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PART TWO

CHAPTER III  Politics, Politicians and Spheres of Authority

CHAPTER IV  Conclusion and Assessment
CHAPTER III  Politics, Politicians and Spheres of Authority

Introduction

Politics in this thesis\(^1\) is a study of 'activities more or less directly related to the making of binding (authoritative) decisions' among the residents of Niuafou'ou. This view of politics has been suggested by David Easton\(^2\) and although there is an arbitrary element in this, as in all definitions which seek to tie words to actions and things, I shall attempt to expound it.

'Decisions' here are acts which involve a choice between alternatives even though this choice may be at the level of deciding to act or deciding not to act.\(^3\) For example, the Niuafou'ou District Officer has to decide whether or not to put into effect the law that all persons must attend a monthly fono 'meeting'. On Niuafou'ou the D.O. decides against.\(^4\)

\(^1\)I do not regard this or any other definition of politics as a universally valid scheme, but this definition has the merit of suiting the kind of data I collected on Niuafou'ou and making it more intelligible. In this respect I am subject to Barnes' (1967:78) criticism that "...anyone writing an article feels free to introduce his own scheme of analysis or to select from the large number of established schemes... Everyone practices his own combination of analytical selectism and inventiveness, and such consensus as there is springs from charismatic teachers...", but I consider this a strength rather than a weakness of anthropology.

\(^2\)Easton 1959:227, and earlier in 1953:129.

\(^3\)I do not use 'choice' here to refer to a 'collective cultural decision' but as an act which selects one norm or form of behaviour in preference to another. In this sense I follow Firth's (1964:43) formulation of 'choice' in his definition of social organization: "One may describe social organization, then, as the working arrangements of the society. It is the process of ordering of action and of relations in reference to given social ends, in terms of adjustments resulting from the exercise of choices by members of the society". Quoted and discussed by Van Velsen 1967:141ff.

\(^4\)See p. 82,83.
A decision is authoritative or binding when persons affected by it consider themselves bound by it, when they feel they must or ought to comply. Acceptance of such authoritative decisions is based on the values, norms, or fears of the persons involved by them. In societies undergoing rapid political or social change such as Niuafou it is not always known or predictable whether a decision will be acceptable to people or not and it may be the case that what in the past was acceptable as a legitimate political act is now rejected as an unacceptable and arbitrary act. For example, a traditional leader such as the Niuafou resident noble may ask his people to work for him in a variety of situations, but whether or not the people comply depends upon their ideas of what is legitimate and what is not. In the case of the strike discussed below, the people decided that the noble's demands were not legitimate.

Decision-making procedures like all social processes occur through time; they may be gradual or rapid, repetitive or cumulative. Repetition of cyclic decision-making processes must be observed or recorded for at least the span of time of the cycle in question; for example, an account of the election of a Tonga district officer must consider a span of time at least as long as the duration of one term of office, that is, from one election to another. Cumulative or spiral decision-making processes usually occur over greater spans of

5I differ from Swartz et. al. (1966:11) when they state that legitimate acts "...operate as predictions of what will happen in the future and not simply as accounts of what has happened in the past..." because this formulation does not allow for normative change and an accompanying redefinition of 'legitimacy'.

6See below Social Dynamics.

7By 'leader' is meant a person with a following who gets things done, and in this sense is close to Verba's (1964:180) 'instrumental leader'. By 'traditional' is meant (with Apter 1965:57) 'validation of current behaviour by reference to immemorial prescriptive norms.'
time and are more difficult to separate from the stream of historic events. For example, Tongan commoners were "emancipated" over 100 years ago by King Tupou I's "Emancipation Act", but the first commoner to be given a ministerial post in the Tonga Government did not appear until 1961, consequently one can say that decision-making processes whereby education, merit and experience rather than birth became criteria for qualification for high posts in the Tonga Government were both slow and cumulative, and a long time span must be taken into account to elucidate them.

The processes of decision-making studied here are social and not psychological, they are public (affecting the public but not necessarily universally held or desired) not physiological.\textsuperscript{8} I shall not mix the introspective study of mind with observation of external human behaviour even though the two are related in a complex and profound way.

By "those activities more or less directly related to" the making of authoritative decisions, Easton means acts involved with the Formulation of demands, Legislation, Administration, Adjudication, the Marshalling of support.\textsuperscript{9} I shall discuss these concepts only in so far as they are used in the following analysis of Niuafo'ou politics.

(a) 'Demands' are made from below, that is, from the less powerful members of a society to the more powerful, sometimes between social equals, or from above, that is, administration may be viewed from below as demands. Demands on Niuafo'ou are better divided between those sanctioned by or attempting to change the Laws of Tonga, and those sanctioned by or attempting to change

\textsuperscript{8} For a stimulating and relevant discussion of physiological processes and living systems by a biologist, see Miller 1965.

\textsuperscript{9} Easton 1959:227ff.
local traditional norms, custom and practices. The former I shall call 'legal demands' and the latter 'traditional demands'. Legal demands take the form of petitions or requests to or through government office-holders, such as the petition that more than six-hundred Huiafo'ou people presented to the Tonga Government in 1948 requesting that they be permitted to return to their homeland, and even the power of strike if its action is justified by an appeal to law. Traditional demands include such traditional Tongan requests as kule which implies either a future return of similar goods or aid, or no intention of such reciprocation depending on the relationship of the persons involved and the occasion in question; and no, a feast given expressly for the purpose of obtaining from voluntary participants a range of mats and ngatu 'bark cloth' for a pending ceremony, or money for other purposes.

There are very few channels or means of formulating or expressing legal demands on Huiafo'ou; and there are no traditional norms which support them. Consequently they are often regarded by the 'more powerful' members of the society as acts of defiance or insurrection.

(b) 'Legislation' may range from informal consensus, a common traditional procedure for arriving at decisions on Huiafo'ou, through the rules of the churches, to the carefully formulated laws of Tonga which cover almost every

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10 By 'traditional norms' is meant those values, beliefs and ideals grounded in Tonga custom; 'legal norms' are values, beliefs and ideals grounded in Tonga Law.

11 "Note the petition of Fusitu'a and 608 people of Huiafo'ou requesting their return to their homeland as they are in desperate straits in Tongatapu" Tonga. Report of Proceedings of the House in Tonga Government Gazette, 1948.

12 Whether consciously or not, the Sapa'ata village strike (see below) had recourse to the 1862 "Emancipation Edict".
aspect of life. The former I shall call 'traditional legislation' and the latter 'government legislation'. I shall distinguish between 'consensual public opinion' and legislation produced by informal consensus or traditional means, by requiring a formulated and announced decision in the latter.

(e) 'Administration' involves both the network of government officials and office-holders and traditional leaders such as the nobility. The former I shall call 'government administration' and the latter 'traditional administration'. Administration may be direct as through the traditional fono, which is used by both Government administrators and the nobility, or indirect as in the informal statements or orders issued by nobles or church leaders. Administration must be sanctioned by legal or traditional norms but from below, administration appears as a demand.

(d) 'Adjudicative activities' refer here to acts which invoke binding rules and I shall distinguish again between 'legal adjudicative processes' such as court procedures or threats invoking laws, and 'traditional procedures' such as public ridicule, shame, reciprocal obligations, and so on. These activities may be spontaneous or delayed as in the case of the breaches of law discussed below.

(e) 'Supports' include a wide array of political acts, more than I deal with in this thesis, such as various persuasions, promises of reward, promotions,

13How to dress in public, how to behave before social superiors, when and how a young man shall build a house, when and how much a garden shall be planted, and so on.

14This conceptual framework encompasses social change. The resident noble asked people in his village to provide copra for buying a truck; they eventually objected. The noble's use of his people's resources was once sanctioned by traditional norms but today government legislation has reduced this traditional right, and in 1967 it was the villagers who could have had legal support for their rejection of the demand. See pp. 126-134.
threats, punishments and manifold activations of traditional or legal rules, norms, obligations. Supports may be marshalled by one person, a group such as the church, or the Government, and they may affect single persons, groups, or whole communities as when a high-ranking dignitary visits Niuafou. I shall distinguish between 'government supports', those directly associated with the Tongan Government and its officers, and 'traditional supports' those prescribed by reference to customary norms, values and beliefs.

Government support may be won by meeting demands or passing 'popular' legislation; government support may be lost by withholding satisfaction of demands or requested legislation. The Government of Tonga has failed to marshall extensive support on Niuafou for a variety of reasons, some of which are related to Niuafou's geographic isolation and poor communications with central Government, some are related to the failure of government services on the island (unmet 'demands') since resettlement, while others are explicable only by reference to Niuafou history and the attitudes of the residents to Tonga and to the Tonga Government as a whole.

Traditional support may be mobilised by activating customary obligations such as those based on rank or kinship reciprocity, or by other promises, threats or rewards. Support may be lost in this area by overstepping the bounds of legitimacy, that is, by exceeding what the person affected considers to be legitimate (for example, the noble's actions which led to the strike discussed below).

15 See Swarts op. cit. pp.23–26 for a cogent discussion of 'supports'.
I have outlined a definition of politics in concepts which are all useful for and directly applicable to an analysis of political behaviour and change, but I have not the material to encompass so broad a political field as suggested by Easton and therefore intend to restrict the ensuing discussion to political processes which were occurring on Niuafo'ou during my twelve-week residence on the island. 16 I shall do this by discussing Niuafo'ou "politicians" or "big-men", in terms of political biographies. 17

In this study, "politicians" are those individuals directly involved in the distribution of power and authority, the agents of authoritative decision-making on Niuafo'ou. Politics on Niuafo'ou takes place through a network of roles 18 and offices, 19 and it is with these that I shall be dealing. 20

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16 This period of fieldwork is inadequate for a thorough study of political processes over time. It is my intention to return to Tonga to continue this work over a longer period. I have compensated for this by tracing some processes (for instance, the residents' treatment of civil servants and the strike) back to a date before I began investigations. Mitchell (1956) and Turner (1957) both did this in their studies of Yao and Ndembu social processes. I hope to avoid charges of writing 'conjectural history' by stating how and from whom I obtained my information, and by giving my own assessment.

17 The biographic approach was used with acute acumen by Whyte in Street Corner Society (1955) and like him I am interested in "what makes a man a big shot and by what means he is able to dominate the little guys" (p. xxi) and believe that "...if we can get to know these people intimately and understand the relations between little guy and little guy, big shot and little guy, big shot and big shot, then we know how Cornerville (or Niuafo'ou) society is organized" (p. xxi).

18 By 'role' is meant one of a person's social positions, and the behaviour which that person is expected to or succeeds in displaying in terms of that social position. This usage permits innovation which Fallers (1965:13) does not, and yet distinguishes between Linton's "series of roles" and "sum total role" (Linton 1936:113).

19 By 'office' is meant a position in a society which is deliberately created and governed by specific rules.

20 I am aware that although conceptually one can separate a person's political
Spheres of Authority

The contexts of the political biographies I shall be discussing are three spheres of authority. Firstly the Government administration. I am concerned here with the administrative processes that implement authoritative decisions from the Government or from the Law of Tonga. I shall discuss in turn these representatives of Government on Niuafou, all office-holders, all with strictly defined legal powers: the District Officer, the secretary of the NEC, the government foreman, the copra-buyer, the head-teacher, the medical officer, the radio-operator. I prefer to discuss first the people concerned, then their abstracted roles and offices, then to carry the discussion to a higher level of abstraction by considering the interplay of this sphere of authority with the two other spheres.

The second sphere of authority I shall discuss is the nobility. Tonga nobles have certain legal powers laid down by Tonga law but other powers are based on consensus only: some on traditional norms as leader, others on supernatural norms as descendents from men of great supernatural powers. I shall examine the resident noble's powers over his kinsmen, his household, his village, over the island, noting where his traditional and legal authority overlap and where his sphere of authority overlaps other spheres.

from his other roles it is more difficult to do this at an operational level. Kinship roles, for example, inevitably influence other roles (see below under Peni Taufa...); this is a problem of abstraction. But I shall in each biography start with the decision-making role or office and explore other roles as I think necessary. Any selection of roles is bound to be biased. I am attempting to portray my bias.
The church is the final sphere of political authority I shall examine, restricting my discussion mainly to the principle church on Niuafu‘ou (PWCF) and its leaders. The great power, widespread influence and mana of the church rely upon powerful sanctions such as fear of hell (p.50), promise of heaven (p.52), excommunication (p.51), social disapproval (p.50), the means to obtain high status (p.48) and prestige (p.35) as well as the joy of singing, feasting (p.50), uniting (p.53) and competing (p.48 & 34) all of which encourage the willing consensus of its adherents (p.34).

Although the churches derive authority almost solely from these extra-legal sources, many of its norms have become enshrined in the Law of Tonga and are recognised by the people as such.21

21 Cf. J.S. Huxley on "...the sad but indubitable tendency of men to fossilise their thoughts and feelings in tradition;...to incorporate into a system of thought or an institution all kinds of secondary matter, originally irrelevant to the main underlying idea or purpose but becoming in time an engrained part of the whole" (1930:25).
1. Government Administration and its Sphere of Authority

Pita Foni is 'Ofisa Fakavahe Fousa 'District Officer'

The powers and duties of the Tongan District Officers are listed in the Law of Tonga, a summary of which follows:

He shall inspect once in every quarter all the towns in his district and immediately after such inspection he shall report on the sanitary conditions thereof...

He shall inspect once every six months all the tax allotments in his district...

He shall keep a list of all tax-payers in his district...

...he shall perform such other duties as are prescribed by the laws and report to the police breaches of the laws for the enforcement of which the Minister of Police is responsible.

"Such other duties" involve reading the latest issues of the Tonga Government Gazette at a fono to be held on the first Monday of each month, and enforcing the law that all villagers shall attend the fonos.

The D.O. on Niuafou is the main representative of Tonga law, and he has been granted further the offices of Acting Minister of Lands, of Education, of Health and of Public Works, an overall position which on paper approaches the autocratic status acquired by Shirley Baker at the zenith of his power; but the D.O. was in fact an ineffectual administrator.

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1 See "District and Town Officers Act", "Town Regulations Act", "Fono's Act" in Law Chs. 25, 30, 31.

2 Shirley Baker was a missionary-statesman who became Prime Minister under George Tupou I in 1880. For a list of offices held by Shirley Baker see Thomson 1894; Thomson's account does not favour Baker; a recent scholarly assessment is Rutherford 1966.
Pita Pongi, D.O. for Niuafou in 1967, failed to enact the requirements of law; his friendly, easy-going personality did not lend itself to exerting authority nor to issuing commands.

He faithfully read the *Cassette* on the first Monday of each month but he did not compel villagers to attend. Instead, he compromised by visiting two or three centres on the appointed day and repeating his performance before small knots of villagers gathered for the purpose.

Other desultory efforts by Pongi to make his office effective included his occasional order to villagers to clean up the village. This happened at the monthly *fono* prior to the visit of the British Consul on 25th August 1967, although it was not repeated before the visit of government officials on 1st October in the same year. Cleaning round the houses and the church and sweeping the roads is part of the usual village routine on a Saturday and Pongi's orders merely encouraged a practice which is mainly done for religious reasons.

As acting Minister of Lands the D.O. should allocate land to newcomers in the government estates, but on Niuafou, the government foreman allocates land in Petani; in Mu'a, Tongamana'o and Esia people go where they please without control. Pongi was effective only in his own village, and it was even with fear and trepidation that he gave his assent to 'striking' Sapi'ata people when they asked for lands in the Fata'ulua estate.

1. Tongan for 'Saturday' is tokonaki which means 'to prepare... to get together ready for use...'. Churchward 1959. Another legacy from the early missionaries.
2. Law Ch. 45, No. 19.
4. A full account of this 'strike' is given below, pp. 126-134.
Pongi faithfully recorded disputes and grievances as they were presented by claimants, but he did little else to assert his authority, and was unable to settle disputes simply because he had no effective executive powers; no police force or magistrate behind him, and no jail. There were numerous cases of fighting in his book for August 1967 which had been reported by one or both of the rivals, but there was none which he had been able to settle. He had approached two women who had been reported for fighting in the Roman Catholic church because one of them had used a knife, but his only action was to make a request for peace and to give them a warning. 

The impotence of law on the island, the long delay in enforcing it, and the inability of the District Officer to control disputes are illustrated by the case of Lakepa Savou and Pohiva Pongi.

Lakepa Savou, an unmarried man in his early thirties was living at home with his parents and siblings in the village of Mata'aho in May 1963 when he reported to the D.O. the loss of his best hoe. The theft became common knowledge. Then Pohiva, son of Pita Pongi, was seen with the hoe. A long argument broke out which resulted in the return of the hoe to Lakepa. There was no need to report this to the D.O. firstly as news travels quickly on Niuafou and secondly as Pohiva was his son. Some weeks later, one evening in July in the house of Vitalia of Fata'ulus, Pohiva was taking kava with his friends when one of Lakepa's friends called him outside. Lakepa and Pohiva exchanged oaths and Lakepa dealt a mortal blow to Pohiva's head. Pohiva died almost instantly, Lakepa retired to his home in Mata'aho, and the D.O. was alerted. It was discovered later that Lakepa and his friends had been drinking hopi 'home-brewed beer'.

Apart from recording the evidence and posting a look-out to signal passing ships or aeroplanes, the D.O. did nothing. There were no ocean-going boats on

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7 Personal examination, Journal 2:121.
8 Journal 2:122.
the island and no telegraph station, in spite of five years' permanent settlement by families. Lakepa simply sat at home for over three weeks, awaiting the arrival of the government ship.

The only action taken on the island prior to the arrival of the ship, was the expulsion of Savou's family from Mata'aho (royal estate) by Kepu Filimoehala, acting as the Queen's mata'apule. Savou and his family moved to Fata'ulua (government estate) and built a house at the opposite end of the village from Pongi, the District Officer.\(^\text{10}\)

Lakepa was taken to Nuku'alofa, returned to Niuafo'ou for trial, taken back to Nuku'alofa for sentence, and given life imprisonment which was later commuted to ten years during the Coronation amnesty of King Tuufa'ahau Tupou IV. The Police Department requested the immediate installation of wireless telegraph on the island and it arrived in September by the next boat. But even this new service did not give the D.O. the executive power he required as the case of Sipa Vaka and Vili Pongi\(^\text{11}\) exemplifies.

Vili Pongi, son of Pita Pongi but adopted when a child by Kepu Filimoehala, was reared in Mata'aho, married a Fata'ulua woman and moved to her village, but continued to work for Kepu and make copra in Mata'aho. Sipa Vaka lived with his wife next door to Vili and he also made copra on the royal estate of Mata'aho with Kepu's permission.

Vili was continually chasing Sipa's pigs out of his poorly fenced 'api kolo 'town lot', and one evening in June 1966 he repeated this chore and continued to Sipa's house. As he put his head under the low door to make a complaint Sipa reached for a heavy stick and brought it down on Vili, missing his head by inches but inflicting severe injuries to his neck and shoulders.

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\(^\text{10}\) The traditional authority of a mata'apule making a decision on behalf of his noble, effectively superseded the government-based authority of the D.O. The powers of a nōpale over his estate and villages are discussed p. 122ff.

Kepu reported the incident to Pongi and they both sent telegrams to the Minister of Police reporting the fighting and asking for police to be sent. No reply was forthcoming, and no police were sent. Kepu Filimechala again acted as matapule and expelled both men from his estate, although he has since reinstated Vili. This case proved to the District Officer and others that police were forthcoming only in dire emergencies; that Niafo'ouans had to attempt to solve their own problems and disputes by resort to self-help, public opinion and other traditional means.

Kepu Filimechala twice acted on his own initiative by expelling wrong-doers from his estate. In this he was acting in the traditional role of matapule for the Queen, and was exerting an authority which every nopele holds and which most Niafo'ouans respect.\textsuperscript{12} This was a case where traditional authority proved stronger than the government administrator's authority. When Saveu obeyed Kepu's order to get out of Mata'aho, he moved into the village of the District Officer; again, it was the matapule who made the authoritative decision and not the D.O.\textsuperscript{13} The D.O. could merely report the matter to the police in Nuku'alofa and await their arrival.

It turns out that the D.O.'s main function on Niafo'ou was as a channel of communication between the Government and the villagers. He explained and interpreted government tu'utu'uni 'policies or orders' to Niafo'ouans but was hard pressed to feka'u 'implement' them.\textsuperscript{14} It is doubtful if the D.O. had

\textsuperscript{12} See below, p.\textsuperscript{120} for the authority nopele Fusitu'a commands in this role.

\textsuperscript{13} Kepu has a stronger personality than Pongi, and the possibility that this played an important part in these two cases cannot be ignored.

\textsuperscript{14} Tu'utu'uni are general instructions or rules which are laid down; rules about keeping the road tidy and the village clean, for example, while
sufficient support from the people to be able to implement the Government's
binding decisions, and it is likely that he could make authoritative decisions
(for example, compelling villagers to attend the monthly fono or to tidy up
the village for its own sake and not solely for an impending visitor) only at
the expense of losing public support. Note that although the D.O.'s office
was originally a government appointment\(^{15}\), it has since 1965 been elective.

It is easier therefore to explain how the office of D.O. works on
Niuafo'ou than to explain its impotence. To explain why rather than how
one would be committed to examine factors related to personality, kin-ties,
reciprocal obligations in addition to statements about the D.O.'s lack of
executive powers and his dependence for "popularity" upon an electorate.
This information I do not have.

'Alamoti Kolei: Secretary of the Niuafo'ou Evacuation Committee

'Alamoti Kolei (b. 1929) is a very intelligent, cheerful Tongan
who entered public service as a teacher in 1946 and became a
clerk on the NEC some ten years later. He is married to a teach-
er and is the only Tongan I met who professed agnosticism and
openly criticized the tongan religion. Kolei speaks reasonably
good English, always wears Tongan dress, but has a predilection
for white shirts and handkerchiefs.

Up to 1968, the Secretary's authority and main activity on the island
has been primarily in implementing the policies and decisions of the NEC.
Most of these policies have been concerned with rehabilitating the people
and re-establishing a viable society; repairing water-tanks, roads, harbour

\(^{15}\) Appointed by the Prime Minister.
facilities, for example, and from October 1967, supervising the erection of *fale malo* 'household latrines' throughout all villages. The secretary has also cooperated with the government foreman based in Petani village in allocating government lands to prospective copra-cutters, and has during his monthly visits to the island paid copra dues and wages to workers on government estates for the express purpose of deducting any debts owing by them for previous NEC assistance.

In addition to acting as liaison officer between Niuafou and the Tonga Government, Koloi has approached the head office of the FWCT on behalf of Nahaake residents and has carried numerous messages and goods between kinsmen on Niuafou and 'Eua island, thus perpetuating traditional demands and supports which occur within Niuafou *kāngā*.

