Tauatevalu of 'Utulau.

After the creation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the Tu'i Tonga became more and more sacred and ceased to play an important part in political affairs. However, he retained his right to give lands and to send out people to the islands if he saw fit to do so, though in this later period he usually told the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to send them, and did not do it himself. Principles of rank became more elaborate, and the institutions of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tamahâ were developed. The first Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, became the founding ancestress of a new ha'a: the Fale Fisi.

THE TU'HI HA'ATAKALAUA

The succession of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua is shown in Figure 2.

General Duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua

The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was appointed by the Tu'i Tonga, though it is not known for certain whether the Tu'i Tonga himself chose the successor or whether the people of Ha'atakalaua discussed the matter first among themselves. The pongipongi was presented to the Tu'i Tonga.

The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was known as the hau, which means 'victor, conqueror' in Tongan, and has also come to mean 'the one who rules, sovereign' (Note 11). The term was first used for the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, then later for the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Later still, in the troubled times of 'Ulukâlala's wars, Finau 'Ulukâlala was known as hau in Ha'apai and Vava'u, and various other title-holders (Vaha'i, Teukava, Tâka'i) were successfully known as hau in parts of Tonga. It must be understood that hau means the secular king; the sacred king was of course the Tu'i Tonga.

The general duties of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were to guard and protect the Tu'i Tonga, to see that the 'inasi was contributed, and to maintain order in the nation. He apportioned the lands when necessary, which meant that he told various persons to go and live in certain parts of the kingdom and was allowed by the Tu'i Tonga to grant them land.

The population of Tonga was not large, perhaps about 20,000 people, and there was no shortage of land as there is now. Apparently there were few sharp boundaries (kau'a-fonua) dividing the land of one kainga from that of another, and a good deal of land was uninhabited. In theory, the Tu'hi Tonga held all land and its people and could dispose of both as he pleased. In practice, certain areas belonged traditionally to certain titles or the descendants of certain aristocrats, and such land was handed down from father to son or from brother to brother. Most of the great 'eiki had estates in several parts of the kingdom. The personal
estates of the Tuʻi Tonga were, of course, the largest. When the old sources speak of “dividing the lands”, it is not clear what lands were meant. Sometimes it apparently meant uninhabited land belonging to the Tuʻi Tonga. If the Tuʻi Tonga took a fancy to a man or wished to reward him for some service, he might grant him a piece of his land that was uninhabited. It is said Helu of Foa received his land for performing a service (making a helu ‘feather fan’ for the Tuʻi Tonga); and Tupoutoʻa, the son of Tuʻi Kanokupolu Tukuʻaho, received the island of Pangaimotu, near Tongatapu, for his excellence in sports. Sometimes inhabited land was granted. There are several references in the earliest sources to grants of land being made to Europeans, usually land already cultivated on which several of the chief’s kāinga were living. But any chief could give people his own land in this way. Mullihiʻamea, son of Tuʻi Haʻatākalaua Maealuiaki, gave an allotment of land to the missionary, Vason, and ‘Ulukāla gave an allotment to Mariner. Occasionally the Tuʻi Tonga rewarded an individual by giving him land even though it was already inhabited by another leader. According to the present Haveleta, his ancestor Haveamotuʻa was given the island of Haʻafeva in Haʻapai “to dry his nets” as a reward for his being an excellent turtle fisherman. But Tuʻuhetoka, a Falefā (ancient ceremonial attendant of the Tuʻi Tonga), was already there, and regarded Haʻafeva as his own. The conflict was resolved by a marriage between Haveamotuʻa’s daughter and a Tuʻuhetoka.

The Titles of Haʻa Takalaua

The Tuʻi Haʻatākalaua sent many of his junior relatives to the outlying islands. They succeeded the earlier chiefs sent out by the Tuʻi Tonga. However, the Tuʻi Haʻatākalaua did not send anyone to Niutoputapu once Māʻatu was there, for Māʻatu was a very strong ruler. The titles of most of these men sent out by the Tuʻi Haʻatākalaua have now disappeared, but a few remain, such as: Fakafanua at Maʻofanga in Tongatapu; Tuʻitufu at the island of ‘Eueiki, near Tongatapu; Hama and Kauvakaʻuta in ‘Eua; Tāufa Tofua in Kotu, Fanua Lofanga in Lofonga, and Kavamoʻungaʻone in Moʻungaʻone in Haʻapai; Koate at Longomapu in Vavaʻu; Tongamatamoana at Longomapu in Vavaʻu; Luani and Falekaono at Vavaʻu and Tonga; and Fotofili in Niuafoʻou. With the exception of those that have become noble titles (Fakafanua, Fotofili, and Luani), not much is known of these Haʻa Takalaua title-holders except that they originated from the Haʻatākalaua line. There is some doubt about whether Laume and Kavaliku are really Haʻa Takalaua, with some people saying they are titles of Kauhalaʻuta.

