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A survey of the history of Tonga: Some new views

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A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA: SOME NEW VIEWS*

Introduction.

In this paper we wish to supply a survey of the history of the Tonga Islands. We shall concentrate mainly on the period 1770-1820. Of the times previous to this period there is but little known, whereas the period after 1820 is described extensively in various writings (Farmer, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford). Therefore these parts of Tongan history will be dealt with very briefly. The time between the two dates mentioned above, however, is a confused period, in which a whole series of authorities were involved in a great number of political complications. To our mind the existing studies on this period contain various vague and contradictory notions. We believe that some of these are dealt with conclusively in this paper.

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1. The period previous to the coming of the Europeans (up to 1616).

A great part of the history of the Tonga Islands is wrapped in mystery. Oral traditions, lists of names and a few monuments are the chief data one has to work on. For a few years now archaeologists have supplied us with a basis a little more reliable for this research into the past. Thus, according to Suggs (p. 87 ff.), we can take it that a short time before the beginning of our era these islands were inhabited. The same goes for the nearby Samoa Islands, and Suggs points out the fact that the development of these areas runs parallel to a great extent. We are to picture these earliest inhabitants as people living together in small groups, cultivating land in a simple way for horticultural purposes and using some earthenware (ib. p. 93). Not before the eleventh century, however, are there structures of some size to be found on Tongatapu. They consist chiefly of tombs. These have been explored and described extensively by Mc Kern. His opinion

* The translation was made by Mr. F. L. van den Berg.

is that only a large, well-organized community could have put up these structures (Mc Kern, p. 67 ff., 120 ff.). To his mind these structures are well beyond the powers of a village chief, who can count on the help of only a few well-disposed villagers. Only rulers highly elevated above the common folk have the power to have this done. If the time-scheme of Gifford (p. 49 ff.) is correct, these rulers must have borne the title of *Tui Tonga* (i.e., Lord of Tonga). Working back from the year 1865 in which the last *Tui Tonga* died, and assuming an average reign of 25 years, this dynasty, of which the list of generations mentions 39 successive rulers,¹ may have come to power in the 10th century.²

The first *Tui Tonga*, the legendary founder of the dynasty, Ahoeitu, is supposed to have had a divine father, who seduced a woman on earth (Collocott 1924, p. 169; Gifford, p. 52; Buck, p. 300). The building of the famous trilithon Haamonga a Maui, a sort of gate built of three enormous blocks of stone, is ascribed to one of his descendants, the 11th *Tui Tonga* Tuitatui. Collocott (1924, p. 171) dates this king about 1200. Thomson (1902, p. 83) dates him in the 14th century.

According to traditional history Samoa was turned into a kind of colony during the reign of the 15th *Tui Tonga* (Ella, p. 231; Collocott 1924, p. 175; Williamson I, p. 143; Gifford, p. 54). A comparison with Samoan traditions confirms this (Schultz-Ewerth, p. 66; Buck, p. 302; Suggs, p. 99). This subjection was only temporary, but after the loss of this colony the relations with Samoa still continue.

Under the 25th *Tui Tonga* Kauulufonuafeikai, who must have ruled about 1470, a change in government was effected which would have important consequences for the future. For he appointed his brother hereditary head of the government and war leader, and reserved the sacral part of his office for himself "... which gave him the best that the land provided in produce and beautiful women" (Gifford, p. 56).³ His brother, the head of the Haa Takalaua (the Takalaua family), bore the title of *Hau* as a temporal prince, but customarily this ruler

¹ We find this list in Gifford, p. 50. Although largely agreeing, the genealogies as we find them in Thomson 1894, p. 304 ff. and Collocott 1924, p. 166 ff. differ in detail.

² Estimating the average number of years for one generation is a speculative business. Suggs, p. 53, shows how a term of 25 years in certain cases can lead to utterly incorrect results. In Collocott's article (1924, p. 182 ff.) 21 *Tui Kanokupolu* are mentioned, who reigned altogether from 1650 to 1965 (death of queen Salote). The average period of government would then be about 15 years. See on this also Mc Kern, p. 100 ff. and Williamson I, p. 13.

³ Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55; Collocott 1924, p. 176 ff.; Williamson I, p. 143 ff.; Gifford, p. 55 ff.; Koch, p. 107.

is referred to as the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. According to tradition the reason for this change in the system of government was the violent deaths of several *Tui Tonga*. In this way the ruler hoped from now on to keep out of harm's way (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Collocott 1924, p. 177; Gifford, p. 48). This was indeed the case, but in the long run the *Tui Tonga* himself was to lose much of his power and influence.

In the 17th century we find another alteration in the government of the country. The *Tui Haa Takalaua* then reigning, called Moungetonga, appointed his son his deputy. In fact the latter now became the *Hau*. Usually he is referred to as *Tui Kanokupolu* — a title which really refers to his position as head of a distinguished family. Here, too, the father preferred a life of esteem and luxury, but without direct power (Lawry 1851, p. 65; Thomson 1894, p. 309 ff.; Collocott 1924, p. 180; Gifford, p. 87). A short time after this, with the coming of Le Maire and Schouten in 1616, the historical era begins.

2. From the first visitors to the civil wars (1616-1793).

It is no simple matter to relate the visits of certain Dutchmen to certain rulers. Thomson (1894, p. 310) regards the first *Tui Kanokupolu* as a contemporary of Le Maire and Schouten, and there are no reasons to disbelieve this. These Dutchmen do not supply any data concerning this point, as they visited only a few islands in the extreme North of the Tonga group (Sharp, p. 73). Tasman, who arrived at Tongatapu in 1643, offers some more data. As the name of the "Coninck off overste" (king or captain) whom he met there he gives Latouw or Aisij (Tasman, p. 75). We also find the name of Latou in Le Maire (p. 58), while Cook (1803, V, p. 391) and Georg Forster (p. 256) also mention the names Latoo or Latu. We assume that this must be the title of *Tui*. From Tasman's information we get the impression that he met a very distinguished chief, but whether this was the *Tui Tonga* or one of the other top officials cannot be ascertained (cf. Tasman, p. 60 ff.). Tasman brought a number of drawings back from his visit — at least his journal contains a number of prints of Tongatapu. The value of such 17th century pictures, from an ethnological point of view, is rather small (Pott, pass.). Basing himself on traditions, Gifford places this visit in the reign of the 31st *Tui Tonga*. Thomson, on the other hand, believes that it was the 28th *Tui Tonga* who received the Dutchmen hospitably (Thomson 1894, p. 311). A conclusive answer to this problem is impossible for us.

Not until Cook's visits do we tread on firm ground. When this traveller landed in 1773, he made the acquaintance of several important people. An aged, distinguished islander dined with the English company and appropriated all sorts of presents which Cook had his men hand out (Cook 1803, V, p. 87 ff.). Wilson (p. xlviii) calls this greedy man "Toobou". This was probably Tupoulahi, the 7th *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 87). Another person, even higher in rank, then made an appearance. Cook gives his name as: Kohagee Too Fallangou (1803, V, p. 95). According to Thomson (1894, p. 313) this was Latelibulu, described further by Gifford (p. 83) as the *Tui Lakepa Latunipulu*, a relative of the *Tui Tonga*, who was highly esteemed.

Shortly after this first occasion, in 1777, Cook paid another visit to the Tonga Islands. He now landed on Nomuka, one of the islands south of the Haapai Group (Cook 1803, IX, p. 97 ff.). He was extended a hospitable welcome, and Finau Ulukalala I invited him to go with him to the Haapai Islands, where he apparently reigned.⁴ On Lifuka Cook was given a grand reception. They exchanged presents and all kinds of festivities were organized. The way in which Finau was honoured convinced Cook that this man was the king of all the Tonga Islands. However, when the *Tui Tonga* himself, Paulaho, came to the Haapai Islands, Finau after all proved to be of a lower rank (Cook 1803, IX, p. 162 ff.). Invited by Paulaho, Cook now also went to Tongatapu. Here he found that besides the *Tui Tonga* there were other important people on the island. Most important of these was the aged Maeliuaki (called Mariwagi by Cook), the *Tui Haa Takalaua*, who since the decease of Tupoulahi had also held the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*. During this stay Cook also made the acquaintance of the 12-year-old son of Paulaho (cf. Walther, p. 83 ff.). This lad was paid royal honour by Maeliuaki and his brother "Tubou" (Cook 1803, IX, p. 181). This brother was later to reign under the name of Mumui as the 13th *Tui Kanokupolu*. Tubou was a sort of family name (Gifford, p. 88; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95). About this period Thomson remarks that Cook was treated anything but politely by the Tongans (1894, p. 314 ff.). The leaders allowed their people to rob him and they were not at all grateful for the many presents that Cook gave them. Moreover there seems to have been a plan to attack the Englishmen and rob them of their possessions. This

