CHAPTER I
CAPTAIN COOK’S VIEW OF TONGA

There are over 150 islands in the Tongan group, scattered between 15° and 23°30’ south latitude and between 170° and 177° west. The total area of land is 697 square kilometres and in the 18th century the population is estimated to have been 20,000. (In 1976 it was 90,085.) Many of the islands are and were uninhabited, but many of these uninhabited islands were cultivated. The main island, Tongatapu, is much the largest in the group, 259 square kilometres; it is 21° south latitude and 175° west. The other main island groups are Ha'apai and Vava'u to the north, with Niuatoputapu 269 kilometres further north of Vava'u, and Niuafo‘ou, still more remote, 340 kilometres north-west of Vava'u. Communication between the islands has always been good. There is a long tradition of centralised political authority, with the major chiefs, usually called kings, having their principal residence in Tongatapu. There is also a long tradition of trade and contact with Fiji and Samoa.

Cook first arrived in Tonga on October 2, 1773, at the island of ‘Eua east of Tongatapu. He was met by a chief he calls “Tioonee” (probably Taione, a chiefly title of Vava‘u). As it seemed “Tioonee’ and his people were disposed to be friendly, Cook and his men came on shore. Cook entertained “Tioonee” on the ship, and the chief in turn presented him with food and had some young women sing for him (ashore). Cook asked to go for a walk on shore, and says:

Captain Furneaux and I were conducted to the Chiefs house where we had fruit brought us to eat, afterwards he accompanied us into the Country through several Plantations Planted with fruit trees, roots etc in great tast and ellegancy and inclose by neat fences made of reeds. (Cook II (1961):246)

On October 3 Cook sailed for Tongatapu, proceeding around the south shore, noting that every acre he could see was laid out in plantations. He anchored off the north-west end of the island, near Hihifo. The ships were met by a chief Cook calls “Attago”. On his next voyage he called this chief “Otago”. His spelling is so odd that it is difficult to tell who this was, but perhaps it was Siale’ataongo, son of Tangata-o-Lakepa, who was the eldest son of a chief called Mumui. Mumui was a younger brother of the important chief “Mareewagee” (Maaliliuaki) whom Cook met on his next voyage. We know from the genealogies that
Siale'ataongo lived in Hihiho, which was the traditional seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and their subordinate chiefs, although by that time the Kanokupolu chiefs had spread into Central Tongatapu and into the islands of Ha'apai and Vava'u to the north.

**Figure 1**

Succession of Tu'i Tonga from 'Uluakimata (Tele'a) to Laufilitonga (The moheofo are italicised. Note that Tu'i Tonga Paulaho succeeded before his elder brother Ma'ulupekotofo. Tu'i Tonga are put at left regardless of age relative to the Tu'i Tonga Fefine)

- Fatafehi
  - Kau'ulufonua
    - Tu'ipulotu-'l-
      - Mataeleha'amea
        - Titofo
          - Tu'ipulotu-'l-
            - Langitoufefa
              - Fatafehi
                - Fakana'ana'a
                  - Tongotua, d TK Mataeleha'amea

- Ma'ulupekotofo
  - Mo'unga-'o-o-lakapa
    - Titofo
      - Tu'ipulotu-'l-
        - Langitou'otua
          - Tapoumoheofo
            - Sioeli Pangia
              - D 1935

- Tu'ipulotu-'l-
  - Langitu'ofeefafa
    - Halaevalu, d TK Mataeleha'amea
      - Ma'ulupekotofo
        - Fatafehi
          - Tu'ipulotu-'l-
            - Langitou'eoteau
              - Mo'unga-'o-o-lakapa
                - Ma'ulupekotofo
                  - Fatafehi
                    - Tu'ipulotu-'l-
                      - Langitou'otua
                        - Fatafehi
                          - Ha'apai

- Tupa'i Tonga Paulaho
  - Tupoumoheofo
    - Tapa'osi
      - Tamahou
        - Tupoumoheofo
          - Tupoufuipoua
            - 'Ungatea, d Kioa
              - Lavinia Veiongo
                - 'Inoke Fotu
                  = 'Isilei Tupou

Figure 2
Succession of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

1. MO'UNGAMOTU'A

2. TANEKITONGA

3. VAEAMATOKA

4. SIULANGAPO

5. VAKALAHIMOHE'ULI

6. MO'UNGA-'O-TONGA

7. FOTOFILI

8. VAEA (1)

9. VAEA (2)

10. TATAFU

11. KAFOA

12. TU'I'ONUKULAVE

13. SILIVAKA'IFANGA

14. TONGATANGAKITAULUPE-

15. FUATAKIFOLAHA

16. MAEALIUAKI (also TK)

17. MULIKIHA'AMEA (was TK, may have been TH)

D 1799
“Attago” took Cook on shore and directed him to present gifts to certain persons. Later Cook discovered that these persons were of higher rank than “Attago”, though “Attago” appeared to be the principal person, the one whom everyone would obey. This was Cook’s first exper-
ience of the fact that in Tonga the person with the greatest political authority is not necessarily the person of the highest rank.

Cook went for a walk with "Attago" and inspected a *faʻitoka* ‘graveyard’ with great interest. To show his respect for Tongan religious beliefs he left behind some nails as an offering in the house built on the top of the graveyard and was rather surprised to see that "Attago" picked them up without ceremony and took them away.

Cook was much impressed by the plantations and roads of Hihifo. He reports that while out walking they came to

... a road leading into the Country, this road which was a very publick one, was about (16) feet broad and as even as a B(owling) green, there was a fence of reeds on each side and here and there doors which opened into the adjoining Plantations; several other Roads from different parts joined this, some equally as broad and others narrower, the most part of them shaded from the Scorching Sun by fruit trees. I thought I was transported into one of the most fertile plains in Europe, here was not an inch of waste ground, the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary and each fence did not take up above 4 Inches and even this was not wholly lost for in many of the fences were planted fruit trees and the Cloth plant, these served as a support to them, it was every were the same, change of place altered not the sene. (Ibid:252)

Later Cook reports:

The Island of Tonga-tabu and the skirts of Ea-oo-we are as I have before observed wholy laid out in Plantations in which are some of the richest Productions of Nature. Here are no Towns or Villages, most of the houses are built in the Plantations with no other order than conveniency requires, paths leading from one to a nother and publick lanes which open a free communication to every part of the Island. (Ibid:261-2)

It must be remembered that this was Hihifo, which even at this time was overpopulated. Later Cook found that the eastern part of Tongatapu was not nearly so intensively cultivated.

Cook makes so much of the roads in Tonga, which he had not seen in any other of the Polynesian islands, that I concluded they must have taken a great deal of labour to build and perhaps there was some system of recruiting labour to perform such public works. However, Queen Sālote and other well-informed people in Tonga at the present time say that there is no tradition of public road building in Tonga. Probably the roads were simply paths between the plantations. Perhaps the same rule applied then as now; it was the responsibility of each plantation holder to see to it that the part of the road or path fronting his plantation was kept
Cook points out several times that the people did not live in villages, but on their plantations. Unfortunately, however, he does not tell us exactly how many families were living on each plantation, whether they owned the land or whether they were chiefs or commoners, etc. However, one thing is clear: the people were not all clustered together in one place; they were much more spread out then than they are now. And there were no fortifications or defences around the plantations. This was the era of fanongonongotokoto (literally, sending news while reclining), so called because there were no fortified villages, everyone lived in homesteads, and news could be shouted from one household to another and thus travel from one end of the island to another. The establishment of fortified villages (kolo) came 25 years later, during ‘Uluuka’ala’s wars.

To return to Cook’s story. When Cook and “Attago” got back to the ship, they met an older chief whom “Attago” asked on board. The older man ate with Cook, but “Attago” sat down on the floor and ate with his back to the older man. This older chief also took away all of “Attago’s” presents. This was Cook’s introduction to the way respect is paid to a person of higher rank in Tonga.

We cannot be certain who this older chief was. Cook does not give his name, but in the Journal of his next voyage, he says his name was “Toobough” (Tupou), and he calls him “young Tupou, Captain Furneaux’s friend”, to distinguish him from another Tupou who was older. Perhaps this “young Tupou” was Siale‘ataango’s father, Tangata-o-Lakepa, for Tupou was a commonly used name among all the Tu‘i Kanokupolu line. The fact that “Attago” could eat in this man’s presence, but only by turning his back to him, suggests that the older man was his father.

A little later Cook had a much more dramatic experience of the respect paid to persons of high rank:

... As I intended to sail the next day, I made up a present for the old Chief whom I proposed to take leave of in the Evening, when I landed for this purpose I was told by the officers on shore that there was a far greater Chief no less than the King of the whole Island, come to viset us; he was first seen by Mr Pickersgill and some others of the officers who were in the Country and found him seated in a lane with a few people about him and soon saw that he was a man of some concequence by the extraordinary respect paid him, some when they approached him fell on their faces and put their heads between his feet and what was still more no one durst pass him till he gave them leave. Mr Pickersgill took hold of one arm and a nother of the gentlemen the other and conducted him down to the landing place
where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity notwithstanding what had been told me that I really took him for an idiot which the people were ready to worship from some superstitious notions, I saluted him and spoke to him, he answered me not, nor did he take the least notice of me or alter a single feature in his countenance, this confirmed my former opinion and (I was) just going to leave him when one of the natives an intelligent youth under took to undeceive me which he did in such a manner as left me no doubt but that he was the principal man on the Island, accordingly I gave him the present I had intended for the old chief which consisted of a Shirt, An axe, a piece of Red Cloth, a looking glass & some Medals and Beads. He received these things or rather suffered them to be put upon him and laid down by him without loosing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word or turning his head either to the right or left but sat the whole time like (a) statue in which situation I left him to return on board and he soon after retired. I had not been long aboard before word was brought me that a quantity of Provisions was sent me from this chief, a boat was sent to bring it aboard, it consisted of about 20 baskets containing roasted Bananas, sour bread and yams and a Pig of about twenty pound weight. Mr Edgcumb with his party was just imbarking when these came down to the Water side, the bearers thereof told him that it was a present from Areike that is King of the Island to the Areike of the Ships, that is the same person as I have been speaking of, after this I was no longer to doubt his dignity. (Ibid:256-7)

. . . we were met at our landing by my friend Otā-go, we asked for the King whose name is (Kohagee-too-Fallangou) or (Latoo-Nipooroo). Otago undertook to conduct us to him but whether he misstook the man we wanted or he did not know where he was I know not, he certainly took us a wrong road, but we had gone but a little way before he stoped and after a little conversation between him and a nother, we return’d back and presently after the King appeared with very few attendance when Otā-go sat down under a tree and desired us to do the same, the King seated him self on a piece of elivated ground about 12 or 15 yards from us, and appeared with all the Sullen gravity he had done the day before; here we sat faceing each other for some minutes, I waited for Otago to shew us the way, but seeing that he did not offer to rise I got up my self and went to the King and saluted him, Captain Furneaux did the same and then we sat down by him and gave him a White Shirt which we put upon him, a few yards of Red Cloth, a brass Kettle, a Saw, two large spikes, three looking glasses and put about his neck about a Dozn
Medals and some strings of beads, all this time (he) preserved his former gravity, he even did not seem to see or know what we were about, his arms appeared immovable at his sides, he did not so much as raise them when we put on his shirt. I told him both by words and signs that we were going to leave his Island, he scarce made me any answer to this or any other thing we said or did, we therefore rose up but I yet remained near him to observe his actions. At length he entered into some conversation with Otago and an old woman whom we took for his Mother. I did not understand any part of the conversation it however made him laugh in spite of his assumed gravity. I say assumed because I think it could not be his real disposission unless he was an idiot indeed, as they are, like all the Islanders, a people of a good deal of levity and he was in the prime of life; at last he rose up took french leave and retired with his mother and two or 3 More. (Ibid:257-8)

On his next voyage Cook met this solemn personage again, and gives his name as “Latoilibooloo” whom we now know to be Lātūnipulu-i-Teāfua, son of Tu'ilakepa Fehokomoelangi and Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-i-Fanakavakilangi. Cook assumes that the name Kohageeto-Fallangou (possibly Ko e 'eiki tu'u 'i Ofolanga ‘the chief of Ofolanga’ in Ha'apai) was the name of his title. Actually the name of his title was Tu'ilakepa. Perhaps Cook was right in thinking that Lātūnipulu was a bit weak in the head, for he had a son, 'Iloa-'i-Langikapu, who became Tu'ilakepa but is said to have been an idiot. There is a story that he used to spend much of his time dragging a stick along the fence of his home so it would make a clattering noise, just as would a small boy.

