



Libraries and Learning Services

University of Auckland Research Repository, ResearchSpace

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognize the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](#) and [Deposit Licence](#).

**Sauerkraut and Salt Water:
The German-Tongan Diaspora Since 1932**

Kasia Renae Cook

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in German, the University of Auckland, 2017.

Abstract

This is a study of individuals of German-Tongan descent living around the world. Taking as its starting point the period where *Germans in Tonga* (2014) left off, it examines the family histories, self-conceptions of identity, and connectedness to Germany of twenty-seven individuals living in New Zealand, the United States, Europe, and Tonga, who all have German-Tongan ancestry. It seeks to illuminate the extent to which there is a German-Tongan diaspora, and to represent the overall impact German emigration to Tonga has had on the world, via the lives and contributions of German-Tongan descendants worldwide.

There are many factors which contribute to either the strength or weakness of the German identity in descendants in foreign nations. The First and Second World Wars in the early and mid-twentieth century proved to be watershed influences on the identity of German and mixed-race German-descent individuals in the Pacific. Actual population sizes and demographics, too, were important factors in the strength or weakness of German identity development. Political circumstances, including the lack of opportunity for foreigners to purchase land in Tonga, proved to be catalysts for the widespread emigration of German-Tongans in the twentieth century.

According to interviews conducted with them and their family members, in diaspora, German-Tongans identify widely as Tongan, yet these identities are augmented by additional ethnicities. This augmentation is due largely to the multi-racial and –national realities of most of these individuals' lives. While almost none report a strong connection to their German heritage, this appears to be due to the historical circumstances which limited the cultural transference of German identity to them rather than a conscious decision to disconnect. Modern descendants do, however, share important, distinct phenotypic and name legacies which set them apart from their full Tongan counterparts, and their wider communities. Taken as a diaspora or simply as a subset of the wider mixed-race population, German-Tongans around the world today are a vibrant and important group of individuals and families. Their lives perfectly reflect the tremendous, long-reaching effects of the historical emigration of Germans to Tonga.

Keywords: Germans in Tonga; mixed-race; diaspora; European-Tongans; Pacific personal histories; Germans in the Pacific; Pacific colonialism; Pacific family history; Tongan diaspora

For my family.

Acknowledgements

Over the course of a project like this, it is inevitable that your work as well as your life will be greatly affected by the people you come into contact with throughout. My case is no exception, and I have many people to thank for their association.

I start with those scholars who came before me: I thank Christine Liava'a, Dr. Tony Muller, Anthony Brunt, and Professor Reinhard Wendt for their foundational work on aspects of the topic I seek to cover in this thesis. I am grateful for their good research and help at various times throughout my journey.

I am grateful for the many individuals whose lives and stories were shared in the writing of this thesis. They are too numerous to list here, but I thank each person who spent their time with me, often welcoming me into their homes to share food and laughter along with their experiences and histories. My life has been made richer because of their association.

For all those who contribute so generously to the funding sources I have benefited from, and those who made the decision on whether or not I should receive funding—thank you and may you be blessed.

I owe special thanks to those who supported me in the several countries to which I travelled for research on this project. To my “young aunty” Nate in Kolomotu'a and to Rico and the kids—thank you for always having a bed, love, and some *me'akai* for me when I come. To my family and friends in Pangai and particularly my mum Palolo, my brother Salesi, my uncle Pulotu and his family, and my friends from church who always take care of me—I love you and owe you more than I can repay. To Emily (and Lior!) who hosted me twice in Stuttgart—I'm so glad Berlin brought us together. And to Trish and Mani who have always had a place for me in their home or on FaceTime—you're both angels in my life.

For my flat “mums” 'Ofa and Anaise in Grey Lynn, whose support and kindness in the form of meals shared and laundry folded allowed me to focus on my work the last seven months—I truly could not have finished without them.

To my friends and colleagues who have made the office and campus a wonderful place to be—though some have already moved on, I'm grateful for all I've had the chance to meet and get to know the past three years. In particular, my workspace and PhD colleagues Sidney, Katya, Marcelo, Sanaz, Christopher, Helen, Ian, Spring, Jingjing, Maria, and Hamid have made my life richer, plus all of our assorted associates from the Arts 1 fifth floor common room. I will miss the chatter in various languages and the aromas of different international cuisines commingling during lunch and at other times.

For professional staff, friends who first helped ease my transition into the University, and thereafter made it a pleasant and smoothly working place for me to be—I thank Alison in particular for all she does to serve and support all of us on the seventh floor.

My heartfelt thanks to my two PhD supervisors, and their families who support them. James in particular has been my advocate and an invaluable supporter since I was still an undergraduate. I am so grateful he was willing to take me on and ‘see me through,’ even after his own retirement. He and Damon are the very best mentors I could have had, and I've felt extremely lucky to be the recipient of their combined expertise and experience. I'm grateful to both of them for their time, careful reading, constructive feedback, and continuous support. I hope to do their tutelage justice someday. I also owe thanks to other mentors and colleagues with whom I have been able to ‘rub shoulders’ throughout my PhD program: Wendy-Llyn, Anna, Jean-Jacques, and Anne are all friends in my book.

On the topic of supervisors and mentors, I owe special thanks, as well, to my BYU Honours Thesis advisor, Professor Hans-Wilhelm Kelling. I would not have gotten this far without him. His support, encouragement, friendship, and love are precious to me. I also thank my other former teachers, mentors, professors, and academic friends for their faith in me and for setting such good examples of what it means to be a scholar. Dr. Cindy Brewer, also of BYU, is the one who first encouraged me to do this research. I am thankful for her example and friendship. Again, I hope that my life and work will someday reflect all that these individuals have taught me.

I am particularly fortunate as a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to have had a built-in community of friends and faith when I first moved to Auckland. Over time, those associations have grown across the country and are sweet relationships that add great colour and meaning to my life. In particular, I thank President and Sister Going at the Hamilton LDS Temple and all those who serve with them for being my family in New Zealand. Their love and friendship have gotten me through many otherwise difficult times. Being involved at church and serving the youth of New Zealand has also helped me a great deal personally throughout my time the past three years: I thank my SMYC, FSY, Armour of God, Young Women, YSA, Institute, Sunday School, Visiting Teaching, and ward and stake friends, associates, students, and leaders for their examples, faith, and friendship.

Many years ago, it was my “Connection down” flatmates who taught me about the possibilities of travel and international study. I’m grateful for those girls—their friendships and examples. Without them, I might have just stayed in Idaho! I also thank my other close friends outside of the University: Alyssa, Ben, Cassandra, Isa, Kalolo, Laite, Leah, Lindsey, Mel, Nicole, Ronnie, Sione, Syndi, Tetoki, and Zandria have supported, served, and loved me. I am grateful for all of them and could not have done this without their help in various ways.

Finally, I come to my family. I have a large family, which continues to grow. It is impossible to thank all those who have had an influence on me throughout my life and my time during the PhD. I thank every one of my family members, cousins, aunties, uncles, and in-laws for their love, support, prayers, faith, encouragement, and help during the past three years and beyond. My siblings Kaley and Moni, Ethan and Nikki, Shanae, Rainy, Sarah, Jorja, and Connor, and my mom Becky are at the very top of the list. I thank them for everything they do for me. I thank my nephews Maximus and Malakai for making me an aunty during my PhD and giving me more reasons to smile. I acknowledge my ancestors who came before me, and their legacies of courage, hard work, integrity, and faith. I am aware that the opportunities and resources I have come, in large part, because of the sacrifices they made. I am grateful for them. I have a special relationship with my maternal grandparents, and I would like to thank my grandma Alice for being with me throughout my PhD, and my grandpa Lowell for being a man I can look up to and respect. I thank Cindy for joining our family and taking care of him, and for her faith in and support of me too. To my “goodly parents” and paternal grandparents as well go my utmost thanks, respect, and love. To my Hafoka family—thank you for making me your daughter and sister. This *fo’i mei* loves you all.

Above all else, I owe and give my greatest thanks to my Heavenly. For all the individuals who have supported and helped me, He alone has been with me every day, every trip, every struggle, every triumph, every chapter, and every word. I thank Him.

Any weaknesses in this writing are mine alone and do not reflect the excellence of my supervision or those who have supported me.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	v
Glossary	ix
Abbreviations.....	ix
Figures	x
Tables.....	x
Introduction.....	1
Impetus for Research	1
Scholarly Context	3
Definitions	5
Selection of Research Participants.....	8
Methodology.....	10
Challenges to Research.....	11
Structure.....	12
Chapter 1: Historical Context	14
History of German Emigration	14
The Colonies and the Spread of Germans Overseas	16
Tonga at the time of German emigration.....	22
Important Figures.....	29
Wilhelm Solf	29
Sanft.....	31
Wolfgramm	32
Guttenbeil	33
German Emigrant Identity and Cultural Perpetuation	34
German Schools as Emissaries of Culture	37
Intermarriage	42
The Treatment and Identity of Early Mixed-Race Children	45
Modern Emigration and Diaspora.....	46
Chapter 2: German-Tongans in New Zealand	49
History of Tongan Emigration to New Zealand	49
Education.....	50
Labour	51
Being ‘Mixed Race’ in New Zealand	55
German-Tongans Interviewed	57
Brähne	57
Bruno Stanley Brahne	58
Guttenbeil	62
Tony Muller	62
Quensell.....	64
Tukala Lavelua.....	65

Riechelmann.....	66
Charles Riechelmann	66
Schaumkel	69
Fred Schaumkel	69
Wolfgramm	72
Stan Wolfgramm.....	73
Dagmar Dyck.....	74
William (Willie) Wolfgramm.....	76
Glen Wolfgramm.....	78
Zuckschwerdt	79
Karl Tu'inukuafe	80
Conclusion.....	82
Chapter 3: German-Tongans in the United States.....	85
History of Tongan Emigration to the United States	85
The Role of Churches.....	87
Social Challenges	91
Tongan Presence in Sport.....	92
German-Tongans Interviewed	92
Dietrich	93
Dr. Afa Palu, PhD.....	93
Hansen.....	96
Catherine 'Ofa Hansen Mann	96
Hettig.....	98
Frederick Hettig	99
Raass	101
Soane Lolo Raass.....	101
Wolfgramm	103
Elizabeth Atuaia.....	104
Emil Wolfgramm.....	106
Vai Sikahema.....	109
Conclusion.....	112
Chapter 4: German-Tongans in Europe	114
History	114
Treatment of mixed race in Germany	116
Modern Tongan and German-Tongan Emigration to Europe	120
German-Tongans in Europe.....	124
Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft.....	125
Tenisia Fau'ese Hager	125
Falamoe Fau'ese Weber	128

Gerhard Sanft	130
Conclusion	132
Chapter 5: Modern German-Oceania: Hinges of History and Resultant Identities	135
German-Samoa	136
Modern German-Samoans	139
Keil	139
Hans Joachim “Joe” Keil III	139
Kruse	142
Desmond Hermann (Herman) Kruse	142
Matthes	144
Eric Matthes	144
Stünzner	145
Klaus Stunzner Sr	146
Tertia Ryan	147
Wetzell	148
Tupua Frederick (Fred) Wetzell	148
Masoe Norman Wetzell	149
Germans in Tonga	150
Modern German-Tongans	157
Guttenbeil	157
Richard Guttenbeil	157
Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea	159
Hoeft	160
‘Ema Luisa Hoeft Ngata	161
August ““Okusi” Hoeft	162
Sanft	164
Carl Sanft	164
Schulke—Wolfgramm	166
Emma Renata “Rena” Wolfgramm	166
Walter	168
Finau Walter	168
Conclusion	169
The Blue-eyed Tongans: A Conclusion	174
Historical Circumstances	174
Diasporic Patterns	176
Identity in Diaspora	177
Conclusion	178
Bibliography	181
Primary Sources	181

Archival records	181
Personal Histories.....	182
Personal Communication	182
Secondary Sources.....	183
Published Books and Articles	183
Family Histories	188
Newspapers and Online publications	189
Online resources.....	190
Unpublished theses.....	192
Speeches	192
Additionally Consulted.....	192
Printed	192
Personal Communication	193

Glossary

<i>‘Afakasi</i>	Half-caste (Samoan)
<i>‘Aiga</i>	Family (Samoan)
<i>‘Anga fakatonga</i>	Tongan style (referring to lifestyle or way of doing things)
<i>Atalanga</i>	The Tongan royal residence and home for Tongan scholarship students in Mt Eden, Auckland
<i>Deutschtum</i>	Germanness
<i>Fa’a Samoa</i>	Samoan style (referring to lifestyle or way of doing things)
<i>Ha’apai</i>	Central group of the Tonga archipelago
<i>Hafekasi</i>	Half-caste (Tongan)
<i>Kapeta</i>	A Tongan transliterated form of the English word “carpenter.” The name of the property August Hettig and his family lived on in Tonga. Located at the corner of Hihifo and Vaha’akolo roads in Nuku’alofa, directly cater-corner from the royal tombs.
<i>Neiafu</i>	Main village in Vava’u, Tonga
<i>Pākehā</i>	European-descent individual (Māori)
<i>Pālangi</i>	White person or foreigner (Tongan)
<i>Papālagi</i>	White person or foreigner (Samoan)
<i>Tongatapu</i>	The name of the main island in Tonga
<i>Upolu</i>	The most densely-populated Samoan island and home to Apia
<i>Vava’u</i>	Northernmost group of the Tongan archipelago

Abbreviations

APCC	The Asian and Pacific Islander Community Counseling Centre (Sacramento, California, USA)
BYU	Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah, USA)
BYUH	Brigham Young University-Hawaii (Laie, Hawaii, USA)
CCH	Church College of Hawaii (formerly in Laie, Hawaii, USA)
DHPG	<i>Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen- Gesellschaft der Südsee- Inseln zu Hamburg</i> (The German Trade and Plantation Company)
DPG	<i>Deutsch-Pazifische Gesellschaft</i>
LDS	Latter-day Saint; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
MAPAS	Māori and Pacific Admission Scheme—The University of Auckland
NFL	National Football League (American)
NHPI	Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander
PCC	Polynesian Cultural Centre (Laie, Hawaii, USA)
TOFA	<i>To’utupu ’oe ’Otu Felenite Association</i> (Youth Leaders of the Pacific)
TRL	Tongan Rugby League
VDA	<i>Verein für das Deutschtum im Auslande</i> (Association for Germanness Abroad)

Figures

Figure 1: Some of the Wolfgramm children in Germany (Hamani/Christian Ludwig Herman Wolfgramm [1868-1910] Photo Album)	42
Figure 2: Death notice from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 24 February 1912.....	115
Figure 3: Acknowledgements from the family from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 4 May 1915	116
Figure 5: Acknowledgements from the family from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 24 June 1915	117
Figure 4: Death notice from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 29 April 1915.....	117
Figure 7: Death notice from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 20 June 1915.....	118
Figure 6: Death notice from the <i>Pyritzer Kreisblatt</i> 20 May 1917.....	118

Tables

Table 1: New Zealand Census Records: Number of residents born in Tonga.....	49
Table 2: Estimates of Tongans Going Abroad for All Reasons By Country.....	52
Table 3: Estimates of Purpose of Overseas Travel (Tongans going abroad).....	53
Table 4: Immigrants from Tonga admitted by the United States and granted permanent resident status, 1940-89	86

Introduction

This is a collection of stories of remarkable individuals who all share a common legacy. German emigration to Tonga in the mid-to late nineteenth century may seem relatively small on a worldwide scale, yet it is a critical chapter in both German and Pacific histories. The *Germans in Tonga* book of 2014 was a collaborative, eight-year effort by James Bade and the Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific which identified more than 350 Germans resident in Tonga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and born from 1822 to 1932. These included plantation owners, businessmen, and traders. Their lack of involvement in Tongan foreign affairs freed German emigrant men from administrative responsibilities, while their commercial and technological innovations often spawned progression in villages and islands. Their influence in Tonga is still felt today. Yet perhaps their most important legacy and impact on the world has been that of their descendants. As will be seen later in this thesis, unlike in Africa, China, or Samoa, Germany never had formal colonial control over Tonga and Tongans—the context of the Germans’ relationships with indigenous people there was therefore remarkably different.

For various reasons, German-Tongan interracial marriage occurred with frequency. Today, descendants of these families and unions reside on almost every continent, where many are recognized as prominent members of their communities, regions, and countries. Although many of them still carry German names, these individuals express varying levels of awareness of and connection to their German ancestry. Their mixed-race identity, therefore, becomes an interesting question. To what extent do modern descendants identify as German, Tongan, or something else? What measure of cultural transfer happened between generations in German-Tongan families? Do mixed-race German-Tongan individuals experience a unique form of identity based on their heritage? Can there accurately be said to be a German-Tongan diaspora? Taking as its starting point the period where *Germans in Tonga* left off, this thesis seeks to answer these questions by examining family heritages, narrativized life experiences, and statements of identity by German-Tongan individuals living around the world today.