⁴ There have been several bearers of the name Finau. We shall distinguish between them by using the indications I to IV inclusive. See further note 10.

plan was not carried out, however (Dumont d'Urville 1842, IV, p. 374; Farmer, p. 55; Thomson 1894, p. 315). Of course, one may wonder how this plan became known to later visitors.

It has been proved that there were still contacts between Tonga and Samoa in this time, while the Fiji Islands were also included in these contacts (Cook 1803, IX, p. 307). The data give us a strong impression that this last group came within reach of the Tongans only shortly before this time.⁵ Various authors state that a loosening of the Tongan morals was due to these contacts with the Fiji Islanders. According to the anonymous "Geschichte der christlichen Missionen..." (p. 50 ff.) the Tongans greatly admired the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands. They followed their example as much as possible, which was noticeable especially from their increasing fighting spirit.⁶

Although the increasing coarsening of the Tongans may partly be ascribed to this, it would appear to us that other influences also played a part here. We may point to the white visitors, whose very presence disturbed the aboriginal pattern of life. The presents they so freely handed out, the use of firearms, the strife among the various leaders to appropriate for themselves the favour of the foreigners, all these are breaches in an existing order. Another thing we must point to is a struggle for power which had been smouldering below the surface for some time and came out into the open at this very time: the struggle between the representatives of the central authority and the rulers of the outer territories. This crisis was intensified further by the tensions between the various authorities on Tongatapu itself.

When Dentrecasteaux and Labillardière visited the Tonga Islands in March 1793 everything was still seemingly quiet. What did strike them was the curious relation between the members of the Tubou family (the relatives of the *Tui Kanokupolu*) and the Fatafehi family (the relatives of the *Tui Tonga*). Labillardière (II, p. 170 ff.) describes, for instance, how a son of Paulaho (the later *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava) received presents from the Frenchmen and how a short time later a son of Tubou (Tukuaho, son of Mumui, the *Tui Kanokupolu*) appeared on the scene, took the presents from him and even searched the future

⁵ Several remarks in the literature point to the recent discovery of this group of islands: Cook 1803, IX, p. 308 ff.; Labillardière II, p. 165 ff.; Mariner, p. 276 ff., 333, 495, 511 ff.; Lockerby, p. xvi ff.; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 111, 206; Lawry 1850, p. 253 ff.

⁶ Sarah Farmer, p. 65, finds a great coarsening of the Tongans after 1792, but does not account for it. Thomson 1894, p. 318, thinks influence from Fiji the cause of the increasing licentiousness and bellicosity.

Tui Tonga. Dentrecaesteaux (I, p. 306 ff.) gives a similar version of what happened.

3. *The prelude to the civil wars (1793-1799).*

It is difficult to obtain a clear picture of what happened in this period from the mass of confused and contradictory reports. Troubles already began with Paulaho's death. According to Malaspina, who visited the Vavau Islands in May 1793, the king had been killed in a battle with the chief Vuna, who claimed authority over Vavau.⁷ After this battle Vuna became lord of the Vavau group and his son was invested with the chieftainship of the Haapai Islands (Malaspina, p. 242). The widow of Paulaho for the time being remained on Tongatapu. Thomson (1894, p. 321) believes the king to have died in 1784. He does not explain why he believes this. Gifford (p. 88) takes this for granted. However, in Bligh (p. 106), who called at Nomuka in 1789, we find the information that he heard from the inhabitants that Paulaho, Finau and Tubou were still alive. Now the names Finau and Tubou are applicable to more than one person, but Paulaho is not. In that case he cannot have died in 1784. Dumont d'Urville goes even further. He thinks it highly probable, on the evidence of information from captain Edwards of the "Pandora", that Paulaho was still alive in 1791 (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; 1846, II, p. 53).⁸ If we accept this, it would cause quite a shift in the views, sometimes rather speculative, which we find in Gifford. The picture of Tongan history does become clearer, however, if we do. If we place the death of Paulaho in 1791 or 1792 it would lead to a sequence in which this death just precedes a number of occasions on which Paulaho's widow, Tubou Mohefo, plays a leading part. If we accept Gifford's date of his death, we would have to find an explanation for the curious fact that not until eight years after the death of her husband did she play a role, however short, in Tongan politics. It appears, namely, that Tubou Mohefo made an effort to acquire the office of *Tui Kanokupolu*

