks are plentiful. These resort of course to the rivers lakes & taro

240. *Alphitonia zizphoides* (Parham 1972:130).

241. It does, however, grow there (see e.g. Milner 1966:269; Parham 1972:128).

242. '*O le lulu*.

plantations. The vampire bat²⁴³ is also very numerous. They are a curious animal & like the English bat sleep in the day time. They always hang by their legs with their head downward. The wings are tipped with hooks by which with the assistance of the hooks on their legs they can climb along with ease & safety. It is a singular fact that these bats are numerous in the Island of Mangeea [Mangaia] one of the Harvey [Hervey] group but entirely unknown at every other Island Eastward of the Samoa group.²⁴⁴ They are considered a very great curiosity at Rarotogna at Tahiti & all the Society Islands. Rarotogna, Atiu, Aitutake etc are within a hundred & fifty miles of Mangeea & although so abundant there they were never heard of at the other Islands. At Savage Island [Niue] they are numerous & eaten by the natives with great delight. They are called pea [*pe'a*] & peka by the natives of the Islands where they are to be found. Several died on board our vessel on a former voyage. The two Savage Islanders I had with me begged of me to allow them to eat them. Having skin[ned] & broiled them they eat them. They appeared to relish them very much. They were very fat. The flesh appeared white when roasted. They wished me to taste them but although I taste most things I meet with I declined the honour of tasting their delicious morsel on that occasion. When cooked they appeared about the size of a pigeon. Of course they are among the Etu's [*aitu*] of the heathen & if the Devil is worshipped for his ugliness I do not wonder at the heathen selecting Mr Bat to represent him & worshipping him accordingly for it is certainly among the most unsightly creatures in the whole range of creation. A laughable circumstance occurred on board our vessel with some of these animals. We had in the course of the day taken six or eight on board & not knowing the "nature of the beasts" we let them hang by their hind legs on a string in the cabin as we thought quietly enough for the night & retired to rest. However we found by experience that the economy of nature was different with them. Our night was their day. The cabin light going out they began their perambulations & one of them unfortunately got into the treacle barrel. However by means of his claws with which he is armed at all points he clambered out again. His companions attracted by his superior sweetness began to lick him. He being annoyed by the furious licking of his friends took to

243. The *pe'a* is a fruit-bat; while acknowledged as edible, its taste is not enjoyed by all Samoans.

244. The fruit-bat is found on Niue, as Williams himself notes (p.225).

his legs or rather claws & hooked himself away with all possible speed. All the others gave chase & in they went to the bed of my brother Missionary who was awoke by all these animals crawling over him. It was in vain to try to shake them off the clothes as with their hooks they hold on so very fast. To take them off with the hand was a more fearful experiment as they are angry little things & use their teeth to advantage. Hearing the bustle in my neighbours cabin I enquired the cause. He replied that all these little "devils" had come into his cabin to torment him. On obtaining a light we enjoyed a hearty laugh at the expense of my friend for in addition to seeing six or eight black imps sprawling and crawling about the bed we saw the bed bedaubed with treacle & all of them chasing licking the unfortunate sweet one who was so annoyed & angry that he fought like a fury. After this exhibition of their tormenting powers we banished them from the cabin.

In addition to this there are snakes on the Samoa Islands. It is said there are several species of various & variegated colours, that which I procured for me was of a dark olive colour better than three feet long. None of them are venomous. I intended to have it skinned & stuffed but it either got away or was taken away in the night & being so busily employed I did not think to obtain another. Water snakes also abound. These are the same as the one I have described that we took at Tongataboo. Others I saw were streaked yellow-black & white longwise. They are all held sacred by some particular Chiefs being the object in which the Spirit of his god resides & called his Etu. There are a vast number also of Lizards some of a very large size. From the description I heard of some said to be in the interior I should suppose them to be guanas.²⁴⁵ None however are venomous. The centipede & scorpion²⁴⁶ are large & numerous. There is also a large kind of maggot²⁴⁷ found in rotten wood from five to six inches long & about the size of your finger but I do not recollect to have heard of in the Tahitian & other Islands. These the natives consider a very dainty dish & I believe are sacred to the Chiefs. The coast abounds with fish & turtle. The natives are very expert fishermen using much the same methods as the Tahitian & Society Islanders who I think have more ingenious contrivances than most other natives,

245. The *pili* is Samoa's largest lizard; several varieties are reported (see Krämer 1902:2:432), some of which grow as long as 30 cm.

246. There are no scorpions in Samoa.

247. The *'afato* in its pupa form is considered a delicacy, and is no longer restricted to chiefs.

except in taking the flying fish. In this respect the natives to the Westward exceed them. The Harvey Islanders take them in a net by the use of a number of canoes at night. The Samoans form a float of hollow wood about eight inches in diameter & eight high. To this they attach a sharp piece of fish bone straight like a needle. This is tied in the middle & suspended by a piece of fine line about ten inches below the float & baited with cocoa nutt. 20 or 30 of these floats are then strung together at some little distance apart on a strong string. The fish are attracted I believe by the whiteness of the float with which the wood is made and seize the bait. The sharp fish bone pierces on each side the mouth by which the fish is held. The violent motion of the float indicates to the fisherman that a fish is fast. They use also various sorts of nets, the pearl & tortoise shell hooks,²⁴⁸ the spear, & the lau loa²⁴⁹ or Tahitian rau which is a vast quantity of leaves tied firmly together & dragged from moderately deep into shallow water, bays, nooks etc by which vast quantities of fish are taken. They have also a method of intoxicating the fish. They use the putu²⁵⁰ [*futu*] pounded up put it into a hole in the coral rock & then stir it about with a stick. However they previously surround the large stone or hole with a net which they have for the purpose.

They take turtle during the year. They have two sorts the hawk bill & the Green turtle. Of the shell of the hawk bill they make finger rings fish hooks & neck & ear ornaments, but having lately found out that it is an article in great demand by shipping that occasionally touch there they are more choice of it than they formerly were. They are extremely clever in stripping the back of a turtle. They commence near the head with the small scale at the extremity & having obtained this they rip up the others with great ease.

The origin of the numerous peopling of the islands that so thickly stud the Pacific Ocean is still involved in mystery. Perhaps at some future day when the traditions of the numerous Groups to the Westward of Tongatabu are known, some light may be thrown on this dark subject. There appears to me to be two distinct races of Indians inhabiting the various Islands. The first is of a light copper colour with pleasing features & straight hair as the N[orth]

248. That is, turtleshell.

249. 'A communal fishing device consisting of 18 to 24-foot lengths of *fau* bast to which coconut-palm leaves are attached at intervals' (Milner 1966:99).

250. The *futu* seeds (*Barringtonia* sp.), whose kernels are pounded and thrown into rock pools (Buck 1930:443).

& South American Indians. The second is of a dark sooty colour with curly hair, much like the African Negro. Their features also resemble those of the negro. The flat extended or as the Devonshire folk say "squat abroad" nose, high cheek bone etc. The Samoans are one of the former class as also are the Tongatabuans with all the Islands in the vicinity of Tongatabu & the Samoas. As we proceed Eastward we meet with Rarotogna & all the Islands in its vicinity. These are all of the first class. The Tahitian & Society Islanders the Austral Islands, the Paumotus & Gambier [Mangareva] Islands are also of this class for although they are darker than their more polished neighbours their features are the same. Straight hair etc. Consequently the difference must be ascribed to local circumstances, their low Islands bad living exposure to the sun etc. The Marquesan & Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islanders are of the race of American Indians but with the exception of New Zealand this race of Indians does not extend further to the Westward than Tongatabu for all to the Westward are of the curly headed Negro cast but not generally so black. The circumstances of the N[ew] Zealanders being of the same race with the Sandwich Islanders Tahitians & Tongatabuans while all between Tonga & them are of a different race is singular & unaccountable. That all to the Eastward of Tongatabu with New Zealand which is 25 or 30 degrees to the Southward & Westward are originally from the same stock is evident from their agreement in feature, language & tradition. The Fijians, the New Hebrides Indians, the [New] Caledonians with the New Guinea Indians & the numerous Islands which intervene are I believe with few exceptions of the curly headed negro tribe. This circumstance militates against the supposition that the Islands were peopled from the Malay coast, for the nearer you approach that coast the greater difference is apparent in the features, language &c of the people said originally to have come from there. If there are curly headed negro featured Indians among the Malays of course the supposition of the Islands being people from there is not affected. If not it is certainly a conclusive argument against it. I have never heard that there were such but that the Malay Indians are of a light copper colour, pleasing features & straight hair. Another circumstance which proves that the curly headed natives are a distinct race of people, is the difference of language. I have not heard of any Island inhabited by curly headed Indians that speak the Tahitian language in any of its dialects whereas all the straight haired Indians do though separated thousands of miles from each other.

It is another singular incident that the Fijians so near to Tognatabu, should be so different in their language persons & customs as to constitute them a distinct race while the New Zealanders 1500 miles away from Tonga 2000 from Samoa near 3000 from Tahiti & 5000 from the Marquesas & Sandwich Islands should be so much alike in these respects as to constitute them one & the same people.

It ever appeared a mystery to me as it must to every one who deliberately considers the subject how it was possible for natives to come so many thousands of miles against the prevailing trade wind. It is however a fact established by tradition as well as by knowledge that the natives of different & distant Islands possess of each other from Tahiti to the Samoa Islands & even to Rotumā that they have had intercourse with each other in former times. It has been asserted that the Tahitian & Society & other Islanders must have obtained their knowledge from shipping. This assertion is founded in entire ignorance. They cannot have obtained their knowledge from shipping for their legendary tales, prayers to their gods, plays, songs, &c in which reference to almost every island in the South Seas is made & to many even that are not yet discovered, are all of a date anterior to their intercourse with shipping — but no shipping that ever did or ever *will* come to the Islands could communicate to the people the kind of knowledge they possess of each other as communicated by tradition. In conversation on this subject with an intelligent gentleman who is well acquainted with South America he stated it as his opinion that the natives of the Islands originally came from there. If languages & customs of the S[outh] American Indians favour this idea it is by far the more plausible conjecture for canoes drifting would generally have a steady South East trade before which to glide along but from the Malay Coast they would have it to contend with every inch of the way.²⁵¹ But then allowing that the straight haired race sprang from South America where did the curly headed gentlemen come from. The subject though interesting is involved in much uncertainty. Of this however we are certain. That they are here. That they are perishing by thousands for lack of knowledge. That we have the

251. Thor Heyerdahl championed this theory, sailing a balsawood raft from Peru to the Tuamotu Islands in 1947 (Heyerdahl 1951). Scholars have largely discounted a South American migration theory in favour of progressive migrations to western Polynesia through Melanesia and Micronesia (see e.g. Suggs 1966:28; Golson 1971; Howells 1973; Bellwood 1979).

means of raising them to the rank of enlightened human beings & of communicating to them the knowledge of the true God & of his Son Jesus Christ. That they are anxiously waiting to receive it at our hands & it is our bounden duty to give it to them.

I am not prepared to give an accurate estimate as to the population of the Samoa group allowing that the inhabitants are much thinned by their frequent wars & other evils that exist among them yet people but thinly scattered over such an extent of country would amount in the aggregate to many thousands. The coasts are however lined with settlements. Most natives prefer the sea side to inland. The Islands are however by no means burdened with their present population, as only the sea coast & a very small portion of the inland country is occupied at all by the natives. There are a few inland settlements. These however are but few. One I heard of at Upolu where the wood pigeons are so tame as to be almost domesticated. The people of course consider them sacred & will on no consideration allow one to be killed. The Islands are well capable of maintaining a vast deal greater population than that by which they are at present occupied. At a rough estimate I should not think the group contained above forty or fifty thousand inhabitants. They are certainly a fine race of people of pleasing features & well made. The men are of middle stature not overgrown, athletic, healthy & remarkably nimble. Their skin is remarkably sleek occasioned most likely by the free use of the scented cocoa nutt oil which keeps the skin supple although so much exposed to a tropical sun. The men are tatooed from the loins down to the knees which being wholly black with the exception of a few narrow lines by which it is intersected in order to give a neat & pleasing relief,²⁵² it appears as though they had a pair of knee breeches on. At least it takes off the naked appearance that they would otherwise have they only wearing a few leaves plaited to a band which fastens round the hips which is about twelve or fifteen inches long & ten deep, leaving the hinder part entirely bare. They do not wear the maro²⁵³ here. Some of these titi's are made from green & yellow ti²⁵⁴ leaves. These are made larger & deeper than those from the dark red, & only worn by old

252. Williams's comments on tattooing (see also p.82) contrast with his earlier view, in which the operation was to be condemned outright (Williams to 'Brethren', 6 July 1823, quoted in Prout 1843:172-8).

253. The Tahitian term for a loin cloth; Samoan *malo*.

254. *Cordyline* sp. The word *titi* derives from *ti*, from whose leaves the kilt is made.

Chiefs & persons affected with hydrocele.²⁵⁵ If a sprightly young man has a large titi on covering his hinder parts the females will jeer him make game of him telling him he is ill shaped or has some disease about him of which he is ashamed. Picture to yourself a fine well grown Indian with a dark sparkling eye, smooth skin, tatooed from the hips to the knees, his body well saturated with scented oil, with only a bandage of red leaves oiled & shining also, with a head dress of the nautilus shell a string of small white shells around each arm & you have a Samoa Gentleman in full dress & thus decorated he thinks as much of himself & the females think as much of him as an English beau dressed off in the first style of fashion. It may be thought that certain parts of the person would be very much exposed with such slender covering but this is not the case. I myself was agreeably deceived in this respect. The men are very careful in this particular far more so than they are at Tongatabu for there although they wear *cloth* they expose their persons continually in a most shameless & disgusting manner. Some few Samoans who have embraced Christianity have taken to wear cloth entirely. On Sabbath days also the Teachers have succeeded in inducing the whole congregation men & women to attend properly clothed & decently covered. The females generally are not so fine a race as the men. Their features are pleasing & while young may be considered handsome & well made but they very soon begin to be fat & clumsy. In addition to this they have amazing large breasts. However this is considered handsome by themselves & their admirers also a broadness about the hips. The females further disfigure themselves by cropping their hair very close & also shaving the head leaving only a tuft & lock which they call sope & of which they are very proud. I cannot assign a reason why the females crop themselves so close while the men generally have long hair. This is mostly of a jet black beautifully fine & shining & kept very clean. At times it is formed into a large tasty knot on the side at other times on the crown of the head but generally in the presence of a superior it is unloosed & allowed to hang so. The females have three dresses. The first is the titi or round about made of green & yellow leaves. This is tied round the loins as low down as possible & extends to the knees. These are worn by the lower order of females & in doing the drudgery work of cooking etc which is in general performed by them. The second is a

255. A complaint from which Williams himself may have suffered (Daws 1980:37).

strong mat wove by hand from the bark of a tree shaggy outside & very strong. Although nearly white when new it is immediately dyed a dirty red colour with a red clay & oil & this is the general every day dress of the respectable females.²⁵⁶ The third is the beautiful white flaxen mat.²⁵⁷ I never saw any of these worn but by young Chief girls & what be called the ladies of the tribe. They do also wear mats very finely woven from the fala [pandanus] with the edges trimmed with which a Samoan lady is in full dress for the ball with a white silky looking flaxen mat on round her loins extending nearly to her knee with the corner tucked up exposing one thigh a wreath of sweet smelling flowers round her head a row or two of large blue beads about her neck bracelets of the same material her body rubbed with scented oil & her person about the breasts, arm pits more deeply tinged with turmeric rouge than the other parts. The ladies spend a considerable time occasionally in thus preparing themselves for exhibition at a ball as much so as ladies in a civilised country will have two or three or more domestics to assist in decorating her person. Thus adorned the ladies think as much of themselves as ladies more sumptuously attired in our native country do. The females however are by no means as careful about concealing their persons as the men. This is quite the contrary at Tognatabu. The men are careless & the women careful. At the Samoa Islands the care is on the part of the men. I have seen a man demand from a female her lavalava²⁵⁸ or round about to cover his person while she was obliged to go naked. Clothing of every kind appears a burden to them. If a person should jeer a young woman as she might be passing by remarking freely on her person saying she was diseased or ill formed she would instantly throw off her cloth & expose herself in every possible direction & pass on. A respectable young man who had been residing among them some time informed me that when he first went on shore among them the females in great numbers gathered round him & some took off their mats before him exposing their persons as much as possible to his view. Perceiving him bashful the whole of the women old & young did the same & began dancing in that state before him desiring him not to be bashful or angry it was Faa Samoa [fa'a-Sāmoa] or Samoa fashion. I

256. It was known as 'o le 'ie'tā'ele (Buck 1930:273-4).

257. Known as 'o le 'ie tōga.

258. *Lavalava* - clothes generally rather than any specific type of garment. The word is in frequent use among non-Samoans to refer to the 'ie, a cloth kilt in common use.

do not recollect to have seen any tatooing on the females.²⁵⁹ They are however spotted many of them all over. This they do by lighting a piece of native cloth twisted up as a wick & touching the skin which of course burns it & raises a blister. This operation they call *segnisegni* [*segisegi*] & is their lamentation for the dead or rather in remembrance of the dead for it appears to be performed after the paroxysm of grief is over. The Rarotognans used to tattoo themselves much for the same purpose. The skin that has been singed & blistered when healed is a shade or two darker than the original skin so that every device is quite visible. The operation is attended with considerable pain. The females do not appear to be in a state of oppression here as they formerly were at Tahiti & some other Islands. They appear to be held high in the estimation of their lords. They also appear to have a good deal of confidence reposed in them by their husbands for I perceived that Malietoa generally passed his property over to one of his wives as also did Tuiano his brother, Riromaiava & other Chiefs. They appeared to me to consult with them & treat them as their equals. I should certainly on the whole consider them a people of lascivious habits far more like the Tahitians than the Tognatabuans to whose female population the palm of modesty must be conceded by all the ladies of the Eastern groups even to the Sandwich Islands. The young females I have heard have a great objection to marriage a roving commission being more congenial to their feelings. Adultery I was informed was of very rare occurrence among them & that in many cases it was punished with death. Just before my arrival a female was tried for that offence & sentenced to be run through with a bayonet fastened to the end of a pole but belonging to Tutuila the Chief reprieved her & sent her to her own land never to return. However I am not a convert to this opinion for I know too much of the natives of the South Seas generally to allow me to suppose that chastity could be maintained under the circumstances in which the Samoa females live. It is a very common thing for one Chief to have from two to six or more wives. The rule established is that each female is to lie with husband three successive nights. Now allowing that the husband has six wives it will be fifteen nights again before she is admitted to his bed. During these fifteen nights she sleeps where she likes or generally speaking sleeps in an adjacent house where all the persons of the establishment men &

259. For a detailed account of Samoan tattooing on both men and women, see Marquardt 1899.

women sleep promiscuously together under one cloth so that at least there are fifteen chances against the alleged chastity of some. Among some of the middle aged respectable people the crime may be more rare. Diseases are rare among the people generally. They have the feepee²⁶⁰ [*fe'e fe'e*] or swelled legs, some are deformed, the hydrocele is also prevalent. The Islands were afflicted with an ophthalmia²⁶¹ when we were there. The British & American Christians have not as yet I believe honoured the Islands with the importation of the loathsome disease with which they have rendered thousands at the Tahitian & Society Islands stinking miserable & wretched, but I fear that the curse will soon be imparted as shipping are on the increase there & females readily visit vessels for the purposes of prostitution. Yet I believe it is only the lower class of females that at present do so. A disease called tona [yaws] is also prevalent among them. It is almost universal at Rarotogna. Seldom any individual escapes it. Most have it when young. I have never heard or read of any disease like it. Large blotches in appearance like cauliflower form in different parts of the skin. The whole system is quickly reduced. It is seldom fatal though some are ill with it for 12 months & two years. It will have its course.²⁶² We have administered Mercury with various other medicines but with little effect. It is contagious to persons who have never been affected with it, but persons having had it once are never affected with it a second time. The oovi²⁶³ [*uvi*] is also amongst them. This is a frightful disease. The extremities are gradually eaten away till at times the poor unfortunate individual has neither toe or finger ear or nose left. This is prevalent in all the South Sea Islands with which I am acquainted & for it *we know of no cure*.

They are a very lively, jocose kind people always evincing a desire to please. No doubt they are desperate in war but there is nothing of the ferocity of the New Zealander about them. It has been said that they occasionally take out the heart of a detested enemy & bite it or eat it but this I should think a rare occurrence as

260. Filariasis; the Samoan term is applied to such swelling in any part of the limbs.

261. Attributed to the 'reflection of the sun from the sandy beaches near which all their villages are built...It is so common at Savaii, that at least one case of blindness, in one or both eyes, is to be seen in every family' (Wilkes 1845:2:125).

