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A Voyage To The Pacific Ocean

Undertaken, By The Command Of His Majesty, For Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine The Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed Under The Direction Of Captians Cook, ...

Cook, James London, 1784

Chap. XI.

urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-1477

CHAP. XI.

Employments of the Women, at the Friendly Islands.—
Of the Men.— Agriculture.— Construction of their
Houses.— Their working Tools.— Cordage, and sishing
Implements.— Musical Instruments.— Weapons.— Food,
and Cookery.— Amusements.— Marriage.— Mourning
Ceremonies for the Dead.— Their Divinities.— Notions
about the Soul, and a future State.— Their Places of
Worship.— Government.— Manner of paying Obeisance
to the King.— Account of the Royal Family.— Remarks
on their Language, and a Specimen of it.— Nautical,
and other Observations.

HEIR domestic life is of that middle kind, neither fo laborious as to be disagreeable, nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country, that the sirst can hardly occur, and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. By this happy combination of circumstances, their necessary labour seems to yield, in its turn, to their recreations, in such a manner, that the latter are never interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to the former, till satiety makes them wish for such a transition.

The employment of the women is of the easy kind, and, for the most part, such as may be executed in the house. The manufacturing their cloth, is wholly configned to their

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care. Having already described the process, I shall only add, that they have this cloth of different degrees of fineness. The coarser fort, of which they make very large pieces, does not receive the impression of any pattern. Of the finer fort, they have some that is striped, and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how these colours are laid on, I cannot say, as I never saw any of this fort made. The cloth, in general, will resist water, for some time; but that which has the strongest glaze will resist longest.

The manufacture next in consequence, and also within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel every thing I have feen at any other place, both as to their texture and their beauty. In particular, many of them are fo fuperior to those made at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry thither, by way of trade. Of these mats, they have seven or eight different forts, for the purposes of wearing or sleeping upon; and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough, membraneous part of the flock of the plantain tree; those that they wear, from the pandanus, cultivated for that purpose, and never suffered to shoot into a trunk; and the coarfer fort, which they fleep upon, from a plant called evarra. There are many other articles of less note, that employ the spare time of their females; as combs, of which they make vast numbers; and little baskets made of the fame fubstance as the mats, and others of the fibrous cocoanut husk, either plain, or interwoven with small beads; but all, finished with such nearness and taste in the disposition of the various parts, that a stranger cannot help admiring their affiduity and dexterity.

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The province allotted to the men is, as might be expected, far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fishing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care*. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal fupport, this requires their constant attention to agriculture, which they purfue very diligently, and feem to have brought almost to as great perfection as circumstances will permit. The large extent of the plantain fields has been taken notice of already; and the same may be said of the yams; thefe two together, being, at least, as ten to one, with respect to all the other articles. In planting both these, they dig fmall holes for their reception, and, afterward, root up the furrounding grafs, which, in this hot country, is quickly deprived of its vegetating power, and, foon rotting, becomes a good manure. The instruments they use for this purpose, which they call booo, are nothing more than pickets or flakes of different lengths, according to the depth they have to dig. Thefe are flattened and sharpened to an edge at one end; and the largest have a short piece fixed transversely, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With thefe, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent. In planting the plantains and yams, they observe so much exactness, that, whichever way you look, the rows present themselves regular and complete.

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, Tom. xv. p. 313.

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^{*} How remarkably does Captain Cook's account of the employments of the women and men here, agree with Father Cantova's, of the Caroline Islanders?—" La " principale occupation des hommes, est de construire des barques, de pecher, & de " cultiver la terre. L'affaire des semmes est de faire la cuisine, & de mettre en ceuvre un espece de plante sauvage, & un arbre,—pour en faire de la toile."

The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are feattered about, without any order, and feem to give them no trouble, after they have attained a certain height. The fame may be faid of another large tree, which produces great numbers of a large, roundifh, compressed nut, called eeesse; and of a smaller tree, that bears a rounded oval nut, two inches long, with two or three triangular kernels, tough and insipid, called mabba, most frequently planted near their houses.

The kappe is, commonly, regularly planted, and in pretty large fpots; but the mawbaba is interspersed amongst other things, as the jeejee and yams are; the last of which, I have frequently seen, in the interspaces of the plantain trees, at their common distance. Sugar-cane is commonly in small spots, crowded closely together; and the mulberry, of which the cloth is made, though without order, has sufficient room allowed for it, and is kept very clean. The only other plant, that they cultivate for their manufactures, is the pandanus; which is generally planted in a row, close together, at the sides of the other fields; and they consider it as a thing so distinct in this state, that they have a different name for it; which shews, that they are very fensible of the great changes brought about by cultivation.

