

ECHOES

of Pacific War



Edited by Deryck Scarr, Niel Gunson, Jennifer Terrell

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*Papers from the 7th Tongan History Conference held in Canberra in
January 1997*

TARGET OCEANIA
CANBERRA 1998

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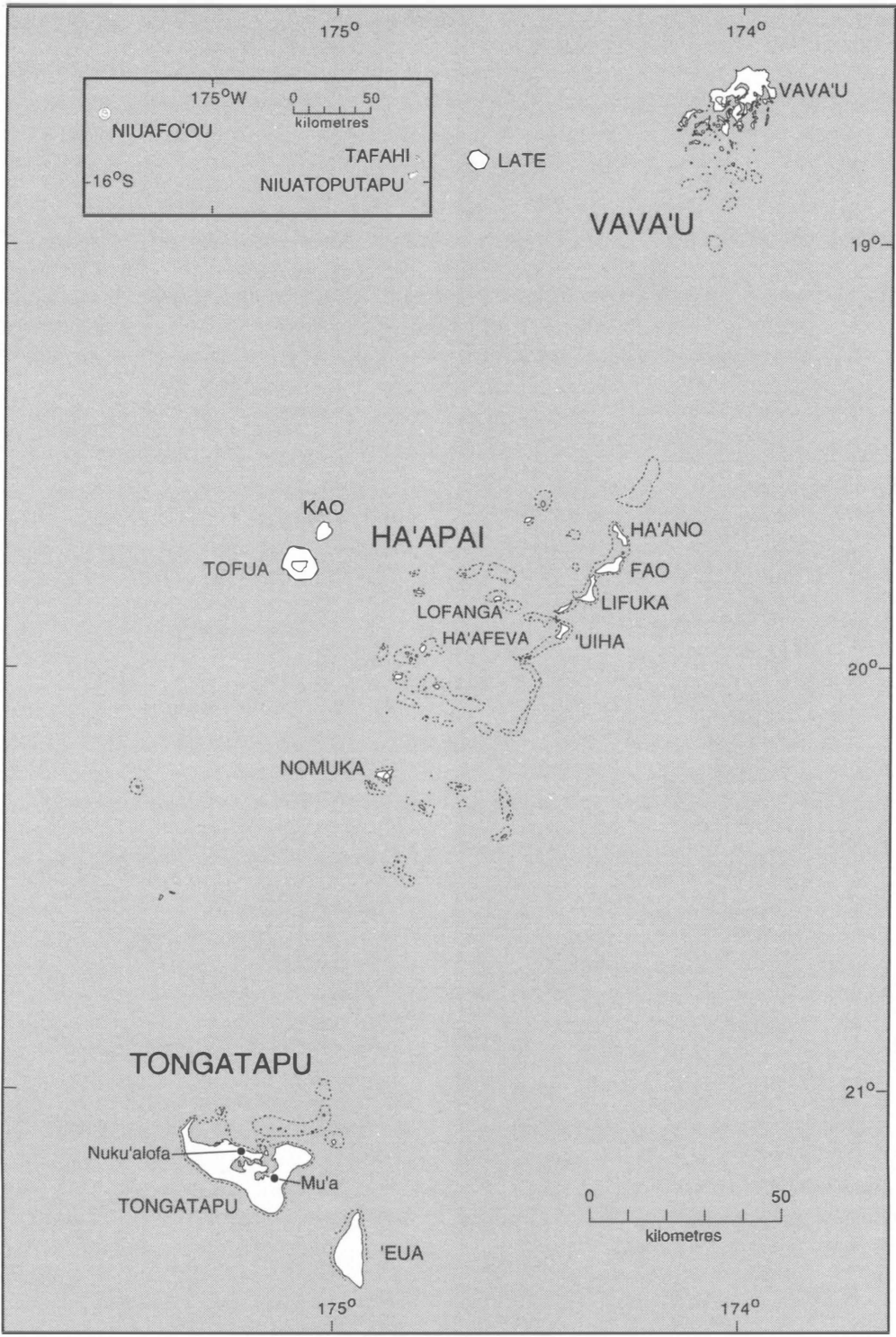
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MAP 1: The Tonga Islands

Foreword

By H.R.H. Prince 'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata

THE FIRST TONGAN HISTORY CONFERENCE (in January 1987) was planned initially as a workshop attended by six or seven Tongans and *papālangi* studying Tongan history and already in Canberra on fellowships or scholarships. Then word got out, and people from Tonga, the United States, New Zealand and all over Australia asked if they could come. In the end, 45 people met in Canberra for four days. People who attended that conference tell me that the first meeting was marked by the exceptional good feeling, generosity and comradeship of people working together and helping each other in the common cause of studying the history and anthropology of Tonga. That friendliness was its first tradition.

The Tongan History Association was formed at a conference in Foa, in 1989, with H.R.H. Princess Pilolevu as its patron and the late Rev. Dr Sione Lātūkefu as its president, a position Sione held until his death in 1995.

The reason for these conferences is to exchange knowledge. Participants are thus building upon a Tongan tradition that goes back for as long as people have lived in Tonga. Tongans have always told stories, for entertainment and to pass on knowledge about the past. Knowledge of the techniques of canoe building, fishing, planting and so on, were passed on from one generation to another – very likely in a narrative form – by women and men who had acquired the knowledge from those who had lived before them.

Women and men living in Tonga who had the skill of storytelling must have been valued members of Tonga's past, for they not only entertained the chiefs by commenting on historical events (making jokes and issuing challenges), but they were also preservers of traditional knowledge.

An example of the preservation of tradition is the narrative of genealogies, not mere lists of names and descent, but also of the passing of power from one line to another, of alliances of one *kāinga* with another. Genealogies may be compared with guide books and etiquette books for they determine the contemporary privileges and obligations of individuals in relation to each other as derived from the past. Traditions are not static. They change and these changes in themselves become new traditions.

When writing was introduced to Tonga by the *papālangi*, new possibilities were opened up, which were seized with alacrity by chiefs and people alike.

Very soon, as well as reading the texts given to the Tongans by their missionary teachers, the Tongans began to create their own texts; genealogy books and the narratives of the villages, tales explaining events in the past and an enormous outflow of poetry and songs which perpetuate stories about the past and present.

Writing became a new Tongan tradition. And in their writings the Tongans preserved not only the words but the very nuances of Tongan thought, especially the use of *heliaki*, that very Tongan form of metaphor. Some of the stories written down by Tongans were shared with *papālangi* friends, who put them into books, where the names of the storytellers are recorded along with their narratives, most notably in the books put together by Gifford and Collocott. Radio, television and now the Internet can also aid tradition, being ways in which knowledge can be passed on to new generations.

The late Queen Sālote understood very well the value of tradition, and the way it cemented together her people and helped them to preserve their identity in an increasingly intrusive world. Queen Sālote followed the old tradition of narrative and exhortation, for she was a notable orator. She also used the new tradition of writing when, as a very young woman, she began recording old customs, stories, and genealogies in order to preserve them for the future. She continued the old tradition of creative storytelling by writing her own stories in poetic form.

The Queen understood that making a record of the past was a task she could not do solely on her own, and she approved a proposal from Parliament that a Tongan Traditions Committee (*Komiti Tala Fakafonua*) be set up to mark her 50th birthday. In thanking the members of Parliament, she said:

customs and traditions have always been practised and preserved by certain loyal families and individuals, but it is particularly pleasing to me that the matter of their permanent recording and publication in a form which would lead to a more widespread knowledge of them and a more general observance of them should have been brought before the House for a more serious discussion and I appreciate such a gesture and regard it as a further step forward towards the preservation of Tonga's national identity.

The Queen loved traditions for their own sake, but she gave three practical reasons for setting up the Tonga Traditions Committee. The first was that there were a number of cases in the Land Court that could be settled only if genealogies were available. The second was to make easier the collecting of materials for a history of Tonga, which would include her own reign. The third task for the Tonga Traditions Committee was to set up a museum and a library for the collection and preservation of artefacts and records.

So the Tonga Traditions Committee was set up in 1954 with the Queen as the chairperson and the noble Ve'ehala (Leilua) as the Secretary. Notable members were Feleti Vi, Valu and Havili Hafoka. The committee employed people to go around the villages and collect information from the old people.

People were also employed to hide behind trees and take notes when the *taumafa kava* was being filmed during the Great Lo'au of 1959.

Some of the people employed by the Committee went on to do their own research and writing. The names of some of these are familiar to us! Sione Lātūkefu, Tupou Posesi Fanua, Elizabeth Bott Spillius. The writers here are building on the work they have done, just as others will build on their work.

Queen Sālote understood not only the value of traditions but how traditions could be adapted to the present. One example was the 'new traditional' Tongan dress. In earlier days, the Queen explained, the wearing of certain clothes and the way of wearing hair were an indication of one's rank and of one's virginity or lack of it. The chiefs knew which *ta'ovala* to wear on which special occasion. But this changed in the 19th century, for imported cotton was a more durable and practical material for clothing than tapa made from bark cloth. Cotton had to be paid for, so for a long time the wearing of *papālangi* clothes indicated chiefly status.

It may have been at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in June 1953 that Queen Sālote realised the value of distinctive Tongan dress. At the coronation she herself wore 'new traditional' Tongan clothes, made up of the old and the new, the practical and the symbolic. She wore a dress plus a *kie hingoa*, with a comb and a *lave'i tavake* in her hair. The dress was practical and warm and the *kie hingoa* and *lave'i tavake* indicated her high chiefly rank.

When Queen Sālote returned to Tonga, she issued instructions about the dress that women and men should wear during the visit of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh to Tonga in December 1953: 'Tongan women should wear frock and *vala* of the same colour and *ta'ovala* with sandals or bare feet but no shoes' and Tongan men were to wear the neck-tight, collarless tunic or 'coat and tie with a stiff collar, sandals or bare feet but not shoes. The *vala* should match the coat and the *ta'ovala* should be short if a coat is worn.' These are now widely known as the traditional dress of Tonga, worn by chiefs and commoners alike.

What is interesting about this story is that the Queen's instructions about Tongan dress were conveyed in the traditional way by her telling the chiefs, but also by written instructions. By issuing these instructions Queen Sālote standardised a particular tradition, but tradition does not necessarily mean uniformity. Different places have their own variations on stories and each variation tells us that there is something distinctive about the people of that place.

Tongans still fully appreciate the spoken as well as the written word, for oratory and *malanga* are alive and well in Tonga today. The recent revival of the Tonga Traditions Committee in the last few years is only one indication of the appreciation of the written word as a way of preserving culture and tradition.

So you can see that the Tongan History Association has not just a 10-year old tradition. It carries on a narrative tradition that goes back thousands of years, a tradition of writing that goes back 150 years and an official record tradition that goes back only 40 years.

It is good to refer to the past and to revive what was good in the light of modern times and present needs. Tonga is changing and sometimes we can see that something in the past should be revived and something in the present be adopted and adapted. This is the way new traditions are made. To repeat narratives of the past and speculate on their mysteries – and to analyse the present – are functions of the Tonga History Association that have value far beyond the present.

Tu'a 'ofa atu

Introduction

THE 1939-45 WAR YEARS WERE A WATERSHED in the social and political history of the Kingdom of Tonga for, although Tonga managed to escape the ravages of warfare in the wake of Japanese expansionism and aggression, social forces and tensions were released which greatly affected the world view of the Tongan people. While new horizons and prospects for material betterment were revealed there also came a questioning of some of the old traditional values. The papers selected for this volume focus on the changes that came about in one Pacific nation due to the fall-out and side effects of a terrible global war.

The idea to explore this theme was put forward and implemented by the first President of the Tongan History Association, the late Reverend Dr Sione Lātūkefu, who spent much of his retirement years analysing the changing social structure of Tonga and new phenomena such as the pro-democracy movement. The answers to some of his questions seemed to lie in the Tongan experience during and immediately after the Second World War. Sione Lātūkefu was convener for the Tongan History Conference to be held in Canberra in January 1997 and the Conference committee adopted the theme he had chosen.

The sudden death of Dr Lātūkefu on 2 June 1995 was a sad blow to the committee, but it was decided to keep to his original plans and dedicate the Conference and any publication which emerged from it to his memory. Dr Deryck Scarr, one of the senior Pacific historians in the Division of Pacific and Asian History in the Australian National University's Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies and a long-time specialist in the history of the Western Pacific, agreed to act as convener, papers were called for, and the Conference duly held.

As this volume is a tribute to the memory of Dr Lātūkefu it is appropriate to record something of his life and contribution to scholarship. Sione Lātūkefu belonged to two worlds in Tonga, the traditionalist, isolationist and Church dominated pre-War world into which he was born and a world experiencing dramatic changes in which he himself was a protagonist. By nature a conservative he belonged to the old world but his own struggles and sympathies thrust him into the new making him a progressive or radical conservative, supporting greater popular participation in government without damaging the traditional underpinning of the social fabric.

Sione Lātūkefu was born at Kolovai on Tongatapu into a commoner family with strong ceremonial links with the Tui Kanokupolu lineage as well as strong links of personal service, even to the extent of suffering persecution, to the historic Wesleyan (afterwards Free Wesleyan) Church of Tonga. Entering Tupou College at the age of 12 in 1939 Sione proved a good student, particularly as he realised that mastery of the English language was essential if he wished to go far in education.

As he was at school during the War years and the peaceful though purposeful occupation of his country by allied troops Sione realised the advantages of knowing an international language and the whole experience would have opened his eyes to a very different world beyond his horizons. The Principal of Tupou College during the early years of the War was the Reverend Cecil Gribble, a humane and enlightened educationalist, who was quick to see the potential of Sione and his fellow student Siupeli Taliai. When Gribble became Director of Education in 1942 he shepherded their progress when they attended the government Teachers Training College.

In 1945 Sione became head teacher at Pelehake village primary school and from 1949 to 1952 he was head teacher at Mu'a. Although Gribble returned to Australia in 1946, another Australian missionary, highly respected by Queen Sālote and almost an *eminence grise*, the Reverend Rodger Page, took a directional interest in the two promising teachers. On one of his visits to Tonga Page put Sione forward as a candidate for the ministry indicating that this would be followed by further training in Australia. In 1952 Sione and Siupeli entered Sia-'a-Toutai Theological College where they completed the Melbourne College of Divinity course for the LTh degree.

On successfully finishing their course the two men were sent to Brisbane to study for the BA degree and Diploma of Education at the University of Queensland. This training in the environment of another culture from 1955 to 1958 lived up to the expectations of the War years just as it challenged their own educational methods and values and exposed them to a questioning methodology.

Both men returned to Tonga to divergent but complementary careers in education. Siupeli Taliai eventually became the first Tongan Principal of Tupou College and increasingly became an outspoken critic of the establishment, both Church and State, forging a John Knox type reputation and eventually falling out with some powerful Church leaders. He went into what was virtually political exile in Australia ministering to expatriate Tongans.

Sione's career was less traumatic though it was not without incidents and difficulties. Despite encouragement to continue his studies at the University of Queensland for a Master's degree, both by the Department of History and Cecil Gribble, the Free Wesleyan Church opposed it and Sione returned to

Tonga to teach at Tupou College. Nevertheless Sione had powerful support in the Australian Church from Page, Gribble and the Master of Sydney University's Wesley College. Queen Sālote herself was sympathetic and hoped Sione could be assisted through the Traditions Committee. When this failed and Sione was exposed to powerful opposition by some highly placed Tongans, Gribble, who was General Secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission department, and his friends found means of supporting Sione who had arrived in Australia virtually penniless and suffering from harassment.

In 1962 Sione commenced an MA course in the Department of History in the School of General Studies (now the Faculties) at the Australian National University with supervision from the then Department of Pacific History in the Institute of Advanced Studies. Late in 1963 he was awarded a PhD scholarship in the Department of Pacific History on the basis of his written work, and a year later (November 1964) he returned to Tonga on field work. Queen Sālote took a great interest in his research and had hopes that he would soon afterwards return to Tonga to take charge of the Archives and the Traditions Committee research. Unfortunately Her Majesty's health was failing and she was to die before Sione finished his course, though not before she had time to invite him to visit her in Auckland and record some of the historical information she wished to pass on.

Even with the patronage of the highest in the land there were highly placed people who continued to harass him. While those influenced by the Queen's patronage became eager informants others played a more sinister role – 'Why do you want a PhD? You are not a noble', was one jealous thrust.

By now Sione was his own man, complete in his own faith and dignity, objective in scholarship and international in outlook. The jibes of his opponents hurt but his course was now geared to a scholar's life. His marriage to anthropologist Dr Ruth Fink in June 1966 and the completion of his doctorate meant new responsibilities and new opportunities. With no clear indications from Tonga regarding the Archives prospect the way seemed clear to an academic career. Soon afterwards both Ruth and Sione joined the staff of the newly founded University of Papua New Guinea where they were to serve until 1985. After retiring from Papua New Guinea Sione was Visiting Fellow in the Department (later Division) of Pacific and Asian History at the Australian National University, and between the years 1989 - 1991 he served as Principal of the Pacific Theological College in Suva.

Sione Lātūkefu's contribution to Pacific history was substantial. His principal area of expertise was the interaction of church and state in Tonga and the formulation of the Constitution. His book *Church and State in Tonga* (Canberra 1974) went through three printings and became an Islands classic. This was followed by *The Tongan Constitution* (Nuku'alofa 1975) which is the standard text on the subject. Although Sione was a staunch supporter of

what might be called the Tupou version of history, central to which are the achievements of Tāufa'āhau, or Tupou I, he was aware of the blind adulation in Tonga for missionaries such as John Thomas and Shirley Baker and for the founder of the dynasty, and his modified view of persons and events aimed at objectivity and fairness. So successful was he in his moderate revisionism that one of his early readers assumed from his account of Tongan Catholicism that he was a Catholic historian.

Despite his passion for fairness he was impatient with theoretical frameworks which seemed to impose what he thought were Western values on Tongan history whether Marxist, Andersonian or structuralist. His highest praise was to say a paper was scholarly but this did not mean he accepted its arguments. Towards the end of his life he was working on an analysis of the new Tongan élite, a kind of prosopographical study in which he was able to show the importance of genealogical connections between the new middle class and the chiefly class. This study proved to him that even the leaders of the pro-democracy movement were part of this nexus and not from the dependent classes. He was an interested observer of the pro-democracy phenomenon, sharing some of the democratic concerns of his clerical friends Taliai and Bishop Finau, but holding firmly to a course of moderation and persuasion.

Several of Sione's academic papers were pioneering and even seminal in their way. He was one of the first to look at the pioneering evangelism of Tongan and other South Sea Islander missionaries, particularly in Papua New Guinea, and he participated in conferences and compilations on this subject. Similarly he placed great value on oral history, being very familiar with the role of the *tangata 'ilo* (the man who knows) in Tongan society. In some ways his critical review of vernacular sources was almost Eurocentric in that he came to his study from a background of Western disciplinary training, while his own exposure to traditional culture had been tempered by growing up in a strict religious household. Nevertheless he had a real contribution to make in emphasising the value of oral history.

Shortly after Sione returned to the Australian National University the Department of Pacific and Asian History decided to hold a workshop on Tongan history owing to the secondment to the Department of two visiting Tongan specialists, Dr Aletta Biersack and Dr Elisabeth Wood-Ellem. Phyllis Herda, then a student in the Department, agreed to act as secretary and Sione was one of the three-member committee. Phyllis and Sione were largely responsible for turning the workshop into a fully fledged international conference on Tongan history. The first Tongan History conference was held in Canberra from 14 to 17 January 1987 and it became a forum not only for discussing traditional history, prehistory, anthropology and social history issues but also more recent events and contemporary politics. Although no

formal association was formed it was agreed that the conference had been a success and that the participants would meet again, preferably in Tonga.

At the second Tongan History Conference, held on the island of Foa in Ha'apai in January 1989, Dr Sione Lātūkefu convened the inaugural meeting of the Tongan History Association of which he became first President, a post he held until his death. It was agreed that a conference should be held at regular intervals, alternating between Tonga and one of the centres where there was a Tongan population and students of Tongan history. Subsequent conferences were held at Laie in Hawaii and Nuku'alofa with smaller or joint session meetings in Auckland.

The last conference attended by Sione was at Nuku'alofa which coincided with the celebrations for the 75th birthday and 26th regnal anniversary of His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.

Following this gathering Sione went on to Europe where he participated in two international conferences which in some respects represented the peak of his academic and spiritual careers. In the beautiful atmosphere of Kloster Andechs near Munich in Bavaria, at a conference in January 1994 to consider 'European Impact and Pacific Influence' where he gave a paper on the impact of the British on the Tongan traditional concept of justice and law, he told how it had been his ambition to bring his wife to Europe, a wish now fulfilled with the help of the conference organisers. In the hills above Rome at a conference organised jointly by the World Methodist Historical Society and the Order of St Benedict he rejoiced in the ecumenical spirit which enabled scholars of diverse backgrounds to come together in unity.

No wonder his thoughts returned frequently to the Second World War which had changed Tonga. It was responsible not only for helping him set his sights on a world beyond Tonga but it had also brought his wife's family to Australia as refugees. The post-war world had also seen the eventual breakdown of sectarian barriers. Certainly it had been a watershed for Tonga – a time of changing values; new ideas were challenging the old, a capitalist class was emerging which would sit uneasily in a hierarchical society which failed to absorb it, and alternative lifestyles were in apposition if not opposition to Tonga's *mélange* of Methodism and custom.

The papers that follow outline many of the changes. Elizabeth (Pesi) Wood-Ellem, born to noted missionary parents in Tonga and biographer of Queen Sālote, provides a graphic description of life in Tonga during the War analysing the immediate impact of alien forces on Tongan society. Professor Futa Helu, doyen of Tongan scholars and distinguished educationalist, penetrates the mysteries and explores the mechanics of post-war Tongan psychology. Adrienne Kaeppler, long-time scholar of the Tongan arts with privileged access to the Tongan authorities, takes us into the fascinating

world of 'airplanes and saxophones', a legacy of the War encapsulated in brass bands and bark cloth.

Gareth Grainger, senior Australian government official with close personal ties with Tonga, takes us outside Tonga to explore post-war links with Australia, particularly the growth of the overseas community. Siua Lafitani, a leader of the new generation of Tongan graduates, raises the formerly tabu subjects of prostitution and homosexuality, another legacy of the war, and further explores and analyses the overseas community.

The theme of the churches, already anticipated in earlier papers, is fully explored by John Garrett, longtime mentor of Pacific Islands theological students and author of a three-volume history of the Pacific Islands churches. A companion piece by Tongan theology student Makisi Fīnau, can be read in his chapter on the Maama Fo'ou movement in Charles W. Forman (ed.), *Island Churches: Challenge and Change* (Suva 1992).

More sociological issues are discussed by Henry Ivarature and Kerry James. Ivarature looks at the important issue of family planning while James provides a fieldwork case-study of her attempts to locate and explain the elusive Tongan middle class of the 1990s.

Many of those who took part in the conference were interested in changing perceptions of the past since the War. Meredith Filihia, a student of Islands ritual, provides an analysis of studies of the *kava* ceremonies by post-war anthropologists and historians and reaches a conclusion that will be accepted by most Tongans.

So, after all these developments, what do we know about modern Tongans? 'How Tongan is a Tongan?' That is the question of Helen Morton, presently secretary of the Tongan History Association and author of *Becoming Tongan: an Ethnography of Childhood* (Honolulu 1996), who grapples with the question of Tongan identity and shows just how far and in what way Tongans have become Westernised and how far and in what way they have retained their traditional culture.

These chapters elaborating his chosen theme are fittingly dedicated to the late Reverend Dr Sione Lātūkefu, foundation president of the Tongan History Association.

W.N.G.
Canberra 1998

Behind The Battle Lines: Tonga in World War II

Elizabeth Wood-Ellem

THE ARRIVAL OF STRANGERS has notoriously led to change in Tongan affairs, but none so radically affected this Polynesian society as the 30,000 US servicemen who passed through Tonga during World War II. The small numbers of foreigners who came in earlier historical times influenced chiefs rather than commoners, and offered technical, economic, legal, or spiritual guidance with intent; but the young Americans were, more often than not, unwitting agents of change. At times the US forces more than doubled the adult population of Tongatapu, the largest and most populous island of Tonga (see maps 1 and 2).¹ Their numbers, wealth, superior technology, and youthful high spirits undermined a subsistence economy and hierarchical society. The behaviour of the US servicemen, itself influenced by the prospect of their imminent departure for battlefields from which they might not return, certainly influenced *all* the inhabitants of that island because, chiefs and commoners alike, all benefited and suffered from the effects of the visit. New Zealander servicemen too were stationed in Tonga, but their impact was less, because they were rarely much more than 1,000 at any one time, were comparatively poor in cash and in technology, and were incorporated into the Tongan Defence Force (TDF). The New Zealanders were dependent upon their hosts, the US forces were independent of them.

Some outcomes of this occupation by foreign servicemen could be seen immediately, others only over a period of time. And certainly the overall experience might have been more damaging for Tonga but for the influence of Queen Sālote, who permitted the occupation of her country and gave the war effort her full support yet steadfastly, though quietly, resisted the most deleterious effects of occupation. The Queen's example and influence meant that Tonga did not lose its head completely or develop the sort of cargo cult that was common elsewhere in the Pacific after the war.

The Americans had assumed that Tongans would be 'savages', and were surprised to find schools, medical services, clean villages, and polite and

¹ Report to the Western Pacific High Commission, SF 66/1; also known as 'Tonga 1939-45', MP 199/46/10, in Alexander Turnbull Library (hereinafter ATL); H. E. L. Friday, *The War in Coconut Square* (Wellington 1945), p.28. Of only approximately 250 square kilometres, Tongatapu contains the capital, Nuku'alofa, and is the seat of government.

intelligent inhabitants, who were regular church-attenders.² There was a language problem, for only a few Tongans spoke intelligible English, but there was plenty of goodwill. The US forces found a land fertile for food crops and a sea full of fish, with pigs and chickens to add occasional interest to the menu. There were only a few Tongan businessmen and professionals, the majority being farmers and fishermen. Small stores in the villages were adjuncts of businesses in Nuku'alofa, acting as collection points for copra, and doing only casual selling. At that time most Tongans lived in houses made out of poles covered with branches of the coconut palm. Except for the occasional hurricane and much heavy tropical rain, the climate was pleasant and sufficiently warm for light clothing. The lack of electricity and telephones, which pre-war could be found only at the Palace and a few other places in the capital, Nuku'alofa, did not bother the Americans, as they brought their own. There were a few dozen motor cars, mostly (but not all) belonging to *papālangi* (people of European descent). Better-off Tongans owned a cart, implying ownership of a malnourished and often ill-treated horse, but for most Tongans walking from one side of the island to the other presented no difficulties. Tonga was the best place in the world for people who wanted a quiet, uneventful, healthy existence; but that calmness would change into near-frenzy during the years of what Americans referred to as 'invasion' by US forces during 1942-45.

Tonga had been under British protection since 1900 and in December 1938 the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir Harry Luke, asked Queen Sālote what she intended to do if Great Britain and Germany went to war. The Queen responded that she would place all Tonga's resources at the disposal of Great Britain. On 25 August 1939 Parliament passed the required war legislation without demur, and on 3 September 1939 Tonga with her population of 33,000 declared war on Germany with 75 million, along with other countries who would be known collectively as 'the allies'.³ Tonga's Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain required the latter to defend the kingdom; but at the outbreak of war Britain handed over this responsibility to New Zealand,⁴ with the British Agent and Consul, A. L. Armstrong, continuing as Tonga's adviser on civil matters and as

² Pers. comm. Cecil Gribble 1976.

³ The population of Tonga in 1939 was 32,862 Tongans, 400 *papālangi*, 441 half-castes, 348 other Pacific Islanders, and 79 designated 'foreigners'. *Tonga Government Gazette* (hereinafter TGG) 3 (1 Mar. 1940) 14-15.

⁴ New Zealand was made responsible for the defence of all the Western Pacific High Commission territories, despite the fact that most of the New Zealand forces were fighting in Europe. See Luke to Agent & Consul (Windrum), 1952, British Consul, Tonga (hereinafter BCT) 4/1/3.

intermediary between the Queen and the government of Tonga, on the one hand, and the allied forces, on the other.

Tonga did not wait for New Zealand. As soon as war was declared, the government called for volunteers to join the Tonga Defence Force (TDF), and virtually every adult male in the kingdom volunteered, including 26 *papālangi*.⁵ The first group of a hundred men was selected within a week of the declaration of war. Tungī Mailefihi, royal consort, great chief, and Premier, became Colonel-in-Chief; and the Minister for Police, 'Akau'ola (Siosateki Faletau), who had served with the New Zealand forces during World War I, was commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel and commandant.⁶ All TDF officers received their commissions from Queen Sālote and swore allegiance to her. In addition to local commissions, officers were seconded to the TDF from Fiji and New Zealand.⁷ The TDF began drilling with sticks at a firing range built by hand at Sōpu.⁸ Soon another 150 were selected, and the numbers were increased to 800 in 1941.⁹ Tupou Posesi Fanua remembers the day in September 1939 when the Queen called on Tongan men to enlist in the Tonga Defence Force.

There was a big platform put up at the old Stone Building [where the Premier and other ministers had their offices] opposite the Lands Office, and there she stayed... Her Majesty seemed to know exactly what to do, what to wear for the occasion, things like that, and her command of language and words was really very amazing. I just remember her sitting there, everyone was on the *mala'e*, and she came, she walked there [from the Palace]. Her husband wasn't there. It gave you the impression she was alone or something like that. She stood there and she spoke to the people. All the people were standing there. She walked down from the Palace and she said: 'My people, I want to tell you today [that] I have made a decision that no woman has a right to do, but I have made it as Queen. We will support England

⁵ The headquarters of the TDF were initially on the Mala'e Pangai, the open space between the Palace and Vuna wharf. In November 1939 they were moved to the Government College site at Maile Taha, then in January 1940 to the old Tupou College grounds (next to the royal cemetery Mala'e Kula, south of where the Centenary Church now stands). Report SF 66/1.

⁶ It is not clear when Tungī Mailefihi was appointed Colonel-in-Chief. 'Akau'ola was a *matāpule ma'u tofi'a* title and Siosateki Faletau his name before he was installed in the title. ('Akau'ola reverted to Major when Colonel Bagnall arrived from New Zealand in February 1941 to take command of the TDF.) Dr H. G. Brown became Major Brown and Director of Medical Services, A. W. Servante, A. G. Lowe, and H. W. Stoner were captains; Feleti VI was a 2nd Lieutenant; A. Tu'ifuā was a Lieutenant. TGG 26 (24 Nov. 1939) 146, 147. Later in the war, Crown Prince Tupou to'a was appointed a Major. Judith Hornabrook, 'New Zealand and the Tonga Defence Force', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1951, p.108.

⁷ In October 1939 Captain J. S. Rennie and Sergeant-Major G. Stevens were seconded from the Fiji Defence Force, TGG 23 (23 Oct. 1939) 128; Sergeant-Major Latimer in March 1940 (Hornabrook, 'New Zealand and the Tonga Defence Force', p.20). In October 1941 four captains and four sergeant-majors were seconded from New Zealand (Report SF 66/1).

⁸ Report SF 66/1.

⁹ A. L. Armstrong to C. S., [15 Sept. 1944], copy in Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Auckland (from Rhodes House Library, Oxford), also filed as WPHC 499/44.

in the war today, until the end of the war. I know I have no right to ask you. Every Tongan has a right to refuse. I do it as the Queen of Tonga . . . those who want to take on the responsibility of training to be soldiers to defend Tonga will march down, and there will be a medical officer there who will check you up. Sign your name there. England is in trouble, and we owe a lot to England because England has been protecting us for years now.' And she reeled off a lot of advantages that we had got from England . . .

And the next time I saw her, she was on the platform with her husband beside her, and the people! They were almost mad, trying to get into that room through the little entrance. They had to tell them to form lines. Old people – even women – wanted to go and enlist. And you know, I could see, watching from the other side, under the tree, she was almost in tears, she was laughing at all those women.

'We can do it! We can do it!' And all those women were pushing men, and they were trying to get into this room. It was really a wonderful sight that day. If it moved you - what about her? . . . the thing that was so amazing was how she could rally her people together.¹⁰

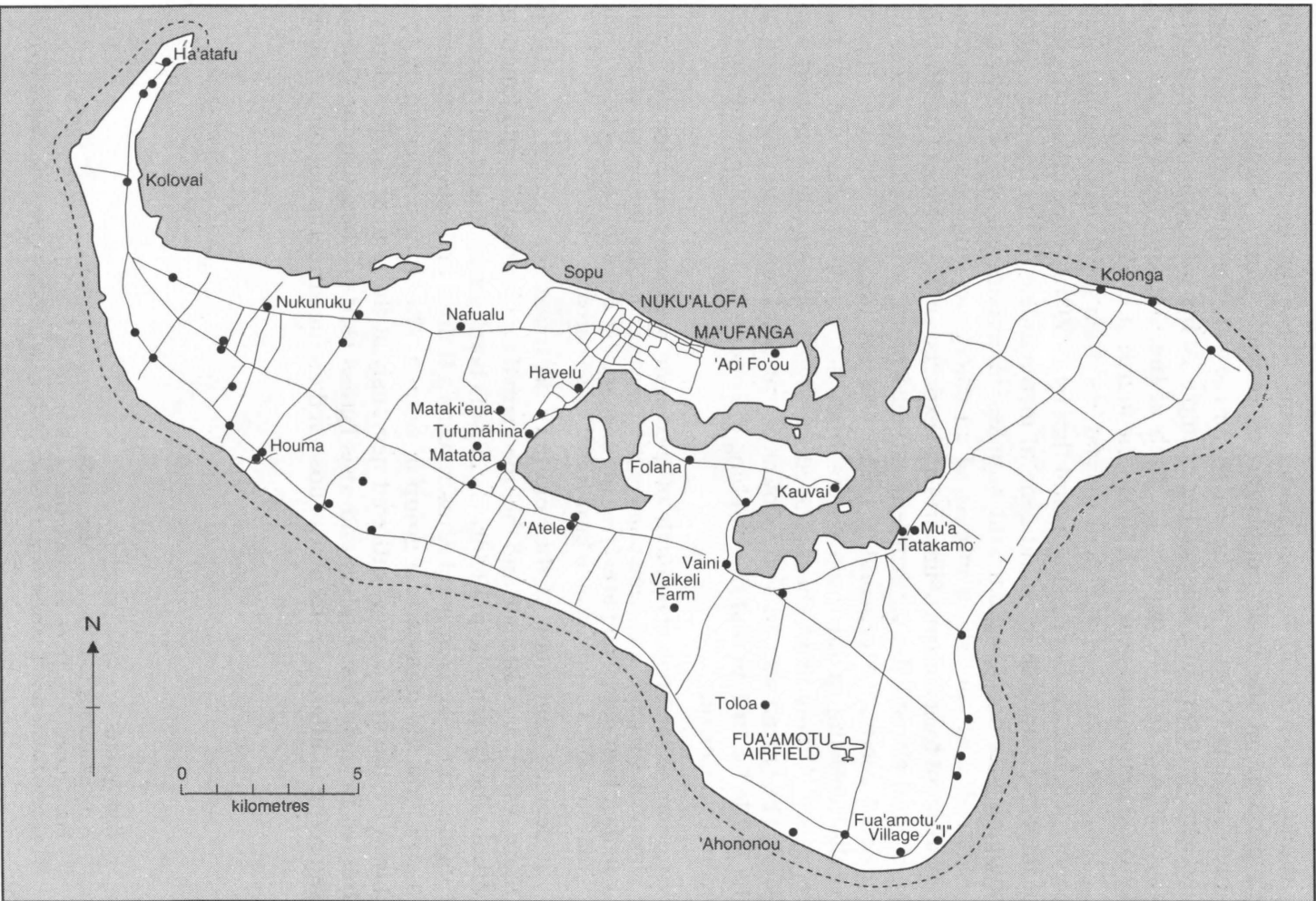
In spite of the enthusiasm of the women, the TDF was an all-male organisation. The Queen recruited women to go to the British Residency to collect cut-out pieces of khaki cloth to sew into TDF uniforms of shorts and shirts, mostly by hand (see map 2). She also organised groups of women to roll up bandages and assemble field-dressing kits. She reviewed the troops and went to inspect the barracks, built by voluntary labour, and to make sure the workers had enough food. As was customary when working groups gathered, the TDF and labourers were fed by different villages in turn. The privileges of chiefs were still observed, and a particularly delicious beef stew made under the direction of Margaret Armstrong, wife of the British Agent and Consul, as the contribution of Kolomotu'a, the western part of Nuku'alofa, found its way to the Palace hangers-on – not to the royal family, of course! – because it was considered too good for commoners.¹¹

Judith Hornabrook described the TDF as having an 'informal, domestic character'.¹² In the early days two companies guarded the airfield at Fua'amotu (one being later sent to Kolovai) and two companies were in Nuku'alofa (one later being sent to Mataki'eua). Coastwatching was undertaken throughout the Tongan group of islands, with runners in the absence of a wireless system. In the second year of its existence, TDF men were paid (five pence per day for privates, two shillings per day for lieutenants), and more volunteers were accepted. Eventually there were two

¹⁰ Tupou Posesi Fanua, 'Conversations with Garth Rogers', Auckland 1974, now in Wendy Pond Collection of audio-tapes, Asia-Pacific Archive of the School of Music, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. In reporting the Queen's speech Fanua was obviously using her own words, not the Queen's.

¹¹ Margaret Armstrong, 'Reminiscences of Life in Tonga' (no pagination), MS 867, Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Auckland.

¹² Hornabrook, 'New Zealand and the Tonga Defence Force', pp.36, 40.



MAP 2. Tongatapu

battalions, with 2,000 Tongans under arms. These two battalions made up 12 per cent of the male population of Tonga.¹³ Queen Sālote set aside approximately 10 per cent of her salary for the war effort throughout the war, and some civil servants followed her example. At her instigation, government allocated £20,000 for defence for each of the first two years of the war, £25,000 in the third year, £12,500 in the fourth, and £20,000 in later years.

Tongans were self-sufficient as far as their own food supply was concerned; but the Depression meant that by 1939 there was little in the way of imported, storable food and general merchandise in the country. Since shipping was now irregular and supplies uncertain, caches of food were hidden all over the island in case of an emergency such as a hurricane. Government took control of imports and exports. On the advice of the British Agent and Consul the government rationed petrol and fixed the prices of imported goods.¹⁴ A censorship board was set up, and 'Amanaki Havea recalls receiving in Australia letters from home full of holes cut by the censors.¹⁵ A daily news-sheet relayed in English the equally censored war news. The Queen was an avid follower of war news, and when she heard of the Battle for Britain and the bombing of London in 1940 she wrote to the Agent and Consul:

I desire to take this opportunity of once again assuring you of the deep and heartfelt sympathy and admiration of the Tongan people for the people of Britain in their hour of trial and to express my unshakeable belief that it is not God's will that so noble a people should be defeated by so barbaric a foe.¹⁶

It seemed that none of the voluntary organisations (except the Home Guard, which was all male and included *papālangi* residents) could function without the Queen's help. Vividly visualising bombs dropping on defenceless Tongans, she asked Margaret Armstrong as a trained and experienced nurse to give First Aid classes to a group of women. The women selected by the Queen for the first classes gathered nervously at the gate of the Residency, dressed in their best clothes and *sisis* ('grass skirts')¹⁷ because the Queen was going to attend. Protocol was observed as the students sat on the floor

¹³ Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁴ A. L. Armstrong to C. S., [15. Sept. 1944].

¹⁵ Pers. comm. Rev. Dr S. 'Amanaki Havea 1974.

¹⁶ Queen Sālote to A. L. Armstrong, 17 Sept. 1940, copy in Palace Office Papers (hereinafter POP).

¹⁷ The Americans called them 'grass skirts', but they are made from the bark of the hibiscus plant.

of the wide verandah at the Residency. The skeleton *Stale Falanisē* (Charlie Frenchman) was borrowed from Tupou College for the occasion.¹⁸

Before the war the Queen had founded a dramatic company called *Hengihengi 'a Tonga* (Dawn of Tonga), which performed plays. It had acted out legends, but during the war, to raise funds for the Red Cross, the Queen wrote and produced a play about an air raid, in which her First Aid group played out the roles for which they had trained. The part for a boy required him to call out 'It's a raid', but he kept saying 'It's a rape', until Queen Sālote explained the difference.¹⁹

The Queen was patron of the Red Cross, the St John Ambulance, the Spitfire Fund, and of bazaars where Tongan women provided handicrafts and *papālangi* women provided cakes for sale. *Papālangi*-style dances (*hulohula*) were held under her sponsorship in order to raise funds. When in 1943 two platoons of TDF soldiers went overseas, Queen Sālote organised a Comforts Fund to provide cigarettes, razors, and sweets for them.²⁰ She offered the British government 546 acres (partly *Tungī's* estates and partly those of *Tu'ipelehake*) for an airfield for the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) at the peppercorn rent of one shilling a year. Material for the airfield was donated by the nobles and labour donated by the commoners, including the construction of five miles of approach road. All the early work on the airfield was done by hand, and when a bulldozer arrived from New Zealand to level out the field, the whole population of Tongatapu (Tongan and *papālangi* alike) flocked to the airfield to view this amazing piece of technology. The first aircraft landed at Fua'amotu on 15 March 1940. Margaret Armstrong recorded that when the Queen was first offered a flight, the chiefs would not allow her to accept. When the offer was repeated some time later, the Queen accepted with alacrity, on the condition that the flight should take place at once, before any of the chiefs got to know of it.

The war occupied a great deal of Queen Sālote's time, and increased the responsibilities of her consort. After spending his days in the Premier's office in Nuku'alofa, *Tungī Mailefihi* spent his nights at the Fua'amotu airfield. To him fell the task of organising the materials donated by the nobles and labour donated by the people. When not at Fua'amotu, *Tungī* was conferring with New Zealand officers at Mu'a and Nuku'alofa. Personal supervision, personal contact with the people, sharing of tasks were the aspects of

¹⁸ Tupou College is the secondary school of the Free Wesleyan Church. The school began on an allotment to the west of the Mala'e Kula, where the TDF headquarters were in 1940 and later. Tupou College had moved to Nafualu on the main road to the western district in 1922. The college had farmland at Toloa, where it would move in 1948.

¹⁹ Fanua, 'Conversations'.

²⁰ £5,450 was raised for the Red Cross; £7,400 for other war funds, including £1,525 for the TDF Comforts Fund.

traditional leadership that appealed to Tungī and at which he excelled. To be active among his people allowed him to be seen at his best. It was in the midst of these duties that he died of a heart attack, on Sunday, 20 July 1941, aged 54, at his home on his estates, 'Uoleva, in the village of Tatakamotonga. Everything came to a halt, partly because the whole country was occupied with the ceremonies of mourning and partly because the Queen (without whom nothing could proceed) abandoned herself to grief.

THEN, on 7 December 1941, the Japanese bombed the American Pacific Naval Fleet at Pearl Harbor and 240 planes on the ground at Hickham Field in Hawai'i. At noon on 8 December, local time, Tonga declared war on Japan, along with the USA and the allies.²¹

Since the Japanese had been everywhere in the Pacific in the 1930s, they were very well informed about harbours and installations. Vava'u, the northern group of the Tongan islands, had an excellent harbour, and Nuku'alofa had a wireless station with a wide range. It was feared that the Japanese would bomb the wireless station before swooping across the Pacific to cut off the USA from Australia, which was the logical base for an attempt to halt the frighteningly swift Japanese advance. Further, the US needed a string of airfields across the Pacific, and the one so painstakingly built at Fua'amotu was highly desirable at that time. When the news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor reached Tonga, the girls and boys who had been at boarding schools on Tongatapu were immediately sent home, the government vessel *Hifofoa* appearing, seemingly miraculously, to take those who lived at Ha'apai and Vava'u. *Papālangi* and part-*papālangi* women and children were compulsorily evacuated in the Union Steam Ship Company's *Matua*. S.S. *Matua* normally accommodated 40 passengers but 250 were crammed aboard now for Fiji or New Zealand. One unwilling evacuee was Mrs Thompson, Principal of Queen Sālote College. During the year of Mrs Thompson's absence the college was requisitioned by the military, and the Queen offered land on her estate at Tufumāhina, beside the lagoon, for classes taught by the Tongan staff. Government College (to be renamed Tonga College in 1943) moved inland to 'Atele at the beginning of 1942 and its old site was requisitioned; as were Vaiola Hospital nearby and the Catholic secondary boys' school, 'Apti Fo'ou, in Ma'ufanga.

Nuku'alofa people were ordered to remove themselves and stay with their relatives in the villages. The Queen set an example by retiring first to Fua'amotu and then to 'Ahononou, near Fua'amotu, on the southern coast, although proximity to the airport made it as dangerous as Nuku'alofa's

²¹ A. L. Armstrong to Queen Sālote, 9 Dec. 1941, MP 110/41, POP, records that the decision to declare war on Japan was made at a Privy Council meeting on 8 Dec. 1941.

wireless station. At 'Ahononou a sizeable Tongan house was built for the Queen on the hillside above the beach, a large cave on the beach being identified as an air-raid shelter for the royal household. Smaller houses were provided for her retinue. People continued to visit and take presentations to 'Ahononou as they had done to the Palace. The 45 members of the Royal Guards had been incorporated in the TDF, but some were seconded to guard the Queen's house. The Queen called it her 'little coconut-leaf house', but she was more comfortable than many commoners who were evacuated and who found life difficult because both shelter and drinking water were in short supply in the villages.²² The skeleton Siale Falanisē was again in demand, for the Queen foresaw casualties if the airfield was bombed. A letter she wrote on 23 December 1941 from 'Ahononou to the Rev. Sau Faupula, then a tutor at Tupou College, shows not only her expectation that Tonga would be bombed but also her attention to detail and her willingness to assist the war effort in practical ways.

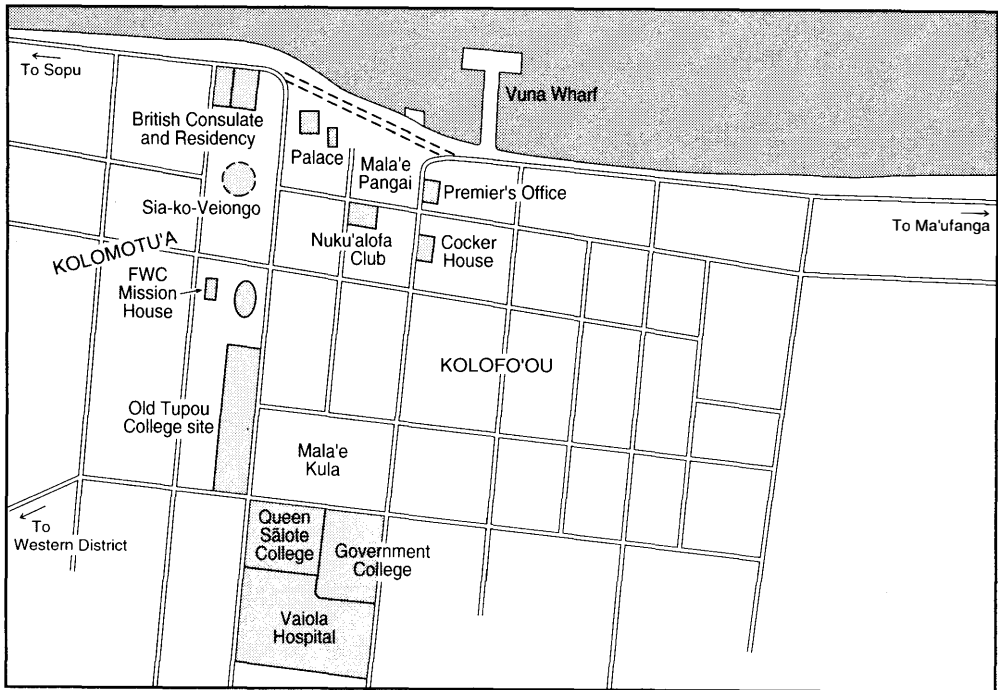
I am writing this letter as a request. If you can send Siale Falanisē here to Fua'amotu for some First Aid classes, I shall call together some of the women. Uiliami Tufui [a graduate of the Central Medical School] can teach them and I can help. Then we shall be ready to help injured soldiers at the airfield. I have told the First Aid group in town to consult the doctor in charge if any emergency occurs: they should also help nurses at the hospital. No preparations have been made here, so I told the Fua'amotu people to form their own First Aid group. Uiliami has agreed to give classes and to give instructions to the women on how to treat injured people. Siale can be looked after at the minister's place during the time of the classes, which will go on for two or three weeks. Once the teaching about the bones is over, we shall return Siale. If you leave Siale at Mr Page's home [in Nuku'alofa], I shall fetch Siale and bring him here.²³

When New Zealand handed over defence of Tonga to the United States of America in 1942, the Queen agreed that the USA could use Tonga as a base for the duration of the Pacific War, but neither she nor her advisers knew exactly when American forces would arrive or how many. An American warship arrived on 3 March 1942, and on 31 March two reconnaissance officers. During April came more ships, including a hospital ship, which soon departed for the Battle of the Coral Sea. On 29 April another 10 or 11 warships arrived and soon departed. On 9 and 15 May troopships arrived with 7,000 soldiers and 1,000 Navy personnel and a squadron of the US Army Air Corps. At one time there were nearly 40 ships in Nuku'alofa harbour.²⁴ Armstrong estimated that the initial force of BLEACHER (as it

²² Report SF 66/1.

²³ Translation by Tillsi Faupula Bryce.

²⁴ Stone Filipe Tongilava, *Diary*, POP, entries for 3 and 12 Mar., 18, 20, and 29 Apr., 9 May and following days; United States Government, 'History of Tongatabu', n.d., Command History, Advanced Navy Base microfilm NRS II - 465, pp.18, 34, 43; Report SF 66/1. See also C. J.



