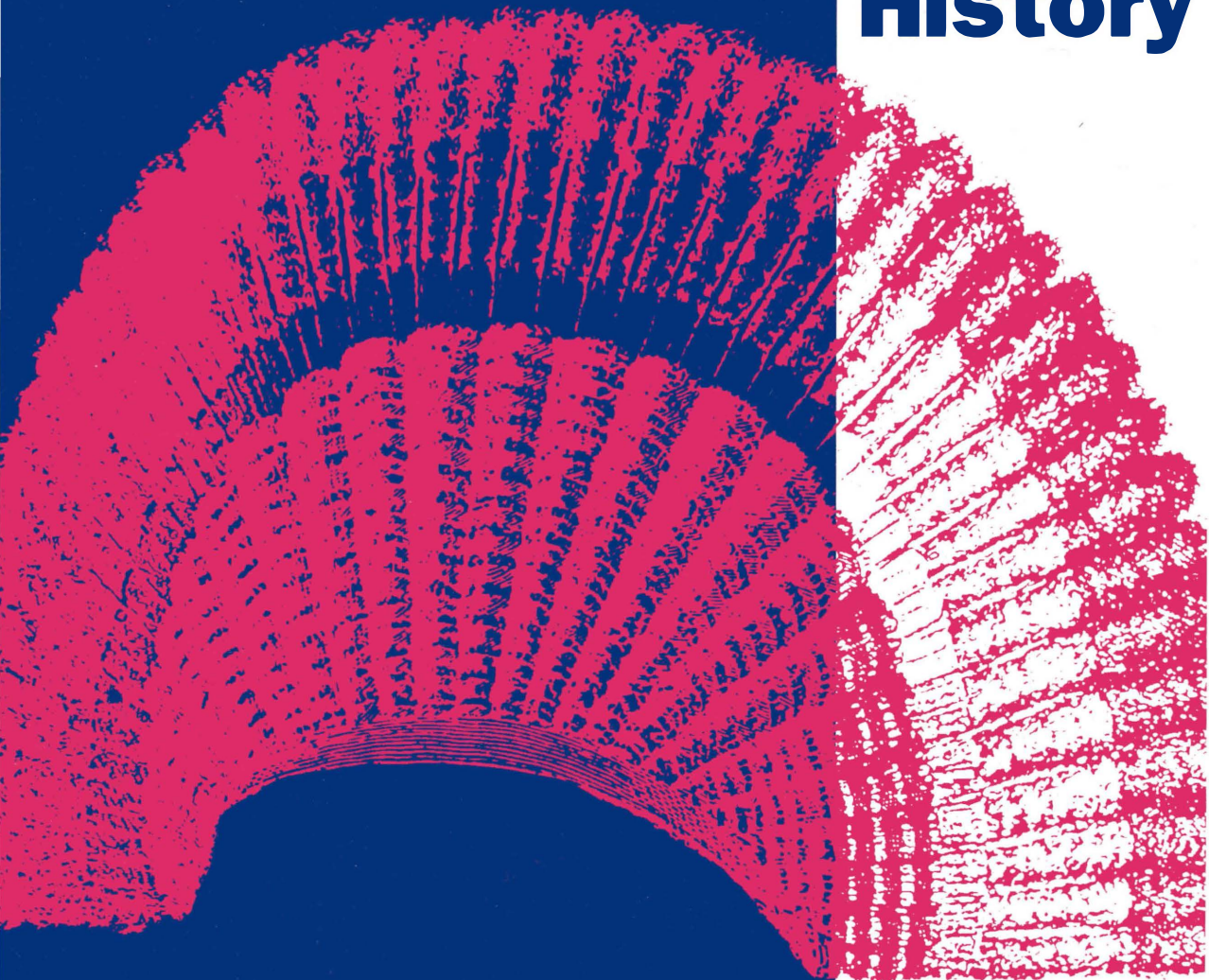


Tongan Culture and History



Edited by
Phyllis Herda
Jennifer Terrell
Niel Gunson

THE RESEARCH SCHOOL OF PACIFIC STUDIES is one of seven research schools in the Australian National University. It carries out research on the Pacific Islands and East and Southeast Asia in the fields of anthropology, economics, geography, history, international relations, linguistics, politics and prehistory. Postgraduate students are trained at PhD and, in some fields, Masters levels.

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Cover design based on front and back views of the *palātavake*, the ceremonial feather headdress worn by the Tu'i Tonga

Tongan Culture and History

*Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference
held in Canberra 14-17 January 1987*

Edited by Phyllis Herda, Jennifer Terrell and Niel Gunson

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Foreword

THIS VOLUME IS A RESULT OF A TRULY HISTORIC OCCASION ORIGINALLY CONCEIVED AS A SMALL AND singular event. However, changing circumstances altered the original concept from a small history workshop for local scholars interested in Tongan history into an unexpectedly successful international conference at the Australian National University, Canberra, in January 1987. A few people were responsible for initiating the original idea and also for the changing circumstances that followed. They deserve our grateful thanks.

It all began at the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History in 1985 when it was envisaged that several scholars interested in the history of Tonga, including the present writer, would be at the Department in 1986/87. It seemed a good opportunity to hold a Workshop in Tongan History, and Dr Niel Gunson set about arranging it. A grant was obtained from the University through the Department for this purpose in 1986. When Dr Gunson went on leave during the second half of the year he asked Phyllis Herda, at that time a PhD student, and me to organise the workshop for January 1987. The plans changed when a friend and colleague who was also doing some research at the A.N.U. at the time, Dr Caroline Ralston, remarked that it would be a pity if a workshop in Tongan history did not include scholars from Tonga itself. When told that our problem was lack of funds she immediately offered to pay the fares for two participants to come from Tonga.

The then Head of the Department, Dr Anthony Reid, who was very supportive, was able to find some additional funds from within the Department, which he donated to the workshop, and thus it was possible to bring Tongan scholars from Tonga, and from other parts of Australia and New Zealand. Dr Reid emphasised the need for the workshop to result in a publication.

Another unexpected source of inspiration was Dr Adrienne Kaeppler's reaction to our invitation to attend. By sheer coincidence she happened to work back late one evening in her office at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, when I rang her. I explained we had no funds to help with her fares and so on, but she responded that she would attend the workshop and she would pay for herself. Inspired by this enthusiastic response from one of the most well-known international scholars of Tongan culture, Phyllis and I set about issuing similar invitations to other scholars in various places including Tonga itself. The response was overwhelming. Hence the change from the humble beginnings to a successful international conference.

Others who contributed to the overall success included the former New Zealand High Commissioner to Tonga, Priscilla Williams, who kindly offered her delightful residence as venue for the closing function. Members of the Tongan community in Canberra generously offered to help prepare a feast and entertainment for the beautiful closing of the conference. To the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, A.N.U., and all those mentioned above whose

individual efforts contributed significantly to this first international Conference on the History of Tonga we give our grateful thanks.

Because of its tremendous success, it was decided that a second conference should be organised for January 1988 either in Tonga or in New Zealand. This was held in Auckland with similar success and enthusiasm. Then a third conference was organised in Tonga in January 1989, held on the island of Foa in Ha'apai. Here a Tongan History Association was formed and Princess Pilolevu Tuita was elected Patron and myself President. A fourth conference in New Zealand was held in May this year, 1990, with enthusiastic response and participation.

The small seed with uncertain future which was placed on the ground at the A.N.U., Canberra, in January 1987 has now grown into a healthy young tree with a promising future. It is to be hoped that the present and future activities of the Tongan History Association (THA) concentrating on micro-histories will lead eventually to a situation, in the not too distant future, where a sound general and up-to-date history of Tonga can be produced, based on thorough and scholarly research. It is also hoped that this volume is only the first of several others to follow.

SIONE LĀTŪKEFU
President, Tongan History Association

Introduction

PACIFIC ISLANDS HISTORY HAS ALWAYS HAD ITS DEVOTEES OUTSIDE THE ISLANDS ALTHOUGH FOR THE greater part of the last two hundred years Western scholars have had to depend on the collections and translations of missionaries, expatriate officials and perceptive visitors rather than on firsthand accounts by Islanders themselves. While there is a considerable amount of vernacular material extant only a small proportion of this has been translated satisfactorily. Although historians and anthropologists have been working in this field throughout the twentieth century their positive contribution to Islands history has often been offset by their dependence on the writings and collections of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their ignorance of alternative traditions and lack of critical expertise in the assessment of traditional material.

Westerners are not alone in this. In the islands Christianised early, particularly within Polynesia, much of the traditional material survives in the written word rather than in the schooled memory of the traditional custodians of knowledge and much of that material has also been bowdlerised, sanitised, or otherwise changed by indigenous Christian and political censorship. Younger, more critical Pacific Islanders just do not have access to a comprehensive living tradition of their ancestral beliefs, especially in the controversial areas of religion and politics. They, too, are forced to stand outside the new culture of the last two hundred years and reassess their history and societal background. This is not an easy task as there is a widespread belief that the present day *fakatonga* or *fa'a Samoa* have not changed since time immemorial.

When Pacific historians began to look more closely at Islands-oriented history in the 1950s there were virtually no university-trained Islands historians in the field. In those days it was considered a luxury for Islanders to take tertiary degrees in the humanities unless they were in the Church or taking a degree course geared to a career in education. The new élite were encouraged to acquire engineering, medical or other more practical professional skills. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first Pacific Islander to achieve a degree in Pacific history, the Reverend Dr Sione Lātūkefu, should have come from a Church background. Now the doyen of Tongan historians he has held professorial or principal positions in Port Moresby and Suva and he is presently the President of the Tongan History Association.

In the 1960s it was hoped that soon there would be many more Islanders engaged in writing the history of their own people. Indeed, in institutions such as the University of the South Pacific, Islanders were encouraged to freely interpret their own history and non-indigenous Pacific historians were advised to leave local Islands history to Islanders. This extreme view can now be seen as a form of affirmative action. It was, however, the mainspring behind several attempts to co-ordinate the compilation of regional histories by Islanders themselves, although it is clear that the resulting compilations depended on much more co-operation between the local historians and their expatriate colleagues than the theory warranted.

There is, however, a great gap between the writing of Islands history from an Islander point of view and the critical appraisal of the historical sources. The Islander point of view, like the theoretical perspective of the historian, is a variable depending on temporal circumstances. The sources, however, remain constant, subject to different modes of interpretation. For any theoretical analysis to stand up it is essential to apply the rigorous tests of historical criticism to the sources.

In regard to Tongan history the need for closer historiographical analysis has long been felt. The Kingdom of Tonga is a Polynesian state which prides itself on its distinctive cultural heritage having never been fully colonised by one of the great imperial powers, though transformed religiously and politically by European Christianity. Because of the intense pride in custom and cultural heritage it is still possible to balance recorded and published history with oral and less well-known vernacular material. It is perhaps because Tonga is so conscious of its traditional past that the historian has an even greater responsibility to tackle problems of historiography.

When a group of Pacific historians were discussing their role in December 1975 at the Australian National University, the following points were raised with special reference to Tonga:

Most published material relating to the indigenous history of the major Polynesian groups relies almost entirely on an inadequate base, a chronology worked out in Eurocentric terms either by distinguished dilettantes in the nineteenth century or by theory-oriented anthropologists in this, usually in harmony with the interests of the indigenous hierarchy of the day. Tongan traditional history, for example, was largely 'codified' and made respectable by the anthropologists Gifford and Collocott and the historian Wood, building on an earlier edifice of missionary history and the insufficiently critical researches of Basil Thomson, using traditional material to corroborate and elaborate the documentary material. Also, there seems no reason to doubt the widely held view that Tongan traditions have been edited by high-ranking Tongans, to conform with the official view of pre-European Tongan history. The progress of certainty in Tongan historiography, in my view, in no way reflects a progress in historical scholarship. It is particularly interesting that the historical documentation from Malaspina's expedition in 1793 was not available in English to Tonga's early history-makers, so that the Spanish accounts look at first sight to be highly irregular. My own instinctive reaction to the records of the Malaspina expedition is the hunch that their apparent eccentricity in itself represents the degree of deviation to be found in the work of the modern historians of Tonga. Certainly, I would like to see a number of basic Tongan political concepts re-examined in the light of more complete evidence and new theories; for example, the role of the three titular lineages and the position of the *hau*, both in Tongatapu and the whole group. I am led to this conclusion by my faith in the general reliability of early European observers unencumbered by party interests, by the wealth of traditional material in missionary sources hitherto unused and by traditional material that has escaped the scrutiny of those zealous to present an official line. I would also apply these observations to the whole of Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific influenced by European contact at an early date.¹

¹ Niel Gunson in Daws 1979.

During the ensuing decade considerably more work was completed on Tongan history. A variety of new interpretations appeared. Even if much of the reconstruction of Tonga's past will eventually be superseded the field is now seen to be wider and richer than it appeared in 1975. There seemed to be a greater need for the historians of Tonga to get together to discuss their craft and the problems of interpretation.

In 1986, with two members of the Australian National University's Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History (Phyllis Herda and Sione Lātūkefu) working on Tongan history, the prospect of two Visiting Fellows (Aletta Biersack and Elizabeth Wood Ellem) and one member of the Department of Prehistory (Dirk Spennemann) in the same field, it was decided to form a Tongan Study Group in connection with the interdisciplinary project Target Oceania and plan a Tongan History Workshop.

The Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History gave its full support to the idea of a workshop and a committee consisting of Niel Gunson, Phyllis Herda and Sione Lātūkefu was formed. As Niel Gunson was going overseas for several months, Phyllis Herda agreed to write to several specialists in Tongan history in Melbourne, Newcastle, Nuku'alofa, Suva and Sydney asking them to participate in the workshop. Two factors changed the scope of the proposed gathering. The desirability of a publication emerging from the workshop was recognised, and a number of international Tongan specialists heard of the workshop and wished to participate. Phyllis Herda suddenly found herself organising an international conference.

As the project had grown beyond a local sounding-board for ideas and themes of Tongan history it became necessary to involve other Tongan historians, and efforts were made to assist those who wished to take part. A generous donation made it possible for two scholars to be brought from Tonga. The Archivist of the Palace Records Office in Nuku'alofa, Eseta Fusitu'a and Professor Futa Helu of 'Atenisi Institute attended, and students were given special assistance with fares and accommodation. The result was a highly successful Tongan History Workshop held at the Australian National University from Wednesday 15 January to Saturday 18 January 1987. There were forty-five participants, some of them coming from as far afield as well as from Tonga as Fiji, New Zealand and the United States. There were also two participants from Western Samoa. Following Tongan custom the proceedings were opened with prayer. The programme ran for three days and in that time twenty-six papers, each lasting approximately thirty minutes, were given in conjunction with thematic discussion sessions. Despite the intensive nature of the programme, interest never flagged and discussion remained lively throughout.

Due to other commitments of the authors as well as space limitations, it was not possible for all of the papers and addresses to be included in this volume. Some remain only as oral presentations at the workshop, while others have been published elsewhere.

In addition to the papers included in this volume the speakers and topics presented were rich and varied. 'Eseta Fusitu'a spoke on potential historical sources contained in the Palace Records Office. Sione Lātūkefu's talk centred on the emergence and development of the Tongan élite. Dirk Spennemann, in addition to his paper on the division of labour in early Tonga included in this volume, gave a presentation on

burial customs as possible markers of prehistorical cultural change. Futa Helu's eloquent examination of the life of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, entitled 'Brush Strokes on the Portrait of Tāufa'āhau', was well received and demonstrated the need for more work to be done on the life and times of this eminent personality. Siupeli Taliai's presentation on Tupou College outlined the setting up of the College by the Reverend Dr J.E. Moulton and its early initiatives towards educating young Tongan women, and was illustrated by a roll call of former students (information circulated by Siupeli Taliai has been reproduced in an Appendix). Na'a Fiefia, an old boy of Tonga College, spoke of the establishment and place of his alma mater in the wider community. Penny Lavaka examined the role of traditional and European values in the Tongan government. 'Opeti Taliai (M.A. student, University of Auckland), spoke on the various language levels in traditional Tonga. He hypothesised that the vocabulary reserved for the royal family was of Samoan origin. Robert Langdon's presentation on the possible Tongan origin of settlers of the southern Marquesan islands provoked lively and interesting discussion. Uili Fukofuka gave an inspiring talk on the establishment of the newspaper, the *Kele'a*, as well as the implications of history for current Tongan politics.

The conference ended with a dinner which took the form of a Tongan *umu*, which provided an opportunity for other Pacific historians and members of the Target Oceania group to meet the participants. Trestle tables laden with pork and vegetables gave the guests some idea of Tongan hospitality.

It was obvious that the participants felt they had got good value out of the conference and it was agreed that further conferences should be held in future years. As a result a Second Tongan History Conference was held in Auckland in 1988. A third conference took the gathering to Tonga with a week long session at Lotofoa in the Ha'apai Islands under the patronage of H.R.H. The Princess Pilolevu in January 1989 when a Tongan History Association was formally constituted. Since then there has been a fourth conference in Auckland (May 1990) and a fifth is likely to be held in Honolulu. The Samoan historians have also taken up the idea and held their first Samoan History Conference in Wellington, New Zealand, in January 1990.

The close co-operation between the local and Islander historians with their expatriate colleagues meeting at regular intervals bodes well for the future of Pacific historical scholarship. Not only are the conferences sharpening historical consciousness in the regions involved but they also serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas on all facets of society. There is clearly a real future for Tongan Culture and History.

1

Historiography: The Myth of Indigenous Authenticity

F.O. KOLO

Siupeli preached a sermon yesterday while Kalapoli spoke as a marginalised Tongan. I intend to speak from a 'Fruit Salad' perspective. I do so simply because I do not exactly know how much of this speech can be said to be attributed to my being Tongan, my being a male, my being a commoner (*tu'a*), and how much can be claimed as a result of my time spent at 'Atenisi and of my long years in emerging, engaging and schooling in the Western institution of Education.

NO NON-WESTERN EDUCATED TONGAN CAN CLAIM TO PRESENT A PURE AUTHENTIC VIEW OF TONGAN history. Neither does his European counterpart. However a European scholar is restricted in many areas in what he wants to know or find out about local history due to his being culturally different. A Tongan history from a purely local perspective, if there is such a thing, is only a different version of mythology. On the other hand, a scholarly history of Tonga without consideration of local values and applying Christian value judgements is a sterile academic exercise. If we are to accept the view held by many sympathetic historians, either of European or indigenous descent, we are committing ourselves to treating mythology as real history. By doing so, the objects of historical investigation are either given a false image and reflection of realities (which in practice does not do them any good), or we are too overly patronising. Both are unacceptable. Let me illustrate this point by making reference to a Tongan myth - the myth of dynastic origins. 'Aho'eitu was said to have had an earthly mother Va'epopua and a heavenly father Tangaloa. If we are prepared to accept, unquestioningly, this assertion because it is an indigenous perspective, we are creating the worst history of all times. Without an analytical and critical approach which is the tool of Western education, we are committing ourselves to treating mythology as reality. If we are to take and advance that particular claim as (part of) Tongan history, we are mystifying reality. And this mystification of reality - that 'Aho'eitu was a demi-god - only serves to victimise the indigenous people, not the most sympathetic historians.

Do we have to accept that the mythical 'Aho'eitu was half earthly and half heavenly? No, I cannot advance that myth as a real representation of history. Perhaps I am too immersed in Western thought. Do we have to believe and take it on surface value that the islands of Tonga were fished up by some magical fishhooks? There is no logical reason to do so. Distinguished historians, I want to advance the

view that there can never be a genuine European history of Tonga without a genuine cultural understanding of Tongan society. There cannot be a *real* Tongan history of Tonga other than mythology.

Let me attempt here to debate the philosophical basis of my argument, and to ask some more questions. History is a scholarly discipline within the larger framework of the Western intellectual tradition of education. It deals basically and specifically with the construction of the past, especially the remote past, of a particular society. In constructing the past, it tries to locate the cause and effect of events in relation to the studied society. It is logical to conclude that history does generally follow the same rules as any other scholarly discipline.

Western education, in general, claims to involve the objective assessment of all things. It claims to be universal, that is, to be equally applicable to the study of any society, any society whatsoever. History is a product of this Western intellectual tradition, a tradition which has been institutionalised, with a hallowed beginning and a history itself. It has a social dimension with a critical outlook. This intellectual tradition was conceived to displace or reject mythology (or theology). It is the seeing of things in terms of human interests and social organisations, instead of seeing things and events as what they ought to be rather than what they are. This distinction can be found in Humean philosophy, where the theory (what ought to be) is differentiated from fact (what is). The latter is regarded as science; that is, facts are explained by facts.

To illustrate my argument further, let me explore and make a comparison between some aspects of the Tongan and the Western intellectual tradition. I do not pretend to be an authority on things Tongan and if I am, perhaps I am a poor one. Many scholars, historians and anthropologists alike have quite recently voiced views on creating, cultivating, and establishing 'indigenous' history - more particularly a history, it is assumed, to be written from a purely indigenous perspective or point of view.

This new group of scholars based their sympathetic call for a localisation of history on a total misconception of the indigenous intellectual tradition.

It should be put straight that the European intellectual tradition does not have a similar or equivalent tradition in Tonga. Here I specifically refer to the traditional period which, for our purposes, covers the beginning of the original settlement up to the establishment of the first formal schools in 1866. The process of learning in Tonga in this period can be correctly called a socialisation process. Margaret Mead and Raymond Firth have documented this socialisation process quite thoroughly in two different areas of the Pacific, Manu'a and Tikopia respectively.¹ The socialisation process in Tonga was similar, although it was extremely authoritative due to the rigidly stratified nature of the society. Consequently, the critical faculty of Tongan minds was undeveloped and enclosed. If it did exist, it did so quietly. The nature of Tongan society greatly contributed to this uncritical mindset of its members. Life without criticism is the life of a servant or slave. In Tonga a critical stance was suppressed and treated as unacceptable, if not rude. However, it can be said that this was an effective form of social control. Here the concept of *faka'apa'apa* is normally

¹ Mead 1969; Firth 1961.

the justification, or in plain terms the cover-ups, given for authoritarian control. In the family unit, a child is severely punished if she or he talks back to the parents. I am sure many of you have witnessed the fact that many Tongan parents do smack or beat their children if they have some reply to their parents' questions or demands, even when the children have sensible things to say. *Kau'italanoa* is another forbidden form of social behaviour. Children are discouraged from joining in adults' conversation. What parents do is believed to be right and cannot be challenged by their children, even if, in some cases, it is plain stupid. Similarly, on the societal level, the aristocrats expect their demands to be met, their decision to be final. The *hou'eiki* expects obedience from the *tu'a*. The *tu'a* (or commoner), no matter how unjust a decision may be, must obey orders. This working of society ultimately breeds citizens who lack critical minds, citizens of *talangofua* (obedience) morality, citizens of *mateaki* (loyal) character, citizens of *'ofa fonua* (love of the land), citizens of *nima homo* (generosity), citizens of *angalelei* (good behaviour), as well as a whole host of other expectations. *Faka'apa'apa* and the other abovementioned values make up a morality, mainly aimed at the *tu'a* or non-élite level of Tongan society. In the *hou'eiki* (aristocratic) level, the expected qualities were *to'a* (bravery), *hoihoifua* (beauty), *fa'a* (prowess), *fie'eiki* (chiefliness) and *fiepule* (dominance), to name just a few.² One clearly sees from this analysis that the authoritative nature of the socialisation process in Tonga before the introduction of Western education was manipulated to promote the interest of the ruling class.

It can be said in general that there were two sets of opposed values and moralities in traditional Tonga, one completely dominating the other, and this continues to the present. Many of our Tongan sayings exemplify this. One comes to mind immediately, '*ngulungulu fei'umu*', which can be literally translated as 'one growls in doing the *umu* but still does it'. I think by now I can be justified in saying that the whole structure and working of Tongan society in the period prior to the introduction of Western education produce an intellectual tradition which is not characterised by critical learning/socialisation and thinking. This authoritarianism marks the difference between our intellectual tradition and the European one. If we are to recognise the fact that our Tongan intellectual tradition is uncritical, it is logical to believe that there cannot be a genuine or real Tongan history of Tonga. We, therefore, should dismiss the various attempts to formulate a *purely* indigenous history. To assume that we, as indigenous, Western-educated Tongans, can write the real history, is just to step backwards to myth-making. The real danger of making this backward step is that it is an acknowledgement of our acceptance of the *status quo*, upholding the very nature of our society which deliberately attempts to make us *little men* forever.

Our myths, *talatupu'a*, can be branded as ideology, which functions to perpetuate and reinforce the authoritative and oppressive elements of Tongan society. Many of the *talatupu'a* can be said to be aristocratic in nature; they deal with aristocratic figures and views. *Tu'a* are expected to believe that events told in these myths are actualities and historically true. In ceremonial speeches, we speak mythologically and symbolically, paying our utmost respect to the chiefly classes, the Kings and the

² See Helu n.d.

Queens. For reasons discussed above, history as Western scholarship can never be indigenised. Although I believe that no one can claim monopoly over history, I would suggest that there are certain responsibilities of European historians when making historical investigations. This is not a new statement, but it is worth reminding you of it. European historians have four major responsibilities. These responsibilities are not obligations to the people they study, but to the writing of real history.

First, historians, regardless of their expertise in their field, should recognise the importance of a thorough understanding of the language of the people whose history they investigate.

Secondly, they should make a genuine attempt to 'feel' the culture and values of the people they intend to study. Many historians, A.H. Wood for example, demonstrate this lack of 'feel'. May I quote a famous example to this effect. When dealing with the assassination of the fiery Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho, Wood ignored the centrality of *faka'apa'apa*. Falekaono, a close personal friend of Tuku'aho, knew of the attempted murder but did not make it known to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Falekaono was the heir to the Luani title, being son of a title holder, and had been adopted by the Tu'i Tonga. That explained why he resided at Mu'a. Because he was genetically related and connected to the Vaea, he would have been in the relationship of son to the assassins, Fangupō 'Ulukālala and Tupouniua. And although he was aware of their plot he was well and truly in a moral fix. He was unable to advise his elder or to reveal the plot to his friend, as both would constitute a violation of *faka'apa'apa*. There was only one option for him to take. Falekaono asked Tuku'aho to spend the night in his house and slept next to the entrance after smearing his whole body with Tuku'aho's favourite body oil. He hoped the assassins would take him instead of his friend the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Wood ignored this very important point. He went on to describe the aftermath of the incident.

With the treacherous deed of that dark night the spirit of savagery was let loose; lawlessness and fiendish cruelty (of which the Tongan character had seemed hardly capable) appeared on every hand. The great rebellion against the Tu'i Kanokupolu had begun.³

Parsonage, another historian, described it thus: 'This terrible deed was the spark which began the Civil war, the darkest period in Tonga's History'.⁴

Both Wood and Parsonage were committed to the same interpretation. Neither seemed to appreciate the fact that this was the assassination of a cruel king/ruler which had support from, and was welcomed by, sections of Tongan society. The appreciation and recognition of the *faka'apa'apa* value is passed over without a mention. Worse still was Wood's choice of vocabulary. His selection of terms reflected his very strong commitment to Christianity. The regular appearance of terms such as 'savagery', 'barbarism', 'heathen', 'cannibalism' offends the Tongan people, and clearly indicates the culturally insensitive nature of this foreign historian. His whole history belittles and primitivises the very people he lived with. It is rather a

³ Wood 1932:29-30.

⁴ 1942:5-26.

barbaric construction of history. Unfortunately, Wood's book comes into the hands of every student of Tongan history. There is clearly a need to accommodate cultural values in the writing of history.

The historian's third responsibility is to continually re-examine and re-investigate his previous work and data in the area. He should not leave his research incomplete once he has started and committed himself to the historical investigation of a particular people. He is likely to present a more balanced view of history by re-researching and re-examining the material in order to double check its truth and validity.

Fourthly, the historian must be able to reflect upon himself, to re-evaluate his social, economic and political position in relation to the people he has studied. Self examination is in itself an excellent starting point for the elimination of personal biases and weaknesses. Then a real history can be written. The historian must recognise and accept the fact that his difference in values, worldview and ethos from that of the people studied is a smokescreen hindering his understanding of the local situation.

The New Wave of History

As previously mentioned, there are a growing number of scholars who would like to see the emergence of indigenous history. If a real 'indigenous history' is to emerge, I expect to see a development within Tongan society of an intellectual tradition similar to that of Europe. I think this is unrealistic since no authentic indigenous culture exists on its own and in total isolation. The Tongan culture is not authentic, nor any other culture. George Marcus refers to it as a 'compromise culture' (that is, Tongan culture dynamically affected and changed by contact with Europeans).⁵ The best we could hope for is a compromise history which is sensitive to indigenous values and cultural practices. Albert Wendt, as quoted in Howe, a well known Pacific scholar, has repeatedly called for an indigenous history. He proposes that real history of the Pacific can only be written by Pacific Islanders.⁶ I do not believe that this is the case. Statements and assertions of this kind should be treated cautiously. A non-Western-trained historian cannot write genuine history. Only a person with academic training, like Wendt, who has learned his trade from Western institutions of education, is capable of such a task. There have been recent publications in which the authors are indigenous persons, such as *Tuvalu: A History*, edited by Hugh Laracy. These works claim to be history written from the perspective of the indigenous people. They contain a somewhat straightforward transcription of legends and myths of the past and about their society. I do not believe they should be called indigenous history; rather they should be treated as a source of history. Any direct recording and publication of oral tradition is not history itself. We should not allow this kind of activity to go by the name of history lest we degrade the quality of historical scholarship.

⁵ Marcus 1977.

⁶ Howe 1977.

The Place of Fakatonga in History

Authentication of history often ignores the inevitability of social change or dynamism in society. If we are to set this as our task, we are committing the sin of fostering and perpetuating the *status quo* which we all know needs urgent modification and adaptation. Too many romantic historians unjustifiably, but in good heart, see indigenous people as artefacts and objects. They romanticise this love of tradition, a tradition that keeps us in place. After all the years of teaching us that we are primitive and have an inferior culture to that of the Europeans, all of a sudden we are told our culture is beautiful, that we should go back to it and live by it. We cannot just change our attitudes overnight; the very attitudes that the Europeans originally promoted have psychologically crystallised in our minds. Rather we should set as our aims:

Firstly to seek and list all available Tongan articles of historical significance, store them properly and make them accessible for the Tongan public and persons interested in Tongan history. These articles include recorded oral traditions (myths, legends plus all tales and stories), material artefacts (including archaeological remains) and records of observations by well informed and knowledgeable persons of *Tala Fakafonua* (Tongan traditions).

Secondly, to collect all written materials produced by non-Tongans. This includes the early descriptions of Tonga by traders, navigators, colonial administrations, missionaries, etc.

Thirdly, to collect written articles by scholars on all Tongan subjects (anthropological, sociological, historical, economical, religious, and so on).

History as a Western construct and a Possible Way Out

History (as an academic discipline) can only come into existence from the said compromise tradition, the synthesis of the two cultural traditions. Because of the powerful influence of European culture on traditional Tongan society, it is more likely to contribute to the creation of an 'indigenous' history of the region. So the construction of an 'indigenous' history of Tonga would be based on compromised cultural values and perceptions. But the trend is obvious; the more the penetration of European intellectual tradition into Tongan society, the faster Tongans move away from mythological thinking. The whole process of dynamic culture was initially set in motion by early navigators, traders and missionaries and has been dominated lately by educators, government personnel (Europeans) and tourists among others. The European elements of the local Tongan intellectual tradition act as a catalyst and initiator for the construction of 'indigenous' history. I see a possibility for the creation of such an indigenous history. Otherwise we would have to take oral traditions as *the indigenous history*, which I cannot accept as purely historical sources. However the Tongans, undoubtedly, have their own sense of 'history', just as Europeans do. They are told of their past through oral traditions - the unwritten stories of past events. But there is no such thing in indigenous Tongan tradition as 'history as a scholarly discipline' - a methodology or a systematic way of studying and constructing the past.

Politics in History and The Indigenous Perspective

Oral traditions provide the people with a link to their past. They see their past as a timeless platform. More importantly, there are local 'histories' in the context of the Tongan intellectual tradition. These 'histories' (oral traditions - *tala tukufakaholo* or *tala fakafonua*) have their own perspectives. Most of their concept of the past is to do with the explanation of origins of land, people, food plants etc.; all are mythological. At the same time these oral traditions are powerful ideologies used to justify past events such as brave Tongan chiefs and warriors invading other islands and subsequently ruling them, the rise of the Tu'i Tonga and other kingly lineages. They function to consolidate the prevailing social structure and maintain the *status quo*. Some oral traditions tend to treat other races or peoples in denigrating ways (e.g. Fijians as cannibals)⁷ and themselves as brave and courageous invaders. *Tala fakafonua* is certainly a historical perspective, but it is *not* a systematic *academic* discipline. Academic history is a European construct. And these Tongan perspectives are in no way a branch of the European/academic concept of history. In most cases Tongans who make historical statements are more likely to be stating political rather than historical facts.

On the other hand, academic historians (both indigenous and European) are interested in finding 'objective' historical facts. Academic history treats Pacific Islanders (Tongans and others) and their historical conceptions as 'artefacts'.⁸ These 'artefacts' are the creation of the Europeans, historians and others alike. The academic history of Tonga is not the Tongan history of Tonga but a history of Tonga through the eyes of European historians. There can never be a Tongan academic history of Tonga or Pacific history, except the possibility, discussed above, of a merging of an academic history with a dynamic oral tradition, which is ultimately only a European history of Tonga or the Pacific. Spate clearly expands on this point.

This is the history of the Pacific, not of the Pacific peoples ...[although] it may seem, in this age, somewhat Eurocentric. But then there was not, and could not be, any concept 'Pacific' until the limits and lineaments of the Ocean were set: and this was undeniably the work of Europeans... The fact remains that until our own day the Pacific was basically a Euro-American creation, though built on an indigenous substructure. This is changing, and not before time... The change will demand a new historiography, which is indeed in hand; for this, despite inclination, I have not the skills, and my work will perhaps appear a requiem for an era of historiography, which yet must serve as a basis for that which is to come.⁹

Spate makes a careful examination of the history of the Pacific which differentiates it from Pacific history. But what he cannot see is that the historical consciousness of the people of the Pacific differs so much, in form and character, from 'history' as an academic discipline. In every society, such as those of the Pacific Islands, a sense of historicity does exist. Lacey picks up this important distinction. He writes:

⁷ Tongan high ranking women were married to Fijians in order to keep their social status inferior to male lineages.

⁸ Spate (1978) sees these societies as a 'European artefact'.

⁹ 1979:ix.

Either they have no real history, or only old peoples' fanciful tales, or that history [I take this to be academic history] only began when one particular group of literate foreigners stepped off their vessels to encounter villagers.¹⁰

Lacey questions history and perhaps sees the difference between *history* and 'indigenous' historical perspectives. This goes back to my point earlier when I mentioned that history as a Western academic discipline is conceived of differently from concepts of 'history' of the Tongans and other Pacific Islanders. Pender-Cudlip discusses the major distinguishing features between Western history and non-literate tradition. He states:

It is sufficient to note that their ideas of what is possible, what is probable and what constitutes historical proof are products of 'scientific' cultural values associated with literacy and the Western academic cultural tradition... For this reason western-educated scholars and most members of the African societies they study have rather different ideas about what is possible - notably in beliefs about magic and witchcraft - and also about what is historical. Therefore traditions which scholars would call 'mythical' because they recount events and situations which to them are uncredible, may seem quite believable and so be 'historical' for most members of the African societies to which they belong.¹¹

Although Pender-Cudlip is referring specifically to Africa, this holds true for Tonga and perhaps all the Pacific Islands. He recognised that European scholars/academics view the world differently from the people they study. But what is this European academic history? Our answers to this question will certainly reflect our own position in time and form part of our answer to the broader question of what view we take of the society in which we live.¹² They indicate to the reader the subjective viewpoint of the writer - what he thought happened - what he wants others to think happened, or what he himself would like to have happened. The process which a historian goes through is a very selective one. Prior to the historian's actual research, she/he has in mind some kind of preconceived hypothesis, theory or direction which she/he intends to pursue. By having such preconceptions, the rest of the process is inevitably influenced. The data and historical sources are selected carefully and accurately, but mainly to favour the historian's point of view. Then the findings present another act of selection, omission or addition. The historian again presents what she/he believes to be the case, and more often than not historians ignore, consciously or unconsciously, the existence of points of view other than their own, and only select what suits their own historical formula. Academic history claims to be the discovery of facts and events of the past, but as Carr states,¹³ the histories we read, although based on facts, are not factual at all, but are a series of accepted judgements. Facts, gathered for the historian, are not history in themselves, but are raw materials for the historian. Carr, here, refers to sources which provide the historian with data to work on such as oral traditions, recorded documents, archaeological evidence. However, all these data or sources which provide grist for the historian's mill should be evaluated

¹⁰ Lacey: 1981:252.

¹¹ 1974:14.

¹² See Carr 1962:2.

¹³ *Ibid.*:8.

most carefully and critically. I have dwelt on this earlier, but the point to be made is that critical examination of things goes both ways: in academic history and in the historical views of the non-literate 'indigenous' peoples. Recorded events of the past, either in documentary form or orally transmitted, are capable of containing errors, most notably of omission, alteration and addition. Oral transmission runs the risk of distortion and the same applies to documentary sources. Because of the inevitability of social change, orally transmitted stories tend to leave out things which are not regarded as relevant to the society at that particular point in time and space. Therefore, the likelihood of forgetting the actual story of events is great. However, this does not mean that documentary, written records are more reliable or valid. In fact, they can have the same problem - they can be misleading, selective and biased. We should always bear in mind the position of the author, who he or she is writing for, and for what purpose. By critically examining these areas, we are most likely to find out 'what is the case?' with this and that, and at the same time overcome some of the possible errors and mistakes. Both oral and written sources are not final and conclusive proof in themselves. Carr clearly points out that the facts of history do not come to us in a pure form - they are always refracted through the mind of the recorder.¹⁴ Furthermore, when referring to the activity of collecting, selecting and editing of historical sources, he writes: 'The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatsoever style appeals to him'.¹⁵ The process of historical research to a historian is like the selective sensory process (i.e., persons only hear what they want to hear, see only what they want to see) and in the course of the process there are things which are ignored, unheard and unseen. This, of course, implies that there will be no perfect objective history. But the more interpretations there are of historical events, with constant re-evaluation and critical examination of the recorded documents and oral traditions, and the historian's point of view, the more facts there will be to discover and therefore the closer the results will be to accuracy and perhaps the truth. Surely there are both valid and invalid interpretations of historical events, and through critical examination we may be able to reject invalid ones - those which cannot be verified or are falsifiable.

Carr points out that history is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.¹⁶ The debate on the discipline which academic history has created and raised points up an interesting set of issues. Some historians see history as not particularly and necessarily a way of studying past events. This is so because they claim that history is a modern perspective which deals with the past - the past is seen from the present. Croce views all history as 'contemporary history... that history consists essentially in seeing the past through the eyes of the present and in the light of its problems . . . and the main work of the historian is not to record, but to evaluate'. Carl Becker, on the other hand, sees that 'the facts of history do not exist for any historian till he creates them'. And Collingwood thinks history is 'concerned neither with the past by

¹⁴ Ibid.:10.

¹⁵ Ibid.:9.

¹⁶ Ibid.:24.

itself nor with the historian's thought about it by itself but the two things in their mutual relations'.¹⁷

Carr, Collingwood and Croce believe that history or the past can only be viewed and understood through the optics of the present, and that history is a dynamic, ongoing two-way process or transaction going on between the present and the past. History, then, 'is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past'.¹⁸

What I have discussed, so far, is the theoretical/ideological view of academic history and its practitioners (how historians view the question of what is history).

The Role of the Historian

The historian, as a social-analyst, cannot be an absolute 'insider' in any system due to his scientific training in the Western intellectual tradition. His role remains the same, as that of the *researcher* and *inquirer*, in all fields regardless of what society he belongs to, be he a Tongan, Samoan, English or Asian. The difference lies only in his subjects of interest i.e. his *focus*. The *nature* of research and inquiry remains the same.

The historian must fight all forms of subjectivism, struggling against ignorance and *superstition*. This is the only way that he can avoid subjectivism. He must realise that societies are composed of numbers of competing forces and interests. He can only advance his work by regarding it as only one of a number of competing forces and interests in one particular society. He must avoid all attempts by society or people to make him an instrument for the promotion of social welfare and related purposes. He must regard himself as a perpetuator of a tradition, and his role is defined by it.

The historian, as social analyst (a realist), must inquire into the values that load his inquiry and methodologies. This includes himself as a social analyst or human being. His sole, primary aim is the advancement of objective knowledge. He should not regard any field before him as taboo until he actually does a proper inquiry and investigates it. He should question all ethical issues involved in research to justify or falsify them. He must differentiate himself, as a scientist, from the ordinary human beings he is working with and must not subscribe to their needs and demands.

THROUGHOUT THE COURSE of this essay I have developed an argument on the incompatibility of Western academic history and local indigenous concepts of history as a discipline. I have suggested that the creation of 'indigenous' history would be likely to happen within a dynamic, compromise tradition. The existing Tongan intellectual tradition is not purely Tongan nor totally European, but an adaptation of foreign values to Tongan substructures. At the present time we can only have a European academic history of Tonga rather than a Tongan academic history, unless the development of what I see as possible 'indigenous' Tongan history comes about

¹⁷ Croce, Becker, Collingwood in *ibid.*:21.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*:30.

as a product of the merging intellectual traditions. The growth in the numbers of 'indigenous' historians does not mean that there is 'indigenous' history. European academic history is a construction of the West, biased and Eurocentric in nature. The same ethnocentric bias will also be found in 'indigenous' history if it does come into existence. Ethnocentrism and bias are cultural constants and can best be avoided by using the critical and analytical tools embodied in academic history. Historical perspectives of Pacific Islanders should therefore be regarded as complementary to Western academic history. All for the better.

2

Tongan Historiography: Shamanic Views of Time and History

NIEL GUNSON*

A prominent expatriate residing in the Pacific Islands has argued with conviction that the writing of Pacific history should now be left to Islanders and that only Islanders have the necessary insights and knowledge of the Islands *milieu* to be able to write that history.¹ On the other hand another well-known Pacific academic has argued against cultural monopoly and looks forward to the day when a Tongan or Fijian Methodist will write a major work on British Methodist history.² After all, history as a social science is a discipline which arises directly out of the Western secular tradition and it is concerned with the recording and analysis of change in the context of Newtonian or post-Enlightenment linear time.

WHEN WE COME TO LOOK AT PACIFIC ISLANDS HISTORY - IN THIS CASE TONGAN HISTORY - IT SOON becomes apparent that the Islands historian has frequently the same disadvantages as the outside historian. While the Islands historian is usually better equipped regarding linguistic ability and perception, and familiarity with traditions and customs, he or she can be seriously affected by social constraints. A Western-type education over several generations, for instance, tends to relegate mythology and tradition to non-relevance. A religious education introduces a new mythology and a definite bias in historical interpretation. Despite the survival of independent family traditions the political *status quo* acts as a constraint on dynastic interpretations which differ markedly from the received versions. Oral lore, recorded long after the decline of the social systems which gave it context, is frequently garbled, simplified to the point of absurdity, or survives in unintelligible esoteric language.³

* I would like to thank Jennifer Terrell and Hank Driessen for their comments on this paper.

¹ R.G. Crocombe, formerly Professor of History at the University of the South Pacific, began by sharing H.E. Maude's view that it was desirable that Islanders should write their own history but soon moved to the view that expatriate historians should restrict their writing to European themes.

² 'I think that in the long run Pacific historiography will not have done its job until Island-born and trained historians take on European themes in their own right.... This means that historians from Fiji or Tonga should for example tackle John Wesley as well as the *Lotu Weseli na Viti*; be able and willing to consider Sir Basil Thomson as a political figure, in England, not only as the supplanter of Shirley Baker.' Spate, 1978:44.

³ The Hon. Ve'ehala informed me in 1970 that he had received traditions containing words which he was unable to interpret. Shamanic stories in most cultures have frequently been transformed into miraculous folktales retold and embroidered for their entertainment value.

The historian must break free from these constraints. We are not in the business of propaganda or the promotion of self-image and we should all have realised a long time ago that *Clio* is not a didactic muse. History is not even the possession of the people about whom it is written. Indeed some of the best history is that written about peoples who have long since disappeared from the face of the earth or whose institutions have crumbled into decay. The satisfaction of writing history from an inter-cultural viewpoint is that it can be enriched by the greater mingling of ideas and theoretical approaches.

Any discussion of Tongan historiography should begin with the sources. The first body of material which I will isolate is largely undocumentary but very influential. I shall call it 'the living tradition'. This is largely the ethnographic present of the anthropologists and refers to the view which Tongans today have about their history. It presupposes a traditional Tonga, very similar to the present, with only a limited number of revolutionary changes as the result of the introduction of Christianity. If there is a bias it is usually Methodist and Tupou dynasty-oriented. The living tradition enhances the role of the Tu'i Tonga in the distant past and the role of the Tu'i Kanokupolu in the immediate past. Because of Western education there is a tendency to assume that traditional material is organised according to linear time.

The second body of material I shall call 'the dead tradition' in that it consists of traditional material examined or analysed in its own right and not in the context of modern Tonga. While it remains essential to know how traditional material is understood in modern Tonga it is equally important to look at it freed from modern associations. It is even more important to restore it to a more appropriate religious and social context. The context for most Polynesian traditional historical material is closer to art and religion than to our secular tradition. There is little doubt, from the work done in other fields and my own researches into Polynesian religion, that this context is shamanic.⁴ I will argue subsequently that shamanism was the most pervasive religious influence in Tonga until the introduction of Christianity, and that Tongan concepts of time and history were shamanic in origin.

The third body of material consists of the genealogies. These fall naturally between the 'living' and 'dead' traditions, but have developed their own rules and conventions. Originally part of the shamanic lore they have major functional value as a basis for status, land use and social mobility. In so far as they claim to relate descent from remote generations the genealogies must be interpreted in the light of the shaman's cosmology.⁵ The historicity of Tongan genealogies is directly related to their 'legal' or functional utility. A genealogy within the 'living' tradition is a 'legal' rather than a historical record. Such genealogies are valuable in the

⁴ Until the 1970s discussion of shamanism was largely restricted to Siberian shamanism. Since then a vast literature has emerged which reinforces the view that all the primal religions have or once had a shamanic component. Eliade 1964 is still the most accessible comprehensive introduction. Detailed published work on Polynesian shamanism is largely restricted to the Marquesas and Niue. See particularly Thomas 1989 and Loeb 1924.

⁵ Thus the mating of pairs of natural objects, topographical features and species of animals is a timeless statement about shamanic creation while the early 'generations' often represent a cyclic convention for contracting generations rather than an actual sequence of lineal descent. This abstraction of genealogies and absorption of ancestors into the land is the age-old practice of the Australian Aborigines.

reconstruction of history because their function demands a degree of accuracy as they must be seen to dovetail or link-in with other genealogies. While manipulation is always a danger, as with all legal documents, the expertise of the knowledgeable and the extent of kinship connexions is usually sufficient to prevent deception. In so far as manipulation takes place it is usually of a semi-legal nature; the names and descent-groups of persons defeated in battle or disgraced are expunged from the records unless they continue to constitute a power-base.

The fourth body of material consists of the primary written documents which are conventionally separated into official and unofficial manuscripts, books and papers. These records, both vernacular and foreign language, of necessity belong to the post-European contact period and are the familiar tools of the Western-trained historian.

The fifth body of material consists of the secondary written material, everything from the often superficial impressions or recollections of visitors to the analysis of interested outside observers.

The sixth body of material consists of archaeological remains which cannot be ignored by the historian but whose provenance has to be taken on trust. Even if one disagrees with the interpretation of a prehistorian it is impossible to ignore evidence which stands up to scientific tests. After all, a stone wall is a stone wall -- although one knows that Polynesian shamans would not have been so convinced.⁶

THE OLDEST LAYER of religious belief and practice in Polynesia, and no doubt in the world at large, is shamanism. Like most non-Judaeo-Christian-Islamic religions, shamanism can co-exist or adapt itself to more institutionalised religion, particularly the religion associated with the priestly caste of hierarchical societies. Evidence for the existence or survival of a fairly pristine or classical form of shamanism in Polynesia is probably strongest for the Marquesas where inspirational mediums, both male and female, had extraordinary authority during the early years of initial contact with Europeans,⁷ and where at least one example of a shamanic song cycle was preserved by an early European observer.⁸ Most of our evidence for shamanic practices in Tahiti and Samoa comes from our knowledge of early counter-Christian movements such as Mamaia and Siovili,⁹ but the records for the whole of Polynesia, including Fiji, are rich with clues that shamanic beliefs and practices were common to the region.¹⁰

The shaman is basically a medium or spirit traveller who has a certain control over the natural world through having access to the other spheres of existence, particularly

⁶ There are many stories of Polynesian shamans apparently defying the laws of nature, controlling matter by the power of will. Many missionaries found it difficult to believe what they appeared to see.

⁷ See, for instance, Dening 1974, passim.

⁸ T.C. Lawson, a British beachcomber trader, collected 'the songs of the Marquesans [the Cycle of the Take]' on Hiva'oa in 1861-62. Shamanic cycles, forerunners of the epic, proceeded through the gamut of cosmological genesis, initiation, soul travel, life crises, natural disasters, recreation and death.

⁹ See Gunson 1962 and 1986; and Freeman 1959.

¹⁰ Ordinary shamans or 'spirit anchors' (*taura, taula, taulaitu*) were known in Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Niue, the Society Islands, the Marquesas and Hawaii. Powerful hereditary shamans (*kahuna, tohunga, ariki*) were more common in Hawaii, New Zealand and the Cook Islands. For the Tahitian *taura* see Ellis 1831: I, 361-86.

the sky world or heavens, the underworld, and the ideal or mirror-image world. Shamans were both male and female, they practised sorcery and medicine, they claimed powers of levitation and astral projection, they frequently meditated on the tops of trees or high landmarks, and they claimed to be mediums for spirits, usually of gods or deceased persons, and to be able to metamorphose. Their chief characteristic was, however, their mastery of illusion, their claim of being able to manipulate space and time.¹¹

In western Polynesia the cosmological beliefs of the shaman are as well preserved as for the east. We have numerous eyewitness accounts of shamanic possession, and, though not widely known, there are important vernacular accounts of famous shamans for both Tonga and Samoa.¹² Many western Polynesian traditional stories take on significant meaning when interpreted as shamanic episodes. Some indigenous Christian splinter sects such as the movement of 'Ofa Mele Longosai in Tonga have strong shamanic characteristics.¹³

Tongan traditional religion, as we know it, grew out of shamanism with the development of priestly cults, particularly the fertility cult of the Tu'i Tonga and the later war cult of Taliai Tupou. Each cult developed its mythology and 'spiritual' claims to the extent that other *taula* were discredited or brought into the service of the cults. Over the centuries these cults became firmly entrenched as a religious establishment. Only in times of political uncertainty, especially during famines and epidemics, were popular shamans able to compete with this spiritual establishment.

Following the death of the Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, particularly during the reign of his half-brother Ma'ulupekotofa, there was a revival of shamanism which made the 'priest of the Tu'i Tonga'¹⁴ appear a weak contender in the spiritual stakes. One *taula*, Fonokitangata, whose daughter is said to have been one of the wives of Ma'ulupekotofa, was regarded as a living god who could prognosticate, disappear at will, travel over vast distances at night, and determine the outcome of a battle. Other *taula* at the popular level were essentially herbalists, sometimes with the knowledge of sorcery.¹⁵ These *fakalou'akau* used special leaves which were sometimes rolled into balls or placed inside a bamboo tube in powdered form. It is probably significant that the only 'commoners' who dared to assassinate Tu'i Tonga were those familiar with leaf-medicine sorcery.¹⁶

The implications of the shamanic heritage for Tongan historiography are considerable, as they are for other parts of Polynesia. Before considering the difference between shamanic concepts of time and Newtonian time we need to familiarise ourselves with the spiritual geography of the shaman's world in western

¹¹ It was believed that one 'living god' in Tonga could disappear in Tongatapu and almost instantly appear in the Vava'u group.

¹² In 1970 I collected stories in Tonga and Samoa about 'living gods' or shamans present in the islands at the time of European contact. Many stories relating to spirits (*aitu* in Samoan) are best understood in terms of shamanism.

¹³ See Gunson 1973: 12-32.

¹⁴ This is a phrase which appears in the literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century in reference to the Tu'i Tonga himself which suggests that he was no longer a 'living god'.

¹⁵ Gifford 1929/1971: 339-40.

¹⁶ Ibid: 55.

Polynesia. By way of illustration take a coconut and cleave it in two (see Figure 1).¹⁷ Imagine the ocean floating in the lower half. The rock of creation rises in the centre. The world in the shape of one's particular islands rises to one side. On the other, out of sight because it is far away, is Puluṭu, a mirror image of the world. In real life, as every navigator knows, it is beyond the horizon. Under the Ocean is the Underworld, known in Tonga as Lolofonua, the realm of the Maui. At the base of the coconut shell is a cavern of volcanic fire. Between the known world and Puluṭu is an underworld passage which goes beneath the Ocean. Under the top half of the coconut are seven layers of heaven which appear to rest on the tops of gigantic trees.¹⁸ The tree on the home island is a huge toa tree used by one of the gods or 'otua to come to earth. The tree on Puluṭu is known as either 'Akaulea or Pukolea - the talking Hernandia tree - called the Pukatala in Samoa and Futuna.¹⁹ At its roots is a lake or spring called Vaiola.

Puluṭu itself was divided into three regions. The first level was known as Floating Puluṭu, the middle region was known as Puluṭu full of roots, and the third region was known as Permanent or firmly fixed Puluṭu.²⁰

The seven heavens constitute the Sky ruled over by the gods or ancestors known as Tangaloa. The Underworld constitutes the realm of the gods or ancestors known as Maui. The Ocean is the realm of the 'otua Hea Moana Uli Uli. The known world is covered with trees and this constitutes the realm of the 'otua Lupe. Puluṭu constitutes the realm of Hikule'o represented by a kind of lizard whose tail is tied by a sennit cord secured in the Sky above and the Underworld below.²¹

The ordinary shaman is represented by Lupe, the pigeon, the bird which perches on the top of the trees and which can fly into the realm of the Tangaloas or master sky shamans. In other mythologies Lupe or Rupe becomes the shaman *par excellence* whose voyages to the many heavens have converged with the tales of heroic navigation by the ancestors.²² The Maui are master shamans of the Underworld. Some islands such as 'Eua and 'Ata were created by the Sky shamans while most of the other islands were created by the Underworld shamans. The shamans of the Ocean took the form of the sea snake. The name of the 'otua suggests that their access to the heavens was via the *hea* tree whose fruit had the smell of overripe apples.

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 known world as Lo'au or even as priests of the Tu'i Tonga. Through the talking

¹⁷ William Wyatt Gill of the London Missionary Society in the Cook Islands used a coconut model to illustrate the Polynesian universe as did informants in the Tuamotus.

¹⁸ The number of the heavens varied with the different mythologies. Sometimes the three levels of Puluṭu were regarded as the first three levels of the heavens.

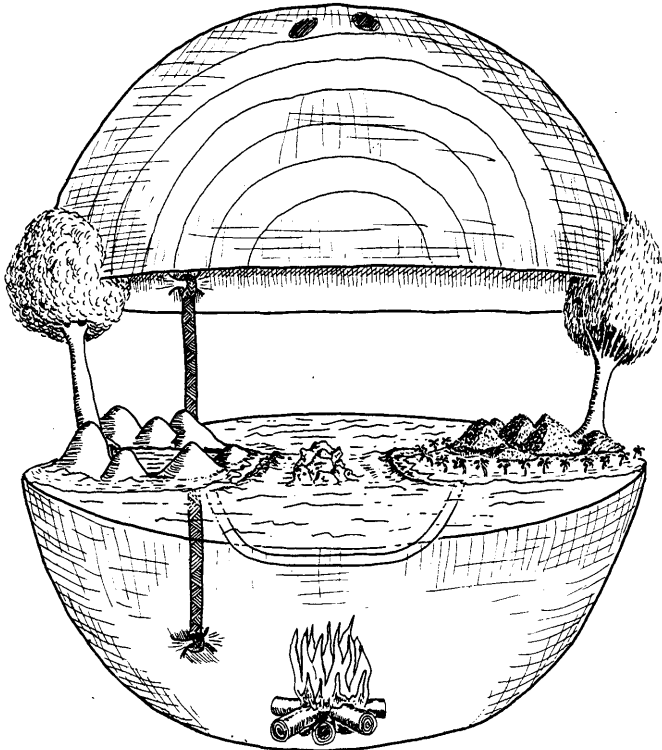
¹⁹ There is a substantial literature on the World Tree, common to most shamanic systems and symbolising the passage of the soul to the heavens by the branches and the underworld by the roots. It was known as far afield as Scandinavia, the Indian sub-continent and inland Australia.

²⁰ See Watkin, *Journal*, 4 February 1836.

²¹ See 'The Beginning of Death', Fison 1907: 139-61, and other accounts which suggest that Hikule'o was the same as the Fijian god Degei. In shamanic lore Hikule'o may have represented snake, tongue and penis.

²² For stories of the navigator Rupe see particularly the Tahitian and Maori accounts.

tree the shamans of Hikule'o had superior means of communication as the tree was supposed to be able to summon whatever Hikule'o required from the earth plane. The power of Hikule'o was so great that the 'otua had to be tied by the tail in order to save the world from destruction.



There is some debate as to whether or not Hikule'o was male or female. In the shaman's world 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 major shamanic figures Lupe and Hikule'o. Other 'otua had female counterparts represented by the ubiquitous Hina and one is tempted to speculate that Hina was invented to give substance to the female manifestations of the various 'otua at a period when shamanism proper was mythologised as a priest-controlled religion.

Havea Hikule'o, known as Savea Si'uleo in Samoa, was also the name of a race of divine rulers in Puluotu, presumably both male and female.²³ In stories Hikule'o changes gender according to the circumstances of the story. The name Hikule'o signifies echo and although there are no gender connotations one is tempted to give some Freudian significance to the tail. In eastern Polynesia, where Puluotu took the name of the ancestral homeland Havai'i, Hikule'o was replaced by Tane the male fertility god. This could be explained partly by an accident of language. In the Marquesan shamanic cycle preserved for Hivaoa it is clear that the god assuming Hikule'o's role was Tani, a similar echo god, and that somehow Tani became Tane the male principle in Hawaii, Tahiti, the Cook Islands and New Zealand.

Although the coconut was frequently used as a model by Polynesians to help them explain cosmology there are linguistic clues to suggest that they originally used the human skulls which, in some islands, hung from the shamans' costume of feathers or leaves.²⁴ The skull, in fact, supplies the names of the original 'otua and their domains. Thus, if we draw on the vocabulary of eastern Polynesia where the names are still intelligible in this context, Lolofonua means Land of the Brains or Cranium and Tangaloa means the jawbone. Also, using this analogy, Langi, the heavens, can also mean face, a term which takes on that meaning in Tonga for high chiefly individuals.

In the shaman's world, time, as we know it and however we may understand it, existed only on the earth plane, though clearly events took place in the other spheres. As manipulators of time and space the shamans were able to enter those other dimensional worlds. It would not be surprising if shamans could manipulate time to a limited degree. Recent experiments have shown that time can be made relative to circumstances, and the world of quantum physics allows much in theory that cannot presently be demonstrated. Certainly shamans were able to convince their audience that they had control over time and space.

The shaman did not perceive time in the linear sense of Western historians, whether medieval Christian or Newtonian. Time was completely episodic or cyclic like the seasons. Cause and effect were linked to the episode in hand and had a universal context rather than a chronological one. This is perhaps best illustrated by shamanic literature from other parts of the world. The hero in a song cycle frequently takes on different parents and personal attributes for different episodes. Thus a modern scholar is puzzled why the hero of the Finnish shaman-derived epic *Kalevala* should be given different mothers in different stanzas of the poem.²⁵ There is no puzzle. The archetypal is more important than the historical. The particular is subsumed in the general.

²³ According to esoteric traditions preserved by the Ata family in Tonga, Hikule'o was Tu'i Manu'a and father of 'Aho'eitu. In Vava'u, Hikule'o was said to be a pale-skinned god represented by a shark. Hikule'o of the Tu'i Tonga was a female manifestation and may have originally 'possessed' the Tu'i Tonga Fefine just as Nāfanua, the Samoan war goddess, possessed the sacred *taupo* of a high chiefly family in Samoa.

²⁴ Descriptions survive for eastern Polynesia. Even in Tonga shamanic costumes were apt to have a mortuary character such as the famous garment Sisingakau made from dried human intestines and decorated with eyes.

²⁵ See Kirby 1907/1951: notes to runos 5 and 6.

That many Polynesians had great difficulty in coming to terms with the chronological sequence of Newtonian time is clearly indicated in the writings of European missionaries. These men and women, who could not grasp anything beyond linear time, were continually puzzled by the questions they received regarding Biblical chronology.²⁶ Very quick to assume simplicity or imbecility, they were not aware that they were facing a cultural problem. No doubt they would have been just as surprised to learn that their own story of Jonah and other scriptural shamanic tales were also out of historical context.

For the modern essentially Western-educated historian, whether Tongan or non-Tongan, attempting to reconstruct traditional history, the implications of shamanic time are enormous. Fortunately for Tongan historiography there is an element of linear time built into the traditional system of story telling. The longest episode of linear time is the dynastic sequence which is actually documented by genealogies on the one hand and by narrative chronicles to complement them on the other. Within the dynastic sequence there should be sufficient cross referencing of complementary material for the sources to be treated as for any modern period.

It would be misleading, however, to suppose that the dynastic sequences retain their integrity (or historiographic acceptability) for very long periods. My own assessment is that the most recent dynastic sequence goes no further back than ten generations on the Tu'i Tonga line, although the body of material relating to the Tu'i Kanokupolu provides a longer sequence. Earlier than this, the same historiographical rules do not apply.

This is not to negate the value of earlier traditions. Where they appear to be corroborated by traditions in other areas or neighbouring groups there is a good chance that the framework of the past can be partially reconstructed. But the overall order of these events may well be out of joint. Internal references suggest that many of the traditions relating to the Tongan occupation of Samoa, both in Tonga and Samoa, have been placed in a different and episodically earlier sequence.²⁷ Similarly, many episodes important to historical causation but unimportant to the shamanic overview have been omitted from the chronicles.

The historian of the traditional past of Tonga, earlier than the seventeenth century, must of necessity treat the narratives as myth and literature embodying clues to history but omitting or subsuming whole episodes. Thus, in the event of six wars with Samoa, the shamanic technique – both as a literary device and in accordance with the shamanic view of time – would be to present one war. Similarly, the deeds of successive generations of titleholders may be abstracted into the activities of one superhuman timeless figure. Thus at a modern kava ceremony the ancestor and his successors are considered as one and the descendant is sometimes addressed by his ancestor's name.²⁸

²⁶ See, for instance, Gunson 1978: 221-2.

²⁷ Chronological sequences are difficult to establish by genealogical means before the reigns of Malietoa Uitalagi in Samoa and 'Uluakimata I in Tonga.

²⁸ Gifford, 1929/1971: 157. Robert J. Maxwell tells a story of how an informant in Samoa told him that another Tutuila chief knew nothing about Tutuila because 'he' (meaning the eponymous ancestor) came from Manu'a (Maxwell 1972: 55-6).

Although chroniclers would have long replaced shamans as story tellers in Tonga there is no reason to suppose that their views of time were different, or that the shamanic overview had been abandoned before Christianity. One of the principal functions of the shaman was to preserve the identity and cultural integrity of the tribal group. It would be in keeping with such a concept to ignore completely major historical events which were in conflict with this aim. Thus, the appearance of intruders who broke the rules would go unrecorded. We would not necessarily learn from traditional records if there had been a successful invasion from outside, or even 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. I am not saying that this happened, but I believe the historian cannot ignore the possibility if there is any evidence to support such a contention.

It is perhaps significant that of the two Tongan words for dynastic time or epochs, *kuonga* and *hau*, *kuonga* fits easily into the shamanic context while *hau* anticipates modern linear time.²⁹ Throughout Polynesia there was a prevalent belief that time stopped on the death of a chief of great power. All his or her rules no longer applied and it was up to the successor to make his or her own rules. This was well documented for Tahiti by the missionaries on the death of Pomare II.³⁰ *Kuonga* was just such a self-contained period. *Hau*, on the other hand, referred to a system which concentrated on the transfer of power by competitive and usually violent means, so it emphasised sequence.³¹ Comparing the two concepts is rather like contrasting stop-watch time with America's Cup time. Stop-watch time has no historical context whereas America's Cup time emphasises a competitive record with a definite starting point but no foreseeable end. From the point of view of writing Tongan history we might formulate a general law that *kuonga* time derives its historicity from *hau* time.

The Tongan historian has a rich field to work in and by facing the complexities of Tongan historiography it should be possible to enrich even more the living tradition that exists today.

²⁹ '*Kuonga*' is usually translated 'in the days of' or 'the time of' and was used of Tangaloa, Kohai, Maui, 'Aho'eitu, all the Tu'i Tonga, and Lo'au. Queen Sālote has examined these concepts in detail. See Spillius 1958-59.

³⁰ See particularly Tyerman and Bennet 1821 - 28.

³¹ For the *hau* system in general see Gumson 1979: 28-49. The *mangaia* in Mangaia came to power in the same way thus providing a list of battles by which time could be measured. Similar but less sequential battle lists existed for Samoa and the Society Islands.

3

Genealogy in the Tongan Construction of the Past

PHYLLIS S. HERDA*

Tongan *hohoko*, like genealogical material elsewhere in pre-Christian Polynesia, encapsulated cultural constructions of rank and power in both divine and human terms. They demonstrated ascribed and achieved statuses and were often called upon to legitimise political rule; as such, the corpus of genealogies reflects most, if not all, political ascendancies and contentions. Their very nature as political and social idiom makes them a powerful historical source.

GENEALOGIES (*HOHOKO*) ARE PART OF THE LARGER CORPUS OF TONGAN ORAL TRADITIONS WHICH represent the past. They encapsulate Tongan notions of rank, seniority and status as well as providing a meaningful chronology with which to interpret events. Unlike other areas of Polynesia, sanctity does not imply secrecy in Tonga and a genealogy, especially an illustrious one, is proudly recited to an interested and knowledgeable listener. There was no special guild or college, hereditary or otherwise, which kept and recited genealogies in Tonga. Rather it seems the vocation was the responsibility and the privilege of the eldest woman of the kin or title lineage (*kāinga* or *ha'a*) who would, in turn, pass it on to the appropriate heir - usually the 'eldest'¹ female of a subsequent generation. That this all important responsibility fell upon the eldest female of the lineage should not be surprising for she would have been the individual of highest personal rank or, in other words, the most sacred individual of the lineage, and as such it would have been proper for her to be the repository of such vital information. Usually the woman was also a *mehekitanga* (father's sister). Undoubtedly her knowledge of genealogical matters as well as her pre-eminent rank were relevant to the *mehekitanga* being called upon to mediate in disputes involving land allocation and title succession.²

In the 1920s the anthropologist E.W. Gifford reported that the oral recitation of genealogies was falling into disuse because of the wide application of writing in

* I would like to thank Elizabeth Wood Ellem, Sione Lātūkefu and Bob Langdon who read an earlier draft of this paper; their comments were insightful and helpful.

¹ 'Eldest' signifies the most senior individual who may or may not be eldest in terms of age. If a younger sibling succeeds to a title or makes an especially illustrious marriage, the biological order of birth is 'forgotten' and a social order established reflecting the status of the individuals.

² See Rogers 1977 for a discussion of the *mehekitanga*.

Tonga.³ With hindsight Gifford's declaration appears decidedly premature and plainly erroneous. When I asked about information concerning genealogical material I was invariably sent to the informant's eldest sister (*ta'okete-lele* or *tuofefine*) or *mehekitanga* for the 'true' story. In no instance did the woman have to resort to written sources for her information, even when it concerned rather obscure points of 18th century genealogical connections. It is apparent that literacy and an introduced European education system has altered the manner in which Tongans may perceive genealogies, especially as they relate to history, but the advent of the written word does not seem to have diminished the oral and retentive skills of Tongan genealogy specialists nor devalued the prestige associated with their knowledge.

It is important to remember that within the constantly changing sphere of political power genealogies were a strong, but fluid, political idiom. They represented a dynamic force which was often called upon to justify decisions or legitimise contentious issues. For example, Tāufa'āhau Tupou I was able to neutralise an aggrieved chief who found his land appropriated by mentioning their respective genealogies:

Why do you mention your paltry island here [at a *faikava*]? and who made it yours? Who are you? And who were your fathers? I will tell you who my fathers were . . . [recitation of his ancestors]. These were my ancestors, but who were yours? I will tell you who they were; they were my father's cooks . . . Why, then, do you set up your claim to the insignificant islet which you call *yours*? Why did you not put it into a basket, and send it on board the canoe, and take it with you to Feejee? Then we should never have heard any more of you or your islet.⁴

Obviously more than just genealogies were being strategically employed by Tāufa'āhau.⁵ It is, however, pertinent that the genealogical information was presented as the legitimizing factor as well as the empowering agent for his authority.

It was not only at a *faikava* that genealogical information was enacted; it also embodied much of what occurred at funerals or weddings. In a sense the *faikava* represented the more dynamically charged political enactment of genealogies as members of rival *ha'a* challenged for recognition of achieved power or of enhanced rank through seating protocol. Marriages and funerals, on the other hand, provided a more conservative arena for the display of genealogical information because relationships were established on the basis of personal rather than political rank.⁶

This fluid nature of genealogical information has compelled many historians and anthropologists, many of whom have worked in Africa, to denigrate genealogies as reliable historical sources.⁷ Much of the dissatisfaction of these scholars rests on the

³ Gifford 1929:23.

⁴ Lawry 1851:69-70.

⁵ Tāufa'āhau's use of 'father' as an interchangeable term for 'ancestor' is interesting. 'Ancestor' in Tongan (*tupu'anga* or *tefito*) does not carry a gender connotation; either Tāufa'āhau is implementing a new convention or Lawry is translating in a free manner revealing the patriarchal European bias.

⁶ Spillius (Bott) 1958-1959, vol. II:236, 341.

⁷ Barnes 1967:118; Bohannon 1952; Finnegan 1970; Henige 1971:388-9. Pacific references which claim a historical inadequacy of genealogies include Malinowski 1948:95-101; Piddington 1951:117, 119; Sharp 1958; Barrère 1961; 1967; Munz 1971:5; although the African scholars have written more extensively on the subject.

fluid nature of genealogies and their perceived inability to be placed in a chronological context. Unfortunately 'chronological context' is defined by these scholars as being able to be dated on a Western calendrical system. While it is difficult and sometimes impossible to place the genealogical material on the European system, the genealogies are chronological in the sense that they are organised sequentially and, thus, provide an indigenous temporal perspective on the Tongan construction of the past. As such, genealogies can inform an outsider of significant individuals and events in Tonga's past. This is probably the case for most, if not all, of Polynesia.

In an effort to fit Polynesian genealogical material into a Western conception of historical reconstruction based on calendrical dates attempts were made to manipulate genealogical generations into calendar years. At the end of the nineteenth century debate centred on determining an appropriate length of a Polynesian generation. In 1893 Percy Smith postulated a twenty year generation; although he believed that the 'number [was] probably too small'.⁸ W.E. Gudgeon quickly responded that he felt that Smith's estimate was far too short and that twenty-five or thirty years would be more representative; the editors of *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* urged others to consider the matter because 'so very much depends on it'.⁹ The debate continued until Smith's 1898 article on the origin of the Maori appeared; in it he stated that '25 years is assumed as the length of a Polynesian generation, a number that has been agreed on by several people who know the race well'.¹⁰ Smith's statement marks the end of debate among Polynesian scholars over the appropriate number of years to assign to a generation and appears to have been the source of the Bishop Museum's decision of a twenty-five year generation.¹¹

The concept is based on a hypothesised average reproduction age. While this may seem meaningful according to a Western notion of how the world is ordered, it is problematic on several accounts in Polynesia. Firstly, demographic information for the early Tongan period is minimal at best and any calculation of an average reproductive age would be presumably based on later statistics.

Secondly, while the reproductive years of a woman are biologically limited, those of a man are not so constrained. Considering that polygamy as well as serial polyandry were common among chiefly Tongans, it is probable that many generations would encompass more than twenty-five years. Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui, for example, was said to have married more than thirty women during his lifetime and in his later years was more than 35 years the senior of several.¹²

Thirdly, dynastic genealogies, or lists of titleholders, could be confused as personal genealogies by uninformed scholars. The dynastic genealogy of the royal family, who also held the traditional title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, provides an example of the possible distortion if it is treated as a personal *hohoko*. The personal royal *hohoko* counts six generations back to Tāufa'āhau Tupou I, while the dynastic royals number four individuals (see Figure 1). Allowing twenty-five years per generation brings us

⁸ Orsmond and Smith 1893:41; see also Rimini 1893:43.

