

SECTION 1 POLITICAL STRUCTURES AS SEEN BY THE EARLY EUROPEAN VISITORS.

Recorded Tongan History begins in 1616 with the Journals of the Dutch Navigators Schouten and Le Maire. Other navigators may have touched upon Tonga previously, but there is no known record which pre-dates Schouten and Le Maire. These first visitors stayed in the Tonga group from 9th to the 14th May 1616. They called at Tafahi, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafou'ou, named by them Cocos, Traitors, and Good Hope, respectively. These first European visitors did not land on Tongan soil and had very little to say in their journals about political organization. They referred to 'the King' of Niuatoputapu as Latou, who, according to Dr Wood was probably Latumailangi, the first Ma'atu.

The visit of another Dutchman in 1643, Abel Janszoon Tasman, provides much more information about Tonga, although again there is very little comment of the political structure. Tasman was much more interested in describing the appearance and customs of the Tongans and the barter that took place between his men and the Tongan people. He spent several days in Tonga, from January 19th to January 30th 1643, calling at Ata (Pylstaart), 'Eua (Middleburgh), Tongatapu (Amsterdam), and Nomuka (Rotterdam). These Dutch names persisted, and Captain Cook used them when he visited Tonga 130 years later. Tasman spoke of various chiefs who came to see him but did not attempt to describe the form of Government, except during his visit to Nomuka where he made the rather surprising statement that the people there had "no King or leader (they) are also wholly without Government".

Captain Wallis was the first Englishman to visit Tonga. He touched at Niuatoputapu and Tafahi on the 13th August 1767 and named them Keppel (a name which has remained in use as an alternative to Niuatoputapu even to the present time.) and Boscawen. Wallis, on this one day visit, has left very little comment, with nothing at all about the government of the people. It was left to the next British visitor Captain James Cook, to furnish detailed impressions of government and politics. Cook made three great voyages into the Pacific, but it was only on his second and third voyages, 1773-4 and 1777, that he visited Tonga.

During the 1773 voyage into the Pacific, Cook visited Tonga twice: 'Eua and Tongatapu in October 1773, and Nomuka in June 1774. During the 1777 voyage Cook called at Nomuka, Tongatapu, and Lifuka. Cook's impressions of Lifuka, which he discovered, were summed up in the name he gave to it: "The Friendly Island". The name was apparently well chosen, for it was soon adopted universally as the name for the whole group of Tonga islands. Cook has left us a very full description of the government of the Tonga Islands as he understood it,

given the shortness of his stay and the language difficulties. Ranking in society, however, had him puzzled and he was never quite sure who was the most significant person in Tonga. He met several important chiefs, each of which, in turn, he thought was the king. At the conclusion of the 1777 visit, however, he had come to an amazingly accurate understanding of the political structure, including the confusing 'Tamaha' relationship.

The French and Spanish explorers added their observations to the first European attempts to describe the Tongan political structure of the 18th Century. Maurelle, a Spaniard, discovered Vava'u in 1781, naming it don Martin Mayorga, and its port the Puerta del Refugio. He has provided us with detailed information about his meeting with "the Tupou", most probably the Tu'i Tonga, and of the great reverence shown to that person by the people. La Perouse, the French Navigator, visited Niuatoputapu, Vava'u, and Tongatapu during his brief visit in 1787. He did not land, but recorded quite a deal of useful information about Tonga, very little of it however of a political nature. He does tell us that the people in those times did not live in villages, but in huts "dispersed over the fields".

Perhaps the most valuable information from the early visitors is provided by two of the first European residents in Tonga; George Vason, one of the artisan Missionaries who landed in 1790, and William Mariner, the cabin boy who survived the Port au Prince massacre in 1806. Mariner's account is particularly valuable. He clears away some of the difficulties that are evident in Cook's mind over ranking in society. Furthermore his descriptions of the relationship between the King and the Tu'itonga, between the civil and the religious authority, indicate that Tongan society was in a state of great change immediately preceding Mariner's arrival and during his years in Tonga. The power and prestige of the sacred King Tu'i Tonga was being considerably reduced, and in fact his supreme authority was effectively destroyed by Finau 'Ulukalala.

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DUTCH EXPLORERS PROVIDE THE FIRST EUROPEAN REPORTS ABOUT TONGA

(i) "the King himself came" - Schouten and Lemaire 1616

[Journal of Schouten and LeMaire, Comments about Niuatoputapu and Tafahi in Alexander Dalrymple, An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean. Volume II. Containing the Dutch Voyages. London 1771.]pp.27-28]

After noon the King himself came with a large vessel under sail, of the same figure before described like an ice sledge, and full thirty five canoes who attended him. This king, or chief, was called by his people Latou; we received him with drums and trumpets, at which they were very much astonished as things to them unheard and unknown. They showed us the highest honour and amity that it was possible to do, bowing the head down, striking their fists on their head, and using many other strange ceremonies. Being a little distance from us the king began to cry out, and to behave as if he made a prayer, after his manner, and all those of his company likewise, without our knowing what that meant, only we judged that it was a congratulation of our happy arrival. Immediately after, the king sent us a matt, with three of his servants; to whom we gave in return an old hatchet, a few beads and a few old nails, with a piece of cloth, which he received very politely, putting it three times upon his head and then bowing the head down in sign of respect and thankfulness. The people who came to the ship threw themselves on their knees and kissed our feet and were astonished beyond measure at our ship. This king could not be distinguished from the other Indians, for he went also quite naked except in being treated with respect, and that he was very well obeyed amongst them. We made signs that the Latou should come on board our ship; his son came on board, whom we treated well, but he himself did not chuse or at least would not come aboard but they all made signs for us to go to the other Island with our ship, and that he had there plenty of everything. Amongst other things we exchanged with them three fish-gigs, which were made of reed, like those of Holland, only a little thicker, with barbs of pearl shells. The king's son returned on shore and the canoe which carried him had on the larboard side a large piece of wood where with they kept it upright; on this wood was a fish-gig ready for use.

