Kanokupolu and his people were building up their strength and extending their influence. At the time Cook made his visit, trouble was just beginning to disturb the unity of Kauhalalalo, with brother competing against brother. Soon after Cook left, there was civil war and chaos. After nearly 50 years of confusion and disunity, a single strong leader emerged, Tāufaʻāhau, a man as clever as he was strong. After some 40 years of planning and manoeuvring, he at last succeeded in reuniting the nation solidly under one king. The original condition of one-king and a united people was restored, though in a new form and in a new situation. Tāufaʻāhau's unification of the kingdom under a strong centralised government was consolidated by his great-great-granddaughter, Queen Sālote Tupou.

NOTES

1. The author (EB) is grateful to the Tonga Traditions Committee and H. M. King Tāufaʻāhau Tupou IV for the original opportunity to do the work and for permission to publish this part of it. She is grateful, too, to the Social Sciences Research Council for a grant which enabled her to review and check the document in 1978-79.

2. The Soakai of 1959 had much of his information about former times from his grandmother. His line had been closely associated in the past with the Tu'i Tonga and still exercises special prerogatives in the royal kava ring.

3. All the references are to the recent, authoritative edition edited by J. C. Beaglehole, although this edition was not available at the time the manuscript was originally written. The Beaglehole edition is here cited as "Cook II (1961)" for the second voyage, and "Cook III; Part 1 and Part 2 (1967)" for the third voyage. The other major historical sources used are the unpublished histories of the Rev. John Thomas ("History") and (n.d.); Martin/Mariner (1818); Wilson (1966), originally published 1799; Labillardière (1802); Vason (1810); Wilkes (1846). In 1959-60 I (EB) made much use of Gifford's basic monograph Tongan Society (1929) and also his Tongan Myths and Tales (1924), the work of Collocott (1919 and 1928), Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941), and Nayacakalou (1959).

4. See especially Rogers (1975) and (1977); Marcus (1975a and 1975b); Aoyagi (1966); Kaeppler (1971), (1978a) and (1978b); Korn (1974); Lātūkefu (1974) and (1975); Maude (1971); Rutherford (1971) and (1977); Cummins (1977); Gunson (1979).

5. Probably descendants of old Samoan lines, according to Queen Mata'aho.

6. Literally 'fount of disease', i.e., having mystical power.

7. Statute law since the Constitution of 1875 has made this impossible.

8. According to Queen Mata'aho, an argument, tālānga, could have developed, making it necessary for these men to return pending its settlement.

9. Knowing what we do about the decline of the Tu'i Tonga line shortly afterwards, one cannot help feeling that it was also symbolic of the end of the dynasty.

10. Perfunctory flattery and empty boasting are common ingredients in such display.

11. Haau implies oppression by a leader "lording it over" his people; fakahau 'cruel'.

12. Literally 'set apart' or restricted, even private.
13. Probably lō'ata, the largest ant in Tonga, black and found in sandy places. Ton. manu 'creature' esp., bird (manu puna), also quadrupeds, reptiles, insects, etc., but not fish.

14. According to the late Havea (Sione Fatukimotulalo), 'great chiefs' had six matapule, toutai, and ha'atufunga in all.

15. This line was continued through the noble title of Tungi after 1875 (refer below).

16. At this time Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga, had died and Lavinia Veiongo's twin brother, Kalaniuvalu, was not Tu'i Tonga.

17. According to Queen Mata'aho, ngaohi corresponded to a godmother-and-child relationship whereas kaukau tama was merely tending the infant, bathing, it, etc.

18. According to H. M. Tupou IV, to be appointed to such a position the Tu'i Tonga or his representative, the Tu'i Vava'u, would have to have been present. (See also note 21).

19. According to the late Havea Tu'iha'ateiho, commoners mated without any ceremony.

20. Then an old, childless man.

21. According to former Chief Justice H. S. Roberts, Makahokovalu died before he could have succeeded to the title.

22. This account of origin myths is taken from Gifford (1924) 14-24; see also Bott (1972). The original sources are: Reiter (1907); Martin (1910); Collocott (1919); Tāufapulotu (1906); Tamahā Kekekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale (1881-3); Anon. (1881-3).

23. This account is taken from Gifford (1924) 25-9. It was originally told to Father Reiter by Tāufapulotu and Tongavalevale, and was first published in the Roman Catholic magazine Koe Fafangu (1907) 5, 6-12, 26-32, 41-8, and 60-4. It was first translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker.


25. Hepisipa was adopted by Tāufa'ahau, great-great-grandfather of Queen Salote.

26. According to 'Amelia's version, Lātūtama was also a Tu'i Tonga Fafine.

27. According to 'Amelia, Vaelaumata.

28. According to 'Amelia, Niutonga was Tu'i Vava'u.


31. A special royal kava circle at which Queen Salote told each title-holder where he should sit.


33. Genealogies of Losaline Fatafehi (p. 3) and Afukaipo'uli (p. 39).

34. According to the present Fakafanua, Kinikinilau was Fotofili's brother.

35. Much of the following account is taken from notes obtained for the Tonga Traditions Committee by the present Motu'apuaka (1959). The notes were obtained from Sao Vaopulu, and were copied from a book in the possession of the Wesleyan Church.

36. He is a son of the presiding chief, but a son of the title, not of the man.

37. Fakapangai, or 'customs of Pangai' is whatever pertains or is appropriate to this place where the sovereign usually receives visitors.

38. According to the present King, the name of the ha'a need not be the personal name of the father of the first of such a line—though it often is. In order to explain deviations from the rule, one must know the particular circumstances of each individual case.

39. This explanation was given by the present Ve'ehala (1959), who heard it from the widow of Tu'ivakanō (Polutele) and also from Lavaka (1959).

40. Langdon (1977) notes that, according to the explorer Malaspina, two of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho's daughters were married to a chief called 'Vuna' in 1793. There is no record in the genealogies of marriage between these women and the title-holder Vuna. On the contrary, the two Tu'i Tonga Fafine who were daughters of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, Sinaitakala-'i-Fekitetele and Fatafehi Lapaha, are said by all genealogies to have married Tu'iha'ateiho Fā'otusia. The personal name 'Vuna' has subsequently been used
by other Tu'iha'ateiho, so that it is possible that "Vuna" was the personal name of the chief Malaspina met rather than the name of his title. Malaspina further notes that "Vuna" made obeisance to Tupoumoheofo, the widow of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho and mother of "Vuna's" wives Sinaitakala and Fatafehi Lapaha. At first, I found this surprising, if "Vuna" was Tu'iha'ateiho Fā'otusia, for Fā'otusia was a great 'eiki, the son of Tu'iha'ateiho Haveatungua and Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasiapau'u, whereas Tupoumoheofo was of lower rank, being the daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi and a woman called Founuku, who was the daughter of the title-holder Tokemoana. However, the obeisance is explicable by personal kinship, for Tupoumoheofo was descended from a sister and Fā'otusia from a brother. (Genealogy of Losaline Fatafehi, pp. 51-2).

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41. —and the people on it—also part of the fonua 'land'.
42. It was customary for any moheofo to be claimed by other aristocrats after she had given birth to her first son to the Tu'i Tonga and left him with her fokonofo—according to Queen Mata'aho, a descendant of the last Tu'i Tonga.
43. Since the last century tofi'a has been used for his estate, but probably fonua was used earlier for both land and its people.
44. According to the present Queen, for decisions about land a title-holder had to have the approval of his eldest sister first.
45. See especially Rogers (1975) and (1977) for a discussion of the relationship between brothers.
46. According to the present Queen, liongi are very close kin definitely lower in rank.
47. See Rogers op. cit., for a discussion of fahu.
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### Glossary of Tongan Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fahu</td>
<td>A kinsman especially chosen at funerals, weddings, and first year birthdays to receive the best koloa (mats and bark-cloth) and highest ranking cuts of meat; the fahu may also be given the right to decide on the distribution of presents and food. The fahu may be the mehekitanga 'father's sister', the tama 'a mehekitanga 'children of the father's sister', or 'ilamutu 'sister's child', real or classified. There is some disagreement among Tongans over which kinsman is the appropriate choice for which occasion. The term fahu is often used loosely by both Tongans and anthropologists as if it were a kinship term rather than a particular ceremonial status. In this case the kinship term meant is usually 'ilamutu (sister's child, man speaking). (See Rogers (1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakafeta'ī</td>
<td>A formal chant by matapule of thanks for offerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakafotu</td>
<td>Brother's child, woman speaking. Reciprocal of mehekitanga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakanofo</td>
<td>Appoint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fakatō ngasingafi</td>
<td>A ceremony to end the mourning of relatives for the Tu'i Tonga or a great chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>familii</td>
<td>Family, relatives. Taken over from English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fānau</td>
<td>Children. If used in connection with titles and ha'a, it means all the descendants of present and past holders of a title through men and through women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanongonongotokoto</td>
<td>Literally 'sending news while reclining'. A period when people lived on their 'api 'homesteads' and hence could shout the news from one homestead to the next one. The implication is that life was peaceful and that there was no need to withdraw into fortified villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fasi</td>
<td>The part of the ceremonial kava ring where it curves towards the bowl. Fasi 'aloifi: the part of the fasi nearest the 'aloifi. Fasi tapu: the central part of the fasi. Fasi tou'a: the part of the fasi nearest the tou'a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fāu</td>
<td>Hibiscus strainer used in making kava.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fa'ahinga  Kind, sort, species. Used by some writers as a subdivision within the ha'a, and as a minimal lineage, but this latter usage is not spontaneously given or used by Tongans today.

