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FANNY WONU VEYS

“Tattoo the Women, but Not the Men”: Female Tattooing in Tonga

Abstract

Whether the tattooing of women was practiced in Tonga before the general ban on tattooing in 1839 is debated among both researchers and the contemporary tattooist community. This research note explores oral histories, written sources, and pictorial materials to paint a balanced picture of the history of female tattooing in Tonga and possibly break gender binaries.

Keywords: *women, tattooing, Tonga, history, gender*

The idea that there was little tattooing (*tātatau*—literally “to beat in symmetry”¹) of both men and women in Tonga is pervasive in academic writing on Tongan arts from the 1970s onward. This assertion was perhaps encouraged by the anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler, an important scholar of material and performance culture in Tonga, who wrote in 1978: “There was not very much tattooing on Tonga, and what there [was] was done by Samoans.”² The anthropologist Alfred Gell, in his 1993 book on tattooing in Polynesia, adheres to the theory that in Hawai‘i and Tonga tattooing of men and women was less prevalent and less socially important, certainly when compared to the Marquesas.³ If male tattooing in Tonga (see Fig. 1) is debated in academic writing, the existence of female tattooing is mostly completely overlooked. In addition, until recently it was thought that the only nineteenth-century visual record of Tongan tattooing was *Tatouage de la Cuisse des hommes* (*Tattooing of the Male Thigh*; Fig. 2), made by Louis-Auguste de Sainson and published in the atlas accompanying the 1827 journal of Jules Sébastien Dumont d’Urville aboard the *Astrolabe*.⁴ This research note examines more evidence of Tongan female tattooing up to the twentieth century and fits within a larger research project studying and nuancing the history and art of tattooing in Tonga against a backdrop of political, social, and gender realities in both Tongan and European contexts.

