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 Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua Vaea. Some say that Maealiuaki’s son Mulikiha’amea succeeded him as Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua. 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 Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua.

The title of Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua is, of course, now defunct. In 1875, however, Taufa‘ahau Tupou I proclaimed that Tungi Halatuituia would act as representative of the Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua title. Tungi Halatuituia was a son of Fatukimotulalo, son of Mulikiha’amea. Tungi Halatuituia was the father of Tuku'aho, who was in turn the father of Tungi Mailefihi, husband of Queen Sālote and father of the present King Taufa‘ahau Tupou IV. (See Figures 2 and 19 for more detail about Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua Maealiuaki’s descendants.)

THE TU'I KANOKUPOLU

The Settling of Ngata, the First Tu‘i Kanokupolu, in Hihifo

According to Queen Sālote, 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 Lo‘au had a good deal to do with the organisation of the new ha‘a, 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 Mo‘unga-o-Tonga was coming to bring them their Tu‘i 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 Tu‘i Kanokupolu, Nuku, and Niukapu. The title Nuku descended from Vaoloa, the younger brother of Mo‘unga-o-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
the koka tree at the place that later came to be known as Pangai. From this time on, all the Tu‘i Kanokupolu were appointed at this tree. (After the investiture of Tupou I, part of the tree was built into the coronation chair.) The first cup of kava investing Ngata with the new title was lifted to his lips by the left hand of Vaoloa and the right hand of Halakitaua. Lauaki was the matāpule on the left and Motu’apuaka on the right. Lauaki was an undertaker, originally descended from the Falefā Maliepō and a Samoan woman, Vaitoifanga (possibly Vaetoe-‘i-Fanga). This ancestor lived in the time of Tu‘i Tonga Talakaifaiki, but a subsequent one was sent to be matāpule to the first Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, Mo‘ungā-motu‘a, and a later one was sent with Ngata. Motu’apuaka was one of the children of Kili. Kili was an uncle of Tohu‘ia, and his children were the first and the main matāpule of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, i.e., Kamoto, Uhi, Motu‘apuaka, Kioa, Ngalungalu, and Va‘enō. They were called the Fale Ha‘akili, and had many descendants. ‘Akau‘ola and the other holders of toutai navigator titles sat at the left. ‘Akau‘ola was a navigator from Samoa; he had brought Tohu‘ia to Tonga. The ancestor of Fulivai, originally also a toutai, also came with Tohu‘ia from Samoa, and so did Ula. Napa‘a, Fā‘oa, Monū, and Tovi sat in the ‘alofi. These were the Falefā Hihifo and the Falefā ‘Uta, all Samoan followers of Ngata. The inu ‘anga kava6 was a son of Vaoloa and his name was Muliki‘eua.

These practices are still followed in the taumafa kava of the present Tu‘i Kanokupolu. Motu‘apuaka is the matāpule on the right, Lauaki on the left. The mariners sit on the left, the matāpule on the right. The Falefā Hihifo and the Falefā ‘Uta sit in the ‘alofi, though Tovi now has the duty of keeping a path from the tou‘a so he sits just in front of the tou‘a. Muliki‘eua is inu ‘anga kava only at the appointment of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. At other times it is a Ha‘a Ngata Tupu, if one is present, or one of the tehina titles of Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a. And another change is that Nuku and Niukapu no longer sit right next to the king. They have come down to be vaha‘itaha, that is, to occupy the place just after the presiding matāpule. Nuku is vaha‘itaha on the left, and Niukapu on the right. Very recently, however, a further change has been made so that the Tu‘ipelehake is now vaha‘itaha on the right, and Niukapu has the next chiefly place after his.

Ngata was appointed as the Tu‘i Ha‘amo‘unga, the Ha‘a Mo‘unga being the titles descended from the sons of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Mo‘ungā-tonga, except for Fotofili, who became Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua. Ha‘a Mo‘unga thus includes the Tu‘i Kanokupolu and the titles that arose among the descendants of Ngata. It is not known for certain when the title Tu‘i Kanokupolu came into general use, but it must have been very
TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF COOK’S VISIT

near the beginning. It is derived from a Samoan word ‘a’ano, meaning ‘flesh’ or ‘centre’, and ‘Upolu, one of the main islands of Samoa. The Tu‘i Kanokupolu is also referred to as Ha‘a Moheofo because of the practice that developed later of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu’s daughter becoming the moheofo of the Tu‘i Tonga. But this expression refers only to the Tu‘i Kanokupolu himself and does not include the other titles descended from Ngata.

At the present time the Tu‘i Kanokupolu and the titles descended from Ngata are often called Kauhalalalo. It will be remembered that, in the beginning, this expression referred to the Ha‘atakalaua people in contrast to Kauhala‘uta, namely those descended from the Tu‘i Tonga. When the Tu‘i Kanokupolu first began, his title and its people were considered to be a division within Kauhalalalo. But the Tu‘i Kanokupolu became so important and so completely eclipsed the Ha‘a Takalaua that the expression Kauhalalalo came to be used to refer to the Tu‘i Kanokupolu and the people derived from him, and people speak of the Ha‘a Takalaua as if they were a separate group. However, strictly speaking, the expression Kauhalalalo still includes both the Ha‘a Takalaua and the Ha‘a Mo‘unga.

Vaoloa and Halakitaua were not included as part of the Ha‘a Mo‘unga. Instead, they were called Ha‘a Lātūhifo, literally the ha‘a that has come down. This may refer to the fact that after the first investiture they moved away from the Tu‘i Kanokupolu and took up positions of vaha‘itaha (the positions just after Motu‘apuaka on the right and Lauaki on the left in the kava circle of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu). Or it may mean that, although they were senior to Ngata, being his uncle and his older brother, they came down so that he could be elevated. They did not continue to live in Hihifo. According to Motu‘apuaka’s account (1959), they had a discussion after Ngata’s investiture and it was decided Vaoloa should return to Hahake and Halakitaua should live in the central part of Tongatapu. The estate of Nuku, the title originating from Vaoloa, is at Holonga in Hahake, the eastern part of Tongatapu. The estate of Niukapu, the title originating from Halakitaua, was at Fangale‘ounga in Nualei, in the central part of Tongatapu. A later Niukapu got involved in a war between Tuku‘aho (son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mumui) and Tupou-moheofo (wife of Tu‘i Tonga Pau and daughter of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi) and he fled to Ha‘apai. The present Niukapu lives in Vava‘u.

The Tu‘i Kanokupolu and his entourage settled down in what are now the villages of ‘Āhau and Kanokupolu in Hihifo. The first two Tu‘i Kanokupolu, Ngata and Atamata‘ila, lived in ‘Āhau and are buried there. The others down to the Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupouto‘a are buried in the tombs at Kanokupolu. Tupouto‘a was buried in ‘Uiha, Ha‘apai.
Taufa'ahau Tupou I decreed a new burial ground for the Tu'i Kanokupolu in Nuku'alofa, known as Malae'e Kula.

In the beginning, Ngata's followers consisted of five main groups: the Falefā Hihifo, the Falefā 'Uta, the Fale Ha'akili, the mariners, and the undertakers. Except for Lauaki, the undertakers were all of Samoan origin, and even Lauaki was remotely descended from a Samoan woman.

The Falefā Hihifo consisted, and still does, of Fa'oa, Napa'a, and Monū. At the present time they live in the village of Kanokupolu. They were the companions of the king (hau), especially Napa'a. Fa'oa was in charge of fishing at the reef mud-flats of Hihifo, and at the reef of Hakautapu. At the investiture of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, he still has the duty of making a speech to the newly appointed king concerning the fishing. Monū had the duty of looking after Havelulahi, the cemetery in Kanokupolu.

The Falefā 'Uta consisted of Lei and Tovi, living at 'Ahau. Tovi's special duty was to take charge of making certain trees and plants tapu in time of scarcity. At the appointment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu he speaks concerning the duty of the new king to send food to Fonuamotu, meaning to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. This custom is still kept up, though of course the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua disappeared long ago. Later a title called Lasike came to be considered as the head of the Falefā 'Uta. The first Lasike was a grandson of the third Kanokupolu, Mataeletu'apiko. His mother was Toafilimo'eunga, a daughter of Mataeletu'apiko, and his father was Paleisasa, a son of the Tui Nayau of Lakeba, Fiji. Many of Toafilimo'eunga's brothers were the originators of the titles of Ha'a Havea, and Lasike is considered to be affiliated with the Ha'a Havea as well as with the Falefā 'Uta. He acquired land at Lakepa, in central Tongatapu, and it seems likely he was given this land by one of the early Ha'a Havea title-holders.

The Fale Ha'akili were descended from 'Ili (Kili in Tongan), the uncle of Tohu'ia. He married a Tongan woman, though I do not know who she was. His children were Kamoto, Uhi, Motu'apuaka, Kioa, and perhaps also Ngalungalu, all of which became matapule titles and are still appointed at the present time. (In Motu'apuaka's account, however, it says that the first Motu'apuaka was the son of a kaunanga 'servant girl' of Tohu'ia. It does not mention his father.) These early matapule were more like Samoan tulafale. They arranged the marriages of the king, and they had a voice in the choice of successor. As time went on, however, they became like other Tongan matapule in having charge of ceremonial affairs but no control over succession or marriage. They were the constant companions of the king and probably discussed all important matters with him, though he was not bound by their opinions or
advice in any way.

Kamoto and Uhi were the two oldest, and they were thus senior to the others. As time went on the Fale Ha‘akili multiplied, and a great many matapule titles developed. The early descendants of Kamoto and Uhi were sent to the outlying islands so they would be there to receive the Tu‘i Kanokupolu when he visited, and also to serve the chiefs who were already there. Kofo and Afeaki were sent to Ha‘apai. Afu and Fotu were sent to Vava‘u, Sika and Kaufanga to Niuatoputapu, Haufano and Māsila to Niuafou, and ‘Elili and Malala to ‘Uvea. These matapule were not sent out as rulers, for at this early period the Tu‘i Kanokupolu was not sending out rulers to compete with those sent out earlier by the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua. Rather they were sent out as ceremonial assistants to the existing rulers of these places.

Although Kamoto and Uhi were the two oldest of the Fale Ha‘akili, it was Motu‘apuaka who became the leader and the main matapule of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. The reason usually given is that he travelled around with the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, whereas Kamoto and Uhi stayed behind to see that everything was in order at home. Since most later Tu‘i Kanokupolu spent more and more time away from Hihifo, Motu‘apuaka, being on the spot with the hau, became his chief matapule.