262. At this point, the journal reads, 'See +', referring to a piece of paper tipped in. The contents are presented here in the following paragraph.

263. The word appears to have passed out of the Samoan vocabulary soon after Williams's visit, replaced by *lepela* (from the English 'leper'), which refers to both the disease and its carrier. It is still used in Tahitian.

they evince a great disgust at the New Zealanders who have visited their Islands in shipping on account of their cannibalism. No doubt their freedom from care contributes to their hilarity for while thousands & millions in civilised countries are racked with intense anxiety as to what they shall eat & what they shall drink & wherewithall shall they be clothed the Samoan scarcely gives it a thought. While the civilised world is undermining the very foundations of the earth, & ploughing the oceans for years together in voluntary exile from country, friends & society, traversing all countries & braving all climes & labouring to death to obtain his food & raiment the happy Samoan plucks at pleasure a few leaves from his trees from which he makes to himself a handsome garment & if it pleases a new one every day. He plucks a few heads of bread fruit from his luxuriant grove & spends an hour or two in catching fish with which his shores abound & thus obtains without comparative exertion or concern that for which the civilised world is labouring & groaning & fighting & dying. How many spend a sleepless night in anxiety about the morrow. How many are saluted in the morning as they awake from an almost sleepless night with the cries of their hungry children or with the heavy cares of the coming day — how this expense is to be met, how that garment is to be paid for, with thousands of other cares experienced in other countries. He is free. He can attend his dances with a lightness of heart & liveliness of manner which freedom from care inspires. He can lie down & enjoy a sound nights sleep & arise in the morning & pursue the avocations or pleasures of the day with the sprightliness of disposition which is evident among them. Yet they have their wars, & their women, their jealousies & evil feelings toward each other which are all fruitful sources of trouble & perplexity to them.

They are a very cleanly people both about their houses their persons & their food. They bathe at least twice in the day saying that their persons smell offensive if they do not. They say that the persons of English people are peculiarly so. This I dont wonder at when we consider the general nature of Europeans with which they have been acquainted but they even complimented me in the same way although I put clean clothes on every day I was there. In preparing their food they are particularly cleanly so that a person may with safety eat after them. They are particular also as to the staleness of their food — fish or meat tainted they will not eat. Natives generally are not over particular in this respect & here they

form a perfect contrast with the Rarotognans who are worse if possible than the Chinese for they will actually eat haddled eggs & the dead duck & chickens in eggs near hatching. A dead pig however putrid is a delicious meal with them. Mr Buzacott had a cow in calf died a month or so ago; they eat both. Another cow cast her calf a day or two since which they also baked & eat. The houses instead of being strewed with grass as in the Tahitian & other Islands are covered with coarse mats. These generally have a clean appearance & are actually far more so than the grass for the Tahitians after eating empty their slops among the grass. It drains through the grass rots underneath & emits an offensive smell. This cannot be done under the mats. The Samoans carefully collect all the refuse after eating on leaves or in a basket & carry all away. In addition to this every morning at day light every particle of weed fallen leaf & rubbish is carefully picked up round the house & carried away. I was agreeably surprised to see the teachers wives & children imitating the neat cleanly example of the heathens they went to teach. Both Mr Barff & myself entertained our fears lest by their indolent habits in this respect they should prove an injury to the cleanly Samoans. They have many ways of preparing food of the same material that I have not witnessed in any other Islands. One specially struck me as forming a good substitute for a hot cup of tea or basin of gruel. It is prepared from the young cocoa nutt. The young nut when about a quarter of an inch thick on the shell is soft. This being scraped out is squeezed between the hand till it is broken to many small pieces. The water of the nut is then poured with it into a wooden bowl & hot stones put into it. It is then put into cocoa nutt shell cups & served up. I had it for breakfast every morning while I was on shore & got to like it much. The Chiefs generally have it very early. They make soups also from fish boiling them in leaves they not having the art that the Fiji Indians possess of making fire proof earthenware. The only articles of food to which I felt an aversion was their raw fish, the snake & the large wood maggot. Their masi or fermented bread fruit is very badly prepared. It is really palatable & good in the Tahitian Islands but at the Samoas the smell is so offensive that the olfactory nerves if faithful to their trust, will, as sentry, never allow such vile stuff a free passage to the mouth.

The Samoans must be allowed to be a shrewd sensible people. This was evident in all my intercourse with them. The proposition of Malietoa to his children when he embraced Christianity was not

a proposition that a thoughtless ignorant man would make. Christianity has not been embraced by the Samoans in general in a hasty inconsiderate manner. The Chiefs of the different settlements held meeting after meeting to consult upon the propriety of changing the religion of their ancestors & the case was argued on both sides with a calmness that seldom characterises debates in more civilised countries & with an acuteness that does credit to their senses. On one of these occasions a Chief of superior rank stated his wish that Christianity should be embraced saying Only look at the English people. They have noble ships while we have only canoes. They have strong beautiful clothes of various colours while we have only ti leaves. They have sharp knives while we have only a bamboo to cut with. They have Iron Axes while we use stones. They have scissors while we use the shark's teeth. What beautiful beads they have, looking glasses & all that is valuable. I therefore think that the God who gave them all things must be good & that his religion must be superior to ours. If we receive & worship him he will in time give us all these things as well as them.²⁶⁴ Another old Chief spoke on the same occasion but he was for going more cautiously to work about the business of changing the religion. Suppose said he that we were to go to the land of the English people & propose to them to change their religion. They would not do it until they understood well the nature of the religion we proposed to them. So it is with me. I have no objection to the lotu. I think it is good but I wish to know some thing more of it before I embrace it. They have sense enough to reason on the value of the art of writing. A shrewd Chief one day expressed his opinion on that art by saying it was very valuable to a captain to know how to write, for he bought yams & pigs in such a number that if they were not written down it would be impossible to remember how many he had obtained, but by writing them down none would be forgotten & when he got to his own land the greater Chief would pay for them — for they say they think the captain is a great Chief but as it is with them, the greatest stays at home. However he said he thought that the Samoans were even more clever in this respect than the English for they retained such things in their heads without the use of writing. In taking the life of the Irish monster that had made such havoc amongst them, they acted upon principles of sound policy under the influence of strict

²⁶⁴. The published account gives an extended and more eloquent version of this speech (Williams 1838:572-4).

justice & in sparing the other Englishman who had rendered himself obnoxious to them by saying he was a novice and unacquainted with their ways having lately come to their country they certainly evinced that their actions were under the guidance of reason & discretion. They are possessed of a good deal of politeness & compliment both among themselves & to foreigners of respectability. They do not pay that servile homage to their Chiefs that the natives of some of the Islands do. At the Fiji's for instance in bringing a present of food to a great Chief they cry out at a considerable distance clap their hands & prostrate themselves on the ground where they lie until the Chief by a clap of the hand & a hollow grunt intimates that the Chief is pleased with his present. Even in meetings a great Chief the person who meets him is obliged to cry out loud with a kind of hollow grunt, clap the hands & prostrate himself to the ground. As the Chief passes he sometimes deigns to smite his own thigh in return which is considered a high compliment. In eating he has women to beat off the flies another to pick out the bones & another to feed him. He seldom or ever touches food himself. As soon as he has done eating his female feeder nods to a person in waiting grunts & clasps his hands on his thigh as a signal for his wives & concubines to begin eating as the Chief has done. There are a very few Chiefs at the Samoa's old Malietoa & one or two others who are considered paea [*pa'ia*] or sacred whose feet are kissed & after whom water is sprinkled & who also on certain occasions are fed by another person but the body of the people by no means pay that servile respect to the chiefs which is done at many Islands.

The Government of the Samoa Islands differs materially from that of most of the Groups & Islands in the South Seas. It appears from what I have heard much the same as the Tahitian was previously to the ancestor of the present reigning families obtaining the ascendancy over his brother Chiefs. The whole population is divided into settlements which line the whole coast at about from two to three miles apart. These settlements or tribes are governed entirely by one or two principal Chiefs but no Chief appears to have any power out of his own immediate settlement except in case of war when I believe one Chief is nominated by the associated tribes to be a kind of head & to direct or preside in their councils. They generally select one of the oldest for age I understand is respected among them. The power however of the Chiefs even in their own immediate tribe appeared to me very limited. Indeed I

have heard that it is no unfrequent occurrence that if the Chief renders himself obnoxious to his tribe by oppression that they the tribe will hold a fitiligna [*fetalaiga*] or meeting have a regular consultation or trial on the subject & condemn him to death lead him out of the house & strike off his head generally nominating his son or some relation to succeed him but if the Chief is well related & extensive in his connections of course his death will be revenged unless satisfactory reasons can be assigned. In many Islands the persons & property & lives of the people are entirely at the disposal of the Chiefs but this is not the case at the Samoa Islands. They have in a certain sense to purchase every thing they eat even from their own people by paying cloth & mats in return at certain seasons for the supplies of food &c they receive but in speaking of the Government of the Samoas & in understanding what follows it will be necessary to bear in mind that the whole of the population is divided into two parties the Victorious or Malo [*mālō*] people the Vaivai or beaten people & this is such an important distinction that it extends to & affects the people in all their intercourse as will be evident as we proceed. The Malo are the Manono people & all that are connected with them or never been conquered by them. There are a few settlements I believe of the latter class for the Chiefs not even the Malo have no power to compel any tribe to join them. It is generally done by persuasion. I think upon the whole the government may be said to be almost a popular government for all important movements are made or determinations come to by a meeting of the whole of the people with the Chief at their head when men women & children are allowed to speak & give their opinion except in cases of war when I understand the women are not allowed to speak or be present. That they have some executive power vested some where is evident for a month or two before my arrival a principal Chief was put to death after regularly standing his trial. His offence appears was his endeavouring to create a war. I rather think that the Manono Chiefs in connection with Malietoa must exercise power on such occasions. The trial lasted three days. On the third day he was found guilty & condemned to lose his life. He was led out of the Government house & his head severed from his body. The following day the whole of his tribe took every one a piece of fire wood a stone & some leaves & came to Sapapalii [*Sāpapālī'i*]. On arriving in front of Malietoa's house they prostrated themselves to the ground each holding his badge of submission. The Chief to whom submission is made sits in the house desires

the people to cast the fire wood &c away which they all do at once. On entering the house they kiss his feet, state circumstances & receive pardon. They make presents of mats, cloth etc as an atonement, & return home. The circumstances of their making submission to Malietoa would cause us to suppose that it was by his authority that the offending Chief was tried & condemned. This customs prevails at Tonga with a little variation. There they bind themselves all over with the *pohue*²⁶⁵ leaves & simply make their submission as I have related in the affair of the people of Hahaki [Hahake] who took the Vavau [Vava'u] canoe. At the Fiji Islands they have also this custom & as they approach they cry out most dolefully Solosolo solo solosolo²⁶⁶ etc. The teachers who were eye witnesses to the ceremony stated to me that it was their opinion that the fire wood stones & leaves were to prepare an oven in which to bake themselves — which would be in effect saying we have merited your anger & now submit to your mercy. Here is the wood to make the fire the stones to prepare the oven, & the leaves to cover us up with. Or it may only be a presentation of themselves as servants or slaves to cook his food & do his servile work. Mr Stevens the surgeon of the Oldham who has been present at their trials informed me that they were conducted in a very regular & orderly manner. That some respectable persons were chosen as a kind of jury while the Chief of the settlement presided. Each party was at full liberty to state his grievance & at times the accused person gets a good orator to plead or argue for him. If the crime is proved the Chief acting as judge passes the sentence. If death the criminal is dispatched with a club or axe or bayonet. The executioner is appointed at the time of trial, & being chosen a large beautiful mat trimmed with red feathers is placed before him. This is in great estimation amongst them. If agreeable to him to perform the office he takes up the mat touching his head with it saying *Faafetai* [*fa'afetai*] expressing thanks. If he declined the office he walked out of the house leaving the mat lying there for some other persons who may be chosen. Thieving is severely punished by them. They have in the first place a singular method of discovering the thief. The person who has lost the property will go to the *sau alii* or kind

265. *Pohue* is the Tahitian term for the convolvulus. *Ifi* (chestnut) leaves were worn around the neck in Tonga when registering submission or repentance (Wilson 1799:235; Gifford 1929:231).

266. *Soro*, to sue for peace, to seek atonement (Capell 1941:237).

of priest²⁶⁷ & state his case giving him at the same time a small present. He will immediately go out among the people & make enquiry & sometimes for fear of incurring his displeasure will give information to him. Whether this is the case or no he will generally go to the Chief & get his consent to call up the whole tribe & hold a fitiligna [*fetalaiga*] or general trial. The Chief will then generally compell every person to take oath by the Spirit the Chief worships. This is generally effectual for they are under a great deal of superstitious fear so that if they do swear falsely they fret & pine away through fear so that on most occasions the thief comes forward falls prostrate on the ground & confesses his crime. It is then left to the option of the person owning the stolen property whether he will plunder him of everything he has or accept restitution. At times the person who has committed the robbery is afraid of being found out. When this is the case he will bake a hog with a quantity of taro. He will then bind the yam vines, or the pohue round his neck & waist & go to the person with the hog & food & confess his fault & beg to be forgiven. This will generally save the person from being plundered. It is a custom however that occasions much disgrace as every person who sees him thus attired knows what he has been guilty of. Being thus strict & severe in their laws against theft thieving is not much practised amongst themselves but from ships & foreigners they do not appear so scrupulous.

In these fitiligna's or fono's also the subject of war is discussed & plans of operation etc canvassed & argued. Women I understand are entirely excluded from their fono's or councils of war. They will generally meet consult for ten or twelve months before they actually commence hostilities. These fono's are held either in the large Government house or on a green lawn under the shade of large spreading trees with each of which every settlement of importance is provided. On these occasions the most perfect order is preserved. All are seated except the person delivering his speech. He stands up, has his long hair let loose hanging over his shoulders in token of respect to the audience. The speaker generally has a long stick on which he leans during the time he is speaking consequently on these occasions they do not display

267. Pratt (1911:265) defines *sauali'i* as the respectful term for *aitu* (god, spirit, ghost, epiphany), and Stair (1897:229) likewise gives it as a term for a superhuman rather than a human personage. Priests were more commonly known as *taulāitu* (Violette 1879:276; Stair 1897:225; Pratt 1911:300).

much action. The speeches I heard were delivered in rather a monotonous tone, the sentences were nearly of equal length & each sentence concluded in a higher tone of voice. The delivery was pleasing. There was none of the frantic action or vociferation in speaking that I have witnessed at other Islands but they perhaps do so when the nature of the circumstances require it. In these fono's the Chiefs themselves speak but in meetings where subjects of minor importance, collecting of property &c are discussed they have a speaker it being considered below the dignity of a chief to give speeches on these occasions.

Their wars have hitherto been very frequent but I should not think that they were very bloody. Their weapons formerly were club, the spear & stone, with which they are astonishingly clever. Two Samoan warriors meeting with clubs one must inevitably fall. It is sometimes a considerable time before the slightest advantage is obtained every deadly aim being warded off with such amazing dexterity. In throwing the spear also they evince the same dexterity for they will spear a man through at thirty & forty yards distance. The spears are jagged both ways so that the wound is generally mortal for it generally happens that the spear breaks off in the wound. Sometimes they are pointed with the dart of the sting ray or fai. They have now a frightful addition to their war implements having obtained muskets & bayonets & axes & blubber knives which they also convert into weapons of war. At the Island of Manono I have heard they can raise Seventy or eighty stand of arms & having a great quantity of Powder & Ball. Bayonets they fix to the end of a pole nine feet long & are a weapon much esteemed by them. Axes they attach to a handle four or five feet long. The Greenland blubber knife is a weapon much dreaded among them & a man armed only with club will not face an enemy provided with one of them.

War is generally commenced in taking the life of one of the Chiefs. The party to whom the Chief belongs then on their part make a public declaration of war. The numerical strength of each party is not known till hostilities actually commence for although the leading Chiefs of both parties have been traversing the country for months to induce different chiefs & tribes to join yet they mostly join the party they think the strongest unless their interest is very materially involved in the issue of the contest. The Indians generally being so much related to each other it is no uncommon thing for Father to fight against his own son & brother against

brother. In the last war Malietoa's eldest son was one of the Chiefs of the party against whom he was fighting. His eldest & favourite daughter was & is still the wife of one of the Chief warriors of that party. It is also a common custom to make such arrangements among themselves so that they may be able to save each other in case of falling into the enemies hand.

The Chief in these canvassing expeditions is exposed to considerable danger for the Chiefs of the opposite party will get him assassinated if they can. In order to effect this they will employ a person skilled in the art of assassination. He will follow his victim in his journeys from place to place till he finds a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. Having ascertained the house where the Chief has put up he will approach it in the evening before the lights are put out & take particular notice where the mats are placed on which the Chief is to sleep. When he supposes the Chief is actually asleep & every thing quiet all around the house he enters gently on his hands & knees. On reaching the bed place of the Chief he feels particularly for the six & seventh rib. He then places the sting of the Sting Ray (which is a very sharp pointed dagger shaped bone jagged at the edges) between the ribs & with the thumb & finger holds it in that direction when with the other hand he strikes it a blow & drives it into the body & in a quarter of an hour or so the man is dead. It always proves fatal for it is so sharp that it buries itself in the body & so much jagged that if it could be caught hold of it would be impossible to extract it. These men are so clever & expert that they are seldom detected. They generally make for the woods directly they have effected their purpose & return home by a circuitous route. If they are taken of course a tragical death without judge or jury is their portion. The Chiefs are of course aware of these dangers & take every precaution a sense of danger inspired. Even in time of profound peace a principal Chief never relaxes his diligent precaution against the insidious dirk of the assassin & that they not unfrequently find in the person of their own son. The teachers informed me that Malietoa was more afraid of & more on his guard against his own son than any other person. They generally Indian like decorate themselves in their best when they go to war putting on all the trinkets they can procure by way of ornament. They tie their long hair tight on the top of their head in a large knot. They have attached to their hair large tufts of red feathers or tufts of human hair dyed a lightish brown, a string of blue beads round the neck &

a head dress of the nautilus or other shell. Some of them blacken their bodies all over with oil & charcoal to make themselves look courageous. They generally fight in small companies & not unfrequently single handed. On meeting they generally irritate each other by absurd abusive language, defying each other, each endeavouring to aggravate his antagonist to throw the first spear. When both have discharged their spears without effect they come to close quarters with their short clubs. Sometimes a party will be looking on with intense interest. At length the fearful contest is decided & one receives a blow which fells him to the ground. They sometimes fight on the water. In this the Manono people excell also in beach fighting but if the Manono can be enticed into the bush they generally come off the worst. They sometimes attack a village in the night, put many of the inhabitants to death, plunder the property, & burn the houses & then return. To avoid this each party generally provides itself with a strong ola ['olo] or fort. This is composed of cocoa nutt trees placed about six feet deep in the ground & standing eighteen or twenty feet high. They generally select a high mountain as the place where to erect their fort. To this they remove their property, wives & children erecting temporary huts of cocoa nutt leaves inside. These forts serve very important ends. They afford a place of refuge for them in case of a defeat preserve them from being taken by surprise, & enable them to take every favourable opportunity of sallying out upon the enemy. The Manono people have one formed by nature the Island of Aborima [Apolima]. To this they remove with wives families & property & in case of defeat retreat there themselves where if the whole inhabitants of the Islands were in arms, they seated in the hollow of the crater, defended on all sides by inaccessible rocks & guarded by their tripping lines may laugh at the impotent rage of their enemies, who seeing the little passage so well defended by the bridge which is thrown across & the mossy stones fearfully poised over their heads have wisdom enough to keep a respectful distance. The Manono people have at times been beaten off their own island had all their houses burnt & all their plantations destroyed but having such a fort, so well guarded, so well provided with food it is impossible for any party in the Islands actually to subdue them. They are occasionally very cruel in their wars. Many of the captives men women & children they burn alive. This was the case in the last war. Some they cut open & tore their hearts out.