Another interesting point in Cook’s description is that the people spoke of Lātūnipulu as the “Areike”, or ‘Eiki. Cook was mistaken in thinking this meant “king”, but he was right in thinking that this term was reserved for those of the very highest rank—the Tu'i Tonga and a few others. One of Cook’s difficulties in understanding Tongan social structure was that he expected the person of highest rank, to whom everyone paid respect, to be the person with the greatest political authority. In Tonga this was not the case, for the Tu’i Kanokupolu had a great deal of authority, but he was not nearly so high in rank as the Tu’i Tonga. And conversely the Tu’i Tonga and Lātūnipulu and his sisters were of very high rank, but they did not have much political power. But it was not surprising Cook found this difficult to understand as often, in the England of his day, rank and authority went hand in hand.

Cook noted down that he did not understand the political system, but that there was a king and subordinate chiefs, and a third rank such as that of “Attago”, who seemed to have considerable influence. Cook
thought that all land was probably private property, but that there was a class of servants or slaves who had no land. He noticed that trading with the ship was carried out by parties of 6 to 10 men who carried the food down, but that there was always one man or woman in charge “which plainly shewed they were the owners of the goods and the others no more than their servants.” (Ibid:270) But at the same time he goes on to add: “joy and Contentment is painted in every face and their whole behaviour to us was mild and benevolent, were they less addicted to thieving we should not, perhaps, be able to charge them with any other vice.” (Ibid:270-71)

On his first visit, Cook was in Tonga for less than a week, from October 2 to October 7. He came back in 1774, but for only four days. On this occasion he anchored off the north side of the island of Nomuka in Ha'apai to get water and fresh food. His most important stay was that of 1777, when he was in Tonga from April 28 to July 17, a stay of two and a half months.

In 1777 Cook called first at the island of Mango in Ha'apai, where he found that “Tooboulangee” was chief of the island and “Taipa” was also there. Possibly “Taipa” was Tapa, a toutai ika (appointed title of ‘fisherman’) of the Tu'i Tonga, but of this we cannot be sure. I have not been able to trace any Tupoulangi in the genealogies.

Cook next went to Nomuka, where he found that “Toobou” was the chief. As there are so many different Tupou, it is impossible to be sure who this was. Shortly afterwards a chief called “Feenou” arrived from Tonga, and Cook was told by “Taipa” that “Feenou” was king of all the “Friendly Isles”, the name Cook had decided to give to Tonga because of his warm reception there. When the people went out to meet Finau, they bowed their heads to his feet, the soles of which they touched with the palm of each hand and afterwards with the back part of the hand. Later on Cook says that this is called “moe-moea” (moemoe). Cook says that Finau was tall and thin, and appeared to be about 30 years of age.

Most people have assumed that this Finau was Finau ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma'ofanga, the father of Mariner’s Finau. Mariner’s Finau certainly gave Mariner to understand that it was his father who had met Cook—and incidentally planned to murder him as well. Nearly all later writers have followed Mariner’s lead in this matter. However, it is by no means certain Mariner was right. John Thomas says that Cook’s Finau was Tu'ihalafatai, the son of Tu'í Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. He says that Finau was a sort of personal name or nickname, and many people were called Finau, not only the ‘Ulukālala. In my opinion Thomas was probably right, because Cook himself says that his “Feenou” was a son of
"Mareewagee" (Maealiuaki) (Cook III:I(1967):175). According to the genealogies of Tamahā 'Amelia, it was Tupoulahi who was Tu'ihalafatai's father, not Maealiuaki, but it is not surprising Cook made this mistake, because Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki were full brothers, and in Tongan kinship terminology, Maealiuaki would be tamai 'father' to Tu'ihalafatai. Cook goes on to say that Maealiuaki had a daughter who was the Tu'i Tonga's chief wife. This was Tupoumoheofo, and here again, Tupoulahi was her father not Maealiuaki. So it seems pretty certain Cook's 'Feenou' and the great wife (moheofo) of the Tu'i Tonga were brother and sister, and we know from the genealogies they were Tupoumoheofo and Tu'ihalafatai, children of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. Another bit of evidence in favour of Thomas's view is that Labillardière, who visited Tonga in 1793, met Finau 'Ulukālala-'i-Ma'ofanga and was of the opinion it was not the same man as Cook's Fīnau because he was not particularly tall and was quite fat. (Labillardière II (1802):94, 114)

If Thomas is right that Cook's 'Feenou' was Tu'ihalafatai, how are we to explain the fact that Mariner's 'Ulukalala ('Ulukalala-'i-Feletoa) told Mariner that Cook's Fīnau was his father? The only explanation that occurs to me is that 'Ulukālala was boasting. He wanted to make it seem as if his line were the most powerful in Tonga so he added a little glory (and infamy) by claiming Cook's 'Feenou' as his own father—glory because Cook's visit was obviously an event of great importance in Tonga at the time, and infamy because Cook's Fīnau is supposed to have plotted to seize the ship.

Cook was somewhat surprised to find Fīnau described as king, since he thought the king was Lātūnipulu, but he soon discovered that Fīnau was a person of great power. Everyone in Nomuka obeyed his orders, and later, when they went to Lifuka, another island of Ha'apai, the same obedience was shown. Cook noticed that the chiefs of Nomuka could not eat with Fīnau; "Taipa" was the only person who would eat in his presence. Cook was rather glad of this, because before Fīnau's arrival his cabin had been thronged with visiting chiefs eager to sample the European food, but as soon as Fīnau arrived the meals became more private and considerably more peaceful. It is interesting that "Taipa" was allowed to eat with Fīnau. "Taipa" also did the speaking at Fīnau's fono in Lifuka, and it is these two facts which have led me to believe that "Taipa" was probably a matāpule. (A matāpule is a ceremonial attendant of a chief, of which toutai ika is one type. The fono is a compulsory assemblage of a people to be given their chief's instructions.)

The Chief conducted me to a house situated close to the Sea beach which I had seen brought thether but a few minutes before. In this
we were seated that is the Chief, Omai and my self, the other chiefs, and the Multitude seated themselves in a circle without before us. I was then asked how long I intended to stay, on my saying five days, Tapah was order(ed) to come and sit by me and proclaime it to the people. He then Harangu'd them in a set speach mostly dictated by Feenough. The purport of this speach as I lear(n)t by Omai, was that all the people both young and old were to look upon me as a friend who was come to remain with them a few days, that they were not to steal or molest me in any thing, that they were to bring hogs, fowls, fruit &ca to the ships where they would receive in exchange such and such things. Soon after Tapah had done haranguing the people, Fenough left us and Tapah gave me to understand it necessary I should make a present to the Chief of the island whose name was Earoupa, I was not unprepared and made him a present that far exceeded his expectation, this brought upon me two Cheifs of other isles and lastly Tapah himself. When Feenough returned which was immediately after I had made the last present, he pretended to be angry with Tapah for suffering me to give away so much, but I looked upon this to be all a feness. The Cheif again took his seat and ordered Earoupa to set by him and to harangue the people as Tapah had done, the subject was chiefly dictated by Feenough and was to the same affect as the other. (Cook III:I(1967):105-6)

It is very difficult to guess who Earoupa was. According to Thomas, the leading chief on Lifuka at this time was Po‘oi, and there is certainly no resemblance between the name Po‘oi and Cook’s "Earoupa". It is probably 18th century spelling of something like Eilaupa or Eilupe, but no one with a name like this is mentioned in the genealogies. Perhaps "Earoupa" was Malupō. Omai was a Polynesian from another island (Uahine, Society Islands) whom Cook took with him to London and then brought back to the Pacific.

Finau then took Cook to look at three pools of fresh water in Lifuka, and when they returned they found a baked pig and some steaming yams waiting for them. This was the ha'unga, the cooked food traditionally presented to a traveller when he first arrives. Cook asked the chiefs to come on board to share the food with him, but only Fīnau sat down with him at the table. The others did not eat in Fīnau's presence.

There followed a series of magnificent entertainments. Fīnau had the people perform dances and sports for Cook, and Cook put his marines through their drill and set off fireworks. The Tongans were not much impressed by the marines, and Cook agrees that the Tongan dances, which he describes in minute detail, were much more impressive. But the Tongans were delighted by the display of fireworks. Many people were
present at these entertainments. Some of the ship’s officers thought there were 5,000, though Cook thought that was an overestimate. But even if there were only 2000 or 3000, it seems clear most of the population of the Ha‘apai islands had come to see what was going on. It was on this occasion, so Mariner was told, that Finau planned to kill Cook and his party and seize the ships. The reason this plan was not carried out was that the chiefs could not agree on whether it should be done by day or by night.

On May 21 Cook walked through the island, and with his usual care noted down that the plantations were larger and more numerous than at Nomuka, most of them being enclosed so that the fences formed public roads. Near the sea there were no plantations, doubtless—he concluded—because the soil was too sandy.

When Cook got back to the ship he found that “Latouliboula” was sitting in a canoe tied to the ship’s stern. “He sat in the canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that time, nor could I by any means prevail upon (him) to come into the ship. The people called him Arekee which signifies King, a title I had never hear one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he was not the King.” (Ibid:111) As noted above, the term ‘eiki was applied only to those of very high rank, and was not used for chiefs of the Kanokupolu line, however great their political authority.

By this time Cook was evidently becoming exceedingly curious about the relations between these “kings”, for he notes that although Finau was on the ship at the time when Latunipulu was sitting in his canoe tied to the stern, these two chiefs paid not the slightest attention to each other. Latunipulu continued sitting in his canoe until the evening, and then departed. Perhaps he felt that he was not being paid sufficient respect, either by Finau or by Cook. However, we find from Mariner that a similar sort of avoidance was practised by the Tu‘i Tonga, Fuanunuiava, and ‘Ulukālala. When they did meet, ‘Ulukālala made obeisance to the Tu‘i Tonga but, as ‘Ulakālala was such a powerful ruler, he evidently did not enjoy doing so and avoided the situation as much as possible.

On May 23 Finau departed for Vava‘u. He tried to persuade Cook to accompany him, but, as Cook was unwilling to do this, Finau said he would return with provisions. Cook then moved his ships to the south of Lifuka. They noticed on the west side of the island an artificial mound, evidently quite old, about 40 feet high and 50 feet across. At the foot was a large coral slab, 14 feet high, two and a half feet thick, and four feet broad. Half its length was said to be underground. It was called “Tangata Areekee”, and had been placed there in memory of one of
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their kings. This memorial is no longer in Lifuka, and I could not find anyone who remembered anything about it.

Cook noted with some surprise that Uoleva was almost uninhabited, even though it was so close to Lifuka and seemed to be equally fertile. It is still uninhabited today, though of course it is cultivated.