As time went on the Fale Ha‘akili began to move out from the close confines at Hihifo. Kioa went to Ha‘utu, where he had land, and Motu‘auaka went to Te‘ekiu. It is said the reason they moved out was so they could receive visitors coming from Hahake to see the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, and so they could warn their king that strangers were coming. Kamoto, Uhi, and Ngalungalu stayed at ‘Ahau and Kanokupolu.

As time went on, the descendants of the Fale Ha‘akili multiplied, and they provided many matapule for the chiefs of Tonga. In the beginning, the motu‘a tauhi fonua apparently did not have any matapule, but after the time of Paulaho they began to use them and they would ask the Fale Ha‘akili to send them one of their children to act as a matapule. In this way many new matapule titles were started.

The Fale Ha‘akili could not distribute kava for the Falefā Hihifo or the Falefā ‘Uta, though I do not know why. They had special matapule of their own, Vakalahi Fuiono and Vakalahi Ha‘atala‘uli, living in Kanokupolu and ‘Ahau.

The two main navigators of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu were ‘Akau‘ola and Fulivai, and both at first lived near him. Later ‘Akau‘ola lived on the island of Taunga, where he now has a tofi‘a ‘estate’, and Fulivai went to Hunga in Vava‘u. (His title was made a noble title at the time of the Constitution, and Hunga is his tofi‘a.) ‘Akau‘ola was made a matapule ma‘u tofi‘a ‘matapule with a hereditary estate’ at the time of the Constitution.
Lauaki was the new king’s undertaker. He did not stay in Hihifo, however. He left a younger brother in Hihifo and returned to his own place in Talafo‘ou, in eastern Tongatapu. The title junior to his was Sikei, and this title is still appointed at Masilamea. The title Lauaki still has its seat at Talafo‘ou.

**Ngata’s Children: The Titles of Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a**

*FIGURE 20*

*The origin of the titles of Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a (Titles of Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a are underlined)*

Ngata married Hifo and Kaufo‘ou, daughters of ‘Ahome‘e, a chief of Hihifo. The origin of the title ‘Ahome‘e is not known, but after the marriage of his daughters to Ngata it was gradually drawn into the Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a, though strictly speaking he is Ha‘a Ngata’s kui or tupu‘anga, i.e., ‘grandfather’ or ‘ancestor’. This is another case of a title being drawn into a ha‘a through a woman.

Ngata’s child with Hifo was Vakalepu. His children with Kaufo‘ou were Atamata‘ila, Leilua, Kaumavae, Kapukava, all of these being sons, and one daughter, Fetunu.

Vakalepu went and lived in ‘Eua. When his father died he was summoned to return to become king but he said he did not wish to become king. Could the people not find some person low-born enough to do the work? So Atamata‘ila became Tu‘i Kanokupolu, and Vakalepu was respected as the eldest and therefore the most senior, but he had no duties.

All these sons of Ngata came to have titles, and they formed a new ha‘a, the Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a (Figure 20). It was their duty to guard and protect the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, and to provide him with food especially for pongipongi and also for the ‘inasi which he sent to the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, who in turn sent it to the Tu‘i Tonga. The Ha‘a Ngata provided the Tu‘i Kanokupolu with men in case of war; they regulated
his kava ceremonies; they decided, at least at first, who would succeed to the title. These titles were the *tehina* of the king. According to Queen Sālote, the rise of the Tu'i Kanokupolu to his position of supreme power was in large measure due to the cohesiveness of loyalty of this *ha'a*, especially in the beginning. They were much more closely knit than any other *ha'a*, and the reason probably was that they were all living close together in a small area. Also, the land of Hihifo was so small they had to cultivate their lands with the greatest care in order to have enough to live on. They were well known as hard workers. Captain Cook himself observed that not an inch of ground was uncultivated in Hihifo, and everything was laid out with the greatest possible order and precision.

The Ha'a Ngata did not acquire their titles right away, in the first generation. It was not until the reign of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele'ut'apiko, that their titles developed. According to one legend, they received their titles at the time when a large *kalia* 'double canoe' called the *Hifofua* was brought to Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele'ut'apiko from Fiji. Vakalepu was called 'Ahi'o, which means a particular kind of shell (*pule*) that was used to decorate canoes. It is said he was named after this shell because he was the senior of the brothers, being the eldest and also having no duties, and the 'a'hi'o is used for decoration only. Leilua's son was called Ve'ehala because a kava ceremony was held beside (*ve'e*) the road (*hala*) the day the *kalia* was brought. Kaumavae's son was called Ata 'Dawn' because that was the time of day when the *kalia* arrived, and Kapukava refers to the fact that all the Ha'a Ngata were in the kava ring when the Hifofua arrived. The original personal name of Kapukava is not known.

But this is not the only legend explaining the names of the Ha'a Ngata. Another legend says that Kapukava was called this because when he was born the king and all his followers were in a kava ring. (*Kapu* means to surround—the idea being that all the people were surrounding the kava.) Leilua was called Ve'ehala because at the time of Ngata's death he was in Samoa and so he had no place in the kava ring of the funeral. When he returned he was called Ve'ehala because the 'Wrong-footed-one' (*va'e* 'foot', *hala* 'wrong'). Ata was the name given to Kaumavae's son. The full name was Atafakahau (*ata* 'dawn', *fakahau* 'cruel') (Note 11). The reason for this name was that the baby cried all day, from dawn to sunset.

Thus 'Ahi'o, Ve'ehala, Ata, and Kapukava were the four original titles of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a. 'Ahome'e gradually came to be considered as a member of the Ha'a. Vaha'i was sent later as a *malanga* ('emissary' is perhaps the closest word) from Ha'a Lātūhifo, especially in matters concerned with kava rituals. He is now considered a member of the *ha'a*. 
Momotu was sent later on as emissary from Ha' a Havea. It is sometimes said Ngata's daughter, Fetunu, had a son called Ngaluha'atafu, and this title is considered to belong to the Ha' a Ngata Motu'a. However, I could not find any such record in the genealogy of Losaline Fatafehi for Fetunu's children, and the Ha' a Ngata at the present time are very firm in their opinion that Ngaluha'atafu does not belong to their ha'a. Possibly he was one of the elders who were already in Hihifo when Ngata first came.

The Tu' i Kanokupolu kāinga was evidently growing by this time, and they began to spread out from the close confines of their narrow peninsula. Ata had a homestead (‘api) called Kolopelu where the village of Kolovai now stands. Ve'ehala moved farther away to the south, and his homestead was called Fāhefa. 'Ahio lived at Haveluliku in Hahake (eastern Tongatapu), though I do not know exactly how or when he got there. Kapukava went to Holonga, not far from Mu'a. The reason for his moving away from Hihifo was to provide a place for the Kanokupolu people to stay when they were bringing their 'inasi, pongipongi, and polopolo 'first-fruit offerings' to the Tu'i Tonga. In the beginning, the Kanokupolu people, unlike the hou'eiki of Kauhala'uta, did not have a home in Mu'a, so they had no place to stay. 'Ahome'e's 'api in Hihifo was Ha'avakatolo. When Vaha'i joined the Ha' a Ngata Motu'a, he settled just east of Ha'avakatolo, at Lolopanga, but Vaha'i's tofi'a now is called Fo'ui.

All these Ha' a Ngata held land, though Hihifo was so small their holdings were not large. In spite of this, however, their kāinga multiplied and they became important leaders. They were always called motu'a tauhi fonua, and they did not attempt to marry with the hou'eiki. In the beginning, most of their marriages seem to have been with local women. Later they married the daughters of matapule and important warriors, and other motu'a tauhi fonua. Their concern, according to Queen Sālote, was with building up their own kāinga to support their king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, not with becoming hou'eiki themselves.

As each kāinga became larger, leaders developed within it. It was the custom for title-holders to appoint new tehina titles to help them to look after their affairs and to act as the leader of the kāinga when the title-holder was absent. As noted above, these were younger brothers of the title, not of the man himself, and most of them are still appointed at the present time. These tehina of the title are inu 'anga kava in the kava ring of the title-holder, but they sit at the head of the ring in the title-holder's absence, and usually a tehina holds the fono 'meeting' if the title-holder cannot do it himself.

Some of the tehina of the title were originally real brothers of one of
the early title-holders. However, as described above, the title-holder could appoint any man to be a *tehina* if he wished so; it did not have to be his own brother. What frequently happened was that the title-holder would appoint *tehina* from among his wife’s relatives. Or a man would appoint *tehina* from among his mother’s people. But the title-holder would appoint one of his wife’s or mother’s relatives only if he was living in his household (*'api*). Another type of minor title was that of *foha* ‘son’ to the title. In this case, however, the original title-holder was always a real son of one of the (main) title-holders.

In the beginning, the Ha’a Ngata Motu’a did not have *matapule*, but they began to use them after the time of Tu’i Tonga Paulaho. Some were sent to them by the Fale Ha’akili, others were foreign immigrants and the Tu’i Tonga allowed them to create these as their *matapule*. The reason they asked the Tu’i Tonga was that most foreigners usually lived at Mu’a in the Tu’i Tonga’s court.

*The Appointment, Investiture, and Kava Ceremony of the Tu’i Kanokupolu*

The Ha’a Ngata chose and appointed the Tu’i Kanokupolu. In this respect the Tu’i Kanokupolu differed from the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, who was appointed by the Tu’i Tonga. The first Tu’i Kanokupolu was of course chosen by his father, Tu’i Ha’atakalaua Mo’ungatonga, and his appointment was carried out by Vaoloa, Halakitaua, and the Samoan followers of Ngata. In the choice and appointment of Atamata’ila and others of the early Tu’i Kanokupolu, the Samoan followers seem to have played an important part and after the Ha’a Ngata Motu’a were well established, it became their right to conduct the appointment.

When a Tu’i Kanokupolu died, there was a large funeral at Hihifo. It was attended by the Tu’i Tonga and by the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, as well as by all *ha’ā* derived from the Tu’i Kanokupolu, and by his relatives. The most important *pongipongi* were presented by the Ha’a Ngata and later by the Ha’a Havea as well, after this *ha’ā* had been formed. Shortly after the completion of the funeral, the Ha’a Ngata and the Ha’a Havea held a meeting to decide who the next king was to be. Ve’ehala and Ata were the main titles of Ha’a Ngata Motu’a who were concerned in the choice. Any one of the titles of the two *ha’ā* could attend, but Vaha’i, having been sent from another *ha’ā*, had no say in the choice.

In choosing a successor, the Ha’a Ngata were influenced mainly by the ability of the potential heirs and the strength of the mother’s people. Age and rank were also important, but the Tu’i Kanokupolu was a “working” king, so that his ability was the most important factor. The strength of his mother’s people was also important, because without
powerful allies the king could not be strong in carrying out his duties. Succession was usually from father to son or from brother to brother.