Koloi and the District Officer never meet on a social, ceremonial, or religious basis and they rarely have reason to cooperate or to confront one another on issues of government policy. The D.O. allocates land only in his own village, Koloi assists in the allocation of land only on Petani estate. When Koloi was instructed by the NEC to supervise the installation of latrines, he chose to start with Fata'ulua, the D.O.'s village, as it had none and he asked

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16 See below.
17 See below.
18 After putting the case of Nahaake residents for a primary school in their area to the NEC for several years without response, Koloi took the matter to the Secretary of the FWCT and got a church school within twelve months. This raised his status considerably in Nahaake. Likewise, it was Koloi who pressed and got a government European-style house at Putu to be used by visiting government officials, including himself and his wife, and possibly by the government foreman and drivers.
19 The secretary visits the Niuafou settlement on 'Eua island monthly for administrative purposes.
the D.O. to announce these plans at the monthly fono.

Koloi had little intercourse with non-government villagers and their leaders, and in fact he showed no respect nor even acknowledgment of nobility Fusitu'a during our stay; he did not eat in the noble's village, attend church, nor join in any ceremonies\(^2\) at island level which involved nobility and visiting celebrities.

Koloi was decidedly unpopular with the government copra-buyer, the resident noble and his wife, and many of the people in both noble and government villages; the reasons are now discussed.

The wife of Peni 'Apikatoa, the Niuafou'ou copra-buyer, approached Koloi in Nu'm'alofa and asked him not to issue a certain woman with a government assisted passage to Niuafou'ou as the woman was a lover of her husband's. Koloi believed her and refused the passage. The woman appealed to the Prime Minister, Tu'ipalehake, stating that Koloi was obstructing her from joining her relations on Niuafou'ou, and Tu'ipalehake ordered Koloi to issue the warrant. The woman eventually arrived in Niuafou'ou at government expense and commenced living with the copra-buyer as his de facto wife.

Koloi had asserted his authority against the woman and indirectly against the copra-buyer, 'Apikatoa, and thus implied criticism of their relationship, a point on which 'Apikatoa was sensitive. During his visits to Niuafou'ou, Koloi acts as copra-buyer to the workers in government estates\(^2\) and by so doing he comes between them and 'Apikatoa. This deprives 'Apikatoa of their gifts\(^2\) and detracts from his high status, and otherwise sole authority as copra-buyer.

The noble's wife, Pisila, somewhat vindictively criticized Koloi's indiscretions with a non-Niuafou'ou girl temporarily living with her relatives in

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\(^2\) Except the opening of the Catholic Church when he came with the Anthropologist. see p.154-5.
\(^2\)See below. Called 'tekitaki' and discussed on p.102ff.
Tongamama'o village, and his lavish gifts given to her during her illness.
Koloi's lover was not married and such a relationship probably would not have
evoked strong censure, especially as Koloi's wife was at the time in Nuku-
ahoa.23

Pisila's strong disapproval of Koloi's amorous exploits was occasioned
mainly by his contempt and often open disregard of the nōpele and the church.
Koloi, for example, did not acknowledge the noble's higher rank by the custom
of bending forward to keep one's body lower when in his presence.24 He did
not send ceremonial offerings to the nōpele, as did some people in villages
outside the nōpele's estate25, nor did he salute the noble as required by
Tonga law.26 Koloi wore a ta'ovala 'woven cinchure' (See pp. 6 & 7) as part
of his Tonga dress and not as a sign of respect to the noble.27

The source for the hostility directed towards Koloi by the government
villagers was betrayed by the copra-buyer during my first hour on Niuafo'ou.

23 Pisila did not pass the same censure on the copra-buyer when he took a
de facto wife. See p.43 for a discussion of this, also p.159.
24 The Government Headmaster, who has an equal disregard for the noble, does
do so, but he occasionally drinks kava with the noble, which Koloi does not.
25 For example, a whole pig was sent to the nōpele from a wedding in the govern-
ment village of Petani between two people whose families have no kinship
ties with the noble. Several offerings of 'first-fruits' were recorded from
unrelated people in other government villages. See p.
26 It shall be unlawful to pass any of the nobles on horseback or in any
vehicle without stopping until the noble has passed and saluting by raising
the hand'. Law Ch.30, No.14(1). Most other Niuafo'ouans respected this
law either by complying or by riding their horses into thick bush as the
noble approached. Koloi frequently passed through the noble's village and
even confronted the noble but on all observed occasions ignored him.
27 For laws concerning the wearing of ta'ovala in the presence of nobility,
see p.
"Kolo is a bad man, tangataanga-kori. He takes the people's money".\(^{28}\)

Further investigations confirmed the animosity, but not the accusation of theft. The first clue came from a government report of 1961 which read:

...A lot of these people [Huafo'ou] also owe money to the Committee and this is being recovered...

by deducting one third of all their copra proceeds until their debt has been met in full...

also,

Section 5 of the Agreement between the Committee and the labourers has been repealed so that these people can no longer obtain goods on credit through the Committee...\(^{29}\)

An earlier report suggests the range but not the quantity of goods supplied on credit by the Committee.

...all the goods supplied to the evacuees by the Committee, such as spades, knives, axes, copra-knives, kerosene, laundry soap, blue, cotton, flour and sugar etc. will be paid for by the evacuees themselves.

The evacuees will produce copra from Crown land according to the present practice and pay off their debts until fully settled...\(^{30}\)

I later watched Kolo deducting debts from copra payments he was making in the government copra shed at Eia village. He opened the debt book at the appropriate page; informed the man selling copra of the amount he owed; asked him by how much he wished to reduce his debt; made the transaction, and gave the seller a written docket showing the gross return, cartage, debt deducted and net return.

\(^{28}\) Journal 111. There were two crucial statements which the copra-buyer whispered ostentatiously to me as I sat on the verandah of the copra-shed within the first hour of my arrival on Huafo'ou. This was one of them; the other was, "Fusita'a is the chief of this island". The elucidation of these statements involved a long detective hunt.

\(^{29}\) Report LSD 1961:16

The debts, and Koloi's role associated with them, became obvious but the accusation of theft did not. I began to suspect peculation until the Niuafou stevedore Siasoni Ongoloka enlightened me.

During the early period of resettlement goods would arrive from Fulu'a in bulk lots without markings for each consignee. There were sacks of flour, cases of canned goods, soap and hardware all mixed up. I received the bill of lading and tried to locate the goods to their rightful owners...sacks of flour sometimes fell into the water and when heavy seas were running at Futa, goods were swept off the rocks or damaged by surf on the beach...People were debited according to the bills of lading and not according to goods actually received...many forgot about goods they had received weeks or months before they collected their copra earnings and were told of their debts...many people will not pay their debts because they say Koloi is wrong to keep on charging them for goods they have never received...31

The final evidence I have is taken again from government reports. In 1961, 'Alokā'ulu Fusitu'a32 was appointed as a temporary clerk to the NBC ...to investigate the debts outstanding which are owing to the Board /Tongan Copra Board/.33

In 1962, the Acting Chairman of the Niuafou Evacuation Committee wrote in his annual report:

I always send them letters of warning to take care of the works /gathering and making copra/ especially balancing those debts.34

Some debts were still outstanding in 196735, and Koloi was still being blamed for fraudulence by sundry debtors.

32Adopted son and heir of nōpele Fusitu'a and chief interpreter for the Tongan courts. He resides in Fuku'afoa.
35I do not know how much nor how many.
I believe that Kolo'i's handling of the NEC debts was honest; but there
was some evidence that he utilized his government authority to his personal
benefit. Reference has been made to Kolo'i's shared authority to allocate
government lands to the inhabitants of some government villages. When a man
approached Kolo'i or Taufa for this land, it was usual to bring an offering
which is called takitaki.36

A summary of the hostility directed towards Kolo'i shows that its sources
and causes are manifold. Some antagonism was undoubtedly personal; much was
regional. For Kolo'i was the "big man" of Hahake district at island level,
just as Fusitu'a was the "big man" of Nihifo. Hence the antagonisms against
Hahake37 were extended to Kolo'i.

Kolo'i's authority derived from the recently created government office he
held as Secretary to the NEC. It has been his task to implement binding
decisions made by this committee to rehabilitate Niuafo'ou resettlers. His
method of implementing such decisions is direct and forthright for he did not
have to seek support or consensus for his legal political acts. He has no kin
on Niuafo'ou; unlike the D.C. he was not elected by the villagers; he does
not reside permanently on the island and need not participate in village or
island level activities. Consequently he does not assume any responsibility
for keeping law and order. In his absence, the government foreman, Taufa, may
allocate government lands to newcomers to Petani village or to prospective
copra-talkers from other villages but no-one else can pay government workers

36 These offerings would be called 'bribes' in European societies but in Tonga
they are an accepted current exploitation of a traditional custom. See p.103ff.
for further discussion on takitaki.
37 Refer to Chapter I, pp.9-12.
for their copra. They must either wait for Koloi's return, or they may sell it illegally as copra from an adjoining absentee noble's estate and be paid at once. Many copra-cutters did this, not only to avoid delay in payments but to avoid paying back debts to the Government. 38

Koloi's office enabled him to wield limited authority over only some government lands, limited authority over government copra-cutters and a potential authority to execute government policies and decisions as deemed warranted by the NEC. 39 It further enabled him to exploit his position to his own aggrandizement 40 and to his outright rejection of the traditional powers of the noble. 41

Peni Taufa: Pulengaue 'Government Foreman', and Leading Storekeeper

In a kin-based society such as Niuafou'ou it is inevitable that a man's kin-roles will influence his political roles. Conversely a man with political authority and kinsmen will be obliged by kinship norms 42 to extend his legitimate authority to aid close kinsmen. Unlike the D.O. and Koloi, Peni Taufa the government foreman has many kinsmen in his own village of Petani 43 and therefore

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38 This is discussed on p. 91-2, see also p. 166-7, 102 fn. 64.
39 I have no evidence of the internal workings of the NEC, how it receives recommendations, or reaches decisions.
40 For example, by keeping a large garden in Petani and transporting its fruits to Nuku'alofa; by staying in a European-style house which was being built during September and October 1967; by accepting takitaki for favours rendered (see pp. 102ff for a discussion of takitaki 'gifts').
41 See above; also it is pertinent that the noble's water tank was the only one on the island not repaired by Koloi's supervision.
42 That is, kinship behaviour which is considered by the group of people in question to be "right" or "correct".
43 Almost the whole of Petani village (73 out of a total of 74 persons) belongs to Taufa's kenga.
his political and economic powers\textsuperscript{44}, his kin roles, and his religious status\textsuperscript{45} are inextricably interwoven. An examination of only his political role would overlook the dynamics of the situation. Consequently, his entire station\textsuperscript{46} is now examined.

The wealthiest \textit{tu'a} 'commoners', in Tonga are storekeepers and the proprietors of motor-lorries and taxis. Peni Taufa of Petani village combines all three for he owns the only well-stocked store on Niufo'ou and controls the two government tractor-trailers which serve as goods transport and taxis in the government, and sometimes in other, villages. Taufa's store alone gives him status as a 'big-man'; his status in the church and his legitimate authority over the use of the vehicles offer wide scope for manipulation in the sphere of upward mobility. After describing Taufa the man, I shall discuss Taufa the government foreman and then proceed to his roles as shopkeeper and \textit{malanga} 'preacher'.

A family man in his early forties, Peni Taufa left a good house and gardens in 'Eua in 1958 after a disagreement with his \textit{ilamatu} 'mother's brother', and built a fine Tongan \textit{fale} at his home village of Petani, Niufo'ou.

In 1966, he declined to replace the retiring government foreman, but agreed to serve as acting-foreman until a substitute could be found. There have been

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{44} By economic powers I mean control or command over goods and services.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} By status I mean a position in the general social system, recognized and supported by at least a majority of the people in that social system. Unlike office (defined above), status is spontaneously evolved rather than deliberately created, and usually pertains to a particular person rather than a position. See Linton (1936:113) for an early distinction between status and role, and a more sophisticated discussion by Davis 1966:68.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} By station I mean a cluster of statuses and offices which are combined in the one person.
\end{itemize}
five government foremen since the resettlement of Niuafe'ou in 1950. The
early appointees\(^{47}\) allotted government lands on Niuafe'ou to copra-cutters\(^{48}\)
to aid government development plans in 'Eua: the erection of public buildings
such as hospital, schools, copra sheds etc. and the sealing of roads in the
Niuafe'ou villages on 'Eua.

Taufa's main duties as a government office-holder were the supervision of
the two government-owned tractors; rarely a day passed during my stay without
at least one of them setting off round the island, jolting over the atrocious
track called 'main road'. Both of the vehicles are permanently housed in
Petani village, the home of both permanent, wage-earning drivers. The govern-
ment tractors cart copra in sacks from all villages except that of the resident
noble to the main copra-shed at Esia where it is graded, weighed, sold and
stored. Then every sack is carted to the storage shed at Futu where it awaits
shipment. Consequently, the trailers are usually laden on their way to Esia
or Futu but empty on the way back.

The trailers also serve as public transport and may be hired at reasonable
cost for transporting private goods, raw materials or persons. Private goods
are usually transported during the week; persons on the sabbath, although
weddings, funerals, birthday feasts and other ceremonies sometimes occasion
the use of the trailers as taxis on week-days. It is pertinent to record that
a journey from Petani to Sapa'ata, some 4-2/3 miles, takes one hour by tractor-
trailer; cramped exposure to jolting, a vertical sun or perhaps heavy rain
make it seem longer. The greatest private use of the tractors was for trans-

\(^{47}\) All appointed by the Minister of Lands through the NEC.
\(^{48}\) The NEC took one half of all copra cut but charged no rent and no copra taxes.
porting coconuts. It follows that Taufa, with absolute control of the only
public transport on the island, was in a position where he may grant or
refuse° favours to anyone.

The anthropologist stayed in Taufa's house for ten days and kept a record
of every transit the tractors made for that period.° Copra was carted to
Eaia from various villages on route on six days; copra was carted from Eaia
to Futu on seven days; on four occasions a tractor returned to Petani
directly from Futu. (On this southern route there are no villages, but some
wayside gardens.°°) On seven occasions one tractor returned to Petani via
the eastern villages.

On every occasion when a tractor returned to Petani directly from Futu it
brought 'uto 'sprouting coconuts' for pig food or husked nuts from wayside
gardens to Pani Taufa's copra-drier in Petani. The 'uto were given partly to
Taufa's pigs and partly to those pigs belonging to members of his kāinga:
his MB, his MZS, and his MZH. The husked nuts belonged to his MZS and his
MZDH, both of whom had gathered and husked the nuts and later would work with
Taufa shelling the copra in the drier. Taufa said at the time that when the
copra was dry, he would cart it to Eaia for sale, and that all workers includ-
ing himself would take equal shares of the profits.

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°°On four occasions two tractors were in use on one day and on four occasions
the tractors returned via different routes. When I could or did not accom-
pany the driver I saw him after work and obtained information about goods
carted.

°°No claim is made that the ten days of participant observation are a repre-
sentative sample of the activities of the tractors because this was a rush
period just prior to the visit of the monthly copra boat.

°°See map facing p. 8.
This and many other similar cases I observed, is evidence that Taufa was using government machinery for the benefit of himself and his kāinga and that he was contributing free use of the tractors as his share in copra production. The tractors' use was unobtrusively fitted in with copra transportation.

On three of the seven occasions when at least one of the tractors returned via the eastern villages, coconuts or wood were brought to Tongamana'o or Ma'a for people who did not belong to Taufa's kāinga. On these occasions the driver said that charges would not be made because the men receiving the goods would "work for Taufa or the Government some time". I have no evidence of what kind of return they were expected to make.

The greatest demand made on the tractors was for transporting copra. A man will bear resentment if he is refused the use of a vehicle for this purpose. The resident noble made his truck available for hire to people on his own estate. On two occasions in September 1967, Taufa refused an inhabitant of Sapa'ata the hire of the tractor, and it was said that the tractors had done work for Sapa'ata people only once during 1967, but when the noble's ramshackle truck blew a tire, the noble's request for a tractor and trailer was promptly fulfilled by Taufa. Fortunately for the prestige of the noble

52 The most scathing jeer that can be made at Hiuafou'ouan is ridiculing his carrying his own copra, for this is regarded as the heaviest and hardest work on the island, work for an animal, not a man. Ma'ite'a it serves you right!

53 This was possibly part of Taufa's policy of non-cooperation with the noble and people on his estate, but note that Taufa complied with the noble's demand for assistance. Also there were two occasions when he offered and took the Anthropologist to Futu after the wind had gone north endangering his boat. On both of these occasions Taufa refused payment but later accepted some useful gifts. The money would have gone into government coffers; whereas the gifts went into his home.

54 The noble would have gained prestige when the tractor arrived at Sapa'ata in
they were not required.

Taufa's manipulation of the government vehicles was no more nor less honest than that of many other humans in similar situations. As with most Europeans, help begins in the home, and Taufa's home extends to those of his kāinga, indeed to almost all of Petani village. There were particularly good reasons why Taufa should have gone out of his way to help his kāinga members in this way as will now become apparent.

Private economic ventures in kin-based societies must somehow marry the profit-motive to traditions of kinship obligation and generosity. Fale koloa 'houses of wealth' or 'stores' on Niufo'o demonstrate in different ways the outcome of mixing these strange bedfellows.

There were, in 1967, three fale koloa on Niufo'o. One storekeeper had put traditional values first and had gone bankrupt; another ordered only a limited amount of supplies at a time which he quickly sold out whilst everyone had spare cash, and exhibited bare shelves; and a third had put the profit-motive above all else and owned the only well-stocked, effective shop on the island. This third shopkeeper was Peni Taufa.

On Saturday 30th September 1967, the Eifofua brought 2,000 Pa'anga (NZ2,000) worth of goods from Fuku'alofa for Taufa's store in Petani. They came from

response to his orders, but would have lost face had his battered lorry been unable to jolt visiting dignitaries round the island.

55 Savea Masila of Tongamama'o.
56 The Resident noble.
57 The remainder of his stock is under his bed.
58 He learned the idea of 'marking up' goods to make a profit from his friend and book-keeper, the Wesleyan school-teacher, and from his nephew who worked in Fuku'alofa store.
Rieschelmann's store in Nuku'alofa but were personally packed and forwarded by Taufa's nephew who works there. Taufa dispensed his goods with Shylockian care; his big credit-book listed those who "can't pay now but shall pay later". Sugar and flour were taken away in old newspapers, tupa 'cloths used as clothing', and even shirts but never in bags supplied by the store. Tobacco became progressively dearer after the other shop and private supplies ran out, and no concessions were given to kinsmen or visiting anthropologist. Their turn came with the use of the government tractors but never with handouts over the counter. Taufa will be a rich man if he maintains this policy but the worries of money, possible theft, and refusing needy kinsmen tend to militate against happiness.\(^{59}\)

Like many successful businessmen and politicians, Taufa made a great show about attending church. He was a lay preacher (malanga) of considerable forte; a man would have to be heavy-headed indeed indeed to sleep through his violent sermons. Taufa strictly adhered to the Tonga Law forbidding trading on the Sabbath\(^{60}\) but the business of foreman-public benefactor went on throughout that day.\(^{61}\)

I would suggest that people were ready to acknowledge him high status in the church owing to the importance of his store to them as a source of goods\(^{62}\),

\(^{59}\) Personal communication from his book-keeper, Sione Pasikala.

\(^{60}\) "The Sabbath day shall be sacred in Tonga for ever and it shall not be lawful to do work or play games or trade on the Sabbath. And any agreement made or document witnessed on this day shall be counted void and shall not be recognised by the Government." The Constitution of Tonga, Section 1, number 6, 1875.

\(^{61}\) Personal observations, eg. Taufa and Siaufau arranged the use of the tractor to transport Fina's goods to Futu on the Monday as they met on the way to harangue their congregations.

\(^{62}\) Afe Havea; "Taufa is a big man in the church because of his store." I suspect
and his absolute command over public transport.

Taufa never spoke to the copra-buyer despite his frequent missions to the copra-shed; he never confronted the resident noble nor entered his house. Once monthly and during the quarterly sessions of the FWCFT he joined Nahake residents in visiting the Sapa'ata church, but otherwise he stopped in the noble's village only to send or receive telegrams. He had no occasion to visit the D.O. and he did not attend the D.O.'s monthly fono in Tongasama'o. His social relations were confined therefore to Nahake, although his political authority and economic powers affected all Niufo'ouans. His relationship to Kolei was intimate and Kolei stayed in his house on several occasions during 1967.

'Apikatoa, the Copra-Buyer

If economic power be interpreted as the ability to apply force, or latent force, or to coerce in economic affairs, then in matters economic 'Apikatoa, the government-appointed copra-buyer was in 1967 the most powerful man on the island.

At the time of study, 'Apikatoa was the largest man on Niufo'ou; he was a commoner, a traditionalist in dress, an opportunist in business, and altogether a charming, cunning man. He was sent to Niufo'ou by the Tonga Copra Board in Tongatapu to whom he was responsible and from whom he received his

That many Niufo'ouans do not realise that the prices of goods are chosen by the shopkeepers, nor that shopkeepers may profit from their patronage.
enormous powers. But he had kin in neighbouring Niutoputapu Island through whom he obscurely traced kinship with nopele Fatueva'a. Otherwise, he had no kinsmen on Niufo'ou and no local kinship obligations.

As previously stated (page 34), copra is the main and almost the only source of income on Niufo'ou. The copra-buyer had the authority to reject inadequately dried copra because it might mould or rot whilst awaiting shipment to the processing plant in Tongatapu. This authority to reject copra provided 'Apikatea with a weapon capable of abuse, and it was feared by most Niufo'ouans that unless favours were paid to the buyer he might reject their copra, however well dried, and so condemn them to carry it back to their village, to re-open the bags, re-dry it in the furnace or the sun and repeat the processes of sale.

I cannot prove the integrity or dishonesty of the copra-buyer regarding the rejection of copra, but I have voluminous evidence of takitaki (gifts and

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63 Copra is bought by weight, and copra which has not been adequately dried will also weigh more heavily because of its higher moisture content. This represents a loss for the Copra Board and censure for the buyer. Copra is graded by its quality, which is judged by its whiteness. Properly dried copra is recognized by its crispness. Niufo'ou people know how to dry their copra carefully for its look, and spread it out in the dew the night before selling, for extra weight.

64 Copra-cutters may have feared rejection of their copra on grounds other than its condition. Some copra cut on government lands during Koloi's absence was sold in the name of another estate-holder who was thus credited with 50% of its value, while the cutter received immediate payment. 'Apikatea (or his workers) had been on the island long enough to know where a man cut his copra, but his comment on this subject was, "I am not the Police-Department; my job is to pay out for copra, nothing else". Journal 5a:288.