fa'e  Mother.

fa'e tangata  Mother's brother. Lit. 'male mother'.

fa'itoka  Grave.

fefine  Female. Also a term applied to a woman of comparatively low rank.

feke  Octopus.

feia'aki  Plain bark-cloth before joining and staining.

finemotu'a  Woman of low rank.

foha  Son, man speaking. Also used of a relationship between titles in which one title is in the formal relation of "son" to the other title, supposedly in perpetuity, regardless of the actual kinship relationship between the men who hold the titles.

fokonofo  Secondary wife, usually used in connection with wives of a great chief, especially the Tu'i Tonga. The fokonofo were usually sisters, real or classificatory, of the moheofo 'great wife' (mother of the heir).

folau  Voyage.

fono  A political meeting in which the people of a chief were assembled and told what they had to do. There was no discussion.

fono  The relish presented in kava ceremonies. Originally sugar cane, now usually pork.

fonua  Land, homeland, and the people on the land.

hau  The secular ruler. The term has a strong connotation of cruelty and arbitrary authority.

ha'a  People, race, tribe. Defined by Gifford as a patrilineal lineage. In theory, the patrilineal descendants of a particular king, but excluding the line that succeeded to the king's title. In practice, a set of titles descended from a particular king, excluding the line that succeeded to the king's title. The ha'a sometimes, notably in the case of the Ha'a Ngata, includes close patrilineal kin, i.e. sons and grandsons, of the holders of the titles of the ha'a. Tehina and foha titles are also included. Membership of titles in a ha'a is normally patrilineal, but there are exceptions.

ha'atufunga  Officials in charge of burial ceremonies of chiefs. Also have ceremonial duties in kava ceremonies but particularly at funerals.

ha'unga  Cooked food presented to a traveller when he first arrives.

hifo kilikili  A ceremony to end mourning for a king.

hingoa  Name.

hingoa fakanofo  Title. Lit., 'appointed name'.

hingoa matāpule  Matāpule title.

hingoa nōpele  Noble title.

hingoa 'eiki  Chiefly title.

hou'eiki  A collective of 'eiki.

ifi  A kind of tree, Inocarpus edulis. The leaves were used as a symbol of submission.

inu'anga kava  The person specially designated in a kava ceremony to drink his kava just before the presiding matāpule drinks his.

kāinga  Kinsmen. The bilateral kindred. Anyone who acts like a relative. The local subjects of a chiefly title-holder, regardless of whether they were related to him by blood.
kainga mo’oni ‘True relatives’. Used to distinguish such relatives from those who are treated as kin because they act like kin, and from the political kainga, that is, the local subjects of a chief.

kainga’i fa’e Relatives on one’s mother’s side.
kainga’i tamai Relatives on one’s father’s side.
kalia Large double canoe imported from Fiji.
kau A collective.
kaunanga A servant girl.
kau’ā-fonua Boundaries.
kava Piper methysticum, a plant used to make a drink that is made and drunk according to prescribed ritual.
kie Very fine mat imported from Samoa.
kitetama Type of marriage in which a man married his mother’s brother’s daughter. Only practised by chiefs.
koka Tree with reddish bark used for staining bark-cloth. A particular koka tree was involved in the installation ceremony of the first Tu’i Kanokupolu.
kolo Fortified village.
koloa Durable property, mainly mats and bark-cloth.
kui Grandparents.
langi Royal tombs.
lioni People at a funeral of lower rank than the deceased. They should be close relatives of the deceased.
malanga To make a public speech. Official representative.
malae Clearing near a chief’s house used for meetings and ceremonies.
matakali Tribe or sub-group. Of Fijian origin.
matapule Ceremonial attendant of chief.
matapule ma’u tofi’a A matapule title with a hereditary estate (tofi’a).
mā’itaki Favourite wife (i.e. best-liked wife, as distinct from the moheofo).
mehekitanga Father’s eldest sister.
me’afaka’eiki Funeral of chief.
moemoe Gesture of respect and submission (now defunct) in which the person of lower rank bowed his head to the foot of the person of higher rank and touched the soles of the chief’s feet first with the palm and then the back of the hand.
moheofo Chief wife of the Tu’i Tonga and mother of the heir.
moko Lizard.
motu’a Old. Old man. Also used as a term of low rank.
motu’a tauhi fonua Literally ‘old man who looks after the land’. An important chief who is not of high rank.
muli Foreigners.
nonofo Live together.
nonu Morinda citrifolia
ohi To adopt the child of one’s brother (woman speaking) to one’s husband. Such a child could succeed to the husband’s title, but in theory only for one generation.
olovaha The head of a kava circle.
Pangai The malae ‘assembling place’ of the Tu’i Kanokupolu.
polopolo First-fruits.
pongipongi Ceremonial presentation of food and kava to a superior chief on the occasion
of his installation, the installation of oneself in a title, the death of one’s chief, his return from a voyage, his wedding.

**Pongipongi folau** Ceremonial presentation of food and kava to a chief returning from a voyage.

**Pongipongi hingoa** Ceremonial presentation of food and kava to celebrate installation as a title-holder.

**Pongipongi me'afaka-eiki** Ceremonial presentation of food and kava at funeral of a chief.

**Popula** Slave.

**Pule** Authority, power.

**Sinifu** Concubine.

**Sinifu fonua** Girl sent by a chief (not an aristocratic chief) of a district to live with and have children by the Tu‘i Tonga.

**Sino‘i eiki** Aristocrat, though not necessarily the holder of a title. Literally ‘chiefly in body’.

**Tâlanga** Argument. Especially used of ritualised debate in kava ceremonies and on certain formal occasions.

**Tama** Child, woman speaking.

**Tamai** Father.

**Tamai 'o eiki** Servant. Originated because a particular father devoted himself to the service of his high-ranking child.

**Tama ‘a mehekitanga** Children of the father’s sister.

**Tama ‘a tu‘asina** Children of the mother’s brother.

**Tangata** Male. Also a term of low rank.

**Tapu** Forbidden, sacred.

**Taumafa kava** Royal kava ceremony.

**Ta‘ahine** Literally ‘girl’. Term used to describe women of high rank.

**Tehina** Literally ‘younger sibling of same sex as speaker’, i.e. ‘younger brother’ if man speaking. Also used in relation to titles. Certain titles were ‘younger brother’ to other titles in perpetuity regardless of the actual kinship relationship between the men who held the titles.