⁹ Gudgeon 1893:113,115.

¹⁰ Smith 1898:201.

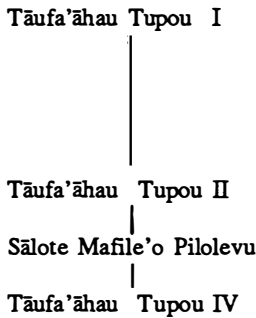
¹¹ Buck 1932:22.

¹² Koe Tohi Hohoko 'Eni 'A 'O.F. Veikune:49; Ve'ehala, personal communication.

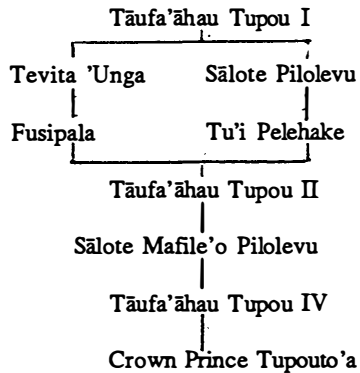
to a hypothetical birthdate of 1840 by reckoning the personal *hohoko* or 1915 by the dynastic genealogy. Contemporary sources maintain that Tāufa'āhau was born just before the turn of the nineteenth century.¹³

FIGURE 1

Dynastic List of the Royal Family (Tu'i Kanokupolu Titleholders)



Personal Genealogy of the Royal Family



While I have yet to see any scholar venture a dated generation calibration on the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynastic genealogies, such practices are not uncommon for early *kau* Tu'i Tonga lists which are, in fact, dynastic, not personal, genealogies. The date of 950 A.D. which is often applied to the reign of the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, is based on such a calculation. Collocott appears to have been the first to attribute the date to generational calculation in a publication.¹⁴ Although the date was arrived at through a more or less arbitrary application of a hypothetical scenario, and Collocott himself employs it as such, it has since been regarded as a tangible and accurate date, especially with regard to a settlement date of the Tongan archipelago and the rise of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty.¹⁵ The advocacy or refutation of these scenarios is not in question; the point is, especially in the Tongan case, that generational dating is an arbitrary and imposed system. In traditional Tonga, the past was not reckoned in calendrical dates. Although, today, the birth date of H.M. Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV is celebrated, the exact year of the birth of Tāufa'āhau Tupou I is not known. However, our historical appreciation of Tupou I is not diminished because of this fact; instead, he is placed genealogically in a chronological context - in Tongan terms we know who he was. The fluid, manipulative nature of genealogies is often cited as evidence for their unreliability as a historical source.¹⁶ While there is no doubt that Tongan genealogies were vehicles for a political idiom and, as such, sometimes conveyed contradictory information, it is possible after consulting several *hohoko* to appreciate

¹³ Sione Lātūkefu, personal communication.

¹⁴ Collocott 1924:169.

¹⁵ Wood 1943:6; Gifford 1929:50; Latukefu 1974:1; Campbell 1989:45.

¹⁶ See note 7.

the substance and very often the details of past controversial events. An example may clarify the point. It has been claimed that Tupoumoheofo, *moheofo* (principal wife) to Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, abused her powerful position in Tongan society and attempted to break with Tongan tradition by having her son, Fuanunuiava, raised to the Tu'i Tonga title while Paulaho, the encumbent and father of Fuanunuiava, was still alive. This unusual ceremony, among other events, is often cited as representative of Tupoumoheofo's rebellious and unfeminine behaviour.¹⁷ However, the attempted installation becomes comprehensible if more than one relevant *hohoko* is consulted in conjunction with the narratives.

A genealogy collected in Vava'u¹⁸ records that Fuanunuiava was not Paulaho's son by Tupoumoheofo, but that his mother was Inumofalefā who was *fokonofa* (secondary wife). This claim contradicts the genealogies of the Tu'i Tonga held in the Palace Records Office which are all attributed to the Tamahā's book; however, it was indirectly substantiated by members of a Spanish expedition who met Tupoumoheofo in 1793. They recorded that Tupoumoheofo and Paulaho only had daughters, while they named Fuanunuiava solely as the son of Paulaho.¹⁹ It is possible that Tupoumoheofo sought status for her daughters by promoting their half-brother as Tu'i Tonga, but it seems more probable that it was Paulaho, not Tupoumoheofo, who was concerned with Fuanunuiava's succession. A powerful, rival titled lineage favoured Paulaho's half-brother as his successor and, considering that he was the son of a *fokonofa*, Fuanunuiava would probably have encountered great resistance to his succession after Paulaho's death.

A further consideration of the *hohoko* of Tupoumoheofo reveals that the individual who recounted the incident to the missionary John Thomas and blamed Tupoumoheofo as the culprit came from a lineage which was involved in an intense struggle with the *kāinga* of Tupoumoheofo for the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu.²⁰ Tupoumoheofo's lineage was senior, but it was eventually defeated by the junior group. That the victors would present incidents which present their higher ranking rival as an unscrupulous individual who attempted illegitimate rule makes good political sense. The historically significant point remains, however, that although the descendants of Tupoumoheofo have not wielded power effectively since the end of the eighteenth century, the story of their struggle is embedded in the *hohoko*, if more than one genealogy is consulted. The fact that the *hohoko* represent a politically charged and fluid idiom makes them a powerful historical asset rather than a liability. It is vital to realise, however, that there is no absolute *hohoko*; different versions exist because different *kāinga* remember their own ancestors and their deeds. The totality of these versions contains the 'truth' of Tonga's past.

The collection of *tohi hohoko* or genealogical books which are located in the Palace Records Office in Nuku'alofa represents the largest single corpus of genealogical records in Tonga. I examined fourteen volumes while working at the

¹⁷ See Herda 1987 for a detailed account of the controversy surrounding Tupoumoheofo.

¹⁸ Niel Gunson, personal communication.

¹⁹ Novo y Colson 1885:275, 281, 382.

²⁰ Thomas n.d.:170-4, 182.

Palace Office, although it has been claimed that there are about seventeen.²¹ The collection is the result of the work of the Tongan Traditions Committee, headed by Queen Sālote Tupou III, to assemble as much genealogical and historical material in one locale and to foster a renewed appreciation of *fakatonga* among the people in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Many individuals interested in the history of Tonga have profited from the richness of the *tohi hohoko* in the Palace Office; few, however, seem to appreciate the complexity of the collection as a historical source.

The *tohi hohoko* are best described as a series of typed copies of written genealogical accounts which were recorded at various times since the mid-nineteenth century. The provenance of any one *hohoko* is often difficult to ascertain because copies of copies of a *tohi hohoko* are not unusual. The earliest form of *hohoko* committed to paper seems to have had a narrative format which is read like an oral genealogical recitation and often contained extraneous bits of information concerning the lives and actions of the individuals mentioned. This form, although scarce in modern times, provides a very rich, narrative historical source. The later form, contained in many of the *tohi hohoko*, is of genealogical lists which appears to be a shorthand of the narrative form. Although easier to read the shorthand form fixes many ambiguous statements and deletes the supplementary and qualifying information allowed by the narrative format. Occasionally, both forms are available which allows for cross-checking and comparison.

The first *hohoko* to be written down was dictated by 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha, the last Tamahā, to the Wesleyan missionary John Thomas in 1844. It is no coincidence that the Tamahā was the first to set her genealogical knowledge down on paper. As the undisputed highest ranking individual in Tongan society at that time, such action was her prerogative. Indeed, it is probable that the other chiefs would have waited for her to do so, so as not to directly or publicly contradict any of her statements. After it was dictated, the Tamahā's book appears to have stayed with her until her death in 1852; certainly it or a copy of it were not among Thomas's volumes of papers on Tonga.

The original copy was not said to be intact when Losaline Fatafehi, the granddaughter of Tu'i Tonga Laufilitonga, copied from it in Fiji some time near the end of the nineteenth century. The book had been taken to Fiji by Ma'afu, presumably after the Tamahā's death. Losaline married Siale'ataongo, Ma'afu's son, and saw and copied from the book while they were living in Fiji. She recorded that parts of the book had been burnt long ago in Tonga, but she was not explicit as to which parts or how much of the *tohi* had been destroyed or whether the fire damage was accidental or deliberate.²² It is also unclear how much of the remaining book Losaline copied. She brought her copy back to Tonga after the turn of the century when Queen Sālote was made privy to its knowledge through the instruction of Losaline.²³

²¹ Marcus 1980:6. Marcus based his judgement on information supplied by Garth Rogers who believed that this included duplicate copies of volumes and that the actual number of different *hohoko* would be closer to fourteen.

²² Koe Tohi Hohoko 'A Losaline Fatafehi:3-5.

²³ Elizabeth Wood Ellen, personal communication.

The Tamahā's book represents an important authority on genealogical matters and conveys significant points concerning their authenticity as historical documents of traditional Tonga. Firstly, they are chiefly records and, as such, are to be respected. As Wood Ellem so succinctly states for Tonga, 'truth is what the chief said and history is what the highest chief said'.²⁴ Nowhere is this phenomena more noticeable than in genealogical and kinship knowledge. In pre-Christian Tonga it was maintained that non-chiefly people neither married nor had reason to remember their ancestors beyond two generations, in other words, beyond living memory.

The implications of this for the Tongan construction of history are significant. The ruling ideology, to which both factional élite and non-élite were ostensibly committed, favoured, through the *hohoko*, strength, power and, above all, high rank. The traditional Tongan past, therefore, becomes an exclusively chiefly domain with no place for commoners. The common people are denied a place in history because they are denied access to their non-élite ancestors. If a link, however tenuous, can be established with the chiefly of the past, the individual becomes part of that élite.

Secondly, the very fact that the Tamahā's words were committed to paper seems to have enhanced their perceived authenticity, even though the whereabouts of her original *tohi* is unknown. Why this enhancement has occurred is unclear. Undoubtedly, it is connected with the prestige of the Tamahā herself - a tangible link with her person and her sanctity. It also appears to be linked with the high regard which was generally attached to literacy in the last century. How this process came to impinge on the veracity of a body of oral traditions which are still fundamentally perceived as oral knowledge is an interesting and worthwhile study in its own right. Babadzan has suggested that on Rurutu a link between the association of the written word with the Bible *and* ancestral speech has acted dialectically in the production of a divine authenticity being attributed to some written records.²⁵ Whether such a connection exists in Tonga remains to be seen.

Of the fourteen volumes in the Palace Records Office that I examined, six are said to have been derived from the Tamahā's book. Judging by the available evidence only one other, besides Losaline Fatafehi's book, was based directly on the Tamahā's original book, if we allow that the burnt manuscript held by Ma'afu was the Tamahā's original and not just a copy. The other four *tohi hohoko* which acknowledge the Tamahā's book as their source seem to have used one of the abovementioned copies or, conceivably, other copies were consulted which did not make their way into the Palace Records Office.

A statistic which may be more significant is that fourteen of the Palace Office's *tohi hohoko* are either directly attributable to the Royal family as it existed in the first half of this century or passed through their hands while copies were being made. It is understandable that the Royal family should be intimately involved with the collection and preservation of *hohoko*, especially if the legitimizing nature of genealogical knowledge is acknowledged. Considering that the Tongan Traditions Committee was formed under the patronage of Queen Sālote, it is not surprising that

²⁴ Wood Ellem 1981:9.

²⁵ Babadzan 1985:179.

genealogical material connected to the Royal family would dominate the collection. Individuals would proudly acknowledge these connections while those who held material which might disagree with the Royal genealogies would remain silent, so as not to publicly contradict a higher authority. Queen Sālote certainly seemed to occupy the ultimate position of genealogical authority formerly enjoyed by the Tamahā, and to publicly contradict her statements would transgress notions of appropriate chiefly protocol.

The number of times the *hohoko* were copied increases the potential for alterations, whether intentional or unintentional, that can be made to the information. Unintentional alterations are usually due to it not being possible to render the original text completely, either because it has not been wholly preserved, as in the case of the Tamahā's book, or because the handwriting is not legible. Many compilers of the *tohi hohoko* scrupulously acknowledge where portions of *hohoko* were omitted and why. Problems occur when omissions are not acknowledged or when, despite the known partial condition of the 'original', the documents are treated as intact and whole.

Most intentional alterations to the *tohi hohoko* are not aimed at deliberately skewing the data and are more accurately described as editorial changes. Long passages of seeming unimportance to the copier, usually because they do not mention kin, may be omitted; as well, the descendants of unsuccessful factions may be deleted due to the subsequent failure of the line to re-establish itself. There would be no reason for individuals, aside from direct descendants, to try and remember these people.

To be 'unknown' in the corpus of Tongan genealogical knowledge indicates the political and social end of the line for a lineage, and the ignominy of such a state is often remarked on. Indeed, so strong is the legitimising function of genealogies that being 'unknown' is often cited as a *reason* for political inactivity or failure, rather than its effect. Hence the interest of politically active or high ranking families to see their genealogies preserved. Before the establishment of the Tongan Constitution in 1875 which fixed the rules of succession, competition between eligible candidates for a title was often fierce. The struggle between the 'Ulukālala and Vuna lineages for the ruling title of Tu'i Vava'u lasted over several generations and ended with the vanquished Vuna line slipping into genealogical obscurity.²⁶ Today, their descendants are 'unknown'.

The overwhelming problem with alterations to the *tohi hohoko* is that it is usually not possible to examine the original manuscripts or the earlier copies which were used by the Tongan Traditions Committee in making their copies as in most cases the germinal *hohoko* were returned to their respective owners after the copies were made. However, this was not always the case and there are indications that the political importance of genealogical information has not abated; genealogies still constitute 'hot property' which can be manipulated. An extreme example involves two *tohi hohoko* which were brought from Vava'u to Nuku'alofa in the late 1950s or early 1960s as part of the Tongan Traditions Committee's copying scheme; both books, alleged to emphasise the chieflikeness of individuals who opposed Tāufa'āhau (later Tupou I), were

²⁶ See Herda 1988:93, 110-12 and Bott 1982:140-3 for accounts of this struggle.

destroyed before they were copied.²⁷ Similarly, two *tohi hohoko* were discovered by chance in the refuse containers behind the Palace Office. Copies of these volumes are not held in the official collection.²⁸ There are also several volumes which have had corrections and editorial changes made to them by several anonymous hands since they were bound; an indication that the information contained in the *hohoko* cannot be regarded as definitive.

Despite the abovementioned incidents of manipulating the *tohi hohoko*, the Palace Office's collection remains the largest single corpus of Tongan genealogical material, although many individual *kāinga* possess *tohi hohoko* of their ancestors. The richness of the texts lies in the fact that they present a chronological sequence of individuals and occasionally events which are perceived in Tongan ideology as being worthy of historical remembrance. This is especially true if the *tohi hohoko* in the Palace Records Office are used as a base for further genealogical and historical research. Notwithstanding my emphasis on the differences in detail of particular genealogies, the entire corpus of *hohoko* is remarkably consistent. When discrepancies do occur, the individuals involved were often in volatile struggles for power. Through careful comparison of pertinent genealogies and a further examination of related traditions and informed foreign accounts, it is possible to unravel the contentious issues to reveal the historical details of complex socio-political situations.

Tongan genealogies structure, and are structured by, cultural ideals and political processes. They were (and still are) a political idiom of great strength and fluidity and formed the ideological framework, by virtue of the desirable quality of ranked primogeniture, which embodied all political and social relationships. As such, Tongan genealogical representations of the past are fundamentally cultural constructions of Tongan history. Unfortunately, the depth of information conveyed by the *hohoko* has been, by and large, ignored by Western trained scholars intent on reconstructing the Tongan past. It is no accident that the current Tongan word signifying 'history', (*hisitōlia*), is a direct transliteration from the English; however, if the ultimate aim truly is to reconstruct the *Tongan* past, then we must logically begin with an understanding of the ideological construction of that past. *Hohoko* provide such a beginning. They provide not only an understanding of individuals and events but also a history of cultural process and transformation. As Queen Sālote remarked, 'the genealogies are the key that opens the door. To try to do anything without knowing the genealogies is like scratching around the door without the key.'²⁹

²⁷ The individual who related this incident wished, for obvious reasons, to remain anonymous.

²⁸ Futa Helu, personal communication.

²⁹ Spillius (Bott) 1958-1959, vol.II:310.

4

Myths and History: Some Aspects of History in the Tu'i Tonga Myths

'OKUSITINO MĀHINA

*Fakamolemole 'a Hou'eiki mo [e]
ngaahi ha'a
He 'oku mama'o mo faingata'a 'a e
fa'anga
Ko e tolutalu na'e tu'u holo he ngaahi
halanga
Kuo fu'u puli pea 'alu mo hono
to'utangata
Ka neongo 'ene vao fihī mo [to e]
va'ava'a
Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo si'a fa'ala
Kia Touia'ofutuna ko e 'uluaki maka
Na'e fai mei ai hotau kamata'anga
Kehe ko e talatupu'a ia mo e fananga

'Oku utuutu mei ai sia kau fa'a
Tafolo*

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages
For the searching place is now far
and difficult
The plantations once scattered on the
roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone
with them their generation
But although they now lie in very thick
bush
Search will be made at any rate
For *Touia'ofutuna*, the first rock
Where our origin began
For these are only [Myths] and
[legends]
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts
(Gifford 1924:6)

MYTHS, OR AT LEAST MYTH-MAKING, INVOLVE THE IMPERCEPTIBLY SLOW PROCESS OF TRANSFORMING, through space and time, simple historical events to miraculous events, often seen to take place over and above history. In the course of their transmission myths may be subject to changes, either through addition or alteration, as society changes through time. While these changes are recognised, there are aspects crystallised in myths that have hardly been affected at all in the actual process of transmission. And because there is a strong tendency to historical continuity in human and social activities to some extent we are able to reverse the myth-making and use myths, because of their social origin and historical value, as sources of history. Recognising the enormous practical problems and complications, a student of history can proceed in his or her task of advancing the use of myth as a form of scholarship. For purposes of a theory, as well as on logical and metaphysical grounds, myths must be regarded as historical fact: a spatio-temporal situation, bearing social and, therefore, psychological dimensions worthy of critical consideration.

As a case in point, I will make an attempt to discuss the *content* of the Tu'i Tonga myths, that is, what they actually mean within the Tongan social context or within the

wider West Polynesia culture complex in which Tongan society was a specific socio-cultural development.

The myths of the origin of the Tu'i Tonga, which include the events leading up to the emergence of the title and shortly thereafter, have survived European contact as oral traditions. What have come to us in these traditions, as most of them have been recorded since contact, are accounts of actual situations and events that took place at different points in time in Tongan prehistory. The general feeling among many scholars of Tongan society, history and culture is that because these accounts were not written, and because they refer to mythical and prehistoric times, they are to be rejected outright as of no use in attempting to reconstruct prehistoric Tongan society.

There are other limitations encountered in an attempt to study myths. Most of the corpus of Tongan myths exists today, in written as well as oral form. This persistence in the oral transmission of traditions exists despite radical changes which Tongan society has undergone since contact. This study was based on both oral and written sources. It is precisely because of the inherent limitations and the very nature of myths (orality, spatio-temporality etc.) that our interpretation has to be very general. We may not be able to know the past in full but at least some important aspects of it can be seen, even if these may be representative only of significant social, economic, political, mental and cultural trends.

Tāfalo, the poet whose extract is given above, has grappled with the theoretical and practical problems in poetic form. Not only does he connect myths to history by giving them a social origin but he also recognises that society, and therefore critical investigation, is infinitely complex by formulating a pluralistic view of reality. These philosophical views are reminiscent of the pluralism of Heraclitus's and Vico's historicism. Being realistic doctrines, their critical insights will certainly provide some philosophical groundwork for the elucidation of some fundamental issues addressed in the myths. Furthermore, Vico's historicism has provided us with a realistic science or philosophy of history. The focus of his study of the relationships between social groupings, such as the conflict between gods, as symbolising the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians strongly suggests his sense of historicity. As Helu puts it:

The insights of Vico . . . , especially the recognition that the contents of myths are of a social *origin* and that the psychological elements were later infusions, are of considerable usefulness for the understanding of mythology. But whereas the structuralist analysis tends to show up socio-economic basis for myths, Vico's theory opens the way for a social theory of the origin of religion. In either case, the study of myths reveals that these traditional systems of thought (mythology and religion) are about the *interplay of demands in a social setting*.¹

Furthermore, Helu considers that as works of art,

myths must reflect the society in which they arise, as well as the state of knowledge, public and private mores, political conditions and so on. And they must influence people's view of things, their morality and their beliefs, their attitudes to both men and things. And above

¹ Helu 1983:48-9.

all, myths must restrict their *interests* to those areas of social activities that tend to foster accepted ideas and preserve the status quo. In other words, myths are tools for maintaining a *static society*. They are inimical to a dynamic and liberal society. If there is a subject that mythical thought cannot handle at all, it is *the inevitability of social change*.²

Given the conflicting nature of society, people's interests are somehow conditioned by the dominance of the ruling order and the power of the ruling ideas. Society is thus often perpetuated in a manner that preserves the status quo, and promotes the uncritical acceptance of traditions. Liberty is not something voluntarily *given* on request, but more often, on the contrary, achieved on demand, or more importantly through struggle and criticism.

It must be remarked that, in the light of the foregoing remarks, liberality and illiberality or servility have been, and will always be, permanent features of Tongan society at any point in time. This is the fundamental characteristic of any society or any social situation. And despite the fact that the corpus of the origin myths of Tonga, of which the Tu'i Tonga myths are a part, reflects power and the maintenance of the status quo, it appears that social change - through conflict, opposition, separatism and so on - was an inevitable part of the Tongan social scene. It is in the light of this form of historical social pluralism that we reject any view of society that treats the social scene as unified. And because the unified view of society diverts our attention from the real characteristic of the social situation, the conflicting tendencies in society, we come to accept conformity, often in the forms of security and sufficiency, rather than struggle, as conditions in the social arrangement.

The Tu'i Tonga myths, particularly the origin myth of 'Aho'eitu, the first Tu'i Tonga, are part of a whole corpus of Tongan origin myths (Figure 1). Given its great historical significance, putting together this corpus (Figures 1 and 2) has yielded insights into some social, economic, mental, political and ethical aspects of both the early and later prehistory of Tonga (Figure 2). I will isolate and discuss the part concerning 'Aho'eitu with regard to the Classical Tongan Period (Figure 2). There are variants of the same myth³ but the principal facts are in most ways in agreement. Here is an account, given by Queen Sālote, and recorded by Bott:

On an island near Tonga there was a giant *toa* tree that one lord of heaven, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, used to climb down to earth. One of his trips he slept with a lovely Tongan woman, Va'epopua, and she gave birth to a son, 'Aho'eitu. 'Eitumatupu'a went back to heaven, leaving his son on earth with his mother. When the boy grew up he wanted to see his father, so his mother told him about the tree. He climbed up and found his father, who greeted him with joy and prepared food for him. 'Eitumatupu'a had other, older sons with heavenly mothers. These sons were living in heaven with him, and he sent 'Aho'eitu unaccompanied to see them. They were jealous of 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty and skill in a game he played with them, and so they killed and ate him. When 'Eitumatupu'a could not find 'Aho'eitu, he summoned his sons and accused them of harming him, but they said they were innocent. But the father did not believe them. He ordered a large wooden bowl to be brought, and made them vomit into it. The bowl was filled with flesh and blood. A little water was poured in as well, and then the whole was covered with leaves

² Ibid.:51.

³ Reiter 1933:355-81; Rutherford 1977:28-9; Wood 1943:5; Bott 1972:228-29,1982:90-1.

of *nonu* (*Morinda Citrifolia* which is still used for healing). After a time all the parts reunited and 'Aho'eitu sat up in the bowl. Then the father summoned 'Aho'eitu and all the other older brothers to come before him. He told them that 'Aho'eitu would go down to Tonga and would become Tu'i Tonga, replacing the line of Ko Hai and Ko Au, but the brothers of 'Aho'eitu would have to stay behind. Affection awoke in the breasts of the brothers, and they wept for what they had done. Later these brothers followed the Tu'i Tonga, and became his attendants on earth. The eldest, Talafale, was told by his father that he would be Tu'i Faleua, king of the second house, so if 'Aho'eitu's line failed, his descendants would become the Tu'i Tonga. But he could not become Tu'i Tonga himself because he had committed murder. The other four brothers formed the Tu'i Tonga first Falefa 'House of Four': Matakehe, Maliepo, Tu'iloloko and Tu'ifolaha.⁴

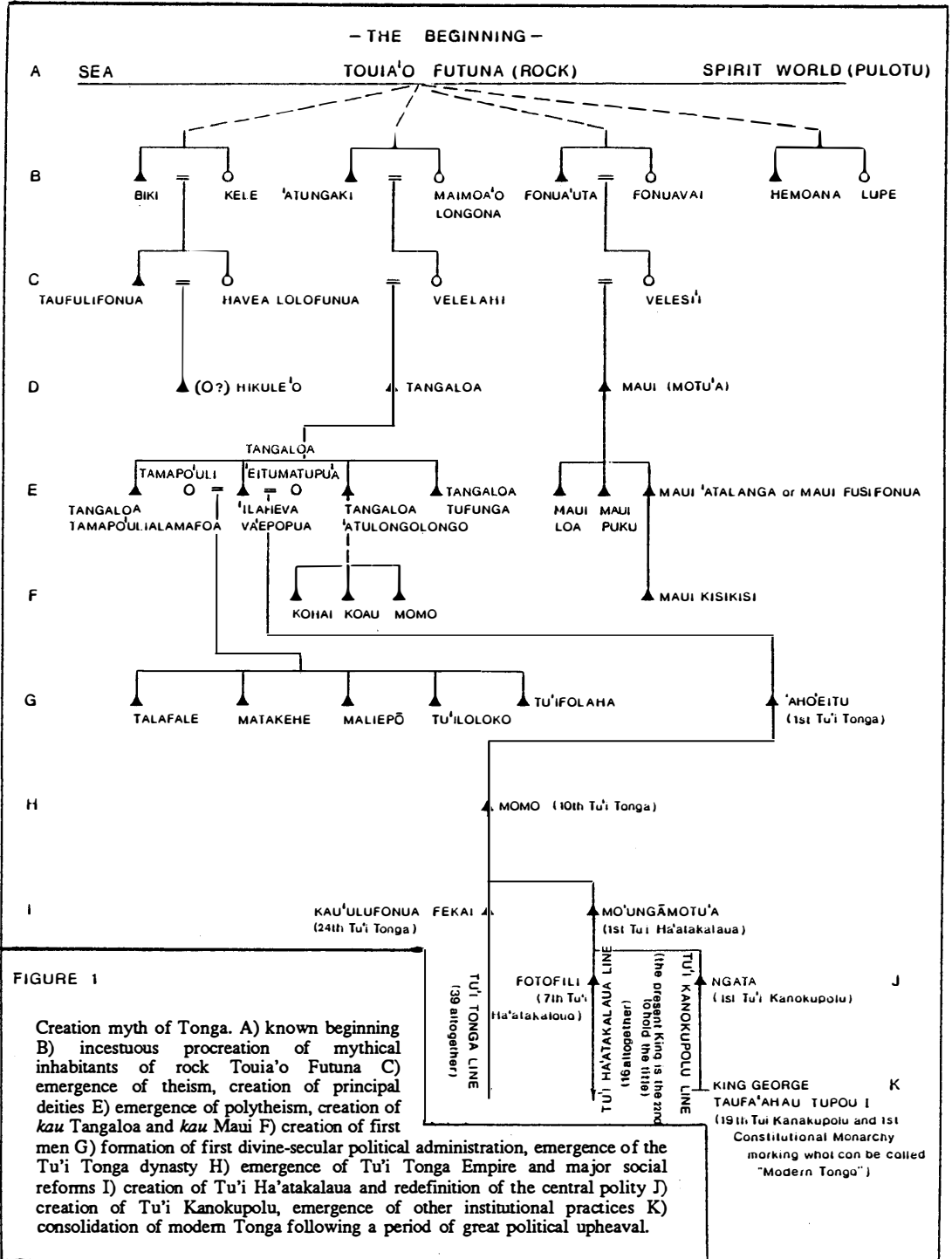
For a better understanding of the Tu'i Tonga myths let me place them in a wider context, as far as the corpus of the origin myths of Tonga is concerned. Starting from mythical generation C (Figure 1) we have the male descendant, Taufulifonua, who espoused his own sister, Havea Lolofonua, as the principal wife (*mā'itaki*), and first cousins Velelahi and Velesi'i, as secondary or supporting wives (*sinifu*). The respective unions of Havea Lolofonua, Velelahi and Velesi'i to Taufulifonua, each gave rise to Havea Hikule'o, Tangaloa 'Eiki and Maui Motu'a but have been popularly known as Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui (generation D, Figure 1). The shortened versions of their names will be used in the subsequent discussion. They were, and have always been, regarded as the three principal gods (*tolu'i 'otua tupu'a*) of Tonga.

These events marked the beginning of what I have called the emergence of theism in Tonga.⁵ There is, in the corpus of the origin myths of Tonga, an indication of a shift in the socio-political orientation of society by a change from mythologism, a state of subjective and egocentred social differentiation, to theism, a state of greater social and political differentiation afforded by the increasing emergence of beings external to society. With human rationality revolving around mythology and religion, the security-seeking sentiment or politics can be seen to become more intense in the social organisation. Human interests are, thus, elevated over and above reality, the universe - nature and society; the view of how the universe works is arrived at, not in its own terms, but in terms of human organisation and social control.

The rise of theism in the persons of Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui reflected a degree of *localisation* taking place in the society at the social, economic, political and mental levels. This means that, in practical terms, Tonga can possibly be considered in some sense as being Polynesian; for archaeology tells us that human regional inter-group movements were, initially, a feature of the Western Polynesia culture area which later spread to Eastern Polynesia. Such a situation would have led to frequent exploitation of the immediate material surroundings - sea and land resources - by various social units. Permanent human settlement would also have led to an increase in social organisation and control, at the expense of social pluralism.

⁴ Bott 1982:90-1.

⁵ Māhina 1986.



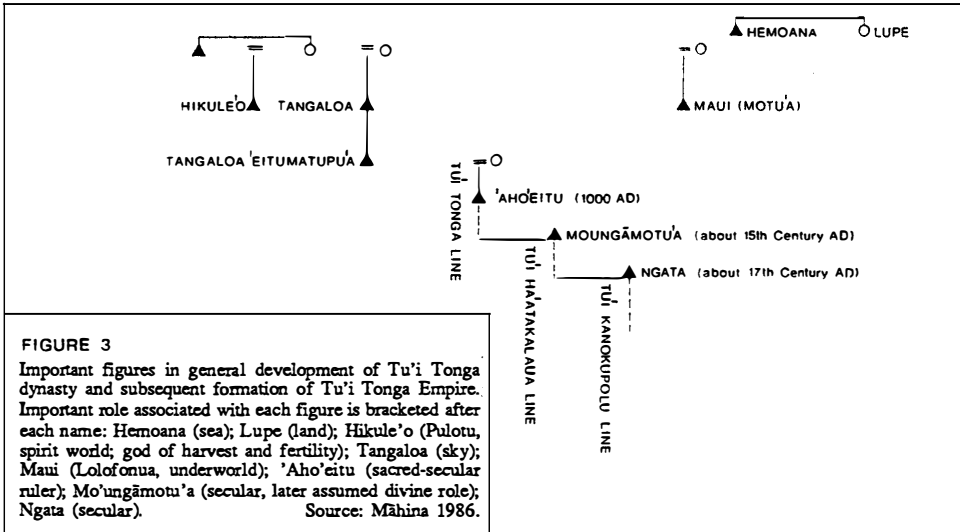
Tongan prehistory divides logically into four periods (Rutherford [ed.] 1977:23) as follows:

		<u>Important archaeological evidence associated with each period.</u>	<u>Important evidence from traditional history associated with each period.</u>
<u>Lapita Period:</u> c. 1200 B.C. to the beginning of our era	Early Prehistoric Period	Lapita landnam settlement of Tonga: shell midden era; lagoon-shore settlement with heavy use of Lapita pottery; formation of the Polynesian culture; later Lapita settlement of Samoa from where East Polynesian culture took its departure.	The creation myth of Tonga is highly suggestive of this distribution of lagoon-shore settlement. The whole orientation of the myth indicates a movement from sea to land.
<u>Dark Age Period:</u> From the beginning of our era to c. A.D.1000.	Later Prehistoric Period	Continuing presence of shell middens and less use of Lapita pottery; beginning of exploitations of both inland and sea resources including cultivation of plants and domestication of animals; beginning of the formation of West Polynesian culture.	Emergence of theism: creation of the three principal deities; emergence of polytheism: creation of the <i>kau</i> Tangaloa and <i>kau</i> Maui; beginning of counter-influence on Tonga as indicated in both Tongan and Samoan traditions from within the Western Polynesian culture area, notably Fiji, Samoa and Uvea; these 'foreign' elements assumed the forms of 'divine' beings or existence.
<u>Classical Tongan Period:</u> c. A.D.1000 to 1770.	Later Prehistoric Period	Profusion of mounds throughout: marked important shift in settlement patterns from earlier lagoon-shore settlement to dispersed habitation inland; an indication of stratified complex society, centralisation of power and authoritarian government.	Refinement of West Polynesian culture due to increasing contact with Fiji, Samoa and Tonga retaining their respective cultural distinctiveness; emergence of the divine/secular political administration in the form of Tu'i Tonga dynasty; emergence of Tu'i Tonga Empire incorporating the use of <i>Lo'au</i> 'foreign' ideology for the rest of its development during this period; followed by counter-influence from Tonga on notably Fiji, Samoa and 'Uvea; emergence of political institutional practices including the two lesser kingly lines.
<u>Contact Period:</u> Since 1770.	Historical Period	Widely scattered settlement inland observed at European contact; increase in fortification ditches and banks; an obvious population increase followed by demand for agricultural land.	Consolidation of political power led by George Tāufa'āhau Tupou I in 19th century due to preceding political upheaval that engaged Tonga in a civil war.

Figure 2: The four main prehistoric periods of Tonga. A crude correlation between important archaeological evidence and significant aspects from traditional history associated with each period.

Source: Māhina (1986)

Following the emergence of theism the origin myth becomes polytheistic:⁶ mythical generation E (Figure 1) - the *kau* (being plural marker) Tangaloa (Tangaloa Tamapo'ulialamafoa, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo, Tangaloa Tufunga), the children of one principal god, Tangaloa ('Eiki), and the *kau* Maui (Maui Loa, Maui Puku, Maui 'Atalanga and his son Maui Kisikisi), mythical generation F, the children and grand-child of the principal god Maui (Motu'a). This represents yet another important human development in prehistoric Tonga.



The transition from theism to polytheism (infinitely increasing social pluralism) could very well be representative of some important trends in the Tongan socio-political scene. Such trends would have constituted a new dimension in the social organisation characterised by, perhaps, bitter rivalries, competition and warfare, often between the ruling ideologies, which were, in this case, appropriated in the persons of Hikule'o and, more so, Tangaloa and Maui. Out of these conflicting tendencies the Tangaloa line, with 'Aho'eitu (generation G) as the first Tu'i Tonga, was propelled into political supremacy in Tongan society. This was the beginning of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty which, in later years, through further political consolidation of power and control in the centre, developed an elaborate form of government which can be regarded as the Tu'i Tonga Empire (*Pule'anga Hau 'o e Tu'i Tonga*).

I am not attempting to place the historical development of Tongan society on a simple evolutionary scale. Far from it. What one finds at every point of societal growth and development is complexity. This is the case when one deals with the superstructural, the non-materialistic, level of society: with the belief system, ethos and world view of people, with social structure and people's attitudes to the universe, society and nature.

⁶ Māhina 1986.

What I want to suggest is that the social trends seen in the origin myths of Tonga - such as mythologism, theism, polytheism, heroism (an extremely important trend associated with Maui Kisikisi) and secularism - are, if taken on the logical ground that they are simply social phenomena, indicative of different modes of operation, different ways of life being fought out, in the historical and dialectical development of society. A critical examination of the mythical text of the early Tongan prehistoric times is strongly suggestive of a dialectical development sandwiched between the permanence and stability of the situations and growth and development in Tongan society.

One can see this running theme in the social, economic, political and, to the same extent, cultural and psychological orientations of society through the different stages of its development. Archaeologists tell us that Tonga has been subject to continuous human habitation for at least 3,000 years. However, evidence from archaeology can be quite sketchy, especially at the social, political, psychological and cultural levels, when attempts are made to reconstruct prehistoric societies.

The logical assessment of myths is that they are simply social phenomena and they are historical. This is because they are about actual situations that took place in space and time, in society; a reflection of the interplay of social demands.

On this basis myths are equal in status to material artefacts in the reconstruction of prehistoric Tonga. The difference is that myths (either as *talatupu'a*, a mixture of both imaginary and actual situations, or as *fananga*, strictly imaginary events) largely deal with the non-material aspects of society. Both the superstructure, the non-material features, and the infrastructure, the economic base or the material aspects, of society constitute a focus of inquiry which, in turn, provide the basis for a positive science of human affairs.

This view allows us to treat the non-material aspects of society, as largely crystallised in myths, in the same way as we deal with the archaeological artefacts, in our attempt to reconstruct prehistoric Tonga. To attempt the task solely with the physical artefacts, that is without making intelligible references to the traditional aspects of the Tongan past, is a futile business. Similarly myths, because of their practical limitations, cannot fully tell us about the past. They can sometimes refer to a few areas of historical significance or present a few historical figures, but generally myths express cultural trends of great psychological and social importance together with their political relevance in different stages of development in Tongan society.

Coming back to the origin myths of Tonga one can see, not only mythical individuals or figures of great historical significance, but also social trends bearing mental, economic, political and ethical dimensions worthy of critical examination. Whether these individual mythical figures were actual people, or simply represent certain socio-cultural trends of the various stages that society passed through, is not so important when it has been established that it was these individuals who participated in these socio-cultural trends or movements and that they were moulded by them, and not the other way around.

The major mythical generations, that is, C to G, (see Figure I) personifying great socio-cultural trends, could have represented a period in which society passed through different stages, each one marked by some form of antagonism which, if increased in scope, would lead to some kind of radical transition to the next stage. The socio-

cultural trends in mythical generation C are associated with mythologism where every event in the universe is seen as clothed in mystique and magic. This could have been a time of constant influx of new arrivals, in which individual groupings saw themselves more or less as rivals, given the circumstances of their new environment. This perhaps was the only way they could ensure their survival. Greater social organisation could have crept in as time went past through frequent interaction, perhaps by means of establishing kinship ties or simply exchanges and competition, which in a way laid the foundation for the transition from mythologism to theism.

The rise of theism (generation D) could signal a state of greater political differentiation as society multiplied in magnitude and complexity. At this time occurred the creation or natural emergence of what Nietzsche called imaginary beings (gods), who were seen as existing above history and change, responsible for ordering human affairs and natural phenomena. These theistic attitudes were personified in the deities Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui, who were either individuals of high political standing or competing chiefly lineages. Whether Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui were powerful individuals or competing chiefly lineages is something we may not know. What is far more important is the issue of the extent to which they were in conflict with each other and how this related to the development of Tongan society.

In Reiter's account of the origin myths, Hikule'o's parents, Taufulifonua and Havea Lolo fonua, wished to create for their child (daughter), who was made *pele* (given special care and extra parental treatment), a new land (*fonua fo'ou*), which was named Tongamama'o (lit. distant Tonga or far south) as a treat for their spoiled (*'ofa vale'i*) child. The parents migrated, so the myths say, from their original homeland with their daughter Hikule'o and her two half-brothers, Tangaloa and Maui. Tongan and Samoan traditions and to some extent archaeology and linguistics suggest this original homeland was Samoa (or Manu'a to be exact). Once an ancient and powerful empire, Tongamama'o was Tonga, which is situated more or less to the south (or *tonga*) of Samoa.

On arrival at Tongamama'o the three gods - Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui - perhaps because of sibling rivalry - thought it best to divide the country amongst themselves. This was, in fact, the earliest form of association between land (*kelekele* or *tofi'a*) and title (*hingoa fakanofa*), an aspect that has remained the traditional mainstay of Tongan society. Hikule'o presided over the land-dividing (*vahe kelekele* or *tofi'a*). In so doing Hikule'o assigned the Sky (Langi) to the social and divine control of Tangaloa, Maui was to take up the Underworld (Lofonua), and Hikule'o took up the Tongan Paradise-Spirit World Pulu tu herself. While residing in Pulu tu Hikule'o extended her lower part to Lolo fonua below and her upper part to Langi, above, making both her physical and divine presence felt by Tangaloa and Maui in their respective domains of social and divine control.

Hikule'o, at this stage, slowly disappeared from public life while the divine presence of Tangaloa emerged on the temporal scene. Residing in Langi, Tangaloa and his children gods were publicly engaged in creating land (*fakatu pu* or *fa' u fonua*) where Tonga now stands, followed by creating people (*fakatu pu* or *fa' u tangata*) - Kohai, Koau and Momo (generation F, Figure 1) - the first three Tongan men. Eventually Tangaloa and his children, the *kau* Tangaloa, were slowly squeezed out for

a time. In their place came Maui and his children (generation E) and his grandson Maui Kisikisi (generation F). The *kau* Maui now began to force their way into the public arena. Both the *kau* Tangaloa and the *Kau* Maui constitute what I have called the emergence of polytheism on the Tongan socio-political scene, a state of increased social pluralism accompanied by intense political rivalries. The *kau* Maui, however, engaged in regional diplomacy, securing, for example, a fishhook from Manu'a in Samoa to fish up the rest of the Tongan islands, including the mainland Samoa but not Manu'a; they supplied the men created by the Tangaloas with wives from Pulotu and took part in land-fishing and so on. This fishhook connection between Tonga and Samoa, that is, Manu'a, points to a very significant link in ancient times, when Manu'a was very influential in shaping the local socio-political configuration in Tonga. The Manu'an penetration is reflected in Tongan material culture and social customs.

In the course of the activities of the *kau* Maui, Maui Kisikisi became a political outcast by choosing to lead a heroic life based on permanent struggle by standing for liberty against all non-liberal tendencies in the society of his time. The *kau* Maui are believed to have been both humans and gods or 'demi-gods i.e. beings born of humans but endowed with miraculous powers'.⁷ It is possible that Maui Kisikisi was in opposition to a state of society in which both religion, in the form of the priestly classes (*kau taula*), symbolised by the person of the divine Hikule'o, and politics, in the form of the landed aristocracy and the chiefly classes (*hou'eiki*), personified in the symbol of the powerful Tangaloa, combined to exploit the lower or commoner classes (*nu'a*). Because of this permanent stance on liberty Maui Kisikisi can be regarded as a culture symbol. This was, in fact, reflected in the manner of his life and, indeed, in the manner of his death. It is interesting to see that soon after the death of Maui Kisikisi, which could mean the force for culture being weakened by the many illiberal forces in society, the Tangaloa line reappeared on the scene.

This, of course, consolidated the political and the divine stance of the Tu'i Tonga line with the establishment of 'Aho'eitu (generation G), whose mother was an earthly woman, 'Ilaheva Va'epopua, a woman from Niuatoputapu, and whose father, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, possibly a Samoan or Manu'an, was a god (Figure 1), as the first titleholder. It was from these two sources - the earthly mother, the Tongan, and a godly father, the Samoan - that the secular or public and divine aspects of the Tangaloa lineage, in the person of 'Aho'eitu, gained a political foothold in Tongan society. The political exertion, or secular rule, of the Tu'i Tonga over the socio-economic resources was, because of his divine origin, legitimised by religious institutional practices the aim of which was to conceal the fact that the political interest of the Tu'i Tonga was promoted at the expense of the rest of society. Peeling off the illusion of the rationalisation that one often hears of social unity for the good of all, we simply see the reverse: the historical 'many' against the fancied 'one'.

One can say that these incidents were no more than the historical course of social development which involved the major competing chiefly lineages struggling for

⁷ Helu 1986:2.

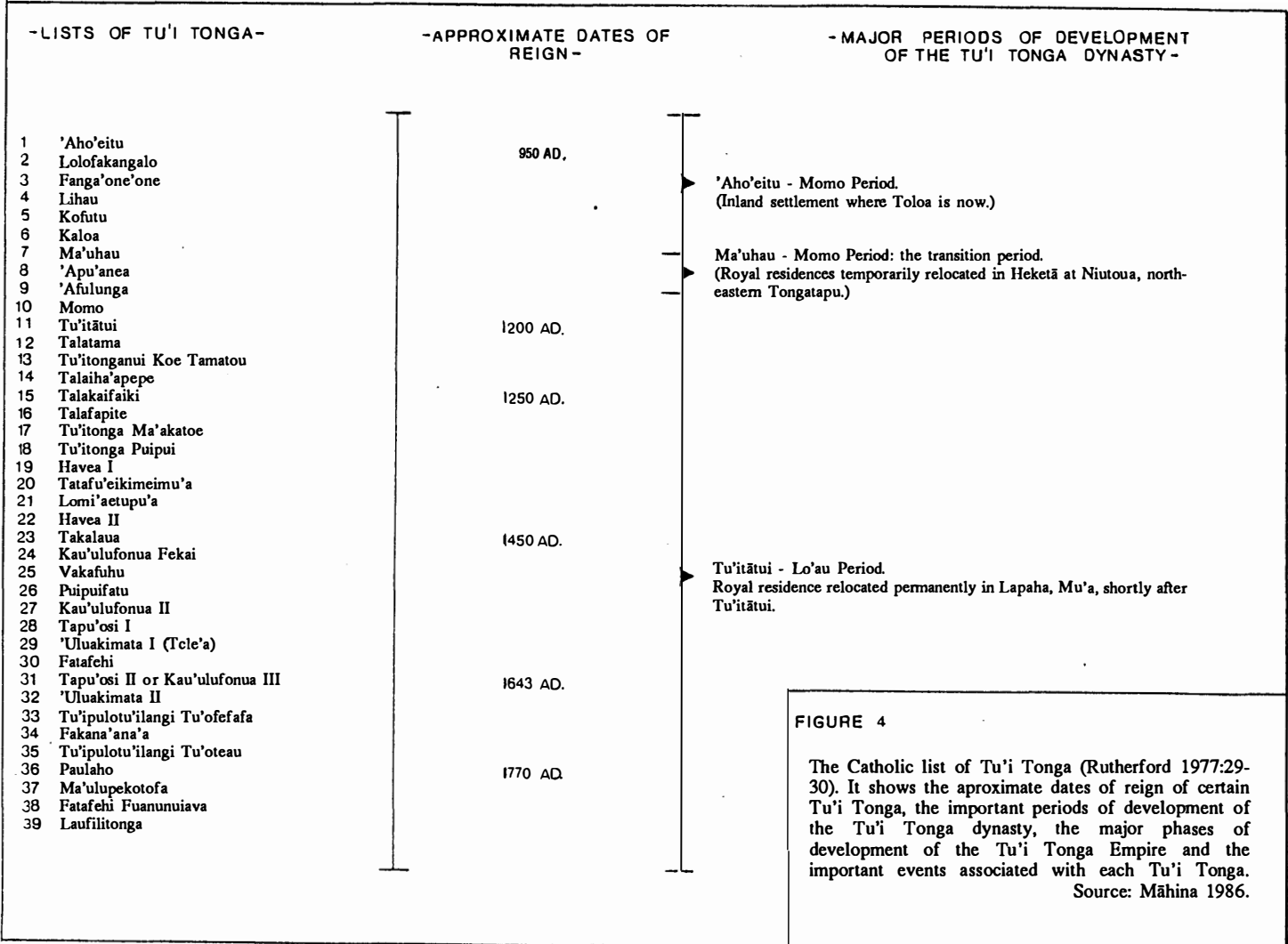


FIGURE 4

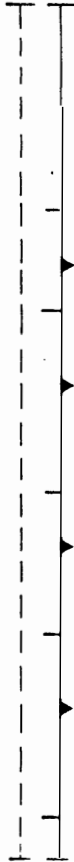
The Catholic list of Tu'i Tonga (Rutherford 1977:29-30). It shows the approximate dates of reign of certain Tu'i Tonga, the important periods of development of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, the major phases of development of the Tu'i Tonga Empire and the important events associated with each Tu'i Tonga.

Source: Māhina 1986.

MAJOR PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT OF
- THE TU'I TONGA EMPIRE -

IMPORTANT EVENTS ASSOCIATED WITH EACH
- TU'I TONGA -

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Momo - Talaiha'apepe Phase: the transition phase.

Talakaifaiki - Takalaua Phase: first development phase.

Takalau - Fatafahi Phase: second development phase.

Fatafahi - Laufilitonga Phase: third and last development phase.

Samoan - Niuean extraction. Secular-divine ruler.

Niuean - 'Uvean extraction. Little is known about them. They probably resided where Toloa is now.

Lo'au's assimilation (political marriage), formalisation of kava institution. Observation of solstices, major social reforms. Construction of *Ha'amonga 'a Maui* with Talaiha'apepe. Fictitious king made of wood.

Relocation of royal residence in Mu'a beginning with Talatama. Driven out of Samoa by Tuna and Fata of the Malietoa line.

Little is known about them.

Murdered (possibly by a foreigner). Samoan contact. Wooing a beautiful Samoan girl *taupo'ou*. Little is known about Lomi'aetupu'a. Murdered by Fijian retainer, Tuluvota. 'Uvean-Futunan inspired murder of Takalaua. Redefinition of the central polity. Creation of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Fairly unknown.

Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Female Tu'i Tonga) developed. *Mohefo* system developed, Tu'i Kanokupolu started.

Paulaho withheld the *tala-e-fonua* from Fatafahi Fuanuniava.

Elevated to the position of Tu'i Tonga while Paulaho was still alive.

The last to occupy the title Tu'i Tonga.

supremacy throughout Tonga. It is interesting to see that there was no smooth devolution of power, but the transfer of political power between these related but competing lineages was conducted through struggle culminating in bitter conflicts that resulted in the transition to the next stage. Hikule'o, for example, was ousted from public life to the seclusion of a private, or divine sphere. It is also interesting to see that history repeated itself when the same pattern - constraint and conflict - emerged in the development of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty and the collateral segmentation into the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasties (Figure 1).

Although there has been doubt as to the sex of Hikule'o one can, in the light of the previous discussion, establish Hikule'o as female. The uncertainty, I think, stems from the fact that Hikule'o was active in both the public and private domains in the same manner as her half-brothers, Tangaloa and Maui. But the distinction must be made between specific social categories such as '*eiki* (or rank) and *pule* (or authoritative) status associated with the *fahu*, a social institution based on the interests of the sister, and *mafai* (or political power and authority) and *ngāue* (or work) associated with '*ulumotu'a*, another social institution built on the interests of the brother.

Pule can also mean power or authority but, in this particular context, it is restricted to the actual 'exercise', not in the extreme political sense, of the high '*eiki* or chiefliness of the sister whose reward is economic entitlements and social deference from people of inferior rank or *tu'a* status. One can, therefore, see Hikule'o's public involvement, for example, in presiding over the land-dividing (*vahe kelekele*) and land-allocation (*tufa kelekele*) events, as a public declaration of her *pule* over her half-brothers, Tangaloa and Maui. This is also reflected in her domain of social and divine control (Pulotu) where she resided but also in her extension of divine presence to Langi and Lolofonua, the domains of social and divine control of Tangaloa and Maui.

The *pele* treatment of Hikule'o by her parents, an aspect seen in oral historico-traditional accounts, also points to the femininity of Hikule'o. The migration of Hikule'o and her parents, accompanied by her half-brothers, to Tongamama'o is suggestive of a marriage between Hikule'o and, perhaps, a Tongan. The two half-brothers, Tangaloa and Maui, could have been retainers of their sister Hikule'o, whom they were to serve. The basis of this is *fahu* in nature, which gives further indication of her sex. Patterns of this kind frequently emerged on the scene; for example the Samoan woman Tohuia, the mother of Ngata the first Tu'i Kanokupolu, was accompanied by a powerful group of retainers when settling in 'Ahau, the western part of Tongatapu. Apart from the said exercising of her *pule*, Hikule'o was strictly secluded in her divinity (*topuapu*), the private or domestic sphere, perhaps involving herself less and less in the public arena in which her two half-brothers, Tangaloa and Maui, were actively involved. Competition, however, was dominant in the public pressures of the two-half brothers, with the Tangaloa lineage first displaced by the Maui, but then managing to regain power, through the establishment of 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga. The Tangaloa line thus secured the supreme power over the whole of Tonga.

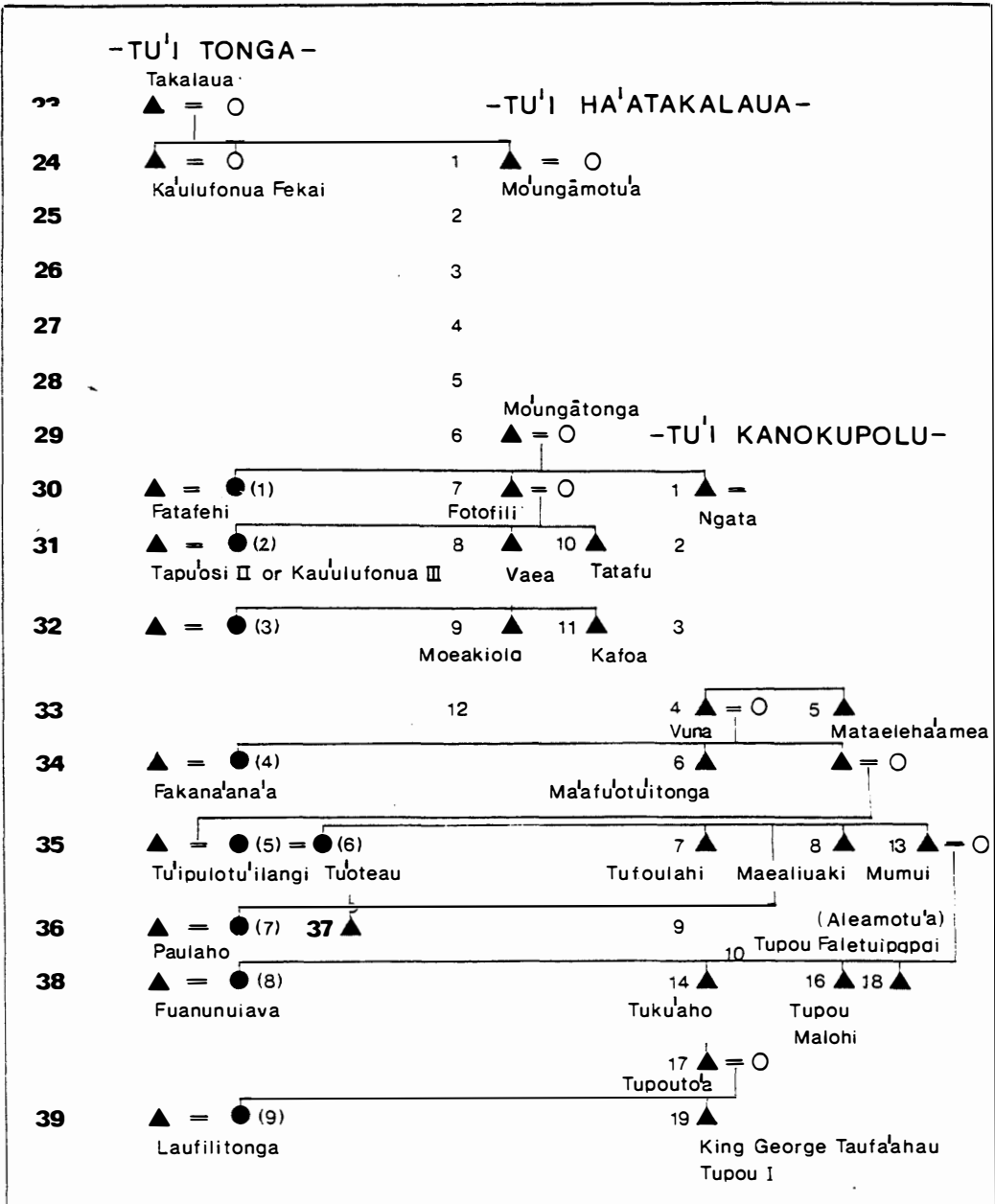


FIGURE 5

A structural relationship between the three royal houses showing the operation of the *mohefo* institution between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu). The *mohefo* marriage between the Tu'i Tonga and the *hau* in which the latter stood as wife-giver to the former took place nine times. See the bracketed numbers following the symbols under the Tu'i Tonga line.

The power of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty (*mafai*) thus went back to Tangaloa, the eldest (*lahi*) brother, upon which the institution of 'ulumotu'a is built, and the patrilineal succession to the Tu'i Tonga title, whose operation in Tonga largely became the mainstay of society. It was from this point on that both Hikule'o and Maui were seen to have been secluded in their divinity while Tangaloa, though also retaining his divinity, assumed the sole right to the public arena, now perhaps considered to be Tonga.

The offering of 'inasi, a tribute system, to Hikule'o in recognition of her divine presence via the Tu'i Tonga was operated on a *fahu* basis, a further indication of her femininity. 'Inasi was specifically a Tu'i Tonga practice based on *polopolo*, a societal practice involving the presentation of the first fruits (*fuatapu*, lit. the sacred fruit) to the chiefs (*hou'eiki*), which moved up the hierarchy reaching, finally, the Tu'i Tonga at the top. 'Inasi, being a yardstick for political purposes and economic significance, was a national (and regional for that matter) annual religious ceremony or festival, involving the presentation of the *fuatapu 'o e fonua* or specific first fruits of the land, made to Hikule'o with a view to the assurance of the land fertility and the general well-being of society, via the Tu'i Tonga. This emphasis on fertility has a very important bearing upon Polotu, the domain of social and divine control of Hikule'o, as a source of femininity, given the fact that it was from there that women were brought as wives for the Tangaloas' created men. One can also see here an interplay between the two social organising principles, *fahu* and 'ulumotu'a. *Fahu* is a societal institutional practice upon which the *mohefo* system, a specifically Tu'i Tonga royal marriage practice, was based, while the Tu'i Tonga title itself was built on the 'ulumotu'a principle.⁸

The establishment of 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga has very significant bearing on the local socio-political situations in Tonga. This incident can be regarded as the climax of the colonisation of Tonga by Manu'a. I am also suggesting that it was from Manu'a in Samoa, that the Eastern Polynesia culture area was colonised and about this time that the Eastern Polynesian traces found in Tongan oral historical traditions, which, according to Helu (1985), were responsible for the Classical outlook of Tongan culture, reached Tonga via Samoa. The Lo'au culture, then, could be a product of a two-way movement going on between some parts of the Eastern Polynesia culture area and Tonga, with Manu'a in Samoa being the socio-political link that connected the two areas in antiquity. Tonga, through the weakening of the many Manu'an waves of political influence (perhaps in the form of Hikule'o, Tangaloa and Maui as ruling ideologies) had now been seen as a form of successful opposition to foreign rule (in the person of 'Aho'eitu) from Manu'a.

The dispute between 'Aho'eitu and his heavenly brothers could have been resolved in two ways both leading to Tonga's independence. Either resolution was reached through bitter conflict (jealousy, killing, cannibalism) or, after initial opposition to the appointment of 'Aho'eitu as the first Tu'i Tonga, a resolution (differences resolved over a bowl of *kava*) was reached because 'Aho'eitu's mother was from Tonga.⁹ The

⁸ See Māhina 1986.

⁹ See Bott 1982; Māhina 1986.

latter involved the elevation of the *fahu* principle and the violation of the '*ulumotu'a* principle. 'Aho'eitu's mother's people (*kainga'i fa'e*) would stand to support them economically which, in the final analysis, would serve their political interests. Staging such a political task against foreign influences would have meant that 'Aho'eitu had a fair amount of control of the local socio-political scene. The question still remains: did 'Aho'eitu, then, unify Tonga? What we know now is that 'Aho'eitu was responsible for laying down the foundation for the later emergence of the Tu'i Tonga Empire, from which influences emanated beyond Tonga to other parts of the Western Polynesia culture region.

The source of sacredness or divinity (*toputapu*) associated with 'Aho'eitu was derived from the Sky (*Langi*), the domain of divine control of the principal god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, the father of 'Aho'eitu, which if seen in historical terms may mean being foreign or a foreigner (*muli* or *taha muli*). This suggestion is made within the wider Tongan cultural context, together with the consideration that this incident referred to a time in prehistory when human regional inter-group movements (long-distance voyaging or navigation) in the Western Polynesia culture area was intense and frequent. I refer here to the Tongan cultural category *lau langi* (lit. counting sky) which, in our times, is taken by people to mean social mobility (*tanusia*), often in a vertical sense, but, in ancient times could have meant land discoveries ('*ilo fonua*), in a horizontal direction or over the surface of the earth.

Because the oval sky (*langi*) above meets the sea (*tahi*) at the horizon (*tafatafa'akilangi*) the ancient Tongans said that each time an island was discovered they passed from one *langi* to another. So *langi tu'otaha*, *langi tu'oua*, *langi tu'otolu* . . . *langi tu'ohiva* etc., (literally sky layer one, sky layer two, sky layer three . . . sky layer nine etc etc), which constitute the conception of *lau langi*, could be descriptions of navigational discoveries by Polynesian Tongans in prehistoric times. Beings moving in and out through the horizon, perhaps, appeared to the people to be from the sky (*langi*). This could account for the celestial origin of 'Aho'eitu, whose 'powerful' father, Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, was most probably a Samoan, that is, a Manu'an.

Studying the past of a people is, indeed, an infinitely complex task. It is complex in the sense that the past is linked to the present in that they are both about human affairs. These human affairs constitute what can be called institutions and movements in which individuals not only participate but are moulded by them. The natural movement of these irreconcilable situations goes through different stages by way of struggle that gives impetus to radical transition to the next stage. This is what makes history a serious enterprise, as it is not a study of isolated or discrete facts about the past but a study of the interpenetration of different forces, such as social, mental, economic, political and ethical, in a social context. This brings myths, not as history per se, but as sources of history, to the same intellectual scrutiny as any other issue, including, of course, written history. Not only are myths about the past but, because they arise out of society, like any other socio-psychological phenomena, they are about *actual* human conditions, and are, therefore, historical. My observations on some aspects of history in the Tu'i Tonga myths confirm this.

5

Blood and Garland: Duality in Tongan History

ALETTA BIERSACK*

I found it more appropriate to analyse Tongan social structure as a set of interacting principles than looking for well-defined structures. In any given type of social situation I eventually learnt to know which principles would be involved, but I could never predict the empirical outcome. (Bott 1981:39)

THE LITERATURE ON TONGA IS PARADOXICAL. ON THE ONE HAND, THE TITLE SYSTEM IS SAID TO BE immutable. 'The system of titles and *ha'a* [clusters of titles] was a sort of charter that in theory was supposed to fix forever the genealogical position of the titles and their relative rank and obligations'.¹ On the other hand, Tongans themselves acknowledge dynastic vicissitudes; and the point that social and political dynamics are as crucial as structural statics has not been lost on outside observers. Gifford thus concluded that the so-called Tongan ramage has been historically shaped.

The whole system of lineages [or, as I would prefer, clusters of titles or *ha'as*] may be likened to a tree with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs . . . Everything points to the necessity of a line of powerful chiefs about which the lineage groups itself. Without such chiefs it appears to wilt and die and its membership gradually aligns itself with other rising lineages. This process of realignment naturally contravenes the rule of patrilineal descent.²

* An earlier version of this paper was given at the first international Tongan History Workshop convened by the Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, in January 1987. I warmly thank that department for the visiting fellowship it offered me for that month to attend the conference. The paper was revised while I was a visiting fellow in the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, A.N.U., participating in the Comparative Austronesian Project convened by Dr. James J. Fox; and it incorporates the paper 'The Ethnopoetics of Power: Tonga' I gave in a workshop on ethnopoetics convened by C.A.P. in August 1989. I thank Phyllis Herda and David M. Schneider for their readings of earlier versions of this paper. The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1986 under grants-in-aid from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the American Council of Learned Societies and a summer research award from the University of Oregon. I also acknowledge Tupou Posesi Fanua, Niel Gunson, Futa Helu, Adrienne Kaeppeler, Sione Lātūkefu, 'Okusitino Māhina, George Marcus, the late Garth Rogers, Tavi, 'Ofa Tulimāiau, Takaapu, Pohiva Vai'omo'unga, Valerio Valeri, and the late Honourable Ve'ehala for an exchange of ideas and for their encouragement and assistance.

¹ Bott 1981:40.

² Gifford 1929:30.

Though Elizabeth Bott forswore the attempt to discover 'well-defined structures' in Tonga,³ the distinction between the rank of the title or 'garland' and the rank of the person or 'blood' I here explore is sufficiently systematic to warrant speaking of duality. The opening section of the paper concentrates upon sky:earth:permanent:impermanent::divine:human::male:female - axes complementary to the ones described in 'Tongan exchange structures' and summarised by the blood/garland dichotomy soon to be discussed. Unlike 'Tongan exchange structures', however, this contribution is as concerned with history as it is with structure. Its theme is duality *in history*, not duality *per se*.⁴ That is, it concentrates on the system *in play*, not just on the system in place. At the close I take up the question of the relationship between structure and event, arguing that the force of Tonga's structure is *necessarily* historical.

Rank and Title

Many who have studied Tongan society have sensed the complexity of its rule system. In an effort to uncover 'a set of interacting principles'⁵ and a 'multidimensional ranking [scheme]',⁶ Bott and Kaepler both distinguish a form of ranking that operates within kinship or *kāinga* networks from one that pertains to groups of political titles or *ha'a*. Kaepler, for example, sets off 'social status, governing relationships within a small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the society as a whole'.⁷ Similarly, Bott distinguishes rank ('a quality commanding respect and deference, and inherited from one's parents'⁸) from authority or *pule* ('legitimate, institutionalised power'⁹). The first is personal, the second official, a matter of title prestige.

These ranking principles operate in different contexts and at different levels. The *kāinga* system rank orders persons *as persons* and as they participate in kindreds - while the *ha'a* system rank orders persons as titleholders, according to the rank of the title held. *Ha'a* ranking effaces the particular actor. 'All the many holders of the title Vaea, for example, are in a sense felt to be the same person. Hence we heard such statements as "Yes, 1852. That was the year I fought Täufa'āhau . . .".¹⁰ The late Honourable Ve'ehala alluded to this difference between the person and the title and the systems through which these are variably ranked in saying that 'men may come and go, but the title remains'. The here-and-now of particular lives is ephemeral. But the title - and, by implication, the *ha'a* system - is permanent.¹¹

Though personal rank is bilaterally determined, the mother's blood carries more weight than the father's.¹² Similarly, women exercise power and enjoy high status

³ Bott 1981:39.

⁴ See also Biersack in press a.

⁵ Bott 1981:39.

⁶ Kaepler 1971:188.

⁷ *Ibid.*:174.

⁸ Bott 1981:10.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*:23.

¹¹ Biersack in press b.

¹² Bott 1981:19, Marcus 1977: 227, n. 8.

with respect to individual lives and life crises ceremonies. 'The basic principle of rank is that sisters have higher rank than brothers'.¹³ Hence the high status accorded the father's sister and the sister's child in such ceremonial contexts.¹⁴ By contrast, men are associated with the title system. Except in rare cases, titleholders are males and the idiom relating titles and sets of titles or *ha'a* is agnatic. According to 'Okusitino Māhina, it is said that 'from women blood flows' (*'ko e fefine ko e fakahokohoko toto*) but 'from men titles flow' (*'ko e tangata ko e fakahokohoko hingoa*). There is every reason to believe, therefore, that the contrast between title and personal rank is gender marked.¹⁵

In an idiom of 'garland' and 'blood', Tongans themselves distinguish between the person and his rank, on the one hand, the title and its rank, on the other. The title is metaphorically said to be a 'garland' the titleholder wears. In contrast, personal rank is 'blood' rank, the rank of the 'body'. 'The title was and is still spoken of as a "garland" (*kakala*), meaning that it can be taken away whereas the "blood" (*toto*) is one's own for ever'.¹⁶ Tupou Posesi Fanua, widely cited for her knowledge of Tongan culture, put the matter somewhat differently. She said that the title is just like a cloak that can be thrown over someone - (to interpret) an incidental rather than an essential part of the person. There is a sense in which title rank is *inferior* to blood rank. A titleholder having no royal blood merely wears a garland,¹⁷ for example; and high aristocrats sometimes shun public office because they consider it beneath their dignity to hold a title.¹⁸

The Duality of Tongan Kingship

In recent years, Hocart's now classic reading of diarchic arrangements in Polynesia has received considerable attention. In *Kings and Councillors*, Hocart opposes an acting junior chief with a passive and sacred senior chief.¹⁹ Sahlins's influential elaboration of Hocart's formula contrasts a 'stranger-king' side - divine, foreign, and rapacious - with a side that seeks to accommodate 'the people's own moral order'.²⁰ For Tongan studies, Marcus's extension of this contrast - which opposes kingly (genealogical, divine) and populist dimensions of Polynesian chieftaincy - is crucial. 'From the sky' or other points beyond the horizon, chiefs are 'powerful aliens in their own society. Yet however much this is recognised on ritual occasions, chiefs are also people.'²¹ Ranging 'ambivalently between kingly glory . . . and a secular idiom

¹³ Bott 1981:17.

¹⁴ Biersack 1982; Bott 1972, 1981; Rogers 1977.

¹⁵ Biersack 1982, in press b.

¹⁶ Bott 1981:38; see also Bott, 'Discussions with Queen Salote, 1958-1959' (hereinafter 'Discussions'), BSP 25/1/50, Marcus 1980:18-19. (BSP refers to the Bott Spillius Papers at The Library, University of Auckland, listed in the bibliography. The tripartite number scheme following the author and the title refers to box number, file or volume number, and page number. Where there are both Tongan and English versions of the text, the page citation refers to the Tongan version.)

¹⁷ Bott, 'Discussions', BSP 25/1/50.

¹⁸ Marcus 1980:61.

¹⁹ Hocart 1970:164.

²⁰ Sahlins 1985:90.

²¹ Marcus 1989:150; see also Bott 1981:23.

and heroic populism',²² Polynesian chiefs are now 'mystified symbol',²³ now exemplary human beings, or at least subject to the informal valuations of daily life.

This duality of kingship is evident in the myth about the origin of the Tu'i Tonga title, the historically paramount title. According to legend, the first Tu'i Tonga is the son of the god 'Eitumatupu'a and an earth-mother. One day Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a descends from the sky and impregnates the earth-woman; then he withdraws. The mother rears 'Aho'eitu alone, presumably surrounded by her own people. As 'Aho'eitu matures, he wishes to meet his father and asks his mother where to find him. She tells him to climb a *toa* or casuarina tree. Up in the sky, 'Aho'eitu finds his father but also his older brothers, who - jealous of his beauty, athletic skills, and claims upon their father - murder and eat him. When 'Eitumatupu'a cannot find 'Aho'eitu, he suspects what has happened and orders his sons to vomit up the remains. He then revivifies 'Aho'eitu, names him the first Tu'i Tonga, and sends him back home to govern. Four of his older brothers are sent along with him to serve him as his ceremonial attendants or *matāpules*. Because he murdered 'Aho'eitu, the oldest brother is made 'king of the second house' rather than paramount.²⁴

Only a god, 'Aho'eitu's father descends from the sky to impregnate 'Aho'eitu's mother; but he then quickly ascends. Divinity is therefore constituted as an absence. 'Aho'eitu's trajectory reverses his father's. Journeying to his father's place, he ascends. But he exercises power below in the land of his matrikin, and to this land he eventually descends as the first Tu'i Tonga. 'Aho'eitu combines both dimensions of kingship. As his father's son, he is distant, sky-associated, awesome; but as his mother's son, he dwells among his people, present rather than absent. Moreover, unlike his older brothers, who violate kinship's law, 'Aho'eitu arrives on the scene as the innocent sovereign of a kingdom dedicated (by virtue of his father's appointments) to the kinship or *kāinga* values the 'Aho'eitu myth upholds. His reformed older brothers, once his murderers, accompany him in the name of the kinship ethic they, as 'Aho'eitu's murderers, originally forswore. After a series of incidents exposing the ethical unsuitability of 'Aho'eitu's older and wholly divine brothers for kingship, 'Aho'eitu ascends to the Tu'i Tongaship not as oldest and most divine brother but as youngest and also human son. In the myth gender becomes the overarching marker. Divinity:humanity::father:mother. By implication, divinity:humanity::garland:blood.²⁵

Blood and Garland in the Royal Kava Ceremony

Partaking of both divinity and humanity, kingship has both 'most sacred' (*toputapu*) and 'working' sides. *Tapus* and special privileges mark the divinity of the king, but the 'working' dimension involves the chief in a reciprocal exchange of obligations and duties (*fatongia*) with his people. No one has stated the ideology of the humane aspect of leadership better than Sione Lātūkefu, himself a Tongan.

²² Marcus 1980:155.

²³ *Ibid.*:170.

²⁴ See Biersack in press b, Bott 1972, Leach 1972, and Valeri 1989.

²⁵ Biersack in press b.