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13th at day-break we found two canoes come to trade as in the former days; and immediately after came forty-five others, with cocoas, bananas, hogs, and fowls so that in about two hours we had trucked 700 cocoas, and other things;

afterwards we saw some small vessels, or canoes, coming behind, supposing it was the king who came to see us; but seeing that they went to surround us on all sides, giving great room for suspicion, we made haste to weigh and get under sail. The chief 'sail' which they all followed, and which appeared to have the command over the others, carried the figure of a grey and red cock; being then all ranged in order of battle, one of the canoes came to board us, crying terribly and furiously throwing stones against us; we fired two or three shot against the troop, so that some were killed on the spot; the others leaped into the sea and saved themselves by swimming, with the women who were near them. There was about 1,000 persons; so that they seem to have collected all their force to destroy us. Our people were so provoked and enraged against these treacherous recals, that they were mad to go ashore in pursuit of them and to revenge this outrage, but the president and the council would not consent.

(ii) "they did us great honour and friendship" - Tasman 1643

[Sharp, Andrew. The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman. Oxford. 1968. pp.153-171.]

('Eua)

On 21st d^o in the morning calm, had the Southernmost island east by South from us about 5 miles, made our course for the northernmost island (Tongatapu) lies in the Southern latitude of 21 deg. 50 minutes, and longitude 205 Degrees 29 minutes. Sailed to the northwest side of the Island, and let our anchor fall there, in 25 fathoms coral bottom where we came to anchor lies in the Southern latitude of 21 Degrees 20 minutes, and longitude 205 29 minutes, these two islands lie about South east and north west from each other, we could see through between both, it seemed to be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, of which the Southeasternmost was the highest, the northernmost being a low island, just as holland is, [we] have given the northernmost the name of Amsterdam, by reason of abundance of supplies, which [we] got there, the Southernmost we named Middleburch, about noon there came a small canoe with three man from shore close to our ship, They were nude, of brown Colour and somewhat more than ordinary height, two had long thick hair on the head, the third was shorn short [they] had nothing but a small quaint cloth in front of their male parts, their canoe was thin and narrow, covered over a large part of the way forward and aft, the paddles of ordinary length, the blade with which they paddled broad in the middle, they called to us several times and we back to them, but could not understand one another, [we] showed them white cloth, of which we threw a piece of fully $1\frac{1}{2}$ fathom long overboard, which they seeing paddled towards but since

it was Sinking and quite deep under water the foremost from the canoe dived after the Same, he remained a very long time under water, eventually came up again with the cloth and into the canoe, when he put the Same several times on top of his head, in token of thanks; [they] came then with their canoe quite a bit nearer, [we] threw them a piece of wood, to which [we] had fastened 2 large nails, proffered them a chinese mirror with a chain of chinese beads, which [we] held toward them with a long stick, to which they tied one of their fish hooks, with a bit of string, which They returned to us in recompense; this fish hook was of mother-of-pearl shell, in form like a small Sardine, they put the chain of beads and the mirror many times on the head, the middlemost in the canoe bound the nails round his neck, but because the slide was in front of the mirror, they could see nothing in it therefore [we] proffered them another which they looked in put in on their head, we showed them an old coconut and a hen, asked from our vocabulary about water pigs &c but did not understand them nor They us. [they] directed us all the time toward land; after we had given them the above written things, shown the Coconut and the hen [they] eventually paddled to land, and made sign, as if [they] would go and fetch the one or the other from land, at and after noon [we] Saw numbers of people walk along beach, Some with white flags, from which we presumed, This to be a peace token; therefore [we] also put out our white flag from aft; thereupon a small canoe with 4 persons sturdy men, the body being painted Black from the middle to the thighs, their necks hung with Large leaves came to the ship, bringing a little white flag and a cloth of bark of trees, they put this said flag on the stem of our boat, the wing of their canoe was adorned with sea shells and cockles, we concluded from these presents and adornment, of their canoe (which more so than the other canoes) that it came from the king or head of the Land, therefore presented them with a small chinese mirror knife dungaree and one to 2 nails we had a glass of wine filled for them drank first ourselves so that [they] should not think, we wished to poison them or do other hurt; having delivered the glass [they] poured the wine out, and took along the glass to land, shortly a crowd of canoes came there, some with 5 to 6 others with 10 to 12 coconuts, all which we exchanged for old nails 3 to 4 for a double medium nail, some came swimming off all the way from land with coconuts, all which we bought afterwards an aged man came on our ship whom the others all honoured, so that it seemed one of their chiefs, we led him into the cabin, he did us reverence lowered his head to our feet, we also did him honour according to our fashion we showed him fresh water in a beaker, which he indicated was to be got on land, [we] presented him with a knife a small mirror, and a piece of dungaree, on departing from the Cabin, one of them was found who had stolen the Skipper's pistol with a pair of slippers we took it back from him Without showing the least annoyance many of these people

had the lower body painted black to the knees, some had a mother-of-pearl shell hanging on the breast, Towards the evening about 20 canoes came close by our ship, which all went and lay in regular order with one another, before (they) came to the ship [they] made a great noise, calling a number of times Woe, Woe, Woe. &c whereupon those who were in our Ship went and sat down, and some canoes then also paddled alongside bringing a present from the King, consisting of a fine large pig, some coconuts and yams the bringer was he who brought the white flag and the bark cloth, we recompensed them with an ordinary serving dish and a piece of copper wire, we exchanged still more coconuts, plantains, yams and a pig &c for nails and Beads, about dusk they all left the ship, except one who stayed on the Ship to sleep.