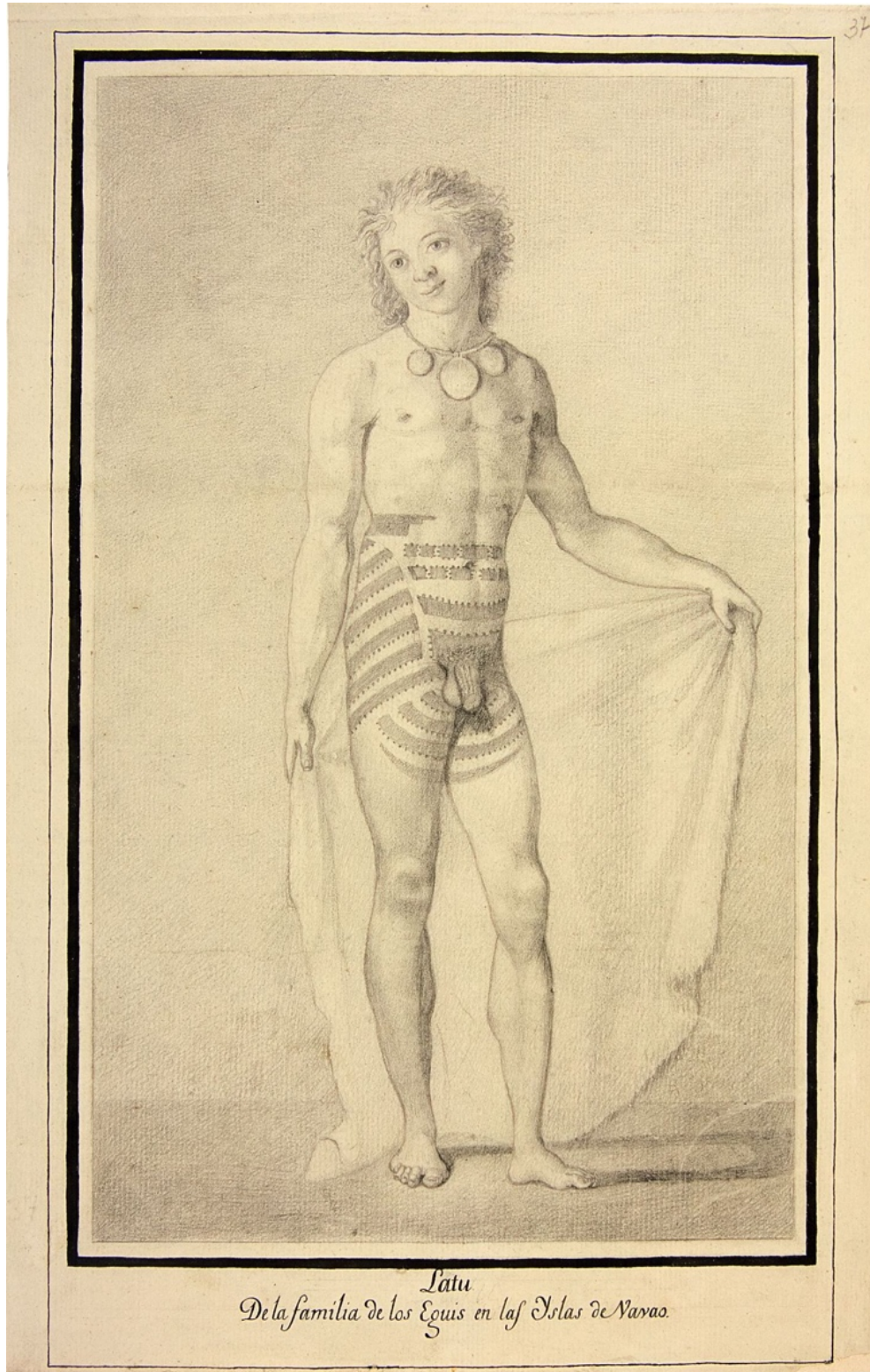


Figure 1. An often-overlooked image from 1793 portraying a young man named Latu with waist-to-thigh tattoos. Juan Ravenet, *Latu, de la familia de los Eguis en las Islas de Vavao* (*Latu from the family of the 'eiki [chiefs] on the islands of Vava'u*), ca. 1793. Laid paper and pencil, 38.8 x 24.7 cm. Courtesy of Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid

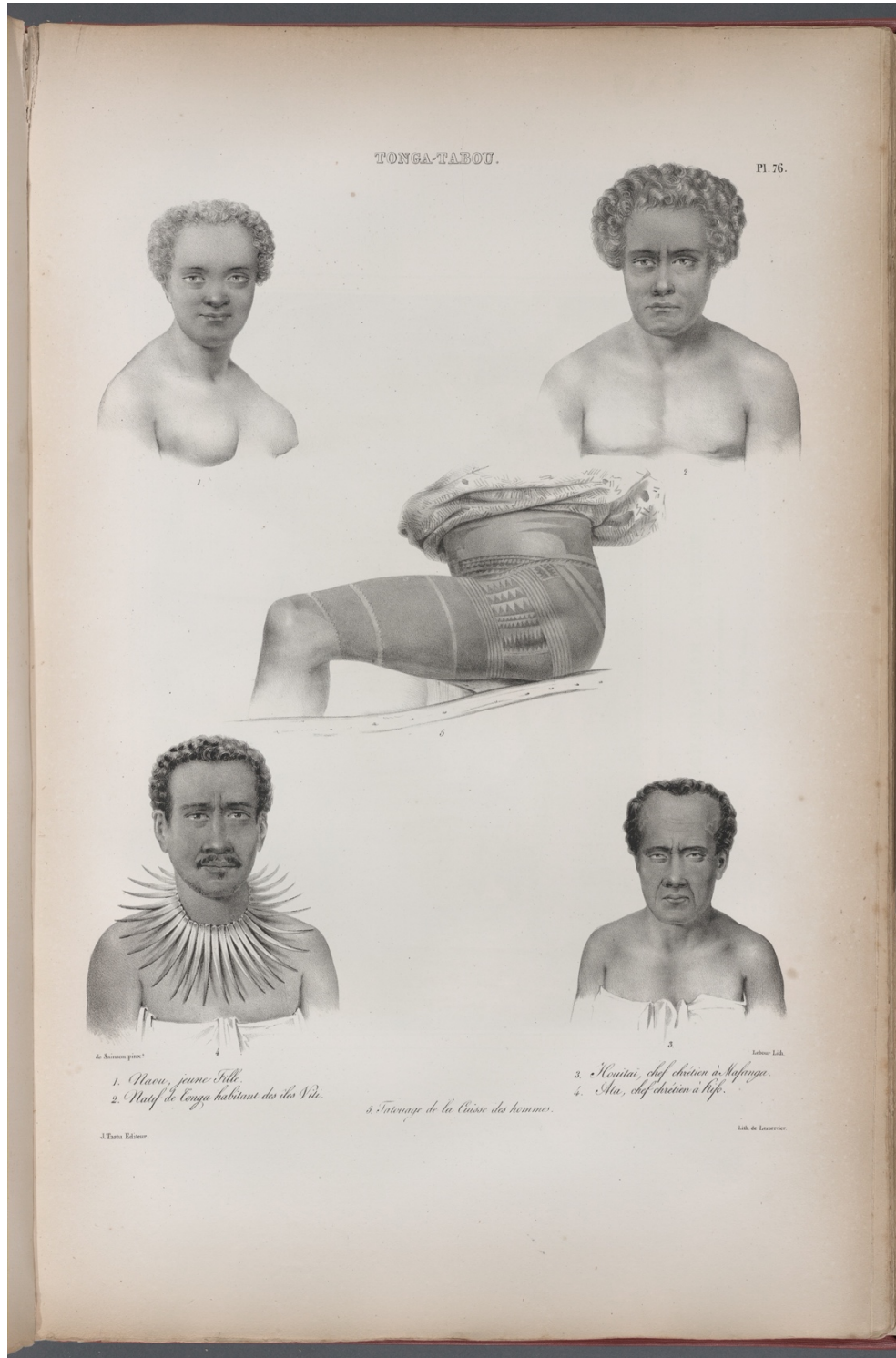


Figure 2. The middle image (“5. Tatouage de la Cuisse des hommes (Tattooing of the Male Thigh),”) is long believed to be the only nineteenth-century image of tattooing in Tonga. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, *Tonga-Tabou*, 1830–35. Engraving, 52.5 x 33 cm. From Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d’Urville, [Voyage de la corvette l’Astrolabe exécuté par ordre du roi: pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829](#) (Paris: J. Tastu, 1830–35). Courtesy of The New York Public Library Digital Collections

Only For Men?

According to a myth recounting the origin of tattooing in Tonga, collected by Methodist missionary Thomas Williams and told from a Fijian perspective, women were not tattooed. The myth tells of a young Tongan chief who saw the practice of tattooing in Fiji. He was given tattooing tools and taught the correct protocol in the form of a chant: “Tattoo the women, but not the men.” According to the myth, once back in Tonga, the young chief struck his foot violently on a rock and, in the confusion that followed, mistakenly reversed the order of the chant, thus instructing Tongans to tattoo only men and not women.⁵ From a Fijian point of view, the story aims to ridicule the practice of tattooing in Tonga; in Fiji only women were tattooed, and mainly around the hips, genital area, and buttocks, though hands and arms could also be tattooed depending on the region.⁶