65 takitaki 'to carry in the hand'; takitaki 'to be carrying in the hand', Churchward 1959. See Glossary.
various forms of aid) from all and sundry, from commoner to chief.

It was thought by informants that takitaki between commoners is a comparatively new institution but possibly a corruption of fuatapu 'first-fruits' ceremonies whereby a chief or person of high status was given 'first-fruits' with no expectation of return on the part of the donor. Takitaki is a kind of promisory gift given with definite expectations of return or given with the intention of building up a reserve of expected future support.

Chiefly takitaki to the buyer took the form of invitations to share dinner with the noble's guests; to share the tray of the lorry with distinguished visitors such as the British Consul and the Roman Catholic Bishop; of occasional handouts of American (ex-"Monterey") cigarettes, or permission to assert a kinship relationship with the noble which occurred four ascending generations ago. Takitaki from commoners usually appeared on the buyer's doorstep in the evening before a man expected to present copra for sale. It was a basket of cooked or raw food, a fowl, fish or small pig. Alternatively a man could build up credit and favour with the buyer by helping to collect, husk, shell or bag copra whenever the buyer was busy making copra for himself. Takitaki from the absentee nobles who hold estates on Niuafoʻou was in the form of licence for 'Apikatea to cut copra for himself anywhere on their lands and

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66 By 'institution' is meant a pattern of behaviour which a group of persons consider "right" and "correct" or "necessary" to achieve certain ends. Some writers (eg. Palfers 1966:3) regard institutionalised behaviour as meaning that "persons approve of its being followed and disapprove of its not being followed", but I prefer to exclude this aspect of "social approval", for many entrenched institutions e.g. British Monarchy, are approved by some Englishmen and not by others but their powers must nevertheless be recognised.

67 The entire section which follows is based on personal observations, see Journal 1:6, 2:104, 3:153, 4:191, 5a:271ff and 284.
to retain their 50% share of this copra. In September 1967, he was exercising this privilege by cutting copra on Nepochs Fotofili's estate near Mu'a.

The copra-buyer had extensive gardens, well-kept by Copra Board workers; he kept a very good table and was the only fat man on the island.

'Apikatua employed 8 of the 11, or 72% of the permanent wage-earners on the island and nearly all the temporary wage-earners. He said that "everyone wanted to work"; that he selected the hardest workers and sacked slackers. An analysis of the workers in his shed showed that three were single or widowed men who lived alone and who traded extra labour at 'Apikatua's personal copra-making for occasional meals or baskets of left-over cooked food from his kitchen; one was a relation of Holi, the shed foreman; one was the resident noble's former foreman, reputed to be one of the hardest working men on the island; one, the only contract worker among them, was a close relation of the resident noble; and two had only recently been signed on.

Careful enquiry revealed that "everyone" did not "want to work" in the copra shed; the wages were poor compared with returns from copra; the hours were long; the work tedious. The single or widowed men working

68 This figure excludes the salary workers appointed from Tonga: the government foreman, NEC secretary, D.O., TMR, teachers.
70 Tivoli of Sapa'ata (contract worker), Hamo and Nataleaf of Sapa'ata, Sione Mapu, Scane Patita and Sio Lami all of Eia, Fangilau of Kolofo'ou, Sevani of Fata'uluas.
71 Labourers received 1 Pa'anga ($NZ1.00) per day; the contractor, 95c. per ton handled, the buyer about 60 pa'anga per month plus allowances.
72 A working day was from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., totalling 8½ working hours, three days a week.
73 Labourers unbag, grade, sort, and bag copra and the clerk writes dockets; the contractor carries weighed copra into the stacks; the foreman does very little; the buyer calls the weights. Journal 5a:269.
for the copra-buyer all said that they preferred to work in company in the copra shed and eat occasionally with the buyer than earn money by cutting copra and eating alone. The contract worker considered that he was well paid and it is relevant that his long working hours absolved him from working for his close kinsmen, nōpele Fusitu'a. The former foreman of the noble had personal reasons for not continuing to cooperate with the noble and welcomed the opportunity to avoid economic village relationships outside his own household. The two new employees were young men both with large households and many younger siblings to carry out the economic duties and tasks of the household.

Each boat-day, temporary labour was employed to help cart copra to Futu; to load the whaleboats; and to man them alongside the copra-boat anchored offshore. This work is extremely arduous; some sacks weigh over 200 lbs, all are carried on men’s backs over 100 yards over loose sand, gravel, and slippery rocks before being flung into whaleboats surging at the mercy of huge swells. The buyer paid $1.00 per ton (approx. 17 bags) for this work, the labourers sharing the proceeds equally among their numbers.

On the 11th September 1967, 'Apikatoa offered the contract to load the Aoni, due on the 14th September, to the men of Sapa'ata village. The men demanded $1.50 per ton for the work and were refused. The next day the buyer and his foreman rode, two large men astride two small horses, to the government villages of Tongamama'oe and Petani and made the same offer. Knowledge of the Sapa'ata meeting had reached Petani and the men held out for the $1.50 rate. This put 'Apikatoa in a fix, for he had no authority to pay more than the regulation

74 See "Social Dynamics" under Fusitu'a the Resident Noble...
$1.00 per ton and not sufficient time to get a reply from the manager of the Tonga Copra Board in Nuku'alofa.

After 'Apikatoa had admitted that the work was "ten times more difficult than in the rest of Tonga", the Hahake spokesman announced that although the men would not work for $1.00 per ton, they would work without pay as a protest to the Government. "We work lea fakaepaki 'to make a protest'." Peni Taufa, was chairman of the local school committee75, then used his eloquence to persuade the men to accept the $1.00 per ton rate but to donate it to the local Wesleyan primary school. The men agreed.

The Aoni'u duly arrived and the Hahake men turned out a large workforce. 615 sacks of copra were loaded aboard before lunch; a record by all accounts.

It is necessary to distinguish between 'Apikatoa's role as copra-buyer which gave him coercive powers over Niuafou copra-cutters, and his role as employer which gave him only consensual powers. He was the only channel on Niuafou for marketing copra, and the TCB gave him authority and backed his decisions. However wages earned in the copra shed and from loading copra at the anchorage, were only one means of earning money on Niuafou and, compared with the returns from actual copra-cutting, a rather poor means. Consequently, 'Apikatoa depended more upon consensual support as an employer and had to treat his workers accordingly.76

The Niuafou copra-buyer's power to make binding decisions in economic affairs made him greatly respected on Niuafou but little loved, for it set

75I have no record of the workings of this committee.

76I believe that none of these workers gave 'Apikatoa takitaki; but they occasionally gave him support by tending his personal copra in the grounds of the copra depot. Journal 5a:269.
him apart as an "outsider". He rarely visited the houses of Niuafou commoners and it was my impression that he considered them inferior. His relationship to other government workers was not cordial, he rarely met them on a social footing, and being a Catholic never on a religious basis. The government foreman sent him no takitaki 77 but supplied him with tobacco when it was short. 78 The authoritative decisions he made did not conflict with the D.O.'s political role and the two met rarely. 79 'Apikatoa's relationship to the NEC secretary was strained as their spheres of authority overlapped, but this cause of antagonism would disappear when the government workers' debts are either paid off or annulled. 80 The copra-buyer's relationship to the resident noble was complex and will be discussed in a later section.

Afa Havaea: Head Government Teacher

There is only one government school on Niuafou. I shall discuss the political role of its teachers now and describe church school authorities below under the Church's sphere of authority.

The Government Primary School serves five villages in the Hihifo district and had a roll of ninety-two pupils and three teachers in 1967. The headmaster and his wife, also a teacher, were both from Niuatoputapu, trained (two years) in the Teachers College in Maku'alofa and appointed to the Niuafou school by the Director of Education 81 for a period of two years. The third teacher was

77 Personal communication from Sione Pasikala, his accountant.
78 On September 14th, 1967 'Apikatoa proceeded to Petani to procure some tobacco after it had been announced that the monthly supply ship would not arrive. He boasted to me that he would get 4 lbs of tobacco and he did.
79 I do not know whether the D.O. gave takitaki to 'Apikatoa.
80 There is some evidence that the NEC will rescind these debts, Report LSD 1965:9.
81 Law Ch. 41, No. 32(ii). The Director appoints, promotes, demotes, dismisses,
a qualified male assistant from Niuafo'ou but also trained in Nuku'alofa. This
teacher was a young man, not involved in local politics, government administra-
tion and decision-making; he spent his time in cutting copra alone and in ful-
filling his many kinship obligations. 82

In this section I shall discuss the head teacher's sphere of authority, his
political role in the community, his status as a civil servant.

The school committee has since its inception in 1960, been chaired by Pisila
who has always appointed its members; and comprised the ʻekeletali 'secretary'
who in 1967 was the FWCT faifaka from Tonga, the ʻtsahi pa'anga 'treasurer' who
was a leading Sapa'ata village, the two members from each of the five villages
of Nihifo, and ex officio, the headmaster.

Funds required for the school radio, clock, exercise-books and telegrams,
were raised by traditional methods. A konseti 'concert' would be held, for
example 83, to which parents would be expected to bring one kato 'umu 'basket
of cooked food' and one bucket of mixed kava, or one pa'anga 'dollar'. These
donations would be sold, girls would perform dances, tsiu'olunga, for money and
all proceeds would be given to the school. 84

82 See Chapter I, pp.15-17.
83 I did not witness a concert for raising funds for the school, but attended
others for church funds.
84 This method of raising money is traditional and is an adaption of an old
Tonga custom called no. If in the past a person required goods, tapa and
mat for a ceremony, he could announce that he intended to hold a no on a
certain date and then prepare foods and cooked pork for the occasion.
"Guests" would each bring the goods required (they knew what) and share in
the feasting. Similarly today, when poor parents wish to send a child to
high school or overseas to study, they hold a no and receive cash from the
participants.
Government teachers' authority and duties are laid down in The Education Act and emanate directly from the Minister or the Director of Education. The head teacher is empowered to enforce laws and rules concerning the compulsory attendance at school of all children between the ages of six and fourteen, for not less than four hours per day excepting holidays; the general conduct of other teachers and pupils; the courses to be given and the books to be used. In all these matters the headmaster is theoretically supported by the police and a code of fines for offenders. The Department of Education is responsible under the law for the building and maintenance of school houses and teachers' dwellings but in practice the villagers should undertake these tasks.

In the Niuafo'ou district of Hihifo the administration of the Government Primary School is shared by the headmaster, the resident noble's wife Pisila, and a komiti ake 'school committee'.

Niuafo'ouans do not readily join a komiti ake and Pisila had to push and prod most of its members into service. Her selection of members was based on her fakakakakae fakapetepeto 'prudent consideration' of a person's abilities and their other kavenga 'burdens, obligations, duties'. Her authority in

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85 Law Ch.41 passim. 86 Loc. cit., Nos.18-21, 33(i). 87 Loc. cit., Nos. 24,26,27,33(i),34. 88 Loc. cit., No.15(ii). 89 In other parts of Tonga the D.O. may hand out canned meats and bread from the Government to volunteer builders. 90 Niuafo'ou people divide their various burdens, obligations, duties in the following way: kavenga faka fomua or kavenga pule'eanga 'obligations to Government at island level', for example, loading copra or preparing food or gifts for government visitors; kavenga faka sia'i 'obligations to the church' including both service in the church and work on its properties; kavenga faka kolo 'obligations to the village' such as sweeping roads, burning rubbish, tidying the fitioka 'graveyard'; kavenga faka kāinga 'obligations to one's family and kinsfolk'; kavenga faka ake 'obligations to the school', and other kavenga. Kavenga are particular duties which apply on
these and indeed in all other matters, was based on her traditional rank and was greater and more widely respected than that of the headmaster.

One might expect that trained teachers and medical practitioners would enjoy a standing at least as important as their influence in a remote part of Tonga. But this is not so on Niuafo'ou.

Parents who valued and desired education for their children were an exception to an otherwise general mistrust of formal schooling. Only two fathers in Sapa'ata and one in Petani were eager to send their children to the Wesleyan Middle School, with a view to their gaining high school education in Nuku'alofa. The reasons for this skepticism and distrust of formal education are grossly apparent.

Most parents on Niuafo'ou had returned to their island to live a chosen way of life. There were very few places for modern-day specialists, technicians or trained persons in that way of life. The Niuafo'ouans paid tribute to the traditional skills of mat, basket and rope making, gardening, fishing, house and canoe building, singing, and dancing. It was no coincidence that the

special occasions and must not be confused with fatongia 'duty, obligation' which pertains especially to one's role or office. Thus, fatongia matu'a are the duties all parents have to their children, to clothe, educate, train, and so on. Fatongia fa'aka fa'ake 'a mother's duty' to her daughters is to teach them to weave mats, beat and stain matu 'tapa cloth', to see that they choose suitable husbands and so on, whereas fatongia fa'aka tamal 'a father's duty' to his sons is to teach them to garden, fish and build houses etc. There is a common saying on Niuafo'ou: takitaha tu'u 'ihono tu'unga' which means 'keep to your own area of life' or 'stand only in your own role'. The reference is to a person's fatongia and may be especially directed to a wife or husband when role-boundsaries are crossed. The word tu'unga has already been discussed (page 19, fn.3) as 'rank' but in this context it refers to 'role or part'. Occasionally it is replaced in this context by siakale 'circle' referring to a person's area of action. Niuafo'ouans see the mother's and the father's tu'unga or siakale as distinct and separate spheres of action. 'Oka tupa pe ae fa'a ke koe fehopo kaki he siakale 'If you step (or come) into my circle there will be a quarrel'.

91 Discussed below.
Hiuafou wireless operator, teachers, medical practitioner, copra-buyer and even one of the three vehicle drivers were all born elsewhere. Parents were well aware that because there were few salaried jobs on Hiuafou children who were educated beyond primary level would be attracted to a way of life which would utilise their acquired skills and knowledge in return for a cash income. Parents feared that their children would leave, never to return. The result of all this was that the teacher was regarded with suspicion, attributed little or no respect, and given little cooperation from parents.92

Pisilia and the School Committee had little sympathy or understanding for a liberal educator, his aims and difficulties. Afe Havea found on arrival in 196693 that he was expected to manage a school with eighty pupils and two other teachers all in the one large Tonga fale. His request for three separate buildings was ignored by the School Committee until he threatened to leave.

92 Early in 1946 the Debating Society held a debate in Mua on the question, should pupils go to Nuku'alofa for higher education or should they not. The debaters on the negative side put forward the following arguments. (It is ironical that Koloi, who fought so hard for a school on the government estates (see p.383) and who supports higher education, should have been chief spokesman for the negative side.)

1. Children are too far away from their parents who will feed and clothe them as a parent should. How can parents be assured of their children's welfare in Nuku'alofa?

2. If children go to High School and obtain good qualifications or special training, they will never come back to Hiuafou and their parents may never see them again.

3. Hiuafou is vastly different from the remainder of Tonga; its people have a simple life which requires a knowledge of gardening and fishing, but not of high school subjects. Primary education is therefore quite sufficient for the island's stage of development.

These arguments swayed not only the judges but most of the parents. The negative side won. "The people of Hiuafou did not understand the nature of a debate. They thought the judge had decided which side was telling the truth. Now it is difficult to persuade any of them otherwise..." (Alamotio Koloi, Journal 1977.)

93 Personal communication from the headmaster, verified by others.
Only then did they put up the requested buildings. Niuafo'ou churches and Church Schools are constructed with woven reed walls in the traditional round-ended Niuafo'ou style and stand on stone-edged platforms. The wireless operator's "box" and all other government and Copra Board buildings are built of wood. The buildings constructed for the government headmaster were three small, square Fiji-style huts for school rooms, and a dilapidated house, all with walls of *pale* and all without platforms. There was no response to his request for an area of coconut palms to be cleared for a playground. He did the work alone, planted beds of English flowers and fenced the area with no assistance other than that given by the children. When he held a display of the children's school work for their parents at the end of his first year's teaching there, no-one came.

In the outer islands of Tonga, the village people are expected to bring food to the school teachers. In Tongamama'o, the Church School teacher was brought food during his first two years' residence. In Kolofo'ou, no food was brought to the Government School teacher.

The headmaster's only kinsman on Niuafo'ou was a young emigrant who had married into a family in Petani and was neither wealthy nor influential in Niuafo'ou affairs. The relationship was distant. Each week Afe made the long journey to the government villages on the other side of the island on a borrowed horse or on foot. Here, he bought Tongan food. Food is abundant on Niuafo'ou, and the Niuafo'ouans pride themselves that on their island, unlike

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94 Pisilia divided this *lavenga* 'duty or task' between the five Hihifo villages: the four most populous to build and maintain one *fale* each, and the "remnant" village to supply *kapa* 'semit' for all the ties in the construction.

95 Woven coconut leaves which quickly deteriorate, and require rethatchng yearly.
Balaualefa, if you do not have money you still eat well. Every boat which arrived at Niafo'ou via Niutoputapu brought the headmaster food from his kinsfolk.

It is ironical that such a backward-looking community should have had the services of a forward-looking headmaster, and the values of the two have clashed. Afe Havae and his wife had a keen desire to improve the way of life of Tongans through liberal education and social change. Being a scholarly, gentle and honest person, who neither cut corners for material gain nor sought position in ceremonial activities, the headmaster had few attributes which were admired by the Niafo'ouans. The only interaction he had with the community on a level they understood was as assistant choir-master in the Sapa'ata church. Consequently, his efforts to implement the rules and binding decisions of the Department of Education increased both his unpopularity with Niafo'ouans and their mutual resentment.

Aisea Tupou: Tongan Medical Practitioner.

Tongan Medical Practitioners (TMP) are today qualified men: able dressers, clinical surgeons and obstetricians. They are trained in Tonga and Fiji, appointed by the Premier with the consent of Cabinet ⁹⁶, and responsible to the Board of Health. Practitioners of the older generation combine a knowledge of present-day medicine with traditional practices which range from the use of herbs and plants to autopsies for the “destruction” of “hereditary” diseases.

⁹⁶“The Medical Services Act” in Law Ch.36.
'Aisea Tupou is such a man; he has brought every Niuafo'ou baby into the world since 1960, treated persons with obsolete penicillin and potent herbs for a host of disorders and has conducted several autopsies to bring comfort to bereaved relatives.97 A portion of his account, translated by Afe Haves, follows:

I reached the age of retirement in 1959 whilst practising on Niutoputapu. In 1960 my wife and I set out by sea for Fuka'alofa to live near our family and called at Niuafo'ou. There I was called to attend a sick boy; I operated and missed the boat. Having no relatives in Niuafo'ou we stayed with a man in Fata'ulua with the same name as myself... Shortly afterwards Fusi'tu'a asked me to stay on Niuafo'ou until a TMF arrived. He offered to build us a house in Sapa'ata. I accepted the first request but refused the second preferring to live in a government rather than a noble village. From this time forward my relations with Fusi'tu'a were strained...

No-one helped me build a house nor a dispensary, so I built a hut which we lived in until 1961 when the people of Eua built our house...

I had little time for gardening, my 'api was very rough, but Aisea Tupou in Fata'ulua gave me food when we were short. For the first three years I worked hard but received neither help nor payment.98 In 1963 the NEC awarded me a salary of £3 per month, and I became the Committee Medical Officer99...

The work is difficult; without a horse much walking is necessary and there had been no hospital nor dispensary so I decided in 1965 to leave the island. Most of the people showed no regret and Fusi'tu'a said that the Government would soon replace me, but the Government sent up carpenters, built our present wooden house and dispensary and raised my salary to £10 per month. I shall stay for a while but hope to be replaced soon.

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97 I witnessed one such operation in August 1967 when the TMF's postmortem revealed a "boil" which was ceremonially burned by relatives of the deceased woman to prevent them from having similar complaint. The TMF performed the operation for the satisfaction of the bereaved relatives but did not believe in its efficacy. For a full account see Journal 1:50-2.

98 Government records simply state that "'Aisea Tupou of the Medical Department is meeting the medical requirements of the people." Report LSD 1961: 15, 1962:14.
The written duties which give a TMP his authority are,

To afford free medical and surgical aid to all Tongan subjects in his district and to ... all persons other than Tongans... for such remuneration as may be prescribed by the Privy Council.

To perform the duties of health or visiting officer for his district under the Quarantine Act...

To report annually... on the public health and sanitary condition of his district...

To enter and inspect any premises or any house or building the sanitary conditions of which he has reason to believe is not satisfactory and to enquire into such sanitary condition and forthwith to take such proceedings to remedy any nuisance he may find therein as authorized by law. 100

'Aisea Tupou is a kind, hard-working dedicated man who has probably done more for Niuafou people since 1959 than any other person. Yet he was neither accorded high rank nor respect, most healthy people treating him with contempt. He stayed in the first place to serve the people; he admitted in 1967 that he had stayed on since 1966 to save some money for his retirement.

He had fulfilled his duties with considerable tact and had warned rather than reported offenders; he considered his authority a trust rather than a weapon.

I cannot explain this contempt for the headmaster and the TMP except that they are both "outsiders" and both government officers; Niuafou people spare little love for either. 101 Perhaps Tupou lost the respect of some when he...

99 Thanks is recorded here to 'Aisea Tupou, who is the Committee's Medical Officer, for the great work that he has done in looking after the evacuees whilst the Medical Department has not yet been established at Niuafou." Report L & D 1963:10.

100 Law Ch.36, No.21, Regul. i.viii,xi, xiii,xvii.

101 Some reasons for animosity to Tonga officials have been discussed in Ch.11,
rejected the noble’s offer of support but as will be shown, the noble himself enjoys little willing support outside his own village.

I have included the TMP in this sphere of authority because this officer has little legal authority and cannot therefore formulate or implement binding decisions which seriously affect the people. Consequently the TMP’s lack of support from the people cannot be interpreted in terms of heavy kavenga ‘duties’ he imposes on them. Moreover this TMP practices certain traditional treatments which one would expect would give him traditional status and authority; but I found no evidence of this.

**Summary and conclusions**

Authoritative decisions formulated in the Administrative Sphere of Authority either derive from the Law of Tonga or originate from some branch of Central Government in Nuku’alofa.

Demands from the people of Niuafou take the form of petitions or requests to or through government officers. These demands may be ignored, delayed, or met by legislation or direction from high-ranking government officials such as Ministers of the Crown, or from the NEC.