On 22nd d^o in the morning early a crowd of canoes again came to the ship, with coconuts, yams, plantains, bananas, pigs and fowls which we bartered, to wit a Young pig for a small fathom of dungaree, a hen for a nail or a chain of beads the coconuts, yams, bananas &c for old nails; several women both old and Young came to the ship, the oldest women had the little fingers cut off on both hands; but the Young women not, what this signified [we] could not find out; about 8 o'clock the old person of yesterday again came to the ship, brought us 2 pigs, for which we gave him a knife decorated with a Silver band, with 8 to 9 nails as honour, took him to lock below and round the ship, also had one of our large pieces fired, at which They were Very frightened and ran away astonished but because [they] Saw that no one suffered injury therefrom, were quickly calmed again, we presented this old man with a figured satin cloth, a hat and a shirt which [we] put on him, about noon 32 small canoes and a large ditto furnished with sail, and constructed just as in the Journal of Iacob lamaire in N^o is depicted, appeared alongside our ship from which 18 sturdy men and some womenfolk came on our ship, [they] brought, some cloths of bark, and fruit as coconuts yams and other roots, of which we had no knowledge as gifts We presented, the chief of these persons with a shirt a pair of trousers a small mirror and some beads, put the trousers and the shirt on his body, by which he was Very much adorned; among these 18 persons was a rough stout man with a St Tomas arm, and a woman who by nature had a little beard on the mouth, we got the under-mate of the Zeehaen with his Trumpet, and one of their sailors with a violin to come to the ship; [we] had them together with our Trumpeter and one of our sailors who could play on the german flute blow together, and play, which was a surprise to them, meanwhile [we] had some water casks put in our and the Zeehaen's boat, in order to go with these people following resolution, to see whether water may be obtained anywhere here, we had a mate go in

each boat our Skipper Ide Tiercxz. Holman and the Merchant Gilsemans, went also with our sloop together with the aged person, and he who had now come, which people would show our men the water place, in our sloop [we] put also some musketeers, although these people seemed well-disposed nevertheless [we] cannot know what sticks in the heart therefore [we] armed our people to prevent mischances, after our vessels had rowed a large part of the way to the North east side of this Land, [they] were brought eventually to three small water wells, where one had to scoop out the water with a Coconut shell; this water was not suitable all green and disagreeable in Colour, also so little in quantity that even if it was quite good, we should get here no satisfaction these people who had shown our folk this place, brought them inland to a pleasure place and decorated baleije, where our men were set down on fine mats, the people brought there nothing but 2 coconut shells with water, one for the chief and the other for our Skipper, Towards the evening our people returned with a Live pig, and reported: that there was No appearance of getting water there, on this day [we] have brought 40 head pigs Each pig for a double medium nail and a half fathom old Sailcloth, and about 70 head fowls, each hen for a double medium nail &c some yams coconuts and other fruits For beads, In the evening there was brought to the ship from Land, by one of the chiefs a roasted pig, yams and other roots, these people have no knowledge at all of tobacco or tobacco smoking, the women go bedecked from the middle to the knees with mats of leaves of trees, the rest naked [they] have the hair shorter than the men folk, the men's beard is usually 3 to 4 fingers' breadth long on the chin above the mouth it is fairly short; having the moustache not longer than about 2 straws broad, [we] Saw with these people no weapons, So that all was peace and friendship. the current does not go hard here the flood runs to the Southwest and the ebb to the north east, which according to our reckoning here a Southwest moon makes, the water flows about 7: to 8: feet up and down

On 23rd d^o in the morning we Went with Skipper Gerrit Jansz. with both boats and sloop to Land to dig wells, and to See whether one cannot here get some water; coming to land [we] at once Went to the wells, indicated to the chief that the wells must be Larger, [he] gave at once order to His people who did that Same for us, [he] went with us to the baleije had a mat spread there, where we went up and sat, being placed [he] at once had Sweet milk and cream served up, fresh fish, all sorts of fruits which may be obtained there in quantity, [they] did us great honour and friendship asked us where [we] came from and where wanted to go: [we] Said to them that [we] had been at sea over a hundred days, at which they were very astonished, [we] Said that [we] came there

for water, pigs, fowls &c, to which they answered that they had plenty of these, as much as [we] wanted, [we] got 9 casks with water, and they presented to us four live pigs with a number of fowls coconuts, bananas &c we presented them in return with 1 fathom cloth, 6 nails and 6 bundles of beads, for which they thanked us Very much, then [we] went after with the 3 chiefs indicating to them that we wished to leave the white flag at the baleije in token of peace; at which they were very glad, [they] took the flag first one and then the other on their head wanting thereby to show that they Sought nothing other than our friendship, then they fastened the flag to the baleije, as sign that [they] had made an alliance with us;

(Nomuka)

. About 2 hours before sunset, our sloop, with the Skipper and pilot major returned, reporting, that on coming to land, [they] had found about 60 to 70 persons Sitting on the beach, at which They thought, almost all the menfolk from this Island was present, [they] had no weapons; but seemed a good peaceful people, for [they] found by there many women and children;

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On Last d^o in the morning early sent the boats with our sloop, again for water but since the weather began to look so dark and changeable, [we] have given a signal that they Sould come back; whereupon [they] came back at once,, at noon we to wit, I our Skipper the pilot Major, the Skipper and merchant of the Zeehaen and the Secretary, with both the boats and sloop went to land, to go and take leave there as [we] were of intention to depart; coming to land many people gathered immediately together, we asked two persons who appeared the most important for the chief of the Land, who thereupon led us into the trees, through confined Narrow dirty muddied paths (since much rain had fallen continuously for one to 2 days) first [we] were brought to the South Side of the Land, where a number of Coconut trees stood planted in order next to each other, from there [they] led us to the east side of Same land, where 6 large canoes covered 2 together with planks and carrying masts, lay. Here also stood one to 2 small houses which were decorated a little more than ordinarily, to wit enclosed around with reed shoots from this place [we] proceeded to a basin or brackish inland water of about a mile in circuit; after [we] had stayed here a little time, [we] asked them again where the Aisij or Latouw (that is king or chief in our speech) was. They directed us to the farther side of this water, and since the Sun came fairly low toward the water [we] returned by another way to our vessels, in going there and back [we] saw numbers of plots or gardens in which