Impetus for Research

Though geographically small, Tonga is disproportionately important to the world. Historically, it was the territorial ruler of the South Pacific. After European contact, it was the only Pacific nation to maintain indigenous sovereignty—the reign of the Tongan monarch continues to the present day. Today, there are more than 200,000 individuals of Tongan or part-

Tongan descent worldwide (Small and Dixon), including many prominent individuals in professional sport, entertainment, business, political, and other realms. As a subset of the larger group, German-Tongans feature highly in this count—many appear in this thesis. The early mixed-race progenitors of these individuals assisted in Tonga’s development into a modern state. They formed the first significantly sized mixed-race group in the island nation, thereby trying social and political boundaries. Yet Tongan *hafekasi* (mixed-race) history is distinctive from that of most other countries. Whereas mixed-race individuals in other German-influenced areas of the world struggled for affirmation, voice, and validation, German-Tongan descendants in Tonga were largely accepted as a matter of course.

Due perhaps to the geographical isolation of the Tongan islands, as well as to the small proportion of Germans there compared to Tongans, the acculturation of the German men in Tonga was substantial. Except in the cases of the few first-generation German-Tongan children who were sent to Germany for schooling, or more recently, those who have moved there since the 1980s, almost no descendants still speak German. Similarly, the culture seems to have been all but lost to descendants as well. Aside from names, memories, stories, and occasional photographs, little seems to remain in these family lines that could be identified as traditionally “German.” Due to the apparent lack of cultural transference, it would appear that modern descendants of German-Tongan families might altogether forget the fact that they have European heritage. Yet experience suggests otherwise. As will be seen in the stories of the individuals in this thesis, of those both living in diaspora and those still residing in the Islands, many German-Tongan descendants still retain awareness, pride, and interest in their European heritage. While knowledge levels and degrees of actual connectedness to this legacy vary, their German ancestry is nevertheless an acknowledged and often acclaimed aspect of their identity.

The purpose of this PhD thesis is to examine the nature of this identity. By looking at a range of individuals of German-Tongan descent around the world, from varying family lines, generations, and backgrounds, I hope to illuminate the factors which make German emigration to Tonga unique in the case of the counter-history of European colonization in the South Pacific. Inherent in this study is the implication of the overall effect of historical German emigration to Tonga on the world, via the lives and contributions of the descendants. In a twenty-first century reality of racism, colour prejudice, and the questioned value of minority lives,¹ any study associated with mixed-race identity contributes to the voice of advocacy for multiculturalism and

¹ The Black Lives Matter organization, for instance, was formed in 2012 as a response to the racism displayed by local and regional law enforcement agencies in the United States in the cases of several young black men killed in various areas for dubious reasons.

peaceful difference. German emigrants to Tonga were pioneers in this regard themselves. While their motivations varied, their complex engagement with a new country, language, culture, and community, often displayed what at the time was a surprising racial tolerance and communal solidarity. This thesis seeks to understand these individuals, their influence, and their impact by exploring the lives of their progeny. Far from being a sociological study, the self-identifications by research participants in this thesis are instead to be understood as interest points at which to examine a person's overall connectedness with Germany, based on their heritage. This study thus assists the world in a wider understanding of the longer term effects of historical events and circumstances, and of the transference or lack of transference of cultural knowledge, particularly in the case of mixed-race European-Pacific individuals.

Scholarly Context

Although Tonga is richly represented in the scholarship, the work of this thesis is new in the field of Tongan mixed-race literature. Published histories relative to Tonga have existed from since the beginning of European contact onwards. While many such histories mention or contain information about the Germans resident in Tonga, their offspring have essentially been ignored. One example of this is the *Cyclopedia of Tonga*, which was first published in 1907. Although the *Cyclopedia* specifically highlights several Germans living in Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu, including those who were married to Tongan or part-Tongan women (like William Jacob Diedrich "W. Hettig" on page 60, or Gustav "G. Wolfgraum" [sic] on page 63), it makes no mention of their mixed-race children. This omission could be due, in part, to the lack of a "problem" that mixed-race presented in Tonga as compared to other places (as discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis). It could also be due to it having been too early in the history to yet identify the size and importance of the emergent mixed-race community on the whole. Yet other later histories still fail to fully acknowledge this community. Kurt Düring targets both mixed German- and British-Tongan families and descendants specifically in his 1990 photographic history of Tonga, for instance, yet nothing specific is written about their identity, places of belonging, or lifestyles (31-41).

Tongan migration, diaspora, ethnography, identity, and transnationalism on the whole are far better represented in the literature, where large numbers of Pacific scholars have written on these subjects. Viliami Uasikē Lātū wrote his PhD thesis about overseas Tongan migration and its causes and effects at home (2006). He examines the interaction between politics and migration, and much of his work parallels the movement of German-Tongans overseas, although

he does not deal with this group specifically. Cathy Small (originally 1997, republished 2011) and Helen Morton Lee (2003, 2007) have both delved deeply into diasporic Tongan communities—generally in the United States and Australia—looking at overseas Tongan migration, transnationalism, identity and ethnography in their books *Voyages* and *Tongans Overseas*, respectively. Other scholars, including Ping-Ann Addo (2013) and Tēvita Ka’ili (2008), focus on the transnationalism of diasporic Tongans and its physical manifestations, in terms of materials and goods transferred or exchanged between home and the diaspora.

Several Tongan academics have contributed their voices to the work of identity in the diaspora: Silia Tupou Vaka’uta and again, Tēvita Ka’ili, are two of these. In her master’s thesis, Vaka’uta examines both Tonga- and New Zealand-born Tongans living in Auckland, New Zealand, with regard to their identity and connection to Tonga as a homeland (2009). Her study finds that Tongans living in the New Zealand diaspora tend to adopt both countries as their home, and identify themselves as living and belonging between the two. She concludes that diasporic Tongan communities maintain Tongan identities via church and family ties, yet must also strike a balance with the values of their host country. They, therefore, find themselves fitting somewhere between Tonga and New Zealand.

The Tongan scholar Tēvita Ka’ili, on the other hand, looks at a diasporic Tongan community in Maui, Hawaii in his PhD thesis (2008). Using traditional Tongan *tauhi vā* (sociospacial relations) theory to examine diasporic identity and transnationalism, Ka’ili finds that the community he studied is alive with traditional Tongan values, preserved, practised, and expected in ways which may even sometimes be stronger than that of home (Tonga). His conclusion implies a similar finding to that of Vaka’uta, yet from the other side: while diasporic Tongans living in Maui deal with the outward American environments, they are inwardly focused on home and its traditional ways of being.

Both Vaka’uta’s and Ka’ili’s works are relevant to some degree to this thesis, as they both deal with the identities and ties to home of Tongan individuals abroad. Yet while the works of Small, Lee, Addo, Vaka’uta, and Ka’ili are all important and valuable, none of them specifically highlight the potentially unique and varied experiences of *part*-Tongans in these stories. Marianne Franklin (2003) comes closer. Her work on personal articulations of racial and cultural belonging from Pacific Island individuals living in the United States, New Zealand, and Australia involves more individuals in more places— this thesis is constructed similarly. Yet again, distinctions between part-European Tongans (and specifically German-Tongans) versus full-Tongans, are also neglected in Franklin’s work.

Reinhard Wendt, professor emeritus at the FernUniversität in Hagen, Germany, has been the first scholar to begin to focus specifically on these descendants. His ongoing research project *Von Pyritz nach Vava'u: Auswanderung von Pommern nach Polynesien und Bildung einer transkulturellen Diaspora von German Pacific Islanders*² is the first of its kind to look directly at the descendants of German-Tongan families around the world. Various publications arising from this project have started to fill the gap in this history. Professor Wendt's work is pioneering and important: his extensive research into the Wolfgramm, Sanft, Guttenbeil, and Schaumkel families has been foundational for many family historians and even for parts of this project. Yet, as its focus is specifically that of those German emigrants to Tonga who came from Prussia, it fails to fully capture the wider range of individuals involved in this history.

The scope of this thesis is larger. It takes as its starting point the Germans identified in *Germans in Tonga* who lived throughout the Tongan archipelago, and came from a variety of German-speaking lands and states.³ Although not all of them married Tongans or had mixed-race progeny, my intent at the outset of this PhD project was to find the descendants of as many of those who did as possible. PhD-project timelines and resource limitations necessarily confine the scope of a project that would seek to be all-inclusive; nevertheless, I was able to find many families whom stricter parameters might otherwise have kept hidden.

Definitions

In order to successfully conduct this study, lineations of understanding were set out at the beginning. This includes the definitions that are used, and on which the terminology throughout this thesis is based. As an identifier for the descendants of German-Tongan unions in this work, the term 'German-Tongan' is used across the board. This is not meant to be a statement about each individual's accepted identity, as—as will be seen in this thesis—that identity actually varies widely. Instead, it simply reflects the practice of this thesis: as a German studies-based project, this work specifically seeks to understand modern German-Tongan-(*something else*) descendants through the lens of their German heritage. Therefore, 'German' is placed at the forefront in their projected identity label, followed by 'Tongan'—reflections on their bi-racial heritages which, although they may or may not feel strongly connected to one or either now, was what enabled them to be included in this project.

² "From Pyritz to Vava'u: Prussian to Polynesian Emigration and the Formation of a Transcultural Diaspora by German-Pacific Islanders."

³ At the time that many of these men came to Tonga, Germany was not yet a unified country—see Chapter One.

Use of the term ‘European’ is also important to define. For the purpose of this thesis, the term describes Caucasian people from Europe—British, French, German, and Dutch inclusive. Although Europeans have always been diverse, discourse throughout the nineteenth century principally defined them as white—this was the primary understanding of Europeans at that time, and Tongans since. Therefore, use of the word ‘European’ in this thesis denotes the same. Due to the charged landscape of race that this thesis works in, it has to take care with many of these issues. Almost every research participant used terms that emerge from inherited racial discourses (such as “*hafekasi*” or “*’afakasi*,” “*pālangi*,” and “white”) and all attached conceptions of Germanness to certain physical as well as cultural traits. These included fair skin, colored eyes, medium bone structure, and fine hair. These understandings contrasted with that of Tongans, who were characterized as having brown skin, dark eyes, larger builds, and coarser black hair. These perceptions are maintained even down to the present, although these groups hold physically diverse individuals. Importantly, for individuals of mixed-descent, these very concepts of racial identification are part of the contest of belonging. Eye, skin, and hair color combined with physical stature all contribute to how an individual is perceived by others, and how they conceptualize their own identity. The extent to which a German-Tongan individual’s phenotype more closely resembles a traditional European or Pacific Islander often affects their life experiences and self-understanding. These are all aspects of the identity of the individuals examined in this thesis, although irrespective of their phenotype or accepted race, individuals who appear in this thesis were selected for participation by ancestry.

As used in this work, ethnicity is intended to identify the culture with which an individual most closely associates. For example, the German businessmen who first went to Tonga were ethnic Germans—they shared a common and distinctive historical, linguistic and cultural heritage which found root and foundation in Germany. Their descendants, however, who may have grown up in Tonga (with the language and culture of the islands around them), or elsewhere (with other races or ethnicities woven in), might identify ethnically as Tongan or something else—and this in spite of their blood quantum. Unlike race and ancestry, ethnicity is not something that is necessarily inherited from one generation to another; rather it is something that is learned or produced by environment.⁴

Other definitions are also required: throughout this thesis, the terms ‘half-caste’, ‘mixed’, and ‘mixed-race’ are all used prolifically. Although I personally dislike the term ‘half-

⁴ However, as Joane Nagel states, “to assert that ethnicity is socially constructed is not to deny the historical basis of ethnic conflict and mobilization” (Nagel 153, see also page 152 of her work).

caste’—which to me suggests “half-formed” or “malformed”—or the even worse German ‘*Mischling*’—which implies a mistake—those were the terms largely used to identify individuals of mixed-race parentage in the history. The Samoan ‘*afakasi*’ and Tongan ‘*hafekasi*’ counterparts are less distasteful to me, as they (although they are simply transliterations of the English) were the appropriate terms in those respective languages. In English, a more contemporary (yet still not fully polite) alternative is ‘mixed-race’ or ‘mixed.’ Today, most individuals would likely prefer less-racial descriptors, such as ‘European-descent’ or ‘part-German.’ For the purpose of this thesis, these terms—used in their various contexts—simply denote racially-mixed biological parentage. Although they appear in inverted commas (‘ ’) in this introduction, throughout the thesis they are free from these dialectical marks. I also sometimes use the term ‘western.’ In Pacific research, the west refers to Europe, and the Euro-centric ideas of being, value, and lifestyle which were often imposed on colonized peoples. In personal terms, I also use it to refer to my own educational background, and the weaknesses in my ability to fully understand the Pacific from a Pacific perspective, as David Routledge rightly asserts that we must do (Routledge). Yet I do my best.

My use of the terms ‘emigrant’ and ‘immigrant’ may also prove troublesome for some. Emigration denotes moving away from something, to somewhere new. Thus, when I refer to German ‘emigrants’ it is those who left Germany and moved elsewhere. Immigration, on the other hand, denotes an incoming, and is used in this thesis to describe how, in recent decades, Tongans and others have immigrated to New Zealand and other nations around the world. This thesis is filled with the stories of both emigrants and immigrants—it is a matter of perspective.

‘Diaspora’ is also a term of relative perspective. For the purposes of this thesis, I take as a definition that given most broadly and basically by Walker Connor, namely, “that segment of a people living outside the homeland” (16). In the case of this thesis, such a definition is applicable in the sense of individuals of German-Tongan descent who reside outside of Tonga. Yet as part of this study, I intend to examine whether such individuals can, in fact, actually be said to belong to a stricter definition as well. For this I use William Safran’s parameters from 1991, that is, that diasporas are “expatriate minority communities” that:

1. have been dispersed from a specific original “center” to two or more “peripheral,” or foreign, regions,
2. retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements,
3. believe that they are not—and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it,

4. regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate,
5. believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity,
6. and who “continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (83-84)

While several scholars have looked at these parameters in regard to Pacific peoples, German-Tongans have not as yet been specifically targeted. This study intends, in part, to correct that oversight.

Selection of Research Participants

The pool of potential research participants (individuals who could have been included in this project) is proportionately very large. While it is unknown exactly how many persons of German-Tongan descent are alive in the world, the figure is certainly in the many thousands. Thus, an approach had to be adopted which would allow for sifting and selecting those to interview. At the outset, a goal-figure of twenty-five individuals was adopted by my main supervisor and myself, with the idea that twenty-five would be able to provide a good insight into questions of heritage, cultural transference, identity, and diaspora, while still remaining within the confines of feasibility in terms of PhD program length. Prominence was also decided upon as a way of sifting potential participants. In a study that seeks to show the impact of German emigration to Tonga, it would follow that prominent descendants would be the most likely to demonstrate that impact in a visible way (additionally, there are simply many prominent individuals to choose from, as I identified in my honours thesis in 2011—see Cook 55-57). Therefore, in order to accurately depict the full impact German emigration to Tonga has had on the world, individuals were selected based on their own community, regional, and national contributions. Thus, this thesis contains the stories of more prominent individuals, chosen because they possess a visible social standing or have made an important difference or contribution to the world through their respective career or occupation. Many more individuals were interviewed than actually appear here. Although each is listed in the bibliography (and to each is owed my sincere thanks for participation and willingness to let me into their lives and share their stories), in the end it was beyond my abilities and the confines of this thesis to include everyone.

Additionally, as the purpose of this thesis is to highlight the German impact in Tonga as a whole, it was necessary to attempt to include descendants from as many families as possible. This required some discretion and careful selection, as a plethora of individuals from one family (e.g. the more prolific Wolfgramms, Sanfts, and Guttenbeils) might otherwise have overwhelmed the number of participants from smaller families (such as the German-Tongan Brähnes, of whom there were only three original descendants⁵). Regarding the numbers of individuals who appear from each family, I did my best to make selections that would reflect the actual size of the families today while also engaging the standards of ‘prominence’ described earlier. Thus, there are a few Wolfgramms and Guttenbeils from the same family who are both presented here, whereas other families only have one representative. For almost every family, more than one interview with more than one family member was required. Multiple interviews allowed me to get a broader perspective on the general family history, as well as the biographical information necessary for the project. All of my interviews followed the guidelines of my human ethics application, approved 19 November 2013 for three years, reference number 010628.

With the exception of two, all interviews for this thesis were conducted almost exclusively in the English language. This was my personal inclination, in order to create a level analytical plane which would be unaffected by translation or foreign interpretation, however I was prepared to make facility for different languages, had the need arisen. As it was, English turned out to be the preference for most of those I interviewed. Except in the case of ’Ema Ngata and Mesualina Döblitz, whom I interviewed in Tongan (with the help of a translator) and German, respectively, all other individuals felt comfortable conversing in English, and direct quotes are all their own words. As this work falls under the subject of German, research materials cited here which were originally published in the German language are preserved in that language. Yet, as this thesis also directly involves and benefits the wider English-speaking Pacific Studies community, I felt it important to include translations—these can be found in the footnotes. Any translations that do not directly come from a published source (as cited) have been done by me. For clarity’s sake and as a reference tool, a glossary of foreign terms has also been provided at the beginning of the thesis.