A single row of blue beads presented to the person in whose

hands a captive falls will generally be the means of saving his life. A musket will have the same effect as a row of beads. If a person is killed in the war & the friends have not the means of carrying the body away they will cut off the head & that will be interred with as much ceremony as if the whole body was obtained. The head is considered the sacred part. The body will be left to be devoured by the wild dogs & cats²⁶⁸ of the mountains. The Tahitians are particularly careful to conceal the heads of principal Chiefs lest in case of war the opposite party should obtain possession of it & devote the skull to vile purposes or by using it as a sauce cup into which to dip their food as they eat which becomes a taunt & reproach to the children & childrens children. The skull of Te Faaora's father one of the Chiefs of Porapora [Borabora] was thus abused by the Tamatoa family which was as a worm gnawing his vitals. To the day of his death he thirsted for revenge but opportunity was not afforded. The tomb of the last Pomare remains at Papasa but his skull is removed to a place of safety known only by a few of his most faithful adherants. On the death of good old Tamatoa King of Raiatea his body was placed in a tomb prepared for the purpose but as soon as his family who were scattered about on different Islands could meet together at Raiatea the unfortunate & distressing war being likely to take place his body was removed secretly one dark night by his affectionate daughters assisted by two or three faithful adherents & interred in the head of a valley ten miles away from the settlement. I am not aware that the Samoans have the same custom among them.²⁶⁹ No doubt they have some method of abusing an enemy. The friends of the deceased may be desirous also of obtaining the head to present the triumph of the enemy for it appears they besmear their bodies over with blood & carry the head of their captive as a trophy of victory shouting as they go. On arriving in the presence of a Chief they place it before him & receive his commendations. Almost every thing is destroyed in war, houses burnt, property plundered plantations destroyed pigs killed, bread fruit & cocoa nut trees all cut down so that the horrors & disastrous consequences of war are increased by the savage ferocity with which it is pursued.

268. The cat is an introduced animal in Polynesia.

269. In Samoa, 'after the body has lain in the grave some time, they take up the skull and place it in a box in their houses. The reason assigned for this is to prevent their enemies from possessing themselves of it, for it was a custom in their wars to violate the sanctity of the grave' (Wilkes 1845:2:139).

With a people of so volatile a disposition as the Samoa islanders it is natural to suppose that games past times would occupy a distinguished part of their time & attention. This is the case & to them they are exceedingly attached. The evening dance is among the principal of their amusements. The composition of the songs, arranging of the tunes with the rehearsal of them over occupies much of the time of the ladies or chief women of the settlements who are the principal composers of both the songs & the tunes. In addition to this they have to prepare their chaplets of flowers with which they adorn the heads the decoration of their persons for the evenings exhibition with various other trifles which are all of great importance in the estimation of those ladies who are candidates for distinction whether in British Ball Room or the Samoan dancing house. The dance is held in the spacious government house with which every settlement is provided. It is generally well lighted with flambeau's made from the thick leaf or covering which envelops the young cocoa nutts called oroe.²⁷⁰ There are two drums & two sets of singers one for the men & the other for the women. These are placed at the opposite ends of the house. The drum is nothing more than a mat wound round some bamboos tied together in a kind of frame. The men & women then range themselves round their respective drums & each being furnished with a stick beat time to the tunes they sing. Each party has a superior singer to commence the tune who also performs the office of leader of the band. The females generally commence the evenings entertainment by singing a spirit song in honour of some of their gods by ways of calling the inhabitants together. As soon as the audience is collected in & around the house several young virgins enter the house & open the dance. They are generally decorated off to the best advantage being decorated with all the trinkets they can obtain. The nautilus head dress shines brilliantly by the fire light. In addition to this they have wreaths of beautiful flowers, a row or two of blue beads round their necks with bracelets round their wrists, with a fine white or yellow mat on & their bodies perfumed with scented oil & rouge. Thus adorned it must be confessed (by fire light) they have a very imposing appearance. Their entrance into the dance house is done with much ease & grace. They then give two or three very awkward jumps facing the whole party. Dancing is then commenced which consists in a

270. The Tahitian term for the spathe.

gentle movement of the arms & hands as they interchange situations with each other both the motion of the body hands & feet keeping time to the singing & music. During the performance they frequently give a most hideous grin throwing their under lip from side to side to an astonishing distance producing a singular & disgusting distortion of the features yet this by an unaccountable perversion of taste is looked upon as a handsome accomplishment. This first set of ladies having performed about fifteen minutes make a graceful exit when a second company enter. These are young and middle aged females. After going through nearly the same motions they retire & are followed by a company of older women. The different companies of females having completed their performances the men enter & commence theirs. Their motions are far more violent than those of the females. Hands & arms, legs & knees are all in requisition & many of their antics are both funny and clever. They are also set off to the best advantage as before stated with nautilus shell head dress & blue beads having a red titi [kilt] both it & themselves well supplied with sweet scented oil. The appearance & performance of each individual will form a subject of criticism & remark & excite feelings of envy admiration or disgust as much so as in civilised society. This is called Poula lagni [*pōula lagi*] & always performed by fire light. They have another very favourite & respectable dance called sao²⁷¹ at which only the Chiefs perform. They have others performed in the day time called siva. All these are conducted with decency. They have however some low blackguard dances that exceed in obscenity any thing I ever read or heard of. The performers are divided into companies as formerly stated. The young virgin girls taking the lead they now enter the house entirely naked & commence their dance. The full grown women then follow after. Then come the elderly women all of whom are entirely naked. During their dancing they throw themselves in all imaginable positions in order to make the most full exposure of their persons to the whole company. In addition to this there are several persons supplied with flambeau's which they hold as near to the dancers as possible. During the whole of the time of performing the females are using the most vile, taunting, bantering language to the men. This scene concludes by the men approaching the young virgins & with their

271. The *sao* was the portion of food or property brought by each individual prior to presentation (Pratt 1911:262). It was also the verb referring to the collection of such material (Violette 1879:226).

tongues perform what one beast does to another. The men then enter & being rather more bashful than the fair sex they generally enter with a narrow leaf in their hands which they hold before them or a small strip of cloth. The ladies however will not permit this, or be content with this return for the full & free exhibition they have made & commence a furious attack on them in language suitable to the occasion. The men at length throw away their apology for a covering & make a full exposure of their persons using lights as the females had done before them. All the time they are dancing they use the most vile language in order to shame the females out of the house but the Samoa ladies not possessing a great degree of the grace that adorns the female sex the efforts of the gentlemen generally prove fruitless, for there is nothing like shame in the dancing house. These dances are called Sae.²⁷² The exhibition of them is greatly desired by both sexes, & are always attended with much merriment. There is always a person appointed to keep order on these occasions who acts as a kind of Master of the Ceremonies. Any language used in the dance house must not be noticed afterwards or taken as an insult.²⁷³

A very favourite amusement is the *taufetai* [*taufeta'i*] or fencing match.²⁷⁴ Sometimes only two persons engage at a time. On other occasions several pairs engage at once. Each individual is supplied with a club made out of the thick stem of the cocoa nutt leaf shaved off at one end to form a handle. Their weapons are generally about two feet six inches long. Very severe blows are dealt on these occasions. It is no uncommon thing for a person to be severely injured by receiving a blow on the head. They fall senseless to the ground. Arms are frequently broken. No offence however is taken by the party to whom the conquered person belongs unless he is struck when he is down. One or two respectable persons are generally selected to preside on these occasions & any dispute arising is settled by these individuals. Boxing also is a favourite past time. This they call *fusu*. To wrestling they are much attached. This they call *fagnatua* [*fagatua*]. Foot racing is another favourite amusement called *Tumale*²⁷⁵ in all of which they display surprising dexterity & agility. Each settlement is provided with a

272. *Sa'e* (Krämer 1902:2:320) or *sā'e* (Pratt 1911:261).

273. Krämer (1902:2:320) suggests that there was a set song for the dance, and gives its text.

274. Fighting with clubs or axes.

275. The word does not appear in any published dictionary, although there does not seem to be any other term applying specifically to foot-racing.

very neat grass plot about fifty or a hundred yards square which is kept in excellent order by the females attached to the spacious houses erected for public entertainments. On these grass plots the combatants generally engage the numerous spectators being seated round the edge or under the shade of the large trees which stand near. I am not aware that any of these games were attended with religious ceremonies as formerly at Tahiti, or that any property was staked as at the Sandwich islands. Many of them were for mere amusement. Others were instituted to make them skilful in war such as the throwing & fending off the spear, the club or fencing matches the shooting with the bow & arrow &c. All these exhibitions are attended by numerous spectators of both sexes & all ages & generally take place between opposite parties — the people of the malagna [*malaga*] or company of visitors forming one & the people of the settlement the other party. Victory is generally attended with shouting & exultation. Most however of their exhibitions appear to be to excite the attention & attract the notice of the females of whom the Samoans appear ardently & passionately fond. With the Chiefs also fowling is a favourite past time. They have several ways of taking the wood pigeon which is the bird they principally seek after. They build or make a large moveable cage which they carry to a suitable spot. They then cover it over with a mat or leaves & get under it themselves. They then let fly their decoy pigeon which is tied by the leg with a small string & by the slightest jerk of the string it returns to its master. Other pigeons soon gather round it when the person in the cage covers them over instantaneously with a net made for the purpose. Another method they have is by sitting in their cage & shooting them with bows & arrows. Those shot with bows & arrows are for food. Those taken in the nets they tame. Almost every person of respectability towards the evening is to be seen either strolling along the path way, sitting by the water side or under the shade of a tree with his pigeon tied by the leg to a short stick training it to the work it is destined to perform or exhibiting it to the admiration of others. Some of the young chiefs have become sufficiently clever with the use of the musket to lay aside the bow & arrow in shooting the wood pigeon. Fowling pieces are therefore now in demand among them.

The people generally are divided into distinct classes, principal chiefs or allies [*ali'i*], warriors Tulaafaes [*tulafāle*] or tillers of the

ground,²⁷⁶ Tradesmen, Fishermen & Cooks. Chieftainship is I believe hereditary yet a chief must with his noble birth possess property otherwise the simple circumstance of his being of high birth will not secure him much respect. Tis property here that constitutes the gentleman. Any person possessing property can be raised to the rank of Chief. A person wishing thus to be raised goes to a principal Chief & makes him a handsome present. The Chief then bestows on him some great name which if he has property to sustain the dignity of will secure to him a corresponding degree of respect. Several of the principal Chiefs who are now in possession of the greatest authority are not of high birth. Warriors are held in great estimation by the Chiefs. They supply them with every thing & will not allow them to work or to plant. Tulaafales are the persons who possess the greatest property of any class of individuals in the Islands. They are a kind of master farmer. Each Chief has two four six, or more Tulaafales to supply him with taro bread fruit &c two or three times a day & at the end of so many months he pays them in cloth & mats. Consequently the Tulaafale's become the richest persons in the country for the Chiefs give nearly all they can obtain to them & depend on them in return to supply all their wants. The tradesmen such as canoe builders & house carpenters are both respectable & rich. The Chief who wants a canoe or a house built will pay the principal workman who undertakes the job so many siapo's or pieces of native cloth & so many fine mats which is the currency of the country beside feeding with the best food he can obtain during the whole time he is in his employ. In the construction of their canoes they manifest great ingenuity. Their shape is something resembling the Dolphin made principally of the bread fruit & formed in small pieces which are very neatly fitted together. A ridge is left inside the edges of each piece which is perforated with holes & lashed firmly together with sinnet so that outside the canoe forms a perfectly plain smooth surface. A new canoe is really a handsome & ingenious piece of workmanship very different to the thick awkward Tahitian canoes. I do not think they are excelled in the construction & workmanship of their canoes in any island in the South Seas with the exception of Kingsmill Islanders where they build their canoes much like a whale boat of small pieces of plank not above two inches wide all lashed firmly together with sinnet. They are wide firm & safe. I do

276. This is defined more accurately earlier in the journal (p.168) as 'orators'. There is no separate named social or worker category approximating 'tillers of the ground'.

not recollect to have seen any double canoes at the Samoa islands.²⁷⁷ In the construction also of their houses they display considerable ingenuity. The spacious houses erected for public entertainment are firm & neatly put together. They are between a round & oval. Two or three large posts are placed in the ground to support a short tahuhu²⁷⁸ or ridge pole about from six to ten feet long. Rafters & thatch are placed upon this ridge pole the cross way of the house supported by posts & a wall plate at the side. This forms the middle of the house. They then form two round ends to the short piece of the building which forms the middle fixing their rafters & thatch endways.²⁷⁹ They form their rafters of bread fruit tree & reduce them as small as the middle finger of the hand. They are also in short pieces of not above two feet long but so neatly joined & firmly lashed together with sinnet that the joints are not perceptible. They use the sugar cane leaf for thatching the thatch of their houses. Does not look so pretty & neat inside as that of the Tahitian houses which is formed of the Fala [pandanus] leaf but the rafters look much more so being so small so regularly worked & placed & so neatly fixed together. Those large public buildings are generally open all round & covered with mats for the flooring. They are from forty to fifty feet long & about thirty or five & thirty feet wide. The dwelling houses of the natives are of the same shape but much smaller & lower. The fishermen attend to their calling almost exclusively & devote their time to the making of nets hooks &c. A custom prevails much amongst them which gives a degree of life & variety to the otherwise monotonous routine of domestic life as it exists among the Samoans. Chiefs with many people of their tribe are continually journeying about on visits to their different relations. The object of these journies is to collect siapo [bark cloth] & mats which is the currency of the country. These journies are called Malagnas [*malaga*]. A chief proposing to go on a malagna will obtain some valuable article of European property, blue beads an axe or a musket. He will then desire all his dulaafale [*tulāfale* - orators] & servants to go a fishing also prepare a considerable quantity of food. Every thing in readiness they depart in three six or ten canoes as the number of persons forming the malagna may require. On arriving at the settlement of his friend or

277. See note 143 p.83.

278. The Tahitian term for the ridge-pole, now written *tāhuhu*.

279. There is a small hole in the page at this point, obscuring probably no more than a single word.

relative the Chief makes him a present of the food with the European property he had obtained for the purpose. His relative in turn make him a present of mats & cloth which he had prepared also for the purpose of giving to his relative for they generally contrive to give their friends notice of their intended visit two or three months before they actually arrive in order that their friends may have time to prepare cloth & mats for them. With the property the Chief thus obtains he pays his Tulaafale. Indeed this appears to be almost the only way the Chiefs have of obtaining their revenue. The malagna's generally journey very early in the morning. As the tribes & settlements are so numerous there are mostly some malagnas to be seen about. It is on the occasion of being visited by a malagna that the various games are performed — such as racing wrestling clubbing spearing sham fighting dancing &c. The obscene dances are also generally danced when malagna's are present. They take up their residence on all occasions at the large house of the settlement which is erected for the purpose of accommodating malagna's holding meetings & performing their dances in. To these houses there are a number of females attached such as elderly Chief women, women who have been turned away from their husbands & girls who had no friends or home. These women keep the government house clean well supplied with new mats etc. These women also are at the service of the men of the malagna. It is always the case that some women are in the malagna an exchange therefore of females generally takes place during the stay of the malagna. Those of the settlement come & sleep with the men of the malagna & those of the malagna go & sleep with the men of the settlement. When a respectable malagna visits a settlement it occasions much life & vivacity during its stay & some of the very best of their dances are performed. One especially which the people generally evince a great desire to see is called a sao. Whether it is that all who come to witness it must bring a portion of food as payment or whether there is any superstitious idea connected with the bringing food to the malagna at the time of its performance I cannot say but certain it is that directly the sao is commenced the people of the settlement are all hurry & bustle in preparing & carrying food to the malagna. The people of the malagna also always commence the sao when they are short of food. The sao is invariably performed by day light. It is commenced with a Spirit Song in honour of some of their Etus [*aitu*] or gods. The performers are seated all round the house in a kind of large

circle. Others are seated inside the circle. The singers are provided with a small stick with which they beat time on the mats of the house. Singing continues some time before the dancing commences. At certain intervals the whole company joins in the singing in a kind of chorus. Singing being ended dancing commences. Females only perform & none but females of great respectability exhibit. On these occasions they wear the fine wrought fala mats trimmed with red feathers, necklaces head dresses etc & as before stated. In dancing the sao the females form themselves into circles & interchange situations with each other with a slow graceful motion the hands & head accompanying in time the movement. At intervals there is a cessation of singing. At a particular sign one female will sing a verse in rather melancholy tone to accord with the motions of the performers. At other signals all the females will unite in singing while the men beat time to the song. This dance lasts generally half an hour during which time food is being brought by the inhabitants of the settlement in all directions. The dance being over the food is divided out by the Chief & his wife of which all partake — after which they lie down & sleep till night when the lights are lit & other dances commence. The malagna is supplied with food twice a day. The settlement to which the malagna is going generally have notice two or three days before hand when they immediately prepare for the reception of their guests by fishing & preparing food for them. They generally supply the malagna with the best they possess especially if the malagna be of the Malo [*mālō*] or victorious party. If the food be inferior the Malo will resent it as a great insult & plunder the people of the settlement of their property if they happen to be of the vaivai or conquered party. Indeed the weak or beaten settlements when they hear of a malagna from the strong party being about to visit them frequently hide the whole of their property for fear of having it stolen from them by the Malo. A power to demand the use of females with the best of the food & a good supply of it are privileges enjoyed by the malagna's from the Malo or victorious part of the community while the malagna's from the vaivai or beaten settlements must be content with what they can get. The stay of the malagna is six eight seldom more than ten days during the whole of which time they are regularly supplied with food by the Chief & people of the settlement which is a far better system than obtains in the Tahitian & Society Islands. They will supply their guests with a great abundance on their first

arrival & then tell them the land & sea, the valleys & mountains are before them & at their service which is a polite way of telling them they must in future provide for themselves. The malagna system appears of great importance in the political economy of the Samoa Islands. Some malagna's consist entirely of women. Among the most remarkable customs I heard of during my stay at the Samoa Islands was the Marriage Ceremony. As I am giving as full an account of the Islands & people as my short intercourse with them enabled me to obtain I do not think it admirable to omit so singular & important a ceremony as that of Marriage as it now exists among them yet I fear it will infringe on the admirable delicacy of the English ladies ear as stated by my unpolished pen. When a Chief or respectable person sees a female he would like for a wife he mentions it to his friends & if he should not be supplied with a sufficient quantity of property to obtain her they will between them provide it for him. The man will then kill a hog & cook it with a quantity of yams taro etc & send it to the friends of the female with a proposal of marriage. An old woman is generally employed on the occasion who states what property the man has to make a present to the friends of the female at the same time encouraging the intended wife to accept the offer of marriage. If the hog & food is received the offer is accepted. If the hog is returned the offer is rejected & the man gives up all thoughts of the marriage for the returning of the hog is a refusal of the offer. When the hog is accepted it is immediately cut up & a portion given to all the friends of the female who unite in sending an answer that they approve of the marriage. Two or three days after the man will collect all his property mats, cloth etc with a musket an axe or any other European property he possesses & accompanied by a few friends will go to the house of his intended wife. For three four or perhaps six days the man will be constantly in company with the female & sleep with her under the same cloth every night. He will not however take any advantage of her person. This terminates the courtship. The day being appointed by both parties for the marriage ceremony the whole of the young mans friends will attend also those of the female. They meet at the residence of the young woman.²⁸⁰ The ceremony generally takes place on one of

280. The location of the marriage ceremonies appears to have varied from one instance to another. Turner (1861:186), Stübel (1896) and Krämer (1902:1:65) state that as a matter of course, the bride travelled to the groom's house. By contrast, Williams and all writers after Krämer agree that the ceremonies occurred in the bride's village.

the green plots adjacent to the government house or in two separate houses. If on the grass plot the young man & his party are seated at one end the female & her friends at the opposite. If in two houses the young man & his party are in one the female & her friends in the other. The parties being seated they commence singing several spirit songs²⁸¹ for the purpose of cheering up the feelings of the intended wife for contrary to the ladies in civilised countries who look upon marriage as the summit of their ambition & whose outward decorations indicate the joyous feelings within the Samoan ladies bridal day [is celebrated] with weeping & wailing. During the singing the virgin is carrying her property or fortune from her friends to the friends of her intended husband. During the whole time of the brides going to & fro she is saluted with shouting & singing & of late with the firing of muskets. The property consists in siapo or native cloth finely woven mats scented oil & turmeric. If they have beads or any European property it is also presented. The exchange of property having taken place the husband is now seated in front of his friends on a mat dressed off to the best advantage. He continues singing nearly the whole of the time. The female now prepares herself to meet him which in general is attended with considerable delay. The preparation is mostly attended with furious crying & bitter wailing on the part of the young woman while her friends are engaged in persuading her that what is about to take place will not hurt her. She at length consents & is taken by the hand by her elder brother. If she has none some other relative performs the office of leading her to her husband. If she do not consent to go she is dragged by force to him. She is dressed off to the best advantage having her body well oiled with the scented oil & tastefully touched off with the turmeric rouge. The finely wrought mats edged with red feathers are always used on these occasions. Thus adorned on arriving immediately in front of her husband she throws off her mat & stands before him perfectly naked. He then ruptures the Hymen of the female with two fingers of his right hand.²⁸² If a hemorage ensues he draws his fingers over the upper lip of his intended wife & then holds up his hand for all present to witness the proof of her virginity. If no hemorage ensue he will

281. The particular 'spirit songs' were probably *tini*, marriage songs in honour of the bride and groom.

282. Public defloration of a bride (*fa'amasei'au*) appears to have been discontinued early this century. In American Samoa, the practice is now illegal (*Code of American Samoa*, Chapter 16, Section 845.)

repeat the operation a second time & if no proof of her virginity is obtained she is sorely abused by her friends, called a prostitute by all present & hasted away. The young man refuses to take her to wife & takes his property again. If on the contrary a hemorage takes place on the introduction of the fingers she is proved a virgin to the satisfaction of her husband his relatives & all present. As soon as the female friends of the girl perceive the discharge they instantly rush into the circle & obtain a portion which they besmear on their own persons in some conspicuous part of their body. They then throw off their mats & commence dancing naked at the same time beat their heads with stones till the blood runs down in streams in sympathy with & in honour of that of the virgin. The husband cleanses his hands on a piece of White Cloth which he wears round his waist the remainder of the day as a token of respect for his wife.²⁸³ If the female object to submit to the above ceremony which is sometimes the case persons are employed to hold her — some to hold her down others to hold her arms others her legs. She is thus held in the lap of another person while the husband ruptures the Hyman. On some occasions the parties bed immediately after the ceremonies are concluded. If they do the utmost decorum prevails. A portion of the house is screened off with native cloth for the purpose. A sumptuous feast prepared by the friends of the bride concludes the marriage ceremony of a Samoan lady. The evening is spent in dancing the best of their dances. The new married couple always take conspicuous parts. The inhabitants of adjoining villages attend to enliven the scene. When the dance is over the wedded couple are lighted to their bed with flambeaus where they are left undisturbed till the following morning. They generally depart on the following day to the settlement of the husband. The friends of the female supply the party with plenty of provisions for their journey & just as they are about to depart the whole of the girls friends bring her a basket of food and a siapo or piece of cloth. This appears to signify that if the female is not well treated by her husband & should return back she shall not lack food to eat & garments to wear.