The chief's obligations [*fatongia*] were to protect the group from outside interference or attack, to settle their disputes and to provide conditions under which his people would work and enjoy peace and prosperity. In return the people performed their *fatongia* to him by working his garden, providing him with the best of everything they produced or possessed and attending to whatever he might want them to do. At its best the whole *fatongia* relationship was governed by the principal of reciprocity.²⁶

No doubt because of this reciprocity, the relationship between a chief and his followers was and still is couched in an idiom of kinship. *Ha'a* ties cluster titles, phrasing the relationship between and among chiefs and the districts they govern in an agnatic idiom.²⁷ But the relationship between the chief and the people he leads is a relationship of putative kinship.²⁸ The populist dimension of kingship is phrased in a consanguineal idiom. Thus, 'Aho'eitu is the *fahu* or sister's son of the people he governs.

Several scholars have stressed the parallels between the 'Aho'eitu myth and the myth concerning the origin of kava.²⁹ A high chief (identified in most versions as the Tu'i Tonga) arrives unannounced at an island ravaged by famine. To extend hospitality properly, despite a lack of resources, the couple living on the island kill their leprous daughter, Kava'onau, bake her in an earth oven, and serve her to the chief. The chief refuses to eat the daughter and instructs the couple to bury her instead. Out of her interred body grows the first kava plant (named after the daughter), and a ceremony is invented to commemorate the daughter's sacrifice.

As the kava ceremony is the ceremony of chiefly installation, the kava ritual can more generally be said to memorialise the pact between leader and led the Kava'onau story revolves around. In preparing a feast for the visiting high chief, Kava'onau's parents fulfill their obligations (*fatongia*) to him. The chief honours his obligations to them by refusing the gift his status entitles him to, thus demonstrating his unwillingness to enter into an extractive, unilateral relationship with his people based on his divine prerogatives. In their willingness to sacrifice their daughter's life, Kava'onau's parents prove themselves exemplary subjects; but the Tu'i Tonga who refuses to cannibalise his subjects' daughter demonstrates his benevolence and humanity.³⁰ More than kin, he is yet kind.

If the duality of Tongan chieftaincy is *cosmically* encoded in a duality of sky (with its remoteness) and earth, where humans live, it is also *ritually* encoded in the ceremony invented to commemorate Kava'onau's death: the royal or *taumafa* kava ceremony, the context of chiefly installation.

The ritual configuration consists of two circles joined where the kava-makers sit, the kava bowl before them. The upper circle constitutes a series of chiefly positions (*tu'unga*) in which all participants are assigned a location according to the rank of their title, the circle peaking where the ranking titleholder sits. In the highest and also largest kava ceremony, this figure is the king and his position is called the

²⁶ Lātūkefu 1980:65-6.

²⁷ Biersack 1982:196; see discussion of the *ha'a* in Bott 1982:78-85.

²⁸ Bott 1982:69.

²⁹ Biersack in press b, Bott 1972, Leach 1972, Valeri 1989.

³⁰ Biersack in press a and b.

olovaha.³¹ An inferior circle or *tou'a* forms behind the kava-making personnel. Unlike the superior circle, the *tou'a* is roughly formed; and participants do not properly speaking occupy individuated 'positions' but are lumped together.

The ceremony is organised simply around the commands of the officiating ceremonial attendant or *matāpule* and the responses to these made by members of the *tou'a*, along with the kava-makers. The initial command asks that 'someone come forward' out of the *tou'a*. People seated in the *tou'a* volunteer to assume the duties thus assigned by stepping forward. When the command is filled, the officiating *matāpule*, the respondent, or the kava-makers say, 'It is done'; and another command is given.

The two circles together encapsulate the duality of Tongan kingship: a combination of divine and human, sacred (or *tapu*) and 'working' (or functional) sides. The upper circle, where the titleholders sit, is remote. It represents the dignity of sky-associated titles. The 'working', temporal dimension of chieftaincy is represented in the performance side of the ceremony, where a dialogue of command and response functionally links upper and lower circles. The *tou'a* is the 'working' component of the ritual, and respondents to the *matāpule*'s commands enter the upper circle along a road called 'the road of work' (*hala ngāue*). The opposition is dramatised simply in the striking contrast between moving and stationary participants. Titled participants (their bodies garlanded), like Hocart's senior figures, sit motionless and in silence, sanctified and passive, all movement heavily interdicted by the *tapus* that constrain motion and sound in the upper circle. Untitled participants (bodies without garlands) speak and move.

The point of division between the upper and lower circles is marked by the kava bowl, where particles of pounded kava root are strained to make an infusion in an elaborate, dance-like procedure performed in honour of the paramount. The kava root represents the dead body of Kava'onau, after whom the plant is named. Transformed from a solid into a liquid, the infusion ceases to symbolise mortal 'body'-and-'blood' existence (mythically signified by Kava'onau's leprous body and her death) and symbolises instead the 'garland' that crowns and immortalises ephemeral life: the title.

Since 'the inferior ring is generally composed of the sons of those chiefs and matabooles . . . who are persons situated in the superior or true ring',³² the two circles confront each other as incumbents versus heirs. A chief assumes his title when the name of his title is called out and a cup of kava is brought to him for the first time in a royal or *taumafa* kava ceremony. Receiving the cup in the name of his title, the installed chief metaphorically crosses the threshold marked by kava-makers and bowl into the superior circle and is at once depersonalised and immortalised.

Kava is a complex symbol. As an infusion, it represents the title and thus the sky from which all titles ultimately emanate. But it also represents the feminised earth, where Kava'onau's body was buried, and human, mortal life. In the myth, the kava plant grows out of the body of Kava'onau, which the high chief ordered buried when

³¹ The *olovaha* is the ranking position in the present king's kava ceremony. The ranking position in the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony was called the *fuli taunga* instead (Biersack in press b).

³² Martin's Mariner 1981:333.

he refused to eat it. Shifting from the lower to the upper circle and metaphorically crossing the kava bowl, chiefs assume title by way of symbolically pledging their benevolence and commitment to the common weal. In being installed, chiefs drink the kava beverage; they do *not* eat the subject's corpse.³³ In return, those in the *tou'a* perform reciprocal duties on behalf of their chief, responding to command. The complexity of the kava symbol is the complexity of kingship itself.

The ranking chief is flanked by two ceremonial attendants or *matāpules*. The one (the righthand *matāpule*) officiates at the kava ceremony as long as the paramount is alive; the other (the lefthand *matāpule*) officiates during the interregnum period following the ranking chief's death.³⁴ Cosmic 'ascent' - or elevation to title - is thus marked in the first instance by the swing from left to right officiating *matāpule*, the left side representing mortal and unadorned 'body'-and-'blood' human existence and the right side representing immortal and divine political life. ('Men may come and go, but the title remains.') Since the shift from the *tou'a* (where heirs sit) to the upper circle (where incumbents sit) corresponds to a shift from left to right, *matāpules* in their duality - like kava itself - represent kingship as a totality.

The word *matāpule* means 'face of authority'. *Pule* or authority is divine in origin and sky-associated. This divinity is marked by the *tapus* hedging contact with the king, which keep Tongans at an interactional distance from him, thus disembodimenting him and rendering him an absence rather than a presence. Foreigners need not observe such *tapus*; and the fiction that *matāpules* are foreign in origin and therefore exempted from all *tapus* is maintained to the present day.³⁵ (Mythically the first *matāpules* came 'from the sky'; they were 'Aho'eitu's older brothers.) If *tapus* mark the divinity of the king, then *matāpules* theatricalise that divinity proxemically by standing near him and apart from the people. On more informal occasions, they can eat, smoke, and drink with him, as most Tongans cannot. But *matāpules* are also the *face* of the monarch's authority, the speaker of his commands. Through the *matāpule*, the monarch interacts with his subjects and the functional side of kingship, predicated as it is upon the assumption of mutual obligations, is enacted. Absent or at least aloof, the king is nonetheless (albeit indirectly) inserted within human affairs by means of his ceremonial attendant. Signifying the dignity of the paramount's divinity, *matāpules* nonetheless also represent the acting, functional side of leadership, the monarch's presence no less than his absence; and it is through their commands that the functional side of the ceremony forms. In moving while the king is privileged to remain motionless, speaking while he is privileged to remain silent, *matāpules* preserve the royal dignity while facilitating the bond of mutual obligation between leader and led that 'Aho'eitu's human mother and his descent from the sky represent.

Marriage and the Title System

Tongan commoners may marry willy nilly, for romantic reasons. But among the aristocracy, choices are political rather than personal. Those of high birth prefer to

³³ Biersack in press b.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Bott 1982:66, Gifford 1929:140-1.

'marry within the *kāinga*' (*mali a kāinga*). Class endogamy assures the high birth of both parents and the continued aristocratic status of the children born to a particular line. In effect class endogamy relates blood and garland, rank and title. Thus, when Queen Sālote discussed élite endogamy, she emphasised the way in which it drew *ha'a* into relation through the body and blood of aristocrats ('*ka na'e fai 'i he sino mo e toto 'o hou'eiki*').³⁶

However patterned in practice Tongan élite marriage appears to be,³⁷ such patterns are not rule-governed. As Kaepler has emphatically stated, élite marriage is a matter of choice. Even with respect to matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter or *kitetama*), marriage

was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. . . . cross-cousin marriage was a . . . political move to prevent the interference of *kāinga* status principles [which accord women and their children highest personal status] at the societal level, and to assure that the offspring would have the highest possible rank within a certain line.³⁸

In the absence of prescriptive rules, élite marriage becomes a matter of praxis rather than structure.

Centre praxis predictably strove to reinforce title status with rank status. The most striking example of the practice is the *moheofo* institution, through which the Tu'i Tonga or king took the oldest sister of the chief directly inferior to him as his *moheofo* or principal wife. The Tu'i Tonga was thus doubly superior to his subordinate: as older brother or father but also as *fahu*.³⁹ As Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote (d. 1965) explained, in marrying the sisters and daughters of his second-in-command, the Tu'i Tonga outranked these as *fahu* or sister's child no less than as holder of a superior 'father' or 'older brother' title. The Tu'i Tonga's sister (the Tu'i Tonga Fefine), meanwhile, married a chief of a foreign line, the *ha'a* Fale Fisi (the '*ha'a* of the house of Fiji'). This meant that, although the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's children had the highest possible personal rank through their mother, their title rank was necessarily inferior; chiefs of a foreign line, they constituted no serious threat to the paramount.⁴⁰

Among high aristocrats, the preference for status congruity is clear. Heirs have occasionally declined a title because they believed themselves to be insufficiently aristocratic in blood to merit it. At times heirs have even permitted succession through the female line lest their inferior blood tarnish the prestige of the title.⁴¹ It was in the interest of those at the margins of the political system, however, to use marriage to elevate their status in a bid for public recognition and prestige. As Bott has observed, junior lines agitated against their seniors by marrying the women of the

³⁶ '*Ko e Ngaahi Ha'a 'o Tonga*', from '*Ko e Ngaahi Me'a mei he Tohi 'Ene 'Afio*', BSP 11/2/1.

³⁷ Biersack 1982:201-6; Bott 1981:56-7.

³⁸ Kaepler 1971:192-3, n. 25.

³⁹ Bott 1982:59, Fusitu'a 1976:10, Lātūkefu 1974:3.

⁴⁰ Cf. Sahlins 1976:42.

⁴¹ Bott, 'Discussions', BSP 25/1/57.

senior line,⁴² appropriating for themselves, if they could, for example, the sororal blood the Tu'i Tongas preferred to confer upon foreign chiefs to avoid empowering rivals.

Tāufa'āhau, who dominated the nineteenth century and founded the extant Tupou dynasty as a usurper, pursued a complex strategy designed to elevate his own heir in relation to the heir of his senior, Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga. According to the late Honourable Ve'ehala, a woman could not be *mohefo* unless she were a virgin. Wanting to deprive the Tu'i Tonga of an heir, Tāufa'āhau found a pretext for sending his sister to another chief, to whom she bore a child. When the sister was finally sent to the Tu'i Tonga, she was no longer suitable as *mohefo*. This was well understood by everyone, including the Tu'i Tonga, who responded by seeking to surrender his kava privileges (*tapus*) and, by implication, his sovereignty to Tupou I. The son Tāufa'āhau's sister bore the Tu'i Tonga was made representative of the Tu'i Tonga line but without assuming the title, which was allowed to lapse.⁴³ Tāufa'āhau also made the complementary move of capturing as his own wife one of the Tu'i Tonga's wives.⁴⁴

Structure and Event

Though the *mohefo* system integrated the allegiance owing a sacred ruler with the allegiance owing a sister's child, marriage could be and was used to develop political capital through the prerogatives of blood alone. A brother owes his sister and her children support.

The mother's side consists of a set of brothers and brother's children to whom she and her children are superior. This principle was of great importance in the traditional political system. It meant that a leader could always expect support from the groups of his mother and his wives, also from the group of his mother's mother. It meant that he had to give support to the groups into which his sister, his sister's daughter, and his father's sister married, always assuming they had children.⁴⁵

Through high blood a challenger could collect around himself a coterie of devoted political allies, the while lending credibility to his claim for high office on the basis of the elevation of the blood of his line. As Wood Ellem has observed:

The political progress of a male chief could be traced by his marriages, for the greater the achievements, the more likely it was that powerful chiefs would agree to seal an alliance with him by means of marriage to a high ranking woman of their *kāinga*. . .

The higher the blood rank of an individual, the better known his/her genealogy, the greater the number of people with whom he/she could claim kinship ties and could use to promote his/her political ambitions. The chiefly blood counts for more than any line, [Queen] Sālote said, meaning that high blood rank was more important than lineal descent.

The higher the blood rank of the chiefs the greater his entitlement to the service of his

⁴² Bott 1982:62.

⁴³ Lātūkefu 1974:90; Her Majesty Queen Sālote, 'Ko e Ngaahi Ha'a 'o Tonga', from 'Ko e Ngaahi Me'a mei he Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio', BSP 11/2/14; Ve'ehala, personal communication.

⁴⁴ Her Majesty Queen Sālote, 'Ko e Ngaahi Ha'a 'o Tonga', from 'Ko e Ngaahi Me'a mei he Tohi 'a 'Ene 'Afio', BSP 11/2/15; cf. Wood Ellem 1981: 66.

⁴⁵ Bott 1981:19; see also Bott 1982:62-3.

inferiors, both as warriors and tillers of the soil. He had useful connections he could activate with many *ngaahi kaininga* [kinspeople]. If he sought political power these connections gave him access to *fonua* [land] . . . by means of which he could provide for his chiefly followers.⁴⁶

Though *ha'a* ideology insists on the ahistorical, 'structural' character of the title system, Tongans themselves are cognisant of the vicissitudes of particular titles and the transformations that have historically occurred. Some 'go up to the sky'; others 'drop below', Tupou Posei Fanua told me. She was talking in particular about 'blood' careers, and she illustrated her point this way. 'Suppose I have a glass with red liquid in it. Then I add water', marrying badly and bringing in 'diluted' blood. 'The liquid will become pink. If I add more water', marrying badly yet again, 'the liquid will become just like water', like the blood of a commoner. What is at stake here is the prestige not only of the particular actor or 'body' but of the 'garland' itself. Queen Sālotē attributed the rise of several titles of contemporary importance to a series of strategic marriages.⁴⁷ The most spectacular rise was surely that of Tāufa'āhau himself, whose mother and whose father's mother had no aristocratic blood.⁴⁸ The late queen also attributed the decline of the dynasty that originally supplied the *mohefo* to the Tu'i Tonga to poor marriages.⁴⁹

In *Ancient Polynesian Society*, Irving Goldman focused on 'status rivalry': the tendency for junior chiefs to challenge the overlordship of senior chiefs through competitive, even martial, manoeuvres. Status rivalry is and was rampant in Tonga. 'It was . . . a frequent theme that younger brothers and junior lines of descent, although lower in rank, came to be greater in *de facto* political power and eventually "upstaged" the senior line'.⁵⁰

According to Goldman, this jockeying for position at the top is motivated by an 'ambiguity of rank'⁵¹ created by the complexity of the ranking system itself with its duality of blood and garland. However elegant the formal logic of the Tongan system, in the absence of a rule that would govern the relationship between the domains and contexts the duality of the system generates - a prescriptive rule of MBD marriage, for example - the system *as such* can *never be* 'instantiated'. Rather, the system facilitates an interplay of factors. Bott observed as early as 1972 that

In the traditional system the object of the social and political game was to use one's standing in one system to increase one's standing in the others, marriage being one of the main devices for doing so. The process took several generations. Increasing the rank of

⁴⁶ Wood Ellem 1981:29-30.

⁴⁷ Bott, 'Discussions', BSP 25/2/295-6.

⁴⁸ Bott, 'Re Feudalism', BSP 22/3. (BSP contains documents prepared by both James Spillius and Elizabeth Bott [then Spillius]. It is not noted on this document which of the two authors is writing, though the contents of the document clearly identify it with Elizabeth Bott.)

⁴⁹ Bott, 'Discussions', BSP 25/1/32.

⁵⁰ Bott 1982:62.

⁵¹ Goldman 1970:24.

one's descendants was the ultimate goal, but it was unwise in the long run to concentrate on rank alone.⁵²

Then she added that even the seating arrangement of the superior circle of the kava ceremony was altered to reflect shifts in title status and that far from reflecting an unchanging order, the 'kava ceremony provided a snapshot of the process; it showed where the manoeuvring for a position had got at any particular moment, at least as far as the system of formal titles was concerned'.⁵³ There is, then, not only *ha'a* structure - a positioning of agnatically related dynasties within a stratified political field - but the history of dynastic succession and the conjugal practices upon which this history in part depended.

The same is true of the duality of kingship, for despite an elaborate cosmic code, the ideal itself is left inexorably vague. Only in cases such as the mythic one, where every candidate except 'Aho'eitu is merely divine and not also human, can the matter of election be placed beyond doubt. Where more than one candidate combines divine and human values, selection from among a pool of contenders rests upon a difficult and fundamentally inconclusive adjudication of criteria. In pre-Constitutional times, the successful candidate was the one who most compellingly combined 'blood' and 'garland' values: precedence in the *ha'a* system, high personal rank, strong support (mobilising large matrilineal and affinal networks⁵⁴), and ability.⁵⁵ However ascribed kingliness was *also achieved*. The duality of kingship resulted in a duality of modes of legitimation, a theme Valeri has pursued for Hawaii: a genealogical mode, which established sanctity and privilege on the basis of (an agnatically phrased) descent from the gods, on the one hand, and an interactional, performance side, on the other.⁵⁶ This created problems in the long if not the short run. As Bott has observed:

the vagaries of personal ability to command men and resources, and the kinship ties created by leaders' marriages, led to marked fluctuations of political power and personal rank, so that the actual situation of political power and personal rank was infinitely more complicated than the formal charter of titles and *ha'a* implied. Very occasionally the charter of titles and *ha'a* had to be brought up to date to take account of the actual changes that had taken place through the growth of new titles and the decline and demise of old ones . . . The stable genealogical charter of titles and *ha'a*, combined with the flexibility in marriage rules, allowed for both continuity and change. Viewed in the short term, the interplay of titles, personal power and personal rank was exceedingly complex and unpredictable.⁵⁷

According to oral tradition, monarchy gave way to diarchy in the fifteenth century, when the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga reserved for himself the privileges of sacred rulership and consigned the functional side of governance to his younger brother as the first incumbent of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title. By the seventeenth century, the Tu'i Kanokupolu had displaced the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua as the 'working chief' (*tu'i ngāue*), the Tu'i Tonga continuing as the 'most sacred chief' (*tu'i toputapu*) and ritual

⁵² Bott 1972:219.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Bott, 'Discussions', BSP 25/1/176.

⁵⁵ Ibid.; see also Bott 1982:72, 123-4, Rogers 1977:34.

⁵⁶ Cf. Valeri 1985, in press; see also Marcus 1989.

⁵⁷ Bott 1981:40.

head. In breaking the bond between achieved and ascribed modes of legitimation, diarchy produced Hocart's purely passive chief, who was as a result, and at the price of impotency, invulnerable to popular censorship and criticism. Since the 'working chief' held a title and was therefore sanctified (albeit to a lesser degree) by the *ha'a* system, the bond between ascribed and achieved dimensions of kingship were in effect reconstituted under the arrangements of the diarchy, although at a different site within the system. That the diarchic form was only a partial solution to the problem of stabilising political régimes is evidenced by the second usurpation of the seventeenth century, which displaced the original dynasty of 'working chiefs' with another line.⁵⁸ Sahlins has generalised this state of affairs for the entire region, attributing the restiveness of Polynesian polities to the Hocartian duality of kingship itself.

This duality of sovereignty is a condition of the 'general sociology' of all kingdoms . . . The sovereign is able to rule society, which is to say to mediate between its antithetical parts, insofar as the sovereign power itself partakes of the nature of the opposition, combines in itself the elementary antithesis . . . More than a duality, this determination of sovereignty is an *ambiguity* that is never resolved. It becomes an historical destiny.⁵⁹

In developing the 'linguistic analogy' in the context of kinship studies, Lévi-Strauss⁶⁰ appeared to cast structural anthropology in Durkheimian terms. Through prescriptive rules of marriage, structures (at least in some readings of *Elementary Structures of Kinship*⁶¹) arguably generated events. (It is this claim that the opening chapter of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* attacks.) Saussure, of course, made no such deterministic assumption but envisioned *parole* as lawless. Hence the antinomic relation in his structural linguistics between *langue* and *parole*, the ordered and the unordered, structure and event.

Combining the heterogeneities of blood and garland in the absence of a prescriptive rule, the Tongan structure as such *has no generative force*. *At the level of the totality, nothing is prescribed*. What actors take up is not the system as such but the possibilities the system opens up; thus, the system-in-place is put into play. Structure acquires force only *operationally*, therefore, and *not* causally. If the relationship between structure and event is open rather than closed, structural effects are necessarily historical, realised in the parameters of unfolding events and as a constraint upon a real future. Moreover, the history structure shapes without determining is specifically *political*. The *parole* (as it were) of Tongan élite marriage accords the *langue* of blood (not-garland) a practical and political value it would not otherwise have. Acquiring functional efficacy only through action and lacking the kind of 'de

⁵⁸ Biersack in press a.

⁵⁹ Sahlins 1985:90-1; see also Marcus 1989:157.

⁶⁰ Lévi-Strauss 1963, 1969.

⁶¹ In this regard, the dialogue Lévi-Strauss engages in with Rodney Needham in the 'Preface to the second edition' of *Elementary Structures of Kinship* becomes interesting, for in challenging Needham's distinction between prescriptive and preferential marriage systems, Lévi-Strauss is at pains to dissociate himself from a Durkheimian reading of 'elementary structures' (1969:xxx-xxxv).

jure' causal efficacy labels such as 'patrilineal' imply, the Tongan 'system' is necessarily grasped through the politics of the contestations and the patterns of the transformations to which it gives rise.⁶²

⁶² Prescribing nothing at the level of the totality but rather empowering certain strategies, the system invites the political entrepreneurship Tongans have historically engaged in and in this resembles the 'performative structure' Sahlins describes for Hawaii (1985:26-31).

6

Art, Aesthetics, and Social Structure

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The traditional arts of Tonga reveal much about traditional Tongan society and a study of artistic products and aesthetic concepts can make the history, philosophy, and traditional cultural values of Tonga more understandable. The creation and presentation of valuables are important processes and products that are embedded in Tongan conceptualisations about the reproduction of society and culture.

THE TRADITIONAL ARTS OF TONGA WERE POETRY WITH ITS ATTENDANT MUSIC AND DANCE, THE MAKING of scent, bark cloth, mats, basketry, and ornaments, tattooing and woodworking including incising and sculpture. Bark cloth and mats were the highest ranking objects and were categorised as *koloa* (valuables) and made by women. Other objects were considered to be either craftwork done by *tufunga* (male craftsmen), or decoration (*teuteu*) made by men and/or women. The latter consisted of scented coconut oil, ornaments, tattooing, and probably basketry. These arts can best be understood in the context of the role that prestige goods and performances play as part of a hierarchical society. Poetry, music, and dance have survived in many traditional forms as well as in evolved modern forms. Bark cloth is still made and used for ritual as well as for sale to tourists. Wood incising and sculpture virtually ceased with the end of traditional warfare and the influence of Christianity. Elaborate basketry techniques have been replaced by more quickly made forms which are now important for sale to tourists.

'Tourist art' is a whole separate category, and although some of it is creative, much of it is simply based on technical proficiency and the copying of older Tongan and non-Tongan forms. There are creative interpretations, of course, such as the modern Tongan reinterpretation of Tongan copies of the Hawaiian war god. This Hawaiian form is, according to Tongan carvers, the Tongan god of peace if the eyes are raised at their outer edges or the god of love if the eyes are lowered at their outer edges - none of which has any basis in Tongan tradition. Rather than dealing with modern

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creativity, my focus here will be on the traditional arts and what they reveal about traditional society and culture.

Although there has been little research and few publications specifically on Tongan art, notable work has been done on archaeology and material culture by W.C. McKern and E.W. Gifford. Simon Kooijman and Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) have summarised the materials on bark cloth and human images respectively, and a study of carved clubs was published by William Churchill. My own research has focused on the interrelationships of social structure and the arts.

Implicit in much early work in anthropology and art history as well as the philosophy of aesthetics is that we know what 'art' is, and therefore, it is not necessary to define it; and that 'art' is universal. This treats art as a Western concept and asserts a universality of something for which we do not have adequate cross-cultural concepts. The Tongan language did not have words or even concepts comparable to what we would call art in the twentieth century Western world. If language helps to structure the way we think, how can we speak about 'art' in those societies which do not share the concept? Is the fabrication of useful objects to be considered art? Is clothing art? How about ritual objects? Is ritual itself art? What about houses, interior decoration, and the use of space? Are rock carvings, tattoos, hair styles, scent, or string figures art? Cross-culturally such questions are almost impossible to answer, and although I begin in this larger vein, my focus here will be on Tongan views, in as much as these can be understood by an outsider.¹

Instead of art in the Western sense of the term, I take as my subject cultural forms that result from creative processes that use or 'manipulate' words, sounds, movements, materials, or spaces in such a way that they formalise or intensify the formalisation of the non-formal. These cultural forms, although some of them are transient, have structured content, are visual or aural manifestations of social relationships, and may be the subject of elaborate aesthetic systems. I use the term aesthetics to refer to evaluative ways of thinking about these cultural forms.

In addition to artistic and aesthetic content, I also emphasise concepts relevant to the study of Tongan art and aesthetics. Although the arts are often considered cultural as opposed to social, this is an artificial distinction promulgated by those who do not have the background or interest to deal with the arts. In my view the arts can best be understood as cultural forms embedded in social action; and both art and society are surface manifestations of the underlying philosophy or deep structure of a conceptual world.

In order to understand social and cultural patterns in Tonga we must examine the layout of space in villages and houses, how one moves in it, and where one sits or stands in relation to the space itself as well as the individuals who use it, what one wears or carries while moving or sitting, what objects inhabit which spaces with which individuals, and how each of these elements changes according to contexts and

¹ As an anthropologist I am interested in the arts because of what the arts can tell us about society. I am well aware, however, that as an outsider I have only scratched the surface of a very complex subject. The Tongan History Workshop was an appropriate forum to set out my ideas on the subject and I wish to thank the participants for their supportive comments on this paper.

activities. We must examine ceremonial (and non-ceremonial) gift giving and exchange, including what is given, exchanged, or appropriated (such as food, *ngāue*, and valuables, *koloa*) and what went into producing it, including such 'things' as dances. In order to understand how objects and activities are attached to people we must also understand how people are attached to each other. Not all of these elements can be examined in detail here, but they are necessary considerations for a full study of Tongan art and society.

As we all know, Tongan society has an important basis in inequality. There are inequalities in prestige, power, authority, and status - as well as inequality in the arts. The arts are embedded so deeply in Tongan social forms that they help to define the dimensions of inequality as well as what is Tongan. Indeed, the pervasiveness of inequality in Tongan categories of thought gives rise to what might be called an aesthetic of inequality.

Concepts that I find useful in studying Tongan art and aesthetics are:

1. *faiva* (skill);
2. *heliaki* (indirectness - to say one thing but mean another);
3. *faka'apa'apa* (respect or humility);
4. the integral association of verbal and visual modes of expression.

Although art was not a category of traditional Tongan culture, the concept implied by the incorporation of *faiva* (skill) is important for an understanding of Tongan art and aesthetics. *Faiva* refers to any work, task, feat, trade, craft, or performance requiring skill or ability. When *faiva* is preceded by the possessive *hoku*, it suggests that these skills were not inherited but require input on the part of the possessor. A second important concept is *heliaki* (indirectness) which requires skill based on cultural knowledge to carry out. *Heliaki* is manifested in metaphor and layers of meaning and is developed by skirting a subject and approaching it repeatedly from different points of view. Hidden meanings must be unravelled layer by layer until they can be understood. Thus objects, cultural forms, and works of art have meanings which cannot be apprehended by simply examining them. The most important Tongan arts are verbal and can be said to incorporate social philosophy and form the basic structure of the aesthetic system. The visual arts can be approached by analysing them in relation to poetry and oratory in that they objectify social and cultural metaphors incorporated through *heliaki* and *faiva* into the oral arts. Individuals use their *faiva* to create objects that are works of art because they express the *heliaki* of the poets. Visual arts are integrally related to verbal arts and both are used in the service of elevating and honouring the prestige or power of individuals or chiefly lines and, formerly, the Polynesian gods.

Heliaki appears to be the most important aesthetic principle. *Heliaki* pervades Tongan life, encapsulating the ideal of indirectness. *Heliaki* is involved with the *process* of artistic production, the *products* of artistic production, and objectifies intention (the anthropological concept that transforms behaviour into action). The artistic product assists the aesthetic or evaluative process and stimulates thinking and reverence for hierarchical forms, as well as *mātanga* (sceneries tied to localities and their histories) and *tala fakafonua* (historical and mythical reasons for things being as they are). All of these are ultimately associated with hierarchical social structure and

its mystique. The products of artistic processes are (presumably) made with love, presented with humility (*faka'apa'apa*), and used with dignity (*fakalangilangi*) to invoke joy (*māfana*). The associations are primarily with powerful chiefs of named lineages (and the *Fale'alo*, children or grandchildren of a monarch) and the prestige derived by tracing the birth and lineage of high status individuals usually through a line of women to a sister of a specific male chief or by tracing the elevated genealogies of the chiefs and nobles themselves or their titles.

Moving to the content or domains of Tongan art, let me repeat my original characterisation of the arts as cultural forms that result from creative processes which manipulate words, sounds, movements, materials, and spaces in such a way that they formalise the non-formal, and summarise the traditional art forms.²

Verbal Arts

The most basic creative process in Tonga is surely that which deals with words. Oratory, *fananga* (fables), and song texts formalise ordinary speech into artistic forms by incorporating skill to give structure and envelope *heliaki*. In historic times well known word artists were Queen Sālote, especially for *ta'anga* (song texts), and the Honorable Ve'ehala, for oratory. In more remote times we know of Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka who were known for their skill with words. Most ceremonial attendants (*matāpule* and *falefā*) are skilled in oratory. They, along with Christian ministers (*feifekau*), specialise in this artistic form. The development of *hiva kakala* songs from *pō sipi* poetry illustrates the evolution of a traditional poetic form into a modern one. It also illustrates how artistic forms can degenerate when passed from the hand of specialised poets to the 'string-band-boys' who, as one Tongan put it, 'communicate like children, saying what they mean rather than building on *heliaki*'. The composers of *lakalaka* performances (sung speeches with choreographed movements) are the most specialised - designing an overall concept which is appropriate to a specific occasion, relevant to particular performers, and incorporating the traditional three-part *lakalaka* structure of *fakatapu*, body of the poetry, and *tatau* based on formal speechmaking - often with the addition of a *tau* or verse which carries special meaning for the occasion or the performers. Each verse has its own design which is an entity in itself but contributes to the overall conception. It is here that *heliaki* finds its most elaborate expression, referring to individuals and their chiefly lines with flowers, birds, and places to fit together in such a way that they arouse within the spectators the inner feeling of *māfana* for the performance and the occasion. This art form based on the skilful formalisation of words which incorporate *heliaki* is extended as polyphonic sound and visually in movement.

Koloa - Valuables

The conceptualisation of the category *koloa* (valuables) as a complementary domain to *ngāue* (products derived from agriculture and animal husbandry) reflects the high

² Illustrations of many of the objects described here can be found in Kaepler 1971a, 1978a, and 1979.

status of women in Tongan society. *Koloa*, products made by women, are considered valuables and, like the women themselves, are prestigious, in distinction to *ngāue*, products made by men which are considered work, and like the men themselves, are powerful. The *ngāue* of men regenerates people physically, while the *koloa* of women regenerates people culturally. Both are necessary and together, in a complementary manner, men and women regenerate and reproduce society. Thus, *koloa* made by women is the complementary domain to *ngāue* made by men, it is not a complementary or contrasting domain to objects made by *tufunga* (craftsmen).

Koloa consists of bark cloth and several types of mats which form essential elements of various ceremonies and rituals. Sometimes *koloa* may form the heart of a presentation, such as a *kavalukuluku*. Or *koloa* may figure as the final part of a presentation of *ngāue* foodstuffs. Or the presentation of a *kie hingoa* (named fine mat) may serve as an act of status recognition during a *taumafu kava* in which a title is bestowed.

BARK CLOTH

Tongan bark cloth is distinguished by its large size and metaphorical designs. In addition to its use for ritual presentations, especially for weddings and funerals, traditionally it also furnished clothing and bed coverings. Large finished pieces, sometimes as large as five metres by fifty metres, are categorised by colour and design organisation as *ngatu*, *ngatu uli* (black *ngatu*) and *fuatanga*. The design of *ngatu* is organised to run crosswise between crosswise lines that intersect with a set of long lines which run the entire length of the piece. The design of *fuatanga* is organised to run across the length of the piece and a series of intersecting crosswise lines are used to measure its size. *Fuatanga* are more difficult to make and are used primarily by chiefs. *Ngatu uli* are also used primarily by chiefs but derive their high status from the difficulty of making the black dye.

A series of stencils form a set which has metaphorical meaning. Sometimes these sets are traditional chiefly designs or have local referents. These may be combined to commemorate specific occasions or make references to chiefs or their ancestral lines. Thus, a set with pine trees, the Tongan coat of arms, and a lion metaphorically refers to the monarch (pine trees form a road on one side of the palace, the coat of arms is the monarch's seal, and the lion as monarch is adapted from Europe). Such a *ngatu* set is quite popular and can be used for a wide variety of occasions. A more unusual *fuatanga* set consisting of a feathered comb, a necklace of *pule'oto* shell, and a *sisi* (decorative girdle) made of sun, moon and stars, metaphorically refers to the late Queen Sālote and commemorates her attendance at Queen Elizabeth's coronation in England in 1953. The initial use of a *fuatanga* of this sort would be for an important status occasion. Pieces of such a *fuatanga* might then be given during events of lesser status. Sets of naturalistic stencils are completed with groupings of traditional geometric designs such as *manulua* and *fata* which are metaphorical references to chiefs and their deeds.

MATS

Several types of mats are considered *koloa* and are graded by fineness of plait and the type of pandanus used in their fabrication. Mats such as *lau fala* are used to 'line' or support the large bark cloth pieces during presentation and finer mats may

serve as an upper layer or 'decoration'. The highest ranking mats are *kie hingoa* - some of which are *ngafingafi* of Tongan manufacture, while others are of Samoan manufacture. These mats derive their status from the skill of plaiting extremely narrow strips of fine quality pandanus (being made of the bleached, upper layer of *lou kie*) and their historical associations. Their 'value' is safeguarded by women who look after them, as well as by the women who remember and pass on the long intricate histories of who used which mat on what important occasion or rite of passage. Mats also carry genealogical metaphors - two sets of pandanus strips are plaited diagonally thereby intermixing to form a mat just as two sets of lineages are intermixed to form an individual's genealogy. The metaphor can subsequently be transferred to bark cloth design by using a mat as a geometric background for the design stencils.

Wood Working

Wood carvers were specialists known as *tufunga fo'u vaka* who were primarily canoe makers but used their specialised skills to make bowls, fly whisks, neckrests, clubs and tools such as food pounders. Bowls were made in a variety of shapes and sizes and were used for mixing kava, serving food, and especially for preparing scented coconut oil. Neckrests were carved in symmetrical and asymmetrical forms from one piece of wood or with legs lashed to the crossbar with coconut fibre using a technique developed in canoe building. Fly whisks were status objects made of a handle of bone or wood and a whisk of partly braided coconut fibre bound to the handle with fibre. The wooden handles varied and were sometimes made from recycled objects such as spear points or part of the handle of a club, which probably had *mana* in their own right. Neckrests and fly whisks were sometimes decorated with inlaid pieces of ivory. Other carved and decorated objects included food hooks which were hung inside the house to keep food and other objects out of the reach of rats from either above or below. These were made of a carved wood or ivory hook surmounted by a flat disk that might be painted on the underside with human images or metaphorical designs.

INCISING

Clubs were made in a variety of shapes and served as the medium for elaborate incising which was done by means of a shark-tooth hafted to a handle of wood. After contact with Europeans nails were hafted in the same way making possible the sharper and deeper incising of many classic examples. Incising was done in sections that were laid out in advance often using the intersection of a perpendicular line - formed from a diamond shaped cross section - and vertical cross lines. Each section so formed was carved to match or contrast with those around it. In the classic form of the clubs, some sections have incised human and animal images set into a geometric background, while in other sections the geometric design is the main element. In some cases inlaid ivory pieces were substituted for the incised naturalistic figures. The metaphorical designs representing chiefly attributes and the chiefs themselves are similar to those used in bark cloth and the layout has the same

underlying structure (see below). Handles of fly whisks were occasionally similarly incised.

SCULPTURE

Sculptures female in form were carved from ivory or wood and appear to represent ancestors or goddesses. Ivory images may represent Hikuleo, a goddess of the afterworld, and may have originally dwelt in her god house hanging from the central ridge pole either singly or as part of a Janus figured hook. They may also have been worn by certain female chiefs as charms or ornaments. Most known examples are quite similar to each other with broad shoulders, straight loosely hanging arms, slightly bent knees, the indication of a navel, well developed breasts, and an ill defined neck. Facial features are in low relief except for the ears which are well carved. Although carved in three dimensions, the figures are reminiscent of the two dimensional incised or inlaid ivory figures found on clubs and fly whisk handles. Wooden figures have similar stylistic features and two dimensional qualities. They, too, were probably part of hooks or were hung from the ridge pole in god houses dedicated to them.

Basketry

The skills for making basketry were closely related to those used in plaiting mats. The products ranged from clothing to baskets, from feathered headdresses to grave decorations, as well as decorated combs. In addition to making baskets from pandanus, Tongans used more elaborate techniques for working other plant materials. A high ranking basket was *kato mosi kaka* made from the fibrous integument at the top of coconut palms, *kaka*, that were dyed black and intertwined with those of natural colour into geometric designs which were outlined with shell beads. The motifs were usually combinations of triangles forming the chiefly *manulua* design also found on bark cloth. Another important basket, *kato alu*, was made by encircling a vine called *alu* around a coil of midribs of coconut leaflets. Fine pandanus or hibiscus fibre mats were placed in the *kato alu* along with gourds (and later elaborate imported glass bottles) containing scented coconut oil that was used to anoint the living or dead.

The techniques used to make *kato mosi kaka* were also used to make decorative girdles worn by the highest chiefs on ceremonial occasions (*kātoanga*). They were composed of small pieces of this 'basketry' in the form of circles, stars, half-moons, or rectangles, that were covered with red feathers and incorporated shell beads, animal teeth and carved pieces of ivory. These were sewn together to form a kind of overskirt. A number of these were acquired during Cook's voyages and are now in European museums.

The highest ranking object was a feathered headdress (*palātavake*) which could be worn only by the Tu'i Tonga. Made of tail feathers of the tropic bird and/or red parakeet feathers, they formed a semicircle over the forehead which stood out some eighteen inches. Only one such headdress is known today, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.

Scent

Scent, an art directed toward the olfactory sense, was metaphorically important as well as aesthetic in its own right. The musical genre *hiva kakala* takes its *kakala* (sweet) reference from sweet smelling flowers. In poetry, sweet smelling flowers refer metaphorically to chiefs or to a beloved, and references to a mixture of sweet smelling flowers refers to a mixing of genealogical lines. Flowers are admired and ranked according to smell rather than visual appearance and day-old *sisi* (decorative girdles) or *kahoa* (necklaces) are kept around for their smell. Besides the sewing of flowers into named *kahoa* and intricate *sisi* which were often related to specific genealogical lines, the use of scent in the manufacture of coconut oil had aesthetic and genealogical connotations. Finally, the scented coconut oils were used as poetic metaphors in *ta'anga* and *laulau* (panegyrics).

Context and Analysis

During my research in Tonga I was often struck by the lack of interest in approaching something as an entity or an overall form. Instead Tongans seemed more interested in unveiling or unravelling something little by little to eventually reveal an overall form. For example, a large piece of bark cloth would be unfolded and the edges grasped by more and more people who moved into and around a ritual space or 'stage' until the whole piece was revealed. Instead of revealing the whole thing at once it was more exciting to anticipate how much was still to come. The symbolism incorporated into the design could also be unravelled in order to reveal more and more about the village from which it came or an historic event. Or in watching and listening to one of the elaborate sung speeches with choreographed movements known as *lakalaka* the onlookers admired the ongoing performance as it revealed more and more about the occasion, the performers, and the climax. It was difficult to tell when it would end, if there would be another verse or not, or if there would be an elaborate formulaic ending or *sipa*. One had to pay attention all the time. One had to be involved with the specific thing that was happening. And one had to know how it fitted into the Tongan cultural and social world. It was the *process* of what was unfolding as well as what the object itself revealed in its entirety that was compelling. Unfolding the symbolism to reveal its *heliaki* was an important part of the conceptualisation.

I was interested in the structure that held this all together and in trying to uncover a set of principles to which the organisation and categorisation could be related. By looking at and examining surface manifestations, that is, what might be called ethnographic data, the underlying structures might reveal themselves. I looked for structure, by which I mean principles or mental constructs by which Tongans organise their lives. Rather than Levi-Straussian structuralism, it was more useful for me to look at structuralism as a point of view. Structuralism is a way of looking at things and it is the consistency among domains as well as the similarity of words and concepts used to describe and evaluate them that makes the analysis of surface manifestations useful. Rather than a method, deriving structure can be considered a skill, a craft by which one tries to derive categories and the principles that organise them. If the mind is a categorising or structuring agent, as many would agree, then

these categories of thought by which life is structured ought to be discoverable by deduction, by analysis of the varied processes and products, and preferably in conjunction with the people who categorise a specific system. This position is what I call ethnoscientific structuralism, that is, the structure derived is recognised by members of the society or group as a set of principles with which they help to organise their lives - not necessarily verbalised as such, but derived with their help from ethnographic data in various domains in which the structure consistently repeats itself.

Working with my Tongan friends I attempted to derive a framework of principles that would incorporate such concepts. A Tongan analogy based on music, the framework of which can be characterised as melody, drone, and decoration,³ was found to be useful for analysis. This framework was derived from Tongan conceptualisations of their polyphonic music in conjunction with Tongan conceptualisations about social structure. Social organisation is hierarchical and stratified. Chiefs (*'eiki*) are distinguished from commoners (*tu'a*) and the chiefs themselves and their titles are ranked. Within the extended family or *kāinga*, sisters (and other females of the same generation, such as female cousins) outrank brothers, and among siblings of the same sex, older outranks younger. In the generation above ego, relatives related through the father are higher than ego and those related through the mother are lower than ego. The relationship with those in the generation below ego depends on whether they are related through sisters or brothers. Nieces and nephews related through a man's sister are higher than ego while nieces and nephews related through a man's brothers (who have the same kinship terms as his own children) are lower than ego.⁴ The primary principle here is that every individual is either higher or lower than every other individual depending on context. The basic terminology here is *'eiki* and *tu'a*, the same words used for chief and commoner, and the abstracted concept is higher and lower. These idealised relationships deal primarily with prestige rather than power.

Traditional vocal music in Tonga was said to have had six parts, four men's parts and two women's parts. The most important parts were said to be the *fasi*, the melody or leading part, and *laulalo*, a drone. The other parts were, in effect, a decoration of the *fasi* melody and could be characterised by the term for decoration, *teuteu*. In much of Polynesia the traditional polyphony is often characterised as a bourdon, that is, a drone like reference pitch with a melody that moves above it.

This, indeed, seems also to have been the basic framework in Tonga, but Tongans elaborated this by adding one or more decorative parts that weave up and down among the two basic parts. The principle on which this elaborated bourdon is based can be characterised as melody, drone, and decoration.

What do these two conceptual systems of polyphony and social structure have to do with each other? It is not much of a mental leap to associate chiefs with the melody and commoners with the drone. Tongans told me that there is not much point in being *'eiki* or chief if there are no *tu'a* or those who are lower. The concept of

³ See Kaepler 1978b.

⁴ Kaepler 1971.

social equality without hierarchical relationships was simply inappropriate. Similarly, at least two parts are necessary for most Tongan singing. These parts are a drone (or bass) and a melody. Most singing is group singing and there is usually a leader whom others follow.

Abstracting the qualities involved, we can characterise the framework of underlying principles as follows: the melody or leading part can be seen as the essential feature of the action, product or interaction - the melody, for example, is the main conveyor of the text in vocal music; and who is 'eiki is the essential organising principle for who will do what on any occasion. The drone can be seen as a space definer or the substratum of an action, product, or interaction. The drone, for example, in a vocal performance holds the performance together rhythmically as well as realises one or more pitches to which the melody constantly refers; and those who are *tu'a* or low on a specific occasion are the workers from whom those who are 'eiki or high draw their prestige. Decoration or *teuteu* can be seen as the elaborations of specific features. In a vocal performance, for example, up to four decorative parts elaborate the *fasi* melody and may cross it in both directions. In the structure of the social world there are, likewise, a number of decorative persons - 'ilamutu (a man's sister's children), *mokopuna 'eiki* (chiefly grandchildren) and to some extent sisters (*tu' ofefine*), and a father's sisters (*mehakitanga* [mother's sisters have the same term as mother, i.e., *fa'ē*]). The important point about *teuteu* decoration is that such elaborations are not absolutely necessary for the operation or existence of an action, product, or interaction, but they make the framework complete if they are present.

The conceptualisation of essential features, space definers, and decoration is also the framework for material culture and visual art in both the process of manufacture and design as well as in how the material is used. As noted above, the most important material possessions are *koloa*, primarily bark cloth and mats. *Koloa*, the *fasi* or leading part in this framework, are conceptually separated from items of everyday use - the drone in this framework. Just as ceremonial occasions are the important essential times, the non-ceremonial days are the space definers. *Teuteu* in this framework are items of decorative use - decorative girdles or *sisi*, decorative necklaces or *kahoa*, special decorative clothing or *teunga*. These decorative items are most often used during celebrations or decorative occasions called *kātoanga*, a word that infers completeness or to enclose as in a basket.

The making of bark cloth has the same conceptual framework. The inner bark of *hiapo*, the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), is prepared and beaten by an individual woman - a real drone. These small pieces of *feta'aki* are pasted together into huge pieces and a stencil design is rubbed onto the cloth with a transfer technique by a *kautaha* or working group of women. This design and its production is the essential feature of the bark cloth and its manufacture. Finally, after the large bark cloth is dry, one or several women will add decorative highlights to the piece by overpainting with a pandanus key brush. This last stage, called *tohi ngatu*, is not absolutely necessary and the bark cloth can be used without it. But in the Tongan view the bark cloth is not conceptually complete without it.

The design itself also incorporates the same conceptual framework. The three elements that make up the design are 1) straight lines which define the space and

layout for 2), the named motif or set of motifs which is the essential feature of the whole, and 3) the decoration or elaboration of the named motif. The long lines or space definers are context sensitive and vary depending on who will use the bark cloth and for what occasion. As noted above, in the more usual bark cloth pieces (*ngatu*) one set of lines run crosswise, having been made from a series of pegs which run down the centre of the curved board (*papa*) on which the stencils are held in place, while the designs run across between these lines. These lines intersect with a set of long lines that run the entire length of the piece (*launima*). In the more ceremonial bark cloth called *fuatanga* the primary lines run lengthwise and a series of crosswise lines are used to measure its size. The finished piece is much more difficult to make. It is the space defining lines that separate the two kinds of bark cloth rather than the design motifs themselves, and form the layout for the arrangement of the motifs. The essential feature of the design is the named motif or set of motifs which gives its name to the whole design. The rest of the stencils are considered a decoration of the named motif. Several motifs may make up a set which has metaphorical meaning - such as pine trees and the coat of arms which together metaphorically refer to the monarch. This set can be called *hala paini*, road of pines, or *sila*, seal (as the coat of arms is called), and they would be decorated with other appropriate symbols for the King, such as traditional representations of special girdles and necklaces or animal symbols adopted from the West, such as lions or eagles. In modern times the names of the main motifs are spelled out, the decorative designs are not.

If we apply the concepts of leading part, drone, and decoration to dance, it is easily perceived that their structural analogues are movements of the arms, legs, and head respectively. The most important and essential movements in Tongan dance are *haka*, i.e., movements performed with the hands and arms, and are the medium for conveying the 'story' of the text by visual means, just as the *fasi* is the main conveyor of the text in the auditory dimension. Performers in Tongan dance are never actors in the Western sense but storytellers, who by movements of their arms and hands allude (often in a nonrealistic manner) to selected words of the text. Movements are not narrative, yet spectators who understand the text use them to help grasp hidden poetic meanings. Leg movements are used mainly to keep time and add to the rhythmic dimension of the performance. Some dances are performed seated and small movements of the knees or feet keep the rhythmic pulse. The leg movements can be considered the conceptual analogue of the drone. Just as the drone realises audibly a pitch level as the substratum to hold the performance together, both in rhythm and as a basis to which the leading part can refer, the leg movements realise visually the movement substratum which holds the performance together rhythmically and represents a basis to which the *haka* (arm movements) can refer. Further, the *fakateki*, head movement, is added as a decorative element and can be considered the structural analogue of decorative vocal parts. The *fakateki* is not choreographed nor is it prescribed. Rather, it is added by the dancer - not as an essential element in the performance - but from an inner feeling of *māfana* (exhilaration). Thus, just as the decorative vocal parts are not essential (although desirable) to the realisation of the sound, the *fakateki* is not essential to the realisation

of the movement. Yet both add *teuteu*, or decoration, to the vocal and visual drone and leading part.

Another important concept that can be derived from an analysis of the visual arts is complementarity. Although there is not space to develop the concept here, one might note the complementarity implied by performers and audience, how men's and women's parts complement each other in a *lakalaka*, or in the layout of space in a formal kava ritual where essentially there are two ends and two sides. Other complementary concepts are embodied as follows:

<i>ngāue</i> :	<i>koloa</i>
power:	prestige
warfare:	ceremony

Such artistic and social domains conform to a framework of principles, that is, a cultural and philosophical structure which underlies them all. In addition, each domain has more principles by which to judge the success of specific actions, products, or interactions. From a combination of these sets we can derive aesthetic principles - that is, those elements which are evaluated and by what criteria.

It would appear that artistic works in Tonga have conceptual similarities in their underlying structure. Design space and design elements can only be combined in certain ways according to certain rules which are culturally understood by artist, performer and consumer/spectator. Areas are nearly always rectangular, divided into square compartments by lengthwise and crosswise lines. Squares are usually divided again by diagonal or straight lines forming triangles, squares and rectangles. Only at the last stage are curved lines added (if they are added at all) and such curves are always in relation to a straight line or a line that has crossed the square or rectangle. This is most apparent in bark cloth designs, but can also be seen in incised clubs, basketry, tattooing, prehistoric pottery, and even in a *lakalaka* dance where the dance space is a long rectangle divided in half (men on one half, women on the other half - *fa'ahi*) and each performer having a sense of a square for himself or herself. For the most part, leg movements are side to side and forward and back within this square. Curved lines come only in the *haka* arm movements giving to the surface structure a graceful curving appearance, especially in the women's movements. Polyphony, too, can be considered rectangular - the drone underscores the design space, while the *fasi* moves above it and decorative parts curve among them. The convergence of rectangles, squares and curves in varied artistic media create works of art which carry with them the possibility of aesthetic combinations and potential aesthetic experiences. I propose that aesthetic experiences in Tonga are realised when fundamental cultural principles are made specific in works of art (that is, when the deep structure is manifested in a cultural form resulting from creative processes which manipulate movement, sound, words, spaces, or materials) and are comprehended as such by individuals.

What I have attempted to do here is to suggest that Tongan aesthetic principles are cultural values applied to a specific range of cultural forms and that the understanding of the Tongan aesthetic system depends on understanding the social structure, the entire Tongan way of life, and the systematic relationships among Tongan cultural forms and the social actions in which they are embedded. The 'arts' are man-made

cognitive structures that exist in dialectical relationships with the social order, constantly modelling, modifying, and shaping each other over time. The arts and aesthetics are dynamic dimensions that can help to move society along the roads of change. Any society in transition might ponder and reflect upon how the arts might assist in the acceptance of change and how the arts might be embedded in new social forms.

Eclectic Elements in Tongan Folk Belief and Healing Practice

WENDY E. COWLING*

Present-day folk beliefs in Tonga regarding the causes of some illnesses appear to be a synthesis of pre-contact religious ideas and of Christian-derived beliefs. These folk beliefs, together with ideas on the functioning of the dead in the after-life appear to be in a constant state of modification and development.

In recent years there has been an increase in the occurrence of *te'ia*, a form of the culturally specific illness known as '*āvanga*. *Te'ia* is manifested in a range of particular symptoms and behaviour. The largest number of those individuals who believed they had *te'ia* and who were observed consulting traditional healers appeared to be suffering from a form of depression. This paper offers a classification of '*āvanga*, and then discusses the treatment of *te'ia* and of possession in Tonga.

IN HER VALUABLE STUDIES ON TONGAN VIEWS OF SICKNESS AND HEALING, MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGIST Claire Parsons has emphasised the important role of kin networks in the diagnosis of disease, in the selection of the order of the favoured hierarchies of resort, and not least, in the transmission of healing power (*fanofano'i*).¹ While there is a strong popular belief in Tonga in the power of spirits, or *tevolo* (lit. 'devil'), to cause illness, the role of 'spirit helpers' in the diagnostic and healing process in Tongan traditional medicine is not always overtly acknowledged.

Most traditional healers have served a type of apprenticeship from their childhood through a close association with a healer. This person was perhaps their grandmother, mother, or aunt, or a male relative, who designated a particular child as their likely successor. As the child grew up, he or she observed and assisted with the healing work, including the collection of plant materials. Usually the apprentice healer would begin treating people in association with his or her mentor, but most say they did not fully come into their powers of diagnosis and healing until the senior person died. Healers usually claim they are assisted in their diagnosis by seeing a vision of the

* The information on which this paper was based was obtained during fieldwork in Tonga in 1985/86 and in 1987. I have benefited from discussions with Dr Claire Parsons, Dr Wolfgang Jilek, Professor Futa Helu, Professor Jehanne Teilhet-Fisk, Mr Sione Tukia Jr, and Mr Sione Faka'osi. My thanks to all these scholars for their contributions, and to Mr Manako Tupou and Mr Sione Faka'osi, for their assistance in Nuku'alofa in 1986 and in 1987. My thanks also to those traditional healers and other Tongans who allowed me to observe treatment, or who discussed processes of illness and healing. Statements by healers and patients are shown in quotation marks in the text, without acknowledgement in the Bibliography.

¹ Parsons 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1984, 1985.

older healer, perhaps in a dream. They obtain a clearer perception of a person's illness through this experience.

In the case of illnesses which are considered to be caused by spirits of the dead, the troublesome spirit may be seen and identified by the healer, as well as by the person seeking a cure. Most healers indicate that they also 'pray to the Lord', and ask for healing for the patient 'from God'. They frequently suggest to patients that they too should pray for healing. No one involved in healing practice saw any conflict or problem in this mixture of appeals. The invocation of the powers inherent in Christian beliefs may screen from many Tongans the knowledge that the healer is in fact drawing on the spirit world for support, or is in contention with the spirit world.² This belief in the power of spirits of the dead to physically and mentally affect the living is seen most dramatically in the treatment of forms of the illness known in Tonga as '*āvanga*'.

The Tongan scholar Futa Helu has identified '*āvanga*' as one of a number of 'socially induced disorders' occurring in Tonga.³ Parsons classifies '*āvanga*' as one of four traditional classifications or categories of illness in Tonga, terming it 'spirit sickness'.⁴ All the forms of this condition are always identified as *mahaki faka-Tonga*, that is a sickness (*mahaki*) which is peculiarly Tongan, and which can only be cured by Tongan methods.⁵ While spirits of the dead, '*āvanga*', are considered by many Tongans to be the causative factor in all the indigenous categories of illness, the spirits' activities are seen at their most obvious, potent and life-threatening in the illness category '*āvanga*'.⁶

Table 1 sets out a classification of the five best known forms of '*āvanga*' which involve the central nervous system. These are (1) sudden onset possession (in Tongan, '*āvanga*'); (2) chronic mental illness ('*āvanga motu'a*'); (3) 'sympathetic' physical symptoms (also with the overall name '*āvanga*'); (4) depression/anxiety (*te'ia*), and (5) mental disability. *Te'ia* itself may be manifested in one of three forms, one of which I have termed 'physical', in that an individual has a particular set of symptoms, and the other two 'perceptual', in that a person, or a person's relatives, believes certain events are occurring, based on their observation of the affected

² Some evangelical Christians, such as members of the pentecostalist church, The Assemblies of God, are discouraged from consulting traditional healers because of the association with spiritism. In recent years evangelical Christian healers, valued for their perceived wisdom and skill in 'discernment' have become more prominent. They are consulted regarding important personal problems or regarding life-changing decisions for which people need insights or authoritative pronouncements by someone in whom they can confide, and whom they can trust. The judgements are usually arrived at by the person consulted after a period of sustained prayer and Bible reading. Often the person consulting 'the wise Christian' is encouraged to pray, fast and to read the Bible.

³ Helu 1984:1.

⁴ Parsons 1985:94. Singh et al. (1984:308-309) list five classes of disease as 'Tongan': '*āvanga*; *kahi*; skin disease; *fasi* (bone fractures); and a fifth category 'Diseases of neonates'. While I was undertaking fieldwork arthritis (in Tongan *hui*) had changed categories. First regarded as a Western disease, arthritis had come to be seen as 'Tongan', and traditional healers were attempting to treat the condition.

⁵ Cf. Parsons 1985:93ff. Singh et al. (1984:308) give four categories of '*āvanga*' - disorders of (a) the central nervous system; (b) gastro-intestinal system; (c) genito-urinary system; and (d) *fesi'ia* - disorders of the musculo-skeletal system such as sprains. Most of the information I gathered during fieldwork was on (a) and (d).

⁶ Cf. Parsons 1985:94.

person's behaviour. Most sufferers of all the forms of 'āvanga are referred to the particular traditional healers (*faito'o*) who specialise in treating this condition. Significant shifts are occurring in the type of spirits who are being blamed for the mental disturbance of individuals.

The cases of 'āvanga described by Helu⁷ and those which are related as stories in a popular genre of 'ghost' or 'tevolo' ('devil') tales are accounts of conflict with spirits, who often cannot be identified as named individuals. The symptoms of this form of 'āvanga (Li in Table I) include manifestations of possession, hysteria, irrational behaviour, ravings, extra strength, particularly when the affected person is resisting assistance. Once traditional treatment is followed, the patient falls into a long and very deep sleep. These occurrences tend to have a sudden onset, are fairly quickly resolved, if treated by traditional means, and seem to be precipitated by a crisis in the life of the individual. Many of the sufferers are young, unmarried women, but cases were reported of young men becoming *vale* ('foolish') or 'avea' ('mad') due to the malice of spirits. Often the spirit or spirits affecting the person cannot be identified, either by the patient or the healer beyond 'an old woman', 'a stern woman', or 'a young man'.⁸ Where the spirit causing an attack has been identified by the patient after recovery, it is not infrequently a dead relative of a previous generation. It is significant that it may be decided that the attack was precipitated because a person had shown disrespect in some way to the dead, particularly those of high rank.

In Helu's analysis of two accounts of 'āvanga he suggests that the possession form is a 'psychosis', precipitated by 'emotional conflict', and that the actual possession event was 'triggered' by a particular environment which offered an opportunity to the subject to be free of the normal emotional and physical constraints existing in the controlled social environment of Tonga.⁹ Tongans attribute the long sleep to the herbal treatments the patient receives, but in *pibloktoq*, a very similar illness which occurs among Polar Eskimos, the deep sleep concludes the attack.¹⁰ I have not observed, or heard of, many people relapsing after being treated for the short-duration form of 'āvanga, but it is believed, at least by healers, that there may be deleterious effects if the prescribed treatment is not completed.

The symptoms of *te'ia* differ from the possession form of 'āvanga, but the treatment is similar, although longer in duration. In its 'physical' form, *te'ia*, it is manifested as depression.¹¹ Most commonly, the *te'ia* sufferer tends to be listless, with a general feeling of malaise, tearfulness, and a desire to withdraw from normal life. Many express anxieties both about themselves and others. Some sufferers complain of a sustained severe headache, rather like a migraine, and of feeling very chilled. Others presented to a healer in fear that their throat was blocked and said

⁷ Helu 1984.

⁸ Helu 1984.

⁹ Helu 1984:1.

¹⁰ Gussow 1985.

¹¹ Sustained depression takes many forms. Kline 1969:5-6 writes: 'In existential depression and in secondary symptomatic depression the major characteristic is a feeling of sadness, dejection and hopelessness ... Decreased interest in the environment and lessened social participation are common. Fatigue, disturbances of sleep and especially early morning insomnia are quite characteristic.'

TABLE I: CLASSIFICATION OF 'AVANGA (SPIRIT-CAUSED CONDITIONS) AFFECTING THE CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM

<i>Illness's name</i>	<i>Folk explanation</i>	<i>Physical symptoms causing treatment to be sought</i>	<i>Precipitating factors</i>
'AVANGA I.i	Mind of sufferer affected by a spirit. Person is 'avea ('spirited away') Often spirit unidentified; occasionally spirit of dead family member. See A. in App. I for types of spirits	Transient altered state of consciousness, with 'possession' behaviour	Life crisis, deep unhappiness
'AVANGA I.ii (<i>'āvanga motu'a</i>)	See A. in App. I for types of spirits believed to be responsible	Chronic mental illness (with phasic or progressive phase) Acute episodes diagnosed as 'possession' ('avea') Behaviour disturbing to others - <i>vale</i> ('mad', 'foolish')	Life crisis, deep unhappiness, loss of parents, etc. Milder psychological disturbance (e.g. <i>te'ia</i>) left untreated, person's condition deteriorates. Schizophrenia
'AVANGA II	a. Remains of dead family member being physically affected in grave b. Transmission of illness from which dead family member died	Illness, such as stomach pains, head or joint ache; 'sympathetic' pain Stomach pains; cancers, partic. of the liver & and stomach	

'AVANGA III known as <i>te'ia</i>	a. Attempt by spirit to affect/ influence person	depression, anxiety, withdrawal (if untreated can progress to ' <i>āvanga</i> .II.ii)	depression, anxiety
	b. Spirit affecting child	Illness of child; no particular illness; concern re. fontanelle infants	Illness of child, or anxiety/ belief child not thriving
	c. Perception/ belief conception being prevented by spirits	infertility	infertility
'AVANGA IV	Interference at point of conception, birth or post- natally with child's mind by spirit; child 'made' <i>vale</i> (foolish)	Poor mental development	Brain damage or conditions such as Down's Syndrome

SOURCE: Author, based on fieldwork, 1986, 1987.

they had difficulty breathing. The condition is seen in both adults and children, although women predominate among the people who consult healers about this condition. The children observed who were diagnosed as suffering from *te'ia* had a variety of physical symptoms, including languidness, causing a lack of desire to eat or play. Several looked as if they were suffering from malnutrition, others as if they had glandular fever.¹²

A person's mental condition is likely to deteriorate if little attention is paid to these symptoms. The affected person withdraws mentally and physically from daily contact with others and appears to manifest a form of schizophrenia. In this more severe

¹² Debilitating illness in children is almost invariably explained in terms of spirit-affectedness by those who are believers in folk medicine. Some hysterical, difficult-to-control outbursts in children may also be labelled '*āvanga*, meaning the possession form. While there is a *laissez-faire* attitude prevailing regarding child-care, with minor illness and injuries frequently neglected, there is also an underlying anxiety about the survival of children, particularly in their first year of life. Blame for a child's serious illness is not usually attributed to the direct care-giver, unless there is clear evidence of neglect or ill-treatment.

form affected persons remain indoors, often laughing and talking to themselves. This behaviour is labelled '*āvanga*' and is regarded as demonstrating a taking-over of an individual by a spirit. This spirit is considered responsible for the desire of the sufferer to stay inside a house, or sit in as dark a place as possible. The chuckling is thought to be the person's reaction to the entertainment offered by the afflicting spirit. The ill individual may have intermittent episodes of acute 'possession' behaviour. These episodes may cause families to seek treatment, which may modify the dramatic manifestations of disturbance, but does not offer a remedy for the underlying, progressive mental illness. This illness, termed '*āvanga motu'a*', would be likely to be classified as schizophrenia by Western-trained doctors.

In one of the perceptual forms of *te'ial'āvanga* young married women will consult a healer because they and their family are concerned that the women have failed to conceive after several years of marriage. They are concerned lest conception is being prevented by the intervention of a spirit. In the second type of the perceptual forms the mother of a baby or young child may feel the child is not thriving. She and her family may attribute this to the malice of a spirit. The condition may also be perceived as having been caused in the child as an indirect punishment of a close relative, perhaps the child's mother or father, for adultery or other family-damaging activities. Sometimes the child may have physical symptoms which encourage the parents' belief that the child is not thriving. In all the forms of '*āvanga*' similar medicinal compounds and healing techniques are used, although in the case of a child who is not thriving, a patient's siblings and the mother may all receive treatment.

In all but one of the forms of '*āvanga*', including *te'ia*, the illness is diagnosed as being caused by a spirit from one of five possible groups, with three types of spirits predominant (see Appendix I for a full description). These five groups are: (i) the spirits of dead family members; (ii) the spirits of nobles angered at a lack of 'respect' (*faka'apa'apa*);¹³ (iii) spirits into whose 'territory' the patient had accidentally strayed (usually the bush, the beach, or a burial place); (iv) spirits of individuals with whom the patient may have had a close association; and, most interestingly, people reported (v.) spirits in disarray 'because of the disturbance of Tongan life and culture'. This last category corresponds to the illness *lolo mai*, described by Parsons, which was attributed to 'certain disturbances of modern living'.¹⁴ The number of individuals affected by the last group of spirits appeared to be rapidly increasing.¹⁵

Currently-held folk beliefs in Tonga regarding spirit-caused illnesses and on the fate of the dead contain remnants of traditional (that is, pre-contact with Europeans)

¹³ In Tonga social controls include an emphasis on obedience to a civil legal code, an emphasis on conformity to Christian rules on morality, as well as the need for maintenance and observation of various customary rules. There is a strong emphasis on filial piety and duty, on female pre-marital virginity, but above all an emphasis on *faka'apa'apa* ('respect') which is to be shown to the ruling group, by brothers to sisters, by men to women, by children to parents.

¹⁴ Parsons 1985:99.

¹⁵ Social change is occurring rapidly in Tonga. However, many social problems such as high unemployment rates, landlessness, and low wages, all precipitants of overseas emigration, are only slowly being addressed. Criticism of the government is kept in check by people's respect for the King. Feelings of frustration are building up in many people, but the majority of these have felt unable to assist in encouraging or negotiating social reforms, because of their low status. An election in February 1987 returned a few members with a strong commitment to parliamentary and social reform.

religious ideas. Gifford reported that sixty years ago Tongans believed that ghosts were 'spirits or devils which by passing through the body in a grave or through a living person assume the likeness of the person'.¹⁶ This belief is still held by some Tongans, although no really clearly articulated or widely accepted explanation for the bad behaviour of the spirits of some dead family members is offered by those who hold this belief. While it is understandable that people might ascribe malice to the spirits of dead relatives with whom they may have had disagreements, it was difficult to obtain from informants a satisfactory rationale for the unkindness ascribed to the spirits of parents, grandparents, siblings and cousins with whom the living claimed to have had a loving relationship.

Several healers stated that the spirits of some dead people resented being dead, and therefore resolved to be manipulative (particularly in the case of family members), or malicious, if not malevolent in the case of non-relatives. Other informants and healers agreed with this construction, but also claimed that some dead family members affected relatives from an excess of love. They 'missed them and wanted their company', either living and affected by '*āvanga* or dead.

The healer who was one of my chief informants on *te'ia* professed a dualistic belief to explain the activities of the spirits of the dead. He believed that human beings were comprised of a body and an unseen 'essence', the spirit. At death only the body dies; in his view the spirit remains vital, enjoying most of the activities it followed in life. The spirits observe the living, and sometimes attempt to control or affect their behaviour. In cases where a spirit is believed to be that of a dead family member this control is not necessarily seen as evil, but rather motivated by the fact that 'their love for the living was so strong'. Other spirits punish the disrespectful, particularly those who show disrespect to the dead.

In the cases where the healer and family members suspect or believe that a child or adult has been made ill as an indirect punishment of a family member who has transgressed against the family or social order (say by committing adultery), this diagnosis offers an opportunity for kin groups to air grievances, to clear up disharmonies in family life, and to rebuke people who are clearly not conforming to the accepted moral and social rules. The group of spirits which healers classed as truly evil were those which affect individuals for no obvious reason. Christian groups which emphasise charismatic gifts such as speaking in tongues and the casting out of demons are growing in influence in Tonga. Individuals from these groups who practised healing claimed that *tevolo* are demons who inhabit the dead bodies of those who 'have not died in the Lord'. Such demons had to be exorcised or destroyed, for example by enticing them into the sea by commands 'in the name of Jesus'. Many ministers in the Methodist-derived churches also undertake Christian healing rituals such as the laying on of hands, anointing with oil, and offering prayers for healing for individual members of their congregation.

Parsons uses the term '*āvanga* in the sense of 'spirit sickness' when discussing pain, perhaps a headache, joint ache, or stomach ache, which is said to occur in

¹⁶ Gifford 1929:330.

offspring because a dead parent is in discomfort in the grave.¹⁷ She states that the pain indicator is transmitted by the spirit to a same sex recipient. However, during interviews in 1986 some informants reported that they believed that the pain was an indicator by the dead parent of discomfort, and that the most loved child would be afflicted, because they would be the most sensitive to the parent's pain. Others said no particular child would be selected. This process is one of the most commonly described by Tongans as an example of the activities of spirits of the dead. It is believed that unless the cause was decisively dealt with the illness might persist through generations. In these cases the grave of the parent or relatives would be opened and investigated. Invariably, some extraneous object such as a tree root would be found to have intruded into the part of the body which was affected in the living descendant.

It is clear from the grave decoration which has become increasingly elaborate in many of the cemeteries on the main islands of Tonga that the dead are honoured. Much of the decoration or refurbishing is done at Christmas and New Year. Decorations include banners made of expensive materials such as velvet and satin, and cloth pictures with religious motifs, artificial flowers, glass marbles, surrounds constructed from upturned empty beer and soft drink bottles, and the traditional grave covering materials of white coral sand and black lava pebbles. The lavishness of grave decorations has noticeably increased in the past decade and can be linked to the increased prosperity of many families due to remittances from migrant relatives living overseas. While these decorations are intended to impress others with the status or generosity of a family, they are clearly intended as a message to the dead. Sometimes the dead receive a less kindly message in that their grave decorations and even their skeleton may be destroyed. This aspect will be discussed shortly.

The Treatment of Te'ia

Individuals diagnosed by themselves or by family members as suffering from *te'ia* are usually encouraged to visit, or are taken by family members to a healer. In the case of the most common physical form, the depressive state, the symptoms may have been present for days or weeks before the family decides a healer should be consulted. Because *te'ia* is regarded as a totally Tongan illness, and in cases where a family is accustomed to using traditional healers, it is unlikely that they will consult a Western-trained physician. However, people suffering from persistent severe headaches, or breathlessness, or a sensation that the throat is blocked may try Western remedies and consult Western-trained doctors before it is decided that they are *faka-'āvanga* - spirit-affected.

The healer obtains information either from the sufferer or from the sick person's relatives regarding the circumstances surrounding the onset of the illness. They will try to find out whether it began following some change in family routine, or whether there has been some life crisis. The healers may have no other source of information, in that their clientele may be drawn from neighbourhoods, villages, or even islands

¹⁷ Parsons 1985:99, 18.

other than their own. The treatment of the simplest form of *te'ia* usually takes three days to a week to complete, although some patients may have to attend the healer for several weeks. In severe cases the individual may stay in the healer's house or treatment hut during part of the diagnostic and healing process.