As will be seen throughout this thesis, names were an important stepping stone (as well as sometimes a stumbling block) to finding information on families. While many of the individuals in this thesis still carry their original forebears’ German surname (through a namesake tradition and also due to maiden-name change that favors the husband’s paternal side),

⁵ See “Brähne” in Chapter Two.

many do not. Those who do were understandably easier to identify. Starting with individuals I was already personally aware of, interviews and word-of-mouth were helpful to me in finding research participants. Even down to the time of project completion, there were several more individuals whom I would have liked to include and families I would have liked to have represented. Time and opportunity were unfortunately prohibitive in this case, but it is hoped that future research can be more inclusive.

Methodology

This study is based on both primary and secondary sources. The secondary sources include written histories, both those which have been published and those which have not (family histories made available to me by family members). In the latter case, where the family history book was not available online (Familysearch.org has been an invaluable resource in this regard), citations include the name and location of the person who lent or gave me the book. Other secondary sources include newspaper articles, journal publications, and published oral histories. Primary sources include first-person interviews, as well as vital statistics information gleaned from cemeteries, databases, and period publications. Although interviews are problematic in the sense that asking anyone to narrate their life experiences can result in skewed perceptions, it is, nevertheless, the most logical method. An alternative would have been asking for written statements of life experience and identity, but the likelihood of success in such a pursuit for a project like this would be very low. Additionally, these would have the same limitations in terms of bias as oral accounts. To balance this potential issue, I simply attempt to be as objective and critical as possible in my analyses and conclusions.

Regarding the interviews of research participants which appear here, live voice recording and later transcription allowed me to pull out relevant information for incorporation in my project. In accordance with the Ethics approval of my project, copies of the consent forms for these interviews as well as the recordings and transcripts remain in my possession, and will be held for a period of six years. Determining where and from whom data was to be collected was an important part of my research. As stated, individuals were identified first through personal connections, and also upon recommendation of family members, supervisors, friends, and other research participants. After my provisional year and upon recommendation from my co-supervisor, I created a Facebook page for my project where I would occasionally post information about my research or project participants (*German-Tongan Legacies*). This also became a tool to help me identify individuals who were interested in participating in my study—

some reached out to me, and others were recommended to me through the site. Social media has proved to be an important source of information about and communication with my research participants and their families.

Challenges to Research

One of the main challenges associated with this research was the communication. In the end, and as stated above, I used several methods to contact and interview potential participants. Where possible, initial contact was made either over the phone or via email. In some cases, it was by way of social media messages through Facebook or mailed letters through the post. In several cases, potential participants actually reached out to me before I found them—some were given my name or email address from other participants, found me via my Facebook project page, or heard about the project through other avenues. In the islands, where technological contact is more difficult, personal visits to the homes or offices of potential participants to introduce myself and the project tended to be the most successful methods of approach. Understandably, there were many more individuals whom I attempted to reach and hoped to include in this work who, in the end, I was simply unable to. Happily, almost every person approached about the project was very glad to participate at the first invitation. I am grateful to everyone who so graciously shared their time and stories with me.

Another difficulty, as has already been mentioned, was sifting through potential participants to determine whom to include. The finished product of this thesis represents only a portion of those who were actually interviewed; however the full number are cited in my bibliography. Due either to chapter size, family overrepresentation, or material quality considerations, some of these have unfortunately had to be left out. It is hoped that future publications will allow for the sharing of these other stories. Again, whether they appear here in full form or not, I am grateful to all who submitted to participation in this project.

Over the course of the three years of research for this thesis, Europe proved to be an especial challenge. I was fortunate to acquire funding and opportunity for two separate trips there in 2014 and 2015, respectively. Yet various problems in terms of roadblocks to research, contact and communication difficulties, and lack of timely response by identified potential participants made both trips less fruitful than hoped. I am grateful for the many individuals who were anxious to assist with this research there, in Germany, Poland, France, and Belgium. Several of them appear or are mentioned in Chapter Four of this thesis. Yet I am conscious of the many others

who, for reasons outside of my control, are left out. This underrepresentation remains my only regret in this work, and something I hope to be able to correct in future research.

Other challenges presented themselves in terms of resources: the financial support required to travel and collect the research for this project was considerable. I am grateful to the many funding bodies who approved grants for me to travel to Europe, the United States, and the Pacific Islands to interview and gather data. I am also grateful to my Faculty and School for providing assistance in several situations. Financial struggles being what they were, coupled with the deadlines associated with writing and completing this thesis, in the end I had to restrict the diasporic areas which I had the ability to cover from what I had originally intended. At the outset of this project, aside from those places which are included here, I had also planned to visit and collect interviews with diasporic German-Tongan individuals in Australia and Asia—particularly Japan. Yet in the end, I was unable to do this. For this reason and this reason alone, these areas are left out. They remain unmined fields of study into diasporic German-Tongan identity. In the end, this work represents what I was able to do, with the help of generous funding donors, in-country assistants, and the support of my supervisors. It is presented with humility and gratitude for the personal opportunities of learning and growth which are contained in it.

Structure

The 2014 *Germans in Tonga* book identifies ninety-eight German families and extended families by surname who were resident in Tonga at some point—it contains mini-biographies of almost four hundred individuals.⁶ Although all of these people lived in Tonga at some point, not all stayed permanently or had mixed-race descendants. This thesis represents three years of finding, contacting, interviewing, and documenting the stories of some of the descendants of eighteen of the families who did. In total, this thesis contains short biographies of twenty-seven individuals living in five countries—New Zealand, the United States, Belgium, Germany, and Tonga. It is organized in the following manner:

Chapter One is the historical context chapter, and examines the main events that led to German emigration to Tonga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Germans also emigrated in large numbers to Brazil and the United States, and in smaller numbers to Australasia, Africa and China. This chapter examines the treatment of and interrelations with indigenous people by German emigrants in these other areas, how they varied, and how those

⁶ This number includes full German emigrants from Germany and their wives (if they had documented German nationality), as well as their documented (mixed-race) descendants.

histories compare to what happened in Tonga. It frames the heritages of the modern German-Tongan descendants who are introduced in the subsequent chapters.

The examination of the modern German-Tongan diaspora begins in Chapter Two, with a history of Tongan emigration to New Zealand. This history is followed in the chapter by the stories of prominent German-Tongan individuals residing there. So as to avoid unintended implications of bias, individuals are presented in alphabetical order by the surname of the family they descend from. Short identifications of heritage are given, including the names and stories of each individual's German progenitor in Tonga, before the short biographies which follow. Similar chapters, arranged in the same way, looking at German-Tongan descendants resident in the United States and Europe, respectively, follow. Chapter Five is slightly different, however, inasmuch as it is a comparison chapter. It looks not at German-Tongans resident in the diaspora, but at those still at home in Tonga, and—in order to understand the distinctiveness of these individuals' (and their diasporic counterparts') identities and experiences—a comparison with German-Samoans is offered. This last chapter required extensive travel to and interviews around both Apia, Samoa, and three islands in Tonga. I am grateful for the assistance of kind and generous new friends in both of these places.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter. Here I seek to offer a full analysis of the information presented in this thesis and what it means to this project's research questions. I tie together the stories and links of the interviewed individuals, and look at the overarching themes of identity they provide. I analyze to what extent these statements either point to or deny the reality of a modern German-Tongan diaspora. A statement of the overall importance of German emigration to Tonga is also given. The relevance of this work to the modern day is spelled out. It is hoped that the information gleaned from this PhD thesis will become a foundation not only for further research into the German connection with the Pacific and its subsequent legacies, but also for 'mixed-race' Pacific diaspora studies in the future.

Viel Vergnügen beim Lesen!

Chapter 1: Historical Context

As an independent nation, Germany was late on the colonizing scene. Busy with internal political turmoil during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was not until after national unification in 1871 and the establishment of Southwest Africa as a “protectorate” in 1884 that Germany followed suit with other European colonial powers for overseas expansion (Steinmetz 3). In the next thirty years, the country would go on to become the third largest colonial empire in terms of land mass and fifth in terms of population (Wildenthal 2). These figures account for Germany’s formal colonies in China, Africa, and the Pacific, yet do not take into consideration other countries and places where the unofficial German presence was also important. Although their relationships with indigenous peoples varied, as far as the influence of emigrants and their families is concerned, Germans were considered by other white settlers to be ideal citizens. As John Hawgood states in his *The Evolution of Germany*, they were “welcome[d] everywhere for their skill, their industrious habits, their culture and their high level of education and intelligence” (182). Although the United States was the main recipient of these emigrants, Canada, Latin America, Australia, and the Pacific were primary destinations for many. In Tonga, German emigrants played a significant role in the modernization and economic development of the islands. Since the 1900s, that influence has continued through the lives and contributions of their German-Tongan descendants, who are dispersed prolifically throughout the world. For the purposes of this project, understanding the wider trends in German and Tongan history at the time of emigration is the key to understanding the modern impact of contemporary German-Tongan descendants worldwide.

History of German Emigration

Germans began arriving in foreign nations in large numbers in the early 1800s, migrating from mostly rural areas of Germany. These population shifts reflected the effects of the industrial revolution; as Stefan Manz, author of *Constructing a German Diaspora: The “Greater German Empire”, 1871-1914*, explains: “[t]he key ‘push-factor’ [...] was the transition from predominantly agrarian to industrial societal structures, causing rifts in the labour market which could not absorb a [German] population which doubled in the course of the century” (26). Between 1848 and the beginning of the First World War, more than six million Germans relocated from their home country (Hawgood 181). In general, German emigrants in the nineteenth century followed outward-travel patterns established by two centuries of Europeans leaving before them: 90% headed for North America (the United States, and to a lesser extent,

Canada), with smaller but still substantial numbers bound for Central and South America, Africa, China, and the South Seas (Lambkin 39; Rössler 89).

The “new worlds” adopted by these industrious citizens proved to be fruitful on many accounts. Germans emigrating to the United States between 1830 and 1900 found open land for them to build on, free from the oppressive political and economic situations back home. Outside of Germany they were able to escape land-hunger, compulsory military service, political repression, religious persecution, financial inflation, and unemployment (Hawgood 187). These opportunities were found not only in the United States. The “several hundred merchants, miners, and intellectuals” from Germany who settled in Mexico did so to flee “the stifling political climate” there (Buchenau 87)—international moves offered new opportunities and freedom for growth.

In their new home countries, Germans showed a tendency towards industry, ethics, and hard work. In the United States, aside from being farmers, artisans, thinkers, and laborers, German immigrants and their children became involved in government, politics, business, entertainment, and education (see Hawgood 188). In Brazil they “were welcomed and valued for the contributions they were making” (particularly, it seems, by the Brazilian elite who wanted to “whiten” their population [Luebke 114]). In Mexico, Jürgen Buchenau reports that German merchants were “loved” and “enjoyed a high social prestige” amongst elite and ‘regular’ Mexicans alike (89). They were no less welcome by other settler populations in the South Pacific and Australia. David McGill reports that within the European-New Zealander community, immigrating Germans were applauded as “model settlers” (50). He cites the *Nelson Examiner* which, in 1843, reporting on the arrival of the first German settlers in Nelson, declared: “[n]o emigrants are more valuable than the Germans and we hail the intended cultivation of the vine by them with unfeigned pleasure” (ibid. 49). Such praise likely stemmed from the influence German emigrants had had in settler communities in nearby Australia, where at their peak they had totaled almost 50,000 and had assisted with such important work as continent exploration (Ludwig Leichhardt), Government zoology (Wilhelm Blandowski), and national art preservation (Johann Krefft) (see Manz 36). A few decades later, German merchants, plantation workers, traders, and businessmen in Tonga and Samoa would likewise leave lasting imprints on the people and country. More will be said about this specific influence, in greater detail, later on.

The Colonies and the Spread of Germans Overseas

With all the movement of Germans during the mid-nineteenth century, it is notable that these emigration patterns did not include, to the same degree, the colonies eventually acquired by the home country. Instead, most emigrating Germans chose lands far from the political grip of their *Vaterland*. The reasons will be seen in greater detail later. First, a historical perspective is necessary.

German foreign policy did not effectively exist until after the unification of Germany in 1871. Prior to that time, the only claims on an *Ausland* which it had ever had were two trading posts in the West African Gold Coast and on Saint Thomas in the Caribbean, respectively. Both founded by Frederick William—Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia—the first, a slave-trading fort called Großfriedrichsburg, operated between 1682 to 1721, while the second ran from 1685 to 1731 (see Steinmetz 3). Rather than overseas expansion, between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, attention in Germany instead focused on dealing with various internal wars and revolutions, and the further development of the nation-states. Prussia, for instance—the most powerful state in the German Confederation—was led by Frederick the Great to conquer various areas of modern-day Poland, resulting in greater land mass and population. It was Otto von Bismarck—Prime Minister of Prussia from 1862—who spearheaded the later unification of Germany.

During the latter part of these political manoeuvrings, German business began to develop to include areas of the world only accessible via long oceanic journeys. The influence of German merchants, in the end, proved to be the main impetus for later German colonization in areas of Africa, China, and the Pacific. J.C. Godeffroy and Son, a Hamburg-based company, commenced business in South America and the Pacific in the 1840s and 1850s. At first, working east to west as a passenger carrier, Godeffroy ships carried American gold-rush hopefuls from Europe to California, transporting precious minerals and exotic commodities on their way back home (Bollard 3-4). As an alternative to western-America prospecting, in the mid-nineteenth century others were seeking wealth elsewhere. August Unshelm was one of these. The enterprising general manager of Godeffroy's Valparaiso [Chile] station, Unshelm began looking into the longer-term trade potential of the Pacific Islands—a viable stopping point between the American and Australian coasts. In 1857 the firm J. C. Godeffroy and Son established its Pacific headquarters at Apia, Samoa, and its focus turned to the export of copra—dried coconut to be used for oil and cattle fodder (see Spoehr 24-25 and Firth 5). Extensive plantation agriculture

throughout the islands—where Europeans owned and operated their own commodity farms—was the result.

With the success they found in Apia, it did not take long for Godeffroy's influence to spread throughout the other island groups in the Pacific. To quote A. E. Bollard: "by 1867 [Godeffroy sub-agencies] could be found throughout Samoa and Tonga, as well as on Wallis and Futuna and in the Lau group" (4). Within the next five years, the Godeffroy firm had grown even larger, doing business on scattered islands within another ten Pacific archipelagoes (ibid). By 1880, Godeffroy (and the succeeding company, the *Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg* [DHPG]) had been joined in the Pacific by several other German firms: "Fred Hennings", "Ruge, Hedemann & Co.", and "A. Capelle & Co" (Firth 5), as well as Puge and Co., Wolfgramm, Härffner, and Sanft (*Foreign Office Annual Series* 8), to name a few.

As German economic and business interests grew in the Pacific, those Germans at home and in other areas of the world were not just sitting on their hands. Bismarck made himself Chancellor of the unified German empire in 1871. Working to support his own country and improve the conditions which had persuaded so many Germans to emigrate during the mid-1800s, Bismarck recognized the value of overseas trading for German businessmen but disliked colonialism—he was reluctant to invest in foreign conquest capital which he felt could be used more readily at home. As Michael McBryde explains:

Even when the new Reich Government in Berlin acquired a capability to pursue a colonial policy [1871], Bismarck and his advisers proved initially reluctant to give in to the lobbying from expatriate traders in distant parts of the world for the protection and order which a proclamation of German sovereignty would bring to their enterprises. Germany had no accumulated colonial doctrine or experience, and the proclamation of sovereignty on the other side of the world would involve enormous expense. (5)

With the interests of his larger new nation at heart, Bismarck was therefore unenthusiastic about commencing a costly colonial venture he knew would be at the expense of the people at home.

Yet he was not blind to the strategy of foreign political play altogether. Instead, Bismarck looked at Germany's overseas options as cards to trade for further European expansion and peace—he firmly supported the imperial declaration given by Wilhelm, King of Prussia, at the ceremony which established Germany as a unified empire: "Uns aber und unseren Nachfolgern an der Kaiserkrone wolle Gott verleihen, allezeit Mehrer des Deutschen Reiches zu sein, nicht an kriegischen Eroberungen, sondern an Gütern und Gaben des Friedens auf dem Gebiete

nationaler Wohlfahrt, Freiheit und Ordnung” (“Einige Worte zu Preußen”).¹ Thus, although he appreciated the benefits of German big business abroad, he was far more concerned with protecting the already-existing and potential European interests of the German nation, rather than acquiring colonies which would be expensive and tedious to maintain. In spite of these ‘good intentions’ on the part of Bismarck, public opinion did not necessarily share them. Outspoken leaders who would eventually replace him looked to the acquisition of colonies as the hallmark of any true superpower (see Kennedy 93). It would take them more than a decade to convince Bismarck of this point in regard to Africa, the Pacific, and China.

