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The Changing Roles of the Polynesian Paramount Chief

by

Falaniko Tominiko

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Pacific Studies, University of Auckland
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

************

I, Falaniko Tominiko, declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published, or substantially overlapping with material submitted for the award of any other degree at any institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the text.
First and foremost, I would like to extend a big thank you to the five Paramount Chiefs who sacrificed their precious time to be able to contribute to my research:

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Efi,
Tu’vakanō Siale’ataongo Kaho
Pa Tepaeru Teariki Upokotini Marie Ariki
Roko Tui Bau, Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi
Sir Tumu Te Heuheu Tukino VIII

I am truly indebted to you all!
Fa’afetai Lava, Malo Aupito, Meitaki Ma’ata, Vinaka Vaka Levu, Kia Ora

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Last, but not least, I thank my entire family for their support and help throughout my studying life. I would not have achieved any of this without your love and support.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my three chiefs in heaven, my grandfathers: Sitagata Falaniko Tominiko, So’oalo Peter Godinet, and Tagaloa Henry Godinet.
ABSTRACT

**********

This thesis looks at chiefly Polynesian leadership in the 21st century. Since 2006, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands and Aotearoa have each experienced the loss of prominent chiefly leaders. In each of the cases, new leaders have risen to take the places of the recently departed ones. In a world that is constantly changing, the chiefly systems of each of the five island nations are also riding the same wave of change. This thesis explores and discusses these changes and endeavours to unravel how the present day chiefs and the chiefly systems, have been affected and influenced by such changes.

It also looks at and discusses characteristics and features of chiefly leadership, and compares them throughout various stages of Polynesian history. The chronological structure of the thesis provides a brief history of Polynesian chiefs starting at pre-Christian time, through to post-contact and independence, right up to the present. Examples and narratives of historical events are used throughout the thesis to both illustrate and support various issues and topics being discussed.

Finally, the thesis is a collection of voices of present day Polynesian chiefs. Insights, experiences and personal opinions of current Polynesian leaders have been recorded and carefully woven into this thesis. The chiefly stories and narratives provide strands of first-hand knowledge which are woven together with strands of academic literature knowledge to create the kete or basket of knowledge that is this thesis.
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GLOSSARY

Āiga – Samoan for ‘family’. Used for both immediate and extended families.
Ali’i – Samoan paramount or sacred chief
Aotearoa - Maori name for New Zealand. Translated as ‘the land of the long white cloud’
Ariki – ‘chief’ (Maori & Cook Islands)
Arikitanga – the Maori office/movement of ariki
Atua – Pan Polynesian term for ‘God’
‘Eiki – Tongan for ‘chief’ or ‘chiefly’
Fa’alavelave – Samoan ceremonies and important happenings. Literally means ‘interruptions’
Fa’alupega – list of Samoan village salutations
Fa’amatai – Samoan chiefly system or literally ‘to be a chief’
Fa’atamāli’i – Samoan meaning ‘to be chiefly or like an ali’i
Fahu – Tongan for ‘father’s sister’
Faife’au – Samoan church minister
Faifekau – Tongan church minister
Feagaiga – Samoan for ‘covenant’. Used to describe relationship between a brother and his sister
Fefine – Tongan woman
Fono – Tongan and Samoan for ‘meeting’
Ha’a – traditional Tongan polity or clan
Hapu – Maori sub-tribe
‘I’oimata – Samoan for ‘eyeballs’
Itū Mālō – Samoan for ‘district’
Iwi – Maori tribe
Kainga – Tongan family
Kapu – Hawai’ian for ‘sacred’
Karakia – Maori prayer
Kaumatua – Maori elder or senior person
Kaupapa - Maori for ‘project’ or ‘work’
Koro – Fijian village
Kuhuna – traditional Hawai’ian specialist or priest
Mala – Samoan curse
Mālō – Samoan for ‘government’ or ‘victory’
Mana – ‘power’
Maota – house of a Samoan ali’i chief
Matai – Samoan titled person or chief
Mata’iapo – Cook Island ‘sub-chief’
Mataqali – Fijian clan or ‘land-owning’ unit
Mauri – A Maori spiritual essence
Matapule – A Tongan orator-chief. Also referred to as a chief’s attendant
Mehikitanga – Tongan for ‘father’s eldest sister’
Molumalu – Tongan for ‘sacred’
Motu – Maori and Samoan for ‘island’
Ngati – Cook Island for sub-district or Prefix before the name of a Maori tribe
Nōpele – Tongan transliteration of ‘noble’
Nu’u – Samoan village
Pa’ia – Samoan for ‘sacred’
Pakehā – Maori for European
Pāpā – four ancient paramount titles of Samoa
Papālagi – Samoan for European
Poto – Samoan and Tongan for ‘intelligence’
Pounamu – Maori word for ‘green stone’.
Pule – Samoan for ‘authority’ or ‘rule’
Pulenu’u – Samoan village mayor
Rangatira – ‘chief’ of a lower status than ariki (Maori & Cook Islands)
Ratu – prefix given to a chiefly Fijian man’s name
Tabua – Fijian for ‘whale tooth’
Tahu’a – traditional Tahitian specialist or expert
Talanoa – to speak, to discuss (Samoan & Tongan)
Tama’aiga – four paramount titles of Samoa
Tapu – sacred or spiritual
Taule’ale’a – an untitles Samoan man
Tautua – Samoan for service
Teina – Maori for ‘younger sibling’
Tikina Cokavata – Fijian district
Tikina Vou – Fijian sub-district
Tohunga – traditional Maori specialist or priest
Tu’a – Tongan for ‘commoner’
Tuakana – Maori for ‘older sibling’
Tufuga – traditional Samoan specialist or expert
Tu’i – Tongan for ‘Lord’ or ‘King’
Tulafale – Samoan orator or talking chief
Tupu – Samoan for ‘king’
Turaqa – Fijian for ‘chief’
Ulumatua – Samoan and Tongan for ‘eldest child’
Wahine – Maori and Hawai’ian for ‘woman’
Vaivia – Samoan for ‘weak’ or ‘the defeated’
Vaka – Cook Island for ‘canoe’ or ‘district’
Vakatura – Fijian for ‘behaving like a chief’
Vanua – Fijian for ‘land’
Vasu – Fijian for ‘mother’s brother’
VāTapuia – Samoan for ‘sacred space’
Waka – Maori canoe
Whakaiti – Maori for ‘demeaning’
Whakapapa – Maori genealogy
Whanau – Maori for ‘family’ – immediate and extended
Yasana – Fijian province
Introduction

For many centuries, the chief has been a figure of power and authority throughout Polynesia. Like European monarchies, Polynesian chiefdoms have survived for centuries, with chiefly titles passing from father to son, generation to generation. Many parallels between medieval kings who conquered countries can be made with chiefs who conquered islands. What kings were to Europe, the chiefs “were” to Polynesia. I emphasize the term ‘were’ as an indication that over time the places of king and chief have changed within their respective societies. Whilst the offices of king and chief have withstood the test of time, the societies they exist in have undergone changes. As a consequence, one would assume that their roles and places in society would have also undergone some form of change. With a specific focus on the paramount Polynesian chief, this thesis will explore their role and place in present day society, while also comparing it to their past roles and places within their respective societies.

The term ‘paramount chief’ refers to those chiefs whose rank and status is acknowledged as being of the highest level within their respective island groups, as opposed to the chiefs who only have influence at the village or family level. In the case of Tonga, this refers to the King and the nobility; in Samoa, they are the tamaʻāiga at the national and district level; in Cook Islands, they are the ariki at the island and district level; in Fiji, they are the turaga at the national and confederacy level and for the Maori, they are the ariki or rangatira at the iwi level. Although this thesis is looking specifically at the paramount chief, at certain points in this thesis it refers to chiefs in general which include all chiefs irrespective of rank. The reason for this is because regardless of their rank, the paramount chiefs are part of the same chiefly systems that the lower ranked chiefs are members of as well. In some cases they have to be spoken of collectively as part of the same social system. The paramount chiefs are in most cases very few in numbers compared to the lower ranked chiefs of the village and family levels.

Up to about the early 19th century in Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, and Cook Islands, authority and political power was firmly under the control of the chiefs. Similarly in Aotearoa, the Maori tribes exercised their own sovereignty under the leadership of their respective chiefs or ariki. Two centuries on, the chiefs and the chiefly systems still exist, however political authority
and power is no longer exclusively theirs. In this current day and age, politics and authority is an office shared by both chiefly and non-chiefly people alike. How is it then that an institution that is centuries old i.e. Polynesian chiefly systems, have managed to remain relevant today? With changing political circumstances and a large influence of non-chiefly leadership in the current society, are they still relevant? These and other questions form the basis of my research. The main aims and objectives of this research are therefore:

(a) To examine the relevance of the role and responsibilities of present day Polynesian chiefdoms in the changing political circumstances;

(b) To critically examine the relevance of chiefly leadership and norms in present day Polynesian society.

(c) To develop a present day profile of the paramount Polynesian chief and identify their significance in the changing landscape of leadership and political governance in the Pacific;

The objectives above will be explored and discussed through the findings and the answers to the three key questions of this research:

(1) What is the role of the present day paramount chief, in the current political environment?

(2) What is the role of the present day paramount chief, in its current island society?

(3) What is the profile of the present day Polynesian paramount chief?

This thesis looks specifically at the chiefly systems of five Polynesian island groups as case studies: Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Cook Islands and Maori. A paramount chief from each of the five island groups has been selected and interviewed as a key person for this research. Their wisdom, knowledge and opinions on chiefly leadership are documented as narratives throughout the chapters of this thesis, and help give a first-hand perspective into the life of a 21st century paramount chief. The participating paramount chiefs are: His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi, current Head of State of Samoa; Lord Tu’ivakanō Siale Kaho, current Prime Minister of Tonga; Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi (Roko Tui Bau), former Vice President of Fiji; Pa Marie Ariki, former President of the Cook Island’s House of Ariki and Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, current Arikinui of the Nagti Tuwharetoa tribe of New Zealand.
Chapter Outline

**********

This thesis has been divided into five main parts. The first part looks specifically at the ‘Theories’ used in this thesis. It looks at what leadership is from a Polynesian context as well as providing a description of what a Polynesian chief is. The second part ‘Evolution’ takes a chronological look at how the Polynesian chief has changed and evolved through time. The three chapters in this part looks at the Polynesian chief through three main time periods, firstly during ‘pre-European contact’ time, secondly from ‘first-contact to pre-independence’ time, and thirdly from ‘post-independence to the present day’. The third part looks at the ‘Progression’ of the Polynesian chief. It looks specifically at how the Polynesian chief has managed to continue especially through the many and changing methods succession. The fourth part ‘Identities’ provides detailed profiles of the present day paramount chiefs whose knowledge and experience have contributed largely to this research. It also identifies other chiefs of notable standing within the various island groups. The fifth and final part provides the ‘Summary’ of this thesis and offers up conclusions for the research.

PART 1: THEORIES

Chapter 1: ‘Understanding Leadership and Status’ – This chapter discusses the elements of leadership and status within chiefly Polynesian leadership. It introduces the theories that are used to firstly describe and understand leadership, and secondly to analyse it. It discusses chiefly Polynesian leadership using the theories of Sahlins (1958) and Goldman (1970). It analyses it in terms of position, behaviour, performance and subjective-orientation. It also discusses how the theory of ‘ascribed versus achieved status’ plays out in chiefly leadership. Leadership and status are intertwined and therefore coexist. The final part of this chapter looks and discusses the ‘Principles of Polynesian Status’. Given that both Sahlins and Goldman have written extensively on Polynesian leadership, the use of their theories and analysis provides parameters within which the five selected Polynesian groups can be compared. Although the thesis is primarily guided by the works of Sahlins and Goldman, other authors have also contributed to the knowledge base and their works have also been used in this thesis. Throughout this chapter and the entire thesis, opinions and narratives from the interviewed paramount chiefs are inserted when relevant to the topic at hand.
Chapter 2: ‘Current Understandings of the Polynesian Chief’ – This chapter focuses on the characteristics and identities of chiefs and their respective chiefly systems. It discusses each of the five selected chiefly systems; the *ariki* of Aotearoa and Cook Islands; the *‘eiki* of Tonga; the *turaga* of Fiji and the *matai* (*ali‘i* and *tulafale*) of Samoa. Although this research aims to identify changes in Polynesian chieftainships as a whole, ‘Polynesia’ is merely a term that is used to collectivise a group of people that are similar in certain ways, but also very unique in others. This chapter therefore looks at the individual chiefdoms specifically, and identify their similarities and uniqueness. In contrast, other parts of the thesis, discuss Polynesian chiefly systems as a collective. Comparisons can be a useful way of identifying change. For example, with respect to Polynesian chiefs, if two groups are found to originally have similar or same practices, and then later on, their practices are different, then a comparison can be made as to what lead one group to change, and the other to not. On the other hand, if two groups were found to be different, and after some time, they are found to be alike, then this chapter could help with identifying what were the likely causes of change. This chapter therefore provides a starting point from which present day chiefdoms can be compared to and analysed against, to determine whether any significant change has occurred or not. It also looks at chiefly classes, and concludes with a section on chiefly authority, specifically paramount authority and history authenticated authority. In this chapter, the interviewed chiefs also provide a brief reflection on what leadership within their own island group means to them.

PART 2: EVOLUTION

Chapter 3: ‘From Ancient to Pre-Contact Chiefs’ – This chapter provides a starting point with which to discuss the history of the Polynesian chief. It provides a chronological timeline of the evolution of the Polynesian chief. It covers the transformation of chiefs from their origins as godly beings to the human chiefs they had become at the time of first contact. By looking at the changing forms and identities of these authority figures, we are able to get a picture of the environment and period in which they existed and what specific roles and functions they played during this time period. The other two important identities and forms discussed in this chapter are that of the female and child authority figures. The importance of highlighting these two particular identities is that they depart from the stereotypical description of chiefs being predominantly male and of mature age. Other than looking at the chiefly forms of the time period, this chapter will also look at some of the behaviours that
illustrate the authoritative nature of the powerful figures of the time. This includes their privileges, taboos and certain practices such as polygamy, cannibalism and cruelty. The authority figures of the time were in a sense ‘transnationals’ in practice and this is evident in the many connections they had throughout the Pacific and Polynesian region. This chapter also explores the many connections that the powerful and authority figures of the region shared.

**Chapter 4: ‘From First-Contact to Independent Chiefs’** – This chapter looks at aspects and features of the Polynesian chief and the chiefly system during and after the first contact period. At the time of first contact, most of the island groups would have had existing leadership systems and positions of authority. Such positions would have already been occupied by powerful chiefs who had already cemented for themselves and their clan control over their particular area, most likely through warfare. Despite warfare still being very much part of the landscape, the early settlers and explorers would have discovered islands already entrenched in laws and practices that often dictated and confirmed the authority of their ruling chiefs. Some of these early laws are looked at in the first part of this chapter. The second part looks at some of the significant historical events that have had the greatest influence on the chiefly systems. These include Christianity, colonization, and the introduction of western education. Christianity would have had the largest impact not only on Polynesian chiefly systems, but on society as a whole. This chapter looks at some of the main cases in Polynesia where Christianity and religion have had the greatest impact on Polynesian society. It discusses the nature of the changes and what impact these changes had on the chiefly systems of the various Polynesian groups. The next major influence of change came with colonisation. Like Christianity before it, colonisation also contributed to changing not only the leadership of Polynesia, but its society as well. Case studies of some of the main colonial takeovers within the region and their effects on the Polynesian groups are documented in this chapter. Following a look at colonisation, the chapter looks at the reactions of the colonised, more specifically, how chiefs reacted to the foreign encroachment of their space and their positions as rulers and leaders of their island groups. Lastly, the chapter discusses changes in the chiefly system throughout the decolonisation period of the 1960-70s to the present day. It also discusses how western-styled politics influenced and changed the role of the Polynesian chief shortly after, and even decades following independence.
Chapter 5: ‘The Present Day Chief’ – This chapter looks specifically at chiefly upbringing. It focusses on the lives of the chiefly participants and their views about their own upbringing. The chiefly participants share insights on topics such as early memories of their childhood as well as recollections of their initial awareness of their chiefly status. They also share their thoughts on being members of a chiefly clan. They talk about some of the challenges they face as current chiefly leaders and whether they are the same sorts of challenges their predecessors faced. All of the chiefly participants have had some involvement with their island’s politics either directly or indirectly. They also give their thoughts not only on their involvement in politics, but also how they view the politics around them. This chapter also gives their opinions on the current state of their chiefly systems and the changes that have happened, as well as putting forward some of their views on what the future of their chiefly systems hold.

PART 3: PROGRESSION

Chapter 6: ‘Chiefly Succession’ – Unlike the previous chapters, this chapter is not confined to a specific time period, but covers all aspects of succession through all ages. History has shown that chiefs are often challenged by an ambitious brother. Siblings have actually gone to war against each other in the quest to succeed their father. The first part of this chapter takes a historical look at some of the examples of chiefly sibling rivalry that has taken place throughout Polynesia. In the past, warfare has been the vehicle by which disputes and differences have been settled. The acceptance of Christianity in the region promoted peace amongst the chiefs and his people, as well as outlawing killing and murder. Without warfare, new methods of succession were developed and through time, different island groups have adopted different methods of determining chiefly succession. The final part of this chapter discusses some of the past and current methods of chiefly succession, and the problems and issues associated with them.
PART 4: IDENTITIES

Chapter 7: ‘Chiefly Profiles’ – This chapter gives brief profiles of the chiefly participants followed by a brief history and genealogy of the paramount title(s) they hold. The final part of this chapter gives brief histories of other notable chiefly titles from each of the islands groups selected as case studies.

PART 5: SUMMARY

Chapter 8: ‘Conclusions’ – Summaries and conclusions are discussed in this chapter.
Claim to Originality

**********

There is an abundance of literature on Pacific and Polynesian leadership. Even in general literature on the Pacific and Polynesia, one will find in and amongst it a wealth of material specifically relating to chiefly leadership and status. What makes this research any different? What does this thesis aim to contribute?

Firstly, it is a contemporary look at chiefly Polynesian leadership that focuses on five main island groups. It involves in depth interviews with five of Polynesia’s most paramount chiefs who share their personal insights on what it means to be a paramount Polynesian chief in this current day and age. Although this is a research looking at the present day Polynesian chief, it is also an historical account of Polynesian chiefs in general. It is written in a chronological order, providing cases and narratives of significant historical events relevant to the topic at hand. Snippets of history have been interwoven throughout the entire thesis.

More importantly, this research aims to determine what roles paramount Polynesian chiefs play in their present day societies. In keeping with the Pacific Studies philosophy of multidisciplinary research, this thesis has been constructed using literature from different academic disciplines, as well as using a multitude of information sources which include online, video, newspapers and oral sources. Knowledge and narratives from interviews with chiefly participants are used throughout the thesis to complement information obtained from other sources.

Finally, this research aims to build on the work of past scholars of Polynesian leadership, as it applies theories by scholars such as Marshall Sahlins and Irving Goldman. Their past theories have been reapplied in a present day context to ascertain whether they have withstood the test of time, and can still be applied to discuss and analyse present day chiefly Polynesian leadership.
Polynesian Islands

Polynesia is the largest of the three regions that make up the greater Pacific. Appropriately named by French explorer Durmont Durville (Fischer, 2002:xvii), the Polynesia region contains the most island groups within the Pacific region. Although such a geographical grouping suggests connections and similarities between the islands within it, there are just as many distinctions between them highlighting the need to treat and analyse them separately. Of the three regions, the leadership of Polynesian groups is predominantly based on a chieftainship system (Kirch, 1984:27). Although Micronesian groups have chiefs, their chiefly systems are regarded as not ‘traditional’ in the sense of surviving unchanged from pre-contact times (Pinsker, 1997:153). Melanesia practices an achieved system of leadership described as the ‘big man’ system (M. Sahlins, 2000:288; Tuimaleali'ifano, 2006; White, 1992:74).

Given the large number of islands within Polynesia, to include all of them in this research would be an enormous undertaking. This research is therefore limited to five island groups as case studies to represent the main regions of Polynesia. Polynesia is divided into two main regions, Western and Eastern Polynesia. Western Polynesia includes American and Western Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Niue, Tuvalu, Tokelau (Burrows, 1973; Kirch, 1977). Eastern Polynesia covers a much larger area and includes large island groups such Hawai‘i, Cook Islands, French Polynesia and New Zealand (Kirch, Steadman, Butler, Hather, & Weisler, 1995). Most of the western group have existing chiefly systems, while the eastern group only have a few that still have chiefly systems. Much of the decline of chiefly systems in the eastern part was largely due to colonisation. Such was the case in Hawai‘i and French Polynesia (Newbury, 1988:74). The Western Polynesian islands of Samoa, Tonga and Fiji have chiefly systems dating back centuries and have had a long history of interaction between each other (Barnes & Hunt, 2005). It is for this reason that these three islands have been selected as case studies representing the western group. In Eastern Polynesia, chiefly leadership has become less practiced following colonisation. The Cook Islands and the Maori peoples of Aotearoa are two eastern groups that reflect the duality of the chiefly traditions with western systems in spite of colonisation. These two groups have been selected to represent the east.

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1 The Pacific is divided into three main regions, Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia
Fiji has often been classified as belonging to the Melanesian group. Its geographic location and the physical characteristics of its indigenous people supports such a grouping however Fiji also has very strong links with Polynesia. Its social structure is mainly of the ramage type which is a common characteristic of Polynesian societies (Howard, 1966:67; M. D. Sahlins, 1958:138). The island groups of Rotuma and Lau are historically & politically associated with Fiji. Their indigenous inhabitants have distinct Polynesian features, and their culture and language/dialects are also Polynesian influenced. There are also numerous accounts of Fiji’s long history of interactions with various island groups of Polynesia. The Fijian chiefly system is undoubtedly Polynesian. It does not conform to the ‘Big Man’ style of leadership common in Melanesian groups. Barnes and Hunt refers to Fiji as a major archipelago of West Polynesia (2005:226). Fiji, Tonga and Samoa share a similar chiefly system, and the similarity in some of their chiefly titles suggest this. For example in both Fiji and Tonga, the chiefly titles Leha and Lemaka are recognised (ibid:238). In Tonga they are highly ranked advisors and in Fiji they are known for their canoe building. Both Fijian and Tongan tradition recognise that Leha and Lemaki are descended from Lei’ataua Lesa and Lema’i from Samoa (ibid). According to Tuimaleali’ifano, Lei’ataua Lesa and Lema’i were also known as tufuga or expert canoe makers (1990; 2007:103). These connections give evidence to Fiji having a Polynesian chiefly system. Fiji’s inclusion in this research is based solely on its chiefly system.
Rationale

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My decision to pursue a PhD research looking at chiefly Polynesian leadership was motivated by two significant developments. Firstly in 2002, I embarked on a journey that has culminated in the undertaking of this doctorate. I enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts degree majoring in Pacific Studies. Through Pacific Studies, I discovered a renewed interest in my Samoan history and culture but this time with a broadened interest in the Pacific as a whole. Through the study of various Pacific cultures and histories, I developed a keen interest in leadership, specifically chiefly leadership of Pacific island groups. My interest in leadership, lead me to undertake and complete a Master’s degree looking specifically at the Samoan chiefly system. My thesis was entitled Pule a Matai: A brief historical look at the evolution of the Samoan chief. The main objective of this thesis was to document the changes of the Samoan chiefly system over time and to identify reasons for these changes. One of the main conclusions from my thesis was that with respect to the fa’a matala or chiefly system, practices and ways of doing things have changed, but the principals and foundations remain. For example, the traditional relationship between the sacred ali‘i chief and his political tulafale or orator, is mirrored in the creation of the positions of Head of State which is in a sense a sacred role and the Prime Minister which is political (Tominiko, 2004:104). The other major conclusion is that the power and authority of the Samoan matala is dependent on two main factors, the first being history and the second achievement (ibid:107). History is what gives a title its original mana however it is the achievements of the incumbent title holder that sustains that mana. This doctoral thesis is therefore the natural progression from my Master’s research, this time widening the scope to include the chiefly systems of Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands and Maori.

The other significant development which motivated this research involved changes which took place in a short span of three years. Between 2004 and 2007, the Pacific lost five of its most prominent leaders; Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara\(^2\) in 2004 – former Prime Minister and President of Fiji; Queen Dame Te Atairangikaahu\(^3\) in 2006 – Maori Queen; King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV\(^4\) in 2006 – Tongan King; Malietoa Tanumafili II\(^5\) in 2007 – Head of State of

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\(^2\) See page 328 for biography
\(^3\) See page 336 for biography
\(^4\) See page 324 for biography
Western Samoa and Pa Tuterangi Ariki Sir Tom Davis in 2007 – a scholar and former Prime Minister of the Cook Islands. Each of these individuals held prominent leadership roles within their respective governments, but equally important was the fact that they were each paramount chiefs in their own right. Between them they collectively accounted for 250 years of leadership within the Pacific. With the passing of these five prominent leaders in such a very short time span, the question foremost on my mind was what is the future of Polynesian leadership, more specifically chiefly leadership? Although this is what initially prompted me to take up this research topic, this is only but one of the many changes that are occurring. Many other changes affecting traditional chiefly leadership are discussed throughout this thesis.

How do we examine the relevance of present day Polynesian chiefdoms in the changing political environment? How do we critically examine the relevance of chiefly leadership in present day Polynesian society? How do we develop the profile of individual chiefs and their significance? In order to answer these questions, there needs to be:

(a) An understanding of the changing dynamics of chiefly leadership and some of the dilemmas

(b) An academic analysis of how chiefs shape political life of Pacific/Polynesian states

(c) An examination of the ongoing relationship between Polynesian chiefly system and the island governance systems.

(d) An analysis of what are chiefly characteristics in order to build a profile.
Recent Leadership Dilemmas

Just as understanding changes is important in this research, identifying dilemmas also gives an indication of what state a leadership system is in. Shortly after the death of the above Polynesian leaders, each of their respective island groups experienced series of events that would question the stability its leadership and chiefly systems. Although these events were in no way directly linked to, or the result of the passing of the former leaders, they were still very much linked to the leadership of the island groups.

**Fiji**

In 2006, Fiji experienced its fourth coup lead by Commodore Voreqe Frank Bainimarama. The following year he took over the position of Prime Minister of Fiji and shortly afterwards he suspended the members of the Great Council of Chiefs, the first time this had ever been done in the councils over one hundred year history. In 2012, the Great Council of Chiefs was officially disestablished by Bainimarama, on the grounds that they were becoming too politicised and have no longer become the advisory council they were required to be. According to Bainimarama, they had become “irrelevant”\(^7\). The disestablishment of the Great Council of Chiefs, the longtime symbol of Fiji’s chiefly history, not only highlighted Bainimarama’s dislike of chiefly leadership, but also gives the impression that chiefly authority and powers in Fiji have waned. Also in 2012, one time supporter, Colonel Ratu Tevita Mara defected and sought refuge in the safety of the Tongan royal family with whom he had familial connections. Mara’s defection and protection by his chiefly Tongan relatives became somewhat of an irony for Bainimarama who openly opposed chiefly authority. Bainimarama’s efforts to extradite Mara were unsuccessful against the laws of Tonga, a country rooted in its chiefly leadership\(^8\). To this day, Fiji has not held a democratic election since the takeover in 2006 and the next election is expected to take place in 2014.

**Maori**

According to Dr Rawiri Taonui, Head of Maori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury, the Maori current Maori King has the challenging job of ‘bridging the gaps’\(^9\). The gaps Rawiri refers to are those between *pakeha* and Maori, as well as between elite

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\(^7\) Statement made by Bainimarama on a television interview.  [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SDF-4ZiKnaA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SDF-4ZiKnaA)

\(^8\) “Tonga not recognize Fiji’s extradition orders for fugitive top officer Mara”, [news.xinhuanet.com](http://news.xinhuanet.com), 27th June 2011

\(^9\) “The Kingitanga represents our history - and future”, [nzherald.co.nz](http://nzherald.co.nz), 22\(^{nd}\) August 2006
Maori and grass roots Maori. He leads a Maori population facing serious poverty, health and housing issues. However certain events suggest the the king himself is doing more to increase the gap than to narrowing it. In 2010, King Tuheitia created controversy when he was said to have sworn at kaumatua (elders) in a meeting. One member of his tribe present at the meeting said,

"The people say nothing to him and they are letting him carry on how he wants and it's not right. He has no respect. The people put him there and the people can take him out". In her view "the iwi should all get together because enough is enough, he is making a mockery of it all"\textsuperscript{10}.

The king’s public image has not been helped with a media release by his Chief of Protocol, Helen Kotua, outlining how people should dress and behave when in the presence of the king at the Grand Ball he was hosting\textsuperscript{11}. Kotua writes:

"When referring to the King, 'The King' is fine, though if you want to be certain of being polite I would recommend that you say at least once 'Your Majesty'." Other instructions include, “Women should wear tiaras and avoid trousers - and, please, speak to him politely for only a couple of minutes”.

Such controversies are dividing the Maori people, and even more of concern, dividing the Kingitanga supporters from the rest of the Maori iwi throughout New Zealand. David Rankin, a leader of the Ngapuhi tribe, challenged the right of the king to use the title "Maori King" because he is not the king of all Maori\textsuperscript{12}.

Tonga

Only a few months after the death of King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV in 2006, the Nuku’alofa riots broke out in reaction to the governments lack of action in advancing democratic processes into the Tongan government elections (Campbell, 2011:162). This resulted in the mass destruction of shops and businesses within the capital city Nuku'alofa in 2006 by protesters. Although this was a protest that caught international attention, there have been many other examples of Tongan people protesting against the monarchy and the government. Sparked by hatred of the royal family's absolute rule in Tonga, anti-monarchist Alani Taione crashed his car into the gates of the king’s residence in Auckland and set it on fire in a bid to

\textsuperscript{10}“Maori King Tuheitia accused of swearing”, stuff.co.nz, 10\textsuperscript{th} December 2010
\textsuperscript{11}“Want a chat with the Maori King? OK, but make it snappy”, nzherald.co.nz, 19\textsuperscript{th} May 2011
\textsuperscript{12}“The King of Huntly, perhaps”, stuff.co.nz, 7\textsuperscript{th} June, 2011
send the king a fiery message\textsuperscript{13}. King Tupou IV was said to have been in residence when this occurred. When King Siaosi Tupou V tried to sell the royal palace Atalanga, he encountered mass protest from Tongans on the grounds that it was not his to sell, and that it belonged to all of Tonga\textsuperscript{14}. One Tongan lawyer even brought a case against the king to prove that some of the houses inherited by him are not his to sell but belong to the royal line of successors. In 2009, King Tupou V was criticised for leaving Tonga on a holiday only days after the sinking of the Princess Ashika ferry which saw the lives of 65 Tongans being lost\textsuperscript{15}. There was a feeling amongst some that the king should have postponed his holiday and stay back in Tonga to offer moral support to his people.

**Cook Islands**

In 2008, the House of Ariki in the Cook Islands was divided when a small majority of *ariki* attempted a coup, claiming to dissolve the elected government and to take control of the country’s leadership. The *Cook Islands Herald* suggested that the *ariki* were attempting thereby to regain some of their traditional prestige or *mana*\textsuperscript{16}. The coup was led by a Maori man Bruce Ruatapa Mita, who had hijacked the House of Ariki in order to get their support for a million dollar nodule mining project he wanted to run in the Cook Islands\textsuperscript{17}. The Cook Islands Prime Minister Jim Marurai said the takeover move had no credibility and their claim was “ill-founded and nonsensical”\textsuperscript{18}. Mita was again in the news in 2011 when he returned to the Cook Islands to once again push for the House of Ariki to reclaim the sovereignty of the Cook Islands as the hereditary sovereign monarchs of the nation\textsuperscript{19}. This time all but two *ariki* distanced themselves from him, leaving him to appeal for public support. According to Mita, the dissolution of the country’s constitution and government, the removal of allegiance to the Queen, and the severing of ties with New Zealand would return the *ariki* to being the kings and queens of the Cook Islands. Despite this, he failed to gain support. The issue of whether the House of Ariki has any real authority within the Cook Islands continues to be a sensitive one.

\textsuperscript{13}“Protest at Tongan King’s Akld home” tvnz.co.nz, 1st July 2006
\textsuperscript{14}“Sale of Tongan royal home ‘Atalanga’ stalled – but legal battle far from over”, pacific.scoop.co.nz, 15th August 2011
\textsuperscript{15}“Tensions rise as Tongans vent fury at sinking”, theage.com.au, 8\textsuperscript{th} August 2009
\textsuperscript{16}“NZ Māori stirs Cooks sovereignty stoush”, stuff.co.nz, 13 June 2008
\textsuperscript{17}“NZ Maori man behind strange Cook Islands coup”, Island Business website, 17th June 2008
\textsuperscript{18}ibid
\textsuperscript{19}“Mita on sovereignty campaign again”, cinews.co.ck, 30 March 2011
Samoa

The issues concerning Samoa around the same time was the growing power of the government of the day. Such concerns started in 2007 when the government announced their proposal to change the side on which cars were to travel to match New Zealand by 2008. Despite a mass protest and petition of 33,000 signatures opposing the change, the people of Samoa felt that the government was not listening to them, resulting in Samoan journalist Savea Sano Malifa comparing this to the actions of Adolf Hitler. It was believed that the government had already unanimously agreed to adopt the change even before the petition was submitted (So'o, 2008:192). The government have also been accused of withholding the pay of pulenu’u (village mayor), in the event that they do not cooperate with the government with anything to do with their village. This was the case with the Lepea pulenu’u, chief A’i Vavao in 2010. The Minister of Women, Community and Social Development, Fiame Naomi Mata’afa, wrote to A’i to tell him that he is no longer recognized as a representative of Lepea in the government because he refused to agree to the proposed road widening. It wasn’t until the village agreed to the lands being used by the government that A’i was back paid and reinstated. A similar incident happened in 2012 when Samoan police clashed with villagers of Satapuala when they made a roadblock preventing construction workers from entering lands to commence the building of a new hospital. Shortly after the ordeal, the Satapuala pulenu’u, chief Ga Sakaria was fired from his government paid position as mayor of the village without any warning or reason. For a nation that believes that the matai is at the heart of its decision making, the lack of any say and the government’s growing power became a constant source of resentment towards the government.

The above examples show some of the recent dilemmas faced by the island groups. Directly or indirectly, these dilemmas are related to leadership. In the case of Fiji, and to a certain extent, Cook Islands and Samoa, the dilemmas illustrate a declining power of chiefly leaders. This is evident in the disestablishment of the Great Council of Chiefs in Fiji. In Cook Islands, the attempted coup of 2008 was the result of a number of ariki feeling they had lost their authority. Samoa’s decline of chiefly authority is seen on two levels. The first is the growing

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20 Savea Sanoa Malifa wrote an article in the Samoa Observer entitled “Suiga o le itu auala fa’amanatu mai ai Atofa Hitila” – The changing of the roads has reminded us of Adolf Hitler (Malifa, 2009). He writes that Hitler conducted all things without informing and consulting anyone other than his closest allies and alluding to this as being the exact same for the road changes in Samoa.


22 “Cabinet terminates Satapuala Mayor”, samoaoobserver.ws, 20 August 2012
power of the government, and the second is the inability of chiefs at the village level to assert their authority over their own villages due to government control. On the other hand, the Tongan dilemma seems to be that the king and the nobles have too much control. Tonga being the Pacific’s only existing monarchy has long been under the control of the monarchy and the nobility, yet within the last ten years, democracy has slowly began to surface, albeit at a very slow pace. The issue with Maori is a growing discontent for the Maori King and the Kingitanga movement as a whole. These dilemmas all illustrate a need for further analysis of this topic and an examination of the relevance of chiefly leadership in this day and age.
Thesis Style

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This thesis is written from a Pacific Studies perspective. The following section outlines the principles of Pacific Studies that have been incorporated into the conducting of this research as well as the writing of this thesis.

A Pacific Studies Approach

Pacific Studies can trace its beginnings as far back as the seventeenth century to the records of amateur ethnographers exploring the Pacific (Teaiwa, 2001:348) Its academic form can be traced back to the beginning of last century and has its roots in the social sciences, specifically anthropology.

The Pacific Islands have been host to fieldwork by many of the pioneers of twentieth-century anthropology, from Bronislaw Malinowski and Raymond Firth to Margaret Mead and Marshall Sahlins. The reasons are obvious. The region spans one-third of the world’s surface and an even larger percentage of its (colonized) indigenous people. In short, it is home to an anthropological mother lode of linguistics and cultural diversity – to the kind of small-scale, non-literate societies with strong ancestral attachments to land that during much of the past century were the primary subjects of anthropological research (White & Tengan, 2001:383)

Early Pacific Studies was the study of Pacific people and culture, by non-Pacific scholars. Pacific Studies as an official academic discipline however did not exist until roughly around the end of World War II (Crocombe, 1987:115). The beginning of official research and study into the Pacific was born out of a ‘Pragmatic Rationale’, a need to know about the Pacific by surrounding countries or colonisers (Wesley-Smith, 1995:117). This was important during World War II where one of the main theatres of the war was the Pacific. In fact the founders of the first Pacific Island Studies Program at the University of Hawaii in the early 1950s were also advisers to the United States military on intelligence and activities in the Pacific during the war in the 1940s (ibid). Similarly the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University also owes its formation in 1954 to the Second World War. With the war spreading into the Pacific, and more closely, in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, influential Australians felt there was a desperate need to know more about the Pacific (Crocombe, 1987:116).
After initial setups of Pacific Studies centres at the University of Hawaii and Australian National University, other centres began to surface not only in the United States and Australia, but all over the world. From the 1960s to the late 1980s, institutes and centres of Pacific Studies had been established in North and South America, Europe, Asia and the Pacific itself. The University of Papua New Guinea and the University of the South Pacific were formed in 1966 and 1968 respectively, however the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was not set up until the early 1970s, and the Institute of Pacific Studies wasn’t conceived until 1976 (ibid:122). In 1985, two Centres of Pacific Studies were established in New Zealand, one in Christchurch (Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies) and the one at which I am currently studying at, the Centre for Pacific Studies here at the University of Auckland. Compared to many of the old disciplines at New Zealand Universities, Pacific Studies is in context, still in its infancy.

**An Interdisciplinary Approach**

Today Pacific Studies has been constituted, defined and perpetuated as an integral part of western knowledge and modern Social Science (Helu-Thaiman, 2003:5). According to Stuart Firth;

> The Social Sciences tend to be multi-paradigmatic, with the paradigms themselves forming something equivalent to what in other branches knowledge are disciplines. Something of that tension between different paradigms of understandings applies to Pacific Studies (Firth, 2003:139)

Similarly, as Social Sciences is seen as being multi-paradigmatic, Pacific Studies is defined by its multidisciplinary and/or interdisciplinary nature. Pacific Studies encourages the learning about the region as a whole. For this, multidisciplinary study is emphasized, and one must have a “good command” of the anthropology, geography, history, and current affairs of the Pacific Islands (Wesley-Smith, 1995:118). Edward Hviding adds;

> Regionally oriented research of wide thematic scope such as Pacific Islands studies — whose past we want in the present context to honour, and to whose future we would like to contribute—aspire toward understanding a wonderful diversity of human life worlds that can hardly be interpreted within a single-discipline framework. A multitude of perspectives is needed in this research.
In keeping true to the values of Pacific Studies, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach in writing this thesis. Sources used have come from a wide scope of disciplines including anthropology, history, politics, linguistics and archaeology. Current affairs obtained through newspapers and online sources add not only to the interdisciplinary character of this thesis, but also provide up to date information not published academically, but equally important to this research.

**Empowerment**

According to some Pacific Scholars, Native Studies is best expressed in Maori Studies in New Zealand, at the Centre for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i, in Aboriginal Studies in Australia, Chamorro Studies in Guam (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001:318). Central to Native Studies are the struggles for sovereignty and decolonization of these island groups from their colonizers and their assimilation into larger and more powerful entities (ibid). Pacific Studies on the other hand engages a range of intellectual traditions – colonial, native, and most of all, regional (Teaiwa, 2001:347). Research on the Pacific has also become more empowered with disciplines becoming more “island centred” and less imperial in their concerns and emphasis (Wesley-Smith, 1995:124). As Vilsoni Hereniko puts it, Pacific Islanders are no longer “content to allow representations of themselves in print to be the preserve of foreigners” (1994:413).

The empowerment rationale is evident in the praxis of the Centre for Pacific Studies here at the University of Auckland. It adopts a holistic approach in its teaching and research which combines the ‘Native Studies’ approach in its emphasis on indigenous Pacific cultures, language and music and dance, as well as the interdisciplinary approach in providing courses in many disciplines. Empowerment can also be found in Epeli Hau’ofa’s classic essay “Our Sea of Islands” where he reminds us that contrary to popular beliefs that the Pacific is made up of small scattered and remote islands, he paints a picture of a region described as a sea of islands whose surrounding seas is a pathway that connects rather than separates (Epeli Hau’ofa, 1993:7-9). Hauofa emphasises the importance of treating the Pacific as a whole and that the islands are interconnected. The use of multi-disciplines allows a topic such as this to be fully covered in its wholeness and by bringing all the various disciplines together to

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23 Disciplines include anthropology, sociology, history, linguistics, politics, ethnomusicology, art history.
inform this research, it clearly illustrates the notion of inter-connectedness between this research and Pacific Studies. This is supported by Hviding.

Approaching the diversity of Pacific worlds from an appreciation of human creativity requires an interdisciplinary inclusiveness that extends beyond academic disciplines in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences into local worldviews and indigenous epistemologies, taking these on board as partners in dialogue and collaboration toward a plurality of knowledges (2003:43).

Finally in terms of the ‘Empowerment Rationale’ of Pacific Studies, this research is both empowering and being empowered. It is empowering chiefly Polynesian leadership. In an age where the influence and authority of the Polynesian chief is perceived as dwindling, the hope is that this thesis can rejuvenate interest in chiefly Polynesian leadership, to empower more people to take more interest in it, to learn about it, and to continue to research about it. This research is also empowered through the participation of the paramount chiefs as key persons. Their knowledge that they share empowers this research. It also inspires and empowers myself as a researcher and the hope is that in the process it also empowers others by implanting in them a sense of pride not only in the leadership of their islands, but also in their history and culture as a whole.

Finally Pacific Studies can be likened to a canoe through which extensive and systematic interdisciplinary and academic focus on the Pacific has taken place – one that finds a new generation of Pacific Islander scholars (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001:322). This thesis is therefore the canoe in which I have been able to practice and engage in the discipline that is Pacific Studies. In choosing the topic of chiefly Polynesian leadership, and through my Polynesian/Samoan lens, I have been empowered to live Pacific Studies.

**Oral Traditions**

Just as written knowledge is important in this research, oral tradition also plays an important role in learning more about the Polynesian chiefs. Oral tradition is the oldest form of disseminating Polynesian history and knowledge. Knowledge is passed down through generations through storytelling, oratory, poetry, songs, chants, names of people and places, proverbs, genealogies and salutations. These oral forms serve to remind Polynesians of important events and people in history, as well as explaining customs, values, institutions and
obligations passed down to them. Hauofa gives a great correlation between chiefs and history, and confirms why it is essential to include oral histories in this research.

Most of our ancient and even our more recent oral histories are about the lives and heroic and horrific deeds of our great chiefs, their families, and kin groups. Our histories, cultures, and group identities are focussed almost entirely on them. Without them we have only a few roots, because the lives and deeds of the majority of our peoples have been erased from memory. This is a pillar of the aristocratic power over us. We cherish and respect our connections to our aristocracies, mainly because we have no choice; and for the same reason “we love and respect our oppression”, as a wagghis colleague puts it. Nevertheless, they are the major components of our heritage and so we must carry them all, the good and the ugly, for only then can we learn properly from our histories (2000: 463).

Oral history does not comply with the traditional practices of westernised histories which rely largely on written information and dates. In defence Hereniko argues that in stories dates were never important. They were used to describe why people behaved in a certain way, and the possible reason for their good or bad fortune (Hereniko, 2000: 79). Oral traditions have come to be labelled myths and legends by westerners, the implication being that they are not true stories (ibid). Despite this, indigenous Pacific writers have their own reservations about written knowledge. Hereniko also argues that the written word has undermined the fluidity of indigenous history, and encourages the view that there is but one truth. Oratory allowed for debate and negotiations (ibid: 84). Hau’ofa emphasises that truth is flexible and negotiable, despite attempts by some to impose political, religious, and other forms of absolutism (Epeli. Hau'ofa, 2000: 454).

In spite of all these limitations, strong efforts must be made to minimise prejudice and racial intolerance, avoid religious bigotry and keep in the forefront the goal of seeking truth (Latukefu, 1992: 27).

Given that prior to imperialism, oral traditions were for many centuries the main form of knowledge transfer in the Pacific, it is befitting that it is increasingly becoming an accepted component of modern Pacific history.

As long as we rely mainly on written documents, and as long as Europeans, Americans, and similar others are seen to dominate our pasts as main actors or manipulators of local people to carry out their designs, our histories will remain imperial histories and narratives of passive submission to

Through talanoa and discussion, not only are we seeking the truth, in the process, we hope to obtain it. Therefore guided by the modern Pacific history school of thought, this research will also accept oral tradition as a valid and credible source of knowledge.

**Early Pacific History**

They earliest of ‘Pacific histories’ by non-Pacific people were the accounts of traders, whalers, explorers, beachcombers and missionaries. When imperialism reached the region, ‘Pacific history’ took on a new form. This new history of the Pacific became more of a history of empires in the Pacific – mainly the Portuguese, Spanish, French and British – and not so much about the Pacific itself (Davidson, 1955:4). For a very long time, the perception was that Pacific histories began only with imperialism, or that as peoples and cultures we were the creations of colonialism and Christianity (Epeli. Hau'ofa, 2000: 469). By the turn of the 19th century, the Pacific became a popular subject of research by academics seeking more understanding of Pacific society and culture (White & Tengan, 2001:383). Some of these early writers include John Martin (1827), Shirley Baker (1849), George Stringer Rowe (1858), Thomas Buddle (1860), Aaron Buzzacott (1866), Joseph Waterhouse , George Turner (1883), Augustin Kramer (1888), Robert Louis Stevenson (1892), John Stair (1897).

As a result indigenous Pacific historians are doing away with these European-centred value judgements, and deny that island people were inferior and unable to think and act for themselves (Howe, 1984: 351). This resulted in a move away from Pacific history being a sort of footnote to the history of European Imperialism (Latukefu, 1992: 24). According to Tuhiwai-Smith

> History from and indigenous perspective is problematic. They are words which tend to provoke a whole array of feelings, attitudes, and values. They are words of emotion which draw attention to the thousands of ways in which indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures have been silenced or misrepresented, ridiculed or condemned in academic and popular discourses (2006: 20)

A new approach supported by pioneering Pacific historian Professor J.W. Davidson suggested that Pacific history be written by and from the point of view of the Pacific
Islanders (ibid). This new way of thinking was quickly embraced by indigenous historians and writers. Wendt asserts, the *papalagi* [or outlanders] can write about Samoans but not from inside them (as cited in Hempenstall, 2000: 52). Islanders had long been masters of their environment (Howe, 1984: 352). As Hau’ofa puts it,

In order for us to gain greater autonomy than we have today, and maintain it within the global system, we must in addition to other measures be able to define and construct our pasts and presents in our own ways.....all social realities are human creations, and that if we fail to construct our own realities other people will do it for us (Epeli. Hau'ofa, 2000: 453).

**New and Contending Approaches to Pacific history**

Given the many and varied forms of Pacific history, one of the main issues was deciding which forms of history was most useful in this research. To discount one form as being less authentic than another would be going against one of the main principles of modern Pacific history, the principle that there is more than one truth (as mentioned above). Despite some of its perceived inadequacies, Western and European centred histories of the Pacific still provide valid perspectives and given that one of the main aims of this research is to provide an account of the present day paramount Polynesian chief, the use of many and varied sources of history will not only provide better comparisons, but would also help create a more accurate picture. It is only when ALL knowledge is taken into consideration that a more holistic understanding will be obtained. As Linnekin states:

> Lawyers, film makers, and anthropologists have documented the ‘Rashomon effect’ in accounts of lived experience; that witnesses to the same event may produce radically different accounts. Multiple histories are produced, and it may be impossible to validate one version definitively while rejecting others (Linnekin, 1997: 1)

It is for these reasons that all the different forms of Pacific history have been used in this research. The inclusion of all forms of Pacific history including indigenous and oral knowledge not only illustrates the important connection between Pacific people and their history(s). Wherever in the Pacific one hails from, they are never far removed from their past. The past is very much part of the present.
That the past is ahead, in front of us, is a conception of time that helps us retain our memories and to be aware of its presence. What is behind us cannot be seen and is liable to be forgotten readily. What is ahead of us cannot be forgotten so readily or ignored, for it is in front of our minds’ eyes, always reminding us of its presence. The past is alive in us, so in more than a metaphorical sense the dead are alive – we are our history (Epeli. Hau'ofa, 2000, p. 460: 460).

The concept that ‘the past is alive in us’ provides a good illustration of the relationship that Pacific people have with their past and their history. They have strong connections with their past, not so much through the events that have occurred, but through their connection with their ancestors. As alluded to earlier, traditional western history focuses on important dates and events, histories of Pacific societies focus on characters, people, ancestors, and their connections with them. Every Pacific/Polynesian person, in one way or another, has links and connections to their Polynesian chiefs.

**Actors in Pacific History**

Another notable shift in the telling of Pacific histories was in the changing of the ‘main actors’. This meant that previously the spotlight was fixed on the elite European actors (consuls and missionaries) at the front of the stage, making them bear the weight of explanation for the history of colonialism (Hempenstall, 2000: 46). In the shift, the solution was to bring to centre stage, as main players, our own peoples and institutions (Epeli. Hau'ofa, 2000: 458).

If older fashioned colonial history marched with the European proconsuls and missionaries, the newer anti-colonial history simply reversed the polarities and raised up islander chiefs and big men as the new, empowered agents of history (Hempenstall, 2000: 46).

This research focuses on the Polynesian chiefs as the main actors in the telling of their Pacific histories. This is a crucial and salient development in discussing the history of Polynesian chiefs.
Methods & Methodology

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Literature Review

The literature review is one of, if not, the most important piece of academic writing. It helps inform and define the research topic at hand. This was therefore one of the very first things that was done in putting together this thesis.

Annotated Bibliography

After obtaining a wide and varied source of literature, an annotated bibliography was conducted to determine which sources were of most use to the literature review. Through the annotated bibliography, some of the leadership theories that have been applied in this research were sourced. The main concepts and themes of this research topic were also determined by the information obtained through the initial annotated bibliography. Numerous sources were used to collate information, with the majority of information being sourced from published book. Other sources were also used, for example: newspapers, electronic databases, websites, audio and video sources. Given that chiefly Polynesian leadership is a living entity, events and occurrences involving Polynesian chiefs are continually happening. In order to obtain the latest information as possible, internet and website sources have been the most effective ways of obtaining up to date information on the current lives of Polynesian chiefs in and around the Pacific. This is made possible because given the profile and the positions of some of the paramount Polynesian chiefs, they are constantly being watched and observed by local media, and their every movement is usually reported on various media networks. It is for this reason that various credible current affairs internet websites have been used in the collection of information.

Analysis of Chiefly Character

Other than providing background on chiefly Polynesian leadership, the literature review also aided in formulating a profile of the Polynesian chief. The information of different time periods gives an indication of what the characteristics and identity of a chief was during that particular time. Similarly, current sources of literature and information, coupled with the
interviews from the participant chiefs, help construct a profile for the present day Polynesian chief.

**Leadership Literature**

The majority of the literature used in this thesis has a strong emphasis on leadership. For general Pacific and Polynesian leadership, the works of Sahlins (1958), Goldman (1970), Kirch (1984), Earle (1991) Watson-Gegeo & Feinberg (1996), White & Lindstrom (1997), Kawai (1998), Shuster, Larmour & Von Strokirch (1998) have been referred to extensively in this literature review. Starting with a general outlook on Polynesian leadership provides a good stepping platform from which specific island leadership can be analysed and compared.


The above authors have by no means the only sources used in this thesis, however their works have provide a strong foundation from which this thesis has been constructed.

**Interdisciplinary Knowledge**

Given the interdisciplinary nature of Pacific Studies, literature from numerous disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, archaeology, linguistics, and politics have been collectively used.
Fieldwork

Interviews

The second phase of the research involved fieldwork. During this phase, 2-3 hour long interviews were conducted with each of the five selected chiefly participants. All interviews were conducted on a one to one basis with all but one of the chiefly participants. During the interview with Arikinui Sir Tumu Te Heuheu, a support person for Sir Tumu sat in on the interview. He was Colin Rangi, a spokesman for the Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi and a close confidant of Sir Tumu’s. In support of Sir Tumu, he provided valuable knowledge which supported and complemented those of Sir Tumu’s. The interviews were audio recorded. The decision to conduct key person interviews was to capitalise on the rare opportunity to interview current paramount Polynesian chiefs. Through interviews, the research was able capture the insights and be privy to the personal experiences of current paramount Polynesian chiefs.

One of the main concerns in dealing with chiefly participants from different island groups was that I, as the interviewer was not of the same island ethnicity as four of the chiefly participants. It was therefore necessary to have cultural advisers from each of the island groups to provide advice and guidance with particular regards to the interviewing process. Given that the participants were chiefs and statesmen/women of the highest rank, it was highly important that the interviews were conducted in a manner that was firstly culturally appropriate, and secondly, conducted with the highest level respect. It was important for me as the researcher to have respect for who the person was; respect for their positions in society; respect for the ‘space’ between us; and respect through my manner of communication. Even post fieldwork, I was well aware that respect must also be given in the representation of the knowledge shared by the chiefly participants. For that sole reason, I have endeavoured to write this thesis with the upmost respect for the chiefly participants. In terms of cultural appropriateness, the researcher felt that the most suitable method of engaging with the chiefly participants was to apply a Pacific method of knowledge exchange, namely talanoa.
Talanoa

Given that the researcher was not of the same island ethnicity as four of his chiefly participants, it was important first for him to connect and to build a relationship with his participants. Through building a relationship, the researcher is able to communicate with his participant without feeling like an outsider.

The discussions encourage change and transfer of knowledge, encourages debate, and in the process creates a relationship linking the researcher and the researched in a process of inquiry into the operation of things in reality (‘Okusitino. Mahina, 2004: 188)

Talanoa removes the distance between researcher and participant, and provides research participants with a human face they can relate to. This is an ideal method of research because relationship is the foundation on which most Pacific activities are built (Morrison, Vaioleti, & Veramu, 2002).

Through the building of a mutual understanding between the interviewer and the participant, a safe environment is created where both individuals will feel comfortable to communicate freely. When such an environment is created, the discussion is believed to be true and honest. This is echoed by Timote Vaioleti,

A personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and aspirations, and allows more mo’oni (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods (Vaioleti, 2006:21)

Although the method seems relaxed and somewhat informal, the information that is obtained from the process is both rich and full of depth. Talanoa does not confine the participant to closed ended questions, but allows them to engage in the discussion as wide and as deeply as they wish. Manu’atu further adds that talanoa:

[It] allows people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation that allows rich contextual and inter-related information to surface as co-constructed stories (Manu’atu, 2002)

As Mutu (2004: 55) puts it, “The spoken word as delivered on marae throughout the country is still most respected” (made in reference to Te Ao Maori).
Life Stories

In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of Pacific Studies, the other method applied to the interview process was the use of a ‘life story’ approach. This was an appropriate method to use given that the participants were primarily asked to talk about their personal lives. The use of a ‘key person life story’ approach in a qualitative research such as this increases the trustworthiness of the research as a whole, while extending their scope (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2), as cited in (Anae et al., 2000: 7). By using opened ended questions, I was able to draw much more from the response through the use of thematic analysis. For more specific questions that required short and specific answers, closed end questions were a better method. Therefore both styles of questioning were applied during interviewing at the appropriate times. The other advantage of using life stories was that as an interviewing method, it complemented the *talanoa* approach that was also used.

As already mentioned above, one of the main concerns was the appropriateness of the interviewing process, and the fact that the research was going to be delving into the private lives of high ranking members of Polynesian society made it even more sensitive. Given that I was not of the same social rank and status as the chiefly participants, cultural norms would dictate that such a meeting with such dignitaries and I may be viewed as culturally inappropriate. The dilemma was finding a compromise between what may be deemed as ‘culturally inappropriate’ and satisfying the requirements of scholarly research. To justify the need to conduct the interviews, I accepted that in this particular case, the Pacific value of being ‘connected’ was more important than my views of inappropriateness. This sentiment is echoed by Nabobo-Baba;

> Pacific and indigenous scholars, students, academics need to enable the pan-Pacific value of connecting, linking, inter-depending, and building our diverse relationships (Nabobo-Baba, 2004: 18).

Since literature is only but one source of knowledge, if it is outdated, it can become somewhat disconnected from the reality of the topic that is being researched. The interviews would then ensure that there is a connection between the knowledge gained by the researcher through literature, and real time knowledge that is shared during the interviews. Connectivity also prompted me to travel to the homeland residences of the chiefly participants. This was my attempt to connect with the chiefs in an environment that was comfortable for them.
Discourse Analysis

A discourse analysis approach has been used in this research. Discourse is a rather ambiguous term that has a variety of related, yet very different definitions. It has no-agreed definition and confusingly many uses (Alvesson & Karreman, 2001:1127). For the purpose of this thesis, ‘discourse’ is defined firstly as a collection of knowledge about a particular topic (Hall, 1992:291). It does not consist of one statement, but of several statements working together to form what the French social theorist, Michel Foucault calls a ‘discursive formation’ (ibid). Discourse can be produced by multiple individuals or groups in different institutional settings, that does not operate as a closed system of meaning (ibid:292). The other definition describes discourse as a diverse representation of social life represented through different discourses in the social practices of government, politics, social science, as well through different discourses with each of these practices corresponding to different positions of social actors (Fairclough, 1985). Combining the two definitions allows the use of a wider scope of disciplines and information sources, which is in itself a fundamental characteristic of Pacific Studies. Therefore this thesis is by and large an interpretation and analysis of the many and varied discourses that exist on the topic of Polynesian chiefs and chiefdoms. The analysis of the literature has been primarily applied through the development of the literature review, and the analysis of the chiefly participant interviews has been interpreted and understood through the use of thematic analysis process.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an extension of Discourse Analysis has also been applied in various parts of the thesis where applicable. CDA is defined as a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (T. Van Dijk, 2001:352). As cited in Van Dijk (2001), Fairclough and Wodak summarized the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems
2. Power relations are discursive
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture
4. Discourse does ideological work
5. Discourse is historical
6. In discourse, the link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action

All the above tenets apply to this research. Finally a discourse analysis provides a means to gain insights and to pinpoint the everyday manifestation of social problems in communication and interaction (T. A. Van Dijk, 1985:7).
PART 1: THEORIES
CHAPTER 1
Understanding Leadership & Status

‘Leadership’ is a diverse topic with numerous definitions and interpretations. This chapter looks at some of the theories that have been used by researchers such as Sahlins (1958), Goldman (1970) and others, to describe Polynesian leadership. The first section discusses ways in which leadership can be both defined and identified. It discusses Watson-Gegeo and Feinberg’s theory of leadership in terms of ‘position, behaviour, performance and subjective-orientation’. Goldman’s theory of ‘ascribed versus achieved status’ will also be discussed. Polynesian leadership can be described as being one of either inherited or achieved. This dichotomy is clearly visible in many Polynesian societies. Such theories and understandings are important to this study as they enable a scholarly analysis of Polynesian leadership, through western academic lenses.

The second section of the chapter looks at the notion of status. It discusses two important principles of chiefly status as identified by both Pacific and non-Pacific scholars, mana/power and tapu/sacredness (Allen, 2000; Earle, 1997; Firth, 1970; Goldman, 1970; Kirch, 1984; Lindstrom & White, 1997; Lockwood, 1971; Sahlins, 1958, 2000b; Shore, 1989; Tcherkezoff, 2004; Watson-Gegeo & Feinberg, 1996:33; Winiata, 1967). Other important components of status such as ‘status lineages’ and ‘status rivalry’ are also discussed in this chapter.

The importance of this chapter is to introduce and outline the theoretical frameworks which will be applied to all discussions and arguments throughout this thesis. It provides focal point(s) from which all aspects of Polynesian leadership will be analysed and compared against. Comments and opinions by the chiefly participant will also be incorporated into all chapters of this thesis. They will be indented and italicised to distinguish them from literature quotations that are also indented. When the chiefly participants are referred to specifically, they will be referred to collectively as the Chiefs (capitalised and underlined) otherwise they will be individually referred to by their chiefly names. When chiefs in general are being referred to, the term ‘chief’ (lowercase) is used.
1.0 Defining Leadership

According to Firth, “Leadership is an amorphous kind of subject, a huge canvas, with immense variation in scale and in kind”, as cited in (Watson-Gegeo & Feinberg, 1996:4). Because of the complexity of the topic at hand, this thesis focuses on four main concepts of leadership as identified by Watson-Gegeo and Feinberg (ibid:5-7). These are ‘position, behaviour or performance, subjective-orientation, and power’. Throughout the thesis, all discussions on Polynesian leadership, chiefly or not, shall be defined and analysed in terms of the following concepts.

Position

The ‘position’ concept identifies a leader as an individual occupying a given office (ibid). This is the most common way leadership in which leadership can be identified. The position of leadership that has been most commonly identifies right across Polynesia is that of chief. Each Polynesian group has its own name for their chiefs. In Aotearoa and the Cook Islands, they are the *ariki* (Crocombe, 1964:25; Van Meijl, 1997:86); in Tonga, they are the ‘*eiki*’ (Gailey, 1987:50; Marcus, 1980:18; Wood-Ellem, 1981:ix); in Samoa, they are the *matai* or *ali‘i* (Chan-Mow, 2007:121; Freeman, 1948:73; Koike, 1998:97) and in Fiji, they are the *turanga* (Kawai, 1998:35; Ogawa, 1998:65; Toren, 2000:117). Max Weber, as cited in Lindstrom and White, remarks that:

> In the case of traditional authority, obedience is owed to the person of the chief who occupies the traditionally sanctioned positions of authority and who is (within its sphere) bound by tradition (1997:6).

Similarly, ministers and priests are leaders within the church based on their position. At the family level the father figure is the leader of the family based on Christian teaching.

Behaviour and Performance

The ‘behaviour and performance’ concept looks at leadership as the behaviour involved in carrying out the role associated with a given position or directing the activities of a group, or alternatively as the focus for the behaviour of group members (Watson-Gegeo & Feinberg, 1996:6). The performance component of leadership looks at the acts which help the group achieve its preferred outcomes.
Most chiefly Polynesian families owe their current place in society in large part to the history of an ancestor’s achievement. Being a distinguished ancestor or a fearless warrior of a family were the kind of performances that determined a family’s place in society

Chiefs were identified by an elite international style and ideology that both legitimized their distinguished status and created a technology of warrior domination through force (Earle, 1991:10)

For example, the late Head of State of Samoa his Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II is a direct descendant of Malietoa Savea. Malietoa Savea was the older brother of the two brothers, Tuna and Fata, who defeated Tu’i Tonga Talakaifeiki around 1250AD (Henry, 1979:23). The victory liberated Samoa from the control of Tonga. As the Tongan king fled in defeat, he shouted out to the brothers:

"Malie Toa, Malie Tau! Afa e o'o mai Tonga, e sau I le aouliuli folau, ae le sau I le aouliuli tau".

"Brave warriors! Bravely have you fought! If the Tongans ever come back, it will be for a friendly visit, but never again to fight you" (ibid)

The historical event and the famous phrase resulted in the creation of the now paramount title, Malietoa.

Similarly, the current king of Tonga, his Highness King Tupou VI traces his immediate genealogy back to his Great great-great-great-grandfather King Siaosi Tupou I (Taufa’ahau). Often regarded as the father of modern Tonga, King Siaosi is responsible for the creation of the modern monarchy. King Siaosi along traditional lines, can also trace his lineage directly back to the Tui Kanokupolu line of chiefs, therefore tracing it even further back to the Tui Ha’atkalaua, and Tu’i Tonga lines (Ilaiu, 2007:48). The Tu’i Kanokupolu line came into prominence on the back of its founding ancestor’s success to wrestle power away from the then powerful Tu’i Ha’atkalaua line.

The current Maori king, his Highness King Tuheitia, not only traces his ancestry to his great-great-great-great-grandfather, King Potatau Te Wherowhero, but also to Hoturoa and Tama-te-kapua. Hoturoa and Tama-te-kapua were captains of the Tainui and Te Arawa canoes respectively, that brought the first Maori to Aotearoa (Te Hurinui, 1959:3). Not only did the
skills of these ancestor captains warrant their positions as the early leaders of Maori in Aotearoa, their legacy as the Maori founding ancestors of many *iwi* in Aoteroa are often saluted by their living descendant in many Maori protocols.

Ratu Kamisese Mara\textsuperscript{24}, Ratu George Cakobau\textsuperscript{25} and current President of Fiji, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau are all direct descendants of Ratu Seru Cakobau. Cakobau was a Fijian warrior chief who united Fiji under his rule. In his time, he was regarded the most powerful chief in all of Fiji, and styled himself as the Tui Viti, the unofficial King of all Fiji (Berwick, 1990:248). As the most powerful chief in Fiji, he ceded Fiji to Great Britain in 1874. The Pa Ariki and Karika Ariki titles of Rarotonga are descended from Tangi’ia and Karika respectively. They are the founding ancestors of modern Rarotonga (Crocombe, 1964:9). Both Tangi’ia and Karika were warriors and navigators from Tahiti and Samoa respectively (ibid). These are a few examples of how current chiefly families have come into existence through their ancestors’ performances.

The other side of behaviour and performance based leadership focuses on the behaviour of the group members in response to their leader (Watson-Gegeo & Feinberg, 1996:6). It looks at the leader’s ability to influence the behaviour of his people, for example, his ability to gain their respect, or his ability to unite his people. Morris and Seeman define a leader as an individual influencing group effectiveness (as cited in Watson-Gegeo and Feinberg 1996). Malietoa, Cakobau, Potatau, Taufa’ahau, Tangi’ia and Karika all succeeded in uniting their respective people under their own rule.

**Subjective-Orientiation**

The ‘subjective-orientation’ concept of leadership is someone who repeatedly performs acts of leading without necessarily occupying an official leadership position (ibid:6). It is the opposite of the position based leadership. Subjective orientation allows for a wider interpretation of leadership, therefore in terms of Polynesia, this could mean an interpretation of leadership outside of the chiefly ranks. Subjective orientation can also be the recognition of one as a leader, without that person even regarding oneself as such. It is about recognising leadership qualities in a person.

\textsuperscript{24} Former Prime Minister and President of Fiji  
\textsuperscript{25} Former Vunivalu and Governor General of Fiji
The makeup of current Maori iwi (tribal) leadership committees suggests that subjective-orientation is the more common method of identifying and selecting leaders.

Although the Maori leaders today are still referred to as rangatira, the fundamental bases that underpinned the institution of chieftainship changed towards recognition of leaders by achievement as much as ascription (Walker, 1993:5).

Ariki and rangatira positions were traditionally ascribed, however that does not seem to be the case today. At present, the only two iwi who seem to have followed the ascription practice of leadership are Tuwharetoa and Tainui. Today, most iwi have rangatira as their leaders and in most cases, more than one. In some cases the leadership role of the entire iwi has fallen upon the individual who holds the chairperson role for the iwi Trust. Sometimes the individual is not necessarily of the original ariki lineage, but have been recognised by members of the iwi as possessing leadership qualities, hence the appointment as iwi Trust chairperson etc. Maori leadership recognition seems to be a combination of two concepts. The first is based on the achievement of an individual however it requires the acceptance of the individual by his people to confirm his leadership. This would therefore make Maori leadership performance and behaviour based first and subjective second.

The Chiefs were asked to define leadership, more specifically, leadership within their own island groups. According to Tui Atua:

O le ala I le pule ole tautua. This is the essence of Samoan leadership, that true leadership is service for the good of others. The second thing, in a spiritual cultural sense, is tōfā saili, the search for meaning, and I think for me, these are the two main principles, service and the search for meaning.

One of the additional roles of a leader today is not only to serve and to search for meaning, but to find how to serve and to how to identify and apply meaning to the context, the new context which have changed a lot, and they are going to keep on changing. How do you find your Samoan heritage in this new environment? How do you locate it in that new environment so that it speaks to the heart and mind, not only of yourself as a leader, but also to your people through what you say and what you do.

Leadership is when people look up to somebody because they trust them, because they support them, because they know that he qualifies to exercise authority, so authority originates, it arises from quality leadership.

26 Personal communications with Maui Hudson (Maori cultural adviser)
Tui Atua’s definition of leadership being service follows the performance and behaviour notion of leadership. Leadership through service is a traditional Samoan concept (Ngan-Woo, 1985:35). Traditionally, this implies that Samoans have to serve their matai and family before they can become a matai themselves. Service requires a person to perform duties for the matai and requires certain behaviours such as discipline and respect. The other principle of Samoan leadership alluded to by Tui Atua is ‘tōfā saili’, the search for meaning. Although the search for meaning may not involve the performance of a physical act as such, it does involve contemplative action that is of an abstract nature. This is therefore a type of performance and behaviour based leadership.

On the other hand, when one renders service to his or her family, the family recognises such behaviour as being ‘leadership’. This acknowledgement is a form of subjective orientation. Similarly when an individual behaves in a manner befitting a chief, they are often described as being ‘fa’atamāli’i’ – ‘like a chief’ or being gentlemanly. Tui Atua’s description of leadership therefore comply with the performance, behaviour and subjective orientation concepts of leadership.

According to Tu’ivakanō

\begin{quote}
Leadership is recognised through the constitution. There were originally 20 nobles based on the 1875 constitution. Some of the lower ranked chiefly titles were given noble status by Queen Salote.

Leadership also depends on who you are. When you look at the titles, although there are chiefs, there are also higher chiefs. This depends on your title and your ha’a. For example the Tu’ivakanō belongs to the Ha’a Havea clan which is very strong and they are one of the dominant clans in society, and so with that, it is one of the things that makes you stand out as a chief. It’s about your connections.

To be good leader, you have to be honest with your people. You should set a good example for your people and you have to work well with them. You have to show that you associate with them. If things happen in the village, attend it, funerals etc. In that way you get the respect of your people. Make sure you show your face all the time whether it is a small occasion or a big one. Regularly attending your fono is also very important because if there are any problems you deal with it in the fono. If you associate with your people all the time, you will get your people’s support.
\end{quote}
Tu’ivakanō’s definition of leadership follows the position concept. The position concept in this case focuses on the office of noble as the leadership position. It is an inherited position and therefore identifies Tonga as being a stratified society. Such description is consistent with Sahlins’ theory of social stratification (Sahlins, 1958:22). Tu’ivakanō also refers to connections with clans as an indication of leadership. This suggests that Tongan leadership can also be determined through subjective orientation. What is illustrates is that one’s leadership position or influence can sometimes be defined not by what one possesses, but by who one is associated or connected with. As Tu’ivakanō has alluded to, one who is necessarily without any personal qualification of leadership, can bolster their influence through the clans or hau they can claim connections with.

Tu’ivakanō however makes a distinction between ‘leadership’ and ‘good leadership’. He identifies a good leader as a person who is honest with his people and who sets a good example. This implies that good leadership requires interaction between the noble and his people. If a noble has to interact with his people in order for them to acknowledge him as a good leader, this indicates that performance and behaviour, as well as subjective orientation contribute to the determination of Tongan leadership. It also suggests that subjective-orientation not only identifies an individual as a leader, it also identifies an individual who is already regarded a leader as a more effective one. It enhances the individual’s leadership qualities.

Tu’ivakano’s distinction between leadership and good leadership make a lot of sense. In Tonga, the eldest son inherits the noble title from his father. When a son inherits his father’s noble title, he immediately inherits the leadership mantle. However, there is no guarantee that he will be a good and effective leader. Performance and subjective orientation allows the new noble to prove his worth, and gives the people a chance to acknowledge him as a good leader.

According to Pa Ariki

*Leadership is about looking after your people and watching out for them. It is about caring for their future, about looking at what needs to be fixed or needs to be protected. Take for instance our language, our Cook Island language. As a leader, I feel it is my responsibility to do something to preserve the language or else it would be lost to future generations, we*
Pa Ariki defines leadership as acts of guardianship and protection. Leadership is the protection of her people as well as intangibles such as the language. It is about protecting important aspects of culture for future generations of Cook Islanders to enjoy. Like Tui Atua and Tu’ivakanō, her view of leadership involves actions and is therefore position based. Like Tu’ivakanō, Pa Ariki believes that leadership is foremost the looking after your people and getting along with them. This would suggest that acknowledgement of leadership within the Cook Islands can also be determined along the subjective orientation lines.

According to Ratu Joni:

*What makes a good leader is someone who reflects a number of traits. He or she can be firm when required, and decisive, but at the same time is consultative. They have all these different strengths, who can be kind and compassionate, as well as hardnosed when required. I think a leader necessarily has to have an amalgam of qualities in varying proportion. I suppose their effectiveness is their ability to unite the community and provide cohesion as well as stability. Part of that is building consensus which isn’t as easy as it sounds.*

*I think that the decision of leadership is with the people rather than the chiefs now because they have choices and they are not compelled to perform their traditional obligations, and they are not compelled to follow or give respect to a chief. It comes from here (points to heart). So I continue what I feel is my role as a chief and I’ll see if that is acceptable to them. If it is not, then it’s up to them and me to find another model if they still want to retain the system. But I think the fact that I’m well educated by Western standards means that I am, suppose more relaxed about it than other chiefs might be. But I always take the view that you can’t compel respect or loyalty etc. People decide whether they want to give you loyalty. On that basis, it’s something that you perform a role, and people decide whether it’s something they want to acknowledge or not.*

Ratu Joni defines a leader as someone who has an amalgam of qualities in varying proportions, who is compassionate as well as hardnosed when required. This interpretation of leadership suggests that it is of a subjective nature, as it requires the acknowledgment that an individual possesses specific qualities. Like Tui Atua, Ratu Joni believes that one is a leader if people acknowledge him or her as one, confirming the subjective nature of his leadership view. The other important principle of leadership for Ratu Joni is the ability to unite the
community and provide cohesion and stability. Like the other Chiefs, Ratu Joni links leadership to association with people. Good leadership is the ability to connect with the people.

According to Sir Tumu

*Leadership is about the protection of tradition. I think first and foremost, that is something that I’ve always believed is important in terms of moving forward. The other thing is about moving forward in a way that makes a difference. At times I believe traditional leadership can be adjusted to meet the needs of the day, so we begin perhaps with the traditional leadership and we end up with something new. Leadership is something that changes, that gives us a basis for having our discussions, but the final analysis is the benefits that could accrue or the benefits that might be lost if we maintain tradition in the way that it is and it’s the results that will determine how much we confine ourselves to traditional leadership.*

Sir Tumu views leadership as protection of tradition, a view shared by Pa Ariki. Similarities do not stop there. Both Aotearoa and the Cook Islands belong to the Eastern Polynesian region and at one point, the Maori people were under threat of losing their language hence the formation of Kohanga Reo preschools in 1981. The Department of Maori Affairs set up Kohanga Reo in response to Maori concern to ensuring the continuing survival of the Maori language. Pa Ariki believes that the Cook Island language is currently under threat of becoming lost.

Although leadership views varied from chief to chief, there were some significant commonalities. By definition, all their views were predominantly performance and behaviour-based, as well as being strongly subjective in nature. There was a strong emphasis by all the Chiefs for the need to associate with their people, and a common agreement that leadership is the acknowledgement of leadership by the people they serve. Ultimately, the decision of who is a leader is one that the people will make themselves. Polynesia has long associated leadership with chiefs, and although that is still very much the case today, it seems that there is a growing acknowledgement that other characteristics of leadership are becoming equally, if not, more and more important and desirable, namely personal performance and behaviour. Ratu Joni sums up the thoughts of most of the Chiefs on leadership.

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27 Obtained from www.kohanga.ac.nz
I suppose the idea about leadership being for the greater good, reciprocity, mutual respect, esteem, compassion, acting together are fairly common. I suppose the uniqueness is context, but I think the broad principles are fairly similar. One reflection of that is the fact that if you go to other islands e.g. Tonga or Samoa – places that I have been to - the way the system works resonates. It’s not something that you have to educate yourself on. I mean you see it, and you know. You have an understanding of how the system works. That people have different roles but the ultimate consideration is the good of the community or the village or the clan. People follow you because of what you have, but it is also what people perceive that you have that makes them follow you (Ratu Joni)

2.0 Leadership and Society

According to Sahlins and Goldman, indigenous societies fall into one of two categories, ‘open’ or ‘stratified’

Open – seniority has been modified to allow military and political effectiveness to govern status and political control. The Open system is more strongly military and political than religious, and stability in it must be maintained more directly by the exercise of secular powers.

Stratified – is characterised by clear cut breaks in status that are far-reaching in their impact upon everyday life. In the Stratified system, status differences are economic and political. High ranks hold the rule and possess the land titles; the commoners are subjects and are landless (Goldman, 1970:20)

Goldman also suggests that a third category exists, the ‘traditional’.

Traditional – seniority is central. As the source of mana and sanctity, senior descent establishes rank and allocates authority and power in an orderly manner. The Traditional is essentially a religious system headed by a sacred chief and given stability by a religiously sanctioned gradation of worth (ibid).

The distinction between the two categories is not clear-cut. Polynesian groups do not fit completely and comfortably into one or the other. Polynesian societies are neither, completely open or stratified, but rather a combination of both with varying degrees. Based on the above, a society is classed as being more stratified if high rank bestows greater prerogatives in economic, social, political, and ceremonial activities (Sahlins, 1958:2). Given that Polynesian chiefly status has historically advantaged holders of titles socially,
economically and ceremonially, it would be fair to say that Polynesia is predominantly stratified in nature. This is further supported by Sahlins (1958).

With the exception of warfare, Polynesian chiefly systems have by and large operated on an ascribed system of succession where chiefly titles passed down from fathers to sons/daughters. This concept of leadership therefore conflicts with the performance and behaviour concept discussed earlier. Ascription on the other hand can be viewed as a form of position based leadership, for in this case, the focus is on the family or bloodline that position belongs to, and not the individual’s qualities. The individual’s personal qualifications have no bearing on their succeeding to the position of leadership or not. It has been predetermined through birth. On the contrary, achieved leadership shifts the focus away from the position and onto the individual. In this case, the individual’s personal qualities become more important than the position itself. Rather than an individual moving to occupy a position (as in ascription), in achievement, the position moves to possess the individual.

Given that chiefly leadership generally resides within a stratified society, and chiefly succession is generally through ascription, it would be a fair assumption that ascription is more associated with a stratified society. On the other hand, an open society is one where anyone can aspire to leadership irrespective of rank, status, gender, age etc. The egalitarian nature of this type of society recognises individuals through their achievements, making it a significant character of this type of society.

According to Max Weber, as cited in (Katene, 2010) the theoretical model of leadership tells the story of charismatic leaders and heroes that transformed and changed the world until they were ousted or succeeded by bureaucratic or traditional leadership, suggesting that achieved status was the norm.

The three types are bureaucratic (transactional), traditional (feudal/prince) and charismatic/hero (transformer). The first type – bureaucratic – is about having the legal authority or a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those with authority under such rules to issue commands. The traditional type is based on the belief in the sanctity of traditional authority, and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. The charismatic/hero type rests on devotion to the exceptional heroism or exemplary character of an individual person. Trait leadership studies were based on the observed and inferred characteristics (Katene, 2010:1).
Despite the slight differences between the Sahlins, Goldman and Weber theories, they all differentiate between ascribed and achieved forms of leadership.

The Chiefs were asked to comment on whether they believed the power of the chief was largely influenced by the title itself, or the personal achievements of the holder. Matua Collin on behalf of Sir Tumu agrees that there is power in a name.

*You hear the name and there is a mana attached to it, but then there is a mauri that sits behind that name.*

Ratu Joni and Tu’ivakanō believe that both have value, but ultimately one’s achievement enhances one’s title.