The exact origin of Tuʻitufu, Hama, and Kauvakaʻuta is not known.
The three chiefs Tāufa Tofua, Fanua Lofanga, and Kavamo'unga'one constitute the 'Otu Ha'apai. According to Gifford (1924:67), the first Tāufa Tofua was a son of the first Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'ungamotu'a. It is sometimes said the first Fanua Lofanga was a son of the Tu'ihā'amea and a daughter of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the daughter's name being Nua. However, I cannot find any such statement in the genealogies. At any rate, it seems likely that the 'Otu Ha'apai were sent out by one of the early Tu'i Ha'atakalaua.

Koate is said to be a son of a Talia'uli, but there were several Talia'uli, and it is not certain which one is meant. The first Talia'uli was a son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea. Most probably the first Koate was a son of Talia'uli who was a son of Talia'ulilahi, son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea. The daughter of the first Koate was Tāufa'uli'uli, who married Tongafaleola. Her son to him was 'Osaiasi Veikune. It was on this basis Longomapu was made part of Veikune's tofi'a 'hereditary estate', and that is also why Veikune now appoints the Koate title.

I am not sure of the exact origin of the title Tongamatamoana. The title is now a tehina of Veikune at Longomapu, but it is possible Tongamatamoana was an earlier title and became a tehina of Veikune at a later date.

The ancestor of the Fakafanua title was Kinikinilau. Two of the genealogies say that he was the son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili; another tradition has it he was a son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tatafu. There is a story about Kinikinilau and Tu'utangahunuhunu, the daughter of Tu'ikanokupolu Atamata'ila, who was sent to Tu'i Tonga Kau'ulufonua. As she was being taken to the Tu'i Tonga, she passed by a place called Tafa'ata, along the shores of the island Nukunukumotu. Kinikinilau threw to her a fruit of the pandanus tree marked with his teeth. She told the people who were carrying her to put her down because she wanted to rest. Then she slipped out to meet Kinikinilau, and he told her that she must remember Tafa'ata, their last meeting place. She went back to her people and was taken to the Tu'i Tonga by whom she had a son, Tafolo. Afterwards she went back to Kinikinilau and lived with him and had another son. The Tu'i Tonga sent them word that if she gave birth to a boy, he was to be named Paku and was to become his fisherman and the attendant of Tafolo. A boy was born and duly named Paku; he became one of the Tu'i Tonga's mariners. Paku had a daughter Halaevalu, who married the first Fakafanua, and their descendants were Fakafanua. The present line of Fakafanua, however, is a new line and comes from the marriage of the original Fakafanua with another woman. This story is of particular interest because, as noted above, it shows that the title Fakafanua is connected with Ha'a Takalaua through...
the mother. Normally membership in the *ha'a* went by the father, but there are several exceptions of which this is one.

The founder of the Luani line was Luani Lahi, son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea (Figure 2). Luani Lahi was also the founder of the Falekaono line, as the first Falekaono was a son of Luani Lahi. Luani had lands in Tongatapu, but went to Vava'u with Tuituiho, whose mother, Taluamoto'emoa, was a daughter of Luani Lahi. One of the Falekaono was killed along with his king when Tupouniua and 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa murdered Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho. Some people say this Falekaono was the first one, but if so, he must have been excessively old, for 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa was Taluamoto'emoa's great-grandson, and the first Falekaono was her elder brother. Here again we see the fusing of all holders of the title as if they were one person.