It is remarkable, that these people, who, in many things, shew much taste and ingenuity, should shew little of either in building their houses; though the defect is rather in the design, than in the execution. Those of the lower people are poor huts, scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather, and very small. Those of the better fort, are larger and more comfortable; but not what one might expect. The dimensions of one of a middling size, are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their house is, properly speaking, a thatched roof or shed, supported

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ported by posts and rafters, disposed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raifed with earth fmoothed, and covered with firong, thick matting, and kept very clean. The most of them are closed on the weather fide (and fome more than two-thirds round), with strong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, plaited or woven into each These they fix up edgewise, reaching from the other. eaves to the ground; and thus they answer the purpose of a wall. A thick, strong mat, about two and one half or three feet broad, bent into the form of a femicircle, and fet upon its edge, with the ends touching the fide of the house, in shape resembling the fender of a fire hearth, incloses a space for the master and mistress of the family to sleep in. The lady, indeed, fpends most of her time, during the day, within it. The rest of the family sleep upon the sloor, wherever they please to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other. Or, if the family be large, there are fmall huts adjoining, to which the fervants retire in the night; fo that privacy is as much observed here, as one could expect. They have mats made on purpose for sleeping on; and the clothes that they wear in the day, ferve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture confills of a. bowl or two, in which they make kava; a few gourds; cocoa-nut shells; some small wooden stools, which serve them for pillows; and, perhaps, a large flool for the Chief, or Master, of the family to fit upon.

The only probable reason I can assign for their neglect of ornamental architecture, in the construction of their houses, is their being fond of living much in the open air. Indeed, they seem to consider their houses, within which they seldom eat, as of little use but to sleep in, and to retire to in bad weather. And the lower sort of people, who spend a great

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part of their time in close attendance upon the Chiefs, can have little use for their own houses, but in the last case.

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They make amends for the defects of their houses, by their great attention to, and dexterity in, naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name. But I refer to the narrative of my last voyage, for an account of their canoes, and their manner of building and navigating them.*

The only tools which they use, to construct these boats, are hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a smooth black stone that abounds at Toosoa; augres, made of shark's teeth, sixed on small handles; and rasps, of a rough skin of a sish, fastened on slat pieces of wood, thinner on one side, which also have handles. The labour and time employed in sinishing their canoes, which are the most perfect of their mechanical productions, will account for their being very careful of them. For they are built and preserved under sheds; or they cover the decked part of them with cocoa-leaves, when they are hauled on shore, to prevent their being hurt by the sun.

The fame tools are all they have for other works; if we except different shells, which they use as knives. But there are few of their productions that require these, unless it be some of their weapons; the other articles being chiefly their sishing materials, and cordage.

The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut hufk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait, about the fize of a quill, or lefs, to any length

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^{*} Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 215, 216. The reader, by comparing that account, with what Cantova fays of the fea-boats of the Caroline Islands, will find, in this instance, 216, the greatest similarity. See Lettres Edifiantes & Curicuses, p. 286.

that they please, and roll it up in balls; from which the larger ropes are made, by twifting feveral of these together. The lines, that they fifh with, are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. Their other fishing implements, are large and small hooks. The last are composed entirely of pearl-shell; but the first are only covered with it on the back; and the points of both, commonly, of tortoife-shell; those of the small being plain, and the others barbed. With the large ones, they catch bonnetos and albicores, by putting them to a bamboo rod, twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line of the fame length, which refts in a notch of a piece of wood, fixed in the stern of the canoe for that purpose, and is dragged on the furface of the fea, as fhe rowes along, without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff near the point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture. These they use to catch fish with, in the holes on the reefs, when the tide ebbs.

The other manual employments, confift chiefly in making mufical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons, and flools, or rather pillows, to fleep on. The reeds have eight, nine, or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, but not in any regular progression; having the longest, sometimes, in the middle, and feveral of the fame length; fo that I have feen none with more than fix notes; and they feem incapable of playing any mufic on them, that is diftinguishable by our ears*. The flutes are a joint of bamboo, close at both ends, with a hole near each, and four others; two of which, and one of the first only, are used in playing. They apply the thumb

^{*} See a drawing of one of these musical reeds, in Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 221. Plate XXI.

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of the left hand, to close the left nostril, and blow into the hole at one end, with the other. The middle singer of the left hand is applied to the sirst hole on the left, and the fore-singer of the right, to the lowest hole on that side. In this manner, though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing, yet simple, music, which they vary much more than one would think possible, with so imperfect an instrument. Their being accustomed to a music which consists of so few notes, is, perhaps, the reason why they do not seem to relish any of ours, which is so complex. But they can taste what is more desicient than their own; for, we observed, that they used to be well pleased with hearing the chant of our two young New Zealanders, which consisted rather in mere strength, than in melody of expression.

The weapons, which they make, are clubs of different forts (in the ornamenting of which they fpend much time), fpears, and darts. They have also bows and arrows; but these feemed to be designed only for amusement, such as shooting at birds, and not for military purposes. The stools are about two feet long, but only four or sive inches high, and near four broad, bending downward in the middle, with four strong legs, and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly polished, and sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of sly-slaps with ivory, after being neatly carved; and they shape bones into small sigures of men, birds, and other things, which must be very difficult, as their carving instrument is only a shark's tooth.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa nuts, compose the greatest part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fish, and all forts of shell-fish; but the lower people eat rats. The two first vegetable articles, with

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with bread-fruit, are, what may be called, the basis of their food, at different times of the year, with fish and shell-sish; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, seem only to be occasional dainties, reserved for their Chiefs. The intervals between the seasons of these vegetable productions must be, sometimes, considerable, as they prepare a fort of artificial bread from plantains, which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain, till they ferment, when they are taken out, and made up into small balls; but so sour and indifferent, that they often said our bread was preferable, though somewhat musty.