*I think both observations are correct because again, a title is something that confers authority and status over people. It formalises that status and authority. But unless that person performs, unless he or she is able to provide good leadership, then the title itself in a sense is devalued. For example a senior title, its authority depends also on the holder. If the holder is unimpressive in his or her performance, then that also reflects on the title. It diminishes the title, whereas also, vice versa, if the holder is able to achieve great things, then that also enhances the title. And I think, given modern trends, the balance is shifting in terms of achievement, that one’s achievements have a greater bearing on how a title will be perceived or respected. It becomes more and more important as people place more value on merit and achievement” (Ratu Joni)*

*In the old days, I guess it was more related to the names and titles, but in today’s world, there has to be something that goes with it because times have changed. Although there is a constitution that says every man is the same however the Tongans still have respect for the chiefs because they all are directly related to a chief. I guess your overall leadership can be complemented by having both. It is a blessing if you have both. I mean you have your title and this alone opens a lot of doors for you e.g. with tradition, the land, your kainga will support you, but also with an education and academic background or with a successful business background, these will add to your leadership qualities. Because you are a leader by your title they will look up to you even more if you are a successful business man or an academic or a doctor etc (Tu’ivakanō).*

Pa Ariki believes that one’s personal qualities are more important to being a leader and she identifies two people who lead through their actions and qualities.
I think personal quality of a person is important. That way they will respect you as a leader. I mean a title is just a title. When I look at my mum, she was a good chief. She was respected, not only because she was the ariki but also because she was good to her people. I also regarded Te Arikinui as a mentor, and like mum, she was respected not because she was the Maori queen, but more because she cared for her people. So yes the qualities of the person are more important (Pa Ariki).

Tui Atua does not believe that the title determines leadership more than the person’s own qualities. He adds that titles can sometimes be flaunted when a person lacks true leadership.

No I don’t believe that. This is the problem of some people, when they are lost in the current environment they tend to try and flaunt their family’s name, history and genealogy as justification for their lack of leadership. It will not hold. If they are true leaders they’ll accept that the reason why they have an eminent title is because his predecessors were natural leader, they fronted up, they served, and if he can’t deliver that kind of service in this due context, then he’s lost, because the very things that prop up a title are not there (Tui Atua)

Asked whether a chiefly title determines his authority to lead, Tui Atua disagreed. Based on his definition of leadership, he believes that chiefly leadership is determined by one’s actions and therefore anyone displaying the actions of a leader, is a leader. This suggests that Samoa is an open society and accommodates achieved status (Goldman, 1970:244). Matua Colin on the hand believes that the name itself can be a source of leadership, however there is the mauri or the spirit that sits behind the name. Despite the open nature of Aotearoa, his response may be specifically about Ngati Tuwharetoa, where the Te Heuheu name has been synonymous with the line of the Arikinui for the last two centuries. The Te Heuheu Tukino title has passed down from father to son over the past eight generations. This would suggest that Ngati Tuwharetoa is a stratified society, however Sir Tumu confirms that selection to the ariki is not automatic and that it is a decision made collectively by the leaders and the kaumatua of Ngati Tuwharetoa. It just happens that it has stayed in the Te Heuheu line. Despite a history of father to son succession to the Ariki position over the last eight generations, the fact that the recent appointment of Sir Tumu by the council of kaumatua suggests that there is also an ‘open’ nature to the Ngati Tuwharetoa Arikitanga.

Pa Ariki’s and Tu’ivakanō both believe that an important quality of a leader is to be good to their people. If they treat their people with kindness they will be respected in return. Despite
being traditionally classified as stratified, their seems to be a trend moving towards a society
that is open in nature and based on leadership that is obtained through the acceptance of the
people, a society that is becoming more subjective.

Both Ratu Joni and Tu’ivakanō’s responses acknowledge that the title is a badge of
leadership and that is consistent with the stratified nature of Fiji and Tonga. Regardless, they
both acknowledge that personal performance and achievement is equally important as it both
complements and enhances the title. Both agree that the balance is shifting more to
achievement having a greater bearing on how a title is perceived. Despite their traditionally
hierarchical societies, Tonga and Fiji seem to be moving towards becoming a more open
society. Finally, Tui Atua offers up an explanation that those who feel the need to flaunt their
titles do so as a justification for their lack of leadership and that this will not hold.

3.0 Principles of Polynesian Status

According to the New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, ‘status’ is a designation of
position in social structure; however, in a Polynesian context status takes on a little more than
just an indication of position. To speak of Polynesian chiefs is to speak of status. Historically
the chief has occupied the highest position in the Polynesian status. According to Goldman:

(a status system is a system of principles that define worth and more
specifically honour, that establish the scales of personal and group value,
that relate position or role to privileges and obligations, that allocate
respects, and that codify respect behaviour (Goldman, 1970:7).

Goldman also identifies three important characteristic of Polynesian status as being mana,
tapu and status rivalry

**Mana - Power**

Indigenous and non- indigenous historians have recorded the ideal that chiefly lineages draw
their authority from their divine descent, and are imbued with sacred powers or mana
(Sahlins, 1958:9; 2000b:82). The Polynesian conception of chiefs as the sources of divine
authority and power established them as of standards and of custom – as the ariki, the
aristocracy (Goldman, 1970:4; Tcherkezoff, 2004:135). According to Ratu Joni mana is still very much associated with chiefs today:

*Mana is the chief’s authority, but it’s more than that. It’s the projection of chieffiness, in a way that provides cohesion to a community, and also enables it to function properly.*

Loosely translated, mana in most island groups is defined as power (Andrews, 1974:382; Buse, 1995:219; Capell, 1968:135; Churchward, 1959:329; Ryan, 2008:156; "Tokelau Dictionary," 1986:216). According to Goldman, mana is by and large, an inherited quality in Polynesia (1970:11). Those who are in the line of succession inherit mana and the right of office together. Generally speaking, this does not mean that without mana there is no status, for there are other forms of prestige, worth, and personal effectiveness that do not depend upon mana, however in the case of chiefly status and authority, mana is indeed a prerequisite. Codrington (as cited in Allen) writes of mana as being:

*A power or influence, not physical and in a way supernatural, but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This mana is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it, and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone or a bone (Allen, 2000:19)*

**Sources of mana**

*Mana* has often been linked to the chiefly class as well as the powers of the gods (Shore, 1989:139). The chiefs held mana, power that flowed through the individuals and demonstrated divine essence (Earle, 1997:45) The chiefs were believed to be directly descended from the gods, and were therefore their earthly representative. They were the means by which supernatural efficacy and mana was conveyed to the society at large. In return the chief was the mediator, receiving and transmitting the offerings of the people to the ancestral and tribal deities (Kirch, 1984:37). It is mana that sets all Polynesian chiefs apart from commoners (ibid:38). Tui Atua agrees with the notion that mana is connected to the gods.
Well mana is always associated with god, god’s power, god’s grace, god’s love; and when man demonstrates through his thinking and his behaviour these attributes of God, then he has mana because people defer to what he says, not only because he’s talking wisdom, but because he lives it and this is mana.

Pa Ariki speaks of God’s mana still being very much part of her role as an ariki in the present day.

*I have been an ariki for 24 years and I’ve seen a lot of things happening. I suppose you also have Gods mana behind you, and is there supporting you all the way*

**Transmission of mana**

Through genealogies and lineages, illustrious ancestors were able to transmit the full charge of their mana down to their descendants.

*For me, the source of the mana is the chief but it’s not only the chief. He or she is not only a person who exists in this moment but he or she has these lineages and these bloodlines and this accumulated lore that has been passed down through them that gives this (mana) to a person (Ratu Joni)*

*Mana* moved most powerfully down the senior lines. The junior lines received only the weaker impulses, and therefore less honour, eventually distacing authentic the members of this junior line further and further away from more powerful lines of leadership and authority succession (Goldman, 1970:418). Williamson (as cited in Shore) explains the inherited nature of this power:

*If I am right... what the father breathed into or transmitted to his son who was to succeed him was divine power, given to him by the gods, this being done to qualify the son for holding of the family name or title. If this was so, we are getting very near to the idea that the general sanctity of say, a chief, passed to his successor; and seeing that the god could, if he liked, withhold this sanctity from the person who had been recognized as the successor... we reach the point that divine sanction was necessary for the selection of a successor, not only for transmitting to him sanctity, but for endowing him with mana; if the god had not “taken up his abode” in the presumed successor, and had not endowed him with the mana, someone else would have to be chosen in and for whom the god was believed to have done so (Shore, 1989:140).*
A chief on the other hand was able to build on or even increase the power and strength of his inherited *mana*. Additional *mana* was attainable through his actions and achievements. Since *mana* was manifest in prowess, power, and especially in an ability to challenge the established order and succeed, it could also be demonstrated in practical action. A chief who was also an accomplished warrior would have greatly enhanced status, for his *mana* would be unquestioned (Kirch, 1984:196).

In the eyes of the people the test of a chief’s success in the performance of his ritual duties was not the manner in which he conducted them but what they regarded as the material consequences. Abundant crops, shoals of fish, rain or fine weather when desired, were regarded as the concrete evidence of the chief’s manu (*mana*) (Firth, 1970:46).

Another popular way to extend one’s *mana* was to establish one’s own affiliation honourably to an honourable descent line so as to authenticate their *mana* and hence their authority. The other is to affiliate to himself people who will contribute to their power (Goldman, 1970:425). This could be done through the intermarrying of highly ranked genealogical lines of decent. The gaining of *mana* through an act such as marriage illustrates that the source of a person’s *mana* is not only from within, but can also be from external sources. This is highlighted by the idea that a chief’s *mana* is also a reflection of his people.

> You might be the great chief in whatever it is but at the end of the day your *mana*, your status will depend very largely on the love and loyalty of your people and if you don’t have that, or if it’s dicey then it’s very difficult for you to sell yourself. *Mana* is the respect that people have for people who they believe identifies or impresses through the way they live, and what they say (Tui Atua)

> ‘Mauri’ is a word that may best reflect *mana*. Mauri is the inner strength of a person. That provides the respect and admiration of the people that that person is surrounded by (Collin)

### Levels of *mana*

According to Goldman, there is an actual distinction between the maximum *mana* distinguishing persons of the highest sanctity from persons of lesser *mana* and lesser sanctity. The effect of this polarity is to create two avenues of status, one a fully ideal status moving along strictly sacred lines and strongly separated by *mana*, and the other a less ideal status
and capable of moving along a variety of lines, but differentiated from that of the fully sacred (Goldman, 1970:12). This point is reflected by some of the Chiefs.

*There is ariki mana within the tribe and within the realm of the ariki. There is still mana there. It depends who you are and what you are and whether you like the ariki system. You’ll find that there is always respect there for you (Pa Ariki).*

*One of our kaumatua talks about mana atua and mana whaka ariki. The mana ariki is of that chiefly level and that is the mana Tumu has and it comes with the history and the whakapapa. The Rangatira is a different perception of leadership. People for example who are tohunga rangatiratanga have a specific knowledge whether it is karakia, whether it is waiata, whether it is haka. They have that rangatiratanga essence of their being which is different to the mana ariki (Collin).*

*Mana* is by no means confined only to the chiefs. Overtime the common man was able to possess *mana*. Like the great chief in his domain, the father in his own house is regarded a sacred figure. Within his own family, he is a man of superior *mana* and his possessions, even his food, guarded by *tabus* against defilement by lesser familial kinsmen (Kirch, 1984:34). In some island groups, *mana* is a property that all men possess though in varying degrees. *Mana* refers to inherent power that enables an individual to carry out routine tasks in a successful manner (Allen, 2000:20)

Just as the chiefs can further increase their *mana* through performance, so could the common man.

Because mana’s presence is manifested through performance, it can also be observed to reside in or be channelled through individuals who are not necessarily the most senior. Individuals who are successful in their endeavours – such as those who are particularly skilled in, for instance, farming, fishing, combat, or healing or adept in the use of esoteric knowledge – are thought likely to possess mana (Petersen, 2009:170)

The notion that *mana* is not only restricted to the chiefly ranks is supported by Ratu Joni and Tui Atua.

*I like to think that mana is not confined to the chiefs, but I think that the concept of mana itself is something that people of non-chiefly rank can achieve (Ratu Joni)*
People are always looking for those with mana, true man, and they made allowances for that, because in order to survive, you needed good thinking, you needed good leadership (Tui Atua)

Pa Ariki speaks of her step father, the late Sir Tom Davis, as someone who had great mana yet was not of chiefly lineage.

Papa Tom had mana in voyaging and mana in leading the people as a Prime Minister. I suppose being a doctor and a person who knew his history, he was really a person with mana (Pa Ariki)

**Achieved mana**

As alluded to above, mana is not only confined to the chiefs and those of chiefly lineage. Some believe that being a chief or a member of a chiefly lineage does not guarantee one possess mana.

*Mana is not because you hold a high matai title, mana is something that is hard to put your finger on, because in the end it is something that people sense instinctively, that here is true leadership, and we have to accept and defer to it (Tui Atua)*

Just as common people have to earn mana through their achievements, chiefs too are required to earn mana. The Chiefs do not believe that their paramount chiefly titles automatically qualify them to having mana. Tui Atua makes a direct link with mana and achievement. No one is born with mana. It is earned through ones actions.

*Mana is because of achievement, because of the inner quality of the man and how he portrays it in what he says and what he thinks and how these are perceived by other people, particularly his constituent (Tui Atua).*

Similarly, Tu’ivakanō believes that modern day chiefs can no longer rest on their chiefly status, and are just as reliant on their achievements to support their status.

*I think things have changed. In the old days, mana was more related to the names and titles, but in today’s world, there has to be something that goes with it because times have changed, for example have an academic background, or have something that people can relate to and therefore will respect. You have to be more educated and that is one of the ‘statuses’ now (Tu’ivakanō)*
The Chiefs acknowledge that *mana* is still a very important aspect of being a chief as well as it being the projection of what it means to be a chief. It is what others see in one and not what one sees in oneself. It is a chief’s *mana* that determines the love and loyalty that his people have for him. Although *mana* is part of chiefly status, it is not theirs exclusively. Tui Atua and Pa Arik refer to god as the source of *mana*. It is the power, the love and the grace of god, and if a man displays the same love and grace, then they too possess *mana*. God’s *mana* is what is behind you supporting you all the way.

Ratu Joni believes that the chief is also a source of *mana*, and the *mana* passes down through the lineage. This is consistent with Goldman’s theory that *mana* moves up and down the senior male line. However, the Chiefs agree that *mana* does not rest with chiefs alone. There are varying levels of *mana*. Matua Colin believes there is *mana* of the gods, and there is *mana* of the *ariki*. Ratu Joni believes that *mana* itself is something that non-chiefly people can and do achieve. Tui Atua remarks that society has always made allowances for people with true *mana* because in order for society to survive, it needs good leadership.

Tui Atua also believes that *mana* comes from behaviour. *Mana* is something that people sense instinctively, that there is true leadership, and they have to accept and defer to it. It is similar to the subjective orientation view of leadership. Tui Atua believes that the perception that someone has *mana* comes from other people and not something that a person identifies with oneself. Although there is historical *mana* attached to a title, a holder has the ability to increase that *mana* through achievement.

*Tama’āiga losing mana is not because of people changing things, but it is also because of how they behave themselves. They create these things...if you break tapu, then theres no tapu at all (Tui Atua)*

**Tapu - Sacredness**

In Polynesia, the sacred *(tapu)* chief is the vessel through which supernatural efficacy *(mana)* flows from the deities to the people at large (Kirch, 1991:130). This implies that *tapu* and *mana* are connected. To speak of *mana* in Polynesia is always to imply *tapu*. *Mana* is, so to speak, the kinetic quality of religious force; *tapu* is its potential (Goldman, 1970:11). The *tapu* of the chief enabled him to carry out certain functions of a ritual nature, and his *mana*
gave validity and power to all his utterances, the contacts he made and the roles he performed (Winiata, 1967:31) The elite who are blessed with mana are also tapu.

*Tapu* confirms upon the chief religious authority. The Polynesian conception of chiefs as the sources of divine authority and power established them as the overseers of standards and of custom (Goldman, 1970:4; Tcherkezoff, 2004:135). Divinity, mana, and tapu are therefore all core aspects of Polynesian leadership and authority.

*Tapu* was not only confined to the being of the chief himself but also applied to his possessions. Lockwood writes:

> The laws of tapu prevent men from approaching men working on a sacred canoe or builders of a chieftain’s marae they were strictly tapu….the crops of taro and breadfruit were tapu and must not be touched. They were delicacies reserved for the chief. The turtle, the cavally, the chest and fillet of the hog, the first fruits of the land are all tapu and must not be eaten (1971:2)

In terms of chiefs being sacred and *tapu*, the Chiefs collectively agree that the sacredness associated with chiefs is something of the past and of another time. They agree that there are elements of sacredness in what they have to do, but in terms of being a sacred body, that is no longer the case.

*The whole concept of leadership in Samoan traditional context is that we are children of God. The traditional leaders received their mandate from God, and in that sense, they are tapu. Their status and their function is tapu. The roles of matai in many ways, there functions are quite sacred; so that the performance and the status, there is a certain sacredness about that. the tōfā mamo, and the fautaga loloto, things which you seek from god; they are sacred in that sense, but there are gradings of sacredness, for instance, I think the role of tulafale exercising authority, that is a more a secular thing. The intervention of ali’, o le fa’aolasala that has more spiritual connotations (Tui Atua)*

*The wairua side is for the modern generation, and we’re part of that. The tapu side is a challenge because we are human and basically we are all the same. For anyone to reflect the idea of ‘tapu-ness’ I think is a gift…but then having said that, it shouldn’t be something we push to one side and say it’s impossible to achieve. If I think about our old people, despite all the things of the world they were normal people. They reacted and responded to normal thing, but at the same time, there was an inner strength within them that*
actually helped them to take the step forward. I think that strength was really the wairua side and the spiritual side (Sir Tumu)

I think the idea of being sacred probably belongs to another time. Given the impact of globalisation, modernisation, modern technology, just the connections with the outside world itself has really compelled or imposed a more horizontal society. I think in the context of today, when you talk about sacred, I don’t think it applies in the sense that it once used to. I think the sacredness is gone, and I think it has been replaced by that symbolism I had been talking about, that we represent in human form the past because of who we are and I place it no higher than that (Ratu Joni)

For Tonga in the old days, the sacred one was only the Tu’i Tonga. The belief was that he came down from heaven and had all these chiefs. Today the faifekau (minister) is being respected. I think the respect is molumalu (sacred) (Tu’ivakanō)

Yes, the ariki once possessed that sacred power, but then it went to the missionaries. When Albert Henry became the premier, he created the House of Ariki. He believed that the ariki had lost that (sacredness) in the islands and he wanted to bring back that system and make the ariki strong again (Pa Ariki)

Although the Chiefs do not claim to be tapu or to project sacredness, they agree that the relationships between chiefs and people are sacred and have elements of sacredness. Tapu plays an important part in the daily lives of people.

The whole idea of curse, mala matuā, mala aulu’ua, the whole string of mala is founded on the principle of tapu, that when you do not serve your parents, or when you serve them badly, then you break the tapu, the tapu of their status, and the tapu of the relationship, the va tapuia. And the displeasure of the gods will come to you through incidents, through your fortunes (Tui Atua)

I think for us, it is a challenge, particularly when talking about enhancing our environment, enhancing our people, helping them to achieve the best from what they do. That is about maintaining a strong positive focus and I think tapu-ness is a part of that as well, where you can be committed or you can feel that you are actually making the right contributions and that is for the betterment of our people (Sir Tumu).

The Chiefs collectively agree that the chief as a sacred being is a belief that belongs in another time. If this is the case, Goldman’s theory that mana and tapu are intertwined, does not apply to today’s Polynesian society. Although the Chiefs all agree that their positions as
paramount chiefs have mana associated with it, it does not imply they are therefore also tapu. Although they do not regard themselves as being tapu, they agree that their functions as chiefs have certain elements of tapu in them. As Tui Atua explains; the tōfā māmao, and the fautaga loloto, the search for meaning that the chiefs seek, are from god, and therefore those elements are sacred. Sir Tumu speaks of wairua, a spiritual inner strength that people have, chiefly or non-chiefly. He points out that everyone has wairua therefore everyone has an element of spirituality within them. Tui Atua’s view is similar to Sir Tumu’s in that sacredness or tapu is all around people, be they chiefly or not. Tapu is present in a lot of what happens in the modern world.

Ratu Joni suggests with the world becoming more global and modern, sacredness has taken on a new meaning. Rather than being sacred chiefs, they have become more like symbols of what it means to be sacred. They are symbols of the chiefly past. This is similar to Tui Atua’s point that although they as chiefs are not tapu, their functions are. According to Tu’ivakanō, the only ever person to be regarded as sacred was the Tu’i Tonga who was believed to have been directly descended from the gods. It is of interest that he did not mention or acknowledge the king as being sacred. He believes that the sacred power is now with the faifekau or minsters.

**Status Lineage (male primogeniture)**

Another important component of status is ‘status lineage’. Being a member of a status lineage is also an important marker of status and authority. Regardless of personal achievement, descent remained the main source of status. Most often than not, the senior line passed down through the older male, and succession was usually from father to eldest son (Sahlins, 1958:141)

Supreme status, then in Polynesia would be ideally defined as endowment with the greatest amount of mana by virtue of seniority of descent from a line of males and the demonstration of mana by skills and valour (Goldman, 1970:16)

The junior lines received only the weaker impulses, and therefore less honour, eventually distancing the members of this junior line further and further away from the more powerful lines of leadership and authority (ibid:418). This genealogical ranking is another distinctive
feature of Polynesian authority i.e. members of the same descent unit are ranked by
genealogical distance from the common ancestor (Sahlins, 2000b:74). According to
Goldman;

Rules of descent establish two different but related orders. One is by
tradition basically religious, the other is pre-eminently social. The
religious order is represented by a particular descent line, as a matter of
course the descent line of a chief. The social order is represented by the
actual association of kinsmen to the religious line. While the religious
order of the descent line concerns itself with the past, with founding
ancestors, with their chain of mana, and with the catalogue of ancestral
honour, the social order is concerned with the present honours and their
rewards. The two orders are totally independent, because a descent line
without its active kin group is like a religion without a congregation. The
descent line is the vital centre of the kin group, and the kin group gives
concrete substance to the promise of the descent line (1970:420).

Therefore Aginsky and Hiroa state that from this the chiefs have two
considerations. One is to establish their own affiliation honourably to an
honourable descent line so as to authenticate their mana and hence their
authority. The other is to affiliate to themselves people who will contribute
to their power (as cited in Goldman 1970).

A chief itself is powerless without a group of followers or a chiefdom from which he derives
his authority. According to Earle:

A chiefdom is rather loosely defined as a centralized polity that organizes a
regional population in the thousands and has some degree of heritable social

As a polity, it has an extensive pyramid of groups capped by the family and following of a
paramount chief (Sahlins, 2000a:73). Sub-groupings within chiefdoms play a very important
part as it determines one’s rank and position within it, making Polynesian chiefdoms
extremely hierarchical. These subgroups have been referred to by various names: clans,
conical clans (Kirch, 1984:31), status lineages (Goldman, 1970:425) and ramages (Firth,
1936:371), all meaning relatively the same thing. Society is a clan descended from a common
ancestor. The senior male in direct line of patrilineal succession from the group ancestor
claims the position of highest rank. It is from this line that the paramount chief descends. The
theory of rank is that the closer one is descended from the founding ancestor, the higher
ranked they are; the further one is descended the lower in rank they are.
According to Matua Collin, status lineage still plays an important part in identifying leaders. He relates this to Arikinui Sir Tumu that his leadership is born out of his *whakapapa*, his genealogical ties with his ancestors, for down the genealogy flow the *mana* that reaffirms his leadership.

*Traditional leadership is bound around whakapapa, is bound around mana of an individual who belongs to a whakapapa and so that whakapapa has created that leadership. However, in the case of Tumu’s role, today it’s my understanding that those two go hand in hand, having that support in terms of his mana as the ariki, and when I say ariki, I mean paramount chief of Tuwharetoa born out of the whakapapa that he has. But it’s actually applying that traditional leadership role in a modern context and I think that’s where Tumu is making that transition and reflecting a lot of that (Collin)*

Ratu Joni does not totally agree with the view that supreme status is traced through the senior male line and that male succession is more stable. There have been many instances in the history of Polynesia where women chiefs have ruled over successful and stable chiefdoms (Gunson, 1987:141). There are many instances in the past where a male’s rank has been based on the rank of his high ranking wife (ibid). Ratu Joni believes that in the current environment, there are other factors to take into account.

*I think it is probably fair to say that there are probably other factors that might account for it rather than just saying it is more stable if it’s with the male lines etc. you have to take into account other things like social changes within those societies, the context, and things like that (Ratu Joni)*

Goldman’s theory of the formation of a separate senior and junior line from a founding ancestor has been clearly illustrated in the history of the three ruling lines of Tonga. When the junior line of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua broke away from the Tu’i Tonga line, the senior became the religious and sacred line, and the junior became the secular/political one. At one point, the chiefs of other islands were assassinating the Tu’i Tonga chiefs. During the 15th century, Tu’i Tonga Ka’ulufonua I (24th Tu’i Tonga) created the Tu’i Ha’atakalau title for his younger brother Mo’ungamotu’a. After a while, the secular power belonged to the Tu’i Ha’atakalau line, and the Tu’i Tonga became the sacred one (Marcus, 1980:31). According to Tu’ivakanō, the older sons of nobles are encouraged to marry women of same social rank
whereas younger sons are usually allowed to marry whoever they wish. This type of practice supports Goldman’s theory of a chiefly line and a social one.

**Summary**

The chief is historically recognised as a figure of authority within Polynesia and according to literature it is a status that is predominantly hereditary. Contrary to what is stated in literature, the response from the Chiefs suggests that leadership is becoming more and more achieved than inherited. Asked whether inherited or achieved status is most important, the Chiefs were united in their views that today chiefly leadership is definitely performance based. This does not discount the fact that as chiefs, they are automatically afforded the status of a ‘leader’, but to them as individuals, achievement and personal qualities are much more important in this day and age.

Secondly, the ‘subjective orientation’ concept of leadership resonates with the Chiefs. They all believe that leadership through recognition of personal qualities is very important. Although subjective orientation applies mainly to identifying leadership in people who do not necessarily hold positions of leadership, the Chiefs believe that the concept very much applies to them too. In fact they commonly associate ‘good’ and ‘effective’ leadership with associating with their people. If they associate with their people, they will be respected and more importantly acknowledged as leaders by the people who matter the most. This is where subjective orientation complements their leadership positions. They also agree that personal achievement on top of an inherited chiefly title can enhance even more, the authority and the status of the titles.

In terms of achieved versus ascribed status, there is a general consensus that the two conflicting concepts are still very much played out today. Although literature describes certain island groups as being predominantly ascribed in nature, the responses of the Chiefs suggest otherwise. Both Tu’ivakanō and Ratu Joni acknowledge that their positions are a right of leadership initially inherited from their respective fathers, however they both emphasize that personal achievement is equally important in upholding the mana and the status of their chiefly titles. The individual’s achievements and attributes both uphold and enhance the authority of their titles. Given that a stratified society is defined as a society
where inherited rank and status provides advantages to individuals of rank, all five of the case-study islands by definition should be highly stratified. However, based on the opinions of the Chiefs, these societies seem to be more open and therefore more accepting of achievements as measures of status. Tui Atua reaffirms this in his belief that leadership is about ‘service’. Likewise, Pa Ariki agrees that leadership revolves around the achievements and qualities of an individual. This would imply that despite what literature says, Polynesian societies are becoming more open and achieved in nature.

The Chiefs generally agree that mana is still a very important aspect of being a chief. Mana is also the projection of what it means to be a chief. It is what people see in you and not what you see in yourself. Again this illustrates an example of subjective orientation which they believe is an important way of identifying true leadership. Although they as chiefs are projected as people with mana, some believe that the mana is not theirs. According to literature, mana was passed down through chiefly lineages. Along similar lines, Ratu Joni believes that the chief is the source of mana. However, Tui Atua and Pa Ariki believe that mana is possession of god, and it is through god that people are given mana. Various literatures support both theories. What could be a more logical answer is in the response from Matua Colin, in that there are two types of mana, mana atua (from the gods), and mana ariki (from the chiefs). This would suggest that like rank and status, mana also exists at various levels. To complicate matters further, Tui Atua adds that mana can also come from ordinary people. This he refers to as ‘true mana’, and society has always made allowances for such people. Mana like leadership is subjective and according to Tui Atua, if someone is perceived as having true mana, people have to accept it and defer to it. Although literature does not often associate mana with the common man, the belief that mana is subjective therefore implies that mana is also something common man can achieve. Mana is not theirs [chiefs] alone. Just as common man can obtain mana through his achievements, the chiefs too can increase their chiefly mana further through their own achievements.

Although literature suggests mana and tapu are intertwined, that one exists with the other, the majority of the Chiefs suggest that it may have been the case in the past, but it is not the case today. All agree that they as chiefs no longer possess the sacredness that their predecessors may have had. That sacredness is now in the possession of the religious ministers. Regardless of not being sacred, some Chiefs agree that some of their duties and functions have a sense of sacredness about them. The closest to possessing tapu is what Sir Tumu describes as wairua,
an inner spiritual strength that Maori believe in and that everybody has, therefore it is something that is not confined to the chiefs only.

Finally the Chiefs agree that being part of a status lineage is still an integral part of maintaining chiefly status. This is evident in the Maori culture where an ariki’s credentials are based largely on his whakapapa. Although this may have been the case when the chiefs were predominantly the rulers and leaders of society, in a world that is becoming more focused on achievement, the status lineage rules have now been blurred to the point where it does not matter which line of ancestors, senior or junior, one descend from, succession has become a fair playing field with leadership positions being occupied by individuals identified as being the best suited for the role. The old rules do not seem to apply as much today as they did in the past. The one exception is Tonga which has entrenched in its national constitution the law of succession based of male primogeniture. However, as Tu’ivakanō alluded to, although the law defines who a leader is, it does not guarantee that one will be a ‘good’ leaders. Good leadership is something that is achieved through hard work and through connecting with the people.
CHAPTER 2
Current Understandings of the Polynesian Chief

The purpose of this chapter is to provide current understandings of the Polynesian chief. Through the use of relatively current literature\textsuperscript{28}, it provides a literary description of what the current Polynesian chief is, as well as providing a setting in which these current chiefs reside in. The first part focuses on the characteristics and identities of chiefs and their respective chiefly systems. It discusses each of the five selected chiefly systems; the \textit{ariki} of Aotearoa and Cook Islands; the \textit{eiki} of Tonga; the \textit{turaga} of Fiji and the \textit{matai} of Samoa. Following this are insights by the Chiefs on what they see as their role as chief is in their present day society. Their knowledge and personal insight supplements the general information on chiefs which has been sourced from the varying sources of literature.

The second part looks at chiefly classes. Although chiefs are generally regarded as occupying the highest of levels within society, there is also a pecking order of rank amongst them. A brief history of the evolution of the \textit{ariki or ali’i} class is discussed, as well as looking at how relationships between chiefs of varying ranks are played out within their respective island groups.

The last part discusses the notions of chiefly authority, specifically paramount authority and history authenticated authority. History seems to suggest that the larger the chiefdom or the wider the chief’s authority extends the more paramount and important he is. Similarly, the more history identifies and authenticates one’s status, the more paramount one is presumed to be.

\textsuperscript{28} In this context, “relatively current” refers to literature within the last forty years. Most of the Polynesian groups have only been independent or self-governing for roughly the last forty years therefore I have used this timeframe to represent the “current” period in Pacific.
1.0 The Polynesian chief

What is a chief? More specifically, what is a ‘Polynesian chief’? Sahlins presents a rather exalted description of a Polynesian chief:

The great chiefs and aristocrats of Polynesia have been historically portrayed as peoples whose every public action is a display of the refinements of breeding, in his manner always that noblesse oblige of true pedigree and an incontestable right to rule. With his standing not so much a personal achievement as a just social due, he can afford to be, and he is, every inch a chief.

Goldman adds:

Rulers, chiefs, and distinguished persons generally differ from the common people in the fundamental sense that they are believed to have been selected and endowed with a special quality of the highest worth. They form a true elite (Goldman, 1970:11).

Such sentiments are echoed by early explorers in their accounts of their first encounters of Polynesian chiefs. Charles Wilkes writes of Taufa’ahau in 1840;

When he made his appearance, I could not but admire him; he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned, and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face (Latukefu, 1970:58).

Similarly in a first time meeting between Europeans and Maori, Captain Cook himself made an observation of an ariki he encountered:

With this reassurance a tall, well built, middle-aged man, whom they described as an ‘Earee or Chief’ was persuaded to come on board. This man carried a whale bone patu and wore a new, closely woven cloak edged with dog skin, while his facial tattoo was the most complete and deeply engraved the Europeans had ever seen (Salmond, 1991:144)

While in Samoa during the 1890s American historian, Henry Adams wrote about his first encounter with the famous orator chief, Lauaki:
Lauaki was then in his early forties, a tall, well-built man, with a fine voice and a commanding presence. Among Samoans he was conspicuous for the fairness of his skin. Since his youth he had been known throughout the country for his mastery of history and legend, for his talents as a speaker, political negotiator, and for his prowess in war (Davidson, 1973:267).

According to Sahlins and Goldman, they are people who have been blessed with the best of everything, including the ‘refinements of breeding’. They are the elite of society and not necessarily due to their personal ability, but by right of birth. Tui Atua and Ratu Joni do not agree with this statement.

*If you try and put down a leader, a natural leader by saying I have genealogy, great history and I’m going to put you down by noblesse oblige, I don’t think it will work in our society or any society. It’s a sure indication that you’re on the way out, if that’s how you behave and that’s how you think (Tui Atua)*

*I think that is portrayed as the ideal, and also portrayed as a generalised picture of chiefs throughout Polynesia. Certainly I’ve heard those sentiments expressed not exactly in those terms, but in similar terms in relation to Ratu Sir Lala, that he behaved like a chief, that he was vakatura in his manner, in the way he lived, the way he spoke to people. And when you admire someone, you say tou vakatura, when he behaves like a chief you say that as a compliment. And I suppose it’s a reflection of that generalisation (Ratu Joni)*

Furthermore, the chief is historically an icon of local tradition and identity (Lindstrom & White, 1997:1). Along similar lines, the Polynesian aristocrats have been the agents of the most powerful and significant cultural developments (Goldman, 1970:xvi). Asked whether chiefs were responsible for shaping society into what it is today, and being the agents of the most powerful and significant cultural developments, most of the Chiefs responded that it may have been the case in the past, but it is not the case today.

*I suppose that was true once. I think what it is now is probably becoming less so, if only because the role of chiefs is diminishing. But in terms of cultural achievements or agents for cultural development, I suppose in the Fijian context, for so long leadership and power were exercised by chiefs, so they had the means and the opportunities to shape Fiji’s society as they saw it. Our traditional system and our clan system were derived from them.*
and to some extent, our identity. When you mention to a Fijian or a Polynesian when you talk to them about their chiefs, they immediately relate that to their identity and to the symbolism (Ratu Joni)

Now the arikitanga (excluding Tainui and the kingitanga) is actually locally focussed, Tuwharetoa focussed, and it’s through the actions of Tuwharetoa in developing its relationship with the rest of the motu, that the arikitanga is acknowledged. From the tribal perspective, the role that ariki have played is in terms of creating a place where everyone can come together. Rather than national, I think our identity is local. No one else understands those principles other than the Arikitanga and his people (Sir Tumu)

Given that Tonga is the only Pacific monarchy, it is probably a unique characteristic that its nobles are still a member of parliament itself. It still has its feudal system where people still have their own villages and own their own land. The ha’a identifies themselves with particular nobles. The villages identify themselves with particular nobles (Tu’ivakanō)

The ariki are the foundation of culture in the Cook Islands and the government is playing a role in recognising the ariki. They realise now that the ariki have played a role in making sure that their people are looked after properly and giving them (government) the land for things such as education, health, schooling, missionary work and for the progress of the country. Nowadays because we have younger people in government, they are realising that and I feel honoured that they are doing that. They need it (the ariki system) otherwise what would it be then? (Pa Ariki)

Thinking back, I can never contribute anywhere near as much as my father has contributed (Tui Atua)

Both Tui Atua and the Ratu Joni agree that the statement of chiefs ‘being people endowed with a special quality of the highest worth’ does not apply to chiefs in today’s society. According to Ratu Joni, chiefs have for so long been in leadership and power that they had the means to shape societies as they saw it. When one talks about their chiefs, they relate to their identity. Ratu Joni believes the chief’s role is diminishing so they do not have as much influence any more. Sir Tumu explains that the arikitanga is local to Nagti Tuwharetoa and that its identity is local too. It is only through the relationship that the tribe has with the rest of Aotearoa that the arikitanga is nationally acknowledged. The role the ariki has always been to create a place where everyone can come together.

Tu’ivakanō believes that the nobility gives Tonga its unique character within Polynesia. The ha’a (clan) system and the nobility are symbols of identity i.e. people associate themselves to
certain nobles, and nobles associate themselves with certain ha’a. Pa Ariki believes the ariki are the foundation of the Cook Islands. The government is starting to realise this and they are beginning to acknowledge this more. The progress of the country has been the result of the ariki for it is the support of the ariki in giving the government land that they were able to build their schools, hospitals and businesses.

All Chiefs believe that their country’s chiefs and chiefly systems have indeed played a huge role in developing their respective group’s identities and cultures. Some however feel that it is not the case today as the chief’s role is diminishing. Some believe that chiefs are still the foundations upon which their countries are built and one Chief feels that chiefly influence is only at the local level. In summary, the elevated chiefly positions that are presented by Sahlins and Goldman may have applied to past chiefs; however, the Chiefs do not feel it applies to them. Why is this not the case? Theories from the previous chapter suggest a society that is more and more accepting of achievement. As a result, more and more people are occupying positions of leadership and authority that were once reserved for the chiefs. Given that more and more people in society are becoming influential, they too have as much chance to influence change.

The Samoan matai

In Samoa, the highest level of traditional authority is the matai (chief), and is part of an old system of leadership simply known as the matai system or fa’amatai. The matai system is believed to have been established since time immemorial (So’o, 2008:1). A matai is a person who is empowered through the possession of a chiefly name or title, with authority over lands and people. The power of the chief lies not so much in the personal qualities of the holder, but rather in the title itself: a name confers power on its holder (Freeman, 1948:72; Shore, 1982:59). To illustrate the distinction between one who is a matai, and one who is not, Shore writes:

An untitled man despite his age will always be known as a taule’ale’a (untitled man), whereas a youth with a title will immediately gain prestige and respect from his family. He has been empowered with pule, secular authority to govern in village and family matters (Shore, 1982:64). Without a title, as many talented and otherwise distinguished Samoans have discovered, one is – in an important sense – nobody (ibid:69).
The statement of non-matai being nobodies may seem rather elitist, but it does indicate the importance with which matai are held in traditional Samoan society. The village fono (assembly of matai) is the highest authority in the village and it holds the power of the whole community (Lockwood, 1971:32). At the village level, Maligi Evile recounts what he regarded as his important responsibilities as a family matai:

I had to grapple with the idea that a matai automatically becomes the father of everyone; the peacemaker in the family; the initiator of most projects; the provider of money and fine mats for every fa’alavelave; his contributions should far exceed everyone’s, and he is required to master the art of speech-making with meticulous skills on the notation of honorific addresses in order to acquire fame and pride for the family (2007:77)

There are two types of matai within the Samoan chiefly system. The first is the ali’i or sacred/paramount chief, and the second is the tulafale or orator chief. Although both are referred to as matai, they serve different leadership roles and responsibilities within Samoan society. The ali’i were descended from the gods, and thus in a sense were pa’ia or sacred (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006:2). They had authority over political lineages and large kin networks scattered in many different polities. They are traditionally regarded as being of higher rank than the tulafale. The tulafale were secular leaders and often described as politicians that acted on behalf of the parent title or ali’i (ibid). They were also the spokespersons for the ali’i. There is also a third and rare type of matai known as tulafale-ali’i. These are chiefs that can act as both an ali’i and a tulafale (Va’ai, 1999:36). Such titles include: Sitagata from Lotofaga, Fiso and Seumanufagai of Palauli, Asiata of Satupaitea, and Tafua and Fuataga of Lalomanu and Sale’a’aumua respectively.

Due to their secular nature, the tulafale were sometimes mistaken for warriors or warlords, as in the case when LMS missionary, John Williams described them as ‘warriors who were held in great estimation by the chiefs’ (Macpherson, 1997:21). It is clear how these orators could have been mistaken for warriors and warlords. Given they were the representatives and mouthpieces of the paramount chiefs; in times of war, these orators would have been instructed by their chief to firstly put together an army, and secondly, lead the army into battle. As the result of their loyalty to their ali’i, these orators were often rewarded generously by their chief with valuable material goods.
Not all ali’i are of the same rank and likewise not all tulafale hold equal ranks. In both the paramount and orator ranks, there are various levels of rankings (Shore, 1996:173). There are some that have great significance and influence at national level as well as at district or ītū mālō level. Others have influence mainly at the nu’u or village level. The majority of the chiefly titles have influence at the ʻāiga or family level. At the national level, the titles that have been recognized as the paramount titles are the pāpā - the four sacrosanct titles, and the tamaʻāiga - the descendant of all great families (Meleisea, 1987a; So'o, 2008; Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006; Va’ai, 1999). The pāpā have been around much longer than the tamaʻāiga titles, and these include: the Tui Atua, Tui A’ana, Gatoa’itele and Vaetamasoali’i titles. The tamaʻāiga titles include: the Tupua Tamasese, Malietoa, Tuimaleali’ifano & Matā’afa titles. According to Va’ai, the term tamaʻāiga is a more recent institution that began with Tupua Fuiavailili (Va’ai, 1999:31). At present only one of the four pāpā titles is currently being held i.e. Tui Atua which is in the possession of the current Head of State of Samoa, his Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi. At present only the tamaʻāiga title of Malietoa is vacant.

As a general rule of thumb, the rank of the tulafale title is dependent on the rank of the ali’i title it serves. In theory, any tulafale connected to an ali’i of national importance possesses the same rank through association. For example, it would not be deemed appropriate for a low ranking tulafale to speak on behalf of a high ranking ali’i. Each village has their high ranking ali’i and tulafale. Take for instance the village of Lotofaga in Atua, Upolu. The main family in the village/district is the ʻĀiga Sālevalasi (Fiamē). Whenever the village is engaged in ceremonies of national significance, only the top orator can speak on behalf of the Sālevalasi family, who is Sitagata, the ali’i-tulafale of ʻĀiga Sālevalasi. It is only in the absence of Sitagata that the responsibility is passed down to the next level of orators, either Fa’atili or Lemauga. Similarly if an ali’i from one side is addressing a visiting party, it is not appropriate for a tulafale to respond, no matter how highly ranked the tulafale is. It is only appropriate for an ali’i to respond to another ali’i.

Although the term matai is now commonly used in Samoa to refer to chiefs or title holders, according to Tcherkezoff, the term matai existed throughout Polynesia meaning ‘best’,

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29 An ītū mālō or district consists of a number of nu’u or villages
30 Personal communication with Sitagata Setefano Tominiko, orator chief of Lotofaga
31 ibid
referring to personal skills or being a 'master' in a craft (Tcherkezoff, 2000b:151). This makes sense when put into context, as at that particular time, the term *matai* was traditionally given to those who possessed a particular skill such as canoe builders, tattooists and craftsmen (Tcherkezoff, 2000a:121). At some point over time, the meaning of *matai* has changed to that of "titled head of a family", as it is known today. *Matai* meaning 'chief' only exists in Samoa. At present, the only other instance in which the term *matai* is used to refer to someone other than the paramount or orator chief; is when it is used in prayer to refer to god. The term *‘matai i le lagi’* – the chief in heaven, is often used in prayer to refer to god in an indigenous way.

Currently, the highest chiefly positions in terms of rank are the *tama’āiga* and *pāpā* titles. The next tier of chiefs is not as clear cut however there are certain ways to identify the next tier of high ranking chiefs. One way is to look at the main families in Samoa and the paramount chiefs of these families would be of high rank. These families are aligned to one or more of the *tama’āiga* families. For example the Tupua Tamasese title has as part of its clan the families Sā Fenuinuivao, Sā Tuala, ‘Āiga o Mavaega (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006:29). The senior chiefs in each of these families would be acknowledges as highly ranked throughout Samoa. The other way of identifying high ranked chiefs is to look at districts and villages. As a general rule of thumb, each district and village have their senior ranked *ali‘i* chief, and this is confirmed in each of the village’s *fa‘alupega* or village salutation. Like the theory of clans being descended from a common ancestor, in most cases, the senior *ali‘i* of each village is usually the founder of the village or the first *ali‘i* of that village. Generally speaking, all paramount *ali‘i* of each district and village are nationally respected and recognized.

Succession to chiefly titles does not strictly subscribe to the Polynesian theory of descent. Although senior and junior lines are acknowledged, succession by a member of the senior line to a paramount chiefly title is never guaranteed; as in many cases, challenges by members of junior lines have resulted in lengthy court cases, often resulting in families going for long periods of time without an official chief. Such issues did not exist in pre-contact days when succession was decided on the battlefield.
The Maori *ariki*

In Maori society, chiefly status exists in various levels. The highest level of tribal organisation is an association with one of the founding *waka* that brought the first Maori to the shores of Aotearoa (Van Meijl, 1997:86; Winiata, 1967:25). These *waka* confederacies were comprised of various tribes that emerged from ancestors who had reached the shores of New Zealand on the same canoes (Walker, 1993:1). While the canoe gave its name to the cluster of related tribes, the name of the tribe was usually a founding ancestor who had been a crew member of the founding *waka* (Winiata, 1967:25).

Traditional Maori recognised two types of leaders, the *ariki/rangatira* and *tohunga*. Within both classes, hereditary and ascribed roles were important, and together they covered political, spiritual and professional dimensions (Durie, 1994:17). The *ariki* and the *rangatira* are regarded as the social and political leaders in Maori society. The paramount chief of the tribe was the *ariki*, who drew together a multitude of lower ranking chiefs and their followers (Van Meijl, 1997:86). The highest ranking *ariki*, the one in whom the senior lines of genealogy converged, was recognised as the leader of the *waka* (Winiata, 1967:26).

Chieftainship was regarded as a birth right, and the measure of chieftainship was the sum total of chiefly genealogical ties, but also included other cultural criteria such as kinship relationships, alliances with other tribes, knowledge in specialist areas and possessing spiritual strengths, for example, mana and tapu and other personal qualities (Katene, 2010: 4).

Although senior descent was a prerequisite to becoming *ariki*, the title holder’s ability largely determined whether he remained a figurehead or came to exercise real power (Salmond, 1975:13). According to Winiata:

In the internal administration of the tribe, the *ariki* worked as arbitrator, persuader, adviser and supervisor in the assembly. All matters touching the welfare of the tribe were publicly discussed by the adults at the main village. In disputes between sub-tribes, the *ariki* would appeal to the disputants as father of the group, and this paternal attitude frequently brought order and peace. The social functions of the *ariki* also arose out of his duties as caretaker and trustee of the tribal marae (Winiata, 1967:32).

The *rangatira* was regarded a chief of lesser rank. He was lower than the *ariki*, and descended through the junior lines. *Ariki* ruled over the entire *iwi* (tribe) whilst the *rangatira*...
ruled over the *hapu* (sub-tribe) (Walker, 1993:1). Although regarded as of lesser rank than the *ariki*, the *rangatira* was still an executive chief, chosen for his ability in warfare and oratory (Salmond, 1975:13). In the traditional setting a *rangatira* could be male or female (Katene, 2010:4).

In the external relations of the tribe, the *rangatira* deferred to the *ariki*. But he was undisputed head of his own sub-tribe, and if at a tribal council the *rangatira* considered the decision to be detrimental to the best interests of his own sub-tribe, he did not hesitate to dissent, and to publicly dissociate himself and his sub-tribe from it (Winiata, 1967:33)

According to Winiata, the head of each *whanau* (extended family) was the *kaumatua* or elder, who was recognised on account of his offspring as well as his age wisdom and life experience (Mead, 1997). First-born children typically succeeded to leadership, but effective leadership could pass to a junior sibling if the first-born lacked the appropriate attributes and failed to maintain the necessary level of *mana* (Petrie, 2006:15).

The *tohunga* was the recognized ritual expert, whose functions directly and indirectly influenced political, social and economic affairs (Winiata, 1967:28). The meaning of *tohunga* can also extend to mean ‘priest’, ‘mechanic’ or ‘skilful man’ (Fletcher, 2000:155). The most influential of *tohunga* usually came from the chief’s family, most often a younger brother (ibid). He was also the head of an extended family and in some cases, the *tohunga* was also an *ariki* or *rangatira* (Winiata, 1967:28).

The infant chief’s entry into the tribe, the naming rite, his betrothal as a child, and his marriage ceremony all involved elaborate rituals carried out by the *tohunga*, and the *tohunga* was also largely in control of the education of the young chief. And the *tohunga*’s power over the chief continued in his mortuary rites, the farewell to his body and spirit, and later also the exhumation of his sacred bones. Thus the political thinking and policy of the chiefs were in no small measure moulded by the relationship with the *tohunga* (ibid:36).

In the current environment, *rangatira* continue to have strong leadership amongst Maori community, however *ariki* status is rather rare. To my knowledge and the knowledge of most of my Maori advisers, there are only two *iwi* that have existing *ariki*. The first is Tainui who are also the tribe of the Maori Kingintanga. Their chiefly line is the Te Wherowhero line and
the line has followed a primogeniture pattern of succession from the beginning of the movement with King Potatau Te Wherowhero as its first king. The other is the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe of Taupo where the *ariki* is Sir Tumu Te Heuheu Tukino VIII of the Te Heuheu dynasty. Like the Te Wherowhero line, succession to the *ariki* title of Tuwharetoa has been by direct descent through male primogeniture. As far as I am aware, every other tribe is led by a *rangatira*, or a number of *rangatira* as part of a tribal board. These *rangatira* are not necessarily descended from the most senior lines of the tribe, but have earned their *rangatira* status through displaying personal leadership qualities (Walker, 1993:5).

**The Tongan ‘Eiki**

According to James:

> When asked, “Who are the chiefs in Tonga?” Tongans unhesitatingly answer “The king and the nobles are our chiefs”; that is, they refer immediately to the highest-ranking people: the monarch, other members of the royal family and the nobility (‘eiki nopele) (1997:49).

In terms of rank and status in Tonga, there were originally three tiers. The highest were the chiefs and the aristocracy known collectively as ‘eiki and hou’eiki respectively (Wood-Ellem, 1981:ix). The second level consisted of the chiefs attendants or matapule, and the lowest with which the majority of the population belonged to was the commoners or tu’a class (Sahlins, 1958:22). In the strictest sense, the term ‘eiki referred to the sacred king, the Tu’i Tonga and his heirs to his main wife (Marcus, 1980:18). Over time, it came to represent all three kingly lines of Tonga, the Tu’i Tonga, Tu’i Ha’atakalaua and the Tu’i Kanokupolu and their immediate relatives (Sahlins, 1958:22). Today the king is often referred to as ‘Tu’i’ so as to differentiate him from the rest of the ‘eiki (Kaeppler, 1971:179; Marcus, 1975:39).

The *matapule* are described as the chief’s attendants, however they are also their spokesmen or orators. Whenever a chief or noble requires his people to gather for various reasons, it is often the role of his *matapule* to deliver the message to the noble’s various estates. There are also *matapule* that hold estates like nobles. In 1880, the *matapule* titles of Fulivai, Tuita and Fakatulolo were elevated to noble status by King George Tupou I, and a further six *matapule*, ‘Akau’ola, Fotu, Afu, Motu’apuaka, Lauaki and Tu’uhetoka were made hereditary titles with estates (Marcus, 1980:41).
Tonga holds the unique position as being the only existing kingdom in the Pacific. In 1845, Taufa‘ahau inherited the Tu‘i Kanokupolu title, gaining control of Tongatapu and proclaimed himself king. It was not until the 1875 constitution that secured Taufa‘ahau and his descendants as the ruling monarch of a united (ibid). From that point on, the kingship of Tonga has replaced the traditional office of chiefs which has long been the ruling class of Tonga. In becoming a monarchy, Tonga did not do away with the chiefly system completely. Before the coronation of the Tongan monarch takes place, he or she is firstly bestowed as the Tu‘i Kanokupolu. This chiefly bestowal still practices the traditional ceremonies used in past Tu‘i Kanokupolu bestowal ceremonies. It is by virtue of being bestowed the Tu‘i Kanokupolu title that the holder then undergoes the more modern ceremonies associated with the coronation of the Tongan monarch. The current King of Tonga, King Siaosi VI, on becoming the king also became the 24th Tu‘i Kanokupolu (see Appendix 2 for Tu‘i Kanokupolu genealogy).

Below the king are his elected nobles or ‘eiki nopele. The nobility was created in 1875 and the office at the time included twenty nobles. Now the nobility consists of 33 nobles, and together with the king, dominate and run the legislative assembly of Tonga. Each noble is known by a chiefly name, of which most are descendants of traditional Tongan chiefs. It is the nobles that have control over Tongan lands and the commoner tenants that reside on them (ibid:56). Like the English nobility, the Tongan nobles now have the title ‘Lord’ in front of their chiefly title. As a royal family member once quoted:

They [nobles] represent the King in the villages and the districts and [throughout] all the outer islands. And so it is the King that the people should see [that is, imagine as being represented by nobles] in their villages, playing the role and in the gap there (Ewins, 1998:100)

When selecting his nobles, King Tupou I purposefully left out many chiefs of the highest rank having descended from the Tu‘i Tonga line. In the process, these once ‘eiki chiefs became commoners under Tupou’s new regime (James, 1997:55). Of the thirty titles ennobled by 1880, a few were held by great aristocrats and more by less aristocratic but extremely powerful chiefs.

Few other present-day nobles, however, have claim to great birth rank, and many are not considered to be aristocrats at all. Those who have acquired
wealth and influence through their skills and achievements and their incumbency of high government position may be regarded as pule (leaders) or ‘eiki (chiefs) of a great many people. Those who have little besides their titles and estates, however, are best termed “gentry”, because what power they possess lies primarily in their control of land and the commoner tenants who reside on it (ibid:56).

Because of the formation of the Tongan monarchy and the subsequent creation of the nobility class the term ‘eiki has taken on different meanings. ‘Eiki was traditionally used to refer only to the Tu’i Tonga and his lineage (Marcus, 1980:18). According to Goldman, ‘eiki like the Samoan ali’i, stands as a broader and therefore lower category of rank on the genealogical scale (1970:306). The term in general means chief, but is no longer exclusively used to represent the three ruling lines of Tonga. High ranking chiefs (‘eiki motu, ‘eiki taupotu, ‘eiki toho) are distinguished from petty chiefs (‘eikisi’i) (ibid:307). The term ‘Tui’ then came to represent the three kingly lines as to differentiate them from the common chief ‘eiki. In a general sense the term ‘eiki can represent someone who has rank over someone else (James, 1997:52). It is a term associating someone with the highest prestige value of society – i.e. possessing ‘eiki-ness or being ‘eiki-like (Marcus, 1980:18). For example, an older sister would be regarded as ‘eiki over her brother.

Succession to the kingship and the nobility is strictly male primogeniture and this is secured in Tonga’s constitution. In the event that the king has no male heir, the title shall pass to an eldest daughter and in the event that a king has no heir at all, the crown would then pass onto the king’s next oldest brother. This was the case with the passing of King Siaosi V in 2012; who had no legitimate heir, therefore the crown passed to his youngest brother, Prince Tupouto’a Lavaka. The same rules of succession apply to the nobles. Upon the death of a noble, his eldest son inherits the noble title.

Unlike the Kingship, there seems to be no record of a woman having ever held a noble title since the nobility was first formed during 1875. Either all noble holders have had male heirs or there seems to be a reluctance of females taking on noble titles, regardless of the constitution allowing them to do so in extreme cases. Given that nobles are often called upon to participate in Tongan politics, it may seem this could be a reason why females have not been nobles since politics has often been considered a male dominated domain. The succession rules that apply to the king and nobles also apply to the matapule.
The Fijian *Turaqa*

In Fiji, the traditional leader, as distinct from various types of modern leaders, is the person who occupies the customary office of chief of the group (Nayacakalou, 1975:33). This office confers upon the holder a right, subject to conditions, to make decisions on all matters affecting the group as a group (ibid). The Fijian chief is commonly referred to as the *turaga* (Hooper, 1996:245). Chiefly status is achieved through birth and passed on through patrilineal descent. Like Tonga, there is a commoner class in Fiji, and it is this division that places all chiefs in a position of super-ordination over the commoners (Nayacakalou, 1978:84). The title “Ratu” is usually prefixed to a man of chiefly status. Like Samoa and Cook Islands, there exist various levels of chiefs. A hierarchy of chiefs presides over villages (*koro*), sub-districts (*tikina vou*), districts (*tikina cokavata*), and provinces (*yasana*).

According to Ford:

The chief is the leader of his people. He organizes the activities in his district, directing work in the gardens, in house building, and in fishing. He receives in return the best produce of the land. The labour of the men in the district is at his command, though by tradition the chief is liberal, and most of the supplies which he exacts return ultimately to the subjects by whose labour they were produced. No decision of importance in the district may be reached without his approval. Funeral services, for example, may not begin until he has given the word. Visitors must present themselves to the chief before they undertake to carry out the purpose of their visit. At any ceremonial function the chief receives the first bowl of kava and determines the order in which others are served. The chief is also the arbiter of disputes within the district. When any trouble arises, the persons involved must be brought before him. He is expected to be fair, judging carefully according to the dictates of custom. He holds the power of life and death over his subjects (Ford, 1938:542).

Succession to chiefly titles in Fiji was traditionally by primogeniture, however, according to Ratuva the criteria for succession is not clear-cut today.

The principle of chiefly succession is ironically both clear and ambiguous. It is clear in the sense that certain patrilineal (and sometimes matrilineal) extended families are collectively recognized as “chiefly” and thus ought to produce a successor to the chiefly title. However, the ambiguity arises when determining the criteria for selection within the extended family. The generally accepted rule is that the qase duadua (eldest) from the family is the automatic choice. But the notion of qase duadua becomes contentious because it could also mean being descended from an “older” family line one
or more generations ago. Claimants largely rely on their oral history to put forth their claims. Usually the further back in history the alleged root of qase duadua is traced, the less convincing the claim becomes. Much of the dispute is based on which specific family line within the broader extended family should produce the legitimate successor. The dispute becomes a dispute over the process of legitimacy (Ratuva, 2002)

All of the Fijian chiefs belong to one of three confederacies: Kubuna, Burebasaga, and Tovata, and so the highest ranked chiefs of Fiji should in theory be the paramount chiefs of these three confederacies. A single confederacy in Fiji is made up of a number of provinces. The highest two ranked chiefs of the Kubuna confederacy are the Vunivalu of Bau (which is currently vacant) and the Roko Tui Bau title which is currently held by Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi, a former Vice-President of Fiji. In the Burebasaga confederacy, the most paramount titles are the Roko Tui Dreketi, which is currently held by Ro Teimumu Kepa. Ro Teimumu succeeded her sister, the late Ro Lady Lala Mara, as the Tui Roko Dreketi. In the Tovata confederacy, the paramount chief is the Tui Cakau which is currently held by Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu. Tovata has been the most politically influential despite it being the smallest of the three confederacies. Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, considered the father of modern Fiji, was from Tovata, as were: Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Fiji's first Prime Minister and second President; and Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, the first President of Fiji. In addition, Sitiveni Rabuka, former Prime Minister; and Laisenia Qarase, the recently removed Prime Minister, are also from Tovata.

Below the confederacy level are the 14 provinces containing the next level of ranked chiefs, however not all provinces have a single high ranking chief as they are somewhat egalitarian in nature. The provinces that do have a clearly high ranking chief are: Ba (Tui Ba), Bua (Tui Bua), Cakaudrove (Tui Cakau – paramount of Tovata), Lau (Tui Nayau & Tui Lau), Macuata (Tui Macuata), Nadroga-Navosa (Nakalevu), Naitasiri (Qaranivalu), Namosi (Tui Namosi), Rewa (Roko Tui Dreketi – paramount of Burebasaqa), Serau (Vunivalu Serau) Tailevu (Vunivalu & Roko Tui Bau – paramount of Kubuna). The Tui Vuda title of the Vuda village in the Ba province is traditionally not recognized as a chief of paramount status; however given that its last two holders held both the office of President and Vice President during the last ten years, the status of the Tui Vuda has increased through the personal achievement of these two holders. Ratu Sir Josaia Tavaiqia was one of two Vice Presidents of Fiji from 1990 until his death in 1997. Following Ratu Josaia’s death, Ratu Josefa Iloilo succeeded to both
the Tui Vuda title and the position of Vice President. In 2000, Ratu Josefa became President, a position he held until 2006.

The Cook Island Ariki
The system of social organization which developed over the centuries in Rarotonga and the Cook Islands was based on a pattern that was brought from Eastern Polynesia but was modified over time (R. Crocombe, 1964:25). The leadership of the largest social grouping, the tribe, district or vaka is vested in the ariki who is believed to have descended from the gods (ibid). The ariki were descended from a founding ancestor ideally from the direct male line. The ariki are the chiefs of the highest rank (M. Campbell, 2002:222; Stephenson, 1995:162).

The next level of chiefs down was the mata’iapo who were the chiefs of the ngati or sub-district (Gilson, 1980:6). A mata’iapo was usually a close relative of the ariki and in most cases, part of the major lineage. Mata’iapo were also chiefs of major lineages or descent groups (Stephenson, 1995:162). Another sub-district chief was the rangatira or the komono. This was a chief of the minor lineage that were mostly created by the ariki, and therefore came under the authority of the ariki (R. Crocombe, 1964:27). The rangatira was at one stage regarded as a chief appointed as an administrative deputy to the mata’iapo (M. Campbell, 2002:224).

In some islands there are another level chief that is regarded lower than the ariki yet higher than the mata’iapo. These were known as the mata’iapo tutara or the ‘big mata’iapo’ (Stephenson, 1995:162). According to Stephenson, at one point on the island of Atiu, there were only seven mata’iapo and no ariki. At some stage, the three highest ranked mata’iapo titles, Ngamaru, Rongomatane and Parua were made ariki, and the other four were elevated to mata’iapo tutara status, to differentiate them from other new and less ranked mata’iapo titles (ibid).

According to Gilson:

The rights and duties of chiefly office varied with the groups over which leadership was exercised, but any chief was obliged to provide or arrange leadership in war and inter-group negotiations, to allocate land for
cultivation, to represent his group before the gods, to settle disputes beyond the control of lesser leaders, and to organize group feasts and working parties. On the other hand, a chief was entitled to the support of his followers, to contributions of goods and food for ceremonial and ritual purposes particularly, and to assistance with public projects as well as with certain private needs such as the construction of his house (1980:9).

The *ariki* had authority over all of the land however land allotments were often given by the *ariki* to his *mata’iapo* and *rangatira* to reside over. Due to the many connections between tribes, it was not unusual for a person to be an *ariki* in one district and also hold a *mata’iapo* in another district. It was also common for an *ariki* to bestow a *mata’iapo* title on an heir until they succeed to the *ariki* title.32

Currently there are 23 *ariki* titles spread throughout eight islands of the Cook Islands. Of the 23 *ariki* titles, three are currently vacant with no current holders.33 Of the twenty current *ariki*, eight are women making the Cook Islands undoubtedly the Polynesian island with the largest percentage of female *ariki*.34 Despite being a traditionally patrilineal society, the fact that they have a high percentage of women *ariki* shows that in recent times, the Cook Islands has become somewhat bilinear. Of all the islands, Rarotonga has the most *ariki* with six. Of the six, five are female, one is male and one is currently vacant. (See Page 271)

### 2.0 Chiefly Classes

**The *qadiki* class**

Linguistic evidence suggests that a chiefly class has been in existence for over a thousand years in the Pacific. Linguistic reconstructions by Williamson, Koskinen and Pawley have shown that particular terms were used in ancient Pacific societies to represent chiefs, as cited in (Kirch & Green, 2001:226). In the Proto Oceanic Language POC (the language that precedes Proto Polynesian PPN), the terms *qa-lapas* and *qa-diki* represented chief and first-born son of the chief respectively (ibid:229). As the ancestral Polynesian societies evolved into the groups we have today, so did the term representing chief. Cognates included *ali*ki, (*patu*)-iki, *alii*, *eiki*, *ariki*, *aligi*, *angiki*, *hakaiki* and *akariki*. Despite the variations, most

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32 Personal communication with Pa Ariki Marie  
33 Statistic obtained from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_current_constituent_monarchs  
34 The only other island at present with a female paramount chief is Fiji where Ro Teimumu Kepa who is the Roko Tui Dreketi of the Burebasaqa Confederacy.
versions represented positions of chief, paramount chief, hereditary chief, sacred leader, priest and in one instance, king (ibid). The holders of *ariki* status were typically male and inherited it through primogeniture in the patrilineal line. In the event that a female was elevated to *ariki* status, it was lexically marked as such e.g. the *ali‘i wahine* of Hawai‘i and ‘eiki fefine of Tonga.

In Eastern Polynesia, namely Aotearoa and Cook Islands, the term *ariki* was the term that was used to represent the highest level of chiefly status. While the Cook Islands still use *ariki* to represent their highest chiefs, in the Maori population of Aotearoa, only two tribes are currently still using *ariki* as a title for their highest chiefs. The two are Tainui who have Ariki Nui King Tuheitia Paki and Ngati Tuwharetoa who have Ariki Nui Sir Tumu Te Heuheu. The likely explanation for this is that these are probably the only two tribes who have kept the tradition of succession through the eldest child. Other tribes have adopted a more collective style of leadership with the selection of a group of leaders who are referred to as *rangatira* or *matua*. Leaders are selected based on their personal skills and achievements (Walker, 1993:5). Given that the original term *qa-diki* originally meant first born son of chief, it seems to be in keeping with its true meaning that the *ariki* of today are in most cases the descendants of a former paramount chief such as the case in both the Maori and Cook Island societies.

In Tahiti, there were many levels of chiefs of which the *ari‘i nui* (great chief) possessed the greatest of all authority and power. In general, the *ari‘i nui* ruled over more powerful and prestigious localised kin groups, and over tribal groups encompassing large numbers of people over a broad area (Howe, 1984:125). More importantly, what set the *ari‘i nui* apart from the rest of the lesser ranked chiefs was that he had the power to be an intermediary between their human followers and the gods; and more importantly traced their family links back to the ancestral gods (ibid:140). Similarly in Samoa, the *ali‘i* had sacred connections. The *ali‘i pa‘ia* or sacred chiefs were descended through aristocratic bloodlines from the creator god. They were as living gods among the humanity. The Tui Manu‘a was such a chief, having legitimised his authority by virtue of his divine descent.

In more recent times, the terms *ali‘i* and ‘eiki have been used as terms of respect when referring to non-chiefly people. The terms ‘*ali‘i o ‘āiga*‘ or ‘*aloali‘i*‘ were originally given to the eldest son and heir of a paramount chief (Tuimaleali‘ifano, 2009:5). The title goes back
to the 17th century, the time of Galumalemana who was an eldest son of Tupua (Henry, 1979:117). Today, any person with the chiefly title Galumalemana is addressed respectively as the ‘aloali‘i’. However, the term ‘ali‘i o ‘āiga’ is commonly used to respectfully address the eldest born of any person, albeit chief or non-chief (Va‘ai, 1999:32). Similarly in Tonga, the term ‘eiki has also been used to represent common people, and no longer confined to the aristocrats. Just as the ‘eiki are ranked amongst themselves, the commoners in Tonga also have ranking amongst themselves. In this context, a commoner older sister is of higher rank than her commoner younger brother, therefore she is regarded as ‘eiki over her younger brother. A person of common rank in Tonga who becomes a minister of the government is referred to as ‘Eiki Minisita (James, 1997:56). The church minister is similarly regarded as being ‘eiki over his congregation thus illustrating that ‘eiki or ariki in all Polynesian societies represents the highest of all ranks.

The Lower Chiefly Classes

Chiefly status is not confined to the ariki or ‘eiki status. Chiefly status exists in varying levels. These variations in status and rank can be seen through the reconstruction of terms from the original Polynesian language (PPN). The term PPN*fatu is believed to have been used in the PPN to show the possibility that there was another kind of leadership category (Kirch & Green, 2001:232). Across a few Polynesian groups, it suggests a meaning similar to an ‘elder’ of some kind (ibid). It is believed to be the equivalent of: patu (Niue), matai (Samoa) and ra‘atira (Tahiti) (ibid). Other forms include matapule (Tonga), mataiapo (Cook Islands), turaqa (Fiji), tulafale (Samoa) and rangatira (Maori & Cook Islands). The first three terms seem to be cognates of an original term. According to Tcherkezoff, the term matai existed throughout Polynesia meaning ‘best’, referring to personal skills or being a 'master' in a craft activity (Tcherkezoff, 2000b:151). In Samoa, the term was originally given to those who possessed a particular skill such as canoe builders, tattooists and craftsmen (Tcherkezoff, 2000a:121). At some point in time, the meaning of matai changed to that of titled head of a family, as it is known today. Matai meaning 'chief' only exists in Samoa.

Another class of chief is that identified in early PPN language as *sau. This is a term that means a person of secular authority (Kirch & Green, 2001:234). It could not have been the head of the family because that role was filled by the *qariki so it would have occupied a lower rank. Another cognate of this term is hau which means ‘secular’ paramount leader (in
Tonga), and *fau ‘government’ (in Tahiti and Tuamotu) (Gunson, 1979:30). Another cognate *au means ‘war chief’ (in Mangaia). Cognates of the combination of *sau and *qariki can be found in a few of the languages. The terms *sauali'i and *hualiki represent demons and demi-gods in Samoa and Tokelau respectively (ibid). In Tonga, the term *hou-'eiki often refers to the nobility. What this suggests is that these are classes ranked below that of gods and king in both Samoa and Tonga respectively. It also suggests that even in pre-contact times, there were clear distinctions in rank.

In most cases, the lesser ranked chiefly titles served the paramount chief. Such responsibilities fell of the tulafale chiefs of Samoa, the rangatira chiefs of the Cook Islands, and the matapule chiefs of Tonga. The origins of these lesser chiefs is not clear, however they were originally believed to be distantly related to their paramount chiefs (Ferdon, 1987:36). Others believe them to be descendants of individuals who, in the past, exhibited exceptional wisdom and ability of use to higher-ranking chiefs of the time (ibid).

The matapule/talking chief is the one who speaks on my behalf during formal and important occasions e.g. when another village visits my village, he addresses them and speaks on my behalf. In things like weddings, birthdays and funerals when people come to give respect, he’s the one that talks to them (Tu’i’ivakanō)

In my district, I also have my rangatira. I have 14 of them and 4 of them were older than me. They are there to support me. The rangatira were my uncles, grand aunts, cousins of my mother. The mataiapo are under the ariki and regarded as the younger brothers of Pa. My mother gave lands to her rangatira to plant on. She had changed a lot of custom in the village. Every six months the mataiapo had to bring food and crops around but she changed that saying she felt sorry for her people, but today they still come with food etc, especially when we are hosting guests (Pa Ariki)

3.0 Chiefly Authority

Paramount authority

The Polynesians chief occupied a status level well beyond that of ordinary and common people. By virtue of their rank, they are afforded the ‘first’ and the ‘best’ of everything.
The chief was first in all things, firstborn, first to act in war or peace, and the one who initiates the agriculture year by appropriate sacrifices and gathers the tributes of the first fruits. The firstness is what makes the political functioning of the society the same as the creative action of divinity (Sahlins, 1985: 140).

It is common in Polynesia for a number of chiefs and their families to co-inhabit a single island, with each having authority over their own village or district. For some of the more ambitious chiefs, local authority was not enough, and sought authority over lands and people beyond their own boundaries. This supremacy authority is what set the great chiefs apart from the lesser ones. One of the earliest chiefs to extend authority over and beyond his own island was the Tui Manu’a of Samoa. According to legend, his authority was over Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga and Tahiti (Henry, 1979: 12). When the Tu’i Tonga Ahoetutu usurped the power of the Tui Manu’a around 950 AD, the paramount authority once vested in the Tui Manu’a became his (Gunson, 1977: 93; Wood, 1942: 8). According to history, the Tui Manu’a and the Tui Tonga seem to be the only two chiefs to have exercised paramount authority over a number of islands other than their own.

Chiefs were constantly vying for control over other islands. After the fall of the Tui Manu’a, the centralization of power in Samoa did not occur again for another six centuries. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century that authority over all of Samoa was consolidated in the young lady Salamāsina (Field, 1984: 22; Gilson, 1970: 58; Henry, 1979: 71; Meleisea, 1987b: 11; Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006: 9). The new office created became known as the Tafa’ifā, and was the equivalent of a king or queen of Samoa.

Centralisation of power came much later for other island groups in Polynesia. Although Tongan authority had been the sole domain of the Tu’i Tonga up to around the 15th century, by the 17th century, authority over Tonga had become a three way contest between the Tu’i Tonga, Tu’i Ha’atakalaua and Tu’i Kanokupolu clans (Eustis, 1997: 18; Herda, 1995: 44; Marcus, 1980: 6). By 1845, Taufa’ahau had managed to obtain for himself and the Tu’i Kanokupolu line complete authority over Tonga. Like Tonga, Hawai’i and Tahiti were made up of a number of islands each with their own ruling chief. For many centuries, individual chiefs tried unsuccessfully to seize total authority but were prevented so by the combined

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The Tafa’ifā status was achieved when an individual possesses the four paramount titles of Tui Atua, Tui A’ana, Gatoa’itele and Vaetamasoali’i all at the same time.
efforts of rival chiefs. By 1810, Kamehameha I achieved this feat and secured absolute rule over all of Hawai‘i. In 1815, Pomare II achieved the same in Tahiti. Although Taufa’ahau, Kamehameha I and Pomare II ascended to supremacy through their astuteness and through customary means (Howe, 1984: 158; Sione Latukefu, 1970: 58), historians have accredited their success with their alliances and associations with foreign authorities and missionaries. This is evident in the fact that the achievements of these three chiefs all occurred around the 19th century, at the height of foreign influence and presence in Polynesia.

Although this was a common occurrence during ancient times, the last Polynesian chief to have some significant influence over island groups beyond his own was Taufa’ahau Tupou I. His influence stretched as far as Fiji in the Lau group as well as to Uvea and to a certain extent Samoa. With colonization and the creation of island states, such takeovers by ambitious chiefs no longer occurred.

The days when certain chiefs ruled over vast areas of the Pacific are no longer. Despite being respected outside of their respective groups the chiefs acknowledge that their authority or rule is immediately over their families and their clans.

I don’t think now that people think so much in terms of Tui Atua as the ali‘i of Atua or Lufilufi as the matua of Atua. I don’t know, I could be wrong, and there is a tradition behind it and its recognised right throughout. Don’t get me wrong, I mean you go there to Lotofaga etc and they are recognised, but what I’m meaning is that as a Samoan, how do you relate to the Head of State? Do you relate to him as Tui Atua? or as Tupua Tamasese? Or do you relate to him as a person and the kind of person that he is? I don’t know? I think you have to ask other people that question (Tui Atua).

First and foremost I am a leader over my kainga and then over my villages of Nukunuku, Matafonua, Vaotu’u and Matahau, so those are my people and they are the ones who at times when you need work and things done that you ask their help from (Tu’ivakanō).

I also have a fotu tahina. These are people who I have family ties with and whom I’ve bestowed titles on. The fotu tahina can then represent me at certain occasions. For example if I can’t make a funeral, he can stand up and speak on behalf of our family. Even in kava ceremonies, if I’m not there then he can sit in the front and represent the Tu’ivakanō. Their titled names are usually names from the past connected with the Tu’ivakanō family (Tu’ivakanō).
I suppose being the Prime Minister, the scope of your responsibility is much wider. You are no longer just looking after the villages you have as a noble, but you are looking after the whole of Tonga. The responsibility is much bigger and heavier (Tu’ivakanō).

Well immediately it’s really over my little clan on Bau. There’s not really many of us although beyond that, the other vanua or tribal units that owe me allegiance, but I suppose most directly, it’s over my own clan. And for the others, I suppose I’m more a symbol. I don’t see very much of them unless it’s a very big gathering (Ratu Joni)

I am a leader over my people and all of the Cook Islands. Where ever I go, I take the Cook Island name. I have travelled a lot in my role and every time I go, I take the Cook Island name as well and I represent all my fellow ariki. We are all respected in Rarotonga but then we have our own realm and our own districts. We do respect each other (Pa Ariki)

Our own people will refer to Tumu as our Ariki for Tuwharetoa or Paramount Chief of Tuwharetoa. We would not suggest to others that he’s anything more than that. There is respect even at the very basic level amongst the hapu. Whenever Tumu and uncle Hepi spoke whatever the kaupapa or the subject was, and these were often quite big issues, the final word was often given to the chief. (Collin)

I think the reason for our role outside of Tuwharetoa is because of the challenges that lay ahead for us all...and it’s the ariki’s participation along with the other leaders. We each have a role to play, and I suppose as the ariki, there is a political role. We’ve got the traditional role, but there are these other things that actually we are asked to sit in (Sir Tumu)

The Chiefs in general do not claim any influence or authority outside of their family, clan, however if there is any, it is usually due to a familial connection.

There is some influence if you are part of an extended family. For example the Hahake from the Eastern side. Because it’s where my mother is from, you more or less can go there and be treated like the fahu. I have some authority there. The people there know the connection and they respect you (Tu’ivakanō)

If I reflect now, I hear from time to time, iwi leaders from other iwi referring to me as “my ariki”, and I’m assuming for me, it’s really a respect to that role. I really try not to confuse that statement with my having an influence (Sir Tumu).

I also think that when they refer to Tumu as their ariki, there is a whakapapa relationship they already know about, and we don’t even know
Despite literature often referring to the domains of paramount rulers being quite vast in size with a considerably large membership, the current paramount Chiefs believe that their leadership is localised and really only influential within their own immediate families and villages. Their titles may be respected at a national level but their actual influence is located mainly within their immediate boundaries. This would suggest that the current generation of paramount chiefs do not actually exercise the vast paramount authority that their ancestors and predecessors once did.

**History authenticated authority**

Historical performance is another criterion not only for the validation of one’s authority, but also for one’s political advancement. The historical performance here is not necessarily that of the individual who currently holds the title, but more of their ancestor, kin or lineage. It is their ability to convince others of their connection to these historical ancestors that determines their success in obtaining the same respect and power associated with their ancestor. The great chiefs and aristocrats of Polynesia have been historically portrayed as peoples whose every public action is a display of the refinements of breeding, in his manner always that noblesse oblige of true pedigree and an incontestable right to rule. With his standing not so much a personal achievement as a just social due, he can afford to be, and he is, every inch a chief (Sahlins, 2000b:75). Retrospective history, like a proud genealogy, is selective, favouring the lines that have moved toward fruition and ignoring those that seemed to have accomplished nothing (Goldman, 1970: xv).

Therefore, in theory, present day chiefs have no need to defend their positions in society. Their positions are already cemented in society through history, and therefore, they were merely installed into these existing ‘societal positions’ (Sahlins, 2000b:82). Authority and power resided in the office; it was not made by the demonstration of personal superiority. Such people of high rank and office ipso facto were leaders, and by the same token, if as individuals, they lacked the qualities of leadership, the underlying population had no right to question why (ibid).
The idea that chiefly leadership is authenticated by history is one that Tui Atua disagrees with.

Yes it’s there, the history and everything goes with it, but history does not exist in a vacuum. History is about people, it’s about human beings in the past and in the present and in the future. If you come in and say I should lead because my father was Tui Atua or because my father was Head of State, and that is your only qualification, well I’m sorry you’re going to lose. We need to recognise that life is dynamic, and your father was a leader because he had leadership quality, and the system was such that it bolstered status, but the bottom line is leadership. If it is there and it is coming from your family, it will be recognised. But if it’s not, then people will move away. You’re not going to be sustained by genealogy or honorifics. A title or a system is going to be sustained because the people have the calibre people have the vision, and the values and the leadership qualities which people look up to.