MAP 3. Nuku'alofa

was codenamed), which effectively took over the island on 9 May, was about half the total population, or about 10,000. When Navy and Air Corps put into harbour *en route* to the battlefields, the number of strangers exceeded the total population of Tongatapu.

Everything from these ships had to be offloaded at Vuna wharf, except barges that went ashore at Ma'ufanga. The lists of material that went ashore, as recorded in the official US 'History of Tongatabu', are awesome – equipment and tools of all kinds, weaponry, vehicles, tents and Quonset huts, refrigerators, machinery to drill for water, fuel, and vast quantities of food and beverages. The US forces requisitioned 767 additional acres of land, some for the extension of the runway at the airfield, which was then covered with steel Marston matting. Tongans under the direction of New Zealanders had carried out 80 per cent of the work on the airfield for \$US56,000, and the remaining 20 per cent was completed by the Americans for just under \$US500,000. 'This type of wild spending both overawed and amused the New Zealanders', commented the US official naval historian.²⁵ Between April and October 1942 the airfield was a base for Kittyhawks and later for other fighter planes and transit aircraft.

Weeks, 'The United States Occupation of Tonga', *Pacific Historical Review* 56:3 (1987) 399-426.

²⁵ 'History of Tongatabu', p.132. New Zealand and the United Kingdom paid the first amount (Hornabrook, 'New Zealand and the Tonga Defence Force', p.16).

A farm at Vaikeli provided fresh vegetables for the US forces and also for the New Zealanders. Anti-aircraft units of the 77th US Coastal Artillery set up on the north coast and at the airfield; the Navy Advanced Base was at Ma'ufanga; the Construction Battalion at Havelu; the US Air Corps at Fua'amotu. At the height of the 'invasion', there were 13 camps scattered throughout Tongatapu and 5,000 soldiers lived in requisitioned or especially built Tongan houses. The remainder lived in Quonset huts, which replaced tents in coconut groves, under the trees for camouflage, coconuts being removed from the trees and thrown away. It did not occur to the Americans that copra made from coconuts was Tonga's primary source of cash. As it happened, copra took second place as an income-earner, because providing services for the American troops proved so very lucrative as well as so entertaining. Siupeli Talia'i tells how as a schoolboy at Tupou College, Nafualu, situated on the main road to the western district, the first he knew of the arrival of the Americans was the sound and sight of many 10-wheeled trucks being driven past the school in clouds of dust one Sunday afternoon. He and his fellow students closely observed the goings-on in the US Army camp next to the school. On Saturday nights, he and a friend rode bicycles from Kolovali, where Siupeli's father was the Free Wesleyan minister, out to Ha'atafu on the westernmost tip of Tongatapu to watch American movies.²⁶

The Americans took over coastwatching from the TDF, and built a series of huge observation towers across Tongatapu, including one 75-feet high at the end of Vuna wharf. On board the hospital ships were 47 doctors and 52 nurses who set up the 900-bed 7th Evacuation Hospital at Houma for the wounded from other parts of the Pacific where actual war was raging.²⁷ An American military cemetery was established at Matakileua, on the slope of the hill above the main road, and on 31 July 1942 the first 10 American naval men and marines were buried there. Before long, 20 more US servicemen were buried there, and six New Zealanders.²⁸ The US Navy Advanced Base forces set up headquarters at Ma'ufanga, about three kilometres east of Nuku'alofa, and took over surrounding land. It was intended that this base would build sufficient storage space for provisions for one-third of the US fleet, so the Navy took over the large Burns, Philp warehouse, erected 17 large Quonset huts for stores, and built two tank farms for fuel.

The house on the main street of Nuku'alofa formerly belonging to leading businessman Arthur Cocker was taken over as a *papālangi* officers' club, and

²⁶ Pers. comm. Siupeli Talia'i 1997.

²⁷ Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', p.56.

²⁸ Captain Benjamin Tate Perlman to Queen Sālote and to Ata, 31 July 1942, MP 143/42, ATL, thanking them for flowers and sympathy. The bodies of American servicemen were reburied in American Samoa on 18 September 1945. 'History of Tongatapu', chronology and pp.112-13.

the Queen sent a gift of mats. The Nuku'alofa Club, formerly exclusive to *papālangi* and Tongan cabinet ministers, was also open to officers. *Papālangi* troops had their recreation area at the old Government College site in Nuku'alofa. Black American troops of the 77th US Coastal Artillery, who were segregated from *papālangi* American troops, had their recreation at the village of Kolonga, on the northeast coast, about 20 kilometres from Nuku'alofa by road and separated from town by the lagoon. Americans claimed that the Tongans welcomed their friendliness after the standoffishness of the British and 'colonials'. The Armstrongs, on the other hand, deplored the racial segregation in the American armed forces and reported that they and their Tongan staff and neighbours had very friendly relations with the all-Black unit in charge of anti-aircraft defence on Sta-ko-Vetongo, the hill behind the British Residency.²⁹

By agreement with the British, the Agent and Consul (Armstrong until mid-1943, then C. W. T. Johnson) represented the government of Tonga in consultations with the Americans, keeping the Queen and the Premier, Ata (Solomone), informed at all times. A very time-consuming argument followed: the British believed that the whole of the Tongan group of islands should be defended in the case of an attack, while the US command was prepared to defend only Tongatapu. It was a strange argument since Vava'u harbour, in the north, widely considered to be one of the best in the Pacific, would be left unprotected if the US view prevailed, as it did. Where New Zealand officers had been given their commissions by Queen Sālote and had sworn loyalty to her, the US forces wanted to be wholly independent of the government of Tonga and felt that 'The goddam British were always poking their noses in it'.³⁰ Until the New Zealander Brigadier F. L. Hunt took over from the American Brigadier-General B. C. Lockwood as Island Commander on 2 March 1943 there were two governments in Tonga: the US ruled the US military, while the Queen ruled the Tongan population. The arrangement worked well enough, but only because all parties ignored the civil rights of the Tongan population; that is, the Queen and Consul achieved peace by rarely challenging US actions.

Americans' own choice of the word 'invasion' to describe their presence suggests that they felt they had the licence to act as conquerors. Even after March 1943, the US Navy often ignored the authority of Hunt and of his successor, Major Hardy, as Island Commander. But instead of confronting the Americans, the Queen exercised her very real influence over her people to ameliorate the negative effects of the US occupation and to exhort them to

²⁹ A. L. Armstrong to C. S., [15 Sept. 1944]; Margaret Armstrong, 'Reminiscences'.

³⁰ 'History of Tongatabu', p.4.

carry on with their lives in as normal a way as possible.³¹ Armstrong and his successor had to persuade the Americans that it was not necessary to shoot Tongans who came too near to the US stores; and they tried to get small compensations for damage to property or injuries suffered at the hands of exuberant troops. One can only conclude after reading the accounts of their stay that the US troops were generally out of control during the whole of their time in Tonga. Behind the 1942 excesses were the high spirits of young men going to war, and in 1943-45 the boredom of standing guard over inert matter.

By remaining aloof, the Queen maintained the dignity of her position. This was consistent with her pre-war relationship with *papālangi* (which was distant), while almost nothing happened among the Tongans without her knowledge either before or after the event. Thus, although appearing to be in retirement at 'Ahononou, Queen Sālote had constant personal contact with her own people through established networks and did what she could to control their behaviour in an uncontrollable situation. She encouraged young women of high chiefly rank to go to other islands,³² but the majority of the population of Tongatapu stayed put, fraternised seven days a week, and found life full of new and exciting possibilities. Tongans were extremely curious about the Americans and overwhelmed at the sight of their material possessions. The Americans needed local labour to assist with the unloading of their supplies and setting up camps, and to do laundry and the like. It was estimated that about 100 members of the TDF unloaded ships, 160 worked in camp construction, 70 on maintenance of roads, 60 on the airfield, and that 88 were employed by the US Army and 350 by the Navy in miscellaneous duties.³³ Other Tongans worked in the camps, waited on tables, and did casual work. Some worked on the farm that grew *papālangi* vegetables, sold their own Tongan vegetables and fruit, and loaded up carts with mats, baskets, and what the Americans called 'hula skirts' to sell at the camps.

Many genuine, if shortlived, friendships were formed between Americans and Tongan families. Women who were raped were well paid to keep quiet.³⁴ Attendance of Tongans at church services declined, for the US forces did not take Sundays off. When on a Saturday villagers swept up their leaves and burned them as was their custom in preparation for the Sabbath, the Americans assumed they were signalling to the enemy. When people carried

³¹ The Queen knew when to resist coercion. She repeatedly refused requests by New Zealand soldiers to be allowed to take over royal land at Matatōa for planting, because this would have displaced even more people at a time when less land was needed by the military. Tongilava, *Diary*, 1943 *passim*.

³² Weeks, 'Occupation', p.407.

³³ Series B, Box 43/1, MP 2/43, ATL; Priday, *Coconut Square*, pp.34-5.

³⁴ Pers. comm. Futa Helu 1997.

lights along the roads at night to see their way home or when making their way to the backyard privies, they were accused of deliberately infringing the blackout regulations. On the other hand, the Americans did not think to advise the Queen's private secretary, Stone Filipe Tongilava, of the need for discretion, and he carefully recorded the number and type of ships coming into and leaving harbour – a useful record if the Japanese had invaded.

At first the Americans felt there was no need to consult the locals about defence. As a consequence, the US survey ship *Sumner* ignored signals from the TDF shore battery commanding her to stop. A shot was fired across the ship's bows and, when she continued, a second shot. Only then did the ship allow a pilot to board. Armstrong pointed out to the angry captain that Tonga had already been at war for two and a half years, and that the survey ship could have been a Japanese ship flying an American flag for all the shore battery knew.³⁵ On 26 May 1942 an RNZAF Vincent scout bomber, top speed 140 kilometres an hour, was taking photographs over Tongatapu when it was fired on by 10 American warships, and the air-raid warning sounded, sending people plunging into the ditches dug for just such a contingency. The plane came lower in order to show its insignia under the misapprehension that the Americans would recognise the insignia of their allies, which resulted in more firing, but no hits.³⁶ The name of the New Zealand pilot, McKay, is still remembered in Tonga.

Although fraternisation was officially prohibited, none of the villages was actually out of bounds to troops and their imported comforts. Cigarettes were widely available for the first time and smoking became commonplace in Tonga because of the war; alcohol, which had been limited to 100 chiefly permit-holders before the war, was now widely available and widely consumed. Tongans learned the elementary skills required to make *hopi* or home-brew, which they sold for large sums to the American soldiers. Movies had been seen in Tonga before the war, but nothing like the new ones, which were shown in banana sheds for the American troops and any Tongans who cared to attend. Marching and brass-bands and ceremonies, including the raising and lowering of the flag, were also familiar, but were now seen on a hitherto unknown scale. Bugles and drums that had been the backbone of brass-bands were eclipsed by new instruments and new music. There had been horse races before, but there was now such a demand that the few horses capable of running at any speed appeared in different races under different names.

³⁵ The *Sumner* was in Tonga in January or March, or from January to March. Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', p.46; pers. comm. Cecil Gribble 1976; 'History of Tongatabu', chronology; Report SF 66/1.

³⁶ 'History of Tongatabu', pp.42-3; Margaret Armstrong, 'Reminiscences'; Tongilava, Diary, 26 May 1942.

The Queen realised that the foreigners had plenty of money to spend and were looking for amusements. The period of mourning for Tungī being over, she encouraged regular bazaars and entertainments such as *papālangi*-style dances at which Americans could spend their money to the benefit of the various wartime funds. She also encouraged the making of handicrafts to sell to the soldiers, who were wild for things to send home before they went to the war zone. In addition to supporting the Red Cross and Tongan Comforts Fund, Tonga collected enough money during the war to buy four Spitfires for Great Britain's Royal Air Force. The three planes that were commissioned were named the 'Queen Sālote', 'Prince Tungī', and 'Tupou I' (named for herself, her late consort, and for the first of Queen Sālote's dynasty). The first two planes were flown in combat.³⁷ Tonga's overall contribution was outstanding for a country of its size and population, and its financial contribution considerably more than that of any other Pacific nation.

Before the war, Tongans had been reluctant to relinquish their preferred way of life in order to earn money, but that was at a time when a great deal of effort was required to obtain very little cash. Now there was money in abundance, and for very little effort. Every adult and many children on Tongatapu had the chance to earn, and were the envy of Tongans of the more northerly islands. Some of this excess money eventually reached the churches via the *misinale* (annual collection), a boon to the church schools, which had suffered considerably from the shortage of cash during the Depression and the disruption of the 'invasion'.³⁸ Catholic Father (later Bishop) John Rodgers recalled how 'Father Boussit had more money than ever before! He made me preach and he took a collection at Ma'ufanga every Sunday.'³⁹ The government benefited from the increased price of copra. Revenue for 1938/39 had been only £60,441; in 1941/42 it was £73,877, in 1942/43 it was £116,181, and in 1945/46 it was £136,014.⁴⁰ Schoolboys who had no pencils when the American troops arrived soon found themselves the possessors of fountain pens, boots, and new shirts. Other students ran away from school to hang around the camps. With money so easy to obtain, planting declined. At the Opening of Parliament on 29 June 1942, the Queen urged the people not to be overwhelmed by their change of circumstances:

Let us keep in mind the importance of our farms and urge our people to attend to them . . . we should warn our people about the pursuit of money because a good

³⁷ Speech made by Agent & Consul to Parliament, TGG 3 (22 Mar. 1946) 18. Local businessman Willy Cocker gave £2,000 towards the first plane. Queen Sālote to A. L. Armstrong, 17 Sept. 1940, POP.

³⁸ A. L. Armstrong to C. S., [15 Sept. 1944].

³⁹ Pers. comm. Bishop John Rodgers 1994.

⁴⁰ *Pacific Islands Year Book*, 6th ed. (Sydney 1950), p.114.

many have lost their sense of values . . . money is a good servant . . . but it is not a good master.⁴¹

Men such as Tu'ilatai Mataele and women such as Tupou Posesi Fanua and Saiaua Lavulo were very much in demand because they spoke good English.⁴² Tu'ilatai was the son of Halaevalu, a woman of very high chiefly rank, and Maile Mataele, a successful businessman. Tu'ilatai had learned English from American Mormon missionaries. Soon after the arrival of the Americans, Tu'ilatai ran away from school and went to the wharfs for a job. The sailors gave him the nickname Joe, by which he is still known. After the war he was offered training in New Zealand, but stayed in Tonga and started a stevedoring business, made money, married three times, and had many children. Tupou was the only daughter of a minor chief, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. She had been adopted for a time by the Director of Education, Ragnar Hyne, and thus learned to speak English. In 1942 Tupou acted as an interpreter, and really enjoyed the war. But when she took up residence with a naval officer she was ostracised by the Tongan chiefly class and cut off the list of women invited to formal *papālangi*-style events. Only the determination of her aunt Muimui Kaho rescued her from permanent social oblivion. In the 1950s and 1960s Tupou worked as a researcher for the Tonga Traditions Committee. In later years she was sought out as an informant by *papālangi*.

To take a very different case – Saiaua Lavulo was a granddaughter of Benjamin Cocker. She was a young woman in 1942, newly married to a policeman, when she was told that she was to be appointed as the first Tongan policewoman. Tongan women infected with venereal disease were put in jail, and Saiaua took them to the hospital to be treated by American Army doctors, and acted as interpreter between doctors and patients.⁴³ Obedience to authority was so deeply inculcated in the Tongan mind that neither the government nor the women objected to this illegal detention. Because Tonga became a favoured place for leave from the battlefields, the incidence of venereal disease did not decline when the main body of troops moved on.

THE WAR so savagely fought elsewhere in the Pacific took its toll of lives in Tonga: an accidental drowning, a serviceman shot, a Tongan soldier who shot himself out of shame over the immorality of his sister, a woman killed by an Army truck, two children dead and five injured after they hit with sticks some shells they had found on the sand flats near Nukunuku. Tongans died after drinking home-brew. A New Zealander drowned in spite of the efforts of two

⁴¹ TGG 17 (2 Sept. 1942) 138.

⁴² The following is based on conversations with Joe Mataele, 1995, and Fanua 1974, 1976-77, 1981, 1985, 1993-95, and on Fanua, 'Conversations'.

⁴³ Pers. comm. Saiaua Lavulo 1994. See also Priday, *Coconut Square*, p.32; L. Lindstrom & G. M. White, *Island Encounters* (Washington and London 1990), pp.30, 120.

Tongan men to save him. Two Folahe men were killed in fighting between members of the TDF.⁴⁴

Black American soldiers were blamed for the murder of two Tongans late in the evening of Sunday, 21 March 1943. Private battles between Tongans and American soldiers were not uncommon, and there had been a dispute at a dance the previous Friday, in which home-brew and the procuring of prostitutes played a part.⁴⁵ As the Queen wrote:

Three Americans shot two Tongans, brothers, at Fua'amotu. The Americans were Negroes. The two Tongans died and their mother was injured. The shooting was in anger, the result of a fight during a dance. The two men who were shot did not usually cause trouble at dances. Only one Negro has been caught and he is stubborn and reveals nothing about the others. Tupouto'a [the Crown Prince, later Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV] decided to have the two men buried at once, and I stayed at Fua'amotu to help the parents. The woman may recover, but if she dies it will be because of her love for the two [sons] who have died already . . . Although the trouble was started by the Negroes, it was really caused by the dance, the home-brew and the *pusipusi* [prostitutes].⁴⁶

Both soldiers and civilians were reluctant to co-operate in the subsequent investigation in case their own illegal activities came to light. Americans sometimes paid Tongans in advance for home-brew and prostitutes, and the Tongans did not always deliver. No one was charged over the killings.⁴⁷

If Japan had won the long-drawn-out battle for Guadalcanal in 1942, Tonga would have become a major advanced base for the USA, but after the allied victories Tongatapu's importance sharply declined. In October 1942, to take the place of the Americans who had departed for the battle zones, 700 troops of the New Zealand 34th Battalion arrived, making a garrison of 1,697 New Zealand troops alongside 2,118 Tongans, with 350 RNZAF personnel. These New Zealanders, like their predecessors, were incorporated into the TDF. The 6th Canterbury Battalion replaced the 34th Battalion in March 1943. In December 1943 121 officers, 1,066 other ranks, and two WAACS returned to New Zealand.⁴⁸ In February 1944 the TDF was reduced to 38 New Zealand officers and 150 RNZAF and their Tongan counterparts.⁴⁹ And

⁴⁴ Series B, Box 43/1, MP 2/43; Box 43/12, MP 165/43; Box 43/3 MP 30/43; Box 43/1, MP 10/43, ATL. Pers. comm. Tupou Posesi Fanua 1976; Kakala Taumoefolau 1995.

⁴⁵ 'Report of Superintendent G. D. Hill relative to Murder of Tongans at Fuamotu [sic]', 31 Mar. 1943, including 'Diary of Action Taken', MP 30/45/43, ATL.

⁴⁶ Queen Sālote to Rev. Sau Faupula, 23 Mar. 1943 (translation by Tiliisi Faupula Bryce).

⁴⁷ Same to same, 23 July 1943.

⁴⁸ Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', pp.59, 66, 88.

⁴⁹ The agreement between the New Zealand and Tongan governments resembled that between Tonga and the US government. New Zealanders were seconded to the TDF. Series B, Box 43/12, MP 156/43, ATL. See also Hornabrook, *ibid.*, pp.59ff; pers. comm. Joe Mataele 1995. Priday, *Coconut Square*, p.34, said the New Zealanders were 'Scottish'; that is, careful with their money.

as one Tongan says of the New Zealanders: 'Their wheels fell off'.⁵⁰ Instead of bringing Quonset huts, hundreds of vehicles, and water-drilling and other equipment, as the Americans had done, the New Zealanders often had to make do with inferior equipment on every front.

American generosity had fitted in very well with Tongan ideas of chiefly behaviour; by contrast, the New Zealanders discriminated against the Tongans by paying their own men in the TDF more than they paid the Tongan equivalents.⁵¹ To add further insult to injury, the New Zealanders, unlike the Americans, would not permit Tongans to watch their movie shows. The New Zealanders very oddly complained of lack of co-operation, 'hardships and annoyances', 'improvisations and makeshifts which no European troops would have submitted to'.⁵² With the Japanese emergency passed even in prospect, and Tongan evacuees returned to Nuku'alofa during 1943, the troops' spirit changed too. Americans who remained in Tongatapu had too much time at their disposal, and an element of lawlessness was the outcome of lax discipline. Drunkenness and brawling followed, and New Zealand soldiers were attacked and one killed by American soldiers.⁵³ Halaevalu Maile recalled that it was 'not all nice' to be in Nuku'alofa during the war because Americans were constantly coming to the house to ask for home-brew.⁵⁴

At about the same time as Major Hardy succeeded Brigadier-General Hunt in February 1944, Lieutenant-Commander Richard P. Hodsdon USNR assumed command not only of the US naval forces, which by then consisted of only five officers and 74 enlisted men, but also of other US forces still on the island. Hodsdon ignored the fact that Hardy was the Island Commander. Throughout 1943 and 1944 the US garrison provided hospitality for unofficial visits from officers looking for rest and recreation well away from the frontline. Such unofficial visitors talked about but did not challenge Hodsdon, who lived openly with one of Tonga's most notorious prostitutes, whom he had set up in her own house. Ribaldry resulted when the girl shared her favours and indiscretions with enlisted men.⁵⁵

In fact, most of the American officers at this time lived openly with Tongan women.⁵⁶ The Americans made generous gifts to girlfriends and their

⁵⁰ Pers. comm. Joe Mataele 1995.

⁵¹ Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', p.82.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.105.

⁵⁴ Pers. comm. Halaevalu Maile 1977.

⁵⁵ 'History of Tongatabu', pp.181-2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.177. A number of children of mixed-race parentage were born during the American occupation. Rodgers claimed that only one Tongan child was born to a Black American. Pers. comm. Bishop John Rodgers 1994. These children became members of their mothers' Tongan families, but many knew they had an American father.

families, including generators, carburettors, radios, food, cigarettes, alcohol, and petrol taken from American stores. At least one officer built an entire house for his girlfriend, using American materials and labour. One US estimate is that \$US1,000,000 worth of goods was given away to Tongans. Although that must be an exaggeration, it is clear that a great deal of Army and Navy property went to special friends. Others helped themselves to the property that was in many cases either surplus to requirements or being given away to other villagers.

Whereas the Army drew most of its troops from the northern states, many of the Navy personnel were from the racist southern states of America and had little if any regard for the legal rights of the Tongans. Hodsdon was no exception. The more polite among local *papālangi* referred to him as a 'pathetic old man', a 'damned old fool', and a 'silly ass'. In effect he relinquished command to the Navy doctor, Lieutenant-Commander Guyer, whose idea of a good evening out was to take a band of servicemen with loaded guns into the countryside, fire into the air, and beat up any Tongans encountered. In August 1944 thieves broke the padlock on the Navy warehouse at Ma'ufanga and, it was claimed, carried off 600 gallons of gasoline, 72 cases of cigarettes, 32 cases of beer, tools, and other equipment. Instead of referring the matter to the local police, the proper course of action, Guyer authorised road blocks to stop suspected vehicles and for two days he and Navy men roamed the streets and countryside armed with revolvers and rifles, arresting 40 Tongan suspects who were thoroughly beaten up in Navy briggs at Ma'ufanga.⁵⁷ Hodsdon himself was invisible for the whole two days of the raid.

Only eight men were convicted by the civil court, the sentences varying from 10 lashes and eight months in jail to four years' imprisonment. Other charges were dismissed by Acting Chief Justice John Brownlees on the grounds that confessions had been obtained under excessive duress. In any case much of the property recovered had been 'freely and openly given away' by Americans at some time prior to the raid, some of it by servicemen participating in the raid.

At 3 a.m. on the second day of the raid, 15 August, US Navy personnel broke into the home of the Premier, Ata, in Kolomotu'a. They lined Ata and his wife and family up against the wall while they searched the house. Then they proceeded to neighbouring houses, kicking down the doors, firing revolvers, and interrogating anyone they came across. Not all US men approved of the raid, and some 'vindictive enlisted men wanted to search the

⁵⁷ Pers. comm. Bishop Rodgers 1994. Details about the 'Cigarette Raid' and its aftermath as related here are from 'History of Tongatabu', pp.166-201. See also CMO to Premier, 25 Aug., Ata to Johnson, 4 Oct. 1944, MP 218/44/12, ATL; Weeks, 'Occupation', pp.399-426.

house of their Commanding Officer's girl friend. She, however, wisely disappeared with all her belongings and the search revealed nothing.'

Even though there had undoubtedly been persistent thefts of US property, the naming of the events of those two days a 'Cigarette Raid' trivialised a very serious breach of the rights of Tongan individuals. The stated intent, to round up the 'bad boys', suggests that troops tired of having no enemy on hand to liven up their lives had created some out of the local population. On the evidence available, neither the British Agent and Consul, C. W. T. Johnson, nor the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir Philip Mitchell, come out well from the affair. Both had a duty of care towards Tongan citizens of whatever rank. On Johnson's advice, Mitchell connived with US Navy officers to hush up the matter. Compensation for those who were innocent of the charges was negligible. For example, a man who was thoroughly beaten up, even though his only crime was owning a truck similar to that used in the theft and New Zealanders testified that he had spent the evening with them at Fua'amotu, was compensated with a few pieces of timber and \$US1. Naval officers came fully armed and recalcitrant to discuss matters with a protesting Premier. Indeed Hodsdon threatened to introduce martial law, and was prevented only by the fact that Hardy was the ranking officer in Tonga, and he refused to act on this outrageous suggestion. Hodsdon was replaced on 16 December 1944, after which a token garrison removed or sold off the remaining assets.

If Tongans came to the Queen to complain about the US forces, she would say, 'Well, I can speak to the General and he will see that it is put right. But these *papālangis* – these Americans – are here for only a short time. When they go, all will be forgotten; and they are here to help us and Britain in fighting the war against the Japanese and the Germans. It would be better just to be quiet and let it go.'⁵⁸ The complainant could not ignore her advice. When some members of the TDF marched to the Palace and presented a list of grievances to the Queen, she sent them back to their camp, although at least one of their requests, for a Tongan flag over the camp instead of the Union Jack, was acceded to.⁵⁹

The US government sent an account to the Tongan government for equipment to be left in Tonga. Armstrong and Johnson felt that the US forces had not appreciated the amount of work that had been done between September 1939 and the arrival of the American troops in May 1942 in

⁵⁸ Margaret Armstrong, who recorded this comment in her 'Reminiscences', left Tonga in mid-1943, but the Queen's response was the same in 1944.

⁵⁹ Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', pp.103-4. Their complaints were that (1) the Union Jack was flown over their camp instead of the flag of Tonga, (2) Tongan officers did not have enough say in policy-making in the camp, (3) when TDF men returned from the Solomons, those who had remained in Tonga were not given transport to attend the feast.

building roads and the airfield and asked for the account to be reduced. And as in other places in the Pacific, when the American troops departed, major pieces of equipment that were no longer required were simply pushed over the edge of the wharf, and buildings burned. The Americans assumed that the lives of the Tongans would be completely blank once they had gone.

PAPĀLALNGI residents of Tonga served in the war, but because they enlisted in other countries their names have not been recorded. Some Tongans who served overseas are known. The Queen's nephew Vaea ('Alipate Tupou) enlisted in the RNZAF and flew Catalinas ferrying supplies to the Solomons. In 1943 a TDF commando platoon was sent with the Fiji First Guerrillas to the Solomons, where two Tongan missionaries, Paula Havea and Sione Afu, like Tēvita Mone and 'Isikeli Hau'ofa in Papua New Guinea, continued to care for their people throughout the war. Both of the TDF officers, Ben Masfield and Henry Taliat, were killed in action in 1943.⁶⁰ A second platoon of the TDF fought in Bougainville. Many of the Tongan troops who fought overseas were infected with malaria and dengue fever, and it was decided on 30 October 1944 that because of illness the members of the first contingent, then on leave in Tonga, would be demobilised without recall. Henry Taliat, Sione Ma'asi, Stope Tafa, and Tēvita Ta'anga were mentioned in despatches. Sione Inukha'angana and Simote Vea Mahe were awarded the British Military Medal and the American Silver Star for courage during the fighting in the Solomons, and Corporal Fusi of the second platoon received the Military Medal.⁶¹ The names of Taliat and Masfield are memorialised by being attached to Tongan Defence Force and Naval establishments.

An anonymous Tongan poet wrote about the experiences of Tonga during the war in the poem *Bomu* (Bomb).

1. 'Oku ou tumu he letiō
Na'e ha'u mei ai e ongoongo
Kae tala 'e he tēvolo
Kuo ofi e vaka Tokio
Kuo bomu 'a Pago Pago.
Ka tau fetuku ki he Vao
Tapui e lotu kolo
Veteki moe ngaahi ako.

1. I was surprised by the radio from
which came the news.
But the devil said
the Tokyo boat was approaching,
Pago Pago had been bombed.*
We were to move to the bush.
The town was closed,
the schools dismissed.

⁶⁰ Tongilava, Diary, 23 and 25 July 1943; Hornabrook, *ibid.*, p.79. Although Taliat was a commoner, Tongilava used the chiefly word *pekta* when referring to his death.

⁶¹ Report SF 66/1; A. L. Armstrong to C. S., [15 Sept. 1944]. Citations in *TGG* 6 (16 May 1944) 42.

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|---|---|
| <p>2. Kae tu'utu'uni matu'aki fu'u lelei
Malu'i 'ae mo'ui
Koe me'a fai 'e māmani,
Fetuku e vaivai moe fanga ki'i
tamaiki
Na'a ha'u 'ae fili pea
fakatu'utāmaki.</p> <p>3. 'Ae Tonga keke tokanga
Koia e moto 'oe fonua,
'Oua 'e falala ki he ngāue 'a
Natula,
Me'afana fonua, pe koe tau Malu'i
Fonua.
Manua pe Vakapuna, moe Sapa-
malini moe Heletā.</p> <p>4. Ke tau nofo mo lotu.
Koia me'a 'oku totonu
Tōkanga'i hota kaha'u
Na'a hoko koe koto palakū.
He kuo hulu fau 'ae loi moe lapu
Ka 'oku mau tuku atu ki he 'Otua
'ae totonu</p> | <p>2. The command was good indeed.
Protect lives,
a thing done by every country,
remove the old people and young
children
in case the enemy came and there
would be trouble.</p> <p>3. Tongans, be careful!
That is the motto of the land.
Do not put your trust in the work
of Nature,
big guns, or the army,
man-o'-wars or planes, submarines
or swords.</p> <p>4. Let us keep on praying.
That alone is right.
Take care of our future
in case it is full of ugliness,
for lies and deceit are abundant,
but we leave the judgement to God.</p> |
|---|---|

Tau:

'Ae Tonga tu'u 'o laka pea to'o ho'o
pā
Ko hota tu'unga kuo 'osi tuku ki
'olunga
Hota fatongia koe lotu pea moe
tautapa
Koia pe 'e tokoni 'i he
faingata'a.

Chorus:

Tongans, get up and march and
carry forth your shields.
Our position has been ceded from
above.
Our duties are to pray and to
worship.
That alone will help in times of
hardship.**

* A Japanese submarine shelled Pago Pago in January 1942. *Pacific Islands Year Book*, 5th ed. (Sydney 1944), p. 16.

** Translation by Melanaite Taumoefolau.

The European war ended on 7 May 1945, and the war against Japan on 8 August 1945. Tonga had the satisfaction of being on the winning side. Few outward signs of the occupation remained for very long; Marston matting from the airfield was used for multiple purposes, the most visible being fences; Quonset huts became classrooms and hospital wards; a water tower loomed over Queen Sālote College. Few of the mixed-race children knew the names of their fathers, and none it seems of the fathers supported their children after they left Tonga. Few of the Tongans had saved money from the years of plenty, although some such as Joe Mataele established profitable businesses based on the skills they learned during the war. The official

British report stated that the 'evil effects of the occupation were not lasting', but the Rev. Cecil Gribble, Director of Education, commented, perhaps with the flow of cash and the new ways of acquiring it in mind, that: 'Superficially Tonga looks like its pre-war self, but for those who have eyes to see, deep and disquieting changes have taken place'.⁶²

One very real benefit was that US Army doctors set up clinics and treated the people for injury and illness and gave practical lectures on public health. Most moving was a concerted attempt to reduce the incidence of tuberculosis, which took a tragic toll before the war.⁶³ Gribble said that Tongans respected but did not love the British, and initially they had loved but did not respect the Americans.⁶⁴ Both love and respect for *papālangi* were in short supply post-war. This was noticeable when monetary Aid that came some years after the war was welcomed, but the *papālangi* 'experts' accompanying the Aid were merely tolerated. The numbers of *papālangi* in government employment and business in Tonga had been greatly reduced during the 1930s Depression, some *papālangi* who left during the war did not return, so there were greater employment opportunities for Tongans. Tongans had always appreciated that education could raise their status and earning capacity, and during the war they had seen very clearly the material benefits that education and employment could bring them. The numbers of Tongans – women and men – studying at secondary schools in Tonga and overseas increased markedly during the 1940s and 1950s, with an eventual flow-on to tertiary education. In 1944-45 the government estimates allowed only £350 for overseas scholarships; the amount increased steadily, reaching £5,546 in 1961-62.

Close observers could see the beginnings of a quiet revolution. For the first time in their lives, commoners had handled money over and above that needed to pay taxes and to give to the *misinale*. Although in Tonga there was nothing like the cargo cult of other parts of the Pacific, neither chiefs nor commoners forgot the desirable Western goods they had briefly known, nor the imported food that gave variety to their diet. High prices for copra during and after the war meant that cash continued to be available for all.⁶⁵ This

⁶² Cecil Gribble to John Burton, 14 July 1944, Methodist Overseas Missions Collection 316, Mitchell Library, Sydney; pers. comm. Cecil Gribble 1976.

⁶³ Hornabrook, 'New Zealand', pp.56, 112. The sophisticated drugs that would be so effective against tuberculosis in the 1950s were not available during the war. The X-ray machine that the Americans left behind was in frequent use for about 15 years. The CMO had doubtless attempted to discourage the Tongan practice of relatives sleeping beside sick people, but 47 doctors and 52 nurses saying the same thing must have had an effect.

⁶⁴ Pers. comm. Cecil Gribble 1976.

⁶⁵ In 1940 copra had fetched £12 a ton; in 1945 it was £27 a ton. After the war an agreement with the UK guaranteed continuing high prices. Exports, which largely consisted of copra, had been worth £56,459 in 1938, but were worth £263,544 in 1946, and £1,624,301 in

was the beginning of Tongan capitalism.⁶⁶ Advent of a cash economy, with its emphasis on individual ownership of property, led to a slow but steady decline in the Tongan ideal of communalism.

The American occupation of Tongatapu marked another stage in the emancipation of the commoner from bondage to the chiefs. While freedom had theoretically been granted by Tupou I in 1862, the year 1942 was when *tau'atāina* or liberty received its greatest impetus. In a time of extraordinary plenty, the most common of the commoners, the 'youngest' in the Tongatapu *kāinga* (extended family), for the first time in their lives were able to acquire and dispose of an income and goods, and were exposed to a society not only totally different from their own but quite uncomprehending of it. This knowledge could not leave them. It was no coincidence that commoner businesses flourished in the 1950s and 1960s; and aspirations for a greater say in government by the people were manifested in a shortlived Democratic Party in the 1950s, which may well have owed its origins to conversations with Americans in the occupying forces about the virtues of democracy.

The genesis of social change was the war, although other causal factors were added in. Two addresses given in recent years at Tongan History Association conferences indicate transformations in the Tongan psyche. In 1992 a Tongan participant gave a paper on 'the Tongan family' without mentioning the sister-brother relationship or the *mehekitanga* (the father's sister), the two key relationships in traditional *kāinga*. At the 1993 conference a Tongan participant gave a paper extolling the benefits of capitalism and of individual effort and reward. One of the undoubtedly more evil effects of wartime experience was the making and consumption of *hopi* or home-brew. In the 1950s Tongans could be seen lying unconscious at the roadside after drinking *hopi*, and the sale of methylated spirit was banned because it was an ingredient of *hopi*.⁶⁷ Eventually the system that had before the war limited legal consumption of alcohol to a few gave way to equal access to alcoholic beverages. Lawlessness had been a fact of life in 1942-44 when tens of thousands of young men, strangers to Polynesia, were having a last fling before the battlefield. American example was added to Tongan cupidity, and caught on even in matters of dress – until, having commented in the 1950s on the steady increase in crime, Judge Hunter said in 1961 that 95 per cent of crimes by Tongans were carried out wearing *papālangi* clothes while Tongans retaining Tongan dress were usually law-abiding!⁶⁸ In 1959

1964. See *Pacific Islands Year Book* 6th ed. (Sydney 1950), p.109, 11th ed. (Sydney 1972), p.131.

⁶⁶ Report SF 66/1.

⁶⁷ Pers. comm. Helen Tallai 1996.

⁶⁸ Reports of the Justice Department, 1955 and 1961, New Zealand and Pacific Collection, Library of the University of Auckland.

James Spillius attributed the increase in violent crimes to the availability of *hopi*.⁶⁹

A major and maturing political change after the war was in the relationship between Tonga and the British government. Before the war, Queen Sālote and Tungi Mailefhi had worked together with the British and set the British up as an example of a 'noble race'. But Britain lost a large measure of its reputation with the fall of Singapore. After the war Britain did not have the resources to re-establish the British Empire as a major power. It was clear to Pacific Islanders that the wealth of the USA outstripped that of Britain and its colonies. An American alliance repeatedly sought by Crown Prince Tupouto'a did not eventuate, but neither was British influence restored in the full pre-war measure. Consuls who followed Armstrong had very little influence compared with the pre-war consuls.

Doubtless Tonga would have changed even if there had been no wartime occupation, but the presence of very large numbers of comparatively wealthy young foreigners in the early 1940s gave all Tongans on Tongatapu personal experience not only of conspicuous wealth, but also of lavish expenditure with great appeal for a status-conscious people. Older Tongans would look back to what they believed was a kindlier time, when young people were obedient and everyone knew their obligations to each other; but the die was cast and the rate of change accelerated. The appointment to government in 1943 of the Crown Prince, who was committed to modernisation, and the coming of foreign Aid, most notably in the 1970s, played their part – but only in fulfilling, not changing, the lessons learned and the aspirations formed behind the battle lines during World War II.

⁶⁹ 'Report of the Social Survey of Villages of Tongatapu, 13th September, 1959', Appendix A, p.13, Box 16, folder 1, Bott Spillius Papers, New Zealand and Pacific Collection, Library of The University of Auckland.

Changing Values and Changed Psychology of Tongans During and Since World War II

I.F. Helu

THERE EXISTS PRECIOUS little in the way of studies of change to the psychology of Tongans in and after the war. The lack is to be lamented, because changes to values and mindsets of people are very important, powerfully influencing all spheres of social action; but at least my essay is not going to be a lamination of references to academic publications such as we are wont to have in scholarly performances, especially if the writer happens to be a social scientist.

Incidentally, I believe it quite possible to overact in this direction. If taken to extremes, this 'reference syndrome' can become counter-productive to scholarship. It is quite possible for the investigator to become so dependent on references that he ceases to be anything other than a confounded bookworm. I venture to say that for the good of scholarship and thought in general, there comes a point when every mature scholar must put an end to his or her reading and settle down to some solid, original thinking, digging into his or her own mind and engaging the resources which she or he can truly claim as her or his own.

By way of introducing my subject, may I underscore a few general ideas which will serve as guidelines to my discussion. The first is that all except one of the mental traits I shall mention have always been identifiable in the psychology of Tongans and what occurred during the war and after was further articulation and intensification of some, and transformation of others. Second, I take the drives for security and status to be the primary human emotions. Finally, in pursuing goals deriving from those emotions, men everywhere are 'by nature' both materialistic and egotistical. A case, however, can be made for the claim that Tongans are more materialistic and egotistical than any other people in the entire Pacific.

A consideration for this assertion is the New Zealand experience with Islander communities. For years Wellington has been receiving requests from these communities for funding for a whole variety of projects. All of them except the Tongan community always presented a united front – i.e. only one application for any given type of project. The Tongans, however, would split up into different groups and submit four or five requests for

the same project, each one of them claiming to be the true representative of the Tongan community. Of course there is no question of Wellington acceding to all these requests nor of it discovering which truly represents the community as a whole, since none of them does. Even within a single church, more than three requests for the same church project may be sent to Wellington at any one time.

This is not a simple case of lack of unity. Individualism is also involved. It is therefore wrong to take standard stereotypes at their face value. Contrary to the common image of non-Western man as communalistic in his sentiments, the members of the topmost strata of Polynesian societies have always been marked by intense individualism and self-interest. The retainers of these individuals (chiefs) behave in such a way that they present a facade of communalism and solidarity. But these retainers themselves internalise their masters' ways so well that whenever they are given the chance they exhibit exactly the same sentiments.

IT IS, OF COURSE, a truism that materialism in one form or another is found in all communities at any stage of their development and that the responses to it are as many and varied as the societies themselves. Materialism in its most basic form of 'making ends meet' is present in all human communities wherever they are found. But it is the materialism that comes with an appreciable degree of individualism and capitalistic inclination that is at issue here. Because this version of materialism did not enter Tonga and popular consciousness until the years of World War II, I am calling it New Materialism for the purposes of this essay.

It seems to me that the whole economic *raison d'être* of the extended family, the *kāinga*, is to combat or at least control materialistic tendencies within *kāinga*. It serves as a veritable economic leveller by serving as a distributor. It takes from members according to their means and gives to them according to their needs. It acts by arresting and discouraging profiteering, individualism and any capitalistic ambition, chopping off inordinately large individual profits and syphoning them back for *kāinga* consumption. So the *kāinga*, in effect, is an institutionalised Robin Hood, taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots. All this, of course, is directly opposed to principles of developmental economics, for if a society desires development its members must have some degree of materialism in the sense explained, they must show acquisitiveness and individualism.

It was the war, however, that changed the whole character of Tongan materialism from its traditional form and set it on the path of rampant individualism and capitalistic interests. Although Tonga was no military staging post, and certainly no theatre of war at all, both the United States and New Zealand deployed troops in Tonga between 1941 and 1945. The

US military set up fair-sized camps in different parts of the main island of Tongatapu with the largest ones being in Fu'amotu (where Tonga's international airport is now sited) and Houma. There were smaller posts in other parts of the same island and also in the adjacent island of 'Eua. A small naval base was established in Ma'ufanga in 1942 and although it no longer is a base (this was pulled down in 1945) it has continued to be a port for small inter-island freight and passenger boats but retaining the name Fa Ua, which is Tongan for 'forty two', the year the base was built.

This 'occupation' was accompanied by an incredibly enormous outlay of goods and services – machines, ammunition, equipment of all kinds, vehicles, army barracks, offices, hospitals, apparatus of all descriptions, foodstuff, uniforms and clothing, and all types of supplies under the sun. I need not describe this because the mass of supplies that move when modern armies become mobile is common knowledge, especially if the troops concerned are of the US military. A number of US camps did not have proper fences but were marked out by walls of stacked, bagged and boxed foodstuffs and other goods. The New Zealand forces seemed to be much less amply supplied. The local people passed a general judgement accordingly on the economic capacities of the two armies, and indirectly on their respective countries too. This judgement was expressed in different ways and was given fixed form by songwriters. One of the songs of this period has these two lines:

'Amelika moe tola

America with dollars

Nuasila moe peni kapa

New Zealand with copper pennies

That ranking was not a neutral observation at all but was a behavioural directive. American troops were sought out by Tongans to curry favour with for different purposes – to transact business, for gift exchanges, for friendship, for sources of information, for love relationships, and more. But the bottom line of all this courting of Americans was the acquisition of material wealth, money and/or goods. It was only when one failed to secure an American soldier for a friend that one would settle for a New Zealander.

Many stories of life in Tonga at this time are now standard fare in *faikava* all over Tonga. For the first time in their history Tongans realised that business and commerce are alternative industries to subsistence farming and that it is possible to build a way of life on them. Nearly if not all households in Tongatapu conducted some kind of small business with whole camps or individual officers and groups of soldiers by sale of agricultural produce, marine foodstuffs, or handicrafts, or by provision of some service such as laundry.

Many Tongan civilians had permanent or semi-permanent paid employment in the two armies. Every day men or their wives would go to

an army camp, or some place else, travelling in horse-drawn carts laden with all kinds of wares and hawk them wherever they saw fit, returning home in the evening where together with their spouses they would count up the day's proceeds. In one such case the wife conducted the business for the day selling vegetables and fruit from her husband's garden. As they were working out the day's earnings, the lady slapped down on the husband's lap a bundle of American greenbacks, saying 'That's yours' – meaning the money from the sale of the garden produce. But the wife still held in her hand another bundle. And the husband enquired 'What's that?' pointing to the notes in her hand. 'Oh! that's mine', snapped the wife, by which she meant payment for what she had sold of her own. And this brings us to another introduction of the war years – prostitution, an effect to be sure of the rising materialism.

THE DIRECT commodification of sexual favours seems to have been totally unknown in Tonga prior to the arrival of American and New Zealand troops in the early 1940s. It quickly built up during the war years and in no time both declared and undeclared prostitutes became quite numerous. After the war many got married straight away and settled down to a family life, but many others continued as prostitutes and made it their career, recruiting younger girls to the profession and so on. Now, though Tongans do not fully condone prostitution, they are resigned to the fact that they have to live with it. Two or three families have consistently produced prostitutes for three or four generations in a row.

In 1991 one of these threesomes was out in a stolen car and because they were all drunk, including the driving daughter, the car crashed into a roadside coconut tree killing two of them instantly – the daughter and grand-daughter. Only the grandmother still lives. One month before the accident the grand-daughter had given birth to a baby girl. This baby was adopted by a Belgian couple who taught Fine Arts at 'Atenisi. I was in Europe in 1992 and I visited this couple's home in Genk in Belgium and was thrilled to see that this baby is growing up in an environment of security and loving care.

Quite a number of war babies were born at this military period. After the war when they had grown up they naturally wanted to trace and contact their fathers. Hardly anyone succeeded in doing this. I did participate in a couple or so of these searches – all in vain of course, due mainly to lack of identifying material or documents. In many cases they have been lost or destroyed by an irate, jealous stepfather. In one of these cases, the only clue we had to go by was a small 3" x 3" photograph which had been extremely dimmed by age. In another, the one clue which the mother gave us was that the soldier came from Idaho. There was no hope

of conducting effective detective work on that basis. At any rate many of these war babies have grown up to become responsible and even prominent citizens of Tonga. Some are quite high up in the Civil Service, and one – a 'client' of mine – had a distinguished career in football.

Some of the mothers of these war children became so very attached to their foreign *innamorati* that they tried to go with them when the soldiers returned home at the end of the war. Some of these attempted escapades were quite ridiculous and all were discovered in time and the plans foiled. Here again we have songs to commemorate the events.

New materialism, then, with its promise of high consumption and physicality has caused a rupture in the area of traditional moral values. It is true, *de facto* relationship was the norm for commoner class union in the pre-contact period and illicit affairs were always practiced, even up to the present, but prostitution as a career, a strategy for gaining a livelihood, is certainly a World War II introduction. This points to a change in psychology and changed perspective, with people in general becoming more accommodating and more tolerant than they were before the war. The psychological kit-set that the missionaries helped to precipitate or rigidify required the earth shaking experience of a global war to crack up. Perhaps the following story graphically illustrates the extent of the 'damage' wrought on the traditional code of behaviour by the almighty dollar better than any other account. A not too young woman was raped by an American soldier and she was beside herself with grief, but when the man threw down beside her a large bundle of dollars she stopped crying and said: 'Soldier, if in the future you want a repeat performance, you know where I live'.

ANOTHER EFFECT of the war that is of great significance is migration. It is well known that Polynesian society had its own origins in migration but the great Polynesian migrations of pre-contact times were brought about by demographic factors, travails of war or suffering under oppressive rule, etc. What distinguishes migration in Tonga, both internal and external, during and since World War II was the fact that people were enticed to travel and leave their home islands by what they believed to be easy access to resources, and substantial *pālāngi* resources at that – money, food, clothing, equipment, vehicles, and the rest. The image of wartime American-occupied Tongatapu that stuck in the minds of Tongans in every part of the archipelago was of inexhaustible wealth and luxury and, attracted from all over the Island group, they proceeded to cluster round army camps in 'honey pot settlements' – to use Shirley Hughes's apposite term. After the war Tongans discovered the global economy and concluded also that it was easier to plug into this, as they believe it to be,

huge current of resources, if one is in New Zealand, Australia, or the United States – that is, in one of the developed countries. And then these ‘flying fishes’ of Tongan migrants began jumping clear off their homeland altogether to settle in those societies.

Yet Tongan migrants in general have tended to become even more conservative in their new homes, at the cost of little understanding of how to take advantage of their new environment. At the same time, they somehow feel Tonga cannot be ‘home’ any more, at any rate, for their children and grandchildren, even though Tonga has not at all stood still in the interim.

ONE AREA in which local movement was inspired immediately by the opening up of the Tongan world was education. Two years after the war, in 1947, was founded the Matriculation School, known now as the Tonga High School, brainchild of the then Minister of Education and current King Tāufa’āhau Tupou IV. As the then Prince Tungī explained at the opening ceremony, the aims of the school were:

- * to identify the most intellectually gifted children of Tonga under 12,
- * to give these children special training,
- * to provide a pool of trained man-power from which future leaders and decision-makers for the country would be drawn,
- * to afford her students an education identical in level to one available at a New Zealand public school.

Among other details of the scheme, all subjects except the Tongan language and Physical Education classes were to be taught by a trained New Zealand *pakeha*; use of the local language was to be forbidden during normal school hours; and the syllabus was to be that used in New Zealand high schools, with the addition of a prescription for Tongan language.