Their food is, generally, dreffed by baking, in the fame manner as at Otaheite; and they have the art of making, from different kinds of fruit, feveral dishes, which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of fauce; nor drink any thing at their meals but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; for the kava is only their morning draught. I cannot fay, that they are cleanly either in their cookery, or manner of eating. The generality of them will lay their victuals upon the first leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is ferved up to the Chiefs, it is, commonly, laid upon green plantain leaves. When the king made a meal, he was, for the most part, attended upon by three or four persons. One cut large pieces of the joint, or of the fish; another divided it into mouthfuls; and others flood by with cocoa-nuts, and whatever elfe he might want. I never faw a large company fit down to what we should call a sociable meal, by eating from the fame dish. The food, be what it will, is always divided into portions, each to ferve a certain number; these portions are again subdivided; so that one seldom sees above two or three persons eating together. The women

are not excluded from eating with the men; but there are certain ranks or orders amongst them, that can neither eat nor drink together. This distinction begins with the king; but where it ends, I cannot say.

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They feem to have no fet time for meals; though it fhould be observed, that, during our stay amongst them, their domestic occonomy was much disturbed by their constant attention to us. As far as we could remark, those of the superior rank, only drink kava in the forenoon, and the others eat, perhaps, a bit of yam; but we commonly saw all of them eat something in the afternoon. It is probable that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common, and their rest being thus interrupted, they frequently sleep in the day. They go to bed as soon as it is dark, and rise with the dawn in the morning *.

They are very fond of affociating together; fo that it is common to find feveral houses empty, and the owners of them convened in some other one, or, rather, upon a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing, and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing, and music performed by the women. When two or three women sing in concert, and snap their singers, it is called oobai; but when there is a greater number, they divide into several parties, each of which sings on a different key, which makes a very agreeable music, and is called beeva, or baiva. In the same manner, they vary the music of their slutes, by playing on those of a different size; but their dancing is much the same as when they perform publickly. The dancing

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^{*} Cantova says of his islanders, " Ils prennent leur repos des que le soleil est couché, " & ils se levent avec l'aurore." Lettres Edissantes & Curienses, Tom. xv. p. 314.

1777. July. of the men (if it is to be called dancing), although it does not confift much in moving the feet, as we do, has a thou-fand different motions with the hands, to which we are entire ftrangers; and they are performed with an ease and grace which are not to be described, nor even conceived, but by those who have seen them. But I need add nothing to what has been already said on this subject, in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands *.

Whether their marriages be made lasting by any kind of folemn contract, we could not determine with precision; but

* If, to the copious descriptions that occur in the preceding pages, of the particular entertainments exhibited in Hapaee and Tongataboo, we add the general view of the usual amusements of the inhabitants of these islands, contained in this paragraph, and compare it with the quotation from the Jesuit's Letters, in a former note (p. 255.), we shall be still more forcibly struck with the reasonableness of tracing fuch fingularly refembling customs to one common source. The argument, in confirmation of this, drawn from identity of language, has been already illustrated, by observing the remarkable coincidence of the name, by which the Chiefs at the Caroline Islands, and those at Hamao, one of the Friendly ones, are distinguished. But the argument does not rest on a fingle instance, though that happens to be a very striking one. Another of the very few specimens of the dialect of the North Pacific Islanders, preserved by father Cantova, furnishes an additional proof. Immediately after the paffage above referred to, he proceeds thus: " Ce divertiffement s'appelle, en leur " langue, tanger ifaifil; qui veut dire, la plainte des femmes." Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses, Tom. xv. p. 315. Now it is very remarkable, that we learn from Mr. Anderson's collection of words, which will appear in this chapter, that la plainte des femmes, or, in English, the mournful fong of the women, which the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands express in their language tanger ifaifil, would, by those of Tongataboo, be expressed tanges vefaine.

If any one should still doubt, in spite of this evidence, it may be recommended to his consideration, that long separation, and other causes, have introduced greater variations in the mode of pronouncing these two words, at places confessedly inhabited by the same race, than subsist in the specimen just given. It appears, from Mr. Anderson's vocabulary, printed in Captain Cook's second voyage, that what is pronounced tangee at the Friendly Islands, is tase at Otaheite; and the vesaine of the former, is the waheine of the latter.

it is certain, that the bulk of the people fatisfied themselves with one wife. The Chiefs, however, have, commonly, several women *; though some of us were of opinion, that there was only one that was looked upon as the mistress of the family.

As female chastity, at first fight, seemed to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injustice. I do not know that a single instance happened during our whole stay †. Neither are those of the better fort, that are unmarried, more free of their favours. It is true, there was no want of those of a different character; and, perhaps, such are more frequently met with here, in proportion to the number of people, than in many other countries. But it appeared to me, that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class; and such of them as permitted familiarities to our people, were prostitutes by profession.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of these people, than the concern they shew for the dead ‡. To use a common expression, their mourning is not in words but deeds. For, besides the tooge mentioned before, and burnt circles and scars, they beat the teeth with stones, strike a shark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in streams, and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, into their

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^{*} Cantova fays of his Caroline islanders, " La pluralité des semmes est non " seulement permise à tous ces insulaires, elle est encore une marque d'honneur & " de distinction. Le Tamole de l'isle d'Huogoleu en a neus."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curicufes, Tom. xv. p. 310.