The fact that Tui Atua doesn’t believe one’s authority is authenticated by history is an indication that the belief in inherited authority and leadership is theory of the past. Traditionally in Samoan custom, once one is a matai, they automatically inherit leadership and mana. This is all authenticated on the history of the title. Tui Atua believes that today, authority and leadership is authenticated through a person’s own display of leadership. This further suggests that present day society is becoming more and more accepting of personal achievement over inherited honours. Both Ratu Joni and Tu’ivakanō share Tui Atua’s view.

I think that in a way, it’s had to acknowledge that people of non-chiefly rank can exercise leadership roles, but then again this is a process that has been under way since colonial times when one’s education began to be broadened, so that this process began to be set in place where achievement became more important or more significant than prescription, but also that’s how a modern society develops, because you develop specialisation and you have to have people trained for particular skills etc. It’s not enough to just exercise or to be a leader by virtue of the fact that you were born with it. Other factors come into play, and other people can stake a claim to leadership and affirm their worth in society (Ratu Joni)

The days are gone when you can think that you can get by on just your title. We’ve come to a new age where people can identify you with what you do, but it’s a blessing to have both (Tu’ivakanō).
Summary

Literature has tended to portray the chiefs as people [men], of the finest breeding who have been endowed with a special quality of the highest worth. They form an elite class of people, removed from the general or common group. Furthermore, they have been described as icons of local tradition and identity, as well as being the agents of the most powerful and significant cultural developments. The Chiefs do not believe that such descriptions apply to them today. It may have been applied to their predecessors, but definitely not to them. Ratu Joni often heard such sentiments being applied to his late uncle, Ratu Lala Sukuna. It is likely that humility prevents them from agreeing with such sentiments and all would agree that if such sentiments were to be said about them, it is not for them to imply, but rather for others to acknowledge. Judging from the previous chapter, the Chiefs would agree that subjective orientation would be the true indication of whether such sentiments are true or not.

In terms of being the agents of most powerful change and icons of identity, the Chiefs agree with this to a certain extent although they acknowledge that change and identity has not been entirely their own doing. Ratu Joni believes that given the chiefs have been in leadership and power for so long, they had the means to shape society as they saw it. Ratu Joni adds that given chiefly roles are diminishing today, they do not have as much influence to change society as they did in the past. Although they may not influence change as much as they did, they do however continue to be part of their respective island group’s identities. Tu’ivakanō believes the nobility gives Tonga its unique character within Polynesia. According to Pa Ariki, the ariki are the foundation of the Cook Islands. Ratu Joni adds that when one talks about their chiefs, they relate to their identity.

Change requires influence. The Chiefs agreed that their predecessors had the influence to change their societies. Today their roles are diminishing, therefore they do not have that same influence hence do not change society as much. Upon reflection, the same theory still applies today. People of influence continue to change society. However, chiefs are no longer the only people of influence within their societies. With the world becoming more open and people becoming more influential through achievements, more and more non-chiefly people are becoming agents of change in their own societies. The one quality of being a chief that has remained is that they continue to be icons of local tradition and identity. They may not have
the influence they once had, but they continue to be an important and respected part of their societies.

Collectively, they all agree that their roles and duties as chiefs within their own island groups have undergone change. Tui Atua believes that matakai today must be disciplined and lead by example. This is not regarded a traditional requirement of a matakai. Traditionally they are regarded as the enforcers of discipline rather than the being the example of it. The concept behind this is that a leader must be prepared to do the same as what he expects from his people. If he is disciplined, then his people will be disciplined through following his actions. There needs be more emphasis on continual service rendered by the matakai. Although this is a duty that has always been a requirement of a matakai, it is often lost on people once they become one. This is accompanied by sacrifice. Tui Atua firmly believes that a matakai must be prepared at all times to make sacrifices for his family. This contradicts historical practice, as it was often the family members that were required to make the sacrifices for their matakai. What Tui Atua is illustrating is a matakai that is no longer above his family and people, but rather one that is alongside his people.

Sir Tumu’s view on his role as an ariki departs slightly from the traditional Maori chiefs as described in literature. The Maori chief has often been portrayed as a figure with immense mana, an authoritative figure who in his past was a renowned and feared warrior, who at any moment still had the power to lead his army into battle. More specifically, ariki were chiefs of immense tapu, that they could not feed themselves for anything they touched would rot. These qualities do not accurately describe Sir Tumu. He is definitely a man with great mana, however he does not see himself as a warrior chief or a sacred being, nor do his people look upon him as such. He sees his role as a protector of his people, his iwi, and the Ngati Tuwharetoa identity. He is a caretaker of all that is important to his tribe, things such as land and resources, protecting them for future generations to enjoy. Unlike chiefs of the past who conquered other tribes and extended their powers, Sir Tumu does not believe he has any such powers outside of his own iwi. His role is localised, confined within his own tribe and within his own family. His own iwi address him as their ariki, nothing more, and because of this, they are very protective of their ariki.

Tu’ivakanō suggests that despite their elevated status within Tongan society, the nobles are in actual fact ordinary people. Often looked upon by people as occupying the same level as the king and the royal family, Tu’ivakanō is quick to point out that they actually hold a middle
position, one that connects the people and the king. This is supported by literature that sees the nobility as becoming more of a middle class than being part of the aristocracy. The majority of the nobles who do not hold government office are required to work like the rest of the people. There is no difference between nobles looking after and running their estates, and landlords looking after their properties. Based on Sahlins’ theory, Tonga is predominantly stratified, where high rank and status bestows greater prerogatives in society. According to Tu’ivakanō, this is not entirely accurate. A noble title may give one status, but it does not guarantee a privileged life. He is insistent on the point that nobles now need more than just their titles to support their ranks and place in society. They [nobles], like everyone else in Tonga, are judged on their merits and achievements.

Ratu Joni believes that his role as a chief is to project an indigenous Fijian identity reflecting the Fijian values of reciprocity, mutual respect and consensus. Like that of Tui Atua, this view of chiefly leadership is a step away from the traditional authoritative chiefly figure. He views the role of the chief as one that provides cohesion and support to his family and tribe first and foremost, and like Tui Atua, he believes a chief is a role model to his people. Ratu Joni openly admits that as a modern chief in Fiji, he neither has secular or sacred powers. These, he acknowledges, are now taken up by the government and church respectively. This predicament has lead Ratu Joni to accept the fact that chiefs today are having to find for themselves a place in the modern society because their traditional places have been taken up by others. The role that he suggests chiefs should now take on is to be a ‘symbol’, a symbol of what it means to be Fijian. This further confirms the point that chiefs are icons of identity and can continue to be so at the present time and in the future.

Like Sir Tumu, Pa Ariki also views her current ariki role as one of protection. Her protective nature is evident in the various projects that she is working on, which include the construction of a health centre for her people. Another of her concerns is the Cook Island language and how it is becoming less used by the young generation, so she sees this as an important project to take up. In protecting, she is also serving her people, which is another important aspect of her role as an ariki. Like all of her fellow Chiefs, Pa Ariki believes in the importance of her people. She places great importance on her people first, that she admits to putting them before her own immediate family. This is a sacrifice that she makes as an ariki, and is in line with Tui Atua’s view of the importance of today’s chiefs to be prepared to make these sorts
of sacrifices. Pa Ariki’s belief in service is evident in a remark she made about being proud to have served her people for 24 years, alluding to the number of years she has been an ariki.

Finally with regards to paramount authority and history authenticated authority, the Chiefs unanimously agree that their authorities are first and foremost over their immediate families and people. Despite having paramount titles which traditionally had authorities that extended beyond their families and peoples, they agreed that if it were the case, then that is for the people to acknowledge and not for them to assert. Those extended boundaries of influence no longer apply in the current environment. Even within their own villages, their status merely affords them respect rather than any real influence. In terms of their authority being authenticated by history, again they all believe they are living in a world that does not accept ‘history’ as the only reason to lead or to have authority. All agree that they cannot live off the names of their chiefly status, but need to gain for themselves their own respect, through their achievements, and through working and being amongst their people.
PART 2: EVOLUTION
CHAPTER 3
From Ancient to Pre-Contact Chiefs

This chapter is the beginning of a chronological look at the Polynesian chief at various stages in time. The arrival of foreigners into the Pacific is often regarded as one of the most significant events to occur in the region’s long history therefore it would make sense to use this as a starting point for looking at the history of the Polynesian chief. The acceptance of the new technologies and religion not only brought about the end of old practices, it also led to significant changes in the social, political and cultural lives of Pacific people. More importantly, it brought about change to the chiefly systems of the Pacific. If foreign contact brought about change, what existed before this point? This chapter endeavours to illustrate the type of environment that existed before the arrival of foreigners, and in doing so, provide an account of what pre-contact chiefs looked like, behaved and what their roles were in this environment. Given that one of the objectives of this research is to gage what purpose and role the Polynesian chief plays in its present day society, this chapter provides a starting point in time to which the present day chief can be compared.

The first part gives an account of the evolution of the chiefly form, starting with the divine gods at the dawn of time, to becoming the human beings that foreigners first encountered. History has often portrayed the chief as firstly being predominantly male, and secondly of mature age. The fact that four of the five chiefly participants in this research are men, and all of mature age could suggest that history is correct. Contrary to assumptions, and supported by origins and legends, this chapter will reveal that some of Polynesia’s most influential chiefs of the time were either female or were very young. Even more surprising is that in some cases, chiefs were not even humans or spirits, but were lifeless objects.

The second part of the chapter focusses on the pre-contact landscape. It looks at areas such as chiefly connections, privileges and taboos. It discusses the history of connections of chiefly people from different island groups and how these interactions have or have not influenced change. Given this chapter locates itself in a period that existed before foreign contact, one could argue that the absence or lack of written ‘western’ history could pose an issue of
accuracy and authenticity. As discussed in the introduction section, Pacific Studies is an inter-disciplinary field that draws from different academic disciplines as well as different knowledge sources. Pacific knowledge during the pre-contact period was disseminated through word of mouth. As time progressed, and literacy was introduced to the Pacific, the once oral knowledge was then transferred to writing, and it is in the writing of these indigenous historians, that the foundation of this chapter is supported.

1.0 Chiefly Forms

Gods

Polynesians originally believed that their world originated from a creator god. They conceived their universe as made up of levels or spheres, which included the heavens, the earth, the underworld and the spirit world. Each of these domains were occupied, humans on earth and the gods occupied the various levels of the heavens above and the underworld below (Craig, 2004:54). In most Polynesian islands, the heavens were the domain of Togaloaalagi, Tangaloa or Tangaroa. The spirit world was ruled over by Savea Siuleo or Havea Hikuleo while Maui ruled over the underworld. In most cases, these deities became their principal gods. The lowest of all creatures were the humans who resided between the heavens and the underworld. These gods were to the ancient period what the chiefs were to post contact Polynesia.

How does this relate to the present day society? Like the ancient gods, present day chiefs also occupy many levels and spaces. This is what distinguishes the chiefly from the non-chiefly i.e. the occupation of a ‘space’ pertaining to them and their status. Chiefs of higher levels occupy certain spaces and other chiefs of lower levels occupy somewhat lower or lesser spaces. In most cases these spaces are reserved specifically for the use of the chiefs and the non-chiefly are often prohibited from entering or being in such spaces.

The spaces can be both physical and abstract. For example in most Polynesian societies, a chiefly title is connected with a physical land (Fison, 1881:349; Marcus, 1978:516). It is this land and everything within it that the chief has control and power over. Within his land is also a specifically allocated area belonging to him. It is usually his place of residence within his realm of authority. The place is more the residence of the chiefly title than it is of the
human being that holds it. It is regarded sacred and rarely intruded. For example in Samoa, the space pertaining to a high chief is his *maota*. It is here that the chief sits and his *mana* is at its greatest. Although his authority extends beyond vast areas and spaces, his *maota* is the seat or throne of his kingdom. It is this connection between the title and the land on which it sits that authenticates the holder’s status and *mana*.

The names of these creator gods varied from island to island. They were known as Tangaroa (Kanaloa), Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Oro, Atea, Rangi, Lono or variations of these names (Craig, 2004:54; Tcherkezoff, 2004:115). Both Samoa and Tonga refer to Tagaloaalagi and Tangaloa Eitumatupua respectively as their creator gods (Craig, 2004:46; Flood, Strong, & Flood, 1999:186; Stuebel, 1976:10). Maori and Hawai’ian creation stories differ in that although the world was initially created as a result of the earth and sky parting, most of the land mass formed was a result of the demigod Maui having fished them up from the seabed (Reed, 1974:52; Varez, 1991).

Most of the gods resided in the heavens. Some traditions believed that the heavens also consisted of many levels. The higher the level in which a god resided, the greater the power that particular god possessed. The most powerful god occupied the topmost level of the heavens, usually being the gods of creation such as Tangaloa (Kanaloa), Tu (Ku), Tane (Kane), Oro, Tea, Rangi, and so forth. The minor gods occupied the lower levels of the heavens and underworld. Subordinate to these highest-rankings deities were lesser gods of districts, villages, and families. There were also gods of occupations such as carpenters, fishermen, builders, hairdressers and thatchers, while other gods presided over sporting events, games, dances, wars, and adultery or fornication. Even thieves had their patron (Craig, 2004:46). From the legends and stories, these godly figures were indeed the predecessors of the present day chief.

**Demigods**

Polynesians believed that chiefs were direct descendant of Gods (McCormick, 1977:3). The Samoan *ali‘i* or sacred chiefs traced its origins and genealogy back to Tagaloaalagi. Their sacredness and divinity is derived from this lineal connection (Meleisea, 1987:27; Ngan-Woo, 1985:35). *Ali‘i Pa‘ia* or Sacred Chiefs were descended through aristocratic bloodlines from the creator. They were as living gods among the humanity. The Tui Manu‘a, Samoa’s
The oldest paramount chief is believed to have been a son of Tagalaoaalagi to an earthly woman. Kramer on the other hand doesn’t record him as a direct son, but a direct descendant nonetheless (Kramer, 1994a:9).

The belief in the divinity of the ancient aristocrats also extended to Tonga. According to Tongan mythology, Tonga’s god of creation was Tangaloa ‘Eitumatupu’a and the first Tui Tonga was considered the son of the creator (Eustis, 1997:17; Howe, 1984:177). Another version by Ilaiu (2007:12) records the first Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga ‘Ahoeitu as a direct descendant of the god Tangaloa. Another account suggests that the first Tui Tonga was in fact a son of a Tui Manu’a, and given that the Tui Manu’a according to above is a direct descendant of the creator god Tagalaoaalagi, the Tui Tonga’s divinity remains intact through this genealogy as well. In narratives, the Tui Tonga was often referred to as langi (literally “sky”), a metaphor indicating his divine origin (that is, from the sky) (Herda, 1995:40).

In Hawai’i the chiefs of the highest rank also traced their ancestry to the most powerful gods (Howe, 1984:152). The birth of King Kamehameha I was seen as a ‘sign from the gods” (Pole, 1959:13). The then king of Hawaii, King Alapai was fearful that the unborn child of his niece had been prophesised as the slayer of all chiefs, including himself, and was determined to have the unborn child killed. As history shows, Kamehameha was born and went on to obtain for himself undisputed authority over all of the Hawaii islands. A chief being paranoid of Kamehameha taking over his rule sought advice from his high priest as to whether he should go to war with Kamehameha. The priest responded by saying that the gods were on the side of Kamehameha and that such action would be of no avail (ibid). In general, the people of Hawaii looked up to the chiefs as gods (David Malo as cited in Howe 1984).

In Rotuma chieftainships were based on notions of mana derived from ancestral gods on the one hand, and active support of the people on the other (Howard, 1996:207). They believed if a chief remained in favour with ancestral spirits and the gods, the land and the people would prosper. If a chief lost his mana, the people would suffer (ibid:208). The Fijian chief or turaga were often regarded as chiefs from God (Hooper, 1996:258)

The first Europeans to the Polynesian islands were mistakenl portrayed as gods or demigods. Commoners and chiefs responded to the divine strangers according to their own customary self-conceptions and interests (Sahlins, 1985:138). In some instances, they were
seen as envoys and representatives of the great creator god (Tcherkezoff, 2004:116). Captain Cook on a trip to Hawai‘i was mistaken by the local Hawaiians as being the god Lono (Kamakau, 1992:93; Pole, 1959:36; Potter, Kasdon, & Rayson, 2003:4). Immediately Cook was possessed with the authority and power befitting a god, be it in its human form. On account of bad timing, it was on a later trip to Hawai‘i that it was revealed to the Hawaiians that Cook was not indeed Lono, and this realisation lead to the killing of Captain Cook. Portrayed as divine, Cook was revered, but as soon as his mere human identity was revealed, he no longer commanded the respect he had on his previous trip.

The Priestly Chief

Legends and stories portrayed humans of pre-contact times as inferior beings to the gods; however they were not always completely powerless. Some humans became intermediaries or high priests of the gods. These humans claimed to be the living body of the gods on earth, and it was through them that the gods were able to communicate with their earthly subjects. One such person was the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu. Being a direct descendant of the principal god Tangaloa, he became the intermediary between the principal gods and the people (Mahina, 1986:18). In Tahiti, some locals (Maohi) were mediums, who could convey messages from the spirit beings when possessed by them. In a state of possession, these taura foamed at the mouth, had their eyeballs distorted and their limbs convulsed, and uttered hideous shrieks and ejaculations. The word taura literally means rope, indicating a connection between gods and humans (Routledge, 1985:38).

According to popular Bellonese belief, the noumenals (atua) were rulers of the cosmos, and acted through their human priests. They were organized hierarchically from the sky gods, to the district deities and the ancestors (Monberg, 1996:188). These examples suggest that the power possessed by these high priests was only through their association with the gods. It implies that the gods are still the source of power. The notion of power and status through association is still very much applicable today. Take for instance the example in chapter one of status through membership of a chiefly family and authority of lesser chiefs through direct association with their more senior and paramount head.

There were also high priests who had the ability to control the supernatural. There was a close connection between priests and chiefs. Priests were often members of chiefly families
themselves (Routledge, 1985:38) and in some cases, chiefs themselves were priests. Once they became inspired it was believed that his particular deity, and each priest had but one, had entered his body and under such conditions, he essentially became that god and was thus due the full respect paid to deity (Ferdon, 1987:78). They were often intermediaries between the spiritual world and the earthly world. One such high priest was Auva’a, a paramount chief of Falealupo. He was believed to be the high priest of the Samoan goddess of war, Nafanua. Anyone who sought the help of Nafanua in warfare had to go through Auva’a. Through his connection with Nafanua, his mana was as great as that of the paramount chiefs of the day.

In Tahiti there were many levels of chiefs. The ari’i nui (great chief) possessed the greatest of all authority and power. He ruled over more powerful and prestigious localised kin groups, and over tribal groups encompassing large numbers of people over a broad area (Howe, 1984, p.125). More importantly, what set the ari’i nui apart from the rest of the lesser ranked chiefs was that he had the power to be an intermediary between his human followers and the gods, and more importantly traced their family links back to the ancestral gods (ibid, p.140). By virtue of this power, they were both religious and secular rulers.

Priesthood tended to be handed down from father to son, and those who held the priestly office in a particular area did so with the sanction of the local chief, or of a greater chief in the case of high priests (Lange, 2005:38).

The Warrior Chief

Another important and powerful type of chief was the warrior chief. Before succession through primogeniture and birth right, the main path to power and authority was through warfare, therefore ambitious individuals seeking to gain for them such power were at an advantage having war and combat experience. Strength was always idealised (Goldman, 1970:14)

The prominence of war, the adulation of sheer power, not to mention the immediate political consequences of victory or defeat, almost inevitably elevated the warriors to a level where they could challenge the ariki (ibid).
Similarly Buck claims that (as cited in Kirch):

In the course of history the prestige of the toa (successful warrior) began to overshadow that of the rangatira (chief).... A hereditary chief could not rely on his seniority alone, but, to maintain his power in the tribe, he had to be a warrior as well (1984:205)

In Samoa the current term for government is ‘mālō’. The usage of this term stems back to the old days of war (Meleisea, 1987:75). The other meaning of the term is ‘to win’ or ‘victorious’. When one warring party defeated another, the victors were termed ‘o le mālō’ referring to their victory. Over time the term has come to represent the winning party in politics. Chiefly warfare and modern politics have some slight commonalities. Both involve adversaries vying for control of an area and/or people. The major difference is that in politics, the defeated opponent usually survives to provide an on-going challenge to the victor. In pre-contact times, not only did the defeated lose the battle, in severe cases, they lost their lives as well.

The greatest of chiefs gained their reputations through their conquests in war. Their right to rule was legitimised through their ability to conquer and eliminate those who challenged their authority. Their reputations as rulers were heightened by their reputation as warriors. Most were warriors first and chiefs in later life. Some of the more famous warrior chiefs were; Tui Manu’a, Fonoti, Galumalemana and Malietoa Vainu’upo of Samoa; Tu’i Tonga, Finau Ulukalala, Ma’afu Enele and King Taufa’ahau Tupou I of Tonga; Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa, Ratu Seru Cakobau and Ratu Kamisese Mara Kapaiwai of Fiji; Potatau and Tawhio Te Wherowhero, Mananui and Iwikau Te Heuheu, Te Rauparaha, Hongi Hika and Hone Heke of Aotearoa; Karika, Tangiiaa and Iro of Rarotonga, and Kamehameha and Pomare of Hawaii and Tahiti respectively. Despite all being direct descendants of their respective chiefly lines, they all consolidated their chiefly claims through their prowess and success in war. They all in later life further cemented their claims and positions through foreign assistance from administrators and missionaries. However, their fearsome reputations were already entrenched in their respective island groups well before the arrival and influence of these foreigners.

Ideally, warriors came from the ranks of chiefs, but since nature does not necessarily bestow her very specific measures of personal quality by
genealogical line, Polynesians – always realists in war – were often compelled to honour warriors regardless of rank (Goldman, 1970:14).

With the acceptance of Christianity, the chiefs became less associated with war and with warriors. However, like the British and European royals, some members of present day royal families have also embraced a career in the military prior to assuming chiefly and leadership responsibilities. Baron Vaea Siaosi Tu’ihala Alipate was a fighter pilot flying for the Royal New Zealand Air Force during World War II before he became a noble and eventually Prime Minister of Tonga from 1991 to 2000. The current King of Tonga, Tupou VI is a retired Tongan Navy Lieutenant Commander who commanded a Pacific-class patrol boat during peacekeeping operation in Bougainville before becoming Prime Minister. His older brother, the late King Siaosi Tupou V attended the Royal Military College in Sandhurst in England and his sister Princess Pilolevu is married to a noble and retired Naval Captain Lord Tuita. Lord Tu’ivakanō’s eldest son, Kiu36, is currently serving in the Royal Tongan Army.

The Fijian chiefly families of recent time have also had a large military involvement. Ratu Lala Sukuna, probably the most influential chief in Fiji during the early 20th century was a soldier in World War I who fought for the French Foreign Legion after being declined enlistment in the British Army. Ratu Edward Tungi Cakobau, a great-grandson of Ratu Seru Cakobau and a grandson of King George Tupou II of Tonga commanded the Fiji Infantry Regiment in World War II and was awarded a Military Cross. His son, current President of Fiji, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau had been a member of both the New Zealand and Fijian Infantry Regiments and retired with the ranking of Brigadier-General. Former President of Fiji and holder of paramount title Tui Cakau, Ratu Sir Penai Ganilau had also served in the Fiji Military Force and discharged at the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to enter politics. His son Ratu Epeli Ganilau, a former Chairman of the Great Council of Chiefs also had a long military career before retiring as a Brigadier General to follow his father’s footsteps into politics.

During the mid-1980s the Fijian military was seen as a reflection of the class structure and the polarisation of Fiji’s society (Wilkes & Ratuva, 1992:64).

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36 Kiu is married to Princess Pilolevu’s second daughter, the Hon. Titilupe Fanetupouvava’u Tuita
The commander of the Fiji military was Brigadier Nailatikau, the Prime Minsters’ son-in-law and also a close relative. He is the nephew of the previous governor-general, himself a paramount chief. Slotted in various senior ranks and holding vital positions are those of chiefly class. The lowest ranks in the military are held by the commoners (ibid).

According to Ratuva, Fiji had no enemies therefore the military’s main purpose was to intervene whenever there was any serious threat to the interests of the ruling-class. This was evident in 1984 when Prime Minister Ratu Mara Kamisese threatened to call in the military if the Fiji Trade Union Congress staged a national strike (ibid). After the 1987 coup, allegations were made that Ratu Mara had again sought the help of military to regain power, thus illustrating the above point. Today’s military does not seem to have the same relationship with the chiefly class. In 2006, Colonel Ratu Jone Baledrokadroka left the military and a high posting after falling out with military commander, Bainimarama. In 2009, he fled Fiji and sought asylum in Canberra37. Similarly in 2011, Colonel Ratu George Mara, fled Fiji and was picked up by the Tongan navy and taken back to Tonga for protection38.

Asked whether there is still a warrior stigma attached to being a chief, the common response by the participants was that it was a past reputation and does not apply much to today’s society.

Sure, once upon a time, a lot of our titles derived from prowess, not only from prowess in war but prowess in statecraft, tōfā and fautaga etc, but it’s always on merit. If you look through any of those guys, you’ll find that their eminence is due to quality leadership, it’s due to skill, it is due to leadership. There is hardly any war to speak of, but there is still conflict. The conduct of a leader does not change whether it is an environment of war, or in environment of peace (Tui Atua).

I guess in the old days that would’ve been the case but I don’t think you have that now. Given the influence of the church, I don’t think you will find that to be the case now (Tu’ivakanō)

In terms of the warrior status, In the Bau context, that really doesn’t apply to the Roko Tui Bau position because Roko Tui Bau was the priest ruler of Bau. He was then overthrown by the Vunivalu the war leader, but interestingly that argument about that perception of it being associated with warriors is actually one of the arguments that people who don’t want a

37 “Fiji’s ex-commander seeks asylum”, abc.net.au, 5th November 2009
38 Tonga not recognize Fiji’s extradition orders for fugitive top officer Mara”, news.xinhuanet.com, 27th June 2011
female Vunivalu use to say that this was a warrior position. I think that that’s a bit disingenuous because it’s really transformed from being a warrior position, to really being a leader of Bau by overthrowing the old order and re-establishing a new order, except with the Vunivalu as the ruler. So those considerations really no longer apply. I think it’s really using an argument as a reflection in former times to apply to the present. The Vunivalu is now the senior chief on Bau, the high chief of Bau. So why shouldn’t it be a woman? It’s no longer just a warrior status (Ratu Joni)

The Skilled Chief

Power and authority was also obtained through specialised skills and acts. Knowledge and skill have often been associated with mana. Those with specialized skill and knowledge are referred to as tohunga (Maori), tufuga (Samoan), kuhuna (Hawaiian) and tahu’a (Tahitian). As skilled individuals, they possessed mana (Shore, 1989:150).

The overlap between tohunga and mana brings out two features of Polynesian status systems; their emphasis upon capability, and the constancy of mana as a standard of worth (Goldman, 1970:13).

Having mana in turn gave them status, thus elevating them above people without such skills. This includes experts such as house builders, canoe builders, fishermen, navigators, traditional doctors, tattooists, tool makers and orators. They were master craftsmen, highly honoured for their skills (McLaughlin, 2007:18). This honour was accorded to the likes of the stone masons of Tonga, the tattooists of Samoa and the boat builders of Fiji. They are experts because they had the ability to control the forces and appease the various gods to whom their specialized crafts were connected with.

The word tahu’a referred to masters of any skill, but leadership in prayer (pure) and religious ceremonies was a pre-eminent specialist role in Ma’ohi culture. Tahu’a pure were experts in sacred knowledge and ritual practice. Their mana was a spiritual potency and prestige conferred on them by their training and expertise and by their special role as intermediaries with the (Lange, 2005:38).

While the tohunga title has a parallel significance to that of mana, mana is the constant model. All evidence points to the chiefs, the ariki, as those who set the standards for the tohunga to follow. Like mana, tohunga is a special form of a more general status principle, the honouring of ability (Goldman, 1970:13).
Skilled people not only possessed the *mana* of chiefly people, they were also perceived as being *tapu* in the same way.

The laws of *tapu* prevent men from approaching men working on a sacred canoe or builders of a chieftain’s marae – they were strictly *tapu* (McComick, 1977:2)

The *tufuga* can be used to refer to a number of skilled craftsmen in Samoa. To differentiate each craft, a suffix is often added, for example a *tufuga tā tatau* is a master tattooist and a *tufuga fau fale* is a master house (*fale*) builder. Another skilled figure in Samoa is the orator or the *tulafale*. His skill was not so much in physical craft, but rather the skill of knowledge and oratory. The main orator of a village was often known as the *tu’ua*, the main keeper of the village’s knowledge. Whether the terms *tufuga* and *tu’ua* are cognates of each other is not known, however the fact that they both represent ‘experts’ in certain areas may suggest there is some sort of connection. The orator chief would therefore be a member of this skilled group of individuals. Other than Samoan, the Tongans, Maori and Cook Islands developed a group of experts whose main role was to speak on behalf of the chief. In Tonga, these were the *matapule*. Although the *matapule* is commonly regarded an orator, they are sometimes referred to as a chief’s assistant. According to Maori, the younger brother often spoke on behalf of his older chiefly brother, suggesting that in some cases, the orator position was held by a junior line.

**Symbolic Chief**

It is evident from the above examples that over time, the authority figures have undergone many changes in form. These forms varied from gods, to priests, to humans. Animals and objects such as rocks and trees were also worshipped as gods in pre-contact times (Firth, 1970:308). Animals such as the shark, stingray, octopus and turtle were regarded as gods by various Polynesian island groups. These animals were seen as gods in animal form, therefore were never hunted or killed by islanders. For generations, these animal gods were protected and worshiped until missionaries instructed islanders to kill and eat them to prove their conversion to Christianity.

Sometimes during the 12th/13th century, the Tongans installed as their paramount chief a statue, a block of wood (Rutherford, 1977:33). According to genealogy, the 13th Tu’i Tonga
was a block of wood named Tu’i Tonga nui Ko e Tamatou. The previous Tu’i Tonga, Talatama died without issue so to keep the line pure, they installed a block of wood as his successor (ibid). When Tu’i Tonga Talatama’s younger brother Talaiha‘apepe was ready to succeed, he was introduced as the block of wood’s son and therefore the grandson of Tu’i Tonga Talatama, thus keeping the line pure.

The Tongan royal family had also bestowed a title, Tu’i Malila, upon a pet tortoise. Tu’i Malila was the pet tortoise of the Tongan royal family and lived from 1777 to 1965. Captain James Cook gave the tortoise as a gift to the Tu’i Tonga ruling in 1777. The tortoise was named Tu’i Malila, or King of Malila, after a royal residence at the ancient capital Mu’a on Tongatapu. For generations Tu’i Malila was kept as the Royal pet. It died in 1965 and holds the record for the longest living pet. The tortoise's mortal remains are preserved at the Museum of the Tonga National Centre.

According to Ratu Joni, symbolism could be a way chiefs can remain relevant in today’s world.

*I suppose I see myself as a symbol to those who acknowledge me as their traditional leader, of what has gone before, and their place in the world. I’m fairly relaxed about people asking what the future of the chiefly system would be. And my reply to that, talking in the context of Fijian people, is what the Fijian people want the chiefly system to be* (Ratu Joni)

### 2.0 Chiefly Women & Children

#### The Child Chief

Chiefs are stereotypically regarded as being mature in age with a certain level of experience. Early depiction of chiefs by explorers and missionaries describe them as men in their senior years however there have been many cases in Polynesia where young children and teenagers have assumed chiefly positions. Possibly the youngest noted monarch in Polynesian history was Pomare III. After the death of his father Pomare II in 1821, it is said that Pomare III succeeded his father as a one year old (Langdon, 1959: 124). In the meantime, Tahiti was governed by older chiefs until the baby king was deemed ready to rule. Unfortunately, the young king died of an influenza epidemic in 1827, and was succeeded by his older sister who was at the time only fourteen years of age (ibid: 126).

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39 “Tu’i Malila”, pacificinsider.com, 5th September 2011
The great Salamāsina of Samoa was believed to have been a child when her aunty and adopted mother Levālasi asked to have the Tafa’ifā bestowed on her young child rather than herself (Kramer, 1994a). Malietoa Tanumafili I was bestowed the Malietoa title after the death of his father, Malietoa Laupepa, at the age of eighteen (Gilson, 1970: 427). The only other young recorded paramount chief of Samoa was a fourteen year old Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III who inherited the name and title after the death of his older brother Tupua Tamasese Lealofi II in 1915.

After the death of Taufa’ahau King George Tupou I, he was succeeded to the throne by his nineteen-year old great-great grandson King George Tupou II (Campbell, 1992: 108). Upon his death in 1918, he was in turn succeeded by his eighteen year old daughter Sālote who became Queen Sālote Tupou III. Despite her young age when assuming the throne, she reigned for forty-seven years and became a much loved Tongan monarch.

As a ten year-old, Kauikeaouli became King Kamehameha III after the death of his older brother King Kamehameha II (Liholiho) in 1824 (Potter et al., 2003: 52). He went on to become the longest serving monarch of Hawai’i, having reigned for twenty-nine years before his death. His nephew Alexander Liholiho succeeded him as King Kamehameha IV at the age of twenty (Lowe, 1997: 51). Although there have not been too many child rulers throughout the history of Polynesia, the few that have existed show that a mature age does not necessarily determine one’s appointment. In the Tongan and Tahitian case, the customs of succession of the time meant that the eldest born son or daughter (if no son) succeeded their parent irrespective of age. In some cases where the chief was too young, a caretaker took care of all the chiefly responsibilities until the child successor came of age to rule independently. Until that point, the child chief was only a ruler in name.

A common practice in Samoa during pre-contact times was to kidnap chiefly babies to be raised by the kidnapper’s clan as their chief. This was commonly done by low ranking clans in order to lift the rank of their own clan through the raising of a kidnapped chiefly baby who would eventually become their chief, in the process lifting the rank of their own clan. When orators from Fasito’otai and Fasito’outa (Tutuila & Ape) had heard that Vaetamasoali’i was to bear child, they had planned to kidnap the child at birth. Vaetamasoali’i was of the Malietoa lineage and therefore her child was also of the same high rank and status. At the time there was no high chief in either of their villages. This was resented by the orators and...
especially the people of Fasito’otai and Fasito’outa for whenever they went to another village, their presence was ignored (Henry, 1979:43). When the villages of Safata and Lotofaga had heard of the kidnap, they chased the orators but upon hearing the reasons why the baby was kidnapped Vaetamsoali’i was satisfied and let them have her chiefly baby. The baby was to become Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi, the father of Queen Salamasina. History would repeat itself when Queen Salamasina’s baby son, Tapumanaia was himself kidnapped by two orators of Salani (Talo & Ofoia). It was not long before Salamasina heard that her child had been kidnapped to procure a high chief for Salani and remembering that her own father was kidnapped for the same reason, she decided to leave her child to them (ibid:75)

Although children are seldom bestowed paramount chiefly titles today, Tonga has some of the youngest paramount chiefs or nobles in Polynesia. This is largely due to the formation of the nobility in 1875 and the law of succession by male primogeniture. Even today, young men in their early twenties are inheriting noble titles from their late noble fathers. Although they are not children, they are still very young by modern standards and find themselves engaging with other fellow nobles ranging in age from as young as themselves right up to elderly age. In 2011, the noble Lord Fulivai was appointed the new Governor of Vava’u. There was a lot of media coverage about his appointment in Tonga, particularly because he was the youngest ever noble to be appointed as a Governor of Vava’u. At the time, Lord Fulivai was 34 years of age. Becoming a noble at such a young age does have its problems.

Some problems stem from age and generational differences. Emigration has taken away younger people, leaving behind the elderly, who do not welcome working programs put forward by a young noble not very well known to them. The Honorable Luani, who was 28 years old when invested with his title in 1987, is one young noble who has found it difficult to implement projects on his estates. “I would set out a plan, but then [the villagers] come along saying that was not how it was done when my father was alive”. Luani remembered how his father would call on his people to come and work. He continued, “Now it is different, there will be only a few turn up and they are not very keen” (K. James, 1997:60)

Tu’ivakanō speaks of similar experiences.

When my father sent me to fono, I didn’t know what to say and I use to wonder whether they wanted to hear me speak or not. As time goes on, you

40 “Lord Fulivai new Vava’u Governor” mic.gov.to/ministrydepartment/govt-departments-7th July 2011
develop that relationship with your people and they will accept you because you are going to be the next heir (Tu’ivakanō).

In some cases, the actual age of the chief is not an issue, but the fact that the newly appointed chief is much younger than the subordinate chiefs that owe him or her allegiance. Such was the case with Pa Ariki.

When I came into the title, I was in my 40s, and my elders were in their 60s, 80s, 90s and they thought I didn’t know anything. They were trying to take the lead in a lot of things that the ariki was supposed to do, and I watched them and I didn’t say anything. Sir Tom was always there supporting me, giving me help on how I should lead myself, and my mother brother who was an elder and a rangatira. He was always there showing me how I should do things etc. (Pa Ariki)

There seems to be a shift in what is considered ‘young’ within the Polynesian region. With a belief that the paramount chief is the ‘culturally’ oldest member of the village (despite their actual age), there seems to be an expectation that the chief should be of a certain mature age. As a result, a chief of 20-30 years of age would therefore be regarded as a young chief. If there are a large number of people much older than a chief who is in this age bracket, it may cause some problems as the older people may feel reluctant take instructions from a chief considerably younger than themselves. This would suggest that youthfulness is not a favourable trait for a present day paramount chief. The appointment of the two latest paramount chiefs in Samoa and the Cook Islands highlights this point. In 2011, The tama’āiga paramount title was bestowed for the first time since 1977. The new chief was an 83 year old 41. Similarly in the Cook Islands, the ariki title of Tinomana was bestowed on a 76 year old woman in 2013 42.

Traditional Female Status

Women traditionally possess status and authority in Polynesia. Concepts of feagaiga in Samoa, fahu in Tonga and vasu in Fiji support this fact (Scarr, 1970: 96). In Samoa, the brother and his sister have a very special and sacred relationship known as the feagaiga. In honour of this special relationship, it is a brother’s duty to protect his sister at all times. A sister is often referred to as the i’oimata (eyeballs) of her brother. This implies that the sister

41 “Mata’afa paramount title in Samoa bestowed on 83 year old village chief”, radionz.co.nz/international/pacific-news, 30th May 2011
42 “Pakau Mataiapo now Tinomana Ariki”, cookislandsnews.com, 22nd November 2013
is dear to her brother and therefore the brother must render respect to his sister at all times. Similarly in the Tongan culture, the *fahu* relationship is a special one between a man and his sister. The brother must render respect to his sister, especially the oldest sister who is often referred to as the *mehikitanga*. The *mehikitanga* outranks her brother regardless of being older or younger than her. This ranking travels down through their children. The children of the *mehikitanga* are regarded as being of higher rank than their mother’s brothers and his children. This relationship is often illustrated during events such as funerals and weddings where particular respect and deference is rendered to the *mehikitanga* and her children, by the brother and his children through acts of gifting and service. In Fiji, a man’s sister’s children are said to be his *vasu*. Traditionally a woman’s children can go to the village of their mother’s brother and there they would be treated and held with the highest of respect. Even if they were seeking material goods, they were most likely to seek this from their mother’s brother for he would be bound by the *fahu* relationship to honour his nephew and niece’s wishes. The traditional relationship between a sister and her brother applied to all men, whether they were chiefly of not. This special relationship extended beyond the chiefly systems, and although the chief is often looked upon as the highest ranking individual in the village, based on the *feagaiga*, *fahu* and *vasu*, his sister outranks him in terms of their personal relationship with each other. Such a relationship does not seem to have existed in the Cook Islands or Aotearoa so it may be one that was only practiced in western Polynesia. Although women of high rank were often influential, in ancient Polynesia, the chiefs were mainly men (M. Crocombe, 1994:188).

**The Female Chief**

Despite women having high rank in Samoa, the chiefs’ genealogies show that the paramount chiefly titles of Malietoa, Tupua Tamasese, Matā’afa and Tuimaleali’ifano, have in its entire history been in the possession of male holders. This is rather unusual given the fact that Samoa’s first supreme ruler or Tafa’i fā, was actually the young woman, Salamāsina. What is often overlooked is that all the four *pāpā* titles which constitute the Tafa’i fā were all in the possession of Nafanua, the goddess of war. It was her desire that they be bestowed upon a woman of her clan, Levālasi (also known as So’oa’emalelagi). Levālasi declined, and asked that they be bestowed instead on her young child Salamāsina (Kramer, 1994a: 263). Her

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Tui Atua, Tui A’ana, Gatoa’itele & Vaetamasoali’i

Salamāsina was adopted by Levalasi. Her real father was Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi who was Leavalasi’s first cousin.
wish was granted, and the rest is history. Other than Salamāsina, both Nafanua and Levalasi have also become entrenched in Samoan history as three of the most powerful and influential women in Samoa.

There is debate over claims that there existed at one point in time, a female Malietoa title holder. According to Gunson, a woman named Taiapo was the 17th Malietoa (1987:169; 1997:146). In the Malietoa genealogy as offered up by Kramer (1994a:646), a female by the name of Taiapo sits between the names of Malietoa Taulapapa and Malietoa Tuilaepa. The assumption is that she would have held the title herself. Although many are critical of this assumption, the fact remains that she is recorded. The four pāpā titles of Tui Atua, Tui A’ana, Gatoaitele and Vaetamasoali’i also have female connections. The latter two were actually named after women. Gatoaitele was a daughter of Malietoa Laauli and Vaetamasoali’i was his granddaughter. The Tui Atua and Tui Aana titles have been held by women separately. After Salamāsina, the Tui Atua and Tui Aana titles were then held successively by three women, Fofiovaose, Taufau and Sina. One genealogy records a female Tui Atua Seefaatauamaga was two generations before Salamāsina and another genealogy records as many as four female Tui Aana before Salamāsina (see page 301 for genealogy). Even the ancient paramount chief title of Tui Manu’a have had a couple of female holders. The first was Tui Manu’a Seuea (27th) and the second was Tui Manu’a Makerita (39th) (Gunson, 1987:169).

According to Tongan history, the ancient ruling title of Tu’i Tonga has never been held by a woman. Taking the fahu relationship into account, the only other person to have outranked a Tu’i Tonga is his most senior sister (Herda, 1995: 42; Marcus, 1980: 32; Wood, 1942: 13). The Tu’i Tonga Fefine (Female ruler of Tonga) honour was held by the eldest full sister of the incumbent Tu’i Tonga. Subsequently, the offspring of the Tu’i Tonga Fefine, tamahā, also inherited the rank of the Tu’i Tonga Fefine. Her rank was so high, that she never married a Tongan as no man in Tonga could qualify to raise or even maintain the status of her children (ibid). In the third and current ruling line, the Tu’i Kanokupolu, there have been records of women ascending to the title. The first known female Tu’i Kanokupolu was Tupoumoheofo (Herda, 1987:195). She is perhaps the most popular female figure in the post-contact history of Tonga for a number of reasons. Not only was she a daughter of Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi (7th TK), but she was also the wife of Tu’i Tonga Paulaho (36th TT). Observers believe that she was responsible for dethroning her father’s brother, Tu’i
Kanokupolu Maealiuaki (8th TK) in favour of her full brother Tu’ihalafatai (9th TK). When her nephew Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi45 (10th TK) was dethroned by her first cousin Tu’i Kanokupolu Mulikiha’amea46, she in turn dethroned him and in the process assumed the title as the 12th Tu’i Kanokupolu (Ilaiu, 2007: 82). The only other known woman to have assumed the Tu’i Kanokupolu title was Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupou III (21st TK), or Queen Sālote as she was commonly known. Her long reign from 1918 to 1965 was regarded by many as a period of peace, unity and stability in Tonga (Campbell, 1992: 125).

In the Maori Kingitanga’s 150 year history, there has been only one female monarch, the late Maori Queen, Te Ariki Nui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. As the 6th Maori monarch, she was the great-great-great granddaughter of the first Maori king, King Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, and the mother of the current king, King Tuheitia Paki. At the time of her death, she had reigned for 40 years (1966 – 2006). Although there has only been one Maori Queen, there have been a few well-known Maori woman chiefs of the past. There was paramount chieftainess Hinematioro of Ngati Porou. Her mana and tapu was derived from her chiefly father Tane-toko-rangi a grandson of Konohi of Whangara and a paramount chief of the Ngati Porou iwi47. Because of her tapu and mana, she was carried everywhere by her people and was attended to with great care and respect48. The other notable Maori chiefly woman was Rangi Topeora, a chieftainess from Ngati Toa. She was also a niece of the famous warrior chief, Te Rauparaha. Rangi was often referred to as ‘Te Kuini’ or ‘Queen of the South’ by her people49. Women traditionally held ariki and rangatira status. Over time, foreign influence changed it so that only men were seen as suitable for being ariki and rangatira50.

Given that the Fijian chiefly system has been predominantly a male domain, there are instances where females have assumed traditional paramount chiefly titles. The Roko Tui Dreketi title of the Rewa province unlike many of the other titles is not reserved exclusively for males. It is considered one of the three most senior titles of Fiji. For over 50 years, the title has been in the possession of women. The current holder Ro Teimumu Tuisawau-Kepa assumed the title in 2004 after the death of her predecessor and older sister Ro Lady Lala Tuisawau-Mara. Lady Lala was the wife of the late Tui Lau Ratu Kamisese Mara, and had

45 Son of Tui Kanokupolu Tu’ihalafatai
46 Son of Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki
47 “Story: Hinematioro”, teara.govt.nz, 30th October 2012
48 “Hinematioro” nzetc.victoria.ac.nz,
49 “Topeora, Rangi”, teara.govt.nz, 22nd November 2011
50 Personal communications with Dr Josie Keelan – Dean Teaching & Learning Mautauranga Maori – Unitec NZ
been the Roko Tui Dreketi from 1957 to 2004. At the province and district levels, a few women have held chiefly titles (see pages 330-331). What makes Fiji unique from other islands is that chiefly women are always addressed with a prefix of ‘Adi’ or ‘Ro’ in front of their name. Even if a person did not know who the woman was, the mention of the prefix will immediately identify her as being of chiefly rank, therefore warranting respectful deference. In other island groups, women of chiefly status generally have no special title connected to their name and can at times lead to people not knowing their social rank. The only exception other than Fiji is Tonga where the daughters of the king are addressed as ‘Princesses’.

Prior to the unification of Hawai‘i by Kamehameha I, each island was ruled by its own ali‘i nui kapu (sacred paramount chief). Although histories show that these roles were predominantly held by males, it was not confined solely to them. All the islands of Hawai‘i except for Maui have all at one point in time been ruled by a female as its ali‘i nui. The islands of Molokai and the main island of Hawai‘i have each been ruled by as many as three women throughout its history.

The first woman of notable authority in Hawai‘i was Ka‘ahumanu. She was the principal wife of Kamehameha I, and upon his death, took on the role of Kuhina Nui or Prime Minister of Hawai‘i. In her role, she had as much power and authority as the new king, Kamehameha II (also known as Liholiho)\(^{51}\) (Potter et al., 2003: 37). Ka‘ahumanu was believed to be the main orchestrator of the abolishment of the kapu system\(^{52}\) by Kamehameha II (Campbell, 2003: 91; Howe, 1984: 163; Kamakau, 1992: 225). Breaking the kapu system meant simple things like allowing men and women, chiefs and commoners to eat together (Lee Seaton, 1974:193). The only female monarch of Hawai‘i was Queen Lili‘uokalani who became the eighth and last monarch before the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was overthrown by European and American businessmen and politicians with the assistance of U.S sailors and marines.

Another centuries old dynasty, the Lavelua chiefs of Uvea (Wallis) have also had women as its paramount chief at various points in time. In fact it has had four women holders of the Lavelua title, with Lavelua Aloisia Brial (nee Tautuu) being the last woman to hold it from 1953 to 1958 (Gunson, 1987:169). Strangely the paramount titles of its neighbouring Futuna,

\(^{51}\) Son of Kamehameha I to Keōpūlani
\(^{52}\) A complex series of prohibitions, allegedly designed by the gods, that chiefs used to maintain social control.
that of the Tui Sigave and Tui Agaifo have never been held by a woman despite all dynasties starting roughly at the same time.

Eastern Polynesia has had a long history of female chiefly leaders, especially in the Society Island, Austral Islands and the Cook Islands. The Society Islands of Tahiti, Ruahine, Borabora, Raiatea and Taha’a have all had female rulers. The most notable of the female leaders was Queen Pomare IV Vahine-o-Punuateraitua of Tahiti. She inherited the Pomare title after the death of her brother King Pomare III Teriitaria in 1827. She was only 14 at the time (Campbell, 2003: 91). She succeeded in uniting the kingdoms of Borabora, Raiatea and Tahiti under her control. In the very short history of the Tahitian monarchy, Queen Pomare IV had been the only female monarch. Even though her authority over Tahiti lasted until the French took over in 1842, she remained their nominal queen until her death in 1877, after having ruled over Tahiti for over 50 years (Langdon, 1959: 209). In the Austral Island of Rimatara, its last acknowledged monarchs before the French takeover were women. They were Ari’i-rahi Temaeva IV who ruled from 1876-1892, and she was succeeded by her daughter Ari’i-rahi Temaeva V who ruled from 1892-1901. The latter died in 1923.

The Cook Islands has seen probably the largest number of women hold paramount chiefly titles especially within the last century and up to the present day. Take for instance the old paramount chief Pa Ariki from the Takitimu district on Rarotonga. Over the past century and a half, five of the last six Pa Ariki have been women, the current being Pa Ariki Marie Peyroux who has held the title since 1990. According to genealogy, the Pa Ariki title dates back 49 generations or title holders (Tangaroa, 2011:9). Today on the island of Rarotonga alone, women hold four out of the six paramount chiefs of the island. These titles are Pa Ariki (Marie Peyroux), Makea Nui Ariki (Margaret Mere), Tinomana Ariki (Ruta Tuoro) and Kainuku Ariki (Kapiriterangi). A male holds the Makea Vakatini Ariki paramount title, while the sixth paramount title Makea Karika Ariki is currently vacant. On a larger scale, out of the 23 paramount ariki in the entire Cook Islands, eight are currently held by women, twelve by men, and three are currently vacant. There are also a number of women holding chiefly titles of the next rank down (mataiapo). Women therefore make up 40% of the current paramount ariki in the Cook Islands, a number which no other island group can match or even come close to. Even in Samoa, where it is common for women to assume chiefly titles (not necessarily of the paramount level), male matai still far outnumber female matai.

53 “List of Current Constituent Monarchs”, wikipedia.org
54 ibid
According to the 2011 Samoan census, of the 16,787 matai title holders living in Samoa, only 1,766 were women (10.5%).

**Present Day Female Limitations**

According to Pitt,

Samoans think it is inappropriate for a woman to be a matai, and that they should only take on a title temporarily only if they are ‘keeping the seat warm’ for a male relative who is too young and immature to hold the title (1970:88).

Today there are many practices within the different island groups that suggest women today do not share the same status or privileges that males do. For instance, in Samoa, there are still villages that do not allow women to hold matai titles. Such villages include Afega, Lufilufi, Falelatai and certain sub villages of Staupa’itea.55 Asked why women did not hold chiefly titles in their villages, individuals were not completely sure but said it was just the way their village operated. In a separate discussion with a woman from the village of Afega, she claims that although only men of the village hold chiefly titles, the women are still very much involved in the decision making of the village through their women’s committee. This would suggest that in villages such as Afega, there seems to be a dual nature of authority i.e. men have authority through being a chief, while women have a collective authority through membership of the women’s committee. However this is how most villages operate, in villages where they allow both men and women to hold matai titles. The women’s committee still have a say in village affairs. It is not clear then what purpose having male only chiefs serves. The answer could possibly lie with the Tongan custom of fahu.

The Tongan constitution states that succession to the kingship and to the nobility is strictly through male primogeniture. The law in effect takes the power of authority away from the women. This is rather odd as history has shown that women in Tonga have historically held the highest levels of rank. Based on the fahu relationship alluded to earlier, a sister (mehikitanga) outranks her brother (K. James, 1995:75). Although there is currently a king, and all current nobles are men, they are traditionally of inferior rank to their respective sisters. Furthermore, they are even lower than the children of their sisters. Similarly in Fiji, a chief is socially outranked by his sister and her children based on the vasu relationship.

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55 This information was obtained from individuals belonging to these particular villages.
This seems slightly similar to the Samoan example above where just because only men can hold chiefly titles, it does not prevent women in any way from having any influence. It again suggests that women influence is more determined through cultural connections and not through the possession of a chiefly title. Samoa, Tonga and Fiji all have such relationships where sisters are generally regarded as of higher rank than their brothers. In this case, one can argue that simply being born a female is in itself a title of influence.

With the exception of only a few iwi, mostly all Maori tribes in New Zealand do not allow women to speak during the powhiri process. Furthermore, the women during the powhiri are not allowed to sit in the front where the men sit. Judging by these two rules, it seems that Maori women have less status than their men. Critics have often labelled this practice as sexist, and that it is unfair to women. It also applies to all non-Maori women who visit the marae and engage in a powhiri. What most people do not know is that prior to the formal speeches, women actually play a hugely important role in the karanga or welcoming of the visitors onto the marae. An older woman from the marae chants words of welcome to the guests, and an older woman of the visiting party replies. In the chants, both ladies honour the dead of both parties, and together they both weep through the wailing sounds of the chant (Salmond, 1975:117). Through the communication of the two women, peace is ensured and there is no threat of any harm on both the visitors and the hosts. In days of old, wars occurred right before meetings and even though there is no war today, suspicion is always there as to why another tribe wishes to visit the marae of another tribe (ibid:116).

In Samoa, the authority of a sister is sometimes illustrated in a situation where two brothers are fighting over a chiefly title. When family members cannot agree on a recipient, the decision is usually made by the sister of the quarrelling brothers (Schoeffel, 1995:90). A sister’s authority and influence over her brothers is confirmed through the concept of feagaiga. The fact that women did not necessarily hold the chiefly titles did not make them any less influential.

Although women could be great aristocrats by virtue of their genealogies, titles were firmly linked to land and polity, and were seldom (if ever) conferred upon women. The reason was that ideally, a chief’s sister married out and would reside with ‘āiga of her husband, thus creating a useful connection for her brother (ibid:93).
Another female position of authority is that of the taupou or the paramount chief’s daughter. She inherited the high rank and status of her chiefly father. She is referred to as the Sa’o Tama’ita’i (chieftainess), and is the head of the aualuma, the unmarried women of the village. She is looked after by the ladies of the aualuma, and the young men of the village guard and protect her jealously. Like a chief, a taupou position is confirmed upon the daughter of the chief through an official bestowal ceremony. Traditionally, rank and status was matrilineal, however Christian influence favoured a patrilineal influence and because of this, patrilineal descent became the norm.

As belief in ancestral mana was discredited, the importance of maternal rank also declined. Female statuses were modified and their roles were redefined by new cultural notions about gender arising from Victorian British Judaeo-Christian religious teaching in the 19th century, colonial education policies this century, and most recently, working class attitudes derived from New Zealand and other emigrant destinations. Today many more women hold matai titles in their own right than was the case in the past. Titles are usually conferred upon women in recognition of some particular achievement such as the attainment of a university degree or a senior position in the civil service. But formal emphasis on the ritual authority of sisters within the descent group has declined and patriarchal authority is more strongly asserted (Schoeffel & Daws, 1987:192)

Pa Ariki being the only woman paramount chief interviewed for this study was asked what it means to be a woman ariki:

*If you look at it from a family perspective, she is a family woman, she knows how to bring up kids, knows how to run the household, know how to do the duties of a woman. Her role as an ariki is made easy because she can nurture her own people through herself being a family woman (Pa Ariki)*

*Women don’t get into much conflict and we have more patience. We still respect men as having authority, it’s a god given privilege. You’re more emotional as a woman. A female ariki will cry when something good or sad happens, but it’s hard to bring a male ariki to tears (Pa Ariki)*

Pa Ariki equates her role as a female ariki, to being a mother to her people. This perspective of a female chief being a nurturer and an emotional figure departs from the above description of warrior women. This does not necessarily mean that a motherly chief is less influential than a warrior chief. It is the sign of the times. Female warrior chiefs existed because the
times they lived in required them to be warriors. Given that the chiefs of the time were predominantly male with a combat background, in order for a woman to have the same kind of influence, she too had to possess the same strengths and qualities that her male counterparts of the day possessed. Through Christianity, peace was promoted and warfare deemed unlawful and immoral. In the process, the warrior chief became somewhat redundant, while the missionaries gradually replaced them as alternative leaders of society. Using a religious analogy, the missionaries became the shepherd, the island people their flock. To look at it from another perspective, the missionaries became parents to the people. If this was to be the type of leadership that the island people eventually became accustomed to, then the style of motherly chiefly leadership that Pa Ariki speaks of can be an effective one in the present environment. Similarly a ‘fatherly chief’ comparison is commonly made of male chiefs. Some prominent male chiefs of the past have often been referred to as the fathers of their nations. Taufa’ahau Tupou I has often been referred to as the father of modern Tonga, and in a similar light, Ratu Lala Sukuna has sometime been referred to as the father of modern Fiji.

3.0 The Chiefly Landscape.

Chiefly and authoritative figures did not exist in a vacuum. They were part of a living landscape. They coexisted with other people and other beings. Their existence affected the societies they inhabited. The following section illustrates some of the main aspects of chiefly existence during this period.

Land & Commerce

Since pre-contact time, the connection of chiefs and physical land has been an important one. Historically the chiefs had the control over the land in which they and their people resided (Bolabola, 1986:4; Meller & Horbitz, 1971:25; O'Meara, 1971:75). By right of conquest, each chief was lord paramount and owner of all the lands within his jurisdiction (Chinen, 1958:5). On these grounds, in 1852 Taufa’ahau proclaimed his complete rule over all of Tonga by right of conquest (Moengangongo, 1986:93). Not only did the chief rule over the land, it also defined the boundaries of his influence. The absolute control over the land meant that they were able to dispose parcels of land whenever and to whomever they chose (R.
Crocombe, 1971:60; Kawharu, 1977:58). As chiefs became more powerful, their authority extended over the lands of other districts and even other island groups.

Through conquest, the Tui Manu’a and later the Tu’i Tonga had empires that spread well beyond Samoa and Tonga respectively. Tahitian chiefs were also known to have extended their power over neighbouring islands of Ra’iatae and Borabora (Newbury, 1988:59). In the nineteenth century, the Taufa’ahau I of Tonga extended his control to include the Eastern Fiji islands of the Lau group. It was there where he sent his cousin Ma’afu Enele to rule over Tongans living in Fiji (Scarr, 1970:107). The Lau group was the only island group that self-styled Tui Viti (Lord of all Fiji), Ratu Seru Cakobau didn’t really have control of for it was a stronghold of Ma’afu and Tonga. In today’s society a chief’s authority and influence is mostly confined only to the land that are within their villages or districts. Gone are the days when a paramount chief’s authority extended beyond their islands. This is confirmed in the previous chapter when the Chiefs acknowledge that any influence they have is confined only to the villages they are immediately connected to, regardless of the wide influence that the former holders of their chiefly titles once had.

The chiefs also controlled what the land was to be used for, such as for fishing, hunting and especially for food production (Kawharu, 1977:50). This is why the chief was always given the first and the best crops of the harvest, as well as the first catch from the fishing expedition. In a modern context, the chief therefore controlled the economic and ritual capacities of the clan (Firth, 1965:188). The chief or ariki had what was known as ‘mana whenua’. This was understood to mean the power associated with the possession of lands to provide a livelihood (Petrie, 2006:15). Among the associated principles of mana whenua were the chief’s inherited rights to control, protect and grant rights of use to outsiders (ibid:16).

As the Maori population grew, and the Moa rapidly declined in numbers, food soon became scarce for the Maori people. This resulted in the importance placed on growing food on the land and more importantly, the abundance of food soon became associated with great mana and status (ibid:21). It was a sign of the chief’s ability to control his people and the food production of his tribe. The lands weren’t only used to grow crops, but it also became important for raising livestock such as pigs. The importance of these crops and livestock became more evident when foreign ships began frequenting Polynesia. Chiefs were quick to realise the importance of their resources in the exchange with foreigners needing food and
water. These early exchanges resulted in the beginning of the barter system in Polynesia (Tcherkezoff, 2004:76). Tcherkezoff believes that bartering and commerce originally came from Tonga as it would suggest why it has been named the ‘Friendly Islands’.

The Chief had ‘three fine pigs, which he called boaka, and some fruits’…The Russian captain gave him hatchets, a coloured silk handkerchief and two strings of blue beads…He put the strings of beads inside a finely woven basket that he had with him and took out of his basket a Spanish dollar. The captain understood that the Chief wanted to know if this could be used to buy more beads. We can see that the idea of barter and of commerce was now established in Samoa, but it initially came from Tonga (ibid:77)

Trade and commerce wasn’t always between Polynesian and foreigners. It also took place between Polynesians themselves. Trade between Samoa, Fiji and Tonga was common practice before the foreigners started arriving in Polynesia. Fijians use to trade the red feather of the lorry bird which were used by the Samoans and Tongans in decorating their fine mats as well as for body adornments (Barnes & Hunt, 2005:238). Hardwoods such as the Merbau were also traded from Fiji and used by the Samoans and Tongans to make canoes. In return, the Samoans and Tongans would trade their crafts such as fine-mats, bark cloth, canoes and whale teeth back to the Fijians (ibid:239). In Aotearoa, the Maori people traded amongst themselves. Coastal groups exchanged seafood and other marine resources for the berries, preserved birds, and other forest products of inland tribes (Petrie, 2006:25). The pounamu trade became very important in the economy of South Island Maori. It was a highly sought after product which southern Maori regularly used to trade with northern Maori. Such southern tribes became renowned for their wealth.

The economic value of pounamu is explicit in the well-known saying ‘ahakoa he iti, he pounamu’ (‘although small, it is a treasure’) (ibid:26)

Commerce and trade was not an accidental occurrence but were strategically planned and deliberate practices that were instructed by chiefs who quickly discovered that their lands and environment yielded resources that would become beneficial for them and their people. This was especially the case amongst the Maori people.

The rapid expansion of Maori commerce was not simply chance, but had been advanced by deliberate strategies in line with customary practice.
Diplomatic and trading alliances with monarchs, governors, missionaries, and merchants were keenly pursued by leaders, many of whom travelled overseas seeking to maximise export opportunities (ibid:40).

For a very long time, the chief’s authority over his land and everything in it made him wealthy amongst his own people. As foreigners became a more permanent part of the Polynesian landscape, land crops and resource was no longer enough for them. Given they were now settling in the Polynesian islands, they were now seeking entire lands for their own use and more importantly, for their own commercial benefits. At the time, chiefs who still perceived themselves as owners of the land started disposing lands to the foreigners for their own personal gains. While the chiefs believed that they were leasing the lands to the visitors, the foreigners themselves interpreted this as sale of land, therefore forfeiting any future rights to it. As a result, many of the region’s lands fell into the hands of foreigners. When colonial settlements in the islands grew, so did the demand for land and more importantly, for the resources that the lands yielded. Foreign businesses dealing in the export of natural resource such as beche de mer, sandalwood and copra began to increase rapidly. These products were sought after in overseas markets, especially in Asia.

With land being occupied by foreigners and colonial administrators assuming authority over newly formed municipalities, it soon dawned on the chiefs that their traditional role of controlling the economic resources of their lands was now being taken over by foreigners. Large foreign companies started settling in the Pacific and competing with locals. The most famous case was the arrival of the German company Godefroy & Sohn in Samoa during the 1850s. They quickly gained a monopoly in the copra and cocoa bean production in Samoa. As a result of this encroachment, there was strong opposition from chiefly groups in protest to the lost revenue from their inability to compete with the big companies.

Not only did this result in the loss of much of Samoa’s customary lands, it spelled the beginning of a collective ownership of the lands by the chief and the people. New laws have seen the power of the chief over land decline dramatically. The chief was no longer the sole owner and controller of the land that was once his to do so as he pleased. It was now collectively owned by the family and the clan (Asher & Naulls, 1987:5). Land rights were beginning to be administered by different family heads, not necessarily of chiefly status (Kawharu, 1977:58). Other laws now give males the right to land ownership regardless of social status (Bolabola, 1986:6; M. James, 1986:112). Changing customs even led to some
commoners being richer in land than chiefs (Firth, 1965:53). In Tonga, the nobles are seen more as landlords, than owners of the estates they hold in the name of their noble titles.

Land rights and tenure in Tonga are based on the traditional system with the focus of land rights being the kainga (family) (Moengangongo, 1986:96).

Historically in Samoa, the *matai* was the customary owner of the land in which his title has its traditional seat or *maota*. Over time, the land was still regarded his *maota*, however ownership over it was a collective one shared with his ʻāiga. In the process, he became more of the guardian of the land, rather than the owner of it. As a result, the emphasis on the connection between the chief and the land has become somewhat less important. The two main practices that illustrate this is firstly the extensive splitting of *matai* titles, and secondly the bestowal of *matai* titles outside of Samoa. Originally, *matai* titles were limited to one holder at any time because each title had land connected to it. Whoever held the title at the time also held the ownership rights to the land. With some titles now having as many as a hundred holders, most of them would in theory be landless as there is not enough land for all to have authority. Instead the guardianship of the land is held by the most senior of the many title holders, and is usually the one that is residing on the actual land. The other practice of bestowing *matai* title overseas is in breach of the most important rule, and that is the blessing and the bestowal of the title on and in the land in which the title belongs. These titles are not officially acknowledged in Samoa, and most often those who are bestowed them reside away from Samoa, yet still use them regardless.

Today, many chiefs reside away from the lands in which their chiefly titles originate. Some live permanently overseas while others still live in the islands, but reside permanently away from their village, mainly in the main cities. To ensure that the mana of their chiefly status is maintained, chiefs who reside away from their villages make sure to return regularly so that their connections with their villages are maintained.

Noble Luani lives permanently in Nuku’alofa, where he works. He attends church every Sunday in the village on his estate in Tongatapu, to keep in touch with his people. He finds it harder to convince the people of Tefisi in Vava’u of his interest and loyalty, since he visits his estate there only irregularly. “But I have a relative who is my representative there”, he said. The Honourable Fusitu’a, speaker of the legislative assembly, whose estates lie in the far northern outlier of Niuafo’ou, also maintains that his younger brother, who
resides on his land, is well able to take care of matters in his absence, and that he himself does more good for his people by being in Nuku’alofa, where they come to consult with him on matters involving government ministries (K. James, 1997:61).

On the other hand, some chiefs totally disregard any obligations they have to their villages and as a result, they are often not acknowledged by their village. This illustrates the importance of land to the mana of a chief, and when there is no connection, they are undermining the mana of their chiefly titles.

Tu’ivakanō remarks on the importance of always going back and making contact with your village:

Some chiefs from outer islands come to Tongatapu and they stay here and they lose touch with their people. Nobles have to be more in touch with their own people (Tu’ivakanō)

Chiefly Connections
For many centuries, Polynesian chiefs and aristocrats have been interacting with high ranking clans from other Polynesian groups. Fiji, Tonga and Samoa of Western Polynesia seem to have had the most pre contact interaction than any other of the Polynesian island groups (Barnes & Hunt, 2005:227). So much has been recorded on the connections between these three islands, and the histories of their ruling chiefs can also be viewed as a history of the connections between these three island groups.

The earliest record of a Samoan and Tongan interaction can be derived from the histories of the ancient Tui Manu’a and Tu’i Tonga where both paramount rulers at one point ruled over the other’s island group as well as over a number of other island groups within Polynesia and the wider Pacific. Although Salamāsina’s place in history as Samoa’s first supreme ruler and Queen has been firmly cemented, what is often overlooked is that on her mother’s side, she is actually the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga, as well as having a connection with ancient Tui Fiti of Fiji (‘Ilaiu, 2007: 37). Similarly the Tu’i Kanokupolu line itself has foreign connections. The first Tu’i Kanokupolu holder (Ngata) is said to have had a Samoan mother (Marcus, 1980: 33). ‘Ilaiu (2007) discusses this in his Master’s thesis where he asserts that the Tu’i Kanokupolu dynasty has been greatly influenced by the Samoan chiefly or fa’amatai system.
According to Tongan tradition the Tu’i Tonga Fefine outranked her brother the Tu’i Tonga, and because of her extremely high rank, there were no suitable men in Tonga to marry her and so the very first Tu’i Tonga Fefina married a high ranking Fijian chief (Marcus, 1980: 32). From this union, the line of chiefs in Tonga known as the Fale Fisi (House of Fiji) was created, and from this point on, their primary role was to provide suitable mates for the many generations of Tu’i Tonga Fefine (ibid). This became a popular practice for many high ranking families who found no one suitable, or of high rank, within their own island groups to marry.

Connections between the islands can also be seen in the similarity of chiefly title names. For example, the Tu’i Kanokupolu title; as mentioned above, originated from Samoa, and evidence is in the name. Kanokupolu bares a likeness to the word ‘faleupolu’, which means a group of orator or political leaders (Ilaiu, 2007:23). ‘Kano Upolu’ means ‘flesh from Upolu’ (Barnes & Hunt, 2005:236). The Fijian chief Qaranivalu and the name Kamisese, bare striking resemblance to the Tongan noble title, Kalaniuvalu, and the Samoan matai title of Tamasese. Whether there is a connection is not fully known, however the linguist similarities should suggest it is more than just a coincidence. The Tu’ilakepa noble title of Tonga has its origins from the Lakeba village in Lau, Fiji. The Tui Lakeba title was taken to Tonga and as result, the Tui Nayau title of the area became its sacred chief (Gunson, 1979:33). The other notable title of Lau, the Tui Lau, was actually first held by a Tongan chief, Ma’afu.

The Pa Ariki chiefly family of Rarotonga have long had a connection with the Te Wherowhero chiefs of Tainui. They believe that the Tainui waka, the Takitimu, originated from Hawaiki and came to Aotearoa via Rarotonga (Hongi, 1907:223). The evidence of this is that the district, in which the Pa Ariki title is ariki, is called Takitimu. The Karika ariki of Rarotonga is believed to have originated from Samoa (R. Crocombe, 1964:12). According to history, the Karika line was started by a man named Karika who was from Samoa. Along with Tangi’ia, he is considered the co-founder of the modern Rarotonga (Tangaroa, 2011:6). Evidence of a Samoan connection can be found by looking at the ancient line of the Tui Manu’a (see page 300). The genealogy shows that there was a Tui Manu’a Ali’a who lived around the same time that Karika was said to have arrived in Rarotonga (ibid). The names Karika and Ali’a seem to be cognates of each other.
In more recent times, the Lauaki *matapule* title of the Tongan king, was gifted to a Samoan chief of Safotulafai, Namulau’ulu Atamu by King Siaosi Tupou I when he visited Samoa sometime after 1845 (Davidson, 1973:270). Namulau’ulu Atamu’s Lauaki title was then succeeded by his son Mamoe. Lauaki Mamoe became the inspirational leader of the Mau a Pule protest movement of the early 1900s. A variation of the Lauaki title exists in the village of Saina, however it is believed to have belonged to the village long before King Tupou I visited Safotulafai. It suggests that interaction between earlier Tongan chiefly families and the particular village of Saina were in place well before King Tupou’s reign. It also suggests that Saina may have also been the residence of the Tui Tonga clan when they resided in Samoa. Evidence of this can be seen in Saina’s village salutation:

\[
\begin{align*}
Afio mai le alo o le Tuitoga (Faletaoga) \\
Maliu mai lo oulua to’alua (Lauati ma Motuopua’a) \\
Ma upu ia te oe Sāta’alaua
\end{align*}
\]

Welcome the son of Tuitoga (Faletaoga)
Welcome to you two the orators (Lauati ma Motuopua’a)
Welcome to the family of Ta’alaua

(Fa’alupega Commitee, 1985)

Although there is no written source confirming that the village had any connection with the Tongan chiefs, the almost identical chiefly names gives strong evidence that they did. The names of Tuitoga, Lauati, Motupua’a and Sāta’alaua are cognates of the Tongan titles: Tu’i Tonga, Lauaki, Motupuaka and Ha’atakalaua. Lauaki and Motupuaka are still the names of the Tongan king’s *matapule*. Given that both the Tu’i Tonga and Tu’i Ha’atakalaua cognates are present in the salutation, they would have arrived in Samoa around the time the Tu’i Kanokupolu line began to gain dominance; suggesting that the holders of these titles may have been banished there. At one stage after the rule of Tu’i Tonga Talakaifeiki, later Tu’i Tonga holders regularly resided in Samoa (Latukefu, 1970:56). It could be during this period that they could have founded the village.

That interconnectedness continues today amongst the chiefly ranks of various island groups, especially between the chiefs and nobility of Tonga, Fiji and Samoa. Amongst these three groups there are close familial ties and strong friendship bonds that have existed for many generations. King Siaosi Tupou IV and Malietoa Tanumafili II were great friends and often visited each other’s islands on several occasions. The Maori monarchy has had strong links
with the ariki from the Cook Islands and the Fijian chiefly clans have strong connection with the Tongan royal family. These close connections were evident in 2011 when the Tongan royal navy picked up a fleeing Ratu Tevita Mara in Fijian waters and took him in as a protected guest of King Siaosi V and his family. This was able to be done through the links that Mara’s family have with the Tongan royal family.

Tu’ivakanō believes that the Tu’ivakanō name originates from Fiji:

> The Tu’ivakanō title is from Nukunuku but it has four villages. Nukunuku and Vaotu’u are the original ones. The other ones were acquired through my grandfather’s older brother, Tu’ivakanō Poutele when he was Prime Minister. These additional villages were Matafonua and Matahau added onto his two existing tofi’a. When the first Tu’ivakanō was born, he was adopted out to a man named Tu’isoso when he came with the first canoe or hifufu’a (big outrigger) from Lau in Fiji. There are two villages in Lau named Nukunuku and Vakano, so it’s likely the name Tu’ivakano originated from Lau in Fiji.

**Chiefly Unions**

In pre-contact times chiefly unions were exclusive in two main ways. The first was that unlike the common people they were able to marry siblings, and secondly, chiefs often entered into multiple unions with different women of high rank. Unions between highly ranked chiefs and their sisters, was a common occurrence. Many accounts throughout Polynesia have recorded this once popular practice. The Hawai’ian chiefs were probably the most well-known chiefly groups to engage in full sibling unions. According to Malo (as cited in Bixler), the main reason for incestuous unions was simply for insuring the highest possible rank for the chief (Bixler, 1982:274). A suitable partner for a chief was his sister, begotten from the same father and mother as himself and if the union bore fruit, the child would be a chief of the highest rank (ibid). The ancient Hawai’i system followed this pattern. Chiefs born from high ranking parents who were full siblings were more highly ranked than chiefs born from parents who were half siblings (Kirch, 2010:36). The lowest ranking of all ali’i were those born from one chiefly parent, and a common parent.

In ancient Tonga, in order for an heir of the Tu’i Tonga to be legitimate, it had to be the direct offspring of a union between the incumbent Tu’i Tonga and a sister of the incumbent Tu’i
Ha’atakalaua (and later the Tu’i Kanokupolu). Given that at the time the sacred ruler was the Tu’i Tonga and his viceroy was the Tu’i Ha’atakalau, the union between the Tu’i Tonga and a sister of the next highest ranking chief seemed an appropriate one. It is because of this reason that Taufa’ahau refused his sister to be taken as wife by his contemporary Tui Tonga Laufilitonga thus ending the ancient Tu’i Tonga lineage (Latukefu, 1970:60).

Unions between high ranking brothers and sisters is no longer practiced today however the principles that lay behind these ancient practices are somewhat still in practice. In certain chiefdoms, unions between high ranking individuals and their extended high ranking kin members are still encouraged and practiced. In the event that no one suitable is found within the extended kin group, the net is then cast further out to high ranking members of other particular island groups. This practice commonly took place between the aristocracy of Samoa and Tonga and Fiji. The aim of such union was to bring together two high ranking individuals to maintain or to further increase the high ranking of both families.

*The chief in those days was given a lot of respect and they looked to him as the ulumatua, the eldest. In the old days most of the village were his children, grandchildren. Also in those days, they married within the family to keep things within the family, and someone coming in from the outside would have been seen as disrupting the family (Tu’ivakanō).*

The practice of marrying within the chiefly cast is still somewhat practiced in Tonga and Fiji. According to custom, the first twenty members in line to the Tongan throne must marry within the nobility as well as first seeking the current King’s consent. The nobility itself is interconnected with many of them having common connections and origins with the royal family. In fact the royal family and the nobility are a large extended family with old connections. The late Queen Salote’s grandparents Prince Tu’ipelelaha and Fusipala Tauki’onetuku (parents of her father, King George Tupou II) were themselves both grandchildren of King Taufa’ahau Tupou I (Kaeppler, 2004:57), making them first cousins. History now seems to have repeated itself with the marriage of Crown Prince Ulukalala and Sinaitakala Fakafanua, both of whom are great-grandchildren of Queen Salote. However, it

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56 “Tongan princesses’ private life”, abc.net.au, 15 June 2009
57 “Royal wedding cause royal division”, tvnz.co.nz, 12 July 2012
was said that the Queen Mother and Princess Pilolevu disapproved of the union and did not attend the wedding.\(^{58}\)

Similar practices occur in Fiji where descendants of chiefly families marry within the Fijian nobility. Take for instance the late Ratu Kamisese Mara. Not only was he the holder of the Tui Lau and Tui Nayau titles, he was married to Ro Lady Mara who was herself the Roko Tui Dreketi, the paramount chief of the Burebasaqa confederacy. His oldest daughter, Adi Ateca is married to Ratu Epeli Ganilau, the son of the late Tui Cakau, Ratu Penaia Ganilau, and his second daughter, Adi Koila married Ratu Epeli Nailatikau who is the current President of Fiji and a direct descendent of Ratu Seru Cakobau. Ratu Epeli Nailatikau is also a grandson of King George Tupou II of Tonga, making him a first cousin of the late King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV. Like the Tongan nobility, there are many links and connections between the Fijian chiefly families that would categorise them as basically being an extended family.

Such practices don’t seem to be common in the Samoan and Maori traditions however there is no doubt that families have had influences over the marriages of their chiefly members. Traditionally in Samoa, it was the job of the orators to seek out women of high rank for their paramount chief not only to maintain and/or increase the rank of their chief, but also of their own (Pitt, 1970:77). The Maori and Samoan chiefly families seem to be more relaxed in who their members marry however members of the Samoan nobility have been known to marry members of other island nobilities.

The union of chiefly men with many different women of high rank was a common occurrence. This has been evident throughout all Polynesian groups. As a result, many chiefs had many offspring and this usually resulted in succession problems when each sibling from different mothers all made claims to the chiefly title. This most often lead to wars between half siblings which will be addressed in later in this chapter. Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi of Samoa according to history had unions with at least ten different women and produced many offspring, one being Queen Salamāsina, Samoa’s first supreme ruler (Kramer, 1994a:223). The practice of taking many wives was quickly abandoned by chiefs once they accepted Christianity. Taufa’ahau I was one such chief who abandoned this practice as well as King Mata’afa Iosefo of Samoa.

\(^{58}\) ibid.
Despite the common practice of marriages between high ranking chiefly families in Polynesia; it is one that seems to be changing in the Cook Islands.

*Our mother had always said to us that we should marry someone that was not Rarotongan because we are all related as ariki. Asked why she married her father who was a commoner and she said they did already have someone in mind for her to marry and that was Sir Tom (Pa Ariki)*

**Chiefly Privileges**

During the age of the gods, offerings or sacrifices were often given up by the people to appease the gods. During harvest, people will offer the first crops of the harvest to the priests representing the gods on earth. Similarly the first catch of any fishing expedition is always offered up to the gods. This is done so that favourable conditions for further growing and fishing may continue, thus providing an on-going supply of crops and fish. During times of drought when crops failed, it was believed that the gods were angered by the people. This belief meant that the people kept giving offerings to the gods via the high priests, in order to appease the angered deity.