**Toa** *Casuarina equisetifolia*, ironwood tree.

**Toisi‘a** Hereditary estate.

**Tokonaki** Presentation of uncooked food.

**Toutai ika** Fishermen. A special occupation but also a ceremonial status.

**Toutai vaka** Navigators or mariners. Officials in charge of transporting chiefs by canoe. Also had ceremonial duties.

**Tou‘a** The group of people in a kava ceremony who sit behind the kava maker.

**Tufa** To share out or divide.

**Tufunga** Carpenter.

**Tufunga fonua** Literally ‘carpenter of the land’, meaning the establisher of social customs.

**Tupu‘anga** Ancestor.

**Tu‘a** Term of rank meaning low or common, the opposite of ‘eiki.

**Tu‘asina** Mother’s brother. Also sometimes called fa‘e tangata.

**Tu‘i** Paramount chief, king (but not necessarily so if used as part of a proper name).

**Uho taha** To have the same mother. *Uho* means umbilical cord.

**Uho tau** Literally ‘fighting cords’. Brothers of the same father but different mothers.

**Vaha‘itaha** The chiefly position in the kava circle nearest the olova‘ha or presiding chief. There is always a matapule in between the olova‘ha and vaha‘itaha.
'alofi  The top part of the kava circle near the presiding chief or olovaha.
'api  Homestead.
'a'ahi  Formal presentation of food by a local group or district to their chief or king.
'eiki  Literally 'chief', but there is a much stronger connotation of high rank and a weaker connotation of ruling than in the English term 'chief'. It is often used to mean 'aristocratic' or 'high-ranking' even if the person so described does not have political authority. Within the immediate family sisters are 'eiki to their brothers though they do not have authority over them.
'eiki fakanofo  Aristocrat who is also appointed to a title.
'eiki motu'a  Literally 'old chief' or 'old aristocrat', meaning someone whose ancestors were of high rank before the time of the Constitution in 1875.
'eiki nōpele  Person whose title was made 'noble' at the time of the Constitution but whose ancestors were not necessarily aristocratic in the traditional system.
inasi  First-fruits presented to the sacred king, the Tu'i Tonga, as part of a politico-religious ceremony involving the whole nation.
ilamutu  Sister's child, man speaking. Reciprocal of tu'asina.
'ulumotu'a  Head of a family or kin group.
'umu  Earth oven. Also the food cooked in the earth oven.
'unoho  Formal marriage ceremony.
## INDEX OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Succession of Tu'i Tonga from 'Uluakimata (Tele'a) to Laufilitonga</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Succession of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Succession of Tu'i Kanokupolu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The relationship between Tu'ilakepa Lātūniupulu and Tu'i Tonga Paulaho</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The three appointed Tamahā</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Tama Tahuala: Makamālohi</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The institution of the moheofo, the great chief wife of the Tu'i Tonga</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Succession through women: The title of Vaha'i</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Succession through women: Makahokovalu as heir to the title of Tu'ilakepa</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Succession through women: The title of Ma'afutuku'iaulahi</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Succession through women: Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Fuatakifolaha</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. General derivation of the three major ha'a: Kauhala'uta, Ha'a Takalaua, and Kauhalaalalo</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. The Ha'a Ma'afu of Kauhalaalalo</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Membership of a title in ha'a through woman: The title of Mohulamufua'amotu</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Membership of title in ha'a through woman: The Fakafanua title</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Membership of title in ha'a through woman: The Mā'atu title</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. The Tu'ilakepa title of the Fale Fisi</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. The Tu'iha'ateiho title of the Fale Fisi</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. The Tunigi line</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The origin of the titles of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. The origin of the titles of Ha'a Havea and Ha'a Havea Si'i</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. The Vuna line</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. The two marriages of Fusipala, daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Fusipala and the elevation of the title of Tu'ipelehake</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Tupouveitongo and the elevation of the title Tu'iha'angana</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Intermarriage among descendants of his daughters, Fusipala and Ma'afu</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: Kafoa, son of Mataeleha'amea, and Kafoa's daughter Toe'umu</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28. Descendants of Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeleha'amea: The Fínau 'Ulukālala line .................................................................................................................. 151

29. 'Ulukilupetea: "The Woman with the Ivory Stomach" ................................................................. 142

30. Senior and junior lines of Kanokupolu chiefs: Sons of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-tu'itonga .................................................................................................................. 152

31. Tamahā Lātūfupeiaka: Her contribution to the chiefliness of modern aristocratic nobles
   (a) Her marriage to Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi'si'i ................................................................. 153
   (b) Her marriage to Tuita Kahomovailahi .................................................................................. 154
   (c) Her marriage to Leka Kiuve'etaha (Tu'alau) ...................................................................... 155

ABBREVIATIONS & SYMBOLS USED IN THE FIGURES

| TT | Tu'i Tonga         | d | daughter of |
| TTF | Tu'i Tonga Fefine | s | son of |
| TH | Tu'i Ha'atukalaua | z | sister of |
| TK | Tu'i Kanokupolu | f | fokonofo, secondary wife |
| TL | Tu'ilakepa        | φ | woman |
| THT | Tu'iha'ateiho | ω | man |
| THNg | Tu'iaha'angana | D | died |
| TP | Tu'ipelehake | --- | half siblings (different mothers) |
| FU | Fínau 'Ulukālala | | title names are italicised |

Unbracketed numbers indicate order of succession; ? indicates uncertainty about order. Bracketed numbers indicate which wife of the father was mother of the child.
### INDEX OF TITLES AND PERSONAL NAMES ~ MALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afeaki</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afiafolaha, Tu'i Ha'ateiho</td>
<td>127; Fig. 18, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afuha'alaufulu (Afu)</td>
<td>119, 140; Fig. 27</td>
<td>'Afuha'amango, Fig. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ahio</td>
<td>122, 124, 127; Fig. 20. See Vakalepu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ahiohio</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>'Aho'eitu, 90, 91, 97, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ahion</td>
<td>108, 120-2, 124-5, 127; Fig. 20, 31</td>
<td>'Aho'amango, Fig. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akuaiola</td>
<td>116, 119</td>
<td>'Ahiohio, 122, 124, 127; Fig. 20. See Vakalepu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akuholo</td>
<td>140; Fig. 27</td>
<td>'Alusa, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alapu</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>'Ahu'amango, Tu'i Ha'amea, 131; Fig. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alo</td>
<td>140; Fig. 27</td>
<td>'Akipu, Vaea, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata (Atafakahau)</td>
<td>72, 81, 121-7, 130, 131; Fig. 20, 28, 31b. See Kaumāvae</td>
<td>Atamata'ila, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 78, 83, 104, 111, 117, 120, 123, 125; Fig. 1, 3, 15, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atago</td>
<td>see Siale'ataongo</td>
<td>Attago, see Siale'ataongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avala Naufahu</td>
<td>Fig. 31b, 31c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Earooup, see Malupō