Legal administration in Niuafou is either direct or indirect depending on the amount of authority delegated to the civil servants concerned. The traditional *fono* may be used with great effect and economy (see for example page 62)

[see especially p.72. Animosity to "outsiders" expressed in economic terms was extended not only to the headmaster and the TMP. When Mr Uhe of the University of Auckland arrived on Niuafou he gave away his European food supplies and subsequently went hungry (Personal communication). The government wireless operator was saved from depending on the villagers for food by eating with the noble’s household. The anthropologists were supported by both noble and people, but it was obvious that they were expected to be an "economic asset." ]
but although a direct form of administration it does not encourage public discussion of demands and possible alternative decisions.

Indirect administration occurs when a government official is delegated authority to administer an area of government policy, such as the D.O.'s duty to enforce attendance at the fono, the NEC secretary's task of providing concrete latrines, the government foreman's administration of the tractors. Once such administration is indirect, that is, once powers are delegated, an official's kinship obligations, personal interests and ambitions can affect his political role. Certain demands directed to officials with delegated powers, in fact carry no weight unless other considerations such as gifts of takitaki, or kinship obligations, or local loyalties are involved. Takitaki or other supports are necessary for a person to obtain government land, to get his copra carted, and to ensure its acceptance by the buyer.

Legal adjudication in Niuafou is indirect (there are no police) and delayed. Traditional methods of adjudication and appeals to sanctions outside the sphere of Government are effective more directly but will be discussed below.

Supports for government officials and their administration of authoritative decisions in Niuafou are not enthusiastic nor generously given - unless these decisions coincide with traditional or religious customs such as clearing up the village for Sunday or in expectation of an important visitor. Only one of government appointees on Niuafou had a large local kainga and could expect wide support from kinsmen, and it was noteworthy that this government foreman used his political authority to deploy kinship demands and protect his private shop profits. Other civil servants had few or no kinship obligations but
correspondingly less support in their execution of binding decisions.

Mutual cooperation or support between government officials was notably lacking, except between the NEC secretary and the government foreman, and the copra-buyer and the government foreman, who received mutual benefit from cooperation. 102 Otherwise there was no close network of civil servants and no interlocking of their powers.

There is no shortage of good land for copra-cutting and gardening in Niuafo'ou and consequently no great pressure on, or enthusiastic support given, those administering government lands, as there is in the remainder of Tonga.

It turns out that where government officials are administering authoritative government decisions they are not offering anything desired by the people, for example, Niuafo'ouans do not greatly desire to attend fono s, send their children to school, improve their standards of hygiene, repay NEC debts.

Where on the other hand a government official has the power to withhold or restrict something people want, his favour is courted, support is given, and he becomes an important "politician", and his status in the community is increased thereby. 103

102 See pp. 88, 101, 107 fn.78.
103 The copra-buyer's powers over the sale of copra, Taufa's powers over the transport. See also the absentee noble's powers over land allocation, p.166-7.
Ha'a'o Fusitu'a
2. Nobles and Politics

Fusitu'a: The Resident Noble and His Sphere of Authority

The noble Fusitu'a combined in his station the roles of traditional leader or 'eiki, ceremonial leader, landed aristocrat with hereditary title, legal controller of estate and village lands, traditional head of a large household and work force, 'ulu motu'a 'head' of a kāinga 'kindred' and ha'a 'lineage of titled person', and husband to one of the highest ranking women in Tonga. I shall discuss each one.

The Noble and His Title.¹

The title name Fusitu'a may mean as Gifford suggests², "to pull from the back", if 'back' refers to the lower ranks of society, those who sit on the periphery or at the back of the chiefs; for there is evidence that the first Fusitu'a was created by and subordinate to Fotofili, the first Tongan ruler of Niufo'ou.³

The present holder of the title traces it back five generations to Ue'ikaetau Fusitu'a who flourished in the 1780s and possibly was born about 1750.⁴ The title is hereditary according to the "Law of Succession" in the Act of Constitution of Tonga.⁵ The title passes to the oldest living male

²Gifford 1929:247. ³Gifford 1929:133.
⁴"Genealogy of Fusitu'a", my unpublished records. It was very pleasing on my return to New Zealand, to be able to link this genealogy to Gifford 1929. See genealogy facing this page.
⁵Law Ch.2, No.107.
child, then to eldest female, born in wedlock to the title-holder. If there are no direct heirs, the title reverts to the eldest brother of the title-holder and his direct issue, or failing that to the eldest sister and her issue, and failing all siblings in these generations, the title reverts to the crown and may be re-allocated accordingly by Royal decree. 6

The Fusitu'a ha'a 'lineage', has not been prolific, leaving Fusitu'a with a very small kāinge 'kindred' and no direct heir to his title. 'Aloko'ulu, adopted son and brother's son to Fusitu'a will inherit the title on Fusitu'a's death. A noble title confers the bearer with two specific rights; the first is traditional ceremonial respect and status, the second is a tofi'a 'hereditary estate', and the people who dwell thereon. These are now discussed in turn.

The Noble and Ceremonial Affairs

Fusitu'a's position as supreme head of ceremonial affairs on Niuafo'ou has already been described; 7 those who did not acknowledge his position in this role simply stayed away; he had no competitors.

Those who joined in ceremonies at island level like those who approached the noble in his own house acknowledged the traditional obligations they had to him and the traditional authority he commanded. Ta'ovala were worn with Tongan dress; seating was strictly according to relative rank 9 in kava

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6 Ibid.
7 p.21-22.
8 "It shall be unlawful to...be without ta'ovala if in native dress in the presence of a noble." Law Ch.10, No.14. Niuafo'ou dress is discussed in Chapter I, pp.6-7.
9 Or, if among equals, according to seniority of age. Rank in Tonga is discussed in Chapter I, pp.19-28.
circles, feasts or even meals which included the noble; chiefly language was used in his presence and other courtesies such as never passing immediately behind, never speaking whilst standing, and never coming directly to the point in conversation were observed. Fusitu'a was addressed in the chiefly language by visitors, villagers and his household members. Whenever a pigeon was caught it should be sent to him, and certain parts of animals were set aside as food to be eaten only by a chief. He was sent a pig, or chiefly portions of a pig, from wedding, funeral or church feasts even though he did not attend; even though he was not related to the celebrants; even though they were residents of a government village.

Three times during my fieldwork, he was brought fuatau 'first-fruits', twice from Fata'ulua and once from Sapa'ata. His people had built him the largest and most carefully constructed house on Niufo'ou. It stood on the largest and highest platform in the village, indeed on the island. On the boundary between the noble villages of Sapa'ata and Kolofe'ou there was a chiefly fa'iteka 'burial ground' for people of chiefly rank and their families. As an old man of chiefly status, Fusitu'a indulged in the privilege of wearing an extortionately long vala with a great surplus of over-wrap which was said to be for wiping his hands and his nose on. The only traditional privileges

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10 There are five "levels" of language nowadays recognising three ranks of people, in Tonga. This is discussed in Churchward 1953:303ff. See also Gifford 1929:120-2.

11 As happened on two occasions during our stay.

12 For a discussion of this see Gifford 1929:125.

13 For example, the wedding at Tongamama'e on 5.8.67. See Journal 1:19-21.

14 That is, from the neighbouring village and his own.

15 The walls were made of woven reeds, not of the less durable pala 'woven
recorded by Gifford which he did not have were a special bathing place or
hole\textsuperscript{16}, a special tattoo; nor any distinctive head-dress\textsuperscript{17} apart from his
Australian "diggers" hat.

The Noble and his Land

By virtue of his title, Fusu'uta commanded a tofia'a 'hereditary estate'
usually called after his village, Sapa'ata, but designated in "The Land Act"
as "Faletamua and the Eastern side of the road in Angaha and Naofanga".\textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{19}

The political authority of Tongan nobles over the people residing on their
estates is circumscribed by law\textsuperscript{20} and has been discussed by Nayacakalou in a
recent article.

Tax allotments are regarded as being held from
him \textsuperscript{2}, the noble in the village studied, and
this exercises a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his position in relation to the whole village.\textsuperscript{21}

This noble estate on Niuafo'ou in 1967 provided no exception to Nayacakalou's observation even though tax allotments had not, in fact, been allocated
to the people and even though the homage and tribute paid by the people was a
survival of a custom which was abrogated by Tongan Law\textsuperscript{22} in 1862. In 1959

coconut fronds'; the roof was supported by curved poles of coconut heart-
wood and magnificent beams of ma'\textsuperscript{i} 'breadfruit tree'.
\textsuperscript{16}\textsuperscript{17}\textsuperscript{18}\textsuperscript{19}\textsuperscript{20}\textsuperscript{21}\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{16} Gifford 1929:124.
\textsuperscript{17} Gifford 1929:127.
\textsuperscript{18} Law Ch.45, Sched.1.
\textsuperscript{19} See map facing p.8.
\textsuperscript{20} "The Land Act", Pt.III,Div.1, in Law Ch.45.
\textsuperscript{21} Nayacakalou 1959:100.
\textsuperscript{22} The "Emancipation Edict" of 1862 stated that ".All chiefs and people are
set at liberty from servitude and all vassalage...it shall not be lawful for
any chief or person to seize or take by force or beg authoritatively in
Tongan fashion anything from anyone. Everyone has the entire control over
everything that is his". Wesleyan Missionary Notices Jan.1863:343-9,
Quoted by Rutherford 1966. My emphasis.
the Government promised an early distribution of allotments to individuals, but eight years later it had not been fulfilled.

**Authority in the Village**

As stated above, The Land Act defines a noble's powers over his subjects. He may

... refuse permission to take up residence on his hereditary estate to any person who belongs to another locality or holds a tax allotment elsewhere even though the wife of such person belongs to a village upon such holder's estate.

He may order "in writing"

any such person coming to reside on an estate...to leave...

but he

shall not dispossess in any manner other than the manner provided by this Act any holder of a tax or town allotment of his allotment...

The people of Sapa'ata did not hold tax allotments, but they had to obtain Fusita'a's permission to reside in his village and to use his lands during and since resettlement in 1958. It was an advantage to Fusita'a to have a

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23 See Chapter I, p.30 for the relevant law.

24 A government report for 1959 stated:
Distribution of allotments of the statutory area will be made at the completion of the Cadastral Survey, which is now being carried out in the Vava'u group. Report LSD 1959:19

A later report commenting on the completion of the Cadastral Survey said:
...The islands of Niuao'ou and Niuatoputapu would be left to be done as a longer term programme by his regular staff...Report LSD 1961:9.

In 1967 the people still had no title to their lands; the most recent government report admitted:
The people of Niuao'ou lived in hope that the island would eventually be subdivided into statutory allotments thus enabling individual ownership of land...Report LSD 1966:11.

large village and many copra cutters on his estate, and consequently he had
turned few prospective settlers away. One exception was Petelo, whose home
in 1946 was in Sapa'ata on an elevated site called 'Aho Moli. This had
been Petelo's family house site for over a hundred years; his widowed
grandmother occupied it in 1946. Petelo's immediate family had a house in
Petelo's father's village of Kofo'ou, but he made a claim for 'Aho Moli and
started living there on the three-tiered house platform, in a hut. The site
adjoined and even cut into Fusitu'a's compound and it was obvious that the
noble used the excuse that Petelo was drinking hopi 'home-brewed beer' in the
hut to expel him and appropriate the land. This happened in 1966; one year
later, the hut was re-thatched for two visiting anthropologists. It is obvious,
that in regard to land Niuafo'ou people look not to the Land Laws of Tonga but
to their old traditions, and any authority which the noble achieved rested on
the recognition by the people of his traditional authority.

From the year of resettlement in 1958, to October 1967, Fusitu'a had
allocated house and garden sites to resettlees and given each of them a wide
area of his estate at Maofanga from which to cut copra.

Of the twenty-three Niuafo'ou households in Sapa'ata in 1967, eighteen or
81.7% belonged to Sapa'ata village in 1946, but only two families and the

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26 Literally, 'The Day of the Orange', but Gifford 1923:32 gives it as 'The Day
of Moving'.
27 Genealogy of Malia Tu'i Tofa, my unpublished records.
28 From the respective accounts of Palemapa Levalu, Saia Leua, Malia Tu'i Tofa.
29 That is, lived in the village either as married persons or as unmarried
persons with their parents.
noble had returned to their former house sites. In addition to these returned families, two households had a Sapa'ata mother but a husband from another village living unilaterally. The remaining three households were people who requested or were invited by the noble to settle in the village and take up land. I know of only one family who refused such an offer.

This means that apart from government and church appointees, all of the 1967 population of the village chose to return to Sapa'ata village and live under the noble. No Sapa'ata people had chosen to live in other villages on Niuafou in or since 1958, the main alternative settlement of Sapa'ata people being Sapa'ata village on 'Eua Island.

**Social Dynamics in the Village**

The Tonga Government did not appoint a copra-buyer to Niuafou until February 1967; prior to that date all copra cut from Fusi'tu'a 's estate was sent to Nuku'alofa, weighed, graded second class, and sold there in his name. A cheque was paid into his account and distribution to the labourers of the agreed 50% of the return was left to the noble. Few Sapa'ata people interviewed were satisfied with this system of marketing and payment, except for the noble, but I could not substantiate complaints of injustice.

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30 I cannot explain why so many who returned had moved their house-sites. The houses were all destroyed between 1946 and 1958: some by their owners who removed the house-poles when evacuated in 1946, some by roaming stock, and possibly some by the contract copra-cutters who inhabited the island from 1950 to 1953. The raised house-platforms were not destroyed.

31 That of the Tongan Medical Practitioner, see above, p. 114.

32 *Journal* 10:501.

33 For a description of the noble's method of copra payments in 1967 see p. 133-4.
Fusitu'a's handling of copra payments, his heavy demands for copra, and possibly other grievances led to a strike which took place in February 1966. The effects of the strike, and the people's recollection and interpretation of why it took place, continued to determine their behaviour to the noble during the period of fieldwork. For this reason it is now discussed.34

Sometime35 in 1962 Fusitu'a asked the villagers of Sapa'ata to cut ten sacks of copra per household to enable him to purchase a Land Rover which would serve among other things as a water carrier for the village. The people cut the required amount (five sacks cut of every ten divided equally between noble and worker, and five sacks for the noble only); Fusitu'a went to Nuku'alofa, stayed one month, returned, and announced that the vehicle was ordered and coming. It did not ever come.

By 1966 Fusitu'a was putting heavier kavavea 'burdens' on his people than ever before; the Crown Prince, Tungi had made two visits to Niuafou, the Prime Minister, Tu'ipelehake, one visit; these were occasions which enhanced the status of the noble in Tongan eyes but depleted the resources of his people...36 During the planting season the noble expected all the men of his village to work in his gardens one day each week; their only return a meat meal and the leftovers to take home. Some people were complaining that Fusitu'a was giving them only a quarter of the selling price of the copra they had cut instead of the agreed half.37 Many Sapa'ata men were cutting copra on government estates and receiving half its value from the Government.38

34 The first clue to the strike was offered by Afe Havae, the headmaster of the Primary School, who wanted to "help me understand Sapa'ata village" (Journal 1:19). I checked and cross-checked his account by referring it to four men who were friendly to me: two were "strikers", one had withdrawn halfway through, the fourth was the Radio Operator, who studied the movement independently but did not become involved. The headmaster's report proved to be quite accurate especially after more details had been added during a second long interview in his house. I have omitted any evidence for which I could not obtain confirmation and any that was clearly in dispute. What follows is a reconstruction of the most reliable and relevant details. It was impossible to discuss the strike with the noble; it was important to our relationship that he remained unaware of my discovery.

35 Informants were not agreed on a precise date.

36 The Prime Minister and his entourage consumed three faka'afe pola 'feasts' in one day in Sapa'ata, and "carried off", as the wireless operator put it, "the sweets and riches of the island, including mats, baskets, tea poles, volcanic gravel, oil, and huge gifts of food". Journal 5a:273.
This practice was not illegal, as the land had not been legally allotted but it would have given Fusiuta'a a justification for expelling culprits from his village had he known. It is not clear how the noble kept a record of copra contributions during this period; one informant said he entered contributions into a book on boat-days, another said that he relied upon the copra-cutter to tell him how much had been contributed to each shipment.

In September 1966 Fusiuta'a asked for a donation of two sacks of copra per man in his village which he would put to his own money to acquire a second-hand lorry from Sydney. Fusiuta'a threatened that failure to complete this work within a month might cause him to withdraw his estate at Nacofanga from use for copra-gathering.

As far as I know, the noble's earlier request for copra carried no such threat. This new demand was a "binding decision" and the people accepted it as such; an illustration of the great consensual powers of the traditional chiefs.

Again the copra was out, all men on the estate cooperating under the capable direction of Fusiuta'a's foreman, Nacofanga. Fusiuta'a departed for Tongatapu with the copra and a boy servant. After chairing several sessions of the annual Parliamentary Committee on Agriculture, Fusiuta'a returned home in the tug-boat Hifofina, explaining to his foreman that the lorry was coming from Sydney on the next voyage of the Niuvakai, and that the next Aoniu voyage to Niuafou would bring it from Nuku'alofa.

The Aoniu duly arrived, but no lorry. Fusiuta'a's plea to wait for the next boat was less convincing to the villagers than the ki'i ongoongo 'snippets of news' they received from kinsfolk in Nuku'alofa telling about Fusiuta'a's

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37 On two occasions the noble had refused payment to a villager for copra already sold...and said, "Go out and gather some more". Ibid.
38 See pp. 166-7, 102 fn. 64.
39 Ongoloka's account, Journal 5a:274.
extravagant beer parties at his "town house".\textsuperscript{42}

The strike took place sometime in January 1967.\textsuperscript{43} The first protest meeting grew out of a kava party in the foreman's house.\textsuperscript{44} The following day another meeting was held in X-'s house to discuss the type of protest they should make. The assistant teacher, Kelekolio, was present but he slipped away to inform the head teacher whose account is now given.

I was quite excited over the prospect of a strike, \textit{angatu'u}, as I had noticed signs of growing discontent, \textit{fakaagaangatu'u}, for a month or more. I hurried to X-'s house but found the talk so seditious, \textit{fakatupu-angatu'u}, that my excitement turned to fear. The leaders\textsuperscript{45} were advocating complete withdrawal of all inhabitants from the village and they asked me to make their case and any consequences clear. Speakers grumbled about the lack of water and Fusitu'a 's withholding supplies by locking the tanks, about the inadequacy and uneven distribution of copra sections and copra payments, about other demands... but most especially about the money he had taken in 1962 and 1966 for a lorry which would never come.\textsuperscript{46} Excitement and voices rose until someone suggested we shift to T-'s house out of sight and earshot of the noble and his spies.\textsuperscript{47} This plan was executed but fearing accusations of complicity from the noble, I went home.

\textsuperscript{42} This noble's reputation as a heavy drinker of beer and spirits was suspected by the author before going to Tonga. The first officer of the M.V. \textit{Aoniu}, under survey in Auckland in January 1967, recounted a bout on Niuafo'ou when Fusitu'a was the last man to fall asleep on the third successive night of revelry with the officers and crew of the ship. Fusitu'a 's enormous capacity for alcohol was demonstrated to the writer in Nuku'alofa in October 1967, and his wide reknown as a generous drinking partner in the Tonga Club, \textit{Kalapu Tonga}, during the same period. That Fusitu'a drank the double proceeds intended to buy a motor vehicle cannot be doubted.

\textsuperscript{43} Informants were not agreed on the precise date.

\textsuperscript{44} Informants were not agreed as to who spoke nor to what was said; but clearly, the idea of a protest was mooted.

\textsuperscript{45} The headmaster could not distinguish a chairman or leader at this meeting. Other informants gave me the names of ostensible leaders.

\textsuperscript{46} Journal \textit{3}:129.

\textsuperscript{47} One informant said that Fusitu'a 's "spies" had kept him informed of all these proceedings.
The plan of action formulated in T-'s house was to move Sapa'ata houses to the outskirts of the neighbouring government village of Fata'ulua, to return and chop down their food trees on their Sapa'ata allotments and to put pressure on any inhabitants remaining in the village but to help widows and old people to move. It was said that there had been much joking and laughter occasioned by predictions that the noble would be "sitting alone" in his village.

All informants and the District Officer himself agreed that the D.O. had been petitioned to give government land to the insurgents, but the informants were not in accordance on the D.O.'s decision. It is certain however that a small party of men started to clear some bush on government land between Sapa'ata and Fata'ulua villages. No kava was drunk on Saturday or Saturday evening but a meeting continued into the night in T-'s house. Some villagers withdrew their support at this stage by not attending. The noble's shopkeeper, V-, heard the discussion and reported it to Fasitū'a. Early on Sunday morning the noble sent his adopted son to all houses requesting a meeting after church.

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48 The house—poles, beams and timbers; new thatch would be woven.
49 Journal 2:93.
50 The D.O. now claims that he tried to dissuade hasty action on the part of the insurgents but that he did not forbid them entry to Fata'ulua land. The D.O. had the power to refuse entry or to delay the action by postponing his decision but the indecision displayed here is in keeping with his character (see p.33ff).
Kaloi states that the D.O. approached him as Secretary of the NEC and requested land in Mu'a village (government land) for the "strike's", but Kaloi shrewdly said he had no authority to meet such a claim (Journal 1:21).
51 I shall withhold the names of the men taking an active part in the strike. What emerges from the accounts of informants is that no one leader dominated the group nor made all the decisions.
They all turned up; sat in the noble's house in a large oval and after a prolonged silence began to cry. Fusitu'a said that he had been wrong, that he would not continue to burden them, that he wanted them to stay on in the village. The men confessed one by one and agreed to stay. 52, 53

Discussion of the Strike

Three aspects of the political action described above warrant discussion: the earnestness or otherwise of the insurgents, the post-rebellion changes in Fusitu'a's policy and attitudes, and the effects of the rebellion on subsequent noble-commoner relations.

The concept of 'strike' in western society implies industrial conflict in an impersonal setting; the negotiators may find they are complete strangers and may even shelter behind a screen of anonymity. In contrast to this the Sapa'ata strike involved the most intimate of personal relations; although not related directly to their noble 54, the strikers did consider him their traditional leader 55 and Sapa'ata the village of their ancestors. If the evacuation had

52 Two informants agreed that two older influential men withdrew from active participation in the movement once action commenced. Journal 3:130.
53 Two younger men did not confess at the time, but have become reconciled with the noble since, one of them in September 1967. Journal 1:18, 2:94, 3:275.
54 Those families who acknowledge a kin tie to the noble took no part whatsoever in the strike.
55 In answer to a question, what is your relationship now to the noble?, all who were asked in Sapa'ata village said either "I belong to his kāinga", or "He is my sīki (chief)", or words to that effect. Even if this was said to impress the anthropologist, and I have evidence that several persons tried to do so, it suggests that at least nominal allegiance was still accorded the noble.
taken place it would have irrevocably torn the web of personal relationships. Face and faith would have been lost and there are no mechanisms in Niuafou village culture to restore them.