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the beds were made neatly in squares, and planted with all sorts of earth-fruits, the banana and other fruit trees in many places and almost all standing so straight in line that it was a pleasure to behold, giving from it all round a lovely pleasant aroma and odour. So that in this people (who had the form of a man but inhuman Morals and customs) also men's ingenuity appeared, about 2 hours before the setting of the Sun [we] came back on board, these islands lie in the averaged longitude 185 miles more easterly than the islands of Salamon, and by my estimate 230 miles east of the easternmost Islands of Salamon - of religion or God's service, these people know nothing, [nor] have also any idols images or other heathen relics, nor clergy, none the less [they] are superstitious, since I have seen that one of these persons took up a water snake, which came drifting past His canoe, laid it reverently on His head and then Put it back in the water, they also kill no flies (which are here in great plenty and trouble them enough) however many of the Same Sit on the body, it happened while we lay here, that our mate (by chance) killed a fly and that in the sight, of one of these chiefs, at which this man showed anger these people have on this Island no king or leader [they] Are also wholly without government, even so they know of wrong and punish, the culprits, but this punishment does not happen by law; but by the innocent Generally this [we] have observed when we were getting water and one of these persons, had stolen one of our pikes with which he ran into the trees, which we saw and over This showed annoyance; the others perceiving the Same ran after him, brought us the pike a little later on the way, and punished the wrongdoer or thief thus they took an old coconut and beat with it on his back, until the nut burst; whether this is ordinarily their custom, or whether it happened only for our wish [we] Could not know.

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ENGLISH EXPLORERS RECORD THEIR OBSERVATIONS 1767-1777

(i) Niuatoputapu and Tafahi as seen by Captain Wallis 1767

[An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successfully performed by COMMODORE BYRON, CAPTAIN WALLIS, CAPTAIN CARTERET, and CAPTAIN COOK, in the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW, and the ENDEAVOUR: Drawn up from the JOURNALS which were kept by the several COMMANDERS, and from the Papers of JOSEPH BANKS, esq; By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. In Three Volumes. Volume I. London. MDCCLXXIII. pp.492-494.]

We continued to steer our course westward, till day-break on the 13th of August, when we saw land bearing W. by S. and hauled towards it. At 11 o'clock in the forenoon, we saw more land in the W.S.W. At noon, the first land that

we saw, which proved to be an island, bore W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. distant about five leagues, and had the appearance of a sugar leaf; the middle of the other land, which was also an island, and appeared in a peak, bore W.S.W. distant six leagues. To the first, which is nearly circular, the three miles over, I gave the name of BOSCAWEN'S ISLAND; and the other, which is three miles and a half long, and two broad, I called KEPPEL'S ISLE. Port Royal at this time bore E. $4^{\circ} 10'$ S. distant 47 leagues.

At two o'clock, being about two miles distant from Boscawen's Island, we saw several of the inhabitants; but Keppel's Isle being to windward, and appearing more likely to afford us anchorage, we hauled up for it. At six, it was not more than a mile and an half distant, and, with our glasses, we saw many of the inhabitants upon the beach; but there being breakers at a considerable distance from the shore, we stood off and on all night.

At four o'clock the next morning, we sent off the boats to sound, and visit the island; and as soon as it was light, we ran down and lay over-against the middle of it. At noon, the boats returned, and reported that they had run within a cable's length of the island, but could find no ground: that seeing a reef of rocks lie off it, they had hauled round it, and got into a large deep bay which was full of rocks; that they then founded without the bay, and found anchorage from 14 to 20 fathom, with a bottom of sand and coral: that afterwards they went again into the bay, and found a rivulet of good water, but the shore being rocky, went in search of a better landing-place, which they found about half a mile farther, and went ashore. They reported also, that from the water to this landing-place, a good rolling-way might be made for supplying the ship, but that a strong guard would be necessary, to prevent molestation from the inhabitants. They saw no hogs, but brought off two fowls and some coconuts, plantains and bananas. While the boats were on shore, two canoes came up to them with six men: they seemed to be peaceably inclined, and were much the same kind of people as the inhabitants of King George's Island, but they were clothed in a kind of matting, and the first joint of their little fingers had been taken off; at the same time about fifty more came down from the country, to within about an hundred yards of them, but would advance no farther. When our people had made what observations they could, they put off, and three of the natives from the canoes came into one of the boats, but when she got

about half a mile from the shore, they all suddenly jumped overboard and swam back again.

Having received this account, I considered that the watering here would be tedious, and attended with great fatigue; that it was now the depth of winter in the southern hemisphere, that the ship was leaky, that the rudder shook the stern very much, and that what other damage she might have received in her bottom could not be known. That for these reasons, she was very unfit for the bad weather which she would certainly meet with either in going round Cape Horn, or through the Streight of Magellan: that if she should get safely through the Streight, or round the Cape, it would be absolutely necessary for her to refresh in some port, but in that case no port would be in her reach; I therefore determined to make the best of my way to Tinian, Batavia, and so to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. By this rout, as far as we could judge, we should sooner be at home; and if the ship should prove not to be in a condition to make the whole voyage, we should still save our lives, as from this place to Batavia we should probably have a calm sea, and be not far from a port.

In consequence of this resolution, at noon I bore away, and passed Boscawen's Island without visiting it. It is a high round island, abounding in wood, and full of people; but Keppel's Isle is by far the largest and the best of the two.

Boscawen's Island lies in latitude $15^{\circ} 50'$ S. longitude 175° W. and Keppel's Isle in latitude $15^{\circ} 55'$ S. longitude $175^{\circ} 3'$ W.

(ii) Cook's comments during his first visit 1773-1774.

[A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World. Performed in His Majesty's ships the RESOLUTION and ADVENTURE, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775. Written by James Cook, Commander of the RESOLUTION. Vol.1. London 1777.]

Saturday 21st October 1773. - p.202.