The diagnostic process involves experimentation by the use of certain medications in order to establish whether the illness is spirit-caused. (All Tongan traditional healers incorporate some testing and experimentation into the diagnostic process. They will suggest the person consult another healer if they do not consider the illness is their speciality.) The testing process is called *tulu'i 'ahi'ahi*. *Tulu'i* is 'to bathe' or 'treat with healing liquid'; *'ahi'ahi* has the meaning 'to try' (by way of test or experiment). The healer crushes the leaves of two creepers, known in Tongan as *lautolu uta* and *lautolu tali'i*.¹⁸ The juice obtained is squeezed into the eyes of the patient. The patient's reactions to this process are studied, and quite frequently, even before the medicine is applied, the healer will decide that the illness is spirit-caused. The healer prepares the medicine in the presence of the patient who might exhibit behaviour which is seen as significant. This may include restlessness, uneasiness, or discomfort. The patient may simply react to the smell or sight of the medicinal preparation. Sometimes a voluntary patient may react to the point of physically resisting the healer. If these signs are present the healer may or may not administer the medicine, depending on the cooperation of the patient. Restlessness and resistance are taken as signs of the presence of a spirit. In some cases people consulting the healer may report seeing the spirit they believe is affecting them while they are being treated. As the treatment proceeds over days or even weeks the treated person may report the spirit moving away from them, and perhaps their last report may be of the spirit peering in through a window or doorway. Some former patients of healers reported that spirits actively tried to hinder the healing process by causing the medicine left with the patient to use as part of the treatment to disappear overnight.

The healer may also identify the spirit causing the illness. Healers of illnesses caused by *'āvanga* state that they obtain their information about the spirits by discernment, or through visions of their spirit helper in dreams. No ceremonial summoning of the helper or of the affecting spirit takes place. The healers apparently do not engage their predecessor in direct conversation, but state that their spirit helper will 'tell' or 'show' them which spirit is affecting the person consulting them. The spirit helper may offer detailed reports of the afflicting spirits, the location of their bodies, and even warnings of imminent danger and death, which can only be averted by the patient and his or her family meeting certain conditions. The spirit helper may also confirm the identification of a spirit by the patient. If the spirit is found to be a relative of the patient the possible reasons for its mischief-making or malevolence will be explored. Sometimes the graves of malevolent spirits will be visited by family members or by the healer and rebuked for troubling the sick person.

¹⁸ In this paper I report commonly used combinations of herbal medications. However, other researchers may report variations of these. Individual healers are quite likely to add to or subtract from combinations used in the diagnostic or healing process. This variation may depend on a healer's interest in experimentation, seasonal availability of plants, and the ecology of a particular island or area.

The healer's powers, particularly when combined with those of his or her dead ancestral helper, are always seen as stronger than that of the spirit, who is, after all, dead. Healers report that they sometimes have to 'fight' the spirits by resolutely ignoring their attempts to distract them from their intention of curing the affected person.

A series of therapeutic measures are then carried out. The main two treatments are the application of macerated leaves to the upper torso and head, and the administration of a herbal medicine. Other treatments utilised during the healing process include massage, steam inhalations, and bathing in water treated with medicinal leaves. The main leaves used are those of two plants, *uhi* (*Evodia hortensis*) and *nonu* (*Morinda citrifolia*).¹⁹ The larger *nonu* leaves, which are ovate and shiny (they have the appearance of a small-sized leaf of the tree *Magnolia grandiflora*) are piled in a group of about twelve, one on top of the other. Perhaps twelve to twenty of the smaller, narrower *uhi* leaves are piled inside. The healer assembles and tightly rolls the leaves into a cigar-shaped roll about two inches thick. This bundle has to be chewed and the macerated leaves brought back to the healer in a small leaf bag. This tedious work is performed by the patient (if an adult) or patient's relative (usually the mother) if the patient is a child or is not capable of performing this task themselves.

The healer applies the macerated leaves to the face and upper torso of the patient with a gentle massage. Children have the mixture applied over the whole body, and with more vigour, than do the adults. The massage process is known as *vali* and is seen as another means of encouraging spirits to leave the patient. After this the patient lies down and the infusion is squeezed and dripped into the open eyes, the ears, the nostrils and the open mouth of the patient. This is the same method used for the administration of medication in cases of the possession form of '*āvanga*'.²⁰ The patient is also given a half coconut cup of an infusion of these leaves, pounded, strained and then mixed with sea water. This mixture (*vai momoko*) has to be drunk and, if possible, not vomited up again. The process is very unpleasant and it often causes great distress, particularly to children, who may have to be held down by several adults. Again, patients are encouraged to try and hold down the mixture which has been trickled down the throat, but after a minute or two may be permitted to vomit some of it up. The eyes redden with the irritation of the mixture, which does not of itself taste unpleasant, just rather salty. It appears that it is the quantity and method of administering the infusion that makes the treated individuals nauseous. The sufferer then remains in the healer's treatment house for at least an hour, covered in the blackening leaves, talking quietly to the other patients, or just sitting.

It should be noted that *te'ia* patients do not fall into the deep sleep that occurs when sufferers of the possession form of '*āvanga*' are treated with precisely the same

¹⁹ These are two of the plants also used in the treatment of the possession form of '*āvanga*'. *Morinda citrifolia* is used by a number of Polynesian societies as a medicinal plant. See Handy, Pukui and Livermore 1934:18; see also Handy 1927:245.

²⁰ See Helu 1984:5 for a description of the cure of a young possessed female patient. He reports that a healer in Vava'u squeezed the juice from a paste made from the fruit of *Morinda citrifolia* into the girl's mouth, ears and eyes, and massaged shredded leaves of *Morinda citrifolia*, *Evodia hortensis*, and *Dysoxylum forsteri* (*mo'ota*) onto the girl's upper neck and temples.

medicine, and precisely the same methods. *Te'ia* patients are enjoined not to sleep during the day and not to go to bed until late at night. The patient returns home with the leaves still on the face and body. Another treatment utilised involves patients inhaling the steam from an infusion of leaves, including *Morinda citrifolia* and *Evodia hortensis*. The two other plants used in this infusion are *futu* (*Barringtonia asiatica*) and *maile* (*Alysia scandens*). Finally, patients are required to bathe using a mixture made from leaves boiled in a quantity of water. This is known as *kaukau tuku*.²¹

The dripping of the medicine into the ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth appears to be a symbolic sealing and cleansing, with the intention of driving away the spirit, or countering the effect of the spirit. The medicine is not intended as an emetic, in that the patient is encouraged to hold it down. There is an additional symbolic element in the treatment, for the head is *tapu* in Tongan culture. Individuals should never touch any part of another person's head unexpectedly. Traditionally a child never touched the head of his or her father. In his analysis of the methodology of the treatment for *'āvanga*, Helu claims that traditional healers have devised an efficient and fast method of affecting the central nervous system (CNS) by the application of the medicine to the nerve endings in the eyes, nostrils, ears and throat.²² Physiological science does not support this assertion. Medication dropped in the eyes and nose has quite a slow entry into the bloodstream, via the mucous membranes, while that dropped in the ears has only a local effect. Those compounds which have somatic properties would have the quickest effect when dripped into the nostrils and throat. The fruit of *Morinda citrifolia* (*nonu*) does contain some *Anthraquinones*, which could have a mildly tranquilising effect.²³ However, this fruit is not solely used for the treatment of possession, for some older people report it being eaten daily as a health measure. The fruit pulp has a strong, unpleasant smell.

If the sufferers from *te'ia*, or the two possession forms of *'āvanga* (I.i and I.ii in Table 1), resist treatment, additional measures may be taken by the healer. The first is the burial of a medicinal mixture, derived from leaves which have been boiled in sea water, in the grave of the person whose spirit is purportedly affecting the individual being treated. The mixture is the same as that used for the final bathe of the *te'ia* patient. Another approach is to pour the boiling medicinal mixture down a bamboo tube inserted in the grave. There are no ritual or ceremonial formulae to accompany these procedures. In extreme cases, where the healer considers the patient is in danger of dying through the influence of spirits, he or she will order that a quantity of food be prepared and distributed in the same way as is done after a funeral, except in this case the feast affirms the patient's living, and not his or her spirit-caused death. The most extreme method of dealing with malevolent spirits is to disturb the grave of the individual whose spirit is believed to be affecting someone, remove the body or skeleton, and burn the bones. Although Parsons²⁴ states that in Tonga it is possible to get legal permission to open graves and remove part of the

²¹ This mixture includes all the leaves used in the previous treatments, plus the leaves of *Musa paradisiaca* (*fetau*) and of *Wedelia biflora* (*ate*).

²² Helu 1984:12-13.

²³ I am indebted to Sione Tukia Jr, BPharm, for this information.

²⁴ Parsons 1985:106, note 8.

skeleton or body, those healers who reported undertaking this process claimed to have done it surreptitiously at night. I saw evidence of grave disturbance and burning, including the destruction of grave decorations, in a large cemetery in a suburb of Nuku'alofa. Gifford²⁵ quoted a contemporary European account of Tongans destroying the skeleton of dead relatives in response to dreams.

In most of pre-contact Polynesia, including Tonga, only royalty, the nobility and chiefs had souls which were guaranteed life after death. Commoners were promised nothing, or took their chances in an after-death gamble. While extreme reverence was, and still is, paid to the burial places and skeletal remains of royalty and nobility, much less respect was offered to the bones of commoners. The contemporary elaborate funerary rites and the post-funerary rituals which are maintained by commoners in Tonga can be seen as ways of assuring the dead person that they are honoured and encouraging them to rest quietly and not harbour malevolence towards the living. Generosity in funeral prestations is multi-purpose - it re-affirms relationships, stressing the value of kinship ties, demonstrates respect both to living and dead kin, comforts and assists relatives and friends, and impresses others with the strength of feelings. This can perhaps also be taken as evidence of a belief in the power of the spirits of the dead to see what is happening in the world above ground.

The old explanation prevalent in Tonga that ghosts or spirits were intrinsically malevolent and used the bodies of dead people as vehicles for haunting humans is compatible with Christian beliefs that the souls of the dead 'go to heaven' and that ghosts are *tevolo*, 'demons'. This would explain the malevolence of the spirits who cause illness, including the possession form of *'āvanga* as well as *te'ia*. It would also explain the belief that the bones of the dead should be destroyed in difficult cases, so that the *tevolo* has no vehicle to use in order to frighten or harm the living.

In their work on traditional religious beliefs in Hawaii Handy, Pukui and Livermore listed several possible malevolent spirits: 'a disgruntled ghost ... an offended nature spirit ... a spirit guardian or ancestor, or one of a number of types of malevolent demonic spirit agent(s)'.²⁶ It would seem that a very similar identification of the different spirits/demons also existed in Tonga. The 'spirit guardian or ancestor' in pre-contact Tonga was usually the family deity of an aristocratic lineage whose protection may have extended to the commoners who served the lineage head. Unfortunately we have little idea of the spirit beliefs of non-aristocratic Tongans in pre-contact Tonga. Early missionaries reported that parents attributed the illness of children to the influence of evil spirits. People sought healing at the shrines of the deities of the lineage heads. The power considered to be inherent in chiefs such as the Tu'i Tonga in pre-contact times has been reduced in the post-contact period to an attribution of danger to the places where they are buried, and dissipated in a proliferation of ghost stories. Beliefs in the possible magical powers of some living family members, such as the father's sister (*mehekitanga*), appear to have existed in the pre-contact period and to have diminished in the post-contact period.²⁷ However,

²⁵ Gifford 1929:342; cf. Handy 1927:68-9.

²⁶ Handy, Pukui and Livermore 1934:6.

²⁷ See Rogers 1973.

'popular' ideas regarding the possible punitive behaviour of dead royalty, such as the Tu'i Tonga, and of dead nobles and of family members, today appear to have gained acceptance among Tongans in all levels of society. The belief in the power of dead family members to hurt and harm the living has gained in strength as new ideologies of the family and the extended family have come to be accepted and developed in the post-contact period.

In Tonga most traditional *tapu* operated as social and behavioural controls between people of high and low social rank. This ranking system operated within kin networks, with the attribution of high status to certain family members among a person's cognate kin. Fathers (*tamai*), fathers' sisters (*mehekitanga*), and men's sisters (*tuofefine*) had high status. The strength of the past political and social controls of the commoners by people of noble birth were partly diminished through legislation and have waned to some extent with the gradual development of new patterns of social organisation. The new patterns of social organisation, however, contained new means of social control utilising a combination of Christian-derived ideology and reformed, adapted tradition. Parallel to this process was the gradual assumption of what was formerly considered to be 'eiki (aristocratic) behaviour and traditions by lesser chiefs²⁸ and then by commoners.

Sickness and Familial Relations

The main emphasis of my research in Tonga has been on the prevailing ideology of the family and of the *kāinga* (the cognate kin of an individual), and how this functions in a period of rapid social change. In Tonga, kin relations are reinforced by notions of rank and associated rights and privileges assigned to some members within the family, and the responsibilities and duties inherent in the recognition of these. The family is a corporate group, which should offer mental, physical and economic support. Above all, it should offer love. In Tongan this love expressed within the context of a family is called *fe'ofa'ofani*. Family members see their relationship as both a matter of blood and of love. As one informant put it: 'We belong to each other and we should care for each other'. This was echoed by the majority of informants.

The family can also function as a very tight net. Although two favourite phrases in Tongan conversation are 'It's up to you' and 'Please yourself' the possibility of an individual being able to do this does not always exist. Children and adolescents are very much under the control of their parents and may be beaten if they have been disobedient, or to emphasise a disciplinary point, such as the need to study and get ahead. Girls and young women have a limited degree of freedom away from the household, in order that their virginity be protected. Even after marriage both male and female adult children will accept direction from their parents, particularly from their fathers. There are often unexpressed tensions between individuals, particularly as it is not customary to discuss, even between parents and children, matters of deep

²⁸ See Bott with Tavi 1982:61.

personal concern. Teasing, in varying degrees of severity, is used as a method of control and rebuke by adults, and among all age groups.²⁹

The public expression of anger is usually well-controlled, except by drunken men. If sisters, cousins and mothers are present they will break up fights between males by separating the combatants and using a combination of voice and body language to calm them. There are ritual means for people to experience catharsis, particularly during public speechmaking and prayers, and during times of corporate prayer in churches. On these occasions a speaker's voice might thicken or break with emotion, and tears be wiped away by both the speaker and the audience. During the times of prayer, particularly at the point in some church services where all the congregation pray aloud, people may loudly sob and lament.

While there is a perception of firm control in families and within society it is interesting that, compared to Samoa, suicide rates in Tonga are minimal, particularly among adolescents. Samoan social organisation is much tighter at the local, village level, with rigid customary authority structures within the family and within the village. Village life in Tonga is a relatively recent (nineteenth century) innovation. While a Tongan village has the usual features of a small-scale community, where most people know a great deal about the private lives of others living there, it does not harbour the oppressiveness which has been described for the Samoan village. There has been a continuous internal migratory process occurring in Tonga for at least three generations as young people travel to the main island for higher education. Rates of internal migration from the smaller islands in Ha'apai and Vava'u to the port towns, and thence to the capital, have accelerated in the past thirty-five years. Emigration to the U.S.A. (mainly Hawaii and California), New Zealand and Australia has increased dramatically in the past ten years. This has had its effect on the composition of the village populations, and on the functioning of the conjugal and the extended family (see Cowling this volume). The family is still a corporate group, but many families are now part of dispersed kin networks, with some members not sharing in the benefits of the modernisation process.

The cost of family and community obligations has increased with modernisation. Tongans, like most human beings, require tangible expression as proof of affection and love, and its lack can cause stress, both for people living in Tonga and those living abroad. The prevailing ideology of the family and the extended family in Tonga emphasises that there should always be equality and harmony within the household unit and the kinsfolk.³⁰ At the same time it is recognised that people are not perfect, and that in any kin network there are likely to be disagreements, grudges, jealousy, and disharmony among its members. Minor illnesses may be attributed to ill-wishing from living members of an extended family, or enemies who are motivated by jealousy and anger. Spirits of dead family members are blamed for a wide range of illnesses, but, as can be seen in the list in Appendix I, not for all. The belief that adult sinners are punished by gods or spirits through hurt inflicted on a child is a phenomenon known in cultures world-wide. It can be interpreted as a way in which

²⁹ Cf. Bernstein 1983.

³⁰ See also Parsons 1984:74.

some societies explained high rates of infant mortality. In Tonga, illness may not only be attributed to the anger of dead family members at the failure of living kin to obey social rules, but also to noble and chiefly spirits taking offence at 'disrespect' by humans who reside on their ancestral land or who pass a noble burial place. This disrespect may include laughing, joking, and, particularly in the case of young women, behaving in a sexually forward way. The half-joking, half-serious threat of *tevolo* lurking near houses after dusk is used as a means to keep girls indoors.

Failure to fulfil what are regarded as the basic norms of family life, such as the demonstration of loving concern and the provision of food and shelter, has in the past attracted punishment by spirits: 'the avanga punish those who do not meet their responsibilities to their subordinates' [i.e. their children].³¹ The illnesses, and even deaths, of young children, were frequently attributed to parental sins, such as adultery or failure to behave properly to other family members. In one case I observed, a three year old boy who did not appear to be thriving was taken to a healer. The child's condition was attributed by the healer to the malevolent influence of a young uncle, now dead, who in life was unkindly treated by the child's mother, who was his sister-in-law, when he had lived in his brother's house. The healer considered the spirit of the young uncle was most strongly present in the boy's older sister, a girl of six, although the small boy was the most physically affected. All three children of the family were treated.

In another case, a small girl was suffering from what was diagnosed as *te-ia*. The healer attempting to cure her said the child was being affected by the ghost of a dead neighbour, because his wife and the child's mother had been in dispute. (The healer herself became badly affected by boils, and it was decided by a specialist in spirit-caused boils that she had been hit by the dead man, angry at her interference.) Similarly, an infant's near-fatal illness was attributed to the infidelity of the child's father during the mother's pregnancy, and a father's death was attributed to his son's disobedience and flagrantly immoral behaviour. In this case the son was assiduous in his maintenance of post-death rituals. In the case of the small boy affected by the dead young uncle, the healer decided that as the child was slow to respond to treatment he would have to take the most drastic step to prevent the uncle's spirit continuing his activities. He intended to visit the grave, exhume the body, or what was left of it, and burn it, smashing the bones to splinters. The relatives took it on trust that this actually occurred as the healer did not encourage witnesses.

Healers will also perform these rituals at the graves of people who are not related to the sick person. I observed the healing of a five-year-old girl whom the healer claimed was affected by a spirit of a man buried in bushland near the child's village. The land was on part of an estate which was owned by the King of Tonga. It was decided by the healer that 'the spirit had been roaming about, intending to attack the king, and the child had got in the way'. The child had been ill for some weeks before she had been brought to the healer. She was languid, and appeared very depressed, with tears continually welling up in her eyes. She lay across her mother's lap, pale and thin 'because [the mother reported] she would not eat, and it was hard

³¹ Parsons 1984:83.

to force her even to take a spoonful of water'. After living for three days in the treatment hut of the healer the child began to improve. It was considered significant that she did not fight the administration of the unpleasant medicine. In the view of the healer this indicated some weakness or weakening in the power of the spirit. On the seventh day of her treatment the healer, accompanied by the girl's parents and family friends, visited the grave of the person who was believed to have made the child ill, and the appropriate medicine was buried in the sand of the grave. The healer stated that he was confident that this act, combined with the treatment, would cure the child. He did not perform this ritual every time, nor was there any other special ritual at the gravesite. Children who become ill with languidness and a high fever may often have this condition attributed to their grieving for an absent parent or close relative, rather than to spirit-affectedness.

Most of the perceptual cases of *te'ia* which I observed involved infants who appeared perfectly well, but whose young mothers had brought them to a healer because they had decided the children were not thriving. Culturally there is great uneasiness about the possibility of the fontanelle not closing over, and the skulls of quite young infants will be massaged to encourage this.³² Both mothers and babies were treated by the healer. The attribution of possible blame for non-closure was not discussed. Their fears for the child related to a perception of the infant's vulnerability and frailty. An infant's stools were anxiously examined and any perceived abnormality was frequently related to fears about the fontanelle.

Many women who had not conceived a child after several years of marriage consulted healers to find out whether a spirit was preventing conception. These cases may be attributed to the ill-wishing of a dead sister of the girl's father, due to the fact that the girl had eloped. By ignoring the family's wishes or by not asking permission to marry, the girl and her suitor 'had not shown respect to her family'. The failure to conceive may be attributed to the interference of a former boyfriend, or even the friend of a former boyfriend. In such cases the healer, or the woman, would assert that a jealous spirit had been present when the couple had intercourse, preventing pleasure or even conception.

Both the brief, sudden onset of the possession form of *'āvanga* and a claim to be suffering from *te'ia* are culturally acceptable forms of evincing distress, fears and concerns. In the short-duration possession form, which is usually precipitated by a life crisis (for example, pressure from the family on an individual to be, or do, something which is unacceptable to the person), causing anger, or withdrawal, rational behaviour is resumed after a brief flight into 'freedom', that is, into irrationality.³³ It can be seen as a plea for attention and the adjustment of whatever life situation is oppressing the victim.

When individuals are diagnosed as suffering from *'āvanga* I.i. and *te'ia*, demands placed on them, particularly by their family, may be lessened. There may be acceptance of a need to change their circumstances and life situation. If these conditions are dealt with within the context of Tongan traditional healing they do not

³² Spillius [Bott] 1960.

³³ Cf. Helu 1984.

usually evince long-term disturbance. However, if they are neglected, then the sufferers exhibit symptoms of severer mental disturbance, which may not be dealt with satisfactorily. Neglect to seek healing for a mentally affected family member can be taken as evidence of ruptures in kin relations. But the people who show signs of mental disturbance may not be helped for a variety of reasons, and such neglect cannot be solely attributed to changes in the Tongan lifestyle.

Mentally ill individuals whose behaviour is not troublesome may be left alone in their withdrawal, and left to what is interpreted as consorting with a spirit or spirits. If they become more actively disturbed a healer will be consulted. Their behaviour at this time may be violent, they may scream, shout, run around the neighbourhood, try to go naked, and so on. These outbreaks are treated as short-episode occurrences of the possession form of *'āvanga*. The standard healing process takes place, and they may revert to their previously withdrawn behaviour.

All the forms of *'āvanga* can be seen as culture-reactive rather than culture-bound.³⁴ They are the Tongan versions of illness phenomena which occur in other societies. Significantly, in both the possession and the sustained madness forms of *'āvanga* and in *te'ia* blame for the condition is projected onto spirits and directed away from the patient or the care-givers (although the latter may have some fault attributed to them in the case of spirit-affected children). The *te'ia* healers first look for evidence of spirit-affectedness, and then for clues of disharmony in the past interaction in life of the dead person and the living. In the case of the two groups of spirits who may have had no previous connection with the affected individual it appears to be a matter of misfortune that the path of the spirit and the path of the living person have coincided.

IN TONGA THE social controls which ordered a society comprised of small-scale communities now have less power. The attribution of blame for some illnesses is shifting from specific family spirits disturbed by family disharmony to spirits disturbed by the dis-ease of the society as a whole. The increasing difficulty of making a reasonable living, the problems of landlessness and youth unemployment, all of which are precipitating emigration, have not as yet been sufficiently and publicly acknowledged. An increasing number of families appear to be permanently separated and a consequent heavy emotional and economic burden is being increasingly placed on those remaining in Tonga - aged parents, single family members, children, and particularly deserted wives.

The occurrence of conditions such as possession would not be surprising in such a situation, whether familial or national. Lewis in his 1971 discussion of the work of P.M. Yap stated:

Possession, Yap argues, is a condition where problem-solving processes result in an unusual dramatization of the 'me' aspect of the self, that part being constituted by forced and urgent identification with another personality credited with transcendental power ... For possession to occur, Yap holds, the following conditions are necessary. The subject must be dependent and conforming in character, probably occupying a position in society that does not allow

³⁴ See Yap 1969:35.

for reasonable self-assertion. He must be confronted with a problem which he sees no hope of solving.³⁵

A similar interpretation of mental disorder in general has been offered by Phillips and Draguns.³⁶ In their view psychological disturbance in people, in any society, is evidence of the inability of some individuals to adapt to a society's demands, particularly in the formation and sustaining of the self and self-image.

However, in Tonga there is no evidence of a dramatic increase in people displaying short-term possession symptoms. On the whole, these seem to be almost 'set-piece' performances which occur sporadically, and to only a small number of individuals. What is noticeable is the increase in numbers and the gender imbalance in the people consulting healers for treatment of 'spirit-caused sickness', particularly for mild to severe depression.³⁷ Women in modern Tonga have less freedom than in former times to move away from the control of their kin group, both before and after marriage, unless they have means of their own and a complaisant family. Many are now being adversely affected by the migration of male relatives, particularly husbands. Finau has rightly pointed out that traditional medicine functions 'in a dynamic framework that develops, adapts and interacts with the economic, political and cultural changes in a ... society'.³⁸ Tongan society is in a state of rapid social change and economic development. However, the governmental decision-making processes are slow-moving, and in spite of ambitious development plans, there are considerable inequities in the distribution of income and land. It is not surprising to find changes occurring in folk illness explanations in Tonga, or that these should keep pace with the changes in the socio-economic situation. At present it seems that the most active spirits are those affected, as many of my informants put it, 'by the disturbance of Tongan life and culture', presumably sensitive to some change in the spiritual atmosphere due to modernisation. These spirits may still be identified as dead family members or strangers, but the reasons for their affective behaviour are changing.

Further research would have to be undertaken to see whether *'āvanga* or *te'ia* patients have repeated episodes once the life crisis is resolved, and how many of these people are being treated by traditional healers. The types and frequency of illnesses which are being treated by Tongan physicians also need to be studied. Doctors in private practice and those practising in the three hospitals in the Kingdom have patients who present with advanced cases of what, in their culturally-based form, are

³⁵ Lewis 1971:199-200.

³⁶ Phillips and Draguns 1969: see in particular 24-5.

³⁷ I do not have extensive quantitative data to sustain this impression, but it seemed that more men than women suffered from the debilitating illnesses which were diagnosed as being located in the 'stomach'. These were greatly feared, as people did die, their deaths attributed to an unknown ailment. The healers of 'lumps' (*kahi*) some of which could be located in the stomach, had a great many patients, and the market retailers of local nostrums used to prevent or treat a range of ailments located in the 'stomach' did good business. These were an infusion, *vai kahi* and a decoction, *vai haka*. Most Tongan men in their lifetimes drink considerable amounts of *kava* and this can have an adverse effect on the liver and the heart. Hepatitis B is not uncommon, and it could well be that some deaths attributed to stomach illness could be due to undiagnosed hepatitis or to liver cancer.

³⁸ Finau 1981:92.

relatively minor psychoses or neuroses.³⁹ Similarly, Tongans living abroad who self-diagnose a mental illness as spirit-caused may find themselves diagnosed as psychotics, manic depressives or schizophrenics if they seek treatment in their new society.

The belief that some mental illness is caused by spirits of the dead is not one that Tongans openly discuss with strangers. Members of the educated élite may deny its existence to a visitor, or dismiss it as due to 'the superstition and ignorance of uneducated people'. On the other hand, Tongan traditional medicine is regarded with some pride by many Tongans. There is often considerable naïvete reflected in writings about traditional medicine both by European visitors to Tonga and Tongans themselves. Healers claim cures for a wide range of ailments and injuries, but often people seek traditional treatment together with treatment from Western-trained doctors, clinic sisters and hospitals. The pharmacopœia employed by the traditional healers needs to be scientifically investigated. Many of the naturopathic therapies utilised in healing processes do not appear to offer anything more than a placebo. Some do not do any identifiable good, and the use of some can be harmful. The massage, the most frequently occurring component of any treatment, has obvious therapeutic merits.

It is undeniable that traditional methods employed to deal with short-term mental disturbance are successful, particularly if the members of a family and kin network are prepared to allow adjustments in the life of the person affected. I cannot, however, judge how many of the cases I observed or about which I collected narratives were 'performances' of illness behaviour in an accepted context, utilising traditional beliefs, in order to initiate life changes, and how many were due to a short-term mental crisis, the causes of which were attributed to spiritual forces outside the affected person's control.

In Tonga there is certainly a reluctance to 'blame the victim'. Mental illness and mental disability are not stigmatised because they are usually considered to be caused by factors other than a sufferer's inability to cope with life.⁴⁰ However, the general reluctance to engage in discussions of personal feelings and discontents within the family and within society can be seen as a contributing factor to an individual's breakdown or distress. The number of people seeking assistance from healers for *te'ia* will probably continue to increase, as the pressures in Tongan society and in the

³⁹ In 1984 129 individuals were admitted to the Psychiatric Ward of Vaiola Hospital, Tongatapu. Thirty-one were diagnosed as suffering from 'psychosis', with eight of these diagnosed as schizophrenic. Twenty-one were labelled as of the 'affective type', twenty-one patients had a 'depressive disorder', fifty-four were classed as 'All causes', and nineteen had 'unspecified mental and behavioural problems' (Government of Tonga, 1984, Table 20). Dr Wolfgang Jilek, who observed the Psychiatric Ward at Vaiola for three months in early 1987, informed me that some patients in the ward were still being treated by traditional healers. However, in some of these cases where the patient was slow to respond to treatment the healer decided that a patient's illness was not '*āvanga*-caused, and therefore not treatable by Tongan medicine.

⁴⁰ It should be noted that '*āvanga* and *te'ia* victims do not graduate to becoming healers/shamans as in other societies. The healer is always seen as benevolent and helping, and is not regarded as a practitioner of witchcraft. However, a few healers of '*āvanga* have themselves become victims of mental illness. The folk explanation of this was that they had been too proud about their role, or had been careless in their personal lives, and left themselves open to be affected by the spirits with whom they were in contention.

economy of the country force individuals and families to make dramatic changes to their life and lifestyle. If these pressures and changes are not readily acknowledged and discussed, people may be forced to remonstrate through this indirect method of registering distress.

APPENDIX I

A: The five groups of spirits believed to cause *'āvanga*

1. **Spirits of dead kin :**
 - (a) disturbed by the 'disobedience' of family members. They may have committed adultery, or refused to conform to community values.
 - (b) feeling excessively loving towards living family members; wanting their company, living or dead.
 - (c) wishing to make mischief, to cause harm, to be manipulative.
2. **Spirits of individuals** who, at one time, have been close to the affected person, or a close friend of another person whom the affected individual may have hurt or offended.
3. **Spirits of nobles**, who may punish people for lack of respect, or for lack of conformity to community values. These are most offended if people are disrespectful in or near their burial places.
4. **Spirits of strangers**, into whose 'territory' an individual may have blundered. This may be in a cemetery, or in bushland, or on the seashore.
5. **Spirits in disarray** 'because of the disturbance of Tongan life and culture'. These latter may be from any of the groups numbered 1 - 4.

B : Traditional groupings of spirits in Polynesia

- i. Spirit guardian or ancestor spirit of lineage.
- ii. Nature spirits
- iii. Demonic agents who (a) use the physical shape of dead kin.
(b) use another human's form.

APPENDIX II

Medicines used for the treatment of *'āvanga* and *te'ia*

leaves of *lautolu uta*;
leaves of *lautolu tahi*

Treatment of crisis in possession form

leaves of <i>Evodia hortensis</i>	<i>uhi</i>
leaves of <i>Dysoxylum forsteri</i>	<i>mo'ota</i>
leaves of <i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	<i>nonu</i>
fruit of <i>Morinda citrifolia</i>	<i>nonu</i>

Massage (*vali*) in treatment of 'āvanga and te'ia

Chewed leaves of :

Evodia hortensis

Morinda citrifolia

Steam infusion in treatment of 'āvanga and te'ia

Water in which the following leaves are boiled :

Morinda citrifolia

Evodia hortensis

Alysia scandens *maile*

Barringtonia asiatica *futu*

Final bathe (and grave burial)

Leaves of :

Evodia hortensis

Morinda citrifolia

Dyxsosylum forsteri

-

lautolu uta

-

lautolu tahi

Musa paradisiaca

fetau

Wedelia biflora

ate

Vai (medicine) for treatment of 'āvanga

Crushed bark of *Siale Tonga*

Crushed bark of *valai*

Crushed leaves of *lautolu 'uta*

Crushed leaves of *lautolu tahi*

8

Gender Relations in Tonga: A Paradigm Shift

K.E. JAMES

While I have no data to present which are new (indeed, in relation to precontact Tonga, new data might be hard to come by), nevertheless, by focusing specifically upon gender relations - defined not only in Eurocentric terms of the relations between men and women, or even between male and female statuses but in terms of the basic principles underlying them - I have come to question (1) some previous formulations of the place of gender in the traditional Tongan socio-political order, (2) conceptualisations of the *kāinga* as both a corporate local group and as a synonym for a cognatic kinship system, (3) the basically Eurocentric notion of the 'domestic' sphere as opposed to the 'political' sphere, and (4) a degree of over-formalisation of the Tongan systems in general.

MOST ACCOUNTS OF 'TRADITIONAL' (PRE-EUROPEAN) TONGA SHOW THAT DISTINCTIONS BASED ON gender were crucial to some of the more notable features of the Tongan social order, yet gender tends to assume a somewhat elusive and ambiguous place in much analysis¹. For example, both Kaeppler and Bott,² in their discussions of rank and authority, introduce gender, with age, as salient only within a personal ranking system determined by one's place within a *kāinga* - 'the domain of domestic kinship'.³ Kaeppler would like to 'consider *kāinga* as a consanguineal relationship' while analysing 'societal ranking' and 'societal groupings' in terms of *ha'a* organisation, and so leaves gender in the kinship system at the domestic level; while Bott holds the kinship system, and *kāinga* ranking within it, to be simultaneously domestic and political.⁴

In her sensitive and most informed account, Bott says *kāinga* may be translated as 'kinsmen'.⁵ Only reluctantly does she type the kinship system as 'cognatic' - in which the basic kinship category is a 'bilateral kindred called *kāinga*', nowadays a *fāмили*.⁶ Yet, she stresses, the *kāinga* operated foremost in precontact times as a chief's territorially-based, political support group which he called his 'kin' because

¹ Possibly because gender distinctions derived meaning from the old religion which is largely lost to us. Attempts to garner meaning must therefore remain speculative but are justified nonetheless because of its centrality to the 'traditional' order (Rogers 1977:158).

² Kaeppler 1971; Bott 1981.

³ Bott 1981:8.

⁴ Kaeppler 1971:175; Bott 1981:8

⁵ 1982:57.

⁶ 1981:15.

members of the group were his subjects (rather than calling them his subjects because they were kin).⁷ Thus, we have two single-minded processes going on: the anthropologist is calling the *kāinga* 'kin' to fit it, however uneasily, into a kinship system, and the Tongan chief is calling people, subjected to him, 'kin', or, rather, *kāinga*, in order to mobilise political support.

What Bott calls the two simplest forms of social stratification, 'a system of patrilineal authority and a system of ceremonial rank', are combined and rooted in domestic kinship and elaborated to the whole of society 'in the sense that the kinship connections of great aristocrats are known throughout the society and can be used to command respect and to request food'.⁸ Bott here is using the notion of a political *kāinga* in another sense again from the idea of the local group for, in fact, close relatives often became rivals and the focal points for opposed *kāinga*. And she combines the idea of a kinship *network* and the local *group* when she speaks of the political *kāinga* as anyone the leader can call on.⁹ Thus, if gender is salient within the *kāinga* it is initially confusing to find *kāinga* used in several distinct ways, although Bott's usages undoubtedly all reflect concepts and usages which were current in Tonga.¹⁰

'Domestic' is perhaps an unfortunate term to use as it can suggest that the 'domestic field' is the smaller and lesser in comparison with the 'political' so that mechanical and makeshift notions - of rank and authority arising in one field and having to be transferred to another - have to be introduced. In fact, the chiefs' legendary doings and 'family life' set the scene for the polity as a whole and, in a sense, were enacted out (socially reflected) in ensuing generations.¹¹

In effect, Bott analyses rank and authority (and, by association, the notion of *kāinga*) as being simultaneously domestic, rooted in personal kin, and (in a different sense) political, as expressed in the leadership of a locality-based, political support group. Despite tantalising glimpses and insights into gender relations and the belief that the salience of gender is rooted in *kāinga* relations, gender fails to be systematically transferred to the higher, or 'political', level of Bott's analysis.

It remained for Wood Ellem, an historian, to again adjust the analytical status of gender, and to build on Rogers's¹² profound insights into the meaning of gender relations, by her adduction of Tongan cultural themes - in particular, the association of the female principle with mystical powers and of the male principle with secular

⁷ 1981:9.

⁸ Bott 1981:8, 78.

⁹ 1981:24.

¹⁰ An ego-centred bilateral kindred has no set boundary but, we are told, the political *kāinga* was a group defined by the additional principle of residence on land attached to a title not an individual as *tamai* (Bott 1981:24; 1982:69ff). It is not clear how the group was stratified internally. The position of the *kai fonua*, people without blood rank who worked the land, is especially questionable since they were regarded as being qualitatively different (without souls) from people with blood rank (with souls) and therefore, possibly, not members of the *kāinga* at all. Wood Ellem argues this: 'Mutual support inherent in the obligations and privileged interaction is the most significant characteristic of the *kāinga* and this is not consistent with the situation of the "lower orders". Since such people had no rights, even to life itself, then they could not have been part of the *kāinga*' (1981:50). We are also told they may not have had formal marriage (Rogers 1977:165) which is essential to the reproduction of *kāinga* relations; nor did they protect the virginity of their young women as their behaviour with visiting sailors attests.

¹¹ Bott 1982:91.

¹² 1977.

power and authority - which illumined ideas of traditional joint 'brother'-sister' *kāinga* leadership. I would argue similarly that distinction in terms of gender difference is second only to hierarchy as a pervasive cultural concept¹³ as it is through the idiom of hierarchy that gender distinctions are often expressed. Taking the significance of gender to a level of abstraction beyond its embodiment in particular men and women, or even in male and female statuses and relations within the *kāinga*, prepares the way for further changes in interpretation of general relations between gender, kinship, and overall political structures and process.

The Kāinga

The roots of hierarchical ranking - the 'patrilineal authority' and 'ceremonial rank' which Bott speaks of¹⁴ - are to be found in the working out of the scenario of physical reproduction and attrition, and political change, as related in the myths of the first coming of the Tu'i Tonga. The union of the god and earthly woman could be called 'domestic' kinship only in a very special way since it established the significant model for the whole Tongan social order and one which had gender distinctions at its core in the creation and transmission of mystical and secular power and authority.

The *kāinga* model may be seen as a set of symbolic hierarchical classifications which provided a template for the reckoning of 'eiki-tu'a relations. If people mirrored the organisation at household level and, for example, a brother regarded himself as *tu'a* to pay respect *faka'apa'apa* to his sister as goddess and 'eiki, he thereby reenacted the mythic story which gave Tonga this form of religio-socio-political order and by his actions confirmed the relations of hierarchy which are the very basis of the order.

The *kāinga 'i tamai*, the people of the heavenly male, had the greater degree of both mystical powers and authority in relation to the *kāinga 'i fa'ē* but the earthly mother and her semi-divine child were dependent upon the *kāinga 'i fa'ē* for their nurture. The rights and obligations which were accorded to authority were ideally epitomised in the person of the *tamai* as a little Tu'i Tonga in his own *kāinga*. The privileges attendant upon relative ritual capacities, again, resided in the *kāinga 'i tamai* and were epitomised by the female head, the *mehikitanga*.

Williamson goes so far as to suggest the senior female may have been the true heir, since she was ritually the more potent, but that she transferred her right to her 'brother' or 'son'.¹⁵ She controlled the fertility of her brother's wife, while the brother played a nurturing role in supporting and feeding his sister's higher-ranking offspring; that is, she played the powerful male role to his line while he played the nurturing female 'mother' role to her and her offspring.

In addition to such symbolic incest, there are indications of actual brother-sister incest. *Kūetama* involved marriage between cousins who were classificatory 'brother'

¹³ Kaeppler 1971:174.

¹⁴ 1981:8.

¹⁵ 1924:109-13; quoted in Wood Ellem 1981:48.

and 'sister' so that it too might be regarded as a form of incest practised only among the high-ranking people.

Queen Sālote recalled a golden age when all Tonga was united as one *kāinga* under the Tu'i Tonga. Thus, the *kāinga* acted as a template upon which meanings were superimposed, to emphasise heritage of blood rank through the mother's side; the relations between titles as *ta'okete-tehina* or *tamai foha* in the *kāinga'i tamai*, to indicate senior or junior status in *ha'a*; and finally the individual as focus of a bilateral network of ties in which he is 'under' the generations above in the *kāinga 'i tamai* but 'above' those in the *kāinga 'i fa'ē*.¹⁶

The template is shallow and flexible: different parts can be emphasised or minimised, in different contexts and at different times, to accommodate new themes and, it would seem, a growing complexity of internally and externally articulated social and political relations. For example, just as received notions of what the *kāinga* was have influenced the range and size of the Tongan *fāmili* - a notion introduced by Europeans in the nineteenth century - so ideas of the *fāmili*, as a nuclear family, have been relayed to ideas of the *kāinga*. Today, the *kāinga* may be best thought of as an ego-centred bilateral kindred with a strong consanguineal component comprising sets of ramifying ties based on extended kinship through many degrees of relationship, and which is duplicated in Tongan society from top to bottom. The traditional *kāinga* had more to do with the expression of claims to mystical power (blood rank), temporal power and positions of leadership, political alliance and support, than with necessarily expressing consanguinity as we have been accustomed to believe by Morgan and generations of anthropologists after him.¹⁷

Today, gender relations are confined more or less to domestic and ceremonial spheres and the obeisances which marked the possession of mystical power have tended to become mere forms of etiquette, important for the notion of Tongan identity in the modern world but a pale shadow of their former 'dark powers'¹⁸ and dynamic central position in the traditional order.¹⁹

The quality of blood rank, derived ideally in an unbroken female line²⁰ from the Tu'i Tonga and more particularly from his 'sister', was the prime Tongan value.²¹ Ideologically, the principle of blood rank defined the limits of legitimate claim to authority. It was the only qualification for spiritual authority and the prime

¹⁶ The image of diagonal weaving is here compelling as in Rogers's (1977) epitaph and fig.(1977:170) and Wood Ellem (1981:114n95).

¹⁷ Hocart 1952:176.

¹⁸ Rogers 1977:162-63.

¹⁹ Both anthropologists and post-contact Tongans have each tended to project the 'ethnographic present' on to the past without allowing sufficiently for the degree of basic structural change which occurred with the advent of Christianity, unification and, most important of all, a legal constitution, the way for which was established by 1839, and in which monogamy, and inheritance and succession by male primogeniture, were enshrined.

²⁰ Since females were the vessels of the god's reproductive powers (Wood Ellem 1981:30).

²¹ Queen Sālote said this in many ways, for example, 'Rank overrules everything', and 'The chiefly blood counts for more than any line' (Wood Ellem 1981:28,30), although, in Bott's case studies of chiefly marriage alliances, rank seems more often eclipsed by political strength than the other way about (1981:49-55).

qualification for temporal power.²² Thus, as one Tongan has remarked, 'Sex was for procreation and politics, it was not a leisure-time activity'.²³

Accordingly, high-ranking virgins were prized and their disposal jealously guarded,²⁴ but the significance of this has not always been understood. Ortner, for one, argues that virgins were sexually attractive and therefore used to entice powerful chiefly men to their 'side'.²⁵ But vulgar, Western notions of 'the virgin complex' ignore the factor of blood rank which senior, high-ranking maidens embodied and could transfer to the next generation and to another sibling set.

Some special 'trophy' value might have been accorded to a virgin but, more importantly in political terms, a previously unwed *ta'ahine* would produce for the first chief she went to her first and, from that point of view, highest-ranking *tama* (offspring). Thus, if the principle of seniority was adhered to, her male relatives, especially her *tuonga'ane* ('brothers') would be bound to give their primary obligation of support and nurture to this *tama* of the union. A virgin, therefore, represented as its 'sister' a generational set of hitherto unallied men and their *ngaahi kāinga*. She could be considered, figuratively speaking, the axis upon which turned the political fortunes of two sets of 'siblings', the set she belonged to and the one to which she was offered. The high-ranking woman, as the *ta'ahine*, always remained *ta'ahine* beyond the loss of her virginity; she retained membership of her siblings' group and often practised serial monogamy. The sibling group with its strong injunctions to amity and also cross-sex avoidance is the basic point of an individual's kinship network.²⁶

Actual structures which are derived from the template may be seen as a series of alliances between sibling groups which lasted for one or two generations unless *kitetama* was practised to consolidate the ties. Groups derived from such networks of ties are neither exclusively exogamic nor endogamic but measure a prospective mate in terms of nearness or distance in the network of ties, and in terms of what is desired from the union: for example, consolidation of rank or extension of ties. The higher-ranking the aristocrat the closer in relationship might be the prospective mate.

The institution of the *moheofo* refers to what some observers see as an elaborate system of cross-cousin marriage (or circulating connubium) between the *kāinga* of the three highest titles: the Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu. It seems unlikely, however, that natural breeding could produce in every generation an actual sister or daughter to exchange. The women who were sent were probably the highest-ranking and most desirable from the chiefs' *kāinga*. The *moheofo* recorded for posterity would be the highest-ranking woman the Tu'i Tonga had been offered

²² Wood Ellem 1981:30.

²³ Dr Sitaleki Finau, personal communication, Suva, 1986.

²⁴ Not only should formal marriage alliance be considered but also rape and marriage by stealth - stealing the sacred stuff - must be regarded as political ploys and successful if the offspring resulting from such a union was subsequently recognised by the man's and the woman's people (*kāinga*).

²⁵ 1981:395.

²⁶ Churchward glosses *kāinga* simply as 'relationship' then adds 'brother or sister in the sense of comrade, compatriot etc' (1959:244).

who had borne an heir, and who represented a political alliance which was the most expedient at the time. While several marriages were entered into which appear to follow the cross-cousin pattern, they do not constitute a social institution which can carry the heavy weight of interpretation it has been made to bear.

In terms of the mythic charter, the sibling set which provides the male partner is the dominant, thus giving a focus to the structure and, in terms of the ideology, providing a continuity of leadership.²⁷ Given a large age differential between siblings, a maiden might well reside with her elder male sibling's group rather than with either her *kāinga 'i fa'ē* or her *kāinga 'i tamai*.

Post-marital residence and inheritance of position does not seem to have been strongly prescribed but, rather, depended among other factors upon the relative wealth, power, rank, age, and resources of land and labour of the parties. 'Lines', either 'matrilines' or 'patrilines', are only notional in the Tongan scheme where the idea is to trace paths of relationship upwards through men or women, or through both, to ancestors of other living people so that advantageous claims may be made of them - with regard to title, or leadership positions which were not graded by title. Effectively, claims made in the idiom of *kāinga* relations concerned who had authority over or could claim allegiance of people, since people rather than land were the scarce resource on which the executive capacity of positions of leadership depended in traditional Tonga.

Thus, the *kāinga* was probably used more as a means of *post hoc* explanation and rationalisation of action than as a determinant of action. If we see the Tongan social order as a rule-bound one, it becomes a problem to explain the emergence of the many *hau* who seized power; whereas, if we see *hau* produced regularly by the political order and the interweaving of basic structural principles of mystical and secular power and authority, then empirical structures derived from the *kāinga* template are seen to be rarely more than emergent. Yet the suggestion of patriliney remains firmly entrenched in anthropological discussions with regard to *kāinga* inheritance and succession of title.²⁸

Patriliney and 'Implicit Patrilineages'

Leach reminds us that 'Bilateral kinship structures are incompatible with the empirical existence of true unilineal groups'.²⁹ Bott says there are no true patrilineages in Tonga, but speaks of implicit patrilineages, patrilineal authority and 'patrilines' and goes on to describe the varying fortunes of different 'lines'.³⁰ In part Bott's claims for patriliney stress the fact that men look to their male forbears for claims to land,³¹ but in itself this does not entail patriliney. People were in any case the main political

²⁷ Pehrson 1971:291.

²⁸ Kaeppler 1971:175; Bott 1981:21.

²⁹ 1973:53.

³⁰ 1981:28-9, 41, 49-55.

³¹ *Ibid.*:8.

resource³² and claims over people could be made more effectively through the *kāinga* 'i fa'ē than through close agnates.

It must be remembered also that women not only produced *koloa* - the durable valuables, mats, oil, and barkcloth, which were associated with their mystical powers³³ - but controlled the distribution of these valuables to other women at formal marriages, funerals, and other rites of passage. Senior women were the main repositories of genealogies and so controlled the non-material wealth of different sets of *hou'eiki*. Thus, whereas most sources of authority ideally passed through men, the mystically-laden, legitimating 'wealth' that accompanied them was produced and controlled by women.

The main evidence for patriliney is lists of the succession from father to son of the major titles. But noble genealogies are best seen as ideologies of more or less successful succession, in a situation of competition, to recognised rank, or eligibility to contend for title or power. It may be that, in terms of the *kāinga* template, successors were thought of as 'sons', or 'younger brothers' because they succeeded, not the other way about. Both Bott and Wood Ellem present a weight of evidence to suggest that succession was not always patrilineal,³⁴ and not a lot to suggest that patrilineal succession was normative.³⁵ Personal capacity was more important than descent in the selection of a fighting chief, the late Queen Sālote said.³⁶

'But', continues Leach, 'where such [bilateral] structures are associated with well developed notions of individual property, it is not uncommon to find that the practice of marriage and the rules of inheritance among the property owning sector of the community have been so contrived as to create notionally permanent property owning corporations which are conceived of as patrilineal descent groups even though, in detail, they are nothing of the sort'.³⁷ It was the title and neither the incumbent nor his *kāinga*, which owned a particular estate and the people who lived on it,³⁸ but, although Queen Sālote said the title was like a *kakala* that one only wore, it is clear there was an identification between the incumbent and the title such that men descended from title-holders would refer to senior titles and their holders as *tamai* and would call themselves the 'child' (or 'grandchild') of the title, regardless of their relationship with the current incumbent. This, it is said, made it very difficult for early observers to work out the kinship system,³⁹ and it did look as if only close agnates should succeed to titles.

Female heirs were vastly restricted (but not prevented) from taking titles because of the association of males with positions of secular authority in Tongan society.

³² Ibid.:12.

³³ Myths tell of a goddess weaving mats, while barkcloth as well as matting was often found around the small carved images and other material representations of gods or goddesses.

³⁴ 'Adopted sons, illegitimate sons, sons-in-law, sister's sons, and representatives could inherit' and, in some cases, according to Queen Sālote, the title went to a 'stranger', someone not a member of the title-holding *kāinga*, to become the leader-chief, especially if the 'stranger' had high blood rank (Wood Ellem 1981:41,43).

³⁵ Bott 1981:29-31.

³⁶ Wood Ellem 1981:30.

³⁷ 1973:53.

³⁸ Bott 1981:28.

³⁹ Bott 1981:23-4.

Land rarely accompanied a woman at marriage (more often, large amounts of *koloa* were given with her) which added to the picture of patrilineally-owned property whose titular 'owner' was the *tamai* of the particular *kāinga* associated with the title.

The actual structure of such *kāinga* is not easily determined since, at the limits, it is arbitrary as to which descendant of the 'founding owner', that is, title-holder, is or is not included,⁴⁰ but the general ideology may become 'patrilineal' since the male-held title provides the same sort of focus as patronymic surnames do in, for example, the English bilateral kinship structure.⁴¹ In such circumstances, the *kāinga* which were associated with certain titles came to be credited - by anthropologists and possibly by Tongans too - with many of the attributes of patrilineal descent groups even though these attributes are shown to be in factual cases largely fictional.⁴²

In particular, there is a strong ideological differentiation among the people concerned between the value that is attached to patrification, by which titles can be seen to 'descend' and that which attached to matrifiliation.⁴³ Yet, it is stressed often⁴⁴ that the contender's mother, that is, the strength and rank of the *kāinga 'i fa'ē*, is crucial in deciding the successor. Because polygamy was so widely practised by high-ranking title-holders, there might be as many as thirty sons of the father competing for title, so we should perhaps take the fatherhood of contenders as a 'given' or, at least, only as important as the high-ranking, strongly supported, mother-child relationship in matters of succession.

'Sisters' were also involved in choosing a successor to titles, and, significantly, as titles, secular 'offices', effloresced, companion 'sister' titles were created which effectively balanced male authority with the female principle of mystical power or blood rank.⁴⁵

An appearance of 'patrilineality' might be fostered also in the case of high-ranking, highly sought-after titles by political opportunism amidst heavy competition in which agnatic status and seniority, justified in terms of part pedigrees and fragmentary genealogies, could be used to further a particular claim and render other claimants ineligible. In the case of lesser titles, there was possibly greater freedom of option for aspirants between their *kāinga 'i fa'ē* and *kāinga 'i tamai*, and concomitantly less appearance of 'patrilineality'.

Where the analysis of social systems is concerned, ideas are at least as important as empirical facts,⁴⁶ but, in the Tongan case, one has to make sure that the ideas are ones Tongans might have held to be truly themes in their culture, and not ones, as Bott was acutely aware despite some of her summations,⁴⁷ which belong solely to the anthropologists who study them.

⁴⁰ Bott 1981:21,24,41.

⁴¹ Leach 1973:53.

⁴² Ibid.:56.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Bott 1981:19, 21, 41, 49.

⁴⁵ Ibid.:20-1, 35.

⁴⁶ Leach 1973:58.

⁴⁷ Bott 1981:20-1.

9

Changing Gender Roles in Tongan Society: Some Comments Based on Archaeological Observations

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Reconstructions of prehistoric and early historic societies are hampered by the incomplete nature of available data. Therefore, evidence allowing the analysis and reconstruction of gender relations is of great importance, since it will provide insight into the internal structures of prehistoric societies.

However, prehistoric and historic research into the question has been particularistic and tended to centre rather on the role of 'important' women, whose 'biographies' could be reconstructed¹ than on the gender roles of the majority of women, the commoners. The latter line of approach is more recent and is becoming predominant, relying heavily on ethnographic analogies,² though the 'biographical' approach seems still to be in full swing.³

This paper is concerned with past and present gender roles among the common people of Tonga. It aims to outline a different approach for reconstructing gender roles among common people. A fair number of studies dealing with gender relations and gender roles in Tonga have been written,⁴ but most of these papers are based on a study of rank and power among the sexes. These studies supply the conceptual framework for the interpretation of prehistoric gender-related data, but are of limited value for the assessment and comparison of primary data.

LIKE ANY OTHER SOCIETY, TONGAN SOCIETY IS IN A CONDITION OF CONTINUING CHANGE. IT SEEMS wise to start with observations on the current state of gender roles in Tonga. The following quotation is taken from a hand-out published for the benefit of tourists coming to Tonga.⁵ It reflects nicely the current perception and evaluation of the role of women in contemporary Tonga:

The reality of a Tongan couple is that the wife's social function is to deal with household responsibilities such as cooking, weaving, outdoor sweeping, etc. The husband takes care

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¹ Cf Komeremann 1942, Müller-Karpe 1985, Wood Ellem 1981.

² Cf Marshall 1985.

³ For a recent example: Müller-Karpe 1985.

⁴ Gailey 1981, James 1983, Rogers 1977, Wood Ellem 1981.

⁵ Anonymous 1985:1.

of the manly responsibilities, such as land developing to enable enough supply of food, fishing, earning money etc.

The article then goes on to show a 'new' role becoming predominant:

It has recently reached a high percentage of wives sharing the economical function of the husbands... There are wives who would prefer to help in the plantation by gathering sticks and rubbish while the husbands are hoeing the weeds or digging. Some are helping during the harvesting time by packing crops into sacks and baskets... Some of the wives are very proud of their husbands' top harvesting products. They become very keen on displaying them at the Annual Agricultural Show. Although the hard part of the cultivating approach was done because of the male capability at least 25% of the work done is considered by wives to be their contribution.

In short, the current perception of the woman's traditional role is that of a housewife.⁶ But was this always the case, or is it merely a recent development, which took place after the re-organisation of Tongan society following European/missionary impact? To shed some light on this question, we have to turn to the evidence of prehistory.

The Prehistoric Approach

Reconstructing the internal relations of prehistoric societies is always a painstaking business, since the available evidence is generally limited by the individual state of archaeological preservation and recovery.

As S. Jones and S. Pay⁷ point out, however, researching the past is a social product and, since most societies are dominated by men, research designs are - consciously or unconsciously - bound to the male norm and lines of thought. Therefore it is very likely that male perceptions of gender roles stemming from personal experience in contemporary societies are reflected onto the past and the evidence is interpreted, consciously or unconsciously, in a 'chauvinistic' way. This approach is bound to occur in those studies where the evidence is scarce or ambiguous and offers much room for speculation.

This is the case in most of the studies where ethnographic parallels and analogies are employed to explain gender roles. Conkey and Spector⁸ have designed an analytical framework (the 'task differentiation framework') to investigate gender behaviour and gender-related material culture among living groups with the aim of projecting these observations onto archaeological assemblages. Although a reasonable approach which has yielded valuable results,⁹ it is still based on analogy.

If one tries not to involve recent traditions, patterns and analogies in the analysis, the reconstruction of social patterning, stratification, marriage 'linkages', ritual exchange systems etc. is to some extent possible. Reconstructing the sexual division of labour, however, is almost impossible.

Nevertheless, there are a few approaches which enable the assessment of data directly from the archaeological record itself, without recourse to analogy. All

⁶ See also Tamahori 1963:117.

⁷ 1986.

⁸ 1984:25.

⁹ Cf Marshall 1985.

approaches seen by the author stem from physical anthropology. One analyses the fingerprint patterns found on pottery vessels,¹⁰ the others rely on skeletal evidence.

Due to their very nature, burials provide a gender-differentiated set of archaeological assemblages and are therefore a means for elucidating social organization and differentiation¹¹ and task differentiation between and within sexes.¹² But, as Jones and Pay point out, the gender-oriented interpretation especially of social differentiation is prone to ideological (mis-)interpretation and is riddled with uncertainties. The more reliable methods analyse the dietary habits¹³ and tooth attrition¹⁴ and other morphological and pathological changes observable in the skeleton.¹⁵

In the following we will be concerned with morphological and pathological changes only.

The Method

Phil Houghton,¹⁶ working on New Zealand skeletal material, was able to point out that the clavicles and humeri of many male individuals showed clear evidence of excessive use of the arm in a highly specific manner, i.e. a strong, forcefully conducted, downwards and backwards directed movement of the upper arm. Houghton argued that this movement is that of paddling/canoeing. The evidence goes hand in hand with a high percentage of osteoarthritis in the the cranial vertebrae of the neck region.

The Material

When working recently on a Tongan Lapita skeleton from J. Poulsen's site To.1 (now numbered TO-Pe-1), I found this arthritis could also be documented, together with a much lower degree of arthritis in the lower spinal region.¹⁷ When correlating this evidence with the other known and published skeletal material from Tonga, the following interesting observation could be made.

In 1964 two burial mounds in the grounds of the 'Atele College on Tongatapu were excavated by Janet Davidson.¹⁸ These mounds belong to a phase of inland habitation and are dated to about 1200-1500 AD. The human remains recovered from the mounds were studied by Michael Pietrusewsky. Pietrusewsky found that the male vertebral columns showed a high intensity of osteoarthritis in the neck region, with almost no arthritis in the lower spine region (thoracic and lumbar vertebrae), while the female skeletons showed a high percentage of arthritic vertebrae in the lower spine, with almost none in the lower neck region.¹⁹ Pietrusewsky noted this difference but

¹⁰ Cf Primas 1975.

¹¹ Cf Shennan 1975, Jones & Pay 1986.

¹² Cf Jockenhövel 1984.

¹³ Cf Buikstra 1984.

¹⁴ Cf Cybulski 1974.

¹⁵ Cf Houghton 1980.

¹⁶ 1980:115-118.

¹⁷ Spennemann 1985.

¹⁸ 1969.

¹⁹ Pietrusewsky 1969:324-5.

could not explain it. In the light of Houghton's more recent findings, however, the following picture can be drawn.

The Interpretation

The severe arthritic changes in female backs are almost certainly due to carrying heavy loads and frequent bending. Such arthritic changes may have been caused by the following work patterns:

- i) gardening work
- ii) tapa production
- iii) shellfishing²⁰
- iv) carrying heavy loads

In order to define the prime cause for the arthritic changes all possibilities will be discussed.

GARDENING WORK

In simple terms, gardening work is fourfold: clearing the fallow vegetation, digging planting holes, hoeing and weeding, and finally harvesting. Clearing the vegetation and the digging of planting holes with the long digging sticks are physically stressful occupations, which, however, are done only for a short period every year. The day-to-day recurrent work involves the weeding and hoeing of the plantations. Clearing and pot-hole digging mainly stress the upper arms and the shoulder girdle but not the lower back. Wilson²¹ mentions that the position used for digging planting holes is 'to squat on their hams'. Weeding, however, is conducted in a standing manner with the upper body bent from the waist, and puts stress on the lower back.

TAPA PRODUCTION

It has been suggested by some discussants at the conference that the painting of tapa is widely practised in a standing position, with the upper body bent from the waist. Although such posture would put stress on the lower back, it seems from current as well as early European ethnographic observations that the majority of tapa painting is conducted while sitting on the tapa. All accounts of Tongan tapa manufacture²² known to the author and his own personal observations indicate that the tapa painting is done predominantly in a squatting or sitting position. This does not put great stress on the lower back.

SHELLFISHING

Shellfishing in Tonga is a task done entirely by women.²³ Two types of shellfishing have to be distinguished: fishing in the lagoon and mudflats and fishing on the reefs. The shellfishing on the mudflats and in the lagoon is conducted either standing in the

²⁰ During the discussion of the paper at the conference various scholars suggested that octopus fishing, an occupation conducted today by women, also involves bending and should be incorporated as well. However, octopus fishing is only practised on the reefs and does not involve people living predominantly inland. In modern Ha'ateiho, the village next to the burial mounds, octopus fishing is not practised.

²¹ 1799:245.

²² Koch 1955; Tamahori 1963.

²³ Martin 1817:224-225; McKern n.d.:347; West 1865:122.

water and searching the muddy ground for shells with the toes, or sitting in the shallow water and digging with the hands. The shellfishing on the reefs, however, is conducted in a standing position, involving frequent bending down when turning over stones etc. Thus it is possible that shellfishing on the reef flats would cause arthritic changes in the back. However, an analysis of the shell scatters in the Ha'ateiho transect surveyed by the author showed that reef shellfish species were largely absent.²⁴ Some ninety per cent of all shellfish species were of lagoonal habitat. Since we can assume that the population buried in the 'Atele mounds lived nearby, it seems unlikely that these people exploited reef resources.

CARRYING HEAVY LOADS

Carrying heavy loads, such as produce from the gardens, puts heavy stress on the lower back and would cause or add to the evolution of arthritis.

Summing up, the arthritic changes observed among the individuals from the 'Atele mounds could have been caused by shellfishing on the reef, carrying loads and by gardening work. In view of the setting of the sites, however, it is more likely that were caused by garden work (i.e. hoeing and especially weeding) and by carrying produce back home. On the other hand, the almost complete lack of such arthritis on male spines shows that men were not generally involved in such labour. The spines of males show 'paddler's neck' as recognised by Houghton, indicating frequent use of paddle and canoe. As trading/exchange voyages as well as voyages in case of war were not likely to have been daily events and also would have been conducted by sailing canoes, the only possibility offered is fishing. Due to the lack of excavated sites and the bad preservation of fish bones on the surface, there is currently no definitive evidence for fishing during the Tongan Formative Period (200 AD - 1200 AD), though it can be inferred theoretically. The analysis of the vertebral spines of males with their evidence for paddling/canoeing gives further strength to that inference.

This is not to say, however, that men never did any work in the gardens. What can be derived from the bones is the general rule, i.e. the day-after-day, week-after-week, year-after-year recurring work pattern. This is what one needs to know. In modern societies it does not really matter if the husband does the dishwashing every now and then; what is important is that in many marriages it is the women's role to do it.

To sum up, we can infer that during the Dark Ages it was part of the women's role to work in the garden and to bring the crops home, whereas it was part of the men's role to go fishing and to engage in long and medium distance trading and war, i.e. in canoeing in general.

In view of the above-mentioned evidence we might have to question some of the common inferences about Tongan manhood, which are reflections of modern perceptions imposed on the past:

²⁴ Spennemann 1986b.

Notions of Tongan manhood may have undergone a radical change through such processes as the cessation of warfare and a Western cultural devaluation of traditional fighting prowess, the lessened need for skills associated with long ocean voyages by canoe and the *devaluation of gardening skills and production (except for large-scale commercial producers and growers of large yams)* in comparison with 'office jobs' as well as the abandonment of ancient ceremonies such as the 'inasi or offering of the 'first fruits' annually to the Tu'i Tonga.²⁵

Having established that at least some of the gender roles of the commoners were different during the Formative Period of Tongan Culture from those observed today, the reason for this change has to be discussed. In addition it is of interest to know when this change took place.

Early European Accounts

On the whole the early European accounts give only sparse information on the gender roles of the women, especially of the commoners. The most complete account is given by William Mariner.²⁶ His observations regarding the gender roles in the manufacture of goods are tabulated in Table 1. No distinction is made between occupations which are the prerogative of people of rank (such as the making of the tapa-boards (*kupesi*) or combs) and commoner's tasks. The information on food production (and related occupations) and food processing as given by Mariner appears in Table 2. Regarding the planting and gardening activities Mariner is quite explicit that the tilling of the ground is done by men and that women should not work in the gardens.²⁷ He recalls the comments of people from Samoa, Fiji and Hawaii who were present in Tonga and who expressed astonishment that women did not work in the gardens.

Unfortunately none of the other early Europeans coming to Tonga, such as Cook or Wilson, give any details on who does the work in the gardens. Only Vason, one of the first contingent of missionaries, speaks of labourers or workers who helped in his plantation.²⁸ However, Mary Lawry, wife of the missionary Walter Lawry mentions in her diary for 1823 that the commoner's wives *did* work in the gardens: 'how the *most important* women will often be the most gifted artists because they don't have to spend so much time in the gardens'.²⁹

In summing up, the published sources claim that by the beginning of the century women did not do gardening work. The unpublished sources, such as diaries, however, indicate that women actually did gardening work.

Towards the Reason Why

The analysis of gender roles provides data on the social attitudes towards the role of women in society aside from rank and status and sheds light on cultural change.

²⁵ James 1983:241; emphasis by the current author.

²⁶ Martin 1817; 1981.

²⁷ Martin 1817:300.

²⁸ Orange 1840:153.

²⁹ Reeson 1985:180; present author's emphasis.

TABLE 1: GENDER ROLES IN TRADITIONAL TONGA AS STATED BY MARINER: MANUFACTURE OF GOODS.

Manufacture/Construction of	Men	Women
Canoes	generally	
Fortifications	generally	
Stone vaults	generally	
Whale tooth ornaments	generally	
Bone sail needles	generally	
Ropes	generally	
Nets	generally	
Houses	generally	
Bows and arrows	generally	
Clubs and spears	generally	
<i>Coarse</i> baskets	generally	
Mats for house thatching	mainly	sometimes
<i>Coarse</i> mats	sometimes	mainly
Tapa-boards (<i>kupesi</i>)		generally
Tapa		generally
Sleeping mats		generally
<i>Fine</i> mats		generally
Sails (mats)		generally
Threads		generally
<i>Fine</i> baskets		generally
Combs		generally
Leis (wreaths of flowers)		generally

TABLE 2: GENDER ROLES IN TRADITIONAL TONGA AS STATED BY MARINER: PRODUCTION OF FOOD.

Production/procurement of	Men	Women
Garden crops	generally	
Fish	generally	
Pigeon catching	generally	
Rat shooting	generally	
Cooking	generally	
Shellfish		generally

As reported by Mariner, the Tongan gender roles of the early nineteenth century differed from those in other island groups such as Samoa or Fiji. Various lines of thought emerge to interpret these early Tongan gender roles, depending on whether this pattern is thought already to be the traditional one in Mariner's time, or whether it was at that time only a recent introduction which was not commonly adopted. It is also possible that his statement only applied to women of rank. Mariner supplies no information on whether these gender roles are traditional or more recent. We can

argue, however, that since the gender roles observed by Mariner conformed to his own cultural background, he is unlikely to have questioned them.

Whether these gender roles were already traditional in Mariner's time can not be determined at this stage of research. The solution has to await the excavation and analysis of further, preferably chronologically younger burial sites, which will indicate whether the observed distribution of arthritis is also predominant in later times, and when it disappears.

If these gender roles were recent and not widely accepted in Mariner's time, or applied only to women of rank, as documented by the passage in Mary Lawry's diary, then the following argument may be put forward.³⁰ Here the following lines of thought emerge.

During the Civil Wars (1799-1852) the settlement pattern changed from dispersed household units surrounded by their gardens/plantations to concentrated village-like settlements in fortifications. The responsibility for gardening shifted to the men, who were better able to defend themselves against marauding bands, having been trained in martial arts as part of their 'manhood'. The Christian Church played a largely hidden, sometimes open³¹ but active³² role in the crucial transformations of the Civil Wars period, and throughout this period continuously increased its influence on the Tongan way of life.³³ The new work pattern was the correct one from the point of view of the Christian (i.e. paternalistic European) way of life and social ideals. It is very likely that the church did all it could to encourage and establish it.

During the period of population decline in the years following the Civil Wars³⁴ labour and especially male labour was in short supply. It might have been expected that all people (men and women) were used for the business of producing food. But this was apparently not the case. This indicates a wide acceptance of the new work pattern, a fact which shows clearly changed social attitudes towards the role of women in society and thus the extent that Christian values had influenced Tongan society. The rank of the women in the society was clearly not affected, at least not in the beginning, although the work pattern of women of rank also changed.³⁵ It is a matter of speculation whether in due time this new Christian attitude towards women would have broken down the traditional rank system as well. This process, however, was interrupted by the rapid expansion of new Westernised traits following the changes brought by World War II and its aftermath in the South Pacific. The currently changing gender roles are an integral part of these new cultural and social influences, the impact and results of which remain to be seen.

³⁰ And here I may presumably be the victim of my male bias in my perception of the world.

³¹ Cf Cummins 1977.

³² Cf the incident with Captain Crocker from HMS *Favourite*, Latukefu 1974:116-117.

³³ Cf Urbanowicz 1977.

³⁴ Cf Green [1973] for calculation of prehistoric population and McArthur [1967] and Bakker [1979] for data after the Civil Wars.

³⁵ Cf Tamahori 1963:211-12.

Implications for Further Research

It can be shown that some changes in the gender roles took place between the Formative Period and the early nineteenth century. No well founded conclusion can be reached as to when this change happened. To date, the data base from which these observations are derived is limited both in time and regional distribution. More research, especially among chronologically younger populations, is needed to document the representation and distribution of arthritic changes over time. As a contrast to the findings on inland Tongatapu, a skeletal population from a small islet off Tongatapu, which may have survived on a different subsistence basis, should be excavated. Further insight might be gained if populations from different social levels could be analysed, i.e. by comparing commoners with women of rank, where less hard labour might be expected.

10

Gender Relations in Tonga at the Time of Contact

CAROLINE RALSTON

This paper is part of a larger project to write a history of the nature and changing patterns of gender relations in Polynesia as a whole over the past two hundred years.¹ I was provoked into thinking a general project on gender relations in Polynesia should be attempted by the article-length forays into the field by Ortner and Hanson.² I do not wish to offer a critique of either essay here. Ortner's is clearly the work of a non-specialist with little concern for historical process,³ while I will refer to some of Hanson's arguments at a later point. The only preliminary remark I want to make here is that in Hanson's timely corrective to certain entrenched Eurocentric biases about traditional Polynesian concepts of the nature of females, he has extrapolated and over generalised from a well-argued Maori foundation.⁴

The opportunity to talk with Tongan specialists is greatly appreciated. In terms of my larger project I am trying here to establish and fit the nature and patterns of Tongan gender relations into a wider Polynesian framework. It is important to make clear at the outset that one must not assume that concepts of male and female will be basic or overriding structural principles in Polynesian societies. Notions of male and female must be analysed simultaneously with ideas of chiefs and commoners, producers and non-producers, each of which category contains of course both male and female. In this short time slot I want to outline briefly what can be discerned about the position of women vis-à-vis men in early contact Tonga, circa 1770-1810.⁵ I am concentrating on women, not because I see the topic as a problem of women, but because it is my particular interest. I do not believe however that women can be studied in isolation from men in any cultural context. My central concern is therefore the relations between the sexes, but with the focus on women. Most recent research in this area has concentrated upon women leaving concepts of masculinity seriously understudied.

NEARLY ALL THE EARLY FOREIGN VISITORS TO TONGA COMMENTED UPON THE RESPECT AND HIGH regard afforded Tongan women, mentioning in particular that they ate with men, sometimes drank *kava*, travelled in canoes and attended important religious

¹ See Ralston 1987:115-22; n.d. a; n.d. b.

² Ortner 1981:359-409; Hanson 1982:335-81.

³ Thomas 1986:78-89.

⁴ Hanson 1982:343-59.