As it happened, the strike was successful for the villagers without being unduly humiliating for the noble. The people achieved a freedom clearly written into the Constitution of Tonga:

"... and all men may use their lives and persons and time to acquire and possess property and to dispose of their labour and the fruit of their hands and to use their own property as they will." 56

It is not possible on the evidence available to decide how far the strikers intended to go. That decisions were taken and a start was made on clearing land for the new settlement is sure 57, but whether even this action was serious or whether it was a bluff is not clear. There are two considerations however which would have deterred the strikers from taking so irrevocable a step; one was economic, the other was fear of social disruption.

For all the demands which were made by the noble, there was one great attraction of having an economic relationship with him.

From several sources, particularly the Red Cross Society 58 and the Tin Can Mail, the noble received bundles of second-hand European clothing. The best were selected for his own household and his wife's kin in Nuku'alofa, but the remainder were distributed to the villagers. When pigs are killed for a feast, a chiefly portion of good size or even a whole pig is sent to the noble. He

56 "Declaration of Rights" 1875, 1880, 1942, 1947, in Law Ch. 2, No.1.
57 The fallen trees and cleared section was viewed by the anthropologist on 10.9.67, Diary of Events.
58 The Red Cross Society is discussed below. It is Niuafou's main source of ready-made European clothing.
may, on these occasions, receive additional baskets of food. The noble takes what is needed for his household and distributes the rest.

Fusitu’a’s income from his estate and title\(^{59}\) enable him to import quantities of cash goods, in particular, flour, tinned beef and tobacco. These he distributes to his people through cash sale in his shop, through barter for labour, copra or coconuts, or through traditional customs of acknowledged obligations. Every man in Sapa’ata has the assurance that his residence on the noble’s land is a strong enough relation with the noble for him to be able to ask\(^{60}\) and be given things he urgently needs.

When the strikers prepared to move their village they were faced with the prospect of having no source of distribution for their needs other than the shop on the other side of the island or their kinsmen living in other parts of Tonga. The economic factors described above must have acted as a deterrent to many would-be strikers and may have been the reason for the collapse of the movement.

There are indications that some villagers sought a means of protest but balked at direct political action.\(^{61}\) These conservatives affected the strike in two ways, firstly by reducing its numerical strength and secondly by increasing the pressure of disapproval: a strong negative sanction in Hinafe’ou.

Both of these factors eroded the morale of the active strikers.

\(^{59}\) For example, his share of copra proceeds from his estate, his Parliamentary salary and noble’s allowance.

\(^{60}\) The Tongan word is \textit{kole} which can mean ‘to ask without intention of returning’. But most people were very restrained in their asking.

\(^{61}\) Two men withdrew when it was clear that some villagers intended to migrate. See above.
On the one hand were those who desired political change at any price; on the other was a core of loyal Fusi'tu'a supporters who were determined to stay with him, and in the middle were those who wanted reform but not social disruption. In this case the moderates won.

The strike spread through Fusi'tu'a 's village like an underground movement; it effected a silent political revolution. Fusi'tu'a 's absolute status was reduced to that of a modern British peer: name, ceremony and land went on; authority over his villagers' "lives and persons...their labour and the fruit of their hands" lapsed.

A new balance of power was struck which left noble-commoner relations in a delicate and unsteady equilibrium. The limits of this equilibrium will not become known until further crises and demands arise. In this sense, this delicate balance of power was the "political reality" in Sapa'ata in 1967 whereas the normative social structure was in abeyance. The people and the noble were working out a *modus vivendi* based partly on past experiences and partly on economic expediency. Both sides were attempting to manipulate existing but contradictory norms, the noble's appeal being to traditional obligations; that of the people to the emancipation laws of Tonga.

The primary grievance of the villagers, concerning the method of copra payments, was removed in February 1967 with the opening of the new government copra shed and the installation of a copra buyer. Instead of all copra being weighed and graded second-class in Nuku'alofa and the noble making all payments,

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62 The recalcitrants who were still disgruntled in 1967.
63 That is, his household and *kiinga*.
64 That is, destruction of the relations of reciprocity and mutual dependence.
65 Discussed above.
the villagers now saw their copra weighed and graded, they received a docket and one half of the gross returns from which they had to pay cartage to the noble. 66 In fact, copra makers on the noble's estate were, in 1967 receiving a better return for their copra than workers on government estates, as the latter had to pay a proportion of the foreman's salary and copra tax as well as transport, whereas Fusitu'a 's people paid transport only. 67 Villagers who were questioned about the new system declared their satisfaction with Fusitu'a 's part in it. 68

In addition to losing absolute power over the cash income of his village, Fusitu'a by 1967, had come to depend almost entirely upon a few loyal friends and even fewer kinsmen for the core of his labour force. 69

The Noble, his Household and Work-Force 70

The noble had mafai fa'afafili 'total or absolute power based on consensus' 71 over the members of his household because they ate his food and accepted his protective powers. 72

I shall introduce the members of the noble's household and briefly discuss his powers over them, and then discuss his work-groups.

Head of Household:

Tevita Fusitu'a (Age 50) The Honourable Noble.

Pisila Fusitu'a (c.50 ) First and only wife of Head; eldest sister to Fotofili, an absentee Niuafo'ou noble.

66 Journal 10:500. 67 See also p.164, on p.167.
68 See p.102, 106-7.
69 This is discussed below.
70 The following synthesis of the noble's economic powers is based on three month's participant observation in 1967.
Genealogical Relationship of Fusitu'a to his Household
Household Members:

A. Tevita (Unmarried male c.25) FB+D+S73, adopted at birth by Head. Chief worker until arrival of J; then took second position in most activities.74 Eats either in house with Head or in kitchen, sleeps in men’s house.75

B. Latu (Unmarried female c.20) FZDD, chief cook and companion and confident to wife of Head; competent worker. Eats in kitchen, sleeps in house. Highest ranking woman in household and therefore acts as hostess76 except when O is present.

C. Mailene (Unmarried female 11) FZDD, youngest child of Sapa’ata widower (D), who asked Head to adopt her. Goes to school, makes work very hard in house, always at beck-and-call of Head and Head’s wife. Treated harshly on occasions. Eats in kitchen; sleeps in house.

D. Matalave (Widower c.50) FZDH, used to work in Copra Shed and ate with copra buyer; not then a member of household. Sacked 10.9.67, began to eat in household kitchen and became a member of the household. Sleeps alone in hut near Head’s compound.

E. Toa (Widow c.50) from Niutoputapu, on passage to Huku’alofa with sick husband and children in 1965 to admit husband to hospital. Husband put ashore in Niuafou, died and was buried by Fusiitu’a in noble’s graveyard at Fusiitu’a’s expense; Toa given a small hut in Head’s village. Often given food by Head or eats in his kitchen and reciprocates by working very hard for wife of Head. Has a deep sense of loyalty and gratitude to Fusiitu’a; he, on the other hand is repaying long-standing hospitality received from Toa and her husband on Niutoputapu during broken voyages to and from Huku’alofa. Daughter now

71See p. 28 fn.1.
72Fear of a noble’s mana ‘supernatural powers’ is still a strong deterrent to would-be thieves and wrong-doers on Niuafou.
73See abbreviations in Preface for description of kinship symbols. These relationships are all to the Head of the household, Fusiitu’a, and are shown on the Genealogy opposite.
74Discussed below, p. 142, 143, 145-6. 75Situated in Fusiitu’a’s compound.
76For example, preparing kava for guests or important visitors; tending to their personal comfort; swishing flies for guests at meals; sits at head of household workers when they eat.
married locally; son cutting copra in Tongamama'o. In 1967, Tea and the faifakau's (M) wife were the two people whom Pisila asked and trusted to do her important work.

F. Kovi'ia  (Unmarried mother c.32) One child aged 5, from Kolofo'ou village. Treated harshly after her mother's death by only kinsfolk in Niuafou, begged Fusitu'a to give her a home in return for work; he did so on condition that she "brought no more mouths to feed". Works very hard as slushy and domestic, often drying copra in the sun. Now pregnant and may have to leave.77


H. Hea (Unmarried male c.30) Native of Vava'u. Whilst houseboy to noble Tuita visiting Nuku'alofoa, met Fusitu'a and was offered a home on Niuafou as a base from which to cut copra for Tuita on Tuita's estate. Now works mainly for Fusitu'a, occasionally for a contract work-group, receives no wages from Fusitu'a. Eats in kitchen; sleeps in man's house. Says he is staying on Niuafou only because of strong friendship with G, and will return home when G leaves.

J. Vainikolo (Married male c.33) ZDS, 'ilamatu. Home and family in Vava'u, visiting from early 1966 temporarily to make money from copra to build a house in Vava'u. Appointed chief worker on arrival replacing A, captain of mail and fishing canoe and in charge of lorry in Fusitu'a's absence, leader of most of Head's large work parties. Paid no wages. Given house in Head's compound and eats Head's food. Works extremely hard.

K. Elena (c.30) Wife to J, mother of five children; Head's shopkeeper, assistant cook, or head cook if Head's wife and B are absent. Works extremely hard, came and will depart with husband.

77Pisila probably will persuade Fusitu'a to allow her to remain, but Kovi'ia may feel she has not respected Fusitu'a's wishes and leave.
L. Pakatava  (Unmarried male 18) Younger brother to J, came and will depart with J. Sleeps in man's house; eats in kitchen works every day for noble without wages.

M. Fine  (Married male c.45) Native of Tongatapu. Appointed to Niufo'ou with wife and family for 5 years as head of FWOF church, became an enthusiastic worker for Head, organised his feasts, worked as a member of household in Head's gardens, often accompanied fishing party in Head's canoe. Frequently given cooked food in baskets by Head or Head's wife as reward for labour. Left Niufo'ou in September 1967 to take up new appointment. His successor was not emulating his example of working for the Head.

N. Na'angata  (Married female c.55) FB+D to Head, -BW to noble Fotofili and to Head's wife, that is matāpule. Visiting from July 1967 to December 1967 to make copra for education of children in Fiji. Sleeps in house; eats in house. Accompanied by adult son who did not live as household member.


P. Anthropologists  (Man and Wife) Slept in Head's house for ten days, then moved to own house in compound. Ate with Head when residing in his village. (Not included in analysis).

Fusitu'a's two older adopted children, Fusipala and 'Aloko'o'ulu, did not live as permanent members of his household, but made occasional visits from Tongatapu.

The household described above consisted of the Head, his wife, and fourteen other members. Eight of these fourteen planned to leave the island at the end of 1967: five were visiting kinsfolk (J, K, L, N, O), one the minister of religion (M), and two the wireless operator and his friend (G, H); leaving
only six household members.

Of this six only four may be considered permanent members (A, B, C, E), as F had broken her agreement by becoming pregnant and may have to leave by order of the Head; D was a shifting worker who had been included only since he left his job in the copra-shed and started eating in the Head's kitchen.

Of the four permanent members, three were kinsfolk of the head: A was adopted son and FE++, B was FZDD; C was FZDD. None of these kinsfolk was close by current Tongan standards. Fusitu'a's permanent household barely provided a work-force for maintaining day to day affairs: one able-bodied man, one cook, one school-girl, and a woman over 50.

This situation may be understood only when one takes into account the effects of the strike discussed above. The normative situation in Sapa'ata before January 1967 involved the villagers in the duties of the Head's household. During my visit, however, the noble was realigning his relations with villagers, adopting new methods of obtaining labour, and activating alternative ways of gaining and maintaining support. 78

Although no tyrant, Fusitu'a wielded absolute power over members of his household. If a person lived in his compound and ate his food he could not refuse or question his command. The following six examples are drawn from a large fund of cases in my Journals which exemplify this.

1. The government-employed wireless operator who ate with the noble's servants in the kitchen performed the onerous and not trifling task 79

78 This is an illustration of what Professor Firth means by 'social organisation'. Professor Fiddington's 'social dynamics' describes this situation more vividly.

79 Onerous because each franking session often took over five hours and had to be
of franking large piles of Tin Can Mail which arrived fortnightly.

2. The crew of the outrigger canoe, weary after a whole night's fishing and a day's unloading supplies from the supply ship and carting Fasitu'a's goods from the whaleboats to the lorry, relaunched the craft through the surf for the third time that day to take an unimportant message to the captain of the Aoniu. They did this with resentment but in stony silence.

3. A Sapa'ata widower who lived alone (E), was sacked by the copra-buyer with whom he was taking meals; he then ate with the noble's servants and was immediately given daily work without wages by the noble.

4. A mother (N), her son and daughter visited Niuafou to make copra for family funds. The mother and daughter (N) lived and ate with the noble and were obliged to work for him. The son had no intention of working for the noble and therefore never ate the noble's food except when his mother smuggled some outside for him. The noble had no authority over him and got no work from him.

5. A visiting relative (L) was ordered to take cooked food 3½ miles on horseback to the anthropologist's camp at Futu, before he could eat his own meal on his only day off (Sunday).

6. Two men were employed to build a house for the anthropologists; one was a member of the household (E), the other a newcomer to the village. A packet of cigarettes was their only payment from the noble.

interspersed with hourly telegraph schedules. Not trifling because care and precision were required to satisfy the canons of philately.

80 With only three or four men to crew the canoe, it was a very difficult task to launch it into a heavy surf and to haul it out of the water and up over 100 yards of steep beach to its shelter-shed.

81 A telegram to be sent from the ship to Sama to acknowledge the arrival of supplies. This could have been sent from the wireless station the following morning.

82 He did work for the noble once in the largest work party observed. On this occasion his mother had asked him to attend.
Fusitu'a was indeed "lord of his own manor" and most of his waking hours were devoted to planning production and organising labour (or wondering where it could be obtained) on his estate. He shared this responsibility and task only with his wife, Pisila, who managed most of the domestic affairs of the household.

As may be expected, Fusitu'a's work parties varied in size and composition according to the task in hand, and during the period of observation his household provided the core of all work groups.

Fishing expeditions usually were organised each week by the noble, and only members of his household were engaged. The usual procedure was to fish at night from the tafa'anga 'planked outrigger canoe', to pack up at dawn and return to the village. Unless an extraordinarily large catch was landed, in which case the noble distributed it to kinsfolk and to the copra-buyer, all fish were returned to the noble's kitchen.

When an important feast pended, the anthropologist's yacht was offered and used to catch fish. The noble's work-party leader (J) captained the canoe; the noble's adopted son (A) and the best fisherman in the village (not a member of the noble's household) were appointed by the noble to troll from the yacht whilst the anthropologist managed the sails. All fish caught on this occasion went into the noble's kitchen and were served at the feast.

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83 Personal observation.
84 An "outsider" was admitted on an occasion in the noble's absence, when the canoe came out to greet the anthropologist's yacht at 0500 hours in the morning.
85 See below p. 158-161 for discussion of compact between the noble and 'Apikatoa.
86 No-one spoke about fish or fishing prior to an expedition in case the fish should hear the talk and swim away; but once trolling, a fisherman could
Other tasks for which Fasita'a engaged only members of his household included the making of Tongan oil; gathering foods from the gardens and hoeing; perpetually drying copra in the sun and gathering it up for every passing or threatening shower. The noble admitted that villagers once helped him to make copra but that now he made his own. The occasion which caused this change and the reason for his shortage of workers probably was the strike.

Fasita'a's method of gathering coconuts during my fieldwork was quite ingenious. Members of his household (E, F, K) would make several large baskets of kake (large doughnut-type balls of flour fried in hot deep coconut oil) which were then exchanged in the shop for four to six coconuts each. Word would go round the village that baking had commenced, and women and children, old and young, would leave whatever they were doing to search for nuts.

A continual stream of grinning villagers bearing coconuts tied in pairs on sticks, across their arms and shoulders or in baskets keep the shopkeeper busy all afternoon. By dusk a large heap of dry nuts lie in the noble's compound awaiting the arduous attention of his household.

If flour were short in the village and Fasita'a had a quantity, he sometimes would distribute it in return for coconuts without making it into 'cakes'; some kind of coconut-exchange was organised most weeks during my stay.

Although it is obvious that the noble's household workers managed most of the affairs of the estate, there were some tasks such as clearing and fencing new land and planting large gardens, which required a larger labour force.

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87 A method more likely to produce first grade copra but entailing an enormous amount of handling.

88 *Journal* 2:95.
People said that the noble had commissioned the entire village to do these tasks before the strike, simply giving them a good feast in return, but this did not occur during 1967.

On four occasions during the fieldwork period the noble engaged extra labour to supplement his household workers. The following descriptions taken from fieldnotes, include only the two largest of these workgroups; the smaller two were merely smaller in scale and included no persons nor activities not found in the larger two.

A gay and colourful work-party of seventeen people travelled this day on the noble's lorry to his garden in Tongamama'o... Fusitu'a, on a fat red cushion was seated in the place of honour at the rear of the tray, his wife, cook (N), helper (O) and the anthropologist took up the remainder of a soft mat; three other members of the household (H, J, L)... four distant male relatives...; the Middle School teacher...; the minister of the FVCT...were seated forward; Tevita (A) took his usual place in the cabin with the driver...

On arrival at the garden the women, assisted by one boy (L) started to prepare a meal under the direction of Pisila; the main work-party under the direction of Fusitu'a and Vainikolo (J) started hoeing and preparing the land for planting 'talo and 'ufi manu (small yams), the anthropologist and teacher prepared a seedbed and planted seeds from New Zealand...corn, melon, bean, cabbage, carrot and spinach...

A cheerful festive atmosphere, together with frequent "handouts" of American cigarettes and draughts of cool drinking coconuts, helped the work along...and finally all sat down to a delicious repast of la maka 'pork baked in coconut milk in 'talo leaves', and the usual vegetables...No wages were paid but remains of the meal including the pork, were divided among non-household members, the faifekeu and teachers taking the lion's share but all getting enough for their evening meal with their families...
The second work-party I shall describe was a yam-planting group engaged by the noble on 18th September 1967.

A work-party of twenty, sixteen men and four women, left Sapa'ata on the lorry about 0730 hours.... There were the noble and his wife, seven members of his household (A, B, D, H, J, L, O), the anthropologist, six very distant affinal kin of the noble, the faifekeu's daughter representing her father who was that day working in the copra shed, the copra-buyer's de facto wife and one of his male employees, and Uesike, the most skilful yam planter in the village. 90

Pisila and the four women prepared the meal and wove on 'food baskets'. All the men were engaged preparing the ground for 'ufi kahokoho sp. yam' 91 under the direction of Fasitu'a and Vainikolo (J). Cigarettes were handed round by the noble and breaks were taken by the men to consume large quantities of drinking coconuts...two men were employed making straight lines for the yams and only Uesike did the actual planting.... A large meal was taken, Fasitu'a, Pisila and the anthropologist eating separately and first, the four women eating separately and second; four leading members of the noble's household ate together (A, H, J, L), the remainder of the workers ate down in the garden. The best remains of the meal were given first to those not related to the noble (Uesike, the copra-buyer's wife, the copra-buyer's employee, the faifekeu's daughter), and the small remainder went to distant kin who did not belong to the household .... No wages were paid.92

For each of the past few years, Fasitu'a had planted about 300 large yams, 'ufi kahokoho 93, two large gardens of talo and kape and two small gardens of kumala and small yams. In 1967 he planted only 181 large yams, only small gardens of talo and kape and small yams, and no kumala. There is reasonable evidence that the reduction in area under food crops was directly the result of the strike in January 1967. Fasitu'a had come to depend almost solely on

90 Uesike is not related to Fasitu'a. I do not know how he was repaid for the day's work; he was the only person wearing a ta'ovala 'woven sashure', possibly a gesture of respect to the noble and in honour of his planting the ceremonially important yams.

91 Large yams (up to nine feet in length) used for ceremonial feasts or offerings.


93 Ibid. Personal communication from Fasitu'a, verified by Le'otau.
immediate members of his household, distant kin, and a few loyal friends for his work force.

The only\textsuperscript{94} other workers he employed during 1967 belonged to organised work groups which operated on a cash-contract basis. I have already discussed\textsuperscript{95} the four \textit{kautaha 'work groups}\textsuperscript{96} in Sapa'ata village, and the system of cash-contract they employed. The noble employed the \textit{kautaha kauhala lalo} group on at least two occasions in 1967, and the \textit{kutaha kauhala 'uta} group on similar terms on at least one occasion.\textsuperscript{97}

I have shown that the noble had coercive powers over the members of his household but that in 1967 these powers did not extend to other persons in his village. Instead he was obliged to renounce such powers over non-household people in his village, and operate either on employer-employee terms or according to traditional customs such as feasting voluntary workers in the gardens. In this latter sphere, coercive powers had become consensual powers.

\textbf{The Noble and his Kinsmen}

Niuafe'ou is a kin-based society; that is, the rights and duties of kinship are paramount in crisis situations, and effective in every-day life. A person who does not acknowledge kinship obligations is \textit{sickite} 'a selfish man',

\textsuperscript{94}To my knowledge.
\textsuperscript{95}Chapter 1, pp.31ff.
\textsuperscript{96}See p.33, fn.5.
\textsuperscript{97}Journal 2:103.
Genealogy of Fusitu'a's Niuafo'ou Kinsmen.

Key to residence, 1967.

Sa - Sapa'ata
Fa - Fata'ulua
Es - Esia
and loses status and respect. The rights and duties of a kinsman involve a wide range of reciprocal obligations and constitute the main part of what I have called the sphere of traditional authority.

The noble Fisitu'a and his wife have no children; his siblings left no issue and all are dead; none of his father's siblings returned to Niuafo'ou after the 1946 eruption; only four of their descendants live on Niuafo'ou. The kinsfolk Fisitu'a came to depend upon so much after the strike were all distant even according to Tongan standards. His chief worker Vainikolo (3) was affinally related and had stronger ties to the kāinga of his father in Vava'u, than to Fisitu'a's kāinga. Fisitu'a on the other hand was 'ilamutu to Vainikolo, a position which implied great leniency and liberality on the part of Fisitu'a as the mother's brother.

The children of the sister in Tonga are fahu 'above the law'; Gifford stated that, "the institution is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victim never have a chance to retaliate..." Now it is certain that Fisitu'a's 'ilamutu had not exercised his fahu prerogatives during his sojourn on Niuafo'ou. He came hoping to cut copra for himself for funds to build a wooden house in Vava'u and to provide for the higher education of his sons. He cut no copra

1 A married woman who has had no children is called menavaha pa'a, a phrase which implies fear (menavaha) and unkindness; a person without kin is paea tuhukusia literally, 'desitute and stranded in the damp, humid, night air'. Another word for 'desitute' is tu nósia tue 'a call', noa 'zero or nought'; tu nósia 'no-one calling out to a person' thus, destitute.

2 See "Fisitu'a's Ha'a" facing p. 119. The relationships described below are shown on the "Genealogy of Fisitu'a's Niuafo'ou Kinsmen" opposite.