All the titles connected with the Tu'i Kanokupolu were assembled for his investiture, but it was the Ha'a Ngata who played the most important role. The following description of the investiture is taken mainly from Her Majesty's notes for the Tonga Traditions Committee and also from Motu'apuaka's notes.

First, the Tu'i Kanokupolu came and sat with his back to the koka tree where Ngata had sat when he first arrived in Hihifo. The title-holders took their seats with the matapule (Fale Ha'akili) on the right, the mariners on the left, Ha'a Havea (when that ha'a had been formed) in the 'alofoi, and Falefā 'Uta and Falefā Hihifo in the 'alofoi except for Tovi, who sat just in front of the path in the tou'a, on the left. The great titles of Ha'a Ngata were near the tou'a, on the sides. The tehina and foha titles of the Ha'a Ngata and of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and Ha'a Havea sat in the tou'a. Later, when the Tu'i Kanokupolu became the only king, the seating had to be changed to include the Ha'a Takalaua and Kauhala'uta title-holders.

The reason the Ha'a Ngata sat near the tou'a was because they were in charge of the making of the kava for their king. They were the guardians of the kava, and it is for this reason the Tu'i Kanokupolu always drinks the first cup of kava, in contrast to the Tu'i Tonga who handed the first cup to a matapule. The reason the Tu'i Tonga did this is said to have been fear of poisoning, and the reason the Tu'i Kanokupolu took his cup first is said to have been a way of showing that he was so well protected by his Ha'a Ngata he did not need to fear being poisoned. Everything is done very slowly by the Ha'a Ngata when they make the kava. This is to show that there is peace in the land and no need for haste.

It is supposed to be Kapukava who was originally in charge of the tou'a and the making of the kava, with Vе'ehala being in charge of affairs of the sea and Ata of the land. This did not mean that Vе'ehala exercised the functions of a mariner, but rather that when the Tu'i Kanokupolu went on a journey by sea, it was Vе'ehala's duty to see to the tou'a and the making of the kava as soon as they landed. Vе'ehala was made overseer of mariners because the sea is superior to the land, and the original ancestor of Vе'ehala, Leilua, was older than the ancestor of Ata, Kaumavae. Kapukava gave up being head of the kava chewers when he went to live in Holonga, and this task was then divided between Vе'ehala and Ata. They are in charge of the making of the kava, the conduct of the tou'a, and in general of the regulation of affairs at Pangai (the assembling-place of the Tu'i Kanokupolu). Vаha'i is their spokesman. 'Ahio had no duties, so he sits in the 'alofoi. 'Ahome'e is regarded as the
mother of the Ha'a Ngata, so he too sits in the ‘alofi. Traditionally his place is under the eaves at the end of the house in which the Tu'ī Kanokupolu sits.

At the investiture of the Tu'ī Kanokupolu a kava fuataha was used, a mere bundle, and only a single presentation of cooked food, called ‘umu fakapangai, was prepared, and this was by the Ha'a Ngata. It was placed in a special basket of Samoan design, a perpetual reminder of Ngata’s maternal Samoan origin.

At the investiture of the Tu'ī Kanokupolu there is always a certain Fijian present, dressed for war, who prances about, breaking every tapu of the kava ritual. It is said he is there to protect the king, and the origin of this custom was that when the craft Hifoua arrived in the time of Tu'ī Kanokupolu Mataeletu'apiko, there was a Fijian present, Tu'isoso, and Mataeletu'apiko presented this Fijian with one of his sons, Tu'ivakanō. The Fijian danced for joy. Thus, the Tu'ī Kanokupolu’s kava ceremony expresses and emphasises the connections of the title both with Samoa and with Fiji.

At the investiture of the Tu'ī Kanokupolu, there can be a friendly argument (tālanga) between Motu'apuaka and Lauaki about which of them ought to be directing the proceedings. It may occur when the order is given to line up the ‘umu, when the order is given to arrange the tou'a, when the order is given to clean the kava, or when the order is given to serve the first kava. Motu'apuaka always wins these arguments, but in a good argument the history of both Motu'apuaka and Lauaki and their duties will be fully outlined.

A special feature of the investiture is that each ha'a puts in a fau ‘bark wisp strainer’, thus showing their connection with the king.

In the beginning, there was only Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and Ha'a Lātūhifo. Later, as other ha'a were formed, they were added until there were Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, Ha'a Ngata Tupu, Ha'a Havea, Ha'a Havea Si'i, Ha'a Ma'afu (meaning Ha'a Ma'afuotu'itonga, the descendants of the Ma'afuotu'itonga who did not become kings), Ha'a Ata (meaning Ha'a Atamata'ila, the descendants of the sons of Tu'ī Kanokupolu Atamata'ila who did not become king), and Lātūkefu. I am not sure of the exact origin of the title Lātūkefu, but it seems likely it was an old title in Hihifo before the arrival of Ngata and was later absorbed into the Tu'ī Kanokupolu’s following. Lātūkefu’s duty was to look after the Tu'ī Kanokupolu’s house and his Pangai.

With the fau in the kava and the straining begun, three speeches were made: one by Fā'oa of the Falefā Hihifo, concerning the fishing; one by Tovi concerning the Tu'ī Kanokupolu’s duty to send goods to Fonuamotu, meaning to the Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua; and one by Ata concerning the
duty of the king and the people to work and to maintain the customs of Pangai (meaning of the kava and everything connected with it).

The kava is served by fakatau kava who strain it into cups at the directions of the matapule, but at the investiture of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu one of Ata’s people comes out from the tou‘a and scoops up kava in cups and passes them round to people at the tou‘a, silently, without any calling out by the matapule. This is a Samoan practice and once again shows the Samoan origin of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu.

The inu‘anga kava is Muliki‘eua, a foha ‘son’ of the title Nuku, just as it was at the installation of Ngata. After the Ha‘a Lätūhifo left Hihifo, it became customary for one of the tehina of Ha‘a Ngata to be inu ‘anga kava. Later, after the formation of the Ha‘a Ngata Tupu, which includes the title of Fīnau ‘Ulukālala, it became customary for one of the tehina of ‘Ulukālala to act as inu‘anga kava and, if he were not there, it was one of the tehina of the Ha‘a Ngata Motu‘a, usually Mātafahi if he were present. But Muliki‘eua is retained as inu‘anga kava in memory of Ngata’s investiture. However, at the investiture of the king there is a tālanga between Muliki‘eua and Mātafahi for the right to be inu‘anga kava, and whichever wins the argument drinks the kava.

When the kava is finished, the tou‘a are told to remove themselves, and the ceremony of appointment is concluded. The crucial moment that constitutes the appointment is when the king’s kava is called. It is also essential for him to sit with his back to the koka tree, and that is why part of the koka tree has been built into the coronation chair.

The investiture of the king is quite a separate thing from his pongipongi, which comes afterwards. This is also the case in the appointment of an ordinary title, where the investiture comes first and the pongipongi later. But the pongipongi of the king is a different thing from an ordinary pongipongi, because at the pongipongi of the king all ha‘a present ‘umu and kava as an acknowledgement of him as their leader, whereas in an ordinary pongipongi hingoa the new title-holder comes with his kainga to present his ‘umu and kava as an act of homage to his king.

The first pongipongi is presented by Ha‘a Ngata, and is called the pongipongi tapu. In fact, pongipongi tapu means the first pongipongi after the investiture, or after the king returns from a journey abroad, or the first pongipongi of his funeral. It is always carried out by the Ha‘a Ngata. Whatever the occasion, the other ha‘a present their pongipongi later.

On the morning of the pongipongi tapu, the newly appointed king goes to Funa, a graveyard at Kolovai, and there he has a talk with Ve‘ehala and Ata. They tell the king about his customary duties. Then the Ha‘a Ngata present their pongipongi. This is a complicated affair, and, unlike
the investiture, the amount of food presented is very great.

It is on this sort of occasion one sees the ha’a functioning in its widest sense. It is not only the villagers of the main titles of the ha’a who contribute ‘umu, but also all the fānau ‘children’ of the titles. A kava ceremony is held first for Kapukava, and the ‘umu are collected for his kava ring. Then he and his people go to Ata with their ‘umu. ‘Ahio does not have to bring ‘umu because his line is senior to the king’s. Vaha’i goes to ‘Ahome’e, and then both go to Ata. Another kava ceremony is held and the ‘umu are assembled. Then they all go to Ve’ehala, where another kava ceremony is held and more ‘umu are assembled. After they have all gathered together, they go to present their kava and ‘umu to the Tu’i Kanokupolu, and a kava ring is formed.

The pongipongi of Ha’a Havea was presented on another day. Nowadays, since there is only one king, there are many pongipongi, because Ha’a Takalaua and Kauhala‘uta also present their food to him. The islands come too, Vava’u, Ha‘apai, ‘Eua, and both Niua Islands. It is not known for certain whether these islands came as island groups before, or whether they split up and came with their respective ha’a in Tongatapu. Considering how long it must have taken to get the material accumulated and to sail from the islands, it seems likely that they always made their pongipongi as island groups instead of trying to fit their timetable into that of Tongatapu. Of course, in the beginning, before the Tu’i Kanokupolu had sent any of his people to the other islands, there would be no pongipongi coming to him from the islands. Later, when his people began to establish themselves in Ha‘apai and Vava’u, they sent their pongipongi to him, but this would be pongipongi only from their own group on the island, not from the total population. Still later, when the Kanokupolu people had developed a king on each of the islands (the Tu’i Vava’u, the Tu’i Ha’apai, and the Tu’i ‘Eua), one would expect that the whole island would send pongipongi to the Tu’i Kanokupolu in Tongatapu.

In the dividing of ‘umu by the Ha’a Ngata, Ata made the first division according to the ha’a of the three kings, including also the Tamaha, and even if these persons were not present their shares (‘inasi) were taken to them. If any of the great ‘eiki fakanofo ‘title-holding aristocrats’ such as Tu’ilakepa Fehokomoelangi, Tu’ilakepa Lātūnipulu, Tu’ilakepa Makahokovalu, Tu’iha‘ateiho Fāotusia, Tu’iha‘ateiho Afī‘afolaha were present, they also had a share in the first division. Ve’ehala then did the dividing for the various ha’a of Kauhalaalalo, and then Ata returned and finished the dividing for the Falefā of the Tu’i Kanokupolu and for the Fale Ha’a’akili and the mariners.

