DRINKING IN THE POLYNESIAN KINGDOM OF TONGA

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ABSTRACT
The paper provides information on the drinking of kava (Piper methysticum) in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga. The importance of drinking is traditional and continues to shape Tongan society in a manner similar to other cultures which have adopted kava into their culture.

Introduction
The Kingdom of Tonga is located approximately 250 miles southwest of the islands of Samoa and approximately 450 miles southeast of the islands of Fiji. The islands have a total land mass of some 269 square miles and the largest and principal island of the group is Tongatapu Island (100 square miles). Recent Carbon 14 analysis indicates that Tongatapu was the first of the Polynesian Islands to be settled, with a Carbon 14 date indicating occupation from at least 1140 B.C. (Goube 1971:303). The estimated population of the Kingdom in December of 1973 was 17,500. The last and most thorough census of 1966 indicated that 58.3% of the 77,429 inhabitants were Tongans. Tongans are a strong Christianized people and 1966 only 6% of the population did not list any religious affiliation (Stats 1968:22).

The islands were formerly a protectorate of Great Britain but on 4 June 1970 they became fully independent and entered the British Commonwealth. Tongans have a constitutional monarchy dating from the Constitution of 1875 combined with a Parliament. The current monarch of Tonga, who ascended to the throne in 1967 after the death of his mother (Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III), is His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, K.C.M.G., C.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.F.C., B.A., L.L.B., and Honorary Doctor, University of the South Pacific (Knight Commander of (of the Order of) Saints Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of the (Royal) Victorian...
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To place the Tautama kava ceremony into perspective, background information on the drinking of kava and alcoholic beverages is in order. With the prerequisite alcoholic license, individual Tongans (and non-Tongans residing in Tonga) may purchase alcoholic beverages for consumption off the premises from major stores in Tonga. The alcoholic beverages may also be partaken of at least three main "clubs" on Tongatapu. The three clubs on Tongatapu present an intriguing structural pattern of drinking behavior. At the one end of a continuum one has the "Tonga Club" which is frequented primarily by Tongan males and only secondarily by some Europeans (males and females). At the other end of the continuum one has the prestigious and exclusive all-male "Nukualofa Club" (the second oldest private club in the South Pacific, founded on May 15, 1914). The Nukualofa Club is frequented by resident Tongans and non-Tongans and various transient males. One night a year this club is open to members' wives for a dance. The third club has a mediating position on the continuum and is the "Nukualofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club." This club is frequented by both Tongans and non-Tongans, males and females, and may be called the family club in Tonga. Men and women drink side by side, frequent dances and activities are held, and movies are shown for children on some Saturdays and afternoons. No kava is served in any of these clubs and the standard test is "Pijji Beer" or "Steinlager," stout and water, gin and tonic, or rum and coke. Alcoholic beverages can also be purchased for approximately triple the club prices from the various hotels in the Kingdom.

An intriguing aspect of the Nukualofa Yacht and Motor Boat Club was the presence, on numerous occasions, of several Tongans who belonged to Churches whose members (theoretically) supposed to abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages. Once they entered the club, however, the rules were changed and they "boozed" drinks with the best of them! When questioned about this seeming inconsistency in their religious beliefs, some Tongans stated that the club was "neutral" territory. This would appear to happen in more than one club in an article pointed out about a political campaign where "just about everything was tried."

[The Tongan candidate for the Legislative Assembly] approached fellow club-goers in the club community but at the same time sported whiskers and sideburns at Nuku'alofa bars (Anonymous 1969). There are numerous kava bars throughout the islands of Tonga. In the various kava bars, individuals may purchase small coconut shell cups of kava which cost a few cents. Just as kava-palangi or alcoholic beverages may be purchased in the large stores, kava Tonga or small bundles of the root of the Piper methysticum may be purchased from the small shops (fale kolosa, literally "house of riches" or "house of treasure") which are in every village and in Nuku'alofa.