This project had a significance that was entirely unprecedented. Theretofore all schools in Tonga were still operating in the missionary mode, training students on a re-hash of bits and pieces *called* a syllabus, with the express aims of providing man-power for the clergy or clerical work in Government bureaux. Elementary book-keeping, shorthand, agricultural science, scriptural studies, Tongan handicrafts and brass-band music predominated in this apology for a ‘syllabus’.

This system was always justified by the argument that it tallied nicely with the ‘needs of the people’ at that particular moment of time and the ‘state of technology’ – an argument showing, in reality, no understanding at all of the people’s needs and the way technology changes. And I, for my part, fault the pre-1947 system primarily because it shows no interest whatsoever in education in its distinctive meaning. Of course Prince

Tungī's system too was geared to catering for provision of man-power for Government's projects – but it differed from the then current system in very important respects:

- * it aimed at teaching subjects at internationally accredited levels;
- * it did away with subjects like scripture study, Tongan handcrafts, basic gardening and brass-band music (I am now told that some of these subjects have since crept back into this school's program of studies);
- * it was training students at much higher levels than was required by Government or society at this time;
- * its insistence on English as the medium of instruction was followed by other schools and underscored the fact that English is the logical 'foreign' language for Tonga and her modernisation program.

What is involved here is Prince Tungī's own perception of things when he returned to Tonga in the early 40s after gaining the first university degrees ever conferred on a Tongan – BA, LLB from Sydney University. He saw that Tonga needed modernisation, and that this required trained people. Part of the strategy he devised to this end was the founding of this special school. And the rude jolt dealt by World War II on the Tongan people's psychological faculties had unconsciously prepared them to receive Tungī's wonderful innovations. *Every* family in Tonga started priming its children for Tonga High School. At present, when primary school children all over Tonga sit the secondary school entrance examination at the end of each year in which they are required to indicate their preferences for high school education, almost every child puts Tonga High School in top place.

Although education was always seen as providing a means for social mobility, Tonga High School offers the prospect of a much faster rise in bureaucratic hierarchies even to the highest ranks in Government. And, of course, this carries powerful social implications for status and authority. These are now the driving forces behind the thinking of Tongans in matters educational. The school's example has caught on with other systems, though in some respects it has also been influenced by the missionary tradition to some extent. To mention one which I take to be retrogressive – it now has a brass-band and the bandmaster is the retired bandmaster of Tupou College, the stronghold of missionary education *par excellence*. I believe we should have moved on from brass-band music ages ago to higher forms of European music, especially music played on string instruments like the violin and piano, and also to singing European music with trained voices.

APART FROM the small, semi-mobile one-household businesses operating around the army camps during that period there were in those war years only two Tongans who had an inkling of what professional business is and who were really serious in pursuing it as a way of life. These were Viliami Fīnau, *alias* Vili Solo, and Hale Vete. They both worked on a variety of business lines – from general merchandise to cinema, to taxi service, to wholesaling, to legal representation, to general agency, to marketing, and even translation work. Vili Solo was the shrewder and more intellectually agile of the two. As a student in Sydney, I had the opportunity of meeting a lawyer, Mr Jonathan Dixon, whose law firm looked after Fīnau's interests in Sydney, Hamburg and London. I suppose Vete was similarly successful but he was a more secretive operator and always kept a low profile.

It goes to show how completely these men had internalised the commercialist spirit of Western business that Fīnau at the beginning of his career wrote to his brother Kisina and sisters 'Amelia and Tupou in Ha'apai telling them never to contact him in the next 20 years while he was building up his business. After 20 years they could communicate with each other and interact as siblings once again. He pointed out to his relatives in this letter that family and kin obligations were fatal to fledgling business, that if a Tongan wanted to go into business seriously he must shun these obligations and cut off all communication with kinsmen and refuse to participate in cultural activities where he would have been obliged to contribute as a member of the extended family or community. Though this famous communication was never publicly displayed, its contents were freely related by the addressees and close relatives who claimed to have sighted it. And their story seemed to have been corroborated by the fact that Vili Solo and his relatives never saw each other for many, many years, even during life-calamity events. It was only towards the end of his life that Fīnau's relatives began to close in on him. He had no legitimate children and on his death his estate was divided up between his closest relatives and children. I know Hale Vete followed a similar pattern in his life, though in his case he employed many of his relatives in his firm and was able to co-operate with them on that strictly business basis. And he did not write letters to his brothers and sisters cutting off communication.

After the war, businessmen began cropping up in large numbers especially in Tongatapu. Many soon closed down but some hung on for longer. Not all were full Tongans. Some were half-Europeans but were born and grew up in Tonga, and quite a few were foreigners. Some Indians had entered Tonga in the 1930s and set up businesses. All these were spurred on and reinforced by Prince Tungī's supportive attitude to

business and his economic policy for Tonga's development program. In the late 1950s the Commodities Board was set up to organise copra production and marketing and so forth. A shipping agency with a merchant fleet was set up about the same time. Then the banks – Bank of Tonga, Tonga Development Bank – followed in quick succession. Now we have the ANZ Bank, MBF Bank and of course a National Reserve Bank.

In the private sector, apart from Vete, the following companies have been in the field for some 20 or 30 years now: Lipoi Tupou, 'Uliti Uata, T.M. Fifita, Papiloa Foliaki, Sitani Mafi, T. Nakao, in the Tongatapu area and F. Paea in Vava'u. There are of course many, many more Tongan businesses operating today but they are all of recent vintage. Mention must also be made of other firms set up by groups of people on a limited liability basis to handle the production and export of vanilla, squash pumpkin, fish and other marine products. A phenomenon that was common in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s, of feudal lords turning into businessmen, seems to be emerging in Tonga now. Members of the Royal Family such as Crown Prince Tupouto'a and Princess Pilolevu are cases in point. This great socio-economic ferment has also given Tonga a middle class which is fully conscious and confident and is destined to play an important part in Tonga's emerging capitalism. A high proportion of this middle class is *imported*, even so, and foreign investment open door policy has even attracted some transnational corporate heavyweights like Fletcher Challenge. Another important part of the Tongan middle class is a salaried group from the Civil Service and Parliament – at least 25 per cent of the House – are businessmen.

ALL THIS, for me, represents a major modification of the psychology of Tongan people, their values and whole outlook on life. The Dutch anthropologist Paul van der Grijp is of the opinion that 'mode of production' and 'mode of thinking' go together. Writing on Tonga today, he says:

The contemporary socioeconomic situation in this society, characterised by the convergence of an original mode of production with a capitalist one, is incomprehensible and inexplicable unless explicit attention is paid to the way in which modes of production and modes of thinking are combined.¹

Now, although the Marxist analysis employed here has general merit, I do not see it as fully articulating the mechanics of the relationship between 'mode of production' and 'mode of thinking'. For changes to mode of production do not take place in cold blood, as it were, but under the influence of major social or political events or epoch-making changes to

¹ Paul van der Grijp, *Islands of the South* (Leiden 1993), p. 225.

public policy. What started it all for Tonga was the war. But I would argue that it would have been quite possible for the commercialist ethos and the whole developmental impulse of World War II to have been lost if Prince Tungā had not been on the spot during and straight after the war, reinforcing that impulse by his revolutionary economic policies. I therefore hold World War II and Prince Tungā as providing the necessary triggering force that set Tonga on the path of modernisation and capitalist development. Specifically, Prince Tungā is the one person who saw most clearly and consciously planned Tonga's economic present. He is like an artist who proceeded to show us in a work of art what he himself first *saw*.

Incidentally, the Marxist account of the relationship between base and superstructure has to be spelled out more exactly, in the following way: it is only at the *interface* between major events or sociopolitical changes that the application of the Marxist thesis can be substantiated. Once the process is set in motion, the determining sides alternate all the time and in many cases the superstructure is the 'independent' variable. Global upheaval released large amounts of capital and resources and this introduced new modes of production to different parts of the world and that in its turn led to modified mental horizons, and so forth. And this is where I make the connection to another important determinant of the new economic perspective of Tongans: the present call for changes in the form of government, the setting up of the pro-democracy movement which is, without a doubt, the most important political issue of Tonga at present and promises to remain so for some time yet.

IT WOULD of course be absurd to believe that we can promote capitalism and economic growth but withhold political development indefinitely. Historical experience shows they cannot be separated for too long. In the circumstances – since the new market orientation of the economy brought to the fore the problem of distribution and the attendant ethical issues – it was inevitable that people would start examining the ideological underpinnings of the culture and the government. An appreciable section of the population, therefore, has reached the conclusion that changes aimed at greater social justice and equality must be made.

Hence the popular clamour for more democracy in Tonga. This may also indicate that respect for authority, whether in the form of seniors in workplaces, traditional chiefs, or church ministers, has decreased quite appreciably. Sione Lātūkefu² once said that the Tongan character has two

² 'Tonga at Independence and Now', in Brij Lal and Hank Nelson (eds), *Lines Across the Sea: colonial inheritance in the post-colonial Pacific* (Brisbane 1995).

sides, public and private, and that it is the public part that shows *faka'apa'apa* to leaders in society especially chiefs and *faifekau*, which is activated at national festivals and cultural occasions: but the private personality becomes active when the individual is given a chance to be just him or herself, at general elections, or while confiding secrets to intimate friends, or when given an opportunity to migrate. It is also reasonable to regard respect for traditional authority as a strategy exploited by the weak in order to achieve some advantage – access to resources, appreciation in status, promotion in rank, and so forth. But because modern life and society offer so many alternative strategies, and in many cases much more efficient ones, the respect approach seems certain to be depressed in value.

In 1989 the American historian Francis Fukuyama published an essay entitled 'The End of History' (later expanded in his book of the same title in 1992) in which he argued that the best form of government is liberal democracy and the best form of political economy is market capitalism. He believes, moreover, that it is impossible for mankind to come up with any economic or political system which is better than these two. He says, further, that the part of the world – the West – which is already well and truly entrenched in capitalism and liberal democracy is *post-historical* while those countries, mainly in the Third World, which have not adopted these policies are still 'stuck in history'. According to Fukuyama, those countries will soon be constrained to fall into line by the more powerful and more enlightened Western countries.

I do not subscribe to Fukuyama's thesis as it stands, but I consider it could be adapted to become viable and practicable policies for *all* states. I would especially object to his view of market capitalism, since that system in its present form has extremely vicious aspects and has to be radically modified if we are to keep on using it. But his position on liberal democracy would be fairly difficult to refute if what is meant is a core idea which has been increasingly isolated over the centuries in the work of political and legal philosophers, an idea which is also related to basic liberties. The core idea can be thus expressed: it is a *political* as well as a *moral* right of the governed to have a hand in selecting their governors. The civil liberty concerned is the freedom of choice. If this adaptation is made, I believe the first step to meeting the justice requirement of modern life and society will have been taken.

With regard to Tonga and Tongans, naturally, it is always good policy to remember old Heraclitus's advice: Expect the Unexpected. But as to the recent past we can speak of a new Tongan psychology which did not begin to issue forth until the end of World War II and is resulting at present in higher materialistic tendencies and strong individualism. The changed

psychology comes in the wake of very significant events occurring in the economy – the accelerating change from subsistence to cash farming, the strengthening of the private sector – and a crisis in traditional morals. The trend is clearly in the direction of capitalism and a secular society. We can call this new mentality the *capitalist psychology*. Putting it that way, however, shows that the whole process of transformation is essentially a *Westernisation* of both the economy and the psychology of peoples which can now be taken as the quintessential thrust of recent world wars on all Third World communities.

Airplanes and Saxophones Post-War Images in the Visual and Performing Arts

*Adrienne L. Kaeppler**

WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH brought new images to the visual and performing arts in Tonga; but although the specific images were new, their incorporation into the aesthetic system was not. Since their first contact with Europeans, Tongans have accepted some new ideas, objects, and technologies, but rejected others. In this paper I will explore how new ideas were incorporated into the visual and soundscapes of Tonga, focusing on designs on barkcloth and the music of brass bands.

Brass Bands

With their interest in music, Tongans were fascinated by musical instruments played by their neighbours as well as visitors from afar and were quick to incorporate them into their own music systems. In pre-European times, the use of bamboo panpipes and stamping tubes was probably adapted from Fiji; although described and illustrated during 18th century voyages, they seem to have died out soon after. One of the most widespread popular musical traditions to enter Oceania from Europe was the brass band. Early voyages of exploration, such as those of Captain Cook, included marines trained in the showmanship of playing fifes and drums, and sometimes French horns and bagpipes, while they paraded and performed at official encounters. Though Pacific Islanders were not always impressed with these sounds, they understood that Europeans made rhythmic sounds that could be found agreeable.

In Tonga, in addition to the mellow sound of the nose flute, music has traditionally had two functions – a vehicle through which sung poetry is conveyed and/or to coordinate movement. The coordination of movement was a function of *tau'a'alo*, rowing songs that kept the rowers together, but also

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coordinated the movements of hauling heavy weights such as stones that sealed graves or dragging large pigs at the beginning of *kava* rituals. Also, the beating of a *nafa* for the men's standing dance *me'etu'upaki* furnished the rhythm to keep the dancers together. That is, the poetic and rhythmic functions of music were paramount. The enjoyment of melody for its own sake was not inherent in the Tongan music/aesthetic system, except for the sound of the nose flute. The sound-quality of a nose flute is important, however, as it emits a much mellower sound than a mouth flute.

Western music/aesthetic systems have a primary basis in melody as well as rhythm. The Western musical instruments that were adopted and adapted by Tongans were primarily brass wind instruments, membranophones (skin drums) struck with sticks, and strummed string instruments – which although they are or can be melodic seem to have been important because of rhythm – that is, keeping groups together while marching or adding the rhythmic dimension to melodic voices. Although sometimes played individually, musical instruments are usually combined into bands – specifically brass bands and string bands. Specific instruments and combinations of instruments are favoured in various places and have continued to change over time. The introduction of four-part tonal harmony (in distinction to indigenous polyphony), mainly by missionaries to enhance their work, set the stage for the local appreciation of brass bands. The association of these brass bands with military power may have played a part, but the combination of brass and percussion instruments may have appealed to ordinary people, who, rather than music specialists could without long training take part in collective displays. Although these displays were based on marching, they also elaborated the collective displays of indigenous dance traditions of *me'etu'upaki*, *me'elaufola*, and later *lakalaka*.

Brass bands are found in many Pacific island nations today, but they have probably reached the peak of their popularity in Tonga where they number in the hundreds. In addition to community bands, nearly every church and school has at least one brass band called '*ifi palasa*' (blow brass). The most prestigious are the Royal Corps of Musicians (the band of the Tonga Defence Forces), directed by the Honourable Ve'ehala, noble of the village of Fahefa; the Tongan Police Band, directed by Viliami Taufu; the Maopa band associated with the Maopa Choir of the Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa, directed by Viliami Esei, and the Tupou College Band, directed by Feke Kamitoni. Saia Fakaosi, the former director of the Police Band, is now bandmaster at Liahona High School.

Every year there is at least one large-scale competition for brass bands throughout the country with prizes given in a number of categories. The first prize might include a foreign tour for the band members, or a complete new set of instruments. The repertoire ranges from Bach, Handel, and

Tchaikovsky, to marches of John Philip Sousa, to local compositions of the *hiva kakala* genre. King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV is especially fond of brass band music and on every ceremonial occasion the King's arrival is announced by a brass band rendering of the national anthem. For the King's birthday and other holidays, school and community bands make special trips to the Palace to serenade him.

The origin of brass bands in Tonga is shrouded in history, but is probably traceable to British and German influences. During the mid-19th century, military and civilian brass bands were highly popular in Britain and if not imported into Tonga directly, may have come by way of New Zealand where brass band competitions have been held since the 1880s (but were more associated with expatriates than with Maoris). It is said that the Tongans were greatly impressed by the brass band that travelled on the German warship that brought the body of the heir apparent Tevita 'Unga from New Zealand where he died in 1879. 'Unga was transported to Tonga in May 1880 on the German warship *Nautilus*. 'The German ship remained in Tonga for the funeral, which was held in 'Uiha, Ha'apai, on 10 June, and her presence added greatly to the pomp of the occasion. Her guns fired a salute at minute intervals and forty-five of her marines, slow marching to muffled drums, acted as pall bearers'.¹

In 1882 the curriculum of Government College included singing, harmony, and '*ako tameaifi*, instrumental music' taught by a European, Mr Wilson, whose brass band 'would have done credit to any provincial town in Europe or Australia', and one of the 'bandsmen became the conductor of an European brass band in Fiji'.² Prince Wellington Ngū (grandson of Tupou I) graduated from Tupou College in 1870, was a 'fine musician, who could play on almost any instrument',³ and was the patron of a brass band whose 13 bandsmen were depicted with him in the earliest-known photograph of an all Tongan brass band dated 1884 (Figure 1). Indeed, it is to Wellington Ngū that the interest in brass bands and Royal patronage can be traced.

Under a Tongan leader named Lulu, the Government College band was the centre of an anecdotal account by expatriate Deputy Prime Minister Basil Thomson, who recounted that the band, along with a lantern slide lecture, was taken on tour to Ha'apai and Vava'u where they received popular acclaim, but whose tour was cut short when called back by the government who owned the instruments. The same band leader was humiliated by his

¹ N. Rutherford, *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga* (Melbourne 1971), pp. 94-5.

² S. C. Roberts, *Tamai: The Life Story of John Hartley Roberts of Tonga* (Sydney 1924), p. 113 (mf Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

wife, who locked him out of the house so he could not get his cornet and lead the rehearsal of the grand march from *Tannhauser*.⁴

Most Tongan churches do not have organs and choirs are accompanied by brass bands which perform difficult European music, often transliterated into Tongan cipher notation. For example, in September 1994, the Maopa choir and brass band performed Handel's 'Zadoc the Priest'; the band included cornets, horns, a euphonium, and a sousaphone (called a bass). But the piece of European music most loved by the Tongans is the Hallelujah Chorus from Handel's *Messiah*, sung and played as loudly as possible. Every choir and brass band sing and play this piece, often *en masse* – a tradition that goes back to at least 1936 when 1,000 singers from Tupou College, Kolisi Fafine, and graduates from these schools, accompanied by a brass band from Kolofo'ou, performed the Hallelujah Chorus at the Palace directed by the Rev. A.H. Wood.

The other traditional favourite of brass bands is their rendering of local *hiva kakala*, a Tongan genre based in poetry and meant to be sung. This poetic emphasis is maintained in that the whole band plays the first verse and chorus and then, while a few musicians continue to play, most of the bandmen sing for several verses and refrains and then finally join the others for a last instrumental section.

The usual instrumentation includes cornets (including one E-flat soprano cornet), E-flat horns, baritone, euphonium, trombones, either tubas or sousaphones, and percussion. In addition to playing in church and for concerts and competitions, most brass bands are marching bands – some of which have choreographed complex marching manoeuvres (which they display at such events as agriculture shows) or feature trombone slides in side-to-side and up-down choreographies. They also play for dances and balls, which often include a grand march.

The association of brass bands with collective displays of military, power, and authority must have been augmented during World War II and the presence of New Zealanders and especially Americans in many parts of Tonga. Brass bands seem to accompany American forces wherever they go. The American Army arrived in Tonga in 1942, and by the beginning of 1943, the station lists of the 147th Infantry Regiment stationed in Tongatapu included a 28-man band.⁵ American bands were different from what

⁴ Basil Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister* (Edinburgh 1894), pp. 144-8.

⁵ The Table of Organization and Equipment, distributed by the War Department by March 1944, included the wind and percussion instrument inventory for a 28-man band: one baritone, two sousaphones, one bassoon, six clarinets, one flute, one piccolo, three French horns, five saxophones, three trombones, two trumpets, two bass drums, and three snare drums. I am indebted to Donna Everitt, of the US Army Center for Military History, for locating this information.

Tongans were accustomed to – Americans used trumpets rather than cornets, the bass part was played by sousaphones rather than tubas, they had no euphoniums, but other instruments were included. Probably most important was the inclusion of five saxophones – two B-flat tenors, two E-flat alto, and one E-flat baritone. The different soundscape during World War II was the mellow 'big band' sound of the 1940s. What gave the mellowness was the saxophones. That Tongans liked mellowness can be seen in their choice of instrumentation. Influenced, I believe, by the mellow sound of a nose flute, their brass bands did not include mouth flutes, piccolos, or French horns, which were included in other Pacific brass bands. Instead, Tongans emphasised tubas, euphoniums, and baritones, that echoed the importance of the *laulalo* or bass part in Tongan choral music. The melody was played by one or a few cornets, echoing the prestige or speciality of the *fasi* or leading part in Tongan choral music. It is no accident that Prince Ngū is depicted with what appears to be a small cornet in Figure 1, and flanking him are two more, slightly larger, cornets.

The mellow sound of the saxophones was especially needed for ballroom dancing that invaded Tonga during World War II. Since World War II saxophones have crept into Tongan brass bands for particular purposes. Specifically, saxophones have become part of the Tongan Police Band and the Royal Corps of Musicians. A full complement of saxophones seems to be five – one E-flat baritone saxophone, one or two tenor saxophones, and two or three alto saxophones. Other woodwinds, such as clarinets, which would be absolutely necessary for an American big band,⁶ are not used (nor are flutes). Today, Tongan bands combine their traditional mellow brass instruments with saxophones.

I give two examples of Tongan bands with saxophones. On 8 September 1995, at the 'Black and White Ball' in honour of the 25th Anniversary of Women in Police Force, music was provided by the Police Band. There were 25 musicians: 10 cornets of different sizes; two tubas, three trombones, two euphoniums, one large baritone horn, six small E-flat horns; one percussionist. They played a variety of music (using Western notation) – everything from 'Edelweiss', 'Rock Around the Clock', 'Blue Danube Waltz', marches, and *hiva kakala* (at one point only one cornet, one E-flat horn and percussion accompanied the singing of the other bandsmen). The highlight of the evening was the very elaborate, extended Grand March from *Tannhauser* (the same Grand March as played in the 1890s). Then, under the same director, half of the band turned into a different kind of band (also using Western notation): three cornets, two trombones, keyboard (played by a woman), five saxophones (one E-flat baritone, one tenor, three alto), guitar,

⁶ Remember that the clarinet was featured in Benny Goodman's band.

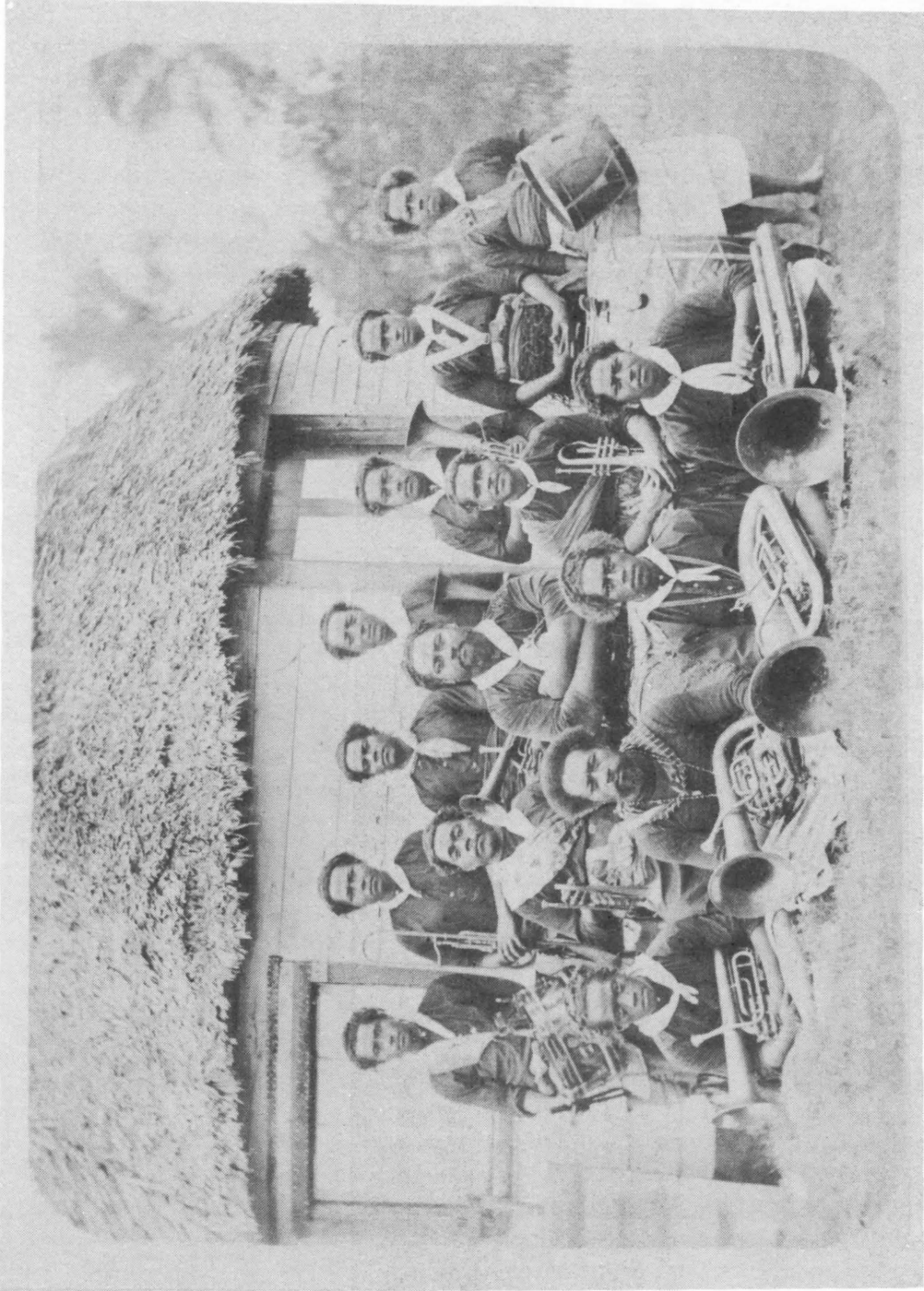


Figure 1. Prince Wellington Ngū's Band, 1884. National Library of Australia, Canberra.

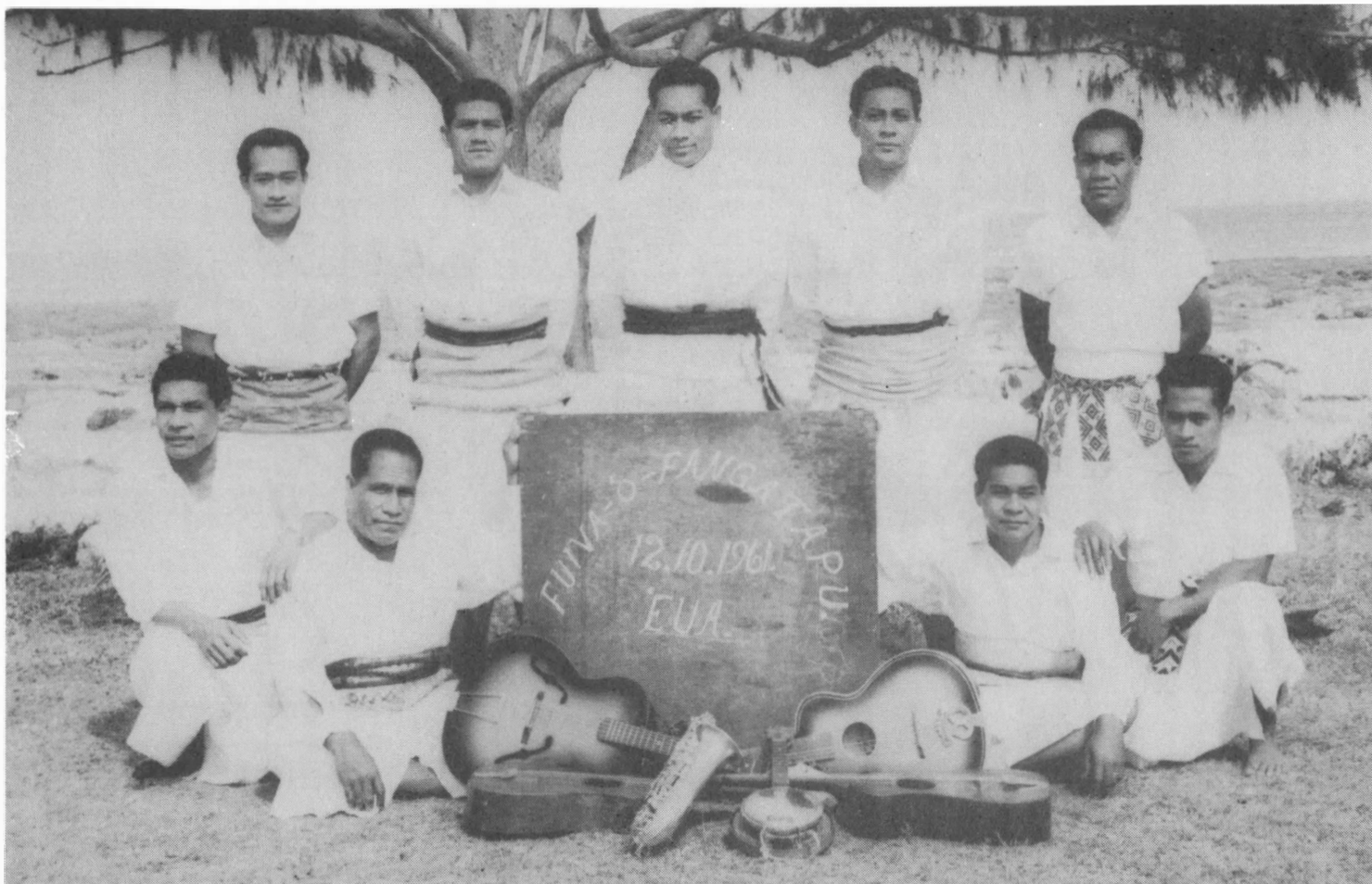


Figure 2. 'Fuiva-'o-Fangatapu' string band with a saxophone. Photo Rainbow Studio, Tonga.

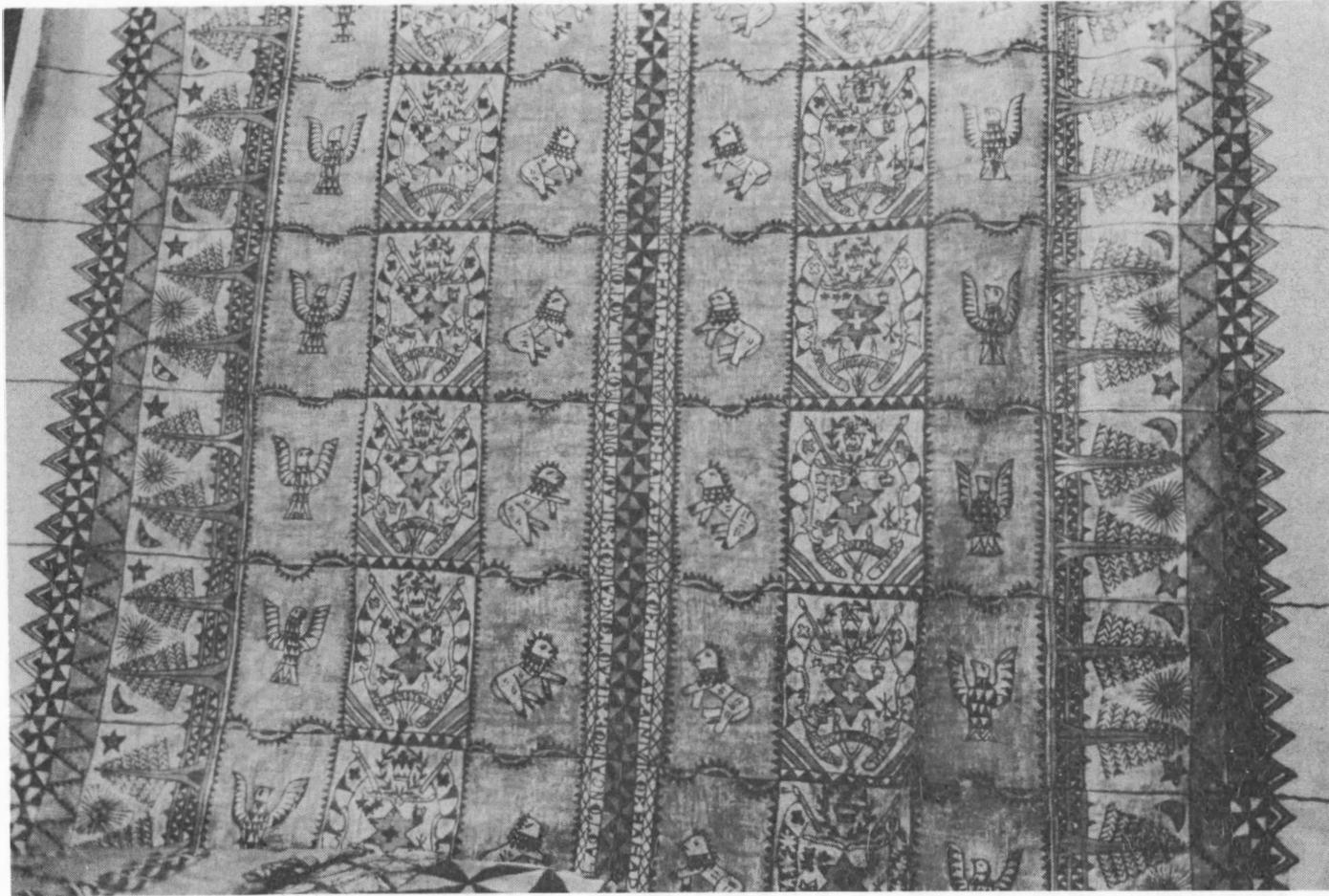


Figure 3. *Ngatu* with *Hala Painsi* design from an exhibition at the Tongan National Centre, 1991. Photo Adrienne Kaepler.



Figure 4. *Ngatu* with *Sisi maile o Tugi* design showing Spitfires, British Museum (1993.Oc.4.1.). Photo Museum of Mankind, British Museum, London.

and percussion. It was the saxophones that transformed the band from a concert band into a dance band. Finally, after the performance of the Police Band was finished, the regular band of the Dateline Hotel of guitars and keyboard took over. Some of the Police Band joined them – two saxophones (one alternated playing sax and cornet), another cornet, one trombone, and percussion – for a jam session (no music notation). They were truly extraordinary musicians!

The other prestigious band is the Royal Corps of Musicians. According to their leader, the Honourable Ve'ehala, they actually have two bands: the Marching Band and the Big Band. The musicians are regular service men, part of the Command Training Wing of the Tonga Defence Forces. The Big Band has no clarinets, no flutes, no French horns, that is, no sounds that are not mellow. It has five saxophones – two alto, two tenor, and one baritone. They have three singers who perform in front of the band and a full sound system. They have one drum kit. The Marching Band has five side drums, also one sousaphone (which plays in the Marching Band only). The Marching Band uses only cornets, but the Big Band has four trumpets (according to Ve'ehala the sound is too sharp for the Marching Band).

An even more interesting fact, however, is that Queen Sālote also appreciated the sound of saxophones. About 1950 (i.e. before 1953) the Queen's band called 'Leiola' was made up of guitars, banjo, and bass. Then she acquired an alto saxophone and asked Lamona Moala to learn to play it. Lamona learned from her father, Daniela Tautaimoala, who played tenor saxophone, and Lamona added the saxophone sound to the Queen's string band. Another influential band was 'Fuiiva-'o-Fangatapu' whose players were depicted with their instruments – four guitars, a banjo, and a saxophone – in 1961 (Figure 2).

For the Leiola Band, the Police Band, and the Royal Corps of Musicians, it is the saxophones that emphasise the desired mellowness. It is the saxophones that turn the traditional brass band or string band into something else – a different sound for a different function (keeping the dancers together/in rhythm, with a mellow sound). Saxophones seem traceable to the American forces during World War II, through live music and phonograph records. The word for mellow in Tongan is *ngatuvai* – a word usually applied to scent from flowers that, although they have faded, still lingers on. Similarly, the mellow sound of a saxophone lingers on in aural imagery. The introduction of saxophones has extended the metaphor from scent to sound.

Barkcloth Design

The visual counterpart to the introduction of saxophones into brass bands is the introduction of airplanes into barkcloth design. As in music, Tongans

were quick to incorporate new visual images into their artistic systems. Historically, in the early 19th century, new visual images occurred first in the incised carvings on Tongan clubs. Only later did representational designs appear as part of *ngatu* barkcloth designs.

Eighteenth-century barkcloth designs were entirely geometric⁷. In the 20th century remnants of these geometric designs are primarily decorations of more representational designs, and the overall layout of the designs on large pieces is different. The aesthetic preference is now toward representational designs that have transformed design concepts imported from the West into Tongan ones, just as social concepts imported from the West have been transformed into Tongan concepts. Although the incorporation of representational designs involves borrowing, it is the incorporating design system that shapes the product into its final form. To fully understand the artistic processes and their resulting products, it is necessary to study all aspects of the design system, including traditional and contemporary components. The introduction of representational designs into Tongan barkcloth made possible an artistic efflorescence that might not have occurred without them. Exploring the relationships between artistic and societal change helps us to better comprehend the nature of both art and society. Contemporary stencil sets, like contemporary social life, reveal the social and aesthetic transformations that have led to the representational embedding of the conjunctions of place, genealogy, and event.

Barkcloth is the most important two-dimensional visual art – historically as well as today. Tongan barkcloth can be distinguished from other Polynesian barkcloth by its large size and metaphorical designs. It was traditionally used for clothing, bed coverings, interior decoration, and ritual presentation, especially at weddings and funerals. Large finished pieces, sometimes as large as five metres by 50 metres, are categorised by colour and design organisation as *ngatu*,⁸ *ngatu 'uli* (black *ngatu*), and *fuatanga*. In *ngatu*, designs are organised to run crosswise between crosswise measuring lines (called *langanga*) that intersect with a set of long lines that run the entire length of the piece. In *fuatanga* the designs are organised to run across the length of the piece and a series of intersecting vertical lines are used to measure its size. The straightness of the lines is the first criteria for an evaluation of the finished piece. *Fuatanga* are more difficult to make and were intended primarily for the use of chiefs; today small *fuatanga* are made

⁷ Some of the following paragraphs can be found in a similar and elaborated form in Adrienne L. Kaeppler, 'Poetics and Politics of Tongan Barkcloth', *Pacific Material Culture: Essays in Honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman* (Leiden 1995), pp. 101-121.

⁸ The term *ngatu* is sometimes elaborated as *ngatu tahina*, white *ngatu*, to distinguish it from *ngatu 'uli*. *Ngatu/ngatu tahina* is primarily brown in colour. When the design is set in a white background, it is called *tapa'i ngatu*.

and used more widely. *Ngatu 'uli* are chiefly *ngatu* deriving their high status from the difficulty of making the black dye.

The overall design encodes a conceptual framework made up of three elements: (1) straight lines which define the space and layout for (2) the named motif (or motif set) which is the essential feature of the whole and (3) the decoration or elaboration of the named motif. The long lines define the space for the layout of the stencil set and are context sensitive depending on who will use the barkcloth and for what occasion. It is the space defining lines that separate the two kinds of barkcloth (*ngatu* or *fuatanga*) rather than the design motifs themselves.

The essential feature of the design is a series of stencils that form a set which, through *heliaki* (indirectness, to say one thing and mean another), has metaphorical meaning. Often one stencil gives a name to the whole design. Some of the stencils are considered a decoration of the named motif and may encode older designs that convey the same or similar *heliaki*. An evaluative criterion is how skillfully the finished piece encodes an overall *heliaki*, as well as how the individual stencils contribute to it – as will be seen.

Barkcloth designs record a visual history of important events, places, and people of Tonga; they record new introductions such as gramophones, bicycles, and electricity. They also visually preserve *mātanga* (historic or scenic places) that no longer exist; they objectify and celebrate the monarchy, chiefly rank, and prestige. Also important are who made the *kupesi* (design stencils), for what occasion, who received the *ngatu* printed from them on their first appearance, and on what subsequent occasions they were used. Designs are about Tonga's national identity as an independent monarchy, about genealogical associations with one's village and chief, and about the social construction of the self within the Tongan hierarchy and where one fits as part of all these identities. Although the new introductions that the designs record, such as a gramophone, may be associated with individual people and the objects may be metaphorically related to chiefs or their lineages, these are now difficult to reconstruct. As background for the introduction of airplanes into barkcloth in the 1940s, let us look at the metaphorical associations of a popular *kupesi* set.

Hala Paini: Road of Pines – A Metaphor for the Monarchy

One of the most popular stencil sets during the past few decades is known as 'Hala Paini', road of pine trees. The *kupesi*, design stencil, which usually has the name printed as part of the design, refers to the pine trees that line the palace and the adjoining *mala'e* (village green) on the ocean side and along the street called Hala Tu'i (road of the monarch) that extends from the palace to the royal tombs (Figure 3). The trees are embellished with a sun, a moon, and a star – celestial phenomena that symbolise the monarch. *Hala*

paini stencil sets (of which there are many examples with slight variations) include several individual *hala paini* stencils. In a usual layout (required to complete two *langanga* laid out on the *papa*) there are four *hala paini* stencils, two on each side, thus enclosing the whole design just as the pine trees symbolically encapsulate the monarchy concentrated in the palace complex.

Inside the *hala paini* stencils the monarchy is represented by three stencils (each repeated four times on two *langanga*) – the Tongan coat of arms (called *sila* or seal); a lion, adapted from European representations for a monarch and here symbolising King Tupou I, the originator of the present Tupou dynasty (the present monarch is Tupou IV); an eagle, another Euro/American representation of the State, and sometimes a *lupe*, dove. *Sila*, the Tongan coat of arms, although a European concept, encodes basic information about Tonga in symbolic form.

An explanation of the coat of arms as a metaphor of the monarchy and its history can be found in a *lakalaka*, sung speech with choreographed movements. '*Sila*' *lakalaka* was composed and performed for the celebration of the centenary of Tupou I in 1945 and performed again at the coronation of Tupou IV in 1967 by the villages of Ha'ateiho and Tungua.

*Sila Lakalaka of Ha'ateiho*⁹

Stanza III (part)

Ko e mape 'eni teu ta,	A picture (map) of our seal I draw
'A e Kalauni hota Fonua	The crown of our land
'O fakamo'oni ai e Sila	Is evident in our seal
Mo e anga si'ete fiefia	It is the reason of my happiness
Ko e laukau'anga e Tonga	The pride of Tonga
Ko e fā 'e 'a e kuonga	This is the 4th Tupou of our time.

Stanza IV

Sila e na'e fa'u	The government was founded
'Uluaki 'a Lo'au	Beginning from Lo'au
Sila 'o e 'Otu Tonga	Seal of the Tongan Islands
'Uluaki he kuonga	Was originated by Tupou I
Heleta felavai	It has three crossed swords
Pea fakama'u ha'i	That are tied together ¹⁰
Pea tolu e Sita	There are three stars ¹¹
Tauhoa e fuka	And two flags

⁹ The composer, Koloa of the Island of Tungua, gave me the poetry, explained the meanings that it held for him, and with his help, I made the English translation.

¹⁰ Representing the lines of the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu, now united in Tupou IV.

¹¹ Representing the three island groups – Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and Vava'u.

Kapa ai e Lupe	A flying dove ¹²
Mo e lou 'olive	With an olive branch
Ke fakamo'oni	And, it is true
'O 'asi ai e kolosi	The cross appears
Pea kei ola pe	And the King still lives
Hono lou ifi e	His <i>ifi</i> leaves ¹³
He kuo fakafotu	Come into view
'A e lea vahe tolu	And written in three parts
'Otua 'I he Sila	God – it says in the seal –
Mo Tonga ko hoku tofi'a.	And Tonga are my inheritance.

Ngatu design and use celebrate and objectify social relationships in much the same way that the poetry of a *lakalaka* performance does verbally. Neither *ngatu* design nor *lakalaka* text tell a connected history but rather serve as frames for painting compositions about the social politics of prestige and power. They present fragments of the past and present and the knowledgeable spectator must make the connections. Together they form the intricate association between verbal and visual modes of expression so admired in Tonga.

Hala paini and the other stencils that make up this set are modern visual symbols of the chiefs and especially the chiefs of the Tupou dynasty. Other modern representational designs that symbolise chiefs include necklaces, *kahoa*, flowered girdles, *sisi*, and depictions of the sun, moon, stars, and other celestial phenomena. Such representations are usually incorporated into design layouts that include chiefly symbols of the past, such as *manulua fakatoukatea*, and *fata*.

Hala paini design stencil sets have been altered to commemorate occasions and objects that are considered important to the monarchy and the country. Previously I have noted the incorporation of designs based on the introduction of electricity poles, wires, and lamps installed along Hala Tu'i;¹⁴ here I will focus on airplanes.

Tongan Spitfires – Sipitifaea

An important event that was commemorated in barkcloth design was the decision on the part of Queen Sālote to raise money to buy Spitfire airplanes to help Britain win the war. A *kupesi* stencil set commemorates the gift and recalls Queen Sālote and Tonga's efforts on behalf of the Allied Forces during World War II. Tonga raised funds to purchase four Spitfires; the two that

¹² The dove, olive branch, and the cross in this set of lines refers to the Christian church, as do the last two lines of the stanza.

¹³ *Ifi* is the Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*), but the word *ifi* has the additional meaning of the supernatural ability of some individuals to blow into a person's eyes and cure them of disease. Thus, encircling the crown as they do in the seal, they metaphorically give supernatural qualities to the Tupou dynasty. *Ifi* leaves are also used to ask for pardon.

¹⁴ Kaepler, 'Poetics and Politics'.

were built and used in the war were named 'Queen Salote' and 'Prince Tungī - Tonga No II'.¹⁵ According to R.A. Funnell of the Royal Air Force Museum, two Spitfires were used in battle: 'Queen Salote', BM124 Spitfire MkVB, was delivered on 1 March 1942; after several battles, damage and repairs it was scrapped on 15 April 1946. 'Prince Tungī - Tonga No II', MJ502 Spitfire MKIX, was delivered on 17 November 1943; after several battles, damage and repairs, it was scrapped on 14 June 1945.

The *ngatu* stencil set features the Spitfire named 'Kuini Salote', but the named design is *koesisimaileotugi* (Tungī's *sisi* of *maile* leaves), which refers to the elongated diamonds that are suspended from the named waist band (Figure 4). The overall layout of the *kupesi* is similar to the *hala paini* layout – the Spitfire replaces the coat-of-arms stencils, and the *sisi maile* replaces the *hala paini* stencils. The Spitfires are framed by (partial) concentric squares (reminiscent of *fata*) filled with small squares having the crossed-line grid for colouring in a *manulua* design. The main designs of the Spitfire named Queen Salote and the *sisi maile* of Tungī are decorated with panels of flowers and two necklaces or *kahoa*, one *kahoa* is a design usually called *papai fā*, the other is a heart hung on a necklace and tied with a bow. Unfortunately, we do not know the stencil maker or a Tongan recipient of this piece to interpret the *heliaki*. It is likely, however, that the pairing of Sālote and Tungī in these designs is a reference to their importance in the war effort and what it meant to Tonga. This piece, now in the British Museum, was in a private collection in England¹⁶ and its owner believed that it was brought to England in 1953 when Queen Sālote attended Queen Elizabeth's coronation. If this is the case, the airplane may have the double British *heliaki* of the Spitfire and Sālote's trip to England (although she went by boat rather than by plane). The *sisi* may have the double *heliaki* of referring to her husband, Tungī, and her son who was appointed to the Tungī title in 1945. The small design elements based on *manulua* and *fata* may refer to Queen Sālote, her husband, and/or her son – all of whom have high rank on both sides. The decorative designs are flowers, necklaces, and hair ornaments – one of which is a heart, probably in reference to the love between Sālote and Tungī.

The Spitfire itself is a very accurate representation and probably derived from a flyer that illustrated the plane that was circulated in Tonga after the first Spitfire, 'Queen Salote' went into service (Figure 5).¹⁷ In addition to the

¹⁵ King Tupou IV, pers. comm. 1994.

¹⁶ The former owner, Gwyneth Lloyd, furnished the information that she bought it at an auction in Salisbury, Wiltshire.

¹⁷ The flyer furnished the information (in Tongan) that the pilot of 'Queen Salote' had already shot down seven 'Foka Ulofi 190s'. The first plane he shot down with 'Queen Salote' was when he accompanied the bombers during the battle over Le Havre.



Figure 5. British Spitfire named 'Queen Salote' purchased for the British by the people of Tonga. Photo Auckland Museum.