Queen Sālote emphasised that the investiture and the pongipongi of
the Tu'i Kanokupolu showed how important the kava ceremony was in Tongan political life. It was not an empty formality. It was one of the main occasions on which tribute was collected by each ha'a and presented to the king. It showed the position of each ha'a and its relationship to the king. It was a constant reminder of the history of the country.

These rituals have exerted a conservative influence on Tongan society, because in them everything is done according to title and ha'a, not according to kinship or rank by blood. Rank by blood can change within a few generations, rank of titles changes very slowly, so the kava rituals have acted as a stabilising influence.

The Relation of the Ha'a Ngata and Other Subordinate Chiefs to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and of the Tu'i Kanokupolu to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Tonga

All ha'a derived from the Tu'i Kanokupolu contributed kava, food, and koloa for his funeral, his appointment, and his pongipongi; they also sent food and koloa for his wedding; they sent first-fruits (polopolo). If he needed labour for something like house building, they contributed it. If he needed fighting men, he told the Ha'a Ngata and later the Ha'a Havea as well, and they recruited men from their kāinga. If he needed to entertain visitors, they provided him with food. They often gave him presents of food even when no special occasion had come up. When close relatives bring uncooked food they usually bring it direct to the kitchen and it is called tokonaki. When a whole kāinga or district brought food, it was usually presented formally on the mala'e and was received by the king's matapule on behalf of the king. A presentation of this kind is called 'a'ahi. Although food was constantly coming into the Tu'i Kanokupolu's court, the people also received food in return, for after every great presentation of food there was a dividing in which each ha'a received its share. There was a further dividing within the ha'a until, as Mariner put it, everyone had at least a bite of pork and yam. Even when people came with tokonaki or 'a'ahi they usually stayed to have something to eat, and this food was provided by the king and his immediate court, the Falefā Hihifo and the Falefā 'Uta.

It sometimes happened that several ceremonies and visits coincided, in which case there might be a shortage of food for a time. In this case the king would impose a tapu on certain foods until the crops had recovered. These tapu could also be imposed by individual chiefs on their own kāinga. The king, of course, had his own immediate relatives and his own immediate kāinga, the Falefā Hihifo and Falefā 'Uta, but their holdings of land in Hihifo were extremely small. Not until the descen-
dants of the Tu'i Kanokupolu spread out to other islands and married women there did the king begin to acquire access to more land.

The duties of the Tu'i Kanokupolu to the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and to the Tu'i Tonga were similar in nature to the duties of his own chiefs to himself. He provided food, kava, and koloa for pongipongi to the Tu'i Tonga, and he sent polopolo and tokonaki. Since the daughter of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was usually the moheofo, and since it was the duty of the mother's people to feed her child, presents of food were constantly sent to the Tu'i Tonga by the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

In addition to these obligations, the people of the Tu'i Kanokupolu also sent 'inasi to the Tu'i Tonga. It consisted mainly of the first yams of the season. The material value of the yams was not great, it was the symbolic meaning of the ceremony that was important. The Tu'i Kanokupolu was responsible for seeing that all his own people sent 'inasi, but he had no responsibility for the people of Ha'atakalaua. They came under the control of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. And in the earliest period (when the Tu'i Kanokupolu had not yet sent his relatives to the outlying islands) his 'inasi was sent only from Hihifo. Although the material value of the yams for the 'inasi was not great, a large amount of other food was sent along at the same time to feed the people who had assembled for the ceremony.

When the Tu'i Tonga wanted some special service performed, such as building his house or a canoe, he might inform the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, who would inform the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who would ask the Ha'a Ngata and the Ha'a Havea to provide labourers. The langi 'royal tombs' however, were not built in this manner. They were built by sons for their father, and this meant that the sons called on their own kainga to do the work.

If fighting men were needed by the Tu'i Tonga, he would request them from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu. When food and services were to be provided for the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Kanokupolu would call on the Ha'a Ngata and later on the Ha'a Havea as well to provide him with the necessary materials.

Thus, the Ha'a Ngata and later the Ha'a Havea were the Tu'i Kanokupolu's subordinate chiefs, and without their support he could not fulfil his obligations. The Ha'a Ngata chose his successor, and so they had considerable influence over him. They were not a formal council or advisory body. All the kings of Tonga ruled, in theory at least, as sole monarchs; there was no formal council or body of advisers to whose will they had to conform. Informally, however, they were well aware of the opinions of their followers and matapule because they drank kava with them every day, and opinions could be freely expressed then and there.
Among the chiefs of one ha’a there was no one who had political authority over the others, and each ruled his own kāinga as he saw fit. Later, when the Tu’i Kanokupolu began to spend less time in Hihifo, some of his functions (such as making minor appointments and imposing various tapu) were carried out by Ata, but Ata had no formal authority over the other Ha’a Ngata.

The Beginnings of Expansion: Foha and Tehina of Ha’a Ngata to Outlying Islands, the Ha’a Havea to Central Tongatapu, Vuna and the Ha’a Havea Si’i to Vava’u

![Diagram of the titles of Ha’a Havea and Ha’a Havea Si’i](image)

TK MATAELTU’APIKO — 3rd TK

- = Papa, d Tu’i Ha’a mea
- = ‘Umukisia, d Tu’i ha’atungua
- = Tamahā Tu’imala
- = Fatafehi, d Tu’i Tonga
- = 5 other wives

Hafoka Ma’afutuku’iaulahi

- TK Mataleha’amea
- Fohe
- Toafoifono
- Vaea
- Momota — sent to Ha’a Ngata as representative of Ha’a Havea and got absorbed by Ha’a Ngata
- Mohula’umapangai
- Lasike

Longolongo-atumai

Fielakepā

Lavaka

Ika

Maka

Tu’ihalamaka

Ha’a Havea Sī’i

The early Tu’i Kanokupolu were fully occupied in building up their strength in Hihifo, and at first they did not try to establish themselves in the outlying islands. Some matapule were sent to all the major islands, but they were sent out to serve their chiefs already there, and to receive the Tu’i Kanokupolu when he visited. They were not intended to establish their rule in these islands.

A little later, a number of tehina of the Ha’a Ngata were sent to various islands. They were intended to get a foothold for the Tu’i
Kanokupolu on these islands, and to receive him when he visited. As the Ha'a Ngata had come to be regarded as the guardians of the kava, most of them conducted the tou'a and affairs concerning the kava for the chiefs of the islands they went to as well as for the Tu'i Kanokupolu when he visited. It will be remembered that these tehina were not necessarily real brothers of the title-holder in the first instance, and the precise origin of many of them is not known.

Fusitu'a, a foha of Ve'ehala, was sent to Niuafo'ou where he established himself and was accepted by Fotofili. Tangipā, a foha of Ata, was sent to Niutoputapu. Some say that the other Ha'a Ngata of Niutoputapu are derived from him, others say they were sent separately. They are Motu'ahala, Lapuka, Maiava Tekimoto and Maiava Olonuna, and perhaps also Tupō. They all served Mā'atu, who was the lord of Niutoputapu just as Fotofili was the lord of Niuafo'ou. Matafahi was sent to Nukuhetule. Fili was sent by Ata to Kapa in Vava'u. Hafoka, a foha of Ve'ehala, was sent to 'Eua.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu also appointed tehina in various other places. Takaihouma was sent to Houma in 'Eua. Ikahihifo was sent to Lofanga in Ha'apai. Fakateli'ao was at Kao in Ha'apai, and Maluheu was at Mango in Ha'apai.

Thus, we see that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was gradually beginning to extend his influence beyond the narrow confines of Hihifo. In the time of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleu'tapiko, and still more in the time of the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleu'amea, this process was swiftly accelerated (Figure 3).

The third Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataeleu'tapiko, had several wives and many children (Figure 21). Some of his wives were women from Ha'amea, the central area of Tongatapu, two were 'eiki from Mu'a, and some are not known now. Their names have been lost, but they were probably unimportant women of Hihifo and they were probably not married to Mataeleu'tapiko with a ceremony, they only had children by him. The first two Tu'i Kanokupolu had married local women of Hihifo, and this made their position much stronger. Now we see that Mataeleu'tapiko was continuing this practice, but he was also marrying women from central Tongatapu and aristocrats too. The mothers from central Tongatapu helped their sons to get land there, and the aristocrats raised the rank of their descendants.

One of Mataeleu'tapiko's wives was Papa, said to have been the daughter of Akatoa, the Tu'i Ha'amea. This Akatoa is said to have been a son of Lo'au. Perhaps he had something to do with the organisation of the new ha'a which followed, but of this the genealogies and the legends say nothing, merely that Akatoa's father was Lo'au. It is not certain
which was Papa’s eldest child. Most of the genealogies put down Mataeleha‘amea first, but this is probably because he became king. The stories about him say that he was not the first child, but the third. The eldest child was Hafoka, then came Vuna, and then Mataeleha‘amea, then Fohe, and then a girl, Toafilimoe‘unga. According to the genealogies, all five were Papa’s children.

Mataeleutu‘apiko had another wife, ‘Umukisia, daughter of the Tu‘iha‘atu‘unga, and she is said to have been a fokonofo of Papa. (The Tu‘iha‘atu‘unga is another extinct title of central Tongatapu.) ‘Umukisia’s children were Tu‘i Vakanō, Vaea, Momotu, and a girl, Mohulamupangai. By Tamāhā Tu‘imala, Mataeleutu‘apiko had Longolongo‘atumai. Of all his children, Longolongo‘atumai had the highest rank. He also had a child, Lavaka, with Fatafehi, a daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Kau‘ulufonua. This child was also of high rank, though not so high as that of Longolongo‘atumai.

His other children were Ika, Maka, Tu‘ihalamaka, and a girl, Ikahihiifo. Their mothers are not known. They are said to have been unimportant women of Hihifo, that is, women whose fathers were neither powerful nor of high rank.

Papa’s favourite son is said to have been Mataeleha‘amea. She looked after him well, and saw to it that he learned every kind of work both on land and in the sea, so as to look after his father, the king, his elder brothers, and the matapule. Mataeleutu‘apiko’s other wives are said to have brought some of their own kainga to look after their sons so they did not have to work, but Mataeleha‘amea did his own duties, worked the land, cooked food, and carried out all the orders of the king and his older brothers. It is said he wore a girdle of toumohomoho (the banana leaves used to cover food in the ‘umu). This showed he was humble and hardworking.