3 Baker 1897. Cf. Churchward 1959, "...one's fahu may take great liberties with one's belongings." See discussion of the fahu in Ch.1, pp.22-26, also p.19.

4 Gifford 1929:23.
for himself, received no wages and, it seemed, would return home almost penniless. Some informants explained the situation by saying that, "Vainikolo will eventually ask Fusitu'a for something big — and get it." This remains to be seen.

Fusitu'a's adopted son, Tevita, was treated in most respects as a true son; he was educated in Fiji at Fusitu'a's expense but since then had toiled faithfully on the home estate. The Law denies him the prestige and security of inheritance and Fusitu'a had done nothing to provide for his economic independence. I have evidence that the noble and his wife prevented their adopted son from marrying on three past occasions.

Fusitu'a's cook, Lātu, and her brothers who helped in the large gardening work party, were related through two ascending generations to Fusitu'a's FM, a woman who was not strictly in Fusitu'a's kāinga. Three brothers whom Fusitu'a claimed belonged to his kāinga also were traced through a sister of the noble's FM and included three female links.

Tivoli, the person claimed by Fusitu'a to be his closest kinsman on Niuafo'ou, was an illegitimate son of Fusitu'a's FB, a relationship which Tonga Law does not recognise for purposes of inheritance.

Fusitu'a claimed that he was related to 'Apikatoa the copra-buyer, and 'Apikatoa himself boasted about it. Investigation traced the link through four ascending generations on the noble's side, then to a sister who married

5Vika, and Afe Havaea; Journal 3:146, 190.
6"Children lawfully born in wedlock only, may inherit," Law Ch.2, No.107; Ch.45, No.76.
7On grounds that the women did not rank highly enough. Journal 3:173.
8See above.
9Law loc.cit.
a noble of Niutoputapu and established her family there, and down through
undenominable links to 'Apikatoa's mother.

Of the sixty-six adult residents of Sapa'ata, seven traced a genealogical
relationship to their noble. There were fourteen people on Niuafo'ou who, on
some occasion during my fieldwork, worked for Fusitu'a because of their kin-
ship to him. Of these, one man was adopted as his son, one had moved away
from Sapa'ata to Fata'ulua village to escape some of the more immediate burd-
ens of kinship; Hailene was related through women; seven men, and the three
women, were related affinally. The one kinsman, Tivoli, was illegitimate
according to Tonga Law. There was therefore some substance in the quip by
Ongoloka, "Fusitu'a has people but no kin", Kakai'io, kāinga 'ikai.

That Fusitu'a had few kinsmen on Niuafo'ou was partly a result of the
infertility of his ha'a and partly a result of the 1946 evacuation: a large
part of the Sapa'ata population had settled on 'Eua with Fusitu'a's father's
younger brother. Consequently the kinsmen on whom he could impose authoritat-
ive decisions were few; he had to rely more heavily on non-kin with whom he
had to use different methods of gaining support.

The Noble's Wife

By far the most important and influential of Fusitu'a's kin was Pisila,
his wife. She enhanced the noble's position in three distinct ways; firstly
as a "Queen Salote of Niuafo'ou"; secondly as elder sister to the highest

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10 See Genealogy facing p.145.
Genealogical Relationship of Pisila to the Ha'a of Queen Salote

Fotofili Tu'i Ha'atakalana (early 13th century)
- Fotofili 'Atokono'ulu
  - Fotofili Alofi
    - Fotofili Pita
      - Lavenia Veiongo

Langifitonga (The last Tu'i Tonga)
- Lavenia Veiongo

King Siaasi Tupou I
- King Siaasi Tupou II
  - Queen Salote Tupou III
    - King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV
      - Fotofehi Tu'i peleha'ake
        - Fusipala (Adopted by Pisila)
ranking Niuafo'ou noble, Fotofili; thirdly as a public figure of no mean political stature.

Pisila was the highest ranking woman on Niuafo'ou, and a noble woman of high status in Tonga. Her authority on Niuafo'ou derived not only from the consensus of the people, but from her use of her traditional authority to her own advantage.\textsuperscript{11} Yet Niuafo'ouans felt towards her affection, respect, loyalty, pride and esteem and this arose partly from her close relationship (FZDD) and physical resemblance to the beloved late Queen Salote,\textsuperscript{12} and partly because she fulfilled similar roles on Niuafo'ou.

The church and people esteemed by the church, were accorded a fearful respect by Niuafo'ouans but there was also a genuine religious enthusiasm underlying the social and economic motivations for their participation.\textsuperscript{13} Fusitu'a built for his village a magnificent church of which his wife was the head. Although a professed believer, Fusitu'a never attended church and took no part in religious festivals,\textsuperscript{14} but Pisila set an example of enthusiastic religious devotion in which she led the Niuafo'ou members of the FWCT as Queen Salote had done for her Tonga subjects.

Senior women were respected as repositories of cultural tradition and lore;\textsuperscript{15} the higher a woman's rank and the older she became, the more she was sought for being fakapetepeto 'wise'. Pisila, as did Queen Salote, received esteem and

\textsuperscript{11}See below.
\textsuperscript{12}See "Genealogical Relationship of Pisila to the Ha'a of Queen Salote" opposite.
\textsuperscript{13}See for example, pp.35, 52.
\textsuperscript{14}Except he ate portions of food presented to him. Perhaps it would have been beneath the dignity of a "traditionalist" to be subjected to the ranting and shouting of a Niuafo'ou preacher.
\textsuperscript{15}See pp. 15 and 27.
Genealogical relations between the Niuafo'ou nobles.

Key to residence, 1967.

TT - Tongatapu
Sa - Sapa'ata, Niuafo'ou.
respect for her great traditional knowledge and authority in matters of

custom.16

Pisila was related to the three Niuafou'ou nobles, as shown on the genealogy

opposite. Only nōpela Fisitu'a was resident on Niuafou'ou; through Pisila's

relationship to the absentee nobles, she could ask people from other estates

for help.

High status and political authority were accorded Pisila on account of her

relationship as elder sister to Fotofili17, a Niuafou'ou noble who held two

estates on the island but who resided in Nuku'alofa. The Fotofili title is

traceable back through twenty-one generations to a time when the holder was

probably sole ruler of Niuafou'ou;18 people still speak of him as the chief of

the island. In addition to this title, Fotofili also held one of the highest

ranking titles in Tonga, that of Kalaniuvalu, true descendant of the Tu'i

Tonga, spiritual rulers of Tonga from about the tenth to the mid-nineteenth

centuries.19 The Kalaniuvalu title-holder is still attributed special spiritual


16 The late Queen inaugurated a Committee of Tongan Traditions before her death.
17 The holder of the Fotofili title in 1967 was the first of five sons to reach

the age of sixteen and qualify for the title. His sister, Pisila, had five

older sisters, three of whom are still living, but is herself the elder

sister of Fotofili, with all the respect that this implies in Tonga custom

(See page 24; Martin 1848:147, Vol.2; Gifford 1929:20–22)
18 "Fotofili, a chief of the Ha'a Takalaua and ruler of Niuafou'ou...The late

premier Tui vakana writes, 'Nothing to do with the titles of Tongatapu.

Practically king (sic.) of Niuafou'ou and created his own chiefs.'" Gifford

1929:133. See also fn.55,p.54, for another source for Fotofili's genealogy,

which puts the first Fotofili at c.1610.

19 Gifford 1929:50. Lautunitonga died 1865. His daughter was Lavenia Veiongo,

mother of Asipeli Kupu who married Tokanga, sister of Pisila's father (see

Genealogy facing p.143) Genealogy of Fotofili, my unpublished records.
powers; this would have added to Fotofili's potency as a political ruler on Niuafo'ou. 20

Fotofili moved his household from Niuafo'ou to Nuku'alofa sometime after he received the second title, Kalaniuvalu, through his wife; and sometime before 1946. Consequently, Fusu'a was the only resident noble on the island in 1946 and Pisila was already managing many of her brother's affairs.

In 1967, Angaha and the home of past Fotofili title-holders was in ruins; there was no prospect of Fotofili or his heirs 21 re-establishing their residence on Niuafo'ou. Fotofili had delegated some political powers to his foreman, who allocated or refused lands to prospective copra-cutters and settlers, and some ceremonial powers to his mata'uales 22; but decisions of greater importance which concerned his estates were usually made by or through his sister, Pisila. Three examples illustrate this.

Pisila was approached in September 1967 by the members of the Kalapu Hau Peke 'Blunt Hoe Club' 23 an inter-village voluntary organization, when they sought land for their new club-house in Fotofili's village, Kolofo'ou.

20 A story still told with bated breath on Niuafo'ou concerns a man who turned on a water tap and drained a village water supply. Noble Fotofili was then staying in Niuafo'ou, he held a fono but obtained no response to his demand that the culprit confess. So Fotofili said, since the guilty man had passed in his chance of reprieve, something dreadful would befall him. Some time later a man, reputedly the culprit, was taken by a shark.

21 Semi'ai Fotofili died in Nuku'alofa in January 1968; his eldest son will succeed him.

22 See Chapter I, p.20 and "Absentee Nobles and their Representatives" below.

23 The Kalapu Hau Peke was formed on the same lines as the Kalapu Hale Peke 'Blunt Knife Club' based on Fotofili's land in Nuku'alofa, at the suggestion of Fotofili that the new club should be the yelovalo 'oe Hale Peke 'smaller counterpart of the Hale Peke Club' (yelovalo is the outrigger of a canoe). The aims of the club are ostensibly to drink kava but ideally to promote and perpetuate the traditional behaviour and philosophy of the culture of
Fotofili had already suggested that the proposed club-house be built on the ancient site of the Fotofili ha'a in Kolofo'ou village and he asked Pisila in a telegram to give him details of the Club's intentions. After speaking with the club leaders, Pisila decided that the proposed site should be preserved for the residence of a future Fotofili; that an alternative site be allocated opposite but over the road from the original site. She telegraphed her brother, saying so. Fotofili sent no reply; Pisila's choice of site was used for the new building.

Pisila, acting as Niuafou'ou representative of the Red Cross Movement, held a fono at Tongamama'o on 20th August to initiate preparations for the visit of the British Consul and his family. Although Tongamama'o is a government village on a government estate, government foremen and leading villagers were by-passed in favour of Fotofili's matapule acting as organiser for Pisila. On the occasion of the Consul's feast in Tongamama'o on 25th August 1967, it was this matapule who sat with the faifekaus and church leaders in place of honour and not other senior villagers. The leading government foreman in Nuhake did not appear, even though his wife had contributed both to the feast and to the gifts given to the Consul and his wife.

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Tonga. There is a saying that Niuafou'ouans are loto mōno, that is, their efforts and reliability is short-lived; Blunt Hoe-Club members aim to give the lie to this saying by founding a stable and effective club. Many Niuafou proverbs equate with the English 'slow but sure', for example, He'ikai tuma hake pe 'unga 'o kula 'You can't make a crab turn red if you roast it in a hurry'; and Hau peku 'a blunt hoe'.

24 10th September, 1967.

25 Journal 2:71, 104. The British Consul brought boxes of Red Cross clothing. Because people were dependent on Pisila's good will in distributing the clothes, they supported her demands to provide the feast and gifts.
On the last day of September 1967, the monstrous grey stone Roman Catholic Church in Kolofotou was opened by Bishop Rodgers of Tonga. All the permanent inhabitants of Kolofotou village were Roman Catholic, but their land was on the estate of Fotofili who was not. There were some competent leaders in Kolofotou; commoners, but men of high standing and organisational ability. 26 Nevertheless it was Pisila who initiated and spoke at the first and following fonos, and made the arrangements for the opening day. And it was Pisila who decided the order of the village dances; 28 the order of speakers; 29 the seating order at the feast; 30 all raw facts of rank in Tonga society. Pisila made these decisions on behalf of the absent noble Fotofili; as an authority on (fakatapu) custom and tradition; and as the highest ranking person on Niufo. Her husband nōpele Fusitu’a did not attend, thereby avoiding confusion in seating and ranking arrangements, but was represented by his matapule who called for and praised the large offering of cooked pigs and food which was

26 For example, Sako, head of a large kainga; Nai his brother, Saia Leua, and the vigorous, decisive catechist, Kiutsu.
27 On 4.9.67, Diary of Events.
28 First Sapa’ata, then Kolofotou, then Eisia.
29 Matiu, leading prator in the Catholic Church, spoke first; then Seuli, Fusitu’a’s matapule; then faifekau FNCT; then faifekau FCT; then Peace Corps director, and finally His Lordship the Bishop.
30 It was decided at the fono that His Lordship and Pisila should eat from a table in a fale pala pala ‘dais with thatched roof’ constructed for the purpose; but the Bishop elected to eat Tonga-style with the other visitors, so the seating was ranked: Pisila, then the Bishop, Secretary to Government, ‘Apika, other visiting European government officials. Talahiva, the highest ranking woman in Fusitu’a’s household and second only to Pisila in relation to Fotofili, was given the honour of swishing flies for the Bishop. Journal 4:195.
presented to the Bishop. Pisila, aided by Kiutau the resident catechist, and Sitamilei the giant pulengave 'church works foreman', made decisions concerning the distribution of the food.\textsuperscript{31}

Pisila commanded a leading role in many political activities at village and island levels. For example, she was the head of the Red Cross on Niuafo'ou and made all decisions pertaining to it; Chairman of the Government School Committee\textsuperscript{32}, and leading organiser of all economic and social activities of the Free Wesleyan Church at both village and island levels.\textsuperscript{33}

In some ways\textsuperscript{34}, Pisila's authority and influence exceeded that of Fusitu'a; in others\textsuperscript{35} she complimented him. Together they commanded the widest sphere of authority on Niuafo'ou and formed the apex of the power structure.

**Assessment of Noble Authority**

I shall assess the resident noble's powers by distinguishing his traditional from his ascribed legal authority to formulate and implement authoritative decisions; and by discussing his relationship in each of these spheres

\textsuperscript{31}One of the larger pigs was allocated to the anthropologists who immediately presented it to the head of their household, nopele Fusitu'a, for distribution. The noble's wife apportioned it to the noble's closest kinsmen without ascertaining the wishes of the anthropologists, or allotting them a portion.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32}See p. 108 & 111.

\textsuperscript{33}See p. 172, 175ff.

\textsuperscript{34}As representative of Fetoili's estates and interests; as "Mother" of the island; as head of the FICT.

\textsuperscript{35}Pisila and the British Consul's wife met as leading Red Cross women; whereas Fusitu'a met the Consul as "Chief" of Niuafo'ou.
to other Niuafou politicians.

Traditional Authority: Island Level

The resident noble and his wife were accorded supreme status in ceremonial affairs at island level on Niuafou in 1967. They both formulated and announced authoritative decisions at this level by utilizing the traditional institution of the *fono*. Niuafou people had complied with these directions in the past, for example prior to the visits of the Prime Minister, Prince Tungi, and other high-ranking dignitaries, because this manner of hospitality was an essential part of Tonga custom. There have been signs of protest in Sapa'ata village during recent years, when the people considered their *kavenga* 'burdens' unduly heavy and burdensome, and this protest was voiced during the strike. There was resentment in Ahake district also when, as ceremonial leader of Niuafou, Fusitu'a showed partiality in his allotment of assisted passages to the Royal Coronation, but there were no channels for protest and grievances were not freely voiced.

It seems that the people of Niuafou would tolerate a ceremonial figurehead but not his traditional authority. In this sphere, the noble had to carefully predict and assess the amount of support that was likely to be forthcoming, and act only within the bounds of what the people felt was legitimate.

Feni Taufa and Kolei, both being commoners, accepted that they had no possibility of competing with Fusitu'a in this ceremonial sphere of authority and to avoid humbling themselves by playing subordinate roles in ceremonials at island level, stayed away. Neither of them was present at any of the numerous traditional ceremonies organized and supervised by either Fusitu'a or his wife during my stay and on no occasion did they drink the noble's *kava* or enter his
house. Aisea Tupou, TMP, did the same.

I recorded only one occasion when Koloi sat down with the noble's family; the great feast celebrating the opening of the new Roman Catholic church. Pisila sat in place of honour, then the Bishop of Tonga, then visiting government officials. Koloi chose to sit next to the anthropologist who by this time had sufficient knowledge of Niuafou custom to avoid the high placings given to the visiting celebrities.

The resident noble had by 1967 extended his sphere of traditional authority over the Government Primary School, the Wesleyan Middle School, the government Radio Station and to some extent, partly through his wife, over the economic affairs of the FWOT.

The Government had planned to build all government buildings in Nui, the new capital of Niuafou, but the resident noble decided to erect the prefabricated radio station in his village. The wireless operator had volunteered for this isolated and potentially dangerous office in 1963; he knew that he would have to deal with everybody on the island and remain impartial in political and personal disputes. He had no voice in the siting of his radio station however, and was obliged to accept the noble's offer to eat with the noble's household, with all that this implies in Niuafou custom. He often paid for the noble's telegrams rather than ask the noble to pay; he helped with drying his copra; franked the interminable Tin Can Mail. Much of this

36 See above.
37 From "Niuafou Evacuation Committee File, Confidential", Premier's Office, Nuku'alofa.
38 See p. 134 & 162.
he was willing to do; but it has on occasions affected his impartiality and obliged him to submit to certain of the noble's impositions. During my stay, several gifts from the Monterey addressed to him were claimed by either the noble or his wife. Since 1963 the noble has received rent from the Government as a result of his authoritative decision to have the new radio buildings constructed in his village.

Fusitu'a also attempted to bring the new hospital to his village by offering to build a house and dispensary for the acting, voluntary medical practitioner. It was only the TMP's refusal of this offer, and the fact that he was serving in a voluntary capacity, which prevented Fusitu'a from extending his traditional authority over this government service and its public servant.

The resident noble and his wife had won strong influence over the staff of the government and middle schools on the island; in the case of the Wesleyan Middle School by building it in their village and thereby receiving an annual rent from the Wesleyan Church for the site, and in the case of the headmaster of the Government Primary School by skilfully putting the headmaster in a position which assured his allegiance. The sole teacher of the Middle School gave willing allegiance to the noble and his station; he was an enthusiastic and voluntary worker in a work-group of the noble's; he frequently drank kava in the noble's house; he represented the noble at a wedding in Sapa'ata by speaking for the groom who was a distant kinsman of the noble's. The noble had not pressed the teacher of the Middle School into his service or into his sphere of traditional authority, but this was not the case with Afe Havea,

40 See below.
41 See p. 142.
Headmaster of the Government Primary School. The Headmaster had been manipulated into a position which he did not like and which ran counter to his liberal ideals. In the first place he had been overpowered in the School Committee by the noble's wife who was chairman by virtue of her social rank. She gave him no support in his request for a playground and three separate instead of one large school-rooms, and she prevented him from fully arguing his case before the Committee.\textsuperscript{42} She opposed his request to resign from his post at the end of 1967\textsuperscript{43}, but was overruled by the Director of Education who visited the island later.

The other method used by the noble and his wife to bring the Headmaster under their influence was assigning him to the noble's side of the village for all church activities. The headmaster resided in the Catholic village, Kolofo'ou. He joined the FWCT in Sapa'ata. He lived on the kaahala 'uta 'inland' side of Kolofo'ou, and it would have been usual to include him in the inland division of the Sapa'ata FWCT for its various activities, such as making 'umu 'ground ovens' for church feasts. But Pisila assigned the headmaster to her side of the village and expected his direct cooperation within her sphere of traditional authority within the church. In 1967, the noble's wife could use her traditional authority to formulate and implement almost any authoritative decision concerning the Middle and GPS schools, excepting where they directly conflicted with law, or the direction of the Department of Education.

\textsuperscript{42}It is impossible for a Tongan to argue or reason a case before a traditional noble, if the noble is the chairman of a committee and the plaintive a commoner, because he may not oppose the noble's wishes, by custom. Personal observation of this Committee's workings, \textit{Journal} 5:250.

\textsuperscript{43}Her argument was that he had served well in the choir and church and should not leave them.
The noble's copra had to pass through the government copra-buyer's hands and it was not fortuitous that these two politicians had developed an intricate working relationship in social as well as in business dealings. Fusitu'a made important authoritative decisions in ceremonial affairs on Niuafou; 'Apikatoa made them with regard to the acceptance of copra. Fusitu'a had granted 'Apikatoa high traditional standing, privileges, and even traditional authority in return for his loyalty, and economic cooperation.

High status was accorded 'Apikatoa on the occasion of the visit of the British Consul and his family to Niuafou on Friday 25th August, 1967. The Consul made a goodwill visit to Niuafou; his wife visited Pisila as representative of the Red Cross Movement. Fusitu'a arranged a circuit of the island for the visitors with feasts at Tongamama'o, Sapa'ata, and Futu.

Fusitu'a's battered lorry, its tray bedecked with mats, large cushions, flowers and visitors, jolted over the lava-stream track from Futu to Tongamama'o where a feast had been prepared by Fotofili's matapule Kalu 'i kava 'i paito, and the residents of Hahake. The Consul and his family were seated on the cushions of honour, backs facing the engine; I was asked by Fusitu'a to sit facing the Consul as I could "speak English with him". Others of the favoured included the Captain and the Chief Engineer of the Hifofua, the FWOT faifekau to Niuafou, a visiting methodist official, Talaliva (the highest ranking woman in Fusitu'a's household after the head) and 'Apikatoa; Pisila and Fusitu'a.

In short, apart from the faifekau and members of the noble's household 'Apikatoa was the only person chosen by Fusitu'a to ride on the lorry. He sat next to the anthropologist during the feasting. These privileges gave the copra-buyer the opportunity to feature as a "big-man" and one of the noble's

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44 See p. 151.
45 Journal 2:71.
entourage in the eyes of visitors as well as Niuafouans. The copra-buyer was also given special consideration by Pisila when she arranged the seating of guests at the faka afe 'feast' celebrating the opening of the Roman Catholic Church at Kolofou on 30th September 1967. On this occasion 'Apikatoa, a Catholic, sat second only to His Lordship the Bishop and even above other visiting government officials.

Fusitu'a delegated traditional authority to 'Apikatoa when his kinsman Le'otsu was married in Sapa'ata, for it was 'Apikatoa who was asked by the noble to supervise the noble's uma for the feast and not senior males in Sapa'ata village nor male members of the noble's household; 'Apikatoa's de facto wife came to help in Fusitu'a 's kitchen. Although related to neither bride nor groom 'Apikatoa sat in a high position in the ensuing pola 'feast'.

'Apikatoa was an honoured guest in Fusitu'a 's house several times in 1967: biscuits and butter, a rare expense on Niuafou, appeared on these occasions when he came to share a meal with the noble and his close family; once, following the visit of the government supply ship, he shared whiskey and kava with the noble and anthropologist until the early hours of the morning. No other person was accorded such favour by the noble during my stay.