Of all the people sent out by the Ha'atakalaua, Fotofili was perhaps the most successful. It is said the first Fotofili was a son of Tatafu, who was son of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fotofili (Figure 2). Tatafu was sent to 'Uvea to arrange for the cutting of stones for a burial place for the Tu'i Tonga. He spent several months there and had a child by an 'Uvean woman whose name was Tokanga Fuifuilupe. She was the daughter of the Tu'i 'Uvea. Tatafu was summoned back to Tonga while Tokanga was still pregnant, but he told her that if she had a boy she should call him Fotofili, and if she had a girl she could please herself and her relatives about the name; the child was a boy and as time went on Tatafu sent several messages for the boy to be brought to Tonga, but his mother and her relatives did not want to let him go. Tatafu was very grieved at the uselessness of his son, for the proper thing would have been for him to come to Tonga to help his father and the other Ha'a Takalaua in carrying out their duties to the Tu'i Tonga. Sometime before this the Tu'i Tonga had tried on several occasions to send an 'eiki of Kauhala'uta to Niuafo'ou in the way he had sent Latumailangi to Niuatoputapu, but none of these efforts had been successful because the people of Niuafo'ou were rather wild and had killed all these men. The Tu'i Tonga had sent a message to the Sina'e to send one of their children, but they were not enthusiastic. Finally, a message came to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to send one of his people, and the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua told his children to discuss who should go. Tatafu suggested his son at 'Uvea, saying that, as things stood at the moment, he was useless anyway, so if he was killed at Niuafo'ou it would be no great loss. A canoe was sent off to 'Uvea with the order, and the Tu'i 'Uvea and his daughter accepted it at once, and Fotofili was duly sent off to Niuafo'ou. It is said he was a man of very strong character, and a cannibal too. The people of Niuafo'ou were very much afraid of him, and called him Fotofili Fekai. After some time
Tatafu heard about the success of his son, and went to see him at Niuafo'ou. Tatafu died at Niuafo'ou. Fotofili became the supreme ruler of Niuafo'ou, and, because the island was so far from Tonga, he had a considerable measure of independence. The name became a title that has continued to the present time. Most of the women married by the Fotofili were local women of low rank, so he did not have high rank among the aristocrats of Tonga, but he was an important ruler.

It is not known for certain whether it was the Tu'i Tonga or the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua who made the formal appointment of these titles of Ha'a Takalaua and received the pongipongi. It is most likely it was the Tu'i Tonga, or the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua with the consent of the Tu'i Tonga. Some of the lesser titles like Hama and Kauvaka'uta in 'Eua could be appointed by whoever was the leading man of the island at the time, such as Tuku'aho and Ulakai, though these two 'eiki of 'Eua came at a later period.

Although the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was regarded as king by the whole nation, he exercised direct authority only over his own ha'a. Each chief of the Ha'a Takalaua was in charge of collecting 'inasi from his own people, and he then sent it to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who in turn sent it to the Tu'i Tonga. In islands where there was a strong leader of Ha'a Takalaua, such as Fotofili in Niuafo'ou, that leader would collect 'inasi from all the people of the island and send it to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. If the Ha'atakalaua chiefs were not so strong, they would collect 'inasi only from their own people, and the Kauhala'uta people would send theirs separately, direct to the Tu'i Tonga.

For six generations the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua are said to have succeeded one another from father to son, carrying out their duties of governing on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga and in his interest. But the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Mo'unga-'o-tonga, created one of his younger sons Tu'i Kanokupolu and sent him to Hihifo, the western part of Tongatapu. Perhaps Mo'unga-'o-tonga merely intended to send Ngata out as he had sent other relatives out before, or perhaps he wanted to get rid of Ngata's warlike relatives, for Ngata's mother, Tohu'ia, was a Samoan, and she had brought a lot of Samoan attendants with her to Fonuamotu. Or perhaps Mo'unga-'o-tonga thought he would become a chief of high rank, letting his inferior relatives do the work, just as the Tu'i Tonga before him had become the sacred king and had left the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to carry the hazards of political power and authority. At any rate, whatever his intentions, Mo'unga-'o-tonga's action led to the establishment of a new line of kings and the eventual eclipse of his own, because, with the establishment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua line gradually decreased in importance and the Tu'i Kano-
Kupolu took over the functions of governing.