It is also a common thing for young women to be publically deprived of their virginity by a young respectable Chief in the same way as at the marriage ceremony. This is considered an honour &

283. Buck suggests that this mat is of the 'ie sina type (1930:274). The terms *tūtū mumutu*, 'ie asavao and 'ie āvaga refer specifically to the mat.

no person objects to marry a young woman who has been thus treated. The Chief who ruptures the Hymen will frequently give the young woman a great name which will gain her respectability but I suspect the reason why this singular system prevails is the young females are tired of submitting to the restraints their virginity imposes on them & by being thus honourably deprived of their virginity they have full liberty to gratify their wishes & also escape the disgrace of being looked upon as common prostitutes.

The Teachers inform me that six young females had been thus treated within a short space previously to my arrival by the son of Malietoa. These occasions are always attended with dancings & merriments of every description. Chiefs & respectable people are very careful that their daughters should not lose their virginity till demanded in marriage when if they are great Chiefs & good looking with all they are obtained at a great expense from seventy to a hundred hogs with an equal or double the number of siapo's & mats with beads & other European property. I was shewn a young woman for whom her husband gave three hundred hogs & either four or five hundred siapo's & mats. It is common for the young Chiefs & Manaia's [*mānaia*] or dashing young men²⁸⁴ to have six eight or ten wives but the steady middle aged respectable Chiefs seldom have more than two or three. In case however a Chief wishes to have a respectable young woman in marriage she in the first place immediately the proposal is made demands that all the other wives should be turned off which the applicant seldom or ever refuses to comply with. The women thus turned off either return to their friends or go & take up their residence at the government house & become as it were for general use. It is a very frequent occurrence that after all the expense & trouble of obtaining the object of his wishes the lady after a week or two takes a dislike to her husband & runs away. When this is the case it costs him much trouble & expense to get her back again. He has to bake several hogs or make the friends a present of a new canoe or some other valuable property before he succeeds & sometimes they cannot succeed at any rate. A case of the kind took place while we were there with Riromaiava [*Lilomaiava*] a great Chief belonging

284. A high chief's son; see note 56, p.117.

to the settlement of Satupaitea [Sātupa'itea]. He had put away his eight former wives expended fifty or sixty hogs with a proportionate quantity of other property to obtain a female on whom his affections were placed. He succeeded but in a few days after having obtained the object of his desires she ran away from him & he could not although he exhausted his means induce her to return to him. The husband appears passionately fond of his wife for a short time. Sometimes it will continue for a year or two sometimes until she becomes pregnant. Generally at the end of a year or eighteen months the wife will not only give her consent but expect her husband to take another female to wife as well as herself, & it frequently occurs that the wife herself will go to her own tribe & seek from among her own friends & relations the female who is to share with her the affections of her husband. This perhaps may be one reason why generally speaking copartnership in husbands by the Samoa females is attended with so little jealousy & quarreling. The universal rule established among them of giving to each wife in rotation her three days & three nights supremacy may also tend to promote union & good feeling among the wives toward each other.

I could not ascertain that infanticide prevailed at all in the Islands, although the children did not appear to me to be proportionately numerous to the population. Frequently however females destroy the child while in a state of pregnancy. This happens if they take a dislike to their husbands or are in a pet with them. Females also that have no husbands & happen to be with child will to avoid disgrace procure an abortion. This is practised more or less at most of the South Sea Islands. Some are more dextrous at it than others. The Tahitians however I think excell in that diabolical art. They have several ways of performing it & do it so dextrously that it is seldom known neither is much pain or inconvenience experienced by the mother. In the Samoa Islands the treatment is very rough. The woman wishing to destroy her child employs a female doctor. She causes the woman to lie on her back commences rubbing the abdomen with heated oil. After having squeezed & pinched the abdomen a considerable time she gets on the woman & tramples her, until the object is affected. Of course the poor woman suffers excruciating pain. It is not considered as a crime among them. The husband seldom concerns himself about the matter leaving his wife to take her own pleasure

whether she spares or destroys the child. It sometimes happens that one man is the father of very many children for if his two or three wives happen all of them to bear children he keeps up a constant supply & in a very few years has a house full but I think this is a rare case & families generally speaking are larger than in Islands where Polygamy did not prevail. At the Island of Rarotogna there is one individual that has near twenty children & another 30. They were by eight or nine wives. They appear particularly fond of their children when young. The first born if it happens to be by a Chief woman is heir to all his fathers lands & tribe.²⁸⁵

By rolling a cannon shot of twelve or fourteen pounds weight along the back of the afflicted person. This is certainly a weighty way of applying it, & I should think the effect not quite so soft, soothing & grateful as that produced by the hands. In the Tahitian & Harvey [Hervey] Islands women with soft hands are chosen & they gently squeeze & press the muscular parts of the limbs between their hands. When you are fatigued with a hard days work or tired with a long walk the *roromi*²⁸⁶ is certainly a luxury. In the Samoa Islands instead of the Sandwich Islands shot or the Tahitian & Harvey Islands pressure they employ women & children to slap & pat the parts affected as though they were beating a drum. The Chiefs appeared to enjoy it much in all the South Sea Islands. The death of individuals of rank & respectability is attended with many strange ceremonies with frantic barbarous savage conduct. In most however there is a difference. Each Island or group seems to have its own peculiar ceremonies. All however agree in the main with each other. In the Sandwich Islands the excesses to which they went appear to have been exceedingly great, so much so that days of mourning were days of beastly debauchery.

In the Tahitian islands, they tore their hair & lacerated their bodies chiefly however beat & cut the heads till the blood flowed in streams while they sang lamentable & pathetic distich's²⁸⁷ in

285. A sheet appears to be missing from the journal at this point; the material which follows is a completely new topic.

286. *Rurumi* (also *rumi* and *rumirumi*), the Tahitian term for massage.

287. A couplet or epigram.

remembrance of the departed. In the Harvey Islands in addition to the beating & cutting the head they lacerated the face & neck & breasts & then rubbed themselves over with a lamp black procured from the candle nut which goes into the scratches & there remains just as if tatoored so that in the Islands of Atiu & Mauki [Mauke] & Matiaro [Mitiaro] & a few at Aitutake [Aitutaki] most of the middle aged & old women are sadly disfigured having their faces & necks & breasts completely covered with large blue scratches. At Tongatabu [Tongatapu] they are exceedingly frantic on the death of a principal Chief. A friend informed me of the burial ceremony that took place about a fortnight before our arrival. The men were fully armed as for war, the women were dressed for the occasion. They approached the Sacred Enclosure in which the remains of the departed Chieftain was deposited when with the frantic gestures of infuriated beings they rushed forward bursting door & fence away before them. They began their wailings & bitter lamentations. Some of the men cut themselves severely with hatchets while others pierced themselves through the muscular parts of the body with spears & bayonets. One man opened his mouth & passed a spear through both cheeks working backwards & forward for a considerable time. Another passed a bayonet through the thick part of his thigh which he also worked backward & forward for some time. While the men were employed in their lamentations the females were equally active. They cast off every vestige of clothing & not withstanding their general modesty threw themselves in every imaginable position to make the fullest exposure of their persons while they tore their hair beat their heads rolled on the earth sometimes biting it with their teeth at others tearing it with their hands with frantic rage. I am not aware that debauchery attends the death & burial of Tognatabu Chiefs as it did those of the Sandwich Islands. At the Fiji Islands in addition to the frantic part of the ceremonies they even proceed to greater lengths of wickedness for two or if a principal Chief four women his principal wives are slain to accompany the husband in his lonely passage to the po.²⁸⁸ Sometimes they are buried alive but

288. Williams is using *pō* in the Society Islands sense of 'spirit realm'; see Oliver 1974:1:57.

generally I believe strangled before they are buried.²⁸⁹ On the day on which the Chief is to be interred the four women who are to have the honour to die are dressed in the best possible manner. They have their heads adorned with chaplets of flowers & their bodies saturated with perfumed oil. They are seated in a row. The ropes are then placed round their necks & on a signal given the rope is pulled at each end by a number of men which soon²⁹⁰

Beautiful houses some miles long. This house is full of young beautiful people of both sexes & music dancing & festivity is perpetual or in other words the *Karie*²⁹¹ [*kariēi*] exists in perfection. The *Karie* was a custom that actually existed in Rarotonga until suppressed by the introduction of Christianity. A number of young men used to unite in Nov. & December which is the spring of the year & build a large house. When finished they would go & fetch all the fine young women they could hear of from all parts of the Island. These with all the young men would leave their fathers houses & take up their abode during the summer months while bread fruit & other fruits of the earth were abundant. In the *Karie* house the young women used to adorn themselves with the best of their cloth, perfume their bodies with scented oil & decorate themselves with odoriferous flowers. Their whole time was spent in sports & sensual enjoyments. The young men had nothing at all to attend to but to provide food for their guests the females. Their whole time was devoted to the decoration of their persons, to their music, dancing, other sports & feasting. Promiscuous intercourse would naturally result from such a state of things. There were many *Karie* houses at different parts of the Island. To these all the

289. More complete descriptions of the strangulation of widows in Fiji are found in Fison (1907:168) and Erskine (1853:449). The practice is also reported from Tonga (Wilson 1799:236; Vason 1810:78-9) and Samoa (Whitmee to Mullens, 8 September 1848).

290. One or more sheets appear to be missing from the journal at this point; when the text recommences, Williams is referring to Rarotonga.

291. The *kariēi* (or *karioi*) was 'a house that was in olden days specially built and set aside for holding dances and other tribal amusements therein...It was a place wherein great revelry was held, where all ceremonial dances were first rehearsed' (Savage 1962:89). The term itself is cognate with the Society Islands' *arioi*, and the two cults have much in common (see e.g. Oliver 1974:3:909-64).

young unmarried people of both sexes repaired during the summer months. As soon as food began to fail they returned home to their respective habitations except such as during their intercourse at the *Karie* might form such an attachment to each other as to determine on living together as man & wife. This state of things is said to exist perpetually & in perfection in the *po* of which *tiki* is the lord & master & to which the Spirits of the departed desire to be admitted. The persons who are permitted to enter the paradise of *Tiki* are those who carry a present of food & kava with them which they call *momoe o* [*moemoe-au*].²⁹² In order that the Spirit may be thus blessed the friends of the departed bake hogs & food & provide a fine root of kava. This is laid at the feet of the deceased as his *ō* [*au*] or present to his king *Tiki*. If it is a son that is dead the Father on placing the food at his feet would say, "My son my darling go your way. You have your present for your king *Tiki*". This pig food & kava is also laid at the feet of the deceased in the grave with his best cloth. The food brought by the whole of the relations is eaten as at the Samoa Islands. It is only that provided by the nearest relation as a Father for his son or son for his Father that is placed in the grave. At the arrival of the Spirit at the house or paradise of *tiki* it is immediately proclaimed King of the palace which office it sustains until the arrival of the fresh guest when the office is resigned to its hands. The only punishment of which the *Rarotognans* are aware is not being admitted into the palace of *tiki* but to be doomed to crawl round & round outside the house forever, beholding the joyful scenes within & longing after them but not being permitted to enter & participate in them. The Spirits of such will return to the world & whine & cry in an evening round the house of its relations or come to them in dreams at night & upbraid them with their unkindness stating that they are not admitted into *Tiki's* palace. Why did you treat me thus. I am dead with hunger. Give me some food. I am perishing with cold. Give me some cloth. The person thus visited sets up bitter lamentation for his departed friend & immediately supplies his demands by baking a hog & carrying it to the grave of the deceased in order to procure him admittance into the palace of the god *Tiki*. A singular circumstance illustrative of the ideas of the *Harvey* [Cook]

292. A peace-offering.

islanders upon this subject occurred at Raiatea about two years ago. An Aitutake [Aitutaki] girl took offense at having some remarks made on a particular part of her person which would cause the young men to make fun of her. She took it so much to heart that she went & hung herself. I had eight or ten Harvey Islanders residing with me at the time who went in search of her. They did not however succeed. On the third night after she was missing she according to their account came to the house where my young men were residing & assumed a frightful appearance. She stated what she had done & where they would find her & after kukumi or throttling one or two of them she departed. The young men went early the following morning to the place she had described & found her suspended by the neck frightfully swollen & much disfigured. She was wrapped up in cloth taken to the burying ground & decently buried. The young men however I observed put her face downwards & before covering her up addressed her in a formal manner saying young woman you are your own destroyer. We have not been the cause of your death. We have sought you with diligence & found you. We have not allowed you to be devoured by the dogs & pigs but have wrapped you carefully up & buried you in the ground. Now stay there contentedly. Don't return to our world & trouble us by frightening us with horrid appearances or by seizing our throats & strangling us. I listened very attentively to the harrangue of the young man & enquired what was the reason he spoke to the dead woman. He replied they were frightened to death almost last night & as they had done every thing they could for her her spirit ought to be pleased & remain contented where it was. The next morning I asked them if the young woman had obeyed their injunction. They replied she had not but had been hunting them all night so that some had fled on to the boat to sleep others had spread their mats on the sea beach others had gone to neighbours houses but no sooner was their eyes closed than she flew on them like a fury seized them by the throat. Their hair stood on end. They were stiff in all their joints & their heads were as big as a large calabash. The Tahitians had their Rohutu noanoa or odoriferous Rohutu²⁹³

293. 'Rohutu noanoa, sweet-scented Rohutu...was situated near a celebrated mountain on the north-west side of Raiatea...Here the Ariois and others raised to this state, followed all the amusements and pursuits to which they had been accustomed in the world, without intermission or end. Here was food in abundance and every indulgence' (Ellis 1969:397).

where Airoiism was in perfection. This was their paradise in addition to which they had Rohutu namuā or filthy Rohutu where the spirits writhe about perpetually in the excrements of their gods. Their Rohutu is not very dissimilar from the Rarotognan paradise of Tiki neither is the Airoiism of Tahiti much unlike the Kariëism of Rarotogna except that it was more brutal, & filthy unjust & oppressive. From the circumstance of Spirits the Samoans taking their flight from a tree passing through the sea to reach their po their supplying the dead with presentations of food & cloth burying the club & cloth with the deceased the idea they have of the Spirit again visiting its relations I should be inclined to think that their notions of future happiness & misery were nearly the same as those of Harvey Islands & Tahitians. Certain it is that in no island have they any idea that their future happiness is at all influenced by their moral conduct while living.

The System of religion as it exists among the Samoans is very peculiar & differs from that of every other Island & every other group yet known in the S[outh] Seas. They have no Maraes no temples²⁹⁴ neither have they any idols. Not having either idols, temples Maraes or Sacred Places of any description²⁹⁵ of course they have not the religious rites, ceremonies, sacrifices & feasts that existed at Tahiti Rarotogna & the other Islands. The Samoans were a by word & proverb with the Rarotognans as being a most impious people & living without either Maraes or gods, so that when a person was taken ill the Priest on being sent for would propose questions to the sick person to ascertain the cause of the disease as all their diseases in their estimation were inflicted by the gods in anger for some imaginary crime. The priest on being informed that the sick person (if a Chief) had let his Marae go to decay, that the house was old or that he had not made any offerings for so long a time, the priest would immediately say, One might suppose that you were Amoa Atua Kore A Godless Samoan. If as was sometimes the case a person lived in total disregard of the gods did not make any offerings did not unite in any of their idol

294. Temples are reported for three particular gods (Turner 1884:29-30,289), and each village had a small temple consecrated to its own god (ibid., p.19). Stone platforms on which *fale aitu* ('houses of the gods') were erected also existed (Stair 1897:112). Recent archaeological work on Upolu has revealed a stone platform called *malumalu o le pisaga* which, on the evidence of folklore, appears to have had religious significance (Green and Davidson 1974:189).