⁺ At the Caroline Islands, "Ils ont horreur de l'adultere, comme d'une grand péché." Ibid. Tom. xv. p. 310.

[†] How the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands express their grief on such occafions, may be seen, Ibid. Tom. xv. p. 308.

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fides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All these operations convey an idea of such rigorous discipline, as must require either an uncommon degree of affection, or the groffest superstition, to exact. I will not fay, that the last has no share in it; for, sometimes, it is so univerfal, that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is expressed. Thus we saw the people of Tongataboo mourning the death of a Chief at Vavaoo; and other fimilar inflances occurred during our flay. It should be observed, however, that the more painful operations are only practifed on account of the death of those most nearly connected with the mourners. When a person dies, he is buried, after being wrapped up in matsand cloth, much after our manner. The Chiefs feem tohave the fiatookas appropriated to them as their burialplaces; but the common people are interred in no particular fpot *. What part of the mourning ceremony follows, immediately after, is uncertain; but, that there is fomething befides the general one, which is continued for a confiderable length of time, we could infer, from being informed, that the funeral of Mareewagee's wife, as mentionedbefore, was to be attended with ceremonies that were to last five days; and in which all the principal people were to commemorate her.

Their long and general mourning, proves that they confider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a

" D'autres les enterrent loin de leurs habitations."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curicufes, Tom. xv. p. 308, 309.

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^{*} Cantova's account of the practice of the Caroline Islands is as follows: " Lorf" qu'il meurt quelque personne d'un rang distingué, ou qui leur est chere par d'autres

[&]quot; endroits, ses obseques se font avec pompe. Il y en a qui renferment le corps du

[&]quot; défunct dans un petit edifice de pierre, qu'ils gardent au-dedans de leur maifons,

very odd custom which they practise to avert it. When I first visited these Islands, during my last voyage, I observed that many of the inhabitants had one or both of their little fingers cut off; and we could not then receive any fatisfactory account of the reason of this mutilation *. But we now learned, that this operation is performed when they labour under fome grievous difeafe, and think themfelves in danger of dying. They suppose, that the Deity will accept of the little finger, as a fort of facrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their stone hatchets. There was scarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated, in one or both hands; which has a difagreeable effect, efpecially as they fometimes cut fo close, that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger †.

From the rigid feverity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonies are executed, one would expect to find, that they meant thereby to secure to themselves felicity beyond the grave; but their principal object relates to things merely temporal. For they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults committed in this life. They believe, however, that they are justly punished upon earth; and, consequently, use every method to render their divinities propitious. The Supreme Author of most things they call Kallasotonga; who, they say, is a female, residing in the sky, and directing the thunder, wind, rain; and, in general, all the changes of weather. They

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believe,



^{*} See Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 222.

⁺ It may be proper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the fickness of the Chiefs to whom they belong,

believe, that when she is angry with them, the productions of the earth are blafted; that many things are deflroyed by lightning; and that they themselves are afflicted with sickness and death, as well as their hogs and other animals. When this anger abates, they suppose that every thing is restored to its natural order; and it should feem, that they have a great reliance on the efficacy of their endeavours to appeale their offended divinity. They also admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to Kallafootonga. Amongst them, they mention Toofooa-boolootoo, God of the clouds and fog; Talleteboo, and fome others, refiding in the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the fea, and its productions, is called Futtafaike, or, as it was fometimes pronounced, Footafooa; who, they fay, is a male, and has for his wife Fykava kajeea: and here, as in heaven, there are feveral inferior potentates, fuch as Vahaa fonooa, Tareeava, Mattaba, Evaroo, and others. The fame religious fystem, however, does not extend all over the cluster of the Friendly Isles; for the supreme God of Hapace, for instance, is called Alo Alo; and other isles have two or three, of different names. But their notions of the power, and other attributes of these beings, are so very abfurd, that they fuppose they have no farther concern with them after death.

They have, however, very proper fentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the foul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an Otooa; that is, a divinity, or invisible being. They fay, that, immediately upon death, the fouls of their Chiefs feparate from their bodies, and go to a place called Boolootoo; the Chief, or god, of which, is Gooleho. This Gooleho feems to be a personification of death; for they used to fay to us, " You, and the men of Feejee (by this junc"tion, meaning to pay a compliment, expressive of their confession of our superiority over themselves), are also fubject to the power and dominion of Gooleho." His country, the general receptacle of the dead, according to their mythology, was never seen by any person; and yet, it seems, they know that it lies to the Westward of Feejee; and that they who are once transported thither, live for ever; or, to use their own expression, are not subject to death again; but feast upon all the favourite products of their own country, with which this everlasting abode is supposed to abound. As to the souls of the lower fort of people, they undergo a fort of transmigration; or, as they say, are eat up by a bird called loata, which walks upon their graves for that purpose.