⁵ See Ralston n.d. c for a much fuller treatment of the whole topic.

ceremonies: activities denied women in many eastern Polynesian societies.⁶ Not surprisingly these foreigners highlighted the women's social position, while they ignored, or recorded with less approbation, the political and economic powers exercised by certain chiefly women.⁷ I will analyse not only the social niceties, as the Europeans understood them, enjoyed by Tongan women, but also the legitimate secular and spiritual influence and power they wielded.

Physical Nature

Polynesians almost everywhere, both male and female, were regarded by the majority of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Western visitors as fine, tall, well-developed, physical specimens.⁸ The Samoans and the Tongans perhaps won the greatest number of accolades, and most interestingly, distinctions were not made between the physiques and well-being of chiefly and non-chiefly people in these archipelagoes.⁹ Tongan women were considered by some Western males to be too masculine in appearance - too muscular and corpulent.¹⁰ In pre-contact times it is evident that Tongan women and men were physically well developed and not restricted by dress or custom from using their bodies to their full capacity.

From the available evidence, it is not possible to discern at the time of contact any *tapu* surrounding menstruation, and few concerned with pregnancy and parturition. There were no Tongan menstrual huts, which were found in parts of eastern Polynesia (in Hawaii and Mangareva), and no seclusion or isolation was insisted upon. It has been claimed by twentieth century Tongan specialists that at menarche a feast was held and fine mats were exchanged, the occasion clearly being one of celebration,¹¹ but no earlier evidence for such a rite is available. At birth Mariner stated that only women were present and only women assisted,¹² but after the event, during the lying-in period, it would appear that men were allowed to visit. In 1797 the officers of the *Duff* were escorted to meet a wife of the Tu'i Tonga while she was lying in.¹³

Women did not do hard physical labour in the gardens; at least chiefly women did not.¹⁴ Mariner claimed no women worked in gardens. This was perhaps an ideal statement only. Weeding and harvesting may have been done by commoner women, as they were at times in Samoa.¹⁵ Tongan men replied, when questioned by other islanders about why women were exempt from horticulture, that it was unwomanly.¹⁶ Women were not usually combatants in war, but there were several instances of women fighting bravely beside fathers or husbands, and defending forts, none of

⁶ Beaglehole 1969, II:245, 258, 268; Beaglehole 1967, III (1):123; Martin 1827, I:260, II:177; Wilson 1799:241; Hanson 1982:338-43.

⁷ Anderson in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):933; King in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):1364.

⁸ Cummins 1977:87; see also Howe 1984:47-50 on the health of Pacific Islanders generally.

⁹ Such distinctions were made in eastern Polynesia, particularly in Hawaii and Tahiti.

¹⁰ Beaglehole 1969, II:271; Samwell and Clerke in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):1040-42.

¹¹ Gifford 1929:186; Biersack 1982:192.

¹² Martin 1827, II: appendix 2, cviii.

¹³ Wilson 1799:264, 285.

¹⁴ See Spennemann this volume.

¹⁵ Ella 1892:635.

¹⁶ Martin 1827, II:210.

which was reported as manifestly unnatural or improper.¹⁷ Although not usually required to perform hard physical or military labour, women were not believed to be innately weak. Mariner wrote that women were considered the 'weaker sex', but there is no suggestion that they were viewed as fragile or in need of constant male protection.¹⁸ They boxed, much to the horror and consternation of most early Western observers, surfed, paddled canoes effortlessly and as dexterously as men, and commoner women spent long and arduous hours combing the reefs.¹⁹ None of these were considered improper activities for women, although the very highest ranking women did not box or remain present during such contests.²⁰

Aspects of Sexuality

Married women and young chiefly women destined for marriage experienced less sexual freedom than men in similar categories.²¹ At the very pinnacle of society it would appear that if the Tu'i Tonga Fefine remained unmarried, she had absolute sexual freedom and any children produced by her were accorded very high rank.²² Throughout Tongan society the pleasures of heterosexuality were vaunted and enjoyed, and women as well as men were believed to have sexual natures which should be celebrated.²³ Unmarried non-chiefly women and women of all ranks separated from their partners or widowed could make what sexual liaisons they liked, permanent or otherwise.²⁴ Rape occurred, but was not condoned, and chiefly women because of their known high rank appear to have been partially protected from it.²⁵ It seems that rape was not used as a punitive measure against women. Similarly there is little evidence of physical or domestic violence against women. Given their place and importance as sisters one cannot imagine that women would have remained in abusive marital relationships.

Childcare and 'Domestic' Work

Most early commentators claimed childcare was done by women.²⁶ Little detailed data are available but it would appear that care of the young was not the exclusive concern of the biological mother, and that, while women may have done the major portion of it, men and women from the grandparental generation to a slightly older brother, sister or cousin of the child to be cared for, were also involved. Men's roles in the nurture and care of children were considered perfectly proper, 'natural', male activities.²⁷

¹⁷ Vason 1810:168-74; Collocott 1928:91-2; Gifford 1924:7.

¹⁸ Martin 1827, II:95.

¹⁹ Mourelle 1799, I:220; Anderson and Clerke in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):863, 1303; Vason 1810:101-2; Martin 1827, I:298-9.

²⁰ Mourelle 1799, I:220; Labillardière 1800:370, Herda 1983:72. Perhaps it was only the highest ranking Tu'i Tonga women who were not involved?

²¹ Vason 1810:142; Martin 1827, II:101, 143-4.

²² Wilson 1799:271; Farmer 1855:145.

²³ See Kerry James this volume.

²⁴ Martin 1827, II:143-6.

²⁵ Martin 1827, I:124, 166-7, 231, II:101, 147.

²⁶ Martin 1827, II:148; Waldegrave 1833:186.

²⁷ Martin 1827, II:148.

The term 'domestic work' raises all sorts of problems centrally related to the definition and Western connotations of 'domestic'.²⁸ Clearly in late eighteenth century Tonga we are not looking at enclosed, private spaces, in which nuclear families were fed, clothed, housed, and reproduced, and which could then be contrasted with a public sphere of work and politics. Meals were not eaten at regular times, families did not cook or eat as separate entities, sleeping arrangements for adolescent males and secondary wives were dispersed, clothes were not washed and ironed, *fale* were kept scrupulously clean, by women, but that did not involve the care (cleaning and dusting) of furniture and innumerable objects.²⁹ Obviously certain domestic activities that consumed women's time in Western societies were non-existent in Tonga, while other activities such as cooking, communal eating and house-keeping were carried out very differently. Men in pre-contact Tonga did all the cooking, except for certain chiefly dishes which were made by women.³⁰ While no clothes required laundering, *ngatu* manufacture was a crucial and time-consuming task for women, which I will discuss further under economic activities.

Before proceeding to that topic I have one tantalising quotation from an English sailor, Orlebar, in Tonga in 1830. He claimed Tongan *ngatu* was much inferior to its Tahitian counterpart and his informant, the long resident beachcomber, Brown, who had also visited Tahiti, agreed, but explained:

in this island [Vava'u] their ideas of cleanliness never allow them to wear *tappa* more than five or six days, which the poorer natives can hardly do, if they took as much pains in the manufacture as the Tahitians.³¹

I wonder if anyone has any evidence to confirm or deny this statement? There is some data from Samoa claiming that *tapa* was sometimes worn until it was very dirty and in tatters.³² If Orlebar and Brown were correct, was *tapa* making more burdensome in Tonga than elsewhere in Polynesia, or had the Tongan women developed sufficient time-saving techniques to offset the demands of high standards of cleanliness?

Economic Aspects

At contact women spent limited, if any, time in the horticultural side of subsistence, but commoner women contributed a major source of protein to the daily diet from their extensive fishing and collection along the reefs and in the inshore lagoons.³³ For all women their most important and culturally significant labour went into the making of both *ngatu* and mats, which were essential items used not only for daily dress, bed coverings and mosquito curtains but also for presentation and at many major cultural events - the '*inasi*', funerals, marriages or for a voyage.³⁴ On Cook's first arrival in

²⁸ Yanagisako 1979:161-205.

²⁹ Beaglehole 1967, III(1):168-9; Vason 1810:94.

³⁰ Wilson 1799:235; Martin 1827, I:197-201.

³¹ Orlebar 1976:79.

³² Turner 1861:205; Dyson 1882:305.

³³ Anderson in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):940.

³⁴ Vason 1810:75-6; Martin 1827, II:169, 192, 203-205; Gailey 1980:301.

the archipelago both women and men brought *ngatu* to the ships, obviously believing it was the most suitable and likely article to be required in any barter transaction. At 'Eua, the first port of call, Cook saw plenty of fowls and hogs ashore, but they were not offered for barter, while *ngatu* was pressed upon the visitors. At Tongatapu Cook issued his customary trading instructions to his men and made it clear to the Tongans that for his purposes agricultural products were of first priority. 'Artificial curiosities', his term for cultural goods, bankrupted his sailors and inflated prices.³⁵ The evidence from Tasman's much earlier visit is insufficiently detailed on this topic, but it would appear that *ngatu* was offered first.³⁶ Mariner reveals that Tongan men contended and competed with one another for the economic potential of women prisoners.³⁷ Chiefly women controlled the *ngatu* made under their auspices, and also sold subsistence goods in their own right to Cook.³⁸ It is not clear how the goods received in exchange were used, but there is no evidence to suggest that all foreign goods ended up in the hands or storehouses of chiefly men.³⁹

Political Aspects

In the large-scale, inter-island political arena, in which the three major, high chiefly lines and related *ha'a* operated, titles were held, tribute was collected and redistributed, and power was exercised most usually by and through men. At this level a male bias is clear. I am deliberately not using the term 'patrilineal' succession, however, because I believe it is too encompassing.⁴⁰ This inter-island political sphere cannot be and was not isolated from all other aspects of Tongan life and politics in which alliances through marriage, kinship ties and a complex system of personal rank in which sisters outranked brothers, operated. At all levels of chiefly society the rank of the mother was more important than that of the father in determining the rank and political fortunes of the next generation. In Tonga, as elsewhere in much of Polynesia, there is fragmentary, but widespread evidence that descent traced through women was as influential, if not more influential, than descent traced through men.⁴¹ In Tonga the male preference mentioned above would appear to have been a later development in the pre-contact period. It was not as Kirch, in *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdoms*, has argued: 'In some chiefdoms, such as Tonga, the female role in rank determination *was to become* extremely important, and pose potential contradictions to the political structure.'⁴²

Given the intermixture of male and female powers it is important not to emphasise too trenchantly, or to see as categorical, the dichotomy between what has been described as the sister's sacred power and the secular authority of the brother. Again

³⁵ Beaglehole 1969, II:245-9.

³⁶ Sharp 1968:43-6, 153-5.

³⁷ Martin 1827, I:188-9.

³⁸ Beaglehole 1969, II:270, n.5.

³⁹ As happened in Hawaii. See Ralston 1984:25-7.

⁴⁰ See James this volume.

⁴¹ Bott 1981:8-9; James 1983:236; Kaeppler 1971:178; Gailey 1980:297-9; Gunson 1987:139-

41.

⁴² Kirch 1984:34, my emphasis added.

the problem of definition and inherent connotations arises, this time over the term 'sacred', which in English parlance carries with it, over and above its strict meaning of religious consecration, suggestions of quietude, passivity and other-worldliness. Clearly chiefly Tongan women did not confine their activities or influence exclusively to the sacred or supernatural realm, as English speakers would conceive of it.⁴³ A number of Kanokupolu women were openly and personally involved in active political careers and in the political fortunes of their close kin: for example Tongotea, Fusipala, Tupoumohoofo and Toe'umu, to name just four.⁴⁴ Even within the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and Tamahā frequently insisted that the customary respect and deference were publicly paid to them, particularly by politically ambitious members of the Ha'atakalaua and the Kanokupolu lines.⁴⁵ They could also summon tribute and rival the hospitality offered to foreigners by the *hau* (the paramount secular chief).⁴⁶ Women of less exalted chiefly rank also exercised political and economic authority over non-chiefly people, and on occasion confronted foreign captains fearlessly.⁴⁷ As genealogists older chiefly women had the knowledge and the means to exercise enormous power.⁴⁸

Spiritual aspects and associations with the gods

In the religious sphere women, including both married women and women with children, were trained and acted as *fa'aikehe* (formal priests).⁴⁹ But since the roles and powers of the formal priesthood were not highly elaborated or influential in pre-contact Tonga (unlike eastern Polynesia), the number of female *taula* (spirit mediums) and the apparent belief that women were particularly subject to spirit possession are significant. It appears that female outnumbered male *taula*. Mariner's evidence on this topic is confusing. He clearly states women were particularly prone to spirit possession and visitation from the gods (i.e. they were *taula*), but in his formal discussions of Tongan society in the second volume of his work, only *fa'aikehe* are discussed and only in male terms.⁵⁰ Later missionary evidence from John Thomas and others however makes it perfectly clear that women were *fa'aikehe* and *taula*.

As participants, women (or at least chiefly women) appear to have been present at all major religious ceremonies (again unlike eastern Polynesia where women were usually rigidly excluded from major temple ceremonies). The Tu'i Tonga Fefine was the principal celebrant in one part of a chiefly Kanokupolu funeral in 1797.⁵¹ Women of all ranks played leading roles in funerals as mourners and washers of corpses, but

⁴³ Ralston 1987:117; Herda 1987:197.

⁴⁴ Thomas n.d. a:74-5, 78; Bott, 1982:76, 138-40; Herda 1987:195-208; Martin 1827, I:137-8, 197-8.

⁴⁵ Labillardière 1800:352-3, 375; Thomas Journal, 2 June 1830; Farmer 1855:232.

⁴⁶ Labillardière 1800:356, 369.

⁴⁷ Beaglehole 1969, II:440-4; Anderson in Beaglehole 1967, III(2):912.

⁴⁸ Dumont d'Urville n.d.:31; Gifford 1929:232; Collocott 1928:5, 44; Bott 1982:80, 98-9; Biersack 1982:187.

⁴⁹ Cummins 1977:73.

⁵⁰ Martin 1827, I:103, II:87, 128.

⁵¹ Wilson 1799:240-1.

they were also present at the *'inasi*, at ceremonies to ensure good crops, and of course at marriages.⁵²

Most significantly, in comparison with many eastern Polynesian societies, Tongans revealed little apparent concern about women's reproductive functions. Women were allowed to travel in canoes, both within Tongan waters and on longer voyages to Fiji and Samoa, they ate with men of similar rank to themselves, and at times drank *kava* with them.⁵³ All these activities were likely to be subject to varying degrees of restriction for women in eastern Polynesian societies. While menstruation, pregnancy and parturition were not viewed as potentially threatening by Tongans, there is fragmentary but clear evidence that links between female reproduction and the supernatural world were made. Taliaitupou, an important war god of the Kanokupolu line, was the result of a premature birth.⁵⁴ A belief that certain gods, often demons, came from menstrual clots or abortions was widely held in Samoa and certain eastern Polynesian societies.⁵⁵ Further, in Tonga the soft downy hair of a newborn child was called *lou'ulu'otoa* - hair of the god.⁵⁶

I have stressed these religious aspects because I believe they offer one central key to understanding the nature and positions of women in pre-contact Tongan society, and because while they in part negate the thesis put forward by Allan Hanson they also confirm his basic hypothesis. Hanson argued that in pre-contact societies Polynesian women were considered potent and dangerous, which necessitated some segregation, but they were not viewed as polluting. The latter was, however, frequently claimed by Western observers, although these reports usually referred to eastern not western Polynesia, a point Hanson did not make. Polynesians believed women's potency was the result of their special affinity with the gods, especially through their reproductive functions. The womb and the vagina were direct portals to the supernatural world. Menstruation and parturition were therefore particularly potent and dangerous times. Hence, Hanson argued the need for *tapu* isolating women in various ways during these events in many Polynesian societies.⁵⁷ He claimed that in both eastern and western Polynesia *tapu* associated with certain foods, eating with men, travelling in canoes and fishing, were imposed on women, and that these prohibitions were more elaborate and restrictive during menstruation and parturition. Hanson stated that the complex of *tapu* was more pronounced in eastern than western Polynesia,⁵⁸ but when the evidence concerning these practices is more carefully and comprehensively reviewed it becomes clear that the hypothesis will really only hold in eastern Polynesia and not uniformly even there.⁵⁹

In Tonga, as I have already pointed out, women's reproductive powers aroused minimal concern, and resulted in few if any restrictions on their behaviour. However,

⁵² Beaglehole 1967, III(2):916; Thomas n.d. b:274-5; Martin 1827, I:310, II:174-5.

⁵³ See n.l.

⁵⁴ Thomas n.d. b:249-50.

⁵⁵ Krämer 1930, I:194, II:83; Buck 1938:426-7; Henry 1928:364-6.

⁵⁶ Gifford 1929:185.

⁵⁷ Hanson 1982:335-81.

⁵⁸ Hanson 1982:336, 375.

⁵⁹ Schoeffel 1987:176.

it is clear, despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence available, that Tongans in pre-contact society did believe that women enjoyed a distinctive 'sacred' nature.⁶⁰ Their influence and power, both spiritual and secular as sisters, and the limited but clear links between women and the supernatural world through reproduction, confirm at least part of Hanson's thesis. Tongan women did enjoy a special association with the gods and the supernatural realm, but no negative emphasis was placed on their reproductive functions, nor were their spheres of activities and power circumscribed by fears of their potency.

MUCH OF THE evidence offered above, especially that concerning economic and political power, relates specifically to chiefly women, and cannot be assumed to apply to those of lower rank. As chiefs in a society ultimately and fundamentally organised round principles of hierarchy and the supernatural origins of chiefly power - a hegemonic ideology in both western and eastern Polynesia in pre-contact times - women exercised political and economic rights over and above the sacred rights all women enjoyed as sisters. 'Explicit notions of either male or female power, of matriarchy or patriarchy, were alien to (Polynesians) because neither men nor women but chiefs were perceived to rule.'⁶¹ I would not wish to argue that chiefly women wielded equal power and authority with chiefly men, but the evidence can certainly be marshalled to establish that in pre-contact times Tongan women were not confined by sex-specific, restrictive *tapu* and that chiefly women enjoyed much autonomy and certain political and economic powers in their own right as chiefs.

Finally to ask a question posed by Kerry James - did Tongans conceive of men and women as sharing the same basic nature despite their differing gender or not?⁶² If I might have a bit each way I would like to suggest that as chiefs men and women were considered to share a number of basic characteristics. However, as James herself has claimed, in the roles of sisters, women of all ranks were seen as qualitatively different from men.⁶³ Male and female, I believe, were not seen as immutable or primary differentiating categories. More crucial and central were concepts of birth and rank. To put it another way, I am arguing that notions of hierarchy and kinship relations were more central to Tongans' systems of belief and action than considerations of maleness and femaleness.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ See James this volume.

⁶¹ Thomas 1984:13. In the place of 'Polynesians' Thomas had 'Marquesans', but I would argue that his statement applies more generally.

⁶² James 1983:239-40.

⁶³ See James this volume.

⁶⁴ Schoeffel 1987:190, argues a similar case for Samoa.

Women of the *Lotu*: The Foundations of Tongan Wesleyanism Reconsidered

BONNIE MAYWALD

Ko e me'a kotoa 'oku ai hano taimi - To every thing there is a season.¹

As part of the preparations for this workshop, Phyllis Herda wrote to me in December 1986. In that letter she asked if I was 'happy being slotted in with the gender papers'. These she described as 'rather anthropologically/sociologically orientated'. Or perhaps I might 'fit better in another category or as one of our "floating" presentations'. Phyllis was right to ask. For the particular point of viewing that my research offers fits uneasily with the usual ideological or academic divisions. An explanation of just where my approach fits in therefore seemed the best place to begin.

HONIGMANN'S DEFENCE OF A PERSONAL APPROACH IN CULTURAL INVESTIGATION POINTED TO THE VALUE of diversity, and proposed 'that each unique configuration of interests and values can yield interesting results in its own right'.² I would go further and assert that each one of us, in presenting a paper, necessarily brings an approach, a personal experience and knowledge, that has been shaped by our individual and different situations. Indeed, much of this paper rests on the premise that it is both valuable and necessary to understand Tonga's past and present from different points of view: To every thing there *is* a season.

It may seem seasonal to propose an investigation of women's participation in the cultural and religious exchanges that occurred between early nineteenth century Polynesians and Europeans. In fact, it is long overdue. Difficulties associated with retrieving such distant events for present day consideration are not made easier by the male bias written into much of the historical record. Missionaries and chiefs, like sea captains and native teachers, may have thought it necessary to enter into marriages or sexual alliances; but it was not deemed appropriate to include details of 'women's concerns' in official letters or journals. Thankfully, exceptions to this custom did occur, though mostly only where men's actions were affected. A further difficulty exists in the wide spread of secondary sources that are relevant to such a study. My own personal tendency to avoid theories and structures set up by specialists in fields

¹ Ecclesiastes, Chapters 3 and 4, is the source of the quotations heading the sections of this paper, taken variously from the King James, Revised Standard and Good News versions in English, as well as from the Tongan version, *Ko e Tohiapu Katoa*, 1966.

² Honigmann 1976:244.

like Pacific anthropology, women's studies, or mission history may well leave them just as dissatisfied with my own approach. I am, however, quite happy to borrow and learn from their research. Does this mean, then, that my approach is transdisciplinary? Or, to the cynical, am I merely a transgressor; an ideological scavenger, borrowing from many and bowing to none?

The common link, or basis for selection in my research, centres on the primary sources. These are women's writings (mostly personal and unofficial) and historical accounts of women's actions from the early nineteenth century mission-contact period in Polynesia. By placing these women's experiences alongside the mainstream historical traditions, it becomes clear that a different emphasis, and at times a complete reconstruction of events, is necessary. In this way Tonga, in its traditional and modern state, can be better understood.

The study of Wesleyanism has certainly not been neglected by historians. The systematic study of women in history and society has more recently established a place for itself within academic disciplines. Traditional (or non-European) cultures and religions have long been a prime concern of anthropologists and ethnologists.

Not so fashionable, however, is an analysis that brings these disparate elements together. Feminists and Marxists, in line with the secularisation of modern thought, decry religion and are loath to place any positive construction on women and men's involvement in religious movements. Such an approach must surely cause as many problems as it solves when dealing with a people who pride themselves on their high degree of religious commitment, both in the traditional and modern contexts. Likewise, mainstream historians and anthropologists too often shy away from incorporating women's actions into studies of past or present societies. Yet in so doing they neglect to analyse, and deny the value of, the experience of half the world's population.

In support of the need for this unfashionable mix of academic interests, I would like to quote from two sources. The first quotation is from the book on *Ecstatic Religion* by I. M. Lewis:

Belief, ritual, and spiritual experience: these are the cornerstones of religion, and the greatest of them is the last. This, at least, is the view taken by many who consider themselves religious. It is not, however, an assessment which is widely shared by those social anthropologists who study religion...Abandoning religious emotion to the psychiatrist, or theologian, they have devoted themselves to recording, in as minute and exact detail as possible, the beliefs and rites of a host of tribal peoples widely scattered over the face of the earth.³

From quite a different context I would like to quote the words used by Catharine Stimpson to conclude the series of conferences held last year on 'Feminism and the Humanities'. She spoke of women's studies as 'a very secular exercise', arising from its 'fear of monotheism and patriarchal religion'. She suggested that not enough attention had been paid by feminists to theology, the church and women, saying, 'the Church can save as well as maim women'. In Stimpson's view, women's studies

³ Lewis 1971:11.

could not afford to remain indifferent to the 'thrust to reconcile gender equality with sacred connections with birth, life and death'.⁴ These two points of view relate closely to the need I am proposing for more serious consideration of relationships between women and men, Europeans and Islanders, in the cultural and religious exchanges of early nineteenth century Tonga.

Ko e 'aho ke laku maka - A time to cast away stones...

AT THE RISK of oversimplifying, I would suggest that there are two contrasting ways of approaching Tonga's past. On the one hand there is what I think of as 'mega-history', looking at the past in terms of the large and monumental - of the 'great men' and 'important' events used as landmarks to map the passing of the years. Such monumental historical objects tend to be both easily visible and popularly recognised, because of the tracks or record they leave behind them. In this sense the past is imprinted in our minds in terms of these large stones, which act as markers to change. Such a history tends to appropriate both the main historical traditions as well as the mythical or 'folk' histories of a society - Gallipoli or Ned Kelly, for instance, in our Euro-Australian heritage. Tongan counterparts that come immediately to mind are the exploits of Tāufa'āhau and the great landmarks of the Constitution or of Emancipation.

On the other hand we could approach Tonga's past through what I think of as 'micro-history'. As the term implies, micro-history refers to study of the past through small objects, or those not usually or easily seen. Such objects, in spite of their often inevitable or permeating presence, can be overlooked because of their proportionately small size, their relegated lack of importance, or their distance or difference from the point of view of the observer, recorder or analyst. This 'invisibility' is often misleading, however, for such objects can influence people and events unwittingly, or without leaving significant tracks or records of the part they have played.

Historians need to be aware of both ways of viewing the past. Kerry Howe has pointed out the inadequacies of following just a 'microscope' approach in studying Pacific history. He warned that Pacific historians were 'heading rapidly towards a state of monograph myopia...finding out more and more about less and less'.⁵ Such a study of the Pacific, he suggested, fails to relate to any overview or to attempt more generalised conclusions. In a similar way, I would suggest that historians, no matter how specialised their research needs to be, should also try to have some input into, or to relate to, the popular understanding and beliefs of the past that can weigh heavily on the present. Especially in cultural investigations the following questions need to be kept continually in mind: Why are we doing the research? Who are we doing it for? And, who gains what from the study? The tension that exists between mega-historical beliefs and the more diverse results of micro-historical research can be productive if our aim is to understand how the past has given way to the present.

⁴ Stimpson 1986. From notes taken by the author.

⁵ Howe 1979:81.

Current needs and perceptions of Tongans need not then seem so distant from our research.

With these theoretical considerations in mind, it is my intention to reconsider events in Tonga during the 1820s, not simply to re-work old ground, but to examine them in the light of sources and ideas that have been overlooked. As there is a time to build, so there is also a 'time to cast away stones' - to chip away at the facade of the larger-than-life great men and important events that are thought of as the foundation stones of modern Tongan society.

With the benefit of hindsight and through a predominantly male European record and analysis, the foundations of Wesleyanism in Tonga are usually presented in terms of the following basic elements:

1. Establishment of a Wesleyan mission was first attempted at Mu'a by Walter Lawry in 1822. This attempt failed when, after only fourteen months, he was forced to leave because of Mrs Lawry's poor health.
2. A second, and eventually more successful attempt, was made in 1826, when John Thomas and John Hutchinson set up a mission at Hihifo. Opposition from the chief 'Ata, and the poor health of Hutchinson, led them to prepare to leave Tonga, when the ship in which they had expected to be removed in 1827 turned out to be carrying reinforcements in the form of Nathaniel Turner, William Cross and their families.
3. Turner's skill in acquiring Tongan (due to his former knowledge of the New Zealand Maori language) and his perceptive decision to set up a station at Nuku'alofa turned imminent failure into success.

A detailed deconstruction of these historical beliefs is not intended here. Instead, some of the more important fallacies that underpin these widely-held ideas about Tonga's past will be considered. If you like, these mega-historical beliefs are to be subjected to the more probing lens of a micro-historical approach.

Such beliefs are the product of an analysis that sees the foundations of Wesleyanism in Tonga in terms of male European protagonists in Tongan events of the 1820s. An important assumption is that the initial process of gaining acceptance and winning converts for the mission depended upon the actions of these European men - on what they did in Tonga to Tongans. This idea of mission as a male European project has, however, for too long and in too many ways, held us back from a due appreciation and analysis of non-male and non-European contributions to this formative period in Tongan history.

The writing and experiences of European women involved in these events provide one way of challenging this usual explanation of Tonga's past. The historical roots of Wesleyanism in Tonga pre-date events of the 1820s by several decades and involve more than just prominent men of English evangelism. There is evidence, for example, of significant links, forged by European women, between the initial London Missionary Society attempt in Tahiti and Tonga from 1797, evangelical families who settled in Parramatta in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and the decision to make a Wesleyan attempt in Tonga in the 1820s. Women who played an active role in this Tahiti-Parramatta-Tonga connection included Elizabeth Shelley, Mary Hassall and Mary Oakes.

Elizabeth Shelley was the wife of one of the original *Duff* missionaries left on Tongatapu in 1797. This initial attempt at establishing a mission in Tonga came to an abrupt end when three of the missionaries were killed during violent clashes between rival Tongan warriors. None of the ten single men involved survived or remained in Tonga long enough to secure a mission establishment. After his safe removal, Shelley visited Tahiti and, encouraged by what he saw, returned to Australia, married Elizabeth, and joined the Tahitian mission. After Shelley's death Elizabeth stayed in the Australian colonies and worshipped in the small Wesleyan congregation at Parramatta, where Walter Lawry served as an itinerant preacher from 1818. Her continued concern for the needs and possibilities of the Tongan islands led Lawry, and Samuel Leigh,⁶ to press the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London to support a new mission attempt in Tonga in the 1820s. Though Lawry had not volunteered for the Tongan mission, the London committee appointed him to go.⁷

Mary Cover Hassall was the daughter of another of the *Duff* missionaries, Rowland Hassall, who went to Tahiti but removed from there in 1798 and settled in Parramatta. Like Elizabeth, Mary also worshipped in the congregations ministered to by Lawry, though her own background was Congregationalist rather than Wesleyan. A strong attachment developed between Mary and Walter Lawry (in spite of what Samuel Leigh apparently considered to be his prior claim to her attentions) and they married in 1819. Before the end of the first year of marriage, Mary experienced the death of both her first child and her father. Only a few months later, in March 1821, the Lawrys were somewhat shocked to find themselves posted to the Friendly Islands. Money inherited by Mary after her father's death provided the necessary funds to finance a third share in the vessel used to make the 1822 Wesleyan attempt on Tongatapu possible. Initially Lawry thought of his mission in terms of a reconnoitre, to assess the state and needs of the islands.⁸ But their reception was so favourable that a mission settlement was set up at Mu'a.

Rather than Mary Lawry going down in the annals of mission history as a benefactress or partner of this missionary endeavour, she has been recorded as the cause for Lawry's removal, and therefore the reason for the failure of this first Wesleyan attempt. But evidence from the primary sources redeems her. It is clear from Walter Lawry's diary that letters he received from the Wesleyan Missionary Society Committee in London, charging him with improper conduct in affairs of the church in the Australian colonies, caused Lawry to decide to leave Tongatapu. In August 1823 he wrote of having received 'letters from the General Committee in

⁶ Samuel Leigh preceded Lawry as a Wesleyan itinerant preacher in the Port Jackson colony.

⁷ This is made clear in Lawry's diary where he states 'I consider myself perfectly free to go or not go, as I had no concern in the appointment'. Lawry, W., 24 March 1821:63.

⁸ In a letter to the WMS Committee written on board the *St Michael* while it was anchored in Port Jackson, Lawry wrote on June 13, 1822: 'It is very probable we shall return to this part again, after we have made our observations on Tonga. Unless things prove more favourable than we expect our voyage is likely to be six months.' Should the credit for the attempt to establish a permanent missionary presence in Tonga in 1822 more accurately rest, then, with the Tongans who convinced Lawry to stay? *Ibid.*:75.

which I am accused of many things very wrongfully and threatened with a vote of censure from Conference'.⁹

Before receiving these letters the Lawrys had decided that Mary should return to the colonies to ensure a more congenial and safe delivery of her third baby. Their son Henry was born before they went to Tonga. The Committee's letters ordering Lawry to leave Tonga and to go to Van Diemen's Land, threw these plans into disarray. The need to clear his name led Lawry to leave the mission in the hands of Tindall and Wright ('mechanic' assistants in the mission party). Walter and Mary left together to return to Sydney in the *St Michael*. They later eventually made their way to England, where Lawry convinced the Committee of his innocence of the charges made against him.

In fact, in more ways than one, Lawry's stay in Tonga was only possible because of women's actions and support. Mary's presence, for instance, acted as a mainstay for the somewhat mercurial Lawry. More than once he expressed the sentiment that 'I am by no means certain that I have the nerve to bear up in the absence of my family'.¹⁰ There is also at least one recorded instance when the mission settlers were saved from being killed by the actions of a Tongan chiefly woman. This incident was reported to John Thomas in August 1826 by Charles Tindall, when he told Thomas of several threats made to Lawry's life:

The first time was through a dream which a native had very soon after they had landed. He dreamed that the Spirit came to him and enquired what that fence was for they were making - and he told him it was for the English who were come to live amongst them to teach them. The Spirit then went away displeased. Then the native to whom he related his dream thought of killing the whole of them. The Chief also consented to their being killed. But Fatus wife heard of it by some means, and begged and intreated and as she was a great chief she prevailed.¹¹

Like Mary Lawry, Mary Oakes was also a daughter of a *Duff* missionary who left Tahiti in 1798 to live in the Australian colonies. It is significant that Mary Oakes was one of several young women who met together in a class meeting with Mary Lawry in 1824 after her return from Tonga. The concluding entry in the 'Fragmentary Journal' left by Mary Lawry refers to the spiritual support and encouragement she received from this coming together; that this time with her 'Sisters in Christ E Okes & Shelby M Okes and under the encouragement of E Shelby which I took to myself was indeed precious to my soul'.¹²

Two years later Mary Oakes married John Hutchinson who, under John Thomas's superintendency, helped to re-establish Lawry's 'failed' mission in 1826, this time at Hihifo rather than Mu'a. Lawry's wife and infant son had attracted the interest of Tongans, and were given chiefly presentations of *koloa* (or valuables, in the form of mats and tapa). Mary Hutchinson, however, also attracted her share of attention by mothering the first European child born in Tonga. At seventeen, Mary Hutchinson

⁹ Ibid.:127.

¹⁰ Ibid.:136.

¹¹ Thomas, J., Journal 1, 28 August 1826:146. Personal papers.

¹² Lawry, M., Journal,21.

was young to experience the pressures peculiar to the situation in Tonga of the 1820s, with the added demands of being a new mother. However, landmark as this child's birth was for her, the following baptism was just as much a landmark for the Tongans. Thomas records how, in June 1827, the natives who witnessed the baptism were stunned at the ritual, especially when the missionary proceeded to sprinkle water on the child. There is a life-giving stream, Vaiola, in Puluotu, the traditional Tongan 'underworld'; so that sacred symbolism attached to water was not new for Tongans. Tongan chiefly women and missionary wives at least shared one important characteristic, of holding positions of sacred respect, accorded to them by the ideological systems they represented. It should therefore be no surprise that mission parties which included women and children eventually found success in societies like Tonga and Tahiti where groups of single men before had met failure. The very fact that family groups made up the mission parties to Tonga in the 1820s, with the 'domestic', life-giving and propertied nature this entailed, has yet to be recognised for its positive, mediatory influence in the acceptance of a permanent European presence in the islands.

Of these three women, Elizabeth Shelley, Mary Lawry and Mary Oakes, only Mary Lawry left a written account of herself, and then only in the form of scattered and fragmentary letters and diary entries. This fits a pattern for much of women's writing of this time. It is personal and unofficial, and lacks the comprehensiveness that their more single-minded male counterparts were able to produce (often only because of their wives' unrecognised labour). But even these fragments reveal a side of this mission-contact period, the importance of ritual and personal relationships on the outcome of events, that tended to be left out of official accounts produced within the male hierarchies of mission, trade and administration.

It is tempting to suggest, although no surprise it has not occurred, that we could develop a notion of 'founding mothers' to recognise the active part that women played in these attempts that led to a permanent Wesleyan presence in Tonga. For European women, such as those mentioned here, not only supported and encouraged with words and funds the mission initiatives. They also volunteered to go as partners in the mission. As missionary migrants they were willing to risk making novel relationships, and to find the means of surviving the rigorous early years of planting churches in these very foreign fields.

It is interesting to compare these women's experiences with the findings presented by Katrina Alford in *Production or Reproduction?* In spite of the restrictive socio-economic climate of the early Australian penal colonies, Alford found that for some women participation in commerce was at a higher level than would normally be expected. As the colonial settlement became more established female participation reverted to more usual levels.¹³ It seems quite feasible that a similar situation occurred for those women involved in church affairs, both in colonial settlements such as Parramatta and in the island mission settlements. In the early years of mission contact, missionary wives, as the only other available church members, were required to take an active part in religious ritual and worship, performing roles normally

¹³ Alford 1984:237-8.

limited to men. Some writers¹⁴ have seen American mission women's involvement as an early expression of feminism. Others¹⁵ are critical of such an interpretation, because feminism would require a 'self-advocacy' that was quite the opposite of the 'self-denial' ideology that propelled women involved in mission. American missionary women working in Hawaii (and later, China) were also more likely to have had teaching or medical experience, or to have attended a Bible college, and to have left a more visible and comprehensive written record of their life and work than their English or Australian counterparts. If an extension of the female sphere of labour did occur during the early years of the Tongan mission, it was of a more temporary or limited nature. Wives tended to slip back into an essentially domestic role as the mission became established and was able to attract specialists in teaching, printing and medical work.

To refer to these early, and at times relatively short, stayers as 'founding mothers' may seem tantamount to a trivialisation of the contribution made by someone like John Thomas, who is thought of popularly as the 'founding father' of Wesleyanism in Tonga. Thomas has been described by Blacket as 'one of the grandest missionaries that the world has seen'.¹⁶ To the more circumscribed missionary, R.B. Lyth, Thomas was a person 'whose soul is wrapped up in his work. I see in his laboriousness an example worthy my imitation.'¹⁷ I would suggest, however, that a major reason for Thomas's monumental dedication to the missionary task has been quite overlooked, and is to be found in his wife's reproductive misfortunes.

Sarah Thomas, who shared and helped to shape the nature of her husband's missionary commitment and contacts over forty years of married life, suffered multiple miscarriages and lost her only child, a son, before he reached the age of ten. Thomas was away from home at the time of their son's death, and did not return until about six weeks later; so that Sarah had to endure this ultimate experience of grief on her own. The unhappiness and unfulfilled need for family by the Thomases not only formed a basic condition of their married life. It was also a major reason for the unusually long time that the Thomases were able to commit to the work of the Tongan mission. Before their son's death, plans had been made for a return to England. As with other missionary couples, the educational needs of their offspring was one of the two most cogent reasons for leaving their mission station. The other acceptable reason was, of course, ill-health.

It has generally been accepted that John Thomas's lack of educational qualifications led to his being laborious and painstaking in his missionary efforts. But the nature of his family relationships, and his lack of success in fathering a family, has been overlooked. In the eyes of the Tongans, this could well have been a telling indication of his status or lack of it. Chiefly people, people of importance, were expected to make fruitful sexual alliances. European stereotypes of marriage, parenting and

¹⁴ E.g. Beaver 1968.

¹⁵ Hunter 1984.

¹⁶ 1914.

¹⁷ Both these sources are quoted in a recognition of tributes made to John Thomas at the beginning of a collection of manuscript letters to parents and friends of the Thomases. See Thomas, J. and S. 1834-1850.

adoption fit uneasily with traditional Tongan expectations of the enhancement of sacred or political powers by the activation of certain kin relationships at the expense of others. On the other hand, for Thomas, this lack of family meant that he had more time to immerse himself in missionary labours. This no doubt also helps to explain the voluminous notes and journals he was able to pen.

As Lawry's life and the mission he helped to establish was saved, even if only temporarily, by the intervention of a Tongan chiefly woman, so too was John Thomas saved from an abrupt and ignominious end to his missionary aspirations, in November 1828. One of the most threatening altercations that Thomas had with Ata occurred at this time. Thomas's life was threatened and he was about to be cast out of the mission house, when Ata's anger was assuaged by the intervention of 'Alaievalo' (the sister of Fīnau, at that time Tu'i Vava'u):

She addressed the Chief in a speech at some length, in our favour...she wished him not to be angry with us...nor remove us from this place. That our minds...our God...our ways [were] different...she spoke in a very humble affectionate manner. And after she had done the Chief said it was true. This speech was made the means of softening the Chief's spirit. Soon after she had ended, she and several other women left the ring...I was thankful to learn from Ulakai that the Chief's anger was over, that we were to stop at our place.¹⁸

The missionary reputations we associate with men like Lawry and Thomas would seem, then, to owe much to the nature of women's actions and involvements. Such incidents, however, should also alert us to the need for a more critical appreciation of the precarious nature of mission establishments in Tonga in the 1820s. These early attempts only became as viable as the sufferance and willingness of Tongans allowed them to be. The missionaries were certainly not able to manipulate Tongans at will, and had little control or understanding of events that closely affected their own lives. In fact a reading of mission journals reveals that much of their time during these first years was actually spent in physically setting up the station, and in establishing workable relationships within the mission party itself, leaving little time for the task of conversion. Tongans keen to learn the mysteries of praying, reading, or worshipping the European God were even turned away by Thomas, because of more pressing tasks in setting up the mission.¹⁹

The point of making these somewhat provocative comparisons and statements is not simply to pull down or modify past reputations. Rather, the intention is to challenge us to look beyond the accepted version of past events. Not only the detail but also the basic construction of the past needs to be reconsidered. After all, recent anthropological calls (most notably in the recent work of M. Sahlins) for historians to look to the cultural reasons behind events need not apply only to other cultures, but have an equal validity for the past actions of Europeans. An analysis of family,

¹⁸ Thomas, J., Journal 2, p.101, entry for 19 November 1828.

¹⁹ See, e.g., John Thomas's entry in Journal 1, for 15 July 1826, recording his first meeting with Lolohea (then a twenty year old and son of a chief) who was ill and befriended the missionaries: 'he said pointing to his breast me foolish, me love Book, he was much pleased with a Board I gave him with the Alphabet on. He waited all the afternoon in the yard expecting me to teach him again. But I had to many other things to do and so many things open in the house that I could not have him in - he stayed until it was dark and then went, saying he would come tomorrow...to our worship'.

like kinship, or of domestic, like tribal economies and technologies, can guide historians to a fuller understanding of the past. Both at the level of 'historic' events and personal action, cultural meanings should not be underestimated as a resource in historical research.

No less than the Europeans already mentioned, Tongans in the 1820s had vital decisions to make that closely affected their religious and political affiliations. At least in matters of religion, the Wesleyans had this much in common with Tongans. Both groups asserted a belief in the supernatural intervention in the natural and human world as an ever present fact. In affairs of state, however, they seemed a world apart. The Wesleyans presented themselves as peacemakers (though their Saviour more realistically warned that his own coming would divide brother against brother, sister against sister). Unlike this Christian king of peace, a Tongan *tu'i* counted support in terms of the number of warriors that could be marshalled, the resources that could be gathered, in times of war and ritual. The Wesleyan policy of 'no politics' in effect meant that they recognised established positions of power and tried to work within them. On the other hand, the Tongan polity required the close identification of religious and political power.

The missionary presence in the 1820s, unlike the earlier London Missionary Society attempt, the occasional sortie by navigators, or the transcultural existence of runaways or castaways, was the first permanent European establishment in Tonga. These were religiously motivated migrants, who took with them the trappings of one culture to live alongside another. The Tongan desire for European finery in cloth or beads, their astonishment at the durability of iron goods, and their readiness to adopt European weaponry for traditional warfare, were all well established before the mission became a reality. But when these 'men of God' with their 'handmaidens' of peace settled in the midst of the Tongans in order to teach them the ways of the European God, then perhaps the full power of this immanent being was imminent also, or about to be revealed. Depending on where they stood in their own culture, on the nature of their own experiences and alliances, Tongans were either attracted or repelled by this religious presence. A chief like Ata, with a secure hold on a traditional power base, was attracted to the trappings and technologies associated with the mission, and sought to increase his prestige in the eyes of other islanders by having Thomas and Hutchinson in his power. But he refused to allow the European God to replace traditional religious loyalties. There were Tongans who dreaded what would happen if the missionaries were allowed to remain. Dreams and portents of the rains ceasing, or of crops failing, were seen as warnings of the consequence of denying the Tongan *'otua* (gods) their rightful place as the objects of worship and the source of life. On the other hand there were Tongans who sought to identify themselves with the power of the European God in their efforts to reassert or gain power and support, the most obvious examples being members of the Tupou line.

Several significant patterns emerge when analysing reasons behind Tongan attraction to the power and property of the *papālangi*. For example, what Europeans thought of as trade in Tonga of the 1820s had quite different cultural connotations for the Tongans involved. The following two instances highlight the recurring prominence of Tongan women in traditional or religious contexts, as well as the tendency for

'trade' goods to be used by Tongans for ceremonial and traditional rather than the more utilitarian European purposes for which they were designed. The first example was recorded by Walter Lawry on July 1823, as the *St Michael* was arriving back in Tonga. He was describing what he termed the 'Paloo Cartonga' [Palu *katoanga*]:

This Cartonga or Feast is celebrated as a kind of rejoicing over and honour to his only daughter...They place the girl on a large heap of gnatoo, with her face painted red. The crowd gathers round in a circle. They bring into this ring hundreds of hogs roasted with large baskets of yams, as much as 30 men can lift. The young chiefs then try which can first carve his hog - that parts of which are for the most part thrown away. This waste was made in sight of the ship coming into the Harbour from which they knew they might procure much useful property, had they taken the hogs for barter, but so infatuated are they, that in spite of our admonitions, and their own interests, they adhere to their old customs.²⁰

Lawry might have added that the Tongans were also acting against his own interests, for the *St Michael* could indeed have boosted its trade in pork between the islands and the Australian colonies had they been able to subvert this traditional ceremony. The second example, recorded by John Thomas in November 1826, highlights how European goods were sought for Tongan religious and cultural reasons. Initially trade goods were often sought to express traditional beliefs and practices rather than to replace them:

27. Monday. Early this morning about Eighty women went shouting by our house to fetch sand from the Beach...the throw it upon the corpse...a number of men and boys...colourd in a curious and frightful manner met before the Fitoca or burying place...firing off two or three guns with bayonets on...running spears into their thighs and some the bayonets...some were cutting their heads with axes until the blood run down them.²¹

Another significant pattern of these early years of religious contact concerns the dispersion of the Gospel by Islanders. Twentieth century historians of both Catholic and Wesleyan traditions have referred to isolated instances where the conversion of Tongans living on islands in the Ha'apai group preceded the arrival of missionaries or occurred in their absence.²² As a major factor in the shaping of the Pacific past, this has been explored more comprehensively by John Garrett in *To Live Among the Stars*. Garrett argues that the diffusion 'of Christianity has been largely by the contacts of Islanders with Islanders in everyday life'.²³ Firsthand evidence of the relevance of this theme in Tonga's past is available in Sarah Thomas's journal. She quite candidly provides instances of conversions occurring apart from the influence of European missionaries, and in this way unwittingly undercuts claims made regarding

²⁰ Lawry, W., 1818-25:122, entry for 12 July 1823.

²¹ Thomas, J., Journal 1, p.197, entry for 25 November 1826.

²² The two extremes of this argument are represented in the writing of Blanc and Lātūkefu. In Blanc (1934:36) the case seems to be overstated when the claim is made that 'Thomas later went to Ha'apai to find all the people of the Ha'apai group following the new religion'. Compared to this Lātūkefu (1969:99) provides a more detailed argument where he points to the role of native teachers in conversions: 'Almost all of Lofanga in Ha'apai turned to Christianity through the work of two native teachers who were local inhabitants. At Ha'ano, another island in Ha'apai, 200 persons were added to the classes on April 1, 1832, also through the work of Tongan teachers'.

²³ Garrett 1982:xi.

Thomas's apparently more fruitful missionary labours in Ha'apai after the stalemate situation of Hihifo. One example occurs when the Thomases return to Ha'apai after a temporary absence in December 1830 to 'find that during our absence several of turned from Idols to the living God we have large congregations at both the services'.²⁴

As with the example already cited of Lolohea's keenness for the *lotu* (or praying religion associated with the European missionaries) it would seem that Christianity was something desired by, or alternatively opposed by, Tongans, rather than something simply imposed by Europeans. Tongans, especially of chiefly rank, may well have had traditional reasons for desiring and promoting the *lotu*. But implicated in these actions there were also unexpected changes. For example, unlike traditional religious practices, the *lotu* encouraged every individual to have direct and personal access to God. Lolohea asked Thomas 'if it was proper [for him] to pray to Jesus', to which Thomas replied that it was and that 'if the Lord was reconciled to him...Jesus Christ would be his friend'.²⁵ Not only could all Tongans, whatever their rank, pray directly to God, they could also claim an equal, spiritual footing with others - even commoners could aspire to a spiritual life after death. The mysteries of reading and reciting the word of God were also made available to all, in spite of chiefly attempts to bar the children of lowly 'cooks' from this privilege.²⁶

The usual analysis of events in the 1820s points to 1827 as a pivotal year. Indeed, it did see the arrival of Turner and Cross to bolster the failing missionary effort; and the decision to establish a second station at Nuku'alofa; as well as the promotion of Tongan as the language for missionaries to teach in and to learn. But this analysis fails to recognise that the surge in conversion numbers that occurred in the decade following these decisions actually took place in the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups, under the auspices of Tongan chiefly rule, and not from the bases on Tongatapu chosen by the European shipping and missionary lines of communication and supply. But the more remote and hazardous Ha'apai group became the real focal point for Tongan Wesleyanism to secure its foundations. And the more accessible Vava'u and Tongatapu became the scene of increasing divisiveness and recrimination.

However, one event in 1827 that does seem to have been pivotal, yet has largely been overlooked, was the visit of the *Astrolabe*, a French vessel on a scientific and exploratory voyage, under Dumont d'Urville. The *Astrolabe* visited Tongatapu in April/May of 1827. The Frenchmen had difficulties on reefs surrounding the island, lost anchors and cables, and even made preparations for abandoning ship, including depositing some of their more valuable scientific materials with the missionary Thomas for safekeeping. Only last minute shifts in wind and tide made it possible to float the ship off the reef. Singleton, a survivor of the *Port-au-Prince* massacre was then employed as a pilot to lead the ship to a safe anchorage off Pangaimotu. However, apparently at the instigation of Tongans, he made an unsuccessful attempt

²⁴ Thomas, S., p.82, 26 December 1830.

²⁵ Thomas, J., Journal 2, pp.33-4, entry for 5 July 1828.

²⁶ Ibid.:198, 29 November 1826, states that: 'the Chief is not pleased for our teaching the poor people's Children, he calls them...(Cooks)'.

to scuttle the ship on rocks on the way into the harbour. Once a secure anchorage was made, scientific investigations were initiated and trade proceeded vigorously, both in provisions and sexual favours; the latter in spite of the Commodore's best efforts. Detailed illustrations made during this visit have provided a valuable resource for modern commentators on this period. But the interactions between Tongans and Europeans have largely been left unanalysed. Actions and responses closely associated with this visit were actually quite crucial to later developments.

For more than two weeks the Frenchmen roamed the island, gathering information, conducting interviews with chiefly Tongans, and visiting the mission station. But this time of fruitful cultural material exchanges turned sour when an abrupt decision was made to leave, as the winds had become more favourable. Plans made secretly by a group of seamen to desert the ship were threatened by the suddenness of this decision. So at the last minute, and with the aid of Tongans, the group absconded in one of the ship's boats. D'Urville's immediate attempts to retrieve them were unsuccessful, and led to the death of one of his own men. The resulting 'war' (to use Thomas's term) between the ship and the island took the form of a week-long siege and bombardment of Ma'ufanga, a most sacred site on the northern coast of the island, where the absconding seamen were being held. D'Urville insisted on shelling and firing at Ma'ufanga until the men and boat were returned. But the Tongans busily shored up the site with extra ditches, and embankments of sand and tree trunks, to remain relatively impervious to the best artillery and ammunition the French had to offer. This stalemate situation meant that d'Urville had to alter his demands and be satisfied with the return of those men who wished to go with the ship, and leave those who wished to stay on the island. Such a forced compromise made him vow to return with sufficient power to subdue the unrepentant Tongans. As Thomas observed, 'we are led to expect that the Captin will go and fetch a power sufficient to conquer and subdue the whole Island...and change the Government here'.²⁷

The visit of this ship, the first the missionaries had seen in the ten months they had been on the island, affected them directly in several ways. To Thomas, the hope of some British or French force with the power to subdue the islanders promised well for more successful attempts in the mission work: in his view, while the Tongans remained proud and arrogant little could be achieved with them. But after a closer inspection of the interactions between the Frenchmen and the Tongans Thomas refused to return to the ship. This change in his attitude toward the French centred on moral rather than national priorities. On visiting the ship Thomas had observed the sexual trade that was taking place:

I told [the Commodore] of what I had heard he said it was true - that he had forbid it, but could not prevent it. I said that the native women were not addicted to such crimes - thy must be forced by their Chief to come, indeed I saw a young woman that a chief was requiring to go down into the Cabin - bathed in tears and her eyes red by crying, I said they could not escape the displeasure of the Almighty.²⁸

²⁷ Ibid.:261.

²⁸ Ibid.:256.

These observations led to a major shift in Thomas's attitudes and in his decision to continue in the work of the mission, with the added dimension of saving Tongan women from physical harm at the hands of Europeans as well as spiritual harm from a lack of knowledge of the Gospel. But later developments during the visit of the ship, associated this time with the more mundane exchange of food, water and trade goods, made Thomas agree with Hutchinson to leave the island at the first opportunity.

The survival of the mission during this first year had depended on the provision of food through barter with Tongans. While the *Astrolabe* was visiting Tongatapu, a *tapu* was placed on trade with the missionaries; and after the ship left, the missionaries noticed the inflationary effect that the French visit had had on the value of bartered goods. These increasingly harsh conditions led Thomas to observe 'I almost despair of saving much except our lives and a few cloathes...the people seem to have received orders how they are to trade. The bring us very small quantities of things and fix on their price'.²⁹

The English and French were not the only ones to show evidence of significant changes in response to the visit. Tongans also appear to have altered their responses to European contact. For several decades preceding the visit of the *Astrolabe*, European vessels were wary of Tongan waters because of the risk of being taken for plunder. This state of affairs had already altered sufficiently for the *Astrolabe* to have safely weathered its early hazardous entry through the reefs without a massacre or plunder occurring. In fact, Tongans offered assistance to the distraught Frenchmen, and all seemed amicable in their initial contacts. Singleton's attempt to scuttle the ship, however, does seem to indicate that some Tongans would have been disappointed to see the ship reach a safe anchorage.

One Tongan identified in both the French and mission record of this visit as the leader of the Tongans who traded and eventually locked horns with the Frenchmen was 'the Chief Tahofa'. In *Great Voyages of Exploration* Jacques Brosse presents a rare, if brief, account of d'Urville's two visits to Tonga. Of the 1827 visit to Tongatapu, Brosse recounts that a 'boat sent ashore came into conflict with men belonging to chief Tahofa, and its crew was made prisoner'.³⁰ Then again, in referring to the visit to Vava'u by the *Astrolabe* and the *Zelee* in 1838, Brosse states that 'D'Urville had Chief Tahofa bring Simonet on board bound hand and foot, and then placed him in irons'.³¹

The Tongan chief referred to in these two incidents seems, in fact, to have been two quite distinct men. In 1827 d'Urville clashed with Taufaa, the Chief of 'Bea' (Pea), and more usually referred to as the Chief Fa'e. In August 1833 Thomas described 'Fae, or Taufaa' as the 'hau' or 'conqueror'. In 1838 the Chief Taufaa at Vava'u, who helped d'Urville by retrieving the runaway Simonet, who had led the

²⁹ Olive Wright's translation of the Tongan leg of d'Urville's first voyage, and the Journals of John Thomas, are the main sources of information for this discussion.

³⁰ Brosse 1983:155.

³¹ Ibid.:190.

1827 desertion from the *Astrolabe*, was Tāufa'āhau, then *tu'i* in both Ha'apai and Vava'u, and later to become King of Tonga.

Tāufa'āhau was not personally involved, then, in the 1827 clash between d'Urville and the islanders of Tongatapu. But the experience of such a forthright European presence in Tongan waters occurred at a crucial time of change in Tongan responses to European visits. The threat of similar militaristic confrontations no doubt influenced Tongans in their efforts to secure greater access to the power and goods of Europeans. For example, it was soon after, in early 1828, that Tāufa'āhau met the missionary Thomas and admitted to the realisation that by forcefully taking European ships, 'instead of getting more property by it, they get less, as vessels will not call here'.³²

Tāufa'āhau's overture to the missionaries, then, denotes a change in the islanders' tactics towards the European presence, just as Tongan encouragement and assistance to would-be deserters such as those from the *Astrolabe* is indicative of a growing desire for European manpower as much as their technology - for able-bodied men who could be enlisted in Tongan wars and rivalry over titled positions. Uses made of men like Singleton and Simonet highlight the pattern already indicated of Tongans using Europeans or their goods for Tongan ends. As well, the missionary Thomas was also used by the Tongans, as a mediator and peacemaker between themselves and the irate Frenchmen. The degree of Tongan manipulation in this event, and of the Tongans' control over European actions and their immunity from European attack, may seem surprising. But this is only so because we have for too long underestimated the extent to which Tongans acted in their own history.

In a similar way this early period of contact and conflict between Tongan and European is usually considered as a male preserve. But the same mission and exploration sources from which this impression is derived can be used to show that women were closely involved in the cultural and personal exchanges that took place. That they were central players in the exchange of goods and services which early characterised the meeting of the two cultures seems obvious, though little analysis has yet been done to establish the exact patterns and relationships involved. Less obvious is the role women played in Tongan openness or opposition to religious change. Early mission journals are a surprising source of information in this regard, revealing the active role played by Tongan women in this early conversion period. The opposition of Ata's wife, Papa, and his sister, Faiana, was often referred to in early mission accounts. But there are just as many instances of women willing to act as agents of the new religion, though much less has been made of them. One interesting example comes from John Thomas's journal for August 1828:

22. Frid. Papa accompanied by an old Chief woman who said she was a lotu woman, or a woman that prays, called upon us. The old woman is Sister to Uhila - her name is Lotovale, literally, foolish mind. She is going to the Fiji Islands. She calls herself our kaiga, or relation. She readily listened to all I could tell her about the Lord. Oh that she might profit by it.³³

³² As quoted in Rowe 1976:40.

³³ Thomas, J., Journals 2, p.50.

This paper, then, is only an introduction, a beginning for research into women and the *lotu*, to identify and give meaning to the actions of women in Tonga during this early period of conversion and confrontation with the growing European presence. Such an analysis of historical sources with an eye for the involvement and actions of women should allow for a more fully integrated understanding of this founding period. Recent attempts to reconsider Tongan history from a feminist or Marxist viewpoint³⁴ tend to display two basic shortcomings. The first is a tendency to view Tongans as passive victims of European encroachments on their culture. What is needed is an analysis that gives full credit to the activities of Tongans and Europeans, women and men, in the cultural and religious interplays that led to change. A second shortcoming is that an analysis from a materialist point of view denies the values and priorities that set the agenda, so to speak, for people whose lives are structured religiously. If we selectively invoke certain aspects of the past as valuable, and deny others, then we risk imposing a modern secular attitude on past events, and thereby limiting our appreciation of causes to the more easily observed material explanations.

Mo e'aho ke tuitui - And a time to mend

By PULLING DOWN some of our previous expectations of the past, and bringing to notice some of the finer strands and patterns that have eluded wider recognition, we are better able to understand the past. The finer threads can be woven back into the larger framework. In Sahlins's recent work the resulting 'moral' or overall message seems to be that because Islanders sought change in terms of their own culture, that culture was itself inevitably and irrevocably changed.³⁵ The Tongan case is unusual in that cultural persistence seems to have outpaced cultural change. Tonga, more successfully than other Pacific Island groups, defied European attempts at colonisation. Instead, the pattern has been one of unification from within - a form of self-colonisation through a ruling élite. We need to ask how this came about: how traditional religious and political powers came to terms with European religious and political powers to allow change in this direction. We need to identify who desired, opposed or imposed 'peace' and Christianity, and to ask what the costs have been.

For the 1820s, 'imposition' terminology, implying that Europeans instigated a wholesale overturning of traditions, is inappropriate. Missionaries, in common with Europeans in general, were in Tonga under the sufferance or at the request of Tongans, and stayed there on Tongan terms. The real foundations of Wesleyanism in Tonga, therefore, need to be sought in the actions and decisions of Tongans as well as Europeans, in their response to the European goods and God, and in Tongan willingness to adopt and select European ways and ideas in their seeking of Tongan ends. The ideas, values and forms that Tongans acted on should not be overlooked or underestimated because of the readily available European record and experience of that past.

³⁴ E.g. Gailey 1981.

³⁵ Sahlins 1985.

12

The Nature of Education in Pre-European to Modern Tonga

KALAPOLI PĀONGO

This paper attempts to trace the changing nature of education in Tonga from its Dark or Formative period to the present, a somewhat formidable task but made manageable by a general treatment of the subject. There are seven sections in this paper, four of which describe distinct periods in the educational development of Tonga. The sections are:

1. An outline of the cultural characteristics that could have influenced the development of education in Tonga;
2. A brief review of the Tongan traditional education;
3. The Thawing Period: 1616-1866;
4. The Golden Age: 1866-1882;
5. The Crisis and the Challenge: 1822-1945;
6. The Renaissance: 1945-The Present;
7. Personal reflections and conclusions.

For my purpose, education is functionally defined as 'the process whereby people grow and develop towards physical, intellectual, social and spiritual maturity'. Emphasis is put on the changing nature of education in Tonga and on the factors contributing to this change. The perspective taken is that of a South Pacific Islander for, as Davidson put it, 'Few topics that impinge directly upon the history of the islands can be examined satisfactorily from the Western point of view alone'.¹

TO TRACE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN TONGA, IT IS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE A PICTURE OF Tonga as it was. Outlined below are certain basic Tongan cultural characteristics which have influenced the growth and development of education in Tonga. They are: chiefly society; extended family orientation; religious nature; hospitality, friendliness and a love of ceremonies; adaptability and resourcefulness; respect.

These cultural characteristics are well documented by historians such as Gifford, West, Farmer, Martin, Wood, Lātūkefu, and Fusitu'a.²

Traditional Education

Traditional education is operationally defined as the 'process whereby one coped successfully with and related meaningfully to one's environments, and of establishing

¹ 1966:13.

² Gifford 1929; West 1865; Farmer 1855; Martin 1981; Wood 1942; Lātūkefu 1974; Fusitu'a 1976.

and maintaining one's identity as dictated by the system and environments in which one lived'. Prior to the coming of the Europeans, there was no formal education in Tonga. Rather education was informal, flexible, and family and environmentally based.³ It was nevertheless adequate to transmit the Tongan cultural heritage from generation to generation. Existing in the Tongan society were formative influences which were deliberately brought to bear upon the growing child. The major societal institutions generated and used these formative influences to educate the Tongans. Foremost among these institutions was the family. As Gifford pointed out, 'Each family was responsible for the training of the children and transmitting to them the things necessary for the preservation of their status in the societal structure'.⁴

The training of individuals for skilled occupations such as canoe building was in the hands of the chiefly families and those of high rank, such as the *matāpule* and the *mu'a*, a responsibility happily carried out and cherished by them for it helped maintain their social status in a culture which was very status conscious. These skills were considered hereditary. As for girls, their mothers and aunts taught them the skills of making *tapa* clothes, mats of different kinds and for different purposes, and the domestic crafts of making rings and necklaces.⁵ The perfection of the physical body was highly regarded for both boys and girls, and athletic and dance skills were fostered carefully. The responsibility for the care of children was no problem for Tongans because, as Ruhan expressed it, the children had a 'complexity of mothers'.

Most Tongan children have a complexity of mothers It's the multiple mother whose discipline helps to form the cheerful, uncomplaining, lively minds of children. In Polynesia your father's sisters are your aunts; your mother's sisters are also your mothers ... The problem of whom to obey does not arise. Always there are authorities to obey for the smallest child ... From all this, the children when they are very young, are never without the love and watchful care of a mother.⁶

Manners and discipline were taught to children early in life. While being hosted by a Tongan family St Johnston observed how well children behaved and carried out their parents' bidding.⁷ Farmer approved of this behaviour.⁸

The second societal institution with a strong educative influence was the chiefly family. The aims for the education of the chief's sons were (1) to uphold their traditional chiefly dignity and exclusive power, and (2) to acquire athletic ability and persuasive eloquence.⁹ There was another function of the chiefly family which Vason considered beneficial.¹⁰ In describing the daily routine of his chiefly-benefactor, Mulikiha'amea, he spoke of the 'most social employment of the day' taking place between after dinner and 11.00 p.m. every night. He called this the 'nocturnal confabulation'. Of its educative function, he said,

³ Campbell 1957:10.

⁴ Gifford in Campbell 1957:13.

⁵ Campbell 1957:16.

⁶ 1978:79.

⁷ 1883:67.

⁸ 1855:150.

⁹ Campbell, 1957:16.

¹⁰ 1810:94.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, as superior and distinct from those of the lower and labourers' class, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier differs from the clown.¹¹

Religion certainly had educative functions in Tongan society before European contact. Its influences were probably more negative than positive. It developed in the people fear and superstition, and prompted them to do things that harmed them physically and psychologically. To a large extent their religious beliefs influenced their actions. The people believed that their gods were dispensers of good and evil, the evil being caused by their negligence in fulfilling their religious duties and duties to their chiefs. To them their gods were dispensers of more evils and misfortunes than blessings and fortunes.¹² It was the duty of the people to appease the gods by self-inflicting physical torture and offering sacrifices, sometimes human. They believed in the existence of evil spirits, thus fear and superstition were woven into pre-contact Tongan society. The Reverend David Cargill referred to the Tongan religion as being 'wretched and degrading', and to the people as standing in perpetual dread of evil spirits.¹³ Finally the Tongan people did not believe in Heaven or Hell, and were therefore spurred to meritorious actions not by hope and faith, but by an 'existential motive' (that is, feeling good in doing something good and generous).¹⁴

As for modes of learning, traditional education was effected mainly through experience, observation, and through telling as well as through trial and error. Cummins expressed this:

Much information and skills were passed on from generation to generation by informal means such as children observing their parents and relatives shaping woods, stone or ivory or weaving baskets and mats or building houses or boats.¹⁵

It must be stressed, however, that the natural environment was of great importance to Tongan education because it was ultimately their environment that dictated the type of life Tongans lived, that is, their culture.¹⁶ As the Reverend C. Gribble said,

The Tongan culture demanded that the people became educated in cultural life in the village and that part of education was the making of the artifacts by which they lived and also they were schooled in the great ceremonies that took place in the elemental stages of their life, marriage, birth and death.¹⁷

Traditional education, though informal and flexible, self-perpetuating and prohibitive, and based very much on home, environment and culture, contributed to the order and peace of pre-European Tongan society.

¹¹ Ibid.:95-6.

¹² Farmer 1855:35.

¹³ Journal 1832-38:28.

¹⁴ Martin 1981:318.

¹⁵ Rutherford 1977:80.

¹⁶ See Farmer 1855:32; Cummins in Rutherford 1977:83.

¹⁷ Personal communication May 1986.

The Thawing Period: 1616-1866

The analogy of 'thawing' is considered appropriate to describe the tremendous changes that took place in Tonga between 1616 and 1866. The characteristics of thawing are warming, melting, flowing, releasing, renewing, replacing, enriching, and even destroying. Its cause is a warming of the temperature. The seemingly quiet and unperturbed life of the pre-European Tongans was suddenly exposed to the 'warm currents' of Western civilisation in the early part of the seventeenth century. The results of this exposure were astonishing. Essentially Tongan life and society underwent stupendous changes, the process of which I call 'thawing'. Several forces were set in motion to effect those changes. Interest and enthusiasm was aroused around the world in the welfare of the South Pacific peoples by explorers' accounts of the Pacific peoples, much of this actually caused by Captain Cook's Journal.¹⁸ The influences of trade were released on Tonga and the South Pacific, benefiting the traders and the Pacific peoples in some ways, but at the same time exposing them to the pernicious effects of such trade, such as 'blackbirding', as well as murders and diseases against which they had no immunity. Civil wars were fought and though they were destructive, they were also considered a blessing in disguise as they facilitated the conversion of the Tongans because they lost faith in their ancestral gods.¹⁹ A charismatic leader emerged in Tonga who was equipped to unite Tonga and to pioneer the spread of Christianity and the establishment of formal education. A secure foundation was laid down for the political development of Tonga (i.e. the passing of Codes of Laws 1839, 1850, the Edict of Emancipation 1862, and the preparation for a written Constitution which was completed and promulgated in 1875). And lastly, more than anything else, the acceptance of Christianity transformed Tongan life.

With these forces interacting, Tonga gradually, inevitably and inexorably changed. Educationally, Tongan minds started to be enlightened and broadened. People started to read, thus enriching their lives and broadening their horizons. Commoners were given an area for self-expression and status improvement. Knowledge of the world, of reality and what was important gradually drove away ignorance and superstition in the lives of many Tongans. The aim, the nature, contents, methods and product of education changed too. The aim of education was to train or teach the people to be able to read the Bible and be guided by it. Formal education was added to informal education. Mr Turner started the first school in Nuku'alofa in March 1828 and was followed by The Reverend John Thomas at Ha'apai. The Reverend Francis Wilson started the first secondary school and the first theological college at Vava'u in 1842, to be followed by the Roman Catholic Church which established its first catechetical school at Pea in 1843. The Reverend Richard Amos, arriving in Tonga in 1847, started the first Education Institute in Nuku'alofa in 1849. In 1866 Dr Moulton started Tupou College, which was followed by the establishment of Tonga College in 1882 by King George Tupou I and his advisor, the Reverend S.W. Baker.

¹⁸ Campbell 1957:18.

¹⁹ Ibid.

The flexible nature of education was changing too, with rules and discipline helping with the administration of formal schooling. The contents of the curriculum changed. Before Christianity education was concerned with nature, traditions and customs. Now the universal laws and truths, Christian ethics and the outside world made up the school curriculum. Formal and direct teaching and experimental approaches were added to experience and observation as the basic modes of learning and teaching. More importantly, the end-product of education changed. Before, the aim of education was tame, obedient, respectful and uncritical people. Formal education helped to produce people who started to think for themselves and were aware of their dignity and identity. The 'thinking man' started to emerge. In describing the changes brought about by education to Tonga, Farmer and Campbell said that in the religious sphere idol worship was abandoned, the Sabbath was kept holy, and polygamy was given up.²⁰ Socially, Christian practices at schools fostered a sweeping away of the *tapu* on which the moral rectitude of the people had depended. Land was divided among the people, and children, to a large extent, were no longer subjected to the strict socialising forces of their own families. Politically, Christian laws were enforced. Educationally, many learned to read and write.

The Golden Age: 1866-1882

With Christianity and education laying the foundation for Tonga's development, Tonga entered into an era which I call the 'Golden Age' of development. Again, I consider the choice of terms justified for it was during this period that major developments in Tonga occurred. Included in those developments were:

1. The completion and promulgation of the Tongan constitution in 1875 which firmly established the rule of law in Tonga and thus effected what Davidson regarded as 'modifying the political institution from within'.²¹
2. The establishment of the major educational institutions that upheld and carried the torch of learning in Tonga for many years to come: Tupou College in 1866, Tonga College in 1882 and 'Api Fo'ou in 1888.²²
3. The triumph of Tonga in maintaining her political independence in the face of colonial powers carving out and sharing among themselves many of the South Pacific Islands.
4. The emergence of great leaders, both expatriates and locals, to govern Tonga in her development into the twentieth century.
5. The formulation and cherishing of developmental visions and policies pursued and implemented with devotion and much sacrifice resulting in, among other things, an academic programme with magnitude and excellence unheard of in Tonga before. An educational programme 'aimed at the standard of attainment at least equal to that in the public schools of England'.²³ The curriculum developed and stretched the Tongan minds to almost their fullest extent. The scholars were not

²⁰ Farmer 1855; Campbell 1957:29.

²¹ 1966:6.

²² Fiefia 1981:5.

²³ Campbell 1957:46.

Plato's philosopher-kings but they were perhaps the best in the South Pacific Islands at that time.

6. The creation and consolidation of a new society patterning itself on Christian ethics, and subjecting itself to the rule of laws.

Education continued to change. The aim of education changed from teaching simply to read and write to 'enlightening the minds as well as the hearts',²⁴ and preparing scholars for government employment and for teaching in the newly established national system of education.²⁵ The curriculum underwent a revolutionary change. Before, the instruction had been elementary. Now maths and other subjects were taught, even in the primary schools, and science and social science courses were offered in secondary schools. It was Dr Moulton and subsequently Dr H. H. Roberts who fully implemented this change by including such pure science courses as Euclid (physics), geometry and algebra in their respective schools' curricula. Still, Dr Moulton was said to have regretted 'not undertaking a wider curriculum'.²⁶

The nature of education also included another direction. Rather than it being merely a means to an end as was the case before, education was given for its intrinsic and aesthetic value. It was during this period that the Tongan minds soared to what Bach, in his novel *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* called 'breaking their limitations', and their hearts warmed to what Reich, in his *Greening of America*, called 'Conscientious Three'. No wonder the memory of that age remains fresh in the minds of many Tongans.