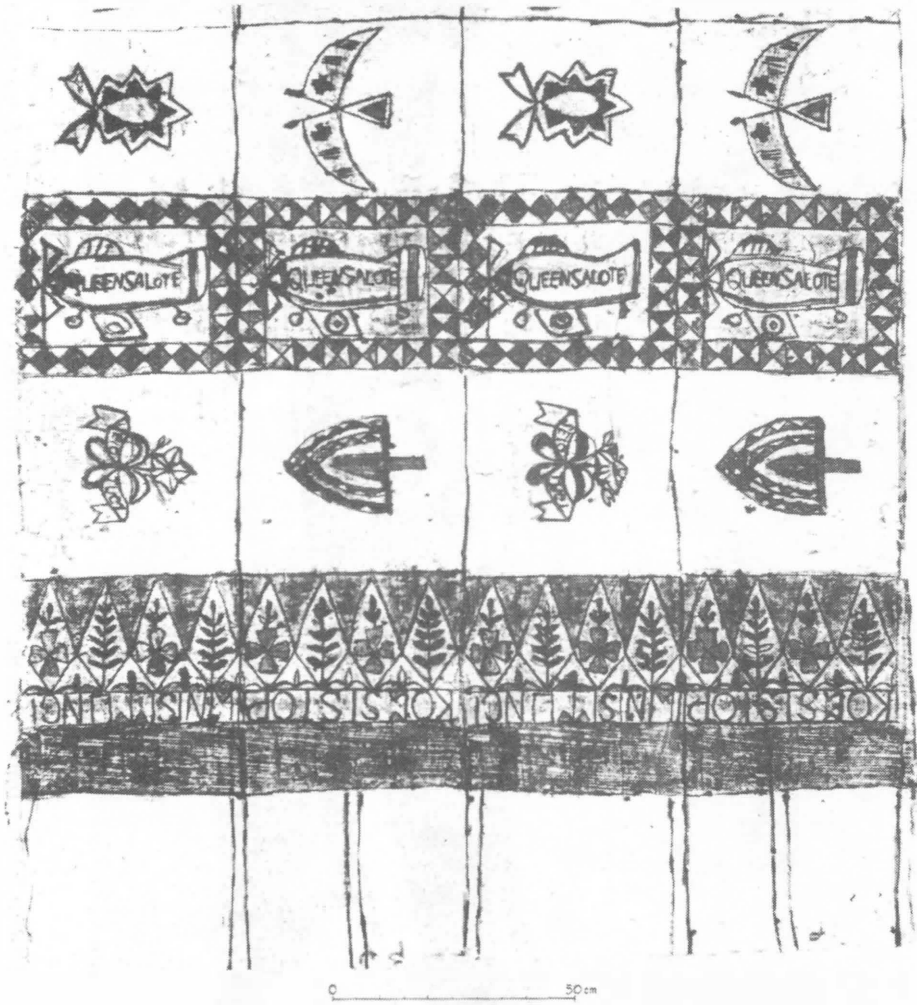


Figure 6. *Tapa'i ngatu* with *Koe Sisi o Pīlinisi Tungi* design showing Spitfires, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen. Photo Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen.

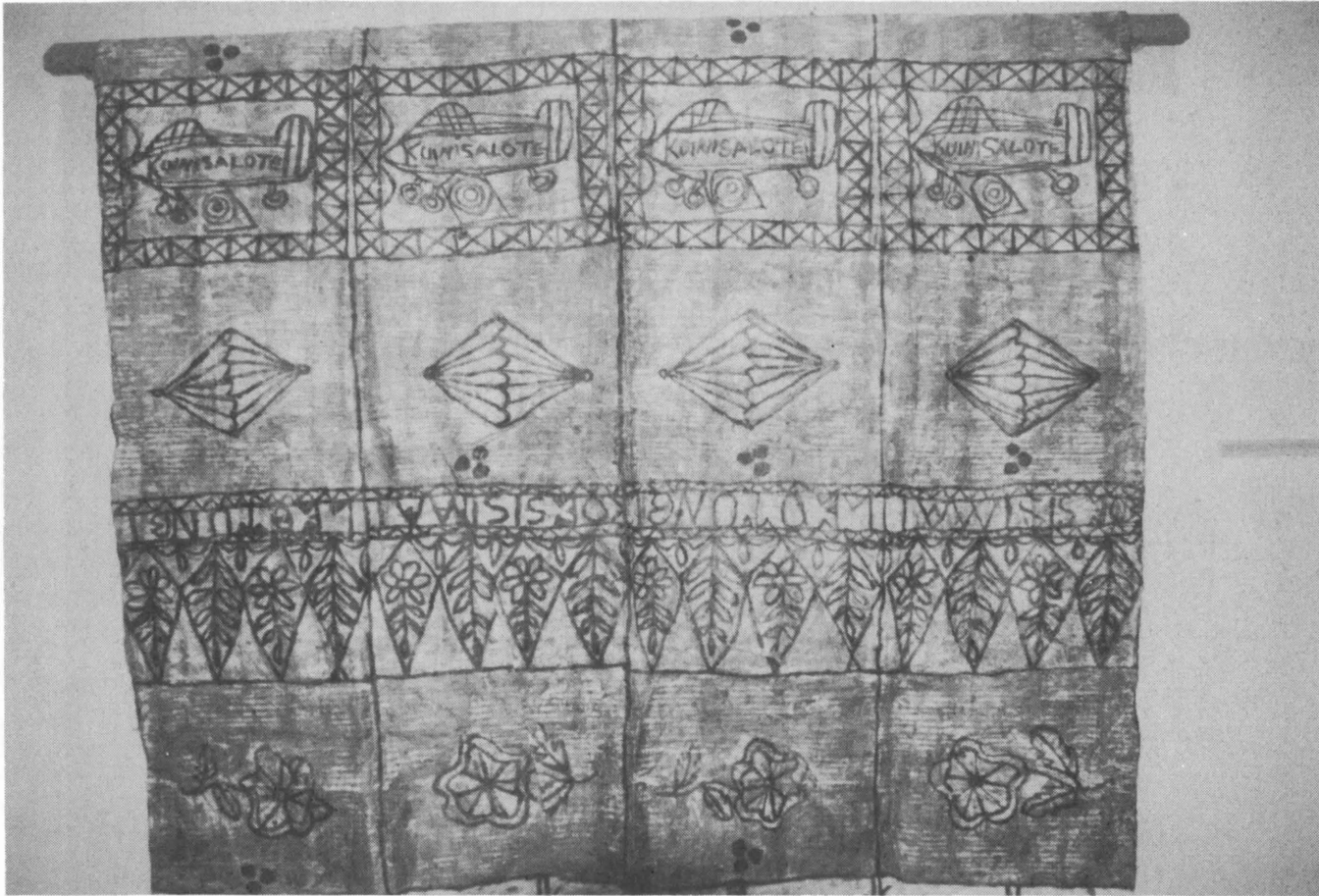


Figure 7. Ngatu with *Sisi maile o Tungi* design showing Spitfires. Collection of Jehanne Teiheit-Fisk. Photo Hilary Scothorn.



Figure 8. Ngatu with Hala Paini design showing P-38 Lightning airplanes. National Museum, Wellington (FE 8723). Photo National Museum, New Zealand.

general outline of the plane, cockpit, wings, tailpiece, and propellers, the *kupesi* clearly shows the concentric circles that indicated that it was a British plane.

Two other examples of a *sipitifaea kupesi* set are in the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, and the collection of Jehanne Teilheit-Fisk. The Göttingen piece (Figure 6) was collected by Gerd Koch in 1951 in Nomuka, Ha'apai. The *kupesi* is named 'Koe sisi o Pilinisi Tungī', the flower girdle of Prince Tungī. This example is part of the *tapa'i ngatu*, uncoloured background section of a large *ngatu*; the *kupesi* set includes a necklace, flags, a fan, and other designs. Koch, a German who lived during World War II, probably immediately recognised the airplane as a Spitfire.¹⁸ Jehanne Teilheit-Fisk acquired her piece (Figure 7) in Tonga in the 1980s and it (like the Göttingen piece) are probably later versions because Tugi is spelled with an 'ng' – Tungī.¹⁹ The two main Spitfire and *sisi* designs are decorated with a strip of flowers and a strip of what appears to be a pair of parachutes that join to make a design – perhaps a reference to the pairing of Sālote and Tungī (rather than the heart). Tongan ladies that gave the barkcloth piece to Jehanne thought that the airplane commemorated a trip taken by Queen Sālote by plane – which is why 'Kuini Salote' is printed on the side. It is, no doubt, a British Spitfire as the concentric circle design identifies it.

More Airplanes

Another airplane design shows the influence of the Americans during World War II (Figures 8, 9).²⁰ The design depicts an American plane so accurately that when I showed it to an American lady who lived during the War, her eyes teared up and she told me that her brother flew these planes. I had thought it was an inaccurate rendering, but she assured me that the plane had two bodies connected by a wing plus a large nose and a large cross-piece that connected the tails. The plane is a very accurate representation of a Lockheed P-38 Lightning (Figure 10), which were introduced into the Pacific war theatre in 1943 and became the most important American plane during the balance of the war. They were flown by the 44th Fighter Squadron of 18th Fighter Group which covered much of the Pacific, including Fiji. I have been unable to ascertain if the P-38s were actually in Tonga, but the Tongans must have seen them and perhaps photographs of them were available. The P-38 *kupesi* has American stars, sometimes transformed into six-pointed Tongan stars,

¹⁸ Gerd Koch, *Südsee - Gestern und Heute. Der Kulturwandel bei den Tonganern und der Versuch einer Deutung dieser Entwicklung* (Braunschweig, Albert Limbach Verlag 1955), p. 220.

¹⁹ Although the orthography was changed in 1943, the women who made the *kupesis* in the 1940s probably learned to read when the ng sound was written as g.

²⁰ National Museum, Wellington (FE 8723). It was presented by Miss Valeria Morris who 'collected it in Fiji in 1964 from a part-Tongan named Epele'.

at the ends of the wings. The plane is incorporated into the infinitely adaptable *hala paini* design. Here the stars from the usual *hala paini kupesi* are duplicated at the corners of the P-38 *kupesi*, the *Sila* alternates with the crown but both are titled '*Koe Kalauni*' (the crown) and the usual panels of *lupe*, eagle, and lion *kupesis* have an additional *kupesi* of three six-pointed stars. This elevates the three stars of *Sila* to its own *kupesi* (representing Tongatapu, Vava'u, and Ha'apai), perhaps to indicate that all Tongans were behind the war effort and perhaps to indicate that America had become part of the Tongan scene. Finally, the four-pointed design, probably based on a British Royal Order, perhaps suggests that the war effort (even though Americans were part of it) was on behalf of Britain.

An even more intriguing use of an airplane on barkcloth is on a small child's dress (Figures 11, 12),²¹ adapting designs from the *hala paini kupesi* set and incorporating airplanes into the royal symbolism. The planes are again Spitfires, with circles at the wing tips. But the design has a variety of introduced motifs. Most prominent is a rising sun. Although a sun has long been a symbol of the Tongan sovereign, Tongans must have also been aware of the rising sun motif in Japan, its use as a symbol on hats worn by the Australian defence forces, and as a symbol painted on the side of an American plane for each Japanese plane shot down. Indeed, are the Spitfires firing on the Japanese rising sun? Or are the rays from the Tongan sun, i.e. the Tongan monarch, radiating to the Spitfires, especially as it is directly above the sovereign's crown and *ifl* leaves? And why are there hearts with arrows crossing them? Although we need the designer of this dress to interpret it for us, perhaps the hearts furnish the clue.

One side of the dress is dominated by the Tongan seal with the royal motto, '*Koe otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofia*' (Figure 12). Two dates are painted on the corners – 1616 and 1947. The significance of 1616 is that it is the date when the first European ship visited Tonga. However, 1947 was the occasion of the double wedding of the present King with Mata'aho and Tu'i Pelehake with Princess Melanaita explaining the hearts on the opposite side with the arrows – European symbolism for love and weddings. The designs on the side featuring the seal of Tonga and the dates suggest the importance to Tonga of the monarchy still being in power, while the hearts and crown on the opposite side (Figure 11) suggest that (then) Prince Tungā and Princess Mata'aho would one day be King and Queen. In 1947 the monarch was Queen Sālote who was responsible for Tonga contributing two Spitfires to the

²¹ Auckland Museum (48084). Acquired in 1977 from Mr W. Thomas. Mr Thomas's wife was the daughter of the Rev. Robert Gordon-Kirgan, President of the Free Church of Tonga 1927- 32. His daughter lived in Tonga 1927-28, but the family probably maintained their Tongan contacts after they returned to New Zealand.

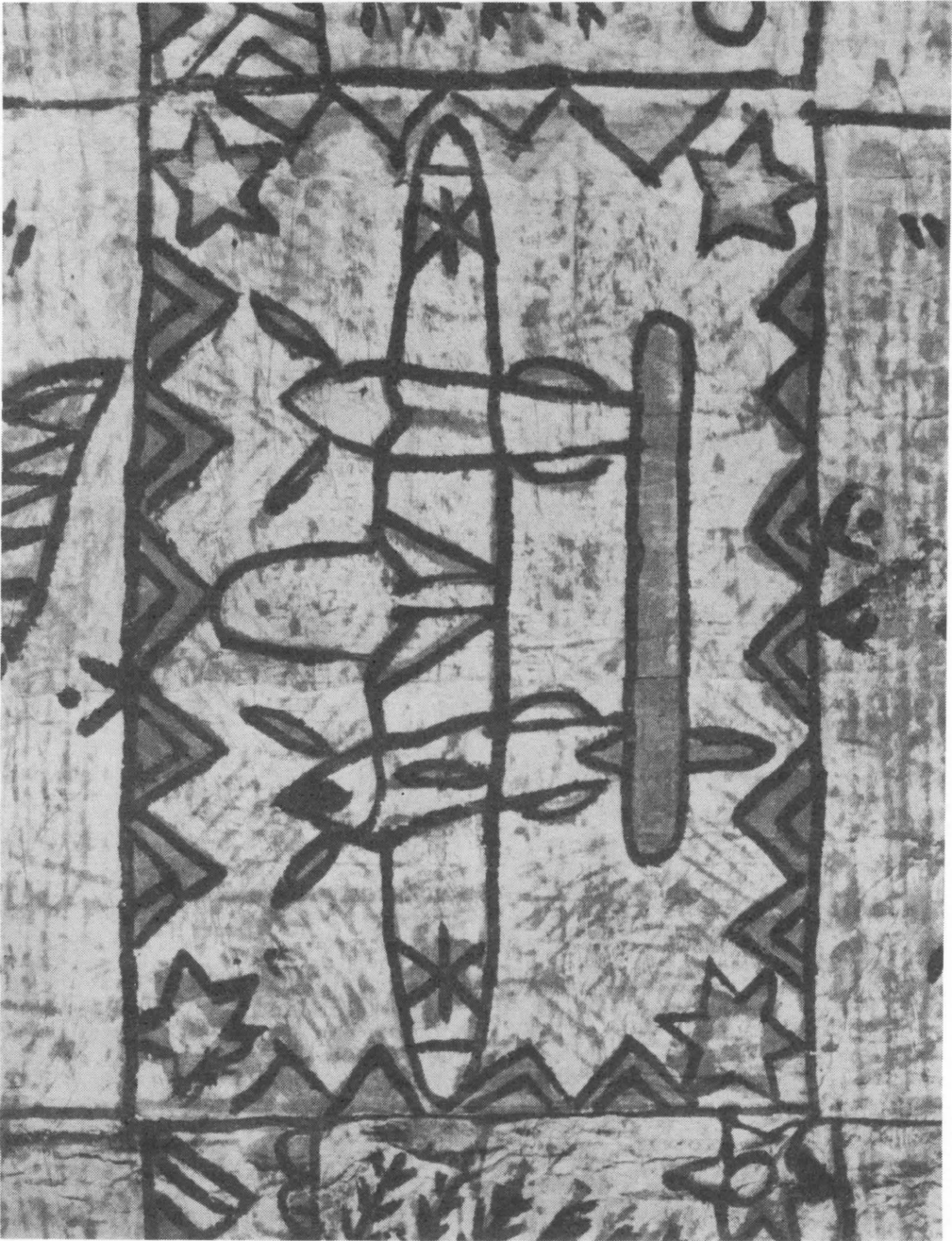


Figure 9. Detail of P-38 Lightning of Figure 8. National Museum, Wellington (FE 8723). Photo National Museum, New Zealand.

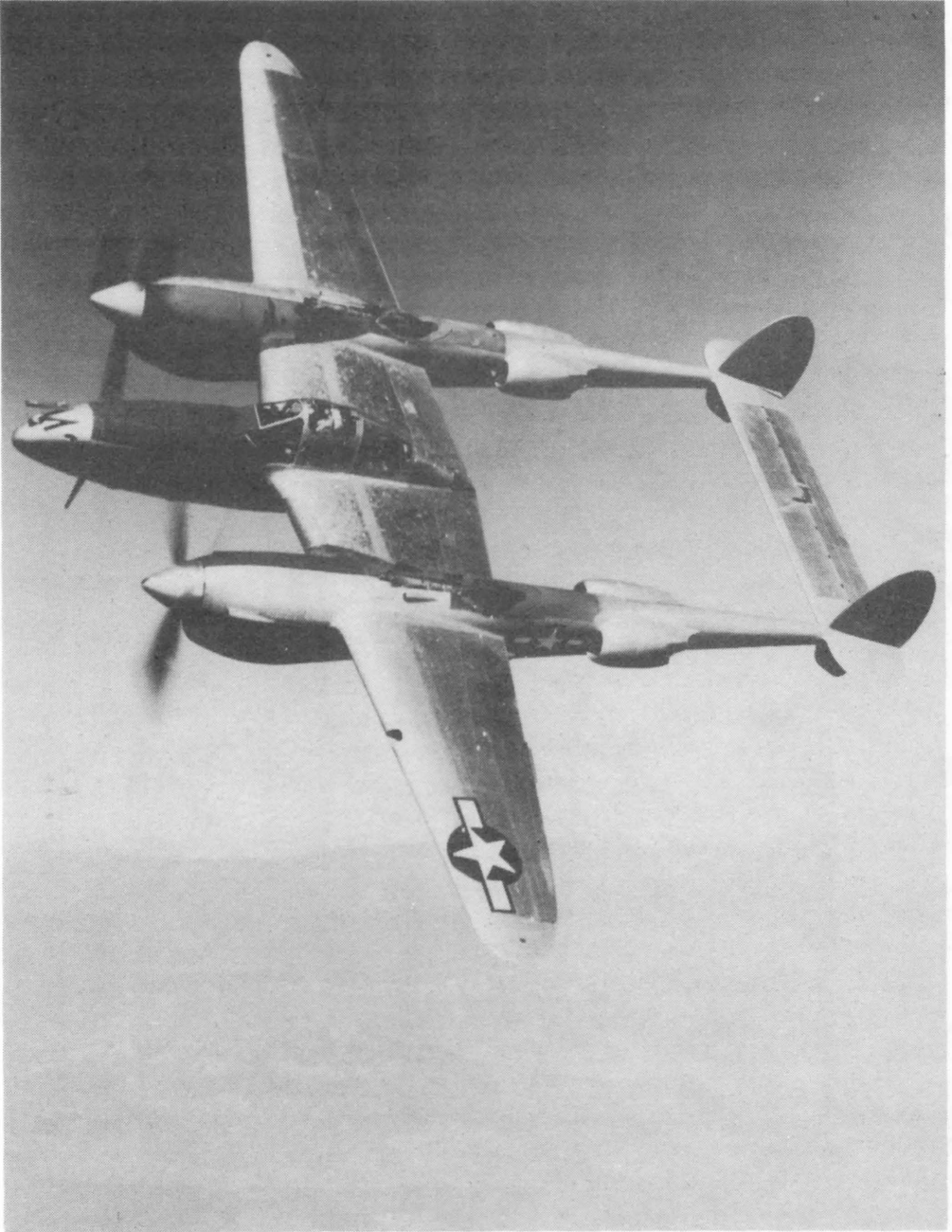


Figure 10. Lockheed P-38 Lightning, most important American plane used in the Pacific theatre from the beginning of 1944 until the end of World War II. Photo National Air and Space Museum, Washington, D.C.

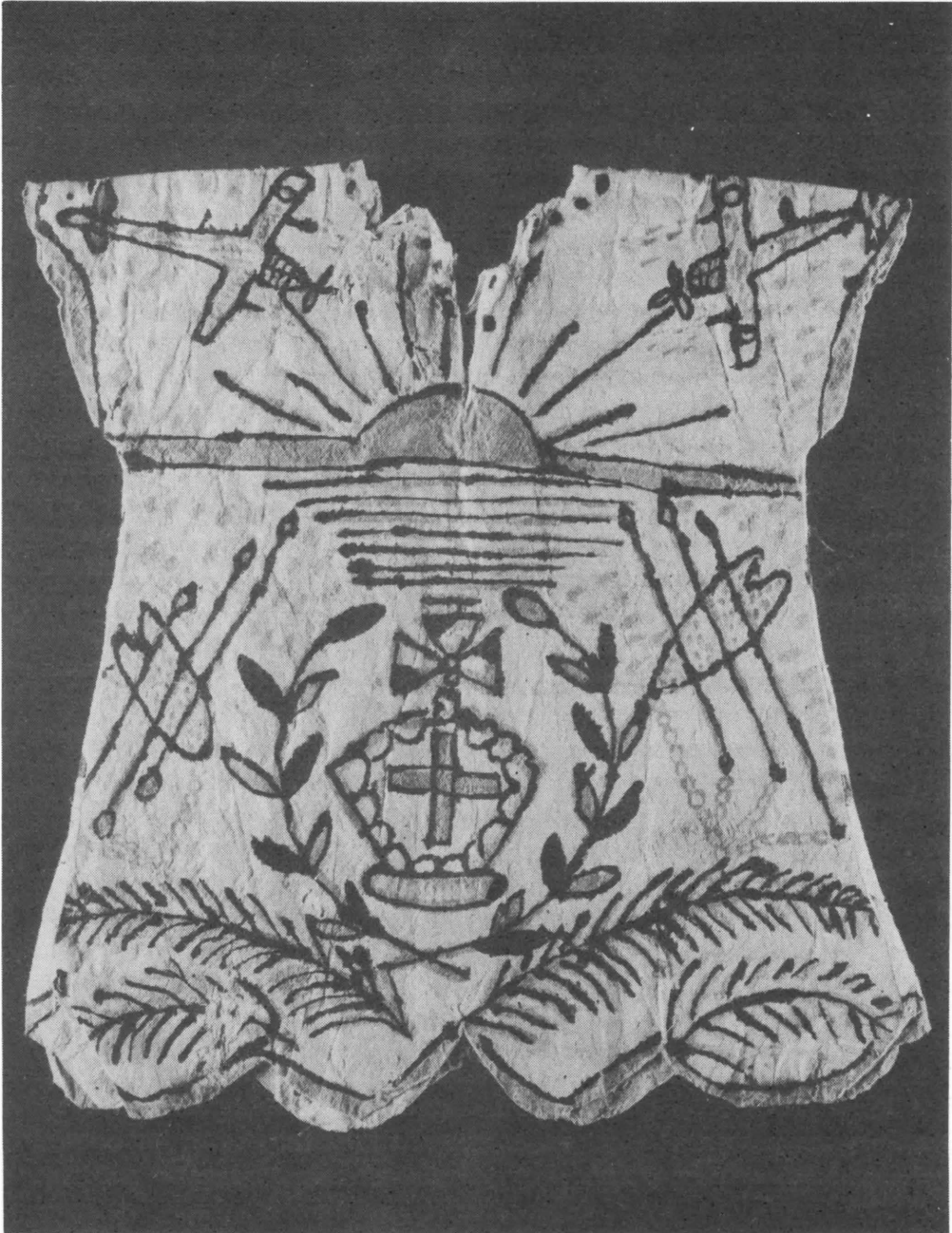


Figure 11. Barkcloth child's dress with Spitfires. Auckland Institute and Museum (48084). Photo Auckland Museum, New Zealand.

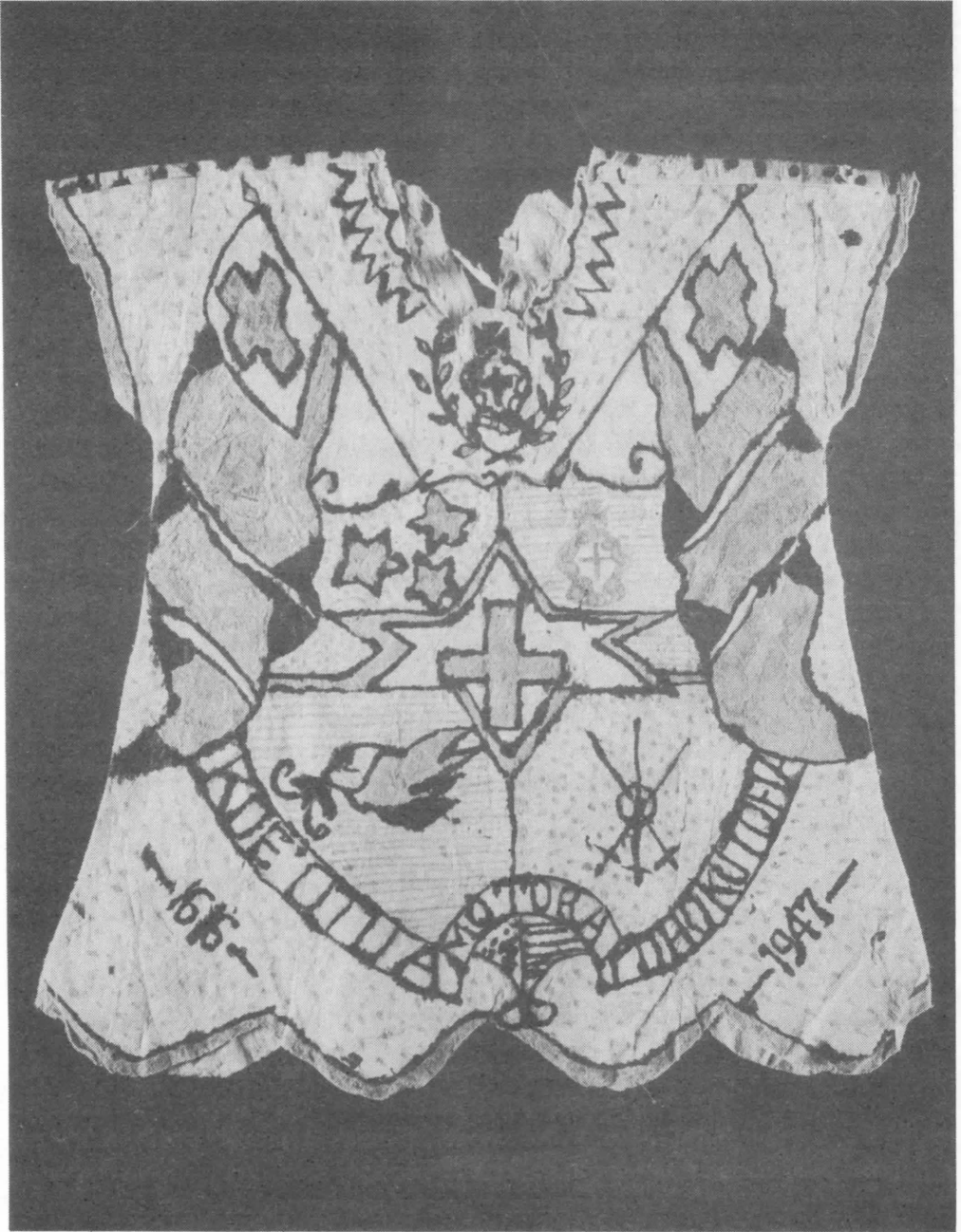


Figure 12. Reverse of Figure 11 showing Sila design. Auckland Institute and Museum (48084). Photo Auckland Museum, New Zealand.

British war effort. In addition, *Tungī* is the rising sun in a British-inspired monarchy, also suggested by the Spitfires.

As she did throughout her reign, Queen Sālote played an important part during World War II, and the wartime and post-war images can be directly related to her. Queen Sālote was responsible for the Spitfires and for allowing access to Tonga by the American forces who brought the P-38 Lightnings and American music, characterised by the mellow sound of saxophones which she added to her own Leiola string band. During her long reign as Tupou III from 1918 to 1965 Sālote was responsible for bringing in many ideas from the West and transforming them by making them part of the Tongan social and cultural system – including the visual and performing arts. Throughout much of post-contact history, it was the British style that was transformed by mating with Tongan concepts of social stratification. During World War II and after, American influence has crept in and today Tonga is a complex amalgam of influences from within Tonga and beyond. The visual and performing arts of Tonga have been transformed by influences from Britain and America – which in turn have been transformed as they became amalgamated into the Tongan aesthetic system.

Queen Sālote's hope was to bring only superficial change to Tonga and thereby make fundamental change unnecessary and it was she who set the cultural agenda for the nation and made Tongans proud of their identity. The coming of World War II and Americans added new elements recorded in the visual and performing arts. Now, after 50 years few remember their specific introductions, they have simply become part of history.

Tonga and Australia Since World War II

Gareth Gratner

RELATIONS BETWEEN TONGA AND AUSTRALIA since World War II have changed fundamentally and, using the word advisedly, have changed dramatically. Indeed, it may be fair to say that outside the confines of Methodist mission and education activity there barely existed any relationship between the two countries before 1939 at all. War itself did little to change that situation, given that Tonga never figured as a centre of wartime operations involving Australia, and its defence relationships were with the United States, Britain and New Zealand. Yet despite the limited nature of the connections between the two countries up to 1945, in that narrow area in which the relationship existed, it was one of significance and ultimately of real influence in helping to lay the groundwork of the upgraded relationship that has notably occurred since the 1960s.

On another level, though, reunification of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga during the 1920s had brought the connection with the Australia Methodist world back into the mainstream of Tongan life from which it had been excluded for 40 years. That in turn laid the groundwork for Tongan Wesleyans to focus on Australia rather than New Zealand – which may have influenced later educational and migration trends. Perhaps most significantly of all, every Premier or Prime Minister of Tonga from 1923 to 1992 received his education in Australia – all of them at one secondary school, the Methodist Church's Newington College in Sydney – Prince Tungī CBE, Noble Ata OBE, Crown Prince Tungī and Prince Tu'ipelehake. At the highest level of government in Tonga, then, there has been a strong relationship of personal association, interest and sympathy with Australia and with Australians.

In this essay I present a broad overview of the ways in which the relationship has developed in order to fuel discussion and future research rather than to provide an in depth analysis of any one of its aspects. I should say at the outset that – however tired a cliché it may seem – I believe the first significant event in the post-war era which began a shift in the relationship was the striking fact that Queen Sālote put Tonga on the map of the world when she rode in the Coronation procession in an open landau in pouring rain waving cheerfully to the London crowd in 1953.

The image reached out to the English speaking world, Australia as much as the United Kingdom, and suddenly almost everyone knew that there was an island Kingdom in the Pacific called Tonga ruled by a large, handsome, cheerful lady. It was a public relations coup creating interest, awareness and goodwill. It may be that little Tonga has done before or since has served the nation's foreign policy so well as that single action so unselfconsciously done – except on the rugby field. In the region, notably with New Zealand and Australia, it immediately ensured a positive welcome to Tongan students and migrants. For the other most notable development since World War II in the Tonga-Australia relationship has been the increased rate of Tongan emigration to Australia, legal and illegal, since the 1960s. People of Tongan origin are now a sizeable and significant presence within Australian multicultural society and they have a capacity to influence outcomes in a range of government policies and programs. The strengths of the Tongan migrant community, notably its assimilability and the sporting prowess of people such as Willy Ofahengaue, have had the capacity to create positive outcomes in the relationship between the two countries and peoples. The weaknesses of the Tongan migrant community, on the other hand, and the rate of illegal immigration and the problems of violence amongst a handful of Australians born to Tongan migrants, have the capacity to harm the relationship by undoing the body of goodwill developed since the 1950s.

ABSENCE of significant connections between Australia and Tonga before 1945 was reflected in the complete lack of formal diplomatic relations between the two countries. To the extent that there was a requirement for consular representations for Australia in Tonga, particularly to assist traders, these were handled by the British Consulate. Only when Tonga 're-entered the comity of nations' on 4 June 1970 and resumed responsibility for its own foreign and defence affairs, did Australia consider it appropriate to establish diplomatic relations. This occurred on 3 December 1970 when the then Australian High Commissioner to Fiji was accredited to Tonga as Representative Resident in Suva. Tonga chose to focus its own principal overseas representation in London where it established a Commissioner, and later High Commissioner, in 1969. In 1974, however, King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV appointed a former university friend, the well known Sydney businessman Mr W. Waterhouse, as Honorary Consul-General for Tonga based in Sydney. The increased significance of relations between the two countries was reflected in Australia's decision to open a diplomatic mission in Nuku'alofa with a resident High Commissioner, the implementation of which took place on 15 January 1980. Tonga's focus in these formal diplomatic relationships is on the facilitation of Australian assistance and trade. The growing numbers of Tongans resident in Australia created a heavy workload for the

Honorary Consul-General for Tonga in Sydney. As well as the formal diplomatic ties between Australia and Tonga, the two countries are closely associated through common membership of the South Pacific Forum, the South Pacific Commission and the Commonwealth of Nations.

Perhaps the most significant fruit of these formal relationships between Tonga and Australia was the establishment in 1980 of the South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement (SPARTECA) between Australia, Fiji, Tonga and others, allowing *inter alia* privileged access of Tongan production to Australia. The level of exports from Tonga to Australia indicates that this has not had major benefits in stimulating Tongan export industries, even so. The present Australian government to government relationship with Tonga focuses on an extensive development assistance program and a defence co-operation program as well as the heavy flow of two way movement of people between the two countries. The close and friendly nature of relations between the two countries has been symbolised by formal visits at Head of State and Head of Government level since 1979. Their Majesties King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho made State Visits to Australia in 1979 and during the Bicentenary in 1988, when they were guests at a State Dinner at Government House in Canberra. Governors-General of Australia have made State Visits to Tonga on several occasions and Australian Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers have visited Tonga. Numerous private visits of the Tongan Royal Family and Cabinet Ministers to Australia strengthen the sense of close personal connection between Tonga and Australia. The presence in Canberra for study of Their Royal Highnesses Prince Lavaka-Ata-'Ulukalala and Princess Nanasipau'u and the decision to educate their elder son Prince 'Aho'eitu at the Canberra Grammar School all indicate the increasing strength of the relationship at the personal level.

ONE IMPEDIMENT to closer relations of any kind between Australia and Tonga was the absence of direct transport links between the two countries. Recognising this, the Tongan Government through the Tonga Copra Board established a cargo service between Australia and Tonga in 1964 using MV *Niuvakai*.

The principal exports from Tonga to Australia were copra and bananas, whilst from Australia came initially flour and other bulk products. Despite the lack of commercial success of this venture it was vital in nurturing a direct focus on two way trade between the two countries. By 1973 the two main sources of imports into Tonga were Australia and New Zealand – up from 45 per cent in the early 1960s to 65 per cent in 1973.

Increased trade brought increased financial interest. In mid-1974 the Bank of Tonga opened as Tonga's first commercial bank, with shareholders

made up of the Government of Tonga, the Bank of Hawaii, the Bank of New Zealand and Australia's Bank of New South Wales (now Westpac). In the same year, however, the Tongan currency lost its formal parity with the Australian currency which had existed since 1905. By the 1990s, this trade trend had altered. Since 1990, Japan has overtaken Australia and New Zealand as an export market due to the development of Tonga's squash sales to Japan. Tonga's total export earnings in 1995 were approximately T\$18.5 million, of which only \$A0.73 million were earned from exports to Australia mainly of vegetable oil, coconut products, fruits, nuts and spices. On the other hand, Australian exports to Tonga in 1995 amounted to \$A28.6 million, made up largely of food and beverages, petroleum products, building material and equipment, machinery and communications equipment. Communications between Tonga and Australia had been facilitated by the opening of a radio-telephone link between Tonga and (*inter alia*) Australia in 1963. Direct or almost direct airlinks between Sydney, Brisbane and Nuku'alofa have facilitated greater ease of movement of people between the two countries, and more recently Tonga's involvement in Tongasat has attracted considerable public and official interest in Australia.

Perhaps more significant than trade to the relationship is the steady rate of increase in Australian aid and development assistance to Tonga. In the first 20 years after the War this was largely done on a personal and church-focused basis. Following a hurricane's devastation of Vava'u and Ha'apai in March 1961, Australians contributed generously through the churches towards relief assistance. In 1965 the Australian industrialist Sir Edward Hallstrom, refrigerator king, donated A£25,000 towards a generating plant to supply electricity on Tongatapu. Direct government to government assistance was nonexistent until 1970, even so. In the 1970s Britain was still supplying about two-thirds of the overseas aid to Tonga, with New Zealand supplying a quarter and Australia the remaining one-sixth. By 1995-1996, though, Australia had become Tonga's largest bilateral aid donor, followed closely by Germany. This fact highlights that Tonga has been skilful in its development of relationships not only in the Pacific and Asia, but also in the European Community of which it is an associate member and is able to play upon Germany's own recollection of its pre-World War I empire in the Pacific.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the emphasis of Australia's own aid to Tonga was on infrastructure development. Australia contributed towards the cost of new hospitals in Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u as well as ports, airports, communications, roads and water supply. Funds were allocated to education and training. Books were sent to Tonga in 1969 to help establish a library in Nuku'alofa. Funding for scholarships for Tongans to study in Australia was provided. Australia has also contributed to the cost of establishing the Tonga Development Bank. At present, the Australian Development Cooperation

Program has a relatively small but high impact focus on the Ha'apai group and AusAID (the Australian overseas aid agency) has now agreed in principle to support a major ongoing Ha'apai-located project. In the 1995/96 financial year Australia provided \$A11.65 million in aid to Tonga, \$9.75 million of it through AusAID's bilateral Development Cooperation Program. The bilateral aid was focused as follows:

- training aid \$2.43 million (around 25 %)
- staffing assistance \$.350 million (around 3.5%)
- project aid \$6.97 million (around 71.5%)

The major projects in 1995-1996 were:

- construction of the Pangai Harbour in Ha'apai: \$1.43 million in 1995/96 out of a total of \$3.1 million over three years
- Tonga Water Board Project: \$1.38 million in 1995/96 out of a total of \$5.6 million over five years
- Ministry of Works Institutional Strengthening Phase II: \$0.625 million out of a total of \$1.5 millions for the final phase of a long term program of development of the indigenous Tongan primary and secondary education curriculum.

In recent years Australia's priorities for aid to the South Pacific Island countries has concentrated on four focal areas:

- policy and management reform;
- health and education;
- environmental and natural resource management;
- private sector development.

Applying these approaches to Tonga, the trends in bilateral aid from Australia to Tonga are now seen to be:

- greater emphasis on human resource development within projects rather than separate scholarship activities;
- a new emphasis on institutional strengthening/capacity building projects;
- increased policy dialogue with the Tongan Government to ensure consistency with macro-economic policy settings and aid projects;
- increased co-operation with the Tongan Government to ensure coordination between donor countries to maximise effectiveness of aid;
- greater emphasis on education delivery in Tonga.

AusAID has agreed to requests from Tonga to work in the three key economic sectors of agriculture, fisheries and tourism from 1997. At the same time AusAID will be addressing environment management issues, to assist Tonga in decision-making about appropriate and sustainable economic development. Clearly Australia is committed to aid to Tonga but it will shape that commitment in terms of overall Australian policies and priorities – among which are necessarily included broad questions of defence.

DEFENCE relations between Australia and Tonga were virtually non-existent during World War II. This continued to be the case until well into the 1980s during which period Tonga's closest defence relationships were with Britain and New Zealand, until in 1988 Australia established Defence Cooperation activities with Tonga on a communications project to provide the Tongan Defence Services (TDS) with the necessary training and equipment to operate and maintain their communications network independently. In 1989 the Maritime Surveillance Project commenced, with the handing over by Australia of the first of three Pacific Patrol Boats. Three patrol boats are operated by the Tongan Navy, undertaking maritime patrols of the country's very large exclusive economic zone and a number of other activities such as hydrographic survey, inter-island transport and search-and-rescue missions. Australia provides crew-training at the Australian Maritime College in Launceston and subsidises fuel costs, with the subsidy gradually phasing out in accordance with an agreed schedule. In the early 1990s, the Masefield (Touliki) Naval Base was upgraded with Australian assistance at a cost of \$2.1 million; two Royal Australian Navy officers are currently attached to the Tongan Navy to advise on the operation and maintenance of the three small warships. And Australia is at present jointly funding with Tonga an upgrade of the TDS Land Force Barracks at Tallai Camp.

Australia's defence interests with Tonga are based less on Tonga's proximity to Australia and more on the fact that Tonga has a well constituted military force, the Tongan Defence Services. In the view of Australia's Department of Defence, this defence relationship achieves a positive impact through the well-received developmental influence exerted with the TDS, particularly with the Maritime Surveillance Project.

IF BEFORE the end of World War II few Australians had heard of Tonga let alone visited it, in the mid 1960s ocean cruises to the South Pacific became popular and for the first time tourism became an issue of some significance to the Tongan economy and way of life. By the 1960s, cruise ship day became a major event in Nuku'alofa with thousands of Australian day visitors coming ashore for a walk to the Fa'anelua Gardens and Talamahu Markets or taking a *veitolu* ride to the flying foxes of Kolovai and blowholes at Houma. In 1972 39 cruise ships visited Tonga carrying a total of 29,000 passengers, many of them from Australia. And in the 1970s the Tongan government came to see tourism as a major potential source of employment and foreign exchange.

While it is probably true to say the tourist industry has never really delivered the full benefits that Tonga first hoped for, it has been very significant to the local economy and in increasing knowledge of Tonga amongst visitors. In 1995 the tourist industry generated T\$14 million in foreign exchange earnings, representing the second largest single source of

foreign exchange for Tonga after overseas remittances. Tonga's 6th Development Plan 1990-1995 had the following objectives:

- to encourage the development of tourism as one of the major sectors of the economy;
- to facilitate tourism growth with local economic benefits through employment creation and foreign exchange;
- to allow an equitable distribution of tourist activities and benefits throughout the kingdom, given the limiting factors affecting the expansion of the tourist economy in rural areas and the outer islands;
- to attract a market of travellers who would appreciate and respect Tonga's culture and environment, demonstrate substantial expenditure patterns and have a significant average length of stay;
- to encourage Tongan ownership and management in the tourism industry while offering opportunities to foreign investors when large amounts of capital are needed and/or when specialised skills are required to offer a broader range of services.

The emphasis had clearly gone from cruise ship day trippers to high spending, culture appreciating long stay tourists.

In 1989, 2,773 out of a total of 21,000 air visitors to Tonga came from Australia – approximately 10 per cent. By 1994 out of a total of 28,408 air visitors to Tonga, 4,410 were from Australia – approximately 15 per cent. Only New Zealand and the US accounted for higher numbers of air visitors. On the other hand, Australian Bureau of Statistics figures for 1996 indicate that of 2,065 Australian residents who nominated Tonga as their specific journey destination, only 567 indicated that tourism was the reason for their journey. This was far outweighed by the 1,070 people who said they were visiting friends or relatives in Tonga. None of these figures suggest that Australian tourism is presently of great significance to the Tongan economy. By contrast, visits from members of the Tongan diaspora are of enormous significance and highlight the importance of the growing overseas Tongan community to the Tongan economy and way of life.

THE LONGSTANDING connection between the Wesleyan Church of Tonga and Australia's Methodist Church was a close one and has influenced the course of Tongan history. It is probably true to say that after the reunification of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga in the late 1920s the Methodist Church in Australia viewed Tonga as a sort of Wesleyan paradise perfect in all its elements and beyond any form of critical judgement. In the post-war era, the Methodist Church in Australia itself underwent dramatic changes climaxing in its own disappearance in the 1970s into the Uniting Church of Australia. The tendency of Methodist-Uniting Church theology and social thinking became markedly less conservative and, in my observation, some time in the

1960s parted company with the traditional view of Wesleyan Christianity which had prevailed in Tonga. Some Tongan Wesleyan ministers were influenced by their exposure to the Australian church, and this has perhaps contributed to tensions within the Tongan Wesleyan church and in Tongan society generally. The tendency amongst Wesleyan Tongans living in Australia has been since the 1970s to fragment into small family based independent church groups, whereas the Tongans of Catholic and other backgrounds have tended to adhere more closely to their original church loyalties.

The role of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga and its formal and historic connections with the Australian Methodist Church had long been the source of close educational ties with Australia. In the early 1970s, Australian government aid to Tonga too placed a priority on funding scholarships for tertiary education in Australia. Many of those young Tongans who undertook such studies ended up remaining in Australia and were crucial in the acceleration of Tongan emigration to Australia, but some Tongan graduates and others did return to play a major role in Tongan life. One of the most conspicuous results was the establishment by Futa Helu of the 'Atenisi Institute in 1963 and its eventual transformation into a high school and then also an aspirant though as yet internationally unrecognised tertiary level body. The liberal intellectual tradition imbibed by Mr Helu in Australia has assisted 'Atenisi to make a marked contribution to life in Tonga.

For three years from 1981 Sydney's Macquarie University provided a series of in-service training courses for secondary teachers as part of Tonga's upgrading of teacher training. By the late 1980s the trend to education of Tongans in Australia had almost become engulfed in the growing Tongan migration diaspora. Australia was moving away from providing scholarships for Tongans, whilst Tongans were emigrating in order to allow their children to receive an Australian education and the possibility of a permanent working life in Australia.

Through Tonga's membership in cultural and social organisations such as the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association, too, Tonga has placed itself in close dialogue and association with Australia. The Tenth Annual Conference of that organisation was held in Tonga in August 1964 with the theme 'The Role of Women in Preserving the Cultural Heritage of Mankind'. In 1988 a group of Tongan women attended that Association's Conference in Canberra, consolidating cultural and social links between the two countries. Yet again, however, the importance of these connections is becoming blurred in the density of interaction between Tonga and the Australian Tongan community.

TRAVEL figures given earlier in this essay indicate how heavy the movement is between Australia and Tonga by returning Australian residents of Tongan

origin. The figures from the USA and New Zealand are even more striking. This movement is not only of people but of money, goods and ideas. There can be no notion now that Tonga is an enclosed or cloistered society. What happens to the Tongans in Australia, New Zealand and the United States is bound to influence what happens to Tonga. Even Australia's republic debate has the capacity to fuel and feed political and constitutional debate in Tonga though the issues are quite different in the two countries. The overseas Tongan community is significant for every aspect of Tongan life, cultural and intellectual life included.

The importance of large scale emigration of Tongans to Australia since the 1960s cannot be sufficiently emphasised in terms of Tongan life, culture, sociology and history. Only the United States and New Zealand have received larger injections of Tongans into their national fabric. The reasons for this occurring are broadly identical between the three receiving countries but differ in specifics. The United States drift may first have been fuelled by Mormon connections. The New Zealand drift may first have been facilitated by immediate ease of access and then more significantly by the work visa program in the 1970s. In Australia the initial link was with the Methodist Church and with Australian educational institutions. By the late 1960s, there was a small number of Tongans in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra mainly for educational purposes. A handful had married Australians and now were Australian residents. A few illegal immigrants were already overstaying their visas and making lives for themselves in Sydney and Melbourne. In Sydney the Methodist Church in Haberfeld provided a formal focal point for the small number of Tongans in that city.

The rate of legal emigration was still very low in the early 1970s. In 1974 about 400 Tongans emigrated to the USA, only 14 to Australia. In 1975-76 this figure increased to 33. The rate of increase is thereafter fairly constant for some time: 1978-79, 116; 1981-82, 209; 1987-88, 295. Thereafter it appears to drop back – 1991-92, 114; and in 1993-94, 118.

What none of the formal emigration figures retained by Australia explain is how it is that in the 1991 Australian census the number of Australian residents who identified Tonga as their birthplace was 6,168 – the third largest group from the Pacific Islands after Fiji and Papua New Guinea. Clearly the larger part of this emigration had been illegal. Indeed in the *Kioa* case in the Australian High Court, a family of illegal immigrants from Tonga helped to shape Australian administrative law. The details of their case are taught now to all Australian law students. And whilst the figures for the 1996 census are not yet known, I would be surprised if they do not indicate at least 15,000 Australian residents who were born in Tonga. If one adds to this the children of these people born in Australia, one may estimate that there are actually upwards of 40,000-50,000 people of Tongan origin in Australia.

Air travel figures given earlier seem to support this view, with more than 1,000 people travelling to Tonga from Australia in one year simply to visit relatives. With Tonga's population hovering around 100,000, this is a very sizeable group. Whilst there has been much comment about the impact of Tongans leaving house and lands vacant in Tonga, I wonder what thought is being given to the possible impact on Tongan life, particularly medical and hospital services, if many of these people return to live in Tonga during their retirement. Tonga might do well to pay more attention to the issue of its overseas community. It is an enormous asset but also a potential problem.

One great strength of Australia's Tongan community itself is its ready assimilability into Australian life. Comparatively high levels of education, comparative fluency in English and ease of access into Australian life through church, social and family units, have allowed the Tongan community in Australia to fit into Australia well without losing its own strong sense of cultural identity. However, and I speak now from anecdotal evidence only, there are serious problems beneath the surface. The very busyness of life for adult Tongans in Australia – their absorption in church and community affairs, their heavy contributions to traditional obligations for funerals, weddings and the like back in Tonga as well as in Australia, their frequent journeys 'home' leaving their Australian children to their own devices in the urban jungle of Sydney, have led to young Australians of Tongan origin being disproportionately identified as part of the street crime problem in Sydney.

Whether it be many or a few, these young people are seen to have a high level of involvement in 'colour gangs'. Tongans have been associated with very serious crimes of violence in Sydney. The very size and strength of some of these young people has led a disproportionate number, again, into jobs as nightclub bouncers and security guards which expose them to underworld life. Too many years of these problems continuing without rectification will undo much of the positive image of Tongans which has ensured them a ready welcome for so many years. This is a problem which belongs to Australia's Tongan community but it is one which the Tongan government can hardly afford to ignore. The overseas Tongan community is vital now to Tonga's welfare and any problem in the overseas community is ultimately a problem for Tonga itself.

ON THE HOST country's side, pluralism or multiculturalism has been a platform of Australian governments for social cohesion since the 1970s. Much policy formulation and decision-making takes account of the different groups that exist within Australian society. Yet in order to be a participant in this process and make it work effectively to the advantage of a particular community, there needs to be a formal group or groups to represent the face and voice of that community to politicians and decision-makers. These

groups must generally be structured on ethnic rather than religious lines to participate in the multicultural dialogue of Australia. They may be more fragmented for other aspects of the engagement process – for example, Catholic Tongans might represent themselves as a community of interest for the purposes of seeking a community radio licence. Recognising this reality, in 1978 a group of Tongan residents in Australia and Australians with close connections with the Tongan community formed under the NSW Associations Act an entity called the Tongan Ethnic Society of Australia (TESA). Stone Faletau was its president, Toni Naufahu was its Vice President, Bill Holani and Latunipulu 'Unga were the Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively, and I was the Treasurer. The compass of the group was the Tongan community in New South Wales, though it purported to represent the entire Australian Tongan community. One of the first fruits of its formation was the granting by the new public ethnic radio station 2EA of air-time for a Tongan program which was organised from the outset by Richard Prescott.