On May 27 a canoe arrived with yet another "king". Cook calls him "Poulaho" or "Futtafaihe" (Fatafehi Paulaho). The people assured him that, at last, this man was really the king of Tonga, and Finau was not king, only a subordinate chief, though very powerful. But by this time Cook was sceptical, and it took some time to convince him. However, he was much impressed with Pau's manner and bearing. He was not very tall, but was exceedingly fat, and seemed to be about 40 years of age. The people treated him with extraordinary respect, all performing the ceremony of moemoe. They did not want him to enter Cook's cabin for fear that someone might walk on the deck on top of it, and thus be standing on top of him. Nobody spoke to him standing. When he went ashore, he was carried from the canoe to the beach. The people all sat down in front of him at some distance, and then each one came forward to show him the articles they had got by trading with the ship. Each man advanced, sat down, presented his article, and retired. Pau examined it, and then the man came forward again, sat down, took the article, and retired once more. Pau returned all the gifts except a glass bowl, which he kept for himself.

On May 29, Cook left Lifuka. Pau found that his brother and certain other chiefs had stayed on the ship overnight, and he scolded them so sharply tears came into their eyes. Cook does not give the name of Pau's brother. It was probably not Ma'ulupekotofa, for he was Pau's elder brother and it seems unlikely Pau would speak to his elder brother in such a fashion—even though he himself held the title of Tu'i Tonga and his brother did not. But Pau had several younger brothers and half-brothers.

On May 29 another chief arrived from Tongatapu, and Cook gives his name as "Tooboueitoa", clearly Tupouto'a. According to the genealogies, there were two important Tupouto'a at that time, though one seems too old for the man Cook met and the other too young. The older one was Paulaho's grandfather. He was a son of Tu'i Kanonupolu Mataeleha'amea and had settled in Ha'apai where he married daughters of two Tu'iaha'ateiho, an important title of remotely Fijian origin. This Tupouto'a had a daughter Laumanakilupe, who was Paulaho's mother. The other eminent Tupouto'a was a son of Tuku'aho, who was a son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui. This last one died in 1820 and was still a vigorous man at the time, so that he must have been quite young when
Cook met him. Later Cook says Tupoutoʻa was a son of Maʻealiuaki, but this is almost certainly wrong, for none of the genealogies credits Maʻealiuaki with a son of that name.

After leaving Lifuka the ships reached the island of Fotuhaʻa in the evening. The next day they went to Lofanga, but could not find good anchorage there so went on to Kotu, where they nearly went on the reef. They stayed here until June 4, and then went on to Nomuka. Finau arrived at Nomuka on the 6th, saying that his canoes from Vavaʻu had all been lost at sea, and that was why he was not bringing any provisions—a story of which Cook was more than sceptical. Cook was evidently eager to see what would happen when his two “kings”, Pau and Finau, encountered each other, and this is what he has to report:

The following morning the King [Tuʻi Tonga Paulaho] and all those who had been wind bound with him arrived, I was at this time a shore with Feenough and left him to visit the other; who I found setting with a few people before him, but as several came to pay their court to him the circle increased pretty fast. At length Feenough came and took his seat amongst the rest, some little conversation passed between these two Cheifs which none of us understood, nor was we satisfied with O mai’s interpretation of it, we were however by this time fully satisfied who was the greater man of the two. I took them both aboard to dinner but only Fattafee sat at table, Feenough made his Obiesance in the usual way and retired out of the Cabbin; this confirmed what the King had before told us, that Feenough could neither eat nor drink in his presence. (Ibid:120-1)

On June 8 they started for Tongatapu, accompanied by a considerable number of canoes. Cook greatly admired the workmanship of the Tongan canoes, especially that of the large double canoes. (His informants appear not to have told him these canoes came from Fiji.) He notes that they sailed about seven miles an hour in a light breeze, considerably faster than Cook’s ships.

As they neared Tongatapu, “Otago” and “young Toobou” came on board; these two chiefs Cook had met in Hihifo four years earlier. The ships were guided in by pilots, and after some difficulty with the reefs, anchored off Pangaimotu on June 10. They then took one of their small boats and landed on Tongatapu on a beach, where there was a house ready for them with an extensive area of grass in front of it. Pau said they could use this house, and accordingly they set up their observatory and landed their cattle, horses, sheep and goats. It is not exactly clear which beach this was, but the land nearby was evidently uninhabited. It was probably at Hōleva near Siesia. This place was clearly at some distance from Muʻa, the seat of the Tuʻi Tonga, for on the days when
they went to Mu‘a they went up the lagoon in a boat instead of walking from their land station.

The first thing that happened after they landed was the preparation of kava. As this is the first detailed description of the Tu‘i Tonga’s kava, I shall quote the description of it in full:

We had not been long in the house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people present but how many each was intend(ed) for I could not tell, one was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but the King seemed to give no directions about it; the first cup was brought to him, he ordered it to be give(n) to one who sat near him, the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my thirst; the rest was served out to different people by direction of the man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri’d to the Kings Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both. Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had one and not the other; those who had the Victuals I took to be of the Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the King but to every other person. (Ibid:123-4)

There are several interesting points in this description, especially in comparison with the method of conducting the Tu‘i Kanokupolu’s kava, which is of course the method generally used in Tonga at the present time.

First, the Tu‘i Tonga was served first, but handed his cup to another person, presumably to one of the Falefā. It is believed now the purpose of this was to make certain it was not poisoned. Having been assured of this, the Tu‘i Tonga accepted the second cup, and the third was presented to the guest. The kava was evidently carried silently, with no calling out of whom it was to go to; this is a marked difference from the Tu‘i
Kanokupolu’s *kava* ritual. It is not at all clear who was sitting in the actual circle and who was in the *tou‘a* ‘group of *kava* makers’; Pau’s brother, for example, may have been in the circle or may have been in the *tou‘a*. But it sounds as if several people in the circle withdrew with their *kava* and their *fono ‘i kava* ‘relish’ and consumed them elsewhere. If Pau’s brother was in the circle, it sounds as if people who did not hold titles were allowed to sit in the circle. With his usual acuteness, Cook noticed that some people of lower rank were able to remain in the circle and drink their *kava*. They were probably of the Falefā, whose foreign origin released them from the *tapu* ‘prohibition’ on drinking and eating in the presence of the Tu‘i Tonga, though they would not eat in his presence on ordinary occasions. If this was the case, the people who left the circle were probably close relatives of the Tu‘i Tonga, men of high rank who did not hold titles. The distribution of the relish was evidently different from that of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu’s *kava* ritual, for the pig was divided into 10 portions, and was not cut up any further. Not everyone was presented with relish, and the Tu‘i Tonga’s portion was evidently not placed in front of him.

After Cook’s officers had established their land station, large numbers of people turned up with provisions, and a lively trade was conducted. Fīnau lived in the neighbourhood, and he constantly gave presents of food. So did Pau. At about this time Cook was informed that there was another very important chief, “Marweewagee” (Maealiuaki). According to Omai, he was superior even to “Poulahe”. Yet another king! Captain Cook told Pau he wanted to meet Maealiuaki, and Pau invited him to come to Mu‘a. Accordingly the next day they took one of their small boats up the lagoon and landed at Mu‘a. Pau escorted them through an enormous crowd and took them into a small enclosure where he changed his *vala* ‘loin-cloth’ for a new one. An old woman came and put a large mat over his clothing. This changing of his clothes was probably done in honour of his guests, and also because he was escorting them to his capital. Cook and his officers asked where Maealiuaki was, and were told he had gone to the ships. Pau proceeded to conduct his guests to a public house on a *mala‘e* ‘clearing’. They asked for Maealiuaki again, and receiving no very satisfactory answer, they left.

Evidently there had been some misunderstanding, doubtless because of Omai’s imperfect knowledge of Tonga. Cook and his officers were mildly annoyed, and Pau must have been surprised to see his guest depart so abruptly without waiting for *kava* and food. If he knew why they left, he must have wondered why they wanted to meet a person of lower rank instead of being conducted into the capital by the proper person: himself.

Cook says that Mu‘a was a village. Here there were many small planta-
tions, each containing the house of a chief and a number of smaller shelters for servants; the whole was surrounded by some decorative plants and then by a reed fence. The spaces between the fences of adjacent allotments constituted roads and paths. Cook noticed that these plots contained very few of the plants used for food, whereas the plantations of less exalted persons were filled with vegetable produce instead of grass lawns and aromatic bushes. Near the public roads were some large houses with spacious lawns in front; these were said to belong to the king, and Cook rightly surmised that they were used for public meetings and ceremonies.

On June 13 Maealiuaki turned up of his own accord, accompanied by another chief whom Cook calls "Old Toobou" to distinguish him from the "Touboo" they had met in Hihifo in 1773. "Old Toobou" was sitting under a tree with a piece of ngatu 'bark cloth' about 40 yards long spread before him, and large numbers of people were sitting around him. At first Cook thought this was the great personage, but "Feenou" directed him to another, who was sitting on a piece of mat. Both "Old Toobou" and Maealiuaki appeared to be old, though Maealiuaki was the older. Cook later discovered that they were brothers.

There is no doubt that "Mareewagee" was Maealiuaki, but there is some doubt about "Old Toobou". Most writers on Tonga have said that "Old Toubou" was Tupoulahi. However, this seems unlikely to me because Cook was so certain Maealiuaki was the older, and we know from the genealogical records that Maealiuaki was younger than Tupoulahi. All the records agree that both Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki held the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, and that Tupoulahi held it first and was followed immediately afterwards by Maealiuaki. If "Old Toobou" was Tupoulahi, he should have been Tu'i Kanokupolu at the time of Cook's visit, for Maealiuaki would not have been Tu'i Kanokupolu while his elder brother was alive. The custom was that if the elder brother held the title, he retained it until his death, after which it passed to a younger brother or a son, whomever the family and the chiefs of the Ha' a Ngata considered most suitable. According to Thomas, Maealiuaki died right after Cook's visit. Hence, if "Old Toobou" was really Tupoulahi, and if he was Tu'i Kanokupolu, Maealiuaki must have been Tu'i Kanokupolu for a very short time. We also know that Maealiuaki was Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as well as Tu'i Kanokupolu, so he would have had to squeeze his two terms of office into a very short space of time indeed if Tupoulahi was really alive at the time of Cook's visit. It seems much more likely that Maealiuaki had been Tu'i Kanokupolu for some years beforehand, and he was Tu'i Ha'atakalaua by the time of Cook's visit. The respect with which the people and the other chiefs treated
Maealiuaki at the time of Cook’s visit suggests that he had held an important political position for some time. Cook and Anderson note that both “Old Toobou” and “Mareewagee” were men of considerable property and in high estimation with the people, “yet he (Maealiuaki) is certainly a man very much esteemed as the people all say he is Mo'tooa Tonga, which is to say Father of Tonga or of his country.” (Cook III:2(1967):892)

What the people were probably trying to tell Cook was that Maealiuaki was a motu’a tauhi fonua for the whole of Tonga. The term motu’a tauhi fonua (literally ‘old man who looks after the land’) was used for men who, though not of exalted rank by birth, were prosperous and assiduous in looking after the people and the land. Motu’a is a term for a man of common birth, in contradiction to eiki which is the term for an aristocrat. In Maealiuaki’s case, as he was called motu’a of all Tonga, it suggests that he looked after the whole country and saw that the people fulfilled their duty to the Tu’i Tonga. This in turn suggests that he was, or had been, the Tu’i Kanokupolu, though Cook makes no mention of this title.

If Maealiuaki was indeed Tu’i Kanokupolu or Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua at the time of Cook’s visit, this would mean that Tupoulahi had died some time before. Another minor piece of evidence suggests that Tupoulahi was dead at the time of Cook’s visit. Cook was told that Maealiuaki, not “Old Toobou”, was the father of Finau (Tu’ihalafatai) and Pau’s great wife (Tupoumoheofo). If Tupoulahi had been alive at the time, that is, if “Old Toobou” was really Tupoulahi, the people would probably have told Cook that “Old Toobou” was the father, since Tupoulahi was the real father and Maealiuaki was merely the father’s brother.