"We were no sooner seated in the house, than the eldest of the priests began a speech or prayer, which was first directed to the Afiatouca, and then to me, and alternately. When he addressed me, he paused at every sentence, till I gave a nod of approbation. I, however, did not understand one single word he said. At times, the old gentleman seemed to be at a loss what to say; or perhaps his memory failed him; for, every now and then, he was prompted by one of the other priests who sat by him. Both during this prayer and the former one, the people were silent, but not attentive. At this last place we made but a short stay. Our guides conducted us down to our boat, and we returned with Attago to our ship to dinner. We had no sooner got on board, than an old gentleman came alongside, who I understand from Attago, was some king or great man. He was, accordingly, ushered on board; when I presented him with such things as he most valued (being the only method to make him my friend) and seated him at table to dinner. We now saw that he was a man of consequence; for Attago would not sit down and eat before him, but got to the other end of the table; and, as the old chief was almost blind, he sat there, and eat with his back towards him. After the old man had eaten a bit of fish and drank two glasses of wine, he returned ashore. As soon as Attago had seen him out of the ship, he came and took his place at the table, finished his dinner, and drank two glasses of wine. When dinner was over, we all went ashore, where we found the old chief, who presented me with a hog; and he and some others, took a walk with us into the country."

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Wednesday, October 1773.

"My friend Attago having visited me again next morning, as usual, brought with him a hog, and assisted me in purchasing several more. Afterwards we went ashore; visited the old king, with whom we staid till noon; then

returned on board to dinner, with Attago, who never once left me. Intending to sail the next morning, I made up a present for the old king, and carried it on shore in the evening. As soon as I landed, I was told by the officers who were on shore, that a far greater man than any we had yet seen was come to pay us a visit. Mr. Pickersgill informed me that he had seen him in the country, and found that he was a man of some consequence, by the extraordinary respect paid him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their head between their feet; and no one durst pass him without permission. Mr. Pickersgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing-place, where I found him seated with so much sullen and stupid gravity, that notwithstanding what had been told me, I really took him for an idiot, whom the people, from some superstitious notions, were ready to worship. I saluted and spoke to him; but he neither answered, nor took the least notice of me; nor did he alter a single feature in his countenance. This confirmed me in my opinion, and I was just going to leave him, when one of the natives, an intelligent youth, undertook to undeceive me; which he did in such a manner as left me no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the island. Accordingly I made him the present I intended for the old chief, which consisted of a shirt, an ax, a piece of red cloth, a looking-glass, some nails, medals, and beads. He received these things, or rather suffered them to be put upon him, and laid down by him, without losing a bit of his gravity, speaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; sitting 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 on board before word was brought me that a quantity of provisions had come from this chief. A boat was sent to bring it from the shore; and it consisted of about twenty baskets of roasted bananas, sour bread and yams, and a roasted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr. Edgumbe and his party were just reimbarking, when these were brought to the waterside, and the bearers said it was a present from the Areeke, that is the king of the island, to the Areeke of the ship. After this I was no longer to doubt the dignity of this sullen chief.

-; Thursday 7th, October 1773. - p.207

Early in the morning of the 7th, while the ships were unmooring, I went ashore with Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forster, in order to make some return to the king for his last night's present. We no sooner landed than we found

Attago, of whom we inquired for the king, whose name was Kohaghee-too-Fallangou. He accordingly undertook to conduct us to him; but, whether he mistook the man we wanted, or was ignorant where he was, I know not. Certain it is, that he took us ^awrong road, in which he had not gone far before he stopped; and after some little conversation between him and another man, we returned back, and presently after, the king appeared with very few attendants, As soon as Attago saw him coming, he sat down under a tree, and desired us to do the same. The king seated himself on a rising ground, about twelve or fifteen yards from us: here we sat facing one another for some minutes. I waited for Attago to shew us the way; but seeing he did not rise, Captain Furneaux and I got up, went and saluted the king, and sat down by him. We then presented him with a white shirt (which we put on his back) a few yards of red cloth, a brass kettle, a saw, two large spikes, three looking-glasses, a dozen of medals, and some strings of beads. All this time he sat with the same sullen stupid gravity as the day before; he even did not seem to see or know what we were about; his arms appeared immoveable at his sides; he did not so much as raise them when we put on the shirt. I told him, both by words and signs, that we were going to leave his island; he scarcely made the least answer to this, or any other thing, we either said or did. We, therefore, got up and took leave; but I yet remained near him, to observe his actions. Soon after, he entered into conversation with Attago and an old woman, whom we took to be 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 it exceeded every thing of the king I ever saw; and therefore think it could not be his real disposition (unless he was an idiot indeed) as these islanders, like all the others we had lately visited, have a great deal of levity; and he was in the prime of life. At last, he rose up, and retired with his mother and two or three more.

Attago conducted us to another circle, where were seated the aged chief and several respectable old persons of both sexes; among whom was the priest, who was generally in company with this chief. We observed that this reverend father could walk very well in a morning; but, in an evening, was obliged to be led home by two people. By this we concluded, that the juice of the pepper-root had the same effect upon him, that wine and other strong liquors have on Europeans who drink a large portion of them. It is very certain, that these old people seldom sat down without preparing a bowl of this liquor; which is done in the same manner as at Ulietea. We, however, must do them the justice

to believe, that it was meant to treat us; nevertheless, the greatest part, if not the whole, generally fell to their share. I was not well prepared to take leave of this chief, having exhausted almost all our store on the other. However, after rummaging our pockets, and treasury bag, which was always carried with me wherever I went, we made up a tolerable present, both for him and his friends. This old chief had an air of dignity about him that commanded respect, which the other had not. He was grave, but not sullen; would crack a joke, talk on indifferent subjects, and endeavour to understand us and be understood himself. During this visit, the old priest repeated a short prayer or speech, the purport of which we did not understand. Indeed he would frequently, at other times, break out in prayer; but I never saw any attention paid to him by any one present. After a stay of near two hours, we took leave, and returned on board, with Attago and two or three more friends, who staid and breakfasted with us; after which they were dismissed, loaded with presents."