⁷ These claims are based on the fact that an earlier *Tui Kanokupolu* gave the rule of the Vavau Islands to Vuna's family. Paulaho, however, appointed a certain Tui Tuiohu, the father of Finau I and II, chief of these islands (Gifford, p. 139). Cf. note 10.

Malaspina (p. 251) met a Finau Ulukalala on Vavau. This was probably Finau II, who was preparing the recapture of power.

⁸ Wilson, p. lix, also reproduces this information from Edwards. Despite much trouble we have not been able to trace Edwards' book.

in 1792 (Gifford, p. 86). We do not know whether she claimed this for herself. She based her claims on the fact that she was a descendant of the Tubou family. Her father was Maeliuaki (Cook 1803, IX, p. 182). Her brother Mulikihaamea, who was *Tui Kanokupolu* until that time, gave up his post and became *Tui Haa Takalaua*.⁹ Tubou Mohefo's ambitions were frustrated by her cousin Tukuaho, who was in fact the strong man in the Tubou group, even though his father Mumui was still alive. He ousted the widow and her son Fuanu-nuiava from Tongatapu to the nearby island of Eua, where they remained for a short time. After this they went to the Vavau Islands where Malaspina met Tubou Mohefo, living near the tomb of Paulaho. He does not mention her son, however (p. 244 ff.). The defeat decreased the prestige of the royal family considerably (Wilson, p. liii, 104). Thomson (1894, p. 321) is of the opinion that the quarrel is over some estates. This motive may indeed have played a part, the *Tui Kanokupolu* being at the same time chief of the district of Nukualofa and owning extensive estates there (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 227; Farmer, p. 90, map). After his victory Tukuaho caused his father Mumui, Maeliuaki's brother, to be appointed *Tui Kanokupolu*.

This struggle was over when Labillardière and Dentrecasteaux visited Tongatapu. They mention the old Tubou as the temporal ruler of the island and they know that Paulaho had been succeeded by his brother — Maulupekotofa (cf. Gifford, p. 58; Collocott 1924, p. 166).

Judging from information from Labillardière (II, p. 163) this brother died soon after coming into office and the rule passed into the hands of his sister Tine, the *Tui Tonga Fefine*, as Paulaho's son was said to have been too young to reign. However, Tine did not succeed in keeping this power, for when the two Frenchmen arrived it already lay with the old Tubou (i.e. Mumui).

Probably we must explain this as follows: Labillardière did not quite understand these complicated affairs and that is why he tried to construe a picture of his own that fitted the situation. The death he mentions was Paulaho's. Labillardière did not meet the latter's brother who succeeded to the throne, nor, indeed, Paulaho's widow. An echo of her experiences is to be found in the Frenchman's remark about Tine "...who had not been able to retain the power..." (cf. Dentrecasteaux, I, p. 304).

A curious fact is that during their visit the Frenchmen saw neither the *Tui Tonga* nor the *Tui Haa Takalaua*. The missionaries of the "Duff" were luckier in this respect, for they met Mulikihaamea, the

⁹ Gifford, p. 88, puts Tui Halafatai and Tubou Lahisii between Maeliuaki and Mulikihaamea in his list of *Tui Kanokupolu*. Cf. Gifford, p. 86, where he says that Mulikihaamea was *Tui Haa Takalaua* as well as *Tui Kanokupolu* but not at the same time.