295. As late as the mid-1960s, a number of villages in both Upolu and Savai'i had areas whose continued association with a local *aitu* was strong enough for the inhabitants to give them a wide berth, or to avoid loud speech if they were obliged to traverse them.

worship the Chiefs & people would upbraid him with his impiety & say why do you act thus is *this the Godless land of the Samoans* that you should not worship the gods. The Samoans however have gods many & lords many such as they are, yet it is not at all to be wondered at that natives at whose islands Maraes Idols & religious rites & ceremonies connected therewith are held in such high estimation, looked upon as of such supreme importance & into which all their concerns civil, domestic & political importance were interwoven so much so that they could not a fishing without propitiating the favour of the gods. I say it is no wonder that these people should look upon people inhabiting Islands destitute of these things as a most strange & impious people. I have before stated that each Chief has his particular Etu [*aitu*] or object in which the Spirit of his god resides. These are birds, fish, reptiles & insects. The only worship that they appear to pay is *Mouth* worship. Of this they have a great deal for on all occasions they hold converse with the Spirits but they do it generally in such a low muttering tone that no one can hear them or know what they say. While the wife is in labour the husband is generally engaged in close conversation with the Spirit. These numerous Etus however they look upon as inferior deities. Tagnaloea [Tagaloea] they consider the Supreme god & creator of every thing. I am not aware however what kind of worship they offer to him. At their great feasts they generally give thanks to him for his goodness in giving them such an abundance of good things repeating each article over distinctly & saying faafetai ia Tagnaloea i le buaa tele, faafetai ia Tagnaloea i le ava tele.²⁹⁶ Thanks to Tagnaloea for the great pigs, thanks be to Tagnaloea for the great roots of kava, taro etc. I should not be surprised that, when a knowledge of their language enables us to ascertain satisfactorily the nature of their prayers pretended conversation with their gods &c we shall find in many things their ideas & usages are much more rational than those of the Islands where maraes & idol worship is attended with such a number of unmeaning ceremonies & in so many instances cruel & beastly practices. There appears to exist two orders of Priests among the Samoans the taula aetu [*taulāitu*] & sau alii [*sauali'i*]²⁹⁷ The exact

296. In modern orthography, *Fa'afetai'iā Tagaloea'i le pua'a; fa'afetai'iā Tagaloea'i le'ava tele.*

297. A summary of categories of religious personages is found in Stair 1897:34; see also note 267, p.241.

nature of the office of sau alii I could not ascertain but suppose it to be an inspired person. The first symptom is a violent muscular agitation with which the person is suddenly seized. It generally commences in one of his breasts. This will be greatly agitated while the other parts of his body yield to the agitating influence of the gods & the inspired person shakes most dreadfully & becomes frantic. Whatever he says or does while in this state is looked upon not as the act of the man but of the god. If there happens to be any subject of importance under consideration at the time of the sau alii's being inspired his word decides the debate. If a tribe or family are suffering under any calamity the sau alii will upbraid the Chief with his crimes saying that although he thought they were concealed he the god was privy to all his actions for at such a time he was a lizard & heard him say so & so. At such a time he was a fly & saw him do such a thing. At length the man is worn out with fatigue becomes quiet lies down & sleeps & awakes as if unconscious of any thing having happened to him. Many of the enlightened Chiefs say that they are well aware that it is all imposition yet from the prevalency of superstition among the people they are obliged to submit to any thing these inspired persons say or do. The Taula aetu's appear to be as it were priests by office & are the persons who are regularly applied to in cases of sickness & in times of calamity. I did not hear that they had any thing like the complicated system of sorcery or witchcraft that prevailed so extensively in the Tahitian Islands. Indeed from what I saw of the Samoans I do not think that they would allow such a person to exist among them for as soon as they believed that an individual possessed the power of inflicting disease & death on them they would instantly deprive him of that power by depriving him of his life for they would one & all look upon him as a public enemy. Whatever their system of religion may be the Tamafaigā [Tamafaigā] who was killed by the Aana [A'ana] people & whose death has been so amply revenged in the complete overthrow of the people who killed him, was the head of the system. As no successor has been appointed to fill his place the system may be considered as broken & abandoned. The not appointing a successor to the Tamafaigā had nearly occasioned a serious war. The two or three old Chiefs living on Manono who appear to have the management of public affairs applied to Malietoa to unite with them in appointing a new Tamafaigā. He replied that he had embraced Christianity & that there was to be no Tamafaigā in the Samoa Islands. This was fiercely resented by

the old Chiefs but Malietoa stood firm & carried his point. The Tamafaigna has left one daughter a child about seven years of age. At present the child is treated with great respect. Some say the Spirit of her Father rests on her. Whether any interested individuals will ultimately use any endeavours to enforce her claims to the honours of her father or no we cannot at present determine but I should hope that Christianity before she is of age to act on the stage of life will become universal. The remains of the late Tamafaigna are kept very carefully in a kind of coffin with a lid to it on the Island of Manono but on the slightest report of war they are with all their other valuables conveyed to their impregnable fort the Island of Aborima [Apolima] where they are deposited in safe custody. The skull bone is kept separate in a box by itself as being more sacred. It is said to be worshipped still by those who have not yet embraced Christianity. It is in the charge of an old Sacred Chief. He at certain times pretends to converse with it & receives answers to his enquiries upon political & important subjects. If the Chief only touches the box containing the head he is sacred for the day & must not eat any thing & must not feed himself again for several weeks after. The head is kept in the sleeping apartment of the Sacred Chief to whose custody it is committed & wherever he goes he takes it with him. Thus although we have heathenism & Idolatry presented to us among the interesting Samoans in a different dress to what we have been accustomed to see it & hear of it, no altars stained with human blood, no Maraes bestrewed with skulls & human bones of the numerous victims of its sanguinary rites no atarau's²⁹⁸ laden with the costly gifts & offerings of the deluded worshippers, no Maraes built with huge masses of stones which required the united efforts of hundred of people to convey & deposit in the sacred spot no groves sacred to the gods, no rites & ceremonies in which brutality and debauchery are so awfully conspicuous, it is yet heathenism. It is still idolatry in which absurdity, ignorance superstition, & delusion reign predominant & this interesting people need the Gospel of Christ as much as the cannibal New Zealander that feasts on human flesh or the infatuated Tahitian whose gods were gorged with the blood of the numerous human sacrifices presented upon their altars.

The language spoken by the Samoans is a dialect of the Polynesian spoken by all the straight haired Indians from the

298. Presumably the Tahitian term for an altar (cf. the Rarotongan *atarakau*, a bier (Savage 1962:49).

Sandwich Islands to New Zealand. There appears to me to be eight dialects of one radical language but which is to be considered as the Original I cannot possibly determine. However as I am better versed in the Tahitian than in any other of the dialects I shall consider it as the original & draw my comparisons from it yet I think that the Harvey [Cook] Islanders dialect has superior claims to originality as being more widely extended & more extensively spoken by far than the Tahitian & more dialects bear greater affinity to it than the Tahitian. In determining the question of dialects I shall consider that when three things combine together in a language it constitutes that language a dialect of some other. First if the idiom, formation of sentences & grammatical construction are the same with the original it is a dialect. If the majority of principal standard general words are the same as in the original as for sky land water &c it is a dialect. If many hundreds of words are exactly the same as in the original only altered by the rejection of some letter & the substitution of another in its stead as the numerals &c illustrate Tahitian for one is tahi, Owhyheean [Hawaiian] kahi, Rarotognan tai Samoan tasi. This was evidently originally one word. In the Sandwich island dialect they reject the t & supply the k. In the Rarotogna they reject the h & supply a break laying a stress on the letter i as ta'i. In the Samoan they retain the t reject the k & h & supply the s making it tasi. The Fiji I look upon as an entire different language. The Togna may be considered as a dialect of the Polynesian but it is a kind of intermediate dialect between the Polynesian & Fiji. In all the others the pronouns are exactly alike but in the Togna dialect they are essentially different. The dialects that I conceive are all belonging to one language are those spoken by the Sandwich Islanders, the Marquesas the Tahitians, the Austral Islanders, the Harvey Islands, which the Paumotus & the Gambier [Mangareva] Islanders also speak, the Samoans the Tognatabuans & the New Zealanders. The Hawaii differs from the Tahitian by the introduction of the k & l, & the rejection of the F as in the following words -

	good	love	house
Tahitian	maitai	aroha	fare
	[<i>maita'i</i>]		
Hawaiian	maikai	aloha	hale
	[<i>maika'i</i>]		

The Marquesan differs from the Tahitian by the introduction of the k & the entire rejection of the r without supplying any letter in

its stead. The Sandwich Islands reject the r but supply its place with l reject the f & supply its place with the h as the [two] above examples evince

				[two]
Tahitian	maitai	aro	fare	erua
	[maita'i]			[rua]
Marquesan	mataki	aofa	fae	eua
	[meita'i]	[kaoha]	[fa'e]	[u'a]

The Austral islands are Raivavae, Tubuai, Rurutu & Rimatara situated between three & four hundred miles from Tahiti & have a dialect of their own yet being of comparatively little importance from the smallness of the number of the inhabitants & the difference between there & the Tahitian language not being great they have been taught the Tahitian language by the teachers sent from our various Churches & use the Tahitian scriptures which they read fluently & understand as far as language is concerned perfectly well. The difference between the Austral Island dialect & the Tahitian is the rejection of the F & H without supplying any other letter as a substitute & although this deviation may not appear very great yet to a person acquainted with the smooth easy flow of the Tahitian he on hearing a Rurutuan talk immediately perceives the vast difference occasioned by the rejection of those consonants both as to sound & to the ease with which the two dialects are spoken.

				again
Tahitian	maitai	aro	fare	faahou
	[maita'i]			[fa'ahou]
Austral ²⁹⁹	maitai	aro	are	aaou

The Harvey [Cook] Island dialect is spoken by the people of Atiu, Mauki [Mauke], Mitiaro, Magnaia [Mangaia], Aitutake [Aitutaki] & Rarotogna [Rarotonga] also by a small group of Islands to the North East of Aitutake,³⁰⁰ at the Island of Rapa all the Islands in

299. Modern orthography for the Austral Islands words is not given. There is no published dictionary and several dialects exist within the group. It will be noted, however, that for the most part, Williams's spellings are identical with either the Tahitian or Cook Islands forms.

300. Manihiki, Rakahanga and Tongareva, in the Northern Cook group.

the dangerous archipelago commonly called the Paumotu Islands. At Lord Gambiers [Mangareva] Islands also the Rarotogna or Harvey Island dialect is spoken. These Islands are all situated upwards of a thousand miles from Rarotogna yet the language is precisely the same with that of the Rarotognan. The difference also between the Rarotogna & New Zealand is very trifling.

				[food]
Tahitian	maitai	aro ^h a	fa ^r e	maa
	[<i>maita'i</i>]			[<i>mā'a</i>]
Rarotognan	meitaki	aro ^a	are	magna
				[<i>manga</i>]

From the above examples it will be seen that the Harvey Island or Rarotogna dialect differs from the Tahitian in two particulars. First by the entire rejection of the f & h & secondly by the introduction of the k & gna. The k & gna are invariably used in the Rarotogna dialect where a break or hard sound occurs in the Tahitian. Words in which there is neither f or h a hard sound or break are generally the same as in the Tahitian as Medua[*metua*] Tamaiti &c &c but wherever there is f or h a hard sound or break the word invariably altered in the Rarotognan dialect — as in fare — the word becomes by rejecting the f are. Aroha by rejecting the h becomes aroa. Āro in which the ā being sounded hard becomes ngaro. The maitai has in the Tahitian a break between the a & i for which the Rarotognans supply the K & make the word meitaki.

The Samoan dialect differs from the Tahitian in the rejection of the r & supplies its place with l³⁰¹ rejects the h & supplies its place in many instances with s. It adopts the nasal sound & rejects the k. In this it differs from the Sandwich Island dialect for there the k is adopted & the gna rejected. The Samoa dialect is soft & very melodious. The copious use of the F S & L give a peculiar softness to the language.

The Tognan differs from the Tahitian by the rejection of the r & introduction of the l as at the Samoa Islands but it again differs from the Samoa & Tahitian by the introduction of the j in which it differs from the seven other dialects & becomes assimilated to the Fiji language. It agrees with the Tahitian by the retention of the h which the Samoans reject the Tognatabu nasal reject³⁰². . . differ

301. Williams does not always adhere to his own observations in this respect, writing, for example, Aborima and Riromaiava instead of Apolima and Lilomaiava.

302. A portion of the page is torn off at this point.

also from the Tahitians & agree with the Rarotognans, Samoans & New Zealanders in the use of the nasal. The Tognatabu language is extensively spoken. In the Hapai [Ha'apai] Islands, the Islands of Vavau [Vava'u], Keppels [Niuatoputapu], Probys [Niuafu'ou] Wallaces [Uvea] & other isolated islands within a few degrees of the same longitude as Togna the Togna language or dialect is used.

The New Zealand is the eighth dialect of the Polynesian language. It agrees in the main with the Rarotognan except that in the New Zealand the h is retained. In the rejection of the f the introduction of the k & nasal it differs from the Tahitian as the Rarotognan also does. The New Zealand also differs from the Rarotognan by supplying the place of the f with the w as in the word for land. In Tahitian it is fenua in Rarotognan enua, in New Zealand wenua [*wenua*].

In all the above dialects there are affixes & suffixes. By the affixes nouns & adjectives are rendered verbs & passive verbs rendered active. By the suffixes some of the tenses of the verbs are formed. It is true there are several but in all the Island dialects one affix & one suffix generally prevails as the following example will evince. It will also shew the difference the adoption & rejection of certain letters produces in the words themselves. The word *ite* [*'ite*] for knowledge in the Tahitian language is the same I believe in all the eight dialects. To this word we will attach the suffixes & affixes used by the different Islands by way of illustration.

Tahitian *ite* [*'ite*] to know, *faa ite* [*fa'a'ite*] — to make known
Faa-ite-hia [*fa'a'itehia*] made known

Tahitian	<i>ite</i> [<i>'ite</i>]	<i>faaite</i> [<i>fa'a'ite</i>]	<i>faaitehia</i> [<i>fa'a'itehia</i>]
Sandwich Isd	<i>ike</i> [<i>'ike</i>]	<i>hoike</i> [<i>hō'ike</i>]	<i>hoikehia</i> [<i>hō'ike'ia</i>]
Marquesan			
Austral Isd	<i>ite</i>	<i>aaite</i>	<i>aaiteia</i>
Harvey Isd	<i>kite</i>	<i>akakite</i>	<i>akakiteia</i>
Samoa	<i>ite</i> [<i>'ite</i>]	<i>faaite</i> [<i>fa'a'ite</i>]	<i>faaiteia</i> [<i>fa'a'itea</i>]
Togna	<i>kite ilo</i> [<i>'ilo</i>]	<i>fakailo</i> [<i>faka'ilo</i>]	<i>fakailoia</i> [<i>faka'ilo'ia</i>]
New Zealand	<i>kite</i>	<i>wakakite</i> [<i>whakakite</i>]	<i>wakakiteia</i> [<i>whakakitea</i>]

In addition to the prefixes & affixes to the different words there is a particle in universal use which is applied to the verbs & determines the time where the place where or the circumstances under which the action was performed. In the Tahitian the *raa* [*ra'a*] is used & is applied as follows.

[Tahitian]	faaiteraa [<i>fa'a'itera'a</i>]	faaiteraahia [<i>fa'a'itera'ahia</i>]
Owhyhee	hoikeana	hoikeanaia
[Hawaii]	[<i>hō'ike'ana</i>]	[<i>hō'ike'ana'ia</i>]
Marquesas		
Austral	aaiteeraa	aaiteeraaia
Rarotogna	akakiteagna [<i>akakiteanga</i>]	akakiteagnaia [<i>akakiteangaia</i>]
Samoa	faaiteagna [<i>fa'a'iteaga</i>]	faaiteagnaia [<i>fa'a'iteagaia</i>]
Togna	fakakiteagna [<i>fakakite'anga</i>]	fakakiteagnaia [<i>fakakite'anga'ia</i>]
New Zealand]	wakakiteagna [<i>whakakitehanga</i>]	wakakiteagnaia [<i>whakakitehangaia</i>]

It will be perceived by the above examples that out of the prefixes in the eight dialects seven are essentially the same the *faa*, *aa*, *aka*, *faka*, *waka* being only modification of the same word according as the dialects adopt or reject certain letters. The affixes differ very little. The *hia* & *ia* being generally used they however in most of the dialects have other affixes & suffixes as *ta ti ta mia kia sia* &c & yet those given in the examples are the radical pre- & suffixes to the dialects. It may be thought by the superficial observer that the dialects differ but little & that one translation of the Scriptures would serve for the whole. This however is not the case for in addition to the vast difference to sound produced by the adoption & rejection of certain letters many hundreds of words in each of the dialects are entirely different as much so as though the languages bore no affinity to each other. In many other instances the word from another dialect is used & an entire different meaning attached as the word *parau* in the Tahitian for speech word &c means pride shew off &c in the Rarotogna dialect but as there is both interest & advantage connected with the subject on which we are now treating I will subjoin a list of a hundred words from each of the dialects with their respective meanings in English. The

reader may trace the words & perceive the effect the introduction & rejection of certain letters has upon the same word. In spelling the words I have adopted the orthography of the Tahitian & Rarotongan dialects viz sounding every letter that is used in the words. This is however the system adopted by the American Missionaries in the Sandwich islands also by our Wesleyan Brethren in the Friendly Islands. I am not fully acquainted with the system of our Brethren at New Zealand except that they use *ng* to express the nasal. The Brethren at Tognatabu [Tongatapu] use simply the *g*. We have adopted the *gn*. In reducing a language to system of course you can adopt what forms you please for the letters of the alphabet & attach what sounds you please to those forms. The people for whom the language is reduced would be equally well able to comprehend & equally well pleased with whatever forms you gave them & with whatever sounds you attach to these forms they having no prejudices with which to contend & depending entirely on you for instruction upon these principles. The simple *g* adopted by the Brethren at Tognatabu is as well as any other form but to the European eye to Tognatabu as Togatabu is certainly unseemly & in your communications to a civilised country to the words spelt according to the above system a wrong pronunciation will be given. But this consideration is not of sufficient importance to induce you to avoid a deviation from an established rule or custom when that deviation is of real advantage. If either the *ng* or *gn* is adopted certainly the *gn* is to be preferred as it is certain in the nasal of the South Seas the *g* precedes the *n* & I should suppose in all other nasals for it appears to me in giving the sound almost impossible to place the *n* before the *g*.³⁰³ In the Togna language there is on the part of the natives another serious deviation from all the other dialects viz an introduction of the aspirate in many words in which in the other dialects that word has neither hard sound or accent as *ua* - rain they call *uha* ['*uha*] and for day they call *aho* ['*aho*].

303. Williams's contemporaries did not all share this view. Davies (Newbury 1961:321n.) observed 'the nasal sound which the nations using the Roman letters have expressed by *ng*, Mr W[illiams] has strangely altered to *gn*, and has had the Epistle to the Galatians and John printed with that orthography [in Rarotongan].' Williams further antagonised his Rarotongan colleagues Pitman and Buzacott, who were responsible for most of the translation work there, by changing the New Testament in conformity with Henry Nott's translation of the same material into Tahitian (Gunson 1978:258-61). Although the *gn* is retained in Williams's 1835 article, he was apparently later overruled, as the form *ng* appears throughout *Missionary enterprises*.

<i>English</i>	<i>Tahitian</i>	<i>Hawaiian</i>
God	Atua	Akua
Man	ta-a-ta[<i>ta'ata</i>]	kanaka
Woman	vahine	wahine
Spirit	warua [<i>vārua</i>]	uhane [<i>'uhane</i>]
Good	maita'i	maikai [<i>maika'i</i>]
Bad	ino [<i>'ino</i>]	ino [<i>'ino</i>]
No	aita, aore [<i>'aita</i>][<i>'aore</i>]	aole [<i>'a'ole</i>]
Cloth	ahu [<i>'ahu</i>]	kapa
Canoe	va-a [<i>va'a</i>]	waka [<i>wa'a</i>]
War	tama'i [<i>tama'i</i>]	kaua
Above	nia, nu-a[<i>ni'a</i>][<i>nu'a</i>]	maluna
Below	araro [<i>raro</i>]	malalo
Come, go	haere	hele
Deceit &c	haavare [<i>ha'avare</i>]	wahahee [<i>wahahe'e</i>]
White	teatea [also ' <i>uo'uo</i>]	keokeo [<i>ke'oke'o</i>]
Sun	ra [<i>rā</i> ; now <i>mahana</i>]	la [<i>lā</i>]
Moon	marama [now ' <i>āva'e</i>]	mahina
Great	rahi, nui	nui
Small	iti	uutu [<i>'u'uku</i>]
Wind	mata'i	makani
Father	medua tane [<i>metua tāne</i>]	makua kane [<i>makua kāne</i>]
Mother	medua vahine [<i>metua vahine</i>]	makua wahine [<i>makuahine</i>]
Chief	arii [<i>ari'i</i>]	alii [<i>ali'i</i>]
To hear, believe &c	fa-aro-o [<i>fa'aro'o</i>]	holohe [<i>ho'olohe</i>]
To throw away &c	titiri	haarere [<i>ha'alele</i>]
Sickness	ma-i [<i>ma'i</i>]	ma'i
Cold	toetoe [<i>to'eto'e</i>]	anu
Sinnet	aha [<i>'aha</i>]	aha [<i>'aha</i>]
Star	fetu [now <i>feti'a</i>]	hotu [<i>hōkū</i>]
Warm	mahanahana	mahana
Hold	mau	mau [<i>ho'omau</i>]
Outside	vaho	vaho [<i>waho</i>]
Mercy &c	aroha	aloha
Word, speech &c	parau	kolelo [<i>'ōlelo</i>]
To kill	taparahi	pepehi
Morning	po-ipo-i [<i>po'ipo'i</i>]	tataheata [<i>kakahiatata</i>]
Sin	hara	hewa

Marquesan

Atua
 kanaka [*enata*]
 veine [*vehine*]
 kuani [*kuhane*]
 motaki [*meita'i*]
 haufau [*hauhau*]
 haoe [*'a'o'e*]
 kahu
 vaka
 toua
 uka
 ao [*'a'o*]
 takamai [*taha*]
 tivava
 tavatava
 umati [*oumati*]
 meama
 [also *mahina*]
 nui
 iti
 metai [*metaki*]
 motua

kui

hakaiki [*haka'iki*]
 oko [*'oko*]

tiitii [*ti'iti'i*]
 mate
 kamaii [*kamai'i*]
 puu [*pu'u*]
 etu [*fetu* or *hetu*]
 vevera [*ve'ave'a*]
 humu
 vaka [*vaho*]
 ofa kao fa [*haka'oha*]
 peeau [*pe'au*]
 kukumi
 oioi [*o'io'i*]

Austral Isd

Atua
 ta-a-ta
 vaine
 varua
 maitai
 ino
 aore
 au
 va-a
 tama-i
 nua
 raro
 aere
 aavare
 teatea
 ra
 marama
 ra'i
 iti
 mata'i
 medua tane

medua vaine

arii
 a'aro'o

a'aru'e
 ma'i
 toetoe
 aha
 etu
 maanaana
 mau
 vaoo
 aroa
 parau
 ta
 poipoi
 ara