When the god-worshiping ended and the authority and power shifted to the chiefs, the practice of offerings and sacrifices to the elite continued. When the Tui Manu’a and the Tu’i Tonga gained authority over other islands group, their authority was maintained through yearly gifting of produce and crafts such as canoes, by the lesser chiefs of the other islands who paid him homage. These offerings were payments not only to reaffirm their loyalty to the conquering chief, but an assurance that by appeasing the chief, they are safe from any harm or war the chief may wage on them (Keller & Swaney, 1998:13). The receiving of offerings and sacrifice was a sign of his control over others. Offerings and sacrifices sometime went beyond crops and livestock, and even included humans. A clan would offer a young maiden to be taken as wife by the chief and in terms of sacrifice some chiefs received young strong boys who had been murdered to satisfy a chiefs’ appetite for human flesh (Stuebel, 1976:66). Cannibalism was common place amongst ancient chiefs and the ultimate sign that not only did he have control over the land, but also the lives of his people. Cannibalism is discussed in further detail later in this chapter.
During the period of first contact, it became quickly apparent to foreigners that offerings to the chief were a common practice and a sign of respect. This notion was not lost on these early settlers and explorers, and records often show that upon first contact with the chiefs, they were always offering materials such as nails, metal and guns not only to gain the chiefs’ cooperation but also to gain supplies from the chief and his people. Today gifting and offerings still occur however not at the same scale at which it used to happen. This not only shows a continued respect and loyalty for the paramount chiefs, but there is also a belief that in doing so, people will in return receive blessings and wellbeing, a concept somewhat similar to ancient times.

Practices such as the gifting of valuable materials to important people of society illustrate such practices continuing. Some of these valuable gifts include *tabua* (whale’s teeth) in Fiji, fine mats in Samoa, *tapa* cloth in Tonga, and *pounamu* by Maori. Even the practice of feeding the chief continues. On a fieldwork trip to the Solomon Islands in 2011, I had the privilege of staying with Fijian paramount chief, Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi. Next door lived a Fijian couple who were also working in the Solomon Islands at the same time. In my short stay in the Solomons, I witnessed a few times the Fijian lady from next door come over and bring a cooked meal for Ratu Joni’s dinner. It reminded me that such practices still occur and that people still respect the chiefly systems. The interesting point is that the couple were not even from the area where Ratu Joni is the paramount chief yet they still rendered such respect for him and his position as a paramount chief.

Gifting has changed in modern times. Firstly the practice of gifting and offering has also been adopted by the church. It is not surprising that since the minister has basically taken over the sacred authority of the chief, making the minister a ‘sacred leader’, the transferal of gift offerings from the chief to the minister was inevitable. Again the offering to the minister is done with the same intentions as that done by early Polynesians to the gods and the chiefs, i.e. the appeasement of the minister and the Christian god in the hope of a peaceful and prosperous life in return. Secondly the chiefs are no longer just ‘receivers’ in the practice of gifting.

In most societies now, the chiefs themselves are called upon to contribute to various ceremonial gifting. For example, whenever there are events in Tonga in which presentations need to be made to the king or by the king, the nobles are most often heavily involved in the gift contribution. In turn the nobles turn to their clans and families to contribute to the gift
requirements. Although the gift is made in the name of the noble, it has been a collective effort by the noble’s clan. Upon receiving gifts, in return, the chief redistributes the reciprocated gifts to his clan who have helped out. The same applies in Samoa. The ali‘i chief despite being a head of a family is required to contribute to any family occasion. Likewise when gifts are reciprocated, they are no longer for the ali‘i himself but rather for the entire family that contributed.

There have been many challenges since I have held the title, but the most challenging of them all is the financial strain that I had to personally finance and meet my obligations as Pa Ariki. A lot of people don’t realize the hidden costs involved. For example when I go overseas as the representative for my people, in a lot of cases I have to pay for travelling costs and purchasing of gifts to give over to the hosting countries, I do this because I want to ensure that our island is represented at these international events (Pa Ariki)

For me personally it has been accepting that obligations are part of the landscape, and that in my context, with my modest means, that I do what I can. If chiefs wish to project themselves, then they need to convey those values to the community. It’s not easy because that also requires a certain level of material wellbeing so there is a certain, I think, a certain pressure to actually excel in education and other spheres in order to have those additional qualities that reinforces one’s authority (Ratu Joni).

Tu‘ivakanō also acknowledges that even nobles and their families have financial obligations.

For example when the king’s birthday comes up, I arrange with my Nukunuku people to prepare the pola and feast (Tu‘ivakanō)

Lower classes of chiefs are now also recipients of gifting. Gift receiving is no longer a privilege reserved for the top ranked chiefs only. In actual fact, in most cases, it is the ariki who gifts his lower chief. Take for instance the Cook Island society. When an ariki bestows a rangatira or mataiapo title onto a member of his family, he usually gifts a piece of his land to them. In Samoa there is a popular saying that goes “E pala mea a le ali‘i I le tulafale” – “The paramount chief’s gifts rot with the orator chief”. What this means is that in Samoan custom today, the gifts that are given to the paramount chief usually end up with the orator chief. The orator chief in modern Samoan culture is usually the benefactor of the paramount chief’s gifts. Most often a paramount chief would reward his orator with gifts if the orator had done a
good job in lifting up the *mana* of the chief. The better the job of the orator, the more he would receive from his chief.

**Chiefly Leisure**

In past times, a chief’s rank and status allowed him to partake in leisurely activities, unlike the servants who served him. Even the simple task of relaxing and leisure was a privilege that only the elite enjoyed. Throughout Polynesia, one of the most common pastimes of the chiefly elite was pigeon snaring. This was most common in Samoa and Tonga. In both Samoa and Tonga, large pyramid-like mounds made of rock have been discovered, believed to have been mounds upon which the chiefs engaged in pigeon hunting (Kramer, 1994b:386).

Combat sport was also a popular pass time for the chiefly class, more specifically by the sons of chiefs. In Samoa, an ancient combat sport known as *aigofie* was played by chiefly sons (Henry, 1979:20), where the midrib of a coconut palm was used as a large whip. Combatants would alternate in whipping each other until the victor is left standing. One famous chiefly warrior who excelled at this sport was Atiogie, the son of a chief named Fe’epō who is an ancestor of the Malietoa lineage (ibid:21). Other such sports included spear throwing in Easter Polynesia and rock lifting in Hawai’i and Tahiti (Malo, 1951). Given that *mana* and status was derived from prowess in such sports, it was often the domain of chiefly sons.

Warrior training was also a common pastime for young chiefly sons. From the time these young chiefly boys are born, they are placed under the mentorship of experts in warfare and customs. They are taught to be warriors for this was a necessary and beneficial quality to have as a chief. Such was the case in Hawai’i with Kamehameha and amongst the Maori people. Even certain water sports were reserved for chiefly people. The sport of surfing was commonly practice in Hawai’i and Tahiti by the chiefly cast (ibid). King Kamehameha himself was regarded as an expert surfer in his youth. Today all these activities which were once reserved for chiefly people have become common practice.

**Chiefly Taboos**

In pre-contact times, chiefs often placed taboos on certain things. During times of drought, a chief placed taboo on the use of water in order to preserve it for the crops. People dare
question or break the taboo of a chief as consequences were believed to be horrific. The chiefs were able to place taboos for they themselves were regarded as taboo. The paramount chiefs were especially deemed taboo therefore nobody dare touch them (Barnes & Hunt, 2005:233). He was so taboo that he was not allowed to touch anything for fear that it may rot. He was not even allowed to touch his food and often required someone else to feed him. Even after the chief had eaten, no one was allowed to eat his left over for fear that death may follow. His food was always discarded. This was a common practice amongst the Maori ariki.

Taboos are somewhat still practiced today. In many islands today, the chief’s head is still regarded as taboo and never touched by anyone. There are still practices today that have elements of taboo. When the late King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV died, the only people that were allowed to touch his body were the royal undertakers. In conducting their roles as the royal undertakers, they too in the process became taboo. Between the time of the death of the king and his burial, these royal undertakers were not allowed to touch anything other than the king’s body. This meant that through the duration of the funeral, they had to be fed by other people because their hands were sacred. In 2006, the Cook Islands fearing their natural marine resources were beginning to deplete, went back to traditional ways of controlling the use of their valuable resource. The chiefs implemented a ‘ra’ui’ for the first time in a very long time (Tira’a, 2006:11). Given that ra’ui had not been practiced for such a long time, there were some obstacles. Firstly the young people who did not know much about it ignored it, and secondly, overriding legislation about the land have weakened the authority of the chiefs (ibid:15).

The only other example where certain taboos are practiced is in the traditional Samoan practice of tatau or tattooing. As mentioned earlier, tufuga or masters of certain skills have in the past occupied a similar status level as chiefs. They both possess certain powers and privileges. Samoan tattooing has certain taboos associated with it. Whenever a person undergoes a tattoo, the master tattooist or tufuga firstly makes him aware of certain things he is not allowed to do. Failure to follow these taboos may result in failure to complete or may affect the tattoo itself. The taboo is only lifted by the tufuga at a final ceremony once the tattoo is completed. During the tattooing process, the tattooist himself is taboo. There are

59 “Ha’a Tufunga – Royal Undertaker”, palaceoffice.gov.to
certain areas around the tattooist that nobody is allowed to trespass while tattooing is in process. The only other people who can invade that space are his to apprentices who are helping with the tattooing. From personal communications with Master Tattooist, Su’a Sulu’ape Alaiva’a, he says that there are still taboos practiced today but they are not as strict as they use to be in the old days. Even the gift-giving after the tattooing is completed is not as extreme as it was in past times. In pre Christian days, the tufuga was often paid with whatever he wanted. For example if a tufuga fancied a house that was owned by the recipient’s family, then the house would be taken apart, moved to the tufuga’s village, and reconstructed on his land. Both taboos and gifting are quite relaxed today.

Cannibalism and Cruelty

The control that pre-contact chiefs had over the universe was not limited to the world and the environment it also extended to the lives of those that resided in it. Stories and legends tell of chiefs who killed at will and who had such little regard for the lives of others, especially those deemed of lesser rank. Even if they did not do the killing themselves, they could demand tribute and order the killings of their subjects as they saw fit (Masterman, 1977:22). In Hawai‘i chiefs had the right to sacrifice humans to the gods as they were seen as the highest form of offerings (Dye, 1987:23), however women were not regarded as acceptable sacrifices to the Hawai‘ian gods (ibid). Other chiefs had people killed for all sorts of reasons. A well-known Samoan chiefly cannibal was Malietoa Faigā. Legend has it that he demanded a young boy as a sacrifice for his daily consumption. He renounced cannibalism only after his own son Poluleuligana had wrapped himself as an offering. Upon discovering it was his son, the king realised how families of his victims must have felt and denounced the practice entirely. The chief motive was the firm and common belief that by eating a human being his soul would pass into the body of the cannibal and give him supernatural power and influence (Henry, 1979:33). Fijians were renowned cannibals, and Ratu Seru Cakobau himself was said to have often participated in cannibalism. Childress writes:

Cannibalism and continual warfare played an important part in the history of the islands for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Long known as the Cannibal Islands, the Fijian feudal native aristocracy practiced customs which would today seem cruel, callous, and barbarous. In this tyrannical, medieval society people were buried alive under the posts of new houses, war canoes were launched over the bodies of young girls, and widows of chiefs were strangled to keep their masters company in the spirit world.
Prisoners were baked whole in ovens, and it was forbidden to touch the flesh. Instead, special forks were used. The Fijians called the human flesh “puaka mbalavu” or “long pig”. It is generally remarked that human flesh tastes a great deal like pork (1996:134).

Reverend Buzacott recounts an experience in Niue when trying to plant missionaries on the island. When trying to go ashore they were warned not to by a local who said that the chief had instructed his people to kill them once they reached the shore (Buzacott, 1866:160). Similarly missionary Thomas Williams writes about how the European residents in Fiji wrote to the Council General complaining about their ill-treatment by a young chief Cakobau who despite not yet being king, was already exercising virtually the kingly power (Williams, 1858:33). Even the chief’s own people did not escape the cruelty of the chief. For example in times of war, a chief would call on his allies to join his warring party. Refusing the summons of the chief would result in the order of destruction upon their village by the enraged chief (ibid:44). Another example of cruelty was recorded by Reverend Joseph Waterhouse, a missionary in Fiji during the early nineteenth century. He writes about an event that illustrated chief Cakobau’s adherence to the cruel customs of his country. Traditionally when a new canoe was launched, humans had to be sacrificed to appease the gods and to allow for the success, smart sailing and durability of the canoe (Waterhouse, 1866:63). When a new canoe was built for Cakobau, it was delivered to him without any bloodshed the missionaries having a hand in saving the lives of those would be sacrifices. Upon hearing of this, Cakobau secretly sent for a canoe of victims and as per his request, ten bodies were then cooked as a sacrifice (ibid). Despite the influence of Christianity, certain chiefs continued to practice their barbaric customs.

Today killing and cannibalism is illegal in all of the Polynesian island groups. Although chiefs today no longer devour human sacrifices, the principle of ‘sacrifice’ is not lost on the people who continue to serve their chiefs. In some cases when a paramount chief of a large extended family calls upon its members to contribute to a particular cause, it sometimes involves considerable financial, material and food contributions. As a result members of the family may have to make sacrifices, in some case extreme ones, to be able to comply with their chief’s wishes. Although these are not as drastic as human sacrifice, they are still sacrifices nonetheless.
Even in the island context today, the practice of daily offerings of food for the chief continues. In some cases the best of the foods is given to the chief while the family consume the left over or the less desired foods and produce. At large gatherings, the chiefs are often given the best of everything, food, gifts etc. Although it is not at the request of the chief that this extravagant gift giving takes place, it seems to be a practice inherited from the past that people today still choose to engage in as a mark of respect. Today some islands still practice the giving of the first crops harvested and the first fish caught as a form of respect to their chief. On a fieldwork trip, I witnessed this continuing practice albeit on a lesser scale and away from the homeland of a paramount chief I was visiting. One of the paramount chiefs was residing away from home in another island whilst being employed by the local government. It happened that next door lived a couple who were also from his homeland. Most evenings, the couple from next door would deliver a freshly cooked meal for the chief I was staying with out of respect for him. He was not even the chief of the village and district the couple were from but because of his rank the couple felt obligated to show respect to the chief through offerings of food.

4.0 Chiefly Limitations

According to Tu’ivakanō:

In the old days, if you belonged to the royal line, then you can do whatever you please.

This would be true in most cases, however despite the immense power and control that the chiefs had, there were some limitations to their power. According to Reverend Thomas Williams, no matter how powerful or high ranking a Fijian chief or king is, if he has a nephew, then he also has a master through the vasu relationship (Williams, 1858:35). When foreigners arrived on Niue, they had no kings. Kings had existed in the old days when they were also the high priests. They were supposed to cause the food to grow, and when crops failed, the people got angry and killed them. As one after the other was killed, the end of it was that no one wished to be king (Turner, 1884:469). Even at the peak of his power, the Tu’i Tonga itself was outranked by his sister who at the time was referred to as the Tu’i Tonga Fefine (Ferdon, 1987:26). As history has shown, through various events and circumstances,
power and authority can switch hands and in some cases, be wrestled away from other chiefs. Take for instance the Tu’i Tonga. It had for many centuries been the most powerful chief in Tonga and Polynesia. Despite this, there are records of many holders being assassinated and at one stage they mostly resided out of Tonga in Samoa (Latukefu, 1970:56). The instability of the Tu’i Tonga line eventually saw the junior Tu’i Ha’atakalaua line seize power and control, and as history repeats itself, the same fate would befall the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua when the younger Tu’i Kanokupolu would eventually take over.

Another once powerful chief was the Tui Manu’a of Samoa. Before the rise of the Tu’i Tonga, the Tui Manu’a’s authority extended beyond Samoa and into many islands of Polynesia. He was probably the first Polynesian chief to exercise authority beyond his own island group. The Tui Manu’a’s fate was sealed once the Tu’i Tonga refused to pay respect to him, and from there the Tu’i Tongan Empire grew. Although no longer possessing the power it once held, the Tui Manu’a line continued to grow albeit confined to its own island group. The same fate would befall the Tu’i Tonga centuries later. Once the power and authority was securely in the possession of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua, the Tu’i Tonga line continued as the sacred line of chiefs and not the political authoritative one it used to be. At this point, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua became known as the hau or temporal leader of Tonga. By the time the Tu’i Kanokupolu became prominent, gaining the hau title, the Tu’i Tonga line was still in existence. Although the hau was supposed to be the undisputed temporal ruler over all of Tonga, this was not always the case as the power of the local chiefs became powerful enough to challenge the authority of both the Tu’i Tonga and the Tu’i Kanokupolu (ibid).

The rise and fall of both the Tui Manu’a and the Tu’i Tonga empires shows that chiefly power and authority is not always stable and secured. Despite at one point being the most powerful of all chiefs in Polynesia, they were eventually found to be not powerful enough to maintain such positions. Interestingly, these once powerful dynasties have ceased to exist completely. The fact that both of these chiefly lines continued to exist well beyond their loss of power may suggest that they still possessed a certain status and importance within their respective status.

While they continued to exist, they still posed a real threat to incumbent rulers, like active volcanoes lying dormant waiting to erupt. This was the case when during the early nineteenth century, the Tu’i Tonga family had indicated that they wanted to reassert the temporal power
of the Tu‘i Tonga (ibid:58). Knowing full well the threat this posed, Taufa‘ahau put in place measures to prevent this. The most important of which was not allowing his sister to marry the heir of the Tu‘i Tonga title, Laufilitonga. According to tradition, an heir to the Tu‘i Tonga had to be the offspring of an incumbent Tu‘i Tonga to a sister of the hau or Tu‘i Kanokupolu. By doing this, he was able to halt the line at Tu‘i Tonga Laufilitonga, and upon Laufilitonga’s death in 1865, Taufa‘ahau was able to terminate the Tu‘i Tonga title for ever based on these grounds (ibid:60). The Tui Manu‘a title suffered the same fate as the Tu‘i Tonga. When the US took over Eastern Samoa after the division of Samoa in 1900, it was ordered by the US administration that Tui Manu‘a will no longer be bestowed as it was believed that the Samoans still owed allegiance to it. There were attempts to resurrect the title but without any success. The sad fact of this is that two of Polynesian once great titles and chiefs have failed to exist whilst the much later titles have managed to escape extinction.

As evident from above, colonisation was one of the factors which contributed to the limiting of chiefly power and authority. Other than Hawai‘i and French Polynesia whose chiefly systems ceased to exist after colonisation, the Germans in Samoa allowed the chiefly system to continue, however went to extreme measures to limit their authority. No other island has had as much paramount chiefs as Samoa banished from their own island for opposing foreign administrations. In 1878, Malietoa Laupepa was exiled to Africa and the Marshall Islands, to make way for Tamasese who was more sympathetic to the German interests (Taburton, 1996:43). In 1893, Mata‘afa Iosefo and ten other prominent chiefs were exiled to the Marshall Islands for opposition against the government (Gilson, 1970:422). Eighty-seven other chiefs were fined two hundred dollars each to be paid within a year (ibid). In 1909, Mau a Pule leader, Lauaki Namulau‘ulu Mamoe and other chief supporters were banished to Saipan in the Marianas by German Governor Solf for their opposition to taxes and grievances against the loss of matai authority (Davidson, 1973:297). In 1924, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III was banished to the island of Savai‘i for refusing to remove a hibiscus hedge after he had been instructed by the Native Affairs Secretary Griffin to do so (Field, 1984:64). He also had his title removed. In 1928, he became the leader of the Mau and was arrested for his passive resistance towards the New Zealand administration. He was exiled to New Zealand to serve his sentence (Taburton, 1996:88). Tuimaleali‘ifano Siu was suspended from his office as a Fautua (adviser) for supporting the Citizen’s committee and advising Richardson, the New Zealand administrator to meet them (ibid:85). In 1929, he was arrested by the navy and imprisoned for his support of the Mau.
Today, regardless of their paramount rank, Chiefs still have limitations. Unlike their ancestors, they no longer have the absolute power and authority to do whatever they wish. Like everyone else, they too have to obey the laws of the land. There have been numerous cases where paramount chiefs have had to be taken to court to face charges for various offences. One of the most paramount chiefs of Fiji, Qaranivalu, Ratu Inoke Takiveikata, was sent to prison in 2004 for his alleged role in the Fiji military mutiny of 2000. In 2009 Roko Tui Dreket, Ro Teimumu Kaba appeared in court; she was charged with inciting to disobedience of the law for allegedly publishing a letter on the internet involving a call for her people to assemble for the Bose ko Viti in August. In 2012, Tongan noble, Lord Lasike appeared in the Supreme Court on charges of illegal gun possession. As a result, King Tupou VI revoked his position as speaker of the house and was removed from Parliament. He was eventually acquitted and reinstated. The other main reason that paramount chiefs appear in court is over disagreements to title successions and land ownership. Although these are not criminal charges, the fact that they have to appear in court to defend their chiefly titles is still a sign of their limitations in the present day. Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and the Cook Islands all use the court system to settle title and land disputes. The issue of succession is further discussed in chapter six.

Despite their high ranks, the chiefly participants believe that their statuses in the present day society although historically privileged, don’t necessarily mean that they share the same privileges as their successors and ancestors. They are human, and they have limitations.

_We’re all human and we make mistakes. Ariki make mistakes. You hold up to what you do as an ariki, and you will get that respect from the people. I know that a lot of my people do respect me. I try and do a lot of things and take my title everywhere I go so that the people of the world know that our tiny little island exists. The kingdom of Tonga is the smallest kingdom and they do play their role very well. I watched the royal deaths happening and they still have their mana there. We do have it within the rights of you and your rangatira and mataiapo and your people. You find that some out there respect it and some out there don’t (Pa Ariki)_

_I realise that I am getting on and that I can’t work as much as I use to, that I can only do certain things, so I take every day as it comes and do what I can (Tui Atua)._
I can't do everything, but I do what I can that allows the system to continue to have some meaning for me (Ratu Joni)

Tu’ivakanō adds that apart from having the title of noble, they are actually just like every other person.

In society itself, they are just nobles, they go to church, they obey the laws, and noble have also been taken to court so they aren't above the law.

Summary

The first part of this chapter looked at the many forms in which authority figures existed during pre-contact times. Literature from various islands and authors collectively agree that the gods were the first figures of power and authority. They were divine beings and as a result their authority over the world was a sacred one. According to Polynesian legends, paramount chiefs are said to have been directly descended from the creator gods. The idea that chiefs are descended directly from the gods is important for two reasons. Firstly it confirms the place of chiefs within society as authority figures, and secondly it highlights the importance of genealogy. Chapter one discussed the importance of ‘status lineage’ and how supreme status travels through the senior male line. The fact that chiefs are descended along godly lines emphasises their seniority and further cements their positions in society as paramount rulers.

The next phase sees the shift of power move from the gods to their human representatives on earth, the chiefs and the priests. The priests were usually close relatives of the chiefs, often younger brothers. In some cases, the chief was also the priest. Like their godly relatives, they were believed to also have the ability to control the supernatural. Their power was said to be both religious and secular. The possession of both religious and secular power would have probably been likely if the high priest was himself a chief as alluded to above. This would mean the individual’s religious and secular authority would be connected to his dual role as both a priest and chief respectively. In the event that the chief and the priest were separate but related individuals, authority became a shared one, with each individual possessing a different form of authority. This would suggest that a duality or split in authority would have first surfaced at some point during this time period. The sharing of authority between the priest and chief would become a common practice within Polynesia, especially within Tonga
and Samoa where sacred and secular authority was often exercised by different individuals. It is also similar to the *tuakana-teina* relationship within eastern Polynesia where the older brother is regarded sacred, and the younger brother secular. What is important to note at this point is that priestly authority is still very much affirmed through his genealogical connection to the chief and the gods. The importance of genealogy is also highlighted in the fact that the priesthood was often handed down from father to son. This again highlights the importance of male succession. In the case of the Tu’i Tonga, history reveals that as the secular power of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua grew, it eventually overtook the Tu’i Tonga as the ruler of Tonga. This incident is important on two levels. Firstly it became the first time a junior line became more powerful than a senior line, and secondly it illustrated the importance of ‘personal skill and ability’. Through warfare, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua was able to wrestle power from the Tu’i Tonga, in the process relegating the Tu’i Tonga to a sacred and ceremonial position. The same happened in Fiji. According to Ratu Joni, the Roko Tui Bau was originally the priestly ruler of Bau until the warrior chief Vunivalu overthrew the Roko Tui Bau. The Tu’i Ha’atakalaua and the Vunivalu represent another figure of authority, the warrior chief.

There have been many examples throughout history of warrior chiefs. Before being relegated to a ceremonial role, the Tu’i Tonga himself had a warrior reputation, especially during the period where he usurped power from the Tui Manu’a of Samoa. The existence of the warrior chief symbolised a departure from a succession through genealogy, and more importantly, through the senior line. The warrior chief represents leadership based on skill and valour, a precursor to the modern concept of achieved leadership. The warrior represents the ‘behaviour and performance’ concept of leadership as well as the ‘charismatic hero’ definition as described in chapter one. Although the present day chief does not necessarily represent what it means to be a warrior, Tui Atua believes that the principles that made warriors leaders still applies today i.e. chiefly leadership is still very much dependent on one’s merits and personal skills. He goes on to say that although there is no more war, conflict still exists and that the conduct of a leader does not change whether it is in an environment of war or an environment of peace.

The recognition of skills defined another group of individuals that also possessed a degree of authority during this time period. They were the skilled craftsmen traditionally known as the *tohunga, tufuga, kohuna, tahu’a*. Their authority was not of the same level as the chief, but was still regarded a figure of authority. This type of leadership is an example of the
‘subjective orientation’ form of leadership looked at in chapter one. Although the individual
does not hold an official position of leadership, by virtue of his skills and his abilities, he is
identified by others as possessing the necessary skills that warrant his recognition as a leader.
Again this points to the importance of merit as alluded to earlier. The other less heralded
form of authority is what is described in this chapter as ‘symbolic’ authority. In the past,
these included the worship of things such as animals and statues. They were not authority
figures as such, but symbolised power and authority in the absence of a human figure. Ratu
Joni sees value in symbolism. He likens his role as a present day chief not so much to being a
leader, but a symbol to those who acknowledge him. He is a symbol of what has gone before,
and more importantly, a symbol of what it means to be Fijian. A symbolic form of leadership
complies with the subjective definition of leadership. As Ratu Joni explains, being a symbol
requires people to interpret leadership in whatever way they wish to.

The section on child and female chiefs suggests that both children and women had a place in
pre-contact society as figures of authority. The fact that both women and children were able
to hold authority roles further illustrates popular practice of the time period. The first is the
continual importance placed on genealogy. If ascription was not regarded important, then
infant male children would not have succeeded their father’s. This was the case in the Tahiti
and Hawai’i, and to some extent Samoa. Boys of infant age were said to have succeeded their
chiefly fathers in both Tahiti and Hawaii, while young men of teenage age have held
paramount chiefly positions in Samoa. On the other hand, women succeeding to positions of
authority go against the rules of male primogeniture.

Two of the most significant female figures of power during this time were the Samoan war
goddess Nafanua, and the first female Tu’i Kanokupolu holder, Tupoumoheofo. Both these
female figures were not genealogically in line to assume power and authority yet they did so
through different means. Nafanua did so through her skills as a warrior and Tupoumoheofo
did so through clever manoeuvring and the exploitation of her traditional position as a
Tamahā, the highest socially ranked female of the time. The achievement of these two
females suggests that the only way females could have reached positions of authority was
through achieving it. It would also suggest that females in general were not permitted to hold
positions of authority within Polynesia. Samoa and Tonga may be part of Polynesia, but they
don’t represent Polynesia as a whole. They only represent West Polynesia.
Historically the majority of female chiefs and leaders were from East Polynesia, namely Hawaii, Tahiti, Borabora, Raiatea and the Cook Islands. The greater number of female chiefs in East Polynesia suggests that there were other more important factors to succession than male primogeniture. The importance of the female in this region is illustrated in the incestuous unions that often took place between Hawaiian chiefs and their sacred sisters to produce an heir of the highest possible rank. Similar brother-sister unions took place in Tahiti and Borabora. In post-contact times, the majority of chiefly women are still from the eastern region, mainly the Cook Islands. According to Pa Ariki, women are more likely to be elected as ariki because of their nurturing nature. As a woman, she is able to be a mother figure to her people. In recent times, the chief has sometimes been referred to as a father figure to the entire island. This supports Pa Ariki’s reason for the success of female ariki in the Cook Islands.

At present, there are only a handful of female paramount chiefs, one in Fiji, and eight in the Cook Islands. The last female Tongan paramount chief was Queen Salote who died in 1965, while the last female Maori ariki was Queen Te Atairangikaahu who died in 2006. The last time Samoa had a female paramount chief dated back to pre-contact times. Despite there being female chiefs of lesser rank currently in Samoa and Fiji, they are still a considerable minority. Although the lack of paramount women chiefs suggests Polynesian women do not possess as much authority as males in this day and age, evidence suggests that authority and power of present day Polynesian women is acknowledged in different ways. Traditional practices that define relationships between male and females are still practiced and observed today. The lack of women paramount chiefs in this day and age does not indicate the inability of women to hold such positions. As discussed in this chapter, women already hold special roles within their societies that give them authority and status without necessarily being a chief.

The practice of children holding paramount chiefly titles seems to be confined to the past. It was not strictly a Polynesian practice as it was also common in Egypt and Japan where children once ruled as pharaohs and emperors respectively. In today’s society, it is unheard of to hear of a child succeeding to a paramount chiefly position. Different methods of succession have contributed largely to this, as well as changing perspectives on what type of person a paramount chief should be. Given that a paramount chief is often regarded as a father figure of a family, having a child as a holder of the title is not appropriate. Times have
changed. Today some paramount chiefs despite assuming their roles well into their adult life still face challenges. Pa Ariki described how although she was in her forties when she was bestowed her title the elders of her family still treated her as if she didn’t know anything. Although children no longer assume paramount chiefly roles, the description of ‘young’ seems to apply to people of middle age. Another reason why children are seldom elected as paramount and/or local chiefs is that in societies like Samoa, a chiefly title symbolises maturity and seniority. Even though a chief may be young in age, he is regarded as culturally older than another individual who may be older, but is not a chief. This would suggest that seniority plays an important part in the selection of paramount chiefs in the present period.

Certain chiefly practices and privileges were characteristic of this time period. The authority figures of pre-contact times were not restricted by laws and rules. Laws that dictated the behaviour of commoners did not apply to them. They did whatever they wanted, to whomever they wanted. Some of the acts were extremely cruel by modern moral standards and killing and cruel behaviour was just part and parcel of the landscape. The killing of humans was often done to satisfy the appetite of cannibal chiefs or for a sacrifice to appease the gods. Given that gods, priests and warriors had the power over life, they naturally had the power to take it. Commoners also had to make sacrifices to the gods and chiefs. These were usually in the form of regular offerings of food and material gifts. Today paramount chiefs are still recipients of offerings and gifts. The difference is that they too are now called upon to make sacrifices as well as to contribute to matters concerning the family and the island. Tu’ivakanō claims that despite his noble status, when it comes to preparing things for the king, he too along with his family have to contribute. Similarly Pa Ariki claims that although she is often called upon to represent her country in her capacity as an ariki, most times she does so at her own cost. Similarly in chapter two, Tui Atua speaks of the need of present day chiefs to be prepared to also make sacrifices for the benefit of their people. Not only must they make sure that their families and clans are disciplined, they too must show a sense of self-discipline.

Compared to the pre-contact times, the present day Chiefs believe that just because they hold paramount titles, it does not compel people to follow them or render them respect. People in this day and age have a choice of whether to respect and follow a chief, or not. They have a choice of acknowledging whether they respect the authority of a chief or not. They are not bound to make sacrifices like the people of the past did to serve the chiefs of the time. In the
past, people had no choice but to render respect and service to the chief or priest out of fear. It was the position of chief or priest that held the control or power. Today, although a general sense of respect comes with being a chief, the true indication of real respect is determined by what a person thinks of the holder of the chiefly title. In this case, true leadership is subjective regardless of the position that one holds. Chiefs and priests of the past clearly occupied a level far above the common people, both socially and physically. Today’s paramount chief thinks otherwise. Pa Ariki refers to present day *ariki* as human beings who make mistakes. Tu’ivakanō claims that today’s nobles do not possess the sorts of power that past nobles had. Today they are ordinary people who go to church just like everyone else. Just like all Tongan citizens, they too have to obey laws and are not seen as being above it, as was the case for many chiefly figures during the pre-contact period.
CHAPTER 4
From First-Contact to Independent Chiefs

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This chapter looks at aspects and features of the Polynesian chief and the chiefly system during the first-contact period. Initially, Christianity had the largest impact not only on Polynesian chiefly systems, but on society as a whole. This chapter looks at some of the main cases in Polynesia where Christianity and religion have had the greatest impact on Polynesian society. It discusses the nature of the changes and what impact these changes had on the chiefly systems of various Polynesian islands. As a result of foreign influence, islands began implementing laws and practices that not only legitimised the power and authority of the chiefly caste it also dictated how the commoner population had to defer to their authority. With a declining rate of warfare, these foreign concepts were adopted by chiefs to maintain influence. Some of these early laws and constitutions are looked at in the first part of this chapter.

The next major influence of change came with colonisation. Like Christianity before it, colonisation also contributed to changing not only the leadership of Polynesia, but its society as well. Case studies of some of the main colonial takeovers within the region and their effects on the Polynesian groups are documented in this chapter. Following a look at colonisation, the chapter looks at the reactions of the ‘colonised’, more specifically, how chiefs reacted to the foreign encroachment of their space and their positions as rulers and leaders of their island groups. Lastly, the chapter discusses some of the ways the chiefly systems have evolved through the decolonisation and independence period. It discusses the reinvention of paramount chiefs as politicians and also looks at how their authority declined as quickly as it rose.
1.0 Christianity

Christianity had an immense impact on Polynesia. With regards to the Polynesian chiefly systems, it had an initial positive effect however the overall lasting effect was not so positive.

The Positive Effect

Christianity had initially been viewed by ambitious chiefs as means to increase their authority. In some cases chiefs who were not originally of the highest ranks were able to increase their authority through their association with missionaries, and the technological advantages that came with such connections.

According to Samoan legend, the arrival of the new Christian power was first brought to the attention of Samoan people through a well-known prophecy made by the goddess of war Nafanua. Legend has it that Nafanua obtained through warfare all the paramount titles of Samoa and proceeded to redistribute them to her allies. An ancestor of the Malietoa clan went to her to seek a share of the kingdom and found that he was too late as all the titles had already been distributed. Nafanua then said to Malietoa, *Alas, you have come, but the ruling title is gone. Nevertheless, you will receive a kingdom from heaven and you will be its ruler* (Henry, 1979: 131; Meleisea, 1987: 52; 1995: 29). The acceptance of the London Missionary Society (LMS) by Malietoa Vainuʻupo in 1830 was interpreted as the fulfilment of the prophecy made to his ancestor centuries before. Malietoa Vainuʻupo went on to become *tafaʻiifā* and ruled over all of Samoa until his death.

History accounts also point to the influence of missionaries in being key players in the rise of chiefs such as Taufaʻahau, Pomare II, Kamehameha and Cakobau. According to Latukefu, it was doubtful that Taufaʻahau would have been as successful as he was had he not received the whole-hearted backing of the Wesleyan missionaries (1970: 61). Taufaʻahau was convinced that Christianity had many benefits (Eustis, 1997: 35; Latukefu, 1977: 125)

His association with missionaries aided his intellectual development, broadened his experience, and gave him deeper insight into the ways and means of dealing with the increasingly complex problems which he and his country had to face. It appears, however, that Taufaʻahau’s initial acceptance of Christianity was only a part of his general desire to adopt the ways of the white man, his wealth, superior knowledge and weapons of war, and also his religion, to achieve his ambitions (Latukefu, 1970: 61).
Like Taufa‘ahau, Pomare II also used the missionaries to his advantage. The Pomares recognised that missionaries could be useful allies in their political ambitions. The LMS missionaries helped the Pomares regain power over all of Tahiti (Fischer, 2002: 130; Howe, 1984: 140; Langdon, 1959: 115).

In 1812 Pomare publicly declared his ‘conversion’ to Christianity and asked to become a candidate for baptism. Exactly why he did so can never be determined. Perhaps it had to do with his gradual disillusionment with Oro, who had brought him as many defeats as victories. Might the new Christian god alter his political and military fortunes? Perhaps too Pomare’s changed stance was a logical consequence of his close association with missionaries over the past decade (Howe, 1984: 139)

Kamehameha I sort the assistance of foreign missionaries and traders in his quest for sole authority over the Hawai’ian Islands. Prior to mounting an attack on his main rival for the overall control of Hawai‘i, he had collected a good supply of guns and ammunition from foreign traders, as well as obtaining for himself a sailing ship, the *Fair American*, he used as the backbone of his invasion fleet (Pole, 1959: 94). He had also acquired as advisors the Englishmen John Young and Isaac Davis who instructed him on the superior European methods of warfare (ibid).

Apart from advanced knowledge and technology, Christianity also brought protection to some of the chiefs. When an aging chief Cakobau realised his traditional authority was waning against younger more powerful adversaries, he saw conversion as a means of protection. Like his contemporaries Taufa‘ahau and Pomare II, Cakobau began to doubt the power of the old gods, and that there was more safety for a great chief in Christianity (Latukefu, 1970: 61; Scarr, 1970: 105). This is ironic as Cakobau had been staunchly anti-Christian from his youth (Waterhouse, 1866: 50). Despite his defiant opposition towards European missionaries, to European traders and merchants he was friendly. These Europeans provided him with advanced weaponry and liquor of all things (ibid: 63). Taufa‘ahau, Pomare II and Kamehameha I all had the foresight to realise the advantages of having European missionaries as allies. As a result of pursuing these connections, they all achieved for
themselves undisputed authority over their respective island groups. In the process, all three chiefs re-established themselves as kings and creating the first monarchies of Polynesia.

Christianity has also been credited for encouraging females to be elected as *ariki* in the Cook Islands (James, 1986:113). It is strange however that this didn’t occur in the other islands. Regardless, it seems that the missionaries were warmly welcomed in the Cook Islands.

*Some of the missionaries came back to Rarotonga and they even taught my grandmother. She use to tell me as a kid that she use to go and work for a missionaries wife, learning how to make quilts tivaevae, and our men were taught to make thatched roofs for houses from coconut leaves, hibiscus tree wood and other words from the forest. They learnt a lot from the missionaries and their wives.* *(Pa Ariki)*

**The Negative Effect**

It was not all one way traffic. The missionaries used the chiefs as much as the chiefs used them. In Samoa, rival chiefs were often backed by opposing settler groups. During the 1870-80s, rival consuls representing Germany, Britain and America wanting to secure for themselves the control of the Apia municipality, would back one of the rival chiefs also wanting to become the main chief or king of Samoa (Meleisea, 1987:92). Growing tensions between the warring chiefs and their European sponsors almost resulted in a three way war between the three super powers in 1889, however the great hurricane of that same year may have prevented such a war as it destroyed most of the navy vessels anchored in Apia harbour awaiting orders to fight (ibid). The Tongan case was slightly different. Rather than consuls and settler groups supporting rival chiefs, it was the missionary groups that were fighting for dominance in Tonga that put their support behind the rival chiefs. Taufa’ahau Tupou I had accepted the Wesleyan mission and was on his way to attaining for himself complete rule over all of Tonga. His main rival of the time was Laufilitonga, son of Tu’i Tonga Fuanunuiava, and heir to the Tu’i Tonga title. On the surface, the rivalry between Taufa’ahau and Laufilitonga was a traditional one between their respective lines, Tu’i Kanokupolu and Tu’i Tonga. Beneath the surface, it became a vehicle for rival missions to increase their influence on the island (ibid).
Missionary support also came at a cost to the chiefs. Accepting Christianity meant the denunciation of all former practices that went against Christian beliefs and teachings. Such practices included the worship of other gods, killing, cannibalism, incestuous unions and polygamy which were seen as chiefly rights and privileges (as discussed in chapter three). The most significant loss of power was the eventual transferal of sacred power from the chief to the missionary. In chapter one, tapu or sacredness is identified as one of the main characteristics that legitimises chiefly authority. When the missionaries arrived on the scene, they became the possessors of tapu and replaced the chiefs at the top of the sacred hierarchy.

What has happened is that the whole church, the new Christian church hierarchy has taken on the nainai principle, so that the faiféau tend to identify the people, the natural leaders of the village, for clerical work. So that this has sabotaged the natural path from service as the tautua to the leadership...because quite often the leaders of the village, the potential leaders, have gone off to the church, and so they come back then as faiféau (Tui Atua)

As a result, chiefs were left finding for themselves a place in society.

And so for the chiefs, I think the challenge for them is finding a role because with a few exceptions, the religious authority has been assumed by the Christian churches, and the secular authority has been assumed by the state. They are left to find a role, but I think there is still space for them in terms of providing identity and providing a focal point for their people in that case. It’s a slightly different role from that of churches which is the religious sphere and the secular which is to do with the running of the state and the provision of services etc. This is something to do with culture and custom etc. Things like that which are not as defined but which people still consider important (Ratu Joni).

2.0 Chiefly Laws

Shortly after the arrival of missionaries and settlers, the new weapons for strengthening chiefly authority shifted from war clubs to paper, more specifically the creation of written constitutions and laws. Literacy became the new weapon of chiefly members. Chiefdoms relied on a system of shared culture, which consisted partly of ancient taboos and the practices of the chiefs that had been passed down from generation to generation. Such practices and privileges are discussed in the previous chapter. The new method of consolidating power and authority was soon to be implemented and adopted by some ambitious chiefs. The success of written law was varied. Some existed only during the reign of their creators. Others helped influence new ones, while some still exist with changes made.
to them. Not only were these new laws created to preserve chiefly authority, they illustrated a new form of consolidating power without the need for war. Some of the early examples of these laws are looked at in the following section.

Kānāwai Māmalahoe – 1797 Law of the Splintered Paddle

This was a law that was created by Kamehameha I in 1797. It states; "Let every elderly person, woman and child lie by the roadside in safety”. It was created when Kamehameha was fighting in Puna. While chasing two fishermen with the intention to kill them, his leg was caught in the rocks. One of the men realising that Kamehameha was trapped amongst the rocks came back and hit him mightily on the head with a paddle. The paddle splintered as it struck Kamehameha. Luckily, Kamehameha was able to escape. Sometime later, the same fisherman was brought before Kamehameha. Instead of ordering for him to be killed Kamehameha ruled that the fisherman had only been protecting his land and family, and so the Law of the Splintered Paddle was declared (Apple & Apple, 1977:55; Tregaskis, 1973:150). Although this law was created to protect the common and helpless person, even from the persecution of such persons as a king, it did however illustrate the authority a king or an Ali‘i Nui to declare and enforce such laws. It has become a model for modern human rights law regarding the treatment of civilians and other non-combatants

Hawai‘i Kapu System

The Kapu System was a religious system of laws that ruled over every aspect of Hawai’ian life (Malo, 1951). It involved over a thousand rules dictating how commoners should act in the presence of the chiefs, as well as how woman and men should behave. The system favoured those of chiefly rank over commoners and men over women. The breaking of such rules was punishable by death. Some of the rules were

1) The men and women had to eat separately; 2) The food for the men and women had to be cooked in separate imu - underground ovens; 3) A wife was forbidden to enter the eating house of her husband while he was eating; 4) A commoner would be put to death if his shadow fell on an ali‘i’s house or anything that belonged to the ali‘i; 5) When an ali‘i of high standing ate, the people around him had to kneel (ibid)
The Kapu System was abolished in 1819 following the death of King Kamehameha I. Kamehameha’s wife Ka’ahumanu declared herself the Kuhina Nui or Queen and when Kamehameha’s son Liholiho was crowned king, she ate with him, in the process braking the kapu system (Lee Seaton, 1974:197).

**Tahiti Code of Law (1819)**

When Tahitians of the time asked the missionaries for advice on instituting a civil government based on European models, the missionaries responded reluctantly saying that these matters belonged to the chiefs and the governors of the people and not the teachers of religion (Scholefield, 1919:7). Regardless of this they assisted King Pomare II with his Code of Laws, there main influence being the inclusion of the Ten Commandments. Owing to Pomare’s jealousy of his local chiefs, the Laws served to advantage him as the Sovereign and stated that any opposition to him was declared seditious (Howe, 1984:142). It has also been known as the Pomare Codes of 1819 and was revised in 1824.

**Raiatea Code of Law (1820)**

Shortly after the formation of Pomare’s Tahiti Code of Law, other chiefs of neighbouring island also decided to follow suit. These laws outlined essential rules of conduct and deference towards the aristocracy (Collin Newbury, 1988:67). It also spelled out the *ari’i* rite to tribute through a form of an annual levy. In 1820 King Tamatoa, paramount chief of Raiatea and Tahaa adopted the Raiatea Code which was basically an improvement on the Tahiti Code (Scholefield, 1919:8).

**Huaine Code of Law (1823)**

In 1823 the Huaine Codes were developed and went another step further by introducing a much smaller levy to be paid to the lesser chiefs under the authority of the *ari’i* (Collin Newbury, 1988:66). This law differed from the above laws of neighbouring island groups in that it stated that there are different levels of chiefs, and in recognition of the difference in ranks, they were given less than the *ari’i*.

**The 1835 Declaration of Independence of New Zealand**

This was a declaration drafted by a British resident James Busby in 1835. The declaration was seen as a means to make the country a dependency of the British Empire in everything
but name. It was signed by 52 chiefs who were part of a loose confederation of Maori tribes based in the North Island known as the United Tribes of New Zealand. In it the *ariki* and *rangatira* reassert their leadership in article 2:

> All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity, who also declare that they will not permit any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist, nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in Congress assembled (Orange, 2004:15)

The Declaration of Independence arose in response to concerns by Maori over the lawlessness of British subjects in New Zealand and to a fear that France would declare sovereignty over the islands. A copy was sent to King William IV of England who had previously acknowledged the flag of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and now recognized the Declaration of Independence, in a letter from Lord Glenelg (British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies) in 1836. The New Zealand Colonial Office did not receive the news too well and it was decided that a new policy for New Zealand was needed as a corrective. It is likely that Busby and the chiefs had different objectives in mind with the declaration. Busby saw it as a step towards making New Zealand a British possession. The chiefs saw it as a guarantee of their independence and recognition of their authority. A purpose of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi was to revoke the declaration to permit the transmission of sovereignty to Queen Victoria. That is why the chiefs who had signed the declaration were called up first to sign the Treaty.

**The 1839 Declaration of Rights of Hawaii**

The Hawaiian Kingdom was governed until 1838, without legal enactments. In 1839 King Kamehameha III and the Council of Chiefs created the Declaration of Rights. It was modelled after the American Declaration of Independence. It recognised three classes of persons having vested rights in the lands, the Government; the Chiefs and the native Tenants. It declared protection of these rights to both the Chiefly and native Tenant classes. These rights were not limited to the land, but included the right to life, limb, liberty, freedom from oppression; the earnings of his hands and the productions of his mind etc. In fact the Declaration of Rights could be seen as an extension and a more elaborate version of the
Splintered Paddle Law of 1797. It was also known as the ‘Magna Charta of Hawai’i’ (Chinen, 1958:7). It would be revised the following year and incorporated into the first Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

**Vava’u Code of Laws (1839)**
The introduction of a Code of Laws was one of the new tools that Taufa’ahau used to help consolidate his position in Tonga. In 1839 he had not yet achieved his goal of uniting all of Tonga under his rule, but he was close to it by having one of the large groups of islands, Vava’u, in his control. With the guidance of his missionary friends, a code of laws was drawn up to formalise his position in Vava’u, this becoming the first set of written laws in Tonga (Latukefu, 1970:69).

**1840 Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawaii**
Although Hawaii was officially unified in 1810 by Kamehameha I, it wasn’t until the reign of his younger son Kamehameha III in 1840 that an official Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawaii was developed. It followed the 1839 Declaration of Rights, and would become the first time a monarchy was constituted in Polynesia. Similar to the Declaration of Rights, it reserved rights for both chiefs and commoners. Despite the first two section of the constitution declaring rights for both the people and chiefs, and protection of the people, sections three to seven illustrate and secure the powers of the King, the Premier (*Kuhina Nui*), the Governors, and the House of Nobles. Even though all the above have varying levels of power they all do so under the authority of the King, and his family (Tate, 1965:22).

**Tahiti Code (1842)**
This was basically a revised version of the 1823 Huaine Code of Law and used to further emphasise the lower level that the other chiefs hold, represented by a smaller amounts of crops and payments for them (Collin Newbury, 1988:66)

**Tonga Code of Laws (1850)**
This 1850 Code of Law was an extension of the 1839 Vava’u Code of Law. The noticeable new inclusions were the forbidding of sale of land to foreigners and proclaiming Taufa’ahau Tupou as supreme leader of Tonga.
**Tonga Code of Laws (1862)**

This was a revision of the 1850 Code of Laws. The most notable change was the emancipation proclamation, freeing the people of Tonga from all obligatory duties to their chiefs and including a clear submission of the power of the kingship to the rule of law (Marcus, 1980:35). This was a further attempt at limiting the power of the chiefs and increasing that of the King.

**1875 Constitution of Tonga**

The Constitution of Tonga was drafted primarily by Rev. Shirley Baker and proclaimed by Taufa‘ahau I in 1875. Today with some amendments, it remains in place as the Pacific’s oldest constitution. It was based largely on the Laws of Code implemented by Taufa‘ahau in 1839, 1850 and 1862. The code of 1862 regulated the relations of the king and the new nobility, but the 1875 version strengthened the monarchy at the expense of the nobles. From 1875 on Taufa‘ahau attempted to eliminate all sources of opposition through a variety of means, and did so most successfully through the legal-judicial structure (Ward Gailey, 1987:195). Not only did the constitution formalise Taufa‘ahau’s position as king, it also appointed 20 chiefly positions for life known as the Nobility. These were to become the only chiefs (and their heirs) eligible to hold any formal position in the new government.

**3.0 Polynesian Monarchies**

Polynesian chiefs have often been incorrectly described in early missionary and colonizer’s accounts as kings, queens and monarchs. The likes of Tu‘i Tonga and Tanataifā Salamāsinā have been referred to in various literature as kings and queens. Centuries later, Polynesian chiefs reinvented themselves as kings and queens largely due to the influence of European missionaries and settlers. According to Howe, monarchies arose as a result of ambitious chiefs and westerners both having vested interests in the aggrandisement and centralisation of political power (1984: 125). The chiefs sought complete power and control, missionaries desired obedient Christian followers, while traders wanted security, a reliable supply of produce, and a steady source of labour (ibid).

 Paramount chiefs even fancied themselves as kings and monarchs, and often adopted the names of well-known monarchs of the day, as their own. When Taufa‘ahau was baptised in
1831, he forsake his old name, and took on the name ‘King George’ because of his admiration for what the missionaries told him about King George III of England (Latukefu, 1970: 65). Kamehameha also fancied and likened himself to King George (Sahlins, 1985: 140). Three dominant Hawai’ian chiefs had also named their sons and heirs “King George” (ibid). The Maori king movement also developed out of desire to emulate the British monarchy. Maori supporters of the movement wished to have for themselves a king like the great king of England (Buddle, 1860: 4)

In 1851, Tamihana Te Rauparaha achieved the height of respectable colonial ambition by visiting England, where he was presented to the Queen. Thirty-odd years before, Hongi Hika had met King George IV and had returned with his armour and a cargo of muskets. Tamihana came back with a weapon much more dangerous to the British Empire, the notion of forming a Maori kingdom (Sinclair, 1959: 115)

Eventually these chiefs became more than just nominal monarchs, and developed official kingdoms of their own. By 1810 and 1815, Kamehameha and Pomare II respectively achieved what other chiefs before them failed to do, i.e. to unite their respective islands under their single rule. At this point they became officially accepted and acknowledged [by their own people and foreigners] as kings, however their newly formed kingdoms were inherently unstable (Howe, 1984: 158). To secure their newly obtained supremacy, the kings undertook rather different measures.

Pomare II was revolutionary in Tahitian terms. He based his monarchy on a new divine legitimacy and ruled through new sanctions based on a mixture of Tahitian and missionary values. Kamehameha I was more of a traditionalist. He imposed his rule by exploiting and modifying the existing institutions of government. In particular, where Pomare II attempted to keep leading chiefs out of his administration, Kamehameha skilfully involved his potential rivals in his government. He employed the techniques of successful feudal monarchs everywhere, giving the ranking nobles integral roles within the kingdom (ibid: 159).

Taufa’ahau or King George Tupou I ensured the success of his monarchy through the implementation of a series of laws and codes (Howe, 1984: 190; Rutherford, 1977: 157). The overall effect of the early laws was to consolidate Taufa’ahau’s position as supreme ruler (after God). In the ‘Law referring to the King’ of the 1850 code, the first law states; ‘The King, being the root of all government in the land, it is for him to appoint those who shall
govern in his land’ (Howe, 1984: 191), thus making a bold statement to his subjects that the authority is vested in him. Similarly, Pomare II developed codes with an opening statement as a source for the legitimacy of his kingly elevation; ‘Whom God has given as king to Tahiti and Mo’orea and to all the surrounding islands....Safety to all his loyal subjects in the name of the true God (ibid: 141). Even before Taufa’ahau and Pomare II enforced their new laws and codes, Kamehameha in shaping his kingdom had lead the way with the creation of the his ‘Kapu System’, a set of rules telling Hawaiians what they could and could not do (Potter, Kasdon, & Rayson, 2003: 21).

Although history accounts for only Hawai’i, Tahiti, Tonga and Maori developing monarchies as they are known today, other island groups claim to have at some point in history developed kingdoms as well. Fijians claim to have had a united king in Cakobau, however various literature refer to his kingly status as being self-proclaimed, and that although he was at times referred to as ‘Tui Viti’ (a title likened to that of supreme king), the Tui Viti itself was not a traditional title and was never conferred upon Cakobau through traditional means (Derrick, 1946: 105; Waterhouse, 1866: 195). Given that Cakobau was never officially installed as the Tui Viti, upon being ceded to Great Britain, is has been suggested that the holder of the Tui Viti was also the monarch of Great Britain, Queen Victoria. Other islands that have had their paramount chiefs referred to as ‘kings’ are: Samoa (Henry, 1979), Uvea (Rensch, 1983:9), Niue (Kalauni, 1983:146), Tikopia (Firth, 1936), Futuna (Rensch, 1983:4), Cook Islands (Gilson, 1980), and Tuvalu. One island of Tuvalu (Nanumaga) in their history refers to an eldest son of the founder of their island as their tupu or king.

The first son was accepted as leader of the overall community and was installed as a king or tupu. His secular power was only nominal, but as tupu he was the spiritual leader of the fenua – the whole community. He became the founder of the kingly clan (Luem, 1996: 132).

According to the Nanumaga people, no king has been installed since Tuvalu became independent in 1978 when Nanumaga officially accepted the paramount authority of the Tuvaluan Government (ibid: 135).
4.0 Colonisation

After Christianity, colonization had the next greatest impact on Polynesian societies. Amongst the biggest of changes it imposed was on its chiefly leadership structure. The arrival of foreign powers and their new ways of governance changed and influenced the ways of leadership in Polynesia. Islands were affected differently by different empires. Below are examples of how colonization affected Polynesian islands.

1840 Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed by representatives of the British Crown and various Maori chiefs from the North Island of New Zealand. It established a British Governor of New Zealand. The problem with the treaty was that there were two versions of the treaty, English and Maori, each with slightly different meanings. In the English version, article one state that:

The Chiefs cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or maybe supposed to exercise or possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

The English translation of article one of the Maori version reads:

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs not in that confederation cede without reservation to the Queen of England forever the Governorship of all their lands.

The Maori argument is that the true meanings were lost in translation and that Governorship is not the same as Sovereignty (Walker, 1989:264). From the British point of view, the Treaty gave Britain sovereignty over New Zealand, and gave the Governor the right to govern the country. Māori believed they ceded to the Crown a right of governance in return for protection, without giving up their authority to manage their own affairs. Regardless, both parties continued to claim that their own version were correct and acted accordingly. Much of the subsequent Maori land confiscation by the government illustrated the belief that they had the power to, and further irritated Maori as was seen as a disregard of the mana of the Maori chiefs.
It is also believed that the Maori chiefs may have been led to believe that they were signing a treaty that gave them equal rights with the British Queen.

They expected the treaty to be the start of a new relationship with Britain – one in which they will play an equal role. They expected officials in New Zealand to control troublesome Europeans. Chiefs would look after their own people. Their rangatiratanga was safe in the Treaty’s second clause. The mana of the land would still be held by the Maori people. It would even be increased by the agreement with the world’s major naval power, who might help them against France or other nations. Most especially they believed that the Queen had a personal authority and that the Treat was a very personal agreement between the Queen herself and the chiefs (Orange, 2013:40)

**French takeover of 1842-1901**

In 1842, Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti was convinced by the French government to make Tahiti a protected state of France (Lal & Fortune, 2000:574). The protectorate continued until 1880 when King Pomare V abdicated and Tahiti was formally ceded to France. Although he held his title as the king until his death in 1891, it was only in name. The same fate befell the Society, Marquesas, Austral and Tuamotu Islands when they were also ceded to France in 1901. Following this, all the *ari‘i* and minor chiefs were of little importance (Collin Newbury, 1988:71). There have been recent attempt by the descendants of these former monarchs to resurrect their former kingdoms without much success. A descendent of the Pomare lineage recently proclaimed himself as King Pomare X of Tahiti but failed to get support from the majority of the Pomare descendants.

**Fiji: Deed of Cession 1874**

The Deed of Cession was the agreement signed by Cakobau and other chiefs, ceding Fiji to Great Britain in 1874. Cakobau who by now had declared himself Tui Viti or the king/chief of all Fiji had sought the protection of the British from any retaliation from the Americans after one of the local American’s homes got destroyed in a fire for which Cakobau was blamed for. At this particular time, Cakobau had also inherited the Vunivalu title which was regarded the most paramount in all of Fiji. At one point prior to his death, there was an argument amongst potential heirs as to who would inherit his Vunivalu title. To this he replied:

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63 “Real Tahitian royal is modest man”, couriermail.com.au, 15th December 2011
None of you will drink the cup of installation as Vunivalu when I die as I gave Fiji to the Great Queen Victoria and her heirs forever, together with the right to be consecrated and installed as Vunivalu – that is why I offered yaqona to the Governor, that he might drink the installation cup, for he is the representative of the Queen in Fiji for all time (Macnaught, 1982:50)

From this point on, the ceremonial title of Tui Viti that he created for himself became also the possession of the Queen England, suggesting that Cakobau had to not only cede the island to the queen, but also his chiefly powers and authority.

The 1887 Bayonet Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai’i
This was a constitution written up by anti-monarchists, mostly American citizens, living in Hawaii to strip the Hawaiian King of much of his authority. It took away the power of the king to act without the consent of his cabinet. It especially took away his power to appoint the House of Nobles, instead making it a body selected by wealthy land owners. The reigning monarch, King Kalakaua was threatened to sign it or else be deposed by military arms which consisted mainly of bayonets, hence the name of the constitution (Forbes, 2003:232). In the process, it made the monarchy a constitutional one without much authority.

Hawaiian Takeover of 1893 and US annexation of 1898
After succeeding her brother King Kalakaua in 1891, Queen Lili’uokalani wanted to change the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and restore the power of the Hawaiian monarchy. Feeling threatened, the business community made up mostly of anti-monarchical foreigners engineered the takeover of Hawaii by overthrowing Queen Lili’uokalani and ridding the country of their monarchy. With the presence of US marines and a naval ship docked in the harbour, the Queen Lili’uokalani relinquished her authority as a monarch without a fight (Andrade, 1996:130). Five years later, Hawaii was fully annexed by the United States of America.

German takeover of Samoa 1900
There were many examples in the Pacific illustrating the loss of power of chiefs following the annexation of their islands. This was the case in Samoa during the German administration, and then under New Zealand rule. When Germany took over Samoa in 1899, Dr Wilhelm
Solf was appointed the German Governor to Samoa. Solf knew full well that the authority of Samoa rested in its chiefs, especially in the chiefly orator group known as Tumua & Pule. Knowing this, he set out to implement laws aimed at limiting the powers of the paramount chiefs and their powerful orator groups.

At the time of the German takeover, the highest ranking paramount chiefs of the time were Mata’afa Iosefo, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi II, Malietoa Tanumafili I and Tuimaleali’ifano Faaoloii Siuaana I. After the death of Malietoa Laupepa in 1898, a German-supported Mata’afa had been made king. The following year Mata’afa was forced out and a British and US supported Malietoa Tanumafili was installed in his place. When Germany took over in 1900, Mata’afa was again installed, but this time not as a king, but with a newly created title, ‘Ali’i Sili’ or Head Chief. According to Governor Solf, Germany had only one king, and that was the German Kaiser so therefore no other king can be installed. The Ali’i Sili was literally the ‘the most senior of chiefs’ in the land, a ceremonial position with very little authority at all (Taburton, 1996:53).

Samoa’s reaction to the loss of power was firstly through the Mau a Pule, an attempt by Samoans to reinstate their independence and assert their authority in their own country (Meleisea, 1987:118). The main objectives of the Mau movement were: to have German authorities show more respect to Mata’afa as he was the representative of the dignity of the Samoan people; that all the tama’āiga should stay at Mulinu’u and reassert the dignity of the Samoan government; that Mata’afa’s signature appear next to that of Governor Solf’s on important government papers (ibid). Lauaki, the leader of the Mau a Pule was reported to have said:

Oh, the Governor is a very good man, but he is too tricky. At first he cuts up all the different districts, so as to weaken them, and gradually takes away all the power from the Ta’ita’i-itu’s and lastly, he deprives the Samoans of the high positions of Fa’amasino Sili (Chief Judge). After this, the Governor will even take away the position of the Ali’i Sili, so that no higher office remains for the Samoan people (Davidson, 1973:294)

The Mau a Pule movement quickly collapsed after Governor Solf deported Lauaki and his leaders to Saipan. As Lauaki had predicted, when Mata’afa Iosefo died in 1912, the position of Ali’i Sili was abolished and replaced with the positions of Fautua or ‘advisers’
American takeover of Eastern Samoa 1900

The same fate was met by the Tui Manu’a title in America Samoa. The Tui Manu’a title of American Samoa was no longer to be installed as it did not fit within the American constitution because it was regarded as a monarchy therefore such a position was viewed as unnecessary because the US President already held the highest position of authority. The last holder of the ancient Tui Manu’a title, Tui Manu’a Elisala, died in 1909 and took with him the title to his grave. In retaliation, the heirs to the Tui Manu’a tried to resurrect the Tui Manu’a title in 1924 by installing a direct descendent, Chris Young, as a Tui Manu’a. This attempt was quickly defused by the then Governor of American Samoa (Gray, 1960:208) as to this day, American remain a protectorate of American Samoa, and the Tui Manu’a title has never been bestowed again.

New Zealand Annexation of the Cook Islands 1901

In 1888, Queen Makea Takau, the highest ranked ariki of Rarotonga at the time petitioned Britain to set up a protectorate to head off any possible threats of a French invasion of the Cook Islands. However, based on the wording of the proclamation and the actual raising of the British flag, it seems the Cook Islands were actually annexed, and not protected as was the understanding of the chiefs (Gilson, 1980:60). The British were reluctant administrators of the Cook Islands and rarely interfered in native politics. During the British protectorate, the ariki still had much of the control of the islands. After pressure from the British to annex the Cook Islands, New Zealand agreed to take over. In 1900 the Cook Islands were ceded to New Zealand. The Deed of Cession was only signed by five ariki and seven lesser chiefs, and was done without any discussion or debate. At this point, the power of the ariki was removed from them (ibid :105).

New Zealand Annexation of Niue 1901

Niue was originally annexed as part of the Cook Islands. Unbeknown to the Niuean people, it was a constitutional sleight-of-hand that put their country under the control of New Zealand (Scott, 1993:18). At the time of annexation, Niue had a somewhat ceremonial monarch by the name King Tongia. He would be the last ever acknowledged king of Niue and this coincided with the annexation to New Zealand.
5.0 Chiefly Councils

The implementation of constitutions and laws also resulted in the formation of new elite positions and offices for chiefs. Prior to this, there were unofficial groups of chiefs, mainly grouped in kinship clusters. In Hawaii and Tonga, the creation of elite councils by the monarch was a means to reward those chiefs who had supported them in their quest to be king or supreme ruler. The other less obvious reason was to prevent the same chiefs from later challenging for the monarchy by giving them privileged places within the newly formed governments. On the other hand, excluding rival chiefs from these new positions took away from them their authority as chiefs for under new constitutions the newly created positions were the only ones recognised in the new form of government. However not all chiefly councils were created by a single chief to consolidate the power amongst himself and his loyal chiefly subjects. Others were created to give existing chiefs a more visible appearance in an era where chiefly authority was on the decline. Some examples of these elite groups are given below.

Confederation of Chiefs of the United Tribes of New Zealand (1830s)

This was an autonomous group of North Island *ariki* and *rangatira* who came together in opposition to growing threat of British and French encroachment of their lands. They regarded themselves as independent from any foreign administration (Moon, 2002:64). With the assistance of a British resident James Busby, they designed a United Tribes flag and were responsible for drawing up the 1835 Declaration of Independence (see above). This group preceded the Kingitanga Movement which was formed in 1858.

Hawaii House of Nobles (1852)

The Hawaiian House of Nobles succeeded the unofficial Council of Chiefs which had from the time of Kamehameha I assisted him with matters of the kingdom. The first official House of Nobles was declared in the original constitution of 1840. In the original constitution, the role of the House of Nobles was to vote on Laws, work on Kingdom economy, and be advisors to the king. Members of this elite group were usually Hawaiian *ali'i*, royals or wealthy individuals. It wasn’t until the 1852 constitution that thirty nobles were appointed for life (Kamakau, 1992:412). The 1887 constitution then overturned the life appointment instead making the appointment of members to the House of Nobles a six year appointment. By
1893, the House of Nobles was done away with, replaced with a Senate and House of Representatives. The fall of the Kingdom of Hawaii soon followed⁶⁴.

**Royal Order of Kamehameha (1865)**

This order was established in 1865 by King Kamehameha V in defence of the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawaii. When the kingdom was overthrown in 1893 it was declared a threat to national security, and it was quickly suppressed. From this point it continued to exist as an underground movement waiting for the day when the Hawaiian monarchy will be restored. It came out of hiding in 1903 under the leadership of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole, the heir of the Kalakau Kingly line. He led a torchlight ceremony to the statue of Kamehameha I and announced the restoration of the order and established new civic clubs to act as grassroots organizations in advocacy of native Hawaiians. Today the Royal Order of Kamehameha I continue to work in defense and preservation of native Hawaiian rituals and the rites established by the leaders of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi⁶⁵.

**Fono Taimua ma Faipule (1873)**

In 1873, a Samoan government supported by foreigners was formed made up of two kings, one each from the Sa Tupua and Sa Malietoa families; and two houses of representatives. The first was the upper house, the Fono o Taimua, which consisted of seven high ranking chiefs representing the each of the main districts of Samoa; and a lower house, Fono o Faipule, consisting of 36 chiefs representing each of the sub-districts (Meleisea, 1987:82). Twenty eight years later under the German administration, the position of king was demoted and renamed Aliʻi Sili (Highest Chief), and only two Taʻimua were elected and the Faipule still had members representing each of the districts. When Mataʻafa died in 1912, the position of Aliʻi Sili was not replaced, and the two Taʻimua became the highest ranking positions. The Taʻimua position was later changed to Fautua (advisers) (ibid:115) . In 1963, the Fautua position was renamed Head of State. Faipiule is still used today to represent parliamentary members, and are still held by matai.

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⁶⁴ “Legislature of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi”, wikipedia.org
⁶⁵ “Royal Order of Kamehameha”, royalorderofkamehameha.org
Tongan Nobles (1875)

Latukefu suggests that the idea of forming a Tongan nobility that was appointed for life was derived from the House of Nobles model of Hawaiian Constitution of 1852 (Marcus, 1980:37). Prior to the formation of the nobility, there had been an informal Council of Chiefs set up by Taufa’ahau around the mid-1860s (Kaho, 1991:68). The formation of a House of Nobles was a way for Taufa’ahau to cement his authority over his supporting chiefs as well as to take away chiefly powers from the remaining chiefs who were mostly his adversaries.

When Tupou I came into power, he needed the support of the nobility, so he picked the main 20 nobles to substantiate their positions. It was a way of getting their alliance, by giving the title and the land. This would ensure that the nobles and their people will support him through his reign (Tu’ivakanō)

The nobility was appointed mainly from those who already had titles from numerous tribes as well as those who,

bore the brunt of the work of the government in the days when it was still in its embryonic stages so they should have priority for posts over new comers (Marcus, 1980:36)

Originally twenty nobles were appointed in 1875 by King George Tupou I (Taufa’ahau). A further ten nobles were appointed in 1880 along with six matapule titles, each with hereditary titles and estates. King Tupou II added two more titles to the nobility in 1894, and Queen Salote Tupou III added one more in 1924 bringing the total number of nobles to 33. To this day, these are the 33 nobles that make of the Nobility within the present Kingdom of Tonga.

According to the constitution, all but the nobles and royal family would be commoners, and those of chiefly status who were excluded from the nobility would have to informally manipulate the remaining respect for chiefly leadership and ‘eiki honor among the populations in order to retain some vestige of their former positions (ibid:40). Although Tupou I did not abolish the ‘eikil/chiefly status, he effectively diminished their standing by excluding them from the new sector of privilege – the nobility.
Fiji Great Council of Chiefs (1876)

Following the Confederacy of Fijian Chiefs of 1865, a body of traditional chiefs was set up by the British colonial rulers as an advisory body under the governorship of Sir Arthur Gordon. During the colonial period, yearly meetings were held by the council to advise the governor with regards to policy and indigenous affairs, and also to appoint the indigenous representatives for the colonial Parliament. It was seen as a way of giving traditional chiefs a special position in government that was more ceremonial and advisory than political (Colin Newbury, 2006).

In the 1950s, the exclusively chiefly membership of the council was then opened up to allow non-chiefly members holding positions of importance within various organizations, but membership remained for indigenous peoples only. It was returned to the exclusively chief only membership following the 1987 coup by Rabuka on the grounds that hereditary chiefs should retain paramount decision-making power. Despite being a commoner, Rabuka himself at one point held the Chairman position of the Great Council of Chiefs, and was also made a lifetime member. Following the adoption of the ministerial system of government in 1967, the Minister for Fijian Affairs (the Cabinet Minister responsible for indigenous cultural and economic development) presided over the Great Council of Chiefs. This arrangement continued until the constitutional changes of 1999, when the Great Council chose its own Chairman for the first time.

According to the 1997 Constitution, the Great Council of Chiefs has two major powers. The first is to appoint the President and Vice President of Fiji. The second is to select 14 of the 32 members that make up the Senate. In 2007, the Great Council of Chiefs was suspended by Commodore Bainimarama following the 2006 coup and although it was never officially abolished its revival has yet to be determined.

Rarotonga Council of Ariki (1890)

This was a council encouraged by British Resident Frederick Moss as a government to govern not only Rarotonga but all the Southern Islands. It included the paramount ariki of each of the three districts as well as the most senior mata’iapo (chief of the second rank) of each district. It was the first of such council and the first attempt in the Cook Islands at having an organized government. A year later, it was extended to include the membership of
the paramount ariki of other neighboring islands and from that point became known as the General Council of ariki. Despite this, it was not accepted by some ariki and nobles.

**Roko System (1912 – present)**

The Roko System in Fiji was a system that introduced a new style of governing the fourteen provinces of Fiji. Under the new system, each province will have a ‘Roko Tui’ styled leader that acted a governor/mayoral like role. It had nothing to do with the actual traditional chiefly system of Fiji. Although the candidates were title Roko Tui – followed by the province name, it was not an official chiefly title as non-chiefly people were able to assume the role. The reason for the development of the new positions was that the colonial government of the time felt there were not enough chiefly candidates with the required skills to fill the positions.

More changes were to follow in fairly quick succession. In 1914 Governor Bickham Sweet Escott announced to the Council of Chiefs that the Native Administration required modification because the alleged difficulty in finding chiefs suitable for appointment as Rokos (Lawson, 1991:91)

At present, only three of the fourteen provincial Roko positions are being held by chiefly individuals66.

What this era has seen is both the rise and fall of chiefly dynasties. It has shown that while the support of foreign powers and missionaries has helped some dynasties to obtain power, it has led to others losing it. The Kamehameha dynasty of Hawaii, the Tupou dynasty of Tonga and the Pomare dynasty of Tahiti were all able to consolidate their kingdoms with foreign assistance. The Hawaiian monarchy’s demise came at the hands of a greedy group of American businessmen supported by their American navy. The French takeover of Tahiti also brought on the end of the Tahitian monarchy. Although some of these dynasties continued to be recognized, they were merely monarch and chiefs in name, but with no real authority or power. The Tongan monarchy is the only monarchy that has survived since its original formation.

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66 “Roko Tui”, wikipedia.org
6.0 Chiefly Retaliation

As illustrated above, colonization’s effect on the chiefly systems was in some cases catastrophic. In some islands, chiefly authority declined considerably, while in others, it ceased to exist completely. In most islands, colonisation resulted in the illegal confiscation of customary lands which most often were in the control of the chiefs. Such actions further diminished the chiefly powers. Despite declining influence, some island chiefs and their supporters refused to be controlled and fought the colonizers. Although unsuccessful in most cases, what it did do was to restore in the chiefs the warrior reputation that had been the strength of post-contact authority in the region. The following are some of the main examples of chiefly retaliation and protest within Polynesia.

Maori Land Wars (1845-1872)

When Governor Grey took office in 1845, he used armed forces to put down chiefs who resisted the colonial enterprise (Walker, 1993:3). In the South Island of Aotearoa, he eliminated the mana whenua (power of the land) of the chiefs by extinguishing native title to land by “fair purchase” (ibid). By 1863, the Crown had acquired the whole of the South Island. The North Island tribes however did not follow suit and decided to fight the government to keep their lands. Amongst the first chiefs to reject government offers to purchase land was Wiremu Kingi of the Taranaki area. Kingi declared: “I will not give up my land till I am first dragged by the hair and put in gaol” (Sinclair, 1959:84). The war between Taranaki and the government ended in a stalemate. The other notable war during this period took place in the Waikato between the government and Waikato tribes in 1863. Lead by the chief Wiremu Tamihana, this war was lost and lands were confiscated. The defeated people were exiled and lived on other lands owned by other iwi (ibid:140). The illegal taking of the Waikato land was recognised 132 years later when the Waikato Tainui people received compensation amounting to $171 million from the New Zealand Government, the return of valuable land, and a formal apology from her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Mau a Pule (1908-1909)

This was a protest movement lead by Lauaki Namulaulu’ulu and the chiefly group, Pule, of Savai’i. The movement opposed the German administration’s deliberate move to centralise

67 “Royal Apology to Tainui”, teara.govt.nz, 1995
power under the Germany, and weaken that of *Tumua & Pule* (the powerful orator groups of Upolu and Savai’i respectively). Their requests from the German Governor were: Status of Ali’i Sili be increased, and that his signature appear next to that of Governor in regards to important matters & decisions; the position be continued; sacked government official be reinstated and have salaries; old political order be restored; and less taxes for the Samoan people (Davidson, 1973:296). None of these requests were granted Lauaki, his family and supporters were exiled to Saipan in the Marianas (ibid:297). Mata’afa Iosefo died in 1912, and along with it, the Ali’i Sili position was demolished.

**The Mau (1927-1935)**

The Mau was born out of the Citizen’s Committee which formed ‘The Samoan League’ in 1927 in protest to the treat of Samoans by the New Zealand administration (Field, 1984:84). The spokesman for the Mau was Samoan businessman, Taisi Olaf Nelson. When the Labour Government leader, William Nosworthy visited Samoa in 1927, he presented Nosworthy with a petition to the New Zealand Parliament against the Samoan administration. For this he was deported to New Zealand for his interference in Politics (ibid:63). In 1928 he was the Mau representative to the Mandates Commission in Geneva, Switzerland, and appealed to the Privy Council in London to overturn his banishment (Taburton, 1996:63). In his absence, a reluctant Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III took over the leadership of the Mau in 1928 (ibid:88). He had been arrested a few years earlier for failing to cut down a hibiscus hedge at the request of the Native Affair’s secretary. For the next year, supporters were encouraged to passively resist all rules of the administration in protest. This led to a year-long hunt of Mau supporters by the New Zealand military. In 1929, he and fellow *tama’āiga*, Tuimaleali’ifano decided to join a Mau peace march to the wharf to welcome back two key supporters of the Mau from exile During the march, the crowd was fired upon by the administration police. Tupua Tamasese was hit by a bullet. He died the following day in hospital. This became known as Black Saturday in Samoa’s history. Following his death, paramount chief Faumuina Mulinu’u II assumed the leadership of the Mau. Taisi returned to Samoa in 1933 but was re-exiled to New Zealand in 1934 (ibid:63). When the Mau sympathising Labour Government came into power in 1935, they overturned the banishment and Taisi returned to Samoa in 1936. This effectively saw the end of the Mau. In 2002, the New Zealand Government acknowledged that an injustice against the people of Samoa had been committed by the New Zealand administration of the period. As a result, Prime Minister Helen Clarke
made a formal apology on behalf of the New Zealand government to the government of Samoa for the injustices of the New Zealand administration during the 1920s.\textsuperscript{68}

7.0 Independence and Politics

By the 1960’s many Pacific nations were either entering into independence or preparing themselves for it. The attaining of independence was in a sense a taking back of control and power by the indigenous peoples. Not only did the chiefs have a hand in preparing and moving their respective islands into independence, most were about to reconfirm their traditional status through the appointment to leadership positions within their new independent states. Most islands who gained independence and self-government status adopted the government structures of their former colonizers. The newly formed island governments were able to maintain the influence of their paramount chiefly leaders by placing them into newly formed positions of leadership.

Chiefly Heads of State & Presidents

Samoa became the first nation in the Pacific to gain independence in 1962. Out of respect for the four \textit{tama’āiga} paramount chiefs of the time, they were all given leadership roles in the newly formed government. Tupua Tamasese Meaole and Malietoa Tanumafili were both appointed Joint Heads of State of Western Samoa, an appointment that was made for life. Following the death of Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole in 1963, the position was held solely by Malietoa Tanumafili II until his death in 2009. In 1962, the sole member of the Council of Deputies was the holder of the Tuimalealiifano title of the time, Tuimalealiifano Suatipatipa II.

The Samoan constitution does not reserve the position of Head of State solely for \textit{tama’āiga} title holders however at the time of independence it was felt that it was appropriate for the \textit{tama’āiga} to hold such a position. The evidence that the position is not reserved for \textit{tama’āiga} only is in the membership of the Council of Deputies. The role of the Council is to provide deputies to take over the functions of Head of State in the event that the current Head of State cannot carry out his duties and obligations. In the past this Council has included as its

\textsuperscript{68} “Helen Clark’s apology to Samoan”, nzherald.co.nz, 4 June 2002
members, former politicians such as Vaai Kolone and Faumuina Anapapa who hold titles of high rank, but are not of *tama’āiga* status.

When Fiji became independent in 1970, a similar pattern occurred in the selection of candidates to take on the newly developed governmental leadership positions. For the first three years of independence, the position of Governor-General was held by an Englishman Sir Robert Sidney Foster. In 1973 when they appointed the first indigenous Fijian to the position, it was only appropriate to give the position to the highest ranking chief of the time, the Vunivalu, Ratu George Cakobau, a position he held for ten years. Following his retirement from the position in 1983, he was succeeded by another high ranking chief, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau. In 1987, Fiji was proclaimed a republic and in the process the position of Governor General was made defunct and replaced with that of President. Ratu Sir Penaia automatically assumed the position by which time he was the holder of the paramount title Tui Cakau. He held both the office of President and Tui Cakau until his death in 1993. Following the death of Ratu Penaia, he was replaced by another highly ranked chief, Ratu Kamisese Mara, after he had retired from being Prime Minister of Fiji from its 1970 to 1987 and again from 1987 to 1992. As the holder of the high ranking Tui Nayau and Tui Lau chiefly titles, he continued the tradition of high ranking holders of government leadership positions.