I think I may venture to affert, that they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, or any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of hogs, dogs, and fruit, as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematically; for their morais were perfectly free from every thing of the kind. But that they offer real human facrifices, is, with me, beyond a doubt. Their morais, or fiatookas (for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter), are, as at Otaheite, and many other parts of the world, burying-grounds, and places of worship; though some of them seemed to be only appropriated to the first purpose; but these were small, and, in every other respect, inferior to the others.

Of the nature of their government, we know no more than the general outline. A fubordination is established among them, that resembles the feudal system of our progenitors in Europe. But of its subdivisions, of the constituent parts, 1777. july. July.

and in what manner they are connected, fo as to form a body politic, I confess myself totally ignorant. Some of them told us, that the power of the king is unlimited, and that the life and property of the fubject is at his difpofal. But the few circumftances that fell under our observation, rather contradicted than confirmed the idea of a despotic government. Marcewagee, old Tooboo, and Feenou, acted each like petry fovereigns, and frequently thwarted the meafures of the king; of which he often complained. Neither was his court more splendid than those of the two first, who are the most powerful Chiefs in the islands; and, next to them, Feenou, Mareewagee's fon, feemed to fland highest in authority. But, however independent on the despotic power of the king the great men may be, we faw inflances enough to prove, that the lower order of people have no property, nor fafety for their perfons, but at the will of the Chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

Tongataboo is divided into many districts; of above thirty of which we learned the names. Each of these has its particular Chief, who decides differences, and distributes justice within his own district. But we could not form any satisfactory judgment about the extent of their power in general, or their mode of proportioning punishments to crimes. Most of these Chiefs have possessions in other islands, from whence they draw supplies. At least, we know this is so with respect to the king, who, at certain established times, receives the product of his distant domains at Tongataboo; which is not only the principal place of his residence, but, seemingly, of all the people of consequence amongst these isles. Its inhabitants, in common conversation, call it the Land of Chiefs; while the subordinate isles are distinguished by the appellation of Lands of Servants.

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These Chiefs are, by the people, styled not only Lords of the Earth, but of the Sun and Sky; and the king's family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the God so called, who is probably their tutelary patron, and perhaps their common ancestor. The sovereign's peculiar earthly title is, however, simply Tooce Tonga.

There is a decorum observed in the presence of their principal men, and particularly of their king, that is truly admirable. Whenever he fits down, whether it be in an house, or without, all the attendants feat themselves, at the same time, in a semicircle before him; leaving always a convenient fpace between him and them, into which no one attempts to come, unless he has some particular business. Neither is any one allowed to pass, or fit, behind him, nor even near him, without his order or permission; so that our having been indulged with this privilege, was a fignificant proof of the great respect that was paid us. When any one wants to fpeak with the king, he advances and fits down before him; delivers what he has to fay in a few words; and,. having received his answer, retires again to the circle. But if the king speaks to any one, that person answers from his seat, unless he is to receive some order; in which case he gets up from his place, and fits down before the Chief with his legs. across; which is a posture to which they are so much accustomed, that any other mode of fitting is difagreeable to them *. To fpeak to the king flanding, would be accounted: here as a striking mark of rudeness, as it would be, with us, for one to fit down and put on his hat, when he addresses. himself to his superior, and that superior on his feet, and uncovered.

It



^{*} This is peculiar to the men; the women always fitting with both legs thrown a little on one fide. We owe this remark to Captain King.

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It does not, indeed, appear, that any of the most civilized nations, have ever exceeded this people, in the great order observed, on all occasions; in ready compliance with the commands of their Chiefs; and in the harmony that fubfifts throughout all ranks, and unites them, as if they were all one man, informed with, and directed by, the fame principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious, whenever it is requifite that their Chiefs should harangue any body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The most profound filence and attention is observed during the harangue, even to a much greater degree than is practifed amongst us, on the most interesting and serious deliberations of our most respectable assemblies. And, whatever might have been the fubject of the speech delivered, we never faw an inflance, when any individual prefent, fhewed figns of his being displeased, or that indicated the least inclination to dispute the declared will of a person who had a right to command. Nay, fuch is the force of thefe verbal laws, as I may call them, that I have feen one of their Chiefs express his being astonished, at a person's having acted contrary to fuch orders; though it appeared, that the poor man could not possibly have been informed, in time, to have observed them *.

Though fome of the more potent Chiefs may vie with the king in point of actual possessions, they fall very short in rank, and in certain marks of respect, which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his sovereignty, not to be punctured,

Lettres Edifiantes & Curicufes, Tom. xv. p. 312.

nor

^{*} Cantova gives us the fame account of the profound submission of the Caroline Islanders, to the orders of the Tamole. "Ils reçoivent ses ordres avec le plus proses fond respect. Ses paroles sont autant d'oracles, qu'on revere."