Harvey Isd

Atua
 tagnata [*tangata*]
 vaine [*va'ine*]
 vaerua
 meitaki
 kino
 kare kore
 kaka'u
 waka [*vaka*]
 tamaki
 rugna [*runga*]
 raro
 aere [*'aere*]
 pikikaa [*pikika'a*]
 teatea [*tea*]
 ra [*rā*]
 marama

ra'i, nui
 meagniti [*meangiti*]
 matagni [*matangi*]
 medua tane
 [metua tane]
 medua vaine
 [metua va'ine]
 ariki
 akarogno
 [akarongo]
 akaruke
 maki
 anutoketoke
 kaa [*ka'a*]
 etu
 maana [*ma'ana*]
 mou
 vavo [*vao*]
 aroa [*aro'a*]
 tuatua
 ta [*tā*]
 popogni [*popongi*]
 ara

Samoa

Atua
 tagnata [*tagata*]
 fafine
 atamai
 lelei
 leagna [*leaga*]
 leai
 ofu [*'ofu*]
 va-a [*va'a*]
 taua
 lugna [*luga*]
 lalo
 sau, alu
 pepelo
 sina
 la [*lā*]
 masina
 lasi, tele
 itiiti
 matagni [*matagi*]
 tamā
 tinā
 alii [*ali'i*]
 faarogno [*fa'alogo*]
 tiaī, lafoai [*tia'i, lafoa'i*]
 ma'i
 ma'alili
 afa [*'afa*]
 fetu [*fetū*]
 mafana [*māfana*]
 taofi [*mau*]
 fafo
 alofa
 tala, ubu [*upu*]
 fasi
 taiao [*taeao*]
 agnasala [*agasala*]

Tognatabu

Otua [*'Otua*]
 tagnata [*tangata*]
 fafine [*fefine*]
 laumalie [*laumālie*]
 lelei
 kovikovi
 ikai [*'ikai*]
 kofu
 waka [*vaka*]
 tau
 lugna [*lunga*]
 lalo
 alu [*'alu*]
 lohi [*loi*]
 hina
 la [*la'ā*]
 mahina
 lahilahi
 jii [*si'i*]
 matagni [*matangi*]
 tamai
 fa'e [*fa'e*]
 eiki [*'eiki*]
 fakalogno [now *fanongo*]
 liaki
 mahaki
 mokojia [*mokosia*]
 kafa
 fetu [*fetu'u*]
 mafana [*māfana*]
 taofi, mau [*ma'u*]
 tu'a
 jitoa, ofa [*si'ota 'ofa, 'ofa*]
 lea
 ta'i [*taa'i*]
 pognipogni [*pongipongi*]
 agnahala [*angahala*]

New Zealand

Atua

tagnata [*tangata*]

wahine

pai

kino

kakahu [*kākahu*]

waka

taua [now *whāinga*]

rugna [*runga*]

hagnareka [*hangareka*]

ra [*rā*]

nui

matagni [*matangi*]

ariki

wakarogno [*whakarongo*]

Fijian

kalau [*kalou*]

tamata

leva [*yalewa*]

alo [*yalo*]

vinaka

iha [*cā*]

segna [*sega*]

suli, talo [*sulu*][*malo*]

vauka [*waqa*]

valu

lafu, lagoon [*lako*]

lasu

signa [*sigā*]

pula [*vula*]

lebu [*levu*]

leilei [*lailai*]

tagni [*cagi*]

tamamu [*tama*]

sinamu [*tina*]

turagna [*turaga*]

vakarognota [*vakarorogo*]

piuta [*biuta*]

sambuta [now *tauvi mate*]

magnimagi [*magimagi*]

kalokalo

katakata

taropa [*tarova*]

tupa [*tuba*]

soloma [*loloma*]

vosa

avita [*yavita*]

siri [now *cala*]

Having given all the information I was enabled to collect during my intercourse with the Samoans I shall conclude with presenting a few remarks on the encouraging prospects the existing state of things present in a Missionary point of view with some of the probable difficulties that will be experienced in the prosecuting of Missionary labours among the interesting Samoans.

In reflecting upon our former voyage we cannot be but convinced that a special providence superintended our movements. We were of course entirely ignorant of the state of the people, the influence of Chiefs the feelings of different parties, the respective importance of different places &c, all of which is essential to be known by the Missionary who has to exercise his judgement in the selection of a spot on which to commence his labours for success depends humanly speaking very much upon a proper commencement. Our deficiency however was supplied by a remarkable providence. Being aware of the vast importance of obtaining some information respecting the scene of our intended Mission my colleague & myself determined first to proceed to Tognatabu [Tongatapu] where for the information we should there obtain we would determine upon a plan of operation. In addition to the disastrous information we received about the Fiji's & [New] Hebrides which determined us at once not to proceed to the Westward of Togna [Tonga] we met at Togna a Samoa who had been eleven years away from his country. He had lately come from the Fiji Islands & was extremely desirous to return home. He stated that he was a near relation of Malietoa who was the greatest Chief in the Samoa group. That he had sufficient influence to procure the reception of the Teachers & would assure us of the perfect safety of their persons & property from injury. We gained a great deal of information from this individual which determined us to devote all our resources to the Samoa Group & commence our labours with his relation. Certain it is that had we possessed all the knowledge it was possible to obtain we could not have selected a better place for the commencement of the Mission than that on which we did commence. Looking back upon the circumstances it appears to me with my present knowledge that out of the scores of places where the Mission might have been commenced there was one right one which possessed advantages above all the rest & we were providentially directed to that. But for meeting with Fauea [Faueā] at Tognatabu we should in all probability have commenced our labours in some other quarter where it is not unlikely

the teachers would have been plundered & very little success attended their labours.

We cannot impute this important occurrence to our own wisdom or foresight for we had not the requisite knowledge to exercise our judgement upon, & Fauea whom we met at Tognatabu might have belonged to Manua [Manu'a] Tutuila or any other Island as well as to Savai [Savai'i]. We must ascribe this fortunate occurrence to a special direction of God & take the event as an encouraging omen that the Samoa Islanders are speedily to be made partakers of the blessing of Salvation.

The very great desire almost universally prevailing among the classes of people for Missionaries is certainly an encouragement not to be overlooked. This is no mean point gained. What is it that now circumscribes the labours of our Brethren at Tognatabu but the want of this desire. How long have our Brethren laboured in New Zealand to communicate this desire & have not yet effected it. When we consider the prejudices that have to be overcome the opposition that has to be subdued before the desire can become universal we shall perceive that a great work has been effected in the space of two short years, a work which in most instances has taken ten fifteen & twenty years of labour & toil to effect, during which time Missionaries have submitted to insult, been plundered of all they possessed & experienced many narrow escapes of their lives. The accounts transmitted from time to time by our brethren from New Zealand abundantly confirm the above observations. What would be their feelings were they now to perceive a universal desire on the part of the Chiefs & people of New Zealand to be instructed in the religion of the Gospel were they to receive daily applications from Chiefs of powerful tribes to come & assist them in making a public renunciation of their idol gods & reception of Jehova as their god & Saviour, were they to be continually pressed to visit different tribes to open places of worship which they themselves had erected in which to spend the sacred Sabbath in praying to & hearing the word of the great Jehova. No doubt our Brethrens hearts would be filled with unspeakable joy & gratitude. They would think their years of labour, toil, privation & danger as amply repaid. They would traverse the cannibal land from one end to the other with cheerfulness & joy on such errands of mercy. At the Samoas all this rough work is done. The desire is not only diffused but Chapels are erected the Sabbath is sacred congregations are collected so that if the Missionaries had but the gift of tongues

they might step out of the vessel that brought them from England into the pulpit & deliver their message of mercy at once to a people prepared of the Lord. Our Lord Jesus has taught us to appreciate the importance of this part of Missionary labour by describing such a state by the Similitude of a corn field "White to the harvest". Much hard persevering labour must necessarily precede before the husbandmans heart is gladdened by seeing the white full ear wave to the passing breeze inviting as it were that the sickle should be thrust in, & the wheat gathered into the garner. That this is actually the present state of a great portion of the Samoa Islanders I can not only affirm but afford satisfactory proof to all who are disposed to doubt the truth of my statements. I by no means affirm that any are truly converted to God. I did not see a single individual that I had any evidence to believe had experienced a real change of heart. All I affirm is that the religion of the Gospel is highly esteemed by all classes of people. That Missionaries would not only be safe but that they are earnestly desired. That they would be received with open arms by all classes. That they might commence what system of instruction they pleased without opposition. That Chapels are erected in very many villages. That congregations meet & perform Service as well as they can themselves. For want of better instruction in some places they repeat a prayer in Tahitian which they have learnt from the teachers. At other places they sit still in their little Chapel the whole of the Sabbath day. At other places some of them have obtained sufficient knowledge of the principle of Christianity as to be able to offer up a prayer in their own language. That the desire does exist is very evident for they actually employ & pay run away sailors to perform any kind of service for them. How numerous & pressing were the invitations received from Chiefs to visit them & stay a few days with them & to settle teachers among them. Not even among the heathen party did I perceive any objection to the Christian religion. All appeared to wish to embrace the *lotu*. It is not to be supposed that the motive by which they are actuated in their desire is a conviction of the excellence of the Gospel. They must first obtain a knowledge of the principles of the Gospel before their desire can arise from a conviction of its supreme excellence. Some no doubt think that by embracing Christianity vessels will be induced to visit them & by that means their country will be enriched. Others think that it will give them a name among their country men. Some think by becoming Christians they will

be protected from the effects of the anger of their gods. Others hope by the same means to prolong their lives. Some hope that by the introduction of Christianity war will be entirely abolished. Some are undoubtedly convinced of the folly of their former system of religious worship. Others now have an indistinct notion of the salvation of the soul after death. The Christian cause received a great addition lately from purely a political motive. A number of Chiefs perceiving that very many of their people had embraced Christianity, in consequence of a talk of war began to reflect & reason upon the subject, saying "that if war should take place these who have embraced Christianity will never fight against the people who are of the same religion with themselves so our hands will be much weakened". This was to them a very important consideration. They held many meetings upon the subject & ultimately determined to embrace Christianity also. In the various meetings which they held the arguments for & against the introduction of a New System of religion amongst them were full stated & calmly considered. A specimen of their arguments on these occasions I have given. No doubt two motives had a powerful influence in determining many of the Chiefs on this occasion to decide in favour of Christianity. First a hope that war would in future be entirely prevented & secondly to retain their own people in case of war.

Whatever the motives may be certain it is that the desire is excited. A very strong wish to be instructed in the principles of Christianity does exist. The opportunity ought to be embraced immediately for now is the time to commence Missionary labours amongst them. To let the opportunity slip would be of serious consequence. No time ought to be delayed. Run away sailors are getting very numerous among the Samoa Islands. Some are pretending to teach & baptize the people while their conduct is vile in the extreme. Others are doing all in their power to poison the minds of the people against religion altogether, so that every month is of importance & if the funds of our Society are not sufficient to justify it in sending out five or six Missionaries to occupy this interesting inviting important field let the Directors lay a full statement of the case before the members of the Society & if they are neither able or willing to afford means adequate to the object let them give the field of labour over into the hands of the Church or Wesleyan Missionary Society rather than the Islanders should be deprived of the blessings which they are so anxiously

waiting to receive at our hands & gladly would I accompany Missionaries from either Society & spend two or three years with them assisting them in forming the Mission on the best possible footing giving them all the information I possessed & preparing elementary & other books in the language.

I do not look upon the government of the Samoans as at all unfavourable to the propagation of the principles of Christianity amongst them. There is no despotism on the part of the Chiefs. The people living in distinct tribes governed by the respective Chiefs who are entirely independent of each other with clashing interests, extreme jealousy each endeavouring to appear greatest & all desiring to be of equal power with his neighbour to be able to repel an invasion of rights or resist an insult, causes the Chiefs to court the favour of their people, & to avoid on all occasions giving them unnecessary offence. Consequently the people enjoy a degree of liberty which such a state of society necessarily induces as each individual feels as it were that he is of importance & acts with a considerable degree of independence which is not the case with natives who are under the despotic sway of one or more tyrannical Chief. Of course the state of society as it exists at the Samoas is favourable to religious liberty for religious freedom is seldom enjoyed where civil liberty does not exist. The difference between natives who are under the despotism of Chiefs on whose caprice their lives depend & those who enjoy a greater degree of freedom is very apparent. The former generally speaking are low minded & grovelling. They appear, poor things, as though they were born without souls, whereas the latter appear lively & sprightly in their actions, & a noble manliness of spirit pervades their whole conduct.

Notwithstanding the favourable state of society and the great desire that prevails among the people still difficulties must be expected & as the minds of English Christians are easily elated by encouraging & pleasing accounts of success it will be more necessary to state plainly some of the probable difficulties that the Mission will have to encounter. These divide themselves into two classes. Those which arise from the natural depravity of Man but as Ministers in England as well as Missionaries abroad have alike to contend with these I shall not remark on them. The second class are those which arise from the existing state of society & customs of the people to whom the Gospel is carried. These of course differ in different countries as in India caste appears to be a formidable

barrier to the reception of Christianity. At the Samoas also the Missionary will have to contend with difficulties peculiar to the place. One of the first & perhaps one of the greatest will arise from the custom of plurality of wives. The difficulty at the Samoas however in this respect will be nothing in comparison with what will be experienced at the Fiji Islands. Here it appears that the Chiefs have from two to five Score wives as a regular compliment according to their respective ranks. Here Christianity would find a formal enemy to contend with as the system is interwoven in their Government & the Chiefs respectability & influence in a great measure depends on it. Out of so many females the Chief has always some for whom he has no great regard. Persons wanting wives at times apply to him to supply them out of his stock which he generally does. This is conferring a great favour. He immediately makes up the deficiency in his number by taking fresh young women for beside the general wish on the part of under Chiefs that their daughters should become the wives of the King he possesses absolute power over the persons of his subjects.

The King having so many females at his command not unfrequently supplies his visitors with them during his stay with him. To deprive therefore the Chiefs at once of all their wives would deprive them of the power of conferring the greatest of favours & reduce them almost to the rank of common people. The Chiefs perceive this, therefore at present they object to the introduction of Christianity among them. At the Samoa islands the difficulty will be great, but not perhaps insurmountable for it is not an uncommon thing with them as I have before stated to put away all their wives in order to obtain the new object on whom their affections may be placed. I however am not satisfied in my own mind as to the propriety of enforcing as absolutely essential that Heathens having more wives than one shall on embracing Christianity put them all but one away. A Question materially arises viz What is to become of the women. If they have been wives of principal Chiefs, at most Islands, no person may dare marry them afterwards. They are consequently doomed to live in a state of widowhood all their days, which in the S[outh] S[ea] Islands, is little better than a state of prostitution. In the Samoa Islands the females thus turned off would go & take up their residence at the large houses for public entertainments & of course would form part of the public property.

It may be said that the introduction of Christianity will do away

with such practices. It may for the few first years after its reception but very many, it may be said, the body of the people will in the course of time wish again to introduce many of their former customs. I have frequently thought that a standard work on Missions is much wanted. A work that should be admitted into all our Missionary seminaries & form a book of reference to the Missionary on critical & difficult subjects with which every Missionary will have to contend on a greater or less degree. The work I would propose should embrace the various plans that have been adopted by the Missionaries at the different Societies – not only of the present time but of former times also with the various success that has attended the different measures that have been adopted, the difficulties Missionaries have to contend with the measures that have been resorted to. Such a work would naturally divide itself into two grand divisions & have a distinct reference to civilised & uncivilised countries. I would glean from all, the Moravians³⁰⁴ the Baptists the proceedings of the Missionaries of the Church & Wesleyan & London Societies. Whether some of the plans adopted by the Jesuits in the formation of their reductions³⁰⁵ among the S[outh] American Indians might not be adopted with advantage in some uncivilised countries. There are many excellent publications on Missionary labours now in print such as Jowetts researches,³⁰⁶ Judsons letters & life³⁰⁷ from both of which much valuable information may be obtained. Swans letters³⁰⁸ are very good but they would appear better from a Minister at home than a Missionary abroad. From the pen of a Missionary abroad we naturally look for something different from that which a Minister at home supplies. We expect information derived by himself from the scenes through which he has passed. The interesting work of my friend & former colleague Mr Ellis³⁰⁹ contains much valuable

304. The Moravians or United Brethren were an episcopal church of Bohemian origin and pietist theology. Intimately connected with the Methodist movement in its origins, they were particularly active in foreign missions. Their missionary communities were composed largely of artisans.

305. A term referring to settlements or colonies of South American Indians converted and governed by the Jesuits.

306. William Jowett, who had missionary interests in the Mediterranean region.

307. Adoniram Judson, Baptist missionary to Burma.

308. Swan, W. 1830. *Letters on missions*...London.

309. William Ellis spent five years in the Society Islands, and achieved recognition for his classic study *Polynesian researches during a residence of nearly eight years in the Society and Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands*. [2 vols. London, Fisher and Jackson, 1829.]

information but its object is different. No doubt but from Dr Buchanan's Researches,³¹⁰ the devoted Mr Wards works³¹¹ also with others that I have not seen would all greatly assist in the compilation of the proposed work. In a review of Douglas on Missions³¹² which I have seen the work is very highly spoken of but not having seen the work itself I cannot say whether it is of the kind required.³¹³

310. Claudius Buchanan, East India Chaplain in 1797 and Honorary Life Governor of the Church Missionary Society in 1812, was, through his eloquence and literary works, instrumental in opening India as a mission field, and in establishing the Indian Episcopate. Like Williams, he was an advocate of a missionary ship to serve all the Society's missions. A number of his works were published.

311. William Ward, missionary in India in the early 1800s.

312. Douglas, J. 1832, *Hints on missions*. Edinburgh.

313. The final page of the journal reads 'Privations in some of our voyages — Tea etc Mrs W — having things boiled etc.'

Bibliography

- Barff, C. [n.d.] Mr Barff's account of Mr Buzacott's labours (microfilm in National Library of Australia).
- Bays, P. 1831. *A narrative of the wreck of the Minerva whaler of Port Jackson New South Wales, on Nicholson's Shoal* Cambridge, Bridges.
- Beaglehole, J.C. (ed.) 1961. *The journals of Captain James Cook ... on his voyages of discovery, edited from the original manuscripts.* Four vols. and portfolio. Cambridge, Hakluyt Society.
- Bellwood, P. 1979. *Man's conquest of the Pacific: the prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania.* New York, Oxford University Press.
- Bougainville, L.A. de. 1772. *Voyage autour du monde, par le frégate du roi la Boudeuse, et la flûte l'Etoile; En 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769.* Two vols. 2nd ed. Paris, Saillant & Nyon.
- Buck, P. 1930. *Samoan material culture.* Honolulu, Bishop Museum Bulletin 75.
- Buck, P. 1937. 'Additional wooden images from Tonga'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 46:74-82.
- Buck, P. 1950. *The coming of the Maori.* (2nd ed.) Wellington, Maori Purposes Fund Board.
- Buzacott, A. [1836] Samoan journal (microfilm in National Library of Australia).
- Buzacott, A. and C. Barff. [1834] The journal of Messrs Buzacott and Barff written during the visit to the out Stations in 1834 in the *Uliatea* (microfilm in National Library of Australia).
- Campbell, J. 1840. *Maritime discovery and Christian missions, considered in their mutual relations.* London, John Snow.

- Capell, A. 1941. *A new Fijian dictionary*. Sydney, Australasian Medical Publishing Company Ltd.
- Churchward, C.M. 1959. *Tongan dictionary*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Churchward, W.B. 1888. *'Blackbirding' in the South Pacific; or, the first white man on the beach*. London, Swain Sonnenschein.
- Code of American Samoa*. 1946. Two vols. Washington, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department.
- Collocott, E.E.V. 1925. 'Supplementary Tongan vocabulary ...'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 34:146-67, 193-213.
- [Colomb, A.] 1890. *Dictionnaire toga-français et français-toga-anglais* Paris, Chadinat.
- Critchley, T.A. and P.D. James. 1971. *The Maul and the Pear Tree: the Ratcliffe Highway murders 1811*. London, Constable.
- Cumpston, J.S. 1977. *Shipping arrivals and departures*. Volume 1. 1788-1825. Canberra, Roebuck.
- Dalrymple, A. 1771. *An historical collection of the several voyages and discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*. Two vols. London, Nourse.
- Dardillon, R.I. 1931. *Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Isles Marquises*. Two vols. Paris, Institut D'Ethnologie.
- Davidson, J.M. 1975. 'The wooden image from Samoa in the British Museum: a note on its context'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 84:352-5.
- Davies, J. 1851. *A Tahitian and English dictionary ... and a short grammar of the Tahitian language*. Papeete, London Missionary Society.
- Daws, G. 1980. *A dream of islands: voyages of self-discovery in the South Seas*. Sydney, Jacaranda Press.
- Derrick, R.A. 1950. *A history of Fiji*. Revised ed. Suva, Government Printer.
- Dibble, S. 1909. *A history of the Sandwich Islands*. 2nd ed. Honolulu.
- Dillon, P. 1829. *Narrative and successful result of a voyage in the South Seas ... to ascertain the fate of La Pérouse's expedition ... with accounts of the religion, manners, customs and cannibal practices of the South Sea islanders*. Two vols. London, Jurst Chace.
- Douglas, J.D. 1978. *The new international dictionary of the Christian church*. Exeter, Paternoster.