Tui Haa Takalaua. In their writings he is mentioned as Mulicemar (Wilson, p. 231, 248; Farmer, p. 83, 87). Furthermore the missionaries met the son of Paulaho. They mention him with his family name of Fatafehi, but he was in fact Fuanunuiava, the future *Tui Tonga* (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 184; 1846, II, p. 54).

4. *The civil wars (1799-1820).*

During the reign of *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa (1792-1806) civil war broke out. In this conflict Tukuaho, who succeeded his father in 1797, represented what we might call the government party (for his succession, see Wilson, p. 240, 249). There was a great rivalry between him and Finau Ulukalala II, chief of the Vavau Islands.¹⁰ The crisis came to a head in 1799. On the occasion of a religious ceremony the island lords gathered on Tongatapu, and Finau's ally Tubou Niua of Vavau killed Tukuaho (Mariner, p. 90; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 187 ff.; Lawry 1851, p. 66; Farmer, p. 97 ff.; Geschichte der christlichen Missionen, p. 62). A great confusion arose. The *Tui Tonga* sided with Finau (Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 191) and the *Tui Haa Takalaua* also supported him, so that on the face of it it is somewhat difficult to accuse Finau of rebellious acts. However, when we take into account that the temporal power formally rested with the *Tui Kanokupolu*, it is evident that the murder of this official meant

¹⁰ Gifford, p. 139, discusses the position of the Ulukalala family extensively. He is of the opinion that they were hereditary rulers of the Vavau Islands. This is not quite correct, as appears from note 7. Finau I, who is described by Cook, was possibly a brother of Finau II, the patron of Mariner. See for this Wilson, p. 254; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 183; Farmer, p. 80; Geschichte der chr. M., p. 54; Thomson 1894, p. 321. About the date of Finau I's death opinions differ. The "Duff" missionaries at any rate witnessed the death of a Finau Ulukalala in 1797 — who they thought was the Finau mentioned by Cook.

How the reign in the Vavau Islands can be squared with the influence of Finau I on the Haapai group, as we can read in Cook (1803, IX, p. 103), is not clear. Cf. Walther, p. 76; Zimmermann, p. 18 ff. According to Gifford, p. 135, a certain Matauvave is the ruler here, possibly the son of Vuna.

Dumont d'Urville 1846, II, p. 56, mentions Finau II as lord of the Haapai Islands. This is corroborated by West, p. 55. These assertions probably go back to Mariner, who ascribes the rule of these islands to his lord. He points to the war which Finau II had to wage to subject the Vavau Islands. However, it appears, also in Mariner, that the power over the Haapai group had first to be captured by Finau II (Mariner, p. 87).

The struggle between the Vuna family and Finau II may possibly offer an explanation for the tensions between Finau and Tukuaho, for Vuna was the candidate of the *Tui Kanokupolu* (Gifford, p. 139). (Cf. Note 7).

rebellion against the lawful authority (cf. Collocott 1928, p. 90). Fighting broke out between the followers of the *Tui Kanokupolu* and Finau's party. At first the latter scored a few successes, but after the death in battle of Mulikihaamea this changed (Thomson 1894, p. 325 ff.; Farmer, p. 104). His merciless conduct had many ill effects, and in the end Finau was obliged to withdraw to the Haapai Islands. From here he continued regularly making raids on the main island.

The Protestant missionaries of the "Duff", who were in a dangerous position on account of this war, tried to leave the island. They found an opportunity to do so when an English ship called at Tongatapu in 1800 (Farmer, p. 114).

First the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* was held for a short period by Maafuolimuola, then in 1800 Tubou Malohi, a brother of the murdered Tukuaho, came into office. With a break of a few years, which he spent in the Fiji Islands, he retained this office until 1812 (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Lawry 1850, p. 67; Farmer, p. 123; Thomson 1894, p. 333; Gifford, p. 86). However, a new *Tui Haa Takalaua* was not appointed.