Significance of Kava Drinking

Lemert has written that "Tongans distinguish three types of kava drinking"—namely [1] fa'i-kava, or the kava drinking of the common people; [2] the 'ik kava, the homonym term applied to the kava drinking of the 'ik (high ranking individuals); and [3] the Tautama kava, or the monarch's (or Royal) kava ceremony (1967:188). This threefold distinction is too fine and in agreement with L. Lewis Haddon's Te'i Pelihake, the Premier of Tonga and His Majesty's brother, who pointed out that "there are two types of kava ceremonies, the ordinary kava ceremony and the King's Kava Ceremony (Tautama kava)" (1955:38). The ceremony known as i'a kava should be seen as a mediating ceremony between the fa'i kava (informal) and Tautama kava (highly formal) ceremonies. For all essential purposes there are only two types of kava ceremonies in Tonga: those in which the reigning ruler
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that particular occasion. There is no set patte rin of kava distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-Taumafai kava drinking sessions is that "the kava is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true, whether we term all non-Taumafai kava sessions either 'Ho kava ceremonies or Fa'kava sessions.

For particular non-Taumafai kava sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank vis-à-vis one another, they then avoid one another at certain kava sessions. For early-contracted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain kava sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

above all because of the claims of Pate' [a known as Pate'ulena] and Taho' [a known as Fare], who took care to avoid any [kava] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest places. (MS 16)

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-Taumafai kava sessions. Some changes have taken place in all kava sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a kava circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.

What is important for all kava drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-Taumafai kava sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beaglehole pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal kava session frequently deal with:

the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events - all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized kava session is not an extremely spectacular event; much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The Taumafai kava, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below.
Tongans and Europeans

When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early nineteenth century the role and fate of the Christians was often a topic of heated discussion at various Kiau sessions. The following example from a missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes this quite clear:

At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our cause. Malae [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See," he said, "these people are always praying to their Atua [Vaisa], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were, and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Molateshone one of the Metabohes related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boodoo last night, and seeing the fowling of our garden, said, "What is this?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Army [aple], or place of shade." Upon which, they because much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed it all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

In the nineteenth century, kava drinking sessions were a way of discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer of nineteenth-century Tongan life wrote:

The practice of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erdknecht 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to kava drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The Kiau ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information concerning the discussions at the Kiau ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to give us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the brethren [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830: Letter-Journal).

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In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as well as contemporary Tonga, informal Kiau sessions took place not only for general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle. Kiau ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, and funerals. Asayagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary observer noted:

Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's; heard there of the death of the chief Luka; went to see the funeral ceremony. The Kiau ring was formed (Fuyu 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehae has pointed out that kava drinking provides "a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a Kiau session was held to honor the individual. When the above-mentioned Dumont D'Urville landed at Tongaripi in 1827 he reported:

Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum), Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tiutu-Tonga-Fatale, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (1827:140).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate Kiau ceremony which he French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.

In addition to kava ceremonies being important in the particular life cycle of the individual, Kiau ceremonies also play an important role in the organization of Tongan society in general. Kiau ceremonies took place when individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly position, the essence of the installation, as Collins has accurately pointed out, "the calling into his place into the kava ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (then the Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate pangoopa ceremony when he received the title of Tupouto'a.

The Kiau ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The Crown Prince was officially recognized as Tuhatohato and his position in respect of the Kiau ring was confirmed when he drank a bowl of kava in his new name. The Kiau ring was composed of 130 Chiefs and Masters (Masters of
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Ceremony from the whole of the [Island] Group... After the Kava Ceremony came the presentation of food. This was Taboeta's mark of honour and allegiance to the Sovereign, and in a relic of the old custom of the "fines" (presentation of the first fruits of the land to the Tu'i To'a) (Anonymous 1938:43-44).

An excellent description of the installation of the individual who was to become known as King George Tupou I is provided by John Thomas and points out the "seal of approval" in the ceremony of drinking kava:

The ceremony of appointing to the [the office of] Tu'i Kavaipato occurred in a cave meeting. The cave has been considered sacred; and a MOSTSEVERE LAW EVER ENACTED IN ANY ISLAND IN THE PACIFIC. If ANY ONE SETTLED IN THESE ISLANDS IS DONE AT A CAVA MEETING, at which great order is observed, then his house is destroyed.