But historically, was tattooing in Tonga really only for men? Today, conservative Christians support the view that women should not be tattooed. Tonga is one of only seven countries globally that has not ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.⁷ While women in Tonga have traditionally held a high status as sisters, this position has been suppressed considerably through the actions of conservative churches and governmental institutions.⁸ For the most part, Western ideas of the proper role, power, and status of women have made it inconceivable for many Tongans—and, more widely, some members of the research community—to contemplate female tattooed bodies. However, members of the Tongan royal family affirm the tradition of tattooing women. When two of the daughters of Princess Pilolevu received tattoos in 2010, one of them, the Honorable Frederica Tuita Felipe, said, “Sadly, what knowledge of tattooing Tongans have left today, [is] simply bits and pieces of its true worth to the culture. Our people have either lost, forgotten or suppressed the value that ta tatau [*sic*] had in our culture and the honor it carried.”⁹

In historical sources, tattooing is mentioned only sparingly. The Dutchmen Jacob Le Maire and Willem Corneliszoon Schouten were the first Westerners to visit Tonga in 1616. Le Maire, describing tattooing, struggles to put what he is seeing into words and therefore uses an analogy, saying that tattooed Tongans appear “as if burnt by gunpowder.”¹⁰ Le Maire’s wordlist of the language of Niua—related to Tongan and spoken on the islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafo’ou—includes “tetau,” which he defines as “their pricking on the body.”¹¹ This characterisation is remarkable as it describes the technical application of tattooing. The journals of the British explorer James Cook, whose voyages reached Tonga in 1773, 1774, and 1777, mention both male and female tattooing, but tattooing for

women is said to be restricted to the hands and the upper arms.¹² In contrast, Louis-August Deschamps, the surgeon and botanist on the 1793 voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux, suggests a complete equality between female and male tattooing. Deschamps, who himself had been tattooed from waist to knee, writes: "The men and the women have the habit to apply different ornaments to the skin by puncturing with an instrument that they dip in a black colour that stays under the epidermis. These designs have an infinite variety and are not totally without taste. These punctures are not very painful as I have experienced myself; but because one needs often to come back to the same place, the operation becomes more sensitive towards the end. One calls this ornament tatao which serves both sexes."¹³



Figure 3. Jacques Louis Copia after Jean Piron, *Femme des Îles des Amis* (Woman from the Friendly Islands), 1793. Engraving, plate mark 30.5 x 44.5 cm. The National Library of Australia, PIC Volume 592 #U8147/35-36 NK3030. Courtesy of The National Library of Australia

A drawing made by Jean Piron during d'Entrecasteaux's voyage illustrates another element of female tattooing.¹⁴ In *Femme des Îles des Amis*, a woman with a tattooed necklace, concentric circles tattooed on her shoulder, and a band of interlaced concentric circles on her upper arm is portrayed (Fig. 3). The naturalist on that voyage, Jacques Labillardière, who compiled an extensive list of Indigenous vocabulary words, refers to this type of tattooing as "tai," defined as "tattooing in concentric circles on the arms and shoulders."¹⁵ The tattooed necklace might refer to the bird-feet design tattooed on the throat of priests and dedicated to the devotion of the rail (*kalae*), one of the Tu'i Tonga's (Tongan king's) sacred animals.¹⁶ Thus, it seems likely that the woman depicted by Labillardière was either part of the entourage of the Tu'i Tonga or of royal descent.

Seeing Tattooed Female Bodies

With a few exceptions—such as the whaler William Waldegrave, who described seeing tattooed star motifs on women's legs in 1830—nineteenth-century sailors, explorers, and scientists in the Pacific only described those parts of Indigenous women's bodies that were always exposed. Historically, both Tongan men and women dressed with a piece of barkcloth, often covered with a fine mat, wrapped around their lower bodies (Fig. 4). The only way that European men arriving on Tongan shores could possibly have seen Tongan tattoos on the lower body would have been during sexual encounters.