'Apikatoa gave the resident noble unreserved support for his role as traditional leader on Niuafou'; Fusitu'a acknowledged this rare gesture.

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46 See p. 152, fn.30.

47 The whiskey was a gift from the captain of the Aomiu. The noble invited the copra-buyer to a meal on his way home from the anchorage. Very late that evening the noble said with deep regret, "Peni, we both have the means to make plenty of money; but I cannot make a son and heir".

48 His opening statement to the anthropologist was, "Fusitu'a is the chief of
by according the copra-buyer a prominent place in the ceremonial life of
Niuafo'ou and in his household, and by permitting him to assert a very
distant kin-tie to the noble's kāinga. Thus, both gained status by this
compact; 'Apikatoa had very quickly become a "big man" on Niuafo'ou; Fusitu'a
had found an ally and eager supporter, who was neither a local commoner nor a
Sapa'ata "striker", with whom he could associate without losing prestige.

Spheres of traditional and legal authority are conceptual devices for
analysis; in action, roles in different spheres overlap. 'Apikatoa could
advance his social status because he had legal authority over a sphere other
people desired success in. When Fusitu'a granted him ceremonial status and
prestige, he expected return from 'Apikatoa's economic sphere, that is, that
his copra would be accepted and graded well. As the copra-buyer, 'Apikatoa
could not refuse Fusitu'a's mouldy copra because by that authoritative deci-
sion he would have endangered his fortunes in the ceremonial sphere. Similarly,
when a parcel of clothing arrived in the "Tin Can Mail" for the copra-buyer,
Pisila invited him to share an evening meal, and took from the parcel what she
wanted.

After tea, Pisila leisurely, but with the air of a slightly
dissatisfied customer in a high-class emporium, opened the
large parcel with 'Apikatoa's name on it, and sorted through
the garments...She held each one up, first a shirt, then
trousers, then other materials...high in the air, naming
one of her household and putting the prize behind her.......
In consternation, 'Apikatoa seized a jandal, tried it on his
foot and said with dubious glee, "It fits, I need some jandals!"
Sometime later, as I was preparing to leave Niuafo'ou, 'Apikatoa came to visit me at Futu and sat dejectedly on my mat. He asked me to sell him some shirts.

'Apikatoa had money but I doubt if he really wanted to buy my old shirts; he expected me to give him some. I told him I had given them all out, naming the recipients (including himself)...he then said, "It is very hard for us to live here with Pisila and Fusitu'a, everything good we have we must give over to them and keep nothing for ourselves... I can't speak after Pisila (that is, once she has spoken I am silenced)."52

So 'Apikatoa's attempt to consort with nobility had succeeded, but he had to make propitiation.

Traditional Authority: Village Level

Traditional leaders during the era of Tu'i Tonga were absolute rulers by all accounts. Bishop Blanc writes,

The chiefs held all the land and each one had the power of life and death over the people who lived within his territory.53

West states that,

...the chiefs...claimed the service or property of their retainers... The lower order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. Beside this general right of the chiefs to despoil their inferiors, the king, or his immediate representative could assess labour upon the entire community, when and how he pleased.54

The Emancipation Edict of Tupou I55 theoretically liberated the commoners

52 Blanc 1934:7.
54 West 1865:263.
55 quoted on p.122 fn.22.
by abolishing the privileges of the chiefs over their people and by suppressing
economic rights and obligations between all men: chief and commoner, commoner
and kin. On Niuafo'ou this Declaration of Rights was recognized more readily
by commoners than by nobles. Informants recalled numerous occasions before
January 1967 when the noble called out residents to work in his gardens, to
build or maintain his houses and buildings, to make copra, and so on; on other
occasions this support had been voluntarily offered.56

The resident noble's attempt to re-assert the traditional authority of a
Tongan 'eiki 'chief' had been curtailed by the strike; his traditional powers
were reduced and confined largely to his own household and kinsmen. In short,
Sapa'ata people continued to regard Fusitu'a as their "chief" for he brought
prestige and grandeur, and was a focal point for high-ranking visitors to their
village, but they offered little consensus to his traditional authority in
economic affairs. In 1967, very few Sapa'ata people offered their noble fuatapu
'first-fruits', none of those not related and not in his household worked for
him without specific rewards, and several village residents gave no support
whatsoever to his economic activities. Instead Fusitu'a had come to rely very
heavily on household members and kinsmen to run his estate.

The noble's traditional authority over his household, was inflexible and
absolute; a person accepted this condition by eating his food. His authority
over kinsmen did not recognise his fa'au57 obligations to Vainikolo, his
sister's son.58 One kinsman had moved to a neighbouring village to escape some

56 A kautaha, for example, would voluntarily offer the noble a day's work without
payment. Cf. p.32 for the situation after the strike.
57 See p.145.
58 It is possible that the case of the fa'au discussed on p.145 is merely part of
of his demands; another had taken a contract job in the copra shed; it is likely that others living in Sapa'ata, 'Eua shared this feeling.

**Legal Authority: Island Level**

The resident noble on Niufo'ou has been accorded certain legal powers by Tonga Government to compensate for a lack of Government services since 1958. He was appointed Postmaster and Registrar of births, deaths and marriages. Otherwise he had not undertaken any role or office which would have given him political authority over people outside his own village. He refused to speak at the Island level *fono* in 1946 when the Government sought to evacuate the people, he did not act when a murder was committed in Fata'ulua village nor when any other crime was committed after 1958. He therefore had no legal powers for maintaining law and order on estates other than his own.

**Legal Authority: Village Level**

On all hereditary estates in Niufo'ou legal authority is ultimately in the hands of the title-holder; the *tofili* 'hereditary estate' is the basis of this authority. The resident noble used no foremen, no government agent, no village officer to run his estate. His office as land-holder gave him wide economic powers which he exploited in a number of ways. He evicted an unwanted tenant (contrary to the Land Laws) who had a legal right to a house-site in Sapa'ata. He threatened to refuse access to his personal estate (again against the Law) in an attempt to intimidate Sapa'ata copra-cutters. He utilised his

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superior income and status as a land-holder to run a lorry, to build canoes, to operate a shop, to build the FWCT church and minister's house, and the Middle School in his village. The lorry gave him a monopoly over the cartage of all heavy goods to and from Sapa'ata and over the cartage of his people's copra (the government vehicles would not cart it), and a further source of income from carrying government copra from Esia to the anchorage on a contract basis. His demands for support to purchase a new vehicle, although ultimately for his own benefit, were justified to his people on the ostensible grounds that it would be used to supplement their scanty water supply. His canoes were used to develop an intricate gift-exchange with the Matson liners; he asked his people to reciprocate with mats, baskets and other gifts in exchange for only a portion of the food and clothes from the ships. He received rent from the Government for the radio station and from the FWCT for its three buildings in his village despite the fact that the people supplied the labour to build and to still maintain them. Pisila, his wife, had assumed political authority over her brother's estates, excepting the allocation of lands for copra-cutting\(^6\), and has made binding decisions over his people on his behalf.

**Conclusion**

In all these ways, Fusitu'a has put burdens and obligations on his people and exploited their lack of services, goods, money. On the other hand, as sole resident representative of Tongan aristocracy on Huiafo'ou, Fusitu'a has been expected by other nobles, visiting dignitaries such as the Prime Minister, the British Consul, the Captains of visiting ships, Prince Tungi and high ranking government officials, to provide ceremonial fare, gifts of the best foods, piga, piga, piga, piga, piga, piga.

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\(^6\)Discussed below.
yams, nata, and other wealth of the island.\textsuperscript{63} When the King of Tonga visits Niuafo'ou in June 1968 Fusitu'a again will be expected to mobilise and organise the support of all Niuafo'ouans.

On the one hand, the people of Tonga have been set free from such onerous burdens, on the other, the nobles are still bound by them and require the consensus of the people to fulfill them. Whether rich or poor, self-seeking or generous, a Tongan noble must either reconcile these conflicting norms or renounce his traditional authority and high ceremonial status.

\textbf{Absentee Nobles and their Representatives}

The authority of Niuafo'ou's absentee landlords was inevitably indirect and effected through representatives. The two nobles and the royal land-holder (Fotofili, Tuita, the King), were receiving one half of all copra cut from their estates on Niuafo'ou.\textsuperscript{64} The copra-buyer simply deducted this portion as he paid the copra-cutter, and credited it to their accounts. The nobles were still putting traditional demands on people living on their estates by requesting various foods, pigs and other goods. The people were acknowledging these demands during my stay.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63}See p. 126 fn. 36.

\textsuperscript{64}Estate areas and boundaries are shown on the map facing p. 8.

\textsuperscript{65}Nopete Tuita holds lands at Putu, but has no village. The former inhabitants of Putu now live on Fotofili's land in Kolofo'ou village, but one nuclear family and one widower have returned to Putu to manage small gardens, run pigs, and fish. On Thursday 3rd August, nopete Tuita sent a message over the Radio Station ZCO requesting these two men to send him two puaka toho 'largest sized pigs'. Fa'a presented a large pig (worth £20 or more); Feo, a small
Népolé Fotofili depended very largely on his sister, Pisila, to keep him informed about his interests on Niuafou; his other representatives were matapules and pule naone 'foreman'; it is the latter only which concern me here. Fotofili was compensated for the loss of Angaha in 1946, and in 1967 had more land on Niuafou than any other noble. All matters concerning the production of copra on his lands were delegated to six appointed foremen who were not paid for their services but who received certain benefits. The system in 1967 was that foremen administered defined sectors of Fotofili's estate and allocated sections to copra-cutters. The usual agreement was that the cutter would supply one out of every ten weighed sacks to his foreman, and the remainder would be divided equally between noble and worker, the latter paying for cartage to the shed in Esia, the noble paying the copra tax. This system gave the foremen considerable authority over persons on Fotofili's land and often over persons from government lands who preferred to cut Fotofili's copra and receive immediate payment instead of waiting for the NEC secretary to arrive from Hulul'alofo and possibly have to forego a portion of their returns.

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one; the pigs were put into crates and with a great deal of effort and noise were shipped on the next boat. On 10th August I asked Feo if he would be paid for the pig; the answer was "no". I asked what he would do if Tuita asked for another pig next month; he said that he might send a small one. "What if you are then asked again?" I said. Feo looked up, grinned, and levelled his outstretched palm about six inches from the ground. Journal 12:22.

Fotofili's matapules acted as such only in a ceremonial capacity; they commanded no legal authority. When Filimoeala, acting-matapule on the royal estate, twice evicted tenants, he was using the traditional authority of a matapule; see fn.74 below.

This was the noble's 'wages' to his foreman. It could be interpreted as takitaki.

"The amount of copra tax payable by any producer shall be calculated at a rate for each ton of copra in excess of twenty tons sold by him which rate shall be ten shillings a ton in respect of the first such ton and which shall be increased by three pence for every additional ton." Law, Ch.65, No.3(2).
as repayment of debts owing to the NEC. The foremen’s power is evidenced
by the giving of takitaki by prospective copra-cutters.

Takitaki is taken to people in charge of copra
sections, especially to the foremen...a basket
of food is usually given a day or so before
the request is made for permission to cut copra
on land outside the copra maker’s own village
or estate... but of course, other obligations
such as kinship may affect this arrangement...
There is no law preventing a man from cutting
copra from another estate providing he has the
authority of the person in charge of that estate.70

This is significant not as a revelation of bribery and corrupt practices,
but rather as showing that Niuafo’ouans accepted takitaki as a necessary part
of transactions with an estate foreman, particularly if he supervised an estate
other than their own. It shows also that some foremen had authority over scarce
or desired goods and moreover that they could refuse access to them.71

It follows that prospective copra-cutters, especially those who wanted quick
and large returns from copra, would seek land rich in nuts from which they would
earn the maximum possible net return. This was best achieved by obtaining a
section of land from a foreman who supervised a sparsely populated area. Better
still if he were a kinsman.

"...‘producer’ means any person who is the holder of a tofi’a, tax api or lease
land, or any employer, or other person not an employee, who is engaged in
producing copra;..." Loc. cit., No.2.

69 See p.91ff, 102 fn.64, also p.118.

70 Journal 3:152:3. This statement by the government headmaster was later sub-
stantiated by personal enquiry, and although no foreman would admit that he
was receiving takitaki, I witnessed it on one occasion, see Journal 5:351.

71 Such men become “politicians”; see p. 79 & 118.
The absentee noble Tuita lost his village, his people and most of his lands⁷² during the 1929 eruption. Lava flows covered his village of Futu and the people moved to Fotofili's estate where they built Kolofou 'New Village'. Since resettlement, copra has nevertheless been cut on his estate which in 1967 was managed by his foreman, Havea Masila, ex-storekeeper and the only practicing baker on Niuafo'ou. The system under Havea was for a man to cut copra for the noble for two weeks from his allotted section, and then to cut copra for two weeks for himself, irrespective of the amount cut.

This seemingly lax method of allocating labour between worker and noble was controlled by the capacity of a copra dryer. A man simply filled the dryer once or twice for Tuita and then the same number of times for himself. The rest was left to the foreman who in this case allocated most of the estate to his kinsmen from whom he received no takitaki, but from whom he could expect reasonable honesty. For this reason Masila had not profited from his office as had Fotofili's foreman, and nor had he profited from his store. One informant to whom Masila owed money, explained Masila's bankruptcy and debts as being a result of his failing to comprehend the principle of "marking up" goods in his shop. Masila had put traditional kinship obligations above all else, particularly above the profit-motive. In 1967, his store was empty and he owed money to European warehouses in Nuku'alofa for goods already sold or distributed.⁷³

The royal estate on Niuafo'ou had a very small but neat village, one household in fact, and was managed by a foreman who was also acting matapule for the

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⁷²This land is in the district of Ahau which was originally the richest area of Niuafo'ou but is now mostly covered by lava fields.

⁷³Journal 3:166.
King. This man was an assiduous gardener; he employed contract and day labour to maintain the extensive gardens and buildings on the estate.

The legal authority which absentee nobles delegated to their foreman gave them power only to allocate copra sections; this foreman had twice evicted residents without trial for disturbing the peace, by asserting his traditional authority as acting-matapule. 74

Absentee nobles with estates on Niuafou had delegated their immediate legal authority to various representatives with the paramount concern of protecting their economic interests. They all had estates elsewhere in Tonga and did not therefore depend upon Niuafou as a sole source of income or support, but were nevertheless still trying to maintain economic powers based on their traditional authority as nobles. Successful as they were in this, they could not dominate ceremonial affairs, such as offerings of first-fruits and chiefly portions from feasts, in the absence of their persons. In this sphere, the presence on Niuafou of Fotofili's sister, Pisila, was vital to his interests. 75 Their traditional authority over the people who lived on their land was still acknowledged; people still complied with their demands, as shown above 76, but as one man put it, "The further away nobles are, the better for their people." 77

74Blanc (1934:7) states that traditional matapules were the chief's "aides de camp, caretakers of his possessions and upholders of his dignity." The present law is, "The holder of an hereditary estate shall not dispossess...any holder of a tax or town allotment of his allotment..." Law, Ch.45, No.32.

75See for example, Pisila's organisation of the opening of the Catholic Church, p. 152.

76Pages 165-6 fn.65.

77Journal 5:253. This man was a resident on Fotofili's estate, Kolofoou.
3. The Church and its Sphere of Authority

Churches in Tonga and Niuafo'ou have no legal authority as such; the church is not directly mentioned in the Laws of Tonga. But the principles of Wesleyism have entered and coloured every aspect of life and many have become incorporated into the Tonga Law and now must be recognised by all Tongans.

The law concerning Sunday states,

The Sabbath Day shall be sacred in Tonga for ever and it shall not be lawful to do work or play games or trade on the Sabbath. And any agreement made or document witnessed on this day shall be counted void and shall not be recognised by the Government.\(^1\)

The motto of Tonga reads,

"Koe 'Otua ko Tonga ko Hoku Tofi'a"
God and Tonga are my inheritance.

The Tonga flag is a symbolic representation of the Cross and the Blood of Christ.

Although only the FWCT is discussed in this section, what follows applies also to the FCT and the RC churches unless stated otherwise.

The great authority and power of the FWCT derives from supernatural sanctions and the willing consensus of its adherents.\(^2\) The appointment of a faifekau 'minister' is comparable to the appointment of a king;\(^3\) a noble is merely fakanofa 'appointed'. A faifekau ranks next to the king on most\(^4\) ceremonial

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1. Article 6 of "The Constitution of Tonga", in Law Ch.2.
2. See p. 48,50 and below.
3. Both receive tapuaki'i, bestow or pronounce blessing upon.
4. A notable exception was the coronation of King Tupou IV when the king was crowned European style by the European Wesleyan Minister on July 4th, 1967, but invested according to traditional Tonga custom on July 6th at the Taumafakava ceremony in the company only of his nopeales and matapules.
occasions and is accorded similar respect, fa'aka'apa'apa.

The organisation, offices, activities, groupings and powers of social control of the FWCT on Niuafo'ou have been discussed. It remains to examine the authoritative decisions which the church can make, the extra-church activities of the fa'ifekehu and his relationship to the administrative and noble spheres of authority.

The FWCT could make authoritative decisions only over its own members who nevertheless exercised social control over non-members by traditional negative sanctions such as social disapproval, contempt and ridicule, and other pressures. For example, there was one Sapa'ata man with wife and family who was married according to the traditional custom of nofo simihi 'cohabitation' which was not recognised by the church. The church and its members could not authoritatively press the marriage; the authoritative decisions formulated in the Quarterly Sessions applied only to members with la'anga 'office' in the church and such a man without office or membership could be chastised, warned and reprimanded only through sermons and general public disapproval.

One device to effect more pressure on church members had been to create an array of minor offices and activity groups within the church which gave the bearers or leaders added social prestige and status. Roman Catholics did not change church membership but with two Wesleyan denominations on the island, a person might always change his church if he were a Wesleyan, as was Siaosi Ongoloka of Sapa'ata village.

By shrewd reckoning and careful action Ongoloka had won an independence seldom recorded in Tongan society. This had been achieved in two ways: firstly

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5Discussed above, pp. 50-51.
by living in one village (Sapa'ata, noble estate), and holding family lands in the next (Fata'ulua, government estate); and secondly by changing his membership from a church which made heavy economic demands upon him to one which did not. Ongoloka's father had lived uxorilocally in Sapa'ata for some time after marriage, but eventually had inherited lands in his own father's village of Fata'ulua. He continued to live in Sapa'ata and pay respect to the noble in whose village he resided, but paid rent to him only for his 'api kole 'house-site'. Ongoloka inherited\(^6\) this favourable position when his father died in 1953 at Lapaha, Tongatapu and he reinstated himself in it in 1958 after the resettlement of Niufo'ou. However, being of the same church as the noble's wife and on the same side of the road, kauhala lalo, he was obliged to contribute and organise the frequent feasts held in, by, and on behalf of, the FICT in Sapa'ata village. Ongoloka did the only thing possible to win independence yet retain the valuable social and prestigious ties he had with the noble — he announced that he would change to his wife's church, FCT, for her sake. Having no high-ranking noble woman at its head, the FCT did not hold extravagant feasts for prestigious reasons and Ongoloka was saved from organising them and killing his pigs for them.

So great was the aura of the faifekeu that people feared to touch his possessions, harm his crops or rouse his ire. The wireless operator took

\(^6\)Although a commoner, Ongoloka claimed to trace his ha'a back through five generations to a title-holder, Nasi, but could not demonstrate the actual links between his remotest ancestors. This evidence is contrary to Aoyagi 1966:150 who writes, "...ha'a are not known in this Fumileka, Tongatapu village or in any other villages where I made my enquiries" and Beaglehole 1941:71 "...there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers...they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged to the lineage of their father...".
advantage of this by publicly and openly depositing his telegram receipts with Loseli the PWCT faifekau\(^7\), and the copra-buyer asked Loseli to sit in the copra shed each day during business hours to prevent theft and cheating, and to give the copra-buyer a "sense of security".\(^8\) When copra was transported from Esia to Futu to await shipment, Loseli sometimes sat on the verandah of the storage shed at Futu; or sometimes he sat on the trailer, travelling back and forth with the loads of copra, for he was the only person whom the copra buyer could trust not to stay "num" if sacks of copra were thrown into the bushes.\(^9\) The Roman Catholic Church was led by a catechist and had no ordained priest, but prior to Loseli's arrival in August 1967, this catechist also had done the work of watchdog over the copra-buyer's copra. Loseli was paid by the buyer for his services and appeared to enjoy the task.

The sphere of authority within the church complimented and upheld that of government administration, in fact, it was said by one faifekau\(^10\) that on Niuafo'ou the law-keeping role of the church superseded that of the Government. Three of the civil servants with considerably legal authority on Niuafo'ou, the government foreman, the D.C., and the Headmaster, were leading members of the PWCT; the copra-buyer was an active member of the RC church in Kolofo'ou. Indeed, with all these men, church membership gave added status and probably

\(^7\)Personal communication.

\(^8\)Personal communication.

\(^9\)I have no evidence of this happening during 1967 but lorry-riders frequently joked about its possibility, and even went through the motions on the way to Futu once whilst I was aboard. Niuafo'ouans describe the action of stealing copra by pulling a sack over the side of the trailer, with the verb tohoaki implying short, repeated pulls. Noticing someone else on the trailer to steal by imitating tohoaki is called tohoaki'i.

\(^10\)Siafau of the PCT.
positive sanction to their legal authority.

Church - noble relations were less complimentary even though lip-service and ostensible respects were openly exchanged. The retiring FNCT faifekau had during his five years of office on Hiuafo'ou virtually become a member of the resident noble's household. During August and September 1967 this faifekau worked frequently as a member of the noble's work groups, in gardening, fishing, and general activities; he organised the ceremonial 'umus and feasts of that household. \(^{11}\) These acts of cooperation lost the retiring faifekau some support within the FNCT: two church members ceased to attend church in Sapa'ata; on one occasion the faifekau's garden was ransacked by young men on horses. \(^{12}\) The new faifekau was aware of this situation as his arrival on Hiuafo'ou overlapped by almost a month the departure of his predecessor. He paid respect to the noble, and frequently drank kava at the noble's house, but he did not personally join the noble's work group during my stay, sending his daughter in his stead.

\(^{11}\) Personal observations and participation.