Tonga on the other hand continued its hereditary accession to the throne as constituted by the Constitution of 1875. The Tupou dynasty has cemented its place in Tongan politics as both the Head of State and Monarchy. The only difference between the position of Head of State of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji is that only the Tongan Head of State had any real political power whereas the other two are ceremonial leaders of the country.

**Chiefly Premiers and Prime Ministers**

A position that has real political authority in modern government is that of Premier or Prime Minister. Prior to independence, such positions were commonly held by an elected foreigner representing the country who colonized the island. In islands such as the Fiji and the Cook Islands, they were also known as Governors. Just like the above positions of Head of State and President, upon independence, these positions also became occupied by the high ranking chiefs. When Samoa became independent, the choice of Prime Minister fell upon *tama’āiga*
holder Mata’afa Mulini’u II. Before independence, he had previously held the position of Premier in previous Samoan Legislative Councils, the precursor to the 1962 styled government. Between 1962 and 1975, the position of Prime Minister moved between Mata’afa Mulini’u and another tama’āiga title holder, Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV. Similarly when Fjii gained independence in 1970, paramount chief, Ratu Kamisese Mara was appointed its first Prime Minister, a position he held for twenty-two years.

*When I was in politics, I was faced with the dilemma of whether it was a good thing or not to take on my father’s title, because there was a lot of things that could work against tama’āiga. I think, truth should tell, that if you weighed up the pros and cons, there’d be more cons against the interest of tama’āiga because of their participation in politics (Tui Atua)*

For a long time, the Tongan Premier role was held by a high ranking noble by appointment of the monarch. In most cases it was a close relative of the king or queen. In 1923 Queen Salote made her husband, Noble Tungi the Premier of Tonga and together they ruled over Tonga until Tungi’s death in 1941. In 1949, Queen Salote then appointed her 31 year old son, Crown Prince Taufa‘ahau as Prime Minister of Tonga, a position he kept until 1965 when he succeeded his late mother as King Tupou IV. Following his ascension to the throne, his younger brother Prince Tui Pelehake became Prime Minister until his retirement due to ill health in 1991. King Tupou IV then appointed his mother’s cousin Lord Baron Vaea as Prime Minister. Baron Vaea was Prime Minister until 2000. Replacing him was the King’s youngest son, Prince Ulukalala Ahoeitu who held it until 2006. Today the Prime Minister is Noble Lord Tuivakano. Dr Feleti Sevele was Tonga’s first commoner Prime Minister however he was elected by King Tupou IV.

**Samoan Chiefly Suffrage**

The chiefly system was supposedly preserved in the Samoan government system when in 1962, only those who were holders of chiefly titles were eligible to run for government and only those of chiefly status were eligible to vote in government elections. Rather than strengthening the Samoan chiefly system, it effectively contributed to the weakening of it. What resulted was a record number of chiefly titles being bestowed on individuals to make them eligible to vote in the upcoming elections. In other cases, paramount chiefly titles which
were once held by single holders were being split and multiplied, resulting in the decline of the *mana* of these once very paramount chiefly titles.

**Fijian Great Council of Chiefs**

The importance of the Fijian Great Council of Chiefs (Bose Levu Vakaturaga) during the colonial period was its power to advise the Governor on policy and indigenous affairs, as well as to elect the indigenous representatives of the colonial parliament. These functions were abolished in 1963 when indigenous Fijians were given the right to elect their own representatives. During independence in 1970, the Great Council of Chiefs regained some of its political influence when they were given the responsibility to elect eight of the twenty-two members of the senate. By and large, they were still regarded an advisory group rather than a having any political authority.

**Cook Islands House of Ariki 1965**

Shortly after the Cook Islands gained self-government from New Zealand in 1965, the House of Ariki as a parliamentary body was formed. The House is made up of up to 24 paramount chiefs representing the twelve islands of the Cook Islands. The appointments are made by the Queens representative in the Cook Islands. It was initially intended that the House of Ariki was to play a similar role to that of the House of Lords, overseeing and commenting upon legislation proposed in the Legislative Assembly (Sissons, 1999:64). Despite good intention, the House of Ariki Bill of 1965 fell well short of giving the House of Ariki such powers (ibid). The Bill had no mention of *ariki* having right to change legislation and there was no reference of them representing the Queen of England. Instead they were to become a consultative body advising the government on matters concerning customs and traditions. According to Crocomb & Jonassen:

"The House of Ariki was created to marginalize the ariki. Most of them had opposed the party that won the election at self-government, so it created and quarantined them in a House with dignity but no power. (Crocombe & Jonassen, 2004).

Contrary to Crocombe & Jonassen’s opinion, Pa Ariki feels the House of Ariki was a good thing for the *ariki.*
I don’t feel our positions were being undermined. We were lucky that Sir Albert created the House of Ariki as he felt we needed to be more visible. We had our own cultures and traditions in the village, but when it came to a body together, there had been nothing. Our authority is still maintained. We have a male President now. He’s from another island but he is doing his duty as he should. You never bite the hand that feeds you, and that goes with us too. We have to respect the government too. They have a job there to look after the people too even though you hear people saying don’t trust them, they are still our leaders too (Pa Ariki)

8.0  Decline of Political Chief

At the time of independence, the paramount chiefs were still very much in control of both the political arena as well as the local arena. Traditionally high ranking chiefs continued to run the country as dictated by their status in society. Many years after, signs began to surface showing that paramount chiefs were slowly losing their political authority, an arena that was once dominated by them.

House of Ariki Proposal 1970

In 1970, under the leadership of Makea Ariki, the House of Ariki presented a written proposal to the Cook Islands Government to reinstate all chiefly powers that had been stripped of them when they were colonized in 1901.

Ariki had proposed that that two traditional customs, ‘are korero and ara tiroa be revived. The ‘are korero (house of oratory and debate comprising ariki, mataiapo and rangatira) was to be called together by ariki to consider matters affecting their district or island. The proposal, if put into effect, would have established a traditional body of titled, unelected leaders in opposition to the elected Island Councils from which, as already noted, ariki has been excluded (Sissons, 1999:68).

They also sought to make law their ability to banish anyone from their districts who did not obey the wishes of the ariki when called upon to come together to work on the proposed ‘are korero. The government found the proposal to be against United Nations policies and declined and it under those supposed circumstances. The House of Ariki therefore remained ceremonial. Continued differences between the government and the ariki led the House of Ariki become inactive from 1974 to 1977.
The Koutu Nui 1972
In 1972, the Cook Islands government formed a new council for lower ranked chiefs, *mataipo* and *rangatira*. Under the new act, the Koutu Nui was empowered to discuss and make recommendations relating to matters of custom and tradition, directly to the government. This meant they could bypass the House of Ariki altogether. It was seen by critics as the government’s way of undermining the House of Ariki for their protest in 1970 (Crocombe & Jonassen, 2004). Before the formation of the Koutu Nui, many of the *mataipo* and *rangatira* titles had remained unclaimed for decades, however with the newly recognized authority, more and more titles began to be conferred (Sissons, 1999:82).

Samoa’s First Non-Paramount Chief Prime Minister 1975
From 1962 to 1975, the Samoan Prime Minister position had only been held by two paramount chiefs, both of whom were of *tama’āiga* status. Following the death of Mata’afa in 1975, the likely successor Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV was challenged by his younger cousin Tupuola Efi for the Prime Minister position. Tupuola Efi defeated his *tama’āiga* cousin and in the process became the countries first non-*tama’āiga* Prime Minister. Even though Tupuola Efi himself eventually became a *tama’āiga* title holder in 1986, the fact that he defeated an incumbent *tama’āiga* while not holding an equivalent title was a sign that the authority of paramount chiefs within politics was beginning to wane. In actual fact, this was to be last time a *tama’āiga* was to become a Prime Minister.

Fiji’s First Low Ranking Prime Minister - Fijian Coup 1987
Fiji was in turmoil in 1987 when for the first time since independence Ratu Kamisese Mara was defeated as Prime Minister. The newly elected Prime Minister was Dr Timoce Bavadra. Although he never carried the Ratu prefix, he was in fact from a chiefly family of low rank. Although Bavadra had won the elections by a majority, there was still a belief amongst the indigenous Fijians that the post of Prime Minister should still be reserved for chiefs of the highest rank (Toren, 2000:123). These were some of the resentments that lead to the Coup of 1987 and the eventual overthrow of Dr Bavadra and a return to power of Ratu Kamisese Mara. After Mara’s term as interim prime minister in 1992, the position of Prime Minister has never been held by a paramount chief ever since.


Samoan Universal Suffrage 1990
Reforms have also seen the decline of chiefly influence in island politics. In 1990, a law change in Samoa allowed non chiefly people over the age of 21 to vote in government election. This took a lot of power away from the chiefs who before had the right to vote on behalf of his whole family. Despite the change candidature for government position was still only allowed for chiefs.

Fiji’s First Indo-Fijian Elected Prime Minister – Fijian Coup 2000
The 2000 coup led by George Speights is said to have taken place to restore power to indigenous Fijians. This followed the appointment of Mahendra Chaudry as Prime Minister in 1999, the first time an Indo-Fijian had been elected to the role

Tonga’s First Commoner Prime-Minister 2006
In 2006, King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV nominated for the first time a commoner to the position of Prime Minister. Dr Feleti Sevele’s appointment signaled a change of direction in Tongan politics. Despite his appointment, the Cabinet was still dominated by nobles.

Fiji’s Chiefly President and Vice-President Sacked 2006
In a complete turnaround, the 2006 Bainimarama led coup was seen as revolt against the growing chiefly power in Fiji. By overthrowing the 2006 government, Bainimarama also declared himself as acting President, taking over Ratu Josefa Ilo’ilo. Despite not being of paramount rank, the replacement of Ratu Josefa could still be viewed as a disregard for chiefly authority. The following year he was restored as President by Bainimarama, and after publicly endorsing the coup, he appointed Bainimarama as interim Prime Minister. Also dismissed at the same time was paramount chief Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi from his position as Vice President. It was believed at the time that Ratu Madraiwiwi was being groomed to take over Ratu ‘Ili’ilo who was near retirement, and therefore returning to the President position a chief of paramount status. This never eventuated.

Members of the Great Council of Chiefs Suspended 2007
In 2007 the members of the Great Council of Chiefs were suspended for the first time ever in its hundred and twenty year history.
House of Ariki Coup 2008
In 2008, a small number of ariki led by Makea Vakatini Ariki attempted a coup to dissolve the elected government and take back the leadership of the Cook Islands. The attempt was not fully supported by the majority of the ariki and lost momentum. Even the local police did not take such threats seriously and did not take any action.

Tongan Democratic Reforms 2010
Shortly after his coronation in 2006, King Siaosi Tupou V declared that he shall relinquish all his political powers as king and that the next elections to be held in 2010 were to be democratically run. At one point, long time democracy movement leader, Akalisi Pohiva looked likely to become Tonga’s first ever elected Prime Minister however after a close contest noble representative Lord Tuivakanō Kaho narrowly defeated him for the job. The Tongan government now consists of roughly the same number of noble and commoner members.

Great Council of Chiefs Disestablished 2012
In 2012, it was disestablished by Bainimarama following accusations that the Council of Chiefs had become politicized to the detriment of Fiji’s pursuit of a common and equal citizenry. To this day, Fiji is run by military dictator Bainimarama.

One of the problems of the Great Council of Chiefs was that, in a way it existed as this high level body, and it was supposed to link up with the provincial council, but somehow there is a significant disconnect with “the people” at the level in the towns, the cities and the villages. How do you establish that connection, so that it is more meaningful both for the chiefs but more particularly for the people themselves? (Ratu Joni).

Although history has portrayed a decline in chiefly involvement in national politics, Ratu Joni believes that there is still a place for them in present day politics.

Someone argued that chiefs can only continue to be relevant if they’re politically powerful and others argue that you have to separate the two, separate politics from chiefs. My sense is that it is something in between. If chiefs want to be involved in politics, they ought to be because it’s about people and people acknowledge them as leaders, but you know it’s a level playing field (Ratu Joni).
Summary

This chapter looked at the events and factors that have greatly influenced and changed chiefs and chiefly systems during the post-contact era. The first major influences came with the arrival of foreigners and missionaries into the region. Although the arrival of foreigners initially benefited the chiefs through the gaining of material goods and weapons to gain power over enemies, it would also contribute to the decline of their authorities and powers. The first major decline in power came with the arrival of Christian missionaries. Chiefs who had once possessed sacred authority found themselves stripped of their sacred authority. The missionaries were now the owners of sacred authority and replaced the chiefs as the new representatives of god on earth. Furthermore, Christianity destroyed all objects and practices that once legitimised the authority of the once sacred and powerful chiefs. They destroyed old temples and gods, as well as outlaw old practices of murder, cannibalism and polygamy that were once the privileges of the chiefly figures. According to Tui Atua, Christianity also contributed to the decline of chiefly authority by encouraging young potential chiefly candidates to join the clergy. Young men who were natural leaders were being enticed into clerical work. In effect, the nainai principle that chiefs use to use to identify potential successors was now being applied by the missionaries. Although the chief at this stage still possessed secular and political authority, the transferral of sacred power to the missionaries further illustrated the recognition of authority based on position. The chief warrior had many avenues with which to claim authority. He could do so through genealogy, through achievement, or simply through the recognition of himself as a warrior (position). The missionary on the other hand did not have lineage connections so its authority was solely dependent on the position itself.

The arrival of Christianity promoted peace and to a certain extent eliminated war and violence. In the process, the warrior chief became somewhat redundant. With war becoming less and less common, chiefs had to look for new ways to hold on to their authority. As a result they adopted the foreign concept of official laws and constitution. This is not to say that Polynesia did not have laws prior to the arrival of foreigners. In the past, there were beliefs and laws that were believed to have been created by the gods. In most cases, chiefs themselves were bound by these customary laws as well. These new laws did not apply to the chiefs themselves but outlined how the common people should behave and defer to the chiefs. The only time such laws referred to the chiefs was to confirm their authority, as was
the case in constitutions. In effect, the written law has replaced the spear and the war club as the weapons that chiefs used to maintain authority.

The next major phase was the colonisation of the islands through annexation. As discussed above, the political takeover of the islands had a large impact on the chiefs and chiefly systems. If Christianity took away the sacred authority of the chief, colonisation took away its political authority. As a result the chiefs find themselves in a position where they have neither sacred nor political authority. In some islands such as Samoa and Hawaii, there are small protests by the chiefly supporters however their efforts are mostly unsuccessful. This marks a significant turning point in Polynesian history, the first time ever that power and authority in Polynesia is dominated by foreigners such as missionaries and colonial administrators. Chiefly authority looked like it was on the decline. Although the missionary and colonial takeover of the islands had a somewhat declining effect on the chiefly caste, it offered many opportunities to the non-chiefly members of the islands. Islanders were soon joining the missions as clergymen as well as holding positions within the foreign administration. Through association with the missions and colonials, these once commoner citizens soon discovered that they too had obtained for themselves a form of status or authority, albeit on an achieved level. By now ‘achievement’ was seen as a form of raising ones status within a society that once solely depended on genealogical connections to hold such status. Even within the government, chiefs of much lower rank were given paid positions ahead of much higher ranked chiefs. This was the case in Samoa. Such occurrence was seen as an overturn of the chiefly system as well as a sign of disrespect towards paramount chiefly authority.

Another significant change of this period saw the formation of chiefly houses and councils. Prior to this, chiefs were autonomous of each other. Their authorities and powers were held individually in their own name. The reasons for formation were different in each island. Some were formed in opposition of foreign authority, whereas others were formed as to align with foreign colonial administration. Regardless, the formation of such councils also contributed to the declining powers of the chiefs. King Kamehameha and King Taufa’ahau formed their respective House of Nobles firstly to reward those chiefs that supported and were loyal to them during their war campaigns. Secondly, it was seen as a means to keep potential rivals under the control of a single chief, thus rendering the power and authority of traditionally paramount and powerful chiefs inferior to that of the main chief. As mentioned above, the authority of such chiefly councils were confirmed through written laws and
constitutes. Subsequently, the fate of chiefs that were left out of the chiefly councils was sealed through their exclusion. The formation of chiefly councils placed an emphasis on authority through membership. In islands where such councils were formed, former chiefly families who had for many generations, exercised power and authority through ascription soon found themselves powerless in a world that was becoming more and more influenced through performance and achievement. Simply being a chief was not enough. Power and authority was now vested in the positions of ‘king’ and ‘noble’. Authority in the islands such as Tonga and Hawaii were based largely on ‘position’.

On the other hand, the formation of such councils by the colonial administrations was seen as a means to control the chiefs. They were regarded as tokenistic positions given to chiefs to keep them happy and idle. The Fijian Great Council of Chiefs of 1876 and the Rarotongan Council of Ariki of 1890 were seen as merely ceremonial groups of chiefs with no real political authority. Although reserved for chiefly membership, some of the chiefly councils allowed non chiefly members. During the 1950-1960s, the Great Council of Chiefs allowed non-chiefly members who held positions of importance within various organisations. A few decades earlier in 1912, a new Roko Tui system was created to provide leadership for Fiji’s fourteen provinces. Despite using a chiefly prefix title, not all holders of these Roko Tui titles were of chiefly status. Originally meant for chiefly candidates, it was modified to allow non-chiefly holders because it was allegedly difficult at the time to find chiefs suitable for appointment as Rokos. This would suggest that there were allowances made for skilled non-chiefly Fijian people to hold positions of authority. Furthermore, it illustrates the preference for skill and ability over hereditary rights.

The decolonisation phase sees a return to power for the paramount chiefs in the islands of Samoa and Fiji. Upon gaining independence, paramount chiefs were placed into positions of both ceremonial and political authority. In Samoa, the four most paramount chiefs, *tama’āiga*, were all given leadership positions. The position of Head of State, the ceremonial leader of the country was awarded jointly to two *tama’āiga*. Another was made a member of the Council of Deputies, a council that deputises for the Head of State, and the fourth was appointed Prime Minister. Similarly in 1970 when Fiji became independent, the highest ranked chief at the time, Vunivalu Ratu George Cakobau was made the Governor-General and high ranking Tui Nayau Ratu Kamisese Mara was made the Prime Minister. Tonga who
had never been colonised comes under the Commonwealth through joining the Comity of Nations in 1970 while maintaining its political autonomy.

When the Cook Islands became self-governing in 1965, the House of Ariki was formed. In the process, the *ariki* became advisers to the government without any real political authority. What is strange is that both Samoa and Tonga were able to restore the authority of their paramount chiefs through placing them in government leadership positions, yet the Cook Islands decided not to. Even more unusual is that it was the indigenous government of the Cook Islands that refused to grant political authority to the *ariki*, opting to create a council of lower ranked chiefs (Koutu Nui) who supported them, and granting them slightly more authority than the *ariki*. This was reminiscent of a common practice adopted by colonial administrations throughout the Pacific to undermine the powers and authorities of paramount chiefs. While Samoa and Fiji were not prepared to exclude their paramount chiefs from holding the top political offices at the gaining of independence, it seems the Cook Islanders believed it was time for the skilled and non-chiefl y citizens to assume roles of authority within their island.

The political authority of paramount chiefs in both Samoa and Fiji did not last much beyond a decade. Thirteen years after gaining independence, Western Samoa saw their first non-*tama’āiga* Prime Minister elected. Since then, no holder of a *tama’āiga* title ever became a Prime Minister again. Similarly after seventeen years of independence, Fiji followed suit and elected its first Prime Minister of low rank. From 1992 onward, Fiji never saw a chiefly Prime Minister elected again. Changes in society followed that began to limit the authorities of chiefs in general. In 1990, Samoa changed its voting policy to allow all citizens twenty-one years and over. Previously only chiefs were eligible to vote. More recent happenings in Fiji and Tonga suggest that their chiefly systems are undergoing drastic changes. In 2007, the chiefly members of the Great Council of Chiefs of Fiji were all suspended by its military dictator, the first time it had been done in the council’s hundred and thirty-one year history. Five years later, the council was disestablished completely. In 2010, King Siaosi Tupou V relinquished his power of appointing Tonga’s Prime Minister and Cabinet. This year saw the first ever elected parliament of Tonga. Despite a noble being selected as Prime Minister, the slim victory over the Democratic Party of Tonga suggests a weakening of the nobility’s hold on Tongan politics.
CHAPTER 5
The Present Day Chief

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This chapter focuses on the lives of the present-day paramount chiefs as seen through the eyes of the five Chiefs interviewed in this research. It is divided into five main sections, Early Life, Chiefly Leadership, Challenges, Changes and Politics.

The first part looks at the early life of the Chiefs. It discusses topics such as their up-bringing, awareness of their chiefly status, their family, expectations and education. The second part discusses chiefly leadership. The Chiefs discuss what it means to be a paramount chief and also what is ‘chiefly leadership’ in this day and age. The third part looks at some of the challenges the Chiefs faced and whether these challenges were the same or different from those faced by their predecessors. They also discuss some future challenges which their successors might have to face. The fourth part looks at changes in the chiefly systems. Have they been agents of change? How have they coped with change? The fifth and final part of this section looks at their various career paths, and also gives their thoughts on politics. Some of the Chiefs themselves had been formerly involved with their country’s own politics and they also give insights into their experiences as former politicians.

Throughout the chapter, the Chiefs give their opinions on how the current states of their chiefly systems are, as well as their opinions on what the future may have in store for their respective chiefly systems.
1.0 Early Life

Upbringing

Historically, children of chiefs were accorded special respect and treatment. They inherited the status and prestige of their chiefly parent. Various island groups had special ceremonies and acts to commemorate the arrival of a future king, queen or a chief. For instance it was common for chiefly Hawai’ian babies to be held for certain length of period following their birth, and their feet were never allowed to touch the ground. When Kamehameha I was first born, servants held him for a period of time until the taboos had been lifted allowing for him to be placed on a bed (Pole, 1959). The Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe of Aotearoa also had a special way of welcoming their new ariki into the world. When the tribe’s future ariki was born, a conch shell horn will be blown to signify the chiefly arrival (Te Heuheu, 2009:47). A story tells of how Te Heuheu V was given the name Tureiti, a transliteration of the phrase ‘too late’ because the conch shell blessing was mistakenly given to his older sister, and when he was born, it was “too late” to give it to him. These traditional practices however do not seem to be practiced today. When Sir Tumu was asked if a conch shell signified his birth, he laughingly said it did not.

Chiefly children were seldom raised by their chiefly parents. The duty of raising and educating these chiefly offspring was usually left up to specially chosen people with skills in various fields such as warfare and history (Pole, 1959). The Chiefs experienced a similar upbringing. They all recollected a lack of early contact with their chiefly fathers. They recalled their chiefly fathers being very busy people and so they were often raised by their mothers or other relatives. In other cases, they were raised by members of their mother’s families, mainly aunties etc. Tui Atua was raised by his maternal grandfather, Taisi Olaf Nelson, for the first six years of his life, and was returned to his parents following the death of his grandfather.

When I was nine months, my grandfather claimed me. I wasn’t conscious of what happened during that time but along the way, maybe during my third year, I can remember people, I can remember environment, and I can remember distinctively my grandfather loving me very dearly. I stayed with him (Olaf Nelson) until I was six (Tui Atua).

Ratu Joni, Tu’ivakanō and Sir Tumu all acknowledged the influence and the large part their mothers and aunties played in their upbringing.
I was raised by nannies and the kuias who were always there to give you support. The way they gave you support was to be with you at times, particularly when you’re attending functions, meetings and those sorts of things, tribal meetings. They were always there not to tell you how to do things but just to give you a shoulder to lean on. (Sir Tumu)

My mother was very strict. She made sure we kept the tapu and that we respected our sisters. At the same time she was very sick and other people like her sisters were looking after us when we were kids. Although she was our mother, we were raised by our aunties. (Tu’ivakanō)

My mum was a very strong woman so she really exercised quite a bit of influence over not only me but my siblings as well. She basically brought us up and she reinforced the values of my father. We had more to do with our mother’s relatives, than our father’s relatives because our mother being a nurturer etc, we had more to do with her siblings and their children and her cousins…but we also maintained relations with my father’s siblings and their children. It wasn’t perhaps as close as we were to my relatives on my mother side”. (Ratu Joni)

In Pa Ariki’s case, it was her mother that was the paramount chief so like her chiefly counterparts, as a child, she rarely saw her mother and so was therefore raised by her grandparents.

My grandmother, my mother’s mother was largely responsible for raising me. The tradition in the Cooks is that the grandparents take the oldest child which was myself and my cousin, we were both brought up by our grandparents. They taught me on things like who I should know in the village, who are the elders in the village, the mataiapo, they are like kaumatua. When they go to functions, they will be taking us along and introducing us to the family and saying this is the daughter of Pa and people respect that. (Pa Ariki)

The Chiefs claim to have been raised by people other than their chiefly parent. In some cases, they were not raised by any of their parents, but were left up to their grandparents, uncle and aunties to be looked after and raised. This is in line with the old practice of chiefly children being raised by other people for specific reasons and training. However, the raising of children by grandparents and other relatives is not a practice confined to chiefly children. Right across Polynesia, it is a common practice for children to be raised by their grandparent, uncles and aunties irrespective of rank or status. What this reflects is more the fact that the
Chiefs also came from families where their parents were busy, and also had to work. The fact that some were raised by their mothers depicts a typical family where the father worked and mother stayed home and took care of the children and the household.

Chiefly Parents

Despite having little contact with their fathers (and mothers) in the early part of their lives, all acknowledged that their fathers were by no means absent fathers. They knew that their fathers were busy people, and that despite their absence, they were good fathers. They were also men of humility and simplicity despite their high ranking.

Tui Atua’s description of his chiefly father is far from Sahlins’ and Goldman’s description of a Polynesian chief in chapter two. They describe the Polynesian chief as ‘displaying the refinements of breeding’ and ‘people who have been selected and endowed with a special quality of the highest worth’. On the contrary, Tui Atua’s father was a humble and simple man. The above description would have suited his maternal grandfather Taisi Olaf Nelson, who was in his own right a Samoan chief, but not of the paramount type that his father was. Chiefs in the past may have been looked upon in such a way, however not all paramount chiefs fitted the description, and even more important, those were not the only qualities that made a good chief. For Tui Atua’s father, his simplicity made him a good chief, and this became very important when it came time to address the nation of Samoa about the newly formed constitution.

My father was a very loving person in his own way. He wasn’t really a demonstrative person and I think a lot of it had to do with his rearing. He was a quiet person, modest, and truly a humble man. Because of that he tended to speak very simply. In fact if anything, that was his greatest gift. If you went through the constitution convention and you studied what he said and how he said it, you’ll find that he is very simple, and the gift is that not only did he express himself simply, but that he was able to express complicated ideas simply. That was very important in terms of trying to educate people about the constitution and their rights etc. I think that if you want to understand my father that is the greatest testimony, not only to his leadership, but also to his way of expressing himself (Tui Atua)

The other Chiefs also spoke of their chiefly parent in a similar light, not that they were simple, but that they lived lives the same as ordinary people. Despite being paramount chiefs
of districts and islands, they held jobs like every other father. Their chiefly status did not confine them to easy jobs, and some worked laborious jobs as well.

My father was no different. Despite being the chief of the tribe he had to go out and work. So we moved to Taumaranui. My father worked on the railway skids (Sir Tumu)

Ratu Joni speaks of his father’s reluctance to take on the leadership role that he was born to assume. Being the eldest son, Ratu Joni’s father was expected to succeed his father before him as the paramount chief however he preferred to continue on with his career. Eventually his father reluctantly became Roko Tui Bau and assumed his chiefly responsibilities much to the delight of the family patriarch, Tui Nayau Ratu Sukuna.

My father died when I was thirteen so I really didn’t have the opportunity to develop a deep relationship with him, although he was a very involved father. He was quite independent minded. Ratu Sukuna had hoped that he would play a leadership role but he told Ratu Sir Lala he wasn’t interested and that he would prefer to continue with his medical career and being a medical practitioner (Ratu Joni)

Tu’ivakanō speaks of an upbringing that was often without his chiefly father. His father was considerably old when he was born and that contributed to a lack of relationship between him and his father. Despite the lack of relationship, they were still very much provided for. Although always busy with chiefly obligations, his father never neglected his obligations to his family by providing for them. This again paints a picture of a paramount chief who is more than just a leader of a nation. He is a father first and has to balance that life as a father to a family as well as being a father to a nation.

My father was very old and at that age where you don’t have the strength to spend with the kids, so we didn’t have that with our father. All we knew was that he loved us, and when we asked for things, he gave us things (Tu’ivakanō)
Tu’ivakanō speaks of an upbringing that was often without his chiefly father. His father was considerably

*My relationship with my mother was good. When my grandparents died, she had more respect for me because I didn’t jump up and down and say that I should be next ariki etc. I felt that she realised that I was humble and that I would make a good ariki because my attitude all that time was to give my brothers a chance. She had a lot of respect for me because of my attitude towards the whole thing. My mother had already told her brothers and sisters about it so they were already aware and she already told the members of the Bahai church because when my mother died I had some Bahai people fly over with my mother’s body, and when they heard I had refused the title, they came to me and said your mother had wanted you, she had already talked about it to these members (Pa Ariki).*

The Chief’s stories and recollection of their chiefly parents are considerably different from each other. There descriptions of their chiefly parent are so different that it suggests there is not a standard description of what a paramount Polynesian chief should be. More so, they describe their chiefly parents as being far from what literature has portrayed paramount chiefs to be. They describe them as ordinary people who to a certain extent live rather ordinary lives. Not only were they chiefs, they were also family people who had to take care of their families, as well as look after the welfare of the islands and districts they were chiefs of. They weren’t always willing to be chiefs, rather opting to live ordinary lives working the jobs they enjoyed. In the end for most of them, the call to honour their responsibilities as chiefs came at the cost of time spent with family and time doing what they enjoyed such as careers.

**Chiefly Awareness**

With fathers being busy and away during their earliest memories, the Chiefs quickly realised that there were reasons why things were like that. As young children, they were made aware of this and this gave the young Chiefs a sense that their fathers played important roles not only in their families but also within the wider community. They accepted early in their lives that they shared their father (and mother) with not only their extended family, but also the wider community.

One way that the Chiefs had an indication that their chiefly parents played an important role in their societies was through the people that their parents were often seen associated with
and the work they had to do. For Sir Tumu, the fact that his father was often called upon to work with the Maori King gave him a sense that his father was an important person, and that he had an important role to play in society.

*His role required him to be away from home for days on end, and what he was doing was working and meeting and discussing with the Maori king on matters that were important for the whole of the country. His role was to go and give him support in terms of that function. We didn’t really appreciate what he was doing because he was hardly home and we always thought he was at meetings. That was basically his task at that time. Right up to the time he passed away, he provided the same support for Dame Te Ata and it wasn’t til those latter years that I began to understand better the importance of what he was doing (Sir Tumu)*

Similarly, Tui Atua began to understand the importance of his father when he started realising what sort of work he did, as well as hearing other people talk about his father’s work. The fact that his father was given respect on a national level also made him aware of his father’s important role within the country.

*As I grew up, I became aware of my grandfather or rather my father’s work because it was talked about by people, not only family, but generally, you know the struggle for independence. So that is how it was. You notice there was a lot of respect paid to him by people” (Tui Atua)*

The observation that Sir Tumu and Tui Atua make of their fathers reflect not so much the life of a chief, but more importantly, that of a ‘paramount chief’. The fact that their fathers were both involved in work at the highest national level is an indication of their paramount status. It is unlikely that a chief of the lowest level would have been accorded such responsibility and therefore the same respect. Even more intriguing is how they can be working on the local railway or on the family plantation one day, and be dealing with matters of national importance the next. This would suggest the varying levels of work and responsibilities that paramount chiefs of the day had to do.

The Chiefs also were also aware at a very early age that through association, they too seemed to occupy a special place within their societies. Their first recollection of realising they were different came during interactions with those outside of their own family. Whilst they were growing up and contact was only with their immediate family members, life to them seemed normal, and it was not until they were in environments outside of their family circles that
they began to recognise and understand that they were treated a little differently from the other children. For Tu’ivakanō, his first recollection of his and his family’s status came when her first attended school.

When my grandfather died, and my father was installed the title in 1958 I was still very young. When I went to school in 1960, it was there that people started referring to me as hou ‘eiki. It was then at that age (8) when I started realising these things. By the age of 11 and 12, people started calling me hou ‘eiki more and more and that is when I realised I was treated different (Tu’ivakanō)

Our grandparents would tell us the story of this royal line, saying “when your mother passes away, you are going to be the next ariki”, and I didn’t understand much about it, but my grandparents were always there telling me what was going on. They taught me on things like who I should know in the village, who are the elders in the village, the mata’iapo, the kaumatua. When they go to functions, they will take us along and introduce us to the family and say this is the daughter of Pa and people respect that. They take us there and they would sit down and talk to us about things (Pa Ariki)

Often their surroundings gave them an indication of their different place in society. They discovered that they were being treated differently compared to other people. Regardless, Ratu Joni knew full well that it had more to do with his father’s status and not his or his family’s. The deference is in large part a result of their connection to their father.

I think when I was old enough to realise that at traditional functions, we were deferred to ahead of other people. You fit the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle in much later, but sort of look around and see you are seated in particular place, and you’re addressed or acknowledged in a certain manner. As a child you don’t dwell on it, but I think somewhere in your subconscious you think to yourself that my parents might have some status. I don’t think I ever thought it was really anything to do with me, I think it was more to do with my father because in most cases, I’d see he was given the first bowl, or presented with food or whatever (Ratu Joni)

The recognition of young chiefly children seems to be a predominantly Tongan and Fijian practice. Both Ratu Joni and Tu’ivakanō both being treated respectively as children. This is still very much practiced in Tonga today. The children of the king and his siblings are still very much treated with respect during Tongan events. In Tongan dances such as the ma’ulu’ulu and the ta’olunga, special positions are still reserved for the young high ranking members of the royal and noble families. In the event that the king or princess cannot make
an event, their children are often sent to attend as their representative, thus confirming that their status in society is linked directly to that of their chiefly parent(s). In Fiji’s case, from a young age, children of chiefly families are referred to using their chiefly prefixes, *Ratu* for a boy, or *Adi/Ro* for a girl. This outward acknowledgement of their chiefly status often results in public displays of respect to the young chiefly children. This could also be the same reason why young Tongan are also treated with respect as they still carry important titles such as ‘prince’ and ‘princess’.

When Tui Atua and Sir Tumu spoke about their fathers and of realising their fathers’ importance, they spoke of the people acknowledging their fathers. All the respect is directed towards their fathers the chiefs. There is no mention of them being acknowledged as such, albeit in the presence or the absence of their chiefly father figures. What this suggests is the importance placed on the ‘position’ of chief as discussed in chapter one. Generally the children of the chiefs in Samoa are not formally acknowledged in cultural events, unless they hold the official title *taupou* or *manaia*. This would then support the above point that respect and recognition of the young children of the chief is usually done when the children themselves hold particular titles too. Otherwise chiefly children are treated the same as most Samoan children. The fact that the children in Tonga and Fiji are accorded similar respect as their chiefly parents suggests an importance place on ‘status lineage’ within these two island groups. In Chapter one, Goldman refers to the importance of status lineage as a form of maintaining status within society, and therefore the recognition of chiefly children in the present day society is an example of ‘status lineage’ in play. In pre-contact times (chapter three), children were often conferred chiefly titles, sometimes as young as infant age. Although not capable of ruling at such an age, the importance is placed on the position of paramount chief, and in strictly keeping with the senior male line of succession of the times infant chiefs were a common occurrence. A caretaker often assumed the temporary role of ruler until the infant king was mature enough to lead on his own. Today, the conferring of a paramount title onto a child is unheard of, however in islands such as Tonga and Fiji, their chiefly status is still acknowledged in other ways.

Even with an awareness of their place in society, the Chiefs talked about being taught early on in life that despite their elevated status, it was important that they were humble.
From an early age one was conscious of my connections, the family I belong to being connected to Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna, so one was aware of ones chiefly upbringing, but it was supposed to be a responsibility, but not something to either abuse or take advantage of. My father always said to me that in our household he was the chief and that I really counted for nothing until people acknowledged me. But that was for them to do rather than for me to assert and although he was conscious about his background, I think the fact that he went away to boarding school in New Zealand at an early age made him quite open eyed and quite enlightened in his outlook (Ratu Joni)

More importantly, they all spoke about a life and an upbringing that was simple and by no means chiefly. In their own recollections, they were not raised with any such privileges and that they were raised like any normal family. There were no chiefly practices like in Hawai‘i where a chiefly new-born’s was constantly held by attendants because their feet were not allowed to touch the ground for the first few months of their lives, or the sounding of conch shell to signify the birth of a future king or chief. There were no servants around that waited on them and their childhood and upbringing was far from luxurious.

I didn’t feel any different because I would describe my family as a normal family. We didn’t have much. We would go to Nukunuku and make copra and then go to the bush and collect crops. I didn’t feel any different, I just felt like I was part of a normal ordinary Tongan family (Tu’ivakano)

There was nothing special about my upbringing (Roko Tui Bau)

During colonial times, the chief was often the main recipient of material wealth that was introduced by the Europeans (chapter three). There is a perception then that with chiefly status come wealth. This may have been true in the days when the chiefs controlled everything from crops to introduced goods and materials, but according to today’s chiefs, this was not the case in their time and that of their parents. Despite having a maternal grandfather that was regarded one of the wealthiest men of his time in the Pacific, Tui Atua spoke of his father’s side being relatively poor, despite being one of the highest ranked chiefly families in all of Samoa.

My father’s family had lots of history but they weren’t well off. In fact they were by any standards poor.
Ariki Te Heuheu candidly recall his humble upbringing:

_I never knew what a pair of shoes was until I was about nine or ten._

Despite being brought up in chiefly families, the Chiefs were sheltered from all the fanfare and the rituals that accompanied their parent’s rank in society. From their recollections, their families were no different from other families and according to them their lives were as common and simple as they come.

_We weren’t rich during our mother’s time. Some of us came here to go to school, but then I didn’t go on to have a full education because my grandmother passed away and I returned to Rarotonga (Pa Ariki)_

**Education**

Missionaries opened the first schools in Polynesia. Their schools were set up in most islands where they settled. In most cases it was only the children of foreign settlers and chiefs that were privileged to attend these schools. Education was therefore seen as a privilege for the elite members of Polynesian society. The Malua theological college set up in Samoa educated young chiefly heirs to become lay preachers before they inherited their chiefly offices. Malietoa Moli and his grandson Malietoa Tanumafili were such chiefs (Taburton, 1996:43). The Catholic Church also attracted its fair share of chiefly interest. A young Mata’afa Salanoa trained to be a priest before being installed as the paramount chief (ibid:55).

In other islands, schools were created especially for chiefly children. In 1839, King Kamehameha III founded the exclusive Royal School of Hawai’i (Dibble, 1843:289). It was a boarding school established specifically for the education of the children of Hawai’ian Royalty. The main purpose of the school was to educate the next generation of Hawai’ian royalty to become Christian rulers. It was so exclusive that it was only reserved for the seven families that were eligible under the succession laws as stated in the 1840 constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai’i that had converted to Christianity. The school’s entire roll and alumni
list was fifteen. Amongst its elite roll were four future Kings, two future Queens, four Princes and five Princesses. Christianity had the same effect in most island nations

If they didn’t attend local missionary schools, the children of chiefs were sent overseas to be educated. This was a common practice during the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century. Queen Salote and her Fijian and Samoan contemporaries, Ratu Lala Sukuna and Malietoa Tanumafili I were all sent overseas to privileged schools before being summoned back to take on leadership roles in their respective island groups. This became a popular practice especially amongst the Tongan royal and noble families. The late King Tupou IV is believed to have been the first ever Tongan to have achieved a university degree from an overseas university. King Tupou IV’s children were also all educated overseas with his eldest son, the late King Tupou V having been educated in private schools as far as Europe. Later the eldest sons of nobles were granted government scholarships to continue their education overseas with the aims of producing a more educated group of Nobles for the future. Similarly in Samoa, the children of paramount chiefs had greater access to education than most. They were either sent to local schools run by missionaries or sent overseas for education in Fiji or New Zealand. This was done in the hope that these chiefly children would one day be able to succeed their parents and take part in the changing political scene which relied a lot on western knowledge and education.

Although some of the Chiefs claim their upbringing was not privileged, one of the few privileges that they did have as members of chiefly families was access to education. Not all the chiefly parents of the Chiefs were well educated in the western sense however they all encouraged their children to be educated.

My mother was educated here in New Zealand. She was brought here as a child. She came here with Makea in 1934, and was left behind to go to school. It was a privilege for ariki children to be educated in New Zealand (Pa Ariki)

Tui Atua’s grandfather also realised the importance of western education and proceeded to put his children into schools run by foreigners. Raised catholic, Tui Atua himself attended catholic school in both Samoa and New Zealand.
When my grandfather came back from a trip to Europe, he had decided that Catholicism was a global thing and this must be why Mata'afa must be doing so well because of the global reach of Catholicism. He said fair enough I am too old to Pope or become catholic, but I will send my kids to be raised Catholic (Tui Atua).

Thinking of his son’s future, Sir Tumu’s father sent him away to school in Wellington. Like Tui Atua’s grandfather, both chiefs acknowledged the importance of western knowledge and therefore pushed their children to learn about the western world by attending foreign schools.

From Taumaranui, I was sent away to school. That itself was a little traumatic, the change from a small community to something like a boarding school in one of the largest cities in the country took me a long time to adapt to. That was part of the learning I suppose but when I look back at it today, I say thanks dad for giving me that opportunity because it actually provided me with a vision for the future. His single comment whilst I was away was that you’re here to learn the ways of the Pakeha, in other words, not only the business, but to take advantage of what they have to help your own and I suppose that was my vision all the way through (Sir Tumu)

Being the eldest son of a noble, Tu’ivakanō was also privileged to get an overseas education, attending Wesley College in Pukekohe during his high school years. According to Tu’ivakanō, the Tongan government provided scholarships for the oldest son of nobles to attend schools overseas. They did this because they sons of the nobles were seen as future leaders of the country and therefore it was worthwhile investment for the country’s future.

It was mother’s intention then that I should go to school to learn English In the first year I went to school, she was very sick but at the same time, I think she realised that she had to push me to be educated (Tu’ivakanō).

Cultural Education

Not only were the Chiefs encouraged to pursue a western education, they were also encouraged to learn ‘culturally’. Like their fathers and ancestors before them, they were often sent away to be taught and mentored on local culture and customs. Traditionally chiefly children were often raised in early life not by their parents but nanny’s and teachers whose responsibility it was to teach them about customary knowledge and traditions. These would be things that would help them as future chiefs. When Kamehameha was born, he was put under the guidance of teacher who taught him the art of warfare. As result, he grew up to be a feared and respected warrior.
With chiefly fathers that were often absent, the Chiefs naturally found father figures and mentors in other people. These included grandfathers, uncles, aunties, school teachers, and skilled cultural experts. Interestingly, the early mentors of the Chiefs were people of less or common status. It shows that as chiefly children, there upbringing was by no means confined to within their chiefly societies.

My first mentor was my grandfather who raised me. If you read, you will find that he spoke superb Samoan, he wrote good Samoan. He was very particular about these things, and he was recognised as a scholar. My second mentor was my father and he was quite a different person. He was a quiet man. When he spoke, he spoke very simply. He had a gift that I wish I had. And then after that, my mentors were the oldies; Fauolo, Fao, Isaia, Soifua Nese, Toluono, Pilia'e, Inu, Talo. There were others (Tui Atua).

An uncle of mine Rehi Mariu married my dad’s sister. Rehi was an academic and a returned serviceman from the 28th Maori battalion and his interest was in the tribe particularly in the history of the tribe. He spent a lot of time deciphering the stories related to Tongariro into a way that we could understand what it was the old people were trying to achieve, both in terms of the hakas that were composed for the mountain...and also the waiata. Rehi spent his later years interpreting their meanings but also in the work that he did, he actually helped me understand as well the importance of these places. (Sir Tumu)

Papa Tom Davis and the old Mama Makea Teremoana and my mother’s two brothers, Manarangi and Jimmy. They were both there to lead me along. I always looked up to Te Arikinui as a mentor for me because she was during my late mothers time (Pa Ariki)

I guess my mother was the first role model in my life. As I said, my father was very old, and I guess he was just a loving father, but it was my mum that pushed me. My mother had a very strong personality”. There was also my aunty Tupou Posesi, she had written a lot of books. The aunties were the one who told us the old folk stories, bedtime stories. These stories were usually about events in the family. When I went to school, I had a teacher there who had a lot to play in my life. His name was Hughy Tauroa, He was a Maori but he had a big influence on me sporting wise. He’s the one that advised me at Wesley to play rugby and he’s also the one that encouraged me to become a teacher. I looked up to him and he’s the one that influenced me in my career as a teacher (Tu’ivakanō).

In terms of male figures, I think my uncle Charles Walker who was married to my mother’s sister Davila, he was a senior public servant and later became a minister under Ratu Mara. He was quite an important influence in the sense that he was very encouraging and very firm about the importance of education. That was something that he always talked about and also his example. He was very disciplined and very committed, and an
excellent public servant, so he was a very good example for me...And because my mother was very close to her siblings, I saw a lot of Charles Walker. I also remember with great affection Mr Donnelly my history teacher in secondary school. I think he gave me a love of history and a love of reading. I liked reading from an early age so I just continued that habit. It was something that my parents encouraged us to do and I’ve continued with that (Ratu Joni)

Even as adults, the Chiefs still referred to having people in their lives that are not only friends, but who advise and mentor them on various things.

When I first came back home, one of them was Pei Te Hurinui Jones. Pei was the secretary of the trust and the trust was responsible for some of the milling in the area but also for the development of lands for farming. It was his expertise in terms of the work as a secretariat was a wonderful example to follow. He was so meticulous with his work. I was also fortunate to have people around me that I could go to like Sir Tipene O’Reagan. He never said much but often times he would add a comment which more or less said you are on the right track or you’re not (Sir Tumu)

I have talking chiefs, matapule, as advisors. Not only my matapule but also other matapule. I would go to talk to people like Leha’uli, the talking chief of Tu’ipelehake and others, and through talking with them I was learning about the rituals, like the kava circles, and also the presenting of fono”. (Tu’ivukanō)

There was Ratu Sir Edward (Cakobau) who was brought up with my father. Given the nature of our relationship, I couldn’t say I was close with him, but he was very close to my father and so I admired him from a distance, just his ability to get along with the people, to hold his own in any company, his ability to put people at ease, and his accessibility struck me quite keenly. This was the sort of manner that I would like not so much to emulate because I don’t think anyone could emulate Ratu Sir Edward, but aspire to be. Tui Vuda was another. I enjoyed serving under him. He was a good man in the best sense of the word. I have nothing but respect and affection for the President Tui Vuda. (Ratu Joni)
2.0 Chiefly Leadership

Each of the Chiefs were asked to comment on what being a chief and a leader meant to them personally. The following were their responses.

Chiefly leadership reflections by Tui Atua:

As a chief, as a leader you have to have discipline, there has to be a preparedness to serve others, which means to serve others at your expense, which means of course sacrifice. There is discipline. In the end, you have to have discipline in the family and discipline in the village etc. But the call for discipline is not only to impose discipline, but to impose first and foremost discipline in oneself. I mean the best way of teaching discipline to your family and the village setting is to show an example of self-discipline. So the qualities of leadership are no different (Tui Atua)

Leadership is about wisdom. It’s about how you access a given situation and come out with insight, perspective, balance, prudence, so that people are looking out for true leadership, and where the true leadership is coming from (Tui Atua)

The role of the Tui Atua is mainly to make peace (Tui Atua)

According to Tui Atua, one needs to be disciplined in order to be a chief. There has to be a preparedness to serve others at one’s expense and sacrifice. These two characteristic of chieflyness depart slightly from the normal understanding of Samoan matai. Firstly, a matai is usually the person that asserts discipline on his family and his village. The view that Tui Atua has on the matai being firstly disciplined himself is a somewhat modern take on chiefly leadership. It is typically understood that the matai exercise the highest of authority in society and this alludes to freedom of power and control. In the village context, their orders are strictly obeyed and in some instances regardless of the illegality of certain orders, they are followed through without question. This gives the impression that the chiefs are above the law, the western law that is. Now if a chief was to exercise discipline, it would require a mind shift by the chief. The mind shift required is changing the view that the matai is higher than everyone, to one where the matai is on equal level with everyone. It is only at this point that one can exercise discipline and therefore inspire his people and village to do the same. The hard part is to get the old guard of matai to think along such lines.
Tui Atua’s emphasis on service being a chiefly duty is something that I feel is lost on the majority of matai today. Although there is plenty of literature that states the importance of service as a means to becoming a matai, a lot fail to add that a person’s service does not end when one becomes a matai. In fact it is only the beginning of one’s lifetime of service to their family and their village, and this point is not lost on Tui Atua. He also stresses the need to sacrifice at one’s own expense. Again there seems to be a misconception that the matai’s main duty is to give orders and directions, and it is the family that makes the sacrifices on behalf of their matai. This sentiment is shared by Maligi Evile in his description of what it means to be a matai.

Finally, Tui Atua views the chief as a peacemaker. Again this is a quality that is rarely seen in matai today. Instead, (in my opinion) they are actively in and amongst the turmoil and conflicts of their societies. Going further deep in the past reveals chiefs fighting wars and yet even in modern times, the media is filled with news of chiefs at odds with the government and even worse, their own villages. Prior to conducting this study, I would not have regarded peace-making as a duty of the matai. Instead, I have been raised to believe that within the immediate family, the mother had that responsibility. Beyond the home, the faife’au or minister became the peacemaker for all other problems. A small number of literature mentions peace-making as a chief’s responsibility yet the majority of the literature have missed this point completely.

Chiefly leadership reflections by Sir Tumu and Matua Colin:

*In terms of Tuwharetoa, it’s simply the protection of Tuwharetoatanga, their identity, their entity as a people. To develop the strengths for our people to survive into the future, and that’s really about the next generation* (Sir Tumu)

*I place a huge amount of importance on wellbeing and the welfare of Polynesia, Tuwharetoa plus the motu. What that means is the protection of their identity for the benefit of us all, because without the support of each, the task would difficult and impossible perhaps* (Sir Tumu)

*I draw a comparison between the model of tuakana and teina, the older and the younger. Traditionally in tikanga, we still hold that as an important part of who we are. When we speak on the marae there is always that tuakana-teina. The tuakana may not speak, and I draw the reference to my dad, he was the eldest but never spoke. The speaker of the family was my uncle who*
was the third eldest. That right was given to him by my dad to speak on behalf of the family. I guess you can still give that kind of responsibility to the younger brother with the support of the elder. This way there is no demeaning or whakaiti of the tuakana (Colin).

There is respect even at the very basic level amongst the hapu. Whenever Tumu and uncle Hepi spoke whatever the kaupapa or the subject was, and these were often quite big issues, the final word was often given to the chief. That provides us with a guide in terms of his thinking, and then we are able to move on. We are a bit fortunate in that all our hapu come under the one leadership. There are a lot of protocols of respect that goes with that in terms of his role (Colin).

Sir Tumu’s outlook on leadership is no different from his outlook on being an ariki. Sir Tumu views his ariki position as one of protection of his people, and his iwi’s identity. As a caretaker of his people, he fits Winiata’s description of an ariki. It also fits in with his conservationist background and explains his outlook on his role within his iwi. He does not assume that he has any authoritative powers over his tribe, nor does he physically exercise any. This is supported by literature which states that although the ariki is the highest ranked position in an iwi, the leaders of the hapu, the rangatira, are in a sense quite autonomous at the sub-tribe level. His role in Tuwharetoa is one of a father figure and according to literature this is common of an ariki.

Matua Colin alludes to a tuakana-teina relationship that exists with Maoridom. The context in which he explains it is in the relationship between an ariki and his younger sibling or his people. The ariki, who is tuakana (eldest), rarely speaks. The talking is done by the teina (younger brother), who represents his ariki. Sir Tumu spoke of such a relationship existing between himself and his younger brother Timi. Upon reflection, this is probably why Matua Colin was present in the interview with Sir Tumu, not so much to speak on his behalf, but to provide the support a teina gives to his tuakana. Although ariki rarely speak, when they do, they usually have the final word. The tuakana-teina relationship is similar to the ali’i-tulafale relationship of Samoa.

So for my role now, from here on in, for the future, it will be to continue to seek better ways of doing things collectively. This is why I think I made the comment earlier, that how we do it is not a question really for us to answer, it’s actually being able to get out there to do the job. I really feel comfortable about that perspective. We at home here continually talk about the next generation, but we also talk about mokopuna, the unborn. We have
a responsibility to them in terms of their future and that responsibility is actually getting out there and doing it today. We won’t achieve that if we don’t see the bigger picture. (Sir Tumu)

The tohunga role does not seem to be all that common today. As stated in the literature, the tohunga worked closely with ariki, and in some cases, was a younger brother of the ariki. Although the position does not seem to be currently practiced, the old relationship between the ariki and his tohunga complies with the Maori relationship between tuakana and teina. This would suggest that although the position may no longer exist, the principles of relationship are still very much in practice.

Chiefly leadership reflections by Lord Tu’ivakanō:

In the past, the chiefs were the fulcrum they were the balance of power in the house. Today they are in the middle with the government on one side and the peoples representatives in the other side (Tu’ivakanō)

In most cases the nobles support the people, and I believe that is why the nobles are there. In society itself, they are just nobles, they go to church, they obey the laws, and noble have also been taken to court so they aren’t above the law (Tu’ivakanō)

Nobles are estate holders. They were given land and granted the power to distribute it to their people. To reciprocate this, the people would then support the noble and hence support the king (Tu’ivakanō)

Tu’ivakanō believes that as nobles, they occupy a middle space, between the executive council and the people, even though the nobles have nine permanent seats within the council. With nine nobles in parliament at any time, the rest of the twenty or so remaining nobles are left to manage and run their own estates. As holders of states and distributors of land, they are land lords as alluded to in the literature.

Despite their noble status, Tu’ivakanō alludes to them being just ordinary people in society who go to church and obey laws like everyone else. Although this may be the way Tu’ivakanō and other nobles see themselves, to the rest of the common population, they [the nobles] are no different from the king and his family. They are all viewed in the same light; however, literature does allude to there being some distance in connection between the
current line of nobles and the royal family. According to James, there are a number of nobles whose ancestors were not of particular aristocratic rank but were powerful chiefs nonetheless. This may explain Tu’ivakanō’s description of them being middle people.

Tu’ivakanō’s insists that today nobles need more than just their title to support their rank. Although theirs’ is an ascribed authority, Tu'ivakanō firmly believes that achievements will further enhance it. Looking back at the beginning of the nobility, literature confirms that Taufa’ahau selected his nobles firstly on their abilities and loyalty (see page 298). Despite the constitution confirming succession through ascription, it seems the tides have turn and achievement has once again become just as important, as it was in 1875 when they were first elected to the nobility.

Chiefly leadership reflections by Ratu Joni:

*I think my role is really to project an indigenous Fijian identity, how so by I conceive it to be, but reflective of those values I talked about before, reciprocity, mutual respect, consensus and related values. For my own mataqali, it’s to provide cohesion, to provide some leadership in the Bau context, supporting the Tuikaba who are the clan of the Vunivalu. In the wider Fijian society, it is really I suppose, to attempt role model. These things in a sense I am talking about are intangible but it’s part of what I was talking about earlier about finding a space, because secular authority is now assumed by the state, and various related institutions. And the sacred authority is no assumed by the Christian churches, like in my case, the Methodists church (Ratu Joni)*

*I think the role of chiefs from that perspective is first of all to project those values, and to live them or to practice them. I think particularly now with change being not only rapid but almost discontinuous that people need some sort of anchor and to provide that sort of sense of security and identity or that sense of wellbeing that comes from knowing who you are. Speaking for myself, I am not a repository of wisdom I’m a representative of what it means to be Fijian (Ratu Joni)*

Ratu Joni believes that his role as a Fijian chief is to project an indigenous Fijian identity reflecting the Fijian values of reciprocity, mutual respect and consensus. In terms of his own tribe, he is there to provide cohesion and support, and in a sense be a role model to his people. For this reason, he sees himself as a symbol to those who acknowledge his leadership.

69 True aristocratic rank is said to be descended directly from the Tui Tonga line.
He also accepts that the secular authority is assumed by the state and the sacred authority by the church, and this is why he feels that chiefs in today’s society have to find themselves a place because their traditional places have been taken up by other positions. Ratu Joni sees that role as being a symbol or representative of what it means to be Fijian. The one duty that chiefs can continue to practice, as did the chiefs of old, is to be an anchor and to provide security and identity as well as a sense of wellbeing for the people. This is especially needed in today’s world where change is rapidly occurring. He also believes that in order for the chiefs and the chiefly systems to survive, they have to be prepared to become what the people want the chiefly system to be.

Ratu Joni’s philosophical outlook on his role as a chief may be influenced by the political instability in Fiji. With the disestablishment of the Great Council of Chiefs, it seems more of a reality now that chiefs may actually need to be looking for a ‘space’ in society. With the military’s strong hold over the country, the chiefs seem helpless to the current developments in Fiji. There is some real value in Ratu Joni’s remarks that this is the time for chiefs to be leaders by being role models to the people, and by just representing what it means to be Fijian. In an era where Fiji’s identity is becoming a nation under dictatorial rule, the chiefs have the power to retain their country’s identity through becoming those father figures they are expected to be. Traditionally the chief is meant to be the arbiter of dispute. With Fiji currently facing one of its biggest disputes in its history, custom dictates that it is the chiefs that need to calm this dispute. Even though the current power is backed up by the machine gun, chiefs can continue to influence their people through being the symbol of Fijian identity, culture and leadership.

Chiefly leadership reflections by Pa Ariki:

“As Pa Ariki, I have many roles and responsibilities to uphold and maintain for my people, for example, the relationship with our government and other ariki from the House of Ariki, strengthening the ties that we have in the Pacific, with other governments and royal families. Listening to the needs of my people and trying to use my influence to seek the support of my people, but overall believing in God as the foundation of all we do” (Tangaroa, 2011:23)

In Rarotonga we (chiefs), are very busy people. I’m always being rung up to come and talk about something, or have to go to parliament for House of ariki meetings etc. In my own district there are always meetings and with
anything to do in the district, they always involve me and the other ariki to
come to the meetings. If it’s to do with health or issues like the young
people of the village are naughty, they come to us. I’ve also been quite busy
with the wellness clinic during the last eight months. You have to make
yourself visible. Go and visit them, see how they are. I keep myself busy. I
do my own cooking and my own washing etc (Pa Ariki)

Your people are important because without them, you can’t go anywhere.
Working around your people is important. That’s number one. Your people
are important where ever in the world they are, they are still your people. I
have always had respect for the Takitimu people first and my family are
always at the back, like my own kids. I’m proud that I have served my
people during the 24 years because from day one, my people were
important to me (Pa Ariki)

There are different religions in the village which I respect. I go to all these
churches because you are the Ariki for all the people. I try and do a lot of
things for my people. I always try and visit them, especially the mataiapao
and rangatira because I don’t want to do it when they are dead. It is
important to do it all the time. When I have a spare time, I go visit them and
talk about things, how are things etc. Try and see what we can do for the
village (Pa Ariki)

Ariki are the land owners. They gave land to mataiapao and rangatira to use
(Pa Ariki)

The Ariki are the foundation of culture in the Cook Islands (Pa Ariki)

Like Sir Tumu, Pa Ariki views her current ariki role as one of protection. This is evident in
her work with the wellness clinic she is setting up for the people of her tribe. Contrary to the
authoritative nature of ariki in the past, Pa Ariki views here role as a servant. Rather than
saying she has lead her people for the last 22 years, she remarks that she has been proud to
“serve” her people for the last 22 years, which is not really what ariki were required to do.
In fact, it is the people’s responsibility to serve the ariki.

A practice that seems to have been maintained is the consultation of ariki regarding matters
involving the tribe. According to Pa Ariki, she is regularly called to meetings to discuss
tribal matters as well as regularly meeting up with other ariki for various reasons. This
would suggest that their roles in modern society are becoming more like advisers. As senior
chiefs within their own tribes, they would be seen as mothers and fathers to the tribe, and
this is the way Pa Ariki sees her role. Pa Ariki does not view herself as an important person,
who needs to be served and waited on, but rather an independent person who still does her own cooking and washing, mundane things that past *ariki* would have left to their servants.

**Becoming a Paramount Chief**

Asked whether as young persons they ever thought about one day assuming leadership positions, the Chiefs said they all experienced moments of realizing that it would be something they would have to one day consider.

*My father felt I was going to have a public life. He put me out amongst the people who were the custodians of knowledge, Pilia’e, Toluono, Inu, Talo, Fao, Soifua, and they were great mentors, great teachers. So yes I think he felt I was going to have a public life. Whether he intended I take over his title, I don’t know because he didn’t make a will (Tui Atua)*

*I remember one dear old lady in Taumaranui. When my dad took ill, she continually visited the office and just talked...talked about what my father did and the importance of the role for the tribe. One day she indicated that I needed to pick up on what he was doing and start thinking about the role. Then she said you need to think about the role that your father is responsible for and my response to her was that I don’t really want that role. I said I’m happy with what I’m doing and suggest she should look for someone else to do the job. Her response to my comment was she stood up, banged the table and did the haka. I said sit down please... but that in its own simple way, made me realise that there was a need to consider what was ahead (Sir Tumu).*

*My mother was a strong minded person. She took me to a few of her meetings with her mataiapo and my mother has the last say. She was a very strong woman and if there was anyone of her 33 mataiapo challenged her, she would stand strong. So I thought, no that’s not me. I felt that she realised that I was humble and that I would make a good ariki because my attitude all that time was to give my brothers a chance. She had a lot of respect for me because of my attitude towards the whole thing (Pa Ariki)*

*It wasn’t a sense of being groomed to be a leader there was some sense that perhaps I would play a leadership role. But my parents didn’t emphasise that, they were more interested in the fact that I become a good person than any particular concern about chiefly responsibility. I think their rationale was that if children were brought up to be good people, then all the other things would follow, being aware of one’s responsibility etc (Ratu Joni)*

*When my father was getting very old he used to send me in his place to attend the various fono. I have sent Kiu to the fono to help him prepare. When my father sent me to fono, I didn’t know what to say and I use to wonder whether they wanted to hear me speak or not. As time goes on you*
develop that relationship with your people and they will accept you because you are going to be the next chief (Tu’ivakanō).

Chieflly Careers

Unlike their ancestors and predecessors, the Chiefs have had to take on other careers. With education being an important part of chiefly life, many chiefly members have carved out careers for themselves in areas such as education, law and business. The achieving of tertiary qualifications has allowed them to pursue other career paths. These have become useful in a world where chiefly status no longer guarantees one a position in the government and other areas of work. Although the Chiefs were aware that one day they would have to succeed their chiefly parents, it didn’t stop them from pursuing careers that were outside of their chiefly realms.

I was involved in Taumaranui one of our trusts and incorporations all involved in farming. My role in Taumaranui was actually to manage the office and to look after things on behalf of the committee and also the owners. Again my focus was on the business rather than on the tribe” (Sir Tumu).

When finished from Wesley College, I wanted to be a teacher because I liked sports and I saw teaching as another way to express myself because I was very shy and I saw it as a way to associate with a lot of people. I thought being a teacher would be a good way for me to go back and help my people in Tonga (Tu’ivakanō).

Now in school, I think I wanted to be a judge and that wasn’t anything to do with justice, I just liked the idea of wearing a wig and gown and thought it looked quite smart, but that’s of course the career I later settled on...and I think getting into the law, I more or less fell into it. It wasn’t something I was determined or keen about and I think when I went to varsity, I really didn’t know what I wanted to do. It was just something that I was least apathetic about. I mean when I went to university, I just went to university without much thought but I think I just did law because it seemed like a good idea at the time and I suppose given that my late uncle had been a lawyer. My father hoped that actually one of us would follow him into medicine but none of us had an aptitude for science, and that’s really how I came to be a lawyer (Ratu Joni).

It started off with my interest in history and culture. I use to see people writing about some of these things and I didn’t agree with them, so I started writing to say this is wrong. Then one thing lead to another and people started getting interested and they started inviting me to become resident scholar and then I seriously sat down and started writing stuff. When it was published I got a kick out of that (Tui Atua)
I wanted to work as a secretary and my first job was working at the post office when I left school. From there I worked at the bank. I worked at the back but I wanted to be a clerk because I liked to meet people, and I worked there for most of my married life. My husband was a market gardener so I had two things to do working and selling the produce to the shops and on the side of the road. So I have experience of life in putting bread on the table for my family (Pa Ariki).

3.0 Challenges

Like all people, the Chiefs also experienced challenges throughout their lives and especially as paramount chiefs. They all had different views on what they found as challenging within their respective island groups. For some of the Chiefs, one of the challenges was the protection of and the preservation of their cultural treasures. This ranged from physical things such as lands and crafts, to things such as language.

The challenges that all the Te Heuheu have faced is really about the protection of their values, as well as the protection of their people. My concern is that the traditional side of the tribe is actually being compromised (Sir Tumu).

I am concerned about our islands resources, like marine life and nodules issues etc. that they are not being exploited by outsiders. I am also worried about our tourism continuing to bring in enough money for the country (Pa Ariki).

Pa Ariki’s concerns also extend to the actual welfare of her people

I have challenges with the health of my people, diabetes etc. That was a big challenge for me, and why the palace needed to be built. Our young people at home is a big issue, issues like suicide (Pa Ariki).

For this reason, Tui Atua speaks of a need to ‘search for meaning’ to search for ways customs, values and practices can be integrated into the present day context. It is why Ratu Joni believes as chiefs, they should be symbols of what came before, therefore being examples to their people of what it means to be an indigenous person. Similarly Pa Ariki and Te Heuheu see an important part of their role as being a conservationist for their lands, cultures, language.
All Chiefs agree that in today’s world, no one is obliged to follow them or render them respect. Because of this, another common challenge is trying to provide their people with direction.

The hardest thing is providing direction for your people. We need to organise work plans so that we can work together with our own people in generating work. This will encourage the people to get more involved in the development of the village. This is something I should have done before but I guess I need to do it more now because the older people are dying off and it’s time to get the young ones involved. (Tu’ivakanō)

As a result of lack of direction as well as the freedom of choice to follow the chief or not, what has happened is that in many cases, the people isolate themselves and in turn this leads to divisions and disunity in the family and the clan. This in itself poses a larger challenge to the chiefs who have to try and come up with ways to unite his family, village or island.

I think unity is the biggest challenge, keeping our people together, both Tuwharetoa and the motu. The focus is on Tuwharetoa. I think because of the changing ways that our young people are taking on, and the values that are changing. This is why Tumu has always been focussed on a collective decision made by all of our hapu for the good of our mokopuna still to come. Those are really important to keep in front of us the traditions, stories, history of who we are as a people, and even though we are trying to become more global, it’s been through Tumu’s support and advice that we go back to who we are before we can actually move forward (Colin).

Given that the current environment allow people the freedom to choose whether they follow their chief or not, in the case that they choose to turn their back on their culture and their chief, the Chiefs find themselves looking for different roles to play in their societies.

I think the challenge has been trying to be relevant both in the indigenous Fijian context and the national context. Again trying to find the space I was talking about as to exactly what role the chief should play (Ratu Joni).

There are so many challenges but if you think too much about challenges, you’ll come to a paralysis of initiative or seeing something through. Hopefully I will leave behind a legacy that is meaningful, that people could say well we’ve learnt something from him. You can’t do more than that (Tui Atua).

Since becoming Prime Minister, I find I’m getting less time to attend the village fono and to concentrate on matters relating to my villages. The
other solution is to get Kiu to take on some of my other responsibilities to the villages (Tu’ivakanō).

In an ever-changing world, one would assume that the paramount chiefs of today face different challenges from that of their ancestor and immediate predecessors. Asked if they experienced the same challenges as their predecessors, the Chiefs responded;

Well yes and no. In terms of identifying the Samoan indigenous reference and locating it in the current context, I guess my brief is different from my forbearers. In terms of the things that set back our quest for improving ourselves and improving others, we’ll always be beset by the legacy of history. But the difficulty is that we are hindered by the legacy of the past (Tui Atua)

I think the challenge for each succeeding generation seem more acute because the times are different but I think everything in context, I think it always seems the case at any given point and time, perhaps now more than ever. We don’t stand still (Ratu Joni).

Despite the fact that time has passed, those same challenges exist. I think in a more destructive way (Sir Tumu).

I think her challenges were different. My mother was more educated than I and she faced up to a lot of issues herself. She was able to tackle them properly. I am different from her. My issues are different (Pa Ariki).

4.0 Changes

The Chiefs acknowledge that they are not necessarily the agents of change as portrayed in the past. Rather than instigating change, they have to find ways to cope with the changes themselves. Their roles as chiefs are also affected by the changes that are occurring in their societies. Developments such as globalisation, modernization and democracy have all contributed to the current changes.

Change just happens all the time. We like talking about globalisation in the context of the last decade or two, but globalisation has been happening ever since contact time for us, with the missionaries, the colonial empires, development, incorporation to the market economy, all of these. That’s just been an on-going process (Ratu Joni).

The Chiefs accept that the changes that are happening within their societies are not confined to them only, but are a global phenomenon that is affecting the world. The impact that it is
having on their islands is both inevitable and unavoidable, and the only thing they could do is to accept them and adapt to the changes.

*I guess in a way globalisation has made nobles change their ways. We have to accept that change is happening globally. The nobility have to accept the fact that changes mean they can no longer just be nobles and that education is one of the things that we need to have in order to understand these changes and to understand what is happening globally (Tu‘ivakano).*

Having to adapt to changes mean in some cases, the paramount chiefs are having to transform themselves and their positions to cater for the changing environment. As Ratu Joni referred to earlier, globalisation and modernization has been happening ever since foreigners first entered the Pacific. It is not something that has just occurred in the last decade. When it happened during first-contact period, the chiefs of the time had to also adapt to remain relevant. The exact process is happening again with the current generation of paramount chiefs.

*Well I think it has dissipated its authority and I think that’s the trend worldwide. I mean the coming of modernity, of societies based on merit and achievement, naturally displace what went before. So it’s happening here and that’s neither a good or bad thing. That’s just the fact of life. And so for the chiefs, or the chiefly system, the challenge is what role they should play, and how do they make themselves relevant in the communities and the societies in which they exist (Ratu Joni).*

However according to Tui Atua and Sir Tumu, the changes that are brought about as a consequence of globalisation do not signify an end to the chiefly systems, but rather an indication for the need to reassess and to reinvent themselves. Tui Atua believes that answers could lie outside of his own island group, and that globalisation is allowing the conversations with foreigners to occur.

*If the Maori need to talk bicultural to the pakeha, then we really need to do a bicultural conversation with the forces of globalisation. It’s probably even more compulsive in the current circumstances that we have that conversation not only within ourselves, but also with outsiders, in order to hold our own because globalisation is coming and overwhelming everything. So in order to hold our own, we have to have a reference, and it’s a reference that speaks the best of good sorts, good friends and good theology. This is the challenge that we are facing. Without that, it will go. It will only be a memory (Tui Atua).*
I believe that as a people of Aotearoa, what we can achieve at home, we can also make a contribution to the rest of the world. That contribution is really to assist in the protecting of other indigenous communities for the future. So it is still about the value of both the tangible and the intangible values that our people rely on. I believe that we have much to offer the rest of the world in terms of who we are, how we are, how we actually express ourselves our aroha, the aroha that we have within us and for each other. Those are the things that don’t necessarily expose themselves in other communities. For you and I, we don’t have to go very far to find what those values are (Sir Tumu).

Changes are occurring all the time, some more significant than others. There have been some significant changes in Polynesian leadership. The Chiefs themselves have seen these changes take place and in some cases, have been personally involved in the changes. One of the more significant changes in the present day leadership within Polynesia is that more and more young people with skills are beginning to assume positions of leadership, not necessarily as chiefs, but as members of the wider society.

Maori leadership today is going through a change. Change is more focussed now on leadership that has an ability to question the actions that have been taken by others, by the crown and so forth. And so we are seeing the physical leadership go through that adjustment (Sir Tumu).

It has changed today from my mother’s time. It has changed because there is a younger generation coming up as leaders (Pa Ariki).

The fact that there is a growing trend of young educated people assuming leadership roles within the Pacific not only impresses the importance of education, it could be a reason why there is a perceived lack of respect for tradition and traditional forms of leadership. This is not lost on the Chiefs, and all agree that in today’s society, there is a strong emphasis on them as chiefly leaders to also possess certain skills. Despite chiefly status being hereditary, the Chiefs have often spoken of the need for themselves to be educated and up-skilled if they are to remain relevant in a world that is increasingly measured on achievement.

I think it’s a great blessing to have a good education because you’re able to make these connections and see these patterns more clearly. At the same time, you have to wonder whether in having this exposure, you lose some of the essence of being indigenous or being chiefly that you would otherwise retain if you didn’t have with that such exposure. But I think on balance, I
am better off for having the education and exposure, and to be in a position
to be able to make comparisons and to make judgements. (Roko Tui Bau).

Well the chiefly system is still surviving but I think in order to strengthen it,
the nobility now should take more care in educating their children and their
people for the future. Education is one of the things that will identify them
with the new Tonga especially with the young ones (Tu’ivakano).

On the other hand, there are other incidents that have contributed to changes within the
leadership systems of the five island groups studied in this research. Of the five islands
groups, the two that are undergoing the greatest of changes at the national level are Tonga
and Fiji. The Fijian coup of 2006 has contributed to the undermining of the chiefly system in
Fiji, and the 2010 democratic reforms in Tonga have seen much of the powers of the nobles
decline. According to Ratu Joni, the 2006 coup could have been prevented.

Well I think the December coup of 2006 was probably a failure of
communication, but perhaps I could’ve done more to encourage dialogue
and to get the parties together. I’ve been asked that question several times
since September-December 2006. I don’t know what the answer is. I’m
quite prepared to admit that maybe, maybe I could’ve done more (Ratu
Joni).

Tu’ivakano talks about the democratic reforms of 2010 and how it has had a major levelling
affect on Tonga. The reform does not only affect politics, but also other major parts of
Tongan society.

We’ve undergone a few major changes, a political reform. The democratic
nature of this reform has seen the king give his executive powers to the
people in order for them to choose their Prime Minister and their ministers.
The executive power has been given from the Privy Council to the Cabinet,
so Cabinet now is answerable to parliament because parliament is elected
and appointed. With this kind of leadership structure in place now, the
future might see the development of party systems etc, and maybe there
might not be any noble seats. Nobles might one day have to run as normal
candidates. It might disrupt things like land ownership etc. If one thing
changes then that would lead to changes to other things. I guess we just
have to tread carefully for the future and hope that new ways and things
help solve the problems we have now (Tu’ivakano).

The two incidents that happened in Fiji and Tonga are examples of some of the major
changes that are occurring in Polynesia that are having a large impact on its leadership
systems. Even more significant is that they are occurring without any influence from the
current chiefly leaders. In most cases, the changes are beyond their control and authority. Despite these changes occurring, the Chiefs believe that their own islands and groups can embrace globalization and learn from others.

I think there is a lot of merit in looking at what the Maori are doing. They are doing lots of scholarly work on the language, their culture, their history. They're bringing the Maori mores to the fore by holding it up as a legitimate reference for any discussion, academic, legal, philosophical, theological so that it is a conversation that will provide inspiration and also meaning to people who lead society. It’s amazing what they’re doing in terms of bringing the Maori reference into jurisprudence, into legal argument, into legal decisions, into academic and intellectual scene. The thing is, in order to do that, you have to organise your people to take on this challenge. You do so by improving the intellectual capacity of your people who are learning and writing and analysing the Maori culture and putting it out there. So if you want to find context in the current world, you will draw on this because it has a legitimate message, viable, alive and relevant (Tui Atua).

There might be a reversion back to the proper traditions once these other matters are dealt with, but what we’re seeing is an explosion of new initiatives globally, and because now we are having to react or respond to all those sorts of things. I would really like to see the traditional leadership being brought back in. Our young people need our old people. As for the business side, business doesn’t bother me. I’ve always said that I can always go and hire somebody who knows more about forestry and get them to do the business…but when it comes to the tangibles and the intangibles, in terms of our people, then we need to have a people that is confident, that is strong in order to deal with the issues of the future. I am also of the view that Tuwharetoa aren’t going to do that on its own. Tuwharetoa needs that support of all the other iwi if it’s going to make a difference. If we look at from that perspective, we also need the support of the Pacific to make a difference, to protect this part of the world (Sir Tumu).

5.0 Politics

At different points in their lives, each of the Chiefs had to make a decision to leave their initial careers and follow the pathway they were meant to take. This meant taking on the leadership mantle vacated by their fathers, and taking on the responsibilities required in the position. In some cases, it meant going into politics. The Chiefs each had varying experiences with politics and assuming leadership responsibilities.
I was fortunate that when my father was alive, he encouraged me to be involved with the conservation authority. This is the main body for conservation. It was formed in 1990 and he asked if I would put my name forward for it with the support of Tuwharetoa. I said OK if that is what you are suggesting then I will do it. It was these little things that helped me to grow, and whilst I was new at the job, he said you need to do this, and it helped me to understand better at the end of the day what it is that we were trying to do. The department of conservation gave me a better appreciation of the gift of Tongariro and a whole host of things that reflected on Tuwharetoa (Sir Tumu).

I never at any stage aspired to be a politician. As I said my mother was politician, she was a member of the legislative council from 1966 to 1970, and then a member of the first parliament from 1970 to 1977. It was a process which I thought was quite demanding, and I didn’t know if I had the wherewithal and I didn’t really want to attempt it. I was more interested in just observing the dynamics of politics rather than being directly involved. So when I was nominated for the Vice Presidency, I was quite ambivalent. I mean there was a sense that I should accept it, but there was some part of me that really didn’t want to be placed in that situation. Certainly my wife was totally against it, but I think what changed my mind was the fact that the request had come from the President who was a chief, and it would look quite discourteous and churlish of me if I were to decline, and having been brought up to consider that there are things that are bigger than yourself, I suppose in the end, there was really no choice for me. I accepted it reluctantly, but I think...given the way I had been brought up, I knew that if I had declined or refused, I would’ve been quite guilt stricken about it...so I accepted it (Ratu Joni).

Pursuing a political career is something that I felt I had to do. In 1987, I received a scholarship to study in Adelaide, and it is here that I decided to change and study politics and political science because I knew one day I will be in such a position. So I went to Flinders University and I completed a honours degree in political science. I came back to Tonga and I went back to the Ministry of Education because I was still working in my former position of youth sport and culture. I resigned in 1996 and by then, I was probably the only noble who had a degree at that time. That was when I decided to go into politics and parliament. I won the seat for Tongatapu in the election of that year and so that is how I got into politics (Tu’ivakanō).
Summary

Upbringing

The first part of this chapter discussed chiefly upbringing. Contrary to the privileged upbringing that past chiefly children enjoyed, the Chiefs generally agreed that their early memories of their upbringing were far from privileged. They were not exposed to the luxuries of the privileged life but rather sheltered from it. Similar to chiefly children of the past, they rarely spent time with their chiefly parents in their early years and were often raised by other relatives. The Chiefs whose fathers were paramount chiefs were often raised predominantly by their mothers, uncles and aunties and in some cases grandparents. Most of them did not return to their parents until they were much older.

Most of the Chiefs also acknowledged that their families were by no means rich according to modern standards. Unlike past privileged chiefly children who were waited on just like their chiefly parents, the Chiefs recall a childhood that was not filled with servants and nannies. Instead they grew up doing things that ordinary families did, like cleaning, gardening and working. This was largely due to their mother’s upbringing and wanting them to be as normal as possible despite having a special place in society.