It is well known that the primary, or sole, interest that many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European sailors had in the Indigenous women they encountered in the Pacific was as potential sexual partners.¹⁷ During his 1769 voyage on the *Endeavour*, Cook had allowed sex between his crew members and Tahitian women. A few years later in Tonga, because of what had happened in Tahiti, Cook was very concerned with preventing his men from spreading sexually transmitted diseases among the Tongan people. While at the beginning of his stay in Tonga Cook thought that chastity seemed "to be held in not great estimation," he later concluded that married Tongan women seemed to be faithful to their husbands, and he argued that the women who came out to meet his expedition's boats were "whores by profession brought to us in order to make the most of the present time."¹⁸

Regardless, the journal entries written by Cook's crew members are sprinkled with attestations of sexual encounters.¹⁹ For example, Captain Charles Clerke



Figure 4. Juan Ravenet, *Indias del Archipiélago de Babao. Islas de los amigos* (Natives of the archipelago of Vavao. Friendly Islands), 1793. Watercolour and wash, 22.5 x 18.5 cm, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, FL1110210 / FL1110236. Courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

and the surgeon David Samwell describe some of the Tongan women as “good lasses” who “readily contributed their share to our entertainment” and would spend the night aboard the ship for the price of “a Shirt or a Hatchet.”²⁰ Samwell also said that the Nomuka girls “followed [them] from island to island . . . to the Ha’apai Isles and afterwards to Tongatapu.”²¹ The naturalist William Anderson supported

Cook's prostitution line, saying that there were women who "absolutely converted it into a fixed article of trade."²² The second officer James King stated that "by no means all of the women are to be understood to be purchased by our riches, all the married and many young women were impregnable, and I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear."²³ As Cook failed miserably in preventing his men from spreading venereal disease, the historian Patty O'Brien doubts his intentions.²⁴ The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins and the Pacific historian Serge Tcherkézoff have argued against what the latter calls an "exclusively masculinist vision of these episodes" of sexual encounter that "effectively silenced the visions and voices of Polynesian women."²⁵

It is noteworthy that the voyage that produced the most detailed information about Tongan tattooing, including names of female tattooing motifs and a drawing of a tattooed woman, was that of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. During this voyage, it was an open secret—at least to men of upper rank aboard the ship—that the ship's steward, Louis Girardin, was actually a female sailor named Marie-Louise Victoire Girardin.²⁶ It seems likely that Girardin provided the scientists on the voyage with information on female tattooing by giving names of motifs, for example. In my research, I intend to examine the nature of sexual encounters during voyages of exploration and raise questions around the gender identity markers that transcend the Western binarity of femininity and masculinity to include Tongan social gender categories such as *fakaleiti* (often termed "binarity-confirming third gender"). This may help explain why fewer descriptions were made of female tattooing than male tattooing.

High Rank

Everything in Tonga is based on inequality, a fact that was truer in the past than in the present. There are inequalities in prestige, power, authority, and status, which are always contextual as well. This means that in every situation, inequality is reconfigured taking the context into account. Concerning the rank of women, three principles are important: 1) an older person ranks higher than a younger one, 2) sisters rank higher than brothers, and 3) a man's family ranks higher than his wife's. The brother-sister relationship is still characterised by respect (*faka'apa'apa*) and avoidance. Alfred Gell has suggested that the rank of women in pre-twentieth-century Tonga was perhaps too high for them to get tattoos.²⁷ The possibility that it was more difficult to find tattooists who could actually touch women, needs to be examined further. It is, for example, well known that the Tu'i

Tonga could not be touched by Tongans because of his high rank. Because of this, when he wished to be tattooed, he would travel to Sāmoa.²⁸ This practice may also be related to the way tattooing was perceived before the beginning of the twentieth century. The anthropologist Makiko Kuwahara has demonstrated that in precolonial Tahiti, lower ranking people needed tattooing to protect them from the *mana* (power) of high-ranking people.²⁹ Could it be that both Tongan women and the king, because of their high rank, did not need this protection? Tattooing was certainly a process that young men should undergo, lest they be ridiculed if they did not submit themselves to this practice. There is no account of women experiencing the same social pressure to get tattooed.³⁰ Whether tattooing also constituted a rite of passage for women needs to be investigated further. It is possible that the Fijian myth not only ridicules Tongans, but might also reflect a reality.