Germany’s presence in Africa up to the 1880s was, as in the Pacific, represented through missionaries and merchants, both of whom were influential in the later colonization there. Franz Adolf Eduard Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant and pioneer of German business in Southwest Africa, was a particularly influential figure. In 1883 Lüderitz established a trading business at Angra Pequena (modern Namibia). In the long term, he hoped to persuade the Imperial government to guarantee him their protection, thus enabling him to grow his business while also making the area more attractive to the German emigrants he hoped would follow him (Knoll and Hiery 17-29). Far north of where Lüderitz was building his empire, other Germans worked in Cameroon and Togo on the west coast, and in the area of modern day Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi on the east. Merchants labored to build their businesses while missionaries worked to spread Christianity—both groups helped themselves to the land, commerce, and existing communities of the local tribes and people as they went (Conrad 42-54). As their perceived success in building their interests in these foreign lands grew, so, too, did their desire for support and protection by their home government. German missionaries, in particular, tended to see themselves as emissaries of culture and civilization, helping expand the values and ideology of the *Vaterland* abroad by denouncing and overriding the traditions of the local people they sought to “civilize” (see Conrad 38, 42, 47, and 50). In this regard, they esteemed themselves as deserving of protection by their homeland.

The German businessmen in the Pacific were just as anxious to have their interests protected as were those in Africa. Increasingly, they had much to protect. Stewart Firth, author of an important work on German firms in the Pacific between the 1850s and 1915, reports that in 1877 alone, Germans owned “87 per cent of the export trade from Samoa and Tonga, and 79 per cent of the import business, including the import of currency” (7). In 1887 in Tonga—the

¹ “God may grant Us and Our successors to the imperial crown the ability to forever augment the German Empire, not by conquests in war, but in goods and gifts of peace in the area of national welfare, freedom and civilization” (Knoll and Hiery 27).

Godeffroy firm's largest and most reliable source of copra (ibid. 5)—Germans held “76 per cent of Tonga's export trade and 41 per cent of its imports” (ibid. 10). An annexation of Tonga or Samoa by Germany (or both, as was once briefly the intention²), would introduce a stronger German presence by bringing manpower and force to secure their interests there. From the 1870s onward, the Godeffroy and DHPG firms constantly and consistently petitioned the Government in this regard. Their requests became such an annoyance to Bismarck, determined as he was to stay out of political maneuverings overseas, that he referred to them as “das alte Lied!” (“the old song!” [Kennedy 93]) and would have been quite happy had Godeffroy et al. simply sold out of the Pacific altogether.

Yet Bismarck could not avoid the matter forever. Proponents of colonial pursuit held that “a Great Power which aspired to play a leading part in world affairs should have possessions abroad” (Henderson *Studies in...* 3). The answer became clear: rather than annexation and declarative sovereignty, Germany could simply work through treaties, stabilizing relations with indigenous governments while giving themselves and their expatriates a firmer foothold in their respective foreign areas. This pattern proved to be mildly successful in the Pacific—a treaty of friendship with Tonga in 1876 granted rights of trade to Germany while maintaining the sovereignty of the Tongan monarch (Wood 59). It also protected free religious worship for both Tongans in Germany and Germans in Tonga, and stipulated burial arrangements and respect for the graves of deceased German individuals in Tonga and Tongan individuals in Germany (Zivilkabinett microfilm).³ Another treaty, which ultimately served as the “foot in the door” for the later colonization of Samoa by Germany, was signed in Apia in 1879—this initiated twenty years of limited yet tangible political influence there by Germany, America, and Great Britain (Steinmetz 3; see also Kennedy). Chapter Five of this thesis discusses these proceedings and their results in greater depth.

Perhaps the perceived success of these measures (from the German point of view at least) and the continued growth of German business in the Pacific helped Bismarck relax with regard to his foreign policy. As Knoll and Hiery explain, by 1884,

Bismarck's original reluctance to play the role of overseas imperial chancellor had altered into a cautious precolonial stance [...]. In the abandonment of his previous colonial lassitude, Bismarck apparently simply changed his mind about the necessity and opportuneness of a colonial enterprise for Germany.

² See Kennedy, 105.

³ Incidentally, it was this treaty between Germany and Tonga which ultimately protected Tonga from being colonized by any other colonial power. Recognition of Tonga as a sovereign nation by Germany forced others to do the same. Thus, it paved the way for later treaties between Tonga and Britain (1879), and America (1886). See Bade, “Tonga—The Friendly Isles” 173, and Chapter Five of this thesis.

[...W]hen opportunities arose already the very same year [1884], Bismarck acted swiftly and exploited the occasion.” (2)

Lüderitz’s request for Governmental protection in the area of his African trade was answered by Bismarck in April of that year, who officially declared the area a protectorate—the “standard term for a colony in German law” (Steinmetz 437). Similar actions in Togo, Cameroon, and what became German East Africa (modern Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi) established a formal German presence there. And in the Pacific, Kaiser-Wilhelmsland—a territory made up of the north-eastern part of modern Papua New Guinea as well as New Pomerania, the Bismarck Archipelago, the northern Solomon Islands, the Caroline Islands, Palau, Nauru, the Mariana Islands, and the Marshall Islands—was founded (see McBryde 5-6). As far as Bismarck was concerned, these events were enough overseas expansion to last the Empire a lifetime.

Unfortunately for Bismarck, other political leaders of the Empire were not so easily satisfied. Kaiser Wilhelm II is infamous for his impetuous personality and aggressive foreign policy. After being crowned in 1888, he dismissed Bismarck as Chancellor in 1890 and turned himself and Germany in the direction of greater foreign pursuits. Paul Kennedy explains:

In 1897 [Germany’s] internal and foreign policy took a decisive turn [...] For in that year the men of the *persönliches Regiment* of Kaiser Wilhelm II manoeuvred themselves into the key positions of state; and with Bülow as foreign secretary, Tirpitz as navy secretary and Miquel as Prussian minister of finance and vice-president of the Prussian Council of Ministers, the government turned deliberately towards *Weltpolitik*, *Flottenpolitik* and the “mobilisation of the masses”. From that time onward, Wilhelm at last possessed the politicians he needed to assist his ambition of playing a leading role in world politics, of constructing an enormous battlefleet, and of creating internal unity and stabilization of the political status quo. The country was directed towards the twin aims of reaction at home and an extravagant, expansionist policy abroad. (Kennedy 105)

The first foreign step of Kaiser Wilhelm was to secure the coastal area of “Kiaochow” China as a colony in 1898—the administrative capital was Tsingtau, modern-day Qingdao. Although effectively simply a coaling station secured with a 99-year lease from the Chinese Government, as Sebastian Conrad explains, “Germany treated the zone, 50 kilometres wide with a population of 190,000, like a colony” (58). They constructed railway lines and exploited coal deposits from the wider province of Shandong. Administered under the control of the Naval Ministry, Kiaochow was intended to be a model for colonial development: “a showcase for the cultural, scientific, and technological achievements of the German empire” (ibid. 59-60). Germans looked to Kiaochow as the gateway into a hoped-for influence in wider China.

Meanwhile, Wilhelm continued to push for further colonization in areas of the world where Germans already had an established hold. In 1899, after decades of unrest and, at times, war (largely flamed by imperial competition), the tripartite leaders of Samoa divided up the islands amongst themselves. The islands of Upolu and Savai'i (Western Samoa) were given to Germany, with Tutuila and others (what is still American Samoa) going to the United States. Great Britain agreed to withdraw from the area, in exchange for compensations elsewhere (including claim to Tonga, a situation addressed in greater detail in Chapter Five). Thereafter, from 1900-1913, a formal German colony was built with headquarters in Apia. By 1906, in spite of hiccups in all of the various colonies in terms of indigenous relations⁴ and the economic strain on the country at home,⁵ Germany had managed to position itself as a colonial player on both domestic and European scales (see Firth 21).

Germany's treatment of and thoughts about these colonies were distinctive. Whereas Great Britain, for instance, saw British colonies largely as extensions of the English realm, Germany tended to treat hers differently. To quote Steinmetz, "the Germans pursued a colonial style that was described variously as 'scientific,' 'economic,' 'emigrationist,' or exceptionally brutal. The sheer variability among the colonies of the German empire should immediately lay to rest any hypothesis of a national colonial style" (Steinmetz 5). While this was presumably true of all of the large empires, where distance and circumstance made direct rule difficult, it also points suggestively to a degree of German exceptionalism. From their initial laissez-faire attitude of colonial expansion under Bismarck to the disorderly methods taken to acquire footholds in China, Africa, and the Pacific under Kaiser Wilhelm, it appears that Germany was simply not as interested in creating a global community or dominion as other European powers. Arthur Knoll and Hermann Hiery explain further:

After Germany acquired colonies, she did not seek to bind them to the mother country either culturally or economically. Neither did she try to assimilate Africans or Pacific Islanders into the mainstream of German culture which was considered too unique to the mother country and thus essentially unattainable by the indigenous populations. ... [P]rotectorates (*Schutzgebiete*) ... were treated much like foreign countries – without economic preference. Legally, the colonies were never part of Germany. The German constitution described the territories and states in detail which belonged to the German Empire, but unlike Alsace-Lorraine, the German colonies were never included in the *Reich*.
(XI)

⁴ The Herero and Nama genocide in German Southwest Africa, for example—see Conrad 40-41 and Henderson *Studies in...* 8-9.

⁵ Particularly of the African colonies—see Conrad 41-54.

This attitude could explain the variances in German colonial behavior, treatment of indigenous people, and, ultimately, the likelihood of German emigration to that area. These differences are important to understanding why Tonga is such a unique case of German emigration and foreign relationship.

Tonga at the time of German emigration

As a Polynesian people, Tongans have a rich heritage. Their history includes a former territory of rule complete with annexation, conquest, and expansion of other inferior islands and peoples. According to Futa Helu, a prominent Tongan educator, historian, and philosopher, the most accurate proposition of the origin and development of Tonga as a society is the following:

1. The ancestors of the Polynesians (the Austronesians) came originally from Coastal and Island Southeast Asia.
2. The so-called migration of the Austronesians and later of their descendants the Polynesians was from west to east in the earliest period of the settlement of Polynesia, approximately the beginning of the second millennium BC to about the 10th century AD when East Polynesians reversed the direction of dispersal to settle the Cooks and Aotearoa. (111).

Other scholars call this original group the “Lapita” people—named for the site in New Caledonia where some of their pottery remains were first found (West 460). The Lapita were colonists “widely distributed through the southwest Pacific by that time” (Spennemann 2; see also Petersen 5).

From initial settlement to more modern times, Tongans lived in their “sea of islands” (Ha’uofa) invisible to the western world, yet busily engaged in interisland politics and relations for thousands of years previous to European contact. The *Tu’i Tonga* dynasty—Tonga’s former reigning monarchy—was established around 950 AD; ’Aho’eitu was the first Tu’i Tonga (Māhina 40). According to ’Okusitino Māhina, the dominance of the first and all subsequent Tu’i Tongas was consolidated in their purported divinity: ’Aho’eitu was reportedly the offspring of “an earthly woman, ’Ilaheva Va’epopua, a woman from Niuatoputapu,” and a godly father—“Tangaloa ’Eitumatupu’a, possibly a Samoan or Manu’an[.] ... [I]t was from these two sources ... that the secular or public and divine aspects of the Tangaloa lineage, in the person of ’Aho’eitu, gained a political foothold in Tongan society” (39). Believing in his divinity kept Tongans under the Tu’i Tonga rule for many centuries.

From 'Aho'eitu, the Tu'i Tonga title progressed generationally through male lineage to thirty-eight⁶ successors for 915 years—the last titleholder died in 1865 (Campbell 32). The position itself entailed the management of and rule over the temporal and spiritual needs of the Kingdom, in “exchange” for the obeisance and homage of commoners and beings of lesser status. The Tu'i Tonga's responsibilities shifted, however, after the death of Takalaua—the 23rd Tu'i Tonga (around 1470 AD). At that point, his successor Kau'ulufonua I created a new office—*Hau*—to take over the temporal affairs of the kingdom (a responsibility he gave to his brother), while retaining spiritual leadership (*'Eiki Toputapu*) in himself (see Ahio 25-26). These two positions, called the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and the Tu'i Tonga, respectively, remained in place until a third was added a few generations later—the position and dynasty of the Tu'i Kanokupolu resulted from the same type of split that had occurred previously (ibid). Until the unification of the country by Taufa'āhau in the mid-nineteenth century, Tonga was under allegiance to one of these three dynasties, known collectively as *Ha'a Tu'i* (the kingly class).

Under the direction of the Tu'i Tonga, the Tongan people were among the most widely voyaged in Polynesian history: for thousands of years they extended their influence from the larger Tongan islands—Tongatapu and Lifuka, Ha'apai—to more distant outer islands via superior voyaging skills and war. Ian Campbell reports that, while it would be inaccurate to refer to a Tongan empire (given the connotations of “direct government and supervision from afar” inherent in “empire” [41]), “[a]t all events, Tonga was known ... over a large area of the central Pacific. Traces of those contacts were left in the language, social organization and archaeology of many places, from the Cook Islands ... to Tuvalu, Kiribati... and Vanuatu...” (41).

Understandably, Tonga's closest connections were with its nearest neighbors, Fiji and Samoa. Interrelations between these archipelagoes included extensive trade and marital alliances between rulers and kingdoms, thus establishing complex socio-political bonds which knitted families, villages, and islands to each other (see Banner 260-261; Petersen 6-7). For several generations, the Tu'i Tonga had a particularly close relationship with Samoa—due to conflict with the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua in Tongatapu, from the 25th Tu'i Tonga (Vakafuhu) to the 28th (Tapu'osi), the Tu'i Tongan dynasty actually resided on the Samoan island of Upolu. Later, marriage between the sister of Fatafehi (the 30th Tu'i Tonga) and a Fijian brought the relationships of those two kingdoms closer. Semi-frequent struggles with and conquest of other

⁶ Ian Campbell is one who expresses mistrust at this number. As he states, “the first eight or nine names [in the *Tu'i Tonga* genealogy] have no stories or details attached to them, so it is possible that most of them are mythical, invented to give the earliest titleholders a fictional legitimacy. If so, then the dynasty [actually] began several generations later” (32).

islands by the Tu'i Tongas resulted in regular shifts of political boundaries. While distance prohibited iron-fisted political administration of one group over another, after acquisition through war or alliance, the Tu'i Tongas would appoint governors to manage the affairs of villages and islands out of their reach. To quote Campbell again, "[e]ven within Tonga itself the various islands were under only the loose control of the Tu'i Tonga, maintained by sending governors, who often established small dynasties that became increasingly independent in spirit, requiring the dispatch of new governors, who in turn would repeat the same cycle" (40). Yet the Tongan archipelago was nevertheless connected via language, customs and traditions, extended familial ties, and shared histories (Petersen 9-10).

At the time of European first contact with Tonga by Abel Tasman and his crew in 1643,⁷ the Tu'i Tonga had only recently returned to Tongatapu, where a "tripartite settlement pattern" thereafter existed (Spennemann 3). The Dutchmen did not spend an extensive amount of time in Tonga, but rather exchanged a few trade goods, gave Dutch names to the islands they saw, and sailed on (Ledyard 28-29). When Captain Cook visited twice more than a century later (1773 and 1777) the three dynasties and their chief-governor system were still operating—something that seemed to thoroughly confuse Cook, as he apparently expected a single supreme monarch with whom he could communicate (Petersen 12; Luke 35-36). Further firsthand accounts of the operating political system at that time are given by William Mariner, a young Englishman who lived for four years at the beginning of the nineteenth century as the adopted son of high chief Finau 'Ulukālala in Vava'u. Mariner reports that at that time, each island was divided into three smaller districts with one administrative centre—chiefs and high chiefs were the ruling authorities in these areas (Martin 158). Attempts by several chiefs to unify districts, centers, and islands resulted in a period of Tongan civil wars which lasted from 1799 until 1852. This era happens to directly coincide with the arrival of European Christian missionaries. Indeed, it was the newly-converted Taufā'āhau—the son of a Tu'i Kanokupolu ('Ahio 26-27)—who, in 1852, was finally able to unify and bring peace to Tonga as a single kingdom (see Spennemann 15). Several individuals were most influential in this history, as seen below.

Christian missionaries first arrived in Tonga in 1796, affiliates of the London Missionary Society. These came following favorable reports sent back to England by Captain Cook ('Ahio

⁷ The actual first sighting of the Tongan islands by Europeans was of two of the northern islands by Dutchmen Schouten and La Maire in 1616, however they never touched Tongan soil. The first European known to have alighted in the Tongan archipelago was Tasman, followed a century later by English Captain Samuel Wallis, who stayed for just one day, and later, by Captain James Cook (see Banner 261; Ledyard 26-34; Luke 28-29). The Spanish were also somewhat involved: the first European visit of Vava'u was in 1781 by Francisco Antonio Mourelle and his crew (Camino 9).