Another brother of Tukuaho, Tubou Toa, joined Finau and — with his knowledge and cooperation — revenged his brother's death by killing Tubou Niua (Mariner, p. 137). After this Tubou Toa was appointed chief of the Haapai Islands (Wilkes, III, p. 38; Mariner, p. 219). Finau would rule the Vavau Islands himself. However, a rebellion broke out against him here, as he was suspected of having had a hand in the death of Tubou Niua, who was popular on those islands. With difficulty Finau at last managed to subdue the islands (Mariner, p. 178 ff.). All this did not prevent him, however, from raiding Tongatapu a few times, in which guns looted in surprise attacks on ships played an important part.¹¹

On Tongatapu the leading figure in these years was Tarkai, who ruled in the district of Bea (Thomson 1894, p. 333). At first he had supported Finau, but now he worked for himself (Mariner, p. 119 ff.). Elisabeth Morey, who was on Tongatapu from 1802-1804 as a prisoner, mentions "Ducava" as the most important chief (Morey, p. 187). This may have been Tahofa, Tarkai's brother (cf. Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 95 ff.).

In 1806 the *Tui Tonga* Maulupekotofa died on the Vavau Islands and he was succeeded by Fuanunuiava. The latter was strongly influenced by Finau. He even married one of his daughters (Mariner, p. 132).

¹¹ Thomson 1894, p. 333; Dumont d'Urville 1832, IV, p. 194. Numerous cases are known of ships raided in the Tonga Islands between 1800 and 1810. Lockerby gives various examples of this: p. lxiii ff., 10 ff., 95 ff., 181 ff., 200 ff.; cf. Mariner, p. 58 ff.

When in 1810 Finau Ulukalala II died and was succeeded by his peace-loving son Finau III,¹² the main stage of the civil wars was over. A short time later the *Tui Tonga* Fuanunuiava also died (Mariner, p. 353 ff.). He was succeeded by Laufilitonga, the last descendant of this royal family, who held the office from 1810-1865. He was a son of Fuanunuiava, but not by his marriage to the daughter of Finau II. As Laufilitonga's age is put at approximately 12 by Mariner, he was most probably the child that was born in 1797. The missionaries of the "Duff", who then stayed on Tongatapu, mention this fact (Wilson, p. 264). This royal prince would remain on Vavau until his death.

The third leader who died about this time was the *Tui Kanokupolu* Tubou Malohi (1812). He was succeeded by his brother Tubou Toa, who reigned till 1820 (Gifford, p. 86).

5. *The period of the missionaries and the English protectorate (after 1820).*

Between 1820 and 1827 there was a sort of interregnum. There was no official head of the state of the Tonga Archipelago. Finau IV reigned in the Vavau Islands. In 1830 Waldegrave met him. Who this Finau was cannot be clearly ascertained. Waldegrave (p. 190) estimates him at about 30 years old. If this is right, he must have been a brother of Finau III. Gifford (p. 139) also adheres to this opinion. Others say he was Finau Fiji, the brother of Finau II (Lawry 1851, p. 68; Thomson 1894, p. 341, 347). The missionary Williams, who also met Finau IV, says nothing about the prince's age or descent (p. 82). This Finau IV was on friendly terms with Taufaaahu, a son of Tubou Toa, who ruled the Haapai Islands.

On Tongatapu there were several distinguished people who each ruled a part of the island. In 1822 the missionary Lawry made a vain attempt to convert the Tongans (Farmer, p. 159). Four years later the mission returned, this time in the person of John Thomas, and it was he who would succeed in converting the Tongans to Christianity (Farmer, p. 161). Among his most important converts was the head of the still influential Tubou family. The chiefs of the island now offered the office of *Tui Kanokupolu* to him, on condition that he

¹² Finau III, according to Mariner's account (p. 315), had to overcome Vuna before he could take over the authority over the Vavau Islands, Vuna also claiming them.

abandon the new religion. Josiah Tubou accepted this and from this moment Tongatapu had one lord again (Lawry 1850, p. 236 ff.; Farmer, p. 167; *Geschichte der chr. M.*, p. 78; West, p. 57, 279). Josiah continued regarding the missionaries with goodwill and left them free to preach. In 1830 he became Christian again and allowed himself to be baptized. Soon Taufaahau, ruler of the Haapai Islands, also joined the new religion (*Geschichte der chr. M.*, p. 100). According to the church historian Neill this was the decisive moment in the conversion of the Tonga Islands (p. 298). From this time onward Taufaahau was called George Tubou. In his turn he led his friend Finau IV of Vavau to Christianity (*Geschichte der chr. M.*, p. 103; Lawry 1851, p. 68). When the latter died in 1833, he left his territory to George Tubou, who therefore became one of the most powerful persons in the Tonga Islands, as appears from the writings of all the visitors of those years (Wilkes, III, p. 10; Lawry 1850, p. 238; *ib.* 1851, p. 68; Farmer, p. 235).