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nor circumcifed, as all his fubjects are. Whenever he walks out, every one whom he meets must fit down till he has paffed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all must come under his feet; for there cannot be a greater outward mark of fubmission, than that which is paid to the fovereign, and other great people of thefe islands, by their inferiors. The method is this; the person who is to pay obeifance, fquats down before the Chief, and bows the head to the fole of his foot; which, when he fits, is fo placed, that it can be easily come at; and, having tapped, or touched it with the under and upper fide of the fingers of both hands, he rifes up, and retires. It should feem, that the king cannot refuse any one who chooses to pay him this homage, which is called moe moea; for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking; and he was always obliged to stop, and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed the ceremony. This, to a heavy unwieldy man, like Poulaho, must be attended with some trouble and pain; and I have, fometimes, feen him make a run, though very unable, to get out of the way, or to reach a place where he might conveniently fit down. The hands, after this application of them to the Chief's feet, are, in some cases, rendered useless for a time; for, until they be washed, they must not touch any kind of food. This interdiction, in a country where water is fo fcarce, would feem to be attended with fome inconvenience; but they are never at a lofs for a fuccedaneum; and a piece of any juicy plant, which they can eafily procure immediately, being rubbed upon them, this ferves for the purpose of purification, as well as washing them with water. When the hands are in this state, Vol. I. 3 G they



they call it taboo rema. Taboo, in general, fignifies forbidden; and rema is their word for hand.

When the taboo is incurred, by paying obeifance to a great personage, it is thus easily washed off. But, in some other cases, it must necessarily continue for a certain time. We have frequently feen women, who have been taboo rema, fed by others. At the expiration of the time, the interdicted person washes herself in one of their baths, which are dirty holes, for the most part, of brackish water. She then waits upon the king, and, after making her obeifance in the ufual way, lays hold of his foot, and applies it to her breaft, shoulders, and other parts of her body. He then embraces her on each shoulder; after which she retires, purified from her uncleanness. I do not know, that it is always necessary to come to the king for this purpose; though Omai affured me it was. If this be fo, it may be one reason why he is, for the most part, travelling from island to island. I saw this ceremony performed, by him, two or three times; and once by Feenou, to one of his own women; but as Omai was not then with me, I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo, as I have before observed, is a word of an extensive fignification. Human facrifices are called tangata taboo; and when any thing is forbidden to be eat, or made use of, they say, that it is taboo. They tell us, that, if the king should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be taboo, and could never more be inhabited by the owner; so that, wherever he travels, there are particular houses for his reception. Old Toobou, at this time, presided over the taboo; that is, if Omai comprehended the matter rightly, he and his deputies inspected all the produce of the island; taking care that every man should cultivate

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tivate and plant his quota; and ordering what should be eat, and what not. By this wife regulation, they effectually guard against a famine; a sufficient quantity of ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article, thus raised, is secured from unnecessary waste.

By another prudent regulation, in their Government, they have an officer over the police; or fomething like it. This department, when we were amongst them, was administered by Feenou; whose business, we were told, it was, to punish all offenders, whether against the state, or against individuals. He was also Generalissimo, and commanded the warriors, when called out upon fervice; but, by all accounts, this is very feldom. The king, frequently, took fome pains to inform us of Feenou's office; and, among other things, told us, that if he himfelf should become a bad man, Feenou would kill him. What I understood, by this expresfion of being a bad man, was, that, if he did not govern according to law, or cuftom, Feenou would be ordered, by the other great men, or by the people at large, to put him to death. There should feem to be no doubt, that a Sovereign, thus liable to be controuled, and punished for an abuse of power, cannot be called a despotic monarch.

When we consider the number of islands that compose this little state, and the distance at which some of them lie from the seat of Government, attempts to throw off the yoke, and to acquire independency, it should seem, might be apprehended. But they tell us, that this never happens. One reason why they are not thus disturbed, by domestic quarrels, may be this: That all the powerful Chiefs, as we have already mentioned, reside at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other islands, by the celerity of their operations; for if, at any time, a troublesome and a G 2

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popular man should start up, in any of them, Feenou, or whoever holds his office, is immediately dispatched thither to kill him. By this means, they crush a rebellion in its very infancy.

The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, every thing he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

The order of fuccession to the crown, has not been of late interrupted; for we know, from a particular circumstance, that the Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition, to diftinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned, in a direct line, for, at least, one hundred and thirty-sive years. Upon inquiring, whether any account had been preserved amongst them, of the arrival of Tasman's ships, we found, that this history had been handed down to them, from their ancestors, with an accuracy which marks, that oral tradition may sometimes be depended upon. For they described the two ships, as resembling ours; mentioning the place where they had anchored; their having staid but a few days; and their moving from that station to Annamooka. And, by way of informing us how long ago this

had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded, down to Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships.

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From what has been faid of the prefent king, it would be natural to fuppose, that he had the highest rank of any perfon in the islands. But, to our great surprize, we found it is not fo; for Latoolibooloo, the perfon who was pointed out to me as king, when I first visited Tongataboo, and three women, are, in some respects, superior to Poulaho himself. On our inquiring, who these extraordinary personages were, whom they distinguish by the name and title of Tammaba*? we were told, that the late king, Poulaho's father, had a fifter of equal rank, and elder than himfelf; that she, by a man who came from the island of Feejee, had a fon and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, rank above Futtafaihe the king. We endeavoured, in vain, to trace the reason of this singular preeminence of the Tammabas; for we could learn nothing befides this account of their pedigree. The mother, and one of the daughters, called Tooeela-kaipa, live at Vavaoo. Latoolibooloo, the fon, and the other daughter, whose name is Moungoula-kaipa, refide at Tongataboo. The latter, is the woman who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 21st of June. This gave occasion to our discovering her superiority over the king, who would not eat in her prefence, though the made no fcruple to do fo before him, and received from him the customary obeifance, by touching her foot. We never had an opportunity of feeing him pay this

^{*} The reader need not be reminded that Tameloa, which fignifies a Chief, in the dialect of Hamao, and Tammoba, become the fame word, by the change of a fingle letter, the articulation of which is not very strongly marked.