23). Soon, however, domestic turmoil and clashes between the missionaries and Tongans resulted in the deaths of several of the first ten missionaries, and the final withdrawal of the remainder (Daly 5). Attempts to Christianize were reestablished in the 1820s by the Wesleyan Missionary Society—Walter Lawry arrived in 1822, with John Thomas and John Hutchinson and their wives in 1826. Taufa'āhau, then just a chief, was baptized into the Wesleyan Methodist church in 1831. A gifted orator and leader, Taufa'āhau was later able to unify the Tongan islands through a series of alliances and conquests, becoming the first king of the new nation.

Taufa'āhau took the name King George Tupou I as a tribute in regard to the English King George III—reigning monarch of the land that brought Christianity to his people ('Ahio 47). The Reverend Shirley Baker, an English ex-Wesleyan missionary who arrived in Tonga in 1860, would later become King Tupou I's most trusted advisor and the first Prime Minister of the country. In spite of the speculation and criticism which surrounds his leadership, Baker was inarguably the most influential foreign figure in Tongan history. His assistance and advice throughout the late nineteenth century helped Tonga retain sovereignty during the scramble for territory by the larger worldwide powers at that time⁸—including forming the treaty of friendship with Germany in 1876 (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 15).

During this time of development and change in Tonga, Europeans were busy staking ground and laying claims to the wider Pacific. Greedy for the wealth (copra and souls) of the islands, merchants and missionaries moved steadily further into other nations in Oceania from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. France took over Tahiti in 1847 and New Caledonia in 1853, and Great Britain made Fiji a colony in 1874. King George Tupou was not oblivious to these events. Concerned for the future of his islands, he began developing a strategy for staying out of reach of the heavyweight colonial powers. Three methods prevailed: the modern development of the Tongan Government and constitution, a series of treaties with foreign powers, and a law against the sale of property to non-Tongans each proved to be strategic moves by the Tongan monarch in retaining sovereignty for himself and his people while moving into the new century.

The modernization of Tongan laws and policy began in the 1830s, as Taufa'āhau enlisted English missionaries' help to write a code of law to specify the governmental policies of his realm (Lātūkefu 133; 'Ahio 62). First called “the Vava'u code,” these laws took power back from the chiefs in Vava'u and Ha'apai for the king of that area (Taufa'āhau), and were subsequently revised in 1850 (see Bade, “Tonga—The Friendly Isles” 171; Lātūkefu 128-132).

⁸ See Rutherford 67-84.

After unification, a revised code written with Baker's help in 1862 further limited chiefly power by making them, and all Tongans, subject to the central monarch. It also abolished serfdom, established a parliamentary system, and made the sale of Tongan land to foreigners unlawful (Banner 281-282). More will be said about this last stipulation later. These laws reflected the intelligence, strategy, and leadership of King George Tupou I. By 1875, a full constitution had followed the code of laws, thereby publishing Tonga's autonomy to the world. When European powers did arrive on the scene, the existence of these formal acts required them to recognize Tonga's independence as a self-governing nation (Bennion 176).

The earliest formal approach to Tonga by a European nation was France, which signed a treaty with Tonga in 1855 to allow French business there (which never, however, became extensive). Thereafter, more substantial "friendship" treaties with Germany in 1876, Great Britain in 1879, and the United States in 1886 positioned Tonga in the center of an alliance web with the three largest Pacific colonial players. Under this method, each of these countries was prevented from usurping Tonga for themselves, thereby preserving King Tupou's sovereignty (see Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 15).

Although the new laws and treaties were effective in keeping foreign powers away from Tongan governance, perhaps the single greatest act of foresight by King George Tupou was his adamant opposition to the sale of Tongan land to foreigners. Having lived through, and therefore knowing of, the European advancement into island nations throughout the early- and mid-nineteenth century, he was aware of the large-scale trouble that grew from foreign claims on indigenous land. Stuart Banner records how vehemently King George Tupou resisted this prospect for his own country:

I will not verily sell any piece of land in this Tonga ... for it is small; then, what of it can we sell? And what would be left for ourselves? ... It is not my mind, nor the mind of my people, that we should be subject to any other people or kingdom in this world ... But it is our mind to sit down (that is, remain) an independent nation. (281)

In lieu of sales to foreigners, the 1850 code of law in Tonga and all subsequent recodification allowed for leases of Tongan land by non-Tongans for periods of 21 or 99 years, depending on the land involved. This proved to be a suitable solution for many. As Banner explains,

For those traders and missionaries who had no interest in moving permanently to Tonga, such a lease was nearly as good as ownership. For prospective farmers [emigrants], however, who hoped to move to Tonga, invest heavily in land, and then pass the land on to their children decades later, even a ninety-

nine-year lease was not long enough. The ban on land sales thus yielded precisely the result intended by King George. It allowed a small community of traders and missionaries to live in Tonga, but it deterred other whites from emigrating. (285)

As Banner indicates, the one downside to King Tupou's strict regulations was the lack of land ownership or estate-building opportunity for those foreigners who *did* want to establish permanent homes in Tonga. For descendants of German emigrants in Vava'u, Ha'apai, and Tongatapu, this included their forebears. While German merchants, traders, and plantation owners were able to secure generally longterm leases on property throughout the islands (some of which are still held by descendants today), this lack of land ownership has proved to be a catalyst in many of their descendants' dispersion to other places. In this regard, Tonga's strict land-ownership laws have directly contributed to the overseas migration and growth of the German-Tongan diaspora since the 1940s.

Lack of land ownership aside, the economic and other impacts of Germans in Tonga were nevertheless highly influential. Their presence was most strongly felt in trade. The first German emigrants to Tonga arrived there in the mid-nineteenth century and were generally employees of the Godeffroys or DHPG by way of Samoa (Reidel 89; Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 5, 11). The free-trade stipulations of the 1876 treaty with Germany being attractive for many, Germans began arriving in larger numbers than almost any other European ethnicity. As James Bade writes, "[i]n 1875 Captain Schleinitz of the German frigate *Gazelle* reported that in all three ports of Tonga every ship he met was almost without exception German, and that of seven or eight business houses in Vava'u six were German" (ibid. 5). An 1888 report from the Customs Collection office in Suva, Fiji, substantiates this statement. It records that at that time in Tonga, Germans were responsible for importing and exporting a greater value of goods than any other nationality when compared to the British, Danish, Americans, Chinese, French or native Tongans (March 2-5 [archive]). They were also responsible for much of the modern building and development of the port (Bay of Refuge) in Vava'u, and the buildings there in downtown Neiafu. While local Tongans relied on a traditional *fale* (hut) style of housing and buildings, Europeans introduced wood, cement, and brickwork, and built buildings that would better withstand the hurricanes and natural disasters ubiquitous in the South Pacific. Indeed, several of the business buildings the Wolfgramms, Sanfts, Guttenbeils, and other German immigrants constructed on the Port of Refuge in Vava'u, Tonga, are still standing today—others, which were only recently destroyed by fire (circa 2006), are currently under plans for reconstruction (Carl Sanft interview).

In spite of King Tupou's careful strategies to preserve his country from being taken into foreign hands, his personal relations with the Europeans he interacted with and who lived in his country were congenial. This flowed out to the nation at large. As Futa Helu explains, "world cultures are, by and large, based on the morality of competition and conflict, whereas Pacific cultures, being the cultures of very small communities, are founded on values of co-operation and neighbourliness" (12). King Tupou's "co-operation and neighbourliness" were demonstrated in his regard for the Europeans around him—he respected the missionaries who came to his country (taking the name of their King upon himself) and appointed Shirley Baker as his chief counsellor and Tonga's first Prime Minister (an obvious sign of trust). He was said to be on particularly good terms with the Germans on his islands—JC Godeffroy und Sohn had built the Tongan Royal palace in 1867, and the body of the Crown Prince had been brought back to Tonga by a German navy ship after he had died overseas (see Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 13-14). These relations continued with the succession of King Tupou's grandson—King George Tupou II—to the throne after his death in 1893 (his children had predeceased him), and with the reign of his great-granddaughter Sālote from 1918 to 1965.

Added to what their industry did for the economy of the islands, the extensive intermarriage of Germans with Tongans (dealt with in greater detail below), certainly also helped maintain the amicable relations between the Tongan leadership and the emigrant German community there—these relations remained steady and congenial throughout the early twentieth century. It was not until the outbreak of the First World War that things started to sour to any major degree. As Tonga was, by that time, a British Protectorate (an English treaty in 1900 retained rights of sovereignty for the Tongan monarch but placed a British consul on the islands to offer advice [Lavaka 11]), many Englishmen started to become wary of what they felt were the King's "Germany Sympathies" (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 13-14). Further distrust and speculation about the political feelings and loyalties of German emigrants in Tonga by British subjects led to all German citizens there being classed as "enemy aliens," during both the First and Second World Wars; some were interned in camps in New Zealand (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 16; Liava'a "Enemy Aliens..."; Muller *From Prussia...* 57-73; Wendt "Deutschsein in der Südsee...").

The war also took a toll on German business in Tonga—as part of their "enemy alien" status in the First World War, German businesses were forced to close. 'Cold-shouldered' treatment of German nationals by some Englishmen and others made life additionally uncomfortable for those Germans far from their homeland (Schober 45-43). By the Second

World War these troubles had only escalated. Many Germans were deported to New Zealand for internment (see Porteous), while some of those who were allowed to remain in Tonga were put under house arrest (Karl Tu'inukuafe interview). Some of the Germans who had been interned died while in the camp, or from its effects later (Dyck interview; Tu'inukuafe interview; Schober personal history 65). After the war, most of the internees were allowed to return, however their lives (and the lives of their family members) had been strongly affected.

Important Figures

During the time of German expansion in the South Seas, several German individuals in both Samoa and Tonga were particularly influential. As mentioned previously, the Godeffroys and those who worked for them played a significant role in German emigration in both island nations. Political leaders like Wilhelm Solf, the first Governor of German Samoa, were also significant. On a less public scale, individuals and families like Carl Sanft and his many nephews (both Sanfts and Wolfgramms), as well as Hermann Guttenbeil, were cornerstone characters in this history in Tonga. Although more will be presented about each of these families and their histories throughout the remaining chapters of this thesis, a brief overview of each here is further illustrative.

Wilhelm Solf

When the colonial treaty was signed in Apia in 1899, Wilhelm Heinrich Solf, a member of the German Foreign Service, was appointed governor. A proclaimed admirer of Polynesian peoples, Solf was highly influential in propagating the “noble savage” idea in Samoa. He appreciated the cultural and intellectual capacities of Samoans, without quite feeling that they were equal to Europeans. Yet, he insisted they were markedly superior to indigenous people in other areas. As George Steinmetz explains, “Solf insisted that the ‘Samoans were better than the [African] Herero and Hottentots in every respect’” and that “the colonial office should not assimilate the Samoans to other *Naturvölker* [native people]” (346).

This attitude seems to have been shared by other Germans as well. As Lora Wildenthal explains: “while Germans considered Samoans to be an inferior race, they also found them beautiful, especially the women, and (what was practically synonymous for them) European-like” (122). According to Steinmetz, Solf always emphasized the “racial specificity and the cultural level of the Polynesian population” (346), and focused colonial governance on maintaining peace with the Samoans while looking after the best interests of the Germans. One way he did this was by drawing borders between Samoans and Europeans, whereby he attempted to “preserve” local traditions and customs. As Steinmetz puts it:

[M]any of the colonial government's interventions attempted to stabilize an imagined corpus of Samoan custom and to protect Samoans against induction into a culture-leveling version of capitalist modernity. ... The government tried to coax Samoans back into traditional customs that were being abandoned. For example, Samoans were urged to use traditional roofing materials on their houses rather than corrugated metals. Reliance on manufactured materials would limit the legendary mobility of Samoans. (13)

Thus, Solf segregated lifestyles. Those who lived as "natives" were treated the same, while, as will be seen later in this chapter and in Chapter Five, those who reflected a *papalagi* upbringing were more easily classed as Europeans. As Evelyn Wareham further explains, "to Solf the key determinant of legal belonging when assessing the 'borderland' between native and foreign continued to be socialization, rather than physiology. In his system brown could be white – 'whiteness' was a matter of culture, not of colour" (133). During Solf's regime and after, these boundaries became arbitrary judgment lines for determining nationality, and therefore, privilege, for individuals of mixed German-Samoan descent.

Among Solf's infamous acts as a governor dedicated to "preserving" indigenous traditions and customs was his enactment of two anti-miscegenation laws. These laws were aimed at clarifying the legal status of the mixed-race population that had arisen in Apia from 1870-1910. Steinmetz again explains:

Colonial governor Wilhelm Solf is somewhat notorious for his opposition to intermarriage between Samoans and papalagi (whites). ... But this did not necessarily stem from racial animus against Polynesians. ... In light of Solf's well-documented disdain for the white settlers in Samoa and his fondness for Samoans, which led him to form an imaginary identification across the cultural boundary with an imago of a Samoan chief and to give his children Samoan names, his rejection of mixed marriage seems to have flowed mainly from a concern to defend the islanders against the sort of 'racial' corruption that he believed was occurring in Tahiti and elsewhere in the Pacific" (14).

Evelyn Wareham is more critical of Solf's boundary system:

The German administration's ideal colonial system was [...] one which simultaneously celebrated and infantilised, preserved and developed, empowered and controlled its subjects. These seemingly contradictory political aims were welded together by an intellectual context in which Polynesians were both admired and belittled. The culture of Samoa was admired by anthropologists and popular authors, and was related directly to Samoans' physical fulfilment of a European standard of beauty. Together these secured them a place in the racial hierarchy above that of other colonised groups. Yet in the same works the racial ranking of Polynesia below Europe and the dichotomy of *Naturvölker* (primitive peoples) and *Kulturvölker* (civilized peoples) were assumed facts. This paradoxical context legitimated the apparent racial double-vision of the colonial administration." (46)

Thus, while Solf himself may have felt in himself that he was a “father” to his Samoan “children,” (see Steinmetz 337), his ideology did effectively prohibit Samoans from practicing their own culture as they themselves saw fit. To Solf, they were not quite suited to make such a judgment call.

In spite of the criticism surrounding his term as Governor, Solf is said by some to have been the best foreign leader Samoa had.⁹ His policies were carried on by his successor Erich Schultz-Ewerth after Solf’s appointment to the post of Secretary of the Colonies in 1910 (Moses, “The Solf Regime...” 53). Thereafter, Schultz administered Samoa only three years more before it was taken (without bloodshed) from Germany by New Zealand (on behalf of the British empire) during the First World War. As seen later in this thesis, previous to Solf’s law preventing white settlers from marrying Samoans, many German men had already married or were partnered (marriage *fa’a Samoa*) with local women, from the mid-nineteenth century on.¹⁰ While the numbers may have ebbed slightly during Solf’s tenure, they did not disappear completely. Extensive intermarriage also occurred in early 1919 as a result of New Zealand’s takeover of German Samoa and its subsequent German Repatriation Act of December 1918. Only “German settlers who had married Samoans, and a small number who were given special dispensation, were exempted from the repatriation order” (Brunt 171). Consequently, many German men acted quickly to marry local women, thereby securing their remaining in Samoa. These and other unions have resulted in prodigious numbers of German-Samoans—like German-Tongans—still living in the Pacific and other areas of the world today.

Sanft

The trailblazer of German settlement in Tonga in the latter half of the nineteenth century was Christian Friedrich August (August) Sanft. Sanft was born in Pyritz, in the Prussian province of Pomerania in 1820, and like many other young German adventurers, set out early to seek his fortune in the mining goldrushes of the mid-1800s (Irwin family history 1.1). Failing to find wealth in California—his first destination—Sanft learned of the “white gold” of the

⁹ John A. Moses gives a very good summary of Solf’s attitude as Governor, in his article about Solf’s regime, his ideology apparently being sloganized in the phrase “*Kolonisieren ist Missionieren*”. To Solf, this apparently meant: “the task of the colonizing power is first and foremost the preservation and elevation of the native people, not simply in the sense of the missionary ... but in the most comprehensive cultural sense” (45). This stood in stark contrast to other colonial Governors like Theodor Leutwein in German Southwest Africa who stated “*Kolonisieren ist überhaupt eine inhumane Sache*” (ibid. 54—“Colonization is largely an inhuman business”). It is no wonder then, that the Solf-regime in Samoa was known as “without doubt the most settled period in the known Samoan history” (Keesing 75).

¹⁰ Due to the gender make-up of settlement colonies, these were almost always relationships between white males and local women (see Wareham 126).