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October 1773. - p.222

"I have frequently mentioned a King, which implies the government being in a single person, without knowing for certain whether it is so or not. Such an one was, however, pointed out to us; and we had no reason to doubt it. From this, and other circumstances, I am of opinion that the government is much like that of Otaheite: that is, in a king or great chief, who is here called Areeke, with other chiefs under him, who are lords of certain districts; and perhaps sole proprietors, to whom the people seem to pay great obedience. I also observed a third rank, who had not a little authority over the common people; my friend Attago was one of these. I am of opinion that all the land on Tonga-tabu is private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, a set of people, who are servants or slaves, and have no property in land. It is unreasonable to suppose every thing in common in a country so highly cultivated as this. Interest being the greatest spring which animates the hand of industry, few would toil in cultivating and planting the land, if they did not expect to reap the fruit of their labour; were it otherwise, the industrious man would be in a worse state than the idle sluggard. I frequently saw parties of six eight, or ten people, bring down to the landing-place, fruit and other things to dispose of, where one person, a man or woman, superintended the sale of the whole; no exchanges were made but with his or her consent; and, whatever we gave in exchange, was always given them, which, I think plainly shewed them to be the owners of the goods, and the others no more than servants."

(iii) George Forster's descriptions of 'Eua 1773

[A Voyage Round the World, in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, RESOLUTION, commanded by Capt. JAMES COOK, during the years 1772, 3, 4, and 5. By GEORGE FORSTER, F.R.S. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1. London, MDCCLXXVII. pp. 428-444.]

We soon left the landing place, and followed the chief, who invited us up into the country. The ground from the water's side rose somewhat steep for a few yards, above which it flattened into a beautiful green lawn, surrounded by tall trees and tufted shrubberies, and open only to the sea. At the bottom of it, which might be about one hundred yards from the landing-place, we saw a very neat well-looking house, of which the roof sloped down within two feet of the ground. We advanced across the delightful green, which was so smooth, that it put us in mind of the finest spots in England, and were entreated to sit down in the house, which was most elegantly laid out with mats of the best workmanship. In one corner of it we saw a moveable partition of wicker-work standing upright, and, from the signs of the natives collected, that it separated their bed-place. The roof, sloping down on all sides, was formed of a great number of spars and round sticks very firmly connected, and covered with a sort of matting made of banana leaves.

We were no sooner seated in the house, surrounded by a considerable number of natives, not less than a hundred, than two or three of the women welcomed us with a song, which, though exceedingly simple, had a very pleasing effect, and was highly musical when compared to the Tahitian songs. They beat time to it by snapping the second finger and thumb, and holding the three remaining fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus.

The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomepomes at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as

large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door, which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance, and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed through these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of Tahitee, and instead of following us in great crowds wherever we went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to accompany us.

In that case we could venture to go with our pockets open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house, of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands. But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Tahitians seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas, are their principal articles of diet. Their clothing too, compared to that of Tahitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their houses, though neatly constructed, and always placed in a fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these reflections as we advanced towards the landing place where several hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a profusion of the gifts of nature as the Tahitians, those gifts were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men and women. They hugged

very heartily, and frequently kissed our hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion of strength in their agriculture and economy. Their features were extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces, in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and the beard shaven or rather clipped by means of a couple of sharp muscle shells, (mytili.) The women were, in general, a few inches shorter than the men, but not so small as the lower class of women at Taheitee and the Society Isles. Their body was exquisitely proportioned down to the waist, and their hands and arms were to the full as delicate as those of the Taheitian women; but like them they had such large feet and legs as did not harmonize with the rest. Their features, though without regularity, were as agreeable as we had in general observed them at the Society Isles; but we recollected many individuals there, especially of the principal families, to which none of these could be compared. The complexion of both sexes here was the same, a light chesnut-brown, which had commonly the appearance of perfect health. That difference of colour and corpulence, by which we immediately distinguished the ranks at Taheitee, was not to be met with in this island. The chief, who had visited us on board and accompanied us to the shore, was in nothing different from the common people, not even in his dress; it was only from the obedience which was paid to his orders that we concluded his quality.

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The immense quantity of arms belonging to the natives, corresponded very ill with the pacific disposition, which had strongly shone through their whole behaviour towards us, and which still manifested itself in their readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have sometimes quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on this subject.

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The next morning early the captain went on shore with us, and presented the chief with a variety of garden seeds, explaining by signs how useful they would prove to him. This was as yet our only mode of conversation, though we had picked up a number of words, which, by the help of the principles of universal grammar, and the idea of dialects, we easily perceived had a great affinity with the language spoken at Tahitee and the Society Isles. O-Mai and Mahine (or O-Hedeede,) the two natives of Raietea and Borabora who embarked with us, at first declared that the language was totally new and unintelligible to them; however, when we explained to them the affinity of several words, they presently caught the peculiar modification of this dialect, and conversed much better with the natives than we could have done after a long intercourse with them. They were extremely well pleased with this country, but soon perceived its defects, and told us there was but scanty provision of bread-fruit, few hogs and fowls, and no dogs, which was really the case. In return; however, they liked the abundance of sugar-canes and of intoxicating pepper, of which the drink had been offered to captain Cook.

As soon as the captains had delivered their present, they returned to the ships, and the chief came on board with us. Our anchor was weighed, our sails were spread to the wind, and we forsook this happy island when we had scarce discovered its beauties. The chief, after selling a number of fish-hooks for nails and beads, hailed one of the canoes which were passing by, and left us with looks which spoke his friendly, open disposition.

(iv) Government and administration of law as seen by Cook in 1777.

[A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean; Undertaken by command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere: performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780. Newcastle 1790. pp.215-220.]