The early program of this association was positive and encouraging, but the association found itself faced with major difficulties within its first year when the State Visit to Australia of Their Majesties King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV and Queen Halaevalu Mata'aho was announced for late 1979. TESA put itself forward as the formal representative of the Tongan community in Australia, and notably Sydney where much of the visit was to be focused. It established direct communications with the Commonwealth and New South Wales protocol officers and argued the case for TESA to be a participant in the official program and to have its members represented at official functions. As anyone who knows Tongan society will realise, this was not the makings of a happy or community-welding event. Those who had not participated in the formation of TESA but considered themselves entitled to their own *hala ki he Tu'i* or 'Path to the King' rejected the notion that TESA should have some special status in the official arrangements. Palace officials, unfamiliar with the way Australia's multicultural society operated and ignorant of the existence, purpose or membership of TESA, were a prey to imploring representations from Tongans in Australia begging that the King should not participate in TESA-arranged events during the visit. The protocol officers in Australia, on the other hand, were happy to have a formal organisation to connect with and persisted in their dealings with TESA. The end result was an extraordinarily successful visit, the highlight of which was the traditional Tongan feast and welcome to Their Majesties in the Great Hall of Sydney University, where His Majesty had originally received his BA and LLB.

TESA itself survived the visit – but only just. The deep divisions opened within the Tongan community took a long time to heal. In 1980 the Tongan government, impressed by TESA's efforts on the King's visit, did officially ask TESA to arrange for a large group of the Australian Tongan community to

represent Tonga in Port Moresby at the South Pacific Festival of the Arts. This was a positive experience overall, but yet again, arguments about placement in the traditional hierarchy of Tonga overshadowed the planning and preparations – after all, who was to be the *vahenga* in the *lakalaka*? These early disputes highlighted the dilemma of the Tongan community in Australia – how to be participants in the reality of egalitarian, multicultural Australian society and yet retain the cultural identity of people from a highly hierarchical and very proud nation.

That balance has not yet been struck and it remains at the heart of many of the problems of the Tongan community in Australia. One result has been the ongoing fragmentation of that community, notably into smaller and smaller independent church communities largely focused on single extended families and their retinues. Another has been the ultimate failure of Tongan ethnic associations to gain the recognition and support of the Tongan government. Tonga of course has an honorary Consul General to represent it on a government to government level, and representatives of the Tonga Visitor's Bureau to represent it in the travel sector. It sees no reason to make effective use of the Tongan community organisations. Whilst the Tongan community in Australia is very large in terms of Tonga's population it has less voice in Australia's multicultural policy processes than it might have but for the difficulties of achieving reasonable consensus and representation through a single and strong national ethnic organisation.

THE COURSE of post-war events, then, is clear. From a relationship that existed only through the Methodist Church and the education of a handful of leading Tongans, there has now developed a set of multifaceted connections which are utterly crucial to Tonga's national wellbeing, and provide ingredients for good or ill in Australia's own urban future. Among all the developments, those that are now of notable significance are Tongan and Australian shared membership of international organisations and Australia's focus on the Pacific through targeted aid programs. Overshadowing all of these, even so, is the existence of a lively, prosperous and rapidly growing Australian Tongan community which makes major contributions to the Tongan economy through remittances, return travel, education and the exchange of information and ideas. Tonga's future, in short, is now inextricably entangled with that of Tongan overseas communities.

New Behaviours and Migration Since World War II

Siosua F. Pouvalu Lafitani

WHEN TONGANS WHO LIVED THROUGH World War II told their stories about what was known to them as the 'Time of the Americans' (*Taimi 'o e Kau 'Amelika*) I picked up the impression that, on one hand, this was an enjoyable, unforgettable and fascinating period. On the other hand, a multiplicity of contradictions or conflicts was standing out in memory as well. Tonga in the 1940s was both urbanised and conspicuously *Americanised*, entering a period in which a degree of modernisation was first activated and intimations of a massively wealthy overseas world within Tongans' own reach first very strongly received. *Taimi 'o e Kau 'Amelika* was still a popular phrase in the 1960s and 1970s among Tongans. For them, the phrase was broadly pointed to two situations at least: socio-economic advancement in business life, food and material resources; and the openness of sex life. Each of them was in the modern life of the American troops, and each affected Tongan psychology in a powerful and peculiar way. The thrust of American socio-economic advancement was business life with all its elements of free market enterprise and a capitalist welfare system; and the openness of sex lives culminated in institutionalisation of the urban social movements of prostitution and homosexuality.

IN THE ARENA of socio-economic advancement, Tongans undoubtedly shared in the material and food resources and business skills of the Americans. The word '*Amelika*' was attached by Tongans to almost all resources and skills from the States. Normal terminologies were: *loli (mei) 'Amelika*, a truck from America, and *misini 'Amelika*, a machine from America. Sometimes Tongans used the term '*Amelika*', as an adjective only, with no prepositional connection, referring to the same situation but with a slight change in its spelling, so instead of *loli 'Amelika* they used *loli faka-'Amelika* (American truck).

Tongans from that era also talk of material resources such as *papa 'Amelika* (timber from America) or *papa faka-'Amelika* (American timber). They believe that in those days the American material resources were the best, containing in themselves a high quality of some kind that enabled them to last a very long time while still keeping their original appearance. Male Tongans sometimes explain that they can hardly find timbers of that quality

nowadays. There are surviving houses and buildings in Tonga today that were constructed with American timbers during and after the Second World War, and in fact the quality can still be identified.

Again, Tongans often talked about changing their diet because of the new kinds of foods that were brought into the Islands. One well-known story was about what Tongans call *lolo hoe* – American cooking oil - and again they found this kind of cooking oil was the best.

With regard to the business life of free market enterprise and the American capitalist welfare system, Tongans experienced and gained a variety of new skills and an expansion of knowledge. Indeed, the valuing of cash, in terms of the saving principle and the selling-and-purchasing ethic in the market place, and sale of human labour in the job market, was advanced and made more modern. Stories about becoming aware of the importance of saving cash, and the opportunities for employment for cash, were well remembered. There were a number of Tongans who did actually start to run private businesses like small stores in town, while others like heavyweight farmers (*fa'a*) might employ men and women in great numbers. Some Tongans explained that wages were either in a cash or gift exchange or both - a manifestation of a mixture of traditional Tongan and Western values – but certainly the change from gift to monetary exchange in process for over a hundred years was much speeded up. *Tou ngaue fakakautaha* was a communal trading contract whereby a person or group hired people to work in plantations or households, and goods, cash or foods were paid to these workers in return. In some cases there were exchanges of labour power as such without considering wages in a form of cash, or otherwise. People in this situation were working as a team, but rotating in hourly, daily or weekly routines, with the aim to share their labour power *equally* by attempting to do the same amount of labour in the plantation of each participant. Normally, the participant who hired workers for a particular working routine or rotation would have to feed the workers, and this activity was circulated among all the participants until each person had completed his turn.

Moreover, the influence of the concept of *time* in the process was crucial, as the main factor that ruled out the practice of *tou ngaue fakakautaha* because the number of hours in a day was treated as if it was the controller of the labour power input of the entire group. After, let us say, four hours of working in someone's plantation, if the working rotation was to allocate four hours each, usually the group stopped and then moved on to work in the plantation of the next participant for the following four hours. It was indeed a kind of shift or contract work pattern, probably influenced by the shift work in the daily schedule of the American soldiers.

Overall, Tongans did appreciate and favour certain changes, but one main problem in relation to the principle of saving was that the standard of

commercial banking in the 1930s and 1940s was still underdeveloped in Tonga. In effect, this had *never* allowed Tongans in those days to experience the importance, and principle, of saving money in commercial banks. It was said that some Tongan *fa'a* (farmers) kept cash in their *fakapona* – a knot folded in the corner of their *tupenu* (skirt) parallel to the waist – and carried the cash around with them. Others were hiding cash under mats, beds, and so on. Either way, it was much easier for them to spend most, if not all, of their cash in daily consumption, and in traditional forms of ‘consumption socialism’, to use Helu’s phrase. However, increasing awareness of the significance of money exchange for goods in the market place and of labour power in the job situation penetrated to other areas of life.

Sex life was one of them, including institutionalisation of the urban social movements of prostitution and homosexuality. In fact the alien life of the Americans did not so much import as reintroduce into Tonga the tendency to openness in sex life. It looked as if the sex life of pre-Christian Tonga was being resurrected.

In pre-Christian Tonga, sex life was freer than the in post-Christian contact society. A male chief for example could make love to as many women as he pleased, with no well-defined moral restrictions. A chief’s concubines could live with him in his own household permanently. For a chief to hand-pick a beautiful female dancer, and sleep with her straight after a cultural performance or night of entertainment, was morally permissible. In the 1940s the old openness revived. Tongan women in the 1960s and 1970s were still voicing rumours about free sex life in the *Taimi 'o e kau 'Amelika* but in their own language. Gossip about who had slept with whom and whose virginity was given to the American men before the wedding ceremony could still be heard. From introduced Judaeo-Christian influence, it had come to be believed that the private part of a female should belong only to the husband in the night after the wedding ceremony. No sexual intercourse for an affianced girl and her husband-to-be was permitted before the wedding night, and if in fact intercourse occurred a rumour would be bounced back especially from the groom’s kin upon the girl’s mother with gossip blaming the latter for her carelessness in looking after the daughter’s virginity.

Women’s private parts, then, came to have a social significance of high value in Tongan cultural tradition. It was as if a female’s sexual organ was socially the most important part of her body. The Freudian view of sex as the centre of cultural development might be applicable to the Tongan case. And certainly Tonga’s adoption of the Judaeo-Christian sexual ethic seems to have slowed the rate of producing illegitimate children, and perhaps the explosion of sexual diseases too. Sexually transmitted diseases seem to have been largely unknown to Tongans until World War II when the sexual act acquired new dimensions of socio-economic reward, and the

institutionalisation of prostitution and homosexuality occurred, with the former opening doorways to the rise of the latter and homosexuality at some points a component of prostitution in general.

Nonetheless, the term 'prostitution' as used here indicates women who are socially identified as having sexual intercourse with men in non-marriage relationships just for money, food and material resources, pleasure, or all. On the other hand, homosexuality, or gay life, alludes to men who are socially identified as playing the role of having sexual intercourse with other men just for money, food and material resources, pleasure, or all. These definitions are deduced from the oral information on how Tongans have believed the case to be.

Oral information has revealed situations where cash, material and food resources were given by the American armies to Tongan women as *reciprocity* for making love. There were stories of making love in a bedroom, under a tree, inside a truck and so on, and most of such stories pointed to both unmarried and married women. Some husbands were content to hand over their spouses to the Americans for a return in material kind for the family. Rumours about whose daughters and wives had slept with the Americans were aired. After a time, rumour legitimated the case and new members were joining the club, as the phrase goes. And the number of illegitimate part-American children was increasing. One major ensuing problem that was difficult legally and formally to sort out was the question of who were the real fathers. So, one outstanding legacy from the openness of sex lives during the 1940s was that most, if not all, of these part-American descendants who were left behind in Tonga after the troops returned to the States had no identifiable legitimate fathers nor American citizen rights whatsoever. Again, there were a few reports of rape and sexual harassment of women, though no details emerged during collection of the oral information.

For Tongan women, generally speaking, making love to the Americans was a *value of privilege* which could lead on to socio-economic elevation because of the latter's Western overseas status and material wealth. Tongans throughout history normally looked at outsiders, such as Westerners since the contact period, as people owed higher privileges. As a result, prostitution and homosexuality were likely to be institutionalised publicly. New terms and phrases were on the rise, and might be aired in family quarrels – such as in quarrels between a married woman and her husband's mistress. Words and phrases that have survived up to the present, and are believed have emerged during World War II or in the early 1950s, were insults such as *hako'i fokisi* (lit. descendants of a fox), *hako'i mui tau* (lit. descendants of war buttock), *fakaleiti* (lit. act in a lady's manner), to mention a few. In a quarrel, one woman with no prostitution affiliation of any kind would insult a known prostitute, or a mistress of her husband, by saying: '*tapuni ho ngutu he ko e*

hako'i mui tau koe' (lit. shut up because you are a descendant of a fox). Specifically, 'fox' points to prostitution, war buttock stands for prostitutes sharing their private parts openly. *Fakaleiti* was a derivative of the English term *lady*, applied to those men who were, by genetic or environment-specific orientation, acting in a female way which at the end led them into homosexuality.

It was assumed that the words *fakatangata* (lit. women act in men's way) and *lesipieni* (Lesbian) may have been in use prior to the military occupation, except that there was no environment enabling them to be formalised as social movements. *Fakatangata* and *lesipieni* have never, even yet, been identified publicly in the history of Tonga as social movements with distinctive characters of their own. All of them were stigmatised in the first place, despite the fact that the recruitment of new members into the club of *kau fokisi* (foxes) and *kau fakaleiti* (homosexuals) in particular has been continuous and latterly has increased dramatically.

Females of certain families were known as 'carriers' of the prostitution mode of life, and the terms *hako'i fokisi* and *hako'i mui tau* were commonly used in allusion to most, if not all, women of such families, particularly in quarrels. Recently it has perhaps been more difficult to distinguish Tongan women who are behaving as prostitutes from those who are not. It is difficult because there are a considerable number of women who are having sexual affairs with boyfriends (though the de facto relationship as yet has no legal standing in Tonga) and then parting after a few weeks and again looking for new partners. In addition, adultery is now extreme among Tongans in Tonga and abroad. Tongans believe that these are three sides of the same triangle, to employ mathematical language. Also, at the end of the day, the three are all channels leading down to some form of exchange – either just for material and food resources, pleasure, or all of them, though more recently sex for cash has come to predominate. The openness of sexual life today, after being suppressed by Judaeo-Christian ethics, may give us a rough idea of sexual activity during the *Taimi 'o e Kau 'Amelika*, and probably the same may be said of *fakaleiti* life too.

With regard to *fakaleiti*, there was not sufficient evidence from oral information to form conclusions about its actual character during the military occupation, though it is believed to have become institutionalised around the same time in some respects. It is suggested that *fakaleiti* life was in the first place implicitly inherent in the social evolution of prostitution, and then surfaced more openly after a few years. *Fakaleiti* and *kau fokisi* have travelled concomitantly for the past three decades or so. Terms such as *hako'i mui tau* (by women) and *fakaleiti* (by men) were first seen in public as two sides of the same coin referring to prostitution. *Fakaleiti* in that sense was a component of prostitution until it had become transformed into a

totally distinctive social movement in its own right between the late 1960s and 1980s.

Presently *fakaleiti* is more formalised and well organised, with a greater degree of public recognition as a distinctive social movement since the 1970s, involving homosexual intercourse both among the participants and between them and married as well as unmarried Tongan men and male tourists or other foreigners in specific cases just for money. This is a period when tourism became more influential in domestic manners, penetrating into the society and reinforcing the growth and fruition of *fakaleiti* and *fokisi* movements. There are many stories about affairs between male foreigners and *kau fokisi* and *kau fakaleiti* to be heard in the conversation and joking of Tongans everywhere.

Sex for cash has increasingly become the main goal to be pursued by participants of these movements in the market place, though some prostitutes end up by falling in love with foreigners and joining them abroad in a marriage relationship. *Kau fokisi* and *fakaleiti* may be therefore alluded to as 'sexual commodities', with well-defined urban market places in Tongatapu like Queen Sālote Wharf where the tourist steamers commonly berth. Again, money is a crucial factor in determining change in the psychology of Tongans. In the 1970s and 1980s, the negative impact of tourism on Tongan society was hotly debated in churches and in other social settings, and the life of teenage females of about 15 and 16 years of age was seen as critically at risk and in a big mess. The main reason was that they were entering the life of prostitution. From then on, female teenagers have been recruiting into the club in large numbers.

Similarly, teenage boys, whether by genetic or environment-specific orientation, began to act as *fakaleiti* while still at High School. Notably, in the 1970s, these teenagers were beginning to form small groups in the school grounds acting and talking in the manner that women have naturally expressed themselves. There was a substantial number of testimonies regarding these teenage *fakaleiti* or teenage gays having homosexual affiliations with schoolmates and adult males in their villages and in the well-defined urban market places. *Kau fakaleiti* sometimes spoke in a soprano tone higher than is common with women, and at the same time they could produce different note scales while on that vocal peak, with brief melodies of a female kind, flowing from low to higher notes and vice-versa or in different directions. Some of the words might have a variation in spelling but altogether point to the same situation. Such words were usually derived from known phrases or familiar events. As an example, it was revealed that '*ulu fieme'a* (lit. bossy or domineering head) was the known and familiar phrase, but over the years the ingenuity of *kau fakaleiti* has added new slang phrases like '*ulu pupula* (lit. 'swollen head'), '*ulu hae'i* (lit. 'tearing head') and

'ulu maheahae (lit. 'torn head'). All these meanings referred of course to the same thing, someone who looked down on people.

The desire of *kau fakaleiti* to act in a feminine way has urged them to 'over-feminise' their psychology to the extent that the new language and vocal style they have adopted have crossed the boundary of women's style of talking. From a psychoanalytical perspective, this could imply that the *fakaleiti* movement was travelling from the point of dissatisfaction with their male being across the boundary of female being to what might be called 'non-gender being'.

HYPOTHETICALLY, the more urbanised, modernised, democratic life of the Americans played a role in stirring up aspirations that have culminated in one of the most notable of all developments in Tongan society since the 1960s – migration. Since World War II Tongans have been moving, first, into their own central urban centres, and then, internationally, to America, New Zealand and Australia. Their reasons are mainly economic, and put them into a competitive foreign arena of work-seeking that has pressures all its own; but on the social and cultural fronts too they bring, or are pursued from Tonga itself by, sufficient forces to bear out the Andersonian precept that society is a scene of incessant conflict.

The upholding of traditional Tongan values such as generosity (*nima homo*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and obedience (*talangofua*) at churches and traditional functions in Tonga has itself spurred a substantial number of Tongans to emigrate, as one migrant in Canberra explains:

My parents supported my decision to come so that I could send remittances back, because there was too much *fatongia* such as school fees, church fund-raising and donations for kin-functions, which in some cases caused a feeling of frustration.

To continue fulfilling traditional obligations in the homeland, then, migrants abroad demonstrated the altruistic yet at the same time oppressive nature of Tongan cultural aspirations, notably generosity (*nima homo*), respect (*faka'apa'apa*), sharing (*fetokoni'aki*) and obedience (*talangofua*) by sending remittances to relatives in Tonga.

The oppression resides in the sense of the culture's moral encouragement to postulate some specific demands at the expense of others. As the volume and tempo of emigration increased, correlating with the increasing amount of remittances arriving back on Tongan soil, kin-members, church leaders and members of many other organisations since the late 1970s have developed different methods to drag in more and more. The misconception is that Tongans in Western societies are rich – an illusion leading the homeland to request more and more money, consuming migrants' resources, repeatedly on a permanent basis.

Fund-hunters might return home with smiling faces but leave the migrants with empty pockets and little savings to pay bills that are so certain in Western society. A single fund-raising can collect \$10,000 or more. A migrant family depending solely on the social welfare scheme of the host land might still donate \$1,000 in one donation. And the formation of Tongan churches and migrant associations overseas has helped to reinforce the process. Churches ministers have acted as middle-men, opening new 'religious markets' and formulating business strategies that foster the transportation of material resources to Tonga.

The Tongan government itself is now at the forefront of the process, through methods ranging from the employment of the Tongan Police Band and Tongan sports teams to using a half-blind boy to sing and play a keyboard in front of migrants. The presence of the King's only daughter, Princess Pilolevu, and her husband, another chiefly descendant, in America, as Tongan Consuls, has made it easier for government fund-hunters to penetrate through and conduct fund-raising among Tongans in the States. By and large, formation and reconstruction of network alliances between the Royal or chiefly individuals, church leaders and new well-to-do migrants seem to assist not merely the consolidation of each groupings' power abroad but the perpetuation of the flow of resources to Tonga quite as much.

Evidence from this author's study reinforces the view that fund-raising is a disaster for such migrants' struggle for adaptation – not only economic, but social, moral and psychological also. The increasing concentration of Tongans in the ghetto areas of San Francisco, Housing Trust accommodation in the Western suburbs of Sydney, and around the poorer suburbs of Auckland, is to a large degree a result of involvement in fund-raising activities. Migrants might do well to dwell more upon the fact that their frustrations and uncertainties are not a concern, even not an issue at all, of the Tongan government and Tongans in Tonga.

Despite the frustration and uncertainties, most migrants find it hard not to contribute because traditional practices have inspired in them the belief that generous presentation of resources in great amounts is a moral act. Another constraint is that migrants dare not let go of the socio-psychological elevation given to them by their migrant peers as well as the fund-hunters as reward for generosity. A saying in Tongan society asserts that 'reputation is more important than the individual's life' (literally, *'oku mahu'inga ange 'a e ongongo 'i he mo'ui fakataau taha*). For most Tongans, polishing of public reputation through donating material resources in great quantity, or providing service for religious and traditional leaders first-hand, is an issue; but having no savings and investments in the bank and increasing personal frustration are not. Their cultural perception here reflects two other related Tongan expressions which proclaim that 'obligation to chiefs and religious

élites precedes anything else' (literally, '*oku mu'omu'a 'a e fatongia kia hou'eiki mo taki lotu 'i ha to e me'a*), and 'Tongans work only to fulfil obligation' (literally, '*oku ngaue pe 'a e Tonga ki hefuafatongia*). To survive in Western and other modern societies, on the contrary, the mottoes 'paying off individual's bills precedes anything else' (literally, '*oku mu'omuta 'a e totongi mo'ua fakataau taha 'i ha to e me'a*) and 'People work only to pay off bills' (literally, '*oku ngaue pe 'a e kakai ki he totongi mo'ua*) have to be the prime concern. Tongan migrants are already aware of the importance of the last two injunctions but are still confused about which '*oku mu'omu'a 'a e fatongia kia hou'eiki mo t a k i lotu 'i ha to e me'a* or '*oku mu'omu'a 'a e totongi mo'ua fakataau taha 'i ha to e me'a* should come first in their priorities.

INTERLOCKING OF migrants' struggle for subsistence and their inherited cultural aspirations is further observable in *lau'eiki*, or boasting of chiefly status; *tala'ova*, or 'dobbing in' of overstayers; and *movetevete 'u siasi*, or breakdown of churches. All these three were referred to by migrant interviewees in 1991 as the worst experiences they had had during interaction with other Tongans in Canberra.

Lau'eiki refers to the willingness of migrants from chiefly lineages (*hou'eiki*) to still maintain and assert their socio-traditional status or privilege at church activities and kin-functions. There are a few Tongans in Canberra from the *hou'eiki* herd or close relatives of chiefs and the Royal Family, and the term stands for these individuals. Other Tongan words which have the same formality as *lau'eiki* but allude to different social contexts are: *lauako*, or boasting of educational status; *laulotu*, or boasting of religious belief; *laukui*, or boasting of ancestors; *laungaue*, or boasting of deeds; and *laukolo tupu'anga*, or boasting of birth place. Formally, all of these terms are interrelated, and in some situations, most, if not all, can reinforce one other and mingle with *lau'eiki* as well.

In public dialogue and interaction, Tongans normally use these terms as a political tool to postulate and promote some specific interests over others. Some Tongans in Canberra, mainly from the commoner lineages (*tu'a*), explained that *lau'eiki* is one of the worst experiences they have had to come to terms with while struggling for a livelihood. Opposition to, and questioning of, the traditional privileges of *lau'eiki* highlight radical change in the *tu'a* group's perceptions of the social status of migrants from *hou'eiki* families. Because the *tu'a* migrants have opportunities to acquire wages and higher education, they see their *hou'eiki* counterparts as their equals. They are both subject to the same living conditions, buy the same vehicles and food, and have access to incomes and political privileges. So the socio-economic,

political and technological resources of Australia have led to the upgrading of the social status of the *tu'a*.

This same transition is seen in the dobbing-in of overstayers, when a Tongan, especially an Australian permanent resident, reports a Tongan overstay to the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Through this *tala'ova*, a great number of Tongans have been deported from Australia, America and New Zealand. Reliable evidence from the interviewees suggests that the earliest migrants and a number from the *hou'eiki* or chiefly lineages are known as reporters of overstayers – particularly if an overstay is from a low-ranking village or outer island in Tonga, of commoner background and a non-member of the reporter's *kāinga* or circle of relatives. In some cases, reporters report their own close kin-members. There is a well-known expression among migrants, which is probably derived from the action of *tala'ova*: 'oku lavaki'i/tamate'i 'a e Tonga 'e he Tonga (literally, 'A Tongan is betrayed/killed by another Tongan'). These actions seem to be attempts to ensure that the actors' social status and privileges within the Tongan community are not threatened by the latest, *tu'a*, migrants; and the same thing appears in the breakdown of churches.

Migrants mentioned *moveteteveve 'u siasi*, or breakdown of churches, as one of the occurrences they observed within the Tongan community in Canberra, and among Tongans in other states of Australia as well. In certain cases, disintegration of churches has created antipathy, and caused members of one church to do in the overstayed members of other churches. At the time of interviewing, there were five Tongan congregations in Canberra, four of which were dominated by members of four *kāinga* or extended families. Initially, there had been only one Tongan church, but, since the 1980s, some members, accompanied by newly arrived kin, have moved out, for several conflicting reasons, and established new congregations. It appears that *moveteveve 'u siasi* is a means by which interests of the members of various *kāinga* preserve and solidify their kin-relationships. In this respect, establishment of churches is a strengthening of the *kāinga* system, mostly for the socio-economic benefit and solidarity of kin-members.

Disintegration of churches among Tongan migrants is happening in most, if not all, foreign countries where Tongans reside. Indeed, among their Pacific Island peers living overseas, Tongans are the leading and pioneering engineers in dismantling and reconstructing church congregations. In most, if not all, Tongan communities I have visited, there are different parables regarding the process, and above all there is always an ongoing rivalry and competition between leaders persuading people to follow in their individual footsteps and business strategy.

History in this context repeats itself, not wholesale but in part, in the sense that living Tongans are still proud of the idea that Tongans helped

early Western missionaries to spread Christianity throughout the South Pacific Islands by establishing church congregations and schools. Tongan migrants of today still seem to appreciate the idea of spreading Christianity – but through the process of dismantling and reconstruction, and then breaking it down into small fragmented and countless social species.

This is a by-product of the counterposing of opposite tendencies, like much else discussed in this essay. Churches' breakdown reminds us that society, or any social matrix, is nothing else but a scene of incessant battle. The findings in this study illustrate the permanent and complex interlocking, either in opposition or complementarity, of survival and adaptation; nature and culture struggle together; specific demands and new ways of seeing the world arise. While struggling for socio-economic sufficiency (*kumi ha mo'u*), migrants are involved in the adaptation process evident in the reasons behind the establishment of churches and the various forms of fund-raising, not only because these are part of the cultural heritage, but also because they are cushions providing feelings of security and oneness.

Apparently, on one hand migrants are as a whole still proud to have some form of association with the *hou'eiki* lineages and religious leaders, as well as to present material resources before the fund-hunters. On the other hand, migrant Tongans repeatedly complain about the contradictory effects of preserving *fatongia* fund-raising and *lau'eiki* observance upon their own daily life struggle for adaptation overseas. It is a paradox, and recalls again the traditional Tongan proverb: *ngulungulu 'a fei'umu*, or 'grumbling but still cooking in the earth-oven' for the royal, chiefly and priestly lineages.

The Churches in Tonga since World War II

*John Garrett**

QUEEN SÁLOTE TUPOU III could look back after World War II to her role in the healing of major divisions within Tongan Wesleyanism as an important achievement of her reign.¹ Three Australian missionaries in succession stood close to her – Rodger Page, A. Harold Wood and Cecil Gribble. The last of these three went to Tonga in 1939 and was there through the war years. He was deeply impressed by Page, who did not leave Tonga until the war was over. Gribble, like Wood and Page before him, fell under the Queen's personal spell. Her place in the power structure and her Christian faith find a parallel in the Pacific Islands in the career of the Queen Mother Ka'ahumanu in Hawaii a century earlier.² The Queen's *mana* was reinforced by pre-contact belief that the holy power of the highest chiefs derived from divine ancestors, a conviction reinforced by the modelling of the Tongan royal house by John Thomas on the British pattern, embodying by implication the doctrine of the divinity of kingship. The rituals of the two monarchies, the large and the small, fitted neatly, in a way John Wesley, a Church of England clergyman and loyal monarchist until the day he died, might well have approved. Gribble understood the special character of Tongan belonging, more a 'family than a place', more sharing in a 'state of mind' than citizenship in a nation state.³

Although Gribble returned to Australia in 1946, the same year as Page, to become successively general secretary of Methodist Overseas Missions, then secretary general and president general of the Methodist Church of Australia,

* Tongan Methodism has been treated in detail by the late A. Harold Wood, in the second volume of his *History of the Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church*. He, the late Cecil Gribble, Sione 'Amanaki Havea and the late Patelisio Finau have informed and corrected me. Lopeti Taufu has for many years also helped me to listen and learn. Much of the present paper appears in substance in my book (in press), *Where Nets Were Cast: Christianity in Oceania since World War II*.

¹ A. G. Wood and E. Wood Ellem, in Noel Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga* (Melbourne 1977), pp.190-209.

² John Garrett, *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (repr. Suva and Geneva 1985), pp.36-41.

³ Wendy Cowling, citing Walsh, in P. Herda, J. Terrell and N. Gunson (eds), *Tongan Culture and History* (Canberra 1990), pp.194; personal observation from members of the US Peace Corps in Tonga.

his heart remained in Tonga, where his ashes are buried beside the remains of his wife and infant son. He and Wood shared other attributes of the classical Wesleyan tradition exemplified in Tonga by James Egan Moulton and carried forward by Wood – standards of academic achievement approved by John Wesley, who was a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and a lover of fine hymns and music. Gribble often said if he had not been a minister of the Gospel he would have liked to have been an opera singer. Queen Sālote endorsed the approach. Gribble for a time headed Tupou College. The Queen appointed him as Director of Education for the kingdom in 1943. Queen Sālote brought back her son and successor, the future King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, as Minister of Education after completing his law studies in Australia. He asked Gribble in 1944 to establish a teacher training college, which began in Quonset huts left by the departing Americans. Gribble's love of Tonga, free of colonialist paternalism, was recognised by the Queen. She directed that during her reign and after her death he should always be welcome to come and stay as guest of the Crown. He went, often. His work marked the transition to full Tongan leadership in the majority Free Wesleyan Church. His recollections of leading Tongan ministers who were distinguished for wisdom were appreciative, free of any condescension. He described the Tongan Wesleyan minister Sau Faupula as 'the finest Christian I have ever known, white or brown'.⁴ Sione 'Amanaki Havea, son of the Sione Havea Senior, head tutor at Tupou College, who bore flogging scars on his back from the oppression of Moulton's people in the reign of King Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, was emerging after the war as a leader in the Tongan church and community, a moulder of Christian unity in Oceania, and an internationally recognised figure in World Methodist circles. He and his church, after the inauguration of the World Council of Churches in 1948, lived within a new and unexpected climate, the modern ecumenical movement. Suddenly Methodists in Tonga learned that the Church Universal was multiform, not Methodist.

The Catholic Church, historically and statistically second in line, was linked with the fate of the last Tu'i Tonga, the highest sacral chief under the old religion. The clergy were nearly all Marist Fathers. The bishop, Joseph Blanc, a bearded and princely figure, was Vicar Apostolic of Central Oceania from 1912. He wrote voluminously in French about his work and travels, which gave him oversight in Samoa, Fiji, Wallis and Futuna and Tonga.⁵ His father was a French admiral. He and his fellow missionaries gave a French flavour to the internal running of the church. Marists frequently stayed for

⁴ Preaching at Wesley Church, Suva, 1990.

⁵ Jopseph Blanc. *L'Héritage d'un Evêque d'Océanie* (Toulon 1921); Garrett, *Footsteps in the Sea*, pp.149-50, 224-6.

long periods. Many knew the culture and the language intimately. Their weekly round of high and holy days, confessions, masses, and the recitation of their breviaries as Marists, punctuated the care of the faithful in dispersed villages where fishing, gardening and the slow growth of palms effected sleepy change in the spirit of the comforting words 'we build for eternity'.

Blanc's vicariate was trimmed in stages. From 1937 onward until he retired in 1953, he was Vicar Apostolic of Tonga alone. Contact with France was cut off during the war. A flood of Anglo-Saxon influence immersed Tonga. After the war the mission turned for reinforcement to New Zealand. Like the Wesleyans the church found its style altered by urbanisation, the education explosion, the rise of a middle class and the appearance of an involved and informed laity aware of a world beyond the islands. From 1961 onward, spectacular changes ordered by Rome altered the Catholic sub-culture. Blanc, in retirement in Tonga, died in 1962 and was thus spared the shock of seeing the Latin liturgy and even the traditional guides to heaven, hell and purgatory dissolve before his eyes as the constitutions and decrees of the Second Vatican Council made their mark in Tonga.

After the war the substantial Free Church and the numerically smaller Church of Tonga continued to be regionally based and under the patronage of nobles who believed they were continuing the spirit of the church of Shirley Baker. Their strength in Vav'au and Ha'apai gradually grew in Nuku'alofa as extended families migrated south. Their money was raised largely through their annual *misinale* offerings in kind and in cash. They were a power in the capital under Tāufa'āhau Tupou II, as the Free Church's monumental church building close to the Free Wesleyans' Centenary Church shows. Both these other Methodist churches remained deeply Wesleyan, committed to the spirit of the rurally rooted revivals of the 1830s, but not interested, as Dr Moulton had been, in creating an academically respectable ordained ministry and laity wearing trencher caps and honoured with the title *matematika*.

Anglicanism in Tonga, though relatively small, would have been more prosperous before the war if its beginnings, eventually as an outpost of the Diocese of Polynesia, had not been inauspicious on two counts – its early association with the party of the jilted Princess 'Ofa, and the attempt of the ejected and dejected Shirley Baker to court 'Ofa's followers. The incoming bishop, Alfred Willis, had been a champion of dislodged Hawaiian royalty during his bumpy career in Hawaii. In Tonga he had the misfortune to back these two losing horses in the race for royal (and popular) favour. British members of the beach community might have been expected to be more friendly toward him, but even those who took their cues from Whitehall could

see his chances were minimal. Anglicanism in Tonga has become socially respectable, but has never gained wide support.⁶

The two other settled pre-war church bodies were the Seventh-day Adventists and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), both marginal to the Catholic and Protestant mainstreams. The Adventists were less marginal than the Salt Lake Mormons, whose system, 'made in America', relied on revelations attributed to an Angel Moroni in upper New York State to the murdered prophet Joseph Smith and carried to Utah under his successor Brigham Young. The substance of their message is in what Mormon missionaries carry in a neat package under their arms – the Triple Combination, consisting of the King James Bible as modified in places regarded as 'incorrectly translated', the Book of Mormon, deciphered by Smith from gold plates he said he found concealed on American soil, and supplementary revelations contained in *Doctrine and Covenants (D&C)* and *The Pearl of Great Price (PGP)*. These documents together are a corpus of unusual literature, worthy of study by those who want to understand the appeal of the Mormons in the Pacific since the war.⁷

By the close of World War II the Seventh-day Adventists were marking time. They considered the war to be a sign of the times, heralding the near return of Christ and the last days. While the war lasted their belief that they were bound by the commandment not to take life restricted them to non-combatant roles. Queen Sālote, who was a non-judgemental person, was kind to them. They accepted the authority of the 'powers that be'. They considered the international date line to be a man-made device and were therefore able to keep the Sabbath holy on the day the Tongan constitution proclaimed 'sacred for ever in Tonga'. The Adventists eat no pork or shellfish, do not accept *kava* and regard many food items offered at feasts in the presence of chiefs as 'unclean'. In the words of an Adventist historian, in the Adventist church, 'craving for approbation from government and community, although expressed in terms of cooperation and through the projection of itself as a caring church ... may be seen as an outsider seeking the acceptance it knows is unattainable'.⁸

THE CHURCH SCENE DIVERSIFIED after the war. In the preceding hundred years Tongans had already lived with various Christian splits and reunions. The

⁶ Stephen Donald, *In Some Sense the Work of an Individual: Alfred Willis and the Tongan Anglican Mission 1902-1920* (Hibiscus Coast, NZ 1994).

⁷ R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City 1986).

⁸ Denis Steley, 'Unfinished: the Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the South Pacific', PhD thesis, University of Auckland (Auckland 1989), p.344; (also p.252).

process has been called 'Tonga's tortured venture in church unity'.⁹ The divisions were related to strife between chiefs who were involved in internal rivalry, which sometimes led, as on Tongatapu in 1837, to open bloodshed and to the eventual alignments of Protestants against Catholics. More recent splits within and between churches since World War II have developed against a background of wider social transformation. New options have come from Australia, New Zealand and North America. Tongans have been able to savour a smorgasbord of religious snack foods. The statistics and evidence have been assembled for much of the Island Pacific in a book published by the Pacific Conference of Churches with the predictable title *Winds of Change*.¹⁰ Nuku'alofa, where church officials live, has been the centre of this outburst of religious diversity and the growth of a plural society. Christian diversification has been part of the mix.

Queen Sālote's husband, Prince Tūngi, died in 1942. Love and loyalty toward her did not diminish during the years of her post-war widowhood. Two events involving British royalty had religious overtones. The first was her celebrated bare-headed progress in the rain in London in 1953 when she visited for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and also received Communion in Westminster Abbey. The second was the visit of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh to Tonga, when they worshipped in the Centenary Church in Nuku'alofa, not the Anglican church. The arrangements on both occasions show the care taken in protocol to respect the formula of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 – *cuius regio eius religio* – the religion of the ruler is the religion of the subject, and vice versa. The protocol was, however, the outward shell; reality in Tonga ran deeper. The *mana* of the reigning monarch unites the people in a fusion of sacred and secular, awareness of the *tapu*, the holy. Methodism was originally a holiness movement. John Wesley's conversion experience in London in 1738 affirmed that 'the Spirit and the gifts are ours'. The gifts included joyful celebration of the Lovefeast, the gift of tongues (which the Wesley brothers did not disparage, though they did not speak in tongues in public themselves), and, more significantly, longing for 'entire sanctification', also called 'perfect love'. All these fitted harmoniously with pre-Christian ecstasy, group excitement and 'alofa. The figure of Jesus Christ, a Messiah King who died for the people, stood at the centre of the synthesis. The new religion fused with elements of the old and underlay the Tongan Methodist monarchical system. Since World War II new forms of

⁹ Charles Forman, 'Tonga's tortured venture in church unity', *Journal of Pacific History*, 13 (1978), 3-21.

¹⁰ Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change: Rapidly growing religious groups in the Pacific Islands* (Suva 1994).

church life have been revivalist. They recall aspects of the Wesleyan Methodist experience. What are these aspects?

- Ecumenism stresses Christian unity, expressed in Charles Wesley's hymn in the words 'Names and sects and parties fall, Thou, O Christ, art all in all'. This has favoured the formation of the Tongan Council of Churches, united revision of the translation of the Bible, and enthusiastic participation of mainline churches in the Pacific Conference of Churches.
- Conservative Evangelicalism, by contrast, has led to criticism of formalism and liberalism and produced groups which preach and celebrate explicit credal orthodoxy - at a higher temperature.
- Pentecostal and charismatic movements have reminded the majority Methodist churches that Methodism itself was originally a revival movement of the 'strangely warmed heart' and can be revived by fresh evidence of the Holy Spirit, with more unbuttoned forms of worship and heartier personal communication between those who are re-converted and feel the Spirit's power.

These three forces at work account for many developments in Tonga, especially since about 1960.

We look at the ecumenical development in the majority Free Wesleyan Church first. One massive representative of the trend – massive in both senses of the words – is still with us. Sione 'Amanaki Havea is the most eminent Tongan Methodist of the second part of this century. Physically and through his aura of seasoned wisdom he presents the chiefly image Tongans look for in their *faifekau*. As the first non-Tongan president of the Methodist Conference he has also served as chaplain to the King. The president, in Methodist polity and procedure, interprets the gospel and the laws of the church between meetings of the conference. In Tonga the office carries sacred authority and calls for mature counselling. By the time he took a prominent role in the first Conference of Pacific Churches and Missions at Malua, Western Samoa, in 1961, Havea was already known in church circles in the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Britain – and at the headquarters of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. His connections with Drew University and the Southern Methodist University in the United States and his powers as preacher and Bible expositor made people take notice of the 'fish and coconut theology' he promoted, embodying insights unique to Islander preachers. As principal of the regional and ecumenical Pacific Theological College, he was an image of a good Polynesian spiritual leader, bestriding problems undisturbed. He and his friend Setareki Tuilovoni of Fiji were post-war new men in the Island world, at home both among their own people and abroad.

Havea had another friend, a younger man who eventually stood beside him in Tonga and in the ecumenical movement in Oceania. Bishop Patelisio

Fīnau was a Marist Father, trained in New Zealand, who had been a teacher in England and the Philippines. He and his confrère Soane Foliaki, who became the Marist Provincial Superior in Central Oceania and later succeeded Fīnau as bishop, were prepared for their tasks under the guidance of the bishop who succeeded Blanc, the New Zealander Marist John H. Rodgers. As principal of Api Fo'ou College before he became bishop in 1954, Rodgers supervised the education of likely young Catholic boys, keeping an eye open for future priests. When Rodgers resigned and handed over to Fīnau in 1972 – the first Tongan-born bishop – Fīnau made 'the specific vision of the church as the people of God', which he 'gleaned from the Second Vatican Council' the 'mainspring of his episcopate'. He and 'Amanaki Havea made common cause and were advocates of justice for the poor. They supported the efforts of the Movement for Democracy to alter the composition of the Tongan parliament and sought to redress imbalance between nobles and commoners, all of which would require royal approval. The King accused Fīnau of being a Marxist, when he said, in June 1990:

No wonder Karl Marx, the father of communism, described the church that he knew as 'the opium of the people'. The church talked sweet nothings to the pious and like the ostrich buried its head in the sand while the world went to hell around it. The church can dope people into passively accepting the corruptions and abuses of the powerful. Had the church in Marx's day fulfilled her prophetic role, the world might never have been cursed with the scourge of atheistic communism.

The plain speaking did not please the King, but gained appreciation among many Tongan commoners, whose available inherited family lots had become smaller and sometimes unavailable, when Tongan nobles had estates and houses in their own parts of Tonga and in the capital.¹¹ This, and similar direct talk from Havea, on the other hand, upset many Tongans, who were loyal at all times to their anointed monarch. However, the views and speeches of the two church leaders were more widely applauded by some in the capital and by many educated Tongans living abroad.

In October 1993 church leaders in Oceania mourned the sudden death of Bishop Fīnau at the age of 59. He was then the current chairman of the Pacific Conference of Churches. His successor as bishop, Soane Foliaki, had been Rector of the Catholic Pacific Regional Seminary as well as Marist Provincial Superior. Together, Havea, Fīnau and Foliaki gave Tonga a distinctive part in the unfolding ecumenical transformation of Christianity in Oceania since World War II.

¹¹ David Mullins (ed.), *Bishop Patelisio Fīnau s.m. of Tonga: He spoke the truth in love: A Selection of His Writings and Speeches* (Auckland 1994), p.6; Epeli Hau'ofa, *Our Crowded Islands* (Suva 1977), pp.11-14.

The Free Church of Tonga, which declined to enter into union during the reign of Queen Sālote, and the somewhat smaller Church of Tonga, sponsored by the 'Ulukalala chiefs, have remained outside the ecumenical development which has brought the majority Free Wesleyans closer to the Roman Catholics and the smaller Anglicans. These two other Methodist churches have failed to take advantage of advances in the level of training offered by the Free Wesleyans, Sia'atoutai College and the Pacific Theological College. Members of extended families who have migrated in large numbers to Australia, New Zealand and the western and mountain states of the US have mostly kept up their allegiance, with some tendency to leak members in the direction of the Free Wesleyans. All groups of Wesleyans retain basic doctrine and worship and send lucrative remittances home to Tonga for the support of their churches, using especially the generous *misinale* festival. The corporate spirit of Tongan Methodism is thus intact in places such as Auckland, Dee Why near Sydney and Salt Lake City. The annual children's day, a badge of belonging, often continues to involve children's Bible drama centred in the story of the book of Queen Esther, who was a morally ambiguous figure, but an example of how to behave, according to scripture, as a queen. The sound of resonant choirs, echoing the sonorous improvised harmonies of the *polotu*, sometimes startle New Zealander, American or Australian suburban neighbours from their Sunday sleep. Wearing quality *ta'ovalas*, sharing of *kava* before church by preachers and stewards, the Sunday aroma of tropical food cooked in the earth oven for the Sabbath feast at noon – all this says Tonga, though abroad, is still Tonga. The Sabbath is festive, not dull and negative. Preaching is traditionally spontaneous and graphic, illustrated by Tongan island and ocean simile and metaphor. You have to be there to know it.

Such direct appeal to the heart and will is, however, now sometimes lacking in Tongan worship when led by younger ministers with degrees and diplomas. Pentecostal and charismatic churches from abroad have moved in to supply the old fervour. They attract Methodists who want a return of the spontaneity and warmth known as 'Methodism in earnest'. They gather in Methodists who feel starved of the old ardour. This in part accounts for the growth in Tonga since the war of the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal church in the world, with origins in America and Britain.¹² The Assemblies came to Tonga from Fiji in 1966. In their worship they 'speak in tongues', a phenomenon which its first observers, as reported in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, compared with being drunk. By 1992 the Assemblies had 1,400 worshippers in and near Nuku'alofa and were reported to

¹² Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (ed.), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids 1993), pp.23-9.

'cooperate closely with the Roman Catholic charismatic group as well as on a more informal level with charismatics within the different Protestant churches in the country'.¹³ How can this spread into normally more prim and proper folds be explained? The world-wide charismatic movement has produced the fastest growing churches in the world, especially in Latin America and tropical Africa. The movement's spread in the Pacific is attributable largely to the way urbanised adherents of the mainline groups have found ecstatic release comparable with similar behaviour in the pre-Christian societies which the ancestors of many Islanders knew before the arrival of missions. The Roman Catholic church has become calmly accepting of the trend. In 1984 the Pope approved the holding of a convention of Catholic charismatics in Rome. They came from all parts of the world; 6,000 priests took part.

Will the appearance of Pentecostal and charismatic groups in Tonga, which has accompanied migration into Nuku'alofa from outer islands and the rise of a more substantial middle class, lead to further splitting of the major groups which came out of Methodist and Catholic missions? The list of new conservative evangelical para-church groups which run their own worship and activities suggests that, though they are at present small, their numbers might be growing. They include Youth With a Mission and the Campus Crusade for Christ, but these groups are re-affirming doctrinal positions held for a long time within many Protestant churches. Their adherents often continue to attend the old churches and say their own warm passion for 'soul winning' is what the more staid groups need. Their influence is thus divisive, but it can also flow back into the older churches. Increasing openness inside the World Council of Churches to its Pentecostal member churches and to the wider charismatic movement suggests that possibilities of return in Tonga to the Methodist majority mother churches may be latent within the post-war splitting and variety. A passion for the 'refining fire' of revival has never been far from Tonga's predominantly Methodist society.

Perhaps the most significant recent split, in this context, has been the emergence of the Maama Fo'ou (New Light) movement, which has produced a new church, the Tokaikolo (literally, honouring God in our own home place) Christian Fellowship, by separation from the Free Wesleyan Church.¹⁴ The group's leader, Senituli Koloï from Ha'apai, was an ex-schoolteacher. He studied as a mature age student at the Pacific Theological College in Fiji. He was known there as a man of intense faith, gaunt, excitable, a 'character'.

¹³ Ernst, *Winds of Change*, p.25.

¹⁴ Makisi Finau, in Charles W. Forman (ed.), *Island Churches: Challenge and Change* (Suva 1992), pp.141-205. More detail about Senituli Koloï is in an unpublished paper by Makisi Finau presented to the Tongan History Association and available from the Association on request, and in his unpublished BD thesis (Pacific Theological College, Suva 1986).

When he returned to Tonga his church set him free to serve the Bible Society and the Scripture Union. He was a fervent preacher, practised healing by the laying on of hands and criticised what he saw as the torpor of the Free Wesleyan Church. Senituli impressed his followers who regarded him as a prophet. John Wesley's passion for revival and personal holiness was his direct inspiration. Here was the fire of Tonga's widespread revivals of the 1830s, reappearing in Senituli. Between 1970 and 1976 he formed his own dissenting following, outside the conference's stationing system, thus defying his church's conference. He upset the Bible Society and the Scripture Union in the process. Both these bodies operate in close co-operation with mainline churches. In 1976 Senituli separated from the Free Wesleyan Church, taking 3,000 people with him in the following 10 years. He established his own Bible Colleges in Tonga, and among the migrant communities in parts of the United States and in Auckland, where he was supported at first by a Tongan royal princess. Sione Taufu,¹⁵ an experienced returned missionary, who had been a bishop in the United Church while serving in Bougainville, joined Senituli's new church. He and Senituli were expelled from the ministry of the Free Wesleyan Church by decisions of the Conference in early 1979. Senituli and Viliami H. Mo'ungalao, the president of the Free Wesleyan Church from 1977 to 1982, were involved in abrupt personal confrontation, to which the personalities of both men contributed. They were equally stubborn and both sure they were right.

Senituli Koloï died in 1980, aged 55, a few days after complaining of feeling ill. His habit of drastic fasting in times of private prayer contributed to his death. He burned himself out in the cause he doggedly and successfully promoted. His wife Luseane remained loyal to him but was often pained by the rupturing of old bonds of 'alofa she had known from childhood in the Free Wesleyan Church. The church Koloï founded continues, but has not grown markedly in proportion to the majority Wesleyan churches since his death. Given the cohesiveness of wider family sentiment in the Free Wesleyan Church the Tokaikolo Fellowship's further development as a separate and vibrant community may not permanently survive the death of its founder.