Pacific's copra trade. He thereafter travelled on to Australia, New Zealand, and Samoa before finally settling in Vava'u in 1855 where he "set up a business importing general wares from Germany and exporting copra to Hamburg" (ibid 1.1. See also Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 11). Researchers believe Sanft worked for Godeffroy, although he seems also to have established his own plantation later (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 11).

It was not long after his arrival that August sent for "a young girl from Germany, Sophie Dörner, whom he married on board the ship she arrived on" (Irwin family history 1.1). August and Sophie eventually had four sons, although just two of them lived to adulthood (ibid 6.4). Between 1870 and 1875 he persuaded nine of his nephews (four Sanfts and five Wolfgramms—sons of his brother and sister, respectively) to join him in the islands. Thus began the mass migration of the Sanft/Wolfgramm families to Tonga, given in more detail in individual stories later in this thesis. August's wife Sophie died in Vava'u in 1877—her gravestone can still be seen in the Neiafutahi cemetery today. August eventually returned to Germany and died in his home town in 1887 (ibid 1.3). Generally, his nephews remained in the islands, married local women, and had families themselves. Members of the Sanft family now live in Tonga, Germany, Belgium, the United States, and New Zealand. Some of them appear in the succeeding chapters of this thesis. According to Caroline Wolfgramm Irwin's family history, the original Sanft brothers (August's nephews), were the following:

Carl Heinrich Franz Sanft known as Falanisi Lahi, which is Tongan for Franz the large

Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft known as Alipate, which is Tongan for Albert.

Wilhelm Friedrich Otto Sanft known as Alofi by the Tongans.

Friedrich Wilhelm Albert Sanft known as Oto by the Tongans. (1.4)

Wolfgramm

As stated, the first Wolfgramms to come to Tonga were the nephews of August Sanft, but not all the Wolfgramms who emigrated to Tonga were directly related to him. The first group were sons of his sister Caroline and her husband Friedrich Wilhelm Wolfgramm, and are identified by family historians as follows:

Carl Friedrich Wolfgramm known as Efalame, which is Tongan for Ephraim

Friedrich Wilhelm Wolfgramm known as Viliami, which is Tongan for William

Friedrich August Wolfgramm known as Fritz, a nickname for Friedrich

Gustav Friedrich Eduard Wolfgramm known as Lui, a nickname by the Tongans

Emil Otto Friedrich Wolfgramm known as Emili or Otea Oto, a nickname by the Tongans (ibid 1.4)

This group is believed to have arrived in Tonga around 1875 (ibid 2.1), although the youngest (Emil) is said to have come after, probably with his cousins Friedrich and Franz. Friedrich, Franz, and their youngest brother Ludwig were sons of August Ludwig Wolfgramm and Caroline Wilhelmine Auguste Fritz. The eldest two were thought to have arrived in the 1880s (ibid 2.1), while their younger brother came later, in 1892, as he reports in his autobiography (Ludwig Christian Herman Wolfgramm 2). Together, this set of Wolfgramms is identified in the family history as:

Friedrich Gustav Ludwig Wolfgramm called Fritz.

Franz Otto Wolfgramm known as Otto.

Ludwig Christian Herman Wolfgramm known as Hamani. (Irwin 1.4)

Although not all of these men will be dealt with in great detail, several of them have direct descendants highlighted in this thesis. The Wolfgramms all came from Pyritz, (the same town as Sanft), and after arriving in Tonga, originally all settled near each other in Vava'u before branching out to other islands. All but three of the Wolfgramms stayed in Tonga. One—Carl Friedrich—died shortly after arriving—he is buried in Vava'u. Two others eventually returned to Germany (Friedrich Wilhelm and Friedrich August), but not before fathering children in Tonga with Tongan women. The vast intermarriage of Wolfgramm and other German men with Tongan women will be dealt with in the intermarriage portion of this chapter.

Guttenbeil

Born in Pyritz in 1855, the pioneer of the Guttenbeil family in Tonga was Gustav Hermann Theodor Gutenbeil (Hermann). According to family legend, Hermann was convinced to move to Tonga on the recommendation and invitation of the Wolfgramms and Sanfts. Tony Muller, a Guttenbeil descendant, medical doctor, and family historian who is featured in the New Zealand chapter of this thesis, tells the story in his published family history (2013) *From Prussia to the Pacific: The Guttenbeil Family of Tonga*:

The story goes that a Mr Wolfgramm and Mr Sanft were walking down a street in Pyritz when they came across Hermann sitting by the side of the road playing an accordion. The two gentlemen were about to embark on a journey by ship and thought Hermann's accordion would entertain them on the long voyage. Hermann stopped playing, and one of the pair asked: "Hermann, do you want to come with us on an adventure to the South Pacific Islands?" Well Hermann of course said yes, and before long, the three of them left Pyritz to begin a new life on the other side of the world (23).

Hermann arrived with his brother in Tonga in 1881. They lived in Vava'u, where Hermann worked with the DHPG. While in Samoa for business Hermann met Lucy Bartley, an Irish girl living with her family there, and they were married in Vava'u in 1882. On their marriage certificate, the Guttenbeil surname, which had always been spelt with just one 't' up to that point, was suddenly given two, thereby marking the Tonga link for Guttenbeil descendants around the world (Muller 41). Hermann and Lucy had four children—two sons and two daughters. Although their sisters both married Germans and moved elsewhere, both Guttenbeil sons married Tongan women and stayed in Vava'u. Thus descendants of the Guttenbeil family from Tonga are likely to be descended from either of these two brothers (see Muller 37-43, 45-46). More about the Guttenbeil family is seen in individual stories throughout the later chapters of this thesis.

German Emigrant Identity and Cultural Perpetuation

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the differences in the communities to which they immigrated, the strength of a German identity did not remain static throughout the years, nor was it constant between countries. During the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, being German meant something quite different for expatriate Germans living in the United States, Central and South America, and Australia and the Pacific. The differences in these identities largely stemmed from the type of culture the Germans moved to—whether another white settler area, like the early United States, or largely populated by indigenous people, like Africa. They were also dependent on the numbers of Germans emigrating there versus numbers of other Europeans, other settlers, or indigenous locals.

For Germans in the United States from the early to mid-1800s, the foundation built by their emigrant countrymen a century before proved to be a well-oiled springboard into mainstream American society (see Luebke 94). German-Americans were found in large numbers in urban enclaves like New York's *Kleindeutschland*,¹¹ yet were also spread thickly throughout the rural farmland of the north-east and mid-west American landscape (ibid. 110). Although German-Americans were known for flaunting their roots quite strongly when it came to cultural and religious celebrations, they were also quite happy to assimilate to other European-descent groups—emigrant Germans mingling with emigrant Italians, British, Swedes and others who

¹¹ *Kleindeutschland* was an urban German enclave of sorts, where many fresh emigrant individuals and families from German-speaking areas settled after first arriving in America. From there many families would eventually move on to other, more rural areas in the northeast or midwestern United States, although some would stay. See Haberstroh.

were also settling in the United States at that time (see Luebke 160-168) created a strong, and distinctive new “American” culture—the “melting pot” foundation of post-modern American life and identity. Thus, in spite of the anti-German sentiment which became quite strong there during the First World War (see Hawgood 182), Germans were nevertheless an undisputed and important part of the development of mainstream American culture and identity from the nineteenth century onwards.

Integration for German emigrants in other areas was different. Jürgen Buchenau, in his study of the German “colony” in Mexico City,¹² describes German attitudes towards migration there as generally following a three-step pattern:

1. The formative phase of a “come, conquer, return home” mentality (temporary migration)
2. The enclave phase of creating a “*Heimat* abroad” (preserving “Germanness”)
3. The assimilationist phase of integration with indigenous language and culture. (86)

According to Buchenau, although German emigration in Mexico began in the 1820s, the third phase of emigrant assimilation did not begin to occur there until after the end of World War II (ibid.). The uniqueness of the Mexican case, according to Buchenau and others who have written on the topic, was in the statuses of the Germans who came—generally “private entrepreneurs” or “trade conquistadors” who looked to exploit the Mexican political situation of the early to mid-nineteenth century for their own profit (Schiff 279 and Buchenau 88, respectively). Most of these men did not consider themselves to be permanent residents, and “consorted primarily with fellow merchants from the country of [their] birth[s]” (Buchenau 89).

The situation was similar in Brazil. Due largely to the sparse population size (relative to the expansiveness of the country), Germans emigrating to more rural areas of Brazil formed segregationist colonies (enclaves) for themselves, where *Deutschtum* (Germanness) was thus preserved more strongly for a longer period of time. The attitude of German-Brazilians towards their new country was decidedly different to that of many in North America. Frederick Luebke, author of *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration*, writes that Germans living in ethnic enclaves in Brazilian cities often planned to stay only temporarily, and worked to keep themselves separate from any extensive interaction with other Brazilian residents (i.e. other settlers or the indigenous culture) in the meantime. Reportedly this mind-set included a

¹² According to Buchenau, this was an informal but established German community that resulted from the emigration of fifty German individuals (mostly merchant families) in the 1820s, which grew to three thousand by 1939 (85).

resistance to learning Portuguese and a desire to “perpetuate their own [German] language and culture indefinitely” (115). Although Brazilian-Germans on the farms were unlike either the city or Mexican cases in that they did plan on permanent residence in Brazil, the extent and effects of their continued selective segregation can be seen even years later, where according to the 1940 Brazilian census, German was still the second most commonly spoken language after Portuguese (Instituto Brasileiro...).

In the American, Mexican and Brazilian cases alike, reading between the lines reveals race as a major factor in the behavior of German emigrants to their neighbors and their feelings of inclusion or exclusion. Frederick Luebke writes that it was the desire of many Brazilian host states to “whiten” their local populations that led them to encourage German emigration there: “The Brazilian elite [...] was strongly influenced by racist theories based on presumably scientific criteria that gave the highest rating to so-called Nordic peoples, which, of course, included the Germans” (114). In Mexico, the situation was similar: self-segregation happened because of a belief that Europeans represented “the highest levels of civilization” (Buchenau 89). Even in the assimilationist culture of the United States, the other cultures Germans assimilated to were largely white—European, or Anglo-Saxon—rather than brown (Mexican-American) or black (African-American) (see Barber).

It is here that Germans in Tonga stand in such contrast to their countrymen in other areas of the world. Although the German national identity was reported to have been quite strongly asserted in areas of Australia, for instance,¹³ the Germans of the Pacific Islands and, specifically, Tonga, tended to be less politically active, to assimilate more rapidly (both to other settler cultures and—in the case of Tonga—to indigenous ones), and to not participate in the same kinds of culturally assertive behaviour that would have otherwise served as preservatives of a strong German identity. Instead, as will be seen in the cases of schools and intermarriage, in the Tongan case almost full integration with Tongans led to the German language and culture being all but lost after just the first generation. Although German-Tongan descendants growing up in the islands and elsewhere often have some idea of their European heritage, their German

¹³ One report by the authors of an article on the invention of the *Auslanddeutsche* (the identity of Germans abroad) is particularly interesting. It was published in *Globus*, the preeminent German-language national magazine in circulation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: “In foreign lands, free from the strains of regional strife and petty aristocratic prerogatives, the German national body could become a united whole: ‘[I]n these distant places,’ an observer of ethnic German communities in Australia wrote, ‘the German stands up for that which he is, as a German, and recognizes only one legitimate flag, that of the Schwarz-rot-gold. The symbol, and this one alone, flies in Australia, along the waterfalls of the Mississippi, in Chile, or wherever else it may be. ... Foreign governments may ban our flag, but the nation tightly holds onto it. The nation has its own banner’” (Naranch 31). As the flag this article refers to is that of the German revolution in 1848 (which has become the present-day flag), these emigrants are understood to likely be individuals who emigrated for political reasons.

ancestry is usually not a decisive factor in their careers, homes, or lives. The reasons for this could arguably lie in many factors, such as the relatively small population of Germans in Tonga compared to other areas where there was more opportunity to preserve and promote *Deutschtum*. Yet research suggests that the preservation of cultural and national identity was actually less of a conscious desire for Germans in Tonga than Germans in other areas. Understanding these identities, histories, and actions of their forebears helps to frame the statements of identity made by prominent modern German-Tongans around the world throughout the remainder of this thesis.

German Schools as Emissaries of Culture

With the vast drain of German *Volk* from Germany in the 1800s, there was a desire amongst leaders in Europe to maintain German national identity amongst emigrants and Germans abroad, and a fear that it was being lost. One item of particular concern to the *Reich* was what they referred to as the *Entdeutschung* (the de-Germanisation) of the younger generation (Manz 228). Associations dedicated to preserving *Deutschtum* abroad were formed in the United States, the Pacific, Australia, and Brazil as early as the 1890s (ibid 2). One of the largest of these, the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Auslande* (VDA)¹⁴ especially supported the formation of German schools abroad, for the paramount purpose of preserving German national identity in the children of expatriate Germans. One advocate of German schools, Mr Hans Amrhein, explained:

Die deutsche Schule im Auslande ist berufen, die heiligsten Errungenschaften unseres Volkes, die sie in der Heimat hat schaffen helfen, durch eine nationale Erziehung in der Fremde als treue Hüterin mütterlich zu bewahren. Sie [die Schule] führt draußen den Kampf gegen die gefährlichen Geister der Ausländerei, die dort um das deutsche Herz unserer Jugend werben. ... Namentlich an denjenigen Stätten in der Fremde, wo unsere Brüder sich den deutschen Herd errichtet haben, trachtet die Schule danach, die Humanität in deutscher Prägung zu erhalten und zu stärken. Wie bald würde das Erbteil unserer Väter vergeudet und unser Volk verarmt sein, wenn nicht die Schule als gewissenhafte Vermögensverwalterin immer aufs neue dem jungen Nachwuchs das sich mehrende Kulturgut übermittelte! (29-30)¹⁵

¹⁴ "The Association for Germanness Abroad"

¹⁵ "The German school abroad is called to protect maternally the holiest achievements of our people which they helped to create in the homeland through a national education (*Erziehung*) in the foreign country as a true custodian. It [the school] leads the struggle (*Kampf*) out there against the dangerous, foreign spirits which court the German heart of our youth there. [...] [I]n those places in foreign parts, where our brothers have erected for themselves a German hearth, the school aspires to maintain and to strengthen the humanity in the German character (*Prägung*). How soon would the inheritance of our fathers be [wasted] and our people be made poor if the school, as conscientious trustee, did not always convey anew to the young progeny the ever-increasing cultural assets." (Walther 327-328)

Among the richest of the “cultural assets” (*Kulturgut*) at risk to which Amrhein referred—and which was of particular concern to the VDA—was the German language, and its preservation amongst the German or mixed-German children growing up in foreign lands.¹⁶ The idea that language carried the heart of cultural identity was a belief deeply held by many. Stefan Manz, in paraphrasing Johann Gottfried Herder’s *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*, described it this way: “It [is] through a common language that humans interpret [] the world around them, and this create[s] the strongest possible social bond for a *Volk*” (229). Luebke describes language as the glue that actually bound Germans together, prior to political unification: “[B]ecause Germany did not exist as a unified state until 1871, a German was simply someone who spoke the German language” (111). Whatever the reason behind it, the building of schools and language preservation became the goal and purpose of these associations.¹⁷

By 1906 concern for the perpetuation of Germanness abroad led to the establishment of an office for school affairs, under the umbrella of the Foreign Office of the German Reich. Teachers were trained in teacher colleges (seminaries), and although “conveying a sense of diasporic connectedness to pupils was not on the curriculum” of the secular schools established by these educators thereafter (Manz 232-33), that is exactly the peace of mind that foreign German schools gave to the nation back home. According to Stephan Manz, German teachers employed to work abroad were instructed to “Gehet hin in alle Welt und lehret die deutsche Jugend, die ihr dort findet, sich deutsch zu erhalten, und die Landjugend, wenn sie sich zu Euch drängt, Freunde deutscher Bildung und des deutschen Volkes zu werden!” (Schmidt 67).¹⁸ While their organization differed, schools taught German subjects in the German way, bringing a proverbial “taste of home” to each respective foreign nation. Scholars estimate that by 1914 more than 5,000 German schools existed abroad, being spread throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin American and Hawaii, and Australia (Manz 306). Although most were built in areas with high concentrations of Germans (the United States, Brazil, and Argentina, for example), even places with smaller populations of German emigrants (e.g. Russia, Romania, Panama, and Persia) were able to boast at least a handful of German schools (ibid. 231).

¹⁶ Because policies on miscegenation varied from colony to colony (as will be seen in the next section), some part-German children of German nationals and foreigners, born and raised abroad, were considered German, while others were not claimed by the *Reich*. Some reasons and further explanation are given in the next section.

¹⁷ A word needs to be said about the differences in schools thereafter established in diasporic German communities for the purpose of educating and acculturating their youth, and the German colonial schools which were established in Africa and China, for instance. In the first case the intent was to foster *Deutschtum* in ethnically German or part-German children. In the second it was the *Germanizing* of supposedly inferior “natives.” The schools referred to here are generally of the first type.