- Dyson, M. 1875. *My story of Samoan methodism; or, a brief history of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Samoa*. Melbourne, Ferguson and Moore.
- Edwards, E. 1915. *Voyage of HMS 'Pandora' despatched to arrest the mutineers of the 'Bounty' in the South Seas 1790-91, being the narrative of Captain Edward Edwards, RN the Commander and George Hamilton the Surgeon ...*. London.
- Ellis, W. 1969. *Polynesian researches: Polynesia*. New edition. Rutland, Tuttle.
- Erskine, J.E. 1853. *Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro races in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah*. London, John Murray.
- Farmer, S.S. 1855. *Tonga and the Friendly Islands, with a sketch of their mission history*. London, Hamilton Adams.
- Fison, L. 1907. *Tales from old Fiji*. London, Alexander Moring.
- Freeman, J.D. 1959. 'The Joe Gimlet or Siovilu cult: an episode in the religious history of early Samoa.' In Freeman, J.D. and W.R. Geddes (eds.), *Anthropology in the South Seas*, pp. 185-200. New Plymouth, Avery.
- Garrett, J. 1974. 'The conflict between the London Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodists in 19th century Samoa'. *Journal of Pacific History* 9:65-80.
- Gifford, E.W. 1929. *Tongan society*. Honolulu, Bishop Museum Bulletin 61.
- Gilson, R.P. 1970. *Samoa 1830-1900: the politics of a multi-cultural community*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Golson, J. (ed.) 1972. *Polynesian navigation: a symposium on Andrew Sharp's theory of accidental voyages*. 3rd ed. Wellington, Reed.
- Green, R.G. and J.M. Davidson (eds.) 1974. *Archaeology in Western Samoa*. Volume 2. Auckland, Auckland Institute and Museum, Bulletin 7.
- Gregory, W. 1801. *Journal of a captured missionary designated to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the second voyage of the Ship Duff* 2nd ed. London.
- Gunson, N. 1972. 'John Williams and his ship: the bourgeois aspirations of a missionary family'. In D.P. Crook (ed.), *Questioning the past: a selection of papers in history and government*, pp. 73-95. St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

- Gunson, N. 1977. 'The coming of foreigners'. In N. Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islanders: a history of Tonga*, pp. 90-113. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Gunson, N. 1978. *Messengers of grace: evangelical missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Gutch, J. 1974. *Beyond the reefs: the life of John Williams, missionary*. London, Macdonald and James.
- Haddon, A.C. and J. Hornell. 1975. *Canoes of Oceania*. Reprinted, three volumes in one. Honolulu, Bishop Museum.
- Heeres, J.E. 1898. *Abel Janzoon Tasman's journal ...* Amsterdam.
- Henry, F. [n.d.] *A history of Samoa*. Apia, Department of Education. [mimeo]
- Heyerdahl, T. 1951. *The Kon-Tiki expedition*. London, George Allen and Unwin.
- Howells, W. 1973. *The Pacific Islanders*. Wellington, Reed.
- Hunt, J. 1846. *Memoir of the Rev. William Cross, Wesleyan missionary to the Friendly and Feejee Islands* London, Mason.
- Hutton, J. 1874. *Missionary life in the South Seas*. London, King. Hydrographic Department. 1932. *Pacific Islands pilot. Volume II: the central groups* 6th ed. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Krämer, A. 1902. *Die Samoan-Inseln*. Two vols. Stuttgart, Schweizerbartsche Verlag.
- Krämer, A. 1930. *The Samoan Islands*. Two volumes in nine. Rarotonga. [mimeo] (An English translation of Krämer 1902).
- Lātūkefu, S. 1974. *Church and state in Tonga: the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries and political development*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii.
- Lemaitre, Y. 1973. *Lexique de Tahitien contemporain*. Paris, Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique Outre-mer.
- Loeb, E.M. 1926. *History and traditions of Niue*. Honolulu, Bishop Museum Bulletin 32.
- London, Municipality of. 1838. *Minutes of proceedings of the Court of Common Council*. Vol. 16. London, Coe.
- Lovett, R. 1899. *The history of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*. Two vols. London, Oxford University Press.
- Marquardt, C. 1899. *Die Tätowirung beider Geschlechter in Samoa*. Berlin, Reimer.
- Martin, J. 1817. *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. With an original grammar and*

- vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr William Mariner.* London, Murray.
- Mathews, B. 1915. *John Williams the shipbuilder.* London, Oxford University Press.
- Maude, H.E. and M.T. Crocombe. 1962. 'Rarotongan sandalwood: the visit of Goodenough to Rarotonga in 1814'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 71:32-56.
- Milner, G.B. 1966. *Samoa dictionary.* London, Oxford University Press.
- Moyle, R.M. 'An account of the game of tāgāti'a'. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 79:233-44.
- Murray, A.W. 1876. *Forty years' mission work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 to 1875.* London, Nisbet.
- Newbury, C.W. (ed.) 1961. *The history of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830; written by John Davies, missionary to the South Sea Islands, with supplementary papers from the correspondence of the missionaries.* Cambridge, Hakluyt Society.
- Nicholson, A.H. 1977. *Shipping arrivals and departures, Sydney.* Volume 2. 1826-1840. Canberra, Roebuck.
- Oliver, D.L. 1974. *Ancient Tahitian society.* Three vols. Canberra, Australian National University Press.
- Orme, W. 1827. *A defence of the missions in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands against the misrepresentations contained in a late number of the Quarterly Review in a letter to the editor of that Journal.* London.
- Owen, J. 1816. *The history and origin of the first ten years of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Two vols. London, Tilling and Hughes.
- Parham, B.E.V. 1972. *Plants of Samoa.* Wellington, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.
- Pratt, G. 1876. *Pratt's grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language.* 2nd ed. Malua, Malua Printing Press.
- Pratt, G. 1911. *Pratt's grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language.* 4th ed. Malua, Malua Printing Press.
- Pritchard, W.R. 1866. *Polynesian reminiscences; or, life in the South Pacific Islands.* London, Chapman and Hall.
- Prout, E. 1843. *Memoirs of the life of the Rev. John Williams, missionary to Polynesia.* London, John Snow.
- Pukui, M.K. and S.H. Elbert. 1971. *Hawaiian dictionary.* Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii.

- Rabone, S. 1845. *Vocabulary of the Tonga language* Vava'u, Wesleyan Press.
- Ralston, C. 1977. *Grass huts and warehouses: Pacific beach communities of the nineteenth century*. Canberra, Australian National University Press.
- Rhodes, F. [1934] *Pageant of the Pacific: being a maritime history of Australasia*. Two vols. Sydney, Thwaites.
- Ryan, T.F. 1977. Prehistoric Niue; an egalitarian Polynesian society. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland.
- Savage, S. 1962. *A dictionary of the Maori language of Rarotonga*. Wellington, Department of Island Territories.
- Schouten, W.C. 1619. *The relation of a wonderful voyage made by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne*. London, Newberry [Facsimile edition, the World Publishing Company, Ohio, 1966.]
- Shineberg, D. 1967. *They came for sandalwood: a study of the sandalwood trade in the south-west Pacific*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- Stair, J.B. 1895. 'Early Samoan voyages and settlements'. *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Report 6:612-19.
- Stair, J.B. 1897. *Old Samoa; or, flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*. Oxford, the Religious Tract Society.
- Stübel, O. 1897. *Samoaanische Texte*. Berlin.
- Suggs, R. 1960. *The island civilizations of Polynesia*. New York, Mentor.
- Sunderland, J.P. and A. Buzacott (eds.) 1866. *Mission life in the islands of the Pacific: being a narrative of the life and labours of the Rev. A. Buzacott*. London, John Snow.
- Thomson, B. 1894. *The diversions of a Prime Minister*. Edinburgh, Blackwood.
- Thomson, B. 1902. *Savage Island: an account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga*. London, John Murray.
- Tilly [Captain]. 1886. *Brett's New Zealand and South Pacific pilot with nautical almanac for the years 1887-88*. Auckland, Brett.
- Tippett, A.R. [1954]. *The Christian: Fiji 1835-67*. Auckland [Fiji Methodist Mission].
- Turner, G. 1861. *Nineteen years in Polynesia: missionary life, travels, and researches in the islands of the Pacific*. London, John Snow.

- Turner, G. 1884. *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before, together with notes on the cults and customs of twenty-three other islands in the Pacific*. London, Macmillan.
- Turner, J.G. 1872. *The pioneer missionary: life of the Reverend Nathaniel Turner, missionary in New Zealand, Tonga, and Australia*. Melbourne, Robertson.
- Tuvalu, T. 1918. *History of Samoa to 1918*. [mimeo] (held in Mitchell Library Sydney).
- [Vason, G.] 1810. *An authentic account of four years' residence at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands, in the South-Sea ...* London, Longman.
- Violette, le P.L. 1879. *Dictionnaire Samoa-français-anglais et français-Samoa-anglais ...* Paris, Maisonneuve.
- Walsh, D.S. and B. Biggs. 1966. *Proto-Polynesian word list I*. Auckland Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Wilkes, C. 1845. *Narrative of the United States exploring expedition, during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 ...* Five vols. Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard.
- Williams, H.W. 1971. *A dictionary of the Maori language*. Wellington, New Zealand Government Printer.
- Williams, J. [1823] *Journal of a voyage ... for the propagation of the Gospel in a group of islands about 500 miles west of the Society islands ... performed by Messrs Williams & Bourne in the Schooner Endeavour ... in the months of July and August 1823* (microfilm held in National Library of Australia, Canberra).
- Williams, J. 1835. 'Missionary perils'. In W. Ellis (ed.), *The Christian keepsake and missionary annual*, pp. 275-84. London, Fisher, Fisher and Jackson.
- Williams, J. 1838. *A narrative of missionary enterprises in the South Sea islands, with remarks upon the natural history of the islands, origin, languages, traditions, and usages of the inhabitants*. Sixth thousand. London, John Snow.
- Wilson, J. 1799. *A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson ...* London, Chapman.
- Wood, A.H. 1972. *History and geography of Tonga*. Reprinted. Auckland.
- Wood, A.H. 1975. *Overseas missions of the Australian Methodist Church. Volume 1: Tonga and Samoa*. Melbourne, Aldersgate.

Index

Islands and individuals are indexed under their current or accepted names, with any former or alternative names following within brackets.

- A'ana district, Samoa, 126, 128, 130, 131, 160, 266
- A'asu village, Samoa, 217n
- Afareaitu village, Society Islands, 91
- Aitu*, 68, 120–21, 159, 225, 226, 252, 265; eating of, 126–27, 133–35
- Aitutaki, Cook Islands, 4, 6, 8, 29, 32n, 35, 36–39, 183, 185, 225, 259, 263
- Aleamotu'a, *see* Tupou Aleamotu'a
- Āmaile village, Samoa, 102n
- Amoa village, Samoa, 13, 140, 145–48
- Amuamu, chief at Leone, Samoa, 107
- Āpai village, Samoa, 66, 138
- Apia village, Samoa, 66, 168, 171, 173, 219
- Apolima, Samoa, 66, 69, 80, 81, 164, 165, 167, 221, 267
- Arioi* cult, Society Islands, 264
- Aromata, 70n, 79
- Arorangi village, Rarotonga, 29n, 30n, 86, 217
- Arue, missionary in Samoa, 75
- Assassinations, in Samoa, 243
- Astrolabe*, 217n
- Ata, chief of Hihifo, Tonga, 203
- Atiu, Cook Islands, 32–35, 36n, 225, 260
- 'Aunu'u, Samoa, 66, 105, 165n
- Austral Islands, 181n, 228; language of, 268–69, 271–72, 275
- Australia, 220
- Avarua village, Rarotonga, 29n, 86–87, 88–89
- Baptism, 49, 54, 118
- Baptists, 284
- Barff, Charles, 8, 14, 17, 23, 34, 37, 39, 43, 49, 54, 63n, 71n, 90, 91, 102, 117n, 119n, 122n, 123, 134, 141, 149n, 158, 190, 236
- Bats, in Samoa, 225–26
- Beachcombers: at Niuatoputapu, 174, 179, 218; in Samoa, 109–11, 132, 139, 162
- Beads, 74, 78, 108, 140, 147, 150, 167, 218, 222, 224, 243, 244–45, 251, 255
- Becket*, 47n
- Beechey, Captain, 210, 214
- Bennett, George, 210
- Bible, citations of as sermon topics, 26, 31–32, 34, 39, 43, 48, 49, 50, 54, 88, 91, 97, 118, 202
- Birds, in Samoa, 24
- Blossom, Thomas, 23
- Boat building, in Samoa, 141
- Boki, chief at Hawaii, 47n

- Borabora, missionary in Tonga, 62-63, 98n, 194
- Borabora, Society Islands, 2, 23, 32n, 38, 59
- Botany Bay, New South Wales, 112n, 113
- Boti, missionary in Samoa, 75, 125, 135, 149
- Bourne, Robert, 26, 33n, 36n
- Bow, John, 81-82, 159n
- Britain, 112n, 113, 119n, 122, 123n, 158, 198, 206, 280
- British and Foreign Bible Society, 195
- Bruce, John King, 159n
- Buchanan, Claudius, 285
- Bunaia, Society Islands, 90
- Burial: in Rarotonga, 261-62; in Samoa and Tahiti, 245
- Buzacott, Aaron, 8, 9, 23, 29, 30, 31, 32, 86-87, 88-89, 97, 116, 119n, 141, 149n, 165, 236
- Camden*, 15, 18
- Cannibalism: in New Zealand, 235; in Samoa, 103
- Canoes: in Samoa, 79, 83, 106, 137, 250-51; in Tonga, 54, 82-83, 177, 191
- Carey, William, 1
- Cargill, David, 53n
- Chapel: at Amoa, 145-46; at Atiu, 32, 33, 34; at Leone, 107; on Manono, 85, 157; at Ngatangia, 30; at Nuku'alofa, 45, 56, 197, 201; on Rurutu, 89; at Sapapali'i, 108, 116, 125, 132-33, 141, 156; at Sātupa'itea, 154, 166-67
- Chatham Islands, 6
- Chawner, Mary, *see* Williams, Mary
- Chieftainship, in Samoa, 250
- Christianity, civilising influence of, 16-17, 68n, 73-74, 237, 280-82, 284
- Church Missionary Society, 2, 281, 284
- Club fights, in Samoa, 133, 170, 248
- Coke, Thomas, 1, 207n
- Conch, sacred, 136, 149
- Convicts, escaped, 127-28, 166
- Cook [Hervey] Islands, 8, 23, 225, 227, 260, 262-63; language of, 268-71, 275
- Cook, Captain James, 35n, 40n, 43, 210, 215
- Cross, William, 44-47, 49, 50, 53n, 54, 56, 59, 60, 61n, 65n, 97, 115, 177, 190, 194, 198, 199-200, 201, 204, 206, 212; death of Mrs Cross, 115, 199-200
- Curacao Reef, Tonga, 181n
- Curry, Captain James, 186
- Dance: at Niuatoputapu, 178; on Niue, 41; in Samoa, 72, 76n, 78, 117, 133, 142, 143, 152-54, 169, 246-48, 252-53, (*pōula*) 152, 169, 247-48; at 'Uiha, 174-75
- Darling, David, 90-91
- Dauida, missionary at Mangaia, 25, 27n, 28, 29
- Dauida, missionary in Tonga, 45, 55-56, 62-63, 80, 97
- Davies, John, 45, 52n, 53n
- Deanes, Captain, 185-86, 197, 203, 213
- De Langle, 217
- Deveron*, 186n
- Dibbs, John, 27
- Dillon, Peter, 47n, 207n
- Douglas, James, 185
- Disease: in Rarotonga, 29-30, 32, 86; in Samoa, 234
- Dress, native; of converts, 106, 107; in Niue, 41; in Samoa, 78, 82, 102, 116-17, 144, 147, 167, 230-33, 246, 255; for war, 243-44
- Duff*, 2, 8
- Earthquakes, in Samoa, 144-45
- Elizabeth*, 213
- Ellis, William, 284-85
- Endeavour*, 11, 27, 187n
- England, *See* Britain
- Erromango, Vanuatu, 4, 15, 47n, 'Eua, Tonga, 44, 46, 112n
- Eva village, Samoa, 113
- Faaruea, missionary in Fiji, 52, 53n, 89
- Faaruea, missionary on Mangaia, 24, 29
- Fa'e Tāufa, chief at Pea, Tonga, 51
- Faga village, Samoa, 66, 145
- Fagalele Bay, Samoa, 222n
- Fagaloa Bay, Samoa, 219

- Fakafenua, priest in Tonga, 207-8
 Fakahina, Tuamotu Islands, 183n
 Faleasi'u village, Samoa, 130n
 Falefā village, Samoa, 131n
 Faraire, missionary at Mauke, 35n
 Fasito'otai village, Samoa, 130n
 Faueā, Samoan guide, 4, 10, 54-55, 67-68, 70, 71, 73, 80, 134, 140, 278, 279
 Feagaimaleata, residence of Malietoa, 70n
 Fiji, 4, 7, 12, 14, 23, 44n, 47, 48, 52-53, 55, 57, 78n, 80, 176, 177, 211, 213, 220, 229, 238, 260, 283; language of, 268, 270, 277, 278
 Finau 'Ulukālala II, ruler of Vava'u, 45n, 51, 59-60, 61, 62, 63, 65n, 75, 189, 190, 191n, 205, 206, 211, 212
 Fine mats, Samoan, 82
 Finger amputation, in Samoa, 57-58
 Firearms: given to Malietoa, 74, 76, 79; on *Olive Branch*, 71n, 139; owned by Malietoa, 82n; owned by Samoans, 84; use of in Samoa, 242, 245, 249
 Fishing, in Samoa, 226-27
 Fitiuta village, Samoa, 66, 99n, 100n, Fanoga, Samoan god, 103
 Fort: at Apolima, 244; at Nuku'alofa, 201; in Samoa, 244; in Tongatapu, 45
 Fotofili, chief at Niuafo'ou, 184-85
 Freycinet, 216n
 Friendly Islands, *see* Tonga
 Fuailagi, Samoan god, 103
 Fuatai [Hatai], missionary in Fiji, 52, 53n
 Gambier Islands, *see* Mangareva
 Gardiner, Captain R.N., 175
 Gifts: to Lilomaiava and sister, 172; to Malietoa, 71, 125-26; to Samoan chief, 150; to Tupou, 197; to Williams, 73, 75, 87, 121, 124, 146, 149, 151, 168, 180, 212
 Government, in Samoa, 238-41
Governor Macquarie, 194n
 Gray, William, 104-5
 Ha'apai Islands, Tonga, 8, 45, 47, 53, 56, 58-65, 68, 80, 115, 174-75, 176, 190, 191, 194n, 200, 204, 214, 271
 Haavi, missionary at Mauke, 35n
 Hahake district, Tonga, 98n, 204-5, 212, 240
 Hair, untying of as act of respect, 69-70, 241
 Hankey, William Alers, 195n
 Hape, missionary in Tonga, 44, 52n, 53n, 55-56, 62-63, 80, 97
 Hatai, *see* Fuatai
 Hawaii [Sandwich Islands], 2, 47, 180, 228, 229, 233, 249, 273; language of, 268-69, 271-72, 274
Haweis, 48
 Haweis, Thomas, 2
 Heath, Thomas, 53n, 60n, 102n, 123n
 Henry, Captain Samuel Pinder, 47n, 52-53, 55, 56, 74, 186, 194, 195, 197, 201, 202, 203, 206, 210, 212
 Henry, mate of *Olive Branch*, 89
 Hervey Islands (Manuae and Te Au-o-Tu), 35-36
 Hervey Islands (apart from above), *see* Cook Islands
 Hihifo district, Tonga, 56, 202
 Houses: at Lifuka, 61; of Polynesian missionaries, 24, 32, 142; in Samoa, 77, 251; at Sāpāpali'i, 76; in Tongatapu, 45
 Huahine, Society Islands, 2, 23, 75, 81, 91, 102n, 119n, 158
 Hunkin, Matthew, 101n
 Hunter, Captain, 194
 Hygiene, standards of: in Rarotonga, 236; in Samoa, 235-36; in Tahiti, 236
 Hymns: at Atiu, 34; at Mangaia, 26; at Nuku'alofa, 201; in Samoa, 119-21
 Idols: absence of in Samoa, 83, 102, 264; at Mangaia, 25, 28; in Samoa, 105, 134; in Tonga, 50, 58, 61-62, 64
 Ikamāfana, chief of Niuatoputapu, 178n
 Infanticide, 258
 Irish Tom, *see* Taluava'a
 Iva village, Samoa, 135
 Jesuits, 284