1777. July. him leave off eating, and have his victuals put aside, when the latter came into the same house. Latoolibooloo assumed the privilege of taking any thing from the people, even if it belonged to the king; and yet, in the ceremony called Natche, he assisted only in the same manner as the other principal men. He was looked upon, by his countrymen, as a madman; and many of his actions seemed to consirm this judgment. At Eooa, they shewed me a good deal of land, said to belong to him; and I saw there a son of his, a child, whom they distinguished by the same title as his father. The son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little Tammaha was.

The language of the Friendly Islands, has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea; and, consequently, to that of Otaheite, and the Society Islands. There are also many of their words the same with those used by the natives of Cocos Island, as appears from the vocabulary collected there by Le Maire and Schouten*. The mode of pronunciation differs, indeed, considerably, in many instances, from that both of New Zealand, and Otaheite; but, still, a great number of words

are

^{*} See this vocabulary, at the end of Vol. ii. of Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages. And yet, though Tasman's people used the words of this vocabulary, in speaking to the natives of Tongataboo (his Amsterdam), we are told, in the accounts of his voyage, that they did not understand one another. A circumstance worth observing, as it shows how cautious we should be, upon the scanty evidence afforded by such transient visits as Tasman's, and, indeed, as those of most of the subsequent navigators of the Pacific Ocean, to found any argument about the affinity, or want of affinity, of the languages of the different islands. No one, now, will venture to say, that a Cocos man, and one of Tongataboo, could not understand each other. Some of the words of Horn Island, another of Schouten's discoveries, also belong to the dialect of Tongataboo. See Dalrymple, as above.

are either exactly the same, or so little changed, that their common original may be satisfactorily traced. The language, as spoken at the Friendly Islands, is sufficiently copious, for all the ideas of the people; and we had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical purposes, both in song and in recitative; besides being harmonious enough in common conversation. Its component parts, as far as our scanty acquaintance with it enabled us to judge, are not numerous; and, in some of its rules, it agrees with other known languages. As, for instance, we could easily discern the several degrees of comparison, as used in the Latin; but none of the instections of nouns and verbs.

We were able to collect feveral hundreds of the words; and, amongst these, are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand; beyond which they never would reckon. It is probable, indeed; that they are not able to go farther; for, after having got thus far, we observed, that they commonly used a word which expresses an indefinite number. A short specimen, selected from the larger vocabulary, is here inserted, with the corresponding words, of the same signification, as used at Otaheite, on the opposite column; which, while it will give, as we may say, ocular demonstration of their being dialects of the same language, will, at the same time, point out the particular letters, by the insertion, omission, or alteration of which, the variations of the two dialects, from each other, have been effected.

It must be observed, however, that our vocabularies, of this fort, must necessarily be liable to great mistakes. The ideas of those, from whom we were to learn the words,

were_

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were fo different from ours, that it was difficult to fix them to the object of inquiry. Or, if this could be obtained, to learn an unknown tongue, from an instructor who did not know a fingle word of any language that his scholar was conversant with, could not promife to produce much. But even, when these difficulties were furmounted, there still remained a fruitful fource of mistake. I mean, inaccuracy in catching, exactly, the true found of a word, to which our ears had never been accustomed, from persons whose mode of pronunciation was, in general, fo indiffinct, that it feldom happened that any two of us, in writing down the same word, from the fame mouth, made use of the fame vowels, in reprefenting it. Nay, we even, very commonly, differed about confonants, the founds of which are least liable to ambiguity. Befides all this, we found, by experience, that we had been led into flrange corruptions of fome of the most common words, either from the natives endeavouring to imitate us, or from our having mifunderstood them. Thus, cheeto was univerfally used by us, to express a thief, though totally different from the real word, in the language of Tongataboo. The mistake arose from a prior one, into which we had run, when at New Zealand. For though the word that fignifies thief there, be abfolutely the fame that belongs to the dialect of the Friendly Islands (being kaeehaa at both places), yet, by fome blunder, we had used the word teete, first at New Zealand, and, afterward, at Tongataboo, on our arrival there. The natives, endeavouring to imitate us, as nearly as they could, and fo fabricating the word cheeto, this, by a complication of mistakes, was adopted by us as their own. All possible care has been taken to make the following table as correct as possible:

English.