Most of the Chiefs recall that they were aware from of a very young age that their families were not like the rest and that theirs was a special one. The first indication was the fact that their parents were often away and when they asked for them, they were often told they were doing important things. The fact that they grew up hearing people talk about their parents and families was another indication of their family not being an ordinary one. For most of them, they got the sense of their own special worth when they were older, and started travelling with their parents and observed people defer to them and treat and speak to them with respect. The full scale awareness of their status in society came when people started treating them in the same respectful ways they had seen their parents treated. Despite their chiefly status, they were fully aware of their responsibilities as children to behave and act like normal children. This point was highlighted by Ratu Joni who remarked that his father always reminded him and his siblings as children that in the household, he was the chief and that as his children, they counted for nothing until people acknowledged them. He emphasized that this was something for the people to do rather than for them to assert. This sort of rearing kept them grounded.
Chiefly Leadership

The Chiefs collectively agree that the most important part of being a chief in this day and age is serving their people. Furthermore, Sir Tumu sees his role as a chief as one of protection and more importantly, a caretaker. Ratu Joni and Pa Ariki also believe that their roles are ones of protection, the protection of their country’s customs and languages. Pa Ariki regards herself as a ‘servant’ to her people. The service component of chiefly leadership came across strong amongst all the Chiefly participants. Tui Atua talks about having a preparedness to serve others at one’s expense and sacrifice. This sentiment is also shared by Tu’ivakanō.

The Chiefs also accept that their authority in this day and age is not a political one. The political authority is now vested in the position of the Prime Minister and the national government. They are in a sense removed from politics. As Tu’ivakanō explains, the chiefs act as the middle people between those they serve and the government. Some of the Chiefs claim they no longer have the powers and authorities that their ancestors once possessed, because people today are not forced to obey or follow them. Instead they have become more like advisers according to Pa Ariki. According to Matua Collins, a chief is an older sibling, a tuakana, and this description of a chief fits the advisory role. They may not have the power to order or to tell people what to do, but by virtue of their position, they are in a great position to advise on matters regarding family, culture etc.

As advisers, chiefs also need to be role models as well, according to Ratu Joni. They must be prepared to ‘walk the talk’. In order to walk the talk, they must have self-discipline. They must realise that rather than being the ones who give orders, they too must be prepared to take orders as well. This means a preparedness to be amongst the people rather than being removed from them.

Today’s chief, as were the chiefs of old, must continue being the anchor that provide security and identity as well as a sense of wellbeing for their people. The present day chief is also expected to be a peacemaker and through keeping the peace within his family, village, country, the wellbeing of all his people will be protected.

Challenges

Asked what the challenges of being a paramount chief were, Tui Atua responded by saying there were many challenges and it was difficult to focus on only a few. He acknowledges that
there is only so much he can do, and so he takes every day as it comes. In the end, one can only hope to leave behind a legacy that is meaningful to the people, and hopefully the people can say that they learnt something from him. Sir Tumu’s challenges are the protection of what is valuable to his people as well as the protection of the people themselves. Colin adds that another challenge for Tuwharetoa is keeping its people together. The values of the young people are changing, and not necessarily in the best interest of the iwi. This is why Sir Tumu has always been focussed on a collective decision for the protection of their mokopuna to come. As Colin remarked, it is important to keep in front the traditions, stories and histories of who we are as a people. Although the iwi is trying to become more global, it is because of Sir Tumu’s presence and support that they are always able to refer back to tradition before they can move forward.

Providing direction for the people is Tu’ivakanō’s biggest challenge. The people he is referring to are mainly the young ones. The older people of the village are dying off and leadership of the young ones is really important right now. He is also not spending enough time with his people. His role as Prime Minister keeps him away from his people, however, they are always on his mind. Given that it is hard to balance his duties as a noble with those as Prime Minister, Tu’ivakanō feels it is time to allocate some of those responsibilities to his eldest son, Kiu. He did the same for his father when his father was getting old. By sending Kiu in his place, it will help him build a relationship with the people, and prepare him for when he becomes a noble himself.

For Ratu Joni, the challenge has been trying to be relevant, both in the indigenous and national context. It is about trying to find that ‘space’ and that ‘role to play’. It has been about accepting that obligations are part of the landscape, and that given their modest means, they do what they can. Like Tui Atua, he admits he cannot do everything or solve all the problems, but to do what he can to allow the system to continue to have some meaning to him. With the dissolution of the Great Council of Chiefs, the challenge now is how to connect with the people at the town and village levels. The big obstacle is finding a way to connect. Pa Ariki’s challenge is the wellbeing of her people. Her people are physically sick with diseases such as diabetes. Her other main concerns are the young people and their mental wellbeing. Young people are committing suicide and the challenge is to help cure the physical and mental sicknesses of her people. Like her fellow Chiefs, she has a real concern for her young people. Like Sir Tumu, the conservation of the natural resources of her island also concerns her. In
Chapter Four, Pa Ariki talks about the financial strain on her as an *ariki*. Tui Atua and Ratu Joni also talk about the financial obligations of their roles. Such obligations seem to be part and parcel of chiefly life, and can be a major challenge for the chiefs.

**Changes**

According to Tui Atua, globalisation comes at the detriment of culture. With the world growing the way it is, the young generation are missing out on things such as conversations with the ‘oldies’ and people who were knowledgeable. The concept of *tōfā sa’ili*, the search for meaning and truth, is also being undermined. With globalisation, other things are becoming more and more important, and somewhere in the process, *tōfā sa’ili* and truth is lost, therefore culture, identity and language become lost.

For Tu’ivakanō, globalisation has had an impact on the nobles. It has made them change their ways. It has made them realised that the world is changing, and the importance of education is becoming more evident. This adds further to his belief that nobles need more than their titles if they are going to continue to have influence in this world.

Globalisation for Ratu Joni is the realisation that modernity has arrived. Societies based on merit and achievement, have naturally displaced what came before, and the vehicle of that change is globalisation. It is a fact of life that the chiefs have to accept, and now they have to move on and look for ways to become relevant in the new world.

With globalisation, Sir Tumu sees his role as seeking better ways to do things collectively. Globalisation means focussing on the next generation, and everything that Sir Tumu does, has a strong focus on the future of his people and his iwi. He believes that rather than being a bystander in the path of globalisation, contribute to it. What he can achieve within his iwi and Aotearoa as a whole, can contribute to the world and to globalisation itself.

Tui Atua sees the value in following the lead of the Maori who are bringing their culture and customs to the fore through academic engagement, through the expression of Maori reference in all that they do, through the improving of their people’s intellectual capacity. The problem with Samoans today is that in order for Samoans to do the same, they must embrace, promote and live the Samoan reference. The reality is that not many Samoans today, draw on the
Samoan reference. The problem with Samoa is that people think that just because they are the majority in their country, they do not need to refer to the Maori who are a minority in their own country, yet Tui Atua believes there is so much Samoans can learn from their neighbours. If Samoans are not drawing on their Samoan reference, they are not engaging in their culture or participating in their customs. All these lead to a loss of identity and respect for the culture, which in turn sees a slow decline in the appreciation of cultural things, and this includes interest and respect in chiefly systems.

According to Sir Tumu, Maori leadership is undergoing change. The change Sir Tumu refers to is a global change. With the world becoming smaller, the Maori leaders are focussing on global initiatives that are at times beyond the iwi. It is the sign of the times. They are becoming younger and seem to be going more and more away from tradition. With issues involving the crown, they are becoming more and more critical of the crown. Because Maori leadership is changing and some of its traditional practices are declining, Sir Tumu feels it’s time to do something before it is lost. Tradition will always continue at the local marae level, but there is a chance it might not continue at the iwi level. It is time for the elders and kaumatau to reassert their kaumatau-ness. This is where the teina-tuakana relationship becomes so important in this day and age. The elders need to be mentoring and teaching the young leaders, and restoring tradition and culture back in to Maori leadership. For this to happen, it needs to be a collective effort by all the iwi.

Throughout the research, Tu’ivakanō has been persistent about the need for the nobles to redevelop themselves through education and up-skilling. Tonga is changing and slowly becoming democratic and if nobles do not move with the change, they will get left behind. With achievement in Tonga becoming more and more important, chiefs, can no longer rest on their laurels as nobles. Young educated leaders are coming to the forefront and are challenging the nobles, not only for positions, but also for status. As leaders of people, not only are they encouraged to develop themselves, they should encourage their people to be educated as well. With the new democratic system in place, there might come a day when the noble seats will be lost, so in the event that it might happen, nobles need to be prepared, as when that day comes they will be on the same playing field as everyone.

According to Ratu Joni, the modern world has made its compromises and now people of non-chiefly rank are becoming influential leaders. They bring with them new skills that serve a
purpose in the new world. With society needing people of varied skills, people who possess these skills are now claiming their right to lead and more importantly, their worth in society. Education is a blessing in the modern world, however Ratu Joni’s concern is that with such exposure, does one lose some of the essence of being indigenous or being chiefly? Ratu Joni thinks that an education provides a balance and allows him to be in a position to be able to make comparisons and to make judgements.
PART 3: PROGRESSION
Chiefly succession has changed throughout the course of time. History has shown that the rivals have often been siblings or close relatives, and that such close connections often meant nothing when vying for power. Siblings have gone to war against each other in the quest to succeed their father. The first part of this chapter takes a historical look at some of the more documented cases of chiefly sibling rivalry throughout Polynesia.

The second part looks at some of the methods that have been used to determine succession. Over time, some methods have become more used than others. In other cases, old methods have been discarded due to changing environments and laws. Warfare for instance has been the vehicle by which past disputes and differences have been settled. The acceptance of Christianity promoted peace and discourage killing and murder. As a result new methods of succession were developed. Through time, different island groups developed different methods of determining chiefly succession. Some islands shared similar methods while others had methods unique to their islands.

This chapter discusses some of the past and current methods of chiefly succession, and the problems and issues associated with them.

1.0 Sibling Rivalry

Throughout Polynesia, history has shown that in many cases the greatest threat to chiefly power has not come from rival outsiders, but from within the chief’s clan itself. There have been many cases where feuding brothers have gone to war against each other for control of a title or kingdom left vacant by their deceased father.

An old Tongan legend refers to a feud between half-brothers Talafale and ‘Aho’eitu. Talafale submitted to his younger half-brother ‘Aho’eitu, and as result ‘Aho’eitu became the first Tui Tonga (Herda, 1995: 45). This is believed to have been the beginning of the ancient Tongan
chiefly line around 900AD. It is later believed that a descendant of Tu’i Tonga ‘Aho’eitu, Tu’i Tonga Takalaua (23rd Tu’i Tonga), was assassinated by a direct descendant of Talafale, adding further to the ill feeling between the descent lines of the two original siblings. During the reign of Tu’i Tonga Ka’ulufonuaefekai (son of the assassinated Tu’i Tonga Takalaua, and the 24th holder of the Tu’i Tonga title) he too finds himself usurped by a younger brother who in the process becomes Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua Mo’ungamotu’a (ibid). Around 1600, a third kingly line developed. Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua Fotofili’s (7th Tu’i Ha’atakalau) younger brother became Tu’i Kanokupolu Ngata (1st Tu’i Kanokupolu)70. Shortly after the formation of the third line, the holders of these two lines quarrel over power with the latter line eventually taking the secular authority away from the former. By the 18th century, three kingly lines existed in Tonga. The interesting point that is often lost is that each line was formed as a result of feuding brothers, and in each case, the younger brother was the victor and became the hau or ruling chief.

Even the powerful Taufa’ahau (King George Tupou I) had close family rivals. It is suspected that his decision to send his cousin Ma’afu to Fiji to extend the power of his Tongan empire, stemmed not from Ma’afu’s ability to do so, but rather Taufa’ahau’s fear of his cousin competing with him for the Tu’i Kanokupolu title. Ma’afu’s legitimate rights to the title was seen as a possible rallying point for dissident elements in Tonga, and so his departure to Fiji strengthened Taufa’ahau’s claim to the Tu’i Kanokupolu title, and eventually to the undisputed control of all of Tonga (Latukefu, 1970: 68).

Shortly after the brothers Tuna and Fata defeated the Tuitoga Tala’aifei’i71, resulting in the creation of the Malietoa title, the two brothers quarrelled over who should take on the title. In the pursuing fight, the brothers killed each other. A relative then brought them both back to life and then conferred the title onto another brother of Tuna & Fata, Malietoa Savea (Henry, 1979: 24; Kramer, 1994: 336). There are many other cases in Samoan history of feuding siblings.

Ratu Seru Cakobau had many enemies, one of which was a half-brother Raivalita, who he killed in 1845 (Derrick, 1946: 86; Latukefu, 1970: 99). Another well-known chief of Fiji, Roko Mamaca had also killed a half-brother to obtain for himself the Tui Macuata title that

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70 The current Tongan royal family are of the Tui Kanokupolu lineage.
71 He also known as Tu’i Tonga Talakaifeiki in Tongan history.
was held by his brother (Scarr, 1970: 103). In 1840, the Roko Tui Dreketi had a fall out with his brother Qaraniqio, resulting in the latter seeking assistance from Bau to wage war against his angered brother (Derrick, 1946: 82). The sons of an aging Tui Cakau had also planned to kill each other in order to inherit the Tui Cakau title upon the death of their father (ibid). Some ambitious and impatient sons had been known to have killed off their father in order to obtain for themselves the title of their aging father (Latukefu, 1970: 105).

In other cases, an aging father realising that his authority was waning would continue holding the title, but would hand all executive power to a younger and more powerful son. This was the case with Cakobau and his father Tanoa (Derrick, 1946: 60). A rivalry existed between Pomare I and his son Pomare II (Oliver, 1974: 1295). Being in the shadow of his father, Pomare II finally became a leader in his own right with the death of his father in 1803. Pomare II pushed harder than his father to establish his temporal and administrative authority over all of Tahiti (Howe, 1984: 138).

Hawai‘is most powerful monarch, King Kamehameha the Great went to war against his first cousin Kiwalao for the throne and succeeded (Kamakau, 1992: 124; Potter, Kasdon, & Rayson, 2003: 9). After the death of Kiwalao, the battle for control over all Hawai‘i shifted between Kamehameha and another family member, Kahekili. Even after the death of Kahekili, war broke out between his own sons Kalanikupule and Kaeo to determine who would inherit their father’s share of the kingdom. Kaeo was killed and Kalanikupule became ruler (ibid). Kalanikupule then declared war on Kamehameha in the hope of gaining for himself the authority over all of Hawai‘i, but was overwhelmed and eventually defeated by Kamehameha and his powerful army. Shortly after this victory, Kamehameha achieved for himself what others before him failed, becoming the first ruler of all of Hawai‘i.

The fact that history has shown that brothers have gone to war against each other highlights how highly regarded chiefly titles and status are, not only in the past, but still very much today. One of the main causes of sibling rivalry within Polynesia stems can be connected to the fact that often the siblings are not full siblings. It was common practice for a chief to have children from many different women. In the event that his main wife does not produce him an heir, the sons of from the other unions usually compete to be their father’s successor. Even when there is an official heir, an older son from another unofficial union may still contest the right to rule. This is not confined to the past. Today there are a few examples of siblings
fighting over succession rights to a parent’s vacant title. However today’s battles over chiefly titles takes place in the courtroom, and usually result in years and decades of vacancy while the siblings are fighting for control. The popular case at the moment is the dispute over the Vunivalu title that is occurring between the children of the late Vunivalu, Ratu Sir George Cakobau who died in 1989. The title of Vunivalu has been vacant ever since.

2.0 Succession

Succession to chiefly titles is often a complicated and sensitive issue. As time progressed, succession practices have become somewhat blurred and complicated.

Senior Male Line

During pre-contact times, succession was decided in a number of ways. As mentioned in chapter three, the first paramount chiefs were direct descendants of the gods. This suggests that genealogy or more specifically, male primogeniture was the first method of succession. This is further supported in chapter two where it is pointed out that the proto-Polynesian term *qadiki meant the ‘eldest born male child’ of a chief, later evolving to mean ariki, aliki, ari’i and ali’i. Chiefly titles therefore originally passed down from father to oldest son and so on down the male line. The only time that succession did not go through the eldest male line was when there was no male heir upon which the chiefly title is then passed onto the eldest female child. The title then will revert back to the eldest male child of the female chief upon her death.

Queen Salote became the monarch on the account that her father did not have a son from his other official unions. When the late Queen Atairangikaahu died, Maori eagerly awaited the announcement of her successor. There was speculation that she had wished for her daughter to succeed her, yet there were also claims that the elders responsible for the selection had wanted the Kingitanga position to go back to a male holder. It was not also guaranteed that any of her children were going to succeed her however the decision was left up to the collective of ariki and rangatira to appoint the new monarch.

My late mother had also thought about revisiting the idea of the title going back to man. She wanted my younger brother to take the title. I said it’s your title, it’s your call, it’s your say, but my grandfather kept nagging at it
saying she can’t do that because she knows the history where the male line was the ariki. Its only when the missionaries came and they changed all that. There were a lot of royal lines with only women born and that was where the difficulty was. My mother was the oldest child as a woman so that is how she got it but she always felt it should go back to the oldest male. She never said why she thought that. It was traditionally male, and we only have one ariki line on Rarotonga that has followed that, with the oldest male – Vakātini (Pa Ariki)

In the Fijian context, it would either be seniority or decent from a male line, depending on where you were. My father was Roko Tui Bau, and I was the eldest son and that was it. And I think my educational background and my being a lawyer I think in a sense reinforced my claim. But to be honest, it wasn’t in doubt in the first place (Ratu Joni)

Although male seniority continues to have some importance in some chiefly systems, the main problems today is proving that one is of the senior male line. There is also ambiguity in the way ‘senior male’ lines are interpreted. In some cases, a female can claim rights on the basis that she is directly descended from the senior male ancestor, and in other cases, male candidates have been declined on the basis that despite being male, they are actually descended from a female line. Ambiguities like these tend to make this form of succession a difficult one to use today given that many chiefly titles are very old and genealogies are often completely different between the competing heirs. Given that senior male succession is not as strong in the present as it were in the past, one would assume that this would result in much more women becoming chiefs. This however is not the case as female chiefs are still considerably less in numbers than their male counterparts.

**Warfare**

Succession through the senior male line became difficult when chiefs had unions with more than one woman. Even though a chief often had a principal wife, it did not stop the oldest sons of other wives also claiming succession rights as the oldest son. If a chief had not appointed a successor, the likely outcome was war. As the descendants of the half siblings grew, so did the number of people who claimed rights of succession to a particular title. In fact warfare became a means for which distant descendants of a title were able to reassert their claims to a title. This has often resulted in the loss of title from a senior line to a distantly related one. Succession through warfare became frequent with the rise in power of the chiefly warrior.
A good example of this is in the case of the Tafa’ifā or supreme ruler of Samoa. According to history, Queen Salamasina was the first to claim this status sometime in the fifteenth century. The rulers of Samoa then followed down her lineage, making it an ascribed form of succession. Some Samoans that every descendant after Queen Salamāsina held all four pāpā titles that comprised Tafa’ifā status whereas others believed that the only other descendant of Salamāsina told hold Tafa’ifā status was her great-great-grandson, King Fonoti. Regardless of which version is true, the titles were still passed down Salamāsina’s line whether they were held collectively by one person, or dispersed amongst a number of heirs at any given moment in time. At some point around the late 1700s early 1800s, Malietoa Vainu’upo through conquering the district of A’ana managed to gain for himself the Tafa’ifā. This was the first time it had crossed to the Malietoa line (Taburton, 1996:46). Great chiefs such as Kamehameha, Pomare, Cakobau, and Taufa’ahau all gained power through warfare.

Of all the succession methods, history has proven this to be the most definitive and successful method. The only problem is that Polynesia is predominantly Christian and there are basically no more wars to speak of. This is therefore a method that is confined to the past.

Creation of New Titles

Another method of solving succession issues was to create new titles. In most cases the new titles were bestowed upon younger brothers of the newly appointed chiefs. As legend has it the first Tu’i Tonga was a child of a union between the god Tangaloa and an earthly woman. When the child was grown up he travelled to heaven to visit his father Tangaloa. While in heaven he met his half-brothers who were jealous of Tangaloa’s fondness of his earthly son. One day the godly half siblings devoured the young earthly child of Tangaloa. When Tangaloa heard what had happened, he ordered his sons to spit out the boy and he proceeded to put his earthly son together and bring him back to life. As a result, Tangaloa punished his jealous godly sons by appointing his earthly son as the first Tu’i Tonga to have power and authority over all of Tonga and the heavens (Mahina, 1986:19). As a consequence he created a second title, the Faleua or the ‘second house’ with which he gave to his other sons with the instructions that they are the second house to the Tu’i Tonga, and that their role is to support their brother as Tu’i Tonga and be there to aid him whenever he needed help. This they obeyed. From then on, the Faleua title became second only to the Tu’i Tonga title (ibid).
The relationship between the Tu’i Tonga and the Faleua did not resurface until as recently as the mid-twentieth century with the reign of Queen Salote Tupou III. Queen Salote had three sons, one having died tragically at a very young age. When it came time to bestow chiefly titles on her remaining two sons, Prince Taufa’ahau and Prince Sione, she bestowed the vacant noble title of Tupouto’a on Taufa’ahau and from that point started a new tradition of making the Tupouto’a title the title of the Crown Prince of Tonga (Marcus, 1980:41). The younger Sione was bestowed the noble title of Tu’ipulehake. However, knowing full well that her older son Taufa’ahau will one day succeed her as king and Tu’i Kanokupolu, she bestowed on Sione the honour of Faleua to support his older brother72. This was the first time this had been done and the relationship between the two brothers became a peaceful and fruitful one after her death. When Taufa’ahau became king in 1965, he relinquished his position of Prime Minister to his younger brother Prince Tu’ipulehake, roles they both held until their deaths. Prince Tu’ipulehake died before his older brother. Following his brother’s death, the king took back the Faleua title which now rests in his possession.

The creation of the three main ruling lineages of Tonga followed similar patterns. After many centuries of ruling Tonga, The 24th Tu’i Tonga, Tu’i Tonga Ka’ulufonua created a subsidiary chiefly title, The Tu’i Ha’atakalaua for his brother Mo’ungamotu’a as a sort of viceroy to his title. Some of the secular powers were offloaded onto the new chief however it was not long before the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua became more politically powerful than the Tu’i Tonga title. Similarly the 6th Tu’i Ha’atakalau created another title, the Tu’i Kanokupolu for his younger brother Ngata, and like the Tui Ha’atakalau, it was not long before the Tu’i Kanokupolu was the most powerful line in all of Tonga. Although the three lines all emerged from a single blood line, they each operated separately and while the younger line, the Tu’i Kanokupolu became powerful, the other two lines continued to exist and bestow holders to the titles in the hope of one day regaining their former powers.

History has shown that the creation of new titles have been done at the detriment of older ones. This was the case with Tonga and the creation of its three ruling titles. It relies heavily on achievement as the newly created titles in most cases do not have a lineage or a genealogy to substantiate its status. The same concept can be applied to the creation of the Tongan nobility in 1875. When Taufa’ahau formalised his new nobility, he essentially created a new

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72 “Tu’ipulehake”, wikipedia.org
position of authority, and appointed those chiefs who were loyal to him into positions of nobles. As a result, all those chiefs who were left out became powerless. They became chiefs in name without any recognised authority within the newly formed government. In the process, once powerful chiefs were relegated into much lower levels of rank or in some cases, the once chiefly names simply became known as family names. Many commoner Tongans today are part families that were once considered highly ranked within old Tongan society. This was a less bloody form of succession in the past and is rarely practised today. The only times they have occurred in present day society is when a paramount chief has bestowed an honorary title on someone who has done something for them or has achieved something. Unlike the past, these newly created titles are not as highly ranked as the paramount chiefs, and are only held by the recipient and cannot be passed on to a son or heir. The honorary title is usually temporary, and follows the holder to his grave. The late King Siaosi IV had bestowed such titles on loyal commoner Tongan citizens for their work and service to Tonga.

**Strategic Measures**

Another way in which chiefs were able to confirm their line’s succession was through carefully planned strategies. One such strategy was through the banishing of a potential rival. This was the case in Rarotonga when at one point a rival to the Makea title was banished to another part of the island by the Makea holder. Although this eliminated him from any chance of ever succeeding to the Makea Ariki title, in due process he created a new clan and eventually became the founding *ariki* of the new clan. The new *ariki* title he created was the Kainuku Ariki title (Crocombe, 1964:10). Another well case was the relationship between Taufa’ahau and his cousin Ma’afu. Both were sons of former Tu’i Kanokupolu holders and Taufa’ahau knew full well that Ma’afu was very able and capable of challenging him for the Tu’i Kanokupolu title. To eliminate Ma’afu from ever challenging for the title, Taufa’ahau sent his young cousin to Fiji to rule over a Tongan colony based in the Lau Islands of the Fijian group. With his cousin occupied far away from Tonga, Taufa’ahau was able to go about his plan to consolidate all powers of Tonga in himself and eventually gain for himself the Tu’i Kanokupolu title.

Taufa’ahau was a very strategic thinker of his time. Although the Tu’i Tonga title was still being conferred during Taufa’ahau’s time, the Tu’i Kanokupolu title of which Taufa’ahau was an immediate heir held the true political power and were at the time regarded as the *hau*
– political and secular authority. Tradition dictated that the only legitimate successor to the Tu’i Tonga title was a male offspring of a union between the Tu’i Tonga and a sister of the hau (Rutherford, 1977:35). The sister of the hau was regarded as the only female of the highest rank that was not closely related to the Tu’i Tonga. Realising this, Taufa’ahau who was now Tu’i Kanokupolu refused to give his sister as wife to his contemporary, Tui Tonga Laufilitonga (ibid), in the process ending the line of the Tu’i Tonga at Laufilitonga who was unable to produce a legitimate heir to continue the line. In doing so, Taufa’ahau ended the one line that had a real chance of one day challenging his authority.

When Taufa’ahau confirmed his Tupou line as the new monarchy through constitution, there were still some concerns that the descendants of the Tu’i Tonga and Tu’i Ha’atakalaua lines may one day press claims to the kingship of Tonga. To prevent any challenge from the Tui Tonga line, Taufa’ahau’s grandson, Siaosi Tupou the II was married off to a high-ranking woman who was the grand-daughter of the last official Tu’i Tonga, Laufilitonga (Taumoefolau, 2004:131). This meant that the child of this union, Queen Salote Tupou III had the blood of both the Tu’i Kanokupolu and Tui Tonga flowing in her, thus eliminating any future challenges by that line. The problem was that the heirs of the Tu’i Ha’atakalau were still very powerful and a challenge from them could still dethrone Taufa’ahau’s Tupou line. The solution was to marry Queen Salote off to a high chief by the name of Tungi who was a direct descendant of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua line. Their eldest child, King Taufa’ahau IV was therefore the first person to have the blood of all three royal bloodlines run through his veins (Kaeppler, 2004:29), therefore eliminating any such challenge from any of the other descendants. Since then succession to the Tongan thrown is strictly by constitution and have never had any issues relating to succession.

Again this method of succession can be viewed as an alternative to warfare. It doesn’t seem to be practiced much today. On observation, it seems to have been used by those chiefly figures who may have felt that firstly they don’t have a secure hold on the chiefly titles, and secondly, there is an acknowledgement that another individual may have as much, or even more rights to the chiefly title. One of the most common ways this is played out today is still through the arranged marriages of chiefly people for the sole purpose of keeping the rank and status within a single line. The most significant example of recent times was the arranged marriage between the Crown Prince of Tonga, Prince Tupoutoa Ulukalala and his second cousin in 2012. The prince and his bride are great-grandchildren of the late Queen Salote, and
their marriage has ensured that the royal blood stays in this line. Not all members of the Tongan family supported the marriage between the two saying that they were too closely related to marry and that it was an old practice that should not be continued.

**Title Splitting**

In the event that there were multiple heirs, a title was sometimes split to please all heirs. This was the case in the formation of three Makea Ariki titles of Rarotonga. Originally there was only one Makea Ariki title and that was Makea Karika Ariki. Sometime during the seventeenth century, the 19th holder, Makea Karika Te-patua-kino had three sons to three different women. Upon his death, all three male heirs claimed to be a rightful successor to the title. As a result the title was split in three and given to each son (Crocombe, 1964). The senior son was given the new title of Makea Nui Ariki, and the two junior sons were given the junior titles Makea Karika Ariki and Makea Vakatini Ariki. To this day, these three titles coexist with each other in Rarotonga.

In a more recent case a noble title was split amongst two brothers in Tonga. The Tongan constitution clearly states that succession to noble title is handed down from father to eldest son. The title of Lord Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili is actually made up of two separate noble titles, that of Kalaniuvalu and Fotofili. In 1875, King Taufa’ahau selected his first twenty chiefs to become lifetime nobles of his House of Nobles. Both the chiefly titles of Kalaniuvalu and Fotofili were selected separately. The Fotofili and Kalaniuvalu title holders at the time were the Hon Fotofili Pita and the Hon Kalaniuvalu Viliami respectively. Hon Fotofili’s son and successor, Hon Fotofili Siosiua married one of the daughters of Hon Kalaniuvalu Viliami and they had six children, five girls and one boy. Given that Kalaniuvalu Viliami only had two daughters, and the next male heir was his only grandson to his daughter that married Fotofili Siosiua. That same grandson was also the only son of Fotofili Siosiua so he ended up inheriting both titles and became known as Hon. Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili Semisi. Hon. Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili Semisi married and had six children, two boys and four girls. Strangely enough, his second son succeeded him and became Hon. Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili Siosiua Nalumoetutulu. It is unknown why the second son succeeded his father even though this was not the norm. Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili Siosiua Nalumoetutulu married Princess Mele Siu’ilikutapu, daughter of Prince Sione Ngu and granddaughter of Queen Salote. Together

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73 “Tongan crown prince marries second cousin”, telegraph.co.uk, 12 July 2012
they had two sons. Upon the death of Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili Siosiua Nalumoetutulu in 1998, the titles were split for the first time in over one hundred years. The Kalaniuvalu title went to the older son Tiofilusi and the Fotofili title went to the younger son Tepuiti. The title split lasted only a few years when the older brother Kalaniuvalu Tiofilusi died suddenly without an heir, resulting in the title moving to his younger brother and therefore reuniting the two titles again under a single holder. How the titles will be succeeded in the future, only time will tell.

Another method of title splitting occurred in Samoa. When it became difficult to decide on a successor to a title that had many lines of succession, the only solution was to split the title to give each line a title. Many of the once paramount ranked chiefly titles have over the years lost their original status through numerous splitting (Galo-Schmidt, 2007:166). In the past, the Tui A’ana and the Tui Atua titles had been split between rival candidates. Wars between the two holders united the titles under the victor. The tama’āiga titles are usually held by a single holder at any one time. The only case where it was jointly held was after the death of Malietoa Moli in 1860, one half of the family bestowed the title on Moli’s younger brother, Malietoa Talavou, and the other half bestowed it on Moli’s son, Malietoa Laupepa. Without clear support for one, both candidates held the title until their deaths, after which, the practice reverted back to only one holder at a time. The fact that Malietoa Laupepa lived on the island of Savaii and Malietoa Moli lived on Upolu made it easier for both to hold the Malietoa title at the same time because of their physical separation.

Title splitting is much more common at the village level in Samoa. Such titles like the high ranking ali‘i titles of Le’aauva’a, Tuala and Sala now have holders that number in the hundreds, therefore taking away the mana that had once been attached to these titles. Some villages to this day still adhere to the practice of having one holder of the most paramount ali‘i title at any time, thus maintaining the mana of that title. This is the case with the Seumanutafa paramount title of Apia where the tradition of having one ali‘i is still practiced. Following the death of Seumanutafa Moepogai II in the early 1980s, a number of Seumanutafa titles were bestowed on various members of the family. Through a process of elimination, the choices came down to three candidates. Following a court case, the court ruled in favour of one candidate upholding the tradition of the family74. The other unique

74 Courtesy of court papers LC3500, 21 December 1987
characteristic of this family is that Seumanutafa is the only ali’i title of the family. All other titles are tulafale. In 2009, sixty members of the Sa Seumantafa were each bestowed one of nine tulafale titles. Having only one ali’i title upholds the mana not only of the title, but also the family. The problem with electing a single successor is that it is sometimes a lengthy process and sometimes a successor is not agreed upon for years. For this reason, titles are usually split.

This method has become much more adopted in this day and age. With chiefly titles now having up to thousands of heirs, splitting titles has become a method not only to please all branches of the titles, but also a means to keep the peace. In the process, it has devalued many titles that were once reserved for a single holder. What has happened is that most of the titles that were considered paramount during pre-contact times have now lost its mana and influence through constant splitting. However the current paramount tama‘āiga titles have retained their mana through the preservation of the ‘single holder’ custom. Similarly the Tongans, Fijians, Cook Islanders and Maori have maintained the mana of their paramount chiefly titles through not splitting them, and keeping to their traditions of one holder at a time. On the flip side, the reluctance to split a paramount title to maintain its mana, has often resulted in many paramount titles becoming vacant for years and decades as a result of the extended family not being able to agree on a single holder. This is the case with the paramount chiefly titles of Vunivalu (Fiji), Malietoa (Samoa), Makea Nui (Rarotonga) and the Faleua of Tonga

**Dying Wish**

Succession by a dying wish of the former chief is common in Samoa and has been known to occur in Maori and Cook Island cultures. In Samoa, the dying wish of a chief as a successor is taken into serious consideration but not necessarily carried out. The theory behind this is that over time, the chief has observed someone capable or has had a hand in grooming someone. Dying wishes are usually brought upon when the dying chief knows that his preferred candidate is either of junior rank or is not the candidate choice of the extended family. Regardless, the family has the final say. This was shown in the selection of King Tuheitia where despite Queen Atairaangikahu’s preference to have her eldest daughter

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75 “Nine titles bestowed in Apia”, samoaobserver.ws, 2009
succeed her, the second son was chosen. Tui Atua and Pa Ariki have their eyes on potential successors however the final decision comes down to the family.

Well I don’t know whether we should ignore mavaega, the principal of mavaega. I think by in large that has been ignored. But how do you bring mavaega into the new environment? That is the big issue. By in large the family acquires status in the village because they can do things, because they can deliver on fa’alavelave. And this too is disruptive because of boundaries. Before the tulafale knew their station in life and they were very careful about the boundaries between themselves and the chiefs. Today these boundaries are blizzly ignored (Tui Atua)

In my case, my father had a heart attack and it’s not that he would’ve designated anyone anyway. I guess my siblings were quite happy to leave it to me. (Ratu Joni)

Well, this is one of the problems that we’ve got now. There’s hardly anybody now who pays much attention to a mavaega, and yet that’s crucial, which is a great pity because it could bring a lot of stability. The family is more important than yourself and your immediate family...the family is something that has to hold its own in the village setting and therefore you have to look out for the best possible person to succeed. The reason why it’s held together is because by and large, the people who were designated by mavaega to lead were good leaders. The fellow who is in charge is the best fellow to determine who should take over, because he’s seen this service etc. But then again its changing because the families are getting bigger and the wherewithal it sustains family is not from the village plantation, it’s from the work in town, from the people who are living in New Zealand...so you’ll have to reconsider the parameters and the paradigms of assessing succession A lot of people asked my father to designate somebody, but he didn’t. For me I’ve been bagged for taking on my cousin, but the thing is all the oldies in my family were in support of me. So I have been aware then at that point that if I wasn’t going to make it, I was going to make it eventually. (Tui Atua)

For me, I haven’t really decided on doing that at all. I’ve got one of my sons at home and I’ve given him a rangatira title, but that doesn’t mean he will be the next one. I have watched him a lot. I have an older daughter and she lives in Melbourne and it might be her or it might not be. She is the oldest. I haven’t really thought about it but as I said to you before, the rangatira have the say. If I produce the name they would talk about it. When I became ariki, it took them 5 months to decide on me. They’ll sit around and talk about it and they’ll come to a decision. It took 5 months because my uncle, my mother’s cousin was challenging the title at the same time. He was one of the rangatira (Pa Ariki)

This method is not applied when a constitution determines succession, such as the case with Tonga and Fiji. It has been used to some extent by Maori, Cook Islanders and especially
Samoa. The theory is that a chief is always on the lookout for a potential successor. While he is alive, he has a fair idea of who has served him and who has worked hard for the family. It usually involves a potential successor living with the chief and serving him hand and foot. Just before he passes, he announces his successor and the family honour his dying wish. That may be the theory, but sometimes it is never the case. Due to a large number of heirs, the chief’s final wish as a successor may not necessarily be the extended family’s choice. Because of this it is rare that the chief’s final wish is granted. In most cases, the wish is taken into consideration, however at the end of the day it is a collective decision that is made by the extended family.

**Constitution**

At present the only Polynesian island that bases succession on a constitution is Tonga. Succession is based on the 1875 constitution established by Taufa‘ahau. Despite a constitution, there are still issues over succession and it usually end up in the Tongan land and title courts.

> Well we just go by the constitution. The succession law is there in the constitution so you really can’t do anything about it and this applies to the nobility as well. So your title goes from you to your eldest son and so on and so on. In most cases this prevents legal battles and that is why the constitution is there. In the old days, the title could be given to your fahu, your sister’s son, but nowadays the constitution states it must go to eldest son. Younger sons usually get to marry whoever they like but older sons usually have an obligation to marry someone within the same social ranks (Tu‘ivakano)

Other than warfare, this method of succession is probably the surest method of succession. Although constitutions provide a definitive outline as to what the rules of succession are in a particular society, it is not always guaranteed that it is free of trouble. In Tonga, despite the constitution stating that the eldest son of a noble inherits the title, there have been cases where it has not been the case. Factors such as no male heir have often resulted in other lines making claims to get the noble title to their line. In some cases, the claimants are descendants of an ancestor who was the younger brother of the original holder, making claims that as the descendants of the original younger brother, they are next in line therefore they should take on the noble title. Disputes over noble titles have been taken to the courts for resolution.
Surviving Brother

Sometimes rather than going to a son, a title went to the surviving brother. One such case was the succession title to the Malietoa title in 1860 (also mentioned under the ‘title splitting’ section). Upon the death of Malietoa Moli, the title was competed over by his son Laupepa and his younger brother Talavou (Gilson, 1970:261). Talavou’s claim to the title was on the grounds that he was the living brother and senior in age to his nephew. Laupepa’s claim was on the grounds that he was the oldest son of the previous holder. Failing to resolve their differences both continued to hold the title until their deaths. Ironically, a similar situation happened a generation before upon the death of Malietoa Laupepa’s grandfather, Malietoa Vainu’upo in 1841. When Malietoa Vainu’upo died the title went his younger brother, Malietoa Taimalelagi before returning to his son Malietoa Moli upon the death of Malietoa Taimalelagi in 1858. Why the same did not happen a generation later is not known.

A similar pattern of succession has been followed by the Tupua Tamasele title of Samoa. The first holder of the title was Tupua Tamasele Titimaea. Following his death in 1891, his son Lealofi assumed the title becoming Tupua Tamasele Lealofi I. When Tupua Tamasele Lealofi I passed away in 1915, his oldest son became Tupua Tamasele Lealofi II. It is at this point that succession tradition changes. Tupua Tamasele Lealofi II held the title for less than a year before his death in 1915. The title then went to a younger brother, Tupua Tamasele Lealofi III. It is not sure whether the previous holder had any children. Upon the death of Tupua Tamasele Lealofi III in 1929, the title was passed onto the next youngest brother, Tupua Tamasele Mea’ole, who became joint Head of State of Samoa in 1962. At the time of Tupua Tamasele Lealofi III death, his eldest son Lealofi IV was only seven years old at the time and may explain the title going to his uncle. When the title became vacant in 1963 following Tupua Tamasele Mea’ole’s death, a contest between three possible successors took place, one a younger brother of the late holder, Matai’a, son of late Tupua Tamasele Lealofi IV, and Tupuola Efi, son of the recently deceased Tupua Tamasele Mea’ole. After realising he did not have support, Matai’a dropped his challenge and the competition was left to the sons of two former title holders (personal communication with Tui Atua). After reconsideration, Tupuola Efi also withdrew his claim in support of his older and senior cousin who was then bestowed the title in 1964. Upon the death of Tupua Tamasele Lealofi IV in

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76 Tupua Tamasele Lealofi III was the Mau leader that was killed when New Zealand police fired upon a group of marchers in 1929.
1976, Tupuola Efi succeeded to the title and became Tupua Tamasese Efi. Tupua Tamasese Efi is currently the Head of State of Samoa.

*My family put me up when my father died, but for some reason, he didn’t have a mavaega. My whole family excepting two people wanted me to succeed him. And the two people were Lealofì and my uncle Matai’a. Then Matai’a said, “o le toe uso” etc. So I said “fair enough, in that case, Ia fai la oe” (Tui Atua)*

“o le toe uso” – the surviving brother
“Ia fai la oe” – ok, you go do it

Other cases have also shown a tendency to have the chiefly title temporarily go to a younger brother before returning to the senior line upon the maturity of the eldest son of the senior male line. This was the case with the Te Heuheu Ariki chiefly title of Nagti Tuwharetoa. When Te Heuheu Tukino II Mananui died in 1846, the *ariki* title was succeeded by his younger brother Iwakau. (Te Heuheu, 2009). At the time of his death, his son Horonuku was in his 20’s however the title still went to his uncle. Why it did not go to Horonuku is not sure, however, it is assumed that it went to Iwakau due to his status as a leader and a warrior. It is also assumed it went to him because he often deputised for his older brother on many occasions and that it was only fair that the title be passed on to him. When Te Heuheu Tukino III Iwakau passed away in 1862, the title reverted back to the senior line and Horonuku became Te Heuheu Tukino IV. The title has continued to be passed down the senior line ever since. The current holder is Te Heuheu Tukino VIII Sir Tumu.

Such succession was also evident in Fiji. When the Kubuna people moved from the mainland to the island of Bau during the 1700s, the Vunivalu at the time was Ratu Nailatikau. At the time, the Roko Tui Bau was the more powerful of the two however it was not long before the Vunivalu overtook the Roko Tui Bau as the highest chief of Bau. Following the death of Ratu Nailatikau, his younger brother Ratu Banuve succeeded him and he is the Vunivalu that has been acknowledged as the one to secure firmly the power of the Vunivalu in Bau (Scarr, 1970:96). Ratu Banuve had two sons, Ratu Naulivou and Ratu Tanoa. Upon his death, the older son Ratu Banuve succeeded his father as Vunivalu and following Banuve’s death his younger brother, Ratu Tanoa succeeded to the Vunivalu title. Ratu Tanoa’s son Ratu Seru Cakobau then succeeded to the Vunivalu title. It is not clear the path the Vunivalu succession took after this however it does show that it originally followed a male seniority succession.
Records show that from Ratu Seru Cakobau (5th Vunivalu) to Ratu George Cakobau, (10th Vunivalu) holders that were never officially installed but were posthumously recognised as such.

The surviving brother method of succession is in effect the automatic default form of succession if there is no male heir. The Tongan constitution states this as the next level of succession if the king or noble does not have a direct heir. This was the case following the death of King Siaosi Tupou V in 2012. Because he had no official heir, his younger brother succeeded to the throne becoming King Tupou VI. A similar succession pattern was used in Fiji with the bestowal of the Roko Tui Dreketi paramount title of the Rewa province. When Lady Mara died in 2004, her title, the Roko Tui Dreketi passed on to her younger sister Ro Teimumu Kepa, despite Lady Mara having adult children at the time. It is not known exactly what the succession customs were but the moving of the title across siblings seems to depart from the regular practice of moving down through the children. Although Samoa does not have any official laws of succession, the practice of bestowing a title on a surviving brother has been used by many families. Although it is often considered, the decision is eventually determined through family consensus.

**Consensus**

This method is the most commonly applied one in Polynesia. It is often the most difficult one to achieve. Failure to do so can lead to other less pleasant methods of resolving succession issues. Other than Tonga, the other nations, Samoa, Fiji, Maori and Cook Islands base succession on a consensus by either all the family member of a chiefly title or by the agreement of special groups whose responsibility it is to appoint a successor. When Queen Tuheitia Paki succeeded as the 6th monarch following the death of her father King Koroki Mahuta, she continued a succession of primogeniture starting from the time when her great-great-great-great grandfather Potatau Te Wherowhero, was appointed the first Maori King. Since she was an only child, she succeeded her father. Although it seems succession was through primogeniture, in actual fact, it was done through a selection process. Upon the death of a Maori monarch, the decision of who succeeds is made by a council of chiefs from the country’s leading tribe. In theory, the throne of the monarchy can at any time go to any of the other tribes that support the movement however it just happens that it has remained with

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77 Personal communication with Sir Tumu Te Heuheu
the Te Wherowhero line of Tainui. When Queen Atairangi died in 2006, it was said that she favoured her eldest child, a daughter to succeed her. Regardless, the council of chiefs whose role it was to select her successor; chose her second child, her son Tuheitia as the next monarch. On the same day Queen Atairangi was buried, he was invested as the seventh Maori monarch, King Tuheitia Paki.

*The succession is a decision that is taken by the tribe. The incumbent will always have the opportunity to identify or express his thoughts about who that person might be...but in the final analysis, it's the tribe that makes the final decision. The tribe has maintained its tradition. Succession is something that you deal with at the time. There are some indications about it, but nothing really to say yes we think he should be or she should be (Te Heuheu)*

This was also the case with the Roko Tui Bau and Pa Ariki titles currently held by Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi and Pa Ariki Marie Peyroux respectively. Although both were the eldest children of their respective chiefly parents, their succession to the titles were never assured until the people who had the responsibility to determine it did so. Although as eldest children, it was assumed by many that their succession would be automatic, they both knew full well that it was not necessarily up to them to decide. They both expressed initial concerns about taking on the roles however after the support of their families, they continued to do so.

*The rangatira picks my successor. I could pick one of my children or my oldest child but they will have a say. During my life now, they are always saying to think of a successor. My son is always there with me, but he is second. My oldest is my daughter she is in Australia, but my son is always there working with the tribe. I watch and study my son and what he is doing (Pa Ariki)*

Some titles have been vacant for years before families have come to a consensus on a candidate. One such title is the *tama‘āiga* title of Samoa, Mata’afa. Two lines claim ownership to this title, the Fa’asauamale’aui line and the Silupevailei line (Tuimaleali'iifano, 2006:23). Records show that the first five holders belonged to the Fa’asauamale’aui line which included #3 title holder Mata’afa Iosefo who was the Ali‘i Sili during the German administration of 1900-1914. The first time the title crossed to the Silupevailei line was when it was held by the #6 holder, Mata’afa Mulinu’u I, the leader of the Mau movement after the death of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. This was done following a court case between the two
lines which was one by the Silupevailei line (Tuimaleali‘ifano, 2006:23). He was succeeded by his son Mata‘afa Mulinu‘u II who became Samoa’s first Prime Minister in 1962. When Mata‘afa Mulinu‘u II passed away in 1975, following another court case, the title went back to the original line to Mata‘afa Fa‘asamale‘aui Pu‘ela. When Mata‘afa Fa‘asamale‘aui Pu‘ela passed away in 1997, the title remained vacant for another 14 years until it was bestowed on Tupuola Lui Mata‘afa, a great-grandson of Mata‘afa Iosefo. The bestowal was allowed to take place following the agreement and support of the opposing line’s current head, Fiame Naomi Mata‘afa, so one could assume that given the Silupevailei’s line supporting the candidature of a person of the Fa‘asamale‘aui line, chances are the next candidate should come from their line.

Failing to come to a consensus have left some titles vacant for years, even decades. In Fiji, the Vunivalu title regarded as the highest ranking title of Fiji has been vacant since 1989 following the death of the last holder, Ratu Sir George Cakobau. To this day disagreements between the children of Sir George and their supporters continue over succession. In 1999, a battle that lasted for two years between Ratu Epeli Ganilau and Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu over the vacant Tui Cakau title took place. Both were sons of former holders and both claimed to be the rightful heir. In 2001 the courts awarded the title to Ratu Naiqama on the grounds that he was from the senior line (Suaalii-Sauni & Mateiviti-Tulavu, 2010).

In 2006 following the death of Malietoa Tanumafili II, the extended family began the difficult task of selecting a successor. Three lines claimed shared ownership over the title. Without the consent of the extended family, the late Malietoa’s son Papali‘i Moli had the Malietoa title bestowed upon him, following what some say was an illegal bestowal. Upon hearing of the bestowal, members of the other two lines quickly filed complaints to the land and titles court requesting an annulment of the bestowal. What came as a surprise was that Papali‘i Moli’s own nephew, Papali‘i Malietau also opposed the bestowal on the grounds that his late father (Papali‘i Moli’s brother) was older and that he also had claims to title (Tuimaleali‘ifano, 2009). The courts ruled in favour of the extended family and the title was stripped from Papali‘i Moli. Sibling rivalry still exists today.

Currently in the Cook Islands, there are a number of ariki titles that are vacant due to the inability of families to agree on successors. One such title is the Makea Nui Ariki title which has been vacant since 1994. After the death of the last holder, three descendants all had
When my dad died, he was lying at Waihi at the marae at the other end of the lake. During that time, some of the elders called a meeting. I wasn’t aware of the meeting and it was just that I overheard and saw people moving into the church at Waihi, and they were going there to discuss the succession for my dad. It’s not an automatic thing. It’s a decision that is taken by the tribe. I thought I should go to the meeting and hear what was being discussed. I got to the front door and an elderly kaumatua came to the door and ask me what I wanted. I said I wanted to come to the meeting and he said sorry this is not for you and closed the door. Well about half an hour later they came and said, you’re it (Te Heuheu).

I can remember Tumu and Te Ata coming onto the marae with a number of our people, but it was actually the people on the marae that stood up in unison and did the haka, a Tuwharetoa haka to bring him on and it was really extraordinary. It was the people acknowledging the decision and acknowledging Tumu as the successor from uncle Hepi (Colin).

Service

Succession through service is a predominantly Samoan notion. In Samoa, there is a popular saying, “O le ala i le pule o le tautua” – “The way to leadership is through service”. What this implies is that in order for one to achieve chiefly status, they must during the life time of the previous chief, have rendered service not only to him, but also to the entire family (Ngan-Woo, 1985:35). Samoa’s acceptance of the importance of tautua in selecting chiefly leaders can be linked back to stories from the ancient past.

One story is about a blind chief by the name of Fe’epō, an ancestor of the Malietoa. Now Fe’epō was a man well advanced in age. He had a son named Atiogie who served him with the upmost loyalty. As the story goes, Atiogie one day collected a bag of seven large yams for his father’s meals. Each day for the week, the father realised that the son had prepared a yam for him each day, not leaving any for himself. The father also knew of his son’s desire to participate in the chiefly combat sport of Aigofie, however he remained by his father’s side never expressing his desire to leave. Satisfied with his son’s loyalty, he urged him to go compete and with his father’s blessings he competed and won the tournament (Henry,

78 “Judge throws out appeals by Makea Nui Ariki claimants”, cookislandsnews.com, 11th February 2014
1979:20). The message that this story gives is that service coupled with the blessing of the chief will ensure that you succeed in becoming a successful leader.

*Given that the prime criterion is how you serve the Matai and the worth and value of that service, what about Nofotuavae? There’s a whole number of things that have to be taken into account. This was the critical thing in the tautua or service, Nofotuavae, meaning the fellow who is there, jai le suavai every day, who talks and relates to the chief and relates to the village etc. Well if he stays there and do the tautua then you’re not going to help yourself eventually because it’s unlikely that you’re going to set yourself up as a successful businessman with resources that you need in order to sustain the honour of the family in the current environment. In all these things they need thinking about and people don’t seem to have the time or the inclination to do the reflections, the meditation about some of these issues. I say this because you have a proliferation of titles which is sanctioned by the lands and titles court and government has said we need to have a look at it, it’s a bit worrying if we carry on the way we are…but then again you have to take into account also, that if the culture is going to live you have to bring in more people and allow them to participate in the family and the village setting, so that too is a valid contention. But it needs a lot of thinking (Tui Atua)*

**Achievement**

Sometimes the decision to bestow an important title on a candidate of a junior line over a candidate of a senior is done so to recognise an achievement of the junior line member. This was the case in the Tui Cakau paramount title of Fiji. The senior line of the title was to continue down the senior male line of the 4th Tui Cakau, Ratu Yavala after his death in 1845. This succession rule was followed until it came to selecting the 14th Tui Cakau. The late 13th Tui Cakau, Ratu Josefa Ratavo Lalabalavu passed away in 1988 and his likely successor was his son Ratu Glanville Wellington Lalabalavu. Ratu Glanville however objected to his assuming the role whilst his contemporary and distant cousin, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau was still alive.

Ratu Glanville saw that it is only right that the title be given to Ratu Penaia to show that the vanua of Cakaudrove is supporting him as the first President of Fiji. After consulting the chiefly clan, it was agreed that Ratu Penaia should be the next Tui Cakau, and he was formally installed in 1988. After the installation ceremony, he gathered the chiefly clan and said ‘*nai tutu e soli qo vei au me na kakua tale ni soli vei dua na noqu kawa mai muri, me na yaco ga vei au*’ (this chiefly title is not to be given to any of my descendants and it should end here with me). As a chief and a very knowledgeable person who has worked with the Fijian Affairs Board and the Native Lands Trust Board, he
knows that he comes from the ‘kawa ni gone’ (descendants of the youngest brother) and that it was the decision of the ‘kawa ni qase’ (descendants of the elder brother) and the chiefly clan that saw him get the title (Sualii-Sauni & Mateiviti-Tulavu, 2010:13).

When Ratu Penaia passed away in 1993, the title went back to the senior line and Ratu Glanville became the 15th Tui Cakau. When Ratu Glanville passed away in 1999, the Tui Cakau title was contested between his son, Ratu Naiqama Lalabalava and the son of the late Ratu Penaia, Ratu Epeli Ganilau, both sons of former Tui Cakau holders. It took two years for the matter to be resolved and the end the courts favoured with Ratu Glanville on the basis of descent from the senior line and the admission of Ratu Penaia that the title should not go to any of his descendants for he was aware that he was of the junior line. In 2001, Ratu Naiqama became the 16th and current Tui Cakau.

The same can be said about the Tu’ivakanō noble title in Tonga. The current Prime Minister of Tonga is the 16th holder of the title, Lord Tuivakanō Siale Kaho. The Tu’ivakanō title was one of twenty titles selected by King Tupou I in 1875 as a member of his newly formed House of Nobles. Although this Tuivakanō’s place in the nobility was secured, inheritance by the eldest son of the previous holder was not (Kaho, 1991:68). Between 1875 and 1924, the title was contested between the descendants of two brothers, Mafana the older, and Hafokame’e the younger. In 1889 the title was bestowed upon Manoa making him the 12th Tuivakanō and only fourth holder of the senior line of Mafana. Following his death in 1912, the title moved to Polutele Kaho, the 13th Tuivakanō and the seventh holder from the junior line. By Polutele’s time the Tuivakanō title had also taken advantage of education. Polutele was educated at Tonga College together with his four brothers. All five brothers were to hold important positions in Government in the early 20th century, hence with Polutele’s succession, the Tu’ivakanō title was linked to concept of poto or education/intelligence (ibid:69). Polutele became Premier of Tonga until 1923. The following three Tuivakanō holders all held positions in government with his grand-nephew, current Lord Tuivakanō Siale Kaho following in his footsteps and becoming Prime Minister of Tonga in 2011 following Tonga’s first ever democratic elections.
Land & Title Court

In recent times, failing to come to a consensus would lead other family lines to go ahead and bestow the title on their candidate resulting in the other line doing the same. This usually results in both parties going to courts to decide who owns the rights. Since the introduction of courts, they have been used in Tonga, Fiji, Cook Islands and Samoa to determine both chief titles and land ownership. What this has done is to take that authority away from the actual people who own both the land and titles. The Tui Cakau title (as discussed earlier) was eventually decided upon by a court decision. Similarly in Pa Ariki Marie’s case, she was challenged by a cousin to the rights to the Pa Ariki title. Again a court case in her favour confirmed her rights to the *ariki* title.

The courts however do not always confirm who has rights but rather who doesn’t have rights, or sole ownership. Following the death of Samoa’s late Head of State in 2009, Malietoa Tanumafili II, the family were bound by a court decision in 1939 that awarded the title to Tanumafili II that following his death, the decision to elect a new holder would be agreed upon by all three acknowledged lines of the title. Regardless of this the second son of the late Malietoa, Fa’amausili Moli and his supporters went ahead and held a bestowal ceremony giving him the Malietoa title. Following this, objections from members of the other two lines were sent to the land and titles courts asking for the bestowal to be made illegal. After a court hearing, it was found that Moli had acted unlawfully and that his Malietoa title was stripped and ordered that the family return to talks and adhere to the decision made in 1939 (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2009). Chances are, it will be many years or decades before the Sa Malietoa family agree on a successor.

*We had a court case and we lost. Which is fair, you lose these things and maybe Lealofi had a better case because he was older and I was younger, but it was quite traumatic and disruptive because then the three families that had been the bulwark, the mainstay of our tama’amiga status was changed to one. Sa Fenuinuivao, became the sole pule, and the other two were turfed out (Tui Atua)*
Summary

The first section of this chapter on sibling rivalry attempts to show the importance of paramount chiefly status. The fact that history has shown that brothers have gone to war against each other highlights how highly regarded chiefly titles and status are, not only in the past, but still very much today. Although the second section looked specifically at the many forms of succession, the important point to note here is that there has not been a fixed method of succession. The varying methods of succession could also illustrate the many different ways chiefly systems have managed to continue to exist. For example when war became redundant, potential chiefs had to think of other ways to manipulate the system so that they can assume chiefly positions. What is important to note here is that no single method of succession is sure. What tends to happen is that succession nowadays is determined by more than one method. It is rare that anyone can claim chiefly title simply based on one method alone. One’s claim can be strengthened if more than one of the methods can be applied to legitimize his or her case. In theory, the more methods one can use to claim a succession right, the better one’s chances are of succeeding.

The fluidity of successions parallels the fluidity of the chiefly system as a whole. As society changes, the methods that are most applicable also change. What was successful in the past may not be successful today. Similarly what was accepted in the past may not be accepted in today’s society, for example warfare. Similarly what works today may not work in the future. As long as methods of succession evolve, and new methods are developed, chiefly titles will continue to be bestowed and the chiefly systems will continue to exist. If succession methods fail to work, and as a result, chiefly titles remain vacant for long periods of time, this in itself could threaten the existence of chiefs and the chiefly systems as a whole.

The first method discussed is that of the ‘senior male line’. This method dates back to the times of the gods when male son’s inherited the powers of their godly fathers. As it has been discussed, a strictly male method of succession has its weaknesses. Firstly this rule would be deemed useless if there were only female heirs, and secondly, in the very common situation where the chief has had many unions, there is often a contest as to who of his many male heirs is the rightful ‘senior male’. The only way that this method has been upheld is to have it constituted as law. The Tongan monarchy has done this very well ever since Tupou I gained power over Tonga and the constitution of 1875 was made law. Although the constitution has
not really affected the succession of the Tupou line of monarchs, the same cannot be said for the nobility. Despite there being a set law of succession, there are always on-going quarrels by noble families over vacant noble titles. The other difficulty about this method of succession is in opposing families agreeing as to which generation the senior male starts. Such problems arise when female descendant of a senior male claim rights over a male claimant of a junior male line. The senior male line argument seems to be more successful in Tonga than it is in Samoa, Fiji, Cook Islands and Aotearoa.

Warfare on the other hand has been proven to be the most successful method of succession. The only problem is that Polynesia being a predominantly Christian region no longer engages in warfare. In actual fact, the disappearance of warfare has somewhat resulted in the creation of many other methods of succession. Although there are no longer any wars in the Pacific, conflict is still very much alive in this day and age, especially when it comes to the matter of title succession. Regardless of the adoption of new and non-violent methods of succession, to be victorious still involves an element of ‘fighting’, albeit in the exchange of words and beliefs. In the end, the party that has persisted and has succeeded, will always be the victors and the defeated will always be the losers, and although no blood has been shed in the process, the loss by the family can still be likened to a defeat in war.

As time progresses, the heirs to a single title multiply in large numbers. One of the more recent methods of succession used to appease all heirs was to either split the title or create new ones. As history has shown, both of these methods have had negative effects on the *mana* and power of chiefly titles. We can compare a chiefly title to a whole cake. If you split the cake in two, you only get to eat half of it. The same has happened with titles after becoming split to satisfy the ever increasing number of heirs. When there was only one title, the one person who held it received all the *mana*, power, authority, respect, land that is associated with the title. Once a title is split, so does everything associated with it. Therefore holders of split titles will only receive a portion of the *mana* and authority associated with the title, for the other portions have been given to other members who have the other split of the title. What this results in is a decreased *mana* and power for a title that once was regarded with the highest of respect. This has often been practiced in Samoa.

The impact of creating new titles can also be explained using the cake example. Let’s say that a chiefly title can be represented by a whole banana cake. Now if someone currently owns the
banana cake, rather than asking for a piece of the banana cake you can opt to make your own cake. Instead of making another banana cake, you make yourself a chocolate cake. Although family members still enjoy banana cake, overtime they become more and more interested in the new chocolate flavoured cake you created. At some point everyone would have completely turned off banana cake, and now totally in love with your chocolate cake. The same has happened with chiefly titles. The best example of this can be seen in the creation of the Tu’i Ha’atakaalaua and the Tu’i Kanokupolu titles of Tonga. The creation of these two titles gradually took away the power and the mana that was once the sole possession of the Tu’i Tonga. So as good as it may seem the splitting of titles and creation of new ones has in some way solved the succession issue of multiple heirs, however in the long run, it has come at a cost where the once mighty chiefly titles have either lost its mana or have been lost completely.

The ‘dying wish’ of a chief as to who succeeds him or her is a method of succession which has mainly been practiced by the Samoans. It is used to some extent in the Cook Islands and Aotearoa. Its premise lies in the fact that the chiefs themselves have had time to watch someone grow and observe how they are in dealing with family members and matters. When the chief knows that their end is near, they have confidence in appointing their successor after years of service by the chosen candidate. Although the theory seems sound, the reality is that it is a method that is rarely observed today. Today there is a belief that an entire family collectively owns a chiefly title and not one individual, therefore the decision as to who succeeds is a decision made collectively. What this could mean is that the candidate who the dying chief nominates may not necessarily be the one the collective family agrees upon. In some cases, the family are split supporting a number of different candidates. Regardless of one or many candidates, what is common throughout the different island groups is that the decision is usually unanimous, and has been brought about through the family arriving at a single consensus. There is no ‘majority wins’ criteria. It is all [support] or nothing.

The collective agreement by the family is always the best method of succession however the issue with a collective agreement is that it doesn’t happen quickly. Often it takes long periods of times for families to collectively agree on a successor to a title. Discussions may take days, weeks, months and even years before all members agree on a single candidate. Such paramount titles which have remain vacant for years due to family differences are Vunivalu (Fiji), Makea Nui Ariki (Cook Islands), Malietoa (Samoa).
While the chiefly title remains vacant, the families discuss and debate the suitability of their various candidates. The candidates are measured on their service to the family and their personal achievements. In most cases, their eligibility is not in question as they are both heirs through different lines of the same extended family. The process can be further lengthened due to families debating the issues of important characteristics such as ‘service’. This is where family members can either totally agree, or totally disagree. Going back to the example of the dying wish of a chief, a chief could base his wish on observing a young man who had stayed in the village for many years, working the family plantation, and providing food for his chief and family every day. Add to this the man’s ability to perform cultural responsibilities like being the chief’s orator as well as organising food for ceremonies and celebrations. To the old chief, the young man has rendered great service. On the other hand, the other members put forward a candidate who had left the village at a young age, gone abroad, become educated and gained a good job. That young man has then sent money back to the village regularly to support the chief and the family. Although he lacks the cultural knowledge of his family member who resided in the village, the extended family feels he has rendered enough service to the chief to warrant his becoming the next chief of the family. It is cases such as this that delays the naming of a successor for many years.

In the event that a family cannot agree on a single candidate, what has now happened is that the matter is taken before a lands and titles court. Such courts exist in Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and the Cook Islands. These courts were set up by foreign colonisers initially to sort out land ownership issues between the indigenous people of the land and foreign settlers. Over the years the courts have become a means for settling land and title issues between islanders themselves. The irony of such a court system is that it goes against all that the Polynesians believe in when it comes to issues of succession and ownership. Firstly it results in a decision being made by a group of judges who have no traditional rights to the lands and titles being fought over and secondly the judgements made result in there being a winning side and a losing side, which again totally goes against the principles of consensus. In some cases, the decision is completely ignored by the losing party on the grounds that the courts don’t have the right to make such decisions, which then result in the matter going round and round in circles.

What this chapter has revealed is that the issue of succession in this day and age is an unstable one. There are no definitive rules and instructions on how a succession should take
place. There are many rules and each case is different because each case presents its own complexities. What may have worked previously may not work again. In some instances, it may take for a candidate to successfully satisfy more than one criterion before they are seen as fit to assuming the title. What this chapter has highlighted though is that the power of succession has been taken away from the chiefly individual himself. Gone are the days when an individual can name his or her successor. That power is now truly vested collectively in the hands of the extended family. It also further illustrates that the power and authority of a chief is not merely his alone, but rather that of him/herself and his/her family combined. As time has progressed, succession has evolved from being an individual process, to one that is collective. The chief in turn has transformed from a person who holds the authority and power for himself alone, to a person who holds the authority and power on behalf of his whole family.
PART 4: IDENTITIES
CHAPTER 8
Chiefly Profiles

The purpose of this chapter is to give biographies of the five paramount chiefs that were interviewed for this research. The first part of this chapter gives a brief account of each of the Chiefs’ lives, followed by a brief history and genealogy of the paramount title(s) they hold. In the second part of this chapter, brief histories of other notable chiefly titles from each of the case study islands will also be given.

Part I: Chiefly Biographies

1. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Taisi (1986 – present) - Efi

Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi is the current Head of State of the Independent State of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) and is married to Her Highness Masiofo Filifilia Tamasese. He was born Olaf (or Efi) in Apia 1938. His father was the late Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole was Samoa’s first joint Head of State (Ao o le Malo) with the late Malietoa Tanumafili II and his mother was Noue Irene Nelson. His maternal grandfather was Olaf Nelson, a wealthy businessman who was the leader of the Mau movement of the 1920s, the Samoan nationalist movement that challenged the New Zealand colonial regime.

A young Efi started schooling at the Marist Brothers School in Mulivai, Apia. He then went onto further education in New Zealand, attending St Patrick’s College, Silverstream from 1955 to 1957 before going onto Victoria University in Wellington to study law (Taburton, 1996: 91). In 1963 Efi had to abandon his university studies and return to Samoa to take up family duties following his father’s sudden death.

In 1965, Efi followed in the footsteps of his father and entered politics. He ran under the title Tufuga (from Asau) in the Vaisigano #1 constituency and was elected as a member of the
legislative assembly of Samoa (ibid). At the time, he became the youngest ever Samoan Member of Parliament. In 1970, Efi re-entered government under a new title Tupuola (from Leulumoega) representing the A’ana Alofi #2 constituency. He served under his first cousin, Prime Minister Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV and was given the Public Works and Civil Aviation portfolios (Meleisea, 1987a: 191).

In the elections of 1976, Tupuola Efi challenged his cousin Tupua Tamasese Lealofi IV for the Prime Ministership and won by a landslide. His defeated cousin gracefully bowed out of politics and became a member of the Council of Deputies. In doing so, Tupuola Efi became the first person to become Prime Minister without holding a tama’āiga title (Tuimaleali'ifano, 2006:29). He held this office until 1982.

In 1986, Efi was bestowed the tama’āiga title Tupua Tamasese following the death of his cousin Lealofi IV (ibid). Shortly after receiving the Tupua Tamasese title, he was also bestowed with the Tui Atua (Lord of Atua) title. He returned to government unopposed under his new tama’āiga status representing the Anoama’a Sasa’e constituency and served one more term from 1988 to 1990. He left politics in 1991 and has since devoted much of his time and energy to scholarly investigation of Samoan tradition, history and culture.

Following the death of his Highness Malietoa Tanumafili II, Tupua Tamasese Efi was elected Head of State on 16 June 2007. His was the only nomination put forth in parliament and thus the decision was unanimous. As Head of State, and even before, Tupua Tamasese has been a sought after speaker at various conferences, universities, government and public occasions. He has written numerous papers and speeches for journals and publications as well as writing four books. He has served as an adjunct professor for Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi and later served as an Associate Member of the Matahauariki Institute at Waikato. He has been a resident scholar at the Pacific Studies Centre at the Australian National University in Canberra and the Macmillan Brown Centre at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand. As Head of State, he is also the Pro Chancellor for the National University of Samoa. He is also patron of a number of organisations.

Other than holding the Tui Atua, Tupua Tamasese, Tufuga and Tupuola titles, Efi also holds the Ta’isi title from Asau, the same title once held by his famous grandfather, Ta’isi Olaf Nelson.
The Tuia Atua & Tupua Tamasese titles

The Tui Atua title is much older than the Tupua Tamasese title and it dates back to ancient times, well before the arrival of first Europeans to Samoa. The Tui Atua title is one of four titles that makes up the four sacrosanct titles of Samoa known as the ‘pāpā’ titles79. They date back to before the time of Salamasina during the 15th century (Meleisea, 1987a:32). Kramer on the other hand claims that the Tui Atua (king of Atua) title dates back to well before 1200 A.D (1994a:12). Tuimaleali’ifano dates the pāpā to before the time of Tongan dominance in the 10th century (2006:19). Regardless of which of the dates is correct, the fact is it’s origin goes back centuries. When all four pāpā title are held in the possession of one person, they are deemed ‘Tafa’ifā’ or supreme ruler of Samoa, a position likened to that of king or queen. Although many have disagreed as to how many have achieved Tafa’ifā status, one thing that most do agree on is who was the first and last. The honour of being the first went to Salamasina who was believed to have held it some time in the 15th century. The last recognised was Malietoa Vainu’upo who achieved the feat in 1829 (Meleisea, 1987a:74). After his death, the four pāpā, including the Tui Atua became scattered again. Aquirng such titles and status often resulted in war and bloodshed with the victor enjoying the rewards of pāpā and Tafa’ifā status. Although the Tui Atua and the pāpā are no longer the spoils of war in modern day society, they are still highly valued and there is still some significant rivalry over them (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006:36). As Tui Atua, Tupua Tamasese Efi is currently the only holder of a pāpā title. The other three are currently vacant and due to ongoing disagreements between heirs for a successor. In a 1987 a historic land and titles courtcase awarded Lufilufi the outright authority to confer the title of Tui Atua.

As mentioned before the Tupua Tamasese title is a rather recent title compared to the Tui Atua title. Today along with the titles Malietoa, Mata’aafa and Tuimaleali’ifano, they are accorded tama’aiga (sons of families) status, making them the four most paramount chiefly titles at present. According to Tuimaleali’ifano, these four titles took on the new tama’aiga status sometime between 1820 and 1900 (ibid:19). Despite the new tama’aiga status, each of the four titles descend from one of either two of the paramount chiefly families, Sa Tupuā and Sa Malietoā, which in turn have links to the pāpā and Tafa’ifā.

79 The other three pāpā titles are Tui A’ana, Vaetamsoali’i and Gatoa’itele.
The actual title of Tupua Tamasese is a combination of two separate titles. The Tupua title is believed to have been derived from the name of one of Tupua Tamasese Efi’s direct kingly ancestors, Tupua Fuiavailili. The Tamasese is from the village of Vaimoso in Apia. The actual title of ‘Tupua Tamasese’ originates from Efi’s great great grandfather, Tupua Tamasese Titimaea, and has remained this way up to the present day (ibid:27). From personal communications with Tupua Tamasese Efi, the status of *tama’āiga* is only retained with both titles together, and not when used separately. Ever since the formation of the title, its holders have featured often in the history of Samoan politics. Other notable Tupua Tamasese title holders are:

(1) *Tamasese Titimaea (1830-1891)* – a direct descendant of Queen Salamasina. He was proclaimed King by his supporters to alternate with Mata’afa Iosefo every two years. A treaty signed in the same year onboard the US navy ship *Lackawanna* brought the two parties together in a new compromise declaring the older Malietoa Laupepa king and the younger Tupua Tamasese to be deputy king (Meleisea, 1987a:90).

(2) *Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I (c1860-1915)* – son of Tupua Tamasese Titimaea. In 1900 he was appointed to be a member of the Samoa advisory council and was given the title of Ta’imua along with the other *Tama’aiga* who were appointed. In 1913 he was sworn as a Fautua (adviser) to the administrations along with Malietoa Tanumafili I (Lal & Fortune, 2000:88).

(3) *Tupua Tamasese Lealofi II (c1890-1915)* – elder son of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I. He did not live long after inheriting the title from his father.

(4) *Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III (1901-1929)* – younger son of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I. Inherited the Tupua Tamasese from his older brother at the age of 14. He became the main leader for the Mau movement of the 1920s. He died in a march in 1929 to welcome back some exiled Mau supporters (Meleisea, 1987a:137).

(5) *Tupua Tamasese Mea’ole (c1903-1963)* - youngest son of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I. He was appointed as a Fautua in 1938 and in 1948 became a member of the Council of State. Played an instrumental role in moving Samoa towards independence. In 1962, he became joint Head of State of the Independent State of Western Samoa (Lal & Fortune, 2000:90)

(6) *Tupua Tamasese Lalofi IV (1922-1983)* – eldest son of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. He was a qualified doctor having trained at Suva Medical School (Tuimaleali‘ifano, 2006:27). He held one term as Prime Minister from 1970-1972. After retiring from politics, he became a member of the Council of Deputies.
2. Tu’ivakanō (1986 – present) - Siale’ataongo Kaho

Lord Tu’ivakanō Siale’ataongo Kaho is the current Prime Minister of the Royal Kingdom of Tonga. He is married to Joyce Robyn (nee Sanft) and they have five children. Born in 1952, he is the eldest son of Tu’ivakanō Siaosi Kiu Ngalumoetutulu and Fatafehi-o-Lapaha. His paternal grandfather, Tu’ivakano Siosiua Niutupuivaha Kaho was a former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Chief Justice.

Siale’ataongo (Siale) started his education at Tonga Side School and then went on to Tonga High School. Following his early education in Tonga, he moved to New Zealand where he firstly attended Three Kings School before going onto Wesley College. After secondary school Siale attended the Ardmore Teacher’s College from 1972 to 1974 and graduated with a diploma in teaching.

After gaining his teaching diploma, he returned to Tonga and took up a teaching position at his old school Tonga High in 1975. In 1980 after returning from a 3 month training course in Youth Development in Malaysia and Singapore, he was promoted to the position of Education Officer supervising the youth, sports and culture division within the Ministry of Education. While in this position, he was involved in the writing up of a Health Syllabus and Physical Education Manual for Primary Schools and Teachers Training College. Following the death of his father in 1986, Siale’ataongo succeeded his father and was bestowed the noble title of Tu’ivakanō. In 1988 Tu’ivakanō Siale left for Adelaide to pursue further study at the Flinders University of South Australia. It was here that he graduated from in 1991 with a Bachelor of Honours degree in Political Science. Upon his return to Tonga he was promoted to a Senior Education Officer. Also during this time, he held a number of leadership positions in various sporting organisations within Tonga.

In 1996 Tu’ivakanō decided on a career change and entered politics following in the footsteps of his grandfather. He was elected as a noble representative for the island of Tongatapu. He was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in 2002, once again following in the footsteps of his grandfather. While Speaker, Tu’ivakanō brought about many reforms to the
Legislative Assembly. In 2006 he was appointed to Cabinet as Minister for Works and later also held the portfolios of Minister for Training, Employment, Youth & Sport.

In 2010, Lord Tu’ivakanā was re-elected as a noble representative for Tongatapu. He was then elected Prime Minister following constitutional reforms allowing for the first time in Tonga’s history, the election of a Prime Minister rather than having one appointed by the king. In doing so, he became Tonga’s first elected Prime Minister as well as following in the footsteps of his grandfather’s older brother, Tu’ivakanō Polutele Kaho who had also been a Prime Minister from 1912 to 1922.

The Tu’ivakanō title
According to genealogy, the original Tu’ivakanō was a son of the 3rd Tu’i Kanokupolu, Tu’i Kanokupolu Mataeletu’apiko who reigned sometime from the early to mid-17th century. This Tu’ivakano was then adopted out to a Fijian chief by the name of Tu’isoso who came and brought a large double canoe as a gift for Mataeletu’apiko during his installation as Tu’i Kanokupolu (Kirch, 1991:64). Tu’isoso is said to have come from the village of Nukunuku in Lakeba, Lau and its believed that the current village of Nukunuku in which the title resides was named after the Fijian village (ibid). Current holder and Prime Minister of Tonga, Lord Tu’ivakanō Siale Kaho believes that the name could have also originated from Fiji as there is also a village in Lau called Vakanō, and the literal meaning of Tu’ivakanō is ‘king of the borrowed boat’ (from personal communications). The Tu’ivakanō line belongs to the Ha’a Havea clan, a strong and powerful clan that had once been the main opposition to Taufa’ahau Tupou I’s quest for Tongan domination. In 1837 Tu’ivakanō Viliami Vaemomatele was stripped of the title by his Nukunuku kin for embracing Christianity. He then aligned himself with traditional rival, Taufa’ahau Tupou I and regained his title back in the process becoming the 8th and 10th Tu’ivakanō (ibid:67). This alliance was maintained and in 1875, the Tu’ivakanō was appointed as one of twenty new noble titles in the newly created constitution. The Tu’ivakanō title originally had two villages under its leadership and guidance, Nukunuku and Vaotu’u. Later when Tevita Polutele Kaho became the 13th holder of the title, two more villages were added to his authority, Matafonua and Matahau. Other notable holders of the Tu’ivakanō title holders are;

(1) Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko He was the 3rd Tui Kanokupolu and the grandson of first Tui Kankupolu, Ngata. It is alleged that he went into union with as many as ten
women and fathered twelve sons and three daughters from these unions. His sixth son was named Tuivakanō. This was the original Tuivakanō.

(2) *Tu‘ivakanō Viliami Vaemomatele (?-1871) – 8th & 10th Tu‘ivakanō.* In 1865 he became a member of Tupou I’s Council of Chiefs (the original Parliament).

(3) *Tuivakanō Manuotu’a (c1830-1888) – 11th Tu‘ivakanō.* Son of Tu‘ivakanō Viliami. He followed in his father’s footsteps and became a member of the King’s Council of Chiefs. Manuotu’a was the holder of the title when it was selected by King George as one of 20 new nobles in the 1875 constitution.

(4) *Tu‘ivakanō Tevita Polutele Kaho (1869-1923) – 13th Tu‘ivakanō.* Grandson of Tu‘ivakanō Viliami. He was appointed Minister for Police in 1904. He was regarded by many as an adversary of King Tupou II. In 1912, the king was advised by his lawyer to appoint Polutele as Premier because it was better to have him as an ally rather than an enemy (R. Firth, 1970:132). He became the 7th Premier of Tonga.

(5) *Tu‘ivakanō Siosiu Kaho (1873-1959) – 14th Tu‘ivakanō.* Younger brother of Tu‘ivakanō Tevita Polutele. He was a Speaker of the House (1941, 1946-1948, 1950) and Minister of Police (1919-1939). He was also a court judge.

(6) *Tu‘ivakanō Siaosi Kiu Tau-i-vailahi (?-1986) – 15th Tu‘ivakanō.* Eldest son of Tu‘ivakanō Siosiua. He was an outstanding composer. He composed a love song for Princess Salote. He wrote the words but was looking for a melody. Story tells of how he was walking along the road one day when he heard a captivating tune coming from an organ. He entered a church and found two elderly women at a keyboard playing a hymn. With some adaptation the melody became Tungi’s song for Salote (Shore, 1989:62). This would become the same melody that was later used in Fiji for the famous farewell song *Isa Lei.* He is the father of current Tu‘ivakanō, Tu‘ivakanō Siale.
3. Pa Ariki (1990 – present) – Tepaeru Teariki Upokotini Marie Peyroux

Pa Ariki Tepaeru Teariki Upoko-tini Marie Peyroux is the current paramount chief of the Takitimu province on the island of Rarotonga, Cook Islands. She was born in 1947 at the village of Ngati Tangi’ia, the main centre of the Takitimu province. She is the eldest child of Pa Ariki Tapaeru Terito and Dominique Peyroux, a Frenchman from the island of Mangaia. She succeeded to the Pa Ariki title following the death of her mother in 1990. She is the 48th Pa Ariki. After the death of her father, her mother remarried Sir Tom Davis, a former Prime Minister of the Cook Islands. In 1968 she married the son of another Rarotongan ariki, Tinomana Napa Tauerei Ariki, paramount chief of Puaikura from 1978 to 1991. They have four children: Noeline, Samuela, Salamasina and Napa (Tangaroa, 2011:21).