When Mataeleutu‘apiko died, the people expected Hafoka to succeed because he was the eldest, or Longolongo‘atumai or Lavaka, because of the rank of their mothers. But on the day when the koloa of the funeral were distributed, Papa sat with the aristocratic women and after the distribution of koloa to the chiefs, she took two kie ‘fine mats’ and put them in her lap, and she said: ‘These are the goods of the feke and the moko, but remember the one who wears the girdle of old leaves’. What she meant was that one kie was for Motu‘apuaka, whose totemic animal was the octopus (feke) and one was for Lauaki, whose totem was the lizard (moko), so that they would choose her favourite child as king. It is clear from this story that at this early time the matapule were still important in choosing the next king, in keeping with Samoan custom. The Ha‘a Ngata had not yet become the selectors, or at any rate, not the sole
selectors.

Mataeleha'amea was chosen as king. It is said that the people were well pleased because they knew that he was humble and hardworking and kind to his people. But the other brothers were jealous and angry, especially Hafoka and Vuna, who were older, and also Longolongo-‘atumai and Lavaka, who had much higher rank than Mataeleha'amea. Mataeleha'amea's reign was a peaceful one because the people liked him and because his mother's people supported him strongly, but it was marred by the jealousy of his brothers.

The reaction of the brothers was to take themselves off and found new ha'a, ostensibly in support of their brother Mataeleha'amea. Vuna went to Vava'u, taking Ika, Maka, and Tu‘ihalamaka with him as his court. Hafoka, Fohe, Tu‘ivakanō, Vaea, Momotu, Longolongo‘atumai and Lavaka formed a new ha'a called the Ha'a Havea. I do not know why it was called by this name. The normal practice was to name a ha'a after the father, so it would have been called Ha'a Mataeletu‘apiko, but this custom was not followed in this case. Hafoka came to be the holder of the title Ma‘afutukui‘aulahi. The names of the titles of Fohe, Tu‘ivakanō, and Vaea were the same as their personal names. Longolongo-‘atumai’s son became the first Fielakepa. The name of Lavaka’s title was the same as his personal name. These men and their descendants gradually spread out into central Tongatapu and absorbed the kāinga which were already there. In this they were helped by their mother’s people, for Hafoka, Fohe, Tu‘ivakanō, and Vaea were the children of women from central Tongatapu, and Longolongo‘atumai and Lavaka were of such high rank that the people of Havelu and Pea were glad to marry their daughters to them and adopt them as their own heirs.

In this expansion of the Ha'a Havea into central Tongatapu we see the importance of marriage, for it was through marriage that the Ha'a Havea secured their new lands. The Tu‘i Kanokupolu did not grant them these lands, for he did not hold them. The only land he held personally at this time was a small piece in the peninsula of Hihifo. Normally, of course, land went to the sons or brothers, but when a daughter married an important man like the son of a king, the heirs through males would stand aside to let the daughter’s child assume the land and the leadership of the people living there. Each of the Ha'a Havea brought other wives and their kāinga into their new homes, and so the settlements grew and expanded. The Ha'a Havea appear to have absorbed a number of old titles in central Tongatapu, the Tu‘i Ha‘amea and the Tu‘iha‘atu‘unga being the main ones. A few of these old titles remain at the present time. Tongotea at Ha‘akame is one. Tau‘atevalu of Utulau is probably another, though I do not know for certain whether this title existed when
Ngata first came to Hihifo.

The Ha'a Havea were called the fānau of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, in contrast to the Ha'a Ngata who were tehina. Their duties were similar to those of the Ha'a Ngata, with the important difference: they did not direct the kava ritual. In order for them to have some share in deliberations concerning this ritual, they sent Vaea to take part in Ha'a Ngata's discussion concerning the kava, and it is for that reason he sits in the tou'a as the tou'a 'eiki, whereas all the other Ha'a Havea are in the 'alofi. Momotu was also sent by the Ha'a Havea as emissary to the Ha'a Ngata, and for a time, it is said, he was considered to be a member of the Ha'a Ngata, but later he drifted back to the Ha'a Havea. Vaea has never left the Ha'a Havea.

According to Queen Salote, the Ha'a Havea were not so closely knit as the Ha'a Ngata, and their support of the Tu'i Kanokupolu was never so wholehearted. In the wars at the end of the 18th century their support of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho was lukewarm, whereas the Ha'a Ngata were all determined to avenge his murder.

The Ha'a Havea were widely separated from one another, and so had less opportunity for mutual consultation than had the Ha'a Ngata. But it is also said they were jealous of one another right from the beginning; each set out to have his independent lands, and, having got them, they kept themselves more to themselves than did the Ha'a Ngata. When a title-holder of Ha'a Havea died, the successor was chosen by the family, and the other members of the ha'a had no say in the matter. When it came to informing the Tu'i Kanokupolu, however, they were grouped into pairs. Each pair was descended from the same mother. Thus, Ma'afu informed the king about Fohe, and Fohe about Ma'afu, Tu'ivakanō and Vaea informed the king about succession to each other's titles, and similarly Lavaka and Fielakepa. (Lavaka and Fielakepa had different mothers but both were of high rank.) Ma'afu was the head of the ha'a, but this did not mean that he had any political authority over the others. Rather it meant that in the case of a pongipongi to the king, the 'umu were assembled first at Ma'afu's house before being taken to the king.

The Ha'a Havea were assigned seats in the 'alofi of the kava ring of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This was because the Ha'a Ngata had already been appointed as the guardians and regulators of the king's kava ceremony, and there was no special function for the Ha'a Havea to perform in that respect. Since that time, the Ha'a Havea have always sat in the 'alofi, and if a Ha'a Havea title-holder and a Ha'a Ngata title-holder are present at the same ceremony, it is always the Ha'a Havea who is olovaha. It seems strange the Ha'a Havea should take precedence in the
TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF COOK’S VISIT

ring although their titles are more recent than those of the Ha’a Ngata. It is said the reason is that one of the Ha’a Havea later became Tu’i Kanokupolu, during ‘Ulukālala’s wars. His name was Ma’afuolimuloa and he was a grandson of Hafoka. According to Ve’ehala, the reason the Ha’a Ngata chose him was that many of the proper heirs, the brothers of Tuku’aho, had been involved in the plot to kill Tuku’aho. At that time the Ha’a Ngata thought that any Tu’i Kanokupolu they appointed would soon be killed by ‘Ulukālala, so they chose a Ha’a Havea instead of one of themselves. It is said Ma’afuolimuloa was murdered at night right after his appointment. The reason is no longer known, but people say it must have been the Ha’a Ngata who did it, because they were all sleeping near him as they were supposed to be guarding him. At any rate, because a Ha’a Havea was once king, the Ha’a Havea have continued to take precedence over the Ha’a Ngata in the kava ring.39

Vuna and the Ha’a Havea Si’i to Vava’u

Meanwhile, Vuna, Mataeleha’amea’s older brother, went to Vava’u. It is said that, of all the brothers, he was the most resentful of Mataeleha’amea’s selection and success as king. He went to Vava’u ostensibly to supplant the Ha’atakalaua and Kauhala’uta people who were there, to get hold of Vava’u for the Tu’i Kanokupolu. But really his aim was to become the king of Vava’u, perhaps to make it an independent state, but certainly to rule it directly on behalf of the Tu’i Tonga and not on behalf of the Tu’i Kanokupolu. He was called the Tu’i Vava’u. He took with him Ika, Maka, and Tu’ihalamaka, his younger brothers, and they were called the Ha’a Havea Si’i. He also took Tuituiohu, a son of his successful brother Mataeleha’amea. As things turned out, it might have been better for him if he had left Tuituiohu at home, for Vuna’s successors were soon eclipsed by Tuituiohu’s.

All the genealogies agree that Vuna became Tu’i Kanokupolu, and that this happened after the death of Mataeleha’amea. What is not certain is whether Vuna was made king before or after he went to Vava’u. All things considered, it seems likely to have happened after he went to Vava’u, because choosing him as king was probably an attempt to stop him and his successors from becoming too independent and separate in Vava’u.

Vuna did not succeed in becoming an independent king, nor even in founding a new ha’a (Figure 22). There are several reasons for his failure and for the failure of his successors. First, his mother was from Tongatapu so he had no supporters in Vava’u. Second, he married the daughter of a son of a Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, Kafoa, and she too was from Tongatapu, so he did not have any strong group in Vava’u to support
him. His son, Vuna Ngata, married women from Ha‘ano, Ha‘apai, which certainly did not strengthen his position in Vava‘u though it gave him a following in Ha‘apai. The third Vuna, Tu‘ioetau, also married women in Ha‘apai. The fourth, Takitakimalohi, married Toe‘umu, a high-ranking woman of Vava‘u, but they had only a daughter and the line died out. This Vuna, Takitakimalohi, was the one whom Mariner met, and it is easy to see from his account that Vuna was intimidated by ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa and was not a strong ruler. He was ‘Ulukālala’s
TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF COOK'S VISIT

half-brother, having the same mother, and it is probably this that accounts for the fact that 'Ulukālala treated him with more consideration and kindness than he showed to his other relatives, many of whom he tricked and then sent out to drown in leaky canoes, not to mention conniving at the murder of his uho iau Tupouniua.

The sons of the third Tu'i Kanokupolu thus spread out from Hihifo into central Tongatapu and also to Vava'u. They established a new ha'a, the Ha'a Havea, in support of their king, and Vuna, the brother in Vava'u, also established a new ha'a, the Ha'a Havea Si'i, though it was never powerful or important. Vuna tried but failed to make Vava'u an independent domain. It and he remained subject to the rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. In the next generation, expansion to Vava'u and Ha'apai continued.

Further Alliances and Expansion. The Children of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea

Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea had many children—19 or 20—and many of them left Hihifo and went to Vava'u and Ha'apai. Mataeleha'amea made a strong alliance by marrying Kaloafūtonga, the daughter of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Vaea. All his other wives were her foko-nofa. At this time the descendants of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were strong in Vava'u and Ha'apai, and by this marriage Mataeleha'amea made at least some of them into supporters.

Mataeleha'amea was succeeded by his eldest son, Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga, but I will discuss Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga and his children in greater detail below. Here I will consider the alliances established by Mataeleha'amea's daughters and by his younger sons.

Halaevalu Moheofo, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Halaevalu Moheofo was so called because she was moheofo to Tu'i Tonga Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofeofafa. This was the first moheofo successfully sent by the Tu'i Kanokupolu, a sign that the Tu'i Kanokupolu was beginning to supersede the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Halaevalu did not have children. There is a sad story about her. She became friendly with a girl called Manunā, a sinifu fonua from the island of Mo'unga'one in Ha'apai. After becoming pregnant, Manunā went back to Mo'unga'one to have her child there. Shortly afterwards the Tu'i Tonga died, and preparations were made to strangle his moheofo. This was the custom when the Tu'i Tonga died; the idea behind it was said to be that she could then accompany the Tu'i Tonga to Pulotu. As she was about to die, Halaevalu said: "My son is in Mo'unga'one". What she meant was that she was adopting Manunā's son as her own, and he should be king. Such
devotion between *moheofo* and *sinifu* was very rare. This son became Tu'i Tonga Fakana'ana'a, and Queen Salote said that he was very popular among the people because he was hardworking and less spoiled than the great chiefs of Mu'a.