Epilogue

The first written laws in Tonga, the Code of Vava’u of 1839, promulgated by Tāufa’āhau, chief of Vava’u and Ha’apai, officially forbade the practice of tattooing, stating: “It is not lawful to *tatatau* or *kaukau* or to perform any other idolatrous ceremonies, if any one does so, he will be judged and punished and fined for so doing.”³¹ According to the missionary John Thomas, the code that was printed in 1838 had already been in effect because it formed part of the curriculum in Tongan schools in the early 1830s. The code’s laws were applied in Vava’u and Ha’apai, as those were the places that Tāufa’āhau exercised his authority. When Tāufa’āhau became the nineteenth Tu’i Kanokupolu in 1845,³² the code was extended to Tongatapu and the rest of Tonga.³³ For offences such as murder, theft, and alcohol abuse, the punishments described in the code are gendered; the weight of the judgment was different according to whether a man or a woman was the perpetrator. However, regarding the prohibition on tattooing, the code does not explicitly stipulate different punishments for men and women. If they were reprimanded alike, does this suggest that women were tattooed as often as men? And that that tattooing was perhaps not the worst of crimes?

Today, both Tongan women and men are increasingly adorned with tattoos, thus playing a crucial role in the resurgence of Indigenous tattooing. Tattooing brings honour and pride to Tongan women today, as it is connected to notions of traditional knowledge, spiritual culture, and kin-based networks. For these

reasons, it is all the more important to insert an accurate portrayal of Tongan women’s agency regarding tattooing in the historical record.

Fanny Wonu Veys is curator of Oceania at the National Museum of World Cultures (Tropenmuseum, Afrika Museum and Museum Volkenkunde), recently renamed the Wereldmuseum, the Netherlands. She previously worked at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, UK, and has held postdoctoral fellowships at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Musée du quai Branly—Jacques Chirac, Paris. Veys curated the exhibitions What a Genderful World, first presented at the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, in 2019 and then at the Wereldmuseum in 2020; A Sea of Islands: Masterpieces from Oceania at the Volkenkunde, Leiden, in 2021; and Mana Māori (2010–11) at the Volkenkunde, Leiden, for which she published a book with the same title. She co-curated Australian Art with Dr. Georges Petitjean and a barkcloth exhibition, Tapa, étoffes cosmiques d’Océanie, in Cahors in 2009 with Laurent Guillaut. Veys’s research interests are Pacific art and material culture, museums and cultures of collecting, Pacific musical instruments, Pacific textiles, and the significance of historical objects in a contemporary setting.

Notes

¹ ‘Okusitino Māhina, “Art as tā-vā, ‘time-space’ transformation,” in *Researching the Pacific and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Perspectives*, ed. Tupeni Baba (Auckland: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, 2004), 90.

² Adrienne L. Kaeppler, “Exchange Patterns in Goods and Spouses: Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa,” *Mankind* 11, no. 3 (1978): 212.

³ Alfred Gell, *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 163.

⁴ See Nina Tonga, “Tongan tātatau and the Sāmoan connection,” in *Tatau: A History of Sāmoan Tattooing*, ed. Sean Mallon and Sébastien Galliot (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2018), 30–31.

⁵ Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians: The Islands and their Inhabitants*, ed. George Stringer Rowe, Vol. 1 (Suva: Fiji Museum, 1982), 160.

⁶ Karen Jacobs, *This is not a grass skirt. On fibre skirts (liku) and female tattooing (veiqia) in nineteenth century tattooing* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 46, <https://www.sidestone.com/books/this-is-not-a-grass-skirt>. For drawings, see Theodore Kleinschmidt, “Theodor Kleinschmidt’s notes on the hill tribes of Viti Levu, 1877–1878,” *Domodomo* 2, no. 4 (1984): 146–90.