Pa Ariki is a current member of the Cook Islands House of Ariki and was its President from 1992 to 2002. From 2002 to 2008, she live in New Zealand as Cook Islands consul to New Zealand. In 1993, she accompanied her stepfather Sir Tom Davis on sailing expeditions to Samoa and Tahiti on board the traditional Rarotongan voyaging vaka, Takitimu Teauotonga. She shared a love for traditional voyaging with Sir Tom who taught her a lot about traditional voyaging. As an ariki, she has been a strong advocate for sports, health and an active member in the community for non-government organisations. She is a former patron of CIANGO and the Cook Islands Netball Association. She was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 2003. Her proudest achievement to date was the opening of her new palace in 2011 as it was a dream of her mother’s that she did not achieve in her lifetime. The palace is used as a community centre for her people which also houses a health centre for her village.

The Pa Ariki Title

The Pa Ariki title of Takitimu, Rarotonga was formally established by the legendary navigator Tangi’ia, who was said to have settled on Rarotonga around 1250AD (Tangaroa, 2011). Tangi’ia was descended from an aristocratic line of chiefs from Tahiti. He is accredited for establishing the traditional ariki system that is used in Rarotonga today (ibid).
The full name of the Pa titles is Pa-te-ariki-upoko-tini which means, ‘the chief of many people’. According to tradition, the adopted son of Tangi’ia, Tai-te-ariki was the first to be invested with the Pa Ariki title. Tai-te-ariki was actually the real son of Iro-nui-ma-oata from Vavau Borabora. Stories differ on what relationship Tangi’ia had with Iro, the common being they were first cousins. Other sources portray them as allies.

The investiture of Tai-te-ariki was said to have taken place at Pukuru-Va’a-Nui in the district of Takitimu, and completed on the marae ‘Arai-te-Tonga’ located in the village of Tiupapa (ibid). Today Pa Ariki Marie is the 48th Pa Ariki. Notable holders of the Pa Ariki title have been:

1. *Pa Ariki Tai-te-Ariki* (c. 1300) - He was the first ever holder of the Pa Ariki title.

2. *Pa Ariki Te-pou-ariki* (1823-1855) – 43rd Pa Ariki. Son of Pa Ariki Tapu-tapu-atea. He was a First of the Pa Ariki chiefs to accept Christianity.

3. *Pa Ariki Upoko Mary* (1855-1890) - 44th Pa Ariki. She was the daughter of Pa Ariki Te-pou-ariki. She was the first ever woman to hold the Pa Ariki title. She was also the second woman ever to hold an *ariki* title in all of the Cook Islands.

4. *Pa Ariki Maretu* (1848-1906) – 45th Pa Ariki. He was the adopted son of Pa Ariki Mary. He was a member of the Federal Council of the Cook Islands and of the Rarotonga Council. He was also a native judge of the High Court and of the Land Titles Court, and took a great interest in the government of the islands.

5. *Pa Ariki Tetianui* (1907-1923) – 46th Pa Ariki. She was the adopted daughter of Pa Ariki Upoko Mary. She was only the second female holder of the Pa Ariki title. She was married to an *ariki*, Makea Vakatini Daniela.

6. *Pa Ariki Tapaeru Terito* (1943-1990) – 48th Pa Ariki. She succeeded her mother as Pa Ariki. In her first marriage she had 3 sons and 6 daughters. After she divorced her husband, she married Sir Tom Davis in 1979, the Premier of the Cook Islands, but refused to act as "first lady". She was President of the House of Ariki 1980-90 and openly criticized his political decisions. She was a prominent member of the Baha’i Faith. She was succeeded by her oldest daughter, Marie Peyroux.

Roko Tui Bau Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi is a former Vice President of the Republic of Fiji and is married to Adi Lusi Tuivanuavou. Born in 1957, he is the eldest son of Roko Tui Bau Ratu Antonio Rabici Doviverata, a medical doctor, and Adi Losalini Raravuya Uluiviti, who was one of the first women in Fiji to become a member of the Legislative Council and subsequently a Member of Parliament.

Ratu Joni started his schooling at Levuka Public School before going on to Suva Grammar School. He then spent two years at the University of South Pacific before attending the University of Adelaide where he completed a law degree. He later went on to McGill University where he achieved a Master’s degree in law. After his studies, Joni followed the footsteps of some famous relatives and went into the public service. From 1983 to 1991, he worked for the Attorney-General. In 1995 Ratu Joni was installed as the Roko Tui Bau of Bau and the Kubuna Confederacy, a title ranked second only to the Vunivalu of Bau. In 1997, he was appointed as a judge of the High Court, and held this position until 2000, after which he went back into private practice. His other roles have included time as a director of the Fiji Times Ltd and as a trustee of the Fijian Trust Fund. He is a human rights commissioner and a former chairman of the Citizens Constitutional Forum, a pro-democracy and human rights organisation.

In 2004, he was asked by then President Ratu Josefa Iloilo to assume the role of Vice-President left vacant by his disgraced predecessor Ratu Jope Seniloli. On December the 15th of that same year, he was officially installed as the Vice-President of Fiji to complete the unexpired term of his predecessor. Given that at that point President Iloilo was of ailing health, Ratu Joni found himself regularly deputising for President Iloilo at various official engagements. After almost two years in the role, Ratu Joni was dismissed from office on 5th December 2006 during the military coup lead by Military Commander, Commodore Frank Bainimarama.
After removal from office, Ratu Joni returned briefly to private practice before taking up a position in the Solomon Islands’ Truth and Reconciliation Commission residing over hearings from the Solomon Islands’ civil riots of 2000. He is currently still in the Solomon Islands in this capacity. Ratu Joni has written and spoken on a number of issues. These issues have included topics such as politics, human rights, relationship between church and state, views on the chiefly system, views on homosexuality to name a few. He is a sought after public speaker.

On a visit to Samoa in 2009, Ratu Joni was bestowed with the orator title of Sulu’ape from the village of Falese’ela in Lefaga. This bestowal marked a reconnection between the two families as their shared genealogy went back to a set of Fijian brothers marrying a set of Samoan sisters belonging to the Sulu’ape family. In early 2011 Ratu Joni was bestowed with yet another title, this time from Tonga. He was made a Tongan Law Lord by His Majesty King Siaosi Tupou V and by virtue of his role, he advises the Tongan king on legal issues. He received the title Lord Tangatatonga, giving him chiefly status in three separate island states.

The Roko Tui Bau title

The Roko Tui Bau title is from the island of Bau in the Kubuna Confederacy. Originally the Roko Tui Bau was the senior and sacred chief of Bau, and the Vunivalu was the executive, or chief of the profane (Earle, 1997:40). It was around about the middle of the eighteenth century that the Vunivalu of Bau began to dominate Bauan politics, and eventually take over the Roko Tui Bau as the more powerful of the two chiefs (Allen, 2000:96). Also around this time, the political power of Bau became so great that it was from this point that the Vunivalu became recognised as the most powerful chief over all Fiji, and Bau became the seat of Fijian power. Overtime members from each of the two chiefly lines intermarried and now most people who are descendants of the Roko Tui Bau can claim decent through the Vunivalu as well (see below). Although the Roko Tui Bau has over time been relegated to a somewhat secondary position to that of the Vunivalu in Bau, the Vunivalu title itself has not been held since 1989, effectively making the Roko Tui Bau the highest active chief in Bau and therefore in the Kubuna Confederacy at present. According to Ratu Joni, the Roko Tui Bau validates the Vunivalu and is actually responsible for the actual bestowal of the Vunivalu
(from personal communication). Notable ancestors/relatives of Roko Tui Bau Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi are;

(1) **Roko Tui Bau Vuetiverata** – 1st Roko Tui Bau.

(2) **Roko Tui Bau Lele** – 5th Roko Tui Bau. He lived during mid-18th century. First Roko Tui Bau to reoccupy the island Ulunivuaka, which he later renamed Bau in 1760.

(3) **Roko Tui Bau Raiwalui** – 6th Roko Tui Bau. He started a period of warfare within Bau and took the warfare beyond Bau into the wider Kubuna confederacy. It was he that also started the decline of the power of the Roko Tui Bau on Bau and Fiji. He was a contemporary and adversary of 3rd Vunivalu, Ratu Naulivou. He was killed by Naulivou in 1808.

(4) **Vunivalu Banuve (1770-1803)** – 2nd Vunivalu. He is a great-great-great-grandfather of Ratu Joni. Banuve has been credited for the first of his line to start asserting the power of his people and his line over all of Fiji (ibid).

(5) **Vunivalu Seru Epenisa Cakobau (1815-1883)** – 6th Vunivalu. Grandson of Vunivale Banuve (see above). He united Fiji under his leadership. He was responsible for ceding Fiji to Great Britain in 1874. He is a great-great-grandfather of Ratu Joni

(6) **Ratu Kamisese Mara Kapaiwai (c1815 – 1859)** – Grandson of Vunivale Banuve and cousin of Ratu Seru Epenisa Cakobau (see above). He was a well-known warrior, rebel and seafarer. Returning from one of his journey to Tonga, he brought Henele Ma’afu to Lakeba from Fiji in 1847 (Allen, 2000:106). He was seen as a threat to his cousin’s authority in Bau and was eventually caught and hanged. He is a great-grandfather of Ratu Joni.

(7) **Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi (1859-1920)** – Son of Ratu Kamisese Mara Kapaiwai. He worked as a government official in the Audit Office and later as a Governor’s Commissioner in the province of Ra. He was formally bestowed as the Roko Tui Ra in 1889. As a government official he was careful of his people’s welfare and they applauded him (R. Firth, 1965:7). In 1912 he was also bestowed the Roko Tui Tailevu chiefly title.

(8) **Ratu Josefa Lalabalavu Vana’ali’ali Sukuna (1888-1958)** – Eldest son of Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi. He was war hero, a scholar and a statesman. He graduated with a BA and LLB from London in 1921 becoming the first ever Fijian to receive a university degree. He mentored several men who would later hold leadership roles in Fiji. They were Ratu Kamisese Mara, Ratu Edward Cakobau, Ratu George Cakobau and Ratu Penaia Ganilau. In 1938, he was bestowed the chiefly title of Tui Lau.

(9) **Roko Tui Bau Ratu Jone Atonio Rabici Doviverata,**- Younger son of Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi. He became a qualified medical doctor. He is the father of Roko Tui Bau Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi.
4. Te Heuheu Tukino VIII (1997 – present) – Sir Tumu

Sir Tumu Te Heuheu Tukino VIII is the current Ariki Nui, paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa. He is married to Susan Elizabeth (nee Simmons) and they have two children. Tumu is the eldest son and successor of the late paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, Sir Hepi Te Heuheu Tukino VII and Hinepoto.

He and his siblings were born in Taumarunui. They lived at Waihi and in those days, Taumarunui was the nearest community, before the Taupo Township was developed. He grew up in a time when the milling of trees began and most of the Tuwharetoa people were involved in that business right around the lake. Little did he know that forestry and agriculture would play a large part in his life. Tumu was sent away to Wellington for his schooling. In the 1950s he was educated at St Patrick’s College Silverstream, the same college that Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi attended at around the same time.

After his education, he returned to Taumarunui to work on the family farm as well as to help direct the development of Ngati Tuwharetoa’s land incorporation and economic enterprises. At this time Tumu also got involved with of their Taumarunui Trusts, managing the office and looking after things on behalf of the committee and the owners. This would become lifelong commitment for Tumu.

Tumu has consistently pursued interests in conservation, cultural heritage and education within and beyond Ngati Tuwharetoa. From its inception in 1991 he chaired Ngā Whenua Rāhui, a government funded programme to assist the conservation of natural resources on Maori-owned land. After his efforts to get Tongariro National Park inscribed in the World Heritage list in 1990, he led a successful bid for further recognition as of its spiritual and cultural values in 1993, making it one of only handful of sights to have dual listing. His work in conservation and heritage led to his election to a seat on the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in Paris representing New Zealand, Australia and the Pacific in 2004. This was followed up with his election as the Chairman of the World Heritage Committee at the 30th session in Lithuania 2006 and the following year, he chaired the 31st session held in Christchurch.
His commitment and dedication to conservation was recognised in 2005 in the New Year’s Honours when he was made a Distinguished Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit. More recognition followed in 2007 when he was conferred with an Honorary Doctor of Literature from Massey University also for his contribution to conservation both nationally and internationally, as well as for his role in developing educational pathways for Maori.

In 1996, Tumu became a member of the Waitangi National Trust Board, succeeding the late Maori Queen Dame Te Atairangikaahu. On the board, he represented Maori iwi and hapu living in the North Island, south of Auckland. This was known as the Central North Island (CNI) collective. The following year his father Sir Hepi passed away, and Tumu not only inherited the Paramount Chief role, but also the Chairmanship of the Tuwharetoa Trust Board.

Other than his work in conservation and heritage, Sir Tumu also dedicates much of his time to helping iwi with treaty claims. He has led many bilateral negotiations with the Crown on many treaty issues and was instrumental in the formation of the Central North Island Collective of six iwi for the purpose of settling treaty claims. In 2009, the Listener listed him as the number one most powerful and influential New Zealander in Maoridom.

**The Te Heuheu Tukino title**

The Te Heuheu title is the ariki or paramount chief of the Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi/tribe. The Te Heuheu line trace their lineage to Ngātoroirangi, a powerful high priest who arrived in New Zealand on the canoe known as Te Arawa (Petersen, 2009:16). Ngati Tuwharetoa takes its name from a powerful chief who lived near present-day Kawerau during the 16th century. Tuwharetoa is a son of Mawaketaupo, an eighth generation descendant of Ngātoroirangi.

The name Te Heuheu derives from an incident that happened during the lifetime of Herea, the eventual holder of the first Te Heuheu name. A major leader of Ngati Tuwharetoa, Te Rangipumamamao died while with his Nagti Maniapoto relatives. The tour party who went to return his body to Taupo found the journey rather difficult so they buried him in a cave on the side of Lake Taupo. Years later when a party went to take the bones to the ancestral burial ground, they found the entrance to the cave was concealed with brushwood called
The name Te Heuheu was then given to Herea’s eldest son Mananui, and the name has been passed down ever since.

Before the succession of the current Te Heuheu line of chiefs, it was the custom of Ngati Tuwharetoa to select a leader among highborn ariki. These were usually from those descended from the senior male line from the ancestor Tuwharetoa (ibid:26). The position was not necessarily hereditary and was conferred to the most suitable person irrespective of seniority. When the old ariki, Te Rangituamatotoru died, there were three contenders as his successor, one of whom was Te Heuheu Herea. Despite not possessing the tribal god Rongomai, the elders still selected Te Heuheu Herea. Before he could fully take on the leadership role, he defeated the other main contender, Te Wakaiti becoming the undisputed leader of Ngati Tuwharetoa, and took from him the god Rongomai. Ever since Te Heuheu Herea, the ariki title has stayed in his line.

(1) Te Heuheu Tukino I Herea (c1750-c1820) – Son of Tukino, leader of the Ngati Turumakina hapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa. He was a renowned warrior and the first of his line to become Arikinui of Ngati Tuwharetoa.

(2) Te Heuheu Tukino II Mananui (c1780-1846) – Eldest son of Herea. In marrying two grand-daughters of former Arikinui Te Rangituamatotoru, he was able to unite the eastern and western parts of Ngati Tuwharetoa (ibid:31). He was the most influential leader in the central North Island and one of the most distinguished Maori of his time. Mananui refused to sign the Treaty of Waitangi.

(3) Te Heuheu Tukino III Iwikau (c1790-1862) – Younger son of Herea. A great warrior known for drawing first blood in battle. He signed the Treaty of Waitangi against his older brother’s wishes. Although it was repudiated by his older brother, the Ngati Tuwharetoa signatures remained on the treaty. He convened a meeting at Pukawa to oppose Maori land sales as well as to set up a Maori Kingitanga. Iwikau declined the position in support of Potatau Te Wherowhero of Ngaruawahia.

(4) Te Heuheu Tukino IV Horonuku (1821-1888) – Son of Mananui. Originally named Patatai, he took on the name Horonuku (which means landslide) in remembrance of the landslide that took the life of his father and most of his family. In the 1880s, he represented Ngati Tuwharetoa in the Native Land Court as their title to the land in the Taupo region came under investigation (ibid:41). Horonuku gifted the mountains Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu to the people of New Zealand.

(5) Te Heuheu Tukino V Tureiti (1865-1921) – Son of Horonuku. He received his name Tureiti (too late) because he was born too late to receive the conch shell blessing on the eldest son, which had already been given mistakenly to his older sister (ibid:47). He was appointed a trustee of the land that became the Tongariro National Park. Tureiti pressed unsuccessfully for recognition of Te Kotahitanga
(the Maori Parliament). He was a strong advocate of Maori equality and campaigned for the establishment of political structures that would give his people opportunities to exercise autonomy and power over their own destiny (ibid:53).

(6) **Te Heuheu Tukino VI Hoani (1897-1944)** – Son of Tureiti. He became the first chairman of the Ngati Tuwharetoa Trust Board in 1926. He chaired numerous boards and trusts and spent his lifetime fighting for Ngati Tuwharetoa land rights as well as seeking income for his people from various timber businesses conducted in and around the Taupo area.

(7) **Te Heuheu Tukino VII Sir Hepi (1919-1997)** – Son of Hoani. His early years as Paramount Chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa were devoted to the consolidation and enhancement of the tribal economic base through the development of farms and forests (ibid:69). He played an instrumental role in the formation of the National Maori Congress to represent Maori interests at the national level. He sat on many boards and was the Maori Queens representative on the Waitangi National Trust Board. In 1994 the government announced its plan to settle Treaty claims with a fixed budget of $1 billion over 10 years (known as the fiscal envelope). Hepi called national Hui to oppose this claiming that Maori should be in bilateral discussions with the government and not have unilateral decisions imposed on them (ibid:72). His mana was such that he could unify all Maori on a number of important issues. He was knighted in 1979.
Part II: Chiefly Titles

1. SAMOA

Tui Atua & Tui A’ana

The reorganisation of Upolu by Pili and his son around 850AD saw the creation of new districts, and eventually the creation of new titles. Two of the most ancient titles created as a result of this reorganisation were the Tui Atua (ruler of Atua), and Tui A’ana (ruler of A’ana). Although there are on-going debates over who actually has the right to bestow the Tui Atua title, the main families who have contributed to the decision are the Aiga Sa Fenuinuivao and the Aiga Sa Levalasi clans (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006: 43). There are five main families that claim the right of bestowing the Tui A’ana title and they are Aiga Taulagi, Aiga Taua’ana, Aiga Sa Tuala, Aiga o Mavaega and Aiga Tunumafiono (ibid: 38). According to Tu’u’u, Tui Tonga Asoaitu (Ahoeitu) invaded Samoa (Upolu and Tutuila) during the reign of Tui Atua Tualemoso (2002:45). Based on genealogy Tui Atua Tualemoso was the 7th Tui Atua so the title predated the arrival of the first Tu’i Tonga by several generations. Henry on the other hand suggests the title of Tui Atua and Tui A'ana were imported by the Tu’i Tonga, as the prefix 'tui', was of Tongan origin (1979:18). This would suggest that paramount chiefs of Atua and A’ana were installed, and following the departure of the Tu’i Tonga in 1250AD, were posthumously named as Tui Atua and Tui A’ana. Today, only the Tui Atua title is currently held by the Samoan Head of State, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi.

Gatoa’itele and Vaetamasoali’i

The Gatoa’itele and the Vaetamasoali’i titles along with the Tui Atua and the Tui A’ana titles are amongst the oldest titles in Samoa. They are individually known as pāpā titles and when held collectively by one individual, they are known as the Tafa’ifā or supreme ruler of Samoa. They are the paramount titles of the district of Tuamasaga. The Gatoa’itele title is bestowed by the village of Afega in the Northern Tuamasaga district and the Vaetamasoali’i is bestowed by the Safata sub-district in Southern Tuamasaga. Given that Queen Salamasina was the first to hold all four titles at once, it shows that the titles predate the 15th century, the time of Salamasina. Gatoa’itele and Vaetamasoali’i were the names of Malietoa La’auli’s daughter and granddaughter respectively. They are also direct ancestors to Salamasina. Since the four pāpā were dispersed by Malietoa Vainu’upo upon his death, the Gatoa’itele and
Vaetamasoali’i seem to have stayed with the Malietoa line. Given that the Malietoa title is currently vacant so are these two titles.

**Tui Manu’a**

The Tui Manu’a, Samoa’s first earthly ruler was believed to be a son of Tagaloaalagi (Su'apa'i'a, 1962:18) while other accounts refer to him as not being a son, but still a direct descendant of the creator god. The rule of the Tui Manu’a also extended beyond the islands of Samoa. Tui Manu’a succeeded in extending his power not only over the whole of Samoa but also over Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga and Tahiti (Henry, 1979:12). The Tui Manu’a was considered the “Sovereign of Polynesia” by many Polynesian historians (Childress, 1996:151). All these islands had to send a yearly offering to the Tui Manu’a consisting of fish and food. The Tui Manu’a dynasty came to an end shortly after Eastern Samoa was annexed by the United States of America. Because the Tui Manu’a was regarded as a king, a monarchy was not compatible with the constitution of the United States. Therefore, in 1904 when the last Tui Manu’a, Elisala signed the Deed of Succession to hand Eastern Samoa over to America, he also agreed that he would take the title to his grave. There was an attempt 1924 to resurrect the Tui Manu’a with the instalment of Chris Young (younger brother of Tu’i Manu’a Makerita), however this attempt was met with no success (Gray, 1960:207).

**Malietoa**

This title predates the Gatoa’itele and Vaetamasoali’i. Based on tradition, it was created in a battle in which brothers Tuna and Fata chased the Tu’i Tonga from Samoa sometime in the 13th Century. This victory resulted in the famous departing words of the Tu’i Tonga "Malie Toa, Malie Tau! Afai e o'o mai Tonga, e sau I le aouliuli folau, ae le sau I le aouliuli tau", "Brave warriors! Bravely have you fought! If the Tongans ever come back, it will be for a friendly visit, but never again to fight you" (ibid.:23). Collectively with the Tupua Tamasese, Mata’afa and Tuimaleali’ifano titles, they are known as the *tama’āiga* titles and are the four highest ranked chiefs in all of Samoa. The Malietoa title is currently vacant following the death of its last holder, Malietoa Tanumafili II in 2006.

**Tuimaleali’ifano**

The Tuimaleali’ifano title is one of the four *tama’āiga* titles. The founding ancestor of the title is believed to Tuita’alili who lived around 1700-1730 (ibid: 46). Of the four *tama’āiga*
titles, the Tuimaleali’ifano title has had the least number of holders. One reason for so little holders is that the second holder, Tuimalealiifano Si’ua’ana lived to 100 year of age and held the title for about sixty of those years. A chief of the Village of Falelatai, the seat of the Tuimalealiifano states,

Although [the title] Tuimalealiifano goes back only a short way, the royal blood goes back a long way further. If this title is to be restricted to heirs of Sualauvi, then we must go elsewhere for the royal blood, as sited in (Tuimaleali’ifano, 2006:48).

The current holder, Tuimalealiifano has held the title since 1977 and is currently the only member of the Council of Deputies. The other notable holder was Tuimalealiifano Suitipatipa II who was the first member of the Council of Deputies in 1962 when Samoa became independent

Mata’afo

This is one of the four titles known as the tama’aiga title. It belongs to the village of Amaile in the district of Atua. Its principle family is the Aiga Salevalasi which has many clans within many villages throughout Samoa. The title has two main lines of succession, which are the Fa’asuamale’aui and Silupevailei (half siblings) clans (Tuimaleali'iifano, 2006:21). The first holder of the title is said to be Mata’afo Filifilisounu’u who was the son of Fa’asuamaleaui. According to genealogy, there have only been nine holders of the title since the death of the first holder, Filifilisounu’u in 1829. Seven have come from the line of Fa’asuamale’aui while only two are descendants of Siupevailei. The current holder Mata’afo Tupuola Lui is a member of the Fa’asuamale’aui clan. He was bestowed the title in 2010. The previous holder had died in 1997, leaving the title vacant for thirteen years due to family disagreements over succession. Notable holders of the title have been Mata’afo Iosefo, the Ali’i Sili under the German administration, and Mata’afo Mulinu’u II, first Prime Minister of Samoa in 1962.
2. TONGA

Tu’i Tonga

The first Tu’i Tonga was also considered the son of the creator (Eustis, 1997:17; Howe, 1984:177). Campbell writes:

The earliest evidence for the development of Tongan kingship is the legend of the origin of the Tu’i Tonga, or king of Tonga. According to this legend, the god Tangaloa came to earth and became the father of a boy, Aho’eitu. Before the boy was born, Tangaloa returned to his home in the sky and the boy was brought up by his mother, a woman of Tonga. One day, Aho’eitu asked his mother about his father, and she told him where he could find the god. The boy travelled to where the gods lived and was welcomed by Tangaloa. Aho’eitu however found that he had four half brothers, all of them older than he, and jealous of him. Resolving to do away with him, the brothers killed and ate him. Tangaloa was angry when he discovered the crime, and made the cannibal brothers vomit what they had eaten into a bowl. Aho’eitu was thus reconstituted and restored to life. The brothers were compelled to pay respect to Aho’eitu as their superior, although he was younger, and to serve him. Aho’eitu was then sent back to earth to rule in Tonga as the Tu’i Tonga, representing his divine father (I. C. Campbell, 1992:7)

Other sources record the first Tu’i Tonga (Ahoeitu) as a direct descendant of Tangaloa rather than a son (‘Ilaiu, 2007:12). Ahoeitu, from the island of Tongatapu, was the first to refuse to pay tribute to Tui Manu’a Fitiauma (Henry, 1979:18). Thereupon he became the first Tui Tonga. Another account suggests that the first Tu’i Tonga was in fact a son of a Tui Man’ua, and given that the Tui Manu’a according to Samoan belief is a direct descendent of the creator god Tagalaoaalagi, then the Tu’i Tonga still retains its divinity through this genealogy. In narratives, the Tu’i Tonga was often referred to as langi (literally sky), a metaphor indicating his divine origin (that is, from the sky) (Herda, 1995:40). The Tu’i Tonga dynasty ended in 1865 when its last holder, Tu’i Tonga Laufilitonga died. By then it was only a ceremonial title and the true power had passed on to the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua and then the Tu’i Kanokupolu. Laufilitonga was a contemporary and adversary of Taufa’ahau I.

Tu’i Ha’atakalaua

During the 14th and 15th centuries, the authority of the Tu’i Tonga began to be undermined with a number of Tu’i Tonga having been assassinated. Following the assassination of the 23rd Tu’i Tonga, Takalau, his son Kau’ulufonua was installed as his successor. Realising the
dangers, the new Tu‘i Tonga decided to create a new title that would take over the control of the day-to-day affairs while leaving him to enjoy the prestige of being the highest and most divine chief (Rutherford, 1977c:35). This new position became known as the hau or ruling Lord. To this position he appointed his younger brother Mo‘ungamotu’a, and named it after their father, Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua. Unbeknown to the Tu‘i Tonga, the Tu‘i Ha’atakalau was going to one day rival his authority and eventually take over as the main ruling chief of Tonga.

The increase in power of the Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua was evident in the fact that for over a century after its creation, the holders of the Tu‘i Tonga titles resided in Samoa rather than in Tonga. Campbell writes:

It was not until Tapu‘osi was Tu‘i Tonga (the twenty-eighth, probably about the middle of the sixteenth century) that the Tu‘i Tonga returned from Samoa. The return must have involved some reconciliation of the two kings and their families otherwise there probably would have been civil war. In such a reconciliation it is likely that some agreement was reached on the relative status and powers of the two kings, and therefore this is the most likely time (rather than the time of Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua Mo‘ungamotu’a’s revolution) that the convention arose that the Tu‘i Tonga should be an exalted king, remote from secular politics, and that the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua would be the temporal king or hau....These arrangements are consistent with the desire to keep power away from the Tu‘i Tonga without thereby causing the title any humiliation or degradation, and also minimising the offense given to those who might still have supported the Tu‘i Tonga against the Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua (I. C. Campbell, 1992:18)

The dynasty itself only lasted with sixteen holders, the last being Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua Mulikiha’a mea who was killed in battle in 1799. By then the position of hau had passed onto the Tu‘i Kanokupolu line, so no further Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua were bestowed. The Tu‘i Tonga title that it had overtaken was still being bestowed albeit serving more a less a ceremonial purpose.

**Tu‘i Kanokupolu**

This line is believed to have been formed sometime around 1550 A.D. (‘Ilaiu, 2007:21). The first holder of the title, Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ngata was the younger son of Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua Mo‘unga ‘o Tonga and a Samoan lady by the name of Tohu’ia (ibid: 28). It eventually took over the Tu‘i Ha’atakalaua line as the ruling line of Tonga. The ruling rights of this line
were secured in the 1880 constitution of Tonga; by King Taufa’ahau Siaosi Tupou I and is now the ruling title of the current Royal Family of Tonga. The late King Siaosi Tupou V was installed as the 23\textsuperscript{rd} Tu’i Kanokupolu of this line, and his successor Tupou VI shall be installed as the next Tu’i Kanokupolu.

**The Nobility**

The original nobility selected by King Taufa’ahau Tupou I included in 1875 included twenty chiefs. A further ten were added in 1880. Three more chiefly titles were added to the nobility in 1894, 1903 and 1921, bringing the total number of nobles with estates to 33. This number currently stands. The 33 nobles are; (1875), Tui’vakano, Lavaka, Ulukalala, Ata, Tu’ipelehake, Tungi, Kalaniuvalu, Fotofili, Fakafanua, Ha’angana, Nuku, Ma’afu, Malupo, Tu’i’a’afitu, Ha’ateiho, Niukapu, Vaea, Ve’ehela, Luani, Ma’atu (1880) Tuita, Fusitu’a, Fakatuolo, Fielakepa, Fulivai, Tangipa, Tu’ilakepa, Vaha’i, Ahome’e, Fohe, (1894) Lasike, (1903) Veikune, (1921) Tupouto’a. Tupouto’a is the noble title usually held by the current Crown Prince. Of the 33 noble titles, four are currently vacant.
3. FIJI

Vunivalu of Bau

The Vunivalu is presently considered as the highest ranking title in the Kubuna confederacy and the overall highest ranked chiefly title in all of Fiji. However, it was not always considered the most senior title as it was traditionally subordinate to the Roko Tui Bau title of Bau. It became prominent sometime around the late 1700s when holders of the Vunivalu title started usurping the authority of the Roko Tui Bau through defeats in battles etc. From roughly 1770 to the present day, records show there have been 12 holders of the Vunivalu title, with the last holder, Ratu Sir George Cakobau having passed away in 1989. The Vunivalu has since remained vacant as heirs to the title have not come to an agreement to a successor. Notable holders have been Ratu Seru Epenisa Cakobau (6th holder, 1852-1883) who united the whole of Fiji under his authority, and the abovementioned Ratu Sir George Cakobau who not only was a great-grandson of Ratu Seru Epenisa Cakobau, but also Fiji’s Governor General from 1973-1983.

Roko Tui Dreketi

This is the paramount chief of the Rewa province in Fiji and the Burebasaga Confederacy, to which the Rewa Province belongs. It is currently considered the second most senior chiefly position in all of Fiji. Its origin dates back to roughly between the late 1700 early 1800s. This is based on the knowledge that its first official holder, Roko Tui Dreketi Ralawai’s reign ended in 1825. The family that currently holds the title is the Tuisawau clan of Rewa. Unlike many of the chiefly titles in Fiji, this particular title is not reserved for males only. Notable holders are the late Ro Lady Lala Tuisawau-Mara (reigned from 1957-2004), wife of the late Ratu Kamisese Mara, and her younger sister, Ro Teimumu Tuisawau-Kepa who is the current holder and a former Fijian politician.

Tui Cakau

This is the paramount chief of the Cakaudrove province in Fiji, and the most senior title in the Tovata Confederacy to which the Cakaudrove province belongs. It is regarded as the third most senior chief in all of Fiji. It is not sure exactly when it was first held but it is believed it is sometime in the 18th century. Some of the notable holders are Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau (reigned 1988-1993) who was Fiji’s last Governor-General and first President and
current holder, Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu who is a former government minister under the Qarase government.

4. AOTEAROA

Te Wherowhero line of Tainui (Kingitanga)

The only other iwi in New Zealand to be under the leadership of a single ariki is Tainui in the Waikato. The Te Wherowhero line is also the ceremonial Maori monarchy of New Zealand. Today, the Maori Kingitanga movement runs alongside the traditional system of leadership. Although modelled on a western concept, it still contains a strong element of traditional Maori leadership in it. From its origins in the 1850s, the movement was an attempt at creating a united Maori nation, as well as a means to confront the onslaught of colonisation (Te Kingitanga: The people of the Maori King Movement, 1996:1). The first Maori King was Potatau Te Wherowhero, a Tainui and Ngati Mahuta leader. He belonged to the senior chiefly line of Ngati Mahuta, and was descended from the captains of the Tainui and Te Arawa canoes, making him a suitable candidate for the first Maori King. Although he was initially reluctant to assume the position, after overwhelming support and encouragement from other chiefs, Potatau assumed the office and became the first Maori King. Although the office of Maori King is not hereditary in principle, the leaders of the collective tribe involved in the selection of the monarch have selected to keep the King position within the line of Potatau and his descendants. The current and 7th Maori King, his Highness Te Arikinui King Tuheitia Paki is a direct descendent of King Potatau, and the Potatau family legacy.
5. COOK ISLANDS

The current ariki of the Cook Islands are:

Pa Ariki                  Rarotonga
Makea Vakatini Ariki     Rarotonga
Makea Karika Ariki       Rarotonga
Makea Nui Ariki          Rarotonga
Kainuku Ariki            Rarotonga
Tinomana Ariki           Rarotonga

Tou Ariki                Mitiaro
Tetava Ariki             Mitiaro
Temaeu Ariki             Mitiaro

Tamuera Ariki            Mauke
Tararo Ariki             Mauke
Te Au Ariki              Mauke

Te Fakaheo Arik         Manihiki
Te Faingaitu Ariki       Manihiki

Parua Kea Ariki          Atiu
Rongomatane Ariki        Atiu
Ngamaru Ariki            Atiu

Manarangi Ariki          Aitutaki
Tamatoa Ariki            Aitutaki
Vaeruarangi Ariki        Aitutaki
Te-urukura Ariki         Aitutaki

Numangatini Ariki        Mangaia

Tetio Ariki              Pukapuka
PART 5: SUMMARY
CHAPTER 8
Conclusions

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Before this final chapter summarises the findings of this research through the presentations of its conclusions, it is important to acknowledge that the opinions of the ordinary people who make up the society in which the paramount chiefs live and lead, have been deliberately excluded from this research. The findings are based purely on archival information from literature, as well as key person interviews with the five paramount chiefs selected. As a reminder one of the main objectives of this research was to seek the perspective of the present day paramount chief, therefore the majority of the knowledge obtained within this thesis, are thoughts, opinions and narratives belonging to the paramount chiefs themselves. This is ‘their’ story seen through ‘their’ own eyes, and lived through ‘their’ own experiences. Of course there are always two sides to a story and the perspectives and opinion of the people who make up society is just as important. The exclusion of their voices should not be viewed as a weakness of this research, but rather as a potential for further research on this topic. The voice of the people of society can be seen as an extension of this research that can be conducted at a later stage. For now, these are the perspectives of the present day paramount Polynesian chiefs.
What is the role of the present day paramount chief, in the current political environment?

Samoa
On the surface, the matai seem to have influence at the government level. However from observation, it appears that in this day and age, the influence is more ceremonial than real. Although one must be a matai to run for parliament, matai status does not seem to have any other relevance. Not since 1990 when voting rights were opened up to non-matai citizens that matai have had any real influence at the national level. Although the current government of Samoa may be seen as an institution headed and run by matai, in actual fact, the members of parliament are only matai in name. In government, politicians are given government portfolios based largely on their areas of expertise and not by the matai title they hold. Inside government, their titles do not have influence as Samoan politics is predominantly run according to western politics. Despite the use of cultural protocols to open and close government meetings, that is the extent to which the matai system influences modern government and politics. If the government was run the way the village fono (village council of matai) was run, only then would the matai system have any real relevance in the current political system. Take for instance the setup of the government compared to the setup of the village fono. At the village level, there is a specific seating order and each matai knows his place in the council. There are orders of rank that are observed within the village council. At the government level, candidates are allocated seats and positions based on individual skills and qualities, as well as their seniority within the governing party. They are not seated according to their chiefly status. If positions were based on chiefly ranks, then the current Prime Minister would not be one because there are other Members of Parliament who hold much higher ranking chiefly titles. Secondly, when making decisions in the true fa’amatatiai way, all decisions are arrived at by way of consensus. If a consensus is not reached at first, deliberations continue until they do. In government, it is simply democracy by vote and by majority in numbers. Again this type of democracy is an introduced form of democracy. Also in the village setting, if the fono for any reason cannot come to a consensus, by virtue of his rank, the ali’i sili or highest ranked paramount chief can make a final decision regardless of what the other chiefs think. Although the Prime Minister is the equivalent of the ali’i sili at the government level, he alone does not possess the degree of authority that the ali’i sili holds at the village level.
There is a belief amongst Samoan people that tama‘āiga do not belong in national politics. This is not an indication of their inability to be influential, but rather a preservation of their mana and their dignity as tama‘āiga, the most paramount of chiefs in all of Samoa. Although at one point, they were the players and the leaders of old Samoan politics, the changing face of modern politics has made it an open arena where the chiefly and non-chiefly compete for influence and authority. In order for the tama‘āiga to maintain their mana and prestige, they should be above politics. That is why the position of Head of State is one which honours the mana of the tama‘āiga. When Tupuola Efi defeated his tama‘āiga cousin for the Prime Minister position in 1975, it seriously dented the authority of the tama‘āiga. In the process it set a precedent for political competition across ranks. According to popular Samoan belief, only two people of same rank should face each other in any form of confrontation. For example if a chief of ali‘i rank addressed a visiting group, it would then be considered appropriate for an ali‘i of the visiting group to respond instead of an orator who was considered of lower status. This belief often prevented chiefs of lesser rank from competing with tama‘āiga and as a result the tama‘āiga enjoyed a period of political influence. When Tupuola Efi defeated his tama‘āiga cousin, it not only signalled the rise of the lower chief, it broke with custom and for the first time, the tama‘āiga were seen as declining in authority. Similarly when Tuimaleali‘ifano failed to win a place in parliament running as a tama‘āiga against lower ranked chiefs, the mana of the tama‘āiga again came into question. Tui Atua himself admits he was in two minds about taking on his father’s tama‘āiga title while he was in politics as he believed that there were too many things that could work against tama‘āiga participating in politics. For this reason, their roles as Heads of States ensure that they are culturally seen as being on top of the Samoan leadership hierarchy.

Although they no longer possess any political authority, Tui Atua believes that their roles as tama‘āiga are more than just having authority. As a chief, as a tama‘āiga, there must be a preparedness to serve. As a father figure to the nation, the Head of State’s role is “to serve” and “to search for meaning”. The reason Tui Atua believes it is important to be searching for meaning is because society is continually changing. His position as Head of State is one of preservation, one of searching for the Samoan heritage and ‘terms of reference’ within the new environment. This is evident in the many custom and cultural preservation projects he has commissioned and worked on since becoming Head of State. As the ceremonial leader of Samoa, Tui Atua feels it is equally important for him to be disciplined as much as it is for him to impose discipline. In serving their people, the tama‘āiga must now be prepared to do
so at their own costs, meaning they too must be prepared to make sacrifices. It is no longer enough to be a *tama’āiga* or a Head of State. As Tui Atua has alluded to, they as paramount chiefs cannot rely on their chiefly titles alone to be able to influence at a national level. People know when leadership is real and sincere, and they.

Upon reflection, the relinquishing of political power and authority and leaving it up to the control of the Prime Minister and the government is a sacrifice that the *tama’āiga* are making now. Despite being former holders of political power within Samoan society, the current *tama’āiga* have shown a willing to adapt to meet the changing needs of society. Rather than trying to fight for and recover what they once use to own, there is a sense that the *tama’āiga* are upholding their mana and honour simply through their presence and being a symbol of peace and unity within Samoa. While there are currently only three *tama’āiga* title held, Tupua Tamasese is the current Head of State, Tuimal eali’ifano is a member of the Council of Deputies, and the newly bestowed Mata’afa has yet to be assigned any responsibilities.

**Tonga**

In Tonga, the aristocracy and the nobility continue to have influence within its political system. Although the influence is still there, it is fair to say that they have since lost some influence since the passing of King Taufa’ahau IV. Under King Siaosi V, all political powers of the king were relinquished and Tonga underwent political reforms allowing for more democratic processes in the election of the Prime Minister and the legislative assembly. King Taufa’ahau IV was the last king to personally nominate his Prime Minister to the position of Prime Minister for as long as he wished as well as hand picking the noble representatives and the ministers. He was therefore the last king to have complete political control over Tonga. Ironically under his rule, the only commoner Prime Minister, Dr Feleti Sevele was appointed.

The current king, King Tupou VI seems to have followed the lead of his late brother King Siaosi V.

When Tonga had its’ very first democratic election in 2010, the contest for the Prime Ministership came down to a two man competition between noble Lord Tu’ivakanō and long-time prodemocracy advocate, Akilisi Pohiva. In a secret ballot held by the elected members of parliament, Lord Tu’ivakanō won by the slightest of margins suggesting that the three independent members of parliament had voted with Lord Tu’ivakanō. Despite a close contest,
the victory by Tu’ivakanō illustrated that the balance of power still rested with the nobility albeit slightly. How long a noble will continue to win elections is not known but the reality is that the gap between the nobility and the new generation of educated parliament members is closing.

As long as the constitution states it, the nobles will continue to play an integral part in Tongan national politics. The nobles continue to have influence in the Legislative Assembly where they have nine reserved seats. Their influence at the national level is not only illustrated at the Prime Minister level, but also at the Governor level. To date, the Governor positions of Vava’u and Ha’apai have only been held by nobles. The current Governors are Lords Fulivai and Tu’i Ha’angana respectively. Despite the stronghold that the nobles seem to have at the government level, Tu’ivakanō believes that as nobles, they are the middle people who connect the people and the government. This may not be the case for long as the Democratic Party of the Friendly Islands is gaining strength and support in Tonga, and the likelihood of a non-noble Prime Minister may not be too far away.

**Fiji**

Fijian politics has been rather unstable since the 2006 military takeover by Commodore Bainimarama. The country has not held a democratic election since then. There have been indications that elections will take place in 2014, however, knowing Bainimarama’s track record, it may not happen. Prior to 2006, it would be fair to say that Fijian chiefs had a strong influence at the national level. The coups of 1987 and 2000 were supposedly for the purpose of restoring chiefly and indigenous authority, when the national elections failed to do so. Despite not having a chiefly Prime Minister since 1992, the Great Council of Chief’s influence was still recognised within the realms of national politics. Chiefly members were still being elected by the council to positions within the Senate. As a result of the 2006 coup, the influence of the influence of the chiefs began to decline. The following year Bainimarama suspended all the members of the Great Council of Chiefs and in 2012, the council was completely disestablished by Bainimarama on the grounds that the chiefs had become highly politicized and were therefore seen as unfit to continue their roles as an advisory council to the government. Bainimarama’s dislike of the chiefly system is well known and his disestablishment of the Great Council of Chiefs comes as no surprise. If the purpose of the 1987 and 2000 coups were to uphold the authority of the chiefs, then the 2006 coup was the
undoing of chiefly influence and authority at the national level. Ratu Joni speaks of his initial reluctance to enter politics, but only did so because the request had come from the then President, Ratu Josefa Ilo’ilo himself. Ratu Joni believes that if a chief wants to be involved in Politics, they ought to be because it is about people and people acknowledge them as leaders. The problem is that politics is a level playing field, and unless a chief wants to protect his mana as a chief, he should not get involved. Subsequently if a chief feels that he should participate in politics, then it is useful that they have other qualities such as an education which can reinforce his authority.

Today the only remnant of chiefly authority at the national level is the President who is Ratu Epeli Nailatikau. Unlike former Presidents, he was not elected by the Great Council of Chiefs, but was appointed directly by Bainimarama and his Cabinet. In 2009 under the instructions of Bainimarama, President Ratu Josefa dissolved the 1997 constitution that gave the Council of Chiefs the power to elect Fiji’s President. Less than 24 hours later, he reappointed Bainimarama as Prime Minister. The fact that Bainimarama has complete control of the Fiji government, coupled with the disestablishment of the Council of Chiefs suggests that the paramount chiefs currently have no real authority at the national level of Fijian politics. The makeup of the current Fijian Cabinet also reflects this. Of the ten members, only one has chiefly lineage.

**Cook Islands**

The formation of the House of Ariki in 1965 has confined them to a position of advisers to the government, without any political authority. Attempts in 1970 and 2008 to reassert their political authority failed have remained the advisory council they are ever since. The House of Ariki has been viewed as a tokenistic institution in which ariki can be confined to, thus preventing them from entering and interfering with politics. Based on this, it would be fair to say that the ariki today have no real authority and influence at the national level of politics.

Despite not having any political influence, Pa Ariki believes that her role as an adviser to the government on matters of culture and custom is an important one. Rather than trying to work against the government, she feels it is the ariki’s role to work with and alongside government, just as the ariki worked with the missionaries and the colonial administrators. She claims that
the 2008 ariki protest was supported by a minority of ariki, and that the majority of them support and back the authority of the government.

Like Tu’ivakanō, Pa Ariki believes that her role as an ariki is to be the link for her people and the government. As an ariki, her people come first, and through membership of the House of Ariki, they are able to push things through that would benefit their people by advising the government accordingly. Although they don’t have authority at the national level, they still have authority and control over their own provinces and villages.

Maori

Unlike the other four island groups, the Maori ariki and rangatira have rarely been seen as active participants in the national politics of New Zealand. Not since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi has the chief had a say in how their country is run. Despite not being directly involved in politics, they are indirectly involved through other means. They lead discussions and talks that Maori have with the government with regards to issues such as Treaty and Land claims, Maori language and Maori customs. Their status as paramount chiefs qualifies them to be the people that meet with the Prime Minister and the Government Ministers. Alternatively when the Prime Minister, Statesmen, Royals visit New Zealand and their iwi, they have the mana to host them.

The government seek their wisdom on all things Maori. They are also invited to sit on and chair important government committees, such as the Treaty Claims Tribunal and other committees of national importance. In this capacity, they are senior Maori advisers to the government. On the other hand, they lead Maori protests against the government. He is the voice for Maori, promoting and protecting Maori interests at all times. They keep the government honest and accountable. They are the voice of reason for their iwi and Maori as a whole.

For this reason, the present day chief is the keeper of Maori knowledge and custom. Their role at the national level is not one of authority, but of representations, Maori representation. The paramount chief not only represents his own iwi, but the entire population of Maori.
The above qualities describe Sir Tumu Te Heuheu. They also describe his late father, Sir Hepi Te Heuheu and the late Maori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu.

Summary
The evidence above suggests that paramount chiefs [and chiefs in general] either have no influence or authority at the national politics level, or if they do, it is not as strong as it used to be. Influence and authority at the national political level now relies heavily on the skills and the abilities of individuals who do not necessarily hold chiefly titles or are of chiefly lineage.

Despite this, the paramount chiefs can still play a role at the national level without necessarily having political influence or authority. That is why they still hold positions such as Head of State, President and the House of Ariki. Such positions represent and honour chiefly leadership at the highest level. It is also a way of maintaining their mana. The present day paramount chief is above politics. He is the symbol of custom and represents the old leadership, in the new environment.

The fact that present day paramount chiefs are rarely seen participating at the national level of politics is not so much to do with their inability to do so, but more because they choose not to. The current group of paramount chiefs have far more to offer to their countries than being politicians. They are filling the current needs of their societies. As in Tui Atua’s case, his role is to search for meaning, and he justifies his reasons for doing so. For Tu’ivakanō, his role is being the balance between the state and the commoners, a role that is needed during this time of change. Ratu Joni sees his position as a symbol of what it means to be Fijian, a role that Fiji desperately needs, especially with the collapse of the democratic government as well as the disestablishment of the Great Council of Chiefs. For Sir Tumu and Pa Ariki, they are protectors of their people, and given their people and their resources are experiencing certain problems, their roles in their societies are very important right now.
What is the role of the present day Polynesian chief, in its current island society?

Some of the Chiefs feel that their powers and authorities have diminished replaced by other people and positions. Others believe that they no longer possess authority and find themselves having to look for new roles and positions within their respective societies. As a result they have each managed to redefine themselves and remain relevant in their respective island groups.

The three principles of identifying leadership were introduced in chapter one (position, behaviour/performance and subjective orientation). The first principle was ascribed focused and the latter two were achieved focused. When asked what the most important principles of identifying leadership were, the reoccurring answers from the Chiefs were all in line with the behaviour and performance and subjective orientation concepts. All agreed that position as a principle was a given, however the most important principles in this day and age were the two achievement focused principles. They were of the opinion that one’s performance and behaviour would further enhance one’s position so therefore that is why they all agreed on performance and behaviour being the most important. Tu’ivakanō believes that through ‘position’, they are automatically regarded as leaders, however through their ‘performance and achievements’, they become ‘good’ or ‘better’ leaders.

The responses from the Chiefs suggest that leadership today is predominantly based on subjective orientation. The Chiefs collectively agree that it is not for them to impress on others their leadership and authority credentials, but rather for others to acknowledge them because in this day and age, no one can be forced to respect or follow chiefs. People have choices. In order for chiefs to be acknowledged as such, they all believed in the importance of being with their people and working alongside them. In this way, they are respected for their actions. Therefore in theory, the two principles go hand in hand i.e. the chiefs perform their duties, and through subjective orientation, their people acknowledge and respect them.

The Chiefs agree that mana and tapu are very much part of chiefly life. As present day paramount chiefs, they feel that they no longer possess tapu, however according to Tui Atua, there is still a sacredness in their roles as chiefs. There is a sacredness in the relationship and
space that they share with their people, the vā tapuia. Similarly Sir Tumu talks about the wairua or the spiritual life force that is present in everyone, including the chiefs. They agree that mana is still very much a chiefly character. While some of the Chiefs believed that mana was from the gods, others believed that they as Chiefs were the source of mana. On the other hand, Sir Tumu believes there are two types of mana, godly and chiefly. It was also acknowledged that in today’s society, they as chiefs were not the only people who could possess mana. Ordinary and non-chiefly people were just as capable of possessing mana. Chiefly mana is believed to be inherited through the chiefly lines whereas non-chiefly people’s mana is obtained through actions and achievement. The Chiefs all agreed that just like leadership, their already attached mana can be further enhanced and increased through their work and actions as chiefs. Contrary to the literature stating that islands like Tonga and Fiji have a tendency to be more ascribed in status and therefore stratified, the responses from the Chiefs points to their societies (including Tonga and Fiji) becoming more achieved focus and open in nature.

Literature described the chiefs as agents of the most powerful change and the icons of identity in society. Asked to reflect on this statement, the Chiefs were reluctant to agree that they were agents of powerful change. Ratu Joni admitted that it may have been the case in the past because before colonisation, their predecessors were in power and were very influential so they had the means to shape society as they saw fit. Change requires influence and because they do not believe they are entirely agents of powerful change in today’s society, there is an acknowledgement that they may or do not have the influence to affect such change. Lack of influence therefore explains the decline of chiefly powers and relevance in society. Since society is becoming more and more open, non-chiefly people through their achievements are becoming just as influential and therefore they are the new breed of influential people who are making the most notable changes in modern society. The Chiefs collectively agree that they continue not so much to be ‘icons’ of identity, but more symbols of identity, i.e. they represent what it means to be an indigenous Polynesian in the modern environment. With society constantly developing and modernising, they see themselves as role models of tradition and custom.

The paramount chiefly position is by no means becoming extinct or defunct. As it has done since time immemorial, it is evolving to suit the ever changing environment. Chapter three looked the evolution of the chiefly figure descended from the gods. Descent from the gods
illustrated the importance of connection and ascription. It highlighted the transferral of power and authority through what Goldman calls the ‘status lineage’. When warriors and skilled craftsmen gained authority, it signalled the start of a new form of authority, one that was gained through skills and valour. Despite chiefly status remaining predominantly ascribed, allowances were always made for others to succeed to chiefly positions through their achievements. When the missionaries took away sacred power from the chiefs, achievement became even more important as secular authority was becoming more and more political. Even during colonisation, the paramount chiefs had to reinvent themselves to fit into the changing landscape of the time. Some became kings, governors and nobles, while others became statesmen in politics. Although their status lineages would have given them automatic entitlement to these new positions, most of the chiefs were successful more through personal achievements than through their chiefly pedigrees. Their personal achievements further enhanced their chiefly entitlement. Similarly during decolonisation, the same chiefly entitlement coupled with personal ability and skills saw them take up the highest political positions of the times e.g. Presidents, Heads of States, Prime Ministers. Shortly after independence, achievement continued to play an integral part in selecting leaders, however the rules that once applied to chiefs, were now applying to non-chiefly people alike. Through their skills and achievement, non-chiefly people were competing and winning against chiefly people in the political arena. Before long politics, was becoming a non-chiefly arena, with fewer and fewer paramount chiefs participating. It is at this point that the present day paramount chiefs are at.

Just like their ancestors before them, the present day chiefs have had to acquire for themselves new skills in order to make their positions as paramount chiefs relevant in this day and age. The acquisition of new skills has been in no way a means to retain any past authority, but more to maintain the mana of their positions as paramount chiefs. Through their successes, their mana is enhanced. Finally, like their godly, priestly, warrior and skilled ancestors in their time, they too have had to find for themselves new roles and responsibilities within their respective societies. In the case of the Chiefs, they have reinvented themselves as writers, scholars, teachers, lawyers, judges, conservationists, health and language promoters, to name a few. Through these new forms, their mana is enhanced and more importantly, there respect is maintained.
This is how modern day paramount chiefs have continued to remain relevant. The methods and forms may change, but the foundations and principles remain. The key to remaining relevant is to continue changing to suit the needs of society. According to the Chiefs, greatest need they see in today’s society is the maintaining of custom and culture, especially in the current world where change is constant and rapid. For these reason the present day chiefly forms can include: the ‘servant’ chief, the ‘search for meaning’ chief, the ‘symbol of customs’ chief, the ‘protector’ chief, the ‘conservationist’ chief, but most important of all, the ‘people’s’ chief’.

**Matai in Samoan society**

According to Tui Atua, the paramount chief is called upon to serve, more so in the present day than ever before. He has to be disciplined and be prepared to serve others at his own expense and sacrifice. This would mean that he must have resources that he can draw upon to help other. He must have discipline in the family and discipline in the village. The call for discipline is not only to impose discipline, but to be disciplined himself. The best way of teaching discipline to your family and the village is to show an example of self-discipline. So the qualities of leadership are no different. In order for the present day chiefs to remain relevant, they must be prepared to make the same sacrifices expected of their own family members.

The chiefs must start thinking differently. They must stop thinking of themselves as being first because those days of thinking are no longer. It is no longer guaranteed that his title will gain him respect in the village, and therefore even though one may hold the most paramount title in the country, your first commitment is to your family. The extended family is more important than yourself and your immediate family. His leadership can no longer be upheld by honorifics. A chiefly title is going to be sustained because the individual has the calibre, the vision, the values and the leadership qualities which people look up to. True leadership is when people look up to somebody because they trust them, because they support them, because they know that he qualifies to exercise authority. Authority originates and arises from quality leadership. These are the qualities that Tui Atua believes chiefs should possess in order for them to have influence in their societies. Simply holding a chiefly title is no longer enough.
In today’s world, a chief has to earn his respect even after he has been bestowed the family title. This applies to the paramount of chiefs as well. Service is no longer just a prerequisite for leadership it is an on-going life commitment of chiefly leadership. Present day chiefs should be ‘peacemakers’ within their immediate and extended families. Rather than creating disunity in the family by neglecting their needs and concerns, the present day chief has to listen to what they want. Leadership of the family is a shared commitment, one that the paramount chief shares with all the other chiefs of the family. In some instances, the paramount chief also shares authority with the non-chiefly members of his family and society. He must also be prepared to take advice and instruction from non-chiefly members of his family and society. Although as the chief, he represents the family, it does not mean that he ‘owns’ the family.

Finally, the purpose of the present day paramount chief is to ‘search for meaning’-‘tāfā saili’, always searching for ways in which Samoan custom and heritage can be applied to and have relevance in the present day environment. He is therefore both a conservationist and a visionary, working to preserve all the important components of custom and culture, and looking for new ways to give them purpose in the current environment.

_Turaga in Fijian society_

According to Ratu Joni, chiefly leadership is based on the idea of the greater good, reciprocity, mutual respect, and esteem; compassion, acting and working together. The role of chief is first of all to project these values, and to live them or to practice them. He is a symbol of what it means to be Fijian and in that you draw in the genealogies, the bloodlines, and all the connections and what it stand for. They represent was has come before, therefore being the link to the past. With change now being not only rapid but almost discontinuous, people need some sort of anchor to provide that sort of sense of security, identity and wellbeing that comes from knowing who you are. With the current political instability, Fiji needs leadership more than ever and the chiefs can provide that, albeit non-political.

A chief no longer needs to be a repository of wisdom. In terms of his own tribe, he is there to provide cohesion and support, and is a role model to his people. For this reason, he sees
himself as a symbol to those who acknowledge his leadership. Ratu Joni accepts that he can’t compel respect or loyalty. People decide whether they want to be loyalty or not. “On that basis, you perform a role, and people decide whether it’s something they want to acknowledge or not”. The balance is in favour of the people rather than the chiefs now because they have choices and they’re not compelled to perform their traditional obligations or to follow or give respect to a chief. It has to come from the heart.

The present chiefly system is therefore fluid. Asked what the future of the chiefly system is, Ratu Joni’s view is that it is whatever the Fijian people want the chiefly system to be. This suggests that the paramount chief must be a position that can be moulded to suit different social environments. He is a person with an amalgam of qualities. He can be kind, understanding and sensitive, as well as being firm and forceful when it is required.

Chiefs have traditionally been the arbiters of dispute. With Fiji currently facing one of its biggest disputes in its history, it is more important now to assume that role as arbiter. The strength of his leadership is in his ability to bring his people together and to encourage them to work together. Strength is also in their own individual ability to achieve in whatever field they chose because in today’s society, achievements are considered equally, if not, more important than ascription. If one is a chief, and either a senior public servant or a chief executive officer of a company, or an entrepreneur, his chiefly status is further enhanced by his achievements. People now attach status to what people do and to what they have achieved.

**Nopele in Tongan society**

Today the Tongan nobility retain their traditional roles as estate holders and land owners. Outside of that, they are working people like everyone else. If they are not required to work as politicians or public servants, they are running businesses or working and looking after their estates. They are often seen in the same light as the royal family and occupying the same social status level. In actual fact, that is not entirely correct. Although they are nobles, they too are simply part of the king’s people. As Tu’ivakanō explains, they are the link between the commoners and the monarchy. When events of national significance are celebrated, they are organisers of their family groups, organising the participation and the contribution of their
clan to the event or celebration. He also personally contributes to the occasion, and most times it is at his own expense.

In the community, he is just like everyone else. He goes to church and participates in village meetings and activities. Contrary to popular belief, they are not above the law, and have been summoned to court like any other citizen who has broken the law. Their noble status does not pardon them from being trialled in court. In recent years, many have been trialled and convicted. Again contrary to popular belief, their noble status is not a lifetime appointment. If they dishonour the title in anyway, they will be stripped of it. These measures keep them humble and grounded.

The present day noble can no longer rely on his noble title alone to uphold his position as a leader. Their work and achievements will further enhance it. The present day nobles need to have more behind their titles if they are to be respected. These could include things like having relevant qualifications or skills in areas such as business and politics. All these qualities strengthen their positions as nobles. Even more important, the nobles must be amongst his people, working alongside them. As a noble, he is automatically a leader, however if he is seen working with his people, helping them and caring for them, only then is he regarded a ‘good’ leader.

Ariki in Cook Islands society

The *ariki* is first and foremost the leader of her immediate family and then her extended family and clan. Despite this, the *ariki* tends to put her clan before her family as was the case with Pa Ariki. As an *ariki*, she is shared by both her family and the entire clan. According to Pa Ariki, she is not so much the leader of her clan, but rather the mother to her people. As a mother, her duty is to protect and look after her people. Today the *ariki* is called upon to serve her people in the same way that her people serve her. This is evident in the health work and the community projects that they are involved in.

They are mediators, often called upon by their village to provide solutions to disputes as well as bridging village peace. The *ariki* is the voice of reason and spends much of their time attending village meetings. In her capacity as the *ariki*, she is culturally regarded as the eldest
person in the village despite her age. Her advice is often sought after with anything to do with the village. The *ariki* is therefore an adviser. They are neither above nor below their people. They are amongst them, always spending time visiting with their elders, their *mataiapoa* and *rangatira*. The *ariki* don’t confine themselves to one religion, but attend all the different churches, because as *ariki*, it is important that they are visible to all their people.

At the national level, the *ariki*’s role is to preserve and protect Cook Islands culture. This includes making sure that important treasures such as language don’t get lost. It also means protecting village lands from overseas people looking to exploit their natural resources. They must be prepared to help protect these important things at their own expense. *Ariki* also need to be good with the youth. They need to be approachable as one of the main challenges is to encourage their young people to return to the islands from overseas to help develop their villages and their country.

As present day paramount chiefs, their authority should extend beyond their own country, to places like New Zealand and Australia where many of their people now reside. They are representatives of the Cook Islands whenever they travel abroad. As mothers, they are independent, doing their own washing and cooking their own food.

**Ariki in Maori society**

The role of *ariki* is to protect their *iwi*/maori identity, their entity as a people. To develop the strengths of his people in order to survive into the future, and that is really about nurturing the next generation. He is also the guardian of the land, protecting it so that future generations can enjoy it. This is evident in the conservation work that Sir Tumu is involved with.

The *ariki* does not have absolute authority over the *iwi* nor does exercise any however he works closely with his *rangatira* to ensure that all is well within the *iwi* and the *hapu*. He is both a father and a *tuakana*. He is *tuakana* to his *rangatira*, advising and being there for them. The *rangatira* are the leaders of their own *hapu*, and together with the *ariki*, they are all fathers to the entire *iwi*. As a *tuakana*, he is an adviser to his *teina*. He is also a mediator when there are issues within his *iwi*. He even mediates outside of his own *iwi*, often called upon to help calm conflicts between different *iwi*, and at times, between *iwi* and the crown.
As an ariki, he is first and foremost a representative of his own family and iwi. At the national level, by virtue of his status as ariki, he has the mana to represent and speak for all Maori. The ariki is a family man who is accessible to his family, clan and all Maori. He is not like the ariki of the past who were regarded tapu, and therefore were isolated from everyone.

He does not stand alone. He is strengthened with his connection and whakapapa to other ariki and iwi. Although he has no authority in other iwi, he is highly respected through the genealogical links that he has with them. He works collaboratively with other ariki and rangatira. Together, they are kingmakers who when called upon, have to make the difficult decision of selecting their ariki nui, their king.

Most of all, he is a man of humility and a man of service.
What is the profile of the present day paramount chief?

The following profile of a present day paramount chief has been compiled from the interview responses of five current paramount chiefs from five different Polynesian island groups. Their experiences, wisdom, knowledge have contributed in a large way to this research and their thoughts and insights have been shared and analysed, resulting in the summary below what it takes to be a present day paramount chief.

Achievement

Sahlin’s identification of Polynesia as being predominantly ‘ascribed’ may be true in theory, however practice and reality suggest otherwise. The Chiefs largely agree that in today’s societies, people are elected to positions of authority largely based on their achievements and the skills they can bring to the position. This applies to the positions of paramount chiefs. Although ascription is still somewhat practiced, society always makes allowance for those individuals with exceptional skills. Methods of succession throughout history have constantly changed to the point where ascription can longer be accepted as the only legitimate form of succession. Other factors such as service, education, wealth and public standing have become important traits used by the family and the courts to determine succession. Subsequently, in Tonga where succession is constituted, the personal achievement of the chief can be the difference between being identified simply as a leader, or a ‘good’ leader. The present day chief is therefore someone who displays a variety of different skills.

Mana

Mana is still very much an important part of being a paramount chief today. If you don’t possess mana, you cannot uphold the honour of the title. Mana in this sense is somewhat attached to the title one holds. There is the initial mana that the title holds. However this mana is not permanent. In the past, the chiefs received their mana from the gods, and only the gods were able to remove this mana. The mana today is not a godly or spiritual one, but a worldly mana. The chiefs themselves are not the only people who can possess this worldly mana. Because it is worldly, anyone can possess it. The mana of the chiefly position today depends solely on the actions of the man or woman who carries the title. Mana is associated with achievement, with skills and with successes. When a person holding a chiefly title succeeds through their work and through their actions, the mana they gain through this
enhances the *mana* of the title they carry. Alternatively if the individual does something to disgrace the name and honour of the family, they also trample on the *mana* of the title they hold. Like leadership, achieved *mana* is becoming more and more recognised than ascribed *mana*.

**Tapu**

The present day paramount chief is no longer *tapu* nor does he possess *tapu*. That is a thing of the past. Despite not being *tapu*, there are relationships that remain *tapu* within his family and clan. In the past, the chiefs were isolated from the people for fear that interaction with one another was in breach of his *tapus*. Today there is no such isolation. The paramount chief is no longer seen as a person who is isolated or resides in a place that is physically above everyone else. Today, a chief is seen as being amongst his people, living with them, and working alongside them. Despite not being *tapu* anymore, there is *tapu* in his relationship with his people. The relationship is sacred whether they are chiefly or not, and because there is a sacred space between them, the chief [and the person] must at all times honour that space. It means that respect and kindness travel both ways.

**Service**

Amongst the Chiefs interviewed, service was regarded an important aspect of their roles as paramount chiefs. It is important to serve their immediate and extended families, as well as their district an island. In the past, it was a one way process where it was only the people rendering service to the chief. Today, a chief must reciprocate that service if they wish to have a relationship with his people. More importantly, it helps a chief gain respect, for people today have choices, and they are not obliged to render a chief respect if they do not wish to. Linked with service is ‘sacrifice’. In the past, people often made great sacrifices in the name of their chief. Today, the chiefs themselves are called upon to make sacrifices for their people.

**Representation**

A paramount chief’s role today is not necessarily to hold ‘authority’ over his people. Even as a chief of the highest paramount level, there is no guarantee that people within his district or island will acknowledge and defer to his authority. There isn’t even any guarantee that his extended family will respect his authority. In any case, his role is one of ‘representation’. He
represents and upholds the mana and the honour of the family, village, district and country. If he does have authority, it is not his place to impress onto others, rather through his actions and service, the people will choose if they follow. If the chief has ‘true’ leadership, people will be compelled to follow.

**Peacemaker**

In a world of peace, there is no more need for a chief to be a warrior or a warlord as was the case in the past. However ‘conflict’ exists all the time whether it is in an environment of war or one of peace. Today’s chiefs have to be able to deal with such conflicts whether it be in their family, or extended clan. He must be neutral and not be seen to be bias to one group. The chief must at all times work to create unity within his family and wider community. To create unity amongst his people, the chief must be a person who associates with his people. He cannot create unity if he is physically and emotionally removed from the people he wants to unite.

**Disciplined**

Gone are the days where a chief had the power to discipline his people. Because people today are not obliged to follow or listen to a chief, the best way a chief can impose discipline on his family members and wider community is to show that he himself is disciplined. One way the present day chief is doing this is by showing his people that he himself is not above the rules or laws. A paramount chief can also hold a job and work like his people. Rather than sitting and expecting his people to work, he shows discipline by going out and working himself. If he wants people to do something, he must lead the way and show them that although he is the chief, he is not exempt from anything and that what applies to his people, apply to him as well.

**Guardianship**

The present day chief does not have to be a repository of knowledge. Other people can possess these skills. He does however have to be prepared to be the guardian of such knowledge. They have to become guardians of the culture, working towards protecting treasures such as language and cultural practices from being lost. Unlike chiefs of the past who were seen as warriors and conquerors, the present day chief is concerned with conserving and preserving his physical, spiritual and cultural environment. The wellbeing of
his people is one of his upmost concerns. In this capacity, he is always searching for meaning. He is always searching for ways to keep his people engaged and to keep his community growing. As a chief, he must be someone that always has a vision.

Symbol
Chiefs are no longer required to be ‘agents of change’. Change happens with or without them. In today’s world, they are more ‘symbols of tradition’. As a symbol of tradition, it would be an advantage that the chief is of a senior age because this illustrates a sense of lived experience and wisdom. As discussed in chapter three, there seems to be uneasiness for older people to acknowledge leadership in a much younger chief, therefore someone who is older would most likely have a better chance of gaining respect from the people. With the world constantly evolving and changing, the chiefs need to remind his people about where they come from. Although he too must change in order to fit in, he must always represent what it means to be Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Cook Island or Maori. How he does that in a modern context is up to him and his people. As symbols, they don’t remain static, but can change to suit the environment. Sometimes they may have to be a father or mother figure. Other times they may have to be an older brother or sister. Therefore they must have the ability to reflect a number of different traits. They need to be warm, kind, sensitive and diplomatic when they need to be, as well as being firm, strict and forceful when the occasion requires them to be. The present day chief is then someone who is fluid in nature.

Adviser
The present day chief does not necessarily give orders, but rather seen as someone who can give advice. The advice they give is for the greater good of the family, the village and the entire island. They give advice through being symbols of tradition. They give advice in their duties as peacemakers. As advisers, they become parent figures and older siblings to their people. They must therefore lead by example and be role models. To give advice, they have to be continuously with and amongst their people and not removed from them. Not only do they give advice, they must also be prepared to continuously seek it and follow it, for in this day and age, actions speak much louder than words.
**Shared Leadership**

The present day chief does not lead alone. In the world he now lives in, many different people can possess influence and authority. He is aware that he is not the only person that has a right to lead or hold authority. He must be prepared to work with anyone and in some case, be prepared to follow other’s lead, as long as what is being done is for the good of everyone. For this, the chief must have humility and be able to control his ego. His leadership is strengthened when he is working with others.

**Gender**

Although this thesis has predominantly referred to the chief in a male context, there are no definitive rules stating that it has to be a male or female. Even in islands where the law constitute that males are the chiefs, there is no law that stops a woman from acting in the manner of a chief. With achievement becoming more and more important, women are equally capable of becoming paramount chiefs. Regardless of whether they do or not, chiefly status is today more determined through your actions, and not through the title you hold.
APPENDIX
APPENDIX 1: CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS

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CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF SAMOA

Tui Atua
Tupua Tamasese Efi
(Head of State)

Tuimaleali’ifano
Va’aleto’a
(Council of Deputies)

Matâ’a fa
Tupuola Lui

Vacant Titles - Malieta

CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF AOTEAROA

King Tuheitia Paki
Tainui
(Arickinui)

Sir Tumu Te Heuheu
Nagti Tuwahretoa
(Ariki)
CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF FIJI

Roko Tui Bau
Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi
(Kubuna Confederacy)
(Tailevu Province)

Roko Tui Dreketi
Ro Teimumu Kepa
(Burebasaga Confederacy)
(Rewa Province)

Tui Cakaudrove
Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu
(Tovata Confederacy)
(Cakaudrove Province)

President
Ratu Epeli Nailatikau

Qaranivalu
Ratu Inoke Takiveikata
(Naitasiri Province)

Tui Macuata
Ratu Aisea Katonivere
(Macuata Province)

Nakalevu
Ratu Sakiusa Makutu
(Nadrogo-Navosa Province)

Tui Namosi
Ratu Suliano Matanitobua
(Namosi Province)

Vunivalu Serau
Ratu Peni Latianara
(Serau Province)

Tui Ba
Ratu Sairusi Nagagavoka
(Ba Province)

Vacant Titles
Vunivalu (Kubuna Confed)
Tui Nayau (Lau)
Tui Lau (Lau)
Tui Levuka (Lomaiviti)
Tui Bua (Bua)
CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF TONGA

King Tupou VI
Lavaka

Prime Minister
Lord Tu’ivakanō

Crown Prince Tupouto’a
Ulukalala

Prince Ata

Prince Tungi

Prince Tu’ipelehal

Lord Tu’uita

Lord Fakafanua

Lord Fakatulolo

Lord Luani

Lord Fotofili
Kalaniuvalu

Lord Fulivai

Lord Fusitu’a

Lord Lasike

Lord Ma’a’fu

Lord Malupo

Lord Niukapu

Lord Nuku

Lord Tangipa

Lord Tu’i’afiga

Lord Tu’i

Lord Tu’i Hangana

Lord Tu’ilakepa

Lord Vaea

Lord Vaha’i

Lord Ve’ehala

Lord Veikune

Vacant Noble
Titles

Lord Ahone’e
Lord Fohe
Lord Fialakepa
Lord Ma’atu
CURRENT PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF COOK ISLANDS

Rarotonga:  Pa Tapaeru Marie Ariki; Makea Vakatini Joseph Ariki; Makea Karika Margaret Ariki; Kainuku Kapiriterangi Ariki; Tinomana Ruta Ariki; and Makea Nui Ariki (vacant)

Mitiaro:  Tou Travel Ariki (Current President of House of Ariki); Tetava Poitirere Ariki; and Temaeu Teikamata Ariki.

Aitutaki:  Manarangi Tutai Ariki; Tamatoa Purua Ariki; Vaeruarangi Teaukura Ariki and Te-urukura Ariki (vacant)

Mauke:  Tamuera Ariki; Tararo Temaeva Ariki; Te Au Marae Ariki.