- Eitumatumupu'a, 90
- Eilī, 96, 119

Fainga'a | 97 | |
| Fakafanua | 85, 110, 114, 159; Fig. 15 | Fakahaua, 97 |
| Fakahiku, see Fā'otusia, Tu'i Ha'ateiho | |
| Fakahīlotonga, 140 | Fakahikuo'uiha, see Fā'otusia, Tu'i Ha'ateiho | |
| Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga, 76, 138, 139, 140; Fig. 1, 5, 17, 18, 24, 26 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga | |
| Fakaataku'u, 106, 140, 144; Fig. 17 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga | |
| Fakamelao | 131 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fakatoio | 107 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fakatuolomo, Tutui | Fig. 28 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fakaukimanuka, Fig. 18 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga | |
| Falefā | 25, 26, 91, 97-8, 101, 108, 127 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Falefā Hihifo | 116, 118, 119, 124, 128. See Fā'otu, Napa'a, Monū | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Falefā 'Uta | 116, 118, 119, 124, 128. See Lei, Tovi, Lasikē | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fale Fisi, see Ha'a Falefisi | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fale Ha'akili | 116, 118, 119, 123, 124, 127. See Kamoto, Uhi, Motu'apuaka, Kioa, Ngalungalu, Va'enō | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Falekaono | 110, 112 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fale 'o Tu'iamanave | 97, 98 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fale 'o Tu'imatahau | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fale 'o Tu'iloloko | 97 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fana Lofangalo | 110, 111 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fanganpo | Fig. 18, 31 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fā'a'oa | 116, 118, 125 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fā'otusia Fakahiku'uiha, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, (Malaspina's Vuna), 35, 36, 127, 165-6 n.40; Fig. 1, 6, 18 | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fatafah, see Fatafahi | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | Fakahina'ana'a, Tu'i Tonga |
| Fatukimotulolo | 83, 115; Fig. 2, 14, 19, 28 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi |
| Fauolo | 144 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi |
| Fautave, 106 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Feenou, Feenough, F enough, see Finau; see Tu'ihalafatai (Cook's Finau); see 'Ulukalala-'i-Feletoa (Mariner's Finau) | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi |
| Fefafa, 93 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Fehokomoelangi-'i-Fisi, Tu'i Lakepa, 18, 31-2, 106, 127; Fig. 1, 4, 17 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Fevanga | 93 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Fi'elakepa | 36, 133, 134; Fig. 21. See Longo-longo'atumai | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Fīfī | 104 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Fīfitapuku, Tu'i Ha'angana | 139, 140; Fig. 1, 6, 22, 25, 27, 30 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi |
| Fīli | 131 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Filiaipulotu, Tu'ipeleheke, Fig. 24 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Filimoehulie, Ma'afu, 75; Fig. 10 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi | |
| Finau, see 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa (Mariner's Finau); see Tu'ihalafatai (Cook's Finau). Common term of address amongst Kanokupolu chiefs, 28 | Fatafahi, see Fatafahi |
Finau Fisi, Fig. 28, 31b, 31c
Fisilunamālii, 138-9; Fig. 23, 24, 26
Fiunoa, 144
Fonomanu, 33, 34, 85, 106; Fig. 1, 5, 16, 17
Fotu, 119
Fotu, Veikune, Fig. 31
Fotofili, 96, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 131, 143, 159; Fotofili Fekai 112; Fig. 1, 2, 31b
Fotofili, Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua, 85, 96, 111, 112, 146; Fig. 1, 2, 31, 31b
Fotofili, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, 85, 96, 111, 112, 146; Fig. 1, 2, 17, 20
Fuapau (Hikule'o), Tu'i Ha'angana, 139; Fig. 25
Fuatakalaua, Tu'ī Ha'atakalaua, 75-6, 105, 114, 138-9; Fig. 2, 11, 19, 23
Fuatakalaua, Veikune, Fig. 31
Fuimano, 142
Fulilangi, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, 68; Fig. 18
Fulivai, 116, 119; Fig. 19
Fusitu'a, 131
Futafaihe, see Futafaihe
Ha'a Ata (Ha'a Atamata'ila), 125
Ha'a Falefisi, 32, 33, 60, 64, 68, 103, 106-7, 157, 159; Fig. 12. See Tu'ilakepa, Tu'iha'ateiho, Mā'atātu, Tu'i'āfītu, (Ha'a Ngana), Malupo
Ha'a Havea, 75, 81, 83-4, 85, 118, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130-5, 137, 159, 161; Fig. 10, 12, 14, 21. See Ma'afutukiaulahi, Fohe, Lasikē, Tu'ivakānō, Vaea, Fielakepa
Ha'a Havea Si'i, 125, 130-7; Fig. 12, 21. See Lavaka, Ika, Maka, Tu'ihalamaka
Ha'a Lātūhiō, 85, 117, 121, 125, 126. See Halakitaua, Vaoloa
Ha'a Ma'afu (Ha'a Ma'afuotu'itonga), 81, 83, 125; Fig. 13
Ha'a Moheofo, 117; Fig. 12. See Tu'i Kanokupolu
Ha'a Mo'unga, 116-17
Ha'a Ngana, 95, 102-3; Fig. 12
Ha'a Ngata, 27, 78, 81, 85, 115-30, 134-5, 146, 157, 159.
Ha'a Ngata Motu'a, 116, 120-3, 125, 126; Fig. 12, 20. See 'Ahio, Ve'ehala, Ata, Kapukava, 'Ahome'e, Vaha'i, Momotu
Ha'a Ngata Tupu, 116, 125, 126, 140-1; Fig. 12
Ha'a Takalaua, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 96, 105, 117, 124, 127, 135, 156, 157, 158; Fig. 12
Ha'a Talafale, 95, 107, 139; Fig. 12
Hafoka, 114, 131
Hafoka, Ma'afutukiaulahi, Fig. 3
Hahano, Fig. 31b
Hakavelu, 96
Hala'apiapi, 143
Halakitaua, Niukapu, 115, 116, 117, 123; Fig. 2, 20
Halatuituia, Tuita, 97, 115; Fig. 2, 14, 19, 24, 28, 30, 31b, 31c
Hama, 104, 110, 113
Hau, Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 44, 49, 54, 59, 60, 64, 109, 118, 119
Haufano, 119
Havea I, Tu'i Tonga, 94
Havea II, Tu'i Tonga, 95
Haveahikule'o, Fig. 19
Havealeta, 110
Haveamotu'a, 110
Haveapava, Malupō, 144
Havea Tungua, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, 34, 36; Fig. 1, 5, 6, 18
Haveatuli, 96, 107
Helu, 110
Hepisipa, 92
Ika, 132, 133, 135; Fig. 21
Ikahihifo, 131
Ikamafana, Mā'atātu, 85, Fig. 16
'Iloa-'i-Langikapu, Tu'ilakepa, 18, 106; Fig. 9, 17
'Inone Fotu, Fig. 1, 31
'Isele Tupou, Ha'a Ma'afu, 81-2, 83; Fig. 1, 13, 31
'Isele Tupou, Tuita, Fig. 31, 31b
Kafaoa, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 114, 135; Fig. 2, 11, 22
Kafaoa, son of TK Mata'eleha'amea, father of To'e'umu, 140, 143, 144; Fig. 3, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27
Kahomovailahi, Tuita, 36; Fig. 1, 5, 6, 9, 17, 31, 31b
Kalaniuvalu, Fig. 1, 19, 31
Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili, Fig. 1, 31
Mā'atu, 33, 85, 106, 107, 108, 110, 131, 143, 159; Fig. 16, 19, 28, 30. See Lātu-mailangi, Ikamafana, Kivalu
Maealiuaki (Marweeagee, Marweeagee, Marriwaggy), Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 11, 20, 26, 27-9, 30, 37, 49, 50, 57, 59, 64, 76, 81, 83, 85, 110, 115, 144, 145-6, 159; Fig. 2, 3, 11, 14, 16, 18, 19, 30
Maiava Olonuna, 131
Maiava Tekimo, 131
Mailatamai, Fig. 24
Mailotamai, Fig. 21
Makahokovalu, 73, 85, 103, 106, 127; Fig. 6, 9, 18, 31b
Makamâlohi, Tama Tauhala, 35-6; Fig. 1, 6, 18, 28
Makapapa, Fig. 19
Makauka, 96
Malakai Lavulou, Fig. 19, 31, 31b
Malala, 119
Malepō, 91, 97, 116
Malofafâ, 95
Maluheu, 131
Maluotâufa, Ma'afu, Fig. 10
Malupō (possibly Earoupaa), 21, 85, 97, 102, 103, 108; Fig. 30. See Haveapava
Manulevu, 105; Fig. 2
Manumata'ongo, Fig. 31b
Manumatu'ongo, 104
Manupupu'i'one, Fig. 18
Mapa, Tu'iha'ateiho, Fig. 18
Mapa, Tui Ha'atakalaua, Fig. 24
Mapakaitolo, 140
Mapaha'ano, Fig. 2
Marweeagee, Marweeagee, Marriwaggy, see Maealiuaki
Māsila, 119
Mataelaha'aamea, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 23, 76, 131, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139-40, 143; Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28
Mataelahumai, Fig. 22
Mataelumuluvalu, Fig. 22
Mataelutu'apiko, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 36, 83, 118, 121, 125, 131, 132, 133, 137, 145; Fig. 1, 3, 5, 12, 17, 21, 22
Matafahi, 126, 131
Matakehe, 91, 97
Matatuvave, 96-7, 103, 107
Mateialona, Tupouto'a, 83; Fig. 13
Maui, 89
Ma'ulupekotofa, Fatafehi (Pau's brother), Tu'i Tonga, 23, 25-6, 30, 36, 38, 61, 99-100, 106; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, 17
Ma'ulupekotofa, son of Tuita Laufilitonga, Fig. 31b
Moalapau'u, Fig. 31b
Moekiaiola, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 114, Fig. 2, 11
Moengangongo, Fig. 28
Mohulamufu'amotu, 83; Fig. 14, 19
Moimo'i'angahā, Fig. 10
Momo, Tu'i Tonga, 91, 92, 94, 98
Momotu, 85, 122, 132, 133, 134; Fig. 21
Monu, 116, 118
Motua'ahala, 131
Motu'apuaka, 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 125, 132
Mo'ungamotu'a, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 96, 110, 116; Fig. 2, 12
Mo'ungātonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, see Mo'unga-'o-Tonga
Mo'unga-'o-tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, see Mo'unga-'o-Tonga
Muli'i'ea, 116, 126
Mulihiha'aimea, Ha'atakalaua, Tu'i Kanokupolu, d.1799, 64, 83, 110, 115, 145; Fig. 2, 3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 30
Mumui, Tu'i Kanokupolu, d.1797, 11, 23, 28, 81, 82, 117, 144, 145, 146, 159, 161, 162; Fig. 1, 3, 13, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31
Mumui, Ha'a Ma'afu, 81
Napa'a, 116, 118
Naufahu, Fig. 19
Naulivou, Fig. 25, 28, 21b
Nā'tu'u, 106; Fig. 17
Niakapu, 75, 115, 116, 117, 141; Fig. 28, 31c. See Halakitaua
Niutongi, Niutongo, 96
Nui Tamatou, 94
Nuku, 115, 116, 117, 126; Fig. 10, 18, 20. See Vaoloa
Ngaluha'atafu, 108, 122
Ngalumoetututu, 65, 81, 141, 144-5, 162; Fig. 3, 13, 22, 28, 29, 30 31b
Ngalumoetututu, Kalanivalu-Fotofili, Fig. 31
Ngalungalu, 116, 118, 119
Ngana'eiki, 103
Nganatafatu (Ngana), 95, 102-3
INDEX