In aboriginal Tongan society (and early contacted Tongan society prior to the celebrated Tongan Constitution of 1875) consensus and flexibility were key concepts in the relationship between the rules and the people. (Urbanowicz 1973:114-115). An individual who wanted to be head of a particular group of people had to have not only the consent of the people but also of the chief. Even the Tu'i Tonga, one of the leading titled individuals in Tongan society, could not be appointed to his position without the support and consent of the Tu'i Kavaipato. If a particular chief did not have the support of other chiefs, he could lose his title and position in Tongan society.

In 1840, some battles took place on Tongatapu which resulted in two chiefs having their titles removed. The Tu'i Kavaipato Iosea Tupou and King George Tupou met and Thomas recorded the event:

After this meeting the two kings met with their chiefs and did deposit Ate and another chief [called by the title: Vahi (the latter has been the cause of the war) and appointed a new Ate and Vahi in their place (Thomas Journal February 14, 1830).

The former Ate had land on Tongatapu Island and this was also removed from him and transferred to the new Ate (Rubesh Journal: February 28, 1840). Although there is no extant evidence which specifically mentions the kava ceremony which accompanied this particular "title removal" it undoubtedly took place. The following account makes this clear concerning another individual who lost his title at another point in time because of his Wesleyan beliefs:

This morning at 12 o'clock we were aroused from a sleep by a messenger from Beika, who came to say that a persecuting party had arrived there, and they supposed it was to disposse of [the titled individual known as] Tuivaiana for having embraced Christianity, and drove the Christian party from their homes. Messengers have been going to Beika, and coming to our Chief all day to state how things were going on. Old Vava of Houma was the principal person in the Party, and AFTER CEREMONIES OF DRINKING KAVA WERE BEGIN, HE STATED THAT HIS OBJECT WAS TO APPOINT ANOTHER TUIVAIANA because this one had embraced Christianity, and even though he had not embraced Christianity he wished still to have a Tuivaiana that he might serve. (This with other observations make me think that the affair is not only a Cheflious, but the result of political considerations. He wants to be understood as not intending any persecution, but as only an excuse to follow up the former service of the Gods, and that as there were some idolatrous houses in the fortifications, he thought proper that William [Tu'i Vakaiana] should leave it lest any disrespect should be shown or violence be used to the idol temples. If the latter was not the case for the others. THEY THEREFORE PREPARED THE KAVA WHICH WOULD BE DRUNK AT THE CEREMONY OF HIS REMOVAL FROM THE OFFICE, AND CHIEFTDOM, AND THE APPOINTMENT OF HIS SUCCESSOR. The Kava is always taken to the persons composing the Party by particular direction of the principal person in the company; and when the waiter gave notice that the bowl was full, old Vava said "Let Vava ro Mateseolo Tuivaiana (former name) go down and let Tuivaiana come up. THIS WAS THE OFFICIAL SENTENCE WHICH CONSTITUTED HIM NO LONGER TUIVAIANA AND HE INSTANTLY LEFT FOR ANOTHER PART OF THE KAVA KING. Soon after this, old Maafi and Lavaka two chiefs still brethlen [or non-Wesleyan], who made the greatest changes in it, went over to Beika. A year or two after the fortifications, and this evening we have heard that Vava ro Mateseolo NO LONGER TUIVAIANA shall leave Beika, with all the Christian people [All STRESS added] (Hobbs Journal: September 12, 1835).