Formality and administration by rules were firmly established with schools becoming effectively and efficiently administered and incorporating such democratic approaches as staff meetings and delegation of responsibilities. Teaching gradually became a profession and the peoples' support for education grew stronger and stronger. The King himself contributed personally to a scholarship scheme at Tupou College²⁷ and later gave grants-in-aid to the missions' schools.

The Crisis and the Challenge: 1882-1945

It was not altogether surprising that the spectacular success of the 'Golden Era' just described was followed by a period of debilitating conflict and general decline in the standard of education in Tonga. Several causes could be suggested as contributing to this decline. The many and fast social changes brought by Christianity and education had weakened the traditional sanctions that governed the peoples' conduct, resulting in emerging social problems. Among these were loose discipline and licentiousness which affected the general community as well as Tupou College, as reported by Dr Moulton.²⁸ With the power of the European 'missionaries' growing, the chiefs' authority was undermined, making them all the more willing to accept the suggestion of establishing an independent church and a national system of education.

²⁴ Moulton 1921:14.

²⁵ Roberts 1924:107; Campbell 1957:30.

²⁶ Campbell 1957:46.

²⁷ Ibid.:50.

²⁸ Ibid.:53.

In a status conscious society anything that was threatening to one's status was viewed with suspicion and bound to cause jealousy. What the chiefs eventually did was more or less a face-saving effort. The missionaries, for their part, did not really understand this, for they were excited about their success and were determined to change Tonga as much as they could. They were therefore unaware of the growing desire among the chiefs to control and direct their own destiny. The ensuing religious and political conflicts indicated that the chiefs wanted back some of their former power. They wished to control their own church, their own schools and their own destiny.

Politically, Tupou I held firmly to his vision of having an independent nation. Part of that vision was to have an independent church once the Tongan church could administer itself. There was a growing feeling among many chiefs that having accepted Christianity and having established formal education, the Tongans no longer regarded themselves as needing foreign missionaries. Thus the chiefs' love for their independence grew stronger and stronger. This culminated in a meeting of chiefs held in Nuku'alofa in 1874 at which three resolutions were passed. There should be: 1) an independent church; 2) a government controlled school system; 3) separation of church and state in matters concerning chiefs' and peoples' relationships. These resolutions were taken to the Nuku'alofa District's meeting where they were accepted to be passed on to the Sydney Conference. The Sydney Conference rejected the resolutions. The King's request for the establishment of a Tongan church as an independent Conference was also dismissed, thus making his mind set for his next move, as his speech before the Tongan Legislative Assembly indicated: 'My mind is still the same for the church in Tonga to be an independent church. I and my family will not again contribute to the foreign missions until Tonga is a church.'²⁹ In 1882 he severed relations with the Wesleyan Mission and established Tonga College and a government controlled school system. In 1855 he established the Free Church of Tonga and thus the great era of church control of educational direction and efforts passed away in an anti-climax. The consequences of these developments were discouraging to the Wesleyans and their supporters. Tupou College's enrolments plummeted to an all time low of thirty students in 1887. The Wesleyan mission was on the verge of collapsing. Progress in education, especially in the Wesleyan mission, stagnated. To make matters worse, both Dr Moulton and Dr Roberts returned to Sydney in 1888, leaving the educational system without direction and without supervision.³⁰

The challenge of administering a national system of education fell upon the Tongans themselves. They were disadvantaged by their lack of experience and expertise in educational administration. That the educational system was still operating was in itself an achievement, for the decade 1882-1892 of the State control of education was a period of turmoil and stress. The government, however, tried to improve the worsening conditions. They passed educational acts (1891, 1903, 1913 & 1927) after surveys and recommendations made by several Royal Commissions on the condition of education in Tonga. They paid teachers on the basis of results, a

²⁹ Ibid.:63.

³⁰ Ibid.:80.

measure of enforcing efficiency into the system which, however, proved to be a failure. And they employed capable expatriates like Mr W. H. Gould to help, although such helpers were often thwarted by cultural misunderstanding and so were not effective.

Ironically the government's uncertainty as to how to improve the educational system at that time was reflected in some ways by its changing educational policies. The government eventually pushed its responsibilities for primary education to the churches in 1909 and 1932.³¹ It reduced its educational budget from 15 per cent in 1897 to 6.1 per cent in 1906³² and the grants in-aid to mission schools were discontinued.

It would be wrong, of course, to say that during these years of turmoil no real educational progress or changes were made in Tonga. People like Gould and Hyne introduced revolutionary educational changes worth mentioning. The strong push for practical subjects started during this period. New curricula were drawn up which were a compromise between 'what should be and what could be taught'.³³ Education Acts were passed to introduce innovative changes, such as the establishment of the offices of Minister and Director of Education to be in charge of the educational system.

The Renaissance: 1945-The Present

The attempt to equate this period to the Renaissance may not altogether be justified. However, certain developments in Tonga during this period are considered as having some Renaissance characteristics. If the Renaissance was a period of 'rebirth', Tonga went through such a period. With improved transportation and technology, Tonga was no longer isolated. With Tonga's trade improved and expanded, the agrarian base of her economy gradually changed to a monetary base. With the Tongans being exposed to the materialistic orientation of the developed countries, Galbraith's 'revolution of hope'³⁴ got hold of their imaginations. With the Tongan educational system improved, the innate abilities of a number of Tongans were developed to the extent that visionary educationists like Futa Helu and radical reasoners like Siupeli Taliai emerged.³⁵ With increased secularization in life and the ubiquitous over-emphasis on technology, churches doubled their efforts to evangelise the world, resulting in introducing into Tonga several new religious sects. And with the increased awareness of the importance of education to the welfare of the people, with it being considered the kingpin for the successful development of a country and its people,³⁶ parents started to invest more in their children's education. With these forces interacting in Tonga, education responded.

Some of the major educational changes taking place during this period were:

1. The reappraising of priorities in the educational aims of both the government and churches such as by the Wesleyan Church at its Annual Conference in 1976.

³¹ Ibid.:90.

³² Ibid.:89.

³³ Ibid.:98.

³⁴ 1958.

³⁵ Ogilvie 1984:365.

³⁶ Pāongo 1971:1.

2. The implementation of educational expansion programmes to accommodate the increased school enrolments. For example, several churches built District Colleges and Middle Schools to cater for the educational needs of the people in their respective districts.
3. The advancement of the standard of education to the tertiary level, with 'Atenisi Institute leading the way, to be followed by Tupou High School Form Seven Programme which is the first year or Foundation Programme for the University of The South Pacific.
4. The establishment of new academic high schools to help prepare the more able students for further studies overseas: Tonga High School in 1947, Tupou High School in 1963, with others following suit.
5. The consolidation of the policy of making practical subjects an integral part of the curriculum.³⁷
6. The reinduction of cultural values among students and the development of pride in their country and what it stands for and aspires to.
7. The training of more locals to carry out work previously done by expatriates.
8. The training of ministers and pastors to effectively minister to the spiritual needs of the people living in a continuously changing society.
9. The improvement of educational administration to bring about effectiveness and efficiency in the running of the schools.
10. The improvement of teaching skills to raise the standard of education in Tonga now and in years to come.

The partnership between the government and the churches in shouldering the responsibility of developing Tonga educationally continues to operate during this period, but with a noticeable change. The government has gradually taken over a large part of the responsibility for primary education, and has increased its share in secondary education. With its responsibility for education increasing, the government Educational Department reorganised itself as reflected in a series of Government Five Year Plans.³⁸ Moreover, the concern for practical subjects continues to dominate the curricula developed by the Education Department. Incorporated into the schools' curriculum were some services for the young through non-formal programmes. 'These will aim at enhancing personal growth and self-sufficiency and thus provide for those young people means for contributing to national development.'³⁹

Personal Reflections and Conclusions

Of all the South Pacific Island nations Tonga has been and still is perhaps the least disrupted because her political and social systems together with her basic conservatism only allowed for gradual change. Educational changes, however, seem to have gone ahead of other areas, with education being considered a prerequisite for the general development of Tonga.

³⁷ Education Minister's Report 1970:17.

³⁸ Tongan Government's Third Five Year Plan 1975-80:280-1.

³⁹ Ibid.:287.

Traditional education was sufficient for pre-European Tonga, but since the contacts with Europeans were made in the early seventeenth century, Tonga was inexorably pressured to change. During the 'Thawing Period' (1616-1866) education was under the direction of the churches which aimed at teaching the people to be able to read and write, with the Bible making up the contents of the curriculum. Education changed during the 'Golden Era' (1866-1882). The educational programmes included not only helping the people to learn to read and write, but also to develop their ability to think, to reason, and to delve into the mystery of nature through pure science courses like chemistry and physics. The government gave full support to the churches in their educational programmes during this period. Consequently, the educational progress made was remarkable. But the success of this period can later be seen as the 'calm before the storm'.

The ensuing period of 'Crisis and Challenge' is seen as inevitable, for the Tongan cultural forces were pushed to the limit by outside forces, unfortunately resulting in an initial period of educational stagnation. The progress of educational recovery was slow, being hampered at times by forceful departures of capable expatriate educators. The training of local educators had to be done 'on the job' and although they were confronted by a lot of difficulties, they are to be praised for their efforts to maintain the educational system in such a difficult period.

The pace of educational change picked up at the beginning of the 'Renaissance Period: 1945 - The present', and has continued to accelerate in the 1960s and onwards. Educational policies were influenced to some extent by new discoveries in the field of education. The curricula were improved, upgraded, and broadened. Improvements were brought into educational administration, with new democratic administrative practices being incorporated which, among other things, have brought the schools closer to the community. New schools were established to cater for the growing enrolments and efforts were made to improve teaching as a profession. The quality and the level of education were improved and upgraded with tertiary courses offered in Tonga at several institutions. Education has become the main concern of many people in Tonga. It is the most talked about topic at social gatherings, and the basis for hope for an improvement in life style for many Tongans.

To ensure progress is made in the educational development of Tonga, efforts must be made to look into the problematic areas and attempts must be made to solve these problems and to prevent others from developing. Based on this concern, the following personal reflections are given.

The problem of over-emphasis on academic education still exists, being supported by parents' pressure to maintain an academic bias in the school curriculum. The victims of this attitude are the students who fail to qualify academically, and who are also not equipped with skills necessary for community life. Efforts must continue to broaden the curriculum to include more practical subjects. More importantly, attempts must be made to change the peoples' attitude to the jobs in which these practical skills are used. One way of achieving this is to make the salaries and wages of those jobs commensurable or comparable to those of the so-called white-collar jobs.

The policy of consultation and joint deliberation between the Department of Education and the churches in educational policy decision-making must continue for

they need each other's help in developing Tonga educationally. Being united in a common cause will undoubtedly help to change the previous parochial attitude in the thinking of the churches which prevented the government and churches co-operating in the educational development of Tonga in the past.

The churches' role in the educational development of Tonga must continue if Tonga is to be able to withstand the accompanying pains and problems of changes which are bound to come to Tonga. Tonga's hope for the future depends largely on the contribution the churches will make, because with material progress comes increased secularisation, but with spiritual progress comes the dignifying, purifying and sanctification of life.

The efforts to reduce the problem of the brain-drain must continue with emphasis given to internalising and incorporating Christian and cultural values into the students' minds and lives early in life. Money is not a sure and sound anchor for loyal and dedicated service.

Leadership training must be directly and indirectly incorporated into the school programmes as Tonga needs true leaders to take charge of her development from now on. The best type of leadership for Tonga is what Greenleaf called 'Servant Leadership' which is leadership that puts the interests and welfare of the 'led' before and above those of the leaders.⁴⁰ Again, the churches and their schools are vital for the development of this type of leadership.

The development of Tonga must be balanced for if certain areas like education are developed faster than the economy and politics, complications are bound to occur, as has recently been evidenced by the misunderstanding between the members of the Tongan Legislative Assembly and the supporters of the *Kele'a* newspaper.

The implementation of new educational ideas and methods originating in other countries requires a contextualisation process if those ideas and methods are to stand a chance of effecting in Tonga the improvements they are purported to bring.⁴¹

The educational goals for the development of Tonga must constantly be reappraised and altered according to the changing needs of the country.

Tonga has come a long way in her educational development. With all the help our modern and technological world offers, the future for educational development in Tonga is indeed bright. The realisation of this optimistic outlook to a large extent depends upon the wise and co-ordinated use of Tonga's limited natural and human resources. Tonga has certain current educational problems, but they could be the stepping stones to greater educational improvements and changes to come. The best resource a country could have is its people. Tonga has that untappable source for her development. To develop, mobilise and utilise that source must remain, now and forever, the primary aim of education in Tonga.

⁴⁰ Greenleaf 1977.

⁴¹ See Thaman 1987:3; Beeby 1966:1-2.

13

The Early Accommodation of Traditional and English Law in Tonga

GUY POWLES

When two social systems come into contact, as did the British and Tongan systems last century, two legal cultures interact. As a homogeneous society like that of Tonga has need of only one legal culture, it was natural that, over time, some sort of amalgam of the two original components would result. The introduction of British concepts was accompanied by some controversy and conflict, but the architects of the new state of Tonga selected elements from each legal culture and arrived at an early accommodation of the two. In this way, Tonga was able to lead Pacific Island societies in establishing stable central government.

This paper examines the making of that accommodation and how it was enforced, during the period 1875 to 1930. It presents data and analysis in the form of three studies - the essentials of the 1875 Constitution in their early context, constitutional and statutory changes in the law from 1875 to 1903, and the implementation of laws by central government during its first fifty-five years to 1930.¹

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE TONGAN EXPERIENCE OVER THE PAST 150 YEARS DERIVES ESSENTIALLY from the ordering of Tongan society - as seen in the formation and preservation of key institutions. The ordering of society during this period originally involved the adoption and application of compatible concepts selected from two legal cultures. A combination evolved of a) the authoritative elements of Tongan chiefly law, and b) the command theory of English jurisprudence and the Christian notion of individual responsibility.

Certain further characteristics of the two cultures which would have mitigated the full force and rigour of the application of these concepts were scarcely reflected in the legal framework of the new state. Two of these potentially mitigating characteristics were Tongan - reciprocity of obligation, and primacy of the kinship group; and two were English - equitable checks on the use of power, and rights of participation in decision-making.

Thus, desirable balancing elements from Tongan and English law were largely omitted from the documentation of the new order. For example, while the powers of the highest chiefs were spelled out and made enforceable, their obligations as chiefs

¹ The paper assumes some knowledge of traditional Tongan society. Also, the reader is invited to look at the following for later developments in government institutions and the law of the legal system: Niu 1988; Powles 1979, 1982, 1988a and b; Taumoepeau 1988.

could not be enforced. The reciprocity of relationships between chiefs and their people - a feature of the earlier Tongan legal order - was not provided for in the formal law. In this way, it can be said that the lineages of the royal family and chosen chiefs were no longer dependent, as a matter of law, on the support of their people. They were to become chiefs by virtue of the Constitution.

During the period 1850-1900, which was crucial for the establishment of national government and international independence, the essential requirement was a central foundation for the growth of the legal system. The remarkable *Constitution of Tonga* 1875 tied together threads of Tongan and English legal cultures and initiated a process of law-making which subsequently acknowledged that Constitution as the source of its legitimacy. The first of the studies in this paper analyses the principal elements of the Constitution, and their effect. However, it was not the first Constitution itself, an incomplete document in some respects, but rather the drafting of a host of laws and ultimately the massive code, *The Laws of Tonga* 1891 (in conjunction with a much amended Constitution), which provided that central legal foundation for modern Tonga. While the Constitution attracted widespread attention, the work of successive Premiers Shirley Baker and Basil Thomson in 'writing' the laws of Tonga went on relatively unhindered in circumstances made possible by King Tupou I's assumption of authority drawn from two legal cultures, referred to above.

The manner in which important modifications and extensions of the 1875 Constitution were introduced raises questions as to the extent to which the King, and the chiefs and people in Parliament, were aware of their significance. The Constitution was amended five times by 1891. Baker employed a high degree of 'drafter's-licence' to change and add provisions, sometimes without apparent permission. Problems for the legal historian were compounded in 1891 when Thomson produced his 'new translation' which became the definitive version, passed into the twentieth century and was adopted in the 1903 code, *The Law of the Government of Tonga*. The second study in this paper summarises those constitutional and related legislative changes of the period 1875 to 1903 which dealt with government and land. It will be seen that reliance on the published 1875 document as evidence of the pre-1903 position is generally misleading.

Acceptance of centralised authority, which today seems to distinguish Tonga from other states of the region, required reinforcement throughout that potentially disruptive period (continuing to the late 1920s) which was characterized by the penetration of English governmental practices. Courts were adopted as the means of implementing law and securing compliance. The third study presented here deals with the extraordinary level of court activity achieved sixty to seventy years ago. Tonga drew heavily upon the English Common Law style of administration of justice in the early stages of the development of the legal system. Once, however, the course had been charted - with the courts and related institutions in place - it was the Tongan statute book which comprised the great bulk of the law. This was so - and still is - almost to the exclusion of unwritten Custom, and leaving only certain circumscribed space for English Common Law principles.²

² Powles 1988a.

The amalgam of legal cultures which long ago produced Tonga's modern legal system has provided government with a potent administrative force. As the original ingredients of the mix are not easily identified, most of the system is now regarded as legitimately 'Tongan'. Thus, the system is not readily assailable on those grounds of inconsistency with indigenous culture which are sometimes raised in Pacific states. The Tongan legal system of today is no longer 'modern'. Massive change occurred over one hundred years ago when a new order was constructed. Since then, the comparatively cautious development of legal and governmental institutions further distinguishes Tonga from the rest of the Pacific region.³

The Essentials of the 1875 Constitution in their Early Context

In opening the 'parliament' of chiefs in September 1875, Tupou I stressed the value of the proposed constitution as a 'palladium of freedom to all Tongans forever', and the need to resolve the question of succession to the throne and to prohibit the sale of 'any part of Tonga'.⁴ Of great significance to the chiefs were his statements that: i) although the whole of the Kingdom belonged to him he had provided that the estates of named chiefs would belong to them and their descendants forever, and they would receive rent from leases; ii) 'the estate shall go with the title' of the chief, and succession would be from father to son by blood relationship and marriage - 'from today no adopted child shall succeed'; and iii) any dispute would be tried in court 'in accordance with the usages of civilized governments'.⁵

The proposals were accepted and on 4 November 1875 parliament adopted the Constitution which, subject to amendment, is in force today. In closing the session, the King announced the names of twenty chiefs as 'nobles', but, by deferring the allocation of land to noble titles, he left the way open for further appointments. He also named the holders of key posts in his government, including Cabinet Ministers, Chief Judge, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Governors of Ha'apai and Vava'u.⁶

Six principal elements of the Constitution are identified as follows:

THE ROYAL LINEAGE

As a matter of priority, Tupou I settled the question of succession to his throne by providing that it should go to his only son (David 'Unga) and to that son's son (Wellington Ngū), and from then on by rules which favoured male children according to age and failing them, female children in the same manner. If the line should become extinct, the throne would pass to Henry Ma'afu or his heirs (1875: 35).⁷

³ For ease of referencing in this paper, the Constitution or its published revision will be indicated by the year of enactment or revision, with the year in *italics*. The clause or article will be referred to by number only. Details of codes, early treaties, laws and revisions (1836-1988), including revisions of the Constitution and some sources, are contained in the Appendix. The most recent references to the law are to *The Law of Tonga* revised 1967. The subsequent revision, carried out in 1988/89 is likely to be available in 1990.

⁴ *Ko e Bo'obo'oi* II (6):41-2, September and October 1875.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Ma'afu the son of Tupou I's predecessor had been despatched to Fiji.

Tupou I thus dispensed with the traditional method of selection of the Tu'i Kanokupolu by a 'college' of chiefs, and laid the foundation for a dynasty - one which could include a female head - a queen. In fact it was vital to his plans for a stable Tonga that succession to all titles should as far as possible be pre-determined.⁸ He also recognised the threat from descendants of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua lineages and the leading Ha'a Ngatatupu line (the Fīnau 'Ulukālala's of preceding generations) by giving them special mention in his closing address to the 1875 Parliament and conferring titles which would place them on the same footing as other titled nobles.⁹

NOBLE TITLES

The Constitution created the concept of a noble title after the fashion of the English barony - that is to say, although it was an honour or dignity held from the monarch (1875: 48), it was inalienable except for treason (1875: 48), hereditary (1875: 125) and was permanently associated with *tofi'a* estates (1882: 109).¹⁰ The principle of succession primarily in the male line was consistent with traditional thinking in relation to *ha'a* leadership, but to confine the principle in a constitutional strait-jacket was not.¹¹ Thereafter, the usual adjustments of segmentation and re-alignment were to be impossible. Rules requiring marriage and legitimacy were in keeping with the new Christian morality, but the exclusion of adoption was not necessarily so, and it eliminated the accepted practice of inheritance by an adopted son for his lifetime.¹²

Tupou I named another ten nobles in 1882 and at the same time created an intermediate category of six *matāpule*, lesser chiefs, who would have hereditary estates but not the political privileges of nobles.¹³ If the three further noble titles created in later years are added,¹⁴ the total of thirty-three noble titles which exist today may be explained in terms of their *ha'a* affiliations (see Figure, *Ha'a*). The selection of nobles and estate-holding *matāpule* from the chiefly families of Tonga¹⁵ was an exercise, vital for the future stability of his kingdom, which demanded all Tupou I's

⁸ Succession remained a live issue, however, because Tupou survived both son and grandson and also Ma'afu. The name of William Tungī was substituted for Ma'afu (1888: 35), but it was Tupou I's great grandson who succeeded him in 1893.

⁹ For the Tu'i Tonga, the title Kalaniuvalu was conferred (extant today). For the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the title Tungī was conferred (held by the present King). For the Ha'a Ngatatupu, the title went to Tupoutoutai, then to Siaosi Fīnau (and is today called by the old name of 'Ulukālala, and held within the royal family). See Figure: *Ha'a*.

¹⁰ The Tongan concept was undoubtedly influenced by the Hawaiian nobility over which their King retained control. The Hawaiian Constitution of 1840 provided for fourteen hereditary nobles and the 1852 Constitution increased the number to a maximum of thirty (Chambers 1896:15, 16).

¹¹ Succession was the same as for the monarchy with two important exceptions - (i) in the absence of children and heirs, brothers and heirs, and failing them, sisters and heirs, could succeed; and (ii) should a female be next in succession, the title would pass not to her but to the next male in succession, and if that male was not her heir and she subsequently had a male heir, then, on the death of the former, succession would go to the latter. The female heir had limited rights as to land, but could not inherit the noble title (1875: 125).

¹² Succession rules remain in force. Questions of adoption and legitimacy have created problems this century.

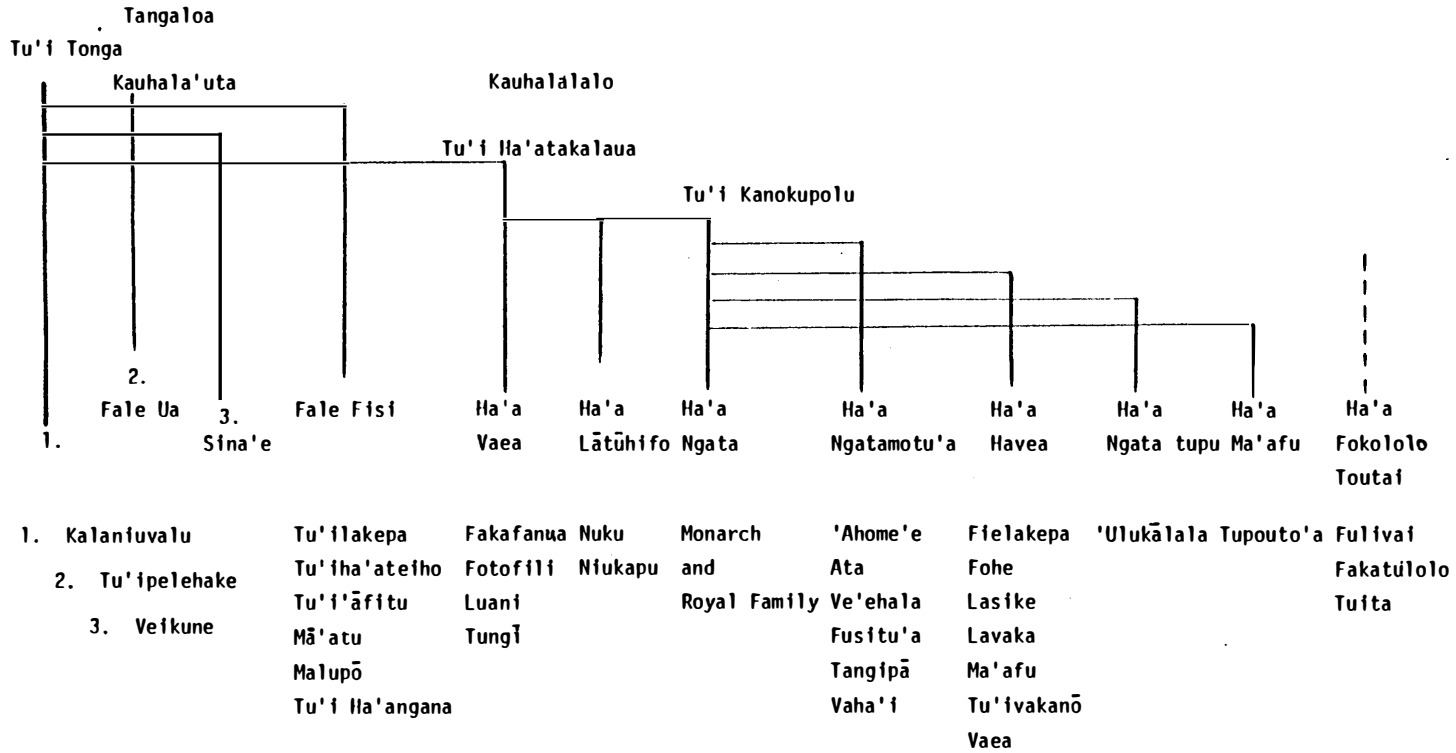
¹³ *Tonga Government Gazette* (hereinafter *TGG*) II:12 (25 October 1882).

¹⁴ Lasike in 1894, Veikune in 1903 and Tupouto'a in 1924.

¹⁵ Gifford lists some forty chiefly titles which were not elevated by the King, but he found that a large proportion of them had lapsed or were vacant by the time of his study (1929:132-140).

Figure

Tongan Ha'a - compiled from Kaeppler 1971 : 181-6 and Ve'ehala and Fanua 1977: 28-39.



political skill. Processes of fission and the withering away of early *ha'a* meant that some *ha'a* possessed only one or two powerful chiefs, and others several.¹⁶

By choosing those who had most support (his stated ground) and those other men whose inclusion was dictated by political considerations, the King gave due recognition to some, elevated the status of others, and devastatingly demoted a great many more. The effect of this remarkable reform was not only to create a nobility at law, but also to exclude many chiefs from any legal status other than that of Tongan citizen. It was some time, of course, before their traditional status was affected.

LAND

The ancient spiritual relationship of the Tu'i Tonga to the land and its fruits is brought to mind by Tupou I's assumption that 'the kingdom is his' (1875: 47).¹⁷ However, the King exceeded traditional authority by taking the power, to be exercised 'should he so please', to grant to the nobles and *matāpule*, 'such to whom he may wish', areas of land to become their 'hereditary inheritances' of *tofi'a* (1882: 109). Certainly, the *tofi'a* were, together with the noble titles, inalienable except for treason (although they would revert to the Government in the absence of legitimate heirs - 1875: 127¹⁸) but, in the same way as the titles had been, the *tofi'a* were deprived of any prospect of adjustment or of being used to accommodate changes in lineage structure.

Again, the King assumed the task of deciding what land should be allocated to each title, and the recognition of six *matāpule* as *tofi'a*-holders without noble status gave him some flexibility. It was necessary, of course, that all land in Tonga be distributed among the various title-holders (including the sovereign by virtue of his title) and the government as Crown land. *Tofi'a* were described by name¹⁹ and, as many of the islands were divided among several *tofi'a*, without survey, disputes as to areas and boundaries have been endemic down to the present time. It is estimated that Tupou I allocated nearly two thirds of the land area of Tonga, retaining the balance as royal and government land. The fragmentation of *tofi'a* throughout the archipelago is most striking.²⁰ While chiefs laid claim to the villages constructed on their lands, and, in the main, these were recognised, one has the impression from the pattern of diffusion of interests in non-residential land that the King had tried as far as possible to prevent the acquisition by powerful chiefs of large contiguous holdings of land. A number of large blocks exist, but, of the thirty-nine estate-holders, twenty-eight have two or more non-contiguous blocks and nine have four or more.²¹

¹⁶ Reference to Figure *Ha'a* indicates, for example, that one title represented the Tu'i Tonga line as such; one the Fale Ua; one the Sina'e; six the Fale Fisi; and so on. The monarchy, or Tu'i Kanokupolu line, was descended directly from Ngata, while the chiefs of Ha'a Ngatamotu'a and Ha'a Havea were well represented. The six *matāpule* who were to hold estates also had *ha'a* affiliations.

¹⁷ Although land was not mentioned in this context in 1875, no doubt was left by the insertion in 1882: 109 of 'To the King belongs all the land, soil, inheritances and premises'.

¹⁸ This was soon changed to require reversion to the King (1882: 118).

¹⁹ A list was published with title-holders in *TGG* II:12 (25 October 1882).

²⁰ Maps compiled by Maude (1965) demonstrate the fragmentation visually.

²¹ Lasike has nine blocks, Veikune twelve, and the royal interests total forty-seven (Land Act Ch. 63 *The Law of Tonga* 1967).

Fourteen holders have blocks in two or more distinct groups of the archipelago. The *ha'a* are also fragmented, although certain areas of Tongatapu contain a preponderance of the members of one *ha'a* or another. For example, the western tip of Tongatapu is mainly Ha'a Ngatamotu'a, the mid-west and part of the centre is Ha'a Havea, and Ha'a Vaea is to be found mainly in the centre, south and mid-east of the island. If the twelve *ha'a* groupings shown in Figure: *Ha'a*²² are considered in terms of the three main island groups, namely i) Tongatapu and 'Eua, ii) Ha'apai, and iii) Vava'u and the two remote Niuaus, then it appears that six *ha'a* hold land in all three groups and three hold land in two groups. The spread of royal interests is comprehensive. If 'Eua and the two Niuaus are regarded as distinct geographic entities, along with Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, Tonga can be said to comprise six entities in each of which royal interests are represented.²³

The Constitution affected the rights of *tofi'a* holders further through the various controls exercised by Cabinet over all leases to white residents and to Tongans (1875: 109-131), and by the declaration that all foreshores belonged to the State (1875: 119).²⁴ More immediately ominous to *tofi'a* holders was the well-known intention of the King to find some means of securing an interest in land for every man. Despite indications in two of the earlier Codes, the 1875 Constitution made no such provision.²⁵ None was made in the 1880 session of parliament either,²⁶ although taxes were to be paid by every male of sixteen years or over, regardless of land rights (1875: 27). Then two years later, in the same session as the announcement of the allocation of *tofi'a* to titles, parliament passed the *Hereditary Lands Act*, a statute of lasting significance in the history of Tonga.

This Act was the culmination of a period of over thirty years during which Tupou I had developed his thinking with regard to checking the power of chiefs and extending the productive capacity of the people. Inevitably, the holding of land was linked with the payment of taxes. As to the origin of the concept of distribution of equal allotments to every male citizen on an hereditary leasehold basis, it seems that Tupou I's 1853 visit to Sydney was a significant factor.²⁷

The *Hereditary Lands Act* 1882²⁸ succinctly states the fundamentals of the new land tenure system - and one can understand the optimism of outside observers for it appeared that Tonga had devised a fair and practical system which was most

²² For this exercise, the first three titles on the left of Figure: *Ha'a* are separate *ha'a*.

²³ Ha'a Ngatamotu'a has *tofi'a* in five of the six. The spread of *ha'a* interests is also seen in the fact that, leaving aside government land, Tongatapu and Vava'u are each divided among ten of the twelve *ha'a*, and Ha'apai group is divided among seven.

²⁴ The Constitution had also required that all town sites (principal villages) be held by Government, but opposition was such that the provisions were repealed, leaving *tofi'a*-holders in control (King's speech, July 1880, *TGG* II:6, 10 November 1880).

²⁵ It would have meant pushing the chiefs too far at a crucial time. In fact, the Constitution at first provided that it was lawful for chiefs to lease land to Tongans, and that people on the land who declined to take leases could be required to pay rent anyway (1875: 128).

²⁶ *TGG* II:5 (27 October 1880).

²⁷ Lānīkefu 1974:162. According to Consul Neill, it was the leasehold system of tenure which impressed Tupou in Sydney. He studied it, realised how land could be granted without alienation of freehold, and 'resolved to adopt the leasehold system in Tonga' (Neill 1955:93). Of course, precedents from Huahine and Hawaii were also before him.

²⁸ *TGG* II:14 (22 November 1882).

progressive by world standards. After reciting the background of ownership by the King and grant of *tofi'a* to nobles and the chosen *matāpule*, the Act provided that -

- i) out of each *tofi'a* an area could be set apart for the *tofi'a* holder, and areas for *matāpule* of the holder;²⁹
- ii) the size of the 'tax allotments of the people' was fixed;³⁰
- iii) allotments were hereditary in the male line except that a widow had a life interest subject to marrying or committing adultery;
- iv) rent of two shillings was payable yearly to the *tofi'a* holder;
- v) a tax-payer was entitled to only one tax allotment but could also have a 'town allotment';
- vi) both allotments would be 'protected by the Government';
- vii) when youths left school and paid tax, Government could 'request' the *tofi'a* holder where they resided to apportion allotments to them; and
- viii) if there was land remaining 'after the tax lands of his people had been apportioned', the *tofi'a* holder could lease it to others.

The King congratulated the chiefs in parliament 'on your being willing to grant the request made by the Premier [Baker] to allow the tax lands of the people to be hereditary'.³¹ It was significant for the future of the system that no machinery was provided whereby a *tofi'a* holder could be required to grant an allotment to a particular tax-payer. Indeed, in the light of the subsequent difficulties over implementation of the scheme, it is apparent that *tofi'a* holders were most reluctant to regard themselves as having such an obligation to individuals on their lands. Reform progressed slowly,³² but the King did not waiver from his policy.

Immediate opposition to the new law came, of course, from those chiefs who had been disinherited by exclusion from the list of title and estate holders, but land was only one of a number of grievances aired at Mu'a on Tongatapu between 1881 and 1883. Minor chiefs met in a 'Mu'a Parliament' to object to many laws introduced by Baker.³³ When Tungī, Tupou I's most dangerous rival, gave the chiefs support,³⁴ the King reacted in typically firm fashion with warriors from Ha'apai and Vava'u and some Mu'a leaders were arrested. The land distribution question was not settled, however, and in 1891 the King felt obliged to urge parliament - 'My own wish is that every Tongan shall have an hereditary plot of tax land, which would be forfeited on neglect to pay'. As it transpired, the 1891 Code³⁵ approved by parliament provided the first effective recognition of an entitlement vested in 'every Tongan male subject' to both types of allotment, and the Minister of Lands was to make the grant and record it.³⁶ A *tofi'a* holder could not refuse an allotment to a person lawfully residing

²⁹ This and many other of these original provisions have been changed in subsequent legislation.

³⁰ 100 x 100 fathoms (8¼ acres), except in some more crowded areas where, for a period, the size was 50 x 50 fathoms.

³¹ TGG II:12 (25 October 1882).

³² No leases were to be issued under 1875: 128 (Rutherford 1971:99).

³³ Rutherford 1971:110-21.

³⁴ On hearing of the death of Ma'afu in 1881, Tungī's hopes for himself and his son Tuku'aho rose. Old enmities were revived, involving Ha'a Havea as well as Ha'atakalaua allegiances.

³⁵ *The Law of Tonga* 1891 (revision by Thomson) - see third section of this paper and Appendix.

³⁶ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, ss.454, 460.

on his land and it was his duty to report to the Minister all cases of persons holding more than one tax allotment.³⁷ In spite of these measures, which were statutory and not in the Constitution, there were no proper surveys and little distribution was carried out.³⁸ Provision in the Constitution remains ambiguous until 1928.³⁹

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

The Constitution was framed to recognise the three divisions - i) King, Privy Council and Cabinet, ii) Legislative Assembly, and iii) Judiciary (1875: 33). Although the Chief Justice had security of tenure (1875: 88) and was subsequently given the power to suspend until the following Assembly session any law passed 'contrary to the spirit of the Constitution' (1880: 85), human resources were so limited (as one would expect in such a small state) that the Chief Justice sat in the Privy Council (1875: 54), and, in 1882, it was made possible for Judges to sit in the Assembly (1882: 33). Accordingly, it was necessary for the words 'these three [divisions of government] shall always be distinct' to be deleted (1882: 33). Ministerial portfolios were established. The Premier and Ministers who constituted Cabinet were entitled to seats 'as nobles' in the Assembly (1875: 55). The Privy Council, which comprised the King sitting with Cabinet, the Chief Justice and the Governors of Ha'apai, Vava'u and the Niuaus, was the effective decision-making body, with power to make ordinances (having force until the next Assembly session) and was also the highest court in civil matters (including land) (1875: 54, 55, 58, 123). The Legislative Assembly by 1882 comprised the thirty nobles (appointed by the King), an equal number of people's representatives (elected by the people) and the King's Ministers (most of whom would already be in the Assembly as nobles) (1882: 63). The single chamber legislature was, in theory, a total break with tradition,⁴⁰ not so much because noble and 'commoner' sat together (most of the people's representatives were *matāpule* and other chiefs) but because the rules of parliamentary debate and decisions by voting (1875: 60) opened up new possibilities for political activity. Although the Assembly did not initiate legislation it had control over the government's fiscal measures (1875: 19, 81). In one important respect, the unicameral appearance of the parliamentary system was a sham. The interests of the royal lineage and of the titled and landed gentry were not to be determined by the Assembly but by the nobles alone, and ultimately by the King himself.⁴¹

The nobles of Tonga were accorded privileges, and received an annual stipend from the Treasury.⁴² Nevertheless, the King had appointed as nobles men of prestige

³⁷ Ibid. ss.458 and 459.

³⁸ Surveyors arriving in Tonga in 1906 observed of the tax-payer's entitlement '... patronage and sycophancy [have] long since rendered the law a dead letter' (Mouat and Davis 1913:62).

³⁹ See third section for further details of the development of the land legislation.

⁴⁰ The Hawaiian legislature of 1852 was bicameral with a Nobles' house of thirty and Representatives' House of forty, but the two sat together for some purposes (Chambers 1896:15, 16).

⁴¹ All laws relating to the King, the Royal Family or the titles and inheritances of the nobles could become law only after the nobles in the Assembly had passed them three times and the King had approved (1875: 70). In 1914, the present provision was added that only nobles may discuss such laws (1967: 67).

⁴² TGG II:6 (10 November 1880). It was \$100 Tongan, or £20, p.a.

and power, and they were expected to fulfil a leadership role - in short, they were to govern the country under the guidance of the monarch.

'A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT UNDER HIS MAJESTY'⁴³

In view of the evident transformation of *hau* into sovereign and the preservation, in its essentials, of the 1875 structure to the present day, the monarch's status and functions require further examination. The law in this area has remained largely unchanged. In the following constitutional references in the text, the current clause number is shown in brackets after the original number.

The constitutional pre-eminence of the sovereign arises first from the fact that the source of authority which gave the Constitution has secured perpetual succession,⁴⁴ and is immune from impeachment, under a charter which cannot be changed without his consent (1875: 44, 70, 82 (41, 67, 79)). Secondly, the King may act unilaterally and is not bound by constitutional convention to act on the advice of Ministers in respect of the following powers:

- i) to appoint and dismiss Ministers including the Premier - now Prime Minister (1875: 55; 1882: 55 (51));
- ii) to summon and dissolve the Assembly at any time (1875: 41, 62, 80 (38, 58, 77)) (although, if he did not intervene, it would sit at regular intervals) and to appoint its Speaker (1875: 65 (61));
- iii) to refuse to assent to any law;⁴⁵
- iv) to appoint nobles and grant *tofi'a* (1875: 48; 1882: 109 (44, 104));
- v) to suspend habeas corpus (1888: 9 (9)), proclaim martial law (1875: 50 (46)), make treaties (1875: 42 (39)) and command the forces (short of declaring war) (1875: 39 (36)); and
- vi) to control marriages of the royal family (1875: 36 (33)).

While, in practice, Cabinet is concerned with the day-to-day government of the country, the King may dominate the Privy Council and may delegate to his Premier and Ministers what he chooses. These are the laws in conformity with which the sovereign, on coronation, swears to govern (1875: 37 (34)). Of course, he may decide to allow the institutions of parliamentary and cabinet government to operate in the Westminster manner. Indeed, the King is seldom called upon to rely on his residual powers, and the formalities of consultation and delegation are generally preserved. However, the expression - 'He governs the land, but his Ministers are responsible' (1875: 44 (41)) - renders his Ministers responsible to him rather than to parliament. Although the Assembly may impeach Ministers for cause (1875: 55 (51)), the King may dismiss without reason.

Given the inevitable introduction of Christianity and European political ideas, the Constitution of 1875 was a doubly remarkable document. On the one hand, Tupou I, having unified the group by traditional means, was able to establish and secure himself and his lineage in a manner and to an extent which, measured in the light of

⁴³ 1875: 34.

⁴⁴ Like the British monarchy, it is a corporation sole in perpetuity.

⁴⁵ If he refuses to assent to a law, the Assembly may not debate the matter further until the following session (1875: 71, 1882: 71 (68)).

the constitutional restraints envisaged by those ideas, were extraordinarily successful. In the guise of a 'constitutional monarchy', an expression used by historians and commentators to describe his achievement,⁴⁶ he had created a constitution under a monarchy.⁴⁷ On the other hand, Tupou I realised that the ultimate guarantee of supremacy was his traditional status, maintained through association with chiefs, people and land. His use of the Constitution to deprive some chiefs of their power, to constrain others, and to bring a wider group of people into contact with government, relied on that status for its effectiveness - and ultimately enhanced the monarchy. Monarchy and Constitution were to be the foundation of a stable Tonga.

CHIEFS AND PEOPLE

The Declaration of Rights carried forward much of the Western philosophy which missionaries and other advisers had been seeking to promote in Tonga (1875: 1-32).⁴⁸ However, the various 'freedoms' and 'rights' were accompanied by no means of enforcement. With regard to the 'equality' clause,⁴⁹ the Constitution in which the clause appeared was itself a recognition of traditional inequality. In fact there were to be three levels of privilege 'under the law' - (i) the King, (ii) nobles and (iii) *tofi'a*-holding *matāpule*, and their respective immediate families. As has been shown, their interests were not identical, but it was likely that they would become more so, particularly as the importance of local support diminished in a society at peace, and as the privileged met together on national business. In constitutional terms, the position of the chosen chiefs was entrenched in the three areas of land tenure, executive action and parliamentary process.⁵⁰ In so far as their position was also founded in tradition, particularly in relation to land and executive-type authority, the new law served to reinforce the old.

A separate category of former chiefs who were able to find some benefits under the new scheme were those *matāpule* who held their titles from high chiefs now elevated to nobility. So long as the distribution of *tofi'a* lands as allotments to commoners was not enforced, nobles would be able to look after the interests of loyal *matāpule*.⁵¹

⁴⁶ E. Beaglehole 1947:62; Luke 1962:189-90; Gratian 1963:506; and Lātūkefu 1974:219 and 1975:49.

⁴⁷ Having regard to both Tupou I's non-constitutional traditional authority and the extent of his powers as expressed in the Constitution, it may not be correct today to apply to his reforms the term 'constitutional monarchy' - which is the usual description of the monarchies of the United Kingdom and other British Commonwealth countries, Scandinavian, the 'Low Countries', and modern Japan where the monarch possesses little, if any, real constitutional authority (see Huntington 1968:150).

⁴⁸ The Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 which the Tongan drafters had before them contained a Declaration of Rights of twenty-one articles (Chambers 1896:17).

⁴⁹ 'There shall be but one law in Tonga, for the Chiefs, and commoners, and Europeans and Tongese. No laws shall be enacted for any special class to the detriment of another class; but one law equally the same for all persons residing in this land' (1875: 4; 1891: 4 (4)).

⁵⁰ Entrenchment was affected not only by 1875: 70 restricting voting (and, later, 'discussion' - see note 41 above), but also by the apparent prohibition on any amendment of the Constitution affecting 'the laws of liberty, the laws with reference to foreigners, succession to the throne, and the inheritances and titles of the Nobles and Chiefs of the land' (1875: 82 - reference to 'foreigners' omitted 1891: 82 and see today 1967: 79).

⁵¹ Legal authority to reserve land for the *matāpule* of the holder was repealed in 1891 - see third section.

Finally, the advantages conferred by the Constitution on the 'ordinary' Tongan male were substantial. If he was not a 'disinherited chief' he had gained potential benefits under a land distribution scheme, the guarantee of a measure of representation in parliament and a governmental framework which could prevent the worst abuses of warfare and upheaval. At the end of the nineteenth century, he would not have regarded being classified a 'commoner' as in any sense degrading. Indeed, he possessed a degree of political recognition which no other Pacific Islander would have understood.

Analysis of Early Constitutional and Related Legislative Provisions: 1875-1891

The Constitution of 1875 was amended five times during this period, and on two of those occasions the draftsmen, Baker and Thomson respectively, themselves made changes. The purpose of this analysis is to indicate the nature and origin of the more important changes to the law of Tonga from 1875 to 1891, with particular reference to the Constitution and related statutes, and a significant revision of the land legislation in 1891. Sources include the *Tonga Government Gazette* and revised editions of the statutes, which are detailed in the Appendix.

It may be helpful, at the outset, to record those laws which embodied the successive amendments to the Constitution, and details of their publication.

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

1875 4 November	The Constitution took effect 4 November 1875 and was published in Tongan and English. ⁵²
1880 31 July	These amendments ⁵³ were not ratified until 16 December 1882, but were apparently acted upon and are referred to herein as the '1880 amendments'.
1882 19 October	These amendments took effect 23 October 1882 and were incorporated in a consolidated reprint of that date. ⁵⁴
1885 19 November	These amendments ⁵⁵ took effect 20 November 1885.
1888 14 December	These amendments took effect 21 December 1888 and were incorporated in a consolidated reprint of that date. ⁵⁶
1891 6 August	This 'new translation' of the Constitution (together with a revision of all laws) took effect 15 November 1891 and was published in <i>The Law of Tonga</i> 1891. ⁵⁷
1903	This reprint of the 1891 translation of the 1888 consolidation was published with all laws as at 1903 in <i>The Law of the Government of Tonga</i> 1907. ⁵⁸

⁵² See Appendix.

⁵³ *TGG* II:8 (8 December 1880).

⁵⁴ *TGG* II:22 (16 April 1883).

⁵⁵ *TGG* II:87 (4 April 1888).

⁵⁶ *TGG* III:30 (31 December 1889).

⁵⁷ See Appendix.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

1880 AMENDMENTS

Amendments were made by the 1880 Assembly to Clauses 3, 23, 49, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 82, 83, 85 and 109-132 of the 1875 text. They were not ratified until 16 December 1882, but were apparently acted upon before that date and were incorporated in the 1882 reprint referred to above. Most of the amendments gave the King, and in some cases Cabinet, greater flexibility - for example the power to alter the legal tender without approval of the Legislative Assembly (1882: 49); to appoint such additional persons to Privy Council as the King thinks fit (1882: 54); and to determine the number of nobles, with the number of peoples' representatives to equal that number (1882: 63). The King appointed ten more nobles⁵⁹ and declared in opening parliament that nobles should receive an honorarium from government.⁶⁰ Governors could sit in the Assembly as well as in the Privy Council (1882: 58). The Constitution was given greater force by the provision that the Chief Justice could prevent from being put into force until the next meeting of the Assembly any law passed contrary to the spirit of the Constitution (1882: 85). The main change in 1880 was the replacement of that part of the Constitution relating to land (1875: 109-132) by a new set of Clauses (1882: 109-121). Two principles remained unchanged - the prohibition on sale (with leasing only on terms approved by Cabinet) and the basic law of inheritance. But the original concept of the ownership by Government of all townsites (1875: 110-113) was abolished⁶¹ and Government accordingly lost the authority originally vested in the Minister of Lands to lay out town roads and houses. The provision for town planning was also repealed (1875: 55(3)). Leases in towns to religious bodies were permitted only where there were at least thirty adult adherents (an increase from twenty) and the prohibitions on use for other than religious purposes and on sub-leasing were retained (1882: 113). The restriction on maximum sizes of leases to 'white residents' (1875: 118) was abolished. The legal position of the female noble heirs was clarified so that a female could not inherit if there was a male next in line, although, if she later had male issue, that person would inherit on the death of the former male (1882: 117). There was no reference to tax lands, the original idea (1875: 128) being retained of allowing nobles to lease to Tongans, but requiring people living on estates to pay rent anyway.

Amending the Constitution was originally (1875: 82) a cumbersome process - and therefore a safeguard - requiring that an amendment not only be passed three times at one session but also three times and assented to by the King at the next session two years later. The 1880 amendments were apparently dealt with in this manner. Included in them was provision for a different amendment procedure (1882: 82) namely that a constitutional amendment became law after i) it was passed three times by the Assembly, ii) the Privy Council and Cabinet unanimously agreed, and iii) the King assented and signed the law - provided that (in keeping with the original proviso of 1875: 82) the amendment was not one which interfered with 'the laws of liberty

⁵⁹ TGG II:1 (1 September 1880).

⁶⁰ TGG II:6 (10 November 1880).

⁶¹ The King granted these 'back' to the nobles in his closing address to parliament (TGG II:6, 10 November 1880)

(Declaration of Rights), the laws with reference to foreigners, the succession to the throne, and the inheritance and titles of the Nobles and Chiefs of the land'. In these proscribed areas, there was no express power of amendment but it was apparently assumed that, if nobles and King agreed, any clause of the Constitution could be amended. Clause 70 (1875 and 1882) which provides that 'all laws in connection with the King, Royal Family and Nobles of the Legislative Assembly' may be passed in accordance with a special procedure,⁶² is an indication of constitutional intention to this effect. Certainly, many constitutional amendments have occurred in proscribed areas - for example, by 1888 the name of Tungī had been substituted for Ma'afu in the line of royal succession (1888: 35) and, since then, nobles' voting rights have been changed, and provisions relating to *tofi'a*, hereditary lands, have been amended (as when the commoner's right to tax and town allotments from *tofi'a* was given constitutional expression in 1929 (1967: 113).

The Assembly had passed legislation in 1875 and did so again in 1880. Some changes in the Constitution although not technically effective until 1882 were put into operation immediately, for example the number of peoples' representatives was increased to thirty to equal the total number of nobles, by the *Representatives Election Act*.⁶³ However, there is no record that the apparent illegality of these measures was raised and the only evidence that they were recognised as such is that it was considered wise to re-enact the *Representatives Election Act* in 1885.⁶⁴

1882 AMENDMENTS

These amendments affected Clauses 11, 22, 24, 25, 26, 33, 41, 54, 55, 66, 67, 71, 72 and 88 of the 1875 text and Clauses 109, 118 and 119 of the 1882 reprint as inserted in 1880. They were accomplished by the enactment of a revised Constitution which came into force 23 October 1882.⁶⁵ Most of the amendments were improvements in wording and style, but the King's authority was extended somewhat. He was enabled to appoint such persons as he saw fit to his Privy Council (1882: 55), he could wait for three years instead of two before calling the Assembly together (1882: 41) and the prohibition on discussion by the Assembly of any law disapproved of by the King was extended until the following meeting of the Assembly (1882: 71). With regard to lands and titles, the message was louder. At the beginning of that part of the Constitution relating to land were added words which had not appeared before in the written law of Tonga but which had been used by Tupou I when opening the historic 1875 parliament - words which remain in refined form to this day - 'To the King belongs all the land, soil, inheritances and premises'. It was for the King to determine what inheritances to grant and to whom (1882: 109; 1967: 104). Then, the original provision that land without an heir should revert to the Government was amended to require reversion to the King.

⁶² After the Assembly voted on the measure, the Nobles voted alone, followed by the King's power of veto (1875: and 1882: 70).

⁶³ TGG II:8 (8 December 1880).

⁶⁴ TGG II:84 (14 March 1888).

⁶⁵ TGG II:22 (16 April 1883).

In 1882 the *Hereditary Lands Act* established the fundamentals of the land allotment scheme (see above) and the Constitution was amended to provide that every tax-payer should have tax and town allotments which would be protected by the Government (1882: 119), the effect of which was to be considerably weakened in 1888. A small but significant amendment demonstrated the problem of achieving effective government in a small state with limited resources of talent. The original requirement that Judges should not be members of the Legislative Assembly (1875: 33) was repealed. So also, however, were the words 'These three [divisions of government] shall always be distinct', which expressed the doctrine of separation of powers adopted from Hawaii. This repeal made it possible for the Chief Justice to continue to sit in the Privy Council (1882: 54) and, for a period in the later years, in Cabinet. Also, the Minister of Lands was empowered to hear and determine land disputes in a Land Court.⁶⁶ A further change in 1882 was the deletion from Clause 67 of reference to the 'nomination' of candidates for the Assembly. Thomson believed that any elector could write down the name of any of his friends and drop it into the ballot box.⁶⁷ Nominations were not specifically provided for until 1915.

1885 AMENDMENTS

The Clauses affected were 23, 27, 31, 32, 91 and 100 of the 1882 reprint. This was accomplished by an amending Act.⁶⁸ The amendments were of no great significance except perhaps to foreigners, who were required to pay taxes as soon as they arrived, instead of after six months' residence (1888: 27). They were deprived of the right to a jury comprising half foreigners (1888: 31) and the requirement that all laws be printed in both English and Tongan was repealed (1888: 32).

Certain items of legislation of the period 1882-1888 appeared to plead causes. In addition to interfering with 'free speech' in its sweeping references to blasphemy and libel, the *Libel Act* 1882⁶⁹ favoured a 'special class' (1875: 4; 1882: 4) by providing substantially severer penalties for committing the offence of defaming a person 'who holds a high position'. An Act commonly called the 'Law of the Six and the Thirty' was passed as part of anti-Wesleyan religious persecution. Legislation also provided that no foreigner could represent a Tongan in court and that a court could not command a Minister or Governor to give evidence relating to his department.⁷⁰

1888 AMENDMENTS

These amendments affected Clauses 9, 11, 15, 16, 35, 70 and 119, and, as in 1882, were accomplished by the adoption of a revised Constitution which came into force 21 December 1888.⁷¹ The King's obligation to consult the Assembly before suspending the right to a writ of habeas corpus was abolished (1888: 9). The right to counsel in court was deleted (1888: 11). Magistrates were to behave in the same way as Judges (1888: 15). The privilege of nobles effectively to decide 'all laws in

⁶⁶ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.84.

⁶⁷ Thomson 1894:233.

⁶⁸ TGG II:87 (4 April 1888).

⁶⁹ TGG II:84 (14 March 1888).

⁷⁰ TGG II:82 (12 November 1885).

⁷¹ TGG III:30 (31 December 1889).

connection with the King, Royal Family and Nobles' was reinforced by removing the requirement in the original Constitution that the whole House should vote on the matter before it was voted on by the nobles. Now, the nobles alone voted, three times (1888: 70). In the line of royal succession, the name of *Tungī* was substituted for *Ma'afu* (1888: 35). As to the land scheme, the wording of the new provision of 1882 was amended in a puzzling way. What appears to have been a constitutional right in every tax-payer to have tax and town allotments was changed to constitute only a conditional right. If a tax-payer already had a tax allotment, he was then entitled to have a town allotment as well (1888: 119). The question of an initial right to a tax allotment was discussed in the Assembly in 1891,⁷² when land legislation made it clear but it did not appear in the Constitution again until 1928.

The 1888 Constitution was also published in 1889 with the code of criminal and civil laws which Baker had been commissioned to prepare as a consolidation. A comparison of the laws as originally published 1875 to 1888 with the code of 1889 shows a number of changes in wording and meaning.

1891 'NEW TRANSLATION' OF 1888 CONSTITUTION

Thomson boasted that he had to scrap the whole of Baker's code as a 'literary curiosity' but that he 'did not dare meddle' with the Constitution which Tongans regarded as 'Holy Writ'. He alleged that the Tongan version of the Constitution (in which language it had been adopted) was described by Premier *Tuku'aho* as 'very often unintelligible'.⁷³ In the 'Translator's Preface' to the 1891 Code, Thomson said: 'Although the Constitution of 1888 was not revised during the Session of 1891, the English version was found to be so inaccurate and grammatically incorrect that a new translation has been made for publication as an Appendix to the present volume'.⁷⁴ It is not clear to what extent the Tongan version was also 'improved' at that time, but the Thomson translation was subsequently accepted and adopted in 1903 and by those who revised the laws of Tonga in later years (for example, in 1928, 1947 and 1967).

A comparison of the English versions of the Constitutions of Baker of 1888 and Thomson of 1891 reveals that the latter's changes in the meaning as well as the grammar of the Constitution lay him open to the sort of charges he was fond of levelling at Baker. The Clauses in which changes in the wording were made are 4, 14, 15, 24, 35, 47, 54, 81, 82, 85, 88, 105 and 113 (1888 and 1891). In most cases the meaning was also changed. For example, the prohibition on laws 'for any special class to the detriment of another class' loses the 'detriment' test to become 'for one class and not for another class' (1891: 4). The original power of the Assembly to 'ratify' or 'annul' ordinances passed by the Privy Council was changed to 'make them law or rescind them', thus implying that the ordinances were not law until considered by the Assembly (1891: 54). From that part of Clause 82 which limits power to amend the Constitution, Thomson deleted reference to 'laws with reference to foreigners'. Leases for religious purposes would revert to government on proof of

⁷² *TGG* IV:6 (8 June 1891).

⁷³ Thomson 1939:140, 141.

⁷⁴ *The Law of Tonga* 1891.

use for a non-religious purpose or of sub-letting, but the 'new translation', while forbidding such use, limits the grounds for reversion to sub-letting alone (1891: 113).

Thomson also introduced marginal headings to describe the main point of each clause. This praiseworthy innovation was spoilt by the inappropriateness of the headings he chose - examples of which persist today (see 1967: 7, 14, 33 and 35).

In revising the 1888 code of laws which was to become *The Law of Tonga* 1891, Thomson also changed the law in a manner apparently designed to curtail the power and discretion of the King - changes which had repercussions in later years. Section 8 of the code purported to require the King to obtain the consent of the Privy Council to the appointment of Ministers - which was inconsistent with the Constitution (1888 and 1891: 54 and 55) where the King's will was unfettered. Section 44 of the code required that, in addition to the other Ministers, Cabinet should consist of the Chief Justice, Auditor General and the Governors, while the Constitution contained no such stipulation (1888 and 1891: 55). Chief Justice Skeen noted these discrepancies in the 1903 code but seemed unaware of their origin.⁷⁵ Also, contrary to the clear authority of the King to act as he pleased, Section 20 of the 1891 code purported to limit the number of nobles the King could appoint, to thirty-one. However, to give Thomson his due, he put together all previous collections of statutes in a clear and definitive code of 850 sections, with an index. The first 250 sections, and a further 160 throughout the code, comprise explicit and detailed rules for government operation. In keeping with the volume of earlier laws relating to the administration of justice, the 1891 code contained over 200 sections prescribing offences and a staggering 166 dealing with the structure and operation of the courts, evidence and rules for the guidance of the judiciary.

With regard to land, it appears that Thomson was responsible for the dramatic changes which, on paper at least, transformed the basic principles of 1882 into a government-administered system with sanctions. Comparison of Chapter 18 of the 1891 code with Baker's Chapter 42 of 1888 shows that Thomson had carried out his stated intention 'to make the Crown collect their [hereditary *tofi* a-holders'] rent and pay it over to them, while reserving to itself all rights of granting allotments and evicting tenants'. After further describing his plans he had added - 'I adopted the idea suggested to me by Mr. Hanslip [a local European trader] that the tenure of land should be made dependent upon the regular payment of taxes. I converted the poll tax into a land tax, and gave to every tax-payer the right of occupying one allotment of a fixed area, inalienable in his family so long as he and his heirs continued to discharge their debts to the State, but liable to forfeiture if for three successive years they were guilty of neglect ... Thus, we combined the "nationalisation of the land" with the institution of the lords of the manor'.⁷⁶ As to the tax aspect, while the tax was soon called a poll tax again,⁷⁷ it remained associated with allotment-holding until 1918.

⁷⁵ *Report to High Commissioner*, 19 July 1906. BCTonga 1/43/48.

⁷⁶ Thomson 1894:230,231.

⁷⁷ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.582.

Important features of Thomson's Chapter 18 for the development of the land distribution system were that i) every Tongan male was to have an allotment - but only one - and the *tofi'a*-holder on whose land he was residing could not refuse a proper request;⁷⁸ ii) allotments were to be granted by the Minister of Lands, registered and transferred only on approved conditions;⁷⁹ iii) an allotment-holder could not be ejected except according to law, and the stated grounds were related to the payment of tax, which was payable to the Government and out of which the *tofi'a*-holder received a portion as rent;⁸⁰ iv) the right of *tofi'a*-holders to reserve land for their *matāpule* was repealed; and v) the Minister of Lands was empowered 'to preside over a Land Court and to determine all disputes respecting hereditary estates and tax lands' subject to appeal to the Privy Council.⁸¹

Central Government, Courts and the Impact of Legislation

Following the energetic draftsmanship of Baker and Thomson, the code of 1903 built on their work to reinforce and extend government activity. In fact, much of the law regulating the collection of revenue and local government which is in force today was introduced in 1891 and revised in 1903. Such provisions included poll and land taxes,⁸² horse and dog taxes,⁸³ fees payable on all forms of registration and licensing,⁸⁴ and village rates.⁸⁵ It was not the rate (which has not been increased this century and is no longer a significant proportion of recurrent revenue⁸⁶) but the vigorous collection of it which, in the first twenty years of this century, repeatedly brought every tax-payer, that is to say, every male Tongan of sixteen years and over, into a direct relationship with his government.⁸⁷ Laws requiring the repair of roads and the

⁷⁸ Ibid.: ss.454, 458, 460, 463.

⁷⁹ Ibid.: ss.460, 481.

⁸⁰ Ibid.: ss.455, 473-80, 491-2.

⁸¹ Ibid.: s.84.

⁸² Chs XVIII and XIX of the Codes of 1891 and 1903, provided for a total of \$9 per annum per male of sixteen years and over, \$1 of which was in respect of his land allotment. In 1929, poll tax was £1-16s and land tax (really rent) was 8s. (Consul to High Commissioner 7 November 1929, *Correspondence relating to Tongan Protectorate*, WPHC No. 3, Colonial Office). By the *Poll Tax Act* 1945, No. 12 and *Land Act* 1927, No. 19, the amounts of £1-12s and 8s respectively were fixed and have remained the same since. By 1905, the early Tongan \$ (which originated in Peru) converted to the British £ at \$1 = 4s. When the British £ was decimalised, the new Tongan \$, called *pa'anga*, was issued at T\$1 = 10s or 50 new p. Today, the *pa'anga* is closely related to the Australian \$, and is about equivalent.

⁸³ \$10 per horse and 1s per dog in the 1891 and 1903 codes.

⁸⁴ For example, licences were required for all types of trade and business, marriage and other contracts (Chs XXI-XXIV of the two codes).

⁸⁵ \$1 per tax-payer payable to the Mayor was repealed by Act No. 12 of 1945.

⁸⁶ Poll and land tax comprised 36 per cent of budgeted revenue in 1891, 42 per cent in 1903, 14 per cent in 1926 and 1½ per cent in 1969 (1891 and 1903 figures: *Estimates* for 1891 and 1903, TGGs respectively; 1926: *Annual Report Auditor General* 1926, PO MP 1927 Box 1 AG 5/27; 1969: *Annual Report Minister of Finance* 1969, Government Printer, Nuku'alofa).

⁸⁷ Convictions for failure to pay poll, land, horse and town taxes in one year, 1923, totalled 5,060, or one in every 4.8 of the population. The average number of convictions per annum 1922-1931 was one in 10.3. However, due to the change in age composition of the population, the convictions in proportion to tax-payers have remained fairly constant at one in 2.8 tax-payers in 1926 and one in 2.7 in 1966 (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices* for the years 1922 to 1971, Supreme Court, Nuku'alofa and Report of the 1966 Census, Nuku'alofa).

cleaning of cemeteries and common village areas were enforced.⁸⁸ Work on school buildings could be made compulsory, as was attendance at school.⁸⁹ Public health and cleanliness, the control of liquor and postal services and the administration of estates of deceased persons⁹⁰ all involved much governmental activity.

Although reliable statistics are not available for last century, enforcement of the law was a major concern of missionaries, and Tongan officials operated an early hierarchy of courts with enthusiasm.⁹¹ By 1914, the informal system whereby persons with experience in the courts would appear as lawyers for a fee was regularised⁹² and Tonga has since then had a body of registered advocates who have acted in cases of all types and have been instrumental in further increasing the force of written law as a means of modifying attitudes and behaviour. They have encouraged the idea of the authority of the law as the ultimate sanction, and its machinery as the forum for dispute settlement and the manipulation of interests. By comparison, there has been no such development in Western Samoa, although an orator chief sometimes represents parties with whom he is connected. In Tonga, at a time when courts and the administration of justice generally were regarded in Western Samoa with considerable suspicion, and avoided wherever possible, court proceedings and lawyers were almost part of ordinary Tongan life. This was particularly so in Nuku'alofa where lawyers were active in politics and matters affecting estates and inheritances - as they are today.

The law was disseminated and enforced by district and town officers (earlier called 'mayors') under the Governor of each of the groups of Vava'u and Ha'apai, and under the Senior Magistrates responsible for 'Eua and the Niuas. An officer under the Premier was responsible for Tongatapu. These officials represented the Government in all its aspects and the Governors were required (and still are) to make annual reports. Governors were usually persons of high chiefly standing and have always been members of the Privy Council. The Governor was, and still is, responsible for calling the officers together monthly, for promulgating the law and the Premier's

⁸⁸ *The Law of the Government of Tonga* 1903, ss.612, 634-5. From 1922 to 1925, convictions under these sections averaged 856 per annum (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*).

⁸⁹ The provisions of 1891 were adopted in Ch. XXXII of the 1903 code under which children over twelve who failed to attend school were liable to fourteen days' imprisonment in default of a fine of \$5. Failure to attend examinations merited one month in default of a \$10 fine -ss.592-3.

⁹⁰ The relevant provisions of 1891 and 1903 are still in force (*The Law of Tonga* 1967, Chs 17, 37, 48, 51, 107 and 123). An annual average of ninety-eight grants of probate or administration 1921-1926 compares with ninety-six per annum 1952-57 (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*).

⁹¹ Thomson observed: 'Following the general policy of complicating the administrative machinery of the tiny State, the law established a vast number of unnecessary law courts . . . There were three appeals against a decision of the police court, and . . . even in criminal cases the unfortunate defendant was mulcted in fees which had to be worked off in the form of additions to his term of imprisonment' (1894: 228). Promotion in the police force was said, in 1890, to depend on the number of prosecutions instituted and, as it was a matter of quantity rather than quality, convictions for easily detectable petty offences multiplied (*ibid.*:112-15). Seven Magistrates (*TGG* I:4, 1 April 1876) sat continuously throughout the group. The jury system was well established by 1891, when trial by jury was made compulsory in the Supreme Court (*The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.112).

⁹² *Representation in Courts Ordinance* 1914, No. 5. Chief Justices occasionally provided training, fixed fees and exercised some disciplinary control (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*. From 1921, the number licensed to practise each year was in the twenties or thirties - until 1973. In subsequent years, the low forties have been reached (*ibid.*).

instructions and for inspecting his district. Town officers, and, later, district officers were empowered to make regulations for the governing of the village. Their duty was 'to exhort the people to pay their taxes and to attend to all matters relating to the laws of the Kingdom'.⁹³ The devising of techniques and rules for local government was a pre-occupation of administrators and draftsmen in Nuku'alofa - judging from the frequency of new legislation and amendments on the subject since 1875. In addition to behaviour, health and financial matters, local government powers were used to require the planting of various crops.⁹⁴ The means of dissemination of law was the *fono*, meeting, which 'took the place of written law'.⁹⁵ Compulsory since 1884,⁹⁶ *fono* were of two classes - 'great *fono*' called in any town or district by Premier, Minister, Governor or government representatives,⁹⁷ and 'mayor's *fono*'.⁹⁸ In 1903, an intermediate class of *fono* (now called 'noble's *fono*') was introduced to empower *tofi'a*-holders to order people residing on their land to attend.⁹⁹ Rules for calling *fono* and defining those who shall attend and who may seek exemption have been on the statute book since 1924.¹⁰⁰ *Fono* law was enforced.¹⁰¹

The sheer volume of court activity in the small kingdom leads to the conclusion that police and other government officials intruded into the lives of all adult Tongans and left a deep impression of the power of central government. The early level of prosecution (and persecution in the case of Wesleyans after church secession in 1885) has been mentioned, and Thomson, while giving many examples, commented - 'Just as the best of Christians does not pass a single day without committing some sin, so must a Tongan be morbidly law-abiding who can lie down at night without having been entangled in the meshes of Mr. Baker's code by sins of omission or commission'.¹⁰² Some dramatic statistics were achieved in the first thirty years this century, and surprisingly early in the century having regard to the short history of government. In 1914, when the population was 23,120, the number of criminal cases

⁹³ *The Law of Tonga* 1903, s.118. Specific duties and 'exhortations' were set out in great detail in regulations relating to Mayors made under Ordinance No. 11 of 1913 and based on the *Town Laws* of 1885 (TGG II:86). Until 1957 (Act No. 9 of 1957), mayors and other officers were appointed by the Premier. They are now elected every three years by compulsory vote in three towns and twenty-two districts.

⁹⁴ For example, in 1880, every male was to plant one hundred coffee and two hundred cotton plants within six months - *Municipal Laws* 1880 (TGG II:7); and, 1957-59, regulations of district officers required a wide range of crops on every allotment in thirty-four villages (*Village Regulations* published Vol. III, *Law of Tonga* 1967).

⁹⁵ Thomson 1894:86. Acts and Ordinances read at the *fono* were deemed to be in force (*The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.428) and are now thereby deemed to be 'properly communicated to the people' (*The Law of Tonga* 1967, Ch.38, s.12).

⁹⁶ *Town Regulations Act* 1888, s.9, printed as *The Law of Tonga*, 1891 s.428 (a marginal note to which defines a *fono* as 'a meeting at which the chiefs gives orders or admonitions to their people but at which no discussion takes place').

⁹⁷ The penalty for non-attendance was a \$5 fine in 1888 and is \$2 today (*The Law of Tonga* 1967, Ch.38).

⁹⁸ This was called every Monday morning in every village (Thomson 1894:86). It is now called on the first Monday of every month and the penalty in this case is \$1 (*The Law of Tonga* 1967, Ch.38).

⁹⁹ *The Law of Tonga* 1903, s.627. There was an 'intermediate' penalty for non-attendance of \$2 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁰ *Fonos Act* 1924, No. 6.

¹⁰¹ For the ten years in respect of which separate records of convictions for non-attendance were kept (1917-1925 and 1944), the annual average was 232 convictions (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*).

¹⁰² 1894:112-13.

actually tried was 14,200¹⁰³ (about one for every adult). In 1924, a total of 14,058 criminal and civil summonses was issued out of the five Magistrates' Courts (again, about one for every adult) and the annual average for such summonses over the eight years 1922-29 was only a little lower.¹⁰⁴ It is unfortunate that comparison cannot be made with Western Samoa over the same period, but there the Mau 'civil resistance' had disrupted the judicial process. Comparison with a metropolitan state would not be helpful. The proportion of all summonses issued to the adult population has fallen today, but still seems high.¹⁰⁵

Also high were the conviction rate¹⁰⁶ and the number of civil actions, including claims for rent.¹⁰⁷ Although it was commented in 1927 that 'the police unduly harass the population with regard to some breaches while not enforcing others',¹⁰⁸ the high conviction and low appeal rates¹⁰⁹ indicate that it was the direct and energetic implementation of an extraordinarily comprehensive and penetrating system of laws which produced the statistics. Certainly, such implementation was a burden for a large proportion of the population, who were imprisoned for failure to pay fines¹¹⁰ and could lose their allotments for failure to pay rent (and, until 1923, for failure to pay poll tax as well¹¹¹). Punishment by whipping played its part.¹¹² On the other hand, the potential number of court cases was reduced by the fact that both the criminal and the civil consequences of a 'wrongful' act were often dealt with at the same time under long-standing provisions aimed at permitting the court to compensate the 'victim'.¹¹³

¹⁰³ *Report on Tonga Protectorate for 1914/15*, British Colonial Office.

¹⁰⁴ The annual average for 1922-1929 was 11,466 while average population was 25,750 (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*, which also provide annual vital statistics).