Ngata, Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tu'i Ha'amomunga, 32, 63, 68, 78, 113, 115-18, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 134, 146; Fig. 2, 3, 12, 20
Ngata, Vuna Ngata, 136; Fig. 22, 31
'Osaiasi Veikune, 105, 111; Fig. 2, 18, 22, 31
Otago, Otā-go, see Sia'le'ataongo

Paku, 85; Fig. 15
Paleinangalu, 106; Fig. 17
Paleisasa, 118, 145; Fig. 21, 30
Pānuve, Fig. 19
Pasiaka, 143
Pau, Tu'i Tonga, see Paulaho
Paula Halaevalu, Fig. 13
Paula Tu'itavakefanga, Ha'a Ma'afu, 82; Fig. 12
Paulaho, Fatafehi (Futufaihē, Fattafee, the King, Poulahe, Poulahe), 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38; 'inasi 39-44; 47-50, 56, 59, 61, 67, 70, 96, 99, 100, 106, 117, 119, 123, 139, 142, 143, 165-6 n.40; Pau's sister 29-30; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, 25, 29, 30. Pau's son, see Fuanunia; Pau's brother, see Ma'ulupekofoa
Penisimanu Lātūselu, Fig. 19
Polutele, Tuita, 144; Fig. 30, 31b
Po'oi, 21; Tu'i Ha'apai, 144, 158; Fig. 22, 30
Popolatotui, 143
Poulahe, Poulahe, see Paulaho
Pupunu, 143
Salesi, Fig. 18
Semisi Fonua, Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili, Fig. 31
Setaleki Mumui, Fig. 28, 31b
Sia'le'ataongo (Attago, Atago, Otā-go), 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17-24
Sia'le'ataongo, son of Ma'afu Fisi, Fig. 31
Sika, 119
Sikei, 120
Silivaka'ifanga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 114; Fig. 2, 11
Sina'e, 103-6, 108, 112, 157, 159; Fig. 12
Sioeli Pangia, Fig. 1
Sione Fatukimotulalo, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, Fig. 18
Sione Lamipeti, Fig. 13, 31c
Sione Ngau, Tu'ipelehake, Fig. 31, 31c
Sione Vuna, Tu'i Ha'ateiho, Fig. 18
Siotami, Ma'afu, Fig. 31c
Siosaia Laua'i, Fig. 31c
Sisimata'i/a'ā, 107-8
Sisitoutai, Fig. 28
Siulangapō, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Fig. 2
Soakai, 70, 97-8
Sunia Māfile'o, Ha'a Ma'afu, 82; Fig. 13, 18, 19, 24, 28, 31, 31b, 31c
Tafea, 106
Tafolo, 104-5; Fig. 1
Tahifesi, 68, 96
Taione (Tioonee), 11
Taipa, see Tapā
Tākai, 109
Takaihouma, 131
Takalaua, Tu'i Tonga, 78, 95, 96, 97, 98
Takalaua, 'eiki of 'Eua, 96
Takavaka, Fig. 9
Takitakimālohi, Vuna (Mariner's Vuna), 136, 140, 142, 143; Fig. 22, 27, 29
Talafale, Tu'ilalea, 90, 92, 95
Tala-'i-Ha'apepe, Tu'i Tonga, 94
Talakaifaiki, Tu'i Tonga, 94, 116
Talapalo, 96
Talatama, Tu'i Tonga, 94
Talaumokofoa, 142; Fig. 22, 29
Talia'uli, 111, 145; Fig. 2, 22
Tamale, 104
Tama Tauhala, 35-6. See Makamālohi Tamosia, 95
Tanekitonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Fig. 2
Tangaloa, 89, 92; Tangaloa Tufunga, 89; Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a, 90
Tangata'olakepa (young Toobough), 11, 16, 24, 146; Fig. 30
Tangipā, 131
Tapā (Taipa, Tapah), 19, 20, 21
Tapah, see Tapā
Tapu'ueluelu, Fig. 31c
Tapu'osi, 31, 32-3, 34, 60, 67, 85, 106; Fig. 1, 5, 16, 17
Tatafu, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 85, 96, 111, 112-14; Fig. 2, 15, 18
Tatafu'eikimeimu'a, Tu'i Tonga, 94-5, 102
Tā'atevalu, 108, 133, 139; Fig. 25
Taufa'āhau, Tu'i Kanokupolu 1845-1893, King George Tupou I, 55, 64, 68, 72, 75, 83, 105, 108, 116, 118, 164; Tu'i Ha'apai 144; Fig. 3, 6, 10, 13, 24, 25, 31
Taufa'āhau, Tupou II, Tu'i Kanokupolu,
Tu'ipelehake, d.1918, 55, 105; Fig. 3, 19, 24, 25, 31
Tufa'a'hau, Tupou IV, Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tungi, Tupouto'a, 55, 64, 83, 115; Fig. 2, 3, 14, 19, 24, 31, 31b, 31c
Taufatofua, 110, 111
Taufatoutai, Luani, 114
Tavake, Fig. 19
Telai, 106
Tele'a, Tu'i Tonga, see 'Uluakimata (Tele'a)
Teukava, 109
Tēvita 'Unga, Ha'a Ma'afu, 83; Fig. 3, 13, 24, 25, 31
Tatafa'ahau, Tupou IV, Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tungi, Tupouto'a, 55, 64, 83, 115; Fig. 2, 3, 14, 19, 24, 31, 31b, 31c
Taufatofua, 110, 111
Tunga, Tuupo'toa, 55, 105; Fig. 3, 19, 24, 25, 31b
Taufatofua, 110, 111
Tonga Fusi, 104-5, 142, 145; Fig. 29, 30.
See Tongatoutai, Toutaitokotaha
Tolo, see Mapakaitolo
Tongafeleola, 105, 111; Fig. 2, 18, 22
Tongakakau, 73; Fig. 8
Tonga Fusi, 89, 90
Tonganamana, 143; Fig. 1, 4, 25, 28, 30
Tongatamamoa, 110, 111
Tongatangitaulupekifolaha, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 105, 115, 138; Fig. 2, 11, 23
Tongatoutai, Tokemoana, 143; Fig. 29
Tongotea, 108, 133
Toobou, Toobough, 'Young Toobou' see Tangata'olakepa; 'Old Toobou' see Tupou
Toobouetioa, see Tupouto'a, Tu'i Kanokupolu
Tooboulange, see Tupoulangi
Tooeelakaipa, see Tu'ilakepa
Tōpeti, Fig. 19
To'uli, 108
Toutaitokotaha, Tokemoana, 142; Fig. 29
Tovi, 116, 118, 124, 125
Tu'ala, see Kiue'etaha, Leka
Tuapasi, see 'Ulkālāla-'i-Pouono
Tu'i'a'āitu, 33, 107, 141; Fig. 28. See Lolo-mana'ia
Tu'iamanave, 97, 98
Tu'i 'Eu'a, 127, 159
Tu'i Faleua, 90, 91, 92, 107, 108, 139. See Talafale
Tu'i'ifolaha, 91
Tu'iha'a'amea, 92, 111, 131, 133; Fig. 21, 22.
See Akatoa, Lo'au
Tu'i Ha'amoa'unga, see Ngata, 116
Tu'iha'angana, 68, 85, 95, 102-3, 108, 139, 140; Fig. 13, 25. See Fuapau (Hikule'o), Fifitapuku, Liufau, Lateivaumau
Tu'i Ha'apai, 127, 144, 147, 159
Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 75, 79, 80, 96, 97, 99-102, 104, 108, 109-15, 116, 120, 123, 125, 128, 129, 137, 140, 146, 156-9, 163; moheofio 99; 'Tu'ike-lekele' 96; Fig. 2, 11. See Hau, see Ha'a takalaua
Tu'iha'ateiho, 23, 32, 33, 34, 36, 60, 68, 106, 107, 108, 147; Fig. 17, 18. See Fakatakatu'u, Tungimana'ia, Havea-Tungua, Fā'otusia (Fakahikuo'uiha), Afia'olaha, Fūlilangi, Kolokivaitupu
Tu'iha'atunga, 132, 133; Fig. 21
Tu'ihakavalu, Fig. 22
Tu'ihalafatai, Finau (Feenou, Fenough, Feenough), Tu'i Kanokupolu, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 50, 51, 145; Identity of Finau 19-20, 49-50; Fig. 1, 3, 30, 31, 31b
Tu'ihalama, 132, 133, 135; Fig. 21
Tu'ihoua, 105, 114; Fig. 2, 11, 23
Tu'i Ka'okupolu, 18, 22, 36, 44, 49, 55, 60, 63, 64, 67, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 98, 102, 104, 109, 113-14, 115-47, 156-64; kava 25-6, 124-6; Ha'a Moheofio 117; Fig. 3, 7, 12, 30. See Hau, see Tu'ihaalafatai (Cook's Finau), see Maelauikai
Tu'i Kelekele, nickname of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 96
Tu'ilakepa, 32, 33, 34-5, 60, 67, 68, 73, 85, 106, 107, 108, 147; Fig. 9, 17. See Tapu'osi, Fehokomoeangi-'i-Fisi, Fonomanu, Lātūni-pulu-'i-Teaufa, Nā-'utu, 'Iloa-'i-Langikapu, Apalaha
Tu'ilakepa Ha'amoa, Fig. 17
Tu'iloloko, 91, 97
Tu'imatahau, 97
Tu'imatuliki, 97
Tu'i Nayau, 118, 145
Tu'inukulave, Fig. 22
Tu'ioetau, Vuna, 136, 142; Fig. 22, 29
Tu'i'onea, 73; Fig. 8
Tu'ionukulave, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, 114; Fig. 2, 11
Tu'ipelehake, 68, 76, 107, 116, 139, 140, 147; Fig. 24. See Lēkaumōana, 'Uluvalu, Filiapia‘ulou, Fatfehi Toutaitoko-
INDEX