Manihiki:  Te Fakaheo Mataio Kea Ariki and Te Faingaitu Ariki (vacant)

Atiu:  Parua Mataio Kea Ariki; Rongomatane Ada Ariki and Ngamaru Henry Ariki

Mangaia:  Numangatini Trainee Ariki

Pukapuka:  Tetio Kaitara Pakitonga Paulo Paulo Ariki;
APPENDIX 2: CHIEFLY GENEALOGIES

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Samoa

Tui Manu’a (of Manu’a)
1. Tui Manu’a Satiailemoa
2. Tui Manu’a Tele (or Fitiaumua)
3. Tui Manu’a Muagaotele
4. Tui Manu’a Taeotagaloa (or Folasa)
5. Tui Manu’a Fa’aeanu’u (or Fa’atutupunu’u)
6. Tui Manu’a Saoioiomanu
7. Tui Manu’a Saopu’u
8. Tui Manu’a Saoloa
9. Tui Manu’a Tu’ufesoa
10. Tui Manu’a Letupua
11. Tui Manu’a Saofolau
12. Tui Manu’a Saoluaga
13. Tui Manu’a Lelologatele
14. Tui Manu’a Ali’amatu
15. Tui Manu’a Ali’atama
16. Tui Manu’a Ti’aligo
17. Tui Manu’a Fa’aeanu’u II
18. Tui Manu’a Puipuipo
19. Tui Manu’a Siliaivao
20. Tui Manu’a Manufili
21. Tui Manu’a Fa’atoalia Manuolefaletolu
22. Tui Manu’a Segisegi
23. Tui Manu’a Siliave
24. Tui Manu’a Pomelea
25. Tui Manu’a Lite (or Tui Aitu)
26. Tui Manu’a Toalepa’i
27. Tui Manu’a Seuea (fem)
28. Tui Manu’a Salofi
29. Tui Manu’a Levaomanu (or Lemamana)
30. Tui Manu’a Taliiutafa Pule
31. Tui Manu’a Ta’alolomanu Moaatoa
32. Tui Manu’a Tupalo
33. Tui Manu’a Seiuli
34. Tui Manu’a U’uolelaoa
35. Tui Manu’a Fagaese
36. Tui Manu’a Tauveve
37. Tui Manu’a Tauilima
38. Tui Manu’a Alalamua
39. Tui Manu’a Makerita (fem)
40. Tui Manu’a Elisala - (officially last holder who died in 1909)
41. Tui Manu’a Kilisi Taliiutafa - (revived the Tui Manu’a title in 1924 but never took office)
Tui Atua (of Atua)

1. Tui Atua Tuimaatua
2. Tui Atua Tuifaiiga
3. Tui Atua Tui'efu
4. Tui Atua Leilua
5. Tui Atua Pulutua
6. Tui Atua Sagapolutele
7. Tui Atua Tualemoso
8. Tui Atua Tuamū'u
9. Tui Atua Tuloutele
10. Tui Atua Maileitele
11. Tui Atua Taemo'otele
12. Tui Atua Siusau
13. Tui Atua Taemo'omania
14. Tui Atua Moso
15. Tui Atua Tuloutele II
16. Tui Atua Malaetele
17. Tui Atua Taepipitele
18. Tui Atua Taemo'omania II
19. Tui Atua Leutelele'i'ite
20. Tui Atua Aumualeulu'a'i'ali'i
21. Tui Atua Fepulea'i
22. Tui Atua Tologataua
23. Tui Atua Aumuotagafo
24. Tui Atua Mua'iteleloafo
25. Tui Atua Polailevao
26. Tui Atua Fotu'itama'i
27. Tui Atua Toeta
28. Tui Atua Semo
29. Tui Atua Samatau
30. Tui Atua Vaiotui
31. Tui Atua Togia'i
32. Tui Atua Sefa'atauemaga (female)
33. Tui Atua Mata'utia Fa'atulou
34. Tui Atua Fogaoloula & Tui Atua Foganiutea
35. Tui Atua Salamāsina (female) (T.4)
36. Tui Atua Fofivaose (female)
37. Tui Atua Tuafau (female)
38. Tui Atua Sina (female)
39. Tui Atua Faumuiē
40. Tui Atua Fonoti (T.4)
41. Tui Atua Muagututia
42. Tui Atua Tupua Fuiavailili
43. Tui Atua Galumalemana
44. Tui Atua Fatuamana (T.4)
45. Tui Atua Malietoa Vainu'upō (T.4)
46. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Titimae
47. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Lealofioa'ana I
48. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Lealofioa'ana II
49. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Lealofioa'ana II
50. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole
51. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Lealofioa'ana IV
52. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi
Tui A’ana (of A’ana)
1. Tui A’ana Malamagaga’e
2. Tui A’ana Malamalupe
3. Tui A’ana A’alaoa
4. Tui A’ana Papafoiga
5. Tui A’ana Papaele
6. Tui A’ana Papamave (female)
7. Tui A’ana Salasala (female)
8. Tui A’ana Tupufua
9. Tui A’ana Leopili
10. Tui A’ana Pilisosolo (Poao)
11. Tui A’ana Nifosili
12. Tui A’ana Fuaoletaulo’o
13. Tui A’ana To
14. Tui A’ana Tavaetele
15. Tui A’ana Fulisiaialagitele (teine)
16. Tui A’ana Fa’asiliia’lagi (teine)
17. Tui A’ana Fa’alulumaga (teine)
18. Tui A’ana Fitimaula
19. Tui A’ana Selaginatō
20. Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi & Tui A’ana Saga’ate
21. Tui A’ana Salamāsina (female) (T.4)
22. Tui A’ana Fofiovaose
23. Tui A’ana Taufau
24. Tui A’ana Sina
25. Tui A’ana Faumuinā Niutamailaita
26. Tui A’ana Faumuinā Le Tupufia
27. Tui A’ana Fono’iti (T.4)

Malietoa
1. Malietoa Savea
2. Malietoa Sona’ilepule
3. Malietoa Seali’itele
4. Malietoa Uilamatutu (also known as Malietoa Faiga or Malietoa)
5. Malietoa Fetoloa’i
6. Malietoa ‘Ula (also kown as Malietoa Vaetui or Malietoa Valaletimu)
7. Malietoa Lepalealai
8. Malietoa Uitualagi
9. Malietoa La’aulī
10. Malietoa Fuaolet’elau
11. Malietoa Falefatu
12. Malietoa Sagagaimuli
13. Malietoa Taulapapa
14. Malietoa Taia’opo (fem)
15. Malietoa Tuila’epa
16. Malietoa To’oa Tuila’epa
17. Malietoa ‘Ae’o’ainu’u
18. Malietoa Laulauafolasa
19. Malietoa Muagututì’a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Malietoa Fitisemanu</td>
<td>(?-1841)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Malietoa Vainu’upo</td>
<td>(?-1841)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Malietoa Taimalelagi Gatuitasina</td>
<td>(1841-1858)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Malietoa Moli</td>
<td>(1858-1860)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Malietoa Talavou Tonumaipē’a</td>
<td>(1860-1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Malietoa Laupepa</td>
<td>(1860-1898)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Malietoa To’oa Iosefo</td>
<td>(1888)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Malietoa Tanumafili I</td>
<td>(1898-1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Malietoa Tanumafili II (1939-2006)</td>
<td>(title currently vacant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tupua Tamasee</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Titimaea</td>
<td>(?-1891)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Lealofi I</td>
<td>(1891-1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Lealofi II</td>
<td>(1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Lealofi III</td>
<td>(1915-1929)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Mea’ole</td>
<td>(1929-1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Tupua Tamasee Efi</td>
<td>(1983-current holder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Matā’afa</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Fililisounu’u</td>
<td>(?-1863)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Tafagamanu</td>
<td>(1829-1863)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Iosefo</td>
<td>(1863-1912)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Tupuola Iose</td>
<td>(1912-1915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Salanoa Muliufi</td>
<td>(1915-1936)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Mulinuu’u I</td>
<td>(1936-1948)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Matā’afa Mulinuu’u II</td>
<td>(1948-1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Tuimaleali’ifano</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano Leavaise’eta Suatipatipa I</td>
<td>(?-c.1850)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano To’oa Sualauvī</td>
<td>(c.1850-c.1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano Fa’aoloi’i Si’ua’ana I</td>
<td>(c.1870-1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano Si’ua’ana II</td>
<td>(1937-1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano Suatipatipa II</td>
<td>(1939-1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tuimaleali’ifano Va’aletot’a</td>
<td>(1977-current holder)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tonga

Tu’i Tonga
1. Tu’i Tonga ‘Aho’eitu
2. Tu’i Tonga Lolofakangalo
3. Tu’i Tonga Fanga’one’one
4. Tu’i Tonga Līhau
5. Tu’i Tonga Kofutu
6. Tu’i Tonga Kaloa
7. Tu’i Tonga Ma’uhau
8. Tu’i Tonga ‘Apu’anae
9. Tu’i Tonga ‘Afufunga
10. Tu’i Tonga Momo
11. Tu’i Tonga Tu’itūtūi
12. Tu’i Tonga Talatama
13. Tu’i Tonganui Koe Tamatou
14. Tu’i Tonga Talaiha’a apepe
15. Tu’i Tonga Talakaifaiki
16. Tu’i Tonga Talafāpite
17. Tu’i Tonga Ma’akatoe
18. Tu’i Tonga Puipui
19. Tu’i Tonga Havea I
20. Tu’i Tonga Tatafu’eikimeimu’a
21. Tu’i Tonga Lomi’etupu’a
22. Tu’i Tonga Havea II
23. Tu’i Tonga Takalaua
24. Tu’i Tonga Kau’ulufonua
25. Tu’i Tonga Vakafuhu
26. Tu’i Tonga Puipuifatu
27. Tu’i Tonga Kau’ulufonua II
28. Tu’i Tonga Tapu’osi
29. Tu’i Tonga ‘Uluakimata
30. Tu’i Tonga Fatafehi
31. Tu’i Tonga Kau’ulufonua III
32. Tu’i Tonga ‘Uluakimata II
33. Tu’i Tonga Tu’ipulotu-‘ilangi I Tu’ofefafa
34. Tu’i Tonga Fakana’ana’a
35. Tu’i Tonga Tu’ipulotu-ilangu II Tu’oteau
36. Tu’i Tonga Paulaho
37. Tu’i Tonga Ma’ulupekotofa
38. Tu’i Tonga Fuanunuiava
39. Tu’i Tonga Laufilitonga (1827-1865 last title holder)

Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua
1. Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Mo’ungāmotu’a - (younger son of 23rd Tu’itonga Takalaua)
2. Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Tanekinga’otonga
3. Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Va’emotoka
4. Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Siulangapō
5. Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Vakalahimohe’uli
6. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Mo‘unga ‘o Tonga
7. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Fotofili
8. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Vaea
9. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Moeakiloa
10. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Tatafu
11. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Kafoamotatalau
12. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Tu‘ionukulave
13. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Silivakaiifanga
14. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Fuatakifolaha
15. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Tupoulahi - (originally 7th Tu‘i Kanokupolu)
16. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Maeniuaki - (originally the 8th Tu‘i Kanokupolu)
17. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Muimui
18. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Taofunaki
19. Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Mulikiha’a mea - (last title holder & originally 11th Tu‘i Kanokupolu)

Tu‘i Kanokupolu
1. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ngata - (son of 6th Tu‘i Ha’atakalau Mo‘unga ‘o Tonga)
2. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Atamata’ila
3. Tu‘i Kanokupolu MataeleTu’apiko
4. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mataeleha’a mea
5. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Vuna
6. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ma‘afu’otu’itonga
7. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi - (also 15th Tu‘i Ha’atakalau)
8. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Maenaliiaki - (also 16th Tu‘i Ha’atakalau)
9. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tu‘ihalafatai
10. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoulahisi’i
11. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mulikiha’a mea (also the 19th and last Tu‘i Ha’atakalau)
12. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoumoheofo (f)(c.1789-c.1793) (fem)
13. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Muimui
14. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tuku’aho
15. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Ma‘afu’olimuloa
16. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupoumālohi
17. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Tupouto’a
18. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Aleamotu’a
19. Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Taufa’ahau Tupou I (1845-1893)
20. Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Siaosi Tupou II (1893-1918)
21. Tu‘i Kanokupolu Queen Sālote Tupou III (1918-1965) (fem)
22. Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Taufa’ahau Tupou IV (1965-2006)
23. Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Taufa’ahau Tupou V (2006-current holder)

Tu‘ipelehake
1. Tu‘ipelehake Lekaumoana
2. Tu‘ipelehake ‘Uluvalu
3. Tu‘ipelehake Filiapiaipulotu
4. Tu‘ipelehake Fatafehi Toutaitokotaha (father of King Tupou II) (18??-1912)
5. Tu‘ipelehake Fatafehi Tu‘ifaleua Sione Ngū (1944-1999)
7. Tu‘ipelehake Viliami Tupoulahi Mailefihi (2006-current holder)
Finau ‘Ulukalala
1. Finau ‘Ulukalala I ‘i Ma’ofanga (17??-1797)
2. Finau ‘Ulukalala II Fangupō (1797-1809)
3. Finau ‘Ulukalala III Tuapasi (1809-1833)
4. Finau ‘Ulukalala IV Matekitonga (1853-1877)
5. Finau ‘Ulukalala V Misini (1877–1938)
6. Finau ‘Ulukalala VI Ha’amia (1938-1960)
7. HRH Prince Finau ‘Ulukalala ‘Ahoeitu (19??-2006)
8. HRH Prince Finau ‘Ulukalala Siaosi Manumataongo (2006-current holder)

Tu’ivakanō
1. Tu’ivakanō (third son of 3rd Tu’i Kanokupolu Mataeletu’apiko)
2. Tu’ivakanō Mafana I (c.1650)
3. Tu’ivakanō Tonga’uli
4. Tu’ivakanō Hafokame’e II
5. Tu’ivakanō Heimo’ulukau
6. Tu’ivakanō Fa
7. Tu’ivakanō Mafana II
8. Tu’ivakanō Viliami Vaea-mo-matele
9. Tu’ivakanō Uhi
10. Tu’ivakanō Viliami Vaea-mo-matele (?-1871)
11. Tu’ivakanō Manu’otua (1871-1888)
12. Tu’ivakanō Manoa (1889-1912)
13. Tu’ivakanō Tevita Polutele Kaho (Prime Minister) (1912-1923)
14. Tu’ivakanō Siosua Kaho (1923-1959)
15. Tu’ivakanō Siaosi Kiutau-i-vailahi Kaho (1959-1986)
16. Tu’ivakanō Siale’ataongo Kaho (1986-current holder & Prime Minister)
Fiji

Roko Tui Bau – Talilevu Province (Kubuna Confederacy)
1. Roko Tui Bau Vuetiverata
2. Roko Tui Bau Serumataidrau
3. Roko Tui Bau Tauriwalau Bake-i-Savai
4. Roko Tui Bau Veikoso
5. Roko Tui Bau Lele
6. Roko Tui Bau Raiwalui
7. Roko Tui Bau Ravulo Yakayaliyalo
8. Roko Tui Bau Niumataiwalu Kinita
9. Roko Tui Bau Tanoa
10. Roko Tui Bau Ilaitia Yakawaletabua
11. Roko Tui Bau Poasa Vakadewavanua
12. Roko Tui Bau Sailosi
13. Roko Tui Bau Semesa Qilotabu
14. Roko Tui Bau Nakavulevu
15. Roko Tui Bau Joni Madraiwiwi
16. Roko Tui Bau Antonio Rabici Daviverata

Vunivalu of Bau – Tailevu Province (Kubuna Confederacy)
1. Vunivalu Nailatikau (?-1770)
2. Vunivalu Banua Baleivavalagi (?-1803)
3. Vunivalu Naulivou Ramatenikutu (?-1829)
4. Vunivalu Tanoa Visawaqa (?-1852)
5. Vunivalu Navuaka Komainaqaranikula
6. Vunivalu Seru Cakobau (1815-1883)
7. Vunivalu Epeli Nailatikau (1842-1901) posthumously held
8. Vunivalu Penaia Kadavulevu (?-1914) posthumously held
9. Vunivalu Popi Seniole (?-1936)
10. Vunivalu Tevita Naulivou (?-1957) posthumously held
   (no current holder)

Roko Tui Dreketi - Rewa Province (Burebasaqa Confederacy)
1. Roko Tui Dreketi Rawalai
2. Roko Tui Dreketi Tabaivalu (?-1839)
3. Roko Tui Dreketi Koroitama (?-1839)
4. Roko Tui Dreketi Batiwakai (?-1839)
5. Roko Tui Dreketi Macanavai Tuisawau (?-1839)
6. Roko Tui Dreketi Cokonau (1810-1851)
7. Roko Tui Dreketi Qaraniqio (?-1855)
8. Roko Tui Dreketi Banuve Kania (?-1845)
9. Roko Tui Dreketi B.V. Rabici (?-1874)
10. Roko Tui Dreketi Timoci Tavanavanua (1847-1888)
11. ...
12. Roko Tui Dreketi Lutunauga Tuisawau (1881-1945)
13. Roko Tui Dreketi Emori Bikavana Logavatu (1885-1959)
Tui Cakau - Cakaudrove Province (Tovata Confederacy)
1. …
2. …
3. Tui Cakau Vakamino (?-c.1829)
4. Tui Cakau Yavalanavanua (?-1845)
5. Tui Cakau Ralulu (?-1845)
6. Tui Cakau Tuikiaikia (?-1854)
7. Tui Cakau Vakalolo (?-1854)
8. Tui Cakau Raivalita (?-1862)
9. Tui Cakau Goleanavanua (?-1879)
10. Tui Cakau Josefa Lalabalavu (1860-1905)
11. Tui Cakau Joni Antonio Rabici (?-1925)
12. Tui Cakau Glanville Wellington Lalabalavu (1893-1946)
13. Tui Cakau Josefa Ratavo Lalabalavu (?-1988)
15. Tui Cakau Glanville Lalabalavu (1929-1999)
16. Tui Cakau Naiqama Lalabalavu (2001-current holder)

Roko Sau & Tui Nayau – Lau Province
1. Roko Sau Jepesa Niumataiwalu
2. Roko Sau Tevita Uluílakeba
3. Roko Sau-Tui Nayau (#1) Rasolo
4. Roko Sau Matawalu
5. Roko Sau Dranivia
6. Roko Sau Lubati Lakeba
7. Roko Sau-Tui Nayau (#2) Malani (?-1833)
8. Roko Sau-Tui Nayau (#3) Taliai Tupou (1833-1875)
9. Roko Sau Tevita Uluílakeba II
10. Roko Sau-Tui Nayau (#4) Eroni Loganimoce (1876-1898)
11. Roko Sau-Tui Nayau (#5) Alifereti Finau Ulugalala (1898-1934)
(no current holder)

Tui Lau – Lau Province
1. Tui Lau Enele Ma’afu (1869-1881)
2. Tui Lau Lalabalavu Sukuna (1938-1958)
Rarotonga (Cook Islands)

Pa Ariki (of Takitumu – Rarotonga)
1. Pa Ariki Tai-te-Ariki (Te-Ariki-Upoko-Tini)
2. Pa Ariki Tapu-tapu-atea
3. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Upoko-Tini II
4. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-o-te-Rangi
5. Pa Ariki Tui-te-Rangi
6. Pa Ariki Rongo
7. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Upoko-Tini III
8. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-noo-Rangi
9. Pa Rongo-te-Uira
10. Pa Ariki Te-Akaariki
11. Pa Ariki Rangi
12. Pa Ariki Te Tumu
13. Pa Ariki Te Aio
14. Pa Ariki Tapa-Rangi
15. Pa Ariki Pare
16. Pa Ariki Mauri-Rangi
17. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Range Vananga
18. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-soft-taua
19. Pa Ariki Nuku-o-Taranga
20. Pa Ariki Te-au-tanga-nuku
21. Pa Ariki Takave
22. Pa Ariki Tui-kuporu
23. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Erak
24. Pa Ariki Nga-poko Akaturanga
25. Pa Ariki Tutarangi
26. Pa Ariki Te Vei
27. Pa Ariki Ara-ki-vara-vara
28. Pa Ariki Tingia
29. Pa Ariki Rangi II
30. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Upoko-Tini IV
31. Pa Ariki Vaerua
32. Pa Ariki Tautu
33. Pa Ariki Iria
34. Pa Ariki Aitu-Pou
35. Pa Ariki Moe-tara-uri
36. Pa Ariki Ako
37. Pa Ariki Akaariki
38. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Upoko-Tini V
39. Pa Ariki Tamaru
40. Pa Ariki Mata
41. Pa Ariki Te-rua-roa
42. Pa Ariki Tapu-tapu-atea II
43. Pa Ariki Te-pou-ariki (1823-1855)
44. Pa Ariki Te-Ariki-Upoko-Takau (Pa Mary) (1855-1890) (fem)
45. Pa Ariki Maretu (1890-1907)
46. Pa Ariki Tetianui (1907-1923) - (married Makea Vakatini Daniela) (fem)
47. Pa Ariki Tapaueru (1932-1943) (fem)
49. Pa Ariki Marie Peyroux (1990-current holder) (fem)
Makea Kariki Ariki (of Te-au-oTonga – Rarotonga)

1. Makea Karika
2. Makea Karika Putaki-te-tai
3. Makea Karika Te Ariki-aka-mataku
4. Makea Karika Te-atau-rereao
5. Makea Karika Te Ariki-i-te-au
6. Makea Karika Te Ariki-noo-marie
7. Makea Karika Tama-puretu
8. Makea Karika Peau-rongo
9. Makea Karika Te-konak
10. Makea Karika Te-taiti
11. Makea Karika Te-ra-tu
12. Makea Karika Te Ariki-ape-tini Rongo-oe
13. Makea Karika Teina
14. Makea Karika Tauira-ariki
15. Makea Karika Tuke-rae
16. Makea Karika Ta-ruia
17. Makea Karika Te-rangi-tu-ki-vao
18. Makea Karika Rangi Makea
19. Makea Karika Te-patua-kino

At this point the line splits into three different chiefs; Makea Nui (senior line), Makea Karika (junior line) and Makea Vakatini (junior line).

Makea Nui (senior line)

1. Makea Nui Pini
2. Make Nui Tinirau
3. Makea Nui Pori (1823-1839)
4. Makea Nui Davida (1839-1845)
5. Makea Nui Te-Vaerua (1845-1857) (fem)
6. Makea Nui Daniela (1857-1866)
7. Makea Nui Abela (1866-1871)
8. Makea Nui Takau (1871-1911) – Ceded CI to Britain 1888, NZ 1900 (fem)
9. Makea Nui Rangi Makea (1911-1921)
10. Makea Nui Tinirau Teremoana (1921-1939)
11. Makea Nui Tinirau Takau Margaret (1939-1947) (fem)
15. Makea Nui Margaret Mere Maraea (fem)

Makea Kariki (Junior) (of Te-au-oTonga – Rarotonga)

1. Makea Karika Keu
2. Makea Karika Tekao
3. Makea Karika II
4. Makea Karika Pa Tuaiivi
5. Makea Karika Tavake
6. Makea Karika Takau Tuaraupoko (1893-1942) (fem)
7. Makea Karika Pa George DCM (1942-1949)
8. Makea Karika Takau Margaret MBE (1949-1994) (fem)
   (currently vacant)
### Makea Vakatini (Junior) (of Te-au-oTonga – Rarotonga)
1. Makea Vakatini I
2. Makea Vakatini Kay
3. Makea Vakatini Te Pou Makea (1823-1847)
4. Makea Vakatini Manarangi (1847-1893)
5. Makea Vakatini Tepou o te rangi (1893-1898)
6. Makea Vakatini Daniela – married Pa Ariki Tetianui
7. Makea Vakatini Te Ua Pou
8. Makea Vakatini Te Pou
9. Makea Vakatini Ina
10. Makea Vakatini Joseph (?-current holder)

### Tinomana Ariki (of Puaikura – Rarotonga)
1. Tinomana Napa
2. Tinomana Ra
3. Tinomana Temutu
4. Tinomana Te Ariki
5. Tinomana Eruarurutini (1823-1854)
6. Tinomana Teariki Tapurangi (Setepano) (1854-1868)
7. Tinomana Makea Tamu (1868-1881)
8. Tinomana Mereana (1881-1908) (fem)
9. Tinomana Napa II (1908-1909)
10. Tinomana Pirangi (1910-1915)
11. Tinomana Ngatarariau (1915-1916) (fem)
12. Tinomana Tuoro (1916-1934)
13. Tinomana Pirangi John (1934-1948)
17. Tinomana Tokerau Munro (2013-current holder) (fem)

### Kainuku Ariki (of Takitumu – Rarotonga)
1. Kainuku Angakuku (late 18th century)
2. Kainuku Rapoanga (late 18th early 19th century)
3. Kainuku Tamoko (1823)
4. Kainuku Nia
5. Kainuku Toe
6. Kainuku Pekarau (fem)
7. Kainuku Parapu
8. Kainuku Vaike Tamoko – (married Puipui Te Wherowhero)
9. Kainuku Charles Cowan
Maori

Kingitanga (Te Wherowhero of Tainui)
1. King Potatau Te Wherowhero I (1856-1860)
2. King Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero II (1860-1894)
3. King Mahuta Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero III (1894-1912)
4. King Rata Mahuta Te Wherowhero IV (1912-1933)
5. King Morokī Mahuta Te Wherowhero V (1933-1966)
6. Dame Queen Te Atairangikaahu Paki Te Wherowhero VI (1966-2006) (fem)

Te Heuheu (of Ngati Tuwharetoa)
1. Ariki Nui Herea Te Heuheu Tukino I (?-1820)
2. Ariki Nui Mananui Te Heuheu Tukino II (1820-1846)
3. Ariki Nui Iwikau Te Heuheu Tukino III (1846-1862)
4. Ariki Nui Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino IV (1862-1888)
5. Ariki Nui Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V (1888-1921)
6. Ariki Nui Hoani Te Heuheu Tukino VI (1921-1944)
7. Ariki Nui Sir Hēpi Te Heuheu Tukino VII (1944-1997)
8. Ariki Nui Sir Tumu Te Heuheu Tukino VIII (1997-current holder)
APPENDIX 3: NOTABLE POLYNESIAN CHIEFS

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Samoa

Tagaloaalagi – According to Samoan mythology, he was the creator god.

Tui Manu’a Satiailemoa – He is believed to be the first Tui Manu’a

Malietoa Savea ca.1250 - He is believed to be the first holder of the Malietoa title. He is the brother of the famous brothers, Tuna and Fata who chased the Tongan king, Tui Tonga Talakaifeiki out of Samoa

Tui Manu’a Ali’amatua - He is the 14th Tui Manu’a that lived sometime in the 13th Century. He is believed to have sailed from Manu’a to the Cook Islands and settled on Rarotonga. He is also believed to have started the Karika line of ariki named after him. Karika is believed to be a cognate of Ali’a

Malietoa Uilamatutu (Faigā) - A feared and tyrannical ruler. For this reason, he was also known as Malietoa Faigā i.e. Malietoa the tyrant. He was a cannibal and demanded a fresh human sacrifice every day for his meal. One day his son Poluleuligana wrapped himself up in banana leaves and offered himself up for sacrifice. Upon discovering it was his son, Malietoa Uilamatutu denounced cannibalism.

Malietoa Taiapopo (female) - According to some sources, she was the only female to have held the Malietoa title. She succeeded her father Malietoa Taulapapa and was succeeded by her son Malietoa Tuilaepa.

Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi - He was the son of Vaetamasoalii and her husband Selaginatō. On his mother’s side, he was a descendant of the Malietoa family, and on his father’s side, he was a descendant of the Tui A’ana family. As a baby, he was kidnapped by the A’ana orators, Tutuila and Ape, and taken to be raised in A’ana as their king. He had unions with ten women of chiefly rank. His tenth wife was Vaetoeifaga, the daughter of Tuitoga Faaulufanua (Tui Tonga Kauulufonua). From this union was born Salamāsina, the future Queen of Samoa.

Salamāsina ca.1500 (female) - Daughter of Tui A’ana Tamaalelagi and Vaetoeifaga (daughter of Tui Tonga Faatupunuu). She was raised by her aunty, Levalasi (also known as So’oa’emalelagi). She was the first person in Samoa’s history to hold all four pāpā titles making her the first Tafa’ifā or supreme ruler of the whole of Samoa. She lived sometime around the mid fifteenth century.

Fofoivaoese (female) - She succeeded to the Tui A’ana title after her mother Queen Salamāsina. Despite holding the Tui A’ana title, she was not recognised as a queen because she was believed to be an illegitimate daughter of Alapepe, her mother’s secret lover.

Taufau (female) - She was the daughter of Fofoivaoese and Tauatamainiulaita. In her lifetime, she succeeded to both the Tui A’ana and the Tui Atua titles making her the ruler or queen of both districts. She disinherited her son Tupuivao after declining her requests three
times to come to her on her death bed. Instead she passed the leadership mantle onto her sister’s son Faumuinā

Faumuinā - He became king at the will of his dying aunty Taufau. As expected, Faumuinā and his cousin Tupuivao went to war over the kingship however at the orders of the late queen, Atua and A’ana sided with Faumuinā and defeated Tupuivao. The Tui Atua and the Tui A’ana titles were then bestowed on Faumuinā. He had unions with three separate women of chiefly status and bore a child from each woman. They were Fonoī, Samalaeulu and Vaafusuaga (Toleafoa)

Fonoī - After the death of their father Faumuinā, Fonoī and his two younger siblings, Samalaeulu and Vaafusuaga (Also known as Toleafoa) began to quarrel among themselves for each desired to succeed their father as king. Their father had not declared a successor. The two younger siblings then sided with each other and went to war with Fonoī. Fonoī’s party eventually over powered that of his rival siblings and he became king. Fonoī also acquired the Vaetamasoalii & Gatoaitele pp titles making him the second ever Tafa’ifā. Before his death, Fonoī made an agreement with his brother Toleafoa that

Muagututî’a - He was Fonoī’s eldest son to his wife Fuatino. He was installed as king following the death of his father. He had unions with three women of chiefly rank and had five children, Fuiavailili Tupua (adopted), Fepuleai’, Sina, Mata’utia, Tuala’a and Toloapatina. His reign was a relatively peaceful one with no wars.

Fuiavailili Tupua - Was made king on account of his adopted fathers dying wish. Although adopted by Muagututî’a, he was however still eligible for the kingship being a direct descendant of Queen Salamasina herself. He did not meet with any difficulty in acquiring the four pāpā titles. He had four unions which produced him five children, Afoafouvale, Galumalemana, Luafalemana, Tautisusua and Tufugatasī. Tradition does not record any wars happening during his reign therefore it is assumed that it was a relatively peaceful one. He is the founder of the Sa Tupua family with whom the kingship line now followed.

Galumalemana – Galumalemana’s assent to the kingship was a break in tradition of succession by the eldest child. He was the second son of King Fuiavailili Tupua. His elder brother Afoa had been appointed by their dying father to succeed him. At the same time rival districts installed Galumalemana as king. Tradition has it that at a meeting in Falealili, Galumalemana was ordered to kiss his older brother, the king’s feet for forgiveness. While trying to do so, Afoa declined the peace gesture and opted for war, the visitor being declared as the true king. The war was waged and the younger Galumalemana was duly installed king of Samoa. He had unions with five women and from those unions had many children. There were no wars of importance during his lifetime however trouble soon arose after his death. This is believed to have come about because of the naming of his youngest and unborn child (I’amafana) as his heir.

Malietao Fitisemanu ca.1750 - He is the son of Malietao Tia. He is the Malietao that was believed to have gone to Nafanua at the end of war Aea-i-sasae ma le Aea-i-sísifo to ask for a share of the government. Having arrived too late, it is said that Nafanua said to him that only the tail of the government is left, however he is to await a new government that will come from heaven. Many have interpreted this as Nafanua’s prophecy of the coming of Christianity to Samoa, a mission accepted by Malietao Fitisemanus son, Vainu’upō.
Nofoasaefā ca.1750 - He was the eldest child and son of Galumalemana to his first wife Galuegaapapa. Because his fathers designated heir had not been born, he pursued his claim to the kingship however he only had the support of the district A’ana. Despite being installed as the Tui A’ana, he was not satisfied as like his father before him. He wanted to be king of all of Samoa.

I’amafana ca.1800 - He was the youngest child of King Galumalemana of his fifth union with Sauimalae. Following the death of his older brother Nofoasaefā, his succession as designated by his dying father wasn’t fully accepted as another half-brother, Tupolesava also claimed a right to succeed their father. A short war pursued between the two claimants but the I’amafana forces were too powerful. After his victory, he was installed as the Tui Atua as well as the Supreme Ruler of Samoa. It is said that he named Vainu’upō (son of Malietoa Fitisemanu) as his heir.

Tamafaigā ca.1820 - Also known as Lei’ataua Pe’a and on account of his inhumane cruelty he was named Tamafaigā. He succeeded his father Leiatua Lologa as Supreme Chief of Samoa. He had acquired great notoriety as a taulāitu (war priest) and was believed to have been possessed by the spirit of Nafanua. On the account of his strength and support, Malietoa Vainuupō who had earlier been bequeathed the kingship be I’amafana, joined the Tamafaigā faction. Once he obtained the Tui A’ana title, the other three titles were bestowed making him in the process the Supreme Ruler of Samoa. He met his untimely death some time shortly before 1830 when he was set upon and killed by warriors from Fasitoouta.

Matafa Fililisoumuu (-?1829) - He is believed to have been the very first holder of the tama’aiiga title Matā’afa. He is the son of Fa’asauamaleaui who in turn was the great grandson of King Tupua Fuiavailili through his mother’s side thus endowing Fililisoumuu with high rank and a royal connection. He was both a contemporary and an adversary of King Malietoa Vainu’upō.

Malietoa Vainuupō (17?-1841) - He is the son of Malietoa Fitisemanu. He succeeded Tamafaigā as the most paramount chief of all of Samoa and held all four pāpā making him the first Malietoa to gain Tafa’ifā status. It was he that met the LMS missionaries in 1830, accepting for the first time, the Christian church in Samoa. It is believed that before his death, he willed that the four pāpā titles never be held again by one person to prevent the wars because Samoa was now a Christian nation. He was therefore acknowledged by some historians as the last ever Tafaifā. (Image courtesy of History Makers of Samoa’- by Shirley Tarburton)

Tuimaleali’ifano To’o Sualauvī (held title c.1850-c.1870) - He is believed to have been the very first holder of the tama’aiiga title Tuimaleali’ifano. He was of extremely high rank, being a direct descendant of both King Galumalemana and Malietoa Fitisemanu through his mother Tuitofa. Tuitofa was a half-sister of King Malietoa Vainuupō. According to popular belief, he was willed the Tui A’ana title following the death of his uncle King Malietoa Vainuupō. Other sources claim that at one point, he too also held all four pāpā titles. (Image courtesy of ‘O tama a ‘āiga : the politics of succession to Samoa’s paramount titles’ – by Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano)
Mata’afa Tafagamanu (1829-1863) - He is the son of Mata’afa Filifilisounuu. He was bequeathed the Tui Atua title by King Malietoa Vainuupō in 1841. He is known for assisting the Marist priests to begin their work in Samoa by giving them a place to live and begin work.

Malietoa Taimalelagi (held title 1841-1859) - He was also known as Malietoa Gatuitasina. He was a half-brother of Malietoa Vainuupō. He was bestowed the Malietoa title upon the death of his older brother in 1841.

Malietoa Mōlī (held title 1859-1860) - He is the eldest son of Malietoa Vainuupō. He was an LMS teacher before succeeding his uncle as Malietoa in 1859. His reign was short lived following his death in 1860.

Malietoa Talavou Tonumaip’ea (held title 1860-1880) - He is the younger son of Malietoa Vainuupō and younger half-brother of Malietoa Mōlī. Following the death of his older brother, a succession battle began between himself and his nephew Laupepa over the Malietoa title. Unable to settle on a single successor, both Talavou and his nephew were bestowed the Malietoa title by their respective supporters. Some sources claim his son Faalata was bestowed the Malietoa title following his death however he was not officially recorded as a holder of the Malietoa title. Malietoa Talavou resided in Sapapali’i for most of his reign.

Malietoa Laupepa (held title 1860-1898) - He is the son of Malietoa Mōlī. He jointly held the Malietoa title with his uncle Malietoa Talavou. This lead to frequent wars between the two factions which continued on and off until 1879. After the death of his uncle in 1880, he held the title on his own. He played a major role in the framing of Samoa’s first constitution in 1873 under the influence of an American, Colonel Steinburger. He spent most of his reign in the village of Malie. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Tupua Tamasese Titimaea (1830-1891) - See page 250 for bio. (Image courtesy of freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com)

Tui Manu’a Tauveve - He is acknowledged as being the Tui Manu’a that welcomed Christianity to Eastern Samoa (American Samoa).

Tui Manu’a Makerita (c.1872-1895) (fem) - She was only one of two women to have held the Tui Manu’a title. When the title became vacant following the death of Tui Manu’a Alalamua in 1890, three contenders were put forward. They were Elisala (son of Alalamua from a female branch - Avaloa), Taofi (from another female branch Faleso) and Mekerita (from the male branch Anoalo). Despite being only 18 years of age and the only female, she was elected by virtue of her being a descendant of the male branch. She died in 1895 after having held the title for only 5 years. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)
Tui Manu’a Elisala (held title 1899-1909) - He was officially the last holder of the Tui Manu’a title. He attended the London Missionary Society in Malua, Western Samoa, and returned to his native village of Fitiuta as a Congregationalist Minister. After the death of Tui Manu’a Alalamua, he was approached to be the successor of the late Tui Manu’a but he declined on the grounds of his ministry work. A close relative, Makerita was instead bestowed the Tui Manu’a title. When the United States of America took over Eastern Samoa in 1899, the people of Eastern Samoa pushed for Elisalato lead them as the Tui Manu’a. This he accepted and was bestowed the title later that year. In 1904 he officially ceded Manu’a to the United States through the signing of the Deed of Succession. He was then relegated to the role of Governor of Manu’a with the understanding that when he dies, so will the title of Tui Manu’a. Tui Manu’a Elisala died in 1909.

Matâ’aafa Iosefo (held title 1863-1912) - He is the nephew of Matâ’aafa Tafagamanu. He was first put forward as a candidate of the king-ship by his supporters in 1875 but did not succeed against his contemporaries, Malietoa Laupepa and Tupua Tamasese Titimaea. When Malietoa Laupepa was banished by the Germans in 1888, he took up the cause for the Malietoa clan under the title of Malietoa To’oa. From 1889 to 1899, he would be frequently installed and dropped as the king, each time being replaced by former ally Malietoa Laupepa and his successor, Malietoa Tanumafili I. In 1899, Samoa was partitioned and Western Samoa became German Samoa. In the new German administration, he was installed as Ali’i Sili, the most paramount chief in all of Samoa. This was largely a ceremonial role as the German Kaiser was seen as the king of Samoa. He died in 1912, and the position of Ali’i Sili was demolished.

Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe (c1850-1915) - The title Lauaki was originally given to his father by King Taufa’ahau Tupou I on a trip to Samoa. Lauaki is a matapule title of the Tongan King. Lauaki Mamoe had a reputation across the whole of Samoa as a gifted orator and a warrior. He often fought on the side of Malietoa, and was instrumental in convincing villages and districts to join their forces. From 1908 to 1909, he lead the Mau o Pule, a protest movement against the German administration of the time. In 1909, the Germans deported him and a few his supporters to Saipan. When New Zealand took over Samoa in 1914, Lauaki and his supporters were returned however Lauaki died on the journey before he made it back to his beloved Samoa.

Tupua Tamsese Lealofi I (c.1860-1915) - See page 250 for bio.

Tupua Tamsese Lealofi II (held title 1915) - See page 250 for bio.
Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III (held title 1915-1929) - See page 250 for bio. (Image courtesy of I.samoan.com)

Malietoa Tanumafili I (1880-1939) - He is the son of Malietoa Laupepa. He was bestowed the Malietoa title in 1898 at the age of 18. He was sent off to Fiji to study and was there until 1901. In 1908, he was promoted by Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe as a leader of the Mau a Pule movement. When Matā’afa Iosefo died in 1912, the position of Ali’i Sili was abolished however in 1913, Governor Solf made both Malietoa Tanumafili I and Tupua Tamasese Lealofi I joint fautua or advisers to the German administration. When he died in 1939, he had held the Malietoa title for 41 years and was the last proclaimed King of Samoa. (Image courtesy of nzhistory.net.nz)

Matā’afa Salanoa (held title 1915-1936) - He is a descendant of two tama’aiga titles, Matā’afa and Tuimaleali’ifano, making him a person of extreme high rank. He is the great grandson of the first Matā’afa, Matā’afa Filifilisounuu, and the grandson of the first Tuimaleali’ifano, Tuimaleali’ifano Sualauvī. In 1926 he was appointed a Fautua of the New Zealand administration. He studied for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Europe and Australia and was known to speak French, German, English and Samoan fluently. (Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton)

Tuimaleali’ifano Faaoloii Siua’ana I (1853-1937) - He is the son of Tuimaleali’ifano Sualauvī. He is also a direct descendant of the Malietoa family as his mother was the sister of Malietoa Fitisemanu. He inherited the Tuimaleali’ifano title after the death of his father sometime in the early 1870s. After the death of Matā’afa Iosefo, he was made a Fautua. He was also a strong supporter of the Mau movement of the 1920s. Although it was recorded that he was 84 when he died it was believed that he was much older. He married six times and had many children from the unions. (Image courtesy of nztec.org)

Matā’afa Muliniu I (held title 1936-1948) - He became the 6th Matā’afa after the death of Matā’afa Salanoa. He was however the first Matā’afa not directly descended from the first Ma’afa Filifilisounuu, but from an earlier common ancestor. After the tragic death of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi the III in 1929, he took over the leadership of the Mau movement. In 1936 he was appointed the Supervisor of the Native Police, the same year he was bestowed the Mā’atafa title. In 1943, he was appointed a Fautua of the New Zealand administration along with Tupua Tamasese Meaole and Malietoa Tanumafili II. (Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton)
**Tui Manu’a Kilisi Taliutafa** - Also known as Chris Young. He is the younger brother of Tui Manu’a Makerita. In 1924 American Samoa tried to revive the office of the Tui Manu’a and bestowed it upon Kilisi Taliutafa. The then Governor Stanley Kellogg opposed the bestowal and had Kilisi removed to neighbouring island Tutuila where he wasn’t able to execute the powers of his office. Stanley did not recognise the title on the basis that a monarchy was incompatible within the framework of the Constitution of the United States and the previous Tui Manu'a had pledged to be the last person to hold the title.

**Tupua Tamasese Meaole (held title 1929-1963)** - See Chapter 7

(‘Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton)

**Malietoa Tanumafili II (1939-2006)** - He is the son of Malietoa Tanumafili I. He was appointed a Fautua (adviser to the administration) in 1947 and became a member of the Legislative Council of Western Samoa in 1948. Along with Tupua Tamasese Meaole, they became joint chairmen of the working committee on independence and later the constitutional convention. When Western Samoa gained its independence in 1962, he was made joint Head of State along with Tupua Tamasese. When Tupua Tamasese passed away the following year, he held the position of Head of State solely until his death in 2006.

(‘Image courtesy of thefullwiki.org’)

**Tuimaleali’ifano Suatipatipa II (held title 1939-1974)** - He is the 4th Tuimalealiiano and son of Tuimalealiifano Faaoloi Siuaana I. He was the first and only member of the Council of Deputies when Western Samoa gained independence in 1962.

(‘Image courtesy of ‘O tama a ‘āiga : the politics of succession to Samoa’s paramount titles’ – by Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano’)

**Matā’afa Mulinuu II (1921-1975)** - He is the son of Matā’afa Mulinuu I. He was bestowed the Matā’afa title following the death of his father in 1948. He is also a direct descendant of the Malietoa line, his mother Faamusami being the daughter of Malietoa Laupepa, making Malietoa Tanumafili II his first cousin. He attended Malua Theological College and qualified as a lay preacher. Along with Tupua Tamasese and Malietoa, he was part of a Council of State that worked with the New Zealand administration to move Samoa towards independence. When Samoa became independent in 1962, he was appointed the country’s first Prime Minister. He held the position of Prime Minister from 1962 to 1970, and then from 1973 until his death in 1975.

(‘Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton’)


(‘Image courtesy of samoatimes.co.nz’)

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**Tuimaleali’ifano Suatipatipa II (held title 1939-1974)** - Image courtesy of ‘O tama a ‘āiga : the politics of succession to Samoa’s paramount titles’ – by Morgan Tuimaleali’ifano.

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**Malietoa Tanumafili II (1939-2006)** - Image courtesy of thefullwiki.org.

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**Tupua Tamasese Meaole (held title 1929-1963)** - Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton.

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**Matā’afa Mulinuu II (1921-1975)** - Image courtesy of ‘History Makers of Samoa’ - by Shirley Tarburton.

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Matā’afa Faasuamaleaui Puela (held title 1975-1997) - He is a direct descendant of the first Matā’afa, Matā’afa Filifilisouunu. His bestowal of the title meant the title was returned to the original line after forty years being held by two previous holders of the younger line. He was a member of the Council of Deputies.

Tupua Tamasese Efi (current holder) - See page 247 for bio.

(images courtesy of cathnews.co.nz)

Tuimaleali’ifano Vaaletoa (current holder) - He is the 5th and current holder of the Tuimaleali’ifano title. He inherited the title in 1977 after the death of his uncle and predecessor Tuimaleali’ifano Suatipatipa II. His appointment to the title was controversial as it was done so through a court judgement. This was a result of the heirs failing to agree on a single successor. Tuimaleali’ifano started his career as a police officer, and later studied law. He is currently a practicing lawyer as well as a member of the Council of Deputies. (Image courtesy of govt.ws)

(images courtesy of govt.ws)

Matā’afa Tupuola Lui (bestowed title in 2011) - He is the great grandson of Alii Sili Matā’afa Iosefo. After the death of his predecessor in 1997, the heirs of Matā’afa were unable to agree on a single successor leading to the title being vacant for fourteen years. Not only was his bestowal the first time a tamaʻāiga title was bestowed in this century, but it was the first to have had the large media coverage it got. This meant that it was witnessed by many Samoans unlike ceremonies of the past. His tamaʻāiga status would mean that it is likely that he will be inducted into the Council of Deputies. (Image courtesy of samoanewsonline.com)

(images courtesy of samoanewsonline.com)

Fiamē Naomi Matā’afa - Although she does not currently hold any of the four tamaʻāiga titles, she is actually a direct descendant of both the Matā’afa and Malietoa titles. Her father is the late Matā’afa Mulinuu II who was Samoa’s first Prime Minister, and she is a great granddaughter of Malietoa Laupepa. She was educated in New Zealand and started a political science degree at Victoria University before being called back home to take up the leadership role of her family following the death of her father. She entered politics in 1985 and has been in it ever since. She has held many ministerial positions. (Image courtesy of samoanews.com)

(images courtesy of samoanews.com)

Papāliʻi Mōli Malietoa - He is the son of the late Malietoa Tanumafili II. Following the death of his father in 2006, he was bestowed the Malietoa title. Given that it was bestowed only by one of three lines that own the rights, complaints were filed to the Land and Titles court to oppose the bestowal. The matter was taken to courts and the outcome was that his bestowal was not done with the entire families agreement hence it was annulled. The title is currently vacant while families discuss the succession issue. (Image courtesy of samoanews.com)
Tonga

Tu’i Tonga Ahoeitu (c.95AD) - According to Tongan scholars Ahoeitu was the son of the creator god Tangaloa Eitumtupua. He is also believed to have been the first Tongan chief to begin to extend his authority beyond Tonga. He is also responsible for the wrestling away of power from the Tui Manu’a of Samoa who had before him ruled over many of the Polynesian island groups.

Tu’ipelehake - The Tu’ipelehake title traces its origins back to the very first Tu’i Tonga, Ahoeitu. His oldest brother, Talafale, fell out of grace with their father and was bestowed the titles Tu’i Pelehake and Tu’i Faleua, a backup in case the Tu’i Tonga line would die out. Despite its ancient origins, the first holder of the title was Lekaumoana who lived sometime around the mid-18th century.

Tu’i Tonganui ko e Tamatou (11th/12th century) - The 13th Tu’i Tonga. This Tu’i Tonga was actually not a real person, but a wooden statue that was standing in as a child of the previous Tu’i Tonga, Talatama. Its successor was Tu’i Tonga Talaihaapepe who was actually the brother of Talatama but was made out to be the son of the wooden Tu’i Tonga.

Tu’i Tonga Talakaifeiki (c.1250) - He was the Tu’i Tonga that started the decline of the Tu’i Tonga empire throughout Polynesia. He resided mostly in Samoa. On the account of his cruelty he was chased out of Samoa, and this event also resulted in the creation of the Samoan title of Malietoa.

Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Moungamotua (c.1470) - He is the son of the 23rd Tu’i Tonga Takalaaua and the younger brother of the 24th Tu’i Tonga Kaulufanua I. The Tu’i Ha’atakalaau was a line named after their father and it quickly took over the day-to-day duties of the Tu’i Tonga, the sacred ruler. Over time, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaau would eclipse the Tu’i Tonga as the main ruler of Tonga.

Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Fotofili (c.1640) - He was the eldest son of the 6th Tu’i Ha’atakalaau, Mounga o Tonga. He is the Tu’i Ha’atakalaau that met Abel Tasman in 1643.

Tu’i Kanokupolu Ngata (c.1650) - He is the younger half-brother of Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Fotofili. His mother was a Samoan lady. His father Tu’i Ha’atakalaau Mounga o Tonga made him governor of Hihifo. Shortly after his appointment, he started the Tu’i Kanokupolu line.

Tupoulahi (c. 1760) - He was the 7th Tu’i Kanokupolu and son of the 6th Tu’i Kanokupolu, Ma’afu o Tu’i Tonga. He later relinquished his Tu’i Kanokupolu title because of old age and lack of support. He then became the 15th Tu’i Ha’atakalaau. At this point in time, the Tu’i Ha’atakalaau had clearly become secondary to the Tu’i Kanokupolu.

Maecaliuaki (c.1770) - Like his older brother Tupoulahi, he was first bestowed the Tu’i Kanokupolu (8th) title, and later gave it up and became the 16th Tu’i Ha’atakalaau. In 1777 he met Captain Cook as Tu’i Ha’atakalaau. It is believed that he was officially the last Tu’i Ha’atakalaau installed.

Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoumoheofo (fem) - (held title c.1789-c.1793) She was the 12th Tu’i Kanokupolu. At the time of her instalment, she was the first and only holder of the Tu’i
Kanokupolu title. In fact no women had ever held the Tu’i Tonga and the Tu’i Ha’atakalaua titles as well. She was daughter of 7th Tu’i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi and the principal wife of 36th Tu’i Tonga Paulaho. She was Tu’i Kanokupolu for a short while and was replaced by her uncle, Tu’i Kanokupolu Mumui.

**Tu’i Kanokupolu Tukuaho (17??-1799) -** He was the 14th Tu’i Kanokupolu and son of 13th Tu’i Kanokupolu Mumui. He had a reputation of being a fierce warrior and a great leader.

**Tu’ivakanō** - See page 252 for bio.

**Finau Ulukalala I Maofanga (c.1750)** - He is the grandson of the 4th Tu’i Kanokupolu, Mataelehamea. He held great authority in the Vava’u island group, contrary to the belief that the Tu’i Kanokupolu had authority over all of Tonga. *(Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)*

**Finau Ulukalala II Fangupō (c.1800)** - He is the son of Finau Ulukalala I Maofanga and a contemporary of his cousin Tu’i Kanokupolu Tukuaho. He extended his authority to the island group of Ha’apai thus making him the most power chief in Tonga at the time. He along with Tupounuia were responsible for the assassination of Tu’i Kanokupolu Tukuaho.

**Finau Ulukalala III Tuapasi (c.1800-1833)-** He is the son of Finau Ulukalala II Fangupō. He bacme Tu’i Vava’u in 1811. Before his death, he gave all the power of the Vava’u islands to his cousin and son-in-law Taufa’ahau.

**Tu’i Kanokupolu Maafuolimuloa (c.1800)** - He was bestowed the Tu’i Kanokupolu title and murdered on the same night.

**Taufa’ahau Tupou I (c1797-1893)** - He was the 19th Tu’i Kanokupolu and is the son of the 17th Tu’i Kanokupolu, Tupoutoa. Before the death of his father, he was installed as the Tu’i Ha’apai. After his baptism in 1831, he had declared himself King George of Tonga. Following the death of Ulukalala III in 1833, he became the Tu’i Vava’u. He had only Tongatapu to conquer making him the most powerful chief in Tonga but could not do so for his great uncle Tu’i Kanokupolu Aleamotua had control over Tongatapu. When his uncle died in 1845, he then conquered Tongatapu and the other chiefs had no choice but to install him as the Tu’i Kanokupolu. In 1875, the constitution of Tonga was created and Tonga officially became a monarchy with him as the King. Taufa’ahau lived to almost 10 years old and because he outlived his children and grandchildren, his successor was his great grandson, King George Tupou II. *(Image courtesy of en.domotica.net)*

**Laufilitonga (1797-1865)** - He was the 39th and last Tu’i Tonga. He was both a contemporary and adversary of Taufa’ahau I. He was bestowed the Tu’i Tonga title in 1827 at the same time Aleamotua was bestowed the Tu’i Kanokupolu title in Tongatapu. By this point the Tu’i Tonga title had lost most of its prestige and authority He was a king with neither political nor sacred power. Taufa’ahau was able to stop the Tui Tonga line growing by preventing one of his sisters from marrying Laufilitonga and producing an heir as was the custom of the time.
Tuivakanō Viliami Vaecomomatele (?-1871) - See page 253 for bio.

**Tu’i Kanokupolu King Siaosi Tupou II (1874-1918)** - He was the successor and great grandson of King George Taufa’ahau Tupou I. In 1893 he became King of Tonga at the young age of 18. He married Lavinia Veiongo, the great granddaughter of the last Tu’i Tonga Laufilitonga. This was seen as a strategic marriage to link the two lines and prevent any further attempts by the Tu’i Tonga line to claim any rule over Tonga. He fathered many children and is the grandfather of current Fijian president, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau. According to many commentators of the day, he was not a very good king and had left his government in a mess. He died in 1918. *(Image courtesy of royalark.net)*

*Veikune Siosateki Tonga Veikune*
- Siosateki became the first holder of the Veikune title which was officially made a noble in 1903. He was the Prime Minister of Tonga from 1893-1905. He was a long-time supporter of King Siaosi Tupou II *(Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)*

**Tuivakanō Tevita Polutele Kaho (Prime Minister 1912-1923)** - See page 253 for bio. *(Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)*

*Prince Tungi Mailefihi (1887-1941)* - He is a direct descendent of the now defunct Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua line. On his mother’s side, he was the great grandson of Finau Ulukalala III who at one point had control of more of Tonga than Taufa’ahau I. Tungi’s marriage to Queen Salote was an arrangement made by King Tupou II before he died. By marrying his daughter off to Tungi who was of the Tu’i Ha’atakalaaua line, he was able to merge all of the three kingly families together in a single union. The result being that the children of this union would have the blood of all three kingly lines in them. He held the office of Prime Minister from 1923-1941. Together with his wife Queen Salote, they ruled over Tonga successfully. He died in 1941. *(Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)*

**Tuivakanō Siosua Kaho (held title 1923-1959)** - See page 253 for bio.

*Tu’i Kanokupolu Queen Slote Tupou III (1900-1965)* - She is the eldest daughter of King Siaosi Tupou II. She was also the 21st Tu’i Kanokupolu making her the only second woman to have held the paramount title. From an early age, she was sent overseas for schooling. When her father died in 1918, she became the Queen of Tonga at the young age of 18. Before his death, her father had
arranged her marriage to Tungi Mailefihi, a direct descendant of the Tu‘i Ha‘atakalaua line. She did a lot for Tonga in terms of reviving traditional practices that were slowly being lost. In 1953 she attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London, and won the hearts of many by refusing to have the top of her carriage put up while it was raining. She did so out of respect to the Queen illustrating that no one is more important than the Queen on her coronation day. She was regarded as the most beloved monarch of Tonga. She died in 1965 after almost 5 years of rule. (Image courtesy of slv.vic.gov.au)

Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Taufaahau Tupou IV (1918-2006) - He is the eldest child of Queen Salote Tupou III and Prince Tungi Mailefihi. At birth, he was regarded as the first person to have the bloodlines of all three royal lines making him of extremely high rank. In 1937, he was bestowed the Tupoutoa noble title as the Crown Prince and following his father’s death, he was also bestowed the Tungi noble title which he held until his death. Like his mother before him, he was sent overseas for schooling and studied law at the Sydney University. He is said to be the first Tongan to have received a university qualification. Upon his return, he was quickly involved in politics, being appointed a Minister of Education (1943), Minister of Health (1944) and Prime Minister from 1949 to 1965. Following the death of Queen Salote in 1965, he was crowned King Tupou IV and installed as the 22nd Tu‘i Kanokupolu. He died in 2006 after 41 years as king. (Image courtesy of scoop.co.nz)

Prince Tu‘ipelehake Mailefihi (1922-1999) - He is the youngest son of Queen Salote and Prince Tungi. Like his brother, he too was mostly educated in Australia. Also like his older brother, he followed him into politics. From 1949-1952, he held the office of Governor of Vava‘u. And from 1952-1953 he was Governor of Ha‘apai. In 1965, he became the Prime Minister after his older brother vacated the role to be king. He remained Prime Minister before stepping down in 1991 due to health reasons. He held the titles of Tu‘ipelehake and Tu‘i Faleua until his death. His son succeeded to the Tu‘ipelehake title while the latter was returned to the king. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Baron Vaea Siaosi Tuihala Alipate (1922-2009) - He is the nephew of Queen Salote, the son of Vilai Tupou, a half-brother of the Queen. He was one of the first noble heirs to be educated overseas, attending Wesley College from 1938-1941. From 1942-1945, he served abroad in the Royal New Zealand Air Force. He was Governor of Ha‘apai from 1960-1968 and Tonga’s first High Commissioner to the UK from 1969-1972). From 1972-1991, he held many ministerial positions before becoming Prime Minister following the retirement of Prince Tu‘ipelehake. He remained Prime Minister until his retirement in 2000 after being one of Tonga’s longest serving civil servants. (Image courtesy of numismondo.com)

Tu‘i Kanokupolu King Siaosi Taufa’ahau Tupou V (1948-2012) - He is the eldest son of King Taufa‘ahau IV. Like his father before him, he studied overseas in Switzerland, New Zealand and England. In 1966, he was bestowed the Tupoutoa title upon becoming the Crown Prince. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1979-1998. He was
crowned King in 2006 following the death of his father. As the newly crowned King, he relinquished some of his parliamentary rights and for the first time, a Prime Minister was democratically elected rather than being an appointment by the King. (Image courtesy of zimbio.com)

TuivakanōSialeataongo Kaho - See page 251 for bio. (Image courtesy of mic.gov.to)

Tu' i Kanokupolu King Tupou VI - Ahoeitu became King in 2012 following the death of his older brother King Siaosi Tupou V. Prior to his instalment, he was the Prime Minister of Tonga from 2000-2006. He had previously held the noble titles Tupouto’a, Ulukalala and Ata which have since been bestowed on his two sons. He still currently holds the Lavaka noble title. (Image courtesy of trueknowledge.com)

Princess Salote Mafileo Pilolevu Tuita - She is the only daughter of King Taufa’ahau IV and his wife Queen Halaevalu Mata’aho. She is married to Lord Tuita. Over the years, she has been Princess Regent in the absence of her father and of lately, her brother King Siaosi Tupou V. She is an astute business women with numerous business involvements. (Image courtesy of tongsat.com)
Fiji

Degei - He is regarded as the supreme god of all of Fiji. He is believed to have been the creator of the Fijian world and all the people within it.

Lutunasobasoba - He is the ancestor and the great grandfather of the very first Roko Tui Bau. Like Degei before him, he is regarded as a founding ancestor of Fiji.

Roko Tui Bau Vueterata - 1st Roko Tui Bau. See page 258 for bio.

Roko Tui Bau Lele - 5th Roko Tui Bau. See page 258 for bio.

Roko Tui Bau Raiwalui - 6th Roko Tui Bau. See page 258 for bio.

Vunivalu Nailatikau - He was the very first Vunivalu of Bau.

Ratu Tanoa Visawaqa - He is the son of 2nd Vunivalu, Ratu Banuve Baleivavalagi and younger brother of 3rd Vunivalu, Ratu Naulivou. He is the only holder to have held it twice, firstly from 1829-1832, and then from 1837-1852. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Roko Tui Dreketi Ralawai (?-1825) - He was installed as the 1st Roko Tui Dreketi.

Tui Cakau Vakamino (?-c.1829) - Although he is recorded as being the 3rd Tui Cakau of the Tovata Confederacy, he is the first holder that could be accurately named. There is no record of her the first two holders were.

Vunivalu Ratu Seru Cakobau (1815-1883) - See page 258 for bio.

(Image courtesy of davidlansing.com)

Ma’afu Enele (1816-1881) - He is the son of the 18th Tu’i Kanokupolu, Aleamotua and cousin of King Taufa’ahau I. It was his cousin King Taufa’ahau that sent him to Fiji to rule over the Tongans there in the Lau Islands. He was always a constant threat to Ratu Seru Cakobau and his ambitions of ruling over all of Fiji. He was friendly with the Christians and it was through his protection that the Methodist religion was able to be introduced to the Eastern part of Fiji. He was a respected warrior and administrator of his time. In 1869, he was recognised and installed as the first ever Tui Lau. Five years later, he
was present at the signing of the Deed of Cession at Levuka and was one of the chiefs who signed it. He died in 1881 and the title of Tui Lau was never bestowed on another person for almost fifty years. He is regarded as one of the most powerful and influential leaders of Fiji.

(Raw text courtesy of justpacific.com)

**Ratu Kamisese Mara Kapaiwai (c1815-1859)** - See page 258 for bio.  
(Image courtesy of 'Who’s who in Fiji : Fiji’s golden book of record’ – by Sam Berwick)

**Tui Cakau Goleanavanua (?-1879)** - He is the Tui Cakau who signed the Deed of Cession in 1874. He was known to have ten wives and sixteen children from the unions.

**Roko Tui Dreketi Timoci Tavanavanua (1847-1888)** - He is the second son of Ratu Seru Cakobau. In 1874, he was installed as the 10th Roko Tui Dreketi.  
(Image courtesy of freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com)

(Image courtesy of 'Who’s who in Fiji : Fiji’s golden book of record’ – by Sam Berwick)

(Image courtesy of babasiga.blogspot.com)


**Ratu Sir Edward Tugi Cakobau (1908-1973)** - He is the son of King George Tupou II making him a half-brother of Queen Salote Tupou III. His mother Adi Litia Cakobau was a granddaughter of Vunivalu Ratu Seru Cakobau. He is also the father of the present President of Fiji, Ratu Epeli Nailatikau. He was first educated in New Zealand where he started working as a teacher before joining the military and commanding the Fiji Infantry Regiment in World War II. He played a major role in Fijian politics in the years that preceded and followed independence. In 1970, he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (KBE).  
(Image courtesy of 'Who’s who in Fiji : Fiji’s golden book of record’ – by Sam Berwick)
Vunivalu Sir George Cakobau (1912-1989) - He is a great grandson of Vunivalu Ratu Seru Cakobau. Like many chiefly children of his time, he was educated overseas, firstly in Australia and then in New Zealand. In 1938, he became a member of the Council of Chiefs and would do so for over thirty years. During World War II, he served with the Fiji Military Forces. In 1951 he was elected to the Fijian Legislative Council. In 1957 he was installed as the Vunivalu, regarded the highest ranking chief in all of Fiji. In 1973, he was appointed the country’s first Fijian Governor General, a role he held for 1 years. In his younger years, he was also a talented cricketer and represented Fiji in their tour of New Zealand during 1947/1948. (Image courtesy of ‘Who’s who in Fiji : Fiji’s golden book of record’ – by Sam Berwick)

Tui Cakau Sir Penaia Ganilau (1918-1993) - Educated at Oxford University, he returned to Fiji joined the Colonial Administration Service. He also spent time in the Fijian Military Services where he rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was discharged in 1956. In 1973, he was appointed Fijis Deputy Prime Minister, a role he held for ten years. In 1983 he was appointed Governor General taking over from Ratu Sir George Cakobau. He was only in the role for four years when Fiji became a republic in 1987 and following the change, he was appointed the country’s first President, a position he held until his death in 1993. In 1988, he was installed as the 14th Tui Cakau. He was actually from a lesser line but given his political standing, he was given the title out of respect. (Image courtesy of ‘Who’s who in Fiji : Fiji’s golden book of record’ – by Sam Berwick)

Roko Sau-Tui Nayau Kamisese Mara (1920-2004) - He was educated firstly in New Zealand attending Otago University to study medicine. His great uncle Ratu Lala Sukuna then arranged for him to study history at Oxford University. He graduated with an M.A in 194 and returned to England in 1961 to postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics. His uncle was grooming him for leadership of Fiji. From 1950-1973 he worked as an Administrative Officer in the Colonial Services. From 1970-1992 he was the Prime Minister of an independent Fiji. From 1993-2000, he was Fiji’s President. In his lifetime, he received many honours like being made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) in 1969. That was also the year he was installed as the 13th Roko Tui Sau and the 7th Tui Nayau consecutively. Four years earlier, he became only the third person to be bestowed the Tui Lau title. Both titles have remained vacant since the death of Ratu Mara in 2004. He is considered the founding father of modern Fiji. (Image courtesy of quotedepot.net)

Roko Tui Dreketi Lady Lala Tuisawau-Mara (1931-2004) - She is the eldest child and daughter of 14th Roko Tui Dreketi, George Cakonauto Tuisawau. She is also the wife of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. Like her husband, she was also involved in Fijian politics. Following the death of her father in 1961, she was installed as the 15th Roko Tui Dreketi and became the first women to hold one of the three most paramount titles of Fiji. She was also an active and prominent member of the Great Council of Chiefs. (Image courtesy of aucklandfiji.org.nz)
Tui Vuda Josaia Tavaiqia (1931-1997) - He served as Vice President of Fiji from 1990-1997.

Hon. Adi Samanunu Cakobau Talakuli (??-2012) - High Chiefess of Tailevu. Chair of the Bose ni Turagua (Great Council of Chiefs). She was a politician and a diplomat. She is the eldest child of Ratu Sir George Cakobau, Vunivalu of Bau. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Adi Sainimili Cagilaba, Marama Tui Ba (1936-2004) - Also known as Ba chief, the Paramount Chiefess Adi Sainimili is head of one of the former royal families (also The Marama Kai Ba) A nurse by profession, the late Tui Ba retired early to take up the chiefly role as Tui Ba on February 24, 1989. She was a Justice of Peace. Her sister, Adi Laite Kotomaiwasa was installed with the title in 2005.

Roko Tui Bau Joni Madraiwiwi II (current holder) - See page 256 for bio. (Image courtesy of crosbiev.blogspot.com)


Tui Cakau Naiqama Lalabalavu (current holder) - He is the son of the late 16th Tui Cakau Glanville Lalabalavu. Following the death of his father in 1999, he contested the right to the Tui Cakau title with Ratu Epeli Ganilau, the son of former President and Tui Cakau holder, Ratu Penaia Ganilau. It wasn’t until 2001 that the courts awarded the right to Niaqama, and shortly after he was installed as the 16th and present Tui Cakau. He has also been a politician and held various government roles. (Image courtesy of fijiancustomculture.blogspot.com)
Roko Tui Dreketi Teimumu Tuisawau-Kepa (current holder) - She is the younger sister of the late Lady Mara. She succeeded to the title of Roko Tui Dreketi following the death of her sister on 2004. She was a member of Prime Minister Qarase’s interim cabinet and remained a member following the 2001 elections. She held the portfolios of Minister for Women, Culture, and Social Welfare. (Image courtesy of coupfourandahalf.com)

Tui Vuda Josefa Iloilo (1920-2011) - Originally a school teacher and a civil service administrator, he later turned his hand to politics and was appointed to the House of Representatives and served as a Senator. After the death of Vice President Tui Vuda Josia Tavaia in 1997, Josefa inherited both the Tui Vuda title and the Vice President role. In 200 following the retirement of Ratu Kamisese Mara, he was appointed the new President of Fiji, a position he held until his death in 2011. One of his more controversial acts was his suspension of judges and the constitution who ruled that that take over from Bainimarama was illegal. He then goes on and appoints Bainimarama as the interim Prime Minister. (Image courtesy of tawakilagi.com)

Adi Laite Kotomaiwasa, Marama Tui Ba (?-2012) - Identified in late 2004 as the successor to the title, and was installed in April 2005. She is the only surviving sister of Tui Ba Adi Seinimili Cagilaba (the late Marama Na Tui Ba), who died in January 2004. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Adi Joana Rokomatu, Tui Sigatoka (Current holder) - Has worked closely with the Sigatoka town council to promote development projects, as well as efforts to beautify the town. She also hosts the Nadroga rugby team, providing them with meals. She arranges church services for the rugby team on Friday nights whenever they are in town. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Adi Salaseini Tuilomaloma Ritova Qomate, Tui Labasa (current holder) - Declared as successor of her brother, who died in 2002, by the Native Lands Commission.

Ratu Epeli Nailatikau - He is the son of Ratu Sir Edward Tugi Cakobau therefore making him the great grandson of King George Tupou II of Tonga. He trained as a soldier in New Zealand and spent 2 years in the military rising to the rank of Brigadier-General. Following the military, he spent 17 years in the diplomatic service, holding such positions of Fijis High Commissioner to Great Britain, and Ambassador to Egypt, Germany and Israel. Following the
retirement of Tui Vuda as President in 2009, Ratu Epeli was appointed President, a position he currently holds. He is a big supporter of the Anti-aids campaign and in 2005 he was appointed the Special Representative for the Pacific. He is married to Ratu Sir Kamisese Maras second daughter, Adi Koila Mara. (Image courtesy of banabanvoice.ning.com)

**Ratu Epeli Ganilau** - He is the son of former President, Tui Cakau Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau. He was educated in New Zealand before attending the Royal Academy in England. He entered the Royal Fiji Military Force in 1972 and served on several peace keeping missions to the Middle East. In 1991, he replaced Sitiveni Rabuka as the Commander of the Military. He retired from the military in 1999 with the rank of Brigadier-General to pursue politics. From 2001-2004, he was the chairman of the Great Council of Chiefs. He is married to Ratu Sir Kamisese Maras eldest daughter, Adi Ateca Mara. (Image courtesy of fijicoup.blogspot.com)

**Ratu Tevita Mara** - He is the youngest son of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. He joined the army in 1988. He studied at the Malaysian Armed Forces College. In May 2011 he was charged with mutiny and accused of attempting to overthrow Bainimarima's government. He fled Fiji and was picked up by a Tongan Navy boat and taken to Tonga under the protection of King Siaosi Tupou V. He released a video on May 14 criticising Bainimarima and the Fijian Attorney-General. (Image courtesy of censorshipinamerica.com)
Maori

**Kupe** - There are many versions to the story of Kupe however according to popular belief, Kupe was the one who discovered Polynesia. He was a great chief of Hawaiiki who is said to have discovered Aotearoa around 900AD. He returned to Hawaiiki and convinced many of the people there to migrate with him to Aotearoa.

**Maui** - He is the famous Maori god responsible for feats such as fishing up the South Island of New Zealand, slowing the sun down and discovering fire.

**Ngōtorō-i-rangi** - He was a tohunga or priest from Hawaiiki. He was supposed to captain the Tainui canoe to Aotearoa but was tricked to go aboard the Te Arawa canoe by its captain Tama-te-kapua to give it a blessing. As soon as Ngōtorō-i-rangi was on board they kidnapped him and sailed off. Tama-te-kapua believed that having him on board with his skills and power ensured them a safe journey to Aotearoa.

**Turi** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Aotea

**Ruatae** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Kurahaupō

**Toroa** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Mataatua

**Hoturoa** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Tainui

**Tamatea** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Takitimu

**Tama-te-kapua** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Te Arawa

**Manaia** - He was the captain of the great voyaging canoe, Tokomaru

**Paramount Chieftainess Hinematioro (??-1835)** – From Ngati Porou iwi. Hinematioro's mana was recognized from Poverty Bay to Hicks Bay. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

**Tamihana Te Rauparaha (1819-1876)** – Tamihana is the son of famous warrior chief, Te Rauparaha. In December 1850 Tamihana left for England, and in June 1852 he was presented to Queen Victoria. Upon his return to New Zealand, he started to push the idea of a Maori king. (Image courtesy of teara.govt.nz)
Wiremu Kingi (1795-1882) – Chief of the Te Ati Awa tribe in Taranaki. He was the leader of the Maori forces during the Maori land wars against the government. *(Image courtesy of victoria.ac.nz)*

Wiremu Tamihana (1806-1866) – In the late 1850s, he was largely responsible for setting up the Maori Kingitanga. He travelled the North Island seeking support for the movement as well as trying to persuade some of the paramount *ariki* to take on the kingship. Eventually Potatau Te Wherowhero of Tainui assumed the position. *(Image courtesy of nzetc.victoria.ac.nz)*

Hongi Hika (c1772-1828) - He was a *rangatira*, a warrior and war leader of the Ngpuhi Iwi. He was known to have used European weapons to conquer much of the Northern New Zealand during the musket wars. He welcomed European settlers and missionaries to New Zealand and was one of the first people to help put the Maori language in writing. He visited Australia where he studied European military and agriculture techniques, and purchased muskets and ammunition. In 1820, he visited England where he met King George VI and was presented with a suit of armour. In 1827 he was shot in the chest in the Hokianga and died from the infection the following year. *(Image courtesy of nzhistory.blogspot.com)*

Te Rauparaha (c1760-1849) - He was a *rangatira*, a warrior and war leader of the Ngti Toa Iwi. In 1822 Ngti Toa and related tribes were being forced out of their land around Kawhia. Led by Te Rauparaha they began a fighting retreat. This ended with them controlling the southern part of the North Island. In 1827 he began the conquest of the South Island, and by the early 1830s he controlled most of the northern part of it. The famous Ka mate *haka* performed by the All Blacks was composed by Te Rauparaha to celebrate his escape from capture during the 19th century. *(Image courtesy of thefullwiki.org)*

Tamati Waka Nene (c. 1785-1871) - He was *rangatira* of Ngpuhi who fought as an ally of the British. He was related to Hongi Hika and it is said that he advised Te Rauparaha to acquire muskets to enhance his influence. He recognised early on the value of trade with the Europeans and used his power as a chief to protect the European traders and missionaries. He was baptised in 1839 taking the name Thomas Walker or Tamati Waka. In 1835 he signed the Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand which proclaimed the sovereignty of the United Tribes. *(Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)*
Hone Heke (1807-1850) - He was a rangatira, a warrior and war leader of the Ngpuhi iwi. He was also the nephew of Hongi Hika. He is best remembered for challenging the authority of the British by cutting down the flagstaff on Flagstaff Hill at Kororareka, now Russell, New Zealand. (Image courtesy of nla.gov.au)

King Potatau Te Wherowhero I (1800-1860) - He was a warrior and leader of the Waikato tribes. He was a man of great mana having been a direct descendant of both the captains of the Tainui and Te Arawa waka. From a young age, he became a revered battle leader. Although Te Wherowhero refused to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi he was not opposed to European presence in the areas he controlled. In 1857, he was selected as the first Maori King by a meeting of chiefs. (Image courtesy of thefullwiki.org)

Rangi Topeora (????-1873) – She was a Nagti Toa chieftainess and sister of Te Rangihaeata and therefore a niece of famous warrior chief Te Rauparaha. She was a priestess who was often called the “Te Kuini” or “Queen of the South” by her people. Her son, Matene Te Whiwhi, took a leading role in the establishment of the King Movement during the 1850s. (Image courtesy of treaty2u.govt.nz)

King Tawhiao Te Wherowhero II (held title 1860-1894) – He succeeded his father King Potatau Te Wherowhero I. He spent the next twenty years he travelled among his people reminding them that war always had its price and the price was always higher than expected. But he also predicted that the Māori people would find justice and restitution for the wrongs they had suffered. He was regarded a religious visionary and reigned for thirty four years. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Ariki Nui Herea Te Heuheu Tukino I (?-1820) - See page 261 for bio.

Ariki Nui Mananui Te Heuheu Tukino II (held title 1820-1846) - See page 261 for bio. (Image courtesy of nzhistory.net)

Ariki Nui Iwikau Te Heuheu Tukino III (held title 1846-1862) - See page 261 for bio. (Image courtesy of teara.govt.nz)
King Mahuta Tāwhiao Te Wherowhero III (held title 1894 -1912) – He was the second son of King Tawhio. He became the third Maori king following the death of his father in 1894. From 1903 to 1910, he was a member of the New Zealand Legislative Council. Under his reign, the Maori King Movement’s first courts were created with judges, clerks and registrars. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

King Rata Mahuta Te Wherowhero IV (held title 1912-1933) – He is the eldest son of King Mahuta. He became the fourth Maori King following the death of his father in 1912. As the king, he travelled to England and met with King George. His reign was dogged by ill health and controversy. (Image courtesy of naumaiplace.com)

Ariki Nui Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino IV (held title 1862-1888)- See page 261 for bio. (Image courtesy of nzetc.org)

Ariki Nui Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino V (held title 1888-1921- See page 261 for bio. (Image courtesy of teara.govt.nz)

Heni Pore (1840-1933) – She is a Te Arawa woman of mana. She was a warrior, a teacher and an interpreter. (Image courtesy of mwa.govt.nz)

Princess Te Puea Herangi (1883-1952) – She was the granddaughter of the second Maori King, King Tawhiao. She was also known as Princess Te Puea and was a respected Maori leader. She became one of the prominent leaders of the Kingitanga movement and worked to make it part of the central focus of the Māori people. Te Puea was awarded a CBE in 1937. (Image courtesy of nzetc.org)
King Korokī Mahuta Te Wherowhero V (held title 1933-1966) – He is the son of King Rata Mahuta. He was installed as the fifth Maori King following the death of his father in 1933. In 1954 he received Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II when Her Majesty called at his official residence during the coronation tour. (Image courtesy of geographicalmedia.com)

Dame Queen Te Atairangikaahu Paki Te Wherowhero VI (held title 1966-2006) – She is the only child of King Koroki Mahuta. In 1970, she became the first Māori to be made a Dame, specifically a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire. She was a beloved Maori leader and respected by all tribes. Her reign as Maori Queen lasted forty years. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Ariki Nui Hoani Te Heuheu Tukino VI (held title 1921-1944) - See page 262 for bio. (Image courtesy of nzhistory.net.nz)

Ariki Nui Sir Hepi Te Heuheu Tukino VII (1944-1997) - See page 262 for bio. (Image courtesy of teara.govt.nz)

King Tuheitia Paki Te Wherowhero VII (current holder) – He is the son of Dame Queen Te Atairangikaahu Paki. He was bestowed the seventh Maori monarch following the death of his mother in 2006. (Image courtesy of stuff.co.nz)

Ariki Nui Sir Tumu Te Heuheu Tukino VIII (current holder) – See page 259 for bio. (Image courtesy of tieba.baidu.com)
Cook Islands

Tangi’ia (c1250) – He was a chief originally from Tahiti who settled in the Cook Islands and founded modern Rarotonga. He is responsible for establishing the modern Rarotongan chiefly system. He is the founder of the Pa Ariki title of Takitimu

Karika (c1250) – He was a chief believed to have come from Manu’a Samoa. He is known in Samoan history as Tui Manu’a Ali’amatua. He arrived in Rarotonga around the same time as Tangi’ia and together they founded the modern Rarotonga. He is the ancestor of the Makea Karika Ariki line.

Makea Nui Pori Ariki, 22nd (??-1839) – Son of Makea Tinrau Ariki. He accepted Christianity in 1825. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Pa Te Pou Ariki, 43rd (??-1855) – Son of Pa Ariki Tapu-tapu-atea. First of the Pa Ariki chiefs to accept Christianity. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Makea Nui Te-Vaerua Ariki 24th (??-1857) – First woman in Rarotonga to be an ariki. Mother of Makea Nui Takau Ariki.

Pa Upoko Takau Ariki, 44th (??-1890) – See page 255 for bio. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Makea Karika Tavake Ariki 24th – Father of Make Karika Takau Tuaraupoko Ariki. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Ngamaru Rongotini Ariki (Atiu) – Husband of Makea Nui Takau Ariki (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)
Makea Nui Takau Ariki 27th (1839-1911) - Queen/Supreme High Chieftainess of Cook Islands (1874-1911), Leader of the Council of Chiefs (1888-1900), President of the Executive Council of the Cook Islands Federation (1891-1901). Daughter of Makea Nui Te-Vaerua Ariki. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Tinomana Mereana Ariki, 8th (1881-1908) - Younger daughter of Tinomana Teariki Tapurangi or Setepano, and succeeded her brother, Tinomana Makea Tamuera. At the time 4 of the 5 high chiefs of Rarotonga were women. She was the first female holder of the Tinomana Ariki title. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Pa Maretu Ariki, 45th (1848-1906) – See page 255 for bio. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Makea Karika Takau Tuaraupoko Ariki 25th (Ca.1893-1942) – she was member of the Rarotonga Island Council around 1923-1925. She is the first woman to hold Makea Karika Ariki title. Mother of Makea Karika Pa George Ariki. She also held the Kamoe Matiapo title, a high-ranking title under Makea Nui title. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Pa Tetianui Ariki, 46th (1867-1923) – See page 261 for bio.

Tinomana Ngataraiau Ariki, 11th (1915-16) - Succeeded her cousin Tinomana Pirangi. She was daughter of Tekao and grand-daughter of Papehia and Te Vaerua o te Rangi.

Tinomana Tuoro Ariki, 12th (??-1934) – Member of Rarotongan Island Council (1923-1925). (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Kainuku Pekarau Ariki 6th – First woman to hold Kainuku Ariki title.

Kainuku Parapu Ariki, 7th – Member of Rarotongan Island Council (1923-1925). (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)
Makea Nui Tinirau Teremoana Ariki, 29th (??–1939) - Member of Rarotongan Island Council (1923-1925). (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Makea Charles Ariki, 30th - Member of Rarotongan Island Council (1923-1925). (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)

Maka Nui Tinirau Takau Margaret Ariki, 30th (??-1947) - She was the oldest daughter of Makea Nui Tinirau Teremoana Ariki, and married in 1928 Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Te Whiti Rongomai Love, a Maori from New Zealand. She was succeeded by her sister, Makea Nui Teremoana Ariki. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Makea Nui Teremoana Ariki, 31st (ca. 1910-1975) - Also known as Makea Nui Teremoana Ariki Tapuananoa Tinirau Cowan. She was member of the Rarotongan Legislature 1947-59 and represented the Cook Islands in the South Pacific Commission an institution established by the regional Colonial powers to promote 'native welfare' in their Pacific colonies in 1947. She succeeded her sister, Makea Nui Tinirau Margaret Ariki, and married Kainuku Parapu Ariki. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Makea Nui Teremoana Ariki, 31st (1917-2007) – Known simply as Papa Tom, he was a former Prime Minister of the Cook Islands. He was a Medical graduate from Otago University as well as earning a Masters degree in Public Health from Harvard University. He also worked for NASA. He is an author, a poet as well as an avid sailor. In later life, he married Pa Ariki Terito, therefore becoming a step-father to the current Pa Ariki Marie. He holds the mataiapo title of Pa Tuterangi Ariki. (Image courtesy of radionz.co.nz)


Makea Karika Takau Margaret Ariki, 27th, (1919-1994) - She was President of the House of Ariki 1978-80 and 1990-94 She succeeded her father, Makea Karika George Pa. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)
Makea Nui Karika III Margaret Tepo Vakatini Ariki 32nd (Ca. 1930-88) - She succeeded her mother, HRH Ariki Makea Nui Teremoana Ariki (1949-75), and was succeeded by her cousin, Makea Nui Inanui Love Ariki (1988-1996)

Makea Nui Inanui Love Ariki, 33rd (?-1996) – She’s the daughter of Makea Nui Takau Margaret Ariki (ca. 1934-49), she succeeded her cousin Makea Nui Karika III Ariki. Makea Nui oldest daughter with Lieutenant Colonel Eruea Tiwi Love was Princess Mokoroa Rio Love, who died in 1999. After her death several claimants were in invested with the title.

Pa Marie Ariki (current holder) – See page 254 for bio. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)


Dame Tinomana Ruta Tuoro Ariki (?-2013) – Her full name is Ruta Tuoro Hoskins née Browne. She is a member of one of the lines of the family that have alternately succeeded to the title since the death of Tinomana Mareana Ariki in 1908. She was Vice-President of the House of Ariki until 2002. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Makea Nui Margaret Mere Maraea Ariki, 34th (current holder) - Also known as Margaret Karika Ariki or Mere Maraea, she is daughter of Inanui Love-Nia. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Tou Travel Ariki (current holder) - President of House of Ariki since 2008. (Image courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)
Tika Mataiapo Dorice Reid (current holder) - President of the Koutu Nui, the Assembly of Sub-chiefs since 1998. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Manarangi Tutai Ariki (current holder) - Also known as Queen Manarangi, 'Queenie' or just Tutai. Her husband, Den Clarke, runs a guesthouse. She succeeded her cousin, who immigrated to New Zealand with her father as kopu ariki and representative of the Chieftaincy. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Kainuku Mata Tekura Tau ka Ariki, 10th (?-2004) – She was succeeded by her daughter, Kainuku Kapiriterangi Ariki.

Terei Mataiapo and Maui Mataiapo Paiau Terei (?-2005) - She succeeded her aunt, and after her death, the 2 titles were divided between her sons Iaveta Short and Tuingariki Short.

Kainuku Kapiriterangi Ariki, 11th (current holder) - When her mother, Kainuku Mata Tekura Tau ka Pa Nia Ariki died in 2004, the title was disputed by a distant relative, but the Courts have settled the title with her. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Moe Ada Ngamaru Ariki (current holder) – Member of the House of Ariki. (Image courtesy of guide2womenleaders.com)

Tinomana Tokerau Munroe (current holder) – Member of the House of Ariki. (Image courtesy of cook-islands.gov.ck)
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