In Queen Sālote’s view, there was really no place for the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua after the Tu‘i Kanokupolu had become a strong ruler. The Tu‘i Tonga was the sacred king, the Tu‘i Kanokupolu was the secular king, and there was no longer any particular duty for the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua. It was also Queen Sālote’s view that after the creation of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu the Ha‘a Takalaua started quarrelling among themselves over who was to succeed to the title. Indeed, this ha‘a acquired a reputation for breaking up into little ha‘a with each son trying to form his own independent group instead of supporting his elder brothers. It is said many titles were formed by sons of the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, but as they had no duties to perform, no lands, and no large kāinga to back them up, most of them disappeared. Luani lasted because he had attached himself to the ‘Ulukālala. For a time Luani Taufatoutai tried to be the ‘eiki of ‘Eua, but he was chased out by Hafoka, a son title (foha) of Ve‘ehala, which was, and is, one of the titles derived from the Kanokupolu line. Fakafanua was somewhat isolated at Ma‘ofanga; Fotofili was virtually an independent ruler at Niuafo‘ou. These three are the major Ha‘a Takalaua titles that have survived, but to them must be added the title of Tungi, which is, in effect, the successor of the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua title itself.

It is said that Kafoa, a son of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Vaea, disputed the succession of the title Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua and waged war over it, though it is not exactly certain whom he fought. It may have been his younger brother, Moeakiola, or his father’s brother, Tatafu. At any rate, Moeakiola succeeded his father, Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Vaea, even though Kafoa was his elder brother. Kafoa was banished, but he returned later on and became Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua after all. The Tamahā does not mention Tatafu in her list of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, but elsewhere in her book she describes him as Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua so he may have succeeded to the title too, but it is not certain whether he came before Kafoa or after him. Kafoa was succeeded by his son Tu‘ionukulave, and then by Tu‘ionukulave’s son Silivaka‘ifanga, and then this line appears to have died out, or at least no other members of it held the title. The Tu‘i Tonga was apparently asked to provide a new Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, and he chose the descendants of Tu‘ihoua, son of Tu‘i Tonga ‘Uluakimata and Longo, who was probably a daughter of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Vaea. Hence the new line was descended from an earlier Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua through a woman (Figure 11). It is sometimes said that the first title-holder of the new line was Tu‘ihoua’s son, Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha; others say that Fuatakifolaha, son of Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha, was the first Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua of this line. He was also the last, for after this the title
lapsed again. Then Maealiuaki, the one whom Cook met, asked for the title, basing his claim on the fact that his father’s mother was Kaloafūtonga, a daughter of Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua Vaea. Some say that Maealiuaki’s son Mulikihaʻamea succeeded him as Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua. But the late Tungi Mailefihi, who was a direct descendant of Maealiuaki in the male line, said that he had always been told that Maealiuaki was the last formally appointed Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua.

The title of Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua is, of course, now defunct. In 1875, however, Tāufaʻāhau Tupou I proclaimed that Tungi Halatuituia would act as representative of the Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua title. Tungi Halatuituia was a son of Fatukimotulalo, son of Mulikihaʻamea. Tungi Halatuituia was the father of Tukuʻaaho, who was in turn the father of Tungi Mailefihi, husband of Queen Tālote and father of the present King Tāufaʻāhau Tupou IV. (See Figures 2 and 19 for more detail about Tuʻi Haʻatakalaua Maealiuaki’s descendants.)

THE TUʻI KANOKUPOLU

The Settling of Ngata, the First Tuʻi Kanokupolu, in Hihifo

According to Queen Tālote, Ngata was successful in establishing himself in Hihifo partly because he was firmly supported by his mother’s Samoan followers and partly because he was supported by his father’s brother Vaoloa and his own elder brother Halakitaua (same father, different mother) (Figure 3). It is also said that Loʻau had a good deal to do with the organisation of the new haʻa, and that is why it was so well constructed.

There is a story of how Ngata was doubtful at first about going to Hihifo. He and his Samoans set out from Fonuamotu, but they decided they would make a place for themselves in Samoa instead of trying to go to Hihifo, where (it was said) the people were very fierce. A meeting was held on the canoes, and eventually it was decided to go to Hihifo after all. When the canoes arrived in Hihifo the people were waiting, because they had been told that one of the sons of Moʻunga-ʻo-Tonga was coming to bring them their Tuʻi Hihifo, but they were not prepared for the three-men-in-one who greeted them, and they were terrified. Ngata had placed Vaoloa on his left and Halakitaua on his right, and they were placed so close together and dressed in ceremonial costume of investiture in such a way they looked like one man with three heads. Hence the name ‘Ulutolu ‘Three-heads’, which is applied to the Tuʻi Kanokupolu, Nuku, and Niukapu. The title Nuku descended from Vaoloa, the younger brother of Moʻunga-ʻo-tonga, and the title Niukapu descended from Halakitaua, the elder brother of Ngata.

They proceeded to shore, and Ngata went and sat with his back against