If “Old Toobou” was not Tupoulahi, who could he be? It is possible that he was Tupou’ila, a younger brother of Maealiuaki. He might also have been Mumui, another younger brother. Mumui was usually called Tupou—a common term of address among the Kanokupolu chiefs, as was Finau. But there is no way of being sure of “Old Toobou’s” identity. Anderson, a careful observer, noted that “Mareewagee” was slender and put his age at considerably above three score. “Toobou”, he says, was about 50 and rather corpulent; the age is right for Tupou’ila or Mumui, but Anderson also says that “It is probable he precedes the other in rank as he certainly posses’d what we might call the seat of honour, sitting under the tree and fronting us as we walk’d up, while the other sat aside, and indeed it appeard that he was rather disappointed by our addressing Mareewagee first & paying most attention to him.” (Ibid:892-3)

However, we cannot be sure about “Old Toobou”. As we shall see,
strange things were happening in Mu’a at this time, and it is quite possible Tupoulahi might have resigned his title of Tu’i Kanokupolu before his death, even though this was not the usual practice. Cook and Anderson may have been mistaken in thinking that Maealiuaki was the older. And the people may have said Maealiuaki was the father of Tu’ihalafatai and Tupoumoheofo because “Old Toobou” was not present when the question was asked.

The next day “Old Toobou” came on board to inspect the ship, and Maealiuaki went to see the shore installations. Pau came on board with his young son who was about 12 years of age, and Cook reports that the son could not eat in Pau’s presence. This son was Fuanuniava, though Cook does not give his name. He calls him “Futtafaihe” (Fatafehi) a name which was evidently used by all the men of the Tu’i Tonga family at this time. Fuanuniavā’s mother was Pau’s mohēofoi, or great wife, Tupoumoheofo. As noted before, she was the daughter of Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi.

By this time Pau had taken up temporary residence at the clearing near Cook’s shore establishment, and, on the evening of the same day as he brought his son to meet Cook, he entertained the ship’s company with a dance in which he himself took part. It is interesting Cook made this observation, for people in Tonga today say that the Tu’i Tonga did not usually take part in dances himself, the reason being that dances were performed for the entertainment of a higher chief, and it would be undignified for a chief of his rank to participate. It is known, however, that in particular dances such as the Faha’iula, which was performed by young girls of high rank, the principal chief often beat the drum or a roll of mats.

On June 15 Cook went to see “Old Toobou” and received a present of bark-cloth, red feathers, and coconuts. These red feathers were greatly prized and were only owned by chiefs. Cook says they were obtained by trade from Fiji. Finau then told Cook that young Fatafehi, the king’s son, wished to see him. Cook found the young “prince” seated under a canopy of fine bark-cloth with a large piece of bark-cloth in front of him, a heap of coconuts, and a large pig. Many people were seated in front of the bark-cloth, including Maealiuaki and other important men. Omai explained that the king (Pau) wanted his son Fatafehi to be included in his friendship with Cook, and accordingly Fatafehi was giving Cook this present. Cook then asked all the chiefs on board the ship for dinner. The prince, “Old Toobou”, Maealiuaki, three or four other chiefs, and two old ladies came on board. When dinner was served, it was found not one of them would eat. They said they were all “taboo” ‘set apart’. It seems likely one of these old ladies must have been Pau’s
sister or someone of equivalent status, because if she was Fuanunuiava’s mehekitanga ‘father’s eldest sister’ that would explain why he could not eat in her presence. When the guests reached shore on their return, Finau immediately stepped out and the young prince followed, but the young prince was called back by Maaliuaki who did obeisance to him, as did ‘Old Toobou’ and one of the old ladies.

On June 16 some of the ship’s officers took a walk in the country and observed the making of bark-cloth, which they describe in detail. On that same day Finau and another chief came on board, but would not eat because they said they were ‘taboo avy’ (tapu vai), so they could not drink water or eat anything that had been cooked in water. Captain Cook says he did not know whether this was some special sort of tapu, or whether they had imposed it on themselves because they knew that the ships were getting their water from a pool in which the common people bathed.

On June 17 Maaliuaki staged an entertainment of dancing and sports for Cook. It began in the afternoon and continued in the evening. Ten thousand people were present, and enormous quantities of food were presented. It seems likely all the population of Tongatatapu and probably many people from Ha'apai had assembled at Mu’a. Cook thought that Maaliuaki’s entertainment was the most impressive of all the displays of dancing he saw. He noticed that people of rank took part in the dance. Fatafehi, the king’s brother, beat the drum for one dance, Finau beat another, and Maaliuaki the third. Finau led one of the dances. On the next day Cook had his marines do their drill, and, as before, the Tongans did not think much of the drill and were not at all impressed with the military band, but they were entranced by the fireworks. On this occasion Pau was present and he sat somewhat to the back, because no one could sit behind him. There was a lane through the spectators in front of him so he could see the performance.

Cook gave a bull and a cow to Pau, sheep to Maaliuaki, and horses to Finau, explaining how to care for these animals. (There is no mention of a tortoise.) The next day some of the other animals were found to have been stolen, so Cook seized two canoes and their occupants and held them as hostages until the animals were returned.

By this time the ships had been in Tongatapu for 10 days and the people were beginning to go hungry. They had given their yams to the ship, but they did not want to leave to go home for more food.

On June 21 Pau held an entertainment for Cook. It was similar to the one conducted by Maaliuaki, though the dancing was not so good. The only new feature on this occasion was that Cook observed the people arranging four long posts in the ground and piling up the intervening
space with yams. When the pile reached the top, four more sticks were added and so on until the whole was 30 feet high, after which two cooked pigs and one live one were tied on top. This was Pau's present to Cook. Cook was most impressed by the workmanship of the Tongan carpenters. He said it would have taken his ship's carpenters several days to make a similar structure, and they would have demanded nails and all manner of things which the Tongan carpenters could do without.

This evening's entertainment had yet another surprise in store for Cook.

The evening as usual was spent in dancing and singing in which the King joined dressed in English manufacture. In order to be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with me, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she stepped up to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only person we ever saw him reverence. (Cook III:1(1967):136)

Later Cook discovered this woman's name was “Moungaoulakaipa” (Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa) and she was Lātūnipulu's sister. Cook was told that the late king, Paulaho's father (Tu'i Tonga-'i-Langitu'oteau), had left behind him an elder sister who had married a native of Fiji by whom she had three children, a son, “Latoolibooloo”, and two daughters, “Tooeelakaipa” and “Moungaoulakaipa”. The mother was alive and was living at Vava'u with “Tooeelakaipa”. Lātūnipulu and the other daughter were living in Tonga, though Lātūnipulu also had estates in ‘Eua, where he had a small son. All four of these persons, the mother and her three children, were of higher rank than Pau.

We see here one of the most important principles of rank and kinship in Tonga. Sisters, especially elder sisters, have higher rank than do their brothers. The father's sister (mehekitanga) has higher rank than do her brother and her brother's children, her fakafotu. And, similarly, the mehekitanga's children (tama 'a mehekitanga) have higher rank than do their mother's brother (tu'asina) and his children (tama 'a tu'asina).

The information given by Cook about Lātūnipulu and his sisters agrees in almost every particular with the genealogies. Paulaho's mehekitanga was Tu'i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi. Her children to Tu'ilakepa Fehokomoelangi were Lātūnipulu, Tu'ilakepa (a woman's name, not the title), and Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa. Fehokomoelangi was not exactly a “native of Fiji”, as Cook describes him, though his ancestor Tapu'osi had been Fijian, and he himself had spent con-
siderable time in Fiji. (Figure 17)

Anderson was told that these great personages (Lātūnipulu and his sisters) "are all distinguished by the name of Tammaha, and are the only persons poss’ed of a title of such dignity." (Cook III:2(1967):964)

This is a point of considerable interest, for there is some doubt about the usage of the title Tamahā (literally ‘sacred child’). Queen Sālote said she had been told that Tamahā was a title bestowed only on three women: Tu‘imala, Lātufuipeka, and ‘Amelia (whose Tongan name was Fakahiku‘uiha). All three were the daughters of a Tu‘i Tonga Fefine and either the Tu‘ilakepa or Tu‘iha‘ateiho. The relationships between Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho and Tu‘ilakepa Lātūnipulu are shown in Figure 4.

\[\text{FIGURE 4}\]

The relationship between Tu‘ilakepa Lātūnipulu and Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho (Lātūnipulu and his sisters were tama 'a mehekitanga to TT Paulaho)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TL Fehokomaelangi} &= \text{TTF Sinaitakala-} \\
&= \text{TTF Nanasipau'u} \\
&= \text{TT Ma'ulupe-kotofa} \\
&= \text{Siúmafa'uta} \\
&= \text{Lolomana'ia}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TL Lātūnipulu} &= \text{Tu‘ilakepa} \\
&= \text{Mo‘unga-}’o-\text{lakepa} \\
&= \text{TT Paulaho} \\
&= \text{Siúmafa'uta}
\end{align*}
\]

All these titles, the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, the Tamahā, and the Tu‘ilakepa and Tu‘iha‘ateiho, were comparatively late developments in Tongan history. They were elaborations of the special position of the sister and the sister’s children, which are more fully discussed below. Except for Lātūtama, the sister of Tu‘i Tonga Tu‘itātūi, there is no mention of a Tu‘i Tonga Fefine until the time of Tu‘i Tonga Tele‘a; the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine Sinaitakala-‘i-Langileka was his daughter, and she began the titles of the Fale Fisi (House of Fiji) and the Tamahā. She was roughly contemporaneous with Ngata, the founding ancestor of the Kanokupolu line of secular chiefs, so that titles of rank and titles of power appear to have developed simultaneously.

The story of Sinaitakala-‘i-Langileka and her marriage to a Fijian is one of the most romantic of Tongan legends. It is said that Sinaitakala was taken on a visit to Lakemba in Fiji where she met Tapu‘osi of Waciwaci when she was bathing with her attendants. When she came back to Tonga she became ill, and refused to leave her bed. Her father did everything in his power to restore her health, but nothing was of any
use. She lay on her bed sighing and refused to be comforted. Her father kept asking her what was the trouble, and whether there was anything she wanted, but she did not answer and continued in her sickness. (The way the story is told makes it obvious she was pregnant without actually saying so.) Eventually her father was at his wit’s end and pleaded with her to tell him what she wanted and he would do whatever she asked. She asked for the Fijian, Tapu‘osi, and a canoe was sent off to bring him from Lakemba, even though he was not a man of exalted rank in his own country. Some say he was an ugly man, covered with hair, and before he was brought to Mu‘a the Tongan party stopped at an island first and removed his body hair. He was reunited with his beloved and all was well. Another version of the story has it that a party came from Fiji because of the girl’s ill health, with Tapu‘osi being one of the less important members of the party. The Fijian chief sent Tapu‘osi, as his servant, to the girl’s house to inquire after her health, and it was after he had made these inquiries day after day that people noticed a marked improvement in her condition. At any rate, both stories are agreed that Sinaitakala and Tapu‘osi had a son, Fonomanu, and from him are descended the titles of the Fale Fisi: Tu‘ilakepa, Tu‘iha‘ateiho, and also Tu‘i‘afitu and Mā‘atu.