Another church of a different kind has detached itself from the Free Church, but for different reasons, more directly connected with the rise in Nuku'alofa of an urban middle class concerned about business ethics in the money economy. This Free Constitutional Church seceded when its leaders charged leaders of the Free Church with irregular financial accounting and

¹⁵ Sione Lātūkefu, 'Triumph and defeat at Roreinang: a Tongan mission in North Solomons', in Ron and Marjorie Crocombe (eds), *Polynesian Missions in Melanesia from Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia* (Suva 1982), pp.39-53.

concentration of power in the hands of a particular family group. Court cases brought matters to a head. The King of Tonga, a trained lawyer and a sponsor of best practice in Tongan business, advised the discontented group to create the Constitutional Church, with legally acceptable written guidelines for administration and finance. The new church, which had about 1,200 adherents, drew off with it 100 ordained ministers and listed 500 of its members in Auckland. A board of trustees acts as an auditing watchdog, independently of the spiritual oversight given by the church's annual conference. The Constitutional Church has joined the Tongan Council of Churches and the Pacific Conference of Churches – another example of the way initial division can be followed by unexpected ecumenical reunions. The Constitutional Church shows the force of a dilemma: being caught between older Tongan customs of unstructured gift exchange and sharing on one hand, and the demands of statute law, and the money economy on the other. Procedure in the majority Free Wesleyan Church had the prior advantage of following the practice of the conferences of its British and Australian missionaries from Moulton's time onward, which involves what a Charles Wesley hymn called giving 'a strict account'.

The Latter-day Saints in the post-war environment in Tonga have shown little tendency to avoid the money economy and the work ethic. The growth of this highly centralised church, which is denigrated by unkind opponents as a giant heretical cargo cult, has been spectacular – from about 5,500 in 1966 to an estimated 14,000 in 1992, i.e. from seven to 15 per cent of the Tongan population. The Mormons have a cluster of finely equipped and staffed schools and have built their Tongan centre nearby – at Liahona, on an ample site a short bus journey from Nuku'alofa. Queen Sālote and the present King have received the Mormons as people using the name of Jesus Christ. They have received the Islander welcome extended to *papālagi* who come in peace, bearing gifts. Through their post-war building program they have constructed solid and carefully maintained churches, in a modified Art Deco style, in as many villages as possible all over the group. Their neat, clean, well funded and educationally efficient community is linked by binding regulation to the final authority of the church, the first presidency in Salt Lake City. People in the Tongan government sometimes wonder whether the Mormons might create a realm within the realm, with ultimate loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, thus in time rivalling the monarch and the nobles in wealth and power. The church, since the success of the intensive Mormon post-war building program in Polynesia, makes an important contribution to Tonga's balance of payments, through capital investment and remittances from prospering Tongan Saints who live in the Mormon complex at Laie, Hawaii, or on the US mainland. This economic input goes together with extensive localisation of the Melchizedek priesthood, and the gathering of the

names of ancestors for the temple ceremony of baptism for the dead and the sealing of living couples in 'celestial marriage'. The church appeals to Polynesian taste for genealogies. Pre-Christian ancestors are given a place in one of the Mormon heavens by this method. The 'otua reappear in a new niche through the Mormon belief that before this life, people were gods, and will in the end be gods again. Latter-day Saint belief, in terms of the phenomenology of religions, combines anthropomorphic monotheism and anthropocentric polytheism. Translation of the Book of Mormon into Tongan has facilitated the spread of such doctrine and the initiation of Islanders into a faith bearing the trade mark 'made in America', a cornucopia of material delights, with an earthly Zion firmly located, in these latter days, on American soil. And yet, in Honolulu and Salt Lake City, where Tongan Methodist worship also thrives, the Tongan Latter-day Saints are known to look wistful on Saturday night when they smell the food being prepared by their Free Wesleyan relatives for the Sunday noon meal to be eaten after church. This kind of Lovefeast, an old Methodist institution, draws some Tongans back home again to their traditional families, their traditional church, and the authority of their traditional chiefs.

TONGAN CHRISTIANITY in general since the war has been changed by the explosion of advanced education, including the education and advancement of women, exposure to the world economy, Third World social protest, and the percolating of all these influences, from Nuku'alofa and from Tongan communities abroad, into the lives of Tongans in all the islands. The change has brought divisions. At the same time, a strong ingredient in the sense of being Tongan comes from customs and observances connected with the larger Churches. This runs deep and is as yet only moderately threatened by secularity or Christian splits and controversies. When a Tongan, at home or abroad, is asked about religion, the reply more often than not reveals a culturally conditioned Christianity, more likely to be Wesleyan or Catholic than something new.

Introduction and Development of Family Planning in Tonga 1958-1990

Henry Ivarature

WITH ALL THE MEANS OF CONTRACEPTION which had been in use in the past proving inadequate in the post-war generation, a limited family planning service on modern lines was introduced in Nuku'alofa during 1958; the initiative was not that of the government, but came from the international organisation that is committed to family planning throughout the world — the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF). The government, in particular the medical department of the Ministry of Health, was neither ready nor adequately organised to introduce it. No-one was trained in family planning, and the necessary medical infrastructure to implement family planning services on a nationwide scale was non-existent. And yet demographic trends in both Tonga and Samoa during the 1950s had been signalling the need to introduce some form of population control. The two countries were experiencing high inter-censal growth rates, as a result of improved medical services and living standards, leading to reduction of mortality rates and a rapid increase in population. The indication of this demographic trend and an IPPF-sponsored survey of the five Pacific Islands countries Fiji, Niue, Eastern Samoa, Western Samoa, and Tonga, carried out by Ena Compton of the Auckland Family Planning Clinic, New Zealand, were the early signals for the need to introduce family planning in these countries. Ena Compton later returned to Tonga to teach contraceptive techniques to the medical and nursing staff, and she opened the first family planning clinic. Although the Government of Tonga is said to have been interested in family planning as a means of improving the health of mothers and their offspring, and birth-control since 1953, and perhaps as early as 1950,¹ family planning was not official government policy until 1962 when, as the Development Plan records, funds were allocated in the recurrent estimates of the Ministry of Health.

The Tonga Family Planning Program was instituted in 1965 with a Tongan medical officer, Dr Niumeitolu, appointed part-time medical officer in charge of the family planning clinic at Vaiola Hospital. Dr Niumeitolu

¹ Mere Pulea, *The Family, Law and Population in the Pacific Islands* (Suva 1986), p.51.

had recently completed a six months fellowship in Australia for postgraduate training in obstetrics, gynaecology and paediatrics and had also received brief training in family planning in Suva. His appointment signalled recognition of family planning as an official government program. Hitherto the work of family planning services had been carried out by a senior staff nurse, occasionally assisted by a junior staff nurse. In 1964 another family planning clinic was established at Vava'u. The beginning was marred by many administrative problems — in particular, high rates of staff turnover, frequent staff transfers, lack of properly trained staff, and little recognition from the Ministry of Health of the importance of family planning, although 80 married women had shown interest in it during Ena Compton's month-long visit.

Their average age was 21 years and their average number of children was nine. Another 146 married women then consulted Compton's trainee, Senior Staff Nurse Meliame Misa. In all, 221 of these women sought family planning advice and, according to the Annual Health Report for 1958, about the same number were using contraceptive devices more or less regularly. Five women stopped using contraceptives because they wanted to conceive, three were contraceptive failures, two stopped because of a shortage of contraceptives and 11 because of objections raised by their husbands on religious grounds. In 1960, with Misa transferred, only 25 women attended the clinic, about half of whom were regular visitors. Four became pregnant because they had not maintained regular contact as instructed. The most probable explanation for the Vatola family planning clinic's dismal performance that year, however, was the fact that Kafo'atu Luani who was then responsible for the clinic had departed in May 1961 for a year-long course in midwifery at the Royal Women's Hospital, Melbourne, Australia. There was nobody to continue her duties. It is rather ironic that the Annual Health Report raised concern about the rapid increase in population when the work of the Vatola family planning clinic was temporarily suspended, while at the same time singling out the reduction of births through the use of natural methods or approved artificial methods of contraception as one of the basic solutions for overpopulation.

Nevertheless, when the Vatola family planning clinic recommenced service in September 1962, its reopening also marked government's commitment to making family planning an official policy because funds were specifically allocated for family planning activities in the recurrent estimates of the Ministry of Health. Senior staff nurse Misa returned from Vava'u, for the first time since 1958 a junior staff nurse was assigned to assist, and the number of users showed a marked improvement, from 1960's 25 women to 93 in the short period of resumption of services in

1962. Three were new acceptors. Only 16 attended regularly, but attendance in 1963 showed more promise with 75 women out of the 196 attending regularly. When the clinic days were increased from twice weekly to a daily service in 1964, the total number of new acceptors declined but the overall number of acceptors improved slightly. These statistics do not support the claims that demand for family planning advice was slowly increasing throughout Tonga, but in 1963 a representative of the Pathfinder Fund, Edna Rankin McKinnon, visited the kingdom and following her visit the Pathfinder Fund has continued to assist Tonga's family planning program by providing educational materials, literature on family planning such as pamphlets and contraceptive supplies. A second family planning clinic opened at Vava'u in 1964 found attendance disappointing, which tends to suggest that it was not wanted, contrary to what was proclaimed by the Annual Health Report. In its first year, 284 married women visited the clinic for family planning advice but only 36 attended regularly. In the first month of the clinic's opening attendance was very high, but subsequent months saw a rapid decline. In 1965 only 12 married women attended. Four of these were new visitors. The low attendance figure was attributed to a shortage of contraceptive materials.

PRIOR TO Dr Niumeitolu's appointment, two rather important events had occurred that may have been responsible for the recognition of family planning as a government program. The first and lesser event was the publication, as part of a series, of a feature article in *The Chronicle*, Tonga's weekly newspaper, entitled 'The Population Problem', beginning on Friday 30 April 1965. The article was the work of John Rock, a well-known American gynaecologist and Harvard professor of medicine who described the world's population problem as 'the first world problem in history'. The first article took up half a page of *The Chronicle* which at that time consisted of less than five pages. The main themes discussed in the series of articles were the hindrance to economic growth, the migration and resettlement of people because of population pressure, the positions of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, and responsible parenthood. The discussion on the churches and religion provoked responses from the heads of local churches who told the editor they would write articles for *The Chronicle* on their churches' positions on family planning.

The second and more significant event was the annual meeting of the South Pacific Health Board in July 1965, involving Western Samoa, New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, and the Western Pacific High Commission. As executive arm of the South Pacific Health Services, the board provided advice to member countries about public health programs and

administration. Recognising the significance of family planning to health and happiness in the home, and the need for population control as part of national plans for economic development, the board urged participating governments to establish and develop family planning as an integral part of their public health plans as *The Chronicle* itself noted on 13 August 1965.

Whether this recommendation from the South Pacific Health Board meeting led to the appointment of Dr Niumeitolu and the institution of family planning as a government program is yet to be established. A similar recommendation which held greater urgency was voiced in Tonga—in particular, the need to educate the public about the economic and medical benefits of family planning, but there was a slight hitch because, in order to do this sort of work, more funds, staff and supplies were urgently required. Assistance from overseas organisations was sought that year. In his first official speech, opening the 66th session of Tonga's Legislative Assembly on Tuesday 21 June 1966, Tupou IV called for the introduction of family planning. To illustrate his point he compared Tonga's population density to that of India. By planning their family, a husband and wife with four children would be able to ensure they would be in a financial position to cater for the children, clothe and educate them, and so give them the opportunity of sharing in the future progress of the kingdom. He also stressed the declining size of land allotments and the unavailability of land, the high incidence of illegitimate children who had become a burden on the community, and the decline of the kingdom's major export earner, copra, while the population continued to increase.

The King's maiden speech was just what the already existing family planning program could have wished for — a regal expression of interest and approval. The King's concern over the question of population, however, goes as far back as 1950, when he raised the issue at the first South Pacific Conference. The speech added momentum to the work of family planning in 1966, despite many administrative, personnel, and medical shortcomings for the Annual Health Report to list. Weekly family planning discussions were broadcast over the radio station, ZCO, and two public meetings were convened in Nuku'alofa and Kolonga apart from publications of short articles and posters in *The Chronicle*. While publicity for family planning was making a progressive start, clinical services were still disappointing largely because of shortages in staff and contraceptive supplies. In Vava'u, the family planning clinic did not conduct regular clinical services but nonetheless it reported 32 sterilisation operations that year.

Requests for assistance from overseas organisations met favourable responses. The Population Council of the United States donated 2,000

intra-uterine devices (lippes loop). With two medical officers instructed in fitting IUDs and their involvement in conducting clinics at Ngu and Niu'ui Hospitals, it was not surprising that this contraceptive method reported high usage in 1966 when a total of 469 women were fitted with IUDs. Family planning still received only minimal reference in the country's first development plan when it was published on 1 July 1966. Nonetheless, the development plan's proposals to expand the maternal and child health services served as a catalyst for the progressive introduction of family planning throughout Tonga. Funding for family planning continued to be provided in the recurrent estimates. The Annual Health Report (1966) called for rapid introduction of family planning clinics in Ha'apai, 'Eua, Vava'u, and the outer islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou. Family planning services were provided at Ngu Hospital, Vava'u, and fittings of IUDs occurred at Niu'ui Hospital. The 1966 Annual Health Report recommended separate clinics, such as the type at Vaiola, to cater specifically for family planning. The sense of urgency for establishing family planning clinics was driven by the belief that 5,000 out of an estimated 20,000 women in the fertile 15-to-46 age group could be protected from undesired pregnancies. Furthermore, women could be examined for possible symptoms of cancer by Pap smears. These tests would be sent to the National Women's Laboratory in Auckland for *papanicoloau* examination. The increasing number of abortions was another supporting justification for the urgent need to establish more clinics. The suggestion to establish a family planning association in Tonga was also stressed in that year.

CONTINUED staff shortages apart, the idea of family planning still had to be presented to the people before it could become a success. Two principal approaches were recommended to make family planning appealing and make it an acceptable practice of daily life. The first consisted of approaching the mothers, the second sought the support of women leaders of formal and informal groups. Approaches to pastors and priests were advised, with the latter subjected to visits by the nurse to explain those methods acceptable to the various church hierarchies. The second approach involved seeking the assistance of women leaders and other influential women to persuade mothers to accept family planning. Incumbent users of family planning services were also sought as advocates and educators. These women leaders included heads of women's *tapa*-making groups, mat-making groups, home development groups, health committees, wives of nobles with hereditary titles, wives of church leaders, midwives, *fefine faitotos*, and educated women. To disseminate and promote the idea of family planning to a nation-wide audience, even

the use of gossip, rumours and hearsay was encouraged to raise interest in family planning. To use the words of the Tonga Health Educator, Joe Fanamanu: 'in Tonga, one has only to mention that there is a new service directed to the planning of families, and just about every mother will hear of it or discuss it before the day is out'.² An important recommendation made at the 1967 seminar was for Tonga to establish a Population Planning Board.

In 1968, family planning became formally recognised as an integrated part of the maternal child health project. Medical officers were appointed to take charge of family planning in Tongatapu, Ha'apai, and Vava'u, and more assistance for family planning arrived from the IPPF and the United States Peace Corps in the form of contraceptive supplies, skilled personnel, and fellowships for Tongan medical personnel to train overseas. The IPPF granted three fellowships enabling one medical officer, one nursing sister, and one staff nurse to attend family planning courses in Singapore in 1968. The assignment of United States Peace Corps volunteers to assist in maternal and child health and family planning work represented the first form of assistance to Tonga for family planning.

Progress was spectacular during 1968. Integration of family planning with the maternal and child health project was a key factor leading to the highest reported use of contraceptives, at 787 acceptors, since 1958. About 600 of these were new acceptors. Nevertheless the 1968 Annual Health Report insisted further educational input was essential. In 1969 work was strengthened further by the establishment of the Tonga Family Planning Association (TFPA) in December. More international assistance came from the East-West Center in Hawaii. The 1969 Annual Health Report noted a tremendous increase in family planning recruitment largely as a result of an extensive public motivation campaign on the subject with posters, signboards, lectures, and motivational work at places like the obstetrics wards and by nurses on their home visits. The level of intensity of the public coverage in 1969 earned itself a place in *The Chronicle* weekly column, 'Citizen Survey', where a cross-section of people throughout Tonga were asked for their opinions on the major issue of the week. The 'Citizen Survey' issue on 8 August 1969 was about family planning. Of two men and two women interviewed, only the older woman was against because 'pregnancy and birth are God's realm and we should not interfere. We should also be able to control pregnancy by will power, and not by artificial means.'

² Joe Fanamanu, 'Training in Family Planning in Tonga', *South Pacific Bulletin*, 2nd quarter (1969), p. 52.

On the other hand, the emphasis given to family planning as the means of alleviating the problems of overpopulation was dubbed by Tongan educationalist Futa Helu as 'a makeshift solution'. He added that 'birth control was something introduced by frightened human beings'. Helu claimed 'that with the necessary research and the proper education of the palate to the strange-tasting food, man need never have any food problems'.³ Alluding to the successful landing of the Apollo II mission on the moon on 21 July 1969, Helu said 'shortage of living space seemed insurmountable a decade or two ago, but today, recent developments in space technology had placed man on the threshold of vast areas of the cosmos which man cannot possibly hope to overcrowd'. Another solution of the population, food, and living space problems, according to Helu, was a more even distribution of wealth. He also questioned the advisability of allowing 'incurable scoundrels, invalids, and bedridden patients to live' as they 'were a drain on the economy at the cost of potential babies still under the control of humanity'. Nevertheless the number of contraceptive acceptors in 1969 reflected the publicity – a total of 846 people commenced using contraceptives.

Only 216 discontinued, while a total of 1,011 acceptors were reported by the Health Department to have used contraceptives. Outer islands such as 'Eua, Niuatoputapu, and Niuafo'ou provided reports of family planning and contraceptive usage that year. The major reason that these island groups reported family planning data was the integration of family planning with the maternal and child health service. In 1970 another family planning clinic was opened by a religious organisation – the Roman Catholic Mission Voluntary Family Planning Service in Nuku'alofa. This clinic taught and assisted Catholic women to learn the rhythm and ovulation methods. Early in 1970, again, a knowledge, attitudes and practice (KAP) survey was carried out in Tonga by two consultants from the School of Public Health, University of Hawaii, at the request of the Tongan Government. The pill, the IUD and the condom were statistically the most widely used contraceptives in Tongatapu. The IUD was the highest reported contraceptive method used in Tongatapu in 1970 with a total of 400 acceptors. This statistic was largely because of the establishment of five new centres for IUD fitting which had the services of the family planning medical officer and a senior staff nurse weekly throughout the year. On 'Eua, family planning services and IUD insertion were performed by a Peace Corps volunteer nurse.

While progress was continually hampered by persistent staff shortages and lack of suitable transportation – despite the premier, His Royal

³ *The Chronicle*, 22 Aug. 1969.

Highness Prince Tu'ipelehake's becoming patron of the Tongan Family Planning Association – assistance from intergovernmental and international organisations was never short. And with a foundation established firmly in Tongatapu, there was the need to expand and consolidate family planning in the other islands.

SO FAMILY planning began as an activity with little social or health significance between 1958 and 1970, and became a social and health policy of immense importance between 1971 and 1980. The priority given by the government is demonstrated by its integration with the existing health infrastructure in order to deliver the service to the wider community. The principal vehicles responsible for this integration were the second and third development plans. Government support (however tenuously it was articulated in financial provision for the costs of family planning) and the intensity of the campaign by the Ministry of Health within these development plans were major factors assisting the integration of family planning with the prevailing system of health care – the maternal and child health service.

Integration of family planning into the maternal child health framework acquired form in several ways. First, a Tongan medical officer, Dr Tatola, was appointed as full time family planning medical officer with responsibility also covering the maternal child health service. Dr Tatola had recently completed a 12-month World Health Organisation fellowship studying obstetrics and gynaecology at the University of Auckland. Then, there was the development of a concrete and realistic project entitled the 'Maternal and Child Health-Family Planning (MCH-FP) Project' in 1971. Funding for this project came from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). In 1973, UNFPA provided 10 new vehicles for the maternal and child health and family planning service, and motorcycles for use by public health nurses. Immediate assistance had been provided by the World Health Organisation in the shape of one medical officer and one health educator for the family planning program.

Total UNFPA expenditure for implementation of the project since its inception in 1971 to the end of 1978 amounted to T\$390,111.57 – or nearly eight times the government's own T\$58,460 allocation in the Second Development Plan, and much more rationally directed since it went to provide a World Health Organisation medical officer, a health educator, training of medical and paramedical personnel in Tonga and overseas, transport, contraceptive supplies, other clinical supplies, educational materials, the construction of medical facilities, and funding of seminars on family planning. Other sources of international assistance for the project have come from the International Planned Parenthood

Federation, the United States Peace Corps, the Pathfinder Fund, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

One measure particularly introduced as part of the family planning campaign and fully integrated with the maternal and child health framework was the post-partum family planning program. The post-partum family planning approach, as described by R. Cuca and C. S. Pierce, 'is another attempt to introduce the notion of family planning while a woman is receiving medical attention for something else; in this case, delivery of a child. The underlying rationale is that a woman is most likely to be persuaded of the family planning message in the period immediately following the birth of a child.'⁴ Immediate post-partum family planning in Tonga began in 1973; in that year 239 family planning acceptors were recorded of whom 113 were IUD acceptors, while 42 women had sterilisation operations, 16 were introduced to the pill, and 35 and 33 women, respectively, accepted the condom and ovulation methods. All these post-partum acceptors were women who gave birth at Vaiola Hospital in Nuku'alofa.

When family planning became an integral part of the maternal and child health framework in 1971, both family planning and maternal and child health care administrative and field personnel needs were inadequate. The medical personnel who provided family planning services were minimal and depended on the existing maternal and child health personnel. At the time of integration, plans for incorporating the maternal and child health service into a comprehensive public health service were being implemented. By 1972 the public health service, which in 1971 included environmental sanitation, community water supply, and communicable diseases, was enlarged to include family planning and maternal and child health services, health education, and nutrition. The integration of family planning with the maternal and child health framework was a significant advance for the expansion of family planning services throughout Tonga, but the personnel required to implement maternal and child health and family planning activities was still inadequate. In 1973, a shortage of nursing staff meant that the maternal and child health services were below required levels. Although eight new United States Peace Corps registered nurses arrived that year to work for the maternal and child health and family planning service, four returned to the United States for personal reasons. By 1974, the number of workers was reduced to one, but this particular nurse spent most of her time at

⁴ R. Cuca and C.S. Pierce, *A Demographic Analysis of the Population of Tonga, 1777-1975*, Occasional Paper no. 14, Nouméa, South Pacific Commission, p. 57.

the organisation's headquarters, working intermittently at the Vaiola Hospital ante-natal clinic. Poor working conditions and low wages made the nursing profession a less than appealing choice of employment. And the poor employment conditions resulted in what is believed to be the first ever industrial action taken by civil servants in Tonga. Public health nurses staged two separate strikes, the first in February 1971 when 28 nurses at Vaiola Hospital went on strike, the second in March involving 62 senior staff and student nurses at Vaiola Hospital in Nuku'alofa, Niu'ui at Pangai in Ha'apai, and at Prince Ngu Hospital in Vava'u.

Integration and family planning's expansion had increased the volume of work. Nurses claimed that they worked up to 60 hours a week and were always on call for no extra pay or overtime. In a printed statement distributed to the public, the nurses claimed responsibilities were far too great, as a nurse had to look after about 30 patients during day time and about 50 at night. The salary was: first year student, T\$5.63 a fortnight; second year student, T\$6.38 a fortnight, and Junior Staff Nurse, T\$7.13 a fortnight. The nurses involved in this strike were threatened with dismissal from the civil service by the government if they failed to return to work within 24 hours.

At costs such as this to the service providers, the maternal and child health and family planning program achieved some success. At least 50 per cent of the married female population in Tonga were provided with family planning services. The objective of reducing the birth rate to 20 per thousand by 1975 was 'too ambitious', however, as the Third Development Plan admitted. An increasingly rapid entry of young people into the reproductive age groups and into marriage had prevented its achievement. Even so the Third Development Plan, published in 1976, reported a decline in the birth rate. In this new plan a total of 15 objectives were listed. The fifth objective broadly emphasised a reduction in the rate of population growth by seeking to lower the birth rate by extending contraception's availability to at least three-quarters of married women by 1980. Both long-term and short-term objectives called for the improvement of people's welfare as well as the raising of their living standards. The importance of the health and welfare of mothers and children, as necessary factors in general living conditions, demanded an emphasis on family planning as an area that would facilitate improvements in social and economic progress.

The objectives clearly demonstrated government's commitment to family planning as an important policy instrument, and the strategies designed to achieve the long-term and immediate national objectives of family planning during the Third Development Plan's implementation phase were numerous. The Third Development Plan envisaged that, in the long term,

the family planning program would be effective in reducing the birth rate. In the immediate term, planners did not foresee a possible decline in the rate of population increase, assuming that the natural rate of increase remained constant with the 1972 rate of 2.4 per cent per annum. More medical facilities were planned for construction throughout Tonga, including those originally listed in the Second Development Plan. The unavailability of land and an overloaded work schedule of the Ministry of Works' construction team were two of the reasons for the delay. A major factor was the worldwide recession in mid-1970, a factor not foreseen nor anticipated in the formulation of the Third Development Plan. Hence, the effects of the recession caused a dramatic decline in copra prices and foreign receipts, and led to serious liquidity problems in the public sector and a curtailment of the Third Development Plan expenditure.

The 1976 National Census also had a significant bearing on the Third Development Plan because the population estimates used were highly overestimated. The mid-term review reported that the birth rate had been reduced from 29 per thousand to 26 per thousand during the first two years of the Third Development Plan. Whether this decline in the birth rate is entirely the result of family planning is hard to say, but according to the government census officer, Saane Tukia, two factors may have been responsible — family planning and outmigration from Tonga.⁵ The most probable was outmigration, but nonetheless a Health Department survey of family planning acceptors in August 1976 showed that 45.7 per cent of all married women in the reproductive age group were currently using a family planning method. The lowest reported number of family planning acceptors was in the Ha'afeva district, Ha'apai, with 4.8 per cent, while the highest was recorded in Kolonga, Tongatapu, with 63.3 per cent. The main island of Tongatapu reported 53 per cent of family planning acceptors, followed by Vava'u with 37 per cent, 'Eua with 32 per cent, and Ha'apai with 25 per cent.

The survey also found that more than 50 per cent of acceptors were less than 30 years old, more than 50 per cent of them had chosen a highly effective method, only a third the doubtful condom, and only about 20 per cent the rhythm or some other even less reliable method. As family planning services have improved throughout the country, so have the number of acceptors of reproductive regulatory measures. The policy seems to have been working.

⁵ *The Chronicle*, 10 Feb. 1977.

Analysing the Emergent Middle Class – the 1990s

Kerry James

IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED in *Matangi Tonga* during 1993, the most outspoken pro-democratic People's Representative in parliament, 'Akilisi Pohiva, used the expression 'the new middle class' – interestingly enough, in reference to some members of the Tongan nobility.¹ He was referring to nobles who have neither distinguished themselves through achievement and high government position nor are regarded as great aristocrats, but who have reasonably good education and control substantial economic resources as landlords of tenanted estates. This was the first time I had seen the term 'middle class' used by a Tongan in popular rather than academic discourse.² I then began to wonder if the term was in general currency? If there is a concept of an emergent middle class in Tonga, how widely shared is it, and what are its defining characteristics and membership? Importantly, what is it *in the middle of*; in what ways has the social formation of Tonga changed to encompass a 'new middle class'?

Previous studies of the Tongan middle class by social scientists have tended to assume its existence. This assumption is based primarily on the observation of occupational categories which appear to be comparable with those that comprise the middle classes in Western capitalist economies. Tonga is not yet predominantly a capitalist country, and it certainly does not have an industrial capitalist economy such as that of Great Britain or France. This being the case, it is notoriously bad sociological practice to pluck similar-looking forms from very different historical, cultural, and social formations and compare them as if they were two examples of the same phenomenon. Groupings based on simple economic or more complex social divisions might have very different meanings in different settings, particularly in highly traditional societies. Certainly, accounts of the Tongan 'middle class' that have been previously put forward tend to differ according to the conceptual models of both the society and of class that are used in the analyses, as Steven Francis's critical review of the views of Cook, Mariner,

¹ *Matangi Tonga* July-Sept. 1993, p.17.

² Both 'Epeli Hau'ofa and Futa Helu have used the term in academic publications.

Farmer and the Wesleyan missionaries, Kaeppler, Bott, Marcus, Needs and Gailey, clearly shows.³

The very earliest studies employ a dichotomous model which emphasises the broad division between chiefs and commoners in pre-constitution times, a multi-layered model of strata based on simple economic differences, or a synthetic model of gradation that also includes the social and cultural factors of rank and status. My analysis has located the pre-constitutional stratification system within a religious hierarchy, such as that proposed for India by Dumont, which involves the notion of 'encompassment' by the primary forms (those that had precedence) of their opposites. This took a very different form from the ladder-like or pyramidal-shaped layered models of stratification.

The pyramidal models, however, have been the ones most used by people investigating the post-constitutional forms of stratification, whether or not they believe class exists. The continued importance of rank, for example, was used by Marcus to argue persuasively against there being classes in Tonga. Among family-centred kinship networks, however, he saw the same social divisions as being significant in modern society as did Needs in his strongly Marxist-influenced class analysis. All these writers emphasise the rise of a new set of commoner people who have used to advantage the avenues of social mobility provided by government, church, and educational institutions to improve their position in society. They differ, however, as to what this position should be called: an élite, a variegated middle class, or a bourgeoisie. Francis's point remains fundamental; namely, that the way the society is viewed and the different concepts of class that are employed in analysis largely determine the various patterns of social differentiation that are found.

THE CONCEPT of class became prominent in explanations of social forces active at a time of rapid industrialisation in early 19th century Britain. The founders of this mode of sociological analysis, Marx and Weber, saw classes as groups structured out of economic relations and as significant social actors in the context of industrial capitalism. For Marx, the central role in the ultimate transformation of capitalism was to be the overturn by the proletariat of the supremacy of the bourgeoisie. Weber did not look for any such protean struggle and conceived class conflict differently, but he still saw it as a major feature of capitalist society. In both conceptions, but particularly in Marx's, the middle classes were awkwardly placed. They had,

³ Steven Francis, 'Class Formation in the Pacific Islands of Tonga: an investigation of different conceptualisations of class within a hierarchical society', MA thesis, Monash University, Melbourne, 1990.

at best, an ambiguous role in the anticipated conflict which would act as a central dynamic to bring about a social transformation.

Nowadays, class analysis itself has come under both theoretical and historical challenge for having placed too much emphasis on economically determined classes and their place in the process of production. The range of recent criticisms and revisions of ideas central to class has been admirably compiled in Patrick Joyce's Oxford reader, and enhanced by his cogent editorial commentaries.⁴ Many of the observations that follow here can be attributed to material contained in the reader. One outcome of the revisions is that political and cultural contexts are now accepted as competing sources of social position. Indeed, nationality, gender, locality, and ethnic or minority group identity may be as important or more important than economic or occupational position in placing people socially.

These cultural and the local social contexts are visibly and undeniably important in developing, non-capitalist, simple market economies such as Tonga, but have probably always been pertinent, although overlooked and underemphasised, to the class analyses of more developed countries. In advanced capitalist economies, the middle classes, which have been always so unsatisfactory a part of class analysis, have vastly expanded and the theoretically-focal working class has undergone attrition, partly through technological advances, which could not have been foreseen by the earlier, classical, formulations of class. In short, at a time when a middle class has been assumed to exist in Tonga, a great many sociologists are re-examining the concept of class itself and the usefulness of class analysis. In particular, the use of a concept derived from the early 19th century sociology of industrial England in the analysis of complex late 20th century society elsewhere is belatedly being questioned.

It is refreshing in one way to begin analysis without the constraints and distortions imposed by older models. On the other hand, there is a greater responsibility to make explicit the direction of the enquiry in hand. I begin tentatively, the aim being finally to examine all forms of social differentiation in modern Tonga. Leaving aside the convention of the single authoritative ethnographic voice, which for so long has prevailed in anthropology, the aim in what follows here is to enable the voices of those who are living the realities of social differentiation to be heard.

The need for multivocality and 'viewpoint' analysis is, perhaps, nowhere more pronounced than in the study of class and social stratification because such stratification produces differential access to knowledge, social evaluations, and, frequently, not only different but also violently opposed moral, ethical, and political standpoints. The difficulty of achieving a

⁴ Patrick Joyce, *Class* (Oxford 1995).

balanced let alone objective account, given the subjectivity of the observer and the subjectivities of the social actors, has received a great deal of attention from sociologists, especially in the 1980s. As Bourdieu then wrote:

one can and must transcend the opposition between the vision which we can indifferently label realist, objectivist or structuralist on the one hand, and the constructivist, subjectivist, spontaneist vision on the other. Any theory of the social universe must include the representation that agents have of the social world and, more precisely, the contribution they make to the construction of the vision of that world and consequently, to the very construction of that world.⁵

This is a fine ideal, but the overarching theory that would achieve such integration has yet to be developed and accepted among practitioners. So far, what we have are accounts of the social reality of 'Others' that are judged to be more or less successful, satisfying and complete, insofar as the single account by an observer accurately reflects the plurality of voices of the agents themselves. Some interpretative anthropologists deny that social phenomena can be explained by any structured theory. This is understandable given the inadequacy of theories put forward in the past that have claimed to comprehend all aspects of social behaviour. The deconstructive critique of culture as not uniform, however, but rather a collection of ideas and materials which are sometimes 'contradictorily united' enables us to highlight the ongoing creative process inherent in a living culture. The challenge then becomes one of finding ethnographic techniques to probe the complex ways that people with very disparate images of reality find a common identity and ways of interacting with one another.

Competent anthropologists have always included the actors' interpretations of events, behaviour, and structures into their own overall accounts. Some have explained the relationships between patterns of behaviour and structural constraints and forces better than others. Some, like Clifford Geertz,⁶ put the weight of interpretation on the ethnographer; others put greater weight on the interpretations given by actors in the situation.⁷ June Nash, for example, maintains that in periods of social transformation the process of change itself might be contained in the interpretations of the actors as to what is happening, which can change rapidly as events unfold. Ideally, multiple perspectives should be recorded over a period of time and related to the ongoing political and social processes

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, 'What Makes a Social Class?', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 22 (1987) 10. Bourdieu is using the term 'realist' to describe the position of those who believe 'real' classes are the categories bound by empirically-determined properties which, when put together, form class structures.

⁶ Clifford Geertz, 'Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight', and 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretative Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York 1973).

⁷ June Nash, 'Interpreting Social Movements: Bolivian resistance to economic conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund', *American Ethnologist* 19:2 (1992) 275-293.

to make the interpretations more substantial and truer. There may be turning points in the processes which are larger than the single events that are usually focused upon in interpretative analysis.⁸

The same people in a family or community or over time can and do maintain several apparently contradictory models of reality without a sense of cognitive dissonance. They can call upon any one or a combination of beliefs they have either inherited or generated to deal with changing circumstances. The scientist's drive for a unified theory generally overlooks the diversity of claims to truth with which most people deal in everyday life. The need to include women's voices and those of minority groups has only increased the desirability of a pluridimensional approach to take note of the multiple strands that enter the dialogue between the people whose lives we study and our own. The interpretations of observers need constant testing against those of informants to try to grasp the complexity of experience and perceived reality. The over-theorised tension postulated between the observer and the observed can hardly be maintained when the observed are themselves encouraged to reflect on their own situation and society.

European studies have produced salutary lessons for, in hindsight, the meanings of European class discourse appear to have varied greatly over time, the similarities of terminology sometimes masking the differences. A close and patient attention to the different meanings given to the same terms at different periods can reveal how understandings, taken to be products of 19th-century thought, may be in fact of recent origin. When mistakenly reflected back, they may distort the image of the past.⁹ Once statements are seen as part of a long history of class discourse, or discourse on social differences, their meanings may be better understood. Many statements, for example, are partisan and are themselves integral to the processes of differentiation and evaluation rather than objective reports of 'what is' or what is generally taken to be reality. Despite the changes that have occurred in Western theoretical orientations, however, Tongans have rarely been asked to give their images of modern society or to discuss the changes they have observed. In the class discourse which has taken place, Tongan views have either not been sought or, if obtained, have not appeared as such in published accounts.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS among others prompted a quizzing of people in Tonga about the so-called 'emerging middle class'. Was it emerging? What, if anything, had emerged? What were the elements it comprised and the social forces that propelled its formation? At first, I chose people I knew in

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Joyce, *Class*, p.16.

preference to asking complete strangers for their views of modern social differentiation. As the interviews progressed, however, some of the fullest responses were provided by people I had only met for the first time. All 15 people interviewed so far remarked that they had not previously thought about the topic in terms of class or stratification. They were extremely interested in the issues, however, and readily gave their views. Because it was a new area, I began in very general terms, by asking people to sketch their society from 'the top down'. Thinking after a few interviews that this approach might introduce a bias into the responses, I then asked people to describe society from the bottom to the top. This at least meant they were fresh when they considered the base of society, and were not just rapidly throwing off observations at the end of a long discussion, when they were weary both of talking and the topic.

The initial 15 interviews on the changing pattern of social differentiation in Tonga have elicited far from uniform portrayals of the social divisions. It was to be expected that in a highly stratified and rank-conscious society such as Tonga no two accounts of social differentiation would be the same, and that they would differ according to the speaker's own perceived place in his or her conceptual scheme of things. Ten of the 15 informants were women, most of whom were aged in their 30s and 40s, except for one rural village dweller, who was over 60. Almost all were well-educated, with tertiary qualifications from Australia, a reflection of their employment areas. All the interviews were conducted in English. These accounts of perceived present-day patterns of social differentiation need to be supplemented, range more broadly, and include less well-educated people. They also need to be historically and culturally contextualised because the study is intended, when complete, to include the larger political, economic, historical, and cultural framework in which the individual accounts are embedded.

Only parts of three interviews can be reproduced here, but already they reveal important themes: the distinction between people in government and in the churches, and between them and business people. Within the business section, there are distinctions drawn between the newer indigenous business people and the established half-caste family traders. The ethos of 'service' requires careful historical consideration, as does the relative importance of education and wealth. Important, also, is the tacit opposition of 'having people' as against 'having things', and the implication that people increasingly have to choose between one or the other but that rich people can have both. Self-placement among 'the educated', the 'business', or 'the church' core groups implies for these people not only an occupational status but also a way of life and social identity, which involves privileges, responsibilities, and obligations. All the interviewees saw the quality of rank as increasingly obsolete and irrelevant unless it is accompanied by wealth,

skills, and education. They spoke warmly, however, of the desirability of having 'connections': either with nobles and aristocrats, or people who occupy high positions in government, which are valuable and even necessary if one is seeking a government job after one has been away overseas, or to obtain rapid promotion. The power of the church lives on in the respect manifested towards its representatives. Demonstrably, it exists in a sphere which is separate from government or business but is closely articulated with both government employees and the large 'traditional' rural sector.

The 'mental maps' of social divisions that follow also show the range of personal variation among people who share the same occupation and, in fact, had almost identical jobs within the one government department. Had occupation been the only deciding factor in allocating class position to these people, their different values and situations in society would have been overlooked. The three interviewees, none of whom I had met previously, were two women in their early 30s and one man in his early 40s, all of whom had acquired tertiary qualifications overseas and were married with young children. The ideas they express were newly thought of or, at least, not previously articulated by them, and, therefore, were highly contestable. At times, the ideas were being contested and altered during the course of the interview as the person repeatedly returned to points in order to develop, elaborate, and further clarify parts of the account. The interviews ranged from one to three hours.

Interview 1

The first sketch of the society was provided by a woman, who was a fourth-generation Tongan civil servant. In her early 30s, she held a Bachelors degree from a New Zealand university, was married, and had two young children. The interview was a long one in which she discussed changes within the extended family, and the practical problems and the attitudes faced by working women in Tonga. These observations are pertinent to the analysis but will not be dwelt on here. When she mentioned the social structure, she immediately spoke of the middle class and said, 'the term is not a term used in Tonga but that is how I identify these people; it is used, but not generally well-known or used'.

She began with an implicit model of the authority structure in her mind, when she outlined the apex of the society. As she spoke, she drew a number of circles on a piece of paper to represent the significant social groupings she was speaking of, and arrows between them to indicate the links of marriage, association and the like (see diagram below). The process of drawing that accompanied the flow of her thoughts is indicated in brackets in the following text, which was transcribed from the taped interview. She began by drawing

a small circle at the top of the page, which was divided between the King and the nobles and the political élite, and said,

'The élite would be the cabinet ministers and their families, their wives and their children.'

She then introduced other criteria of education, occupation, and family background to account for the middle class, which she indicated by drawing a larger circle placed beneath and slightly to the left of the small circle of the élite:

'The middle class are those who have a good education and get on, get a good job and have a salary of about T\$6,000 as the lowest [i.e. T\$6,000 p.a. and above].¹⁰ Their family too won't be the first to have exposure to education, economic things like that, their relatives won't be without.

Attitudes of people in the middle class is to get their kids a good education but they don't really have aims, like they are not dynamic with regard to materialism, don't want to climb up, to escalate. They just get a good job, go through the natural procedures for promotion, do their time.

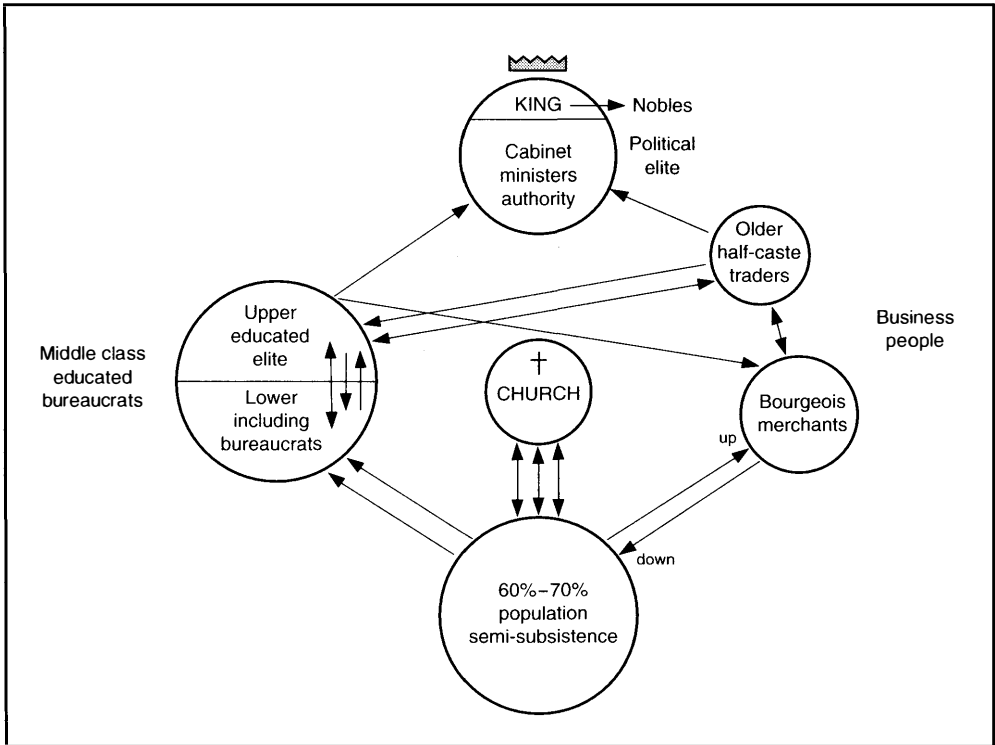
Business people today are a different class altogether! I would characterise them as bourgeois! I wouldn't say that is the middle class in Tonga because these people can be a rags to riches story. But they are very powerful because of money.

Not a super terrific political force because the political group here is more traditional, with family ties all together and connected with the royal family blood line; that is still the core political authority here [indicating again the top circle of the élite and the links between cabinet ministers and royals and nobles].'

It should be noted that this interview was conducted only hours after the King had appointed 32-year old Masaso Paunga, the son of the Deputy Prime Minister, to be Minister of Labour, Commerce, Industries and Tourism, almost immediately upon his return to Tonga after the completion of his doctoral studies in Japan. Feelings among some members of the civil service were running unusually high regarding this method of promotion.

'So, when the business class was successful and emerged, there was envy going on, and some don't even get into government because . . . somehow alienated from there . . . people who are well-educated and have a link to the royal family by blood or have a link with the present ministers will be promoted first. So they are not invited.

¹⁰ In 1996, when the interview was conducted, the unit of Tongan currency, the *pa'anga*, was worth approximately \$A1.05. The starting salary of a graduate in the civil service was T\$6,400.



INTERVIEWEE 1'S 'MENTAL MAP'

Like they are separate [drew a circle off to the right side of the educated élite and the government bureaucracy] over here, off sideways. People will say, "Oh, but they were poor once!" Can love them or hate them, but they have the money, but no real political oomph.

Envied because of their wealth. Not alienated from the educated bureaucratic group; there is interaction but they do not merge: so, to say, "I'll employ you in government". That wouldn't happen.

The lines of the middle class come through good families (church ministers or civil servants), they are well bred, backed by the church, have good manners . . . then there are those with money but, as people say, "they don't have the status".

The older groups of traders have links with the educated [here, she drew a circle above business people and an arrow between it and the educated/bureaucrats]. Are more aligned to the business group [drew line to circle below] but are promoted one step ahead of them; they are closer to the new élite than the new business people are. If you're half-caste and have got a tradition behind you, and you're rich, got the money, the colour of the skin doesn't matter; but the family background and the history does.

[Indicating the upper-middle educated by a line through the educated/bureaucratic circle] Directors and heads of departments are here [in the upper hemisphere], and some of the old trade families are related by kinship to the bureaucratic group, and some are [connected] by business associations and getting contracts from the government, but it is mostly through kinship and the intermarriages of their children.

Also, the upper middle can marry up and down [drew lines between upper educated/bureaucratic and upper and lower business] and strengthen these links. The middle class has already married within and made and strengthened these links' [drawing lines across the divide within the educated/bureaucratic to illustrate what she sees as its own ranks]. At this point, I prompted with the question, 'What about farmers?' She replied,

'Some farmers are over in the business group because they have done well, but most are down here [drew a huge lower circle]. Most of the satellite business group [above right] are manufacturing, do business in construction, vehicle maintenance, or are professionals, for example, doctors running their own clinics.

But the people supposed to make up 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the population do not belong in any of the upper groups. Related by kinship, but a lot of conflict. If you're married here [pointing to the business group] from the subsistence group [drawing a line between the two], you're like "lower down". . . [to marry] here and here in the civil service educated [pointing to above and to below the dividing line] would be a step up for subsistence people. But if you come from the educated élite, you might marry money [drew a line between educated/bureaucratic and business groups] can find conflict because people can feel that is to marry down. If you [from the bureaucratic group] marry a subsistence person, you *have* gone down.

More complicated for the people going "up", might be step by step . . . like they would tend to stick to the "up" side, go to the in-laws here [points to the high or general business group] and ignore the other in-laws and people here [in the subsistence group] would say, "But who are your mummy and daddy?"

A lot of people would not admit that attitude [exists], but it is there. Especially as the subsistence group people are providing the food, and might be much better off in terms of crops and food than these [the snobby business group]. These people [subsistence group] do everything; they pay their dues to the country, very traditional, make visitors welcome for others, dutiful, agrarian. Like at a funeral, if the élite has a funeral, nobody goes there because they have no people and, so, don't have that many treasures [valued goods] to share.'

I interposed, 'Not much *koloa* [items of traditional wealth such as finely-woven mats and decorated bark cloth]?' She replied,

'No. Just hurry up and bury them, and that is it. Say, at the ministerial level, nobles and those, somewhere around the king. If people go to work for the king, their funeral is like burying a dog. You know, because they alienate from their family. Some [cabinet] ministers, especially the commoners, have people. But some ministers who are noble, the people around them have the attitude when they die, "Oh, no, not another one!" Whereas if you maintain kinship with the commoners, it is much more appreciated. See Dr Ma'afu Tupou [the ex-Governor of Vava'u and former Minister of Lands, who had just died]: he is not an *'eiki* [high-ranking aristocrat or noble] but he has a lot of relatives and kinship among the commoners, people, and that is going to be a *huge* funeral, and also heartfelt. Langi's the same.

But these ones [subsistence people] have the good funerals among themselves, help each other and are a big group: farmers, clerks, people may be well under T\$6,000 a year in income, but also have a lot of land and kin.

The established middle class would get *koloa* because they are established.

Some of the critical things [that are said] about these guys [indicating the business crowd] is that they exploit the resources of the country, get the wealth, get the lifestyle. These people are, some of them, like, culture-proof! Some are quiet, like the biggest, only their close relatives know what they do, where they are going. Others have big flash houses but are in trouble with the bank. Might be a trouble with our culture too – got to show that you're wealthy. *Minisale* [the annual free-gifting to the church, particularly, the major denomination, the Free Wesleyan Church] gets to be a big splash; donation of T\$2,000 for a school concert, that sort of thing gets talked about, shows you're wealthy.

These [subsistence] been thinking that they've done all the traditional dues: *fuafonua*, *kavenga*, obligations to the church, and don't get – part of these guys [lower bureaucratic personnel]. Like the business group own the material wealth and the others are going through the norms, and their kids *might* get jobs.