**FIGURE 23**

*The two marriages of Fusipala, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea*

![Family Tree Image]

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*Fusipala, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea* (Figure 23): The next daughter of Mataeleha'amea was Fusipala. She was first married to Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Tongatangakitaulupekifolaha, and her son to him was Fuatakifolaha, who became Tu'i Ha'atakalaua (Figure 11). (This was the Fusipala who meddled in politics, according to John Thomas.) There is a story about her brothers taking her away and marrying her again to Fisilaumali, a powerful leader at Pelehake who controlled a lot of people and land even though he was not of high rank. The brothers knew that the very fact he was not *eiki* would make him keen to marry a king's daughter, and they wanted to get his support. Normally it is the woman's people who feed and support the husband's people. But in a case of this sort, where the man was powerful but had no title and was not *eiki* whereas the woman was the daughter of a king, the husband's people would support the wife's people and particularly the king. So the brothers came at night to Fusipala and stole her away from the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. She was very sad because she loved him and her child and did not want to leave, but her brothers ordered her to come with
them and she did as she was told. When the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaaua discovered she was missing he asked where she was, and the people said they had seen a woman being led along the path weeping bitterly. The Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaaua made no attempt to get her back. It was one of the characteristics of Tongan kinship and politics that once a woman left her husband or was taken away, no effort was made to get her back. It was beneath the dignity of a chief to quarrel over a woman. Some women of high rank had children with a great many men, leaving a trail of heirs of high rank behind them.

Fusipala’s child with Fisilaumăli was Lekaumoana, and he was known as the Tu‘ipelehake. Pelehake was the name of Fisilaumăli’s land. Fisilaumăli was one of the Ha‘a Talafale people, whose ancestor, Tu‘ifaleua, is supposed to have been ‘Aho‘eitu’s eldest brother. This marriage between Fisilaumăli and Fusipala was the beginning of the “lifting up” of the Tu‘ipelehake title. Later, through other marriages with important ‘eiki, it became one of the highest titles in rank (Figure 24).

Tupouveitongo, daughter of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea (Figure 25): Tupouveitongo married Tau‘atevalu of ‘Utulau and had a daughter ‘Ungatea. ‘Ungatea married Hikule‘o, the son of one of the Tu‘iha‘angana in Ha‘apai and her son to him was Fifitapuku. This was the beginning of the elevation of the Tu‘iha‘angana title, for Fifitapuku married both Siumafua‘uta (the sister of Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho) and Tu‘i Tonga Fefine Fatafehi Lapaha (the daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho). (See Figure 1, which shows the succession of Tu‘i Tonga and Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, and Figure 25.)

Tongotea, daughter of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea: Tongotea married Tu‘i Tonga Fakana‘ana‘a and was his moheofo. This was the warlike Tongotea so disapproved of by the missionary John Thomas.

Ma‘afu, daughter of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea: Ma‘afu married a toutai of the Tu‘i Tonga whose title was Leka. This was the beginning of the elevation of this line, for her son by Leka married Hahanokifanga‘uta, a daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Fakana‘ana‘a, and had a son Kiuve‘etaha. Kiuve‘etaha had a daughter with the Tamahā Lātūfu‘ipēka, and her name was Lātūhōleva. Lātūhōleva had a child with Tu‘i Pelehake ‘Uluvalu, the son of Lekaumoana (Figure 26).

Two of Mataeleha‘amea’s other daughters, Tala‘ao and Toa, married men in Ha‘apai and had many descendants there.

Thus, we see that Mataeleha‘amea’s daughters were setting up many
alliances and connections for the Tu‘i Kanokupolu—with the Tu‘i Tonga, the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, the Tu‘ipelehake, and the Tu‘iha‘angana, and with the people of Ha‘apai.

The most important of Mataeleha‘amea’s sons, besides his heir, Ma‘afu-‘o-tu‘itonga, were Tupouto‘a, Kafoa, and Tuituiohu.

*Tupouto‘a, son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea:* Tupouto‘a went to Ha‘apai. He married the daughter of Tu‘iha‘ateiho Fakatakatu‘u and also a daughter of Tu‘iha‘ateiho Tungimana‘ia. With the latter he had a son ‘Alapuku, who had an enormous family of sons and grandsons in Ha‘apai. They married local women and established many small kāinga there in support of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu.

*Kafoa, son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea* (Figure 27): Kafoa married a daughter of Afu of Ha‘alaufuli, the matapule who had been sent to Vava‘u. His son with her was Alo, who had many descendants in Vava‘u. Kafoa’s second child was Toe‘umu, and her mother was Hahano kifanga‘uta, daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Fakana‘ana‘a. Toe‘umu appears to have lived in Vava‘u all her life, and at one time, as Mariner explains, was considered to be the Tu‘i Vava‘u. She had a child with Tu‘ipelehake Lekaumoana, and this was ‘Uluvalu Tu‘ipelehake, the one who married Lātūhōleva, daughter of Kiuve‘etaha and the Tamahā Lātūfuipeka (Figures 24 and 26). Toe‘umu also married the Tu‘iha‘angana Fifitapuku and she adopted (ohi) to him the child of her half-brother Alo. Finally, Toe‘umu had a daughter, Tupoupapanga, with Vuna Takitakimalohi (Figure 22). Already one can see how interwoven the strands of kinship had become.

*Tuituiohu. Founding ancestor of the Fi‘au ‘Ulukālala and the Ha‘a Ngata Tupu* (Figure 28): Tuituiohu was one of the most important of Mataeleha‘amea’s sons (other than his heir, Ma‘afu-‘o-Tu‘i Tonga), for his descendants became the Tu‘i Vava‘u and he founded a new ha‘a, the Ha‘a Ngata Tupu. At the present time the Ha‘a Ngata Tupu includes only the descendants of Tuituiohu. The main title is ‘Ulukālala, and there are two tehina titles, Faka‘iloatonga and Mapakaitolo (often abbreviated to Tolo). Gifford (1929:37) says that this ha‘a includes the descendants of Tuituiohu’s brother Tupouto‘a as well, but this does not appear to be the case at the present time. The descendants of Tupouto‘a, Kafoa, and Mataeleha‘amea’s other sons do not appear to belong to any ha‘a. The Ha‘a Ngata Tupu is thus an exception to the usual way a ha‘a is formed, for not all the sons of Mataeleha‘amea became the founders of this ha‘a but only one, Tuituiohu.
‘Ulukālala succeeded in becoming Tu‘i Vava‘u where Vuna failed. There were three reasons. First, Tuituiohu and the first two of the ‘Ulukālala were men of very strong character who soon impressed themselves on the people of Vava‘u and later Ha‘apai, and made it clear that if they were not obeyed they would be ruthless in persecuting their enemies. Second, the Ha‘a Ngata Tupu did not try at first to become independent rulers in Vava‘u. They supported Vuna and the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. Their bid for independence was made later, when they were well established. Third, the ‘Ulukālala made skilful use of marriage to make their position secure.

Tuituiohu started off with a considerable advantage in Vava‘u because his mother’s mother was a Vava‘u woman, and that meant that he already had a kainga to feed and support him when he was first taken to Vava‘u by Vuna Lahi. Tuituiohu’s mother was Talaumote‘emoa, a daughter of the first Luani. Talaumote‘emoa’s mother was Tukuvaka, a woman from Nga‘unoho in Vava‘u. Talaumote‘emoa’s brother was Luani, and he also went to Vava‘u and became a supporter of the ‘Ulukālala line.

Tuituiohu married Vava‘u women and this gave him and his children further supporters in Vava‘u. His first wife was Tufui, a woman of Vava‘u who was of comparatively high rank; she was the daughter of Tu‘ilakepa Lātūniupulu and Letele, a daughter of the Tu‘i‘āsitu, a chief of Vava‘u. His second wife was Ngalu, a daughter of Niukapu. The names of his other wives were Tulukava and Ate, but I am not sure whether they were from Vava‘u. It was Tufui who was the mother of Tuituiohu’s successor, Fīnau ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga.

Both Tuituiohu and ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga looked after the interests of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu in Vava‘u. They sent their ‘inasi through him, not direct to the Tu‘i Tonga, and they sent the Tu‘i Kanokupolu the customary gifts of food. This was in contrast to Vuna, who was trying to rule Vava‘u on his own behalf.

According to Thomas, ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga spent a good deal of time in Tongatapu, and at one time he went to ‘Eua to look after the interests of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu in that island. He died in 1797, at the time when the L.M.S. missionaries first arrived, and he was buried in Ma‘ofanga. Most writers have assumed that Cook’s “Feenou” was ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga, but, as I have described above, I think “Feenou” was probably Tu‘ihalafatai, son of Tupoulahi.

‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga had a child with ‘Ulukilupetea. ‘Ulukilupetea was the daughter of Ngalu moetutulu, who was the son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ma‘afu-‘o-tu‘itonga, who was Tuituiohu’s brother. Her mother and her father’s mother came from Ha‘apai; their people were sure of
good support in Ha‘apai. She was called ‘the woman with the ivory stomach’ because she gave birth to so many chiefs. She had several children besides ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa, and all of them stood by ‘Ulukālala in the wars that followed at the end of the 18th century. One of her other children was Tongatoutai, whose father was Tokemoana Toutaitokotaha. Another was Vuna Takitakimalohi, a son of Vuna Tu‘ioetau. Another was Tupouto‘a, son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tuku‘aho. And the last was a girl, Fatafehi Hōleva, daughter of Talaumokafoa, a brother of Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho (Figure 29).

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<th>Figure 29</th>
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<td>‘Ulukilupetea: “The Woman with the Ivory Stomach”</td>
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<th>‘Ulukilupetea, d Ngalumoetutulu &amp; Siu’ulua</th>
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<tr>
<td>= (1)Tokemoana Toutaitokotaha</td>
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<td>= (2)Vuna Tu‘i‘oetau</td>
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<td>= (3)Finau ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga s Tuituihu</td>
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<td>= (4)TK Tuku‘aho, s TK Mumui</td>
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<tr>
<td>= (5)Talaumokafoa, bro. TT Paulaho</td>
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‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga also had a son, Tupouniua, with Fehi‘a, the daughter of Fuimaono of Niuatoputapu. Of his other children, one had a mother from Ha‘apai and two had mothers from Fiji.