- Johnson, Captain, 32
 Jowett, William, 284
 Judson, Adoniram, 284
- Kao, Tonga, 58, 65, 194
Kariefi cult, Rarotonga, 261-62, 264
 Kava: in Samoa, 132; in Tonga, 50, 184, 197-98, 208
 Keppel's Island, *see* Tafahi
 Kiau, chief at Mangaia, 25
 King, Joseph, 18
 Kolovai village, Tonga, 56n
- L'Aigle*, 48
 Lakepa, Fiji, 52n, 53n
 Lalomalava [Malava] village, Samoa, 13, 135-37, 149-50
 Langi, early Tongan convert, 52n
 La Perouse, 215, 217n, 218
La Recherche, 218
 Lau, Fiji, 55n
 Lauli'i village, Samoa, 130n
 Lavaka, chief at Pea, Tonga, 51
 Lawler, Captain, 52, 53n, 57
 Leone village, Samoa, 33n, 66, 106-9, 165n, 217
 Leuteifuiono, Samoan *tāupōu*, 130n
 Lifuka, Tonga, 45n, 47, 56n, 58, 59-65, 85, 175, 194
 Lilomaiaava, chief at Sātupaitea, Samoa, 148n, 168, 233, 257-58
 Lilomaiaava, relative of Malietoa, 148-49, 151-52, 156, 165, 171-72
 Lofanga, Tonga, 46, 58, 194
 London Missionary Society, 1, 2-3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9-10, 11, 12, 14, 53n, 60n, 101n, 163n, 192n, 195, 213, 281, 284; publications distributed (at Aitutaki) 38, (at Atiu) 35, (at Mangaia) 29, (at Manu'a) 100, (in Rarotonga) 32, (in Tutuila) 104, 108; publications in Tahitian, 119
Lotu, in Samoa, 68n, 80, 108, 125, 127, 128, 144, 155, 169, 173
 Lualala, half-brother to Finau, 212n
 Lupepau'u, wife of Taufa'ahau, 177n, 212n
- Ma'atu, chief at Niuatoputapu, 178, 183
- Mafoa, son of Ma'atu, 174, 180
 Mafua, Samoan orator, 177n
 Mahainene, missionary at Rurutu, 184
 Maihara, Queen of Huahine, 158n
 Makea, chief at Rarotonga, 4, 87, 97, 116, 118, 122, 146, 189, 197, 198, 224
Malaga, 132, 148, 169, 249, 251-54
 Malietoa Vainupō, 9, 10, 11, 13, 54n, 67-68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 76-77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 115, 118-19, 121-24, 125-26, 128, 132-34, 137-39, 140-41, 146, 148, 149, 150, 154n, 155-56, 157, 162, 168, 170, 233, 236, 238, 239, 243, 257, 266-67, 278
Mālō, 103, 221, 239, 129n, 131n, 153, 221n, 239, 253
 Malupō, chief of 'Uiha, Tonga, 175n
 Mangaia, Cook Islands, 4, 24-29, 33n, 36n, 89, 225
 Mangareva [Gambier], Tuamotu Islands, 228, 270
 Manihiki, Cook Islands, 182, 183
 Maini, chief at Hawaii, 180
 Manono, Samoa, 9, 66, 69, 79, 80, 81, 114, 123, 128, 130n, 131n, 137, 138, 139, 141, 150, 156, 157-63, 164-65, 172, 176, 177n, 185, 218, 220-21, 239, 242, 244, 266-67
 Manu'a, Samoa, 13, 43n, 66, 99-103, 106, 216-217, 279
 Manuae, Hervey Islands, 35-36
 Ma'ofanga village, Tonga, 207
 Maria, daughter of Malietoa, 172
 Mariner, William, 45n, 47, 57n, 59n
 Mariota, son of Malietoa, 125
 Marquesas Islands, 2, 6, 91n, 228, 229; language of, 268-69, 271-72, 275
 Marriage ceremonies: at Lifuka, 65; in Samoa, 143, 254-58; at Sāpapālī'i, 77; in Tongatapu, 49, 204
 Marutea, Tuamotu Islands, 6, 182n
 Massage, 259-60
 Mataitai, missionary in Aitutaki, 29, 36n
 Matautu Point, Samoa, 66
 Matetau [Matetoa], brother of Malietoa, 13, 82, 84-85, 114, 123, 138, 141, 150, 157, 162, 176, 185-86
 Matetoa, *see* Matetau

- Matuku, Tonga, 46, 58
 Mauga, chief at Pagopago, 104n
 Mauke, Cook Islands, 4, 33, 34, 35, 36n, 260
 Maunganui, chief at Mangaia, 25, 27, 89
Messenger of Peace, *see* *Olive Branch*
 Methodist church in Samoa, 74n
 Methodist Missionary Society, *see* Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
Minerva, 48, 52n
 Minerva Reef, Tonga, 48n
 Missionary Society, *see* London Missionary Society
 Mitiaro, Cook Islands, 4, 33, 34, 35, 36n, 260
 Moia [Moea], missionary in Samoa, 75, 125, 172-73
 Moorea, Society Islands, 2, 23, 48n, 91
 Moravians, 284
 Moreton Bay, New South Wales, 127, 166
 Morgan, Captain, 18
 Moso, Samoan god, 83
 Mourning, 259-60
 Mu'a village, Tonga, 46, 56
 Muliava [Rose] atoll, Samoa, 100n, 216n
 Navigators Islands, *see* Samoa
 Neiafu village, Tonga, 46, 189n
 New Caledonia, 6, 228
 New Guinea, 6, 228
 New Hebrides, *see* Vanuatu
 New South Wales, 43, 48, 53n, 74n, 81, 127, 158, 169n, 186, 190, 194, 218
 New Zealand, 48, 82, 98n, 194n, 228, 229, 273; language of, 268, 271-72, 277, 279
New Zealander, 101n
 Ngatangia village, Rarotonga, 29n, 87-88
 Nicholson, Captain John, 48n
 Niuafo'ou [Proby's Island], Tonga, 116, 174, 176, 177, 183, 271
 Niuatopotapu [Boscawen's Island], Tonga, 18, 68n, 115-16, 164, 172, 172-77, 181, 183, 200, 271
 Niue [Savage] Island, 40-43, 85, 225
 Niumanga, kidnapped Niue Islander, 43n
 Nomuka, Tonga, 44, 46, 64n
 Norfolk Island, 158n
 Norie, J.W., 18, 215, 216
 Norton, Captain, 183
 Norval [Salima], evangelist in Samoa, 104
 Nuku'alofa village, Tonga, 45n, 46, 52-56, 63n, 112n, 195n, 214
Offley, 104
 'Ofu, Samoa, 66, 99n, 101, 217
Oldham, 108n, 217, 218, 219, 240; fate of, 139-40, 180
Olive Branch, 7, 11, 71, 187, 196-97, 203-4, 223n
 Olley, Thomas, 54n
 Olosega, Samoa, 66, 99n, 101-3, 104, 217
 Oneata, Fiji, 53n
 'Onevai, Tonga, 46, 195n
 Orsmond, John, 11
 Orsmond, John Muggeridge, 15, 23, 91
 Otaheite, *see* Tahiti
 Oupa, missionary at Atiu, 32n
 Pagopago village, Samoa, 66, 104-5, 217
 Palau Islands, 2
 Palmerston Island, 38, 39-40, 97
 Palu, chief at Mu'a, Tonga, 98
 Pangaimotu village, Tonga, 202
 Papara village, Tahiti, 45, 52n
 Papasa, burial site for Pomare, 244
 Papeete village, Society Islands, 91n
 Papeiha, missionary in Rarotonga, 7, 27n, 33n
 Papetoai village, Society Islands, 91
 Paumoana, missionary in Aitutaki, 36, 39
 Paumotu Islands, *see* Tuamotu Islands
 Pea, keeper of Tamafaigā's head, 131n, 137, 157-58, 161, 266
 Pea village, Tonga, 46
 Perkins, Captain, 140
Phoebe, 102n
 Pitman, Charles, 7, 11, 29, 30-31, 32, 87-88

- Platt, George, 23, 24, 33, 37, 181
- Polygamy: in Rarotonga, 259; in Samoa, 142-43, 144, 233-34, 283; in Tahiti, 259; in Tonga, 213
- Polynesians, origin of, 227-30
- Pomare, ruler of Tahiti, 170, 245
- Population estimates: for Samoa, 230; for Savai'i, 77; for Tonga, 214; for Vava'u, 193
- Port au Prince*, 45n, 47
- Priesthood, Samoan, 266
- Printing press at Tonga, 208-9, 211
- Pritchard, George, 91
- Prostitution: in Samoa, 108; in Tonga, 206
- Puaseiese, wife of Faueā, 54n
- Puna, missionary at Rurutu, 90, 115-16, 164, 172, 173-74, 176, 180; account of voyage of, 181-85
- Pungakaitafola, chief at Niuatoputapu, 178n
- Punipuniolu, chief at Apia, Samoa, 171, 173
- Punishment, forms of at Samoa, 233, 140-41
- Quakers [Society of Friends], 173
- Raiatea, Society Islands, 2, 3, 7, 11, 18, 23, 24, 36n, 40n, 90, 98n, 181, 194, 263
- Raivavae, Austral Islands, 100, 102, 269
- Rakahanga, Cook Islands, 182
- Raki [Rake], missionary in Samoa, 37, 75, 172-73
- Rapa, 6
- Rarotonga, Cook Islands, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 18, 23, 29-32, 36n, 54, 68, 85, 86-89, 99, 115, 116, 118, 122, 140n, 185, 188, 196, 199, 217, 224, 225, 228, 237, 258, 259, 261, 264
- Rarotonga*, see *Olive Branch*
- Reefs, nature of at Samoa, 219
- Reform Bill (1832), 186
- Reptiles, in Samoa, 224, 226
- Rimatara, Austral Is, 269
- Rio de Janiero, 140
- Roggeveen, 215n
- Rohutu, Raiatean Paradise, 263-64
- Roma-tane, chief at Atiu, 33n
- Rose Atoll, Samoa, see Muliava
- Rotuma, 47n, 207n
- Runaway sailors, see Beachcombers
- Rurutu, Austral Islands, 6, 89-90, 115, 172, 174, 181, 184, 269
- Sāfata village, Samoa, 219
- Sāfotulāfai village, Samoa, 66, 134, 145
- Sāfune village, Samoa, 66
- Sagafili village, Samoa, 151n
- Salata, wife of Taufa'āhau, 176-77
- Salima, see Norval
- Salote, Queen of Tonga, 177n, 212n
- Samoa, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 23, 48, 53, 54, 65; 174, 176, 179, 194, 214, 262, 263; general description of, 80-84, 215-58; language of, 216, 268, 270-72, 276
- Samuel, missionary at Niuatoputapu, 177
- Sandalwood, 47, 210n
- Sandwich Islands, see Hawaii
- Sāpapāli'i village, Samoa, 13, 66, 70n, 79n, 114, 134, 135, 137, 163, 171, 239
- Sarah and Elizabeth*, 173
- Sātupa'itea village, Samoa, 74n, 132-33, 154, 165, 166-67, 257
- Savage Island, see Niue
- Savai'i, Samoa, 8, 66, 67, 80, 81, 100, 101, 104, 106n, 108, 114-56, 163, 165, 169, 171, 177n, 215, 221-22, 234, 264n, 279
- Shoalhaven Bay, New South Wales, 102n
- Sickness: in Rarotonga, 29, 86-87; in Savai'i, 124-25; in Tongatapu, 50
- Simpson, Alexander, 91
- Siovili [Seauvili], leader of Samoan cult, 10, 74n, 111-13, 123-24, 145, 171, 173
- Smith, James, 11
- Snakes, in Samoa, 144n, 226, 236; in Tonga, 196
- Snapper*, 53n, 55, 74, 194, 219; capture of, 174-76
- Society Islands, 6, 57, 74n, 85n, 98, 149n, 158, 169n, 206, 219, 224, 225, 228, 229, 234, 253

- Socinians, 195
Sökē dance, Tonga, 178, 179n
 Songs, 202; for dancing, 72, 76n, 77, 78, 117, 143, 152-54, 178, 246, 252-53; about Siovili, 111-13
Sophia, 210
 South America, 229
 South Seas Academy, 91n
 Spratt, Jack, Samoan chief, 159-60
 Stavers, Captain P.W., 104
 Stevens, surgeon of the *Oldham*, 69n, 139-40, 157, 161, 240
 Strangulation of widows, Fiji, 260-61
 Sturges, Mr, 173
 Submission, acts of: in Fiji, 240; in Samoa, 239, 241; in Tonga, 240
 Sulueleele, daughter of Malietoa, 155
 Swain, Captain W.C., 173
 Swains Island, Samoa, 173n
 Swan, William, 284
 Sydney, 4, 101, 179, 186, 187n
 Taemā Shoal, Samoa, 105n
 Tafahi [Keppel's] Island, Tonga, 181
Tafa'ifa, 10, 67n, 221n
 Tafeta, missionary in Tonga, 52n
 Tagaloa, chief at Lalomalava, Samoa, 135-37, 149-50
 Tagaloa, chief at Vailele, Samoa, 171, 173
 Tagaloa, Samoan god, 83n, 102, 103, 104-5, 265
 Tagutuoleao, chief at Falefā, Samoa, 131n
 Tahaa, Society Islands, 2, 11, 23n, 27n, 35
 Taharaa, missionary in Fiji, 53n
 Tahiti, Society Islands, 2, 3, 9, 11, 18, 23n, 43n, 45, 52, 53n, 67, 68, 74, 80, 89, 90, 98n, 111, 113n, 128, 140, 169, 170, 186-87, 210, 214, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 233, 234, 249, 250, 253, 254, 258, 264, 280; language of, 268-74
 Taihaere, missionary in Samoa, 38, 60, 75, 125, 172-73
 Taimalelagi, half brother of Malietoa, 69-70, 72, 73, 74
 Tākai, chief at Oneata, Fiji, 51n, 52, 53n, 55, 80, 213
 Taluava'a, beachcomber-warrior in Samoa, 159-61, 172, 237-38
 Tamafaigā: female, 132; Lei'ataua Tonumaipe'a, 10, 69, 83, 84, 129-32, 137, 161n, 267
 Tamatoa, chief at Aitutaki, 36, 38
 Tamatoa, ruler of Raiatea, 36n, 244
 Tapoa, chief at Tahaa, Society Islands, 98n
 Tatooin, at Samoa, 82, 230, 233n
 Ta'u, Samoa, 66, 99n, 100-1, 216n, 217n
 Tāufa, *see* Fa'e Tāufa
 Tāufa'āhau, ruler of Ha'apai, Tonga, 59-62, 64-65, 175n, 190n, 191n, 207n, 211, 212
 Taute, missionary in Tonga, 62, 63n
 Tavana, son of Mā'atu, 179, 180
 Teao, chief at Mangaia, 27
 Te Au-O-Tu, Hervey Islands, 35-36
 Teapa, Tonga, 46, 58
 Teava, missionary in Samoa, 97, 98-99, 141, 162, 164-65, 172-73
 Te Faaora, chief at Borabora, 244
 Tehei, missionary at Atiu, 32
Temeamea, 47n
 Thomas, John 11, 12, 53n, 56, 58-59, 60-61, 62, 63, 64, 65n, 177, 194, 198, 199, 202, 209n, 212, 213, 214
 Tiere, missionary at Mangaia, 27
 Ti'iti'iatalaga, 144-45
 Tiki, Rarotongan god, 261-62, 264
 Timber, in Samoa, 223-24
 Tinomana, chief at Arorangi, Rarotonga, 29, 86
 Toata-ori, missionary in Samoa, 75
 Tobacco, 169
 Tofua, Tonga, 58, 64
 Toketoke, Tonga, 46, 200n
 Tonga, 2, 4, 7, 8, 14, 15, 44-65, 74n, 78n, 80, 82, 97, 115, 154n, 185, 194, 196, 223n, 229; language of, 268, 270-73, 276
 Tongatapu, Tonga, 43, 44-58, 62-63, 64, 68, 75, 76, 80, 83, 85, 97, 115, 129, 134, 165, 176, 181, 183, 186, 194-216, 223, 226, 232, 237, 238, 260, 273, 278, 279
 Translation: of hymns into Samoan, 119-21; of Lord's Prayer into

- Samoan, 149; of Samoan songs into English, 111-13
Triton, 201n
 Tuamotu [Paumotu] Islands, 182n, 228, 270; language of, 268-69
 Tuato, Samoan warrior, 103
 Tuava, missionary in Samoa, 37, 75
 Tubuai, Society Islands, 6, 100, 269
 Tuiano, brother of Malietoa, 125, 140, 149, 150, 151, 155, 156, 233
 Tu'i Kanokupolu, *see* Tupou Aleamotu'a
 Tuimui, Samoan warrior, 130n
 Tuinaula, Samoan convert to Methodism, 74, 113n, 128, 154n, 165n
 Tungua, Tonga, 64n
 Tupou Aleamotu'a, ruler of Tonga-tapu, Tonga, 45, 48n, 50, 51n, 52n, 53n, 56, 57, 59n, 65n, 97, 98, 197, 202, 203, 265, 212, 213
 Turner, Nathaniel, 11, 12, 14, 15, 44-47, 48-49, 50, 51, 53n, 54, 56, 97, 98, 189n, 209
 Turner, Peter, 53n, 175n, 177n, 189-93, 194, 206n
 Turtles, in Samoa, 227
Tuscan, 104n
 Tutiu, missionary at Atiu, 32n
 Tutuila, Samoa, 8, 33n, 66, 81, 101, 102, 104-9, 131n, 140, 143n, 159, 217-18, 233, 279

 Uea, kidnapped Niue Islander, 43n
 'Uiha, Tonga, 46, 64n 174-76, 194
 Ulakai, nephew of Tupou Aleamotu'a, 59n, 205-6
Uliatea, 194n
 Underwood, Joseph, 179
 Upolu, Samoa, 66, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76, 80, 81, 85, 100, 104, 108, 114, 115, 125, 126, 135, 137, 141, 160, 163, 164, 167, 168-72, 186, 215, 218-20, 221, 222, 264n
 Uvea, 129, 179, 180, 271

 Vahineino, missionary at Aitutaki, 37, 183
 Vailele village, Samoa, 66, 171, 173, 210n
 Vanuatu [New Hebrides], 6, 47, 48, 220, 228, 278

 Vaovasa [Vavasa], chief at Manono, Samoa, 138
 Vava'u, Tonga, 35, 38, 45, 51n, 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 75, 185, 189-93, 197, 200, 204-5, 211, 214, 240, 271
 Vave, Samoan god, 103
 Veiongo Hill, Tonga, 45
 Vi, Peter, Tongan convert, 64, 65n
 Victoria, Queen of England, 102n

 War: in Manono, 221; at Niuafo'ou, 185; at Raiatea, 98n; in Samoa, 79n, 81, 84, 115, 122, 124, 125, 128, 132, 134, 136-37, 148, 155, 159-60, 164, 181, 221n, 234-35, 239, 141-45; in Tonga, 97; in Vava'u, 211-12
 Ward, William, 285
 Water, to desanctify after Malietoa's presence, 71, 156, 238
 Watkins, James, 63n, 175n
 Watson, Richard, 207
 Watts, Isaac, 88
 Weapons, in Samoa, 242
 Weiss, John Von Mangerhousen, 97
 Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 2, 6, 11, 12, 14, 49n, 53n, 56, 60n, 201n, 213, 273, 281, 284
 Wilks, Matthew, 2
 William IV, King of England, 206
 Williams, Mary (nee Chawner), 3, 7, 11, 23, 140n, 151, 155, 156, 188-89, 193, 196
 Williams, William Aaron Barff, 140n
 Woon, William, 194, 198, 201, 202, 204, 208, 209n, 211, 212
 Wright, John, 69, 71n, 74, 84-85, 114n, 157n

Zebra, 180, 181
 Zorobabela, missionary in Tonga, 63n