If you are well-educated and you come back to the country and you might have a Master's degree and be doing your time, about 20 years, and still haven't got wealth but done duty to the country, to church obligations, and duty to the family. . . so, these guys get up about here [indicating the middle level of bureaucratic/educated elite] but they sort of stay there. Whereas the promotion of the last minister came from here

[indicates the highest point of authority in the top circle]. . . If you've got blood ties, you're promoted well.

Bureaucrats do growing [farming] but most not very successfully. Once you're a bureaucrat, you tend to stay a bureaucrat. Do it [farm], but small in success [60 per cent or, more probably, 70 per cent of civil servants farm]. There is a big public sector and some use civil service basic salary as equity for growing, agriculture, a little shop. Do it small-scale because, in the long term, it is not really sustainable for them.'

[At this point, there was a lengthy exchange regarding the connections between the sectors]

'People in the different sectors [circles] move, but also are static. If you belong in the educated sector, some stay there. Some stay in the business circle. That is them, they stay: that is their identity. Others link with the marriage of their children. Others are core people. ... It is also true in Tonga that educated parents tend to have educated kids because of the home environment, study conditions, and encouragement.

[We talked then of cyclical trends.] After all, it takes some brains to be educated whereas business people can inherit and it may take a little longer to show they have not got it.' She mentioned also the need for people on an income of between T\$6,000 and T\$10,000 to take out bank loans for houses, cars, education for four or five kids and the sheer difficulties of feeding them. 'With the other expenses of repayments and the like, food comes low on the list of priorities for many upwardly mobile or aspirant families.'

She continued,

'If that's the average, what about people who don't have a regular income? ... they still have to be provided for from somewhere and the system still works that people [relatives] share a little bit. Some of the people I know, they just turn up at the [relatives'] houses and have food that day.

Those people that are supposed to have high incomes also have more commitments. The business people don't have too many *kavenga* (obligations), have loans and maybe indulge in too big an investment, that is their problem. Because they don't do the normal thing as Wesleyans. Here in Tonga, Wesleyans have to do feasts but the business people do not believe in it. I don't know whether they believe in Christ or not, but they sure don't believe in feasts! Their beliefs are in their economics. Subsistence people do it, and educated people can compromise and share but the business people don't.'

[There followed a digression on personal variations, perhaps, due mostly to upbringing – the importance of families again – and the part played by many wives in fulfilling the social and charitable obligations of their husbands who are busy business men.]

I prompted her about the place of the church, and she replied,

'I realise I left out the church [most people did until prompted]. Some are pure church but have kin in other groups so I put church in the centre [she drew a circle in amidst the other sectors]. They don't want to depart with subsistence people because they are their main congregation, but they have links with educated and links also with business, because some of the business men head the committees at their conferences. Also has links with the King. Some of the business people don't go to church if they don't want to, but still the church integrates better into the rest of the groups. The Catholics come out more on the religious side, but the Free Wesleyan Church is confused; if you don't have wealth, you are nothing in the Free Wesleyan Church; if you don't have a big *misinale*, nothing. I would characterise the leaders as either true Christian or as very worldly types. Very political here, at the centre, in Nuku'alofa.'

Interview 2

The second interview partly reproduced here was conducted similarly with a young civil service employee with an almost identical job to the first. She also was a married woman in her early 30s and had two young children.

She began,

'The top of the society is the king, then the nobles. I would put the *faifekau* [church ministers, referring particularly to the ministers of the Free Wesleyan Church] alongside the nobles because they also play a leading part in society. . . the King and the nobles though are just figureheads in my mind, you know, like big clouds. I know they're there but I can see no role for them in my life, I have no idea how they impact my life.

The real leaders in the society are the *faifekau*. They have much more influence over the people than the other two, are in continual contact with the people, and because . . . of the part that religion plays in the everyday lives of the people their role is very strong. They get respect and much more following in the society. Given food and gifts that would easily top up what a head of department gets, if not more, though their actual salary [stipend] would not be one third of what he gets.

Wives are powerful also, in the household. ... The bulk of their wealth is held in *koloa*, not cash, and that is held by the women ... so they hold the purse strings there and also control the receiving and distribution of all the food given to church ministers by the congregations.

Our village [where she lives] is owned by the King, so, as far as everyday leadership goes, the link between us and the noble or King is missing. The next leader would be the retired church leaders, very much

respected and the leaders of our community. The elderly are respected also because they have lived so long and had so much life experience.

There is an emerging middle class, of educated and business people, and the concept with it. But if I were to consider the government ministries, I would have to say that the overall social standing still goes by family. Basically, though, I see no link between educated people and the world I know [at home]. The different personalities and values I meet at work is like a different capsule from the ordered world of the church ... in which all can find their place and be comfortable and accepted and happy. The church attitude is that if the educated do not find a place in that, they do not have anything to do with them, and say they are out to change society for their own sake. One could say that this is the church leaders protecting their positions of power but my place here today [gesturing around her office with its desk, files, and computer] is through my family's values.

Educated people do not play a very big role in our [home] community. They are there, but I do not consider them to be leaders. .. I cannot really see the benefits of development on this country, but I know the *misinale* goes where I am told every year that it goes – to feed the ministers.

The people above [nobles and political élite] seem to wipe all the cream from the cake and share it with their own relatives, or whoever happens to be the man they favour. [Remember, again, this was shortly after Dr Paunga's appointment as a government minister.]

Businessmen I respect and even admire for their ability to just make money because it is their business to go out and make money, but for the leaders of the country, no, they are meant to be labouring for the people, not just their own people.

Businessmen are admired for their ability to make money but if they do not have anything to do with the church, they are outcasts. Now that the church is more monetary, they might buy respect with a huge *misinale*; but not many would do that, because he does not need respect as long as the profit margins keep up. Many business men in fact need the church because that is where their main custom comes from because a lot of church people prefer to deal with shop people they know.

With all the political unrest going on, the church is the only stable thing in the community. I have a Westernised lifestyle myself, but come from a very traditional family who is highly religious. I am not, but I go to church for the acceptance into the community, protection, and sense of security that going every week provides. I see my young daughters playing at church with the other children in the neighbourhood and I feel a deep sense of belonging and happiness for them. With a young family, I

suppose it is social reasons all woven together: the social/religious and economic/cultural identity.'

Interview 3

The third interview provides contrasts in that it was conducted with a man in his 40s, who held a Masters degree (the two women held Bachelor degrees), was married, had several children, and lived in a large rural village from which he commuted daily to the government office in the capital. This is one of the interviews which began with the lowest social stratum and worked up. His account emphasises the value of having things and people.

He began by describing the kinds of people who would be considered the upper echelon in his village:

Those in the upper class/top people are those who are employed regularly: that is, regular wage earners, together with those who are wealthy farmers – those with big land, who have farmed for a while until they have a surplus of cash. The group with overseas children and others overseas are in it too, but only when remittances must have built to a stage where they are close to [resembling] salaries. So, regular wages and overseas children. They must have built a reputation and at the same time have things, extras that people see, even a vehicle.

There is not the very poor here to compare with the very rich: maybe 10 per cent of the population at the top and at the bottom, with the rest in between. The gaps between the socially stratified groups are not as clear as they are in more developed countries. That is to say, the gap between the group of well-to-do in the village and the middle class is very narrow. Similarly, there is not much gap between this emerging group [of middle class urbanites] and the top [the small set of social and political élite].

There is a wider gap between them both and the lower end. You can see the differences in the style of buildings, food, meeting other of their commitments: religion, education, clothing. In the low group, will still see *fale* [Tongan thatched and woven houses] and hurricane houses [small wooden houses provided at a subsidised purchase price after the 1982 hurricane destroyed many homes]. In my village now, I am thinking of families who have no children overseas, no regular job, no land, and who only occasionally work in another's land for a few dollars or get to plant on some of the land for a few crops, go fishing occasionally, and have a few more children on average than the top group, so have a few more dependents than them still at home and going to school.

Before, the gap was wider between the top and the bottom and most were on the bottom line, but now have a group emerging because of help from their children or brothers overseas ...

The people [down below] don't normally call them [the emergent upper group] middle class but they know who to run to! Know who is rich! Lines of communication are individual not class-based. The tendency is to go to one's rich relatives, not strangers, for help with school fees, funerals, religious activities.' [Here, to make the point, he drew a series of parallel vertical lines with lines splaying out like aerial roots from the base to indicate a series of patron-client ties between rich and poor relatives, indicating also that a number of poor relatives would tend to hone in on a single better-off relative.]

There is not a heap at the bottom communicating with a heap at the top. Would refer to them as *ma'ume'a* or *ma'ukoloa* (roughly, people who have a lot of things) if they referred to *them* at all.

The little village *fale koloa* [a small store stocked with a limited range of basic supplies, such as tinned food, matches, kerosene, and the like] is associated with regular workers, for example, civil servants, where the wife mans the store and the husband earns the wage, the money to provide for family and store.

The government subsidies, and loan aid for squash growers tends to go to the well-off [and makes them better off]. At the grass roots level, the trickle-down effect is minimal.

Individualism is coming in where people tend to accumulate rather than share, the latter a value that Tongans have had for a long time. Want to establish themselves to be "somebody" in other's eyes by, say, getting a European-style house in the village.

Faifekau are people with authority in church activities and in the society as well. People in the villages tend to be very suspicious of educated people, of the changes etc. Still respect them, but the pro-democracy movement has made them wary [of educated people]. It is, in the end, not what people have in their mind which is influential but the ones who are strong financially in the village because of the help they can give – they listen to what *they* say. In *fono* [village meetings] or family, tend to listen to the more powerful family members rather than to the worth or weight of ideas. Need practical help more than ideas that float.

The *faifekau* has enormous influence in traditional thinking because he can pronounce a curse or blessing, and that influence is reinforced today because he can write a personal reference for a visa application! They represent God to the people who marvelously look up to and fear them. Amazing to see how much the people contribute, and the *faifekau* do not have to plant at all. They get a carton of mutton, a huge tin of bully beef, yams, all the food donated by the people in the villages. My brother is a Mormon elder and, though he does not ask for it, I see that he gets these things given to him all the same. It's incredible.'

THAT IS ALL the interview material that can be provided in the space allowed. In the final study, the flavour and immediacy of these individual 'mental maps' of social divisions will, hopefully, be retained even as the analysis ranges wider to encompass the broader social and cultural streams indicated by the brief statements presented here. People from other walks of life and less well-educated people will also have a say, and the themes that emerge will be placed in their historical, social, cultural, and political contexts. The study will provide not only a description of where people are in Tongan society today, but will also include the reasons for this placement and the evaluation of different positions. This will involve looking back, to find the genesis and development of values and the significant categories of people, and outwards, to the values and criteria that are nowadays provided by overseas experience and contacts.

In consideration of an emergent middle class, the fact of the Tongan diaspora must be fully taken into account, especially as many aspects of its modern lifestyle are borrowed directly from middle class attributes observed in the US, New Zealand, and Australia. These traits, however, also become indigenised in ways that remain peculiarly Tongan. In the final analysis, the vertical ties that exist between better-off people and their poorer relatives, which Marcus noted in the late 1970s as critical structural relations, appear still to be more important than the horizontal ties of common interests and association which are beginning to be forged among members of the putative middle class. Within class discourse, one might claim there is a class consciousness developing among the educated and business élites without there necessarily being a class structure. To put it more simply as a colleague, Ian Campbell, has remarked in response to my arguments: 'there are clearly a lot of middle class people in Tonga, but not yet a middle class'. Indeed, the concept of class may prove to be inappropriate. It retains, however, a strong heuristic value in the overall exercise which is, finally, to examine all significant forms of social differentiation in modern Tonga.

Changing Interpretations of the *Kava* Ritual

Meredith Filihia

SOCIETIES ARE REVEALED in and through their myths – or more accurately through the interpretation of their myths; all interpretations, therefore, it behoves us to be wary about, and never to leave unexamined, least of all perhaps in these heady days when, to coin no new cliché, Tongan politics and society are undergoing a tumult of change. In such historical circumstances too may the myths themselves have originated. And certainly the *kava* ritual is at the centre of what for the last four generations or more has, visibly, from the historical record, made for stability in the kingdom.

The *kava* ritual is the principal rite for installation to a title. And the first myth that must concern us, then, is the myth about the origin of the Tu'i Tonga title, because all titles are derived from this one of 'Aho'eitu, first Tu'i Tonga. After the islands of Tonga were fished up out of the sea by Maui, they were visited by the god Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo who took the form of a plover and visited the island of 'Ata. There he dropped a seed from his beak that, by his next visit to the island, had sprouted into a creeper. Tangaloa pecked at the root of the creeper and a worm appeared. He then pecked at the worm, dividing it in two. The head of the worm became the first man, with the name Kohai. The other half of the worm became another man, named Koau. A piece of flesh that stuck on the beak of Tangaloa was shaken off and became a third man, Momo. These three were the first people on earth,¹ and from them came the first line of Tu'i Tonga, or kings of Tonga.

Most genealogies of the Tu'i Tonga today, however, begin with 'Aho'eitu and end with Laufilitonga who died in 1865. Rather arbitrarily allowing approximately 25 years for the reign of each Tu'i Tonga, we can date the rule of 'Aho'eitu at around AD 950. There are a number of versions of the myth relating the origin of 'Aho'eitu, but variations are minor, such as the kinds of games which were being played. 'Aho'eitu of the core myth was the son of an earth woman, 'Ilaheva, who was also known as Va'epopua,

¹ N. Rutherford, 'The Creation Myth' in N. Rutherford (ed.), *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga* (Melbourne 1971), p.2.

and a god of the sky, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a. 'Ilaheva came to Tongatapu either from Samoa or Niuatoputapu, and was the daughter of the chief Seketoa. Seketoa wanted his daughter to marry neither a man of Niua nor Samoa, and so she was brought to Tongatapu and left at Popua, where she lived on the edge of the village, and kept very much to herself. Often she went to look for shellfish on the reef, which is what she was doing when she was spied by Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a. The god descended from the sky along a great *toa* or ironwood tree, visited 'Ilaheva frequently, and presently, pregnant to him, she gave birth to a son. 'Eitumatupu'a returned to the sky because he had a wife and other children there, but threw down some clay soil and the yam called *heketa* so that 'Ilaheva and 'Aho'eitu would be provided for.

The boy grew, and eventually asked his mother to tell him who his father was so that he might go and find him. 'Ilaheva told the boy his father was Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a and showed him the *toa* tree by which his father had descended. She told him that this tree was the way to the sky and, after preparing for the journey, 'Aho'eitu climbed the tree and found the road. Not long after reaching the sky, the boy came upon a man engaged in pigeon-snaring and asked where he might find Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a. The man replied that it was he, and 'Aho'eitu introduced himself, upon which they kissed and cried. 'Eitumatupu'a, according to some versions of the myth, took 'Aho'eitu to his house where they had food and *kava*.² He then sent the boy to find his other sons, 'Aho'eitu's half brothers, who were playing a game of *sika*. The crowds watching the games, and the sons of 'Eitumatupu'a, all marvelled to see this handsome new visitor, but the sons became jealous when 'Aho'eitu claimed that he was their father's son. Their jealousy and anger increased when 'Aho'eitu joined in their game and his skills exceeded their own. They killed their half-brother and ate him, hiding the bones and tossing the head into a particular kind of *hoi* bush that has remained poisonous to this day because it was touched by the head of 'Aho'eitu. Presently 'Eitumatupu'a came looking for 'Aho'eitu and, unable to find him anywhere, began to suspect what his other sons had done. He brought a *kumete*, or wooden bowl, and made his sons vomit into it. The bones were brought, the head was retrieved, all were put into the *kumete*, and the *kumete* was covered over with the leaves of the *nonu* bush – which are still widely used for medicinal purposes in Tonga today. 'Eitumatupu'a and the boys then kept watch over the bowl. Eventually the leaves stirred, and 'Aho'eitu sat up in the bowl, quite fully recovered.

² E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 8 (Honolulu 1924), p. 27.

'Aho'eitu's father told him that he would return to the earth and be known as the Tu'i Tonga – the king of Tonga. His brothers begged their father to allow them to go with 'Aho'eitu, to which 'Eitumatupu'a finally agreed, although he told them that because they had committed a crime they could never become rulers. To his eldest sky son he gave the name Tu'i Faleua, King of the Second House, and said that should 'Aho'eitu's line fail, then his own would become Tu'i Tonga. The other brothers became known as the Falefa, and were responsible for looking after the Tu'i Tonga.

'Aho'eitu's line continued up until the death of Lauflitonga, the 39th person to bear the title. Little is known of the first nine title-bearers, but there is much written about Momo, 10th Tu'i Tonga. There are many stories associated with Momo, in particular the one in which he sent to the Tu'i Ha'amea, Lo'au, and requested yam seedlings, a reference to Lo'au's daughter, Nua. Lo'au replied that the yam had already sprouted, meaning that Nua had already had children, but Momo persisted and eventually succeeded in having Nua become his wife. And Lo'au appears in another myth which is important for discussion of the *kava* ritual, that of the actual origin of *kava* itself.

AS IN THE myth of the origin of the Tu'i Tonga, there are a number of variants of the myth of the origin of *kava*, mainly concerning the identity of the visitor to the island of 'Eueiki. In some versions the visitor is the Tu'i Tonga, in others it is one of his *matāpule*, while yet others name the visitor as Lo'au. There is some question among the versions of the myth as to the status of Fevanga, the male half of the couple involved in the story – in most he is represented just as a man who lived on the island, in others he is a *matāpule* of the Tu'i Tonga who has returned to his island for a visit, during which time the Tu'i Tonga, wishing to speak with Fevanga, visits him at his home. The core narrative of the myth is as follows.

On the island of 'Eueiki, there lived a couple, a man named Fevanga and his wife Fefafa. They had just one child, a girl named Kava'onau, who was a leper. There was a great famine on the island, and the only food which the couple had remaining was a single giant *kape* plant, which was growing near the beach. One day the Tu'i Tonga, who had been out fishing with his attendants, turned to the island in order to look for food, because they were hungry. While his attendants hauled their boat onto the beach, the Tu'i Tonga rested under the giant *kape*, leaning his back against the plant.

When the couple realised they had a visitor of such rank, they prepared an *'umu*, but were dismayed to find their visitor resting against the *kape*. One of the attendants saw the couple go into their house and hit

something, which they took to the 'umu to cook. The attendant went to the Tu'i Tonga and told him what he had seen: the couple had killed their own daughter for the visitors' food. When the couple brought the food for the Tu'i Tonga to eat, he told them instead to take the girl and bury her properly, which they did. The Tu'i Tonga left the island. After a time, two plants began growing from the grave of Kava'onau. The couple kept a careful eye on their growth, and one day saw a rat gnaw at the first plant, upon which he became dazed and staggered around until he came to the second plant and gnawed at that, upon which the rat recovered. Not long after this, another visitor came to the island. This was Lo'au, and the couple told all that they had seen. Lo'au told them that the two plants were *kava* and sugar cane. He spoke in verse and told them:

Kava ko e kilia mei Faa'imata	Kava the leper of Faa'imata
Ko e tama 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa	Child of Fevanga and Fefafa
Fahifahi pea mama	Cut up and chewed
Ha tano'a mono'anga	Placed in a bowl
Ha pulu mono tata	Coconut fibres used as a strainer
He pelu ke tau'anga	Folded leaves as containers
Ha 'eiki ke olovaha	A chief to head
Ha mu'a ke 'apa'apa	A spokesman to direct
Fai'anga 'o e fakataumafa	The ceremony of the kava

Fevanga and Fefafa took the plants to the Tu'i Tonga who had the root of the *kava* broken up and made into a drink, as Lo'au had instructed. Suspecting the drink might be poisonous, the ruler had one of his *matāpule* drink the first cup. Then he accepted the second. Thus began both *kava* and the ritual now associated with it.

THERE ARE actually not three levels of formality on which *kava* is drunk, as we are sometimes told, but four. In addition to the highly formal *taumafa kava* that was the *kava* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the less formal 'ilo *kava* of the nobles and chiefs, and the informal *faikava*, usually translated as a *kava* party,³ there is also a fourth level of *kava* ritual – that of the ancient *fuli taunga* which used to be the *kava* ritual of the Tu'i Tonga but is now performed only when the king's younger brother Tu'i Pelehake is presiding.

It is the two most formal of these rituals, the *fuli taunga* and the *taumafa kava*, that concern us here. As far as the core procedures of these go, there is little difference:

the participants seat themselves; *kava* and food are presented and counted; a *kava* root is pounded and placed in the bowl; the *kava* is kneaded and water is poured in; the *kava* is strained to the accompaniment of conversation or

³ G. E. Marcus, *The Nobility and the Chiefly Tradition in the Modern Kingdom of Tonga*, Polynesian Society Memoir No. 42 (Wellington 1980), p. 30.

speeches and the distribution and clearing away of food; finally cups of *kava* are served.⁴

The *fuli taunga* is the older of the two rituals, the *taumafa kava* being developed with the rise of either the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasties, as a 'secondary ceremony'.⁵ The major difference is in the position of the *tano'a* or *kava* bowl. In the circle of the Tui Kanokupolu, the triangular-shaped piece of wood, called the *taunga* and used for hanging up the bowl when not in use, is turned away from the presiding chief, and faces towards the *tou'a*, those who were responsible for the preparation of the *kava*. In the circle of the Tu'i Tonga, the *taunga* faces into the circle towards the Tu'i Tonga himself. Another difference in the circle of the Tu'i Tonga is that from the *taunga* a long cord of sennit runs along the ground, stopping just short of the Tu'i Tonga. At the end of the cord, and placed on the ground in front of the Tu'i Tonga, are cowrie shells.

There are also differences in the serving procedures. In the circle of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the servers of the *kava* are free to pass from one side of the circle to the other in the carrying of *kava* and the returning of empty cups to the *tou'a*, and they are permitted to turn their backs on those they have just served. The servers remain standing while the cups are being filled from the *tano'a* and in the delivery of the cup to its recipient. In the *fuli taunga*, however, the servers are not permitted to cross from one side of the sennit rope to the other, neither are they permitted to turn their backs on those they have just served. And they sit on the ground while their cups are being filled, and sit again to present the *kava* to those who are to drink it. In the *taumafa kava* of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the name of the recipient of each cup is called, including that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu himself who receives the third cup. In the *fuli taunga*, each cup is called except that of the Tu'i Tonga who received the second cup.

SUCH ceremony cries out for psychoanalysis, given the nature of intellectual life after World War II, and in December 1967 when Elizabeth Bott attempted analysis in a public lecture which was republished in 1972 as 'Psychoanalysis and Ceremony', she relied heavily on Freudian concepts and examined the unconscious effects produced in society by the enactment of the ritual. Her main contention was that, like a dream, the rituals served to 'release and communicate dangerous thoughts and

⁴ E. Bott, 'Psychoanalysis and Ceremony' in J.S. La Fontaine, *The Interpretation of Ritual* (Tavistock, London, 1972), p. 213.

⁵ Gifford, *Tongan Myths*, p. 159.

emotions; but at the same time they disguise and transform them so that the element of danger is contained and to some extent dealt with'; and that 'An effective ceremony protects society from destructive forms of conflict...'⁶ Her discussion then went on to explore the ways in which the *kava* ritual released these dangerous thoughts, and she made three observations.

Her first point was that 'the *kava* ceremony is one of a series of ceremonies that clarifies social principles and social roles'. Many informants had told her: 'Everything in the *kava* ceremony goes by titles'.⁷ Participants are seated in descending order of titular importance. The person seated furthest away from the bowl has the highest-ranking title. The people next to him are a little less significant, and so on, down to those of little titular importance seated nearest the bowl. There is, as Bott noted, an exception to this in those holding what she calls 'titles of anomalous rank', although it should be noted that this is a reference to the present kingship – 'two of the titles originally being senior to that of the present king, [the] third title having had a good claim to the throne and ... [the fourth where through] a series of marriages to aristocratic women, the line increased the personal rank of its incumbents until, in the late nineteenth century, the personal rank of the current incumbent was considerably higher than that of the King himself'.⁸

So the *kava* ritual emphasises social distinctions such as political importance through title through their relation to the presiding chief. The distinctiveness of the 'anomalous titles' is emphasised by their being physically set apart, as the titleholders do not sit in the *aloft*, or main ring, but behind the *tou'a*. There is yet another moment in the ritual where another social phenomenon is emphasised. This is when the 'grandchildren of high rank', the *kau mokopuna 'eiki*, are called from the outer circle to collect the portions of food allocated to the titleholders in the main circle. These 'grandchildren' had 'a grandfather who held one of the titles in the main circle and their kinship relation is such that they have higher personal rank than the current titleholder'.⁹ In other words, they highlight the principle of personal rank, achieved through both parents, as opposed to the political significance of a title.

The second point made about the *kava* ritual by Bott was that it is both 'conserving and conservative'.¹⁰ *Kava* circle ritual is a 'substitute for written history' since the positioning of the titleholders is supposedly

⁶ Bott, 'Psychoanalysis', p. 206.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

explainable in terms of actual historical events. She suggested that the seating of the titleholders was not immutable, and that changes occur (albeit gradually) with fluctuations in both the personal rank of the titleholder and the political significance of the title. But, she wrote, when a change does occur, it is 'phrased as much as possible in the idiom of title and their genealogical seniority'.¹¹

Her third observation was that the *kava* ritual 'expresses a fundamental contradiction'. When in the myth the couple sacrificed their own daughter, the myth is exhorting people to honour those of high rank and position and to carry out their duties lest society disintegrate. The *kava* ritual also encourages people to fulfil their obligations to the presiding chief. At the same time, though, the myth expresses 'doubts and suspicions' in that the Tu'i Tonga suspected that the drink might have been poisonous, and handed it to one of his *matāpule* to taste first. This practice is still carried out in the ritual today. Not only is there the expression of doubt and suspicion but of envy too, according to Bott. She wrote that those with lower-ranking titles are envious of those with higher-ranked titles, and that all the participants are envious of, and full of hate towards, their *mokopuna 'eiki* who, although untitled, are of higher personal rank than the titleholder in the main circle. When Bott discussed these issues with Queen Sālote, the queen agreed that these feelings might be expressed through the ritual, but she went on to say that the myth of Kava'onau and the *kava* ritual also expressed and commemorated the 'mutual sacrifice and understanding between ruler and subjects that was essential to keep Tonga united and strong', and that they 'were possible in spite of doubt and suspicion'.¹²

This idea of the destruction of an envied object is one taken by Bott from the myth of 'Aho'eitu where, seeing his superior beauty and skills, his brothers kill and eat him. She also suggested that the cutting off of 'Aho'eitu's head and throwing it into the *hoi* bush could be a way of talking about castration. She included a lengthy discussion on the principles of rank, power and authority, noting that political power and personal rank were separate concepts: one could have a political title but be unimportant, and any man who could gather a large group of followers and friends could become a political leader. Indeed some powerful leaders had no titles. The other system of personal rank was inherited from both parents, and depended on sex, seniority and descent. Bott made the observation that 'By and large, high rank is more highly esteemed than

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 224-5.

¹² Ibid., pp. 226-7.

political power or political authority. Power and authority mean work and responsibility; high rank means pure privilege.'¹³

Yet it seems difficult to separate these concepts off so neatly. To a large extent, the titleholders are so because of their sex, seniority and descent. They are usually always male, firstborn and son of the previous titleholder. Both their rank within the family and their succession to a rank within the hierarchy of political titleholders ensures that they will have a share of both work and responsibility and pure privilege. Power and authority were certainly sought after, and brought a number of privileges.

Bott noted that the system of titles and political authority had changed with the constitution of 1875, and that the *kava* ceremony has changed accordingly : 'It used to be a ceremonial statement of political authority; now it is a statement of continuity between the new political system and the old'.¹⁴ It can be suggested, though, that the *kava* ceremony is still a statement of political authority and that, although the structure of the ritual may have changed, its basic messages to the audience and participants has not.

AS AN explanatory tool, symbolism too was brought into the picture, when Edmund Leach made use of the myth of 'Aho'eitu's origins in his interpretation of the *kava* ritual. In the essay 'The Structure of Symbolism' in the same collection of essays as Elizabeth Bott's, he labelled her reference to castration as 'Freudian dogma' and went on to claim that the structuralist approach did not rely on intuition or use anything other than the materials used in the myths. Using a structural procedure, Professor Leach set out to prove that the myths of 'Aho'eitu and Kava'onau were indeed linked.

The hypothesis was 'that in the actual ceremonial the offering of *kava* is an expression of ancestral ties with high-ranking women',¹⁵ or, as Leach put it in another place, 'that although the seating arrangements are strictly by title the actual presentation of the *kava* represents the legendary maternal ancestry of the individual recipients'.¹⁶ Leach based his argument on a number of implications drawn by comparing three myths and legends - those of Kava'onau, 'Aho'eitu and Tu'itatui, the 11th Tu'i Tonga and son of Momo, who is notorious for having seduced his half-sister Latutama. Tu'itatui had a uterine half-brother, Fasi'apule, their

¹³ Ibid., pp. 218, 226-7.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 220.

¹⁵ E. Leach, 'The Structure of Symbolism' in J. S. La Fontaine, *The Interpretation of Ritual*, p.261.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 248.

mother being Lo'au's daughter Nua, but for years Tu'itatui was unaware of the existence of his brother until an occasion when Fasi'apule

came inside the *kava* ring with his basket. Then he made a speech. First he picked up the banana pith and broke it in half, but it was still united by the fibre within. He told Tu'itatui that it was like themselves, that they could not break away from each other because they were born of the same woman. Then he picked up the *mamae* [a kind of banana] to show that the two half-brothers will pity each other ... Then Fasi'apule picked up the *toto* [a kind of fruit] and told the Tu'i Tonga that they too were of one blood and united like the *toto*. Then he picked up the charcoal and told the Tu'i Tonga that his mind was dark like the charcoal because he did not know that he had a brother in Fasi'apule.¹⁷

From this part of the legend, Leach made the generalisation that 'certain foods presented at a *kava* ceremonial are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of a common maternal ancestry'.¹⁸

Yet it should be noted that the foods presented by Fasi'apule were not the traditional *fono* or relish of the *kava* circle but were designed to enlighten Tu'itatui about his brother's existence. In any case, a myth in which the characters interpret their own symbols is highly suspect, and probably a recent invention.¹⁹ The question remains as to just who this legendary maternal ancestress is. Professor Leach refers to her as a Tu'i Tonga Fefine, or female Tu'i Tonga, and seems to recognise three possibilities, Kava'onau, Latutama or Nua, which actually does not support his own hypothesis of a legendary maternal ancestress.

The reasons are clear enough. Leach himself wrote that we must 'take note of what is being "said" in the mythology'.²⁰ If the myth says the *kava* plant grew from the body of Kava'onau, then Kava'onau has already been sacrificed to provide food for the Tu'i Tonga. The line has been established, and she is quite distinct from it. In any case, that Kava'onau was a high-ranking woman is extremely doubtful – at best her father is represented in one of the myths as one of the Tu'i Tonga's *matāpule*. As for Latutama, she was the half sister of the 11th Tu'i Tonga, Tu'itatui, and so certainly of high rank. According to legend, Tu'itatui seduced or raped Latutama,²¹ and Leach wrote that the offspring of this union was Talatama, the 12th Tu'i Tonga. Yet in the genealogies compiled by Amelia the last Tamaha, Latutama is recorded as having no children. In any case, if Talatama was not the child of a principal wife, his claim to succession

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 252.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 252-3.

¹⁹ F. Helu, pers. comm.

²⁰ Leach, 'The structure', p. 240.

²¹ Ibid., p. 274.

would be doubtful. The third of Leach's possible contenders, Nua, was the daughter of a chief, the Tu'i Ha'amea Lo'au, but there is no indication that she was ever considered to be Tu'i Tonga Fefine – which seems to be an implicit assumption in Leach's essay.

By way of summarising his interpretation of the *kava* ritual, he wrote that *kava* is either the body of Kava'onau transformed, or the body of the Tu'i Tonga 'Aho'eitu transformed, or 'Some mystical (incestuous) combination of the male and female potencies of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine':²² but the third of these propositions is questionable on the basis outlined above. Leach wrote that we must look at *the said* of the myths, but has himself tended to look at the *unsaid* and has based his arguments on implications that either do not sit squarely with what has been said in the myths or are not consistent with the historical evidence. Accusing Elizabeth Bott of using the 'intuition of a psychoanalyst', he himself then used phrases such as 'I would guess...'.²³

DURING THE 1980s another essay on the ritual appeared in Valerio Valeri's 'Death in Heaven: Myths and Rites of Kinship in Tongan Kingship'. Valeri attempted to explain the features of Tongan kingship by examining the 'mythical traditions of the origin and partition of kingship and their connection',²⁴ along with the *kava* ritual including the legend of the origin of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines in his analysis.

Valeri found four basic themes were common to the myths and constitution of Tongan kingship. These were that

- 1) in two out of three of the lines, those of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the first holders of the titles usurped the rights of older brothers;
- 2) in two cases, the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the usurpation was accomplished by acts of violence, in the third case, it was accomplished by a subversion of the rules;
- 3) the acts of violence take the form of dismemberment and cannibal devoration in the cases of the Tu'i Tonga, Kava'onau; and
- 4) death by dismemberment, particularly in the cases of 'Aho'eitu and Kava'onau, is followed by resurrection in a higher and more sacred state, king and *kava* plant.²⁵

²² Ibid., pp. 269-70.

²³ Ibid., pp. 239, 264, 260.

²⁴ V. Valeri, 'Death in Heaven: Myths and Rites of Kinship in Tongan Kingship' in *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1989) 211.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 217.

Valeri concluded that the 'presence of these themes may indicate that "oedipal" fantasies are played out in these myths', and that 'different aspects of this "oedipal" structure are emphasised or toned down depending on the particular message about authority that the royal myths wish to convey'.²⁶ He claimed that the father-son relationship found in these myths is 'crucial in the constitution of Tongan kingship', and that 'kingship reflects and enshrines the basic institution of society at large – patriarchal authority'.²⁷

Secondary themes he picked up from the myths were those of cannibalism and sacrifice. He looked at the transfer of qualities that was involved in the myth of 'Aho'eitu wherein, instead of the gods inheriting the qualities of the eaten, their own qualities are passed on to him, and concluded: 'In the myth, then, cannibalism signifies less the god's desire to incorporate the life and qualities of a human than the participation of that human in the divine qualities *through encompassment*'.²⁸ To Valeri, it is this encompassment that enables 'Aho'eitu to return to earth in his glorified state of Tu'i Tonga. Rather than offering a sacrifice to be encompassed by the gods, 'Aho'eitu has instead offered himself as a sacrifice and in being reborn he achieves a semi-divine higher state.

In his analysis of how these myths relate to the *kava* ritual Valeri considered the *kava* to provide a sacrificial communion in which titleholders drink together, albeit in order of their titular rank. However, he wrote: 'In a normal sacrifice it is the contact established between the god and the offering which gives the latter its sacramental value. The *kava* rite, however, seems to transform the offering into a sacrament without the intervention of a god.'²⁹ Valeri sees the *kava* plant that is offered as representing a sacrifice from the people, in that it was produced by their labour; but as it is placed in front of the presiding chief it becomes a symbolic representation of him.

The plant (and thus the president) is brought to the lower side of the circle and there transformed in a way which is perfectly analogous to the transformation of 'Aho'eitu ... then the movement of the cup from the bowl to the chief's lips marks his symbolic return from the lower side of the circle where he is symbolically killed and devoured to the upper side, where he is triumphantly installed.³⁰

When the *kava* is taken to the lower side of the circle and chewed by the *tou'a*, then, as Valeri suggests, the president is encompassed by his

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 218, 223.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 222.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 224.

²⁹ Ibid., p.227.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 228-9.

inferiors and they become temporarily superior to him, but the encompassment does not last because the *kava* is spat out, and in spitting it out the *tou'a* renounce any usurpation of the president's authority.³¹

Problems present themselves against this interpretation of Valeri's, in particular his symbolic equation of the *kava* root with the president. If, while represented by the *kava* root, the president is taken to the *kumete* and broken up, then returned in a transformed state to the president himself and other titleholders to be drunk, is the president thus drinking himself and encompassing himself? What of other titleholders on their own installation? Are they also encompassing the chief and thus partaking of his divine qualities? As for the *tou'a* renouncing their intentions to usurp the rights of the king by spitting out the *kava*, obviously they must spit out the *kava* if a drink is to be made from it. Nowadays *kava* is not chewed but broken between two stones, which must affect in some degree this aspect of Valeri's interpretation.

For her part, Elizabeth Bott simply noted that the breaking up of the *kava* may represent the destruction of an envied object — and this interpretation is not affected by how the *kava* is broken. If the *kava* root is indeed a sacrifice from the people, should we consider the president and other titleholders as the gods to whom the sacrifice is presented? Are any of the potencies of these gods returned to the givers of the sacrifice? Valeri's interpretation raises too many questions for which it is difficult to find satisfactory answers, but sparked a debate between himself and Kerry James which it is tempting to dub 'a battle of the sexes'.

Valerio Valeri was convinced that the father-son relationship which formed the basis of succession was the fundamental structure of Tongan society — but Kerry James replied, and I believe rightly, that the fundamental organising structure of Tongan society is the '*eiki-tu'a* relationship. Highly fluid, this describes a relationship between people based on personal rank, and in any given situation, and can be extended into the political arena. In her essay 'The Female Presence in Heavenly Places: Myth and Sovereignty in Tonga', Kerry James argued that the myths as outlined by Valeri do not after all denote Oedipal themes but 'suggest rather how mortals must be remade in the likeness of gods before they can assume the mantle, or *mana*, of high office'. And she argued that '*kava* may be identified with a female principle',³² claiming that it was the goddess Hikule'o acting in her capacity as 'Aho'eitu's father's father's eldest sister who was responsible for the reconstitution of 'Aho'eitu in the

³¹ Ibid., p. 230.

³² K. E. James, 'The Female Presence in Heavenly Places: Myth and Sovereignty in Tonga', *Oceania*, 61:4 (1991) 290, 287.

heavenly *kumete* and who is thus progenetrix of the Tu'i Tonga and all other related titles.

It is clear that sisters do hold an honoured position in the structure of the family in Tonga, and that women in Tonga are treated with more respect than in other places. The *fahu*, or father's eldest sister, were, and still are, held in awe. Yet although James's article is eloquently argued, it is perhaps far-fetched. James supported her argument by reference to the peculiarities of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* circle, and in particular the symbolism of the bowl. It took some time for 'Aho'eitu to sit up fully restored to life in the *kumete*. On this, James made the comment that the 'bowl can be equated with a "womb" for it has strong associations with a woman's reproductive capacity. The legs of the *kumete* are called "breasts". Some of the older bowls have a triangular appendage or incised marks on one side, perhaps representing female genitalia.³³ She then suggested that the pouring in of the water and the mixing it with the blood and flesh may carry overtones of sexual union and conception. 'The period of time taken for reconstitution is not a moment but long enough, perhaps, to suggest gestation.'³⁴ And she asserted that the woman responsible for this process was Hikule'o, with a twofold basis for this assertion – firstly, the form of the Tu'i Tonga's *kava* bowl, and secondly, the fact that the Tu'i Tonga accepted the first-fruits offering on behalf of Hikule'o.

As James interpreted the ritual, Hikule'o 'is sometimes represented as the goddess with the tail', the long sennit cord running across the circle is representative of Hikuleo's tail, and the cowrie shell at the end of the *kafa* is a 'symbol of female genitalia and supernatural potencies'.³⁵ Yet one might question this equation of various parts of the *kumete* with the female body, or even with that of the goddess. James herself observes that 'the terms or imagery of birth are not explicitly used in contemporary discussions of this tradition', and that the theme of brother-sister incest upon which she bases her argument and insists is a 'pervasive theme' is 'not stated'³⁶ anywhere in the myths. It may seem doubtful whether her own interpretation sits more squarely with Tongan thought than she suggests Valeri's does – certainly her equating the legs of the *kumete* with breasts is not a Tongan concept.³⁷

In fact, as I would suggest, the *kafa* and cowrie shell serve purely political purposes. When the senior line of 'Aho'eitu ceased to be Tu'i Tonga in 1865 with the death of Laufiletonga, his *kava* privileges were in

³³ Ibid., p. 301.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 302.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

³⁷ F. Helu, pers. comm.

some measure absorbed by Tupou I. This meant reorganisation of seating positions in the *kava* ritual, and all those titles which had been associated with the Tu'i Tonga, or those of the Kauhala'uta, were placed to the right hand side of the *olovaha*. Those which were associated with both the Tu'i Ha'atalalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu, or those of the Kauhala, were placed to the left hand side of the *olovaha*. The *kafa* neatly serves to delineate the circle into these two spheres. Nowhere in her paper did James refer to the Tongan name of the cowrie shell, which is *pule*. This has, of course, a homonym in the Tongan language which means 'to rule, to be in a position of authority or control'.³⁸ Thus the *pule* is placed on the ground in front of the person who is the *pule*.

James was rather critical of Valeri's approach and the fact that he tended to base his interpretation of the ritual on Oedipal themes and patrilineal authority; she claimed that female principles were more important both in social or personal rank; and argued that *kava* is based on a female principle – thus affecting the political arena. This drew a heated response from Valeri with his article 'On Female Presences and Absences in Heavenly Places' reiterating a number of his claims regarding the presence of Oedipal symbolism in the myths and making the point that personal rank is separate from political authority. So 'the brother was superior in certain things, the sister in others'.³⁹ Valeri found himself agreeing with James that the *kumete* could indeed represent a womb, but made the point that as the *kumete* is a man-made artefact it could be argued that the rights of the goddess have been usurped and that in course of usurpation she has been desexualised. The birth of the titleholder from the *kumete* is symbolic, it is not a real birth, therefore the presence of a woman is not required.⁴⁰ Although there is clearly female symbolism in the ritual, he argued, it did not necessarily mean that there was female agency.

Hikule'o's gender was still open to question, said Valeri; it 'should be viewed ... as the fact that she is beyond sex, and thus also beyond sexuality'.⁴¹ Certainly James's suggestion that the old 13-month Tongan calendar may perhaps represent the menstrual cycle of a female deity⁴² seems less tenable than the proposition occurring to me that it represents the 13 month lunar calendar. The matter of gender's place in the interpretation of mythology was of course raised by Niel Gunson in

³⁸ C. M. Churchward, *Tongan Dictionary* (Nuku'alofa 1959), p. 419.

³⁹ V. Valeri, 'On Female Presences and Absences in Heavenly Places', *Oceania*, 65:1 (1994) 81.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴² James, 'The Female Presence', p. 303.

'Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History', only to be rather demolished when he wrote that 'gender was of little importance since both men and women had access to the spirit world. Thus all the major *'otua* at some time could have been both male and female, particularly the shamanic figures Lupe and Hikule'o.'⁴³ Did Hikule'o reconstitute 'Aho'eitu? It seems unlikely, but then, neither does it seem probable Oedipus is loose in Tonga. The concerns regarding sexuality in the myths are to some extent defused by shamanistic cosmology.

Meantime Aletta Biersack's article 'Kava'onau and the Tongan Chiefs' had appeared, following her 'Under the Toa Tree: The Genealogy of the Tongan Chiefs', and together they provide useful approaches to discussing kingship and its relation to the *kava* ritual. Biersack was particularly interested in the 'contractual relationship between the king and his people' and wished to explicate 'why Kava'onau, a commoner and a woman', and not 'Aho'eitu, 'dominates the kava myth and ... the kava ceremony'.⁴⁴

She saw the structure of the ritual as a set of binary opposites – *olovaha:tou'a*, sky:earth, left:right, fono:kava, blood:garland, where blood is one's own but a title is compared to a garland which can be taken off and removed. She claimed that personal rank was more highly prized, as it is one's own forever, while a title is shunned as it can be put on, and taken off, and transforms life into something that is 'public, impersonal and immortal'.⁴⁵ The person dies but the title remains forever. The myth of the origin of *kava* and the sacrifice of Kava'onau's parents Dr Biersack used to illustrate the relationship between the king and his people. Fevanga and Fefafa sacrificed their daughter to show their allegiance to their king. The king refused to eat the girl, ordering instead that she be buried and so, as Biersack claimed, 'transforming the human blood of the woman, given in sacrifice to the king ... into a sacrifice *for the people*',⁴⁶ as the king has acknowledged that there are moral limitations to kingship and cannibalisation of one of his subjects would be unacceptable. The rejection of cannibalism was a feature of the myth of the origin of the Tu'i Tonga title – taken together, these myths form the basis of Tongan polity. In return for his subjects' subordination, the king renounces 'chiefly predation, fratricide, sedition and self-seeking'.⁴⁷ The ritual dramatised the subjects' willing obeisance to the king, using such phrases as 'their

⁴³ N. Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History' in P. Herda, J. Terrell and N. Gunson (eds), *Tongan Culture and History* (Canberra 1990), p. 17.

⁴⁴ A. Biersack, 'Kava'onau and the Tongan Chiefs', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 100:3 (1991) 236.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 251.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

fakata'ane position ... dramatises the participants' political posture as subjects' and 'sitting anywhere other than the *olovaha* is an act of obeisance. Subordination to an overlord is especially dramatised at installation, when receiving a cup implies recognition of the right to appoint.⁴⁸

THE *TAUMAFU kava*, then, is the main ritual of appointing titleholders to their new position, its political nature is undeniable in this respect, but after all the eloquent interpretations and papers through which I have taken this journey I will argue that none of them has quite got to the core message of the *kava* ritual – for the *taumafu kava* is really a ritual display of power designed to impress upon society at large the claims of a select group to the resources of that society.

Social customs can be divided into two groups, those performed to benefit the society as a whole and those that are prescriptions for behaviour and are aimed at protecting the power of a select group. Rituals can be divided in exactly the same way.⁴⁹ So we have rituals such as garden magic, which aim to ensure that the gods will provide an abundant crop, and which provide benefits for the entire community concerned. We also have the *fuli taunga* or *taumafu kava* which squarely belong in the second group of ritual, those which protect the power of titleholders. Everything in *kava* ritual is designed to stress that titleholders are an élite group. Even within that group there is a hierarchy, with some titleholders pressing a stronger claim to resources than others. The *taumafu kava's* highlighting this hierarchy of titles, which all the commentators above touch on briefly, is actually the heart of the ritual.

As Elizabeth Bott pointed out, the *makapuna 'eiki* highlight the other system of rank which operates within Tongan society; but their moment is brief and the spotlight is not removed from the participants in the superior circle for any large amount of time. For her the *kava* ritual has barely changed for 160 years, so she is basing her position on a ceremony described early in the early 19th century by William Mariner. Since that time the seating positions of the titleholders have changed with the demise of the Tu'i Tonga line and the absorption of his *kava* privileges by Tupou I. She went on to argue that the ritual 'used to be a ceremonial statement of political authority; now it is a statement of continuity between the new political system and the old'.⁵⁰ It can actually be argued that it is still a statement of political authority – for we must remember the reasons for

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 246-7, 249.

⁴⁹ F. Helu, pers. comm.

⁵⁰ Bott, 'Psychoanalysis', p. 220.

the reorganisation of the seating positions in the ritual. As Tupou I began his rise to power in the mid-19th century, a number of powerful chiefs lost their claims to territory; and in order to ensure they would not rise up against him he created 20 noble titles with an estate attached to each title. In the end a total of 33 titles was created. So the creation of the modern day nobility created an élite group, based to some extent on the old élite, and still a group claiming peculiar privileges in the society. The *kava* ritual ensures that society receives that message, not necessarily in the form of a communion and amid feelings of harmony and unity.⁵¹

In reality it is questionable exactly how much of a communion the ritual is. If it is meant to benefit the entire community, then any person should be free to participate in the drinking of the *kava*. In fact the drinking is restricted to those in the upper circle alone – and Elizabeth Bott herself noted the jealousy and envy produced by the rite among titleholders themselves and towards their own *makapuna 'eiki*. We might also wonder whether society at large might be envious of those who participate in the ritual, and begin to see that there is an interplay of demands.

Here arises the next point. Both Bott and Biersack, in particular, focused on the pact between the king and the people – on the renunciation of cannibalism on the part of the king and the sacrifice of the people in showing their allegiance to him. One of the rituals that follow the installation of a titleholder is the *pongipongi* – a presentation of food and other goods from the newly installed chief to the president of the ritual to demonstrate his allegiance to the one who appointed him to the title. Taken together, the two rituals do indeed seem to be saying that there is a relationship of reciprocity. Quoting Ve'ehala, Aletta Biersack wrote that 'When the king is installed ... "he is no longer a private citizen who can please himself ... Just as Kava'onau's life was sacrificed ... a chief's life is sacrificed to lead the people."' ⁵² What must the people do in return? They must work the land and 'offer the "fruits of their hands"' ⁵³ As Biersack put it, 'chiefs assume title by symbolically pledging their benevolence and commitment to the common weal ... In return, those in the *tou'a* perform reciprocal duties on behalf of their chief, responding to command.' ⁵⁴ Yet surely Biersack or her source is misleading here, for the structure of the

⁵¹ For example, Bott, *ibid.*, p. 225; Biersack, 'Kava'onau', p. 253; Valeri, 'Death in Heaven', p. 227.

⁵² Biersack, *ibid.*, p. 251.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵⁴ A. Biersack, 'Blood and Garland: Duality in Tongan History', in Herda, Terrell and Gunson, *Tongan Culture and History*, p. 52.

ritual is represented as neatly opposed binary opposites whereas real life is not so.

Society must actually be seen as a 'multiplicity of tensions'.⁵⁵ Groups struggle to make good their claims to the resources available, and try to constrain others to act in ways deemed appropriate to the main purpose. This is, of course, what we know as politics. 'Thus politics is about power, the struggle between groups for limited resources, be they social, material or mental. The *kava* ceremony is a ... medium for the display of power, generated by complementary and opposed tendencies'.⁵⁶ The king is seen, symbolically, to renounce self-seeking, fratricide and sedition, yet the people are required actually to present their tribute and actually to work the land. In other words, the exchange is not as symmetrical and reciprocal as it at first appears to be.