It thus appears as if having got himself entrenched securely in Vava‘u, ‘Ulukālala was branching out to form connections in Ha‘apai, Niuatoputapu, and Fiji. He appears to have been marrying women who would bring him support, not women who were great aristocrats. It appears too as if at this time there was a great deal of contact with Fiji. Mariner claims that it was from the Fijians the Tongans learned new fighting techniques and cannibalism. He said that young men with nothing better to do went off to Fiji to join in their wars, and that after they had become accomplished in the arts of war they returned to Tonga to see whether they could stir up trouble there. Mariner’s claim is doubtful, because there were earlier instances of intermarriage, migration, and trade with Fiji. The main articles Tongans wanted from Fiji were sandal-
wood and the large double canoes (kalia), which they got from Lau in exchange for oil and mats. However, trouble in Tonga may have increased the number of exiles departing to and returning from Fiji. (See also Adrienne Kaeppler’s paper (1978b) on Tongan exchange with Fiji and Samoa.)

The son of ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga was the famous Finau ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa, who murdered Tuku‘aho, wrecked the ship Port-au-Prince, and adopted Mariner. Thanks to his father and grandfather, he was already in a strong position when his father died, for Vava‘u was turning more and more to the ‘Ulukālala, though Vuna was still technically Tu‘i Vava‘u. Many of Tuituiohu’s descendants were living in Vava‘u, and each had gathered a kāinga about him: Finau Fisi, Tupuniua, Lualala, Lolohealaholoho, all of these being Finau’s half-brothers through his father (uho tau); and his first cousins Hala‘api‘api, Poponatui, and Pupunu, sons of Pasiaka, a brother of ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga. There were also his mehekitanga Toe‘umu and her son Tu‘ipelehake ‘Uluvalu. (Toe‘umu and the father of ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa were first cousins: Toe‘umu’s father Kafoa and ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Ma‘ofanga’s father Tuituiohu were brothers.) Luani’s kāinga was also strong in Vava‘u. ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa was also strong in Ha‘apai, thanks to his mother ‘Ulukilupetae and her other sons. Indeed, ‘Ulukālala was recognised as Tu‘i Ha‘apai for many years.

‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa married a great ‘eiki. She was Lapulou, daughter of Tongamana, a son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi; her mother was Siumafua‘uta, sister of Tu‘i Tonga Paulaho. ‘Ulukālala’s father and his grandfather had married women who came from a strong kāinga who would support the children. By the time of Mariner’s Finau, the line was so secure he could marry for rank, with the aim of increasing the rank of his line.

If we compare the fate of Vuna and Tuituiohu, we learn something of the rise and fall of titles in Tonga. Vuna’s mother was from Tongatapu, Tuituiohu’s mother and his mother’s mother were from Vava‘u. Vuna married aristocrats from Tongatapu, Tuituiohu married women from Vava‘u. This gave him supporters in the territory he was trying to rule. Right from the beginning, Vuna tried to rule Vava‘u as a separate island. At the beginning, Tuituiohu supported Vuna and the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. It was not until the line had become very strong that the ‘Ulukālala began to act independently.

The sons and daughters of Mataeleha‘amea thus spread out from Hihifo all over Tonga. The only places they did not try to get hold of were Niuafo‘ou and Niuatoputapu, where Fotofili and Mā‘atu were so strongly entrenched there was no room for anyone else.
The Children of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga (Figure 30): The Fifth Tu'i Kanokupolu, Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga, was Mataeleha'amea's oldest son and was older brother (by a different mother) to Kafoa, Tupouto'a, and Tuituiohu. Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga established a new set of kinship connections in Ha'apai and was the father of three successive Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki, and Mumui.

Ngalumoetutulu: It is said that shortly after Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga became king he planned to marry Latutama, the daughter of the Tu'iha'ateiho Fakatakatu'u at Tungua in Ha'apai. On his way to Tungua he stopped at Ha'afeva, and while he was there he slept with a very beautiful woman, Ate. He must have stayed there some time, for she brought two wives as *fokonofo* to him, and both of them had children. Ate's father was Fiunoa, a man of Ha'afeva, and, according to Gifford (1929:72, but see p.28 for a different version), her mother was Talitulelu, a daughter of Fauolo of Ha'afeva and a Samoan woman, Ate. Ate's son to Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga was Ngalumoetutulu. Ngalumoetutulu went on living in Ha'apai, and married Siu'ulua, a daughter of Malupo (personal name Haveapava) of 'Uiha. As Her Majesty put it: "In Tonga Ngalumoetutulu was half commoner; in Ha'apai he was half king."

The Ha'apai people made much of him, for although they already had a king's son living in Ha'apai (Tupouto'a, son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea), this was the first time a king's son had one of their own Ha'apai women as his mother. Ngalumoetutulu was a strong leader, and many people in Ha'apai recognised him as their leader, but especially those of Ha'afeva and 'Uiha. His son was Po'oi, and he was known as the Tu'i Ha'apai, but this was rather a joke because Po'oi was not a man of strong character, and, in addition, he had three sisters to support. One of them was the famous 'Ulukilupetea, who had children with five important chiefs (Figure 29). All these children had to be fed and looked after. One of 'Ulukilupetea's husbands became Tu'i Kanokupolu later on. This was Tuku'aho, and 'Ulukilupetea took her sister Sisifa to Tuku'aho as *a fokonofo*. Her other sister, 'Anaukihesina, had children with Tuita Polutele.

Po'oi's line did not continue to be Tu'i Ha'apai, though they had many descendants and are still an important family in the island of Lifuka in Ha'apai. 'Ulukalala took up residence in Ha'apai for a time, and was known as the Tu'i Ha'apai. That was at the end of the 18th century at a time when Ha'apai and Vava'u were virtually cut off from Tongatapu. Tupouto'a, the son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho, was the next one to be known as the Tu'i Ha'apai, and his son Tāufa'āhau was the next and last.
Although Tu' i Kanokupolu's son Ngalumoetutulu was such an important ruler in Ha'apai, he did not become Tu' i Kanokupolu, an honour that fell to three of Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga's other sons, Tupoulahi, Maeliuaki, and Mumui.

The mother of Tupoulahi and Maeliuaki was Lātūtama, the daughter of Tu'ihateiho Fakatakatu'u whom Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga was on his way to marry when he met Ate. Mumui had a different mother, Kavakipopua (also called Popua'uli'uli). She was a daughter of Toafilimoe'unga and Paleisāsā: Toafilimoe'unga was a daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataele'apiko and Paleisāsā was the son of the Tui Nayau of Lakeba in Fiji. Kavakipopua'a's brother was the first Lasikē.

Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga: Tupoulahi lived at Mu'a, not in Hihifo. It is clear from his marriages that the Tu'i Kanokupolu no longer needed to marry local women of low rank in order to secure supporters in the territory he was trying to rule, for we find that Tupoulahi married aristocrats from different parts of Tonga. His main wives were Founuku, daughter of Tokeimoana and Tahi, a daughter of Tu'ihateiho Tungimāna'ia. Founuku was the mother of Tu'ihalafatai (probably Cook's "Feenou"), who became Tu'i Kanokupolu, and of Tupoumoheofo, who was moheofo to Tu'i Tonga Paulaho. Founuku brought three fokonofo to Tupoulahi. Two of his other wives were kitetama, that is, they were his mother's brother's daughters. One of these was Lupemeitakui, who also married Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. She was the mother of Mulikiha'amea. Mulikiha'amea continued to live in Hahake after Maealiuaki's death, and was killed in battle in 1799. Maealiuaki's other main wife was a daughter of Ve'ehala, and she brought one fokonofo. He had three less important wives.
Maealiuaki succeeded his brother Tupoulahi as Tu‘i Kanokupolu. When old, he evidently resigned his office and became Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, as described above. Maealiuaki was Cook’s “Mareewagee”, as described in Chapter I. It is not certain who “Old Toobou” was.

Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mumui, son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ma‘afu-‘o-tu‘itonga: Mumui was much younger than Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki, and for many years it seemed most unlikely he would ever become Tu‘i Kanokupolu. According to the missionary John Thomas, he was also Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua for a time, but there is no knowledge of this in Tonga at the present time. He left Hihifo at the time of his first marriage and went to live with the kāinga of his first wife, Tu‘imala, in the place which is now known as Kolomotu‘a (a district of the capital, Nuku‘alofa). Tu‘imala was a daughter of Kole‘a‘ikava, son of ‘Alaipuke, son of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Fotofili. Her mother was a woman of Ha‘avaka‘otua, a district of Kolomotu‘a, as she was a daughter of Vave, the priest of Ha‘avaka‘otua. The reason for Mumui’s leaving his two older brothers is not certain, but it looks as if he was trying to establish a new community and perhaps a new ha‘a. He married or lived with an extraordinary number of women—about 15 in all—and many of them came to live with him at Ha‘avaka‘otua and brought some of their relatives with them. In this way the community grew rapidly and became important. Mumui did not marry any ‘eiki. He married only the daughters of matu‘a tauhi fonua and matapule, in much the same way as the young aristocrats who went out to the islands consolidated their position by marrying local women of low rank but strong kindreds. Mumui had one son with Tu‘imala, Tangata-‘o-lakepa, but this son did not become Tu‘i Kanokupolu. It was Tuku‘aho who became Tu‘i Kanokupolu, and this was because he had a strong character and was a capable man, though very cruel. He was also chosen because he had the support of the Ha‘a Ngata, because his mother was a daughter of Ata Fakahau. The Ha‘a Ngata looked on Tuku‘aho as their man, and they were strongly opposed to Tupoulahi and Maealiuaki because they had gone to Mu‘a. Tangata-‘o-lakepa, Tuku‘aho’s half-brother, was envious of Tuku‘aho, and it is said he and some of his other brothers supported the murder of Tuku‘aho by Tupouniua and ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa. They did not do it themselves, for to kill one’s own brother would have been a sacrilege, but they did not oppose Tupouniua and ‘Ulukālala.