The Fijian origin of the titles Tu‘ilakepa and Tu‘iha‘ateiho provides a sort of genealogical fiction for allowing the existence of persons of higher rank than the Tu‘i Tonga without their being a threat to his position as sacred king and ritual focus of the kingdom. Because Tapu‘osi was a foreigner, and, in addition, of low rank, according to Tongan conceptions his descendants were for ever foreign and therefore did not have political status; they had higher rank than the Tu‘i Tonga through their descent from the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, but no political authority as rulers.

According to Queen Salote, the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, like the Tamahā, was a title. A sister of the Tu‘i Tonga could not hold the title unless she were older than the Tu‘i Tonga, and she could not hold it if her father’s sister were alive. At the time of Cook’s visit, Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho had older sisters, but his father’s sister Sinaitakala-‘i-Fanakavakilangi was also alive, and it was she who was Tu‘i Tonga Fefine. After she died Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho’s elder half-sister Nanasipau‘u became Tu‘i Tonga Fefine.

It was prescribed that the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine should marry the Tu‘ilakepa or the Tu‘iha‘ateiho, the “outsider” chiefs of the Fale Fisi. The eldest female child of such a marriage held the title of Tamahā. (See Figure 1 for marriages of the various Tu‘i Tonga Fefine.)
As noted above, Queen Salote was told that there were three Tamahā: Tu‘imala, Lātu‘uipeka, and ‘Amelia. Tu‘imala was the daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Fefine ‘Ekutongapipiki and Fonomanu, son of the original Tu‘i Tonga Fefine and Tapu‘osi (Figure 5). Lātu‘uipeka was the daughter of Cook’s Lātūnimulu (who held the title of Tu‘ilakepa though he rarely bothered to use the title) and Tu‘i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau‘u, who was the elder half-sister of Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho. ‘Amelia was the daughter of this same Tu‘i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau‘u and Tu‘iha‘ateiho Haveatungua. (See also Figure 5 for Tamahā Lātu‘uipeka and ‘Amelia.) There are several other women who were daughters of a Tu‘i Tonga Fefine and a Tu‘ilakepa or Tu‘iha‘ateiho, but they are not described in the genealogies as Tamahā. It was Queen Sālote’s surmise that before she
could receive the formal title, the woman had to be the eldest of the family. If she had an elder brother alive, she could not receive the title. This would eliminate the two women Cook met, since their brother Latunipulu was older than they were. It is also probable that a woman could not be Tamaha while she had any relatives living of higher rank than herself. Hence, if she had a mehekitanga or tama 'a mehekitanga she could not receive the title until these persons had died.

Some people claim there were male Tamaha. Latunipulu is sometimes described as a male Tamaha, and so are Fā'otusia and Veasi'i, the full brothers of Tamaha 'Amelia. But 'Amelia herself did not describe them as Tamaha.

What seems most probable is that the actual title of Tamaha was bestowed only on the three women (Tu'imala, Lātūfuipeka, and 'Amelia), but that there was also a less precise usage by which all the people who stood in the right relationship were called Tamaha even if the actual title had not been specifically granted to them. The evidence of Cook strongly suggests that this was so. In any case, it is clear from Cook's account that Lātūnipulu and his sisters, as well as their mother, were of higher rank than the Tu'i Tonga.

In addition to the Tamaha, there was another title, Tama Tauhala, whose sole incumbent had even higher rank than any of the Tamaha. The
term means ‘extraordinary child’. The Tama Tauhala’s personal name was Makamalohi; he was sent a moheofo (principal wife) just as if he were a Tu’i Tonga (Figure 6). She was the daughter of ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa, the ‘Ulukālala Mariner lived with, and her child to Makamalohi was Lupepau’u. Lupepau’u was the wife of the last Tu’i Tonga, Lauafilitonga, and subsequently she became the wife of Tu’i Kanokupolo Tāufa‘āhau, who had abducted her.

Like the Tamahā, Makamalohi was the child of a Tu’iha‘ateiho and a Tu’i Tonga Fefine. His father was Fā’otusia and his mother was Fatafehi Lapaha. Fā’otusia is one of the people spoken of as a male Tamahā, being himself the child of a Tu’iha‘ateiho (Haveatungua) and a Tu’i Tonga Fefine (Nanasipau’u). Now Fā’otusia also had children with another Tu’i Tonga Fefine, Sinaitakala-‘i-Fekitelele, who was the older sister of Fatafehi Lapaha, having the same parents, Tu’i Tonga Paulaho and Tupoumoheofo. By the usual rules of kinship, Sinaitakala should have had higher rank than her sister Fatafehi Lapaha because she was the older; but Sinaitakala’s children were not even Tamahā, whereas Fatafehi’s child was that most exceptional being, the Tama Tauhala. The answer to this anomaly was provided for Queen Salote by Losaline Fatafehi, a granddaughter of the last Tu’i Tonga (who died in 1865). Losaline said the reason for Fatafehi’s higher rank was that she had been adopted by Tu’i Tonga Ma’ulupekotofa and his wife the Tu’ilakepa Fefine. Although Fatafehi had the same parents as Sinaitakala, the rank of her adoptive parents made her higher in rank than her elder sister. Thus, it is clear that in certain cases adoption could change a person’s rank.7 (See Figure 6 for Makamalohi.)

Each of the three Tamahā married a Tu’i Kanokupolu. Tu’imala married Tu’i Kanokupolu Mataeleputapiko, and her child was Longolongo–atumai, the founding ancestor of the title Fielakepa. Lātūfuipeka married Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi‘i, and her child to him, Tupou–ahome‘e, married Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupouto‘a (Figure 31(a)). Lātūfuipeka also had children with a Tuita called Kahomovailahi. Tuita was a navigator, not a chiefly title (Figure 31(b)). The last Tamahā, ‘Amelia, married Tu’i Kanokupolu Tuku‘aho, but did not have children. By these marriages the rank of some of the Tu’i Kanokupolu’s descendants was raised, but, because the Tu’i Kanokupolu were so much lower in rank than the Tu’i Tonga line, their children with the Tamahā were not of higher rank than the Tu’i Tonga. Hence, the very high rank of the Tamahā was not perpetuated and increased in her descendants, and the Tu’i Tonga line retained its supremacy of rank.

But to return to Captain Cook and his story. When Cook discovered that Paulaho made obeisance to Lātūnipulu’s sister, he really gave up
trying to understand rank and authority in Tonga, and simply recorded what he saw and what he was told. He realised clearly that what the people told him was not necessarily true, for they told him that Paulaho was an absolute monarch and had complete disposal of the lives and property of his subjects, but what Cook saw did not confirm this.

... but the few circumstances that fell under our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Government though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their masters. On the other hand Marriwaggy, Old Toubough and Feenough, acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the measures of the King of which he often complained. Neither is his Court more splendid than those of the two first, who are the two most powerfull cheifs in the islands, and next to them is Feenough, who is son to the first. (Cook III:I(1967):174-5)

Cook also noted that Paulaho himself declared that:

The King frequently took some pains to inform us of Feenoughs office, and among other things told us, that if he himself was a bad man, Feenough would kill him; what I understood from bad man, was if he did not govern according to law or custom, Feenough would be ordered by the other great men, or the people at large to put him to death: does not this prove that he is not dispotic? (Ibid:177)

The second lieutenant James King also noted the puzzling contrast between arbitrarily exercised authority and the evident happiness of the people.

... we saw instances, where present Passion seem’d to be their only guide, & where had they killed the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirited or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority ... Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris’ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors & the great Harmony which subsists amongst all ranks. (Ibid:174n)

All that Cook and Anderson say points once again to the fact that rank and political authority did not coincide, for Paulaho’s title, the Tu‘i Tonga, was of the highest rank; but his authority was less than that of Maealiuaki, “Old Toobou”, and Fînau.
Shortly after Pau’s entertainment for Cook, a party of officers from the ship went on an excursion ashore for two days and had many things stolen from them. Without telling Cook, Omai reprimanded Pau, who immediately disappeared, taking Finau and other chiefs of note with him. They were all afraid Cook might make some dreadful reprisal. Cook was much annoyed with Omai, but finally persuaded Finau no reprisals would be taken. Pau and the other chiefs reappeared, and the stolen articles were returned. Pau told Cook, very sensibly, that if he wanted to go on excursions he should ask for a proper escort, and then there would be no theft.

They followed Pau’s advice and then explored the country around Mu’a. Cook reports that most of the country was cultivated, and most (though not all) of the plantations were fenced. Some places were lying fallow and others were uncultivated. Everywhere there were public and well-beaten paths, leading to different parts of the island. Two of the officers (Anderson and King) made an excursion with Pau’s brother, Fatafahi, down the east coast of the lagoon. They found that the country was cultivated, but there were fewer fences than at Mu’a. They were much impressed by the way Fatafahi could ask the people for fish or provisions and they would immediately be provided.

Cook saw a mourning ceremony, called “tooge” (tuki ‘beating kava’), which Pau was holding for one of his “sons” who had died. Pau’s brother said this ceremony was being held in memory of a chief who had long since died at Vava’u, and they would continue to practise it for a considerable time. Before attending the ceremony Pau put on a new bark-cloth and an old ragged mat over it. His attendants also wore old mats, but not as old as the king’s. Each wore a green wreath (probably of iff) about his neck, but Pau held his in his hand until he reached the place, and then he put it round his neck. The party entered an enclosure where there was a small house. They threw their leaves away, and formed themselves into a kava ring. More than 100 people were present by this time, and kava was served. “All this time did we wait with some impatience, in expectation of every minute seeing the Mourning ceremony begin; when soon after the Cava was drank out, to our great surprise and disappointment they all rose up and dispersed and the King told us he was ready to attend us to the Ships.” (Ibid:141)

Mariner describes similar ceremonies, but in the cases Mariner describes, the people gashed their cheeks for about two minutes and then laid pieces of kava on the grave of the deceased. Perhaps the reason the Tu’i Tonga’s ceremony was different was that it was not the custom for the Tu’i Tonga to injure himself in this way, as his was the supreme title in rank in Tonga and his person was tapu.
CAPTAIN COOK'S VIEW OF TONGA

Cook gave Pau a pewter plate, which Pau said he would leave behind him as his representative when he travelled. On being asked to explain, he made it clear that, in his absence, people made obeisance to this plate just as they did to him. In the past he had used the wooden bowl in which he washed his hands. The plate was also to be used for divination. If an offence had been committed, the suspects were asked to touch the bowl; any guilty person would die involuntarily. If they refused to touch it this was taken as admission of guilt.

By this time it was early July and the officers wished to leave. They planned to stay, however, for an eclipse of the sun on July 5 and on being told that there was to be an important ceremony on July 8 Cook decided to stay for that as well.

This ceremony was the 'inasi (literally 'share'). Cook was told that this "natche" was being held to initiate Pau's son into certain privileges, one of which was that of eating with his father. It was not the usual annual 'inasi, which was held in October, for the people told Cook that in two or three months' time they would be holding a much bigger 'inasi, which would be attended by the people of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the other islands, and at which 10 human victims would be sacrificed—perhaps an imaginative embellishment, for there is no tradition of human sacrifice at the 'inasi.

The 'inasi in Tonga was an annual first-fruits ceremony at which the new yams and other produce were brought to the Tu'i Tonga at a langi 'royal grave' of his ancestors, to be offered to the gods. The aim was to secure a bountiful harvest and the welfare of the country and the people. As he was the holder of the most sacred title, the role of the Tu'i Tonga at this ceremony was to act as intermediary between the people and the gods, so as to ensure the welfare of the people. The Tu'i Tonga had to be present, and the ceremony had to be conducted at a royal grave. The ceremony has not been carried out for a very long time, probably not for 130 years, and the details have been lost. Hence, it is worth noting down what Cook saw.