¹⁰⁵ The annual average for 1969-76 was 19,342 when the average population was 85,650. By then only forty per cent were adults, so that the proportion of all summonses to adults was one to 1.8. The adult population (twenty-one years and over) has been used for comparative purposes. Closer analysis would require separate figures for male and female, and for tax-payers (males sixteen years and over).

¹⁰⁶ 1922-29 the annual average rate of conviction to criminal summons issued (including tax for which prosecution was issued) was seventy-nine per cent (calculated from *Annual Reports of Chief Justices*).

¹⁰⁷ Civil actions for 1922-1929 averaged 2,494 (*ibid.*).

¹⁰⁸ *Annual Report of Home, CJ, 1927*.

¹⁰⁹ The annual average of criminal and civil appeals from the Magistrates' Courts for 1922-29 was 40 (*Annual Reports*).

¹¹⁰ 'It is appalling to think that 1,178 people were sent to prison last year for non-payment of fines. I believe Magistrates impose fines without regard for the ability of people to pay' (*Annual Report of Home, CJ, 1927*). 'The country is spending as much on police and prisons as it does on education' (*Annual Report of Home, CJ, 1926*).

¹¹¹ *Poll and Town Tax Act, 1923, No. 3*.

¹¹² The annual average of sentences of whipping (with the cat-of-nine-tails and up to twenty-five lashes per day) was forty-five, 1922-1929 (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*). The average increased until the Second World War but since then whipping has been limited mainly to the birching of juveniles.

¹¹³ E.g., *Code of Vava'u 1839, s.5*; *Code of 1850 ss.4, 5, 8, 13 and 18-22*; and similar sections in the *Code of 1862*. Similar provisions exist today.

By and large, the criminal law made no allowance for Tongan custom.¹¹⁴ As a result of the failure of missionaries to accept the fact that Tongan society had well-understood rules as to the use and consumption of chattels and foodstuffs, criminal laws which were introduced to deal with 'theft', 'damage' and 'trespass' reflected an obsession with Western notions of ownership and the protection of property. Traditional *fahu* rights based on kinship were outlawed,¹¹⁵ convictions for trespass were common and the customary rights of travellers to sustain themselves from the land were circumscribed.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, the criminal law reinforced custom with regard to the showing of respect, and made it unlawful to pass the King's fence on horseback,¹¹⁷ to pass any noble on horseback, or 'without stopping until the noble has passed and saluting by raising the hand',¹¹⁸ and to wear a turban or to be *navu* (hair dressed with lime) or without a *ta'ovala* (dress mat worn about the waist) 'if in native dress in the presence of any noble'.¹¹⁹

The law relating to marriage, divorce, adultery and fornication, incest and adoption reflected long-standing Christian teaching.¹²⁰

In short, the Tongan complementary concepts of authority and acceptance adapted themselves with vigour to 'the judicial system of the British pattern, exactly organised with its laws, regulations and courts'.¹²¹ However, in exclaiming 'it is astonishing how all social classes of the Tongan population accept this judicial system without reservation and obey its laws' and observing that the 'once dreaded power of the *tapu*' had been replaced by the 'notion of holiness',¹²² Koch failed to examine the

¹¹⁴ Although the Chief Justices sometimes imported British common law principles, they doubted that they had constitutional authority to apply any law other than that which was in writing (*Annual Reports of the Chief Justices* for 1955 and 1957). By the *Civil Law Act* 1966, British common law could be relied on to 'fill the gaps', but 'only so far as the circumstances of the Kingdom and of its inhabitants permit and subject to such qualifications as local circumstances render necessary' (s.4, *ibid.*). However, in criminal matters, there were few 'gaps', as the rules for fair trial, and natural justice generally, were set out in comprehensive legislation (*The Law of Tonga* 1891, Chs IV to VI).

¹¹⁵ It was, and still is, an offence to take anything belonging to one's relation without the permission of its owner 'according to the native custom' (which originated in 1862 with 'taking on the score of relationship' (*Code of 1862*, s.13 and see *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.316). This 'crushing blow' to the custom of *fahu* (Neill 1955:19-20) appears to be accepted as another example of how 'law and bible' have inevitably established double standards of behaviour - public and personal (from interviews with Tongan Magistrates, 1974). The 'taking' aspect of *fahu* is still not uncommon.

¹¹⁶ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.437.

¹¹⁷ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.429(1) - repealed 1906 (*TGG XX:7*).

¹¹⁸ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.429(2) as amended by adding the words in quotation marks in 1906 (*TGG, XX:7*). The salute was substituted for squatting and performing the formal obeisance, but to remain in an elevated position could not be excused (Thomson 1894:232).

¹¹⁹ *The Law of Tonga* 1891, s.429(3). Thomson added: 'To traverse Nuku'alofa without a girdle [*ta'ovala*] would be a greater solecism than to walk the length of Piccadilly hatless and in one's shirt-sleeves' (1894:*ibid.*). The two provisions requiring respect for nobles remain in force, although the rules as to dress do not apply to youths under tax-paying age (*The Law of Tonga* 1967, Ch.37, 1967).

¹²⁰ Divorce and adultery frequently came before the courts. Under *The Law of Tonga* 1891, ss.529-38, the only grounds were adultery and bigamy. Nevertheless, 1920-30, an annual average of forty-three divorce decrees were granted - at a time when marriage registrations were running at 254 per annum - a 17 per cent divorce rate. For comparison, 1969-76, when the grounds were wider, there were seventy-three decrees and 603 marriages per annum - a 12 per cent rate. In 1923, divorce fees produced 90 per cent of the Court's revenue (*Annual Reports of Chief Justices*).

¹²¹ Koch 1955:172.

¹²² *Ibid.*:172,353.

similarity between the negative *tapu* of earlier times and the countless prohibitions imposed by the agencies of government. As Gifford commented in 1924 (when the courts were particularly busy), the *tapu* idea had been transferred to another set of concepts and 'the ancient heathen variety has a ready ally in Christianity'. Of course, the strict enforcement of ordinances revealed 'intolerant attitudes and even persecution', and the police had been introduced - 'a new factor in Tongan society'.¹²³

In conclusion, the legislative history and statistics presented in this paper may be interpreted as demonstrating, for Tonga's first fifty-five years of central government, the successful penetration of a foreign legal culture. On the other hand, the outcome may also be described as an amalgam which accommodated vested Tongan interests. Furthermore, the records and data used in this analysis are also the tools of that foreign culture. A better understanding of the extent to which the attitudes and behaviour of the people of Tonga were substantially changed during the period under review will require the use of additional research techniques.

APPENDIX

Codes, Early Treaties, Laws and Revisions 1836 - 1988 (Including Revisions of the Constitution and some Sources)

Port Regulations introduced by Captain Crozier 1836

No text found

Code of Vava'u dated 16 May 1838

promulgated by Tāufa'āhau 20 November 1839

Texts - (Tongan and English) Palace Records Office, Nuku'alofa

- (English translations) Wesleyan Missionary Society 1840: 129 and Lātūkefu 1974: 221

Ha'apai Code promulgated December 1838

No text found (probably same as *Code of Vava'u*)

Code of 1850 promulgated July 1850

Texts - (printed in Tongan at Neiafu 1851) National Library, Canberra

- (English translation) St Julian 1857: 70-71

- (English translation - some clauses missing) Lātūkefu 1974: 226

Treaty with France signed at Tongatapu 9 January 1855

Texts - (English and French) West 1865: 388-390

- (English) St Julian 1857: 12-13

Code of 1862 instituted 4 June 1862

Texts - (printed in Tongan 1864) National Library, Canberra

- (English translation has fewer clauses) Lātūkefu 1974: 238

¹²³ Gifford 1924:284,286.

Constitution of Tonga adopted 4 November 1875

- Texts - (original parchment in Tongan) Palace Records Office
- (printed in Tongan 1876 with *Laws of 1875*) National Library, Canberra
- (printed in English Rawson, Nuku'alofa 1877) Mitchell Library, Sydney
- (printed in Tongan 1879 as part of *Code of Laws 1875-1878*) National Library, Canberra

Laws passed by Legislative Assembly in 1875

Text - *TGG I*

Treaty with Germany signed 1 November 1876 ratified 30 October 1877

Text - *The Law of Tonga* 1891 - see below

Treaty with Great Britain signed 29 November 1879 ratified 8 September 1881

Text - *Laws of Tonga* revised 1948, Government Printer, Wellington, 1951

Laws and amendments to Constitution passed in 1880

Text - *TGG I* and *II*

Laws and amendments passed in 1882

Text - (including consolidation of *Constitution*) *TGG II*: 22, 16 April 1883

Laws of Tonga 1883

Text - (laws and *Constitution* in Tongan) National Library, Canberra

Laws and amendments passed in 1885

Text - *TGG II*

Treaty with the U.S.A. signed 2 October 1886 ratified 1 August 1888

Text - *The Law of Tonga* 1891 - see below

Laws and amendments passed in 1888

Text - (including consolidation of *Constitution*) *TGG III*: 30, 31 December 1889

Statutes and Laws of Tonga 1888 (including *Constitution*) prepared in English by Baker as Commissioner

Text - (printed for the Government by Wilson & Horton, Auckland, 1889) Fiji National Archives

Laws of Tonga 1891 (including *Constitution*)

Text - (printed in Tongan) National Library, Canberra

The Law of Tonga 1891 (including *Constitution*) prepared in English by Thomson as Commissioner

Text - (printed for the Government by H. Brett, Auckland, 1891) National and Mitchell Libraries

Agreement with Great Britain dated 2 June 1891 - amending 1876 Treaty

Text - *Laws of Tonga* revised 1948, Government Printer, Wellington, 1951

Treaty with Great Britain dated 18 May 1900 ratified 16 February 1901

Text - *Laws of Tonga* revised 1948 - see below

Proclamation of Protection made 19 May 1900 by Basil Thomson

Text - Free Wesleyan Church Archives (copy Cummins 1972: 531)

The Law of the Government of Tonga 1903 (as at 1903 with *Constitution* as at 1891)

Text - (printed for the Government by Brett, Auckland, 1907) Mitchell Library, Fiji National Archives and Supreme Court, Nuku'alofa

Notes of Points Accepted by the King - Supplementary Agreement signed by Tupou II 18 January 1905

Text - *Laws of Tonga* revised 1948 - see below

Agreement between Great Britain and Tonga dated 7 November 1928

Text - *Laws of Tonga* revised 1948 - see below

Laws of Tonga revised 1929 - prepared by W.K. Horne, CJ, as Commissioner

Text - Government Printer, Nuku'alofa, 1929

Laws of Tonga revised 1948 - prepared by J.B. Thomson, CJ, as Commissioner

Text - Government Printer, Wellington, 1951

Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain - dated 26 August 1958

Texts - U.K. Treaty Series No. 67/1959

- *The Law of Tonga* revised 1967 - see below

The Law of Tonga revised 1967 (including *Constitution*) prepared by Campbell Wylie, QC, as Commissioner

Text - (three volumes in Tongan and three in English) Government Printer, Nuku'alofa, 1967

Laws of Tonga revised 1988 (including *Constitution*) prepared by Neil Adsett as Commissioner

Text - (five volumes in Tongan and five in English) Government Printer, Nuku'alofa, 1989

14

Chief Justices of Tonga 1905-40

ELIZABETH WOOD ELLEM*

VIRTUALLY ALL *PAPĀLANGI* WHO HAVE COME TO RESIDE IN TONGA IN THE LAST 150 YEARS HAVE come with a mission: to change something about the Tongans and their ways - their economy, their political alliances, their belief system.¹ These *papālangi* have had their own priorities, which were only sometimes to the advantage of the people of Tonga or their Government.

The conflict of loyalties (between place of origin and current employer) was most marked in the case of the *papālangi* chief justices, who between 1905 and 1940 were 'appointed' and paid by the Government of Tonga, but were 'selected' by the Colonial Office in London. These chief justices did not interpret the Constitution and laws in their Tongan context, taking into consideration the lack of legal experience of those who had framed the Constitution and laws, and looking at the contradictions that arose from that inexperience. On the contrary, the legal advice and judgements of the chief justices were informed more by their awareness that their future employment depended on the impression they made on the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in Suva, and through him on the officials of the Colonial Office in London, than based on a wish to do the best they could for the Tongan people, who paid their salaries.

The Constitution of 1875 provided for a Chief Justice who would preside over the new Supreme Court, would have security of tenure (dependent upon good behaviour), and over whom Parliament would have power of impeachment if he misbehaved. He was to be a member of the Privy Council.² The power to draft laws was not explicit in the Constitution, and indeed laws were drafted by Premier Shirley Baker between 1875 and 1890, and by Assistant Premier Basil Thomson in 1891.³

A major cause of the problems that were to arise in the period 1905-40 was that the Chief Justice was a member of the Executive (Privy Council) and the Legislature (Parliament), as well as being the chief (and sometimes only) member of the Judiciary.

* An earlier version of this paper appeared in *The Journal of Pacific History*, 24, 1989:21-37.

¹ The term *papālangi* is applied to all white persons. In the period under discussion, it was translated as 'European', but the term 'European' is no longer deemed to include any white person.

² Constitution of 1875: clauses 54, 55, 87 (cf. Constitution of 1903: clauses 88, 89, 94), which applied until the major revisions of 1929. (Hereinafter the abbreviation CJ will be used for Chief Justice.)

³ Powles 1979:248, 269, 272.

Between 1875 and 1905 the chief justices had been Tongans: 'Ahome'e, Taniela Lasike, Maealiuaki (the son of Sunia Mafile'o), and Siosiuva Kaho.⁴ These Tongan chief justices seem to have accepted the prerogatives of their office in the same way as they accepted the privileges of chiefdom, without worrying overmuch about the duties and obligations. And indeed they had no training for the office.

The change from Tongan to *papālangi* chief justices was the outcome of the Supplementary Agreement (1905) to the Treaty of Friendship (1900) between Great Britain and Tonga. The Supplementary Agreement stated that 'New appointments to the public service [were] to be made in consultation with His [Britannic] Majesty's Agent and Consul'. The King (Tupou II) protested, with good reason, that his constitutional rights were being infringed - but to no avail.

The *papālangi* Chief Justice appointed by High Commissioner Sir Everard im Thurn in 1905 was to be the first of six, seven if you count George Scott, and indeed George Scott should be counted, for he was to be Acting Chief Justice for a total of six years between 1915 and 1937.

At the time of their appointments as Chief Justice, the ages of the six were: forty-two, about forty-five, forty-two, thirty-six, forty-three, and fifty-four. Their legal backgrounds were various. Three had been admitted to the Bar in London's Inns of Court (Horne, Murray-Aynsley and Stuart), one probably admitted in Dublin (Stronge), one in Wellington (Skeen), and one in Brisbane (Hyne). Scott had been registered as a barrister and solicitor in Tasmania. Altogether, the calibre of the *papālangi* chief justices was not high - the salary offered by the Tonga Government was such that it could not have attracted anyone of talent.⁵

Robert Lowis Skeen, the first of the *papālangi* chief justices, was born in New Zealand, and went to Samoa in 1889, where he married a Samoan. He set up in private practice in Tonga in 1901, and was a signatory of the 'Petition for the Redress of Grievances' sent to the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1903.

When High Commissioner Sir Everard im Thurn appointed Skeen as Chief Justice of Tonga in 1905, he charged him with the reform of the law courts and instructed him to revise the laws, which had become so confused that they conflicted with the Constitution and each other. Neither Skeen nor his successor (Stronge) attempted either of these tasks, so until the revision of the laws in 1927-29 the Law was administered according to the whims of the Chief Justice of the time.

Until 1911 the High Commissioner allowed Skeen to continue in private practice in order to supplement his salary from the Government of Tonga. From 1905 until about 1913, Skeen was a member of the Cabinet as well as of the Privy Council. That the British authorities expected the Chief Justice to be supportive of British policy was demonstrated when representatives of the Western Pacific High Commission came to

⁴ Spillius 1958-59.

⁵ In 1918-19 the CJ's salary was £650 p.a., and in 1940 £700 p.a.: *Tonga Government Gazette* 10 (30 June 1919) and 14 (9 July 1941) (hereinafter *TGG*). By 1941, a well-qualified legal member of the Colonial Service would have commanded a salary of £1,750 p.a. The Queen was, understandably, reluctant to pay so much when her Tongan ministers were paid less than £500 p.a. Queen to H. E. Maude, 4 Aug. 1941, Papers of the British Consul, Tonga, (hereinafter *BCT*) 1/3.

Tonga to investigate the Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaha (TMTK) affair of 1909-11.⁶ When they discovered that Skeen had thrown in his lot with the King, who was resisting the unreasonable intrusions of a dictatorial Agent and Consul (W. Telfer Campbell), Skeen became *persona non grata* with the officers of the Commission.

Consul Campbell now claimed that Skeen had left Auckland under a cloud twenty years earlier; that he was 'a thoroughly unfit person, both professionally, morally and socially for the position of chief justice'; that he 'misdirected and misinformed' the Government of Tonga; that he 'consorts with low-class natives and foreigners . . . avoids respectable persons, drinks at times to excess, ventilates his opinions in public bars'; and was an obstacle to any kind of reform of the Government of Tonga.⁷

However, it appears that the King himself did not wholly trust Skeen, for in the years from 1905 to 1912 the King listened to lawyers he employed privately (Scott, and also New Zealand lawyers - first Thomas Cotter and then R. N. Moody). If he was also getting helpful advice from Chief Justice Skeen this is not apparent in the documentation.

The King would not relinquish all his rights. Although he acceded to the demands of the British that Skeen be removed from the Cabinet and the Consul be allowed to attend Privy Council meetings, he would not agree to Skeen's dismissal and a replacement being chosen by London. Since war with another colonial power (Germany) was looming, the Secretary of State for the Colonies instructed that no coercion be used and high-handedness be avoided in dealings with the King. Thus Skeen not only survived but was reinstated in Cabinet.⁸

The King perceived the chiefs who had been appointed to the Government by Im Thurn in 1905 to be allies of the British, and therefore his opponents. When these chiefs lost face over the TMTK debacle, the King's Party was consolidated, its rallying cry being a demand for the abrogation of the Supplementary Agreement. The King's Party forced the Premier to resign and successfully impeached the Governors of Ha'apai and Vava'u.⁹ This opened the way for the King's Party to take over the Government. Polutele Kaho, long the King's most outspoken critic, changed sides in 1911, and in 1912 was installed in the chiefly title of Tu'ivakano and appointed Premier.¹⁰ In 1912 also, Consul Campbell was retired at the King's urgent request,¹¹ and George Scott's fortunes took a turn for the better.

⁶ The Tonga Ma'a Tonga Kautaha (Tonga for the Tongans Co-operative) was founded by A. D. Cameron. It was widely supported by Tongans, but got into financial difficulties.

⁷ Campbell to High Commissioner of the Western Pacific (hereinafter HC), Western Pacific High Commission: General Correspondence Inwards (hereinafter WPHC:GCI) 573/1911.

⁸ Secretary of State for the Colonies (hereinafter SofSCol.) to HC, 28 June 1911, *ibid.* Tupou II to W. T. Campbell 27 June 1911, BCT 1/2. Same to same, 28 Aug. 1911, WPHC:GCI 1489/1911. Petitions of 7 and 10 June 1912, Palace Office Papers, Nuku'alofa (hereinafter POP).

⁹ See *TGG* 12 (15 July 1912) 101-13, for impeachment proceedings. The Premier who escaped impeachment by resigning was Mateialona, a grandson of Tupou I, and the impeached governors were Tu'itavake and Faletau. The King's Party was an informal alliance of the King's supporters, based on traditional loyalties to the leading chiefs of that alliance, most notably 'Ulukalala (Siaosi Finau Misini).

¹⁰ Polutele Kaho was the eldest of five brothers, one of whom (Siosua Kaho) had been CJ, and another of whom (Sioape Kaho) was later to be Minister for Police. Polutele and Siva held the noble title of Tu'ivakano in turn.

¹¹ Tupou II to HC, 7 Sept. 1911, WPHC:GCI 1389/1911. H. W. Just (for SofSCol.) to Campbell, 11 September 1912, WPHC:GCI 1954/1912.

Scott had come to Tonga at about the same time as Skeen, and had gone into private legal practice, into business, and into debt. In 1906, im Thurn had described Scott as the 'least unsuitable candidate' for the post of Collector of Customs. He was known to have spoken contemptuously of the King, but in the new alliances formed at the height of the TMTK affair such indiscretions were forgiven, and (in 1910) ten chiefs asked that Scott be appointed Secretary to Government in the place of a universally unpopular *papālangi* official.¹²

The High Commissioner would not agree. Nor would he consent to a 1912 request that Scott be appointed Attorney-General. However, in April 1913 Scott took up the position of Chief European Clerk in the Premier's Office (virtually Secretary to Government), a position of great influence. When Skeen died in December 1915 (while on leave in New Zealand), Scott was the Acting Chief Justice. When the High Commissioner refused a request from the King and his supporters that Scott be confirmed as Chief Justice, they renewed their earlier request that Scott be appointed Attorney-General. By this time, the Consul (H. E. W. Grant) believed that the Premier, Tu'ivakano, 'had fallen completely under the will of Mr Scott', and that the request was part of a plot to keep Scott in the Privy Council and to exclude the new Chief Justice, chosen by London. Scott in the Privy Council would presumably have meant Scott in the Cabinet and Parliament, thus confining the new Chief Justice to the law courts. The High Commissioner would not countenance such an obvious intrigue, even though there was sense in the proposal itself.¹³

Scott's personal circumstances helped to make him the most influential *papālangi* employed by the Government of Tonga for most of the period under consideration, as far as the real politics of Tonga were concerned. His life was wholly focused on Tonga. He was always available. Married to a Tongan, he rarely left Tonga, even when on leave. Thus he could fill in for those *papālangi* employees who did take their (very generous) leave allowances outside Tonga. Since in these early years Scott was the only person with legal training in the country other than the Chief Justice, he was also appointed Deputy Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific when the Consul was on leave. Scott thus gained the widest possible knowledge of the administration of Tonga. He also became the unofficial leader of the Beach Party (made up of white traders and many of the *papālangi* employed by the Government) until his death in 1938. This meant that he was able to put newcomers, including new chief justices, 'in the picture'.

If, as Powles states, the Chief Justice is closest to the sovereign in power according to the terms of the Constitution,¹⁴ this status did not become a political or social reality for any of the *papālangi* chief justices. The life of a Chief Justice in Tonga was inevitably a rather lonely one, unless he threw caution to the winds, as Skeen

¹² George Scott to 'Hanny', 28 October 1904, TS copy in POP; C. H. Hart-Davis to HC (note), 28 January 1913, WPHC:GCI 110/1913. V. Stuart to HC, 8 June 1914, BCT 1/19. Campbell to HC, 1 April 1910, BCT 7, misc. 6.

¹³ Nobles to Privy Council, encl. in H. E. W. Grant to HC, 26 March 1916, BCT 1/19. HC to Grant, 1 May 1916, WPHC to Agent and Consul, vol. 1916-17. G. B. Smith-Rewse to HC, 27 October 1916, BCT 7, misc. 103. Same to same, 13 April 1917, BCT 1/19. Also file BCT 1/43/92.

¹⁴ Powles 1979:282.

appears to have done, and joined the Beach faction. Even membership of the Nuku'alofa Club could not be enjoyed to the full, since any insobriety would quickly be reported to the Consul and to the Palace. It was hard for the Chief Justice to find a niche, and a feeling was to lodge in all chief justices that they were not much valued by the Palace or by anyone else of standing in the community.

The main reason for the chief justices' lack of status - as far as Skeen's successors were concerned - was that Queen Sālote (who succeeded her father on 5 April 1918) and her consort, Tungī Mailefihi, reversed the policies of Tupou II, in that they decided to accept the terms of the Treaty of Friendship and the Supplementary Agreement. They needed the support of the British Consul against those chiefs who had held power under the former King, and who now saw their power threatened. The membership of such informal political parties was based on traditional alliances that pre-dated the arrival of *papālangi* in Tonga, and Sālote's marriage to Tungī was itself recognised as an alliance with a faction of chiefs who were hostile to the King's Party, which was now to be the Opposition Party.

One of the advantages of seeking advice from the Consul and High Commissioner was that confidentiality was guaranteed. In addition, the first two consuls of Queen Sālote's reign were capable and conscientious men, who were anxious to assist the Queen and Tungī and to ensure the peace of Tonga. Thus something like friendship developed between the Palace and the Consulate. And far from losing *mana* in Tongan eyes by such an association, the Queen's and Tungī's *mana* were increased, for they showed themselves skilled in dealing with the outside world and as capable of winning the respect of influential people in that world.

At the beginning of Queen Sālote's reign, the Queen and Tungī were somewhat isolated in the councils of the Government, for the Opposition Party retained many influential positions. *Papālangi* already in the Privy Council at the Queen's accession were Chief Justice Herbert Cecil Stronge (who had taken up his post in 1917) and Auditor-General James Darrell Wall.¹⁵ The Consul, Islay McOwan, suggested to the Queen that two of four vacancies on the Privy Council be filled by *papālangi* already resident in Tonga. McOwan hoped they would be strong supporters of the new alliance between the Palace and the Consulate. Thus, in January 1919, Stronge and Wall were joined by William Garfield Bagnall (formerly Treasurer), as Minister for Finance, and by Alexander Brooke Wallace (formerly Superintendent of Works), as Minister for Public Works.¹⁶

The presence of four *papālangi* in the Parliament was a major cause of the rebellion of 1919-20.¹⁷ The Opposition Party was still in a majority in Parliament

¹⁵ Stronge studied Law at Trinity College, Dublin. He came to Tonga from the West Indies and was transferred to the Bahamas in 1925. *TGG* 16 July 1917; Stronge to McOwan 25 January 1925, BCT 1/2/24. The Auditor-General first became a Privy Councillor in 1907. Wall was appointed Auditor-General 1915.

¹⁶ *TGG* 3 (21 January 1919) 9. Correspondence in BCT 1/4. The Premier had formerly been Minister for Finance. The portfolio of Public Works was a new one.

¹⁷ The customary summary of proceedings of Parliament is missing from the *TGG* of 1919, but the protests and petitions are referred to in the summary of 1920. For the events of 1919-20 described in the text, see *TGG* 26 (1 December 1920); S. F. Tongilava, *Diary*, 24, 25, 30 June, 2 July 1920, POP; *Fiji Times*, 3 July 1920; Queen to Speaker, 6 August [July?] 1920, POP; McOwan to Queen, 24 August 1920, BCT 1/6; McOwan to HC, 27 August 1920, BCT 1/9; same to same, 6 December 1920, WPHC:GCI

and the Members were well aware of the motives behind the new appointments. Nor were the Members pleased that four *papālangi* were earning salaries that might otherwise have gone to four of themselves. Consequently, the Members, both nobles (certain hereditary estate-holders who had been distinguished by means of the Constitution as being inherited by the rule of primogeniture) and representatives of the people, threatened to impeach Stronge and Wallace, and asked for the removal of Bagnall. They further petitioned that George Scott be appointed Attorney-General and Crown Solicitor, and for him to sit in Parliament instead of Stronge.¹⁸

In the 1920 session the Members of Parliament went on strike, refusing to transact any business until the Queen had answered their 1919 petition about the *papālangi* ministers. Three times a deputation of nobles and other parliamentarians waited upon the Queen at the Palace. However, the Queen did not waver, and since she was supported by chiefs of high rank and annexation was always a feared possibility if rebellion went too far, the impeachment bills were withdrawn. The royal speech at the Closing of Parliament did not spare the rebel Members. The representatives were reminded of their duty, scorn being heaped on those who 'intermeddle with concerns that are the prerogatives of others', and belong to 'the class of people who are lazy, talk recklessly, and whose sole ambition is to act disrespectfully'. The 'incessant criticism and opposition' to which the ministers were subjected was also deplored.¹⁹ The High Commissioner visited Tonga later that year. Fortunately for the future of the Queen and the semi-independence of Tonga, the Consul was able to persuade the Commissioner that even though the Queen was young and inexperienced (she was only twenty), she had the intelligence, good will and good sense to become an effective leader, and would in due course learn how to control the rebellious elements in the realm, who were most in evidence in the Parliament.

The *papālangi* ministers' became aware that they would enjoy little of the consequence usually derived from high office, and they resented this fact. It soon became apparent that the hostile element in the Privy Council would be strengthened, not contained, by the presence of the *papālangi* ministers. Queen Sālote's consequent strategy was to diminish further the Council's importance, and hence the status of the Privy Councillors, including that of the Chief Justice.

By the early 1920s Queen Sālote was preparing to retire the self-styled republican Premier, Tu'ivakano, and to appoint Tungī as his successor. But first she wished to remove Scott from the Premier's Office. As far as the Queen was concerned, Scott's leadership of the Beach Party was of small importance: it was his 'stirring up' of discontent among the Tongans that made him a thorn in the flesh. Presumably on the Consul's advice, the Queen appointed Scott as Judge of the proposed Land Court,

3116/20.

¹⁸ Tu'ivakano to McOwan, 26 June 1920, BCT 1/4. See also Tongilava, Diary, 2 July 1920, POP.

¹⁹ The high chiefs Sioeli Pangia (descendant of the Tu'i Tonga), Ma'afu and Tungī represented the Queen at the Closing of Parliament. TGG 23 (17 September 1920). Tungī had assisted in writing the Queen's Speech (Tongilava, Diary, 9 August 1920).

apparently believing that he was being moved to a position of status but small power.²⁰

The 1919-20 attempt by Parliament to impeach him could hardly have made Stronge feel welcome in Tonga. And the exclusive alliance between Palace and Consulate must have made him feel even more isolated. *He* might feel he was a representative of the British Empire, but the High Commissioner and Consul simply wanted him to do his job and not to cause any trouble. Stronge sought another appointment, but was forced to return for another term in Tonga, beginning in 1924, a crucial year in the struggle for power within Tonga. The major events of Stronge's last years as Chief Justice and Scott's role in the Church Union difficulties of 1923-24 have been discussed elsewhere.²¹ Stronge's lack of co-operation, his attempt to prevent the Queen from presiding (as was her constitutional right) at the Privy Council when it heard the Appeal from the Land Court, and his threat to jail Queen Sālote's private secretary must be understood to have been happening at the time when his bitterness towards the Consul and the Palace was aggravated by several other incidents that injured his self-esteem.

The first incident was Consul McOwan's criticism of Stronge for renting out his government quarters while he was on leave in 1919. This reproach was an assault on Stronge's integrity. The second incident was the Consul's refusal to approve the payment of a bonus to officials on half-pay leave. This refusal affected Stronge and Wall, who consequently 'lost no opportunity of urging the Cabinet and Privy Council to reject [the Consul's] advice'. According to McOwan, this was the first time in six years that he had *insisted* (as was his right according to the Supplementary Agreement) upon his advice being taken, but it is easy to see that this was the last straw for a man who already felt that his office and efforts were not respected.²² Since it would have been unwise to express his resentment of the Consul directly, Stronge transferred his anger to the Queen, who was defying his authority (certainly with the knowledge of the Consul), for example when she refused to relinquish the documents of the Land Court case (in her keeping pending an appeal to the Privy Council) when Stronge asked for them in the Supreme Court (she no doubt felt she would never see them again). According to McOwan, the Chief Justice developed a 'strong antipathy' towards the Queen.²³

Stronge's revenge took the forms already mentioned. In addition, in 1924, although the Constitution clearly required the Queen's assent to all laws, Stronge published laws without first obtaining her signature. Queen Sālote demonstrated her constitutional rights by refusing to give her assent to one of these laws of 1924.²⁴

²⁰ Correspondence in WPHC:GCI 3206/20. For *Land Court Act 1921*, see *TGG* 22 (24 August 1921) 91-3.

²¹ See Wood Ellem 1981:240-99; 1983:163-82.

²² Islay McOwan to Acting HC, 16 July 1924, WPHC:GCI 1804/24. *TGG* 29 (9 November 1923) 152. Acting HC to McOwan, 27 August 1924, WPHC to Agent and Consul, vol. 1923-24. McOwan to HC, 5 May 1925, BCT 1/19.

²³ McOwan to HC, 29 September 1924, WPHC:GCI 2263/24.

²⁴ Tungi to McOwan, 21 August 1925, encl. in McOwan to HC, 22 August 1925, WPHC:GCI 1517/25. Also Acting HC to SofSCol., 29 October 1924, WPHC:GCI 2263/24; *TGG* 21 (24 December 1924) 127.

Eventually Stronge was successful in gaining another post. At the last meeting of the Privy Council prior to his departure he ridiculed Tungī, declaring the Premier's weekly visits to the Consul (to discuss government business) were comparable to a butcher's boy calling for the weekly orders. McOwan reported that Wall 'aggravated the offence by laughing at the remarks [made by Stronge] and only desisted upon seeing the scandalised look on the faces of the Queen and other members of the Council'.²⁵

Stronge's successor, William Kenneth Horne, was certainly briefed by Wall, by Sioape Kaho (the Minister for Police, and brother of the former Premier), and by Scott immediately after he landed in Tonga on or about 27 September 1925.²⁶ Horne lost no time in picking up where Stronge had left off, by challenging the Queen on three grounds.

Firstly, on 17 October he began a correspondence with her in which he challenged her right to appoint her ministers without reference to the Privy Council.²⁷ Once again (as with Stronge in 1924-25) the actions of the Chief Justice deprived the Queen of the services of her Government's legal adviser, and she had to pay a Fiji barrister to advise her privately. She very strongly resented such expense.

The object of Horne's first attack was the Queen's appointment of the chief Ata as Minister for Lands. Horne claimed that Ata was not eligible because he had been forced to resign as a Minister in 1918, after being accused of embezzlement. Furthermore, the new Chief Justice declared that according to section 9 of the Law of 1903 the Queen had to seek the consent of Privy Council for any new appointment. The Queen cited the Constitution (1903: 54 and 55) as the basis of her right to appoint without reference to the Privy Council. Horne claimed that section 9 of the Law of 1903 had amended the Constitution. That is, he declared that the laws had primacy over the Constitution, and a new law did not have to be called explicitly an 'amendment' in order to supersede another law or the Constitution. This of course opened up the possibility for any Chief Justice to interpret any law as being an amendment to the Constitution.

Horne was not only questioning the Queen's prerogative. He was also challenging the authority of the Consul and the legality of the Supplementary Agreement itself. McOwan had explicitly told the Queen (in 1918) that the Supplementary Agreement required her to consult *only* the Consul before making such appointments. Resistance to the Supplementary Agreement had long distinguished the Palace opponents, so it is clear (and the correspondence supports this) that Horne had willy-nilly allied

²⁵ McOwan to Tungī, 1 May 1925, WPHC:GCI 1012/25. McOwan to HC, 5 May and 13 June 1925, BCT 1/19.

²⁶ Home was born in 1883, and therefore forty-two when he came to Tonga. The Colonial Office neglected to seek the Queen's consent to his appointment, so it was never gazetted.

²⁷ Home to Queen, 17, 22, 30 October, 5 November 1925; Queen to Home 20, 28 October, 2, 9 November 1925; 16 January, 3 February 1926; Queen to HC, 16 November 1925, 6 March 1926, Queen to Ata, 13 November 1925, A. B. Wallace to Queen, 2 February 1926, 'Ulukalala to Queen, 24 February 1926, POP. [Tongilava?] to R. Crompton, 16 November 1925, Crompton to [Tongilava?], 9 December 1925, Crompton to Rodger Page, 4 March 1926, Free Wesleyan Church papers, Nuku'alofa (hereinafter FWC papers). McOwan to Queen, 16 February 1926, BCT 1/6. HC to McOwan, 25, 26 March 1926, WPHC:GCI 2581/25.

himself to the anti-Palace faction. Horne's determination to assert his authority extended to his informing the Queen that if she persisted in appointing Ata he would challenge the appointment at Ata's swearing-in. He also declared that any action Ata might take as Minister for Lands would be invalid - an open invitation for Ata's rivals to challenge him.

Unbeknown to Horne and his informants, Queen Sālote had taken the opportunity of a visit by the High Commissioner earlier in the year to discuss with him her wish to appoint Ata as Minister for Lands. She assured the High Commissioner that she had complete confidence in Ata in spite of the events of 1918. The High Commissioner had assured the Queen that he had no objection to the appointment.²⁸ In 1926 Parliament confirmed the Queen's right to appoint ministers without reference to the Privy Council.²⁹ Extracts from Queen Sālote's final letter to Horne on the subject are worth quoting:

I would remind you that Tonga is a British Protectorate not a British possession . . .

In order to question the policy of one particular ministerial appointment you have seen fit to raise a constitutional question of some magnitude, in such a manner as to close the Courts of the Kingdom as a means of settlement . . . A little judicial foresight might have avoided such a situation and spared me the expense to which, it seems, I have been quite unnecessarily exposed . . .

In conclusion, I take this opportunity of saying that your attitude throughout has appeared to me to be obstructive and antagonistic, and the tone of your previous letters on the subject have been dictatorial and discourteous. If your endeavour has been to treat me with every possible courtesy, I can only say that it has not been made apparent and that you have signally failed.³⁰

One cannot help comparing the confidence and forthrightness of this declaration with the evasiveness of the tactics of her predecessor, Tupou II, when dealing with *papālangi*.

The Queen was the victor on this issue, but she was to be defeated on Horne's second challenge. In 1923 the Queen had given her assent to the *Nobles Titles Succession Act*, which provided that any noble convicted of a felony must be deprived of his title. The noble Ve'ehala (Feleti Vi) had been convicted of stealing £20, but the Queen had not removed his title. Horne implied that Ve'ehala had received favoured treatment because he was a supporter of the Queen. Horne insisted that Ve'ehala be deposed. Queen Sālote eventually and unwillingly had to do this, but Act 19 of 1927 removed that clause from the 1923 Act, with the consequence that the nobles' belief that they were above the law was strengthened.³¹

²⁸ 'Notes of Interview with the Queen of Tonga at the Palace at Nuku'alofa, Tonga, on 6th August, 1925', encl. in item 25 of Great Britain: Colonial Office, *Correspondence 1914-1930 Relating to Affairs in Tonga Islands Protectorate* (Western Pacific no. 3), pp. 65-9 (hereinafter COCP:WP3). The Queen also asked for the transfer of Wall, the Auditor-General.

²⁹ TGG 14 (29 July 1926), 98. Queen's Speech at the Opening of Parliament, 14 June 1926, TGG 21 (10 September 1926), 218. Also TGG 25 (18 October 1926) 235, 237.

³⁰ Queen to Horne, 3 February 1926, POP.

³¹ Act no. 11: see TGG 17 (17 July 1923) 84. Horne to Queen, 17 December 1926; Queen to Feleti Vi, 24 December 1926, POP.

The outcome of Horne's third challenge was to be only a partial victory for him. When George Scott had been appointed Judge of the Land Court, he had interpreted the *Land Court Act 1921* to mean that he would determine not only the boundaries of the hereditary estates and titles to allotments, but also the succession to the nobles' titles.³² As a consequence of Scott's interpretation, several appeals to the Supreme Court from the Land Court were waiting to be heard when Horne arrived in Tonga.

The Queen denied Scott's interpretation of the law, and asserted that Tupou I had never intended that the rule of primogeniture should be applied rigidly for such titles, and pointed out that both Tupou I and Tupou II had consented to succession to the titles of hereditary estate-holders according to the old criteria of rank, seniority, relationship and ability. A rigid application of the clause would, she felt, result in quite unsuitable people (dissolute youths, for example) succeeding to titles. Furthermore, appointment to all chiefly titles was dependent on knowledge of genealogies, which was part of the special knowledge of women of high chiefly rank, not to be determined by any *papālangi* individual or court.

In this case the Privy Council voted against the Queen and in favour of Scott and Horne's interpretation of the *Land Court Act 1921*. It is difficult to explain this defeat. It was due in part to the presence of *papālangi* in Privy Council (who presumably supported Horne and Scott), possibly to the fact that Consul McOwan had left Tonga just before the Privy Council vote was taken (tempting the members to express some independence), and possibly to the hopes of some Tongan Privy Councillors that Scott and Horne might be amenable to pressure from themselves in decisions regarding land and nobles' titles.

The Queen was not, however, to be deprived of all her prerogatives, for in cases of disputed succession all claims had to come first to the Privy Council, and the Privy Council was also the Court of Appeal. Queen Sālote's *mana* was already so great that only the bravest and most ambitious would dare to challenge her known views on any succession. Nevertheless, for the remainder of her life, Queen Sālote felt that she had been wrongly deprived of her right to determine such disputes independently, as her predecessors had done. She would claim that the Tongan people blamed her for the generally inferior quality of the successors to the nobles' titles.

The Queen was able to protect the inheritances of her own sons.³³ The *Royal Estates Act 1927* determined the succession to titles held by the royal family. Without this Act, the titles of Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tungī, Tu'ipelehake, and Tupouto'a would all have been inherited by the eldest son in due course, and the two younger princes would have been left without titles. This Act granted the titles of Tupouto'a and Tu'ipelehake (both already vacant) to the eldest and youngest sons respectively, when

³² For the arguments on this issue, see Scott's judgement on *Tevita Uluilakepa v. Fulivai*, 15 October 1924, *Tongan Law Reports*, 2 (1963) 10-12; [Crompton's? McOwan's?] 'Notes on the Chief Justice's Memorandum', n.d. [April 1926?], FWC papers; McOwan to Queen, 14 Apr., Queen to Privy Council, April 1926, BCT 1/6; same to same, 5 June 1926, Home to McOwan, 11 May 1926, FWC papers. Also Tongilava, Diary, 11 June 1926, POP; Spillius 1958-59: 51, 170-80 passim. The Queen and 'Ulukalala (S.F.M.) were absent from the Privy Council when the vote was taken.

³³ Queen to Privy Council, [4 April] 1926, BCT 1/4.

they came of age. It was assumed, but not stated, that the Tungī title would go to the second son in due course.

These challenges by Horne made the Queen aware of how important it was that she have independent legal advice and someone who would keep the *papālangi* under control. Since non-Tongans were now (by an amendment to the Treaty of Friendship) to become amenable to Tongan law,³⁴ the High Commissioner was happy to accede to a request from the Queen and Tungī that McOwan's successor be someone with legal qualifications. The British Agent and Consul who took up his appointment in January 1927 was J. S. Neill, an experienced barrister of the Western Pacific High Commission.³⁵ Consul Neill would have the power to advise on all laws that would affect non-Tongans, which in effect would be most of the laws. A Chief European Magistrate was to be appointed also, and he would hear cases in which non-Tongans were concerned, and some Tongan cases.

After the Treaty amendment of 1927, there were, quite suddenly, five *papālangi* lawyers in the kingdom: Neill, the Chief Justice, the new Chief European Magistrate, Scott, and the Director of Education, Ragnar Hyne, who had recently been admitted to the Bar of Queensland and enrolled as a barrister in the High Commissioner's Court of the Western Pacific.

Chief Justice Horne was now required to draft legislation (on which Neill then commented), to preside over the Supreme Court, and to act as legal adviser to the Government in Privy Council, Cabinet and Parliament. Under the direction of Neill, Horne undertook the revision of the laws. This work was begun in 1927 and completed in 1929. Of particular importance was that the *Land Act 1927* superseded the earlier Land Acts. The *Interpretation Act 1927* defined the terms used in the Land Act, so it was no longer open to re-interpretation by Scott.

The Members of Parliament had continued to resent the presence of *papālangi* in relatively highly paid positions in the Government, and when it was proposed in 1928 that there should be an increase in the numbers of *papālangi* and a decrease in the number of Tongans employed by the Government, the Members responded by deleting the salary of Wallace (the Minister for Public Works) from the Estimates. This gave Queen Sālotē the opportunity to dispense with Wallace.³⁶ In 1931 she retired Wall, the Auditor-General, in spite of his protests.³⁷ This left only two *papālangi* in the Privy Council: the Chief Justice and the Minister for Finance. Scott was retired from the Land Court in 1932, although he was to come out of retirement in 1936-37 to be Acting Chief Justice once more.

These retrenchments were the outcome of the Queen's and Tungī's experience and a sign of their increased confidence in their control of the foreign institutions of

³⁴ Agreement between Great Britain and Tonga, 12 August and 7 November 1927, encl. in item 15, COCP:WP3.

³⁵ Queen to HC, 13 April 1926, WPHC:GCI 1056/26. Neill was already known to the Queen, as he had been a co-opted member of the Privy Council for the hearing of the appeal in the Land Court Case of 1924.

³⁶ TGG 20 (28 September 1928). Queen to W. E. Russell (Acting Consul), 10 October 1928, WPHC:GCI 3055/28. Russell to HC, 22 October 1928, BCT 1/3. HC to SofSCol., 29 December 1928, item 29 in COCP:WP3.

³⁷ Correspondence in WPHC:GCI 2294/31.

government. Some of the *papālangi* on the Privy Council in the first decade of the Queen's reign had been contemptuous of her authority and defiant of Tungī's position, and had meddled with things they did not understand. Worst of all was that they had, at least on some occasions, lent aid and comfort to the enemy. The retrenchment of Wallace, Wall and other *papālangi* during the Depression years showed that the *papālangi* in Government service were, after all, only employees, and not (as some appeared to believe) independent agents.

With Neill giving the Queen and the Government expert advice, C. M. Murray-Aynsley (1931-35), Horne's successor, had little opportunity to challenge the Government.³⁸ Murray-Aynsley's successor, Ragnar Hyne (1936-38), was 'selected' by the Colonial Office at the Queen's request. Hyne had lived in Tonga for fifteen years before his appointment, as Director of Education and Secretary to the Premier. As already mentioned, he had acquired legal qualifications during those fifteen years.³⁹ Hyne was ambitious and wanted only a good report from the Palace and the Consulate against the time when he would be promoted out of the country, which happened within two years. Hyne was also appointed Judge of the Land Court and Chief European Magistrate (economy measures occasioned by the Depression).⁴⁰

During the time of Consul Neill's appointment (1927-37), the *papālangi* employed by the Government were very much under his thumb. Nevertheless, Neill complained to the High Commissioner that they continued to be over-assertive in the Privy Council.⁴¹ There were no legal crises in the second decade of Queen Sālote's reign, and by 1937 she felt secure enough to attempt to seek the resignation of the remaining irritant in her Government, the Minister for Police, Sioape Kaho.⁴² If she could get rid of Sioape, the Privy Council could truly become what she believed it should be, an advisory body that assisted her in the exercise of her prerogatives. For the time being Sioape resisted, and his actions in 1938 and 1939 must be contemplated not only in the light of his long-term opposition to both the Queen and Tungī, but also in the light of this move by the Queen to force him to resign.

Two sets of conditions allowed for an explosive situation in Tonga in 1938. Firstly, there were three recently arrived *papālangi* in key positions in Tonga: a new Consul, a new Chief Justice, and a new Secretary to the Premier. Secondly, the amalgamation of legal positions due to the Depression had been tolerable while there was a strong, legally qualified Consul, but Neill had completed his term in 1937 and his successor

³⁸ Murray-Aynsley was aged thirty-six at the time of appointment in 1931. He had been called to the Bar (Inner Temple) in 1920. He had been Attorney-General in British Honduras immediately prior to his appointment to Tonga. He was transferred to Granada in 1935. *TGG* 1 (19 January 1931) 1, and 2 (6 January 1935) 10.

³⁹ Hyne was born in 1893, had been Director of Education in Tonga since 1921, was admitted to the Bar in Queensland in 1924, made Deputy Judicial Commissioner in 1926, and was appointed Secretary to the Premier in 1932. See *TGG* 2 (13 January 1921) 3; Hyne to Tungī, 6 January 1936, BCT 1/43/92; *TGG* 6 (3 March 1938) 35.

⁴⁰ The Land Court had sat for only eight days in 1932. Report of Land Court 1932, attached to *Annual Report of CJ*, MP 244/33, Box 33/15, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library. Also *TGG* 27 (23 December 1932) 163, and 24 (28 October 1936) 175.

⁴¹ J.S. Neill to HC, 14 July 1933, WPHC:GCI 2649/33.

⁴² On the grounds not of age (Sioape was about fifty years of age in 1937), but of maladministration. Report of Ronald Garvey (para. 37), 5 September 1939, WPHC 661(S)39.

(A. L. Armstrong) did not have legal qualifications - nor did he have Neill's strength of character and experience. With the death of Scott in 1938, there were now only two legally qualified officials in the kingdom: the new Chief Justice (who was also Judge of the Land Court and Chief Magistrate) and the new Secretary to the Premier (who was also legal adviser to the Government and had limited right to private practice).

Hyne's successor was William Hemming Stuart, whose career had been mostly confined to southern Africa, and who had gained there a reputation for fearlessly exposing corruption.⁴³ Soon after his arrival, Stuart was prepared to repeat his old triumphs, for some survivors of the Opposition Party were ready to fill his ears with the sort of detail likely to inspire a would-be crusader. Stuart considered himself to be 'one of the loneliest sentries of [the British] Empire', even though he was not an imperial officer but an employee of the Government of Tonga.

Tungī was to be the chief victim of the events of 1938-40, for he was to be judged not as a Tongan chief (where he excelled), but as an administrator in a bureaucracy, which was low-key, to say the least. Tungī's and the Queen's interests demanded that he be Premier, but he had filled the role in a peculiarly Tongan way. Indeed, Tungī had depended on McOwan or Neill to advise him on what must have appeared to him to be merely the window-dressing of government, while he exercised his role as traditional leader on a grand scale. Tungī was to die in 1941, his reputation still unjustly affected by the events orchestrated by Chief Justice Stuart.

Things went wrong for Stuart from the very beginning of his stay in Tonga.⁴⁴ He and his wife had anticipated that their status would be second only to that of the Consul and his wife. So the first blow for the Stuarts was to find that that social position was already occupied by William Garfield Bagnall (Minister for Finance) and his wife. The Stuarts also expected to be habitués of the Palace, but found that Queen Sālote rarely entertained *papālangi*. Only the Consul and the Queen's chaplain (Rodger Page) had frequent access to the Palace, and then only upon request. As for Tungī, his leisure time was spent on his estate, drinking kava, or at the Nuku'alofa Club. Stuart felt slighted when Tungī preferred the company of an inferior official, his new Secretary and legal adviser, A. G. Lowe, with whom he shared an interest in farming.

Salt was rubbed in the Stuarts' wounds when Bagnall refused to approve payment by the Tonga Government of their excess fares and baggage. And Bagnall was living in the house that had been occupied by chief justices prior to Hyne's time, while the house assigned to the Stuarts was in need of repair, and these repairs were not

⁴³ Sir Cosmo Parkinson (Colonial Office) to HC (telegram) 27 May 1930, WPHC:GCI 170(S)39. W. H. Stuart was born in 1883, educated in South Africa, admitted to the Bar in London (Middle Temple) in 1909. He had been legal adviser to the Paramount Chiefs of Basutoland and Pondoland, and a Member of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa. HC to A. L. Armstrong, 25 March 1938, BCT 1/43/92. Maude (Acting Consul 1941) has described him as 'fifth class, a derelict man'.

⁴⁴ An account of the troubles in Tonga at this time is given in Garvey Report (see note 42) and its appendixes. See also correspondence for 1938-40, especially in WPHC:GCI 2354/39, BCT 1/43/92, and WPHC 170(S)39.

commenced until after their arrival. Also, Bagnall chose to address the Privy Council in Tongan, so Stuart heard Bagnall's opinions only through an interpreter.

The Stuarts fed on their grievances and thus magnified them. In truth, Bagnall was nothing like as powerful as Stuart assumed, for the Consul had the final say on all financial matters. It was true, however, that Bagnall enjoyed some advantages because of his long residence in Tonga, and Mrs Bagnall had some access to the Palace, for she sometimes acted as an honorary social secretary to the Queen.

The Stuarts' free airing of their opinions to all and sundry - including details of what went on in Privy Council and the Chief Justice's predictions on what Privy Council decisions would be - served to alienate those *papālangi* residents who did not wish to have any part in Tongan politics, and surprised the Tongans, most of whom were not accustomed to hearing about such matters.

When Consul Armstrong refused to take sides in this quarrel, Stuart assumed that Armstrong was under Bagnall's thumb. Stuart alleged that a *camarilla* ruled Tonga, and that it consisted of Tungī, Armstrong, Bagnall and Lowe. Stuart claimed that the Queen was ignorant of what was going on in her Government. But when Stuart persisted in attacking Bagnall in Privy Council and Cabinet, the Queen suspended the meetings of both councils.

Stuart took advantage of a court case in which a Treasury clerk was convicted of embezzlement to attack both Bagnall and Tungī. In a fifty-one-page judgement, he stated that the clerk was Bagnall's pimp, that Bagnall had been a party to the clerk's thefts, that Bagnall had perjured himself, and that Tungī had protected both Bagnall and the clerk.⁴⁵

On the day that Stuart gave his judgement (5 May 1939), Queen Sālote wrote to the High Commissioner asking that Stuart be removed from Tonga. She told the High Commissioner that what she most disliked about Stuart's behaviour was that he strengthened 'the element ever ready to create faction and destructively criticise the Government'.⁴⁶ Unaware of this letter, Stuart claimed to be the 'hero of the hour', and saw himself introducing parliamentary democracy to Tonga, presumably with the Queen as a constitutional monarch along British lines.

Some of Stuart's supporters believed that he had promised to give them titles and estates. A petition from 1,100 persons asked for the dismissal of all the ministers except Sioape Kaho and Stuart.⁴⁷ The Queen delayed calling the Parliament beyond the time allowed by the Constitution, hoping that the Colonial Office would remove Stuart, as she had requested. However, when the answer came from London it was to the effect that removal of Stuart might suggest that there was some truth in his claims of maladministration.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Judgement in the Palu case, 5 May 1939, BCT 1/43/92.

⁴⁶ Queen to HC, 5 May 1939, WPHC 170(S)39.

⁴⁷ Appendix ix to Garvey Report.

⁴⁸ HC to Armstrong, 22 May, and Armstrong to HC (telegram), 6 July, Parkinson to HC (telegram), 27 May, and SofSCol. to HC, 8 July 1939, WPHC 170(S)39.

So Queen Sālote summoned Parliament, but only after asking Bagnall and Sioape Kaho for their resignations, and appointing their successors.⁴⁹ The Members of Parliament had a field day, re-introducing favourite projects and causes. Of course, the Privy Council was under no obligation to take any notice of parliamentary motions, and the Queen was not going to be intimidated on this occasion. There was a visit from a representative of the Western Pacific High Commission (Ronald Garvey), and the promise of an inquiry into the administration. The declaration of the European war in September kept everyone occupied with the 'war effort' for the remainder of 1939.

When Parliament met in 1940, some of Sioape's supporters introduced a Bill to impeach all of the ministers except Stuart and the new Minister for Finance (H. E. Nicolson): that is, the high chiefs Tungī, Ata, Tu'iha'ateiho and 'Ulukalala Ha'amea, and the *matāpule* 'Akau'ola.⁵⁰ Sioape's supporters obviously hoped that Stuart, who would preside over the impeachment proceedings, would flesh out their accusations and bring down the Government, as he had often predicted. However, the impeachment proceedings collapsed, both because of the difficulty in substantiation of the charges and because of the lack of the nerve that was required to accuse chiefs of such high rank. Some of the charges were withdrawn, and in no case was there a vote of more than two for conviction. Perhaps Stuart had discovered that his Tongan allies were less interested in reform and parliamentary democracy than in revenge for old defeats and in hopes for an increase in their individual status. Stuart's notes on the proceedings are very sketchy, especially when compared with his fifty-one-page document on the Treasury clerk's embezzlement.

Stuart's loss of interest may have been due to his adoption of a new role. Instead of being the reformer of the Government of Tonga, he was now the self-appointed leader of counter-espionage. He was convinced that the Japanese were about to invade Tonga, and that only a watchful eye and an occasional issue of live ammunition to the newly formed Tonga Defence Force would hold the Japanese back.

Also, Stuart began to fancy himself as the wartime leader of Tonga, as a small-scale Winston Churchill. Without consulting either the Privy Council or the Consul (as required by Constitution and Treaty) he introduced a Wartime Contingencies Bill, providing that 'absolute power is hereby placed in the hands of Her Majesty in Council', and that 'the Queen in Council is given special and absolute powers to deal with all aliens in any matter whatsoever'. The repeated phrase 'Queen in Council' shows clearly that Stuart intended the Bill to deprive the Consul of his right to advise the Queen, and Tungī of his powers as Premier, and to have the Queen and the Privy Council under his thumb.

The only explanation for Stuart's extraordinary conduct was that he had been deceived by the Queen's courtesy and reticence into believing that he could bully and manipulate her in the Privy Council once this Bill was passed. The Bill was

⁴⁹ Armstrong to Queen, 17 July 1939, WPHC:GCI 2784/39; Armstrong to HC, 17 July 1939, BCT 1/43/92; TGG 13 (26 July 1939) 58. The Queen asked for Bagnall's resignation in an attempt to avoid a public row, which she felt that Stuart was determined upon. Sioape's resignation evened the score.

⁵⁰ For proceedings of Parliament in 1940 and Stuart's related activities, see TGG 1 (10 January 1941) 1-6; *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 11:1 (August 1940) 21; Armstrong to HC, 28 July 1940, BCT 1/43/92; also WPHC 170(S)39.

indeed passed by the Parliament, and sent to Queen Sālote for her assent. Instead of refusing outright to give her assent, the Queen sent it to the High Commissioner for his comment. The Queen had already written to the High Commissioner, on the day the impeachment proceedings had collapsed, to ask once again for the recall of Stuart. In writing to the Colonial Office, the High Commissioner recommended the removal of Stuart, because, he said, Stuart was a 'menace to good government', and because of the Queen's 'helpful and loyal attitude' in connection with the war.⁵¹

Stuart left Tonga in October 1940. The Acting Consul (H. E. Maude) carried out an inquiry into the administration, and suggested minor changes, but concluded that most of Stuart's allegations were without foundation. It was felt that the root of the trouble in the Stuart affair was the combination of judicial with legislative and executive functions in the Chief Justice's duties. One difficulty in rectifying this situation was that if the Constitution was amended to remove the Chief Justice from the Privy Council, the Privy Council as a Court of Appeal would either have no legal member or would have a legal adviser who would be reviewing his superior's legal judgements. Queen Sālote did not wish for a constitutional amendment to exclude the Chief Justice from Privy Council and Parliament, as she felt amendments to the Constitution should be avoided on principle. So High Commissioner Sir Harry Luke recommended that the Chief Justice of Fiji come on tour to Tonga when required.⁵² If the new Chief Justice was to visit Tonga only two or three times a year, he could be a nominal Minister.

A new appointee, Secretary to Government, became the legal adviser to the Government, but he would not have a seat in Privy Council.⁵³ Since 1950, a *papālangi* resident Judge of the Supreme Court has been appointed, who is also legal adviser to the Government. Between 1940 and 1960 only one *papālangi* attended Privy Council meetings regularly: the Minister for Finance. In 1960 the Queen appointed a Tongan as Minister for Finance. Since the revision of the Treaty of Friendship in 1970, the position of Chief Justice of Tonga has been allowed to remain unclear.⁵⁴ The difficulties that Queen Sālote and Tungī had with the *papālangi* chief justices must have been a powerful factor in their decision that the eldest of their sons should study Law at Sydney University. And, for all his *papālangi* ways, the Privy Council under Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV functions very much like the traditional council of an all-powerful chief, just as Queen Sālote and Tungī always felt it should.

In recent years, the dangers of concentration of powers in a few hands (sanctioned by Shirley Baker's Constitution) have again been demonstrated. A court case in which

⁵¹ HC to SofSCol., 15 August 1940, *ibid.*

⁵² Same to same (telegram), 28 November, Armstrong to HC, 22 December 1940, WPHC:GCI 4575/40; HC to SofSCol., 15 December 1941, vol. 1941.

⁵³ Maude 1942.

⁵⁴ In 1950 a resident Judge of the Supreme Court was appointed who was also legal adviser to the Government (*Annual Report of the Supreme Court of Tonga, 1950*). In 1969 the CJ paid his first visit and attended his first Privy Council meeting since 1966 (*Annual Report 1969*). In 1973 H. S. Roberts, resident Judge since 1963 was appointed CJ (*Annual Report 1973*), but this has not been the case with his successors. There is no resident CJ of Tonga (presumably none will be named until a constitutional crisis demands his presence, e.g. a CJ would have to hear the impeachment of a Minister). At present, Tevita Tupou is the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice.

a lawyer sought to challenge corruption among the Members of Parliament (ten appointed by the King, nine by a handful of estate-holders, and nine by the other 100,000 Tongans) was unsuccessful on the grounds that the Members of Parliament have a legal right to determine their own allowances. In November 1988 a petition signed by 8,000 people was presented to the King asking for a change in the laws that allowed the misuse of public funds.

15

Motivations for Contemporary Tongan Migration

WENDY E. COWLING*

The emigration of Tongans has dramatically increased since 1975. This paper offers an insight into Tongan perceptions of the factors motivating this movement. The information on which the paper is based was obtained in Sydney during 1985, and in Tonga in 1986 during four months' fieldwork. The methods used included formal interviews based on a questionnaire, informal interviews, and participant observation. This study continued in 1987, when fieldwork was undertaken in Tonga from January 1987 until January 1988. Fieldwork among the Sydney Tongan migrant community has continued throughout 1988.

MIGRATION CAN BE SEEN AS A PROCESS IN WHICH LARGE NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES begin to write a new history for themselves. The initial act of leaving one's parents, family, neighbourhood, society and culture, and adopting a new life- and work-style is a crucial one. Only a small proportion of people who enter a migration process, or who have participated in major migration movements in the past, have had a clear perception of what they were going to encounter, or the extent to which their lives were going to change. While it is very likely that a large proportion of the individual migrants are the forerunners in a migration which will ultimately involve other members of their kin network, they are not usually able to foresee this at the time.

Leaving aside the effect of wars in creating large numbers of refugees, it must be recognised that throughout the world most large-scale migratory moves during the past twenty-five years have primarily been the movement of labour. In the 1960s internal migration in many of the then less developed countries in Latin America and in Asia

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and Africa was seen as a necessary function in the development process.¹ Little of this rural-urban migration was organised or controlled by governments. Most rural-urban migration was precipitated by rural poverty, landlessness, and to some extent was influenced by development decisions and aid or funding decisions made by developed countries and international organisations, for the new industrial development tended to be located in cities.

International migration has tended to be much more controlled, particularly by developed economies in Europe and by countries such as Australia and New Zealand. In the period immediately following the Second World War both Australia and New Zealand found they needed more people to fill the gap left by the low birth rate prevailing during the economically depressed 1930s. Much of this labour was needed to undertake work in development projects and in the expansion of industries and manufacturing. Most of the people in the initial stages of the post-war migration programme were recruited and sponsored from Great Britain, and from the large numbers of northern European 'Displaced Persons'.² Considerable numbers of southern Europeans entered Australia unassisted by the Government, having been sponsored by family members resident in Australia.³ The 'family reunion' immigration programme has continued as an important contribution to the total annual migrant intake in Australia, although it is subject to changes in Government policy, and in recent years has been severely curtailed in favour of a more selective migration programme.

During the four decades since the end of the Second World War emigration by Pacific Island people has been one of the major factors and influences in determining the economic, social and political situation of the region.⁴ Bertram and Watters have identified a number of island states in Western Polynesia as "Mirab' economies or societies' meaning that a society and its economy are shaped and affected by out-migration, by funding from the remittances of their overseas migrants, by aid from a variety of government and non-government agencies, and by the model of bureaucratic administration which has been developed, influenced by a British-derived colonial model. Income from external sources, that is from remittances from expatriates and from aid donors, far exceeds that earned from internal sources, including exports.⁵ Bertram and Watters' work covers the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Kiribati and Tuvalu, but their theory and model can also be applied to Western Samoa and to Tonga. In regard to Tonga they noted:

in 1976 [Tongan] export earnings were equivalent to 36 percent of imports, while overseas remittances, donations and gifts accounted for 52 percent. In 1980, following an apparent

¹ See Todaro 1976:1.

² Between 1947 and 1961 811,000 males and 661,000 females migrated to Australia, a total of 1,472,000. This includes 171,000 'displaced persons' who entered Australia between 1949 and 1951. See Borrie and Spencer 1965:16-17.

³ Collins 1988:20-24; see also Birrell and Birrell 1987:51-58.

⁴ Cf. Watters 1987:35.

⁵ Bertram and Watters 1985.

sharp increase in aid inflows, exports were down to 23 percent of imports and remittances, donations and gifts to 34 percent.⁶

In Tonga village-based subsistence agriculture is still an important contributor to the sustenance of much of the population. However, there are problems in relation to access to and availability of land suitable for subsistence agriculture, with a paradoxical situation of under-utilisation of land due to uncertainty about ownership and use rights, or loss of much of a village's younger male labour force due to internal or external migration.

In the late 1970s Hau'ofa addressed the twin problems of rapid population growth in Tonga, and the concomitant effect on the islands' environment. He compared the situation of the Kingdom in the 1970s with that of the 1950s, when the economy was self-sufficient and there was much less reliance on imported foodstuffs, or on foreign aid.⁷ Tonga has 170 islands, with a total land mass of 699 km. Only thirty-six of these islands are inhabited, due to lack of adequate water or other resources. There has been a steady decline in the population growth rate in Tonga and in the computation of the results of the 1986 census it was revealed that the growth rate was 0.48 percent in the decade 1976 to 1986. This low figure is due more to out-migration than responsiveness to family planning programmes. In 1986 the total population figure was 96,592 persons, with 66,420 persons, slightly more than two-thirds of the total population, resident on Tongatapu, 28,899 of these resident in Nuku'alofa.⁸ Each census has indicated a steady increase in the population of Nuku'alofa due to internal migration.

Each island group in the South Pacific has a different migration story. As will be seen the Australian connection with Tonga is of long standing, but what is most relevant is the on-going effects of the New Zealand negotiation of short-term contractual agreements for labour power with Tonga and Samoa in the early 1970s. The contract terms were not long enough for workers to achieve earning goals. When New Zealand decided it did not need those workers any longer, many Tongans and Samoans overstayed, consequently coming into conflict with the New Zealand immigration laws. In 1975 this led to dramatic confrontations between police and overstayers.⁹ This history encouraged some Tongans resident in New Zealand to move on to Australia, which became an increasingly desired destination for people seeking out-migration opportunities.

New Zealand offered a classic demonstration of the use of migrant labour as a secondary, or replacement force.¹⁰ Where industrial enterprises are somewhat moribund, without capital for re-structuring or the purchase of new technology, there is a tendency to employ migrant labour to replace local workers who have gone elsewhere seeking higher wages and better conditions. Conversely, an increase in

⁶ Bertram and Watters 1985:506-7.

⁷ Hau'ofa 1977:14-15.

⁸ Some data from the 1986 Population Census was released by the Tongan Government's Statistics Department on 5 August 1987. See Anonymous. 'Census show declining growth rate', *Tonga Today*, 1:3 August 1987:54-6.

⁹ See de Bres and Campbell 1975.

¹⁰ Cf. Gibson 1983.

mechanisation in some industries has led to de-skilling of much of their workforce. Again, local workers may move elsewhere to be replaced by unskilled migrant workers.

The pattern in New Zealand and Australian industry has been similar. In Australia manufacturers of goods such as food items and cars, the demand for which is subject to seasonal or market fluctuations, tend to utilise casual and part-time labour, in preference to full-time permanent workers, and the workforce usually includes a large number of migrants and women, migrant and Australian-born. Enterprises in the service sector, characterised by low wages and difficult working hours or conditions, for example transport services, hospitals, hotels and restaurants, also utilise migrant labour. World-wide, clothing manufacturers and manufacturers of small items utilise the system of out-work whereby piece workers are paid very low rates for their sewing, or the assemblage or packaging of goods. In Australia large numbers of migrant women have been recruited for this work, including recent arrivals such as the Tongans and Cook Islanders.

Tongans in Australia

Workers from a number of Pacific Island groups are following in the steps of previous groups of immigrants to Australia, the most recent being those from Turkey, Lebanon and Indo-China. Many of the migrants from Turkey, Lebanon and Indo-China have entered the Australian workforce by way of less popular industries and jobs. A number of these migrants having fulfilled capital-raising goals, have left the wage-earning sector to begin small businesses, utilising members of their nuclear and extended families as labour. The willingness of Australian employers to employ Pacific Islands workers from Fiji, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands and Tonga has not been matched by a willingness of the Australian government to offer assistance or concessions, such as temporary or permanent residence visas, to those wishing to enter Australia from these countries. People originally from island groups where New Zealand had a colonial interest, such as the Cook Islands, Niue, and Western Samoa, may have permanent residence visas for New Zealand, enabling them to enter and remain in Australia relatively easily. Numbers of Tongans who have residence rights in New Zealand have also moved to Australia.

The Tongan migrant presence up until 1985 tended to be almost invisible to the majority of the Australian population. They have not experienced much overt racism and hostility such as that offered to groups like the Indo-Chinese. This is due, in part, to the fact that they were not seen as permanent migrants and in part to the romantic view of the Pacific held by many Australians. In addition, most Tongans are committed to goals which encourage assent to a work ethic, making them valuable employees. Wages in Australia are much higher than in Tonga, so people accept the problems and sacrifices inherent in shift work, uncongenial factory or work environments, and even exploitation, as the working period is often considered or intended to be short. They may, during the early period of their stay in Australia, accept below award wages. Networking by Tongan migrants through church, or family and friendship contacts frequently enables the placement of workers and the

communication of information about work availability, 'better' jobs, opportunities for temporary work, and more acceptable wage levels.

From the 1950s to 1970 only a small number of Tongans had permanent residence in Australia. Most of these were women who had married Australians, following nursing or teacher training in Australia, or who had met and married Australians or other Europeans in Tonga. There were also a small number of wholly Tongan families resident in Australia, but they were scattered, and often had little contact with each other. During this period there was always a small group of Tongan students, royal, noble and élite, attending school in Methodist church schools, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney.

There were strong sentimental links between Tongans and Australia because of the Australian Methodist Church's relationship with the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga. Contact between missionary families from Australia and Tongan families was often maintained on the return of the missionaries to Australia. In the 1950s, the Australian Methodist Church sponsored Tongan women to train as nurses at a Church-operated hospital in Sydney, where they also maintained a hostel for Tongan students. Hence, during this period, many of those Tongans who sought permanent residence in Australia had church connections and support. The Methodist links were often an influential factor in choosing Australia as a place of residence, whether temporary or permanent, as the rate of Tongan migration increased from 1970.

The year 1970 can be counted as the beginning point of a steadier flow of Tongan immigrants, many of whom entered Australia following residence in Fiji or in New Zealand. In the early 1970s a small community of Pacific Islanders began a regular combined Methodist church service in central Sydney. In 1974 the Methodist Board of Missions in Australia and the Pacific Islander Methodist community, comprised mainly of Tongans, Samoans, Rotumans and Fijians, sent a request to the Pacific Island churches for a Pacific Island minister. This congregation continued to function as a united body until 1986, when ministers began to be appointed to work with congregations comprised solely of Tongans, or Samoans, or Fijians or Rotumans. The funds for the support of these ministers were raised by their respective communities. There are also a number of Tongan church congregations in cities on the eastern seaboard linked with Methodist-derived churches in Tonga and New Zealand, or functioning independently. Other denominations such as the Church of England, the Congregationalists, the Assemblies of God, the Mormons, and the Seventh Day Adventists, also have Pacific Islander congregations.

By 1975 the number of Tongan residents in Australia had grown considerably, and it has continued to increase from that year. This was largely due to the cessation of the contract worker scheme agreement between New Zealand and Tonga and Samoa, when Australia came to be seen as a possible source of employment. In the late 1960s and early 1970s tourist visas were relatively easy to obtain for people from the Pacific, and the permanent Tongan population included legal residents and an increasing number of overstayers. The status of some of the latter was eventually legalised during Australian government amnesties in 1974, 1976 and 1980. In 1981 a small 'permanent population' of Tongans (almost 1,500) was recorded in the Australian national census as resident in Sydney. This was the first time the Tongan

community was counted separately from a category of residents originating in 'Oceania'. The figure is not an accurate record as numbers would have been recorded as being New Zealander in origin, and many overstayers encouraged their hosts not to include them in household enumeration. By 1985 the Tongans were classed by the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs as an 'emergent population'.¹¹ A small amount of welfare assistance was directed by this Department to the Tongan community to fund a part-time Tongan welfare worker in Sydney.¹²

By the end of 1986 there were approximately 8,000 Tongans in Australia, with an estimated 6,000 resident in the Sydney metropolitan area.¹³ The major portion of the population is concentrated in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, with small communities in Canberra-Queanbeyan, Newcastle and Wollongong. At least one third of this population is comprised of children and elderly relatives, including parents of non-working age. The Tongan communities in these cities, particularly those connected with major denominational church congregations, comprise large family networks. Members of these churches and kin networks also maintain additional formal and informal connections based on their village of origin, school attended in Tonga, *kava*-drinking groups, workplace, and, to a lesser extent, their residential location in Australia.