⁷ American Civil Liberties Union, “CEDAW Public Background Sheet,” accessed August 13, 2023, https://www.aclu.org/wp-content/uploads/legal-documents/CEDAW_factsheet_20100429.pdf.

⁸ Helen Lee, “CEDAW Smokescreens: Gender Politics in Contemporary Tonga,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 29, no. 1 (2017): 66–90.

⁹ Cresantia Frances Koya, “Tapa mo Tatau: An exploration of Pacific conceptions of ESD through a study of Samoan and Tongan Heritage Arts” (PhD diss., University of the South Pacific, 2013), 196. Her full name is Frederica Lupe‘uluiva Fatafehi ‘o Lapaha Tuita Filipe. She is the third daughter of Princess Sālote Mafile‘o Pilolevu, The Honourable Lady Tuita (née Sālote Mafile‘o Pilolevu Tuku‘aho), the older sister of King Tupou VI (Aho‘eitu ‘Unuaki‘otonga Tuku‘aho). According to Tongan kinship behaviour, the older sister has a high status. It is therefore likely that one of the daughters of Princess Pilolevu saying these words carries more weight than if said by someone else.

¹⁰ “ghelijck van Bossecruyt gebrant.” Translation by the author. Jacob Le Maire, “Spiegel der Australische Navigatie, Door den Vvijt vermaerden ende cloeckmoedighen Zee-Heldt, Jacob Le Maire. President ende Overste over de tvvee Schepen, d’Eendracht ende Hoorn, uytghevaren den 14. Junij 1615. ‘t Amsterdam: Michel Colijn, Boeck-vercooper op ‘t Water by de Oude Brugh/in ‘t Huys-Boeck,” in *De ontdekkingsreis van Jacob le Maire en Willem Cornelisz. Schouten in de jaren 1615–1617*, ed. W. A. Engelbrecht and P. J. Van Herwerden (‘s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1945), 57.

¹¹ “Haer pickeersel op ‘t lijf.” Translation by the author. R. A. Kern, “The vocabularies of Iacob Le Maire,” *Acta Orientalia* 20–21 (1948): 223.

¹² Johann Reinhold Forster, *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775*, Vol. 3, ed. Michael E. Hoare (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982), 546; James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Vol. 2: The Voyages of the Resolution and Adventure, 1772–1775*, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1969), 267; James King, “Extracts from Officer’s Journals. At Tonga, May–July 1777,” in James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Vol. 3: The Voyages of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776–1780*, ed. John Cawte Beaglehole (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1967), 1366; William Anderson, “A Journal of a Voyage in his Majesty’s sloop Resolution,” in Cook, *Journals, Vol. 3*, 930.

¹³ “Les hommes et les femmes sont dans l’usage de se faire à la peau différents ornemens en se piquant avec un instrument qu’ils trempent dans une couleur noir qui reste sous l’épiderme. Ces dessins sont variés à l’infini et ne sont pas tout à fait dépourvus de goût. Ces piquûres ne sont pas très douloureuses comme je l’ai éprouvé moi-même; mais comme il faut souvent revenir sur la même place, l’opération devient plus sensible sur la fin. On appelle tatao cet ornement qui sert également aux deux sexes.” Translation by the author. Maurice Hocquette, *Louis-Auguste Deschamps 1765–1842, Vol. 39: Sa vie – son oeuvre* (Saint-Omer, France: Société des antiquaires de la Morinie, 1970), 38.

¹⁴ The original drawing on which *Femme des Îles des Amis* is based is not in the collections of the Archives Nationales de France, nor the Musée du quai Branly—Jacques Chirac, where the Piron drawings are kept.