¹⁸ “Go forth into the world and preserve the Germanness of the German youth you will find there, and make the indigenous youth which will approach you into friends of German *Bildung* and of the German *Volk*.” (Manz 238)

Yet a lack of schools was still a problem for expatriate children living in other areas of the world, inhibiting them from holding on to or building the same kind of national identity their compatriots in other areas were able to. In a few cases, it was actually the parent's lack of interest which prevented German language and culture being preserved beyond the first generation. Writing about the counter-attitude to the ethnocentricity of Germans in Brazil, Luebke reports that there were also some individuals who actually had no interest in holding so strongly to their home country, language, and culture:

Like any other immigrant group, the Germans [in Brazil] [also] included many persons who were favourably disposed toward the language and culture of the host society and wanted to become part of it as quickly and as painlessly as possible. Through daily contacts at work, at the store, at church, in school, or even in the home, they learned Portuguese readily. Whether they learned quickly or slowly depended upon individual circumstances and whether they had good or poor opportunities for interaction with speakers of Portuguese. (116)

As Luebke indicates, these German emigrants in Brazil did not seek out German schools to attend, and for this and other reasons integrated much more quickly in their new country. This same kind of acculturation occurred elsewhere as well, including New Zealand, the United States, and Australia.

For various reasons, Germans living in Tonga tended also to follow this second pattern. Although Germans were neighbors and business associates, they did not tend to build close-knit communities or associate as exclusively with each other as some of their countrymen in other areas of the world did.¹⁹ This could be attributed to the fact that there were not as many Germans in Tonga as there were in other areas, yet, as seen in the previous section, records indicate that Germans did make up a significant percentage of the population.²⁰ They also did not establish a

¹⁹ See the first-hand reports from Paula David and Emma Schober in David and Schober personal histories, respectively.

²⁰ There is some debate amongst scholars as to the actual size of the Tongan population both before and after initial European contact. Randolph Robert Thaman gives perhaps the most thorough survey of the figures in his 1976 publication of his 1975 PhD dissertation. Based on his research, it is likely that there were around 20,000 residents of the Tongan islands around the mid-nineteenth century, about the time that August Sanft arrived (Thaman 91). This number is said by some to be as high as 50,000, yet that figure is generally criticized as having been inflated for evangelizing purposes (see Spennemann 16-17; Burley 180-181). Almost all historians agree to some degree of population decline between 1850-1900, due to European-introduced illness (to which the Tongans had no natural immunity) and other factors. All of these things considered, using the proportions reflected on the 1891 Tongan census (where 26.5% of the population resided on Vava'u [Burley 181]), it is estimated that there were then around 8050 residents living on Tongatapu, 6200 in Ha'apai, and between 5000-6000 in the Vava'u group between the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Relative to these figures, James Bade's statements that "[a]t the turn of the twentieth century, half the European population in Tonga was German" and "[i]n Vava'u alone there were reportedly over a thousand Germans" ("Tonga—The Friendly Isles" 171) shed light on the impact Germans would have had on the Tongan population, particularly in Vava'u.

school. That point is especially interesting, as Paula David, a German woman who lived with her businessman husband in Tonga from 1887-1894, mentioned that a German teacher did once come to Vava'u (27); for whatever reason, though, he or she was not known to have been employed and no German school was established there.²¹ The only other German teachers ever mentioned in the literature were two German governesses Hans Brähne hired to come teach his children, according to Mrs. Emma Schober—the wife of a successful German businessman in Tonga—in her history. According to Mrs. Schober, “The first lady only taught for a few months and then married our neighbor Zuckschwerdt.”²² As for the second, she found the plantation too solitary” and did not stay, “being unhappy” (37). Thus, in spite of the relatively strong community of Germans in Tonga, having a German school for their children to attend does not appear to have ever been a strong priority for the majority.

There does seem to be some division between German parents in Tonga here though, which is worth mentioning. Whereas the majority seemed content with raising their children outside of their own homeland and native language, there were a few who did show more positive signs to preference for a specifically German life for their children. Yet, the situation being what it was in the islands, the next best alternative (for those who could afford it) was to send their children overseas—existing options were almost exclusively English. Mrs. Schober, the mother of three sons herself, described the unfortunate realities of this situation for some:

Many German families resident in the South Seas placed their children in colonial boarding-schools. Then after some years the children returned as English and completely estranged from their parents. We did not want to share the fate of these families, rather we wished to give our three sons a German school education. ... But this was a problem for the future [because there was no German school available]. (54)

The lack of feasible options for the Schobers' young sons to attend a German school in Tonga proved to be the catalyst for the family's eventual return to Germany in 1921, after nearly twenty years in the South Pacific. To Mrs. Emma Schober and her husband, this was an obligation they had as German parents—as she explains, “all Germans who live overseas and have children have the duty (if circumstances permit) to have them educated in their native land” (56). This

²¹ The only hint at a German education I have ever found in Tonga in the records and first-hand accounts is given by Helene Hedwig Sanft Fakatou, daughter of Friedrich and Fifita Sanft, who was born in 1894 in Ha'alaufuli, Vava'u. In her personal history she recounts that she went to a European school in Vava'u, where she “studied English in the morning and German in the afternoon.” According to Helene, the school only went through the “sixth Standard,” so she did not go further than that. She says that she wishes she “had studied [her] German more” as she apparently never gained a good grasp of the language from that education or elsewhere (see Fakatou 2). No other material or person I have come across has mentioned this school again, and further details are unknown.

²² Maria Zuckschwerdt—grandmother of Karl Tu'inukuafe. See Chapter Two.

statement appears to be an indicator not only of the social class Emma Schober felt she belonged to (one with enough resources to devote to “duty”), but also as a social judgment of those German parents who chose not to educate their children in the “German” way.

Three of the first set of Wolfgramm brothers were among those who appeared to share Emma Schober’s sentiments. One picture from a family history source shows six young German-Tongan Wolfgramms as photographed in Germany after arriving from the Islands to go to school, circa 1920 (Figure 1). In total, although they are not all pictured in the photo, eight were known to have been sent (see Cook 43-44). Of these Wolfgramm children (both those in the photo and those not pictured), four died in Germany while pursuing their education,²³ two are known to have returned to the Pacific,²⁴ one died as an adult in Germany,²⁵ and one lived on to adulthood and pursued a successful career as a medical doctor in Berlin²⁶—these are all dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Four. These children represent a significant portion of the small exception—the few German or German-Tongan children who were raised German (in Germany). Other parents either did not have the same options, or did not feel as strongly about preserving *Deutschtum* in their rising generation.

According to the first-hand records, it appears that German citizens living in Tonga did not even seem to interact with one another very often, let alone for cultural preservation purposes or to the extent Germans in other areas did. During her seven years in Tonga, Paula David wrote only four times of specific interactions with other Germans, though it is clear she hoped for more (17, 23, 27, 29). For some families, religious celebrations (like Christmas) were upheld as much as possible (Schober personal history 15), yet although Schober reports a somewhat more extensive network of German friends and workmates than David does, she also admits that “there were many Europeans [in Tonga] who lived their lives as strangers and whom we seldom met, except perhaps on steamer days when they were forced to come collect their mail” (personal history 38). Tonga never offered institutions outside the family unit for instilling further *Deutschtum* in the growing German or part-German population (Schober 7-20, 35-56). Thus, whereas many Germans living in other areas of the world had the luxury of relying on their

²³ Herbert, Heinrich, Fritz and Ludwig Wolfgramm (Heinrich and Fritz are not pictured in the photograph)

²⁴ Herman and Arthur Wolfgramm

²⁵ Frieda Wolfgramm. See Cook 43.

²⁶ Alma Wolfgramm. See Bade, *Germans* 120.

wider (German) communities to support the perpetuation of German language and culture even outside of school, overall Germans in Tonga did not.

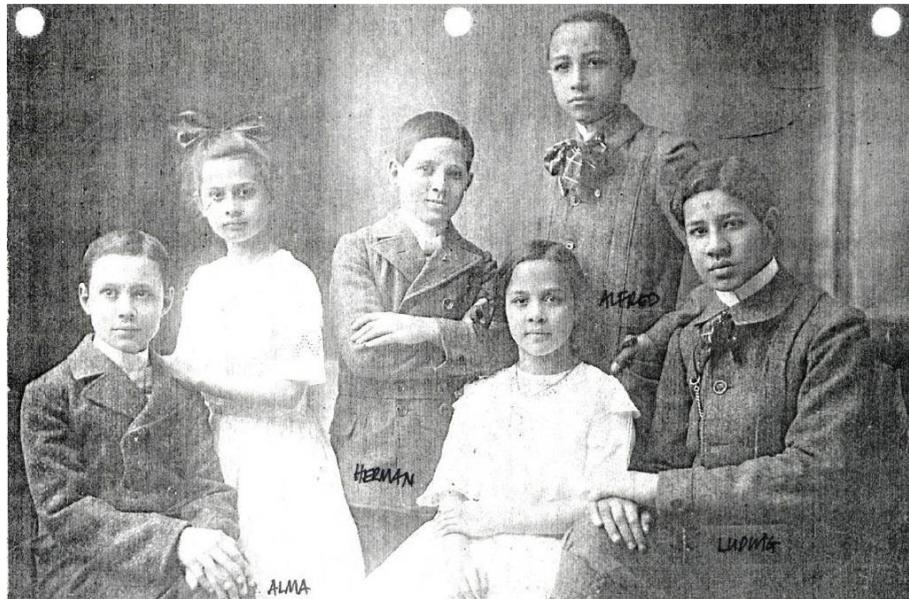


Figure 1: Some of the Wolfgramm children in Germany (Hamani/Christian Ludwig Herman Wolfgramm [1868-1910] Photo Album)

Intermarriage

A second and particularly influential reason for the lack of strong German identity in German-Tongans is the fact that they were being raised in Tonga, with the language, their Tongan extended family, and the Tongan culture all around them. The extensive intermarriage between Germans and Tongans in Tonga (and Germans and Samoans in Samoa as well) is interesting, given the racial prejudice and cultural taboos existent in the wider European (including German) world at that time. Rather than choosing to bring or send for a German bride (as August Sanft did with Sophie Döner, or Ludwig Schober with his wife Emma [see Schober v and 10])—or planning to remain only temporarily to make a fortune and then return to Germany (as Germans in the Mexican case did, for instance), most Germans in Tonga instead chose long-term settlement and Tongan brides. This matched what was practiced in both New Zealand (German intermarriage with Māori, for instance) and, again, in Samoa, but was in direct opposition to the wider-spread formal practice of anti-mixed marriage. In German Southwest Africa, for instance, intermarriage had been opposed by colonial administrators for decades (Wildenthal 89-90) and was officially made illegal in 1906 (Steinmetz 226). Concerns over these

relationships appear to indicate a fear that resultant *Mischlinge* would use German status to become a disruptive and threatening presence in European settler colonies (ibid. 226-227).

A similar situation was true in Southeast Asia. In the British-administered Straits Settlements colonial administrators feared miscegenation would upset the social hierarchy (Chludzinski 57-59). Class considerations of resulting mixed-race generations were also a factor. In British-controlled India, marriages between Indians and British subjects had been occurring for decades, yet the Anglo-Indian children who resulted found themselves in a no-man's land of legal rejection by both the British and Indian governments (see Mizutani 5-11). In the United States as well, mixed-race offspring of socially taboo unions between Native- and European-Americans were rejected—these individuals sadly lived in a middle-ground of questioned legal identity and social class belonging (Thompson 2). Although the support of the average German citizen for the Nazis' intensely pro-Aryan policies is questionable, eventually Nazi Germany earned infamy as one of the most anti-miscegenation Governments in recent history.²⁷

Closer to their Tongan home, intermarriage between Germans and indigenous people also became illegal in German-colonial Samoa during the first decade of the twentieth century. An order passed by Governor Solf in 1912 banned new marriages between Europeans and Samoans. The declarations made in this order dealt both with mixed marriages and mixed-race individuals and stated that, although interracial marriages had been legally recorded previous to that point, no further such marriages would be permitted. As for the children, it was decreed that the offspring of mixed-race marriages which were previously legitimate would be known as white and were to be accorded equal status, but that mixed-race individuals born after the publication of those basic rules were to be deemed "natives." A final stipulation (explained in greater detail in Chapter Five), required that otherwise, only "natives" who could speak fluent German and demonstrate a European education would be given equal standing to the "Whites" (Gouvernementssekretär Schultz 163).

In 1913 the colonial administration further defined these rules (see Cook 37-41). Again, on Governor Solf's part, the anti-miscegenation acts reportedly stemmed from a desire to preserve culture and maintain boundaries than it did from ill-will towards Samoans. As Evelyn Wareham describes it, "by protecting the essential elements of Samoan society and controlling foreign influences [i.e. limiting European and Samoan interactions, particularly intimate ones], the German colonial administration's aim was to aid Samoa's development to a stage of

²⁷ The Nazi party was not democratically elected. At the time of Hitler's appointment as chancellor, just 33.1% of votes in the 1932 election were in support of the NZDAP party, and their popularity was waning (see Gordon 71-72).

civilization which would accord with the unique cultural ‘genius’ of the Samoans” (46). Thus, while the colonial Government might not have opposed mixed-marriage on grounds of the same fears as in Africa, they were still opposed, ostensibly for purity’s sake—both to “persevere” Samoanness, and (conveniently as it turns out), Germanness as well.

Yet there were those in the Pacific who did feel badly towards mixed-marriage in general, for other reasons. Mrs. Emma Schober was one such in Tonga. She expressed the idea that Europeans and Polynesians were essentially incompatible in a relationship such as marriage, and alludes to the temptation of miscegenation as one of the “moral dangers present in the tropics” (personal history 56). She condemns it further by explaining:

Often I felt sorry that many of the German men living here [in Tonga] had made liaisons with native or half-caste women. They quickly found that it was a mistake, but by then it was too late. Although Tongan women were very happy to marry a European, they were not suited. ... Nevertheless, we Europeans who lived in small numbers here could rub along with our brown and half-white sisters without any discord. ... Most of the men treated their women well, although, as I said, a marriage in our sense of the word was not possible. (ibid. 13-14)

Mrs. Schober’s statement is telling, and speaks to an idea which Claudia Knapman also argues in her book *White Women in Fiji 1835-1930*. Namely, that without the influence of white women in these settlement areas, white men were more apt to go morally and socially awry, and that “native” women were inherently incapable of meeting European ‘needs’ and standards (see 127-131; 171; 174-175). Although anti-miscegenation laws did not apply in Tonga as they did in other areas under direct German-control, Emma Schober’s expressed opinion is important as it illustrates conceptions of race, culture, prejudice, identity, and racially mixed family life which can be understood to be indicative of the feelings of at least a few Germans at that time.

In the case of most German men in Tonga, however, these considerations were immaterial. Interracial marriage was a natural and direct result of emigration, and the desire for female companionship and family formation in a world where other Europeans were almost all male outweighed any potential social taboos.²⁸ Although German women could sometimes be persuaded to come and marry in Tonga (as in the Sanft and Schober cases), or other suitable European partners might be found (as in Hermann Guttenbeil marrying Lucy Bartley, who lived in Samoa [Muller 37-39], or Heinrich Bruno (Hans) Brähne marrying Mary Ann, an Australian

²⁸ Such was the case in most colonial or remote emigrant areas, and understood to be so in Tonga. To give some idea of the likely ratio of European women to men in Tonga during the time of German emigration, Paula David recounts in her journal that upon her arrival in 1887, she was the only European woman. On 16 December 1891, she recorded that the fifth had just arrived (23). Mrs. Emma Schober, for her part, lived in Tonga after Mrs. David had left and reports that (in 1903) she was “almost the only European woman who lived in Vava’u” (11).

[see Brähne Chapter Two]), it was more common for German men to take Tongan wives. The German-Tongan individuals examined in this thesis are the descendants of these marriages and relationships.

The Treatment and Identity of Early Mixed-Race Children

One of the first concerns about the children of these mixed marriages is understanding how they were viewed and treated from the outside, and how they viewed themselves. Mrs. Schober reported that they were “accepted nowhere” and that she felt badly for them (15). While my previous research on the subject does not suggest that mixed-race German-Tongans were mistreated or marginalized to any major degree in Tonga²⁹ (where whiteness, as a racial quality, was prized and favoured³⁰), it does nevertheless point to them living in an other-worldly ‘third-space’ to some extent. According to Fred and Emily Wolfgramm, two of the first-generation German-Tongans who grew up in Tonga after the turn of the twentieth century, this was the case for them. Children of Ludwig Hermann Christian Wolfgramm and his wife Sela Maele, Emily now lives in the United States, as did Fred before his death in 2011. In 2010 the brother and sister gave an interview in Las Vegas in which they were asked what life was like for them growing up in Tonga, as well as what aspects of German culture were passed on to them. They reported that they knew a few German words—“*ja*,” “*nein*,” and “*danke mein Herr*”—and were taught to eat differently (i.e. at a European table), but that they were not “fully European,” as they spoke only Tongan and were raised with their maternal (Tongan) side’s food, traditions, and culture. On one hand they felt that they knew what it meant to be German according to manners, but mostly, they just knew they were different from other Tongans. They reported being called *pālāngi* generally in jest but also sometimes as a delineator of place of belonging.