The 'inasi Cook saw was not at all typical. It was a special ceremony for elevating Pau's son. It was most irregular for a son to eat in his father's presence, and it is difficult to know why this ceremony was conducted at all. In the opinion of Queen Salote, this ceremony was an attempt to elevate Fuanunuiava, really to make him Tu'i Tonga instead of his father. It was engineered by his mother, Tupoumoheofo, an exceedingly ambitious woman who later tried to make herself Tu'i Kanokupolu as well. It is said Pau was so fed up with his wife's behaviour he refused to give Fuanunuiava all the knowledge that he should have had as Tu'i Tonga, so that the rituals were never carried out
properly after Pau’s death. If Pau was so fed up with Tupoumoheofo’s behaviour, it seems strange he should have consented to the ceremony at all. The opinion of Thomas is that Pau was a weak man and gave in to Tupoumoheofo’s urging to depart from proper Tongan custom. Thomas says that Pau removed himself to Vava’u in disgrace and resigned from being Tu’i Tonga. (Pau is buried in Langi Fekitetele at Feletoa in Vava’u.)

Cook says that the people assembled in the mala’e of the Tu‘i Tonga’s large meeting-house at about 10 o’clock on the morning of July 7. This clearing was called Olotele (Cook does not give the name, but in order to avoid confusion I will use it here). At the place where the road opened into the clearing, there were several men with spears and clubs who kept reciting short sentences in mournful accents. Many people came down the road each carrying a yam tied to the middle of a pole, and these poles were laid down before the men who were reciting the sentences. From this description it sounds as if the Tu‘i Tonga’s matapule were praising the people for bringing their offerings: mālō e ngoue.

After some time, Pau and his son came and sat in the clearing. Each pole was then taken up by two men who carried it over their shoulders. They formed themselves into companies of 10 or 12 men in each and marched across the clearing, escorted by men with clubs and spears. About 250 people walked in this procession, which was closed by a man carrying a live pigeon on a perch. Cook asked Pau where the yams were being taken, but received an evasive answer. He was told that the ceremony was tapu and he should not try to follow the yams. However, he resolved to follow them and to see everything he could. He spent the rest of the day dodging about trying to follow the ceremonial processions, and constantly being told “tapu” and being shown back to Olotele. One has to admire both Cook’s courage and his scientific curiosity, for he had no way of knowing whether he would be killed for transgressing on so sacred a ceremony. For a time some of his officers accompanied him, whereas on the second day they let him go by himself. Eventually the people gave up their attempts to stop him from attending the ceremony. They asked him to let down his hair, take off his shirt, and sit cross-legged with clasped hands as they were doing.

Cook followed this first procession of men carrying yams on poles, and found “. . . they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca, which was hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled” (Ibid:146). This was probably a royal grave, though there is no way of telling which one. Here they deposited their yams and gathered them into bundles. At this point the people made Cook return to Olotele, and Pau, who was still there, told him to go for a walk. Cook took a very
short walk and came back. He took off his shirt and started to follow another procession, but was sent back in spite of this effort to comply with Tongan custom. Finally he sneaked away from the men who had been detailed to watch him, and found that there was a considerable company of men carrying poles about four feet long; to the under part of which were fastened two or three small sticks about six inches long. He followed these men and found that they were passing by the first royal grave. He was chased back to Olotele again. He then took a detour around to the principal “affiatouca or morai” by another route. This was probably the grave (Langi Tu‘oteau) of Pau’s father, but there is no way of being sure. Cook saw a considerable number of people sitting at this royal grave, and realised that these were the ones he had just seen passing by the other royal grave with their poles. Having discovered that he could see everything from Pau’s plantation, he went there and watched through the fence. The number of people at this royal grave increased for some considerable time, after which they stood up and marched off in procession in pairs with every pair carrying one of the poles on their shoulders. There were 108 pairs, mainly men of rank. Cook says some Tongans told him the little sticks were yams, but he inspected them afterwards and found they were actually made of wood, so he concluded they were intended to represent yams. The hindmost man of each pair was stooping under the pole as if it were a very heavy burden.

By this time everyone had left the royal grave that Cook was watching, so he went to Pau’s house to see what was happening there. Once again he was not allowed to follow, but was taken behind a fence adjoining the grave where the yams had been deposited in the morning.

Here he saw 200 or 300 people sitting on the grass where the road opened into the clearing. A few men arrived carrying house-building materials, and a small hut was erected in the middle of the area, after which the men who had built it sat down with the rest of the company. After this, Pau’s son arrived, preceded by four or five men. Twelve or 14 women of the first rank followed him, advancing slowly in pairs with each pair carrying a narrow strip of white bark-cloth (probably feta‘aki) about two or three yards long. They sat down before the prince and wrapped some of the pieces of bark-cloth around him. Then they retired to some distance on his left, where they sat down.

Pau then appeared, preceded by four men walking two and two abreast and sat down near his son’s left-hand side. The prince got up and sat down inside the shed with his attendants. Many others placed themselves on the grass in front of the house, and the prince was facing them with his back to the royal grave itself. Three companies of about 10
or 12 men started up from among the crowd and ran hastily to the opposite side, sat down, and then ran back to the other side. They were succeeded by two men, each having a small green branch in his hand (probably *ifi*), who rose and advanced towards the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three times as they approached. Two other men did the same thing. Since *ifi* is a symbol of submission, this doubtless represents some sort of recognition of Fuanunuiava and submission to his new rank.

At this point the procession began to arrive from the other grave, the one Cook said was “the King's affiatouca or morai”. They entered the area and proceeded to the right of the shed, prostrated themselves on the grass, deposited the poles, and faced around to the prince. Then they seated themselves along the front of the area. While this was going on, three men who sat with the prince continued pronouncing separate sentences in a mournful melancholy tone. These were probably *matapule*, doing their *fakafeta'i*, or thanks for the offerings which were being brought. Or perhaps the *matapule* were addressing the gods.

There was then a short and very profound silence. Afterwards a man who sat in the front of the area (probably a *matapule*) began a kind of oration during which he broke one of the poles that had been brought in. There is no ceremony at the present time where this is done, but the meaning it suggests is that a *tapu* was being broken or lifted. After this speech was concluded, the people sitting in front of the prince shifted back so as to make a lane through which the prince and his attendants passed. That was the end of the first day of the ceremony.

Cook immediately went to examine the poles, and found that bits of wood, not yams, were tied to them. He spent the night with Pau on shore, and tried to find out what the ceremony meant, but all he could gather was that everything was *tapu*. In the morning he went to see the prince. Then he returned to Pau, who was having *kava*. Then he went for a walk to the other chiefs, and found that they were all taking *kava*. Cook went to see the prince again, taking cloth and beads as a gift. Fuanunuiava dressed up in his new clothes and went to show them to his father and his mother, “who was with about a dozen other women of a very respectable appearance”. Then the prince put on his ceremonial clothes, and Cook joined Pau for lunch. As usual, Cook was told to stay in the house and not to try and see the ceremony.

This time he set off alone, and joined one of the processions which was marching towards the royal grave where the main part of the previous day's ceremony had been held. He was repeatedly asked to go back, but he pressed on. When he reached the area, he found a number of men
seated at the side, with a few on the opposite side and two men in the middle with their faces turned to the people. Again, these were probably matāpule. Cook joined the first company on the side. From time to time one or other of the company made a short speech in which the word "areekee" was frequently mentioned. One man made everyone laugh. The people asked Cook to leave, but, on seeing that he was determined to stay, they asked him to take off his shirt, which he did, and then they no longer seemed uneasy at his presence.

At length the prince, the women, and the king arrived as they had the day before. Two men came forward with a piece of mat, which they put around Fuanunuiava, meanwhile repeating something in a very serious strain. This was probably a special kie (fine mat). The companies ran back and forth across the area as they had the day before. Two men in the middle of the area made short speeches, and then everybody rose and placed themselves immediately before the shed in which the prince and three or four men were sitting. Cook regrets that he could not see exactly what they were doing, because he had to keep his eyes cast down.

The procession arrived much as it had done the day before. Each pair in the procession carried a pole on their shoulders with a coconut leaf plaited around the middle of it. These were deposited just as the poles with the "yams" had been put down the day before. After this came another procession of men with baskets made of coconut leaves, the sort of baskets used to carry food in. A third procession came carrying a variety of small fish, each on the end of a forked stick. It sounds very much as if representative samples of all the foods of the island were being brought.

An old man sitting on Fuanunuiava's right received the baskets, put his hand on each, making a short speech, and then reached for another. This would certainly be a matāpule carrying out a form of fakafeta'i. Then came the men with the fish, and they took their fish up to two men who were seated on Fuanunuiava's left. They would probably be the Tu'i Tonga's toutai (fishermen). The first fish they laid down on their right and the second on their left. When the third was presented, a man seated behind the other two tried to seize it. Because of his position, he only got pieces, for he never let go until the fish was torn out of his hand. At last the person behind was allowed to get possession of a whole fish, without the other two even touching it. Upon this, the crowd murmured "Mareeai" (Mālie: well done). After that, this third man did not contend for any more fish. (I do not know the meaning of this but it sounds very much as if it symbolises some sort of traditional conflict among the Tu'i Tonga's toutai.)

On a given signal, all the people rose, ran several paces, and sat down
with their backs to the prince. Cook was told not to turn round. Neither this commandment nor the remembrance of Lot’s wife, discouraged me from facing about, when I saw the Prince had turned his face to the Morai; but this last movement had brought so many people between him and me that I could not see well what was doing; but was afterward told that the King and Prince were each presented with a piece of roasted yam, this was the more probable as all the people turned their backs to them at this time. (Cook III:1(1967):152)

After this, the people all faced about, forming a semicircle before Fuanunuiava, leaving open space between him and themselves. Then some men advanced, two by two, carrying large poles, waving their hands and making a noise as if they were fighting. Several men jumped up from the crowd with sticks, threw down their sticks, and ran off shouting the challenge used in wrestling. The first group of men then proceeded to beat the sticks unmercifully, after which they returned to their places. This is obviously symbolic of some sort of discord, fighting, and triumph for one side, but just who is involved it is hard to say.

Two companies of men then came out shouting the (same) challenge and paraded around without actually fighting. When this was finished there were wrestling and boxing matches. Then two men seated themselves before the prince and made speeches, after which the assembly broke up.

Mariner is the only other writer besides Cook who describes the ceremony of the ‘inasi’ in some detail (Martin/Mariner II (1818): 196-204). It is interesting to compare his description with Cook’s. He begins by saying that ‘inasi’ means a share, and in the sense here mentioned it means that portion of the fruits of the earth and other eatables that are offered to the gods in the person of the Tu’i Tonga. Special yams, kahokaho, were planted on each plantation at about the end of June, roughly a month before the regular time of planting. They were usually ready for the ‘inasi’ some time in October. Hence, the reason for using wooden yams in the ceremony that Cook saw was that the new yams were not ready at that time, which was early July. When the yams were ready, the hau (the sovereign), usually the Tu’i Kanokopolu, but ‘Ulukālala in Vava‘u at the time Mariner was writing about, sent out word to the people to dig up their yams and get them ready for the ceremony by such and such a day. The day before the ceremony the young yams were dug up and wrapped neatly in ribbons made of pandanus leaf specially dyed with nonu root ‘Morinda citrifolia’ and lime so that they were red. Fish, kava, mohoa’a ‘arrowroot-flour’, mats, bark-cloth, pigs, and other provisions were also brought, though the new yams
were the essential thing for the ceremony. All through the night before the day of the ‘inasi, conch shells were sounded and men and women sang a special chant. In the morning people began coming to the capital carrying their yams in baskets, and canoes arrived from overseas with theirs. The yams were deposited in the “clearing” of the capital, where they were slung on poles under the direction of attending matapule. As soon as they were ready the procession set off, each pole being carried by two men on their shoulders with its yam hanging between them ornamented with the red ribbons. The procession proceeded to the grave of the last Tu‘i Tonga, though any royal grave would do if the grave of the last Tu‘i Tonga was on a different island. Normally the ‘inasi was carried out at Tongatapu, but the one Mariner saw was, of course, at Vava‘u. The men walked just as Cook described, with a heavy tread as if their burdens were of immense weight. Mariner’s interpretation is that this was intended to convey to the gods how good they were to give such large and heavy yams.10

Boys led the procession blowing conch shells, and a choir of men singing the special chant of the ‘inasi brought up the rear. Meanwhile, the Tu‘i Tonga and the chiefs had seated themselves in a semicircle before the grave, with their heads bowed and their hands clasped. The procession moved into the space between the chiefs and the grave, describing there a large circle. Then the yams were deposited one after the other before the grave and the men sat down beside them. One of the Tu‘i Tonga’s matapule rose and walked up to the grave, seating himself in front of the men. He addressed the gods generally, and afterwards particularly, especially the late Tu‘i Tonga, but others as well. He thanked them for the prospect of a good harvest and asked them to continue their beneficence. This prayer was made in the name of the chiefs present, most especially the Tu‘i Tonga but also the others, whose names he mentioned. He then retired to his former place. The men picked up their yams again, paraded before the grave as before, and then returned to the clearing followed by the chiefs and their matapule.