Gradually two parties were forming on Tongatapu, who were naturally called the "Christians" and the "Heathens" by the missionaries. The leader of the former party was Josiah Tubou, the *Tui Kanokupolu*, of the latter party the *Ata*, a prominent official from the Hihifo district. In the conflicts between these two parties George Tubou came to the aid of the *Tui Kanokupolu*. In 1840 the American Wilkes tried to mediate, but without result (Wilkes III, p. 7 ff.; West, p. 58; Thomson 1894, p. 198, 353). The situation became even more confused when French missionaries arrived in the Tonga Islands (*Geschichte der chr. M.*, p. 184; Koskinen, p. 114 ff.; Neill, p. 419). A number of the "Heathens" now became Catholics, among them the *Tui Tonga* (Farmer, p. 367; West, p. 289). An attempt by the Catholic missionaries to win power over the Tonga Islands for him failed due to the action of the Protestant missionaries and George Tubou (Lawry 1851, p. 65; West, p. 55, 58, 291, 306). To balance the French pressure Josiah now called in the aid of the British. In 1844 Britain established its protectorate over the Tonga Islands and the French/Catholic danger was hereby nipped in the bud (Farmer, p. 364; *Geschichte der chr. M.*, p. 186). A short time later Josiah Tubou appointed his friend and nephew George his successor. With some difficulty the latter succeeded, after Josiah's death, in establishing his authority over all the Tonga Islands.

One of George's daughters married the *Tui Belehake*, a brother of the *Tui Tonga*, in 1837 (Thomson 1894, p. 351). The son born

of this marriage would succeed his grandfather as George II in 1893 (Thomson 1894, p. 46; Gifford, p. 86). In his person the families of the *Tui Tonga* and the *Tui Kanokupolu* were joined. His daughter Salote (i.e. Charlotte) succeeded her father in 1918. Her husband, the prince-consort Tungi, was a descendant of the Haa Takalaua, so that in their son, who has been on the ancient throne of Tonga since 1965, the blood of all three great Tongan families is united (Koch, p. 108; Latukefu, p. 159 ff.).¹³

H. J. M. CLAESSEN

APPENDIX

List of periods of government¹⁴

Tui Tonga.

1. Paulaho	reigned till 1792.
2. Maulupekotofa	1792—1806.
3. Fuanunuiava	1806—1810.
4. Laufilitonga	1810—1865.

Tui Haa Takalaua.

1. Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
2. Fuatakifolaha	? — ?	(Gifford places him after no. 3)
3. Mulikihaamea	1792—1800.	(No other T.H.T. is appointed after him).

Tui Kanokupolu.

1. Tupoulahi	reigned in 1773.	
2. Maeliuaki	reigned in 1777.	
3. Tui Halafatai	? — ?	} both are mentioned by Gifford.
4. Tubou Lahisii	? — ?	
5. Mulikihaamea	? — 1792.	
6. Tubou Moheofo	1792.	
7. Mumui	1792—1797.	
8. Tukuaho	1797—1799.	
9. Maafuolimuola	1800.	
10. Tubou Malohi	1800—1812.	
11. Tubou Toa	1812—1820.	
12. Josiah Tubou	1827—1833.	
13. George Tubou	1833—1893.	
14. George II	1893—1918.	
15. Salote	1918—1965.	
16. Taufaahau	1965—	

¹³ According to Mr. Latukefu, p. 159, Salote was a great-granddaughter of the last *Tui Tonga*. However, according to our sources she was the great-granddaughter of a brother of the *Tui Tonga*.

¹⁴ Maurelle, who called at the Tonga Islands in 1780, gives no information about the various rulers. He only met Paulaho on Vavau and gives a description of this monarch (p. 285 ff.).

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