Tu'ipulotu, Fig. 31
Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'ofesafa, Tu'i Tonga, 105, 137; Fig. 1, 5, 17
Tu'ipulotu-'i-Langitu'oteau, Tu'i Tonga, 31, 73, 106; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 17, 18, 30

Tu'isoso, 125

Tuita, 68, 73; Fig. 9, 31, 31b. See Polutele, Kahomovialahi, 'Ulukivaiola, 'Isileli Tupou, Lau Filitonga, Makahokovalu

Tu'italau, 97

Tu'itatui, Tu'i Tonga, 32, 94, 98

Tu'i Tonga, 18, 22, 24, 26, 33, 36, 38, 51, 55, 57, 59-64, 66, 67, 69, 77, 78, 89-109, 120, 123, 128, 129, 135, 137, 140, 156-64; Fig. 1, 7, 12; kava 25-6; 'inasi 39-47, 53, 56-7, 141; moemoe 48-9, 53; fota 53-4, moheofo 59, 60, 64, 99-100, 104-5, Fig. 7; legends 89-96; sina'e 103-6. See Kauhala'uta; see Pauhaho, Ma'ulupekofo, Fakana'ana'aa

Tu'itufu, 110

Tuituiohu, 76, 135, 140-1, 143, 144; Fig. 3, 12, 28, 29

Tu'i 'Uvea, 112

Tuivai, 98

Tu'ivakanõ, 125, 132, 133, 134; Fig. 3, 21

Tu'i Vava'u, 127, 140, 141, 147, 158

Tukai, 106; Fig. 17

Tuku'aho, Tu'i Kanokupolu, d.1799, 23, 36, 55, 76, 81, 82, 110, 112, 117, 134, 135, 143, 144, 146, 162; Tu'i 'Eu a 113, 147, 159; Fig. 1, 3, 5, 13, 18, 22, 29, 30

Tuku'aho, son of Tungi Halatuituia, 115; Fig. 2, 14, 19, 24, 28, 31, 31b, 31c

Tuluvota, 95

Tuna, Fig. 28

Tungi, 68, 83, 85, 114. See Halatuituia, Tungi Mailefihi

Tungi Mailefihi, 64, 115; Fig. 2, 14, 19, 24, 28, 31, 31b, 31c

Tungimana'ia, Tu'iha'ateiho, 106, 140, 145; Fig. 1, 17, 18, 30

Tupõ, 131

Tupou (Toobough), Family name of Tu'i Kanokupolu, 19, 28; "Old Toobou" 27-9, 37, 49-50, 59; "Young Toobou" see Tangata'olakepa

Tupouahome'e, 36

Tupouha'apai, Fig. 28, 31b

Tupou'ila, 28; Fig. 3, 13, 30

Tupoulahi, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 19, 20, 27-9, 49, 65, 81, 117, 144, 145, 146, 159; Fig. 1, 3, 4, 6, 13, 18, 25, 30

Tupoulahisi'i, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 36; Fig. 1, 3, 5, 9, 13, 17, 31

Tupoulangi (Tooboulangaee), 19

Tupoumâlohi, Tu'i Kanokupolu, d.1812, Fig. 3, 13, 28, 30, 31b

Tupouniua, 55, 112, 137, 142, 143, 146; Fig. 25, 28

Tupouto'a (Tooboueitooa), Tu'i Kanokupolu 1812-1820, 23-4, 36, 55, 117, 141, 158; Tu'i Ha'apai 144; Fig. 3, 10, 13, 18, 29, 31

Tupouto'a, son of TK Tuku'aho, 110

Tupouto'a, son of TK Mata'eleha'amea, 140, 144; Fig. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6

Tupouto'a, Ha'a Ma'afu, 83. See Mateialona

Tu'ukitau, Fig. 30

Tu'uhetoka, 110

Uatemolipala, Fig. 19, 25, 28, 31b

Uelingitoni Ngu, Ha'a Ma'afu, 81, 83; Fig. 3, 13, 25

Uhatafe, 98

Uhi, 116, 118-19

'Uhilamolangi, Fig. 18

Ui'i Kalaniuvalu, Fig. 29, 25, 28, 31b

Ula, 116; Fig. 19, 24

Ulakai, Ha'a Ma'afu, 81, 82; 'eiki of 'Eu a 113; Fig. 3, 13, 19, 22, 28, 31c

'Uluakimata, Tu'i Tonga, 105, 114; Fig. 1, 2, 5, 11, 17, 18, 23

'Uluakimata (Tele'a), Tu'i Tonga, 32, 98, 102, 103, 106, 107; Fig. 2, 5, 17

'Ulukâlala, 16, 68, 114, 126, 135, 140, 158; Hau 44; Fig. 28

'Ulukâlala-'i-Feletoa (Mariner's Finau), Tu'i Vava'u, d.1810, 20, 22, 36, 54, 55, 66, 76, 102, 109, 110, 112, 136-7, 141-3, 146; Tu'i Ha'apai 143; Fig. 6, 18, 22, 28, 29

'Ulukâlala-'i-Ma'ofoanga, d.1797, 19, 141-3; Tu'i 'Eu a 159; Fig. 28, 29

'Ulukâlala-'i-Pouono, Tuapasi, Fig. 13, 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31c