English.	Friendly Islands.	Otabeite.	1777. July.
The fun,	Elaa,	Eraa.	-
Fire,	Eafoi,	Eahoi.	
Thunder,	Fatoore,	Pateere.	
Rain,	Ooha,	Eooa.	
The wind,	Matangee,	Mataee.	
Warm,	Mafanna,	Mahanna.	
The clouds,	Ao,	Eao.	
Land,	Fonooa,	Fenooa.	
Water,	Avy,	Evy.	
Sleep,	Mohe,	Moe.	
A man,	Tangata,	Taata.	
A woman,	Vefaine,	Waheine.	
A young girl,	Taheine,	Toonea.	
A fervant, or performen rank,	of Tooa,	Toutou, or teou.	
The dawn, or day-br	eak, Aho,	Aou.	
The hair,	Fooroo,	Eroroo.	
The tongue,	Elelo,	Erero.	
The ear,	Tareenga,	Tareea.	
The beard,	Koomoo,	Ooma.	
The fea,	Tahee,	Taee.	- 5 h
A boat, or canoe,	Wakka,	Evaa.	
Black,	Oole,	Ere.	
Red,	Goola,	Oora, oora.	
A lance, or Spear,	Tao,	Tao.	
A parent,	Motooa,	Madooa.	
What is that?	Kohaeea?	Yahaeea?	
To hold fast,	Amou,	Mou.	
To wipe, or clean thing,	any {Horo,	Horoce.	
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English.	English. Friendly Islands.	
To rife up,	Etoo,	Atoo.
To cry, or shed tears,	Tangee,	Taee.
To eat, or chew;	Eky,	Ey.
Yes,	Ai, mico	Ai.
No, manual	Kace,	Aee.
You,	Koe,	Oe.
I, ent	Ou, A	Wou.
Ten, tropped	Ongofooroo,	Ahooroo.

Having now concluded my remarks on these islands and people, I shall take my final leave of them, after giving some account of the astronomical and nautical observations that were made during our stay.

And, first, I must take notice, that the difference of longitude, between Annamooka and Tongataboo, is somewhat less than was marked in the chart and narrative of my last voyage. This error might easily arise, as the longitude of each was then found without any connection with the other. But, now, the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision, that excludes all possibility of mistake; which the following table will illustrate:

The latitude of the observatory at

Tongataboo, by the mean of se
veral observations, - - - 21° 8′ 19″ South.

The longitude, by the mean of one hundred and thirty-one fets of lunar observations, amounting to above a thousand observed distances, between the moon, sun, and stars,

184 55 18 Eaft.

The

The difference of longitude, made by the time-keeper, between the			me first	1777. July.
above observatory, and that at				
Annamooka,	. o°	16'	0"	
Mence, the longitude of Annamo-	de uji			
ka is	185	II	18 East.	
By the time- S Greenwich rate, -	186	12	27	2
keeper it is, I New Zealand rate,	184	37	0.	
Its latitude	20	15	0	

N. B. The observatory at Tongataboo was near the middle of the North side of the island; and that at Annamooka, on its West side; but the chart will elucidate this.

The time-keeper was too flow for mean time at Greenwich, on the first of July at noon, by 12^h 34^m 33^s,2; and her daily rate, at that time, was losing, on mean time, 1^m,783 per day. This rate will now be used for finding the longitude by the time-keeper; and 184° 55′ 18″, or 12^h 19^m 41^s,2, will be taken as the true longitude of Tongataboo, East from Greenwich.

By the mean of feveral observations, the South end of the needle was found to dip

. (Lefooga, one of Tongataboo,	the Hap	ace if	lands,	36°	55		anily :
At ?	Tongataboo,	-	-	-	39	1.		
The	variation of the	compaf	s was	found	l to l	be		ans.
	Annamooka, on	board,	-	- 61 5	8°	30'	3 1/	East
10	Anchor off Koto Annamooka ar	иа глара	ween nee,	} -	8	12 2	91	
At 4	Anchor off Lefoo	ga,	*	10	10	11 4	0	
	Tongataboo, on		-	-	.9	44	5=	
	Ditto, on shore,		-	70	10	12 5	8	
		з Н	2					I can



I can assign no reason why the variation is so much less at, and near, Annamooka, than at either of the other two places. I can only say, that there is no fault in the observations; and that the variation ought to be more at Annamooka than the above, as it has been found to be so to the Northward, Southward, Eastward, and Westward of it. But disagreements in the variation, greater than this, even in the same needle, have been often observed. And I should not have taken notice of this instance, but from a belief that the cause, whatever it is, exists in the place, and not in the needles; for Mr. Bayly found the same, or rather more difference.

The tides are more confiderable at these islands, than at any other of my discoveries in this ocean, that lie within the tropics. At Annamooka it is high water, on the full and change days, nearly at fix o'clock; and the tide rifes and falls there, upon a perpendicular, about fix feet. In the harbour of Tongataboo, it is high water, on the full and change days, at fifty minutes past fix. The tide rifes and falls, on those days, four feet nine inches; and three feet fix inches at the Quadratures. In the channels between the islands, which lie in this harbour, it flows near tide and half tide; that is, the flood continues to run up near three hours, after it is high water by the shore; and the ebb continues to run down, after it is flood by the fhore. It is only in these channels, and in a few other places near the shores, that the motion of the water or tide is perceivable; fo that I can only guess at the quarter from which the flood comes. In the road of Annamooka, it fets West South West, and the ebb the contrary; but it falls into the harbour of Tongataboo from the North West, paffes

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passes through the two narrow channels, on each side of Hoolaiva, where it runs with considerable rapidity, and then spends itself in the lagoon. The ebb returns the same way, and runs with rather greater force. The North West tide is met, at the entrance of the lagoon, by one from the East; but this, as I have before observed, was found to be very inconsiderable.

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