Not only were individuals installed as leaders in Tongan society or removed from their positions of authority at a kava ceremony, but land was also apportioned out in aboriginal times during certain kava ceremonies. As another nineteenth century Wesleyan Missionary reported:

This has been a very important day. At the Kava this morning, two or three Maigat, or speeches were delivered, after which the whole island [of Tongatapu] was divided into different provinces and persons appointed to govern in succession to the king [Tu'i Kavaipato Iosea Tupou]. This is an ancient custom revived (Tucker 1837).1

The various kava ceremonies in aboriginal Tongan society served a variety of purposes. Kava ceremonies could be held just to share information and opinions but they also served to provide a "seal of approval" on more important arrivals, such as titles installation or removal of the division of land. The drinking of kava always an important aspect of Tongan life and over the years has been the major way in which Tongan have shared and discussed social activities. Kava drinking has been the way that Tongan maintained their own cultural identity in the face of cultural (namely "religious") colonization.
The Inuau Ceremony and the Taumatea Kava

In aboriginal Tongan society the major event which unified the entire island group was the ceremony known as the 'inuau. The 'inuau was an extremely important event which gave substance to a unified Tonga long before the celebrated bloody unification of the islands by the Tu'i Kanokopouli King George Tupou I after various wars in 1837, 1840, and 1852. In the twentieth century a unique structural transformation has taken place midway the unifying principles which were supplied by the 'inuau have now come to be seen as 'agricultural shows' which His Majesty King Tu'i Kanokopouli Tupou IV attends. The term 'inuau' was transcribed in the nineteenth century Wesleyan dictionary as "inu" and defined as a celestial ceremony, portion, part, share (Rahone 1845:15). An earlier nineteenth century definition from Maniero, when the term was transcribed as "inu" (Maniero) has "a share; the name of a certain public ceremony of a religious nature" (1817:no page number). The contemporary twentieth century dictionary defines it as a verb to mean "to have or receive a share" and as a noun: (in old Tonga) presentation of food to the Tu'i Tonga in a way that came to be regarded as inconsistent with the Christian religion (Churchward 1935:561).

Aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to twentieth century interpretations of what aboriginal Tonga was like, the 'inuau ceremony was neither confined strictly to foodstuffs nor was it presented solely in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. In this latter point W. Lawrey is quite clear when he wrote in October of 1822 (when an eyewitness to an 'inuau ceremony) from the island of Tongatapu, the only place where the 'inuau was held. It is remarkable, however, that at present there is no Tongatonga - so they wave their yams before the place where he used to sit (Daisy October 21, 1822).

Although youths are mentioned by Lawrey, it is quite evident from extant manuscript accounts that more than food was involved in the 'inuau ceremony: the Island of Uvea, approximately 550 miles to-m Tongatapu Island (and outside of the archipelago proper) sent "pearl shells as tribute" for the 'inuau ceremony, the Island of Niu Foa, approximately 390 miles from Tongatapu sent "pearl wood of a superior kind" as well as "kite", or fine mats to wear. Foodstuffs were also sent to the 'inuau ceremony but they were certainly not confined to yams: Tuikole Island, approximately 200 miles from Tongatapu sent "the young of a sea bird" and the Island of Nomiku, approximately 70 miles from Tongatapu, "seal fish from the sacred lake [which was] carefully prepared" for the ceremony (Maniero MS 5:23-24).

The 'inuau ceremony then involved more than the presentation of foodstuffs as Maniero, the non-missionary eyewitness of the 1806-1810 period, pointed out: it was a "certain public ceremony of a religious nature." Aboriginal Tongan religious beliefs were an important part of the ceremony since when the Tu'i Tonga was present, the products were presented to him, when he was not present, they were presented to his absence to the gods. Thomas wrote of the 'Tu'i Tonga that he was:

viewed as the representative of the god Hakale, a kind of connecting link therefore between the people, and the god and his place was at 'Ololei [on the island of Tongatapu] (MS 5:23-24).