\(^{12}\) This incident occurred about one month before my arrival; in all my fieldwork this was the only question which returned no satisfactory answers: informants professed ignorance of the identity of the culprits or were non-committal. Consequently, I do not know whether the garden raiders were FNCT members expressing their discontent with the faifekau, persons of other denominations expressing rivalry, or merely high-spirited youths. My hypothesis is that this faifekau lost respect and some of his mana by becoming one of the noble's labourers, and these were reprisals which took place. Unlike the nobility in Tonga, faifekau do not, ever, play rugby or other sports, they do not engage in drinking parties nor enter public hotels. They farm their own gardens, fish, and supervise church activities; but they never work as labourers.
The noble requested the copra-buyer to organize his feasts after the retiring faifekau had departed, but he still retained an important economic role in the FWCT through his wife, by commanding one half of the village members for the preparation of 'unus for church feasts and by activating support for the misinale in a way which increased his income. The importance of feasting within the FWCT has been raised; each half of Sapa'ata village feasted a visiting malanga 'preacher' and the remainder of the village members in turn; those on the noble's side of the village were expected to contribute extra foods to maintain his superior status. This was the main reason why Ongoloka withdrew from the FWCT and joined the FCT and why Pisila assigned the headmaster to her side of the village.

Economic activities performed in the name of religion (lotu) on Hiuafo'ou had a special sanction and gave the church the right to demand obligations and dues. One example of this was the misinale, described in Chapter I, whereby each district or village vied with its rivals to raise the largest sum of money for the church. In the example discussed there, Nahake district had exceeded its misinale quota by over $600; Hihifo church leaders decided to exceed this by dividing their effort between three Hihifo villages, each again divided in half. Thus local rivalry was hoped to unite Hihifo in a great effort to outdo Nahake. At a special meeting held in the noble's house, the strategy of the Hihifo misinale effort was discussed.  

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13 See p. 50.
14 The status of a Hiuafo'ou commoner is relative to everyone else, consequently rivalry is constantly present whether implicit or explicit. The Hiuafo'ou concept ta'e'eleti, not wanting to be outdone by others, explains this well.
15 I heard the discussion through the wall; the headmaster described the scene to me immediately afterwards.
Matalave [Pala setuata] spoke first and said that Hihifo effort had so far been good but that more hard work was necessary to reach the new total of £200 for Sapa'ata village [Prior to the successful Hahake misiale] the goal had been only £100.

Papa then spoke, saying that Lalo [the downside of the village] had already collected £36 and should aim at £100. He suggested a coconut drive on the following Friday, to aim for two truck-loads of coconuts.

Pisila then said that they must all work hard to get more coconuts because Fusu'tu'a wanted very much to beat Hahake's recent effort.16

The coconut drive was held and exceeded the goal of two truckloads. The coconuts were collected from Fusu'tu'a's lands at Ma'ofanga; he therefore received one half of the proceeds.

There is abundant evidence17 that traditional Tonga chiefs relied on the inspiration, advice, guidance and support of the kau taula 'otua 'priests' who were representatives of the gods. Church leaders on Niuafo'ou had retained superior spiritual powers but the resident noble was no puppet in their hands, no servant of the church. One FWCT faifekeu had actually worked under the noble; his successor had not emulated this example but came respectfully to drink the noble's kava as any other commoner. Although the noble's wife attended church the noble did not; but he was always accorded prior respect

by the preacher in the preludes at the opening of each service. In summary, the noble on Niuafo'ou was an aristocrat by birth; the fa'ifekau was an elevated commoner. It was this relationship of rank rather than the superior spiritual powers of the fa'ifekau which determined church-noble relations on Niuafo'ou.

Before addressing a congregation, fono or crowd, it is customary in Tonga for an orator to enumerate persons of rank who are associated in some way with the gathering. Thus the Fa'ifekau in Sapa'ata commenced his service by intoning the following prelude,

Tapu mo e faletapu 'oe 'Otua; pea, tapu mo Fusitu'a mo Pisila mo ha'a hou'eliki. Tapu mo Pongi mo ha'a matapule; pea, tapu mo ——— (name of other fa'ifekau(s) if present) mo ha'a fa'ifekau. Tapu mo ha'a kunga lotu kotoa, kae 'ata kau fai ha malanga (tokoni) ma'a taufolau.

Deference to (or my apologies for speaking before) the house of God and to Fusitu'a, Pisila, other distinguished guests, high-ranking persons. Deference to Pongi (D.O.), matapule, and (named) fa'ifekau present. Deference to the entire congregation; set free the preacher in order that he may cleanse the people.

Gifford (1929:40ff.) used the order of names in speech preludes to rank Tongan lineages.
CHAPTER IV  Conclusion and Assessments

In this thesis, the power structure of Niuafou society has been divided into three spheres of authority, but it has been shown that they do not function as discrete political units. Each sphere is a source of authority and legitimacy. In reality it is sometimes difficult according to this scheme to determine from which sphere a particular political act derives its legitimate authority, and for what reasons people accord it legitimacy, that is, give it support without discoursing on values, motives, expectations and goals. I did not always have enough material to assess priorities and in the terms of this scheme, the examples now given stand as unascrivable cases.

When the noble's wife put a kavenga 'burden' on her side of the village for the preparation of cooked foods for a church feast, her authoritative decision was derived from both her traditional rank and standing and as head of the church but it affected all those who supported, that is gave consensus to, the church. Again, the District Officer used the traditional fono to deliver orders to clean up the villages. I have said that the people complied largely for religious reasons (page 83) but law sanctioned the orders and the people were theoretically liable to prosecution had they disobeyed.

In spite of the difficulties of relating individual political actions to theoretical abstractions, some trends are evident and some suggestions are possible.

The church in Tonga and in Niuafou has usurped much of the power over both people and resources which early accounts ascribe to traditional chiefs and priests. Although the church relies ultimately on consensus for its new-won
power, many of its canons have become enshrined in the law of Tonga and now affect even those outside the church's wide net.

The Laws and the Constitution have affected also the traditional leaders of Tonga by formulating in the Cabinet, Privy Council or Legislature, a tight network of written ordinances and regulations which limit their effective powers. ¹

Niufo'ou is not exempted from binding decisions emanating from the Law or formulated by Central Government and its committees, but because it is both physically and socially isolated Government effectiveness is remote and delayed. Since resettlement in 1958 Government administration has been irresponsible, that is, has shown disregard concerning the distribution of land, public works, harbour facilities, roads, economic development, civil order (the installation of town officers and police), social services, health, and to some extent with education. The District Officer has been the only government agent with authority at island level but for reasons already discussed has been largely ineffectual. The result has been that on government and absentee noble estates, legal authority has been vested in the hands of a few politicians (see the biographies in the third chapter) who have been largely irresponsible or only remotely responsible to the Government or to the estate-holder. These politicians have administered their authority largely according to their other

¹Government in 1967 was essentially by Cabinet (comprising two noble and three commoner ministers, all Tongan), and by Privy Council (comprising the Cabinet Ministers; two Regional Governors, both Tongan one a noble and the other a commoner; the Sovereign; the H.B.M. Consul); both were appointed by the Sovereign, not elected.
social roles and their total station in the society. In some cases, the
government foreman and an absentee noble's foreman for example, traditional
obligations to kinsmen have impinged upon the legal authority of these
politicians, in others, the copra-buyer for example, legal authority has been
deployed to gain status and possibly wealth. 2

The resident noble has since 1958 re-instated himself as a traditional
leader with considerable economic powers over his people. His authority in
this sphere came essentially from old Tonga custom where rank was equated
with authority and authority with rank, and had no basis in law. Traditional
leaders in modern Tonga derive their high status either from entrenched offices
in Government, 3 or from their landed estates, or from their symbolic roles as
ceremonial leaders. None of these sources of authority gives nobles extensive
de jure economic powers over tenants or over the people living on their estates.
Nevertheless, the resident noble in Niuafou had made economic demands on his
people which were based on traditional and not on legal authority. Consensus
was given to this policy for some years, but the people eventually considered
the demands beyond the bounds of legitimacy and they acted accordingly, not by
asserting legal demands but by threatening to withdraw support.

How typical of Tonga is the range of political action considered here? An
answer is offered by the sub-title; Niuafou is essentially an outlier, in

2 A summary of the political actions of these politicians has already been
given. See pp. 116-8.

3 In 1967 the traditional leaders of Tonga (King and nobles) held a majority
of seats in both the Government and in the Legislative Assembly (see above),
and although the Assembly could and on occasion did defeat the Government in
the House by vote, this required at least five of the seven elected nobles
(elected by their peers) to vote with the seven elected People's Representatives.
some ways a 'backwater' in the Kingdom of Tonga. Modern Tonga is essentially Nuku'alofa. The island of Niuafo'ou is not mentioned in the Government Development Plan 1965–1970 (not even in the paragraphs on geography, climate, communications or population statistics) in spite of the Premier's foreword which states, Tonga is a small country and problems of population increase and land shortage are beginning to emerge.

As there are no published records of political action in the remainder of Tonga's 150 or so inhabited islands, it is difficult to say just how typical or atypical Niuafo'ou politics are in relation both to Tongatapu and to other remote communities in Tonga. The following observations are based on limited fieldwork in Nuku'alofa and 'Eua Island.

Firstly, the church sphere of authority in Niuafo'ou is essentially the same as that found elsewhere in Tonga with some extra use of powers of social control over its members. In this respect, the churches in Niuafo'ou have partly accounted for the lack of efficient government administration.

As stated above the Tonga Government is ineffective on Niuafo'ou partly because it has not replaced the network of civil servants withdrawn in 1946 and because Niuafo'ou is a remote island prone to volcanic activity. When on occasions its presence is noticeable or effective, for instance during the visits of high-ranking officials or the itinerant magistrate (usually also nobles), it is represented to Niuafo'ou people by the higher echelons of Tonga society. For although new channels (education) and possibilities of social mobility (commoners advancing to high government office) have introduced an element of achievement into the traditionally ascribed prerogative to govern, it can be said that Tonga still is essentially governed by those with traditional
rank. In this respect Niuafo'ou politics are part of a development which is occurring elsewhere in Tonga. One Tonga scholar has described this development as follows,

Since the war there have been signs of change in the political aspects of Tongan life. In many ways this is a reflection of the change within the Tongan social system especially in the relationship between the commoners and the nobles and their close relatives. People are becoming critical of the privileges of the nobles in a country where land as well as money are scarce... though there are many who are resentful, only a few seek redress through political action...4

The existence of government estates in Tonga provides an outlet for commoners who feel dis-satisfied with life on an hereditary estate but it is only in Niuafo'ou where a wide choice of residence is available because land is not scarce.

I have already pointed out (p.164-5) that a Niuafo'ou noble may put demands on his people to entertain or support other nobles or high-ranking visitors. This situation illuminates the existence in Tonga culture of contradictory norms and standards, for the Emancipation Act itself is in conflict with traditional leadership, obligations and authority. A noble in this kind of situation must obtain consensus from his people or face the stresses which are likely to occur as a result of his increased demands on their time, labour and resources. In short, the traditional authority of the upper classes of Tonga society is losing consensus among some sectors of the people and its members must either restrict their authority to the government sphere of authority or maintain a partly or purely symbolic leadership role as the British aristocracy have done.

4Unpublished manuscript, author withheld.
On government and absentee noble estates in Niuafou, the institution of *takitaki* has assumed considerable importance in relationships which involve scarce rights and which are not between kinsmen. Traditionally a Niuafouuan knew how to deal with and what to expect from a kinsman. But when critical economic relations occur beyond the bounds of kinship relations, other gifts and exchanges such as *takitaki* fulfill the purpose of defining expectations and supports. New socially mobile politicians have used this device to obtain support and as a means to high status.

In conclusion, political action in Niuafou reveals the presence of three overlapping spheres of authority, each with its own ideology which has been derived from a different source. Broadly speaking, traditionalistic ideology champions and upholds the nobility, legalistic ideology champions the Tonga Government, and the ideology of the church has become very closely associated with the people.

There is some evidence that Niuafouuan identify the Government with the nobility and the upper class of Tonga society. Nevertheless, the presence of government estates and villages and the very real presence, to Niuafouuans, of the Emancipation Act, staunchly backed by Christian ideology, presents an area of choice to the people and provides a check to excessive traditional ideology and compensates for the lack of channels for political demands.

Niuafou people are beginning to choose between the profit-motive and traditional obligations; the government foreman shows how a successful compromise can be reached. Again, people are choosing how much and what kind of support they will give to traditional nobles, and what kinds of demand are legitimate.
It is with the limits within which such particular social choices take place, and with the basic principles around which such choices are made that more research on the polity of Tonga is suggested.
GLOSSARY

of Tonga words used in the text.¹

ake school; learn.
anga-kovi of bad character.
angatu'u v. rebel; (m., adj.).
ange (straightaway).
(to a greater degree).
ake the.
ake this.
afanga provide food for.
afu kin term. sister's son or grandson, of a man; see 'ilamatu, tu'asina.
ake make, do; hold (fono).
afaka school teacher.
afakeka minister of religion.
afihiva choir master.
afiko a pudding.
ake (cause to); (pertaining to).
afaka feast.
afakangaangatu'u be growing rebellious.
afakopeki oppose, resist.
afakauku ponder, consider.
afakalohi force, coercion.
afakemo'oni verification.
afakono appointment to office, esp. of nobles.
afomua land.
afa'ou new.
auatapu first-fruits.
afusi pull.
aha a.
aha east.
Naha a district of Niufo'ou.
ahake up (and fig. as in futulitului hake hurry up; tumu hake cook up).
aha road.
fakapotopo wise, prudent.
fakatu buy, sell.
fakatu'-angatu'u sedition.
fa'apa'apa v.i. show respect.
fa'apa'apa'i showing respect.
fa'asutuli absolute; exhaustively.
fale house built in traditional Tonga style; building.
famili kin term. family.
fanakio NF. Sterculia fanaiho; k. plant used for weaving.
fate house beam.
fatongia duty, obligation (moral, by birth); cf. kavenga.
fa'a often.
fa'e kin term. mother, mother's sister.
fa'iteka graveyard.
fa'u construct, build.
fahopokaki jump in and out; overlap.
fa'aka send a person to do something; to order.
fa'unga enough.
faile to desire.
fa'ilelei be easy in mind, assured.
fakotu'u set up, establish; set in order.
fono official meeting (usually held outside).
ivi power; influence (in sense of ability).
ka, ka'ee whereupon.
kai eat; food.
kange kin term. personal kindred.
kakai people.

¹I have followed Churchward (1959) for alphabetical order, and abbreviations except on. contrast, term. terminology, NF. Niufo'ou word. Explanations in brackets are more often translated by the style of expression than by specifically equivalent words. The meanings given in this Glossary explain only the grammatical usage and meaning found in the text, and are derived from my experience of the usage of the word; I am aware that sometimes they do not accord with Churchward in either spelling or meaning, but otherwise I acknowledge my debt to his Dictionary.
haua roving vagabond(s), often landless; regarded as an esteemed voluntary association by members.

ha'a kin term. ancestor-based lineage.

ha'amave'ale pl. of me'avele 'person without title or chiefly rank'.

ha'o your (ag.)

he come.

he the, a.

hole knife.

hiapo Banksia papyrifera; paper-mulberry.

hihi'o west.

Hihifo a district of Niuafo'ou.

hiki raise; transfer.

hinga name.

hohoko genealogy.

holu my.

hono his.

holi'aiki pl. of iki 'chief'.

hia he.

it whistle.

kolea goods, wealth, valued things.

komi committee.

koniseti concert.

kotea entirely; whole.

kuki cook; cooking.

kula red.

miinuku small dove.

kumea Convolvulus batatas; edible tuber, less esteemed than kape on Niuafo'ou.

labi large; older, eldest; most important.

lakanga office (in church, clubs) and the duties accompanying it; position (vacant, in Government); on fatonga, cf. tu'unga.

lali slit gong.

lalo place lower down.

lea speak.

le'a voice.

loke rough (of sea where it meets the coast.

lole mind, heart; purpose.

lotu pray; religion; (adj. Christian).

lotu leaves prepared as food.

kalapu club.

kalusefai crucify.

kapo if.

kape Alocasia macrorhiza; k. arum of which root is eaten. More esteemed than talo on Niuafo'ou.

kato basket.

katoa all.

kau (pl. for persons).

side, edge.

kava Piper methysticum; drink made from kava tree root.

kave tentacle.

kape (slang) friend.

kavenga specific burden or task; of fatonga.

ke (sign of infinitive, subjunctive uses of verb).

you (ag.).

keke cake.

ke'u in order that.

ki to.

ke k. pandanus used for weaving.

kili little.

ko this is the...

kole ask (close kinsman) for; ask (others) for, with intention of returning or reciprocating.

kolo village.

mahen'i accustomed to.

mai (towards speaker).

make rock.

makoni wireless telegram; radio telegraph.

malaga lay preacher.

malau Megapodius pritchardii; k. burrowing bird found only on Niuafo'ou.

mali marry.

kin term. spouse.

mali thank you.

malohi strong.

mali rest.

mama'o distant.

Mamonga Mormon.

mana supernatural power.

manava'ei fear, afraid.

manoke Cassava edible root of tapioca plant.
leupe k. wild pigeon.

mug bread.

mfai legal right or power.

ma'ulu'ulu dance performed seated, with rapid hand movements.

ma'uma'a rich; ample.

mehetangan (Sp. after Gifford).

mehikatanga (modern pronunciation).

mehikatanga kin term. father's sister.

me Artocarpus incisa; breadfruit.

maling peace.

ma'a thing.

ma'avele commoner.

ma'atina annual church collection.

ma and, with.

ma'oli orange.

mao soft.

mao crumb, fragment.

motu island.

motu'a old, mature.

motu'a kin term. parent.

mau you (many).

mo'unga mountain.

mae (past tense marker).

ni this, here.

niu Cocos nucifera, coconut palm; coconut.

nf feast to obtain specific goods.

noe sought.

nito sit, remain, live.

nou (see nounou).

numa pig.

rule one who controls or governs.

rule'anga government.

rule'anga foreman.

poe cat.

salote vehicle.

sepa NF. kin term. very close kin, i.e. with whom one has a tapu relationship.

sepa Sabbath.

sakalatali secretary.

seititi cent.

setuata steward.

siakale circle.

siaki church.

silini shilling; money.

manu bird.

mango Mangifera indica; mango.

manina salt; corned.

matapi door.

matapu'oe ceremonial attendant of titled person, versed in tradition, oratory and ceremony.

matu'a pl. of motu'a.

matu'a kin term. parents.

ma'a cleanse.

ma'ito'a it serves you right.

ma'y acquire; hold.

mapele noble.

mou short (of duration).

ma'uk k. yam (see 'ufl).

ngatu a beaten tutu; many ngatu make a tapa.

ngau work (n.v.); position.

ngau'oe garden.

ngatungutu cliff-edge.

ofi near.

ongo sound.

ongoongo news, report.

paca living away from one's kāinga, amongst strangers.

paite NF. kitchen.

palepale shelter made of roof on tall poles.

piloto ballet.

papa board.

papalangi white-skinned foreigner, (lit. breeches reaching to the sky).

pa'a barren (of woman).

pa'anga one dollar (=NZ$1.00); money.

pe only.

paa next.

penu blunt.

polo woven coconut leaves used for walls, roof of a fales, for placing cooked food on; food placed on polas.

polisi police; policeman.

popoaki message.

papalapa slave.

peta clever, skilful.

taki taha each one.
sima cement; cement tank.
sinifu unmarried wife.
siki ta selfish.
silifie sulphur.
tafa'anga planked outrigger canoe; in Tonga made only by Niuafo'ou people.
taga one.
taki carry in the hand.
temomo NF. kin term, distant relative.
he be defeated.
to plant.
tee Casuarina equisetifolia; ironwood tree.
tofi's estate.
toki write.
to'oki v.t. drag away.
to'okii vi. make repeated pulling actions.
tokanga (something) will happen but who or what is not known.
tokonaki store in readiness, prepare.
Tokonaki Saturday.
tokoni'i to help (as a fatongia).
toli three.
tonga south.
toutai fisherman; sailor.
tue call out.
tuence destitute, friendless.
tufanga skilled workman; carpenter.
tuineha tax, especially poll tax.
tuhuausia absolutely stranded; destitute and friendless.
tumu roast.
tuoni fine kin term. true or classificatory sister of a man.
tutu hiapo bark prepared for beating.
tupene cloth; length of material worn as a vala; vale.
tu'a place behind, derogatory for ha'ame'avele 'commoners'.
tu'a'asina kin term. mother's brother, nowadays being replaced by fa'ai tangata; see fa'ai.
tu'a ruler; regal class.
tu'a stand; be in existence.
tu'anga rank, position.
tu'anga role.
takitaki (continuative of ta'aki); inducement to a specified course of action (cf. Churchward, takitaki).
talano'oe express good wishes or friendly greetings.
talo Caladium esculentum; k. arum with edible tuberous root.
Varieties: t. Futuna; t. Tonga.
tamai kin term. father, father's brother.
tangata man.
tapa bark cloth (term used by Europeans and in Tonga; not used in Niuafo'ou).
tapu prohibited, sacred; deference.
tapuatangi pronounce or bestow blessing upon.
tau we.
tauhi look after, tend.
taukei be thoroughly familiar with; expert through long experience.
ta'u traditional spiritual office, (priest).
taumafa regal for imu 'drink'.
tau'oti we (many).
tau'atina freedom; free.
tau'olunga dance performed according to individual inspiration.
ta'e not.
ta'okete kin term. eldest brother, man speaking; eldest sister, woman speaking.
ta'ovala woven girdle worn as formal dress as mark of respect or mourning.
ta NF. the.
ta'utu'uni order, rule.
vahe division, district.
vaheva dancer in highest ranked (central) position.
vai water.
vaivai weak.
vaka canoe, boat, ship.
vale calf-length lower garment, worn by men and women.
vavae Ceiba pentandra; kapok tree.
vale heat, hot; fire; burnt.
'ofato  succulent white grub found in dead wood.
'o'fisa  officer.
'o'kua  (present tense marker).
'o'oku  god; God.
'o'u  Dioscorea alata; yam.
'o'u  head, (also fig.).
'o'u  (now common usage for) ngoto'u'mu
    'ground oven'; food cooked in a
    ngoto'u'mu.
'o'unga  large hermit crab.
'o'uta  inland, not coast; bush land.
'o'uto  spongy kernel of a sprouting coconut.

vacevaca outrigger.
'a of.
(relates phrases).
'Ahuu a district of Niuafo'ou.
'afo  day.
'alu  go.
'a'uala  angel.
'a'ala  allotment of land.
'ata  permit.
'aupito  completely, wholly; very.
'e  this.
'i  this.
'eiki  person of chiefly rank or
    class, especially formerly.
'i in.
'ilai  no, not.
'ilamatu  kin term. sister's child,
    man speaking; see fahu.
'ile  know (about).
'i'o  yes.
'o  of.
'o e of the
'oe closely woven work basket.
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