'Ulukâlala Matekitonga, Fig. 19, 25, 28, 31b

'Ulukâlala Misini, Fig. 28, 31b

'Ulukâlala Siaosi Ha'amea, Fig. 28, 31b
INDEX OF WOMEN AND THEIR TITLES

Afa, Fig. 1, 31, 31b
Afu, daughter of Vaha‘i, Fig. 18
Afu, daughter of Niukapu, Fig. 31c
Afu Ha‘apai, Fig. 31b
‘Akanese Tonga Laukau, Fig. 18
‘Alili, Fig. 31c
‘Amelia Fakahiku‘ou’iua, Tamahā, 20, 31, 34-5, 36, 92, 114; Fig. 1, 5, 6, 18
‘Anaseini, Fig. 28, 31b
‘Anaseini Tupouveihoia, Fig. 19, 31, 31b, 31c
‘Anaukisesina, moheofo of TT Tu’ipulotu, 99, 144; Fig. 1, 5, 6, 17, 30
‘Anaukisesina, daughter of Ngatumoe-tutulu, Fig. 31b
‘Anaukisesina, daughter of Sione Lamipeti, Fig. 31c
Ane Tupou Falefehi, Fig. 28
‘Asenahana, Fig. 18
Ata Fakahau, 146
‘Atalua, Fig. 2
Ate, 141, 144-5; Fig. 30, 31b
Atuhakautapu, Fig. 31

INDEX

‘Ulikivaiola, Tuita, 73; Fig. 9, 31
‘Ulutolu, 115
‘Ululu, Tu‘ipelehake, 139, 140, 143; Fig. 29, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31c
‘Unga, Ma‘afu, Fig. 31c
‘Ungapapālangi, Fig. 19
Utumā‘atu, see Mā‘atu

Vaea, 67, 72, 132-4; Fig. 3, 21, 28, 31
Vaea, Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, 76, 105, 106, 111, 112, 114, 115, 137; Fig. 1, 2, 11, 17, 23
Vaeamatoka, Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, Fig. 2
Va‘enō, 116
Vaha‘i, 73, 85, 109, 121-4, 127; Fig. 8, 18, 31b
Vakalahi Fuiono, 119
Vakalahi Ha‘ata‘ali‘u, 119
Vakalahimohe‘uli, Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua, Fig. 2
Vakalepu, ‘Ahi, 120, 121; Fig. 3, 20
Vakameilalo, Fig. 19
Vaka‘utapolana, Fig. 31b
Vaoloa, Nuku, 115, 116, 117, 123; Fig. 2, 20

Vave, 146
Veale‘ovale, 92
Veamatahau, 97
Veasi‘i, 35; Fig. 5, 6, 18
Ve‘ehala, 81, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 131, 135, 145; Fig. 13, 20, 31b. See Leilua
Veikune, 104-6, 111; Fig. 31. See ‘Osaiasi
Veikune
Veikune, Fig. 31, 31b
Vilai, Fig. 31, 31b
Vivili, 106
Vuki, Fig. 31, 31b
Vuna, Tu‘i Kanokupolu, Tu‘i Vava‘u, 76, 99, 130, 132, 133, 135-7, 140, 141, 143, 158; Fig. 3, 21, 22. See Ngata, Tu‘i-oetau, Takitakimālohi (Mariner’s Vuna).
Vuna, ‘Ahome‘e, Fig. 31
Vuna (Malaspina’s Vuna), see Fā’otusia Fakahiku‘ou’iua
Vuna Lahi, see Vuna, Tu‘i Kanokupolu, Tu‘i Vava‘u

‘Ekutongapipiki, Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, 34, 106; Fig. 1, 5, 16, 17
‘Elenoa, daughter of Mele Pusiaki, Fig. 19
‘Elenoa, daughter of Halaevalu Moheofo, Fig. 28
‘Eva, Fig. 31b
Fakahiku‘ou’iua, Tamahā, see ‘Amelia Fakahiku‘ou’iua
Fakalolomataka, Fig. 18
Fana, Fig. 6, 18
Fanetupouvavavau, Fig. 13, 19, 24, 28, 31, 31b, 31c
Fangaafa, Fig. 18
Fatafehi, daughter of TT Kau‘ulufonua, 132; Fig. 2, 21
Fatafehi, daughter of TT Tu‘itātui, 94
Fatafehi, daughter of Vilai, Fig. 31b
Fatafehi Fangaafa, Fig. 9
Fatafehi Ha‘apai, Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, Fig. 1, 6
Fatafehi Hōleva, 142; Fig. 29, 31b
Fatafehi Lapaha, Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, 36,
INDEX

Halaevalumoheofo, daughter of TK Mumui, 137-8; Fig. 22, 25
Heu'ifanga, Fig. 31
Hifo, 120; Fig. 20
Hinehinatelangi, 106; Fig. 2, 17
Hoko‘iamailangi, Fig. 18
Hulitatu‘ifua, Fig. 25
Ikahihifo, 132
Ikatonga, 83; Fig. 14, 19, 30
Kaloafutonga, moheofo, daughter of TH Mo‘unga-‘o-Tonga, 99; Fig. 1, 17
Kaloafutonga, daughter of TH Vaea, 76, 115, 137; Fig. 2, 11, 23
Kalolaine, Fig. 13
Kaufou‘ou, 120; Fig. 20
Kaufusi, Fig. 30
Kaunanga, Fig. 19, 25, 28, 31
Kavakipopua, 145; Fig. 30

Hahanokifanga‘uta, 139, 140; Fig. 24, 25, 26, 27
Halaevalu, moheofo, daughter of TK Mataeleha‘amea, Fig. 1
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Tu‘imala, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Lepolo, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of Paku, 85, 111; Fig. 15
Halaevalufonongovainga, Fig. 19
Halaevalukovi, Fig. 18
Halaevalu Mata‘aho, daughter of TK Tupouto‘a, Fig. 1, 18, 19, 31
Halaevalu Mata‘aho, mother of ‘Anaeseini Tupouveisola, Fig. 31b
Halaevalu Mata‘aho, daughter of ‘Ahome’e, Fig. 31
Halaevalumoheofo, moheofo of the Tama Tahuha (Makamalo), daughter of Finau ‘Ulukalala-‘i-Feletoa, 36; Fig. 6, 18, 28

139, 165-6 n.40; Fig. 5, 6, 18, 25
Fatafehi Lilika, Fig. 18
Fatefehi Ong‘alupe, Fig. 22
Fataimoemanu, Fig. 19
Fehi‘a, 142; Fig. 28
Fetunu, 122; Fig. 20
Fifita Hōleva, Fig. 10, 25, 28, 31b
Fifita—Vava‘u, Fig. 13, 25
Finau, Fig. 22
Finau Kaunanga, Fig. 13
Finaule‘o, Fig. 18
Fonokimoana, Fig. 31b

Fotofili Fefine, 76
Founuku, 145; Fig. 20
FULu‘a‘tonga, Fig. 25
Funakimanu, Fig. 2
Fusipala, daughter of TH Mata‘eleha‘amea, 76, 138-9, 162; Fig. 2, 11, 23, 24, 26
Fusipala, daughter of THT Kolokivaitupu, Fig. 18
Fusipala, daughter of Tēvita ‘Unga, d.1888, Fig. 3
Fusipala, daughter of Tupou II, d.1933, Fig. 19
Fusipala, daughter of Tu‘ipelehake, d.1933, Fig. 31b
Fusipala Pangai, Fig. 22
Fusipala Tauki‘onetuku, Fig. 18, 24, 25

Halaevalu, moheofo, daughter of TK Mataeleha‘amea, Fig. 1
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Tu‘imala, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Lepolo, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of Paku, 85, 111; Fig. 15
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Tu‘imala, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Lepolo, Fig. 30
Halaevalu, daughter of Paku, 85, 111; Fig. 15
Halaevalu, daughter of TK Mumui and Tu‘imala, Fig. 30