"The island of Tongataboo is divided into numerous districts, each of which has its peculiar chief, who distributes justice, and decides disputes within his own territory. Most of these chieftains have estates in other islands, whence they procure supplies. The king, at stated times, receives the product of his distant domains at Tongataboo, which is not only ^{the} usual place of his residence, but the abode of most persons of distinction among these islands. Its inhabitants frequently call it the Land of Chiefs, and stigmatize the subordinate isles with the appellation of Lands of Servants.

The Chiefs are styled by the people lords of the earth, and also of the sun and sky. The royal family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the god distinguished by that appellation, who is probably considered by them as their tutelary patron. The king's peculiar title is simply ^{Tu'i}Tooee Tonga. The order and decorum observed in his presence, and likewise in that of the chiefs, are truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, all the attendants seat themselves before him, forming a semicircle, and leaving a sufficient space between them and him, into which no one, unless he has particular business, presumes to come. Nor is any one suffered to sit or pass behind him, or even near him, without his permission. When a person wishes to speak to his majesty, he comes forward, and having seated himself before him, delivers in a few words what he has to say; then, after being favoured with an answer, retires. If the king speaks to any one, the latter gives an answer from his seat, unless he is to receive an order; in which case he rises from his place, and seats himself cross-legged before his majesty. To speak to the king standing, would here be considered as a glaring mark of rudeness.

None of the most civilized nations have ever exceeded these islanders in the great order and regularity maintained on every occasion, in ready and submissive compliance with the commands of their chiefs, and in the perfect harmony that subsists among all ranks. Such a behaviour manifests itself in a remarkable manner, whenever their chiefs harangue a body of them assembled together, which frequently happens. The greatest attention and most profound silence are observed during the harangue; and whatever might have been the

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purport of the oration, we never saw a single instance when any one of those who were present shewed signs of his being displeased, or seemed in the least inclined to dispute the declared will of the speaker.

It is a peculiar privilege annexed to the person of the king, not to be punctured, nor circumcised, or rather supercised, as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, all who meet him must sit down till he has passed. No person is suffered to be over his head; but, on the contrary, all must come under his feet. The method of doing homage to him, and the other chiefs, is as follows: the person who is to pay obeisance, squats down before the great personage, and bows the head down to the sole of his foot, which he taps or touches with the under and upper side of the fingers of each hand; then rising up, he retires. We had reason to think, that his majesty cannot refuse any one who is desirous of paying him this homage, which is called by the natives ^{mo'e moea} mo'e moea; for the people would frequently think proper to shew him these marks of submission when he was walking; and he was on those occasions obliged to stop, and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed this respectful ceremony. This, to so corpulent and unwieldy a man as Poulaho, must have been painful and troublesome; and we have sometimes seen him endeavour, by running to get out of the way, so to reach a convenient place for sitting down."

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"The word taboo has a great latitude of signification. They call human sacrifices tangata taboo; and when any particular thing is prohibited to be eaten or made use of, they say it is taboo. They informed us, that if the king should go into a house belonging to one of his subjects, that house would in consequence become taboo, and could never be again inhabited by the owner of it; so that wherever his majesty travels there are houses peculiarly assigned for his accommodation. At this time Old Toobou ^{toobou} presided over the taboo; that is, if Omai did not misunderstand those who gave him the intelligence, he and his deputies had the inspection of all the produce of the island, taking care that each individual should cultivate and plant his quota, and directing what should and what should not be eaten. By so prudent a regulation, they take effectual precautions against a famine; sufficient ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article is secured from unnecessary consumption. By another good regulation, an officer of rank is appointed to superintend the police. This department was administered while we continued among them, by Feenou, whose

business (as we were informed) it was, to punish all delinquents: he was also generalissimo, or commander in chief of the forces of the islands. Poulaho himself declared to us, that if he should become a bad man, Feenou would dethrone and kill him; by which he doubtless meant, that if he neglected the duties of his high station, or governed in a manner that would prove prejudicial to the public welfare, Feenou would be desired by the other chiefs, or by the collective body of the people, to depose him from his sovereignty, and put him to death. A monarch thus subject to controul and punishment for abuse of power, cannot justly be deemed a despotic prince.

When we take into consideration the number of islands of which this state consists, and the distance at which some of them are removed from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke of subjection might be apprehended. But they informed us, that this circumstance never happens. One reason of their not being thus embroiled in domestic commotions may be this; that all the principal chiefs take up their residence at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other isles, by the decisive celerity of their operations; for if a seditious and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenou, or whoever happens to hold his office, is immediately dispatched thither to put him to death; by which means they extinguish an insurrection while it is yet in embryo.

The different classes of their chiefs seemed to be nearly as numerous as among us; but there are few, comparatively speaking, that are lords of extensive districts of territory. It is said, that when a person of property dies, all his possessions devolve on the sovereign; but that it is customary to give them to the eldest son of the deceased, with this condition annexed, that he should provide out of the estate for the other children. The crown is hereditary; and we know, from a particular circumstance, that the Futtafaihes, of which family is Poulaho, have reigned in a direct line for the space of at least one hundred and thirty-five years, which have elapsed between our present visit to these islands and Tasman's discovery of them. Upon our inquiring of them whether any traditional account of the arrival of Tasman's ships had been preserved among them till this time, we found that this history had been delivered down to them from their ancestors, with great accuracy: for they said that his two ships resembled ours, and also mentioned the place where they had lain at anchor, their having continued but a few days, and their quitting that station to go to Annamooka; and for the purpose of informing us how long ago this affair had happened, they communicated to us the name of the Futtafaihe who reigned at

that time, and those who had succeeded him in the sovereignty, down to Poulaho, who is the fifth monarch since that period.