Migration and Concepts of the Family

In Tonga the past, and the traditions of the past, including those affecting personal relations, tend to be discussed in an idealised form and in a lineal time frame. This obscures the continual process of the formation and the restructuring of societal attitudes and behaviour which has taken place since the development of what Marcus has called 'the compromise culture' - a 'complex of institutions, ideas, and practices, which integrated earlier Tongan culture with a version of Papalangi (European) culture ...'.¹⁴ The traditionalist's view of societal functioning sidesteps many issues, particularly the issue of the control of production relations and the exercise of power. In the past the aspect of love (*'ofa*) which encompassed the notion of love as caring, underpinned the Tongan custom known as *fetokoni'aki*, the sharing of things,

¹¹ Personal communication to the author from an official of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Sydney, July 1986.

¹² The funding was administered by the Pacific Islands' Council in Sydney, who also administered the funding of a part-time Fijian welfare worker from the same source.

¹³ This figure is a 'guesstimate' based on estimates by church leaders in Sydney given during interviews with the author in 1985. The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, which established a Sydney Parish in January 1986 with a full-time Tongan minister and thirteen congregations, had at that time approximately 3,000 members and adherents. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the Mormons) had between 800-1,000 members and adherents. There were an estimated 500-700 members and adherents of the Roman Catholic church, and 1000 people connected with the Tokaikolo Fellowship, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga. Other Tongan congregations exist in the Assemblies of God and Seventh Day Adventist churches. There were also a considerable number of people not maintaining church connections for various reasons or not identifying themselves with the Tongan population.

¹⁴ Marcus 1980:10.

particularly of food, not just among family members but with those who requested it.¹⁵ This value is still incorporated in the ideology of the family in Tonga.¹⁶

The prevailing ideology of the family (*fāmili*) is that it should function as a supportive, self-improvement group. The family is the provider of everything for the individual both physically and emotionally. Members of a family are said to 'belong to each other'. They should operate in a spirit of mutual love, caring for each other. This is known as *fe'ofa'ofani* in Tongan. The Kingdom of Tonga, in the ideal, is the *fāmili* writ large. The word *kāinga* is now used less frequently for the kin group related to the individual through his or her maternal and paternal grandparents. *Fāmili* has come into more common use. Tongans frequently use terms such as 'the nuclear family' and 'the extended family', acquired from Social Studies classes in school and from the media, to differentiate between the two types of relations. Although disputes may occur among *kāinga* members over land, resources, inheritance, or marriage choices, or some members of one generation in a family may compete for the affection and loyalties of nieces and nephews, a united front is presented to the stranger: 'In our *kāinga* we regard and treat everyone as the same'.

One of the crucial factors in the acceptance by Tongans of overseas migration is the historical fact of the internal migration which has taken place for several generations, influenced by the Tongan commitment to the education of children. In the past, as in the present, people moved from Ha'apai, Vava'u, 'Eua, and from Tongatapu villages distant from Nuku'alofa, to enable their children to attend church or government high schools in the capital.¹⁷ Husbands and wives accepted long periods of separation from each other, or from their homes, in order to give their children what they considered was the best start in life. There is now a high Tongan literacy rate, but there is very little waged work available for school leavers annually entering the employment market. A contributing factor is that the education system has not necessarily given the children skills which would make them employable in the context of a developing economy. There is a limited amount of formal training offered in trades such as mechanics and carpentry or in business skills. The tight job market, and a very competitive tertiary scholarship system, has influenced many families with young children to consider emigrating in order to give the children a better knowledge of English and a 'head start' in the Tongan education system on their hypothetical return.

Tongans enjoy children and the notion of large families. Informal adoption of children by close relatives is common. The view that emigration is a likely option for some young family members and the fact that remittances from relatives living abroad help with the costs of a child's support and education have weakened any commitment by many Tongans to family planning. In discussions of family life and the responsibilities of parents and children, many respondents, particularly members of the churches based on Methodism, such as the Free Wesleyan Church, the Free

¹⁵ Cf. Kavaliku 1977.

¹⁶ See Kaepler 1971 and Marcus 1975 for a full discussion of kinship categories and ranking within them.

¹⁷ Cf. Dillon 1983:51,52.

Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga and the Tokaikolo Fellowship, invariably linked their ideas on the family to ideas of religious duty, as did members of the Church of Jesus Christ Latter Day Saints (the Mormons). Replies from respondents frequently matched almost word for word, suggesting that religious teaching on the concepts of the family have been well absorbed. Justifying values and notions on the concept of the family have been abstracted from the Bible and from Christian teaching. Children are said to be 'a demonstration of the love of God', and are 'a burden for the parents to carry in love'. In turn, the children are expected to demonstrate their love and care for their parents.

A few young respondents expressed mild resentment at the expectations of their family and of society in relation to their role and responsibilities within the family network, particularly the economic contributions they were expected to make. They were frequently resentful about the assumption made by their parents of their obligations to institutions outside the family, particularly the major financial contributions elicited from adult church members through the annual *Misinale* collections in the Free Wesleyan Church, Free Church of Tonga, and Church of Tonga, and the annual collection of the Roman Catholic Church. Major contributions to these collections are also given by church members resident overseas, to supplement family giving at the local level.¹⁸ Overseas Tongan churches also make their own annual collection which is sent back to Tonga to support the home church. However, the majority of informants considered that parents had a dual responsibility to the church and to the family, and that the prosperity of the latter depended on the keeping of the former.

Both Walsh and Marcus¹⁹ have documented the importance of the family and of kin networks in Tongan life. In a discussion of internal migration in Tonga in the 1960s Walsh emphasised that the individual 'belongs more to his family than to a place'.²⁰ Family and traditional values (often one and the same) motivate and direct much of an individual's life, whether the person is resident in town or village.

Walsh continued:

It was the institution of the family which supported him [the migrant] on arrival in Nuku'alofa, and, once established and part of the family chain, he now assists close relations who remain on the home island ... It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga.

This process of kin support of an internal migrant still continues, and is perhaps one of the reasons that crime against property has not dramatically increased in spite of the high rate of urbanisation, for few individuals resident in urban areas in Tonga live outside a household arrangement.

The links of a descendant of an internal migrant with the village of his or her parents' or grandparents' origin are often still quite emotionally strong. Many Tongans, although one or two generations distant from residence in a village located

¹⁸ The *misinale* collection has had an extraordinary history. See Bollard 1975 for a discussion of how and why it began.

¹⁹ Walsh 1969; Marcus 1975, 1980, 1981.

²⁰ Walsh 1969:97.

outside Nuku'alofa, will still identify themselves by the island group or the district of Tongatapu from which their families originated. For many internal migrants Nuku'alofa was the residence of convenience, where an individual or a number of members of a family had lived in order to undertake waged work or schooling. Availability of town allotments was also a factor in attracting migrants,²¹ and the very limited amount of infrastructure improvement due to a lack of development funding being expended on island regions other than Tongatapu motivated people from these groups to move to the capital.²² The devastation of homes and farmlands caused by cyclones in 1975 and 1982 have precipitated much of the migration from Ha'apai during the past decade.

The internal migration chain has been extended by the next generation of many families from Nuku'alofa to a country overseas. It is significant that of a sample of 199 adults surveyed in 1985 in the Sydney metropolitan area, seventy-nine percent of the 183 respondents who had given the name of their island had emigrated to Australia from the island of Tongatapu. Forty-one percent of this group stated their home had been in neighbourhoods of the capital, Nuku'alofa. Only six percent had emigrated to Australia directly from Ha'apai, thirteen percent from Vava'u and almost two percent from the island of Niuatoputapu. Most of the people in the group from Vava'u had emigrated from the one village on the main island of that group. Direct emigration from villages is now on the increase, as relatives and friends follow the 'pioneers', and Pacific-wide family networks are now well-established.

Marcus in discussing the importance of the family networks which he called 'family estates' wrote:

The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position. The fact of dispersion and diverse economic activity makes contacts between members of a family periodic and by the medium of mail and messages rather than face to face.²³

In the papers published in 1975 and 1981 Marcus concentrated his discussion on the functioning of élite and middle-class family networks which had links between Tonga, New Zealand and the U.S.A.²⁴ The use by this group of overseas educational opportunities and overseas links in order to broaden the life and earning opportunities for members of the younger generation has been increasingly emulated during the past decade by families in the prosperous farmer class, and the commoner élite, whose members are well-placed in the bureaucracy, in the Free Wesleyan Church, or as business entrepreneurs. From observation, the functioning of these 'estates' and 'networks' appears to be informal rather than formal. They will be discussed in more detail later in this study.

²¹ See Dillon 1983.

²² Cf. Sevele 1973.

²³ Marcus 1975:37.

²⁴ Marcus 1975; 1981.

Motivations for Tongan Emigration

The reason most commonly given by family members remaining in Tonga or offered by those who have emigrated to Sydney was that the move overseas was motivated by the desire to 'help the family'. The majority of household members interviewed in Tonga in 1986 had at least two members of their immediate family overseas (the largest number for a household was six). These family members were resident in Australia, the United States of America (mainly in Hawaii, Utah, California, Arizona) and in New Zealand.

While Tongans living in Sydney stressed that they had moved because they needed work, or were landless, or had felt oppressed by the operation of the social system in Tonga, including the sharp class differentiation between nobles and commoners, their relatives in Tonga spoke of the migration of family members as motivated by the desire to 'help the family', 'improve the standard of living of the family', 'contribute to family pride', 'upgrade the status of the family', 'to gain more respect for the family', 'to enable the family to increase its giving to church and village projects', 'to demonstrate the love of the children for their parents', or 'to assist the development of the Kingdom'. These responses were spontaneous, and, I believe, honest. I am aware that, given the ambivalent attitude to overseas migration often expressed by some members of the élite working in the bureaucracy, or by those who do not have any desire to leave, some people may have felt the need to construct a rationale which offers an acceptable explanation for a person's departure. However, the emigration of Tongans, while frequently motivated by notions of assisting the family materially, is also influenced by another important principle of Tongan life, that of the individual choosing a course of action as an independent person - 'to please oneself' (a Tongan expression).

In 1987, almost eighty-six percent of a sample of seventy-five respondents interviewed in Tonga stated that family members such as sisters, brothers, husbands, daughters and sons, had emigrated in order 'to help the family'. They had obtained insufficient income in Tonga to enable them to do this to their satisfaction (See Table 1). The remaining people in this sample group stated that relatives had left because of their desire 'to see the world', or for education, or for holidays. This group gave no economic reason for the departure of family members, that is, they considered their household was self-sufficient. Nevertheless, a number of these respondents received remittances, particularly for special occasions.

TABLE 1: REASONS FOR DEPARTURE

No job in Tonga	53.00%
For better paid work	32.90%
Holidays, etc.*	9.50%
Education	4.60%
	<hr/>
	100.00

Notes: Based on sample of seventy-five households = 188 emigrants. The survey was undertaken in seventeen villages in Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u.

* Most of this group were in fact working while resident overseas.

The occupation of those people in the sample shown in Table 1 whose family members gave the reason for emigration as 'No job in Tonga' was student or 'farmer'. 'Farmer' in Tonga usually means the person is working on a family farm ('*api 'uta*) and receiving no wage payment. Many men in Tonga today have reached sixty years of age without experiencing any regular or long term paid employment, while others have had no paid employment of any kind.²⁵ It is not unusual to find that a job overseas is the first waged labour a man or a woman has performed since leaving school. A number of those who had left Tonga seeking 'better paid work' had been employed in the Tongan Public Service, and included people who were formerly clerks, teachers, policemen, nurses, soldiers, technicians, and tradesmen.

In his discussions of emigration in Tonga Marcus²⁶ suggested that commoner migration has occurred partly in emulation of noble and élite family emigration and the formation by those families of networks to manage the resources accumulated. Marcus tended to undervalue the negative influence of the nobility, or the strong negative perception by many commoners in Tonga of the nobility and of the élite. In fairness to Marcus it is obvious that, allied with some degree of social change, there has also been an increase in open criticism and questioning of social organisation and of the handling of political and economic power in Tonga in recent years. These questions do not tend to be raised by members of the nobility, but some of the critics are members of élite families. I believe some emulation of *commoner* strategies has occurred among the nobility and royalty to the extent that members of the royal family and some senior members of noble lineages are now investing in commercial enterprises, including manufacturing.

There are paradoxes in the Tongan commitment to 'tradition'. The desire and pressure to conform to traditional values appears to be strong, particularly on occasions such as the celebrations and funerals of nobility. At these times people resident in the villages and hamlets on the noble's estate will provide food, mats, painted lengths of bark cloth (*ngatu*) and other tributes in their role as the symbolic family of the noble (*kāinga*). However, what sometimes seems to be a great devotion by commoners to their traditional obligations may conceal a considerable amount of self-interest. A client known and seen to be dedicated to serving a noble estate-holder might hope to be rewarded with a sympathetic response when he wants land or assistance in some other matter. I found many Tongans in Australia expressed an unprompted resentment of the domination of society and resources by the nobility and the élite. There was less discussion of class issues in Tonga itself by respondents, but this is not surprising, in that the Sydney residents felt freer to express their opinion on this issue. In addition, many of the household heads whom I interviewed in Tonga were middle-aged and somewhat conservative in their views.

²⁵ Some older men interviewed who gave their occupation as 'farmer' had worked for wages during World War II, or had worked during a long stay in town during the education of their children. One or two, while resident in Nuku'alofa, had taken up occupations in the informal sector, making artefacts for tourists and resuming full time farming on the completion of their children's secondary education.

²⁶ Marcus 1975; 1981.

The perception of many Tongan commoners is that there are three ways they can circumvent the domination of the nobility and non-noble élite in Tongan society. One way has been by the encouragement and support of family members to obtain post-secondary education to enable them to become upwardly mobile and penetrate the perceived hold by the noble and non-noble élite on jobs in the bureaucracy. Government jobs provide secure incomes, and some power, through access to decision-making. Some higher echelon public servants are able to utilise their guaranteed income as a basis for expansion of business interests, including the production of cash crops for export. Not only do members of the élite employed in government have financial resources, enabling them to obtain substantial loan funding from the Tongan Development Bank, they also have a network of contacts to enable them to confidently deal with applications for business and export licences, etc. They may also have a spouse engaged in business enterprises or waged work and thus earning an income which enables risk-taking in projects requiring loans.

Out-migration for post-secondary training or to widen job opportunities was available in the period 1950-1975, but for only a relatively small group of people. Favoured occupations for men were the practice of medicine, teaching, administration, trades, and the Christian ministry, with nursing and teaching favoured for women. The number of scholarships sponsored by the Government, the churches, and through aid agreements with foreign governments, has increased, as has the possible range of occupations. Qualifications gained by nurses and teachers in Tonga are not accepted as sufficient for employment in these occupations in Australia, but would enable the holders to gain entry into up-grading or other educational programmes.

The second way for commoners to circumvent domination by the financial and political élite of Tonga is through the temporary migration of some members of a family in order to amass resources which can be used to improve or develop family enterprises in Tonga. If the migrant is married and able (and willing) to shift his whole family, the move is usually justified by a belief that the children will be advantaged by attendance at an English language school. Single men and women (employed and unemployed in Tonga) and deserted wives have also taken up opportunities for short-term wage earning overseas. They are usually funded and sponsored by relatives already resident overseas, who give them accommodation and may help them get work. Women who are qualified teachers or nurses are taking unskilled factory work or work as nurses' aides, cleaners or fruitpickers, in order to fulfil short-term earning goals. In Australia only a small number of Tongan men and women have obtained white collar work or are in professional occupations as yet. The possibility of extending their opportunities to meet potential marriage partners, whether Tongan or European, has also become an increasingly important motivator for the migration of single women. Short-term stays may be from three months to two years, depending on a person's success in negotiating and extending a visitor's visa, or on their deciding to remain as an illegal overstayer.

The third way to overcome domination by the Tongan élite is to make a permanent migratory move, accepting the possibility that there may be no permanent return to Tonga. Many of the people who see themselves as sojourners will in fact not return, particularly if they can obtain residence rights in their new country. They may revise

their future plans, deciding to remain in Australia until a child finishes secondary or tertiary education, or until they themselves amass sufficient savings to begin a small business in Tonga. They may return to Tonga for holidays on a regular basis, and work to recruit other members of their immediate and extended families to join them in Australia.

The Custodian/Broker and the Family Networks

What is now in place is an invisible trapezoid-shaped movement across the Pacific. People, money, goods, ideas and influences, are in motion virtually all the time. The lines run to and from Tonga, with the main connexion points located at Apia (Western Samoa), Pago Pago (American Samoa), Honolulu (Hawaii), Los Angeles and San Diego (California) and Salt Lake City (Utah). There are also a considerable number of Tongans in cities and towns in Texas and Arizona. In the southern Pacific the connection points are located in New Zealand, at Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, with populations in most of the provincial cities, and in Australia in the capital cities and provincial towns on the eastern seaboard.

Key individual members of these family networks can be found in Tonga, and in Tongan communities abroad. These individuals are important in the family decision-making process which can affect the movements of some family members. I do not want to give the impression that there is a formal or an informal election process in each family group or extended family group, whereby an individual takes over most of the decision-making. The process does not work that way. Consultations between some family members living in Tonga and overseas occur about many matters. Those involved are family members of two generations (say parents and grown-up married children), and they are canvassed for their opinion or for offers of financial support for fares, for projects, and for assistance with finding accommodation for a newly migrating relative or friend. Arrangements for a visa sponsorship may be sought through this individual by family members who are not in close contact with their relatives or with friendly foreign citizens living in the destination country. This consultation process has been assisted by the improvement of telecommunications within and between Tonga and the outside world. The telephone is the major form of communication between families in Tonga and their relatives living abroad.

The facilitator, or clearing-house as it were, for decisions and money movements is frequently located in Tonga, resident in Nuku'alofa. This person is likely to have had a higher education, and may have business expertise, with a sound knowledge of how arrangements can be made for travel, for banking, for importing and exporting goods. Overseas, help is often sought from Tongan travel agents, church ministers, or people with some experience of the host society and in handling transactions, to assist in moving money or people. Many of the arrangements are *ad hoc* because the movement of people to other countries depends on visa allocation, and on the financial resources of a family at the time a decision needs to be made.

These key members often have custodianship of family property and land in Tonga. They may be compensated for this custodianship, or for the care of aged parents remaining in Tonga, by substantial gifts from the members living abroad. However,

on the whole, the duty is usually more burdensome than profitable. The intermediary's role may involve difficult negotiations or involve time spent in dealing with remittances on behalf of other family members. For example, money may not be sent to a wife by a husband living abroad, but through the agency of the husband's brother or sister, in order that they might ensure the money is spent as the husband wishes.

The work of the custodian/broker in a migrant community can be quite onerous. Some of these people have developed their family helping role into financially rewarding work as a full-time broker for members of the Tongan community, and operate as tax or travel agents. Others have utilised their experience as intermediary between Tongans and the host community to enter the host country's bureaucracy. Others have moved from informal leadership roles to formal ones, such as becoming full-time, unordained church ministers, giving their brokerage role an extra dimension. The notion of a cultural arbiter or broker is well accepted by Tongans. However, the broker is vulnerable to criticisms such as 'getting above themselves', 'conceited', 'showing off', 'flying high', or even to accusations of dishonesty and of obtaining too many advantages from their role.

The operation of the family network which I have described is somewhat different from the operation of a 'family estate' described by Marcus.²⁷ Many 'family estates' have been formalised as business enterprises in Tonga in which a number of members of one family, usually siblings, or parents and children are involved and employed. These enterprises may have branches in overseas countries, usually located in a neighbourhood in which numbers of Tongans reside. They usually operate businesses which supply goods and services, such as travel agents, purveyors of vegetables such as yams and taro, and other food lines sought by immigrant Pacific Islanders. Alternatively, a relative in an overseas country will be the chief contact to ensure that the owners of a business in Tonga regularly receive supplies of parts, equipment, second-hand clothing, etc. Tongan businessmen with enterprises in overseas countries will usually keep a network operating whereby they will place relatives or fellow villagers in the business when the newcomers arrive from Tonga. People in managerial or supervisory positions will also act as 'gatekeepers' for the placement of new migrants. It is quite likely that in any year a number of family estates will be created by sections of Tongan family networks when a business enterprise is formally established which draws on capital and skills from among members of an extended family.

Children tend to be dealt with somewhat arbitrarily (to European eyes) in the family networks. Small children may be sent as companions to elderly grandparents living abroad, or are returned to grandparents, or aunts or other relatives in Tonga for long-term care. Nieces and nephews are sent abroad to their parents' siblings, to enable them to attend school. These movements often seem to occur on impulse; for example, someone is returning to Tonga or to the migrant's host country and it is decided that a child should accompany them.

²⁷ Marcus 1975:37.

One important area of decision-making may involve the need for an increased investment in the education of younger family members. The number of scholarships available in Tonga for tertiary education abroad is limited, and they may be tied to specific degrees and government departments. While investment in overseas tertiary education may be considered as likely to contribute to the increased prestige and eventual affluence of at least a section of the family, this is not the sole motivation. The personality of the individual and of the individual's parents are important. There will be more co-operation and help given if the young relative is particularly well-regarded and is clearly hardworking. Members of the *kāinga* of both the parents may be called on to contribute towards assisting a young man or woman to study overseas, without any assurance of an immediate return. As the young people of one household, or section of a kin network, complete their education, it is not unusual to find that their parents have assumed responsibility for younger nieces, nephews and cousins, and that the educated, employed senior cousin will be expected to contribute to their education, or to other projects which will benefit members of the kin set. This expectation of some sort of repayment can place an undue burden on educated and employed young people, for they are frequently expected to contribute financially, physically and emotionally to maintain at least some of their close kin, particularly parents and brothers and sisters. It is considered shameful not to assist, or offer to assist, close relatives, when this help is requested, or appears necessary.

The obverse of helping the 'good' young members of a family is the view that residence overseas can be an educational and reforming experience. 'Difficult' young men - unemployed, bored with village life, perhaps falling in love unsuitably, or getting into trouble occasionally with the police over drunkenness, fights, or for making illegal home-brewed 'beer', will be offered the opportunity to leave Tonga. While they may be sponsored by relatives at home and in the destination abroad, many of these young men keep well away from the activities of the Tongan community. Some of them reform, settle down, perhaps get married, and regularly send remittances home. Others who get into trouble in their new place of residence may find themselves reported to the Immigration authorities as overstayers, and deported.

Who goes? Who stays?

The prevailing ideology of the family in Tonga as a supportive, self-improvement group, in which members are motivated by notions of filial piety and filial duty, while useful as a means of social and political control, is now being utilised by working and middle class commoners as a rationalisation for out-migration, whether temporary or permanent. It is simplistic to say that the motivation for a great deal of Tongan out-migration is the desire for higher incomes and the acquisition of goods, although this is how it is regarded by many members of the Tongan élite. They often have an equally simplistic solution. Ignoring facts such as landlessness, or mal-distribution of land resources, and the large numbers of young people who annually reach the age of fifteen years without the prospect of future paid employment, they are likely to state: 'All Tonga needs to prosper is for the farmers to work harder'.

Many of the people who are electing to remain in Tonga are élite bureaucrats, often with business or farming interests, small-scale and large-scale entrepreneurs and manufacturers, prosperous farmers, and members of noble families. In discussions with senior bureaucrats and with members of the Tongan élite some have stated that commentators such as myself take too gloomy a view of Tongan out-migration. They point out that it is a voluntary act, one which aims for self- and family improvement. Many of this group claim that people do not *have* to go, that industrious farmers would prosper in time, and that young people with no prospect of paid employment should return to the farm, or to fishing, in order to support themselves. This argument ignores the vagaries of climate and the uncertainties of the internal and export agricultural markets. It also ignores the fact that Tonga is a cash economy, in which exchanges in kind for self-maintenance and the economic support of members of an extended family are now virtually non-existent. These exchanges of food and other items among family members have, to some extent, been replaced by the sending of remittances and goods from overseas, some of which are repaid with gifts of Tongan foods and with artefacts, such as mats and painted bark-cloth.

The proponents of the argument that people migrate solely from personal preference, or because they are motivated by acquisitiveness and a desire for self-improvement, tend to ignore the benefits of migration to the Tongan economy through the receipt of remittances. These ensure healthy monetary reserves in Tonga, offsetting imbalances in the area of exports and imports. Remittances enable a considerable number of people to stay in place, to continue to enjoy living in the Kingdom. Remittances are the supplement to the incomes of fishermen and farmers, the surety of the payment of school fees, providing much of the finance for church building programmes. They also supply the means to improve family homes and village amenities. They function as a social welfare system supporting the aged. Many families who are actively farming depend on sizeable contributions from absent members to improve plant and to increase their cropping capacities. Many families in Tonga have electricity connected to their homes, have a telephone, and even a video recorder, thanks to the generosity and hard work of sons, daughters, brothers, sisters and cousins living abroad. It is true that migration can be seen as a pragmatic response by households and extended families to the need to obtain something more than survival income utilising family labour resources. But for many families and households migration has exacted a great cost in terms of emotional and cultural loss. According to family members remaining in Tonga and resident in the sample of seventy-five households surveyed in 1986, only about twenty percent of the emigrants from those households and families are likely to return to live permanently in Tonga. About fifteen percent had returned for holidays since first leaving Tonga. About ten percent of family members still resident in Tonga, particularly parents of emigrant children, had visited their children or close relatives overseas.

The chain migration process in kin networks is particularly noticeable in the case of the Tongan-American families, some of whom emigrated a generation ago. The cost of returning to Tonga for holidays for a family group is very high. In addition, if family members do return to Tonga for a visit, they are expected to bring with them a substantial cash gift, and goods. Those family members who had emigrated

to America were less likely to return permanently to live in Tonga, but were more likely to encourage the remaining members of the family to emigrate and join them. Familial ties are therefore becoming a major dislodging force. Direct moves from a village residence to an American city are becoming common, causing a noticeable abandonment of family homes and of land in villages. Brothers and sisters of the emigrants and their children are encouraged to make the move, in order to ensure their future care, and the proper performance of funeral and post-death customs. The death and burial overseas of family members, particularly parents, spouses and children, more or less ensures that there will be a group of kin permanently residing abroad. The attractive pull of the home community may lessen over time, but not the emotional power of the family, or the emotive power of Tongan identity and loyalties.

Family needs and loyalties are being used as a justification for out-migration by Tongans, while the very act and effect of this out-migration is causing hardship for many nuclear family and extended family units in Tonga. As in all migratory movements of labour world-wide, undue hardship is being experienced by those who remain at home: women, children, and, to some extent elderly parents. In many families the wife and children who remain in Tonga have experienced long periods of separation from the husband and father; separation periods of seven to ten years are not uncommon. Desertion of wives and children in favour of beginning a new family unit in the host country is also not uncommon, particularly if the male migrant has not succeeded in obtaining a residence visa. In such cases if the migrant leaves the host country he will not be able to return. Marriage to a citizen of the host country will enable the migrant to obtain residence rights, but this may mean at the least cutting the ties with his former wife. These situations have precipitated emigration by deserted wives who may have few resources on which to draw in Tonga to support themselves and their children. Many of these women say they feel ashamed to ask brothers or parents for long term support. Many children are then separated from both their parents, left in Tonga in the care of the mother's or father's relatives, or because they have been returned to Tonga, or have been left in Tonga to be cared for by relatives. Their return to Tonga may have been due to the disappointment of the parents with the children's non-achievement in a new school system, or concern over the loss of language and cultural identity, or concern over pressure on the children to conform to the behaviour of the peer group in the new society. There have also been clashes with host-country government social welfare agencies over the perceived mistreatment of children by parents. The parents arraigned for beating their children resent what they consider is outside interference in their 'right' to discipline their offspring.

The majority of respondents in Tonga stressed how much they missed the companionship of family members living abroad, but it was felt that this sacrifice was worthwhile for both the migrant and their family. It was considered that the people living abroad could 'help the family so much more than they could previously'. While some family members in Tonga were aware of the fact that increased family prosperity was bought at some cost to the migrant, and to the social fabric in Tonga, they saw little alternative to the continuation of migration. Many of the migrants in Sydney are aware of the total price which they are paying for their improved standard

of living and their increased ability to assist their families; others are not. Most philosophically accept their exile from Tonga, work at maintaining cultural identity and are generous donors to village, school, church, and national causes in Tonga. They talk of return 'perhaps in a few years'. Some use this belief in the short duration of their stay to explain why they are not worried too greatly about possible loss of cultural identity or language among their Australian-born children. They feel this lack will be remedied on their return home to Tonga, not visualising the possible conflicts when adolescents are returned to a different society without a good knowledge of the language, and possibly without a desire to identify with the home culture and mores.

Others are consciously attempting to adjust their child-rearing patterns in order to minimise clashes with their children and with members of the host society due to cultural differences. There is now an increase in the number of Tongan-Tongan marriages in the Australian migrant community, in preference to Tongan-Australian marriages. This is partly due to the increase in the number of kin networks now resident in Australia, with management of the affairs of younger people being more closely supervised or undertaken by their familial elders. However, there is a high proportion of single men in the Australian Tongan community. Some of this group have contracted *de facto* marriages with Australian women in order to obtain residence rights.

I believe there is a greater possibility of permanent return by members of the Tongan communities living in New Zealand and in Australia than by those living in mainland U.S.A. Many migrants would like to exercise options of split residency between Tonga and Australia, or New Zealand, enabling them to reside in Tonga, but visit Australia or New Zealand to earn capital from time to time. This option is probably only available to those already in the migration process, and who have obtained permanent resident visas in their host countries. A significant number of Tongan men with residence rights in New Zealand are now living and working in Australia with the short term goal of earning enough to assist in the purchase of a house in New Zealand. The Australian government's immigration policy has become more restrictive in recent years, and there is little indication of an intention to ease entry and residence requirements. The Australian government has also resolutely avoided commitment to ideas of 'guest worker' contracts. The New Zealand government reviewed its options in early 1987, having been surprised by the large response to the temporary innovation of visa-free entry by Tongans, Samoans and Fijians.

It has to be recognised that those leaving Tonga are not just seeking personal and family economic goals, but are expressing the belief that they cannot achieve even relatively modest aims in Tonga, such as improved housing or even a clean water supply, without seeking to obtain money from outside the local economy. The Tongan Five Year Development Plans have given only passing attention to the pressing problems of low wage levels, unemployment and the need for an equitable reorganisation of land distribution. Wage levels in Tonga are very low and appear to be based on an assumption that the worker has family support and access to land

on which to grow subsistence crops. This assumption is not correct, particularly in view of the fact that most of the employed members of the population are concentrated in Nuku'alofa, although they may have rights to use land located elsewhere in other island groups. The Tongan government has not tacitly acknowledged the importance of the migrants' remittances to the Tongan economy, nor has it publicly undertaken any serious negotiation with governments in New Zealand and Australia regarding the status of their emigrés.

The Tongan government's decision-making process has moved too slowly in response to what are actually very modest desires on the part of Tongans for life improvement, particularly in the island groups away from Tongatapu. Many of the large-scale development choices which are being made seem to be favouring noble and élite developers who hope to profit from a hypothetically increasing tourist trade.²⁸ There are jobs being generated by the encouragement of local and foreign investment in industrial enterprises, but the wage levels are often exploitative. Few Tongans want wholesale modernisation and it is ironic that the government's slowness of response has precipitated the migration of families to cope with life in cities in advanced capitalist societies such as the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand.

The Tongan commoners' commitment to the family as a source and motivator of quality of life improvement is exacting an unacknowledged cost economically, socially and culturally. The values of church and state, which united 'tradition' with a Protestant work ethic, emphasising the individual's duty to the family and to the Kingdom, have been well absorbed. However, social relations are inevitably altering. Traditional values implicit in *fetokoni'aki*, which primarily involved the sharing of food within the *kāinga*, are being transmuted into beliefs that love and duty are primarily expressed by the giving of cash. Emigration is seen by many as the only way to attempt to amass large amounts of capital. There is still great deference offered to 'tradition' in Tonga and among Tongans overseas. It seems unlikely that the invocation and enactment of tradition as a formula to contain change in social relationships and in social roles and behaviour will be effective against the inexorable influence of the cash nexus.

²⁸ The Tongan Development Bank encourages development and the improvement of small-scale farming and fishing and other enterprises by a well-administered programme. Larger loans for similar purposes, but on a larger scale, say for boat building, may be funded by foreign aid, the administration of which is handled by the Central Planning Department.

Tongans in New Zealand - A Brief Study

EDGAR TU'INUKUAFE*

I write out of ten years of direct involvement with Tongan people and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand, especially in Auckland, in my role as a tutor at the Pacific Islanders Educational Resource Centre, Herne Bay, Auckland. They have been most interesting and rewarding years of service to the community. In December 1968 I arrived in Auckland with my family with very little money but with a strong determination to survive in the new land. This is a brief survey of the Tongan people and their experiences.

THE FIVE TOPICS I HAVE CHOSEN TO WRITE ABOUT HELP TO CONVEY A GENERAL IMPRESSION OF THE world of Tongan people in New Zealand. Their population according to the 1981 Census was 6,900. Another census was held in 1986 but the results are not available. A conservative estimate of the Tongan population in New Zealand is about 10,000. Most are concentrated in the four main cities of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, with smaller numbers living in the smaller cities, especially in the North Island.

A big advantage has been the early investment in real estate, and the readiness of Tongans to run their own organisations. A precedent was set, back in 1952 when the Tongan government purchased nearly four acres of land in Epsom as a royal residence and hostel for Tongan government students. Later, immigrant church groups continued the pattern by buying and developing their own premises. Home ownership is encouraged as a long-term investment.

Social Progress

The Tongan community is germinal; most of the immigrants have come here in the last seventeen years, the largest number in 1969-75. However, Tongans have continued to come to New Zealand after 1975 and so individual Tongans are at different stages of adjustment to the society. Nevertheless, this is not a drawback; there are always more experienced people to help the new arrivals become acculturated.

Socially Tongans mix most with their own people, and are generally less willing to accept non-Tongans. This is understandable especially since they have been

* I wish to thank those who have helped me with my work: Fr Penisimani Folaumoetu'i, Kilifi Heimuli, Luseane Kolo'i, Pāluki Langi, Kaliopasi Lātū, Sami Lēnati, the Rev. Taniela Moala, Fr Filipino Motulalo, Sunia Raitava, Kenneth Tu'inukuafe, Mele Vete.

relatively isolated from foreigners for quite some time, until the exodus to the Pacific basin countries started in the late sixties. Also the people as a whole have been too busy working and establishing their homes in the new environment. The adult immigrants initially have not been choosy about jobs. A premium has been placed on the children doing well, at least doing better than the parents, but this has not often been realised. This has been due in most cases to the lack of appreciation of the importance of reading (especially English which is the medium of instruction in the schools) and kindergarten and primary education, and a too limited exposure to incidental, exploratory learning in the new society. As yet, there has not been large-scale upward social mobility. This is another reason why the people as a whole have not moved out much from their own territory. More success models and people willing to help are needed before this happens.

Most Tongans are in semi-skilled work. Many are good workers, well-liked by their comrades because of their sense of humour and respected by their bosses for their willingness to do more than is required of them.

Unlike what so often has been assumed by non-Pacific Islanders and people non-resident in New Zealand, the cultural learning of Tongans is not restricted to European culture. For the first time ever, Tongans find themselves living and working together with Pacific Islanders from many different countries: Fiji, Samoa, Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tahiti, Tuvalu and Kiribati, and also with Vietnamese, Indians and Chinese. They have distinct cultures with many differences from Tongan custom and ritual and attitudes to life. The Tongans have to learn to understand these differing cultural perspectives and thereby become enriched and revitalised for the task of living.

Tongan people in New Zealand cities, where they mostly live, are also engaged in learning to be more accepting of other Tongans as Pacific port town inhabitants meet those from the surrounding villages, and as people from different islands come into contact. Through incidental encounters and through the kava drinking groups and clubs (*kalapu*), Tongans learn about each other's families and the traditions of their common homeland.

There has been intermarriage with people from all the major Pacific Island ethnic groups (Samoan, Tokelauan, Cook Island and Niuean), as well as with Maoris and Europeans and others. This has fostered the development of bilingual and multilingual ability. However, most Tongans are married to Tongans.

The foundation of new churches in New Zealand, as either totally new enterprises or by a process of divorce from the mother church, demonstrates a degree of social maturity, a willingness to put ideas and beliefs into practice, despite the claims of many that this shows arrogant irresponsible behaviour. The United Church of Tonga was born in Auckland and a new church opened in 1977. Its members were drawn from Tongan-speaking Protestants who did not feel comfortable in an English language congregation. In 1985, Sefita Uia seceded with a small group of Tongans from the main Tongan Methodist Church organisation in Auckland. The new church group is based in Otahuhu, South Auckland. Similarly, a small group of Maama Fo'ou (New Light) adherents branched off from the main body in Auckland in 1982. The original Maama Fo'ou broke away from the Methodist Church of Tonga in 1979.

Leadership

There are three types of leaders: church, chiefly and government. The influence of the first is mainly denominational, that of the second is over the whole Tongan community, while the third can influence the Tongan people as well as the wider community. By government I mean government employees, although many of these people are also key personnel in their church. Some examples are Ika Tameifuna, the Tongan Court Interpreter at the Auckland District Court, who is a Seventh Day Adventist, Kilifi Heimuli, a Community Relations Constable, who is Chief Steward of the Auckland-Manakau Tongan Methodist Circuit and a lay preacher, and Dr Leopino Foliaki, Medical Social Worker with the Auckland Extramural Hospital, a catechist of the Catholic Church. Prince Lavaka-Ata and Princess Nanasi'au, while they were in Auckland in 1983-85, graced many a function with their presence. Princess Nanasi has the distinction of being the founder of the Tongan National Advisory Council of New Zealand in 1985. Princess Siu'ilikutapu by her eloquence has won the respect of every Tongan. She is a Methodist lay preacher and an orator.

There is no official Tongan government representative in New Zealand. The above network also provides official representation at national gatherings of importance, such as the visit of Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh or the Polynesian Festival of Art and Culture.

Good leaders are crucial to the building of a successful community. We have some good leaders but there is an evident lack of the altruistic leader who sees talent and helps to realise it. Younger people need to be encouraged to take up leadership roles. Organisations need to reflect a leadership graduation from young to old in their composition to maximise on man-power experience and efficiency. We need to get away from the one-person leadership model and build a broad foundation of community leaders whether they are church based or not. Where practicable there is a need to try out new ideas such as rotational leadership.

It is important that some Tongans should be encouraged to take leadership roles in the various professions in New Zealand. This will generate multicultural understanding and respect.

Immigration

In the years following the end of the Second World War, a trickle of people left Tonga to settle in New Zealand. But in the years 1969-75, when New Zealand industry was generally booming and the factories needed workers, many Tongans came to New Zealand. Visitors permits were only for three months and work permits for five months. Nevertheless, nearly everyone who came worked because often the fare to New Zealand had to be repaid. Tongan workers found that three months work or even five was not sufficient to pay board, repay the fare and take home to Tonga a financial surplus, which could be used for doing something useful like building a home or starting a business venture. Tongans inevitably overstayed their permits. This has continued to happen under the Immigration Act (1964), even though there were some amendments.

Because of the humanitarian outlook of successive governments, amnesties have enabled many Tongans to gain permanent resident status in New Zealand. Only the politicians understood the phenomenon of overstaying; most New Zealanders did not and do not now. When people become settled they often forget their own struggles. In any case the appreciation of Pacific Islanders or Tongans as suitable immigrants has developed slowly. Immigration Field Officers have always been busy searching for overstayers. The courts have always been busy judging overstayer cases. Unexpectedly a revealing article called 'Overstayers: The Big White Lie' written by David McLoughlin appeared in the *Sunday Star* on 23 March 1986. It caused a storm. McLoughlin discovered that out of 9,500 people who had overstayed their permits, less than one third were Pacific Islanders, yet this was the ethnic group mostly arrested, charged and deported. These Pacific Islanders comprised mainly Samoans, Tongans and Fijians.

The Minister for Immigration requested the Race Relations conciliator to investigate the statement. The Race Relations Office proved McLoughlin to be correct and submitted its research document and recommendations to the Minister for Immigration. This discovery prompted the government to proceed further with the review of the current Immigration Act of 1964 and to ask community groups for submissions. A new Immigration Bill is being studied and hopefully the recommendations of the Race Relations Office will be heeded. Everyone is waiting with interest for the outcome in 1987.

The Race Relations Office discovered that the reason for Tongans and other Pacific Islanders being sought out was that they had to be sponsored from a known permanent address, whereas European, British and North American people did not need a sponsor and could come and move around where they liked. They only had to give the name of the first hotel they stayed at.

Towards the end of 1986 the government declared another amnesty for overstayers: all those who were here on or before 14 August 1983 could have their passports regularised to obtain permanent resident status. Since 1 December 1986, Tongans have been granted permission to come to New Zealand, initially for three months, without being sponsored. These permits may also be extended for up to one year.

Education

Education is the reason most often given by parents for leaving the Island Kingdom, although some Tongans are aware that there are just as important reasons as this one; but education is a convenient and acceptable rationale. Some of the associated reasons for adult migration are job opportunities, need to exercise independent thinking, desire for wider experience, social and political convictions, hope of improving standards of living, and the chance to help less fortunate relatives in Tonga.

Nevertheless, Tongans see education as a worthy goal to pursue. Many are only beginning to grasp the importance of elementary education. Tongans have always tended to think that real education begins at the secondary level. This coupled with the Tongan educational proverb '*tatali ke mafoa e 'atamai*' (wait till the mind cracks) can mean unrealised ability for some. A conspicuous difference between Western

European education and modern Tongan nurturing is the lack of learning intervention activities in the early years.

It was heartening to attend the opening of the first Tongan bilingual kindergarten, Mataliki 'o Felenite, by Princess Nanasipau'u in November 1985. Mrs Luseane Koloi had worked persistently for several years on this idea and at last it had come to fruition. The Princess was a keen supporter and leader of this preschool project which began with a roll of twenty students. Unfortunately it had to close down temporarily in the second term (1986) because many of the Tongan parents found it difficult to transport their children to school by bus in the rain and cold of winter. However, after receiving a grant of \$10,000 and purchasing a school van, the kindergarten hopes to open again in 1987.

The scene in the primary and secondary schools has improved a lot since the Department of Education stipulation that primary teacher trainees do one hundred hours of multicultural studies and that secondary school trainees do fifty hours. In Auckland, the Pacific component of these courses is taught by the tutors from the Pacific Islanders Educational Resource Centre. This Centre started conducting such courses soon after it opened at Herne Bay in February 1977. In fact, the PIERC pioneered Pacific Islands Multicultural Studies for teacher trainees, practising teachers, nurses, other government employees and the general public.

The curriculum review carried on by the present Labour government in 1985 and 1986 has asked for the ideas of all communities in New Zealand with regard to the education of their children. It shows a great deal of sensitivity to Maoris and Pacific Islanders and other minority groups, and aims at a more integrated curriculum at the primary and secondary level, bearing in mind the needs of the constituent ethnic communities.

There is a slight increase in the number of Tongans taking up apprenticeships, with more taking up commercial, science and English language courses at technical institutes and night schools. Teachers and nurses from Tonga can now undergo retraining courses for New Zealand certification. The Supplementary Teacher Training Programme has been in operation for more than five years, while the nursing courses have only been going for the past two years. Some Tongans are availing themselves of these opportunities. Auckland University continues to be the most popular university because Auckland is where most Tongans live. The largest Pacific student body is Samoan, followed by the Tongans.

Tongan students are beginning to complete their first degrees at an earlier age. A few are completing their first degrees at age twenty. Competition on the job market is forcing students to do post-graduate courses locally and at overseas universities. There are more students graduating with honours than in the past.

The launching of the Pacific Island Youth Leadership Trust at the PIERC, Herne Bay in 1984 marked the beginning of a very significant financial scheme to assist able students of Pacific Island origin to graduate from universities and technical institutes and other tertiary centres of learning. The Trust is largely funded by business organisations which have Pacific Island employees. Nearly twenty students received grants in the first year, 1985, but in 1986 sixty awards were made. An increasing

number of Tongan students are receiving assistance. Credit for this educational aid concept goes to Le Mamea Taulapapa Sefulu Ioane, Director of PIERC.

It is of interest to note that whereas there are a couple more organisations that fund students of Pacific Island descent, the grants are smaller. There is no funding available in New Zealand for good Tongan students who do not have permanent resident status or New Zealand citizenship. The Maori and Pacific Island Scholarship Scheme provides tertiary grants to its able students. It is worth about NZ\$3,000 per annum now, and university awardees can receive assistance till they complete a master's degree. However, there are only about fifteen awards for the whole of New Zealand. As a result of the funding sources, especially the Pacific Islands Youth Leadership Trust, there is good reason to believe that there will be many new university graduates, of various disciplines, entering the job market in five years time.

Tongan Language and Culture

As for the other Pacific Islanders, the Church has become the village in the New Zealand city setting. It is where the language and culture is regularly practised through meetings, seminars, choir practice, festivities and funerals, youth groups and worship.

The language is still used a lot but there are Tongan homes now where the younger children, especially those born in New Zealand, do not speak Tongan, although they have a basic level of listening understanding. Tongan children, however, are encouraged by the emphasis on '*taha Maori*' (the Maori dimension) in New Zealand schools and tertiary institutions to know and retain their language and culture. Tongan was taught at Ngatapuwaē College, Mangere, last year by Mrs Pisila Foliaki. This year it is hoped that Tongan will be taught at St Paul's College, Ponsonby, by Paluki Langi, at the sixth form level. Since 1977, the PIERC, Herne Bay, has taught Tongan to mainly adult non-Tongan students.

Locally in Auckland, since 1980, pride and skill in the performance of the traditional and modern dances of Polynesia has been maintained through the annual Maori and Pacific Islands Secondary Schools Festival. These schools offer to act as hosts. The teachers of the cultural groups are the poets, musicians and choreographers. The judges for the competition have to be people not engaged in tutoring. A foundation tutor and judge is Mrs 'Ana Loumoli, who also participated at the national level in the Polynesian Festivals. The first Pacific Island national cultural festival was held over a week towards the end of November 1984, and it was generally a big success. Pacific Islanders for the first time felt a national consciousness. It involved a great deal of planning and organisation by the Director of PIERC and his staff, and the Festival Committee. For the canoe race (in traditional canoes), there were competitors from the Pacific Islands, namely from Niue, the Cook Islands and Samoa. This race across the Waitemata Harbour from Devonport to Okahu Bay was started by Prince Lavaka-Ata, and it symbolised the coming of the Polynesians to Aotearoa.

An important curator, guide and promoter of Maori and Pacific Island cultures is the Council for Maori and South Pacific Arts (MASPAC), which is a subsidiary body of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council, the national organisation responsible for the

promotion of the Arts in New Zealand. Through its grants many Tongans, graduate and non-graduate, have been able to research and record traditional and modern culture. This offers an excellent opportunity for the indigenous expert and helps to bridge the gap between the university academic and those reared in the culture.

The daily four-minute radio news programme in the Tongan language from Monday to Thursday evening, and the eight-minute magazine programme on Friday evenings have a wide audience. But Tongans would like more time on the national radio. Efforts are currently being made to test the feasibility of the establishment of an access radio station for Auckland ethnic groups by actually going on the air for a full week early in 1987.

On television, Pacific Islanders have a token five-minute programme from Monday to Friday called 'See Here', but Pacific Islanders, as with radio, are asking for more exposure so that their presence, views and culture can be appreciated and shared.

The Tongan language can be used as an effective teaching medium when teaching English to newcomers. This is so despite the large volume of supportive literature for English as a Second Language (ESL) programmes. Such courses are called English through the Mother Tongue (EMT) at the PIERC, Herme Bay. Their great advantage is that they affirm the culture of the individual.

APPENDIX

Interviews

INTERVIEW ONE - *University graduate, MA (Hons)*

Mo'oni pe 'a e ngaahi fakamatala 'oku fa'a fai mai, ka 'oku ou tui ko e tefito'i 'uhinga ko e faikehekehe. 'Oku ha'u 'a e kakai Tonga ki Nu'u Sila ni mo e ngaahi to'onga mo'ui kuo nau maheni ki ai, kae nofo atu 'a e kakai 'o e fonua ni mo 'enau fa'ahinga sīpinga 'a kinautolu. 'E toki 'i ai pē ha femahino'aki kapau 'e lava ke 'i ai ha fepōtalanoa'aki. Ko 'eku fakatātā 'eni: 'oku fiema'u fakauike 'e he *landlord* ia 'ene *rent* ka taimi 'e ni'ihia 'oku ou fiema'u 'e au ia 'a e silini ki ha me'a kehe hangē nai ko ha misinale. Pea kapau te u pehē ange 'e au ke toki 'oange he uike kaha'u, te ne pehē 'e ia te u hola. Ko e me'a mahu'inga 'e taha kuo pau ke ako'i 'a e kakai ki he *organisation*. Kapau te nau lava ke fai 'a e me'a ko 'eni 'e faingofua ange 'enau mo'ui. 'Oku tokoni 'ete hiki ki ha la'i pepa 'a e fakahokohoko 'o e ngaahi me'a 'oku te fie fai. 'Oku ou fie ngāue'aki fakaloua pe 'a e lea faka-Tonga mo e 'Ingilisi ki he'eku fānau.

Translation

It is true what they are always saying, but the chief reason is cultural difference. Tongans come to New Zealand with a life pattern they are accustomed to, while the people here also have their particular way of doing things. There will be a resolution if these two different people converse. Here's an example: my landlord wants the rent paid weekly but sometimes I want the money for something else, like for my annual contribution to the Church. If I say that I will pay the rent next week, I would be told I would run away. Another important thing is that people should be educated concerning organisation. This is very new to the people; they haven't tried it. If they can do this, their life would be easier. It helps to write down the sequence of what one is to do. I wish to use both Tongan and English in talking to my children.

INTERVIEW TWO - *Assembly of God Minister*

Ko e tefito'i palopalema 'a e kakai ko e fetu'utaki pe ko e ngāue'aki 'o e lea faka-Papālangi. Mahalo ko e kakai Tonga 'e toko 50 ki he 60 'oku ou tauhi 'i hoku ki'i Siasi pea 'oku 'i ai mo e ongo tama Tonga 'e ua 'oku na mali Papālangi, pea mo e ongo mātu'a Maui 'oku na kau mai mo naua ki he Siasi. 'A ia 'oku 'ikai ke u lava ke ngāue'aki 'a e lea faka-Tonga 'ata'atā 'i he'eku failotu ka 'oku ou to'o lōua pē. Pehē pē 'i he *Sunday School*. 'Oku 'i ai foki 'a e fānau 'a e ongo tama mali Papālangi pea pau leva ke ngāue'aki 'a e ongo lea fakatoulōua. Pea 'oku sai pē foki he 'oku poto pe 'a e fānau Tonga ia he lea faka-Papālangi. 'Oku ou manako taha pē au he lea faka-Tonga. Ko e hā e me'a te u lea faka-Papālangi ai 'i 'api mo hoku mali ki he'ema fānau, lolotonga ia ko e fa'ē Tonga, tamai Tonga. Ko e kakai Tonga 'oku nau 'alu ki Tonga mo 'enau fānau pea holi ke lea faka-Papālangi ange 'a e fāmili ki he'enua fānau, pea fekau 'e he fāmili ke nau heka sea he 'oku 'ikai te nau anga ki he tangutu 'i lalo, pea 'oange 'a e pulu ia ke nau kai, ka nau kai hamu pē kinautolu, 'oku nau ako'i 'enau fānau ke nau sio ki lalo ki honau kāinga. Pea ko e me'a leva 'oku hoko, 'e ui leva 'a e kau Tonga mei Nu'u Sila ko e kau Papālangi, pea ko e kāinga 'i Tonga ko e kau Tonga. 'Oku matu'aki totonu 'aupito ke 'ilo peseti teau 'e he fānau Tonga tamai Tonga, fa'ē Tonga, 'a e lea faka-Tonga, he ko e fu'u toto'i Tonga. 'Oku ou fiema'u ke 'alu atu pē 'eku fānau ki Tonga 'o nau taha pē mo hoku kāinga ai pea mo e kakai Tonga; ko e fo'i manioke pē 'oku nau kai ai ko ia pē 'e kai he'eku fānau. Pea kuo pau ke nau faka'apa'apa ki he 'ulungāanga fakafonua. 'E kei Tu'ipelehake ai pē 'a e Tu'ipelehake ia, tatau pē pe 'oku 'i Nu'u Sila ni pe 'oku 'i Tonga.

Translation

The chief problem of the people is communication or the use of English. I care for about fifty or sixty people in my little Church and there are two Tongan men married to Europeans and a Maori couple who belong to our Church. So I cannot use Tongan only in my ministry but I use both languages. Likewise in the Sunday School. The two men married to Europeans have children so both languages have to be used. And that is alright because the Tongan children can speak English anyway. I prefer to use the Tongan language. Why should my wife and I speak English to our children at home when we are both Tongans? The Tongan people who travel to Tonga with their children and want the family to speak English to them and the family in Tonga tell them to sit on chairs because they are not used to sitting on the floor and also give them the meat to eat while they have none, are teaching their children to look down on their relatives. And what happens is that the Tongans from New Zealand will be called Europeans and the Tongans in Tonga, Tongans. It is imperative that Tongan children with a Tongan father and a Tongan mother should know the Tongan language one hundred percent, because they are of Tongan blood indeed. I want my children to go to Tonga and fit in with my relatives and the Tongan people; the manioc that they eat will also be eaten by my children. And they must respect the customs of the country. The Tu'ipelehake will still be the Tu'ipelehake whether he is in New Zealand or in Tonga.

INTERVIEW THREE - *Worker in Glassworks Industry*

'Oku faingata'a'ia 'a e kakai 'i he'eku vakai he me'a ko 'eni ko e feinga nofo'anga. 'Oku lahi 'a e ngaahi 'api kuo mole koe'uhi pē ko e 'ikai ke lava ke malu'i 'a e sēniti. Lahi hono lī noa'ia holo. Ngaahi siasi 'e ni'ihī 'oku lī ta'efakafuofua 'e he kakai 'enau silini he misinale. 'Oku poto 'ema fānau he lea faka-Tonga, he 'oku mau lea faka-Tonga 'i 'api.

Translation

People have difficulty with trying to find accommodation. Many homes have been lost because the owners have not been able to withhold their money. Too often money has been

squandered. In some churches the people give extravagantly to the annual collection. Our children are proficient in Tongan, because we speak Tongan at home.

INTERVIEW FOUR - *Catholic Priest*

Ko e me'a oku mahu'inga taha ia ke ako'i e fānau, ke ako'i 'a e to'utupu. Te ke fakatokanga'i ko e kau Tonga ko ē 'oku sai ange 'enau nofo, ko e kau tama ia na'e saisai ange 'enau ako. Pea ko hono ako'i ko 'eni pea ako'i foki mo e 'ulungāanga faka'apa'apa pea mo e mo'ui fakalaumālie. Kapau 'oku poto lahi ha taha faka-'atamai ka 'oku 'ikai ke lotu, 'oku 'ikai pē ke tatau - 'oku 'i ai pē 'a e me'a 'oku mole. 'Oku 'i ai 'a e ngaahi polokalama 'oku mau ako'i fakataha ai 'a e mātu'a mo e fānau ke nau lava 'o feohi lelei. 'I he poupou mai ko ē 'a e mātu'a ki he ngaahi polokalama 'a e fānau he Lātaki, 'oku ne fakatupu leva ha fefalala'aki. Pea 'i he founga ko 'eni 'oku mau *keep the kids off the streets*, 'a e *street kids*. 'Oku 'i ai mo 'emau polokalama ko e ECL pe ko e *Education for Christian Living* pea 'oku fakalele ia 'e he kau faiako 'oku mau teu'i ke fai 'a e ngāue ko 'eni he 'aho Sāpate, he 'ū fai'anga lotu, ma'a e to'utupu. Ko e *Chaplaincy Team* 'oku nau ako'i 'a e kau faiako ECL, ko au mo e ongo taaupo'ou 'a ia ko Sister 'Akanete pea mo Sister Fapiena. 'Oku lava ke fakatokolahi 'a e *Chaplaincy Team* ke kau mai ki ai 'a e kakai tangata pe fefme mei he kāingālotu koe'uhi ke nau tokoni ki hono fa'ufa'u mo e fakalele 'o e ngaahi seminā. 'Oku 'i ai 'a e fai'anga lotu 'e taha tolu. Ngaahi misa 'e ni'ihi 'oku fai holo pē ia he 'api 'o e kakai, ka 'i he Sāpate hono tolu 'o e māhina kotoa pē, 'oku fai 'a e misa fakatahataha 'a e kāingālotu Tonga 'i 'Okalani ki he falelotu St Benedict 'i Newton.

Translation

The most important thing is to educate the children, to educate the new generation. You will notice that the Tongans who are fairly well-off, are people who have had a better education. And when you educate, you also school them in respectful behaviour and the spiritual life. If someone excels academically but is not a worshipper of God, it is not the same - there is something missing. There are some programmes where we teach the parents and children together so that they co-operate well. When the parents support the activities of their children in the Youth Group, it creates mutual trust. And through this means we keep the kids off the streets, that is the street kids. We also have a programme called ECL or Education for Christian Living and this is administered by teachers we train to do this work for the young people, on Sundays, at the various centres of worship. The Chaplaincy Team composed of myself and the two nuns, sisters 'Akanete and Fapiena, instruct the ECL teachers. Lay people, men and women, may be co-opted to the Chaplaincy Team to plan and direct seminars. There are thirteen centres of worship. Some masses are said in the homes of the people, but on the third Sunday of each month there is a collective mass for all the Tongan (Catholic) church people at St Benedict Church, Newton, Auckland.

Appendix

*Tupou College and the Education of Women**

'Truth is what the chief says, and history is what the highest chief says' (Anonymous).

In the Tupou College Report for the year 1870, Moulton recorded that there were 106 students enrolled of whom twelve were young women. It was clear from that report that Tupou College became a co-educational institution very early in its history. In 1871, Lesieli Tonga became the first woman graduate and 'Ana Faupula' followed Lesieli's lead by graduating in 1872.

However, in the eyes of the Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, Shirley Baker, and his supporters, this early attempt by Moulton to establish co-education at Tupou College had been a great failure because 'mixing native young men and women in the same college and classes, led to charges of immorality'. This early experiment to introduce young women into the classes had aggravated a problem that already existed, especially since the introduction of the Government students. Baker also reported to Rabone that some of the young chiefs were 'pursuing more than useful studies' in the college. Consequently, the District Meeting of 1873 brought this policy of co-education at Tupou College to an end. No more women were allowed to be admitted into Tupou College.

In 1876, the year before Moulton left for England for the revision of the Tongan Bible, Baker, as the Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, announced a plan in the *Tonga Times* for a proposed Queen Sālote College. Baker claimed that the Queen had agreed to lend her name to the proposed school. The King headed the subscription list with a donation of 1,000 Chilean dollars. (The Chilean dollar was current in Tonga at the time and was worth about four shillings.) Other early contributors included the German firm Godeffroys and Crown Prince Tevita 'Unga.

Queen Sālote College, as it was proposed by Shirley Baker in 1876, was a total failure. 'A grandiose double storeyed structure was erected, described by Baker as the finest and the largest building in Tonga or in fact in the South Seas, but he could not obtain staff, and was unable to run the institution himself. No girls ever entered the college, and no lessons were ever taught there. Baker's Queen Sālote College stood as a monument to his abortive scheme and the building was not modified and put to use until after his death in 1903.' Moulton eventually pulled the building down and used some of the timber for a less ambitious but more practical classroom block, and what was left over for a fence around Tupou College.

In 1881, the Conference of the Methodist Church in Australia made Moulton the chairman of the Friendly Islands District. He then reintroduced co-education to Tupou College. Consequently, names of young women started to reappear on the 'Kau

* Sources: *Tohi Fanongonongo of the Free Wesley Church, Tupou College, Makasini* (1866/1941). Cummins 1979.

Matematika Board'. Between 1884 and 1923, no less than twenty-five women graduated. A women's dormitory was built near the mission house, and in order to gain experience in domestic duties, the young women took turns at helping in the mission household week by week. After school hours they were instructed in sewing, drawing and music. It was not until the establishment of the branch of Tupou College at Nafualu for boys in 1921 that the present Girls' College was established. The first separate 'Kau Matematika' graduates for 'Kolisi Fefine' was in 1926.

Each year during the 1920s and 1930s, the Annual Reports of Tupou College were always presented by the Principal of Tupou College under two distinct divisions - 'Kolisi Fefine' and 'Nafualu'. The following enrolment figures are taken from the *Tohi Fanongonongo* of the Free Wesleyan Church. These figures were given by the principal of Tupou College as a part of his Annual Report each year at the Tupou College speech night.

1929	-Kolisi Fefine	57
	Nafualu	127
1930	-Kolisi Fefine	85
	Nafualu	180
1931	-Kolisi Fefine	96
	Nafualu	226
1932	-Kolisi Fefine	94
	Nafualu	246
1935	-Kolisi Fefine	115
	Nafualu	324
1936	-Kolisi Fefine	160
	Nafualu	360

After the Second World War, Nafualu had grown to more than four hundred students and Kolisi Fefine to two hundred, all being boarders. In 1948 the boys were removed from Nafualu to Toloa for the sake of more gardening land to feed the increasing number of boys. It was some time during this period of rapid growth and change that the old name 'Queen Sālote College' which Baker claimed that Kuini Sālote of Tupou I agreed to lend to a separate girls' college proposed in 1876 was revived.

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Glossary of Tongan Terms

angalelei - good behaviour

ate - type of shrub

fahu - 'above the law'; man's sister's child

faifekau - minister; missionary

faikava - kava ceremony

faito'o - to treat or cure; herbal preparation

faiva - skill; art

faka'apa'apa - to show respect or homage

faka-'āvanga - spirit-affected

fakatongafaka-Tonga - done in the Tongan way

fakalangilangi - honour or privilege; to grace

fakalou'akau - to cast a spell on; one who casts spells

fakateki - head movement in dance

fakatapu - salutation in speech or poetry

fakatupu - to cause to grow; to produce

fale - house or building

Falealo - children or grandchildren of the monarch; the Royal Family

falefā - 'the Second House'; advisers to the Tu'i Tonga

fāмили - family

fananga - fable, fictitious story; legend

fanofano'i - to give someone special powers; esoteric knowledge

fasi - the melody or leading part; bone fractures

fata - sleeping loft; wide rack for food storage

fatongia - duty; obligation

fa'a - to be capable of; economic prowess

fa'ahi - side

fa'aikēhe - formal priest

fa'u - to bind or build

fesi'ia - disorder of the musculo-skeletal system such as a sprain

feta'aki - unmarked bark cloth

fetau - verbal competition; poetry of rivalry

fetokoni'aki - sharing of things

fe'ofa'ofani - to get on with someone; mutual love; sharing and caring

fiepule - wanting to dominate

fie'eiki - to act as if one were a chief;

said of arrogant non-chiefly people

fokonofa - secondary wife of the Tu'i Tonga

fono - village meeting

fonua fo'ou - a new land

fuatanga - a type of bark cloth

fuatapu - prohibited first fruits of the land

fuatapu 'o e fonua - specific first fruits of the land

fuu - type of tree (*Barringtonia asiatica*)

haka - rhythmic bodily movements in dance; to stew or boil food

hau - victor; conqueror; ruler; reign or office of such ruler

ha'a - titular lineages

heliaki - indirectness; to say one thing but mean another

hea - type of tree

hiapo - paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*)

hingoa fakanofa - title; 'appointed name'

hisitōlia - history

hiva - song

hiva kakala - a love song

hoihoifua - beauty

hohoko - genealogy

hui - bone; needle

kahi - anal swelling

kahoa - necklace; garland

kai fonua - people without blood rank who worked the land

kāinga - relatives; kin; supporters

kāinga fa'e - maternal relatives

kāinga tamai - paternal relatives

kaka - fibrous integument at the top of coconut palms

kakala - wreath of sweet smelling flowers; garland

kalapu - group of people

kato alu - basket made from a type of vine

kato mosi kaka - finely woven basket

kātoanga - public festival; celebration

kau - marker of plurality

kaukau tuku - an infusion of leaves

kautaha - working group of women

kau'italanoa - stories; experiences; narratives

kava - root of the *Piper methysticum* plant which is crushed and mixed with water to make a beverage

kavalukuluku - presentation of gifts

kelekele - land; earth

kie hingoa - named fine mat

kitetama - a traditional chiefly form of cross-cultural marriage

koloa - wealth; objects of traditional value

kuonga - era; in the time of; temporal span of a god or sacred ruler

kupesi - stamp-like object used to decorate bark cloth

lahi - large; great

lakalaka - national dance

langi - sky; tomb of Tu'i Tonga or Tu'i Tonga Fefine

lau fala - type of mat

laulalo - base in voice or music; drone

launima - a type of bark cloth

laulau - panegyric

lautolu - type of creeping plant

lotu - to worship or pray; 'praying religion' associated with the European missionaries

lou kie - pandanus leaves

lou'ulu'otoa - hair of the god

mafai - political power and authority

māfana - warm; joy; exhilaration

mahaki - sickness

maile - myrtle (*Alysia scandens*)

mana - supernatural influence or force

manulua - one of bark cloth stamp designs

mātanga - place of beauty or historical significance

matāpule - chiefly attendant

mateaki - to be loyal

mā'itaki - principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga

mehekitanga - father's sister

misinale - annual missionary offering; missionary

mohefo - principal wife of the Tu'i Tonga

mokopuna 'eiki - chiefly grandchildren

mo'ota - type of bush (*Dysoxylum richii*)

muli - foreign; foreigner

mu'a - those of high rank

nima homo - generosity

navu - hair dressed with lime

nonu - type of tree (*Morinda Citrifolia*)

ngafingafi - type of fine mat

ngatu - bark cloth

ngāue - 'work'; products derived from agriculture and animal husbandry

olovaha - part of kava bowl opposite the hanger; presiding chief in kava ceremony

palātavake - feather headdress worn by the Tu'i Tonga

papa - type of floor mat; board

papālangi - European

pō sipi - poetry recital

pele - type of bush (*Abelmoschus manihot*)

polopolo - presentation of first fruits

pule - authority

pule'oto - variety of shell

siale Tonga - type of flowering bush

sila - seal

sinifu - secondary wife

sipa - chorus

sisi - decorative girdle or waistband

tafatafa'akilangi - horizon

taha Maori - Maori person; the Maori dimension

taha muli - foreigner

tahi - sea; sea water

tala fakafonua - Tongan traditions; historical and mythical reasons for things being as they are

tala tukufakaholo - oral traditions

talangofua - submissive; obedient

talatupu'a - ancient traditions of the gods

tama - offspring, especially male offspring

tamai - father or father's brother

tamai foha - father's son

- tanusia* - mound building or social mobility
tapa - bark cloth
tapu - to restrict; be prohibited; sacred
tatau - farewell speech
tau - chorus or refrain
taula - priest or priestess
taumafa - to eat or to drink reserved for the monarch
taumafa kava - royal kava ceremony
ta'ahine - young woman of chiefly rank; virgin
ta'anga - song texts
ta'okete lele - male's eldest brother; female's eldest sister
ta'okete tehina - male's youngest brother; female's youngest sister
ta'ovala - mat worn round the waist
tefito - base of tree; central or important part
tevolo - demon; devil; malignant spirit
teunga - decoration; adornment
teuteu - decoration
te'ia - to be struck or smitten
toa - type of tree (*Casuarina*)
tofi'a - inheritance, usually in land
tohi - book
tohi hohoko - genealogy book
tohi ngatu - to paint with dye on bark cloth design
tonga - south
toputapu - most sacred
toto - blood
tou'a - persons responsible for preparing kava for drinking
to'a - bravery
tufa kekekele - to divide the land
tufunga - male craftsmen
tufunga fo'u vaka - builder of canoes or boats
tulu'i - to instil; to treat with healing liquid
- tuofefine* - male's sister or female first cousin
tuonga'ane - female's brother or male first cousin
tu'pū'anga - ancestors
tu'a - non-chiefly people
tu'i - chief; leader; 'King'
tu'i ngaue - working chief
tu'i toputapu - sacred chief
tu'unga - that on which things stand; ranking positions
- uhi* - type of bush (*Evodia hortensis*)
uli - black
- vaha kekekele* - division of land
vai haka - decoction; boiled water
vai kahi - infusion
vale - foolish
vali - to paint
- 'ahi'ahi* - to try
'api 'uta - allotment of land for gardening
'āvanga - type of sickness caused by a spirit
'āvanga motu'a - chronic mental illness
'avea - to be distracted; to be 'mad'
'eiki - chief or chiefly
'ilamutu - man's sister's child or children
'ilo fonua - land discoveries
'inasi - traditional presentation of first fruits to Hikule'o through the Tu'i Tonga
'ofa - love
'ofa fonua - love of the land; nationalism
'ofa vale'i - spoiled; made foolish or useless by family indulgence
'otua - god
'ulumotu'a - head of the family; 'old man'

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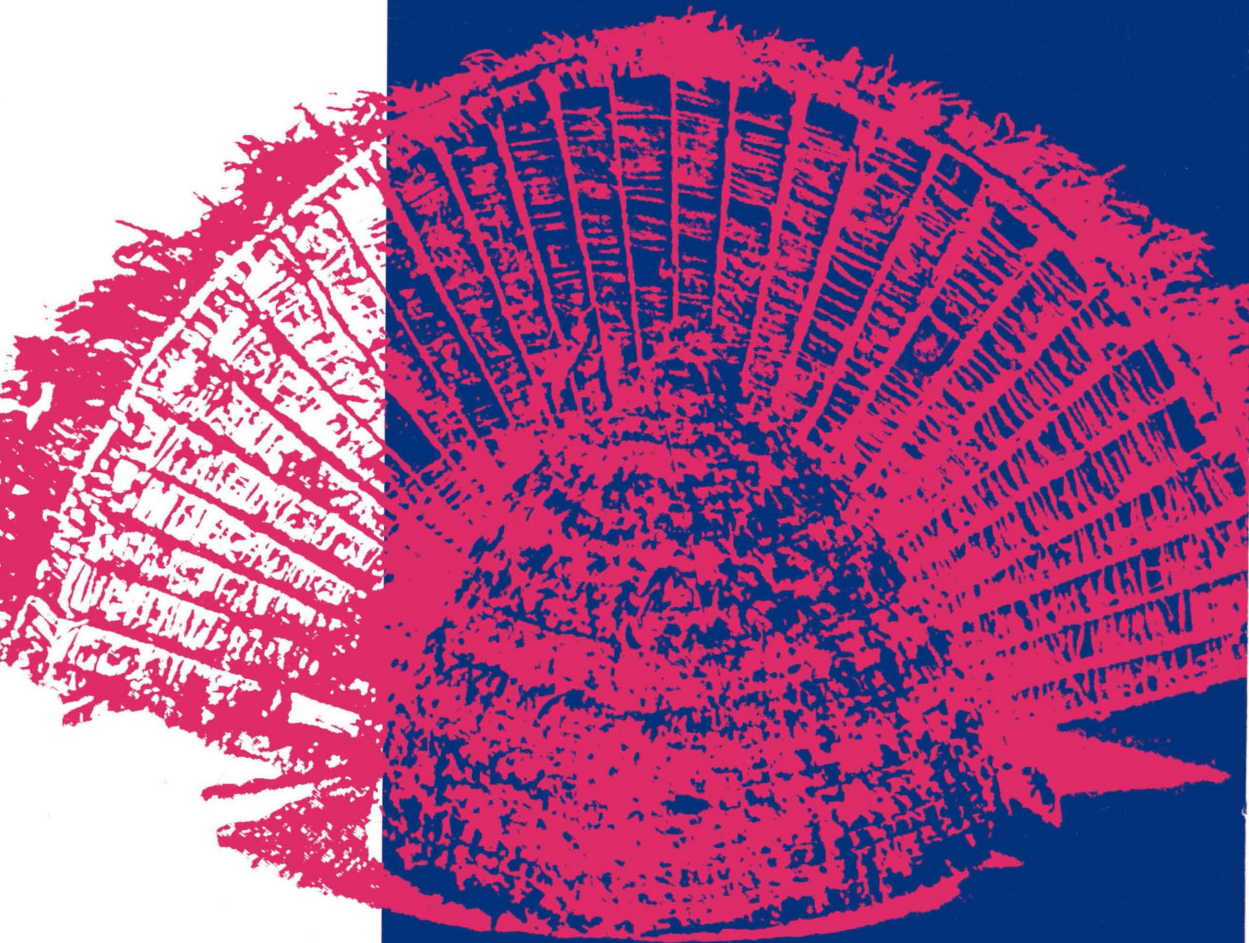
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In January 1987 a group of scholars interested in the history and culture of Tonga came together at the Australian National University, Canberra, for a Conference. In this book papers given on that occasion are published. Subject matter is varied, ranging over historiography, genealogy, mythology, gender, religion, traditional healing, education, law, and migration. As Sione Latukefu, President of the Tongan History Association, writes ►



► in his Foreword, 'The small seed with uncertain future which was placed on the ground at the A.N.U. . . . has now grown into a healthy young tree . . . It is to be hoped that . . . micro-histories will lead eventually to a situation . . . where a sound general and up-to-date history of Tonga can be produced, based on thorough and scholarly research.' This volume makes an encouraging starting point.