These matapule then arranged themselves in a kava circle, with the Tu‘i Tonga presiding and the other chiefs at the back of the tou‘a. This suggests that other chiefs could not sit in the circle with the Tu‘i Tonga, but whether this applied to all chiefs or only to those of Kauhalalalo (see “Origin Myths of the Tu‘i Tonga” below) is not certain. Also, it must be remembered Mariner includes in the category “chief” men of high rank who did not hold titles. The other goods of the ‘inasi were then brought forward, counted, and distributed—these other goods being fish, arrowroot-flour, mats, bark-cloth, and bundles of the red ribbons of the sort the yams were tied in. Mariner says that one-fourth went to the gods
(that is, the priests), one-fourth to the Tuʻi Tonga, and one-half to the hau. The reason the hau got so large a share was that he had far more people to provide for.11 Later these goods were shared out further, so that everybody—or at least everybody of note—got something.

A kava ceremony was then held and a very large amount of cooked food was presented. One suspects that it was this cooked food rather than the new yams which made the ‘inasi a burden, since only a small number of yams was required from each allotment. While the kava was being made a mataūpule of the Tuʻi Tonga made a speech saying that because the ‘inasi had been performed, the gods would protect the people and grant them long lives, provided they continued to give the gods and the chiefs their due. When the kava was finished the circle dispersed and the provisions were divided among the chiefs. Boxing and wrestling concluded the day.

The significance of the ‘inasi ceremony is that it brought together representatives from all parts of the kingdom and united them in a common bond of submission to the gods and dependence on the Tuʻi Tonga, whose presence was essential to give the link between the people and the gods. The ceremony thus had both political and religious significance.

It can readily be seen the ceremony Cook saw differed in several particulars from the one Mariner saw. A major difference was the omission of the kava ritual in the ceremony Cook saw. This is a very strange state of affairs, for every important ceremony in Tonga includes a kava ritual. Perhaps it took place but Cook forgot to mention it, but this is extremely unlikely because he reports the rest of the ceremony in such detail. More probably the kava ritual was omitted because it could not be held with Fuanunuiava at the head of the ring. As the principal person of the ceremony, he should have been at the head of the kava. But no man could sit at the head of the circle when his father was alive. This would have been too much, according to Queen Sālote, even for Tupou-moheofo, so that part of the ceremony had to be left out.

Another difference is that in the ceremony Cook saw, the yams were presented the first day and other provisions the second day. Perhaps this was because it was a much larger and more comprehensive ceremony than the one Mariner saw in Vavaʻu. More than one langi was evidently involved in the ceremony Cook saw, though I cannot imagine why. There is no mention in Cook’s description of returning to the public clearing to divide out the provisions. And finally, there were parties of men running back and forth at certain points of the ceremony, and this does not seem to have occurred in the ceremony Mariner saw. I do not understand the significance of this part of the ceremony.

However, the most important difference is that the ceremony for
Fuanunuia was evidently conducted to change the status of a single individual. It was not held to benefit the nation as a whole, and, according to Queen Sālote, it was a perversion of the true meaning and intent of the 'inasi.

Two days after the 'inasi ceremony, Cook’s ships left Tongatapu for 'Eua. Pau pressed them to stay for the funeral of Maeliliuaki’s wife, who had just died—Pau seems to have appreciated Cook’s desire to understand Tongan customs—but, with the wind being right, the Captain decided it would be better to leave. They went to 'Eua to get more water, but found it was too difficult to get the water from the spring to the ships. The chief, Tāufa, entertained them as best he could, but it was clear he did not have the resources of the great chiefs of Tongatapu. While in 'Eua, the officers saw a man being beaten almost to death for having committed adultery with the wife of a man of higher rank. They noted that the woman was not punished very much.

A message came from Pau to wait for him; he would come to 'Eua after the funeral. But Cook decided they had better depart, and so they left Tonga for good on July 17, 1777.

At the end of the journal of his experiences in Tonga Cook gives a general summary of the things he had learned about the country and the people. The thing which struck him most about the people was their readiness to receive him. Hence the name: “Friendly Islands”. At other islands the people were afraid of the ships and greeted them with suspicion and a show of arms. One cannot help admiring the realism with which the Tongans assessed their strange visitors. In spite of the novelty of their white skins, their large ships, and the amazing variety of their tools and trinkets, the Tongans neither revered them as gods nor feared them as devils. They evidently thought they were simply men like themselves: very clever but not supernatural.

In part, the friendliness shown to Cook was the traditional hospitality always extended to strangers on their arrival in Tonga. But the lack of suspicion also shows that the Tongans were not afraid of visitors and were not used to having to defend themselves against intruders. Indeed, Cook was most impressed by the comparative absence of warlike weapons and defensive fortifications. The people assured him there had not been any fighting in Tonga for a very long time indeed. Most of the weapons he saw were used in hunting, though the people had clubs and spears as well. They told him that most of their fighting was done in Fiji. Later on we learn from Mariner that it was the custom for young Tongan aristocrats to go to Fiji to join in their wars.

Mariner discovered later that the Tongans were not as friendly as Cook thought, for some of them had planned to seize the ship, and only
failed to make an attempt because they could not agree on the time. But it is not surprising they wanted to seize the ship because its treasures were well worth having.

The second thing which impressed Cook and Anderson was the elegance of Tongan manners, especially the respect and obedience shown to chiefs. Anderson says:

... whether it be from that mode of government or some other policy to which we are strangers, it does not appear that any civiliz’d nations have as yet exceeded them in the great order they observe on all occasions and ready compliance with the commands of their chiefs, nor in the harmony that subsists throughout all ranks and unites them as if one man inform’d with and directed by the same principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious on such occasions as requires their chiefs to harangue any large body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The most profound silence and attention is observ’d during the oration, even to a much greater degree than is practis’d by us on the most interesting and serious occasions, and whatever may have been the subject of the speech we have never seen any instance of their shewing signs of displeasure or that seemed to dispute the commands it gave. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws that I have seen an instance of a chief seeming astonish’d at a person acting contrary to such orders, though it appeared the poor man could not possibly have been informd in time to have observ’d them. (Cook III:2(1967):951-2)

Similarly, Cook was impressed by the dignified behaviour of the chiefs, especially on such occasions as Pau’s review of the people who had received presents from Cook in Ha‘apai. Sometimes he seems to have felt that dignity reached the point of absurdity, as in the sullen impassivity of Lâtûnîpulu. He was also greatly impressed by the respect the people showed to their chiefs—the way they sat down when a chief passed, never spoke to him while standing, sat down before handing him anything, did not eat in his presence, and greeted him by touching the palms and backs of the hands to his feet. This last gesture, called moemoe, was not only a gesture of respect, it was also the means by which people of lower rank removed the tapu on using their hands which they might have incurred by touching the person of a chief or any of his personal possessions. After moemoe had been performed, the person then washed his hands in water or the juice of leaves, and the removal of the tapu was completed. Such a tapu could be removed in this way by any chief of rank equal or higher than the rank of the one whose person or possessions had been touched, but the Tu’i Tonga was much in demand for moemoe because he had the highest rank. Cook has a delightful
description of the inconvenience this caused to the Tu'í Tonga:

It appeared that the King could not refuse any one who chose to pay him this compliment, for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking and he was always obliged to stop and hold up one of his feet behind him till they had done; this to an heavy unweildy man, like him, must be attended with some trouble and pain, and I have seen him make a run, tho very unable, to get out of the way, or to a place where he could sit down. (Ibid:175-6)

The third thing about the Tongans which impressed Cook was their great propensity for theft. Some of their depredations were so daring and skilful the officers almost admired them for it:

To day a man got into the masters Cabbin through the out side scuttle and took out some Books and other things, he was discovered just as he was geting out into his Canoe and pursued by one of our boats which obliged him to quet his Canoe and take to the Water, the people in the boat made several attempts to lay hold of him but he as often dived under the Boat and at last, unship'd the rudder which rendered the boat ungovernable by which means he got clear of . . .

(Cook II(1961):255-6)

Although bemoaning the constant thefts, Cook realised that the ships presented an overwhelming temptation. The nails and iron were especially in demand, because the Tongans soon realised how much easier their work was when they had iron tools. Cook surmises there was not much theft among Tongans themselves, and most of the thefts carried out on the ship were done with the connivance of the chiefs, to whom most of the stolen articles found their way.

I have described Cook's surprise when no fewer than four chiefs were presented to him as "king": Lātūnipulu, Fīnau, Pau, and Maealiuaki. The odd thing is that in a way the Tongans were right when they said that each one was king; for Lātūnipulu was supreme in having the highest rank; Fīnau was acting as hau and perhaps he was Tu'ī Kanokupolu; Pau was the sacred king, the Tu'ī Tonga; and Maealiuaki was Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua or perhaps the Tu'ī Kanokupolu. It was Cook himself who caused the confusion, by thinking there could only be one kind of paramount chief and by assuming that rank and authority would go hand in hand.

The positions of Lātūnipulu and Pau are quite clear, but it is not at all certain who was Tu'ī Kanokupolu at the time of Cook's visit. Cook does not mention this title. My own guess is that Fīnau was Tu'ī Kanokupolu at this time, and also that he was Tu'ihalafatai, son of Tupoulahi. Cook says Fīnau came next in importance after Pau, Maealiuaki, and "Old
Toobou”. For lack of a better term, Cook describes Fīnau as a police-man and generalissimo:

This is not the only wise regulation in their Government they have an officer over the Police, or some thing like it. Feenough had this office, whose business, we were told was to punish all offenders, whether against the state or individuals; he was also the generalissimo and commands the Warriors when ever they are called out upon service; but by all accounts this is very seldom . . .

Considering the number of islands that compose this little state, and the distance some of them are from the Capital; one would think some of them would be for throwing of the yoke but they till us this never happens; for if there is a troublesome man in any of the island(s), Feenough, or whoever hold that office, goes and kills him. By this means they crush a rebellion in its very infancy, for things cannot be carried on so privately but what they must know it before it gets to any head. (Cook III:I(1967):177)

I think Maealiuaki was probably Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua at this time, and had been Tu‘i Kanokupolu some time before. It sounds as if Fīnau was either Tu‘i Kanokupolu, or carrying out the functions of that office. But there is one passage where it sounds rather as if “Old toobou” were Tu‘i Kanokupolu.