Hikale's was the god of nature and there were two yearly 'inuau ceremonies, the 'inuau 'ufatini and the 'inuau 'ufatini. The 'inuau 'ufatini, held at the height of winter in the Southern Hemisphere, June-July, was an acknowledgement of the "first young yams" and the crops which were planted and also a "thanksgiving to the odors" or 'one named Hikale (Wilson 1799:259). The 'inuau 'ufatini (with 'ufatini meaning mature) was held in approximately the September-November period. Thomas wrote that this ceremony consisted of offerings of old yams brought to the 'Civil Ruler' to show the prosperity of the land, and that the old stock had still till the new were fit for dog up (MS 5:19)

Although this ceremony involved the "Civil Ruler" (either the Tu'i Ha'a Tahitiana or the Tu'i Kanokopouli, depending on what time period we are writing about) religious beliefs were still inextricably interwoven with the ceremony. In his Journal for October of 1828 the Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross wrote:

Today there is to be an annual meeting of the principal part of the inhabitants of the island, to be held at the Mu'a (on Tongatapu). The design of this meeting is that they may present their offerings to their gods. According to the Tonga customs it is the business of the Tuikolekole author to preside over this meeting, but he having announced his reason of not being present was very reluctant to go. But then the persuasion of some of his people being in going but does not intend to officiate in any way. This meeting is nearly kept up several days (8:28:October 10:12).

Both 'inuau ceremonies in Tonga were a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased and during the nine-day period of the 'inuau 'ufatini ceremony singing, dancing, and games also took place (Wilson 1799:259; Maniero 1817:207-215).

This was all a part of the religious and political aspects involved in giving thanks to the gods and acknowledging their power. The products brought to the Mu'a on Tongatapu were redistributed among the chiefs and the priests of the various deities, including the Tu'i Tonga as representative of Hakale.7

In the wake of the extensive "Westernization" of Tonga neither of the 'inuau ceremonies are currently held. But there are still unifying themes for modern Tonga: in late of the 'inuau 'ufatini which took place in Tongatapu
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order of rank. The contemporary Taumafai kava at the shows provides Tongans with observable and symbolic Tongan unity of a regular basis.

The Taumafai kava is not only important at the yearly shows, but it also played a key part of His Majesty's installation in 1967. The 1967 ceremony provided the entire archipelago with the essence of Tonga. A "dual installation" actually took place. A formal European-type installation was held on the 4th of July but on the 6th of July the Taumafai kava circle consisting of some 290 important Tongans was created to provide the "seal of approval" on His Majesty's installation. Of the 1967 event Greenow has pointed out:

Two days after the Christian coronation [on July 41], the Tongan monarch sat down in a circle with his chiefs for the kava ceremony. Outsiders are not invited to this ancient rite in which the chiefs acknowledge him as King. ... THE CEREMONIAL DRINKING OF KAVA FORMALIZES TONGAN ANNOUNCEMENTS AND TITLES (1968:343).

Another view of the 1967 installation and coronation is provided by Ford: There were two [ceremonies]. There was a Westminster Abbey-type spectacle on the Tuesday, when they dressed in ermine, brocades, coronets, medals, three-cornered hats and tippets, cutaways, and striped morning suits of Victorian vintage. Then there was the taumafai, or traditional installation, on the Thursday, when the king and his nobles and matapulei—men around their middles—formed a great eggershaped kava ring so the king could hear them pay him allegiance in Polynesian fashion. For Tongans, both installations were a success. ... For most Tongans the kava ceremony is the real installation of the king. From all the outlying islands the chiefs had come to drink kava with their monarch, and thus the ordinary man in Tonga was left in no doubt of the authority of his chiefs. They were the men who had sealed their order in the great kava ring.

There had been two rehearsals for the chapel ceremony, both private, and there was one for the royal kava installation, the previous week. This rehearsal was a vital one, for it is, in the absence of the king, the nobles and the matapulei who have defended a strict order of seniority (1967:45-47).

The Taumafai kava, whether it takes place at installation ceremonies or yearly agricultural shows, is in the way in which Tongans have maintained and continue to perpetuate their cultural identity. No less a personage than the Honorable Vahala (a leading authority on Tongan traditions and Governor of Ha'apai) has stated about the Taumafai kava ceremony:

Before the Christian faith came to this country, the organizing of the country relied mostly on this ceremony which was a meeting place for the people. In this circle the Traditions, Culture, and Customs were taught and discussed. ... [Translation provided by the Tongan Traditions Committee] (1959:4).
The *Taumaga* kava ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day. With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by means of [1] increased informal kava consumption and [2] creation of the "agricultural stores" with the accompanying formal *Taumaga* kava ceremony.