Lapulou, 143; Fig. 28
Lapuloufisi, Fig. 17
Lātu‘alifutuika, Fig. 31b
Lātu‘ufu‘ukea, Tamahā, 32, 34-5, 36, 62, 68, 73, 106, 139, 140; Fig. 1, 5, 6, 9, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 31, 31b, 31c
Lātu‘hōleva, 139, 140; Fig. 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31c
Lātu‘nuiua, Fig. 1, 31b
Lātūtama, Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, 32, 94
Lātūtama, daughter of TK, TH Maea­liuai, 85; Fig. 16, 28, 30
Lātūtama, daughter of Fakatakatu‘u, 144, 145
Lātūtama, daughter of THT Tungi­mana‘ia, Fig. 18
Langilangiha‘aluma, Fig. 30
Laumanakilupe, 23, 99; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 6, 17
Lavinia, daughter of Fotofili, Fig. 31
Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Laufiletonga, 68; Fig. 1, 13, 31
Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Tokanga, mother of Sālote Pilolevu, Fig. 24, 31
Leafa, Fig. 18
Leha‘uku, Fig. 22
Letenaoa, 106; Fig. 2, 17
Lepolo, Fig. 30
Letele, 106, 107, 141; Fig. 4, 17, 28
Longo, 76, 105, 114; Fig. 2, 11, 18, 23
Losaline Fatafehi, 36; Fig. 31b
Lupekauola, Fig. 18
Lupemaitakui, 145; Fig. 18, 30
Lupepe'a'u, 36, 92; Fig. 1, 6, 13
Luseane, Fig. 31, 31b
Ma'a'afu, 139; Fig. 26
Mafiha'pe, Fig. 31, 31b
Mafi'uli'uli, Fig. 18, 24
Manu'au, 137-8; Fig. 1
Mapatoutai, Fig. 19
Mataele, Fig. 13, 22
Mata'ukipa, 106; Fig. 17
Mateitalo, Fig. 24
Meleanaite, Fig. 31
Mele Pusiai, Fig. 19, 25, 28, 31b, 31c
Mohulamupangai, 132; Fig. 21
Mo'unga-'o-Lakepa (Moungaoulakaipa), 31, 56, 59; Fig. 1, 4, 6, 17
Muimui, Fig. 19
Nanasinifuna, Fig. 2
Nanasi'upa'u, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 33, 34, 36, 61, 100, 106; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 9, 17, 18, 31, 31b, 31c
Nua, daughter of Lo'au, 92, 94
Nua, daughter of Tu'i Ha'atukalawa, 111
Ngako, Fig. 13
Ngalo, 141; Fig. 28
'Ofa, Fig. 31
'OFA'O, Fig. 19
'Otu'angū, Fig. 22, 31
Pakula, 111
Palula, Fig. 2
Paluleleva, Fig. 19
Paluvalu'a, Fig. 19
Papa, 131-2; Fig. 21, 22
Pasikole, Fig. 13
Pauline Fakahikuo'uiha, Fig. 18, 31
Pe'e, Fig. 30
Pepe, 106; Fig. 17
Pesi, Fig. 18
Peti, Fig. 31c
Pilolevu, 31b
Popua'uli'uli, see Kavakipopua
Sālote Mafile'o Pilolevu, Tupou III, Tu'i Kanokupolu, d.1965. 55, 64, 115, 164; Fig. 2, 3, 13, 14, 19, 24, 31, 31b, 31c
Sālote Pilolevu, Fig. 24

INDEX

Simoa, Fig. 31b
Simufata, Fig. 22
Simuko, Fig. 2
Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakavakilangi, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 18, 31, 33, 67, 106; Fig. 1, 4, 17
Sinaitakala-'i-Fekitetele, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 36, 165-6 n.40. Fig. 1, 5, 6, 18
Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 32-3, 60, 67, 85, 106, 107; Fig. 1, 5, 16, 17
Sinaitakala-'i-Lotunofo, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, Fig. 1, 18
Sinalaulii'i, Fig. 18
Sisifā, 144; Fig. 30
Sisilia, Fig. 31
Siu, Fig. 13, 18
Siuileikatapu, Fig. 31
Siulolovao, Fig. 28, 31b
Siufu'a'uta, 100, 139, 143; Fig. 1, 4, 5, 6, 17, 25, 28, 30
Sui'ulua, 144; Fig. 29, 30, 31b
Sungu, Fig. 2
Taemanusā, Fig. 19, 24
Tafolo, 111
Tahi, 145
Takala, moheofo, Fig. 1, 17
Takala, Fig. 18
Takipō, Fig. 19, 24
Tala'a'o, 139
Talafaiva, 107
Talaumote'emoa, 112, 141; Fig. 28
Talia'uli, Fig. 31b
Talia'ulihi, 111
Talitulelu, 144
Tamahā, 127. See 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha, Lātūfu'ipika, Tu'iimala, Fā'otusia. Tammaha, see Tamahā
Tapukitea, Fig. 28, 31b
Tāufahaoamofaleono, 75, 108; Fig. 10, 13, 25, 31b
Tāufa Tofua Fefine, 76
Tāufa'uli'uli, 111; Fig. 2, 22
Taufeava'ai, Fig. 19
Teufaiva, Fig. 19
Teukialupe, Fig. 22
Toa, moheofo, daughter of TH Vaea, 105; Fig. 1
Toa, daughter of TK Mata'eleha'amea, 139
Toafilimeo'unga, 118, 132, 145; Fig. 21, 30
Toa'ila, Fig. 19
Te'o'umu, 76, 136, 143, 162, Tu'i Vava'u
INDEX

140; Fig. 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31c
Tohu'aia, 68, 113
Tokanga, Fig. 24, 31
Tokanga Fuifuiupe, 112
Tongotea, moheofo, 76, 139, 162; Fig. 1
Toto'inuku'o'osi, Fig. 22
Tufui, 141; Fig. 28
Tu'iāfitu Fefine, 76
Tu'ifangatukia, Fig. 22, 28, 31b
Tu'ilakepa (Tooeelakaipa), sister of Lātūnipulu-'i-Teafua, 31-2, 36; Fig. 4, 17
Tu'ilakepa Fefine, 36, 76, 145
Tu'ilokamana, 99, 100
Tu'imala, Tamahā, 32, 34-5, 36, 132; Fig. 1, 5, 17, 21
Tu'imala, wife of TK Mumui, 146; Fig. 30
Tu'i Tonga Fefine, 32, 33, 34, 36, 59, 60-62, 67, 68, 76; Fig. 1, 7. See Sinaitakala-'i-Fekitele, Sinaitakala-'i-Fanakava-kilangi, Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, Lātūtama, Nanasipau'u, 'E kutongapipiki, Fatafehi Lapahi, Fatafehi Ha'apai
Tu'tiuohu, 112
Tukuvaka, 141; Fig. 28
Tule, Fig. 30
Tulukava, 14
Tuna, Fig. 31b
Tupou'ahau, Fig. 25, 28, 31b
Tupou'ahome'e, Fig. 13, 19, 31
Tupoufalemei, moheofo, Fig. 1
Tupou Fangaafa, Fig. 31b
Tupoukolutolu, Fig. 13
Tupoumoheofo, moheofo of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, Tu'i Kanokupolu, 20, 28, 29, 36, 39-40, 72, 76, 117, 145, 162, 166
n.40; Fig. 1, 3, 4, 6, 30, 31
Tupoupapanga, 140; Fig. 22, 27
Tupouseini, daughter of Vaea, Fig. 31
Tupoutu'a, Fig. 28
Tupouvaivai, Fig. 22
Tupouveiongo, moheofo of TT Fuanunuiava, Fig. 1, 24, 25, 30
Tupouveiongo, daughter of Mā'atu, Fig. 28
Tupouveitonga, 139; Fig. 25
Tuputupu-'o-Pulotu, Fig. 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 31c
Tu'utangahunuhunu, 104-5, 111; Fig. 1, 15
Uangafa, Fig. 2
'Uliafu, 106; Fig. 2, 17
'Ulufitu, Fig. 22
'Ulukilupetea, 141-2, 143, 144, 162; Fig. 13, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30
'Umukisia, 132; Fig. 21
Ungatea, 139; Fig. 1, 25, 31
Va'asi, Fig. 22
Vaelaveamata (Vae), 95
Va'epopua, 90
Vaitoifanga (Vaeto'eifanga), 116
Vaochoi, Fig. 17, 31
Vealapa, Fig. 18
Veale'ovale, Fig. 6
Veiongo, see Tupouveiongo, daughter of Mā'atu
Veisinia, Fig. 13
Vika, Fig. 18, 31b

W.P.
Track

Comango O.

Anamocha-ettee

Rotterdam or Anamocka

Qghao

Amattasoa

Resolution in 1774