Old Toubough was at this time over the Taboo, that is if Omai understood them right, he and his deputies inspected into all the produce of the earth, saw that every man cultivated and planted his quota; ordered what should be eat and what should not. (Ibid:176-7)

But Omai was neither a reliable informant nor a good interpreter.

Cook confesses that he really did not understand the Tongan system of government. He said it resembled feudalism, but he was ignorant of its subdivisions and constituent parts. He was told that the king, Pau, was an absolute monarch, but this statement was not confirmed by what he saw. He says the island of Tongatapu appeared to be divided into numerous districts, each of which had its own particular chief who distributed justice and decided disputes. Most of these chiefs also had estates on the northern islands, and for this reason Tongatapu was called the Land of Chiefs and the other islands were called the Lands of Servants. It seemed strange to him the outlying islands did not try to rebel, and he gives two possible reasons why they did not. One was that all the principal chiefs lived on Tongatapu, where the rulers could keep an eye on them and where the chiefs would not get ideas about becoming independent monarchs. A second was that communication was good and punitive action swift, so if a rebellion began, Fīnau would soon be on the spot to put it down. Cook overlooks the importance of marriage and kin-
ship in keeping the country united, but one could not expect him to grasp
the intricacies of Tongan kinship on so short a visit.

He says that the great chiefs owned very large estates, and smaller
chiefs held smaller ones. He is unfortunately rather vague about the
ownership of land, but he says that he thinks there were some com-
moners who were only servants and did not hold any land at all. He was
told that when a person of property died, all his possessions went to the
Tu‘i Tonga, but it was customary for the Tu‘i Tonga to give them to the
eldest son, with the understanding that the eldest son would provide for
the rest of the family.

He considered that the power of chiefs was enormous, and the inferior
people were completely subject to the will of the chiefs to whom they
belonged. He gives several instances of the disdain the chiefs showed for
the lives of their subjects:

While we were plying up to the harbour the Natives directed us to,
the king kept sailing round us in his Canoe, there were at the same
time a great many small Canoes about the Ships; two who could not
get out of his way he run quite over with as little concern as if they
had been bits of wood. (Ibid: 122)

I am now informed of a circumstance which happened a shore which
will convey some idea of the authority the chiefs have over the com-
mon people. While Feenough was on board an inferior Chief, or one
of some authority, ordered all the natives from the post ashore, but
for what reason we did not know; some ventured to return on which
he took up a large Stick and beat them most unmercifully, one man
he struck over the side of the face so that the blood gushed out of
both mouth and nostrils and he lay for some time motionless and
was at last carried off in convulsions; on his being told he had killed
the man he only laughed at it and evidently was not sorry for what he
had done. (Ibid: 100)

... after this we were not troubled with thieves of rank, their ser-
vants or slaves were employed in this dirty work, on which a floging
made no more impression than it would have done upon the Main-
mast; their masters so far from making intrest for them when they
were caught would very often advise us to kill them, and as this was a
punishment we did not chouse to inflect they generally escaped
unpunished, because we could inflict nothing which they thought a
punishment. (Ibid: 101)

Anderson adds his general reflection:

We are indeed sorry to observe that they have little obligation to do
justice to the inferior sort unless their inclination leads them to it; for
we have seen some instances of their treating these with a degree of
cruelty which seem'd to end only with their passion, and might to all appearance have been carried so far as even to deprive the offender of life, without hazarding any enquiry or being amenable either to justice or a superior—a sufficient proof of the arbitrary principles and unlimited authority by which these people are govern'd. This however does not seem to dispirit them as in some countrys where the government is altogether manag'd by despotic principles, and where a blind zeal for superiority of rank reigns in its full force; for they appear to understand perfectly the cases where punishment is due, and do not apprehend any farther exertion of authority than is really necessary or consistent with the principles of justice, and the natural clemency of their masters seems to be the reason they have provided no method of restraining them should they at any time be actuated by other motives. (Cook III:2(1967):951)

Cook and his officers were not surprised by the power of the chiefs. But they were surprised that the chiefs made no attempt to take the part of their subjects or to defend them against punishment by outsiders. To their way of thinking a good leader defended and helped his subjects. In contrast, for a Tongan chief to affect indifference in public for the welfare of his subjects (kāinga) was a mark of etiquette, presumably because it showed that he was so great and so strong that he could afford to incur the displeasure of his people and did not have to rely on their support. Even today one finds the same sort of attitude, though in a very much milder form. Chiefs quite often (in 1958-60) speak of their kāinga in contemptuous terms, both to their faces and when speaking about them, and the higher the rank of the chief, the more contemptuously he can speak. When talking to foreigners, chiefs never speak about anything they have done to help their kāinga. Of course, some chiefs do not help their kāinga. But even those who do so will not tell one about it until they know one quite well. The impression one is given is that the kāinga do everything for their chief, and the chief does nothing for them. From the point of view of the commoner, a great chief is one who is strong, whose rank is high, and who is greatly respected by other chiefs. When praising their chiefs, these were the things his kāinga would point to, not to the fact that he treated them kindly. I think the reason for this is that the identity of interest between kāinga and chief was very close. If he was great, they were great; if he was weak, they were weak. Under modern conditions this attitude is changing, but one still hears it expressed occasionally. Thus, we were told that a particular chief had been very ferocious to his people, and we expected this remark to be followed by some statement to the effect: he had been a very bad chief indeed. But no, the remark that followed was: "We loved and respected him because
he made us great.”

Whatever the form or etiquette for behaving in front of foreigners and outsiders, there is no doubt the bond between kainga and chief was very close in Cook’s day. A chief could treat his subjects cruelly on occasion, but he was also completely dependent on them. Without their support he soon found himself in a very much weakened position vis-à-vis the other chiefs. He would have no supporters and no food to fulfil his obligations to his relatives and to superior chiefs.

However much they might be mistreated by their chiefs, Cook says the people of Tonga were of a most cheerful disposition and much given to levity and jokes. They did not seem to be at all downtrodden.

The different tradeing parties were so successful to day as to procure for both Sloops a tollerable supply of refreshments in consequence of which I gave the next morning every one leave to purchass what curiosities and other things they pleased, after this it was astonishing to see with what eagerness every one caught at every thing they saw, it even went so far as to become the ridicule of the Natives by offering pieces of sticks stones and what not to exchange, one waggish Boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a stick and hild it out to every one of our people he met with. (CookII(1961):255)

He comments too on the Tongans’ love of singing and dancing, and their very great skill and grace in both arts.

One reason he gives for their cheerful good humour, even among the supposedly downtrodden commoners, was that everyone had enough to eat, a circumstance that made inferior status very much easier to bear. The houses of the commoners were “but wretched huts”, but that did not matter because the climate was warm. And clothing was easy to make and was needed more for modesty than for warmth in any case.

Cook and his officers had nearly as much difficulty in understanding Tongan religion as they had in understanding politics. They soon became aware of the importance of the term tapu, meaning both forbidden and sacred, and comment on the frequent and extensive use of the term.12 Cook notes that in times of scarcity, a tapu was placed on eating certain foods so the crops would be able to mature. The term was also used for certain ceremonies; thus Cook was constantly told that the objects used in the ‘inasi were tapu and indeed the whole ceremony was tapu. He was told about the tapu which was removed by moemoe. But the one which surprised them most was the nima tapu, the tapu on using one’s hands to eat with after washing the body of a dead chief. This tapu lasted several months during which the person had to be fed by someone else. It was eventually removed by taking hold of the foot of the Tu’i Tonga and applying it to one’s shoulders, breast, and other parts of the body. The
king then embraced the person, after which the tapu was lifted. Cook was not sure whether this procedure (called fota, though he does not give the name) was conducted only by the Tu'i Tonga or could be carried out by any person of rank.

Cook notes that the Tongans did not seem to believe in punishment for sins after death. They considered that they were sufficiently punished while on earth, and they therefore used every means in their power to propitiate their deities. Cook’s surgeon, Anderson, lists the main gods as “Kallafootonga”, the supreme being directing wind, rain, and thunder; “Futtafaihe” or “Footafooa”, who administered the sea; “Toofooatoobooloo”, god of clouds and fog; also “Talletoboo”, “Mattaba”, “Tareeava”, and others (Cook III:2(1967):949). The supreme deity of Ha‘apai was “Alo Alo”. They believed that the soul was a divinity or “Otooa” (“otua) and continued after death, and the souls of chiefs went to a region called “Boolootoo” (Pulotu), the god of which was named “Gooleho” (Hikule’o). The souls of lesser persons were supposed to suffer a kind of transmigration, or were eaten up by a bird called “Loata”, which walked upon their graves in order to take its grisly meal.

On his first visit Cook noticed that many people had their little fingers cut off, but it was not until his second visit he discovered why. He was told it was done when they were suffering from illness, as a propitiatory offering to the gods so that they would recover. Also, the little fingers of children were cut off so that chiefs would get better. Evidently he was not told that children were sometimes sacrificed by strangling so that chiefs would get better, or that, when a great chief died, some of his tama ‘a tu‘asina ‘mother’s brother’s children’ were killed as well.

Strangely enough, he does not seem to have discovered the importance of spirit-mediums—that is, men who become possessed by a god or the soul of a dead chief and, while in the state of possession, speak as the god. This was a major element in Tongan religion in Mariner’s day, and it must have been so in Cook’s time as well.

Cook notes that the graveyards were the burial places of chiefs, and thinks that most of them were used for worship as well as for burying the dead.

This, then, concludes the description of Cook’s remarkable account. To summarise later developments with extreme brevity: Several more ships called at Tonga for brief visits, much the most famous account of Tonga being made by a young sailor, Mariner, who lived in Tonga from 1806 to 1810 after his ship was captured and destroyed by Finau ‘Ulukalala-‘i-Feletoa, the hau ‘secular ruler’ of Vava‘u and Ha‘apai. Some years before, in 1797, the London Missionary Society had left a group of
missionaries on the main island of Tongatapu for two years, but they got caught up in ferocious local wars and had to leave without making any converts and after having three of their number murdered and one lost by conversion to heathenism (Vason). Their account and that of Mariner make it clear that the three-king system broke down at the end of the 18th century. The ritual functions of the Tu'i Tonga became virtually defunct. Bitter warfare broke out between various branches of the Kanokupolu line. Finau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa and his brother Tupou-niua (same father, different mother) murdered the Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tuku'aho; Tuku'aho's son Tupouto'a eventually became Tu'i Kanokupolu from 1812 to 1820; and from then on the real ruler of Tonga until his death in 1893 was Tupouto'a's son Tāufa'āhau, though the titular Tu'i Kanokupolu from 1827 until 1845 was 'Aleamotu'a, a brother of the murdered Tuku'aho. In 1845 Tāufa'āhau became Tu'i Kanokupolu.

After an abortive attempt in 1822, a Wesleyan mission was established in 1826. The Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tāufa'āhau were soon converted. The Tu'i Tonga and his people became Catholics in the 1840s. Ancient enmities were thus perpetuated. Tāufa'āhau was extremely skilful in being generous to beaten enemies and in playing various European powers off against each other so as to avoid being colonised, an endeavour in which he was assisted by a renegade missionary, Shirley Baker, in the 1870s and 1880s.

A Constitution was proclaimed in 1875 in which many of the important title-holders of the time were created nobles on condition that they ceded much of their authority to the central government. British rules of inheritance and succession were adopted, which made the system much more rigid than it had been traditionally. Each male Tongan over the age of 16 years was to be granted an 'api allotment of 8 ¼ acres of agricultural land. Land was not to be sold either to Europeans or Tongans.

King George Tupou I (Tāufa'āhau) died in 1893, and was succeeded by his great-grandson Tāufa'āhau Tupou II, who was in turn succeeded by his daughter Sālote Tupou III in 1918, who was succeeded by her son Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV in 1965.