¹⁵ Jacques-Julien Houtou de Labillardière, *Voyage in search of La Pérouse, performed by order of the Constituent Assembly, during the years 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1794, and drawn up by M. Labillardière (translated from the French)* (London: John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1800), 405. Labillardière's tattooing vocabulary includes: *alapeka*, "tattoo in broad bands round the waist"; *fui*, "tattoo on the thigh"; *kafa*, "tattoo like a wart"; *lafo*, "tattoo like a freckle on the face"; *latetatau*, "tattooing instrument"; *male tatau*, "tattooing"; *now male*, "tap on the head"; *tafa*, "other kind of tattoo"; *tafa*, "raised marks burnt, to cut"; *tai*, "tattooing in concentric circles on the arms and shoulders"; *tatau*, "black mark on the body"; and *tatau*, "puncturation." See Paul Geraghty, "Tongan Wordlists," in *Collecting in the South Sea: The Voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux*, ed. Bronwen Douglas, Fanny Wonu Veys and Billie Lythberg (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2018), 222.

¹⁶ The rail (*kalae*) was connected to death, as its cry was thought to be an omen for an approaching death. *Kalae* was also known by the name "bier" or *fata*. E. E. V. Collocott, "Notes on Tongan religion. Part I," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 30, no. 119 (1921): 160–61; E. E. V. Collocott, "Notes on Tongan religion. Part II," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 30, no. 120 (1921): 233.

¹⁷ Serge Tcherkézoff, *"First Contacts" in Polynesia: The Samoan Case (1722–1848). Western Misunderstandings about Sexuality and Divinity* (Canberra: MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 2004), 2.

¹⁸ Cook, *Vol. 3*, 170.

¹⁹ H. G. Cummins, "Tongan Society at the time of European Contact," in *Friendly Islands: A History of Tonga*, ed. Noel Rutherford (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977), 86–87.

²⁰ Charles Clerke, "Extracts from Officer's Journals. Account of Tonga," in Cook, *Vol. 3*, 1308; David Samwell, "Some Account of A Voyage to South Sea's in 1776–1777–1778," in Cook, *Vol. 3*, 1044.

²¹ Samwell, "Some Account," 1044.

²² Anderson, "A Journal," 946.

²³ King, "Extracts from Officer's Journals," 1367–68; Anderson, "A Journal," 946.

²⁴ Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 85–86.

²⁵ Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); Serge Tcherkézoff, "Chapter 4. A Reconsideration of the Role of Polynesian Women in Early Encounters with Europeans: Supplement to Marshall Sahlins' Voyage around the Islands of History," in *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*, ed. Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkézoff, and Darrell Tryon (Canberra: ANU-E Press, 2009), 114.

²⁶ Charles Merger, *Des voyageuses à la découverte du Pacifique: passagères de Bougainville, La Pérouse et d'Entrecasteaux, au siècle des lumières* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014), 193–260.

²⁷ Gell, "Wrapping in Images," 82.

²⁸ William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean: with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language.*

Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of William Mariner, several years resident of those islands by John Martin, vol. 2, (Edinburgh and London: Constable, 1827), 197; Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole, and Bronwen Douglas, eds., Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 149.

²⁹ Makiko Kuwahara, *Tattoo: An Anthropology* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 43.

³⁰ See George Vason, *Life of the late George Vason of Nottingham. One of the Troop Missionaries first sent to the South Sea Islands by the London Missionary Society in the Ship Duff, Captain Wilson, 1796. With a Preliminary Essay on the South Sea Islands, by the Revd. James Orange. Author, of the History of The Town & People of Nottingham* (London, 1840), 178–80; Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, 104–5.

³¹ Sione Lātūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822–1875* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 121. Tāufa'āhau instituted these laws to encourage peace after a period of civil wars. He was eventually crowned King George Tupou I in 1875.

³² The Tu'i Kanokupolu title was established in the seventeenth century and gave political power to the person holding the title. Charles F. Urbanowicz, "Change in Rank and Status in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga," in *Political Anthropology: The State of the Art*, ed. S. Lee Seaton and Henri J. M. Claessen (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979), 228.

³³ Lātūkefu, *Church and State*, 121–2, 126–7, 225.