

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 Muggerridge 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.

Lords day 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 nuts, &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 public meeting. On making inquiry we were informed by the Christian Chiefs Teao and Manguanui 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 Tiere¹³ 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 Tiere¹⁵ and was also plundered of his little property on the beach; but not after injured. Tiere 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. Tiere, 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. Tiere 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 Tiera 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 Rarotonga 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 Rarotonga with a gently Breeze in our favour, and smooth sea.

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

June 3. Saw the fine Island of Rarotonga 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. Ngatangiaa, 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 Rarotogan 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 Rarotogan 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 Harveys 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 nutts 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 comunication 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 tapaa,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 terrific. 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 terrific 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 (Latūkefu 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.

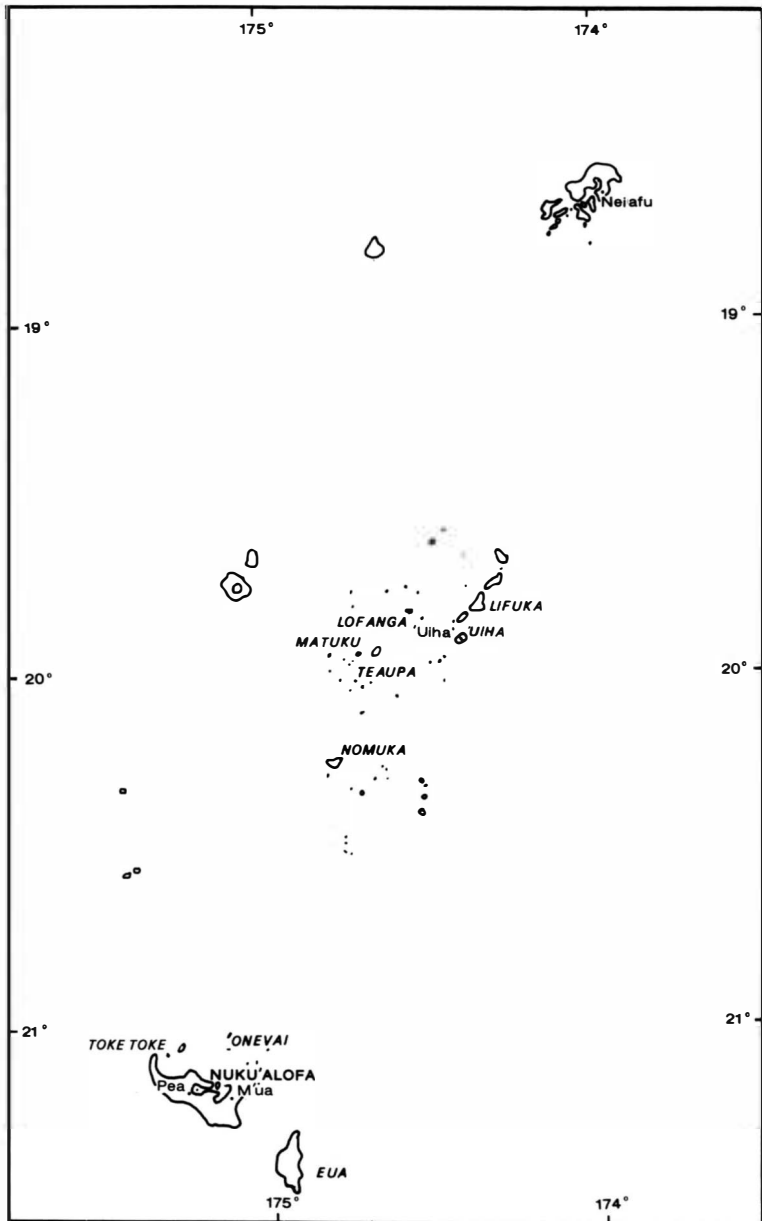
The house will hold seven or eight hundred people and the Missionaries supposed it would not hold all the people who wished to attend Divine service. The site of the new place of worship was formerly a fortification surrounded by two ditches and a double bank on the two banks. Two strong reed fences 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 'Ulukālala 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 Feegee [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 Haweis⁵⁶ 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 LAigle⁵⁷ 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 l 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. Captn 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. Captn 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 Captn 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 Captn 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 Faarua. 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 Misionaries' (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 preceding 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 [Faeuā] 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. Faeuā himself claimed to be a near relation of Malietoa (p.278), and Cross describes him as 'a son of the principal Chief in the Haamoā [Ha'amoa] Isles' (Journal, 9 July 1830). His wife's name is recorded as Puaseiese (Tuvale 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 Fegeans 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 Captn 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 think 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 [Teaupā] 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 Faueā'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 Tāufaahau⁸² [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 [Fīnau] 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 (Lātūkefu 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 Taufaaahu 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 than 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 Taufaaahu 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 Vavao 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 Taufaahau. The wife had lived with him more than twelve months and the Katogona or Publick meeting had been determined