It might naturally be imagined that the present sovereign of the Friendly Isles had the highest rank of any person in his dominions. But we found it to be otherwise; for ^{Latanipua} Latoolibooloo, who has been already mentioned, and three women, are superior in some respects to Poulaho himself. These great personages are distinguished by the title of Tammaha, which implies a chief. When we made inquiry concerning them, we were informed that the late king, father of Poulaho, left behind him a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that she, by a native of Feejee, had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, are of higher rank than the king. We endeavoured to discover the reason of this pre-eminence of the Tammahas, but without effect. The mother and one of her daughters, named ^{Tuikaepa} Tooeela-kaipa, reside at Vavaoo. The other daughter, called Moungoula-kaipa, and Latoolibooloo the son, dwell at Tongataboo. Moungoula-kaipa is the lady who has been mentioned as having dined with Capt. Cook on the 21st of June. Latoolibooloo was supposed by his countrymen to be disordered in his senses. At ^{Eva} Eooa, or Middleburg, they shewed us a considerable quantity of land, which was said to be his property; and we saw there a son of his, a child who was honoured with the same title that his father enjoyed."

(v) The observations of Cook's Assistant Surgeon 1773.

[Ellis, W. An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke, in his Majesty's ships RESOLUTION and DISCOVERY, during the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780; in search of a North-West Passage between the Continents of Asia and America. Including a faithful Account of all their Discoveries, and the unfortunate Death of Captain COOK. Illustrated with a CHART and a Variety of CUTS. By W. ELLIS, assistant surgeon to both vessels. The Second Edition. Vol. 1. London. MDCCLXXXIII. pp. 65-69, 113-17.]

Having got up our anchors, we again made sail, and on the 6th, at three in the afternoon, anchored off Anamooka, about three quarters of a mile from shore.

One of Captain Cook's reasons for stopping here a second time, was to look at some melons and cucumbers, the seeds of which he had planted soon after our arrival in May; but to his great regret they were in a very poor state, having been nearly destroyed by vermin.

The day after our second arrival here, we were informed that another great man from Tonga-Taboo, or Amsterdam, was arrived, whose name was Fatafee-Powlahow. This gentleman soon after came on board; he was above the middle size, exceeding fat, and appeared to be about forty. His attendants were numerous, and there was not one of them but told us that this man was the real king of Tonga-Taboo, Anamooka, Happi, and in short all the islands which we before supposed Feenow king of. This strange account surprised us a good deal, as every body had taken it for granted that Feenow was sovereign, every mark of respect and submission being paid him, and how to account for the usurpation (if such it was) of this man, was a circumstance we could not readily succeed in.

Feenow had gone the day before our departure from Happi, to a neighbouring island called Vaavow, from which he was to return at the end of three days, with a large stock of red feathers and various other things. The time elapsed, but no Feenow appeared. This circumstance, though it did not strike us then, appeared against him now with double force, and gave us great reason to suppose, that our old friend had really assumed a title to which he had no right, and that in fact he was absent for no other reason, but to avoid an interview with Powlahow, in the course of which all his consequence must fall to the ground.

Powlahow, during his stay on board, paid great attention to the different parts of the ship, and, amongst other questions, asked us what we came to these islands for? He said, we appeared to be in want of nothing, and that we all looked well and in health. A question of this kind came so unsuspected, that at first the Captain was at a loss what reply to make; but recollecting himself, he told him he came there by the order of his King, who was a great and mighty prince, and was desirous of entering into a league of friendship with him; that there was a large stock of hatchets, knives, beads, red cloth, &c. on board, which he would barter with him for hogs, and such articles as the island produced. This answer satisfied him very well, and, at the desire of the Captain, he went down with him into the great cabin, where he received a present suitable to his rank, and then went on board his canoe very much pleased.

The next morning Feenow arrived, and in the presence of some of our gentlemen, who by chance were with Powlahow, acknowledged him as his superior, and paid him the homage of a subject, but with a countenance so expressive of shame, that every one who saw him felt for and pitied him. Feenow's conduct was however natural enough; for most people are anxious to appear greater than they really are, especially if they are likely to gain any thing by it, which most probably was the case with him; and in this respect it answered his purpose

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very well, for he received many presents on that account, which otherwise would not have been given him. We found, however, that though he was not king, he was one of the principal men, and generalissimo of the king's forces, and upon all occasions led them out to battle.

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// The form of government with respect to its foundation is much the same as at the Society Isles; but it is carried on with much greater order and regularity, and a superior degree of respect is shewed to the king. No one dares to address him without first paying him homage, which is done by kneeling down and bowing the head to his feet, which the person afterwards gently taps once with the fingers and knuckles of each hand, after which he seats himself at a distance, and then proceeds to relate his business. The agees always sit at a distance, forming a semi-circle, the king being in front with four or five of his attendants behind him, and generally an old woman near him, with a fan.

The crown is hereditary, and has been in the present family for five generations. The king's authority, though absolute in almost every respect, is still in some measure curbed by ^{Pwau} Feenow and ^{Tupou} Tubow: the former, Powlahow told us, could dispossess him of his throne, and kill him, if he was a bad man. By which he probably meant, that if he neglected the duty of his station, or acted in a manner that would prove prejudicial to the good or welfare of the state, Feenow could lawfully depose and kill him. Tubow is likewise a man of the first consequence; his business is to inspect the ^{sonua} wenuah taboo, that is to examine the state of the islands with respect to their produce, and if there is a probability of any one species of provision falling short (which sometimes is the case, particularly when the season proves dry), he is to taboo it, or issue an order to forbid its being touched till the next season. By these wise precautions they are entirely divested of the fear of want. Some few days before our departure from Amsterdam almost every thing was tabooed, as our long stay had pretty well drained them of every thing they could spare.

The lower class of people are kept in great subjection by the chiefs, who in fact do just as they please with them, and seem to regard them as an abject set of beings, over whom they have an unbounded right. During our stay at Anamooka, immediately after the market for the day was over, one of the agees ordered the croud to disperse, and every one to retire to his home; which they not doing so readily as he thought they ought, he caught up a large stick, and fell upon them most furiously. One man was knocked down, and when taken away was to all appearance dead. The agee took no manner of notice of it, and walked away an unconcerned as if nothing had happened.