Thus, in the space of five or six generations the descendants of Ngata had become the most powerful secular rulers of Tonga. The Tu‘i Tonga was purely a sacred king. The Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua had little power left, and his position was taken over by the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. The descen-
dants of the Tu‘i Kanokupolu were Tu‘i Vava‘u and Tu‘i Ha‘apai. In a short time one of them, Tuku‘aho, was to become Tu‘i ‘Eua as well. Although they were called Tu‘i Ha‘apai and Tu‘i Vava‘u, however, these Kanokupolu chiefs did not have complete control of all Ha‘apai and all Vava‘u. There were certain great aristocratic chiefs, such as the Tu‘iha‘ateiho, the Tu‘ilakepa, and the Tu‘ipelehake, who had no obligations to the Tu‘i Ha‘apai or the Tu‘i Vava‘u, partly because they were Kauhala‘uta, but also because of their personal rank. But the lesser chiefs of Ha‘apai and Vava‘u sent tribute to the Tu‘i Ha‘apai and the Tu‘i Vava‘u, and so did the Kanokupolu people who had established themselves as leaders of kāinga.

FIGURE 24
Descendants of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha‘amea: Fusipala, daughter of Mataeleha‘amea, and the development and elevation of the title of Tu‘ipelehake

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TK Mataeleha‘amea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>QFusipala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Fisilau māli, a powerful leader of low rank in eastern Tongatapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP Lekaumoana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Mateitalo, d THT Mapa &amp; Mafi‘uli‘uli, d TT Fakana‘ana‘a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Toe‘umu d Kafoa, s TK Mataeleha‘amea and Hahanokianga‘uta, d TT Fakana‘ana‘a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mailelatamai (disgraced himself by seducing Lātūfuipeka and was exiled to Fiji)

| TP ‘Uluvalu |
| — Tupouviongo, d TK Mumui |
| — Lātūhōleva, d (Leka) Kiuve’etaha and Lātūfuipeka (kitetama) |

| TP Filaupifuli |
| — Sālote Pilolevu |
| d TK Tāufa‘ahau |
| |
| QTuputupu-‘o-Pulotu |
| — FU Tuapasi |

| TP Fatafehi Toutaitokotaha |
| — Fusipala Taukionetuku, d Tevita ‘Unga, s TK Tāufa‘ahau (kitetama) |

| Tāufa‘ahau Tupou II |
| — Lavinia Veiongo, d Kupu & Tokanga |
| — Takipō, d Ula & QTaemanusā |

| Sālote Pilolevu Tupou III |

| Tāufa‘ahau Tupou IV |

| TP Fatafehi |

| Melesi‘ilikutapu |
| — Tuku‘aho, s Tungi Halatuituia |

| Tungi Mailefihi |
Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Tupouveitongo, and the elevation of the title of Tu'i Ha'angana

TK Mataeleha'amea

♀ Tupouveitongo
  = Tau'atevalu of 'Utulau

♀ Ungatea
  = THNg Fuapau (Hikule'o)

THNg Fifitapuku
  = TTF Fatafehi Lapaha, d TT Paulaho
  = Siufuatu'uta, ss TT Paulaho
  = Toe'umu, d Kafoa & Hahanokifanga'uta
  = Halaevaluho'eofo, d TK Mumui
  = Fulifua'atonga, d TK Mumui

THNg Liufau
  = Tauhoaamofaleono, d Ma'afutuku'aulahi
  = Hulitatu'ifua, d Tupouniu & Tupouveitongo, d TK Mumui

♀ Fifitahōleva
  = Naulivou, desc. from Tongamana, s TK Tupoulahi; from Siufuatu'uta and 'Ulukilupeta

♀ Filita Vava'u
  = Tevita 'Unga, s TK Taufa'ahau

Uatemolipala = Mele Pusiaki
d FU Matekitonga & Tupou'ahau, d Fatu & Kaunanga

Uili Kalaniuvalu (died young)

Uelingitoni Ngu

♀ Fusipala
  = TP Fatafehi
d Toutaitokotaha

THNg Faikatoaloa
  = Tāufa'ahau Tupou II

Laifone

TK Mumui
FIGURE 26

Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Intermarriage among descendants of his daughters Fusipala and Ma'afu

TK Mataeleha'amea

♀Fusipala
  = Fisilaumāli

TP Lekaumoana
  = Toe'umu, d Kafoa, s TK Mataeleha'amea (kitetama)

♀Ma'afu
  = Leka

Leka
  = Hahanokifanga'uta
d TT Fakana'ana'a

Leka Kiuve'etaha
  = Tamahā Lātūfuipēka

♀Lātūhōleva

♀Tuputupu
  = FU Tuapasi
Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Kafoa, son of Tu'i Kanokupolu, and Kafoa's daughter Toe'umu of Vava'u

Kafoa
- = a daughter of Afuha'alaufulu, a matapule of Vava'u
- = Hahanokifanga'uta, d TT Fakana'ana'a

Alo
- = TP Lekaumoana
- = TH Ng Fifitapuku (no children, but she adopted Alo's child to him)
- = Vuna Takitakimálohi

TP 'Uluvalu
= Látuhóleva, d
| Tamahá Látufuipeka
| and Kiuve'etaha

♀ Tuputupu
= FU Tuapasi
Figure 30: Senior and junior lines of Kanokupolu chiefs: Ngalumoetutulu, Tupoulahi, Ma'aiuaki, and Mumui (For reasons of space, siblings are put one underneath the other)

TK Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga
- Ate of Ha'afeva, Ha'apai
- Lautama, d THT Fakatakatu'u
- Popu'a'uli'uli, d Paleisasa and Toafilimoe'unga (kiteitama marriage)

Ngalumoetutulu (Ha'apai)
- Siu'ula, d Malupó ('Uilha)

Tupoulahi (Mu'a)
- (1)Founuku d Tokemoana
- (2)Lupemetaiku, d THT Tungimana'i

TK Ma'aiuaki (Mu'a)
- (1)Lupemetaiku, d THT Tungimana'i
- (2)Lanigaliha'aluma

TH (Mu'a)
- Luitaamai(2)

Tupou'ila (Mu'a)
- TT Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau

Problematic descent: Tupou'ila had many descendants, but they are "not well known".

Maukiha'aamea had many "well known" descendants. See Figure 19.

TK Mumui (Nuku'alofa)
- (1)Tu'imala
- (2)Lepolo, d Ata
- (3)Tule
- (4)Pe'e
- (5)Kaufusi

+ Halavevalu(1)
- THNg
- Fifitapuko Tangata-o'lakepa(1)
- TK Tuku'aho(2)
- Halavevalu(2)
- Tupouvei'ongo(3)
- TT Fuanunuiava Tu'akitaia(3)
- TK Tupoumalahi(4)
- TK 'Aleamotu'a(5)
TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF COOK'S VISIT

FIGURE 31
Tamahā Lātuʻufiapa: Her Contribution to the chiefliness of modern aristocratic nobles (Titles of recent generations of aristocratic nobles are capitalised)

31(a) Lātuʻufiapa's marriage to TK Tupoulahisitikō, son of TK Tuʻihalafatai

♀ Lātuʻufiapa, d Tuʻiʻilelepai Lātiʻunipulu & TTF Nanaisipauʻu
  = TK Tupoulahisitikō
  ♀ Tupouʻahomeʻe
  = TK Tupoutoʻa

♀ Halaevalu Mataʻaho
  = (1) THT Afiʻafolaha
  = (2) TTF Laufilitonga
  = (3) Malakai Lavulou = s Vuki & Mafihape. Vuki = s Taitu

Kabomovailahi & Lātuʻufiapa. Mafihape = d Tuʻipulotu marāpule, s TK Mumui & Atuhakautapu, d Vuna Ngata & Otuangau.

♀ Pauline Fakahikuoʻuhi (1)
  = Fangupō, matapule

♀ Kalaniuvalu (2)
  = Ungatea
  = Kioa

♀ Lavinia Veiongo (2)
  = (1) Inoke Fotu, s Vakaʻaehi Kavika
  = (2) 'Iʻisieli Tupou
  s Tupou I

♀ Anaseini Tupouveihola (3)
  = Tungi Halatuuitua, s Fatu & Kaunanga

♀ Afā = Fotofili

♀ Luseane
  = TUITA
  = 'Iʻisieli Tupou

♀ Lavinia
  = Tonga
  = 'Inoke

♀ Kalaniuvalu
  = Fotofili
  = Semisi Fonua
  = Sisilia

♀ Lavinia Veiongo
  = Tupou II
  = Tupou III
  = Tupou IV

♀ Vaʻaoi (1)
  = Veikune
  = Tupousei
  = TUNGI

♀ Heuʻifanga
  = 'Ahomeʻe
  = Veiʻunente
  = VAE

♀ Laveni
  = TP Sione Ngu

♀ Tuita
  = TP Sione Ngu

♀ Laufilitonga
  = TUNGI

♀ Tupou III
  = TUNGI
  = Tupou IV

♀ Sione Ngu
  = Tupouoʻa

♀ Taufaʻahua Tupou IV
  = Halaevalu Mataʻaho, d 'Ahomeʻe & Heuʻifanga

♀ Halaevalu'ahua Tupou IV
  = Tuʻiʻikanokupolu
  = TUNGI

♀ Tupouoʻa
  = Melenaite, d 'Inoke & Lavinia
  = TK Taufaʻahua Tupou IV

♀ TUNGI
  = TUNGI
  = TUNGI

♀ Melenaite
  = TUNGI
  = TUNGI

♀ Heuʻifanga
  = Tupouoʻa

♀ Veiʻunente
  = 'Ahomeʻe

♀ 'Ofa
  = 'Ahomeʻe
TONGAN SOCIETY AT THE TIME OF COOK’S VISIT

FIGURE 31(c)
Tamahā Lātūfuipeka’s marriage to Leka Kiuve’etaha (Tu’alau)

♀ Tamahā Lātūfuipeka, d Tu’ilakepa Lātūnipulu and TTF Nanisipau’u
= Leka Kiuve’etaha (also called Tu’alau)

♀ Lātūhōleva
= TP ‘Uluvalu, s TP Lekaumoana & Toe‘umu

♀ Tuputupu
= FU-‘i-Puono, “Tuapasi”

Fanetupouvava’u
= Sunia Mafile‘o, s Ulakai

♀ Melesi'u’ilikutapu
= Tuku‘aho, s Tungi
Halatuituia and ‘Anaseini
Tupouevihola

Tungi Mailefihi
= TK Sālole Pilolevu,
Tupou III

TK Tāufa‘āhau Tupou IV
Tu‘i Kanokupolu
Tungi
Tupouto‘a

TP Sione Ngu

Sione Lāmipeti
= ♀ Alliia, d Tapueluelu,
s Ava Naufahu, s
Finau Fisi and Afu, d
Niukapu, s Luani

♀ Anaukihesina
= Siosaia Lausi’i, s
Ma’afu Siotami

Ma’afu ‘Unga
= Peti