The nature of the very speeches given at the *taumafa kava* again underlines this. In 1927, E. E. V. Collocott recorded that there were three speeches during installation of the Tu'i Kanokupolu,

delivered by Tovi, Fa'oa and Ata. The first, *tala toafa*, telling of the shore-flats, deals with shell-fish; the second, *tala hakau*, telling of the reefs, deals with fish, especially the *atu* bonito. These speeches, whilst doubtless an exhortation to the people to do their duty to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, are also an exhortation to the Tu'i Kanokupolu to do his duty in taking the fruits of the shore and sea to the Tu'i Tonga. The third, *tala fonua*, telling of the land, deals with the face of the land, including an exhortation to the people to procure trees to build the new king's compound and house, named Tangi-tu-langi [or Tangi-atulanga]. The compound was enclosed by several fences one within the other, the building of which was apportioned among chiefs.⁵⁷

This work was not performed by the chiefs themselves, and if titles are so shunned as Aletta Biersack supposes, one might wonder why people bother to be installed into them. If a title is looked down upon in the manner suggested – and as Elizabeth Bott suggested too, when she wrote that high rank entails pure privilege and that titles entailed work and responsibility – then it would have been a degrading move by Tupou I to create these noble titles and install potential opponents into them. From historical evidence, titles were usually created and bestowed as a means of honouring someone, for a brave deed, or to establish a new dynasty. Creation implies authority and with that authority come privileges such as the receiving the best portion of all that is produced by the people, the right to expect others to address you in appropriate language, and so on.

⁵⁵ 'O. Māhina, pers. comm.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ E. E. V. Collocott, 'Kava Ceremonial in Tonga', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 36 (1927) 39.

There are many ways in which deference to a titled chief is shown. In fact, in being installed a titleholder is pressing his claim to all that the title entitles him to. Renouncing self-seeking would mean leaving the title unclaimed.

How DO the myths impress upon the audience – for a ritual must have an audience to be effective – the message they are wishing to convey? Myths are created for specific means and purposes. Although there are themes and elements which may be universal, it is the unique cultural details which reach out to the audience and impart the moral of the tale. The synchronic dimension of most myths has been overlooked in all the interpretations of the *kava* ritual looked at above: they have been concerned only with the story of the myth and have not sought to find the story of what is going on behind the myth, the social and historical circumstances in which the myth was created.

To take an example offered by 'Okusitino Māhina in 'Myths and History: Some Aspects of History in the Tu'i Tonga Myths' some years ago, the rise of polytheism in Tonga, with the birth of the *kau* Tangaloa, the *kau* Maui and Hikule'o, could actually be seen as the rise of competing lineages. For a while we have myths about the feats of the *kau* Tangaloa, then they are replaced by the rise of the *kau* Maui and the exploits of Maui Kisikisi who can be seen as a force for culture; and the binding of Hikule'o in Puluotu could be seen as the defeat of her lineage and its ousting to another land altogether.⁵⁸ In the same way, the line of 'Aho'eitu can be seen as ousting the line of Kohai and Koau.

How do we explain his divine origin? Polynesian cosmology envisaged the sky as a dome, so the horizon was the end of the known world and anyone who came from beyond the horizon could conceivably be considered as a god. We should, then, consider 'Aho'eitu as a foreigner who came from beyond the horizon, probably from Samoa as the names 'Aho'eitu and 'Eitumatupu'a are Samoan through and through; so is *milolua*, the name of the way in which the *kava* is wrung out from the *fau* strainer in the *fuli taunga*, coming from the Samoan *mio ua*.⁵⁹

This brings us to Lo'au's role in all this. In his article on shamanism, Niel Gunson wrote that 'The shamans of Hikule'o were probably the most powerful. These constituted a priestly caste because of their superior knowledge and *mana* and appeared in the world as Lo'au or even as priests of the Tu'i Tonga.' We can assume that Lo'au, like shamans, had

⁵⁸ 'O. Māhina, 'Myths and History: Some Aspects of History in the Tu'i Tonga Myths' in Herda, Terrell and Gunson, *Tongan Culture and History*, pp. 38-9.

⁵⁹ F. Helu, pers. comm.

as one of his principle roles the preservation of the 'identity and integrity of the tribal group ... Thus, the appearance of intruders who broke the rules would go unrecorded. We would not necessarily learn from the traditional records if ... an outsider had usurped the role of Tu'i Tonga. Instead the sacrosanct institutions would be preserved in their entirety, and a successful invader from outside might well be absorbed into the system and Tonganised.'⁶⁰

It would be in Lo'au's interest to come up with ritual concealing the foreign origin of 'Aho'eitu; perhaps we can attribute to Lo'au both of the myths that are associated with the *kava* ritual – firstly the creation of the myth of divine origin of 'Aho'eitu, and secondly the ritual that presses upon society the importance of sacrifice and loyalty to those who are of divine origin.

The *kumete* is a crucial element in this Tonganisation. 'Kumete' is a generic term for any wooden bowl and, as well as being the bowl in which *kava* is prepared, it is also a symbol of family and community. Out of this bowl the family meal was shared in the evenings. So not only do 'Aho'eitu's brothers kill him, they also meet again around the *kumete* when the family is once again restored to completeness. As an example, there is another myth, that of Hina and her brother Kulufau who was jealous of Hina's privileged position in the family. In the version of the myth recorded by Collocott, Kulufau kills Hina and eats her. His parents return home and having heard what he has done they kill Kulufau, bake him and eat him. In the version recently recorded by Tupou Posese Fanua, the brother hides Hina's dismembered body in various places. The pieces cry out to her parents, who return, collect the limbs and head from their various places and put them into a *kumete*. Hina is then reconstituted in exactly the same way as 'Aho'eitu in the myth. Hina of course forgives her brother and family harmony is restored.⁶¹

It is Lo'au who created the *kava* ritual and according to Vakaloa, *matāpule* of Tu'i Pelehake, he did so in order to create peace.⁶² The origin myth of *kava* is set in a time of famine – a time when the limited resources of an island society become even more scarce. It is possible that there was unrest among the people, and conceivably Fevanga and Fefafa are being portrayed as exemplars to show that, despite hardship, *fatongia* or duties and obligations must still be carried out. What Lo'au did with the plants growing out of Kava'onau's body is as important as the fact that

⁶⁰ Gunson, 'Tongan Historiography', pp. 16, 20.

⁶¹ E. E. V. Collocott, *Tongan Tales and Poems* (Honolulu 1924), p. 38; T. P. Fanua, *Po Fananga: Folk Tales of Tonga* (Nuku'alofa 1992), p. 38.

⁶² Vakaloa, pers. comm.

she was killed in order to feed the Tu'i Tonga – because in the presentation of the *fono*, the Tu'i Tonga, or president of the circle, is still fed and his position of authority is upheld and reinforced every time the *kava* ritual is performed. Ritual is a crucial force in the flow of goods in Tongan society, but the goods nearly always flow upwards and we have this hierarchical political order, crowned by a paramount and propped up by the people who must perform their duties according to command, whether it be from the 'ulumotu'a of the family, a *matāpule*, or the local chief or noble.

No doubt a fair share of whatever was gained by the Tu'i Tonga was distributed among the priests and his attendants, especially at the 'inasi, or first-fruits offering which the Tu'i Tonga received on behalf of Hikule'o. William Mariner noted the division of goods received at the 'inasi as follows: one quarter to the priests, one quarter to the Tu'i Tonga and one half to the *hau*, who had a larger number of attendants to feed.⁶³ Seen in this way, the 'inasi also becomes a ritual which constrains people to act in certain ways and presses the claims of particular groups in a society over others. This is reinforced by another observation of Mariner's regarding the speeches which are made during a *kava* ritual at the 'inasi:

While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs.⁶⁴

So we see the operation of supernatural sanctions in rituals – both in the *kava* ceremony and in the 'inasi, the receiving of which was the Tu'i Tonga's other principal ritual function. These ceremonies do not benefit society as a whole; instead they serve to mobilise the population, at the request of a select group, to bring in the fruits of their hands, to be shared out amongst the dependents of that group. At the same time, this select group reject cannibalism and chiefly predation in favour of a political order.

In Tonga, as in any other place, myths have a morality tale to impart. In the myths of 'Aho'eitu and of *kava*'s origin, there is a morality tale but there are also purposes for the myths to serve. The interests of chiefly classes are furthered. 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga originated a divine line of kings. Later the priest of this line, Lo'au, created a ceremony ensuring the line's veneration in perpetuity. These myths serve to reinforce these claims through fear of divine retribution should the people fail to carry out such duties to the gods as presenting first fruits offerings.

⁶³ J. D. Martin, *Tonga Islands: William Mariner's Account* (Tonga 1991), p. 345.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Whether *kava* is based on a male or female principle is irrelevant, because the hierarchy of titles is what is at the heart of the matter. The *kava* ritual is a charter for the display of power and the symbolism of the *kava* bowl serves to reinforce the claims of those who participate in the ritual as holders of political power. Minor variations in procedure such as whether the *kava* is chewed or pounded are unimportant and even major changes in the political structure of Tonga do not affect this interpretation. In 'Kava'onau and the Tongan Chiefs', Aletta Biersack commented that 'the Tupou titleholders deploy the *kava* ritual as a rhetorical device for manipulating public opinion, mobilising support and commenting on history'.⁶⁵ I would argue that all titleholders since the origination of the *kava* ritual have used the *kava* ceremony in this way, the purpose for which it was intended.

⁶⁵ Biersack, 'Kava'onau', p. 262.

How Tongan is a Tongan? Cultural Authenticity Revisited

Helen Morton

TO THE REST OF THE WORLD TONGA is portrayed through its tourism campaigns as a unique and traditional culture, 'authentic' yet, paradoxically, somehow distinct from the 'real' world. One advertising slogan used by Royal Tongan Airlines is 'Come fly with us to our magic kingdom! Traditional Polynesia at untraditional prices!'¹ In another Royal Tongan campaign the airline claimed to be 'The majestic connection to all the mysteries of the fabled South Seas. The Kingdom of Tonga with its age-old royal lineage, spans 2,000 years in time to reach back into Ancient Polynesia'.² The Tongan National Centre is promoted as offering 'an authentic and pleasurable cultural experience'.³

Such slogans are well aimed at the perceptions already held by many Westerners, as reflected in a comment by a Finnish tour guide whilst in Tonga – 'I think it is vital for Tonga to maintain its unique identity . . . It would be nice if [Europeans] could have their dream land in reality.'⁴ The association between 'authentic' and 'traditional' is not simply a feature of advertising campaigns aimed at jaded Westerners seeking an escape from their own supposedly inauthentic postmodern existences, however. It actually has resonance with Tongans too. Throughout research in Tonga and more recently with Tongans in Australia,⁵ I have frequently heard people measure themselves and other Tongans against an essentialised notion of 'true' or 'real' Tonganness.

People make statements such as 'he's not a really Tongan Tongan', or 'I'm not completely Tongan', or 'he's a true Tongan'. In making such evaluations people are not drawing primarily on a notion of genetic inheritance or 'blood', although this is often but not always seen as a crucial element of authentic Tonganness. Rather, these evaluations are made most often in relation to an

¹ 'Eva, July-Sept. 1993.

² 'Eva, Apr.-June 1996.

³ 'Eva, Jan.-Feb. 1990.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Helen Morton, *Becoming Tongan an ethnography of childhood* (Honolulu 1996); 'Creating their own Culture: diasporic Tongans', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 10:1 (1998).

image of 'the traditional Tongan', an image widely shared in a very general sense yet also highly variable, manipulatable, and contested.

It is this image of the true, authentic, traditional Tongan against which individuals construct their cultural identities, rejecting or accepting the image in part or whole, or reworking it to mesh with their personal experiences and sense of self. The aim here is to investigate this image of cultural authenticity at both the general and the individual level by looking at some events and issues pertinent to contemporary Tonga and to Tongan communities overseas, beginning with the pseudonymous *Le'o vaiva'i's* cleverly written three page response to a question that I posted on an Internet discussion forum, the Kava Bowl, about the notion of a 'true Tongan'. First, in response to my question, 'What do you think makes someone a "real" Tongan?' he wrote:

It's my sad duty to inform you there aren't any... There aren't any true Tongans anywhere today... In navigation there is a TRUE North and a MAGNETIC North. Likewise with Tongans, except there are NO TRUE Tongans around anymore. Today there are only MAGNETIC Tongans.

True Tongans existed around the time of Christ, when they first started migrating from Sweden to Polynesia. At the time, Tongans were ALL fair of skin, and thin of nose.

He imagines the Tongans sailing from Sweden and finding themselves in Fiji, where they were attracted to 'the kindly and accommodating ladies of Fiji'. He continues: 'By the time their descendants got to Tonga, they were almost chestnut in complexion, and thus were no longer anthropologically classified as TRUE Tongans, but rather as MAGNETIC Tongans'. After a humorous description of a recent trip to Tonga, the writer concludes with:

Tonga is Tonga and I LOVE MY COUNTRY, but it is absurd to even try to define a 'true' Tongan. There just aren't any. To do so is like a pilot simultaneously following TRUE North and MAGNETIC North. The result would be disastrous.

Although this is clearly meant as a humorous tale, a certain wisdom within it highlights several issues. In the first place, while the tale of Tongan origins in Sweden is satirical, it brings to the fore the salient roles of history and memory in the construction of notions of authenticity. The fact that this 'history' was a contribution to an Internet discussion forum is also significant in this respect, as such forums are quickly opening up a whole new arena in which the interrelationships between memory, identity, and notions of authenticity can be played out. Secondly, although one surely cannot define a 'true' Tongan in the sense of delimiting a set of characteristics with which everyone would agree, the fact remains that most Tongans I have asked have offered their own definitions because the *image* and *possibility* of the true Tongan is widely shared. This image of authenticity is at the very heart of Tongan identity – no matter how impossible it would be to pin down the

definitive version of true Tonganness. Finally, by insisting on the absurdity of the project of defining a true Tongan, the author from the Internet brings to mind the history of academic attempts to deal with the issue of cultural authenticity. Since this essay aims to address a significant gap in previous work, exploration of authenticity in relation to Tongans is here prefaced with a brief critique of two of its important strands – the literature on the politics of tradition and that on ethnicity.

IN THE EARLY 1980s anthropologists in particular began attempting to deal with what has become known as 'politics of tradition'. Much of the comment focused on the Pacific, particularly Melanesia, and was centrally concerned with ways in which 'custom' and 'tradition' were supposedly reconstructed, even 'reinvented', in the context of colonialism, anti-colonialism, and post-colonialism. A recurring theme in the earlier writing particularly is the 'inauthentic' nature of some beliefs and practices claimed as tradition by indigenous peoples – an evaluation made by exposing 'customs' as having been recently created by the incorporation of introduced beliefs and practices, or the reworking of those previously existing. Recently, the assumptions underlying all this comment have been seriously questioned and the very concept of 'authenticity' has been re-evaluated. In her assessment of the politics of tradition literature Jocelyn Linnekin, for instance, observed that it 'undercuts the cultural authority of indigenous peoples by calling into question their authenticity. Implicitly, authenticity is thus equated with the transmission through time of a tradition, that is, an objectively definable essence or core of customs and beliefs.'⁶

One problem is that any form of cultural change is equated with a loss of 'traditional' culture and thus with inauthenticity; in contrast, as Margaret Jolly has noted, when change occurs in Western nations it is simply seen as 'progress'.⁷ A related point is that when people become self-conscious about their culture rather than unreflexively living it, this is seen as artificial, political, and hence 'inauthentic' again.⁸ Underlying these kinds of interpretations are the broader assumptions that 'tradition' and 'modernity' are opposed, and that they are equated respectively with authenticity and inauthenticity.

More recent writing dwells on the many forms of relationship between 'traditional culture' and modern or Western culture. Geoffrey White, for example, points out that Christianity and custom may 'form a complementary

⁶ Jocelyn Linnekin, 'Cultural Invention and the Dilemma of Authenticity', *American Anthropologist*, 93:2 (1991) 446-48.

⁷ Margaret Jolly, 'Specters of Inauthenticity', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 4:1 (1992) 49-72.

⁸ Lamont Lindstrom and Geoffrey White, 'Custom Today', *Anthropological Forum*, 6:4 (1993) 467-473.

relation in which both participate in the same field of meaning'.⁹ This is just what occurs in Tonga, where tradition and Christianity are deeply enmeshed within the concept of *anga fakatonga*, the Tongan way, which in turn is regarded as the essence of all that is authentically Tongan.

This rethinking in the 'politics of tradition' literature is also occurring in some work on ethnicity – although to a lesser extent, perhaps because notions of cultural authenticity have been less explicit here. A great deal of the research into ethnicity has been quantitative work attempting to identify and measure the components of ethnic identity and evaluate their relative salience.¹⁰ Much of this work looks at second and later generations of immigrants, comparing their ethnicity with that of first generation migrants by looking at factors such as language use, involvement with the ethnic group, and attitudinal preferences like preferred lifestyle and place of residence. The underlying implication is that the authenticity of the ethnicity of these later generations is being evaluated according to these criteria. So a Tongan who does not speak Tongan or does not get very involved with the Tongan community is not seen as authentically Tongan. Here the assumption is that ethnicity is based on group patterns and that ethnic identity is acquired as the individual takes on these patterns.¹¹ The more closely the individual follows those patterns the more authentically a member of the group that individual becomes.

This essentialist view of authentic ethnicity has been questioned and a more recent model of ethnicity 'stresses the fluid, situational, volitional, and dynamic character of ethnic identification, organization, and action – a model that emphasizes the socially "constructed" aspects of ethnicity, i.e., the ways in which ethnic boundaries, identities, and cultures, are negotiated, defined, and produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic communities'.¹² Such a model allows for psychological flexibility and the possibility of having multiple ethnic identities without necessarily experiencing conflict. In this approach the whole concept of authenticity becomes virtually redundant, replaced by construction, volition, and constant transformation.¹³

⁹ Geoffrey White, 'Three Discourses of Custom', *ibid.*

¹⁰ Jean Phinney, 'Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: review of research', *Psychological Bulletin*, 108:30 (1990) 506.

¹¹ See, for example, Mary Jane Rotheram and Jean Phinney (eds), *Children's Ethnic Socialization* (Newbury Park, CA, 1987), p. 13.

¹² Joane Nagel, 'Constructing ethnicity: creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture', *Social Problems*, 41:1 (1994) 152.

¹³ I have problems with this newer approach as well, for example in the stress on the volitional nature of ethnicity. I would argue that the notion of volition or choice in ethnicity needs to be treated cautiously, as certain factors such as physical appearance can remove much of this choice, at least in terms of how one's ethnicity is ascribed by others.

The striking thing about these two bodies of academic writing is the deafening silence of the very people about whom evaluations are being made regarding their cultural authenticity or lack of it. Little attention is paid to the voices of those supposedly becoming inauthentic. When such a voice *has* been heard – as in the 1991 article by Haunani-Kay Trask, in reply to Roger Keesing's essay entitled 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific',¹⁴ the riposte is addressed to anthropologists, historians, and others and challenging their right to make these judgements of authenticity. The ways in which people speak to each other, their own perspectives on authenticity and the ways they utilise them in their interactions with one another, are all missing. While it has been occasionally acknowledged that the subjects of the research on the politics of tradition use the language of authenticity themselves,¹⁵ the few examples given have been from politicians and other prominent figures. I will also be drawing on their comments to some extent, but my main thrust is the much broader use of the discourse of authenticity; and it is important to stress that I am looking at Tongans' own perceptions of authenticity rather than making my own evaluations of aspects of Tongan culture as authentic or inauthentic.

As historians of Tonga have long recognised, 'tradition' is a highly manipulatable concept there, and yet a remarkably resilient and powerful one. In recent years, power and resilience have become apparent in the political debates sparked by what is now known as the pro-democracy movement. In one analysis of the political situation in Tonga, it has been claimed that arguments for maintaining the *status quo* appeal to a set of ideas about tradition 'which supports the view of Tongan culture purveyed through nationalist images and which seeks to anchor the legitimacy of the present political system in the remote past'.¹⁶ This view of Tongan culture is the result of a highly selective process of remembering and forgetting, with one source of the political upheavals occurring in Tonga today deriving from a growing awareness of the effects of this selectivity.

It has been suggested that Pacific Islanders see authentic tradition as that which is 'unpolluted by Western influences'.¹⁷ But in fact for Tongans this is distinctly not the case. Tongans are not consistently presented in official discourse with a concept of an unchanging tradition completely opposed to modern Western ways. Perhaps because they were never formally colonised,

choice, at least in terms of how one's ethnicity is ascribed by others.

¹⁴ *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1:1 & 2 (1989) 19-42; *ibid.*, 3 (1991) 159-177.

¹⁵ For example, Stephanie Lawson, 'The Politics of Tradition: problems for political legitimacy and democracy in the South Pacific', *Pacific Studies*, 16:2 (1993) 11.

¹⁶ Stephanie Lawson, *Tradition Versus Democracy in the South Pacific: Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa* (Cambridge 1996), p. 81.

¹⁷ Lawson, 'Politics of Tradition', 11.

Tongans, through their own royalty and the nobility, have been able to negotiate transformations in their cultural identity without this occurring in the context of zealous anti-colonial sentiments, independence movements, or dramatic post-colonial changes. Various factors such as Tonga's isolation, the very small number of foreign settlers, and Queen Sālote's emphasis on tradition, meant that after the initial reformation of Tongan society into a constitutional monarchy further changes were relatively slow and to some extent deliberately chosen. The belief that Tongans have been active, independent agents in their own society's transformations has influenced attitudes toward tradition and helped to re-assure Tongans that overall they have retained their own 'authenticity'.

Tongans are well aware that much of what is called 'tradition' today emerged with King Tupou I, the constitution, and other radical changes in the mid-19th century, not least conversion to Christianity. These changes, and those that have occurred in the 20th century, have been absorbed in cultural memories as part of Tonga's own proud and independent history. An example of this kind of remembering is found in a special issue of the now-defunct pro-monarchy magazine *Tonga Today* celebrating the King's 70th birthday in 1988. It presents a series of photographs of modern institutions in Tonga such as the Bank of Tonga with text detailing developments introduced by the King. A heading above the photographs proclaims: 'His Majesty never sacrificed the Tongan culture and Traditions in the name of advancement'. An accompanying article comments:

The present King, His Majesty Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, is the guardian of that system and tradition. The Tongan political and social system is both old and new. Its institutions have their roots in a thousand years of history, and they have both absorbed and been absorbed by modernization. Tradition gives legitimacy and stability to the Tongan system.

A crucial element in the way history and cultural memories have been shaped in Tonga is the control over this process by those in power. What is fascinating about the political debates of the past few years is the way in which the issue of 'tradition' is addressed by opposing sides. The debate has been widely characterised as 'tradition versus democracy' but is far more complicated than that: and at its heart are the notions of authenticity and true Tonganness with which this essay is concerned. Those Tongans who support the *status quo* draw heavily on notions of tradition, exemplified in the replaying of a speech by Queen Sālote on the importance of upholding tradition on Tongan radio prior to the 1993 elections. In 1989 the Hon. Malupo, then Speaker for Parliament, commented of the pro-democracy People's Representatives that 'There is intention to change the *status quo* but

I think if this happens we are heading for trouble. We will lose our traditional values of respect, love, and the love of peace.¹⁸

Rather than portraying tradition as able to withstand 'modernisation', under the guidance of the monarchy, here a stark dichotomy is posited between Tongan tradition and Western ways, specifically Western concepts of democracy. This version of the situation has been accepted by a significant proportion of the population because it resonates with deep-seated fears about the loss of *anga fakatonga*; and this view has begun to override the pre-existing complacency about change. In a letter to the editor of the government newspaper *Ko e Kalonikali*, the aspiring politician and commoner Semisi Kailahi wrote: 'If we adopt Western democracy quickly we will crucify our fundamental Tongan way which is very important'.¹⁹ In another letter in the same issue Dr O. Niumeitolu, a Tongan living in Australia, says in my translation: 'We don't get independence in our attempts to change the way of Tongan tradition, the way of the land. Our Tongan ways – they are in harmony with the body, mind, and spirit of Tongans, and they will be lost in the changes ...'

The position of those seeking to maintain the *status quo* and uphold 'tradition' is bolstered by this growing anxiety about loss of identity and authenticity sparked by the convergence of various influences – the impact of migration, the 'passport scandal', increasing emphasis on tourism, socio-economic changes, and so on. These influences have meant that Tongan identity is no longer so easily taken for granted and people's belief in their agency regarding change is being challenged. At the same time, another very different concern is also growing – that tradition and the *status quo* are problematic in themselves. While there have long been undercurrents of this concern it has recently surfaced resoundingly, largely through the efforts of the pro-democracy movement. For in their concern with issues such as accountability and justice, pro-democracy supporters are re-examining historical processes, and in doing so implicitly and at times explicitly they are challenging aspects of 'tradition'.

One example is the comment by Viliami Fukofuka, in relation to the constitutional crises of the early 1990s, that the nobles had lost much of their power, been 'neutralised' and left unable to speak out against the government.²⁰ By reinvoking 'forgotten' memories this historical rethinking unsettles the cultural memories underpinning the *status quo*, a process which may, to different Tongans, be variously disturbing, enlightening, confusing, or enraging. Perhaps it is for this reason that much of the pro-

¹⁸ *Matangi Tonga*, 4:4 (1989).

¹⁹ *Ko e Kalonikali*, 18 May 1995 (translation mine).

²⁰ *Matangi Tonga*, Mar.-Apr. 1991.

democracy rhetoric has focused on the present situation in Tonga and the country's future rather than dwelling on the association between the changes being proposed and any loss of the Tongan way. After all, what is at stake in the current political debates is the very definition of what it is to be Tongan.

THAT QUESTION now seems to me more complicated than it did at first when the people to be encountered in Tonga were by no means a homogeneous group, having all manner of differences such as educational level, interests, religious beliefs, and so on, but were certainly more alike than they were different. All had Tongan ancestors, spoke Tongan, and had knowledge of *anga fakatonga*, just to take three of the most obvious points of similarity. More recent experience of Tongan migrants in Melbourne has led me to question my assumptions. Tongans are to be encountered there who do not speak Tongan, Tongans who do not know *anga fakatonga*, part-Tongans who look *pālangi* or European but want desperately be to accepted as 'real' Tongans, and full Tongans who want to deny their heritage. The measuring of themselves and each other against an apparent norm of Tonganness is also more visible than in Tonga, naturally because for Tongans overseas this ideal is regarded more self-consciously and with greater anxiety.

Two clear criteria of Tongan identity are emerging from my research: 'blood' and 'heart'. 'Blood' is descent, family connections. Writing on the Kava Bowl on 24 October 1996, 'Sunia' emphasised: 'A Tongan is someone who is ethnically Tongan, i.e., has Tongan BLOOD flowing thru their veins. If you are Norwegian, no amount of speaking in Tongan, learning the Tongan culture, or marrying a Tongan will make you one. You'll always be just a Norwegian-wanna-be-Tongan.' 'Pita', one of the young Tongan men interviewed in Melbourne, told me: 'I believe if there's any blood in the person, Tongan, any generation, they should be considered as Tongan'. But blood is not an uncomplicated criterion: how much blood is necessary? 'Jane', an Australian woman married to a Tongan for over 20 years and throughout that time very involved with one of the Tongan churches, stated emphatically: 'I don't think the Tongans think anyone is a Tongan who is not a full Tongan'. This was supported by 'Sulia' who has a Tongan mother and Australian father and who commented wistfully: 'I wasn't really accepted with the Tongans because I was half [Tongan]'. In contrast, Pita later added that even a person with no Tongan blood at all could be accepted as Tongan if adopted by a Tongan family and brought up as a Tongan.

Pita's comment raises the issue of 'heart' — meaning the emotions, attitudes and values that create a Tongan identity. Staying true to this heart is a recurring theme on the Kava Bowl, participants chiding one another for language or attitudes that do not accord with those seen as appropriate for Tongans. One participant rebuked another for some rather rude comments

by saying: 'obviously you must not be a real Tongan ... you lack respect'. Heart is not a simple concept. Is it enough to be a Tongan at heart but in appearance and behaviour be a *pālangi*? For many Tongans living overseas this is a vital question. 'Heart' is a more subjective category – it is experienced, felt, and not so easily judged; it raises the important difference between identity as imposed by others and self-identity. When individuals claim to share cultural memories at this experiential, intangible level their claims may be disputed by others yet they cannot be disproved. And it was not at all unusual for people to allow for the absence of one or the other of these elements without at all altering their definition of Tongan.

THE LAW has only vague definitions of its own. In the case heard in 1994 involving the current Minister of Police and Principal Immigration Officer, he claimed to be a Tongan subject within Section 2(a) of the Nationality Act of 1915.²¹ Born to a Tongan mother and European father, Clive Edwards's birth certificate did not declare his nationality or that of his parents and he had not held a Tongan passport but did have British and New Zealand passports. Under the Nationality Act, if the father had been Tongan there would have been no question of the validity of the son's claim to be Tongan. As the law report notes, the Act while not defining 'Tongan' left it open for the court to decide on the common-sense definition of 'Tongan national', which served to exclude Clive Edwards. This ruling was overturned in the Court of Appeal, where it was decided that 'by being born in Tonga the Appellant as well as his father owed natural allegiance to the sovereign of Tonga and that being the case, each was considered to be a Tongan for the purpose of nationality'.

As the law stands, therefore, children born overseas by Tongan mothers to non-Tongan fathers are not legally Tongan no matter what their knowledge of the language and culture and the extent of their own identification as Tongan. At least this judgement allows the children of such marriages born in Tonga to be regarded as Tongan at law, but other implications of it may be viewed less positively by many Tongans as children are born in Tonga to non-Tongan holders of Tongan passports. Where do 'blood' and 'heart' fit in here, when Tongan identity appears to be so much for sale that in 1991 the constitution was amended to grant citizenship to 426 foreigners who had paid fees for illegal Tongan passports and had been unable to apply for naturalisation? More recent amendments to legislation allow the King in Privy Council to grant Tongan citizenship to '1. a person who holds a Tonga Protected Person Passport for 5 yrs; 2. a person who currently holds a Tonga Protected Person Passport; or 3. anyone whom His Majesty and the Privy

²¹ Government of Tonga 1995, 13.

Council agree to grant citizenship on humanitarian grounds or for any other good reason', as *Matangi Tonga* announced in 1996.

The passport scandal has brought the question of what it is to be Tongan to a more conscious level. An editorial in *Matangi Tonga* entitled 'Tonga Has Sold its Soul' pointed out that in granting citizenship there were no requirements made in terms of years of residence in Tonga or knowledge of the Tongan language. Tongan birthright was being sold.²² The following year, 1992, was the Year Of Indigenous People, and in an article in *Matangi Tonga* considering Tonga's role in this designated year Futa Helu is quoted as saying the term 'indigenous' cannot be applied in Tonga because Tonga's social system is based on class not race, since there has never been any major foreign settlement. He adds:

But things could be different if the hundreds of foreigners who now hold naturalised Tongan passports will come and live here. At such a time, then the term indigenous could be applied, because the naturalised Tongans would call themselves native Tongans and the local Tongans will be called the indigenous people.²³

Already there are indications that naturalised Tongans will not simply co-exist with Tongans and remain uninvolved with Tongan culture. A notable example of this is Mr Antony Lee, a Chinese businessman who bought a Tongan passport in 1989, then acquired residential status and is primarily interested in Tonga as a site for expanding his shipping and airlines businesses – as is the case with the four other countries of which he is a citizen. Yet he was installed by the Hon. Kalanivalu-Fotofili to the title of Tafolo in 1994, the 'traditional title of one of the royal children (*Sina'e 'eiki*) of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty', according to the *Tonga Chronicle* of 12 September 1996.

One of the most striking features of the passport scandal and more generally of the pro-democracy movement has been the role played by church figures. Tongans have taken up Christianity so wholeheartedly that it has become virtually impossible to disentangle 'tradition' and 'Christianity'. Christian values or Christianity itself are frequently nominated as integral to the concept of *anga fakatonga*. One young Tongan man, born and raised in Australia, was asked to explain *anga fakatonga* and replied: 'The whole thing is based on religion. A lot of the values that come out of it – family values, the lifestyle – it's basically all from religion.'

At the same time, Christianity can also be used to legitimate resistance to 'Tongan tradition'. Here Tongan and Christian identities are seen as separate and distinct. When Christianity is used in this sense, Tongan values and

²² *Matangi Tonga*, Jan.-Feb. 1991.

²³ *Matangi Tonga*, March-April 1992.

practices may be challenged, even rejected, because they are said to be opposed to Christian values and practices. This has been a consistent theme in the pro-democracy debate and helps to explain why so many church people have spoken out. A Tongan minister in Australia who supports the pro-democracy movement said: '[W]hen I was in Tonga I didn't regard myself primarily as Tongan. And when I'm in Australia I don't regard myself primarily as an Australian. Because I always find myself in conflict with my own culture back home, and also in the Australian culture here, because I take my Christian faith very seriously ... I have conflict with my own culture in Tonga because of my Christian faith of justice. The same thing applies in Australia ... I wish to believe that I am a Christian first. And I believe that whenever people take that up seriously they become international people.' Later in answering a question about whether he taught his children *faka'apa'apa* (respect), this minister said: 'not the Tongan way of *faka'apa'apa*. *Faka'apa'apa* to those above you and ignore those under you. That's what I describe as the Tongan way. That's why I say Tongan custom is not Christian practice. The Christian practice [is that] you regard every other person as persons, as equal value.'

By prioritising their Christianity and regarding it as separate from their Tongan identities parents can justify their selectivity in teaching their children *anga fakatonga*, as with another minister, also living in Melbourne, who disagreed with the *tapu* on his children sharing his food and drink, on the grounds that the gospels preach sharing and equality. Although both examples are taken from ministers, their views are not unusual. For many Tongans living overseas the church is the primary avenue through which contact with other Tongans is maintained, yet Christianity itself can become a sieve by which both Tongan and foreign elements are sifted in the process of forming and re-forming identities.

'A TONGAN is a Tongan wherever you go', said a Kava Bowl respondent of October 1996. Some overseas Tongans certainly respond to their situation as immigrants by trying to retain as much Tongan culture as possible and bringing children up in 'the Tongan way'. Since many parents cannot afford return visits, their children are being brought up on parents' memories. When members of such families do eventually return to Tonga they find they have been suffering 'stopped clock syndrome' – the Tonga that the parents have been remembering is not the Tonga they see today and the children find that much of what they learned as 'the Tongan way' has been transformed. Even when parents are well aware of the changes occurring, they may believe this is a loss of culture and decide to continue to hold onto 'tradition'. In either case such parents tend to equate being Tongan with being 'traditional' – leading a Tongan man who has lived in Australia for over 20 years to

comment after a visit to Tonga: 'The Tongans here [in Melbourne] are more Tongan than the Tongans in Tonga!'

Some Tongan parents find that simply living in another society influences their children in ways the parents believe clash with *anga fakatonga*. A common response is to send the children back to learn *anga fakatonga* and become 'real Tongans'. Even though they know Tonga has changed, such parents are convinced that their children have a better chance of learning such things as 'proper manners' and respect there, and are less likely to follow the *pālangi* way.

Other migrant Tongans attempt to incorporate elements from their host society and/or the culture of their spouses into their lives and in the process make quite self-conscious choices about the extent to which they will adhere to *anga fakatonga*. Sometimes the parents are negotiating their own cultural differences. Tongans have intermarried with people of many different ethnicities, and each family's negotiations are different, so that endless variations in these choices can be encountered in Melbourne, Auckland and elsewhere. 'Sulia' described her Tongan mother as 'anti-Tongan' due to what she saw as injustices in Tongan society; in cases like this a choice is made to reject all that is Tongan and attempt to assimilate. Less extreme are those who choose to reconstruct *anga fakatonga* so that it can be maintained to some extent whilst allowing for other elements to be incorporated.

Children of 'traditional Tongans' often have difficulties with the stark differences between the culture they encounter in their home and in interactions with other Tongans, and the culture they must deal with outside that somewhat isolated world, at school, on television, and with non-Tongan friends. Yet those whose parents do attempt compromises may also experience confusion. In a recent Kava Bowl discussion about the experience of being Tongan in America, 'Apolosi' wrote about the problem of 'trying to be Tongan but also American', and added 'I'm confused. Will the "real" Tongan please stand up? Or is there more than one Tonga today?' Later in the discussion 'Sitela' posted a message:

I think that defining 'tongan' in america would be as difficult as defining 'normal'. what is normal?, what is tongan? Being that we've all grown up with different life experiences, perhaps different values, each of our interpretation of what a Tongan-American is, would be different, and yet, they would all be correct.

Whether or not they keep to *anga fakatonga*, those living overseas have trouble being accepted by Tongans back home. Common ways of referring to Tongans overseas are *pālangi loi* – fake *pālangis*, people pretending to be Westerners; and *fie pālangi* – having pretensions to being *pālangi*. 'Kilisi', a young Tongan woman brought up in Australia, reported that when she goes to Tonga with her family people laughingly say: 'Here come the palangis!' She said: 'I see myself as completely Tongan, but when I'm with Tongans I can

pick out the Australian bits. You know, I do things and they think, "Oh, she's not Tongan!" It really stands out.' Yet people like Kalisi also see that many of the Tongans in Tonga are in some ways less 'traditional' than they are themselves.

Hence, perhaps, the tendency for Tongans to measure themselves and each other against a vague but widely shared notion of authentic Tonganness, tied to the concept of 'tradition'. The resulting idea of Tonganness as a measurable and quantifiable quality is not necessarily related to 'blood', as it has become clear; nonetheless blood does become a crucial issue for the children of mixed marriages, who speak of percentages and fractions and often remain acutely aware of the different 'parts' of themselves. Sulia said:

I always identify as half Tongan, half Australian Anglo-Saxon. Even with Tongans, they'll ask me 'Oh, are you Tongan?' and I find myself saying 'No, I'm half Tongan'. I just like to make the distinction that I'm not one or the other, I'm both, and I'd like to be accepted as such.

She reported her cousin from Tonga commented that Sulia and her full siblings had a Tongan-Australian identity in which they are 'a mix, a combination the whole time'. Yet her adopted brother, whose parents were both Tongan but who was brought up by Sulia's parents, 'can be either totally Australian or totally Tongan, he's never a constant combination'. This perception of people mixing and blending their Tongan 'parts' with Australian or American or other parts essentialises those identities and allows for the possibility of one part being lost, or forgotten. Expressing an opinion frequently heard, a Tongan man living in Melbourne claimed that the third generation of Tongans in Australia 'will be the real Australians, the real Aussies'. Countering this trend requires retaining a self-conscious awareness of one's identities, keeping the memories alive, or, in the words of a Kava Bowl participant, 'keeping it real'.

In the context of social change in Tonga and the increasing numbers of diasporic Tongans, certain aspects of being Tongan become highly symbolic of Tonganness – although once more their significance is by no means uncontested. Language is the most obvious, and the association between being a 'real' Tongan and speaking the language is particularly contentious. Dr 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, linguist, education planner, and now Director of Primary Education in Tonga, has been quoted as saying:

Language is what makes a person a complete being, it makes you what you are, it makes a Tongan a Tongan. If a Tongan does not speak Tongan then I do not think he or she is a Tongan. To speak in Tongan you have to think like a Tongan, and that is something that is installed in your sub-consciousness, it is your culture and heritage, and it is something which you can't express in any other language ... it is imperative to preserve our unique cultural values which have

taken us thousands of years to develop. If we lose our language we lose our culture
²⁴

Her views are shared by Dr Tupou Pulu who has a doctorate in education and believes the Tongan language is being lost. Dr Pulu argues that culture is perpetuated through language, so that with this loss of Tongan there is a loss of Tongan history and culture, and a movement toward the *pālangi* way of living. She finds that the symbolic meanings behind songs, poetry, place names, titles, and so on are being lost, so even if people know the Tongan terms they may not know their symbolic meaning.²⁵

Attitudes among Tongan immigrants towards language-learning are constantly changing and diverse. For the more 'traditional' parents, ensuring their children speak Tongan is an essential part of teaching them *anga fakatonga*, but many children of immigrants do not learn Tongan, often because the very conscientious effort on the parents' part needed to keep up children's Tongan language skills becomes impossible to maintain under pressure of work and other commitments and in the context of what have often been described to me as distant relations between parents and children. Other parents have actively discouraged their children from speaking Tongan, usually because they believe that to achieve success in another culture it is vital to be completely fluent in its own language. And a few have not been taught Tongan because their parents' motivation for migration was tied to their rejection of *anga fakatonga*. 'Sulia' now wishes her mother had taught her Tongan: 'I think that's a part of me that needs to be made whole ... but I think she might have been scared that I'd have gone into the Tongan culture'.

Sulia's regret is shared by all of the young people with whom I have spoken who do not know Tongan, and is a theme that crops up on the Kava Bowl. There seems to be a strong desire on the part of many younger parents to ensure their own children learn Tongan, given that they are now aware not only of the benefits of bilingualism but also of this regret. They are conscientiously encouraging their own children to speak Tongan at home and have established Tongan language classes at several churches. There have even been moves to incorporate the teaching of Tongan language and culture in some Australian schools. Being seen as real Tongans is obviously important to many of these young people, and in such cases 'emblematic identity',²⁶ or the physical demonstration of identity, becomes increasingly evident in areas such as clothing. Wearing Tongan clothes like the *tupenu*,

²⁴ *Matangi Tonga*, Mar.-Apr. 1991.

²⁵ *Tonga Today*, Feb. 1988.

²⁶ George De Vos, 'Conflict and Accommodation in Ethnic Interaction', in G. De Vos and Marcelo Suarez-Orozco (eds), *Status Inequality: the self in culture* (Newbury Park, CA, 1990), pp. 204-245.

ta'ovala, *kiekie*, and so on, symbolises their claim to a Tongan identity and desire to be accepted as such. Although distinctly untraditional, tee-shirts with Tongan motifs have also become very popular both in Tonga and for Tongans overseas. Proclaiming the wearer '100% pure Tongan', or 'proud to be Tongan', or with pictures of Tongan warriors, the Tongan seal and flag, the Ha'amonga, and various other symbols of Tonga, these tee-shirts express pride in identity and can be worn in many situations when more formal attire such as a *tupenu* and *ta'ovala* would look incongruous.

A common accessory for both formal Tongan wear and the tee-shirts or Island or *aloha* shirts is the bone necklace which has become another popular emblem of identity. In this case the identity is more Polynesian than specifically Tongan, and with *aloha* shirts has come to symbolise the Pacific Islands to foreigners while at the same time signifying identity for Islanders themselves. Although this sharing of symbols could be seen as weakening their power, it does bode well in terms of attitudes towards Islanders. 'Semisi', a young Tongan in Melbourne, commented that being an Islander is 'the in thing' in Australia. He sees a lot of people wearing Islander shirts, bone necklaces and so on and joked, 'Everyone just wants to be an Islander'. It may well be that this positive attitude toward Pacific Islanders, in Australia at least, has contributed to a trend amongst young Tongans towards a revitalisation of their Tongan identities: proudly wearing Tongan clothes, eating Tongan food, trying to learn the language, and enthusiastically practising Tongan dancing. There is some indication that this is occurring in the United States too; Princess Pilolevu recently described visiting Tongan outreach groups in San Francisco in which language and aspects of Tongan culture are being taught to Tongan children and adolescents who have grown up in America. She said

They re-enact *faka-pangai* ceremonies in Tonga and they have a *ha'unga* for me, these 14, 15 and even 12-year-olds all have their line of little *matapules*, they have the pig and the kava root out and I am the visiting dignitary and they make all the speeches and they give each other *matapule* names according to which village their father or mother is from, and the whole thing is done by children who have never seen Tonga.²⁷

Young people's dancing skills are displayed at fund-raising events, cultural festivals, church social gatherings, and such like, and this greatly assists the acceptance of these young people as 'real Tongans', even overcoming to some extent the obstacles of mixed parentage or lack of fluency in Tongan. As Tongans become more self-conscious about 'authenticity' and 'tradition' while at the same time they actively engage with 'modernity',

²⁷ *Matangi Tonga*, Jan.-Mar. 1996.

tradition becomes refigured. In some cases there is stark juxtaposition of traditional and modern elements, as in one *Matangi Tonga* advertisement with a photograph of a male dancer in a grass skirt outside the modern glass and concrete ANZ bank, and another advertisement for the Tau'olunga Komipiuta company featuring a line drawing of a young woman dancing a *tau'olunga* while holding a mouse connected to a computer.

In other cases the refiguring of tradition entails a more subtle intermeshing of old and new, as in the song written for Jonah Lomu by his cousin Nanise Lomu in which the 'traditional structure' of song-writing is used to pay homage to a modern hero – first paying respect to his chiefs and elders, then tracing his genealogy, then celebrating his accomplishments.²⁸ The combination can be reversed, with traditional elements drawn into a modern form. This was the case in the art displayed by seven New Zealand-residing Tongan artists in an exhibition held in June 1994 entitled *Fanguna 'e he Manatu Ki Tonga* or Awoken by Memories of Tonga with traditional Tongan motifs and materials utilised in modern art forms.

A similar incorporation of traditional elements into a modern medium is seen in the artwork and lyrics of the 1996 album *Princess Tabu* by the young Tongan-Australian sisters Vika and Linda Bull. More commonly, it is seen when traditional motifs from *ngatu* are used in modern textiles. *Puletaha*, the women's outfits comprising a long top and ankle-length skirt, are often decorated with *ngatu*-motif borders and worn with a *kiekie* and are now seen as traditional clothing in contrast with the shorter skirts and dresses, long pants and even shorts now worn by so many Tongan women. Other 'traditional' clothing worn whilst performing dances has been transformed by plastic, sequins, and beading.

Experimentation is seen most starkly in the annual Miss Heilala pageant. For a while the pageant veered towards 'Western' elements, notably the swimsuit parade which caused great consternation to many Tongans. Concern about such Westernisation was also raised in relation to winners who for some years were Tongan and half-Tongan women brought up overseas. A renewed emphasis on tradition and culture ensued, with greater importance placed on the performance of the *tau'olunga* and demonstration of fluency in Tongan. Not that the young women thought of themselves as anything but real Tongans: Mana Haverly, Miss Heilala of 1991, was born and raised in America, and was visiting Tonga for the first time when she entered the Miss Heilala contest, yet claimed that she grew up in a thoroughly Tongan home: 'When I step out of my home I step out of a piece of Tonga to America'.²⁹ And Tiani Kaho, who took over as Miss Heilala for the final three months of

²⁸ 'Eva, Apr.-June 1996.

²⁹ *Matangi Tonga*, July-Aug. 1991.

the 1995-1996 term, had left Tonga at four months of age, and grew up in America, but in the early 1990s had returned and embraced Tongan culture. As she commented: 'God has sent me back, and I have learned a lot, my perspective for life has also changed. In Tonga women are still regarded as something very sacred, and they are supposed to be kind and humble, and I like that.'³⁰

Women may be sacred – but only in certain situations; and outside these contexts their lot can be rather different. 'Tradition' plays a similarly ambivalent role, sometimes being quite clearly sacred while at other times being regarded with utter pragmatism. Even Tongan royalty accept this ambivalence, as in Princess Pilolevu's comments in a 1996 interview:

Tongan culture is constantly undergoing change. I ask myself why has the Tongan culture been the longest surviving in the Pacific? It is because we have the ability to change the Tongan culture to suit us and the times, that's the key, and this is why we have to try and maintain it overseas.³¹

Royalty and nobility may be living symbols of tradition and authentic Tonganness, and they may engage in political rhetoric about maintaining tradition, yet in another sense they are also the most 'Westernised' of all. Together with the new élite, they socialise with non-Tongans, spend a great deal of time overseas, embrace Western capitalism at least in terms of their business ventures, educate their children overseas, and prefer English to Tongan in most contexts. The clear message from people such as Princess Pilolevu is that it is possible to mix Tongan and *pālāngi* ways without abandoning Tonganness. As the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Langi Hu'akavameiliku, commented in 1993: 'I want to be a modern man and a Tongan, not a modern man who happens to live in Tonga'.³²

In an editorial in *Matangi Tonga* in 1991, Pesi Fonua suggested that Tongans should 'be open-minded about our future'. He added: 'By keeping only those parts of our culture which would enable us to advance our society does not mean we have to mourn a loss of identity. The parts which have been discarded are following their fate into the museum and the history books for our offspring to learn from.' Which parts can be discarded while retaining cultural identity is a question that is surely contentious for Tongans, all the same. And will those parts become reified as elements of some lost authenticity, or viewed as evidence of the constant historical transformation of Tongan culture? Tongan culture is inexorably changing and whether certain aspects are discarded by choice or, as so many Tongans have

³⁰ 'Eva, Apr.-June 1996.

³¹ *Matangi Tonga*, Jan.-Mar. 1996.

³² *Matangi Tonga*, Oct.-Dec. 1993.

told me, are simply lost along the way, the issue of authenticity is bound to become increasingly salient. As tourists continue to trickle into Tonga, seeking the authentic culture they have been offered in advertisements, Tongans themselves, at home and in the diaspora, will continue to variously reaffirm, reject, re-work, and re-evaluate this same notion of authenticity and the cultural memories on which it is based.

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Tonga was never occupied in World War II, and no battles were fought in its immediate vicinity. But the threat of hostilities was real. The Tongan Defence Force was on alert. The population, under the leadership of its beloved Queen Sālote, supported the war effort generously and in many ways including the donation of two airoplanes. Later on American troops were stationed on Tongatapu. Social forces and tensions were released affecting the world view of the Tongan people, and some of the assumptions of the past were put in question. As the reader will find out, life in Tonga was never the same again.

The chapters in this volume are derived from papers given at the seventh conference held by the Tongan History Association on the general theme of the changes brought about in this Pacific nation by the fall-out of a terrible global war.