**Conclusions**

The question was raised "why the persistence of kava drinking over the years and the apparent increase in interest in kava consumption since alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in this paper stress that [1] kava drinking of all types has been the way in which Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] kava drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve" function which it serves in a host of contemporary problems; [3] kava drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] kava drinking is opposed to the kava-pushing of non-Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with non-Tongans.

There are two types of kava drinking in Tonga: those occasions on which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a *Taumaga* kava and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any certainty as to the sequence order of the kasa. The precedence of serving for all non-Taumaga kava sessions (whether termed *kava on i'u kava* or *i'u kava*) depend on the occasion and those present.

As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in kava consumption since kava drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

A kava drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of the model merely shifts as one goes from the various non-Taumaga kava sessions to the *Taumaga* kava ceremony. Increasing kava consumption patterns are a reflection of the growing (and growing) awareness of what it means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans appear Western but have remaining Tongan (1962:170), or as I differ stated concerning the drink of kava it means a "not so loose conversation," "Things, in the end, Tongan and Western influences share the billing, in equal, the Tongan way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between kava consumption patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a predominance of alcoholic consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

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this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted.

**NOTES**

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (March 15-17, 1978) for a Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1978 and from August to November of 1979. In the intervening months informal research was conducted as the major in literature of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in the Midland Library, Sydney, Australia.

2. There is at least one public alcohol drinking club in the Kingdom, namely the "Vaka's Club" in Vona'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vana'u and alcohol prices probably fall below the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should be pointed out that in 1976 and 1977 the various shops and hotels were以外 sales of various kinds of "black liquor" which (theoretically) forbid all non-religious business activities on Sundays.

3. For further information on kava and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114.

4. Tongans not only prized kava more than important guests but also took kava root on visits to important places. The Wesley Missionary W. Corben, in the islands from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed out that the Tongan Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [sic] island he was called to take large pieces of kava for the gods, and that only when Tonga arrived did he take as much as 10 pieces" (New South Wales 1850). 4

5. A similar detailed description from Roberts supports the idea of title removal and land distribution at a kava ceremony. "A Ta 'au (the meeting for drinking kava took place at Nokau on Sunday the 10th at [Haua] Tafuna provided except for the funokokokou. Tumafuiso (also known as King George Tupou I) and all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lava to come and attend before our people and Taufa'ahau left the Island; but Lava (only) refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lava. THE PRINCIPAL OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE TUKANOGBELEU WHO WAS THE MIA (TO) OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion, and the principal things affected by this appearance are as follows. Old Tu that he was the last brother (in non-Welsh) chief who succeeded, and who had come to Nuku'alofa to the Tukano'koulu has got a considerable augmentation of his powers in being appointed to the position. OLD LAVAIA IS OFFICIALLY DEPLORED OF ALL HIS POWER BY THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SIU AND FEGE in Fo'ouia and, beyond the fears and the confusion of the At the Meeting of the Principal [THAT IS A SIMILAR ADJOURNED] [ALL STRESS added] (Roberts Journal). April 22, 1837)."

6. It witnessed a *Taumaga* kava ceremony on the island of Ta'ui over the period from 14 September to 17 September, 1978, bringing together to the island with the royal part on 10 A.M. Kai, transport to Lava from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of some four hours. I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five minute private discussion with His Majesty King Ta'ufa'ahau Tupou IV (for just about everything under the Tongan sun including kava). Much of my thinking above kava has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty as well as by several discussions with other Tongans, of all sorts. I also took part in numerous kava ceremonies in Tonga occasionally when I treated as the guest of honor.

7. The Ta'umaga ceremony was not only an important ceremony in the Tongan society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia. Goldstein 1970:154 and Gabb 1958:26-28). The Tongans were a hospitable people and indeed, today, quicklime along with "leaveners" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The 1970
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