94. Peter Vi, a native of Ha'apai and one of the earliest converts, became the first teacher in Tongatapu (Wood 1975:47). Initially, Taufa'ahau had refused to take Vi 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 (Lätükefu 1974:63).

95. Farmer (1855:204-5) claims there were three; Lätükefu (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

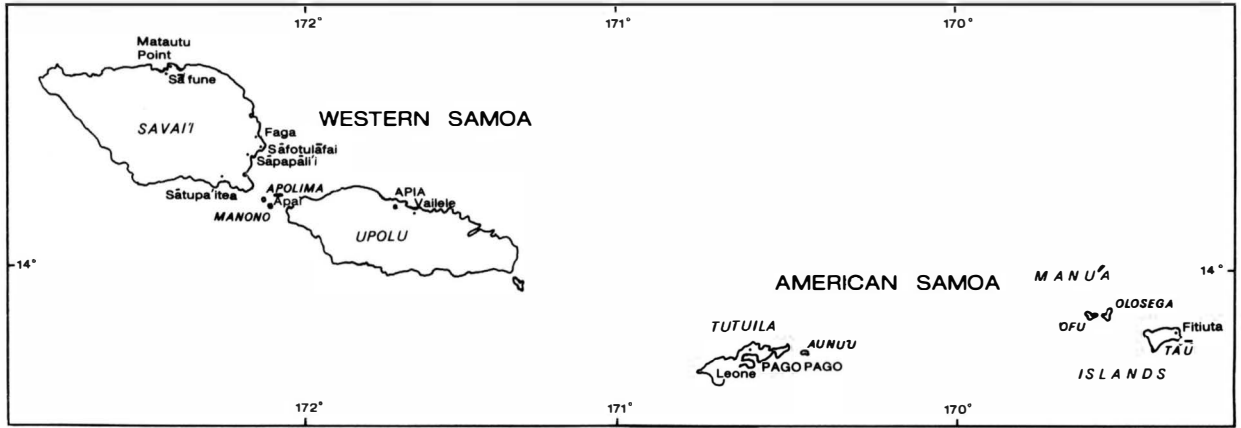
97. A gap of up to several years between the matrimonial ceremony and consummation of the nuptials was not uncommon among highranking chiefs; see, for example, Vason (1810:140).

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 Täufa'ähau. The Tongan teacher Peter Vi called on Thomas and Cross, who administered an emetic, saving his life (ibid.).

99. That is, Finau 'Ulukälala, 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 Fitiseamanū (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 achored 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 Faueas 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 Fauea 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 Fauea, 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 Savaian 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 1832 journal (see pp. 129-31).

109. In modern orthography, '*Ua lotu lo tātou 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 smoak 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 Sapapali'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 Tamalelagni 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 papalangi* [*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 [U'mia] 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 *faletele* 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 Matetoa¹³⁴ 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 [*Sāpapāli'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 *Sāpapāli'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 tattooed 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 I.M.S, 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 Manoa 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 Capt'n 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.

Toward 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).