Further research, including many of the personal stories in this thesis, shows that Emily and Fred’s story is not unique. Their valuable first-person, first-generation German-Tongan narratives allow for clearer understanding of the lack of a strong German identity (language, customs, cultural knowledge) in succeeding generations: one cannot preserve what one has not been given. Thus, the nonexistence of German schools coupled with the extensive intermarriage

²⁹ Outside of the islands, however, their handling is another story. Chapter Four of this thesis describes some of the treatment of mixed-race German-Tongan children in Germany in the early-twentieth century, for instance.

³⁰ This was a theme which I heard repeatedly in my interviews, and to which many of my research participants referred. The perceived “prize” of marrying a *pālāngi* was also mentioned in the earlier quote by Mrs. Schober that “Tongan women were very happy to marry a European” (15). I deal with this idea in greater detail later in this thesis in Chapter Five.

of Germans with Tongans resulted in a lack of a strong German identity being passed on to succeeding generations.

Modern Emigration and Diaspora

Since the time of the first arrival of Germans in Tonga in the late nineteenth century, emigration has continued to be an enduring legacy for German-Tongan families, their children, and their descendants. Although they vary to a certain extent (as European-Tongans generally had better access to opportunities abroad via their extended family or other networks, as seen in many of the stories that follow in this thesis), generally speaking, their migration trends tend to follow the same patterns as those of full Tongans. Although Tongans (and German-Tongans) can be found on almost every continent, they reside most prominently in the Pacific Rim countries of New Zealand, the United States, and Australia ('Esau 352). One of the most comprehensive studies on Tongan international migration was presented by Viliami Uasikē Lātū in his 2006 PhD thesis "International Migration and Societal Change in the Kingdom of Tonga." Lātū mentions three specific pull-factors for external migration from Tonga, and the chain migration—a social process of migrants following other migrants they are connected to—that goes with them: education, work schemes, and religious affiliation.

Regarding education, beginning with the first generation of German-Tongan children, some of those sent back to Germany for study or to live there have already been mentioned (namely, the Wolfgramms). Other families also followed this practice to some degree (see Schober 28, 56; Chapter Four of this thesis), yet, as stated, many more children were sent to New Zealand for their schooling than back to Europe.³¹ These experiences were generally made possible because of the relative wealth of the biracial families. Yet opportunities for overseas study also became available to high-achieving "regular" students after the ascension of King Taufa'āhau Tupou IV to the Tongan throne in 1966 (as dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Two). As Lātū explains, "[r]adical development in education, health, communications and transportation under his [King Tupou IV's] administration opened the doors for international migration" (84). Several of the individuals interviewed for this thesis, as will be seen in coming chapters, can trace their family's emigration from Tonga through these routes.

The king was also the central figure in enabling Tongans to work temporarily overseas during the 1970s and 1980s. Temporary work visas from New Zealand companies seeking

³¹ See research by Christine Liava'a on Tongan Students in New Zealand, 1880s to 1950s.

cheaper labourers provided the means for many Tongans (German-Tongans among them), to come to New Zealand for a short time. As individuals acquired a taste for overseas life, overstaying became common, sometimes resulting in an individual finally acquiring residency in the new country. Vast amounts of chain migration resulted from this, as individuals helped other family members and friends obtain employment or simply come to live with them in their new home. As in former, pre-Christian times when Tonga was warring with and growing throughout neighboring islands, “family connections were among the major reasons why Tongans travelled” (Lātū 74).

With the closely interwoven history of Christianity in modern Tonga, churches have also, unsurprisingly, played strong, indisputably important and influential roles in international migration.³² As Lātū explains, “one of the major channels for international migration is through short-term tours in relation to church activities, particularly fundraising tours” (177). He further explains, “[this] short-term migration occasionally affects migrants’ decisions, as some choose to stay abroad permanently by breaching immigration agreements, some marry citizens of host countries, while the rest return” (ibid). One of the major players in religious-inspired migration to the United States, as seen in Chapter Three, was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), which had been operating in Tonga since the late 1800s (Gaunt). Later, beginning in the mid-twentieth century, the LDS church helped sponsor or support Tongan men and women—German-Tongan descendants among them (see Gerber personal history 145; Fakatou personal history 8; Vai Sikahema interview)—to move to the United States for education, missionary work, or other reasons. Thus Tongans began to migrate in substantial numbers to Utah, Hawaii, and California (Small, *Voyages* 2).

Within the past decade, figures from census records in all of the main destinations of Tongan migration indicate that there are almost more Tongan migrants currently residing outside of Tonga than live in the country itself (see Lātū 88). According to Small and Dixon in 2004:

Although recent population estimates suggest that migration overseas may be slowing, today half of the estimated 216,000 Tongans in the world are abroad, and almost every household has a relative resident in another country. About two in 10 of Tonga’s expatriates are residents of Australia, while four out of every 10 overseas Tongans live in the U.S., and another four out of 10 live in New Zealand. (2)³³

³² In this case, “churches” refers to any religious institution to which Tongans belong, regardless of the actual denomination.

³³ With more than 60,000 Tongans or individuals of Tongan descent resident in New Zealand on the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand online) and more than 57,000 in the United States in 2010 (Hixson et al. 14), these figures have only continued to grow.

In each of the areas to which they have emigrated, diasporic Tongans tend to maintain some link to their Pacific homeland and culture. The strength of their Tongan identity, however, is not statutorily quantifiable. As will be seen in the following chapters, modern-day reflections and life stories of German-Tongan descendants around the world describe varying levels to which they relate to or identify with their racial and cultural heritages. Surely the depth and complexity of their respective backgrounds (namely, German and Tongan), are factors in this equation. The extent to which these histories and circumstances affect them, however, remains to be seen in the coming chapters.

Chapter 2: German-Tongans in New Zealand

Due largely to its close geographical proximity to Tonga and the historical ties between the two nations through church, education, and Government (seen in part below), New Zealand has long been a main-destination country for emigrating Tongans. Since the 1950s, there has been a steady flow of Tongans migrating to or through New Zealand, with the highest rates of immigration occurring in the 1970s-1980s. For reasons which will be discussed later in this chapter, the emigration of German-Tongans tended to be even more common than that for other (i.e. full) Tongans. Today, individuals with German-Tongan heritage living in New Zealand represent a small but important portion of total residents, in a city which boasts the largest Polynesian population in the world (Auckland Council 70)¹. From fashion gurus and artists to educators and religious leaders, as will be seen in the personal accounts that follow, the contributions made by prominent German-Tongan-New Zealanders are substantial and relevant. Their lives reflect significant intersections of heritage and culture, adding to the rich heterogeneity of modern New Zealand life.

History of Tongan Emigration to New Zealand

There is some debate as to Tonga and Aotearoa's historical interactions, but the first documented Tongans known to have travelled to New Zealand were those picked up by Captain Peter Dillon, the South Seas trader, in 1827 (Soakai 2). Although a Tongan man named Sioeli (Joel) is mentioned in the story of the death of Reverend John Bumby² in 1840 (Mallon 77), little is known about his history or residence in New Zealand, and other Tongan immigrants were not known to arrive until the late-1800s, mostly for education at various small Wesleyan colleges (Soakai 5-8). It was not until the late-middle part of the twentieth century that Tongan immigration to New Zealand began to increase substantially. Census statistics spanning more than a century are useful comparison points:

Table 1: New Zealand Census Records: Number of residents born in Tonga

Census Year	Number of Tongan Residents
1874	7
1921	228
1951	608

¹ Nine out of ten of the research participants highlighted in this chapter reside in Auckland. This reflects the trend nationally, where two-thirds of Pacific Islanders reside in the Auckland region, according to the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand).

² A Wesleyan missionary in New Zealand.

1976	3,965
2001	18,054
2006	20,520
2013	22,413

Source: Taumoe folau

As indicated by the data, the 1970s and 1980s saw the largest growth of Tongan immigration to New Zealand. Reasons for this growth can be reduced to two factors: increased educational opportunities for Tongans in New Zealand, and an expanding international labour market.

Education

During the first half of the twentieth century, Crown Princess Sālote (who would later become the much-loved Queen of the Kingdom of Tonga), received her education at the Diocesan School in Auckland from the age of thirteen. Her later support for education and international study, including the purchase of a mansion on a four-acre estate in central Auckland as a boarding house for Tongan students, facilitated the movement of individuals from Tonga to New Zealand for scholastic opportunities. The property in Epsom, named “*Atalanga*,” became a home base for both Tongan students studying in Auckland and for visiting persons of importance from Tonga. These events were the result of limited educational infrastructure in the islands. Due to a lack of high quality learning institutions at home, beginning in the mid-twentieth century, excellent Tongan students began to be offered opportunities overseas. As Dr. Viliami Lātū, a former Tongan cabinet member, explains in his PhD thesis:

Tonga slowly developed into a semi-modern society from the early 1930s to the 1950s and the opportunities for further education abroad began to depend on high achievement in college. The swift development of education and the provision of additional scholarships by the churches, the Tongan government, and foreign aid donors encouraged open competition amongst commoners for further education. Those who performed well in school were awarded scholarships for further education abroad. Some were sent to the Fiji School of Medicine in Suva while the rest were sent to New Zealand and Australia. (79)

Whereas at first only Tongan royalty, aristocracy, missionaries, or the children of wealthier families had the chance to study abroad (as in the case of the German-Tongan children sent to Germany near the turn of the century, or, as seen elsewhere in this thesis, those sent to New Zealand or the United States), with the development of education in Tonga to new international standards, ordinary Tongans found potential opportunities opened to them as well. In these latter cases, not only did the pursuit of higher education bring economic and personal advantages, it also served to raise one’s status, and the status of one’s family. As will be seen in

the case of Karl and Edgar Tu'inukuafe, introduced below, several individuals of German-Tongan descent also benefitted from these schemes.

Educational development and increased academic opportunities for Tongans abroad continued throughout Queen Sālote's reign, and particularly with the succession of her son to the throne. To quote Lātū again, "[r]adical development in education, health, communications and transportation under [Prince Tupou To'a's] administration opened the doors for international migration" (84). These "opened doors" included the founding of the Tonga Teachers College and Tonga High School in 1947, where "the aim was to train Tongan teachers and able students for higher education abroad" (ibid. 82-83. See also Karl Tu'inukuafe, MA thesis 47). The establishment of these two educational institutions proved to be pivotal; thereafter, by the 1960s, international study for Tongan secondary school scholarship students had become a norm. Christine Liava'a, a professional genealogist, has compiled lists and spreadsheets of Tongan students coming to New Zealand for education between the 1880s and 1968. These records reflect that, over the course of that eighty-year period, more than 150 Tongan students were educated in New Zealand, with the majority coming after Queen Sālote and Prince To'a's administration changes (see Liava'a, "Tongan Students..."). In his Master's degree case study on overseas-trained Tongans, Karl Tu'inukuafe identified a list of 240 individuals who were educated at overseas institutions (35)—many of these would also have been trained in New Zealand. Although Liava'a's and Tu'inukuafe's figures do not match, they highlight the importance of New Zealand as a major destination for Tongan student and scholar migrants, particularly after the mid-twentieth century. Many of these individuals ended up with jobs or families in New Zealand after their studies, joining the ranks of permanent emigrants there (see Lātū 81).

Labour

While students were coming and going between Tonga and New Zealand more frequently from the mid-twentieth century on, opportunities for emigration relative to employment began to expand as well. Some individuals, such as the grandparents of the German-Tongan Wolfgramm cousins featured in this chapter, were the beneficiaries first of educational opportunities abroad, and secondly, of the work schemes established between the Tongan and New Zealand governments. These schemes, the subjects of a number of articles, commentaries, and books, set in motion events which would not only enable large numbers of Tongans to come to New Zealand between the 1960s and 1970s, but also prove problematic in

the future as well, with consequences such as remittance dependence, lifestyle changes, and family separation. Ultimately, what was seen as an “overstayer problem” with Samoans, Tongans, and Fijians in New Zealand led to police action and policy reform that are among the dark memories of most Pacific Island families with roots in New Zealand at that time.³

The Pacific Island labour schemes originated from a shortage of workers in the New Zealand labour market caused by the rapid expansion of industry and the “development of an import-substitution manufacturing base” (Bedford, Ho and Lidgard 17). Jobs that were not attractive for a New Zealand employment pool (e.g. factory or manual labour positions) were offered to nearby Pacific Island nations whose government and people, hungry for the higher paychecks available in Western nations, jumped at the short-term work opportunities. As Helen Morton Lee explains:

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Tongan government encouraged temporary labour migration to New Zealand as a means of boosting Tonga’s development. This aim was assisted in the mid-1970s when urban work schemes for Pacific Islanders were introduced in New Zealand, with short-term work contracts and strict provisions for their return home afterward. (*Tongans Overseas* 21)

Although work visas were typically for a period of just six months (Levick, MA thesis 60), to many families trying to provide a better future for their children, they were an important foot in the door for overseas migration. Their effects can be seen empirically in the numbers of migrating Tongans to New Zealand. Joris de Bres, a long-time New Zealand human rights worker and author of a report on aid between Tonga and New Zealand in 1974, called the migration “flood level” in the late-1960s to early-1970s, and offered the following statistics (approximated based on new passport data and total visa applications and other sources):

Table 2: Estimates of Tongans Going Abroad for All Reasons By Country

Year	N.Z.	U.S.A.	Fiji	A/Samoa	Aust.	Other	Total
1969	530	400	340	230	120	80	1,700
1970	590	1,000	300	160	80	90	2,220
1972	3,710	640	760	370	150	210	5,840
1973	4,870	480	680	370	140	140	6,870

NOTE: Roughly 30% of all visitors to New Zealand travelled on ‘old’ (one year or older) passports.

Source: de Bres 6

³ Policies and police tended to target Pacific Islanders for arrest, charge, and deportation—it was not until 1986 and the publication of a newspaper article by David McLoughlin that the majority of the public learned that “of 9,500 people who had overstayed their permits, less than one third were Pacific Islanders” (Tu’inukuafu, Edgar 209).

Table 3: Estimates of Purpose of Overseas Travel (Tongans going abroad)

Year	Visit	Student	Emigrant	Total
1969	1,280	310	110	1,700
1970	1,640	440	140	2,220
1972	5,370	200	270	5,840

NOTE: Figures do not account for Tongans remaining overseas for a period longer than one year

Source: *ibid.*

As evidenced by the data, for a country as small as Tonga (which had roughly 90,000 residents in the late 1970s-1980s [Djajić 88]), overseas work schemes affected not just a few, but a large percentage of Tongans. De Bres calculates that as many as 12.4% of the total male labour force in Tonga visited New Zealand in 1973 (6).⁴

Although the work schemes were a benefit to Tonga at the time, there were also unintended negative consequences. For instance, although remittances sent back to Tonga by labourers in New Zealand benefitted their family and home economy, they also became a crutch to many, resulting in dependence on foreign goods and the higher overseas wages to purchase them (de Bres 8. See also Lātū 84-87). After one's work visa ended, the prospect of returning home to the same or even more difficult work for less pay was discouraging; many Tongan labourers opted to defy the "strict [return home] provisions" on their visa and remain in New Zealand illegally. Those who did, and even those Pacific Islanders who were legally resident in New Zealand, found themselves in the midst of what would become known as the "dark days" of "dawn raids."

'Operation Pot Black,' an act by the Auckland police force to locate and deport illegal immigrants, is one of the lowest points of New Zealand's more recent memory. Sudden intrusive house inspections by police officers and random street checks of Pacific Island individuals and families affected both legal and illegal Pacific Islanders and Māori resident in Auckland and other areas. "Some Polynesians were arrested for failing to produce their papers" (Mitchell 235). Others were wrongfully questioned or imprisoned, some for several days (*ibid.*). The modern effects of these raids are seen either overtly or between the lines of almost any and every personal narrative by a person of Pacific Island descent from New Zealand. One major collection

⁴ According to Edgar Tu'inukuafe—a community worker and Tongan who emigrated to New Zealand during this time—to "visit" was usually to work illegally, in order to pay back the cost of coming, to pay the return fare, and to save money to take back to the family at home (208).

of accounts is Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop and Gabrielle Sisifo Makis's book *Making Our Place: Growing up PI in New Zealand*. Although the individuals published there are largely Samoan, their stories are representative of the larger Pacific Islander—including Tongan—experience in New Zealand at that time. Other accounts, retold in newspaper articles and magazine features, also reflect the emotional scarring left by the violent raids, whether Samoan, Fijian, or Tongan (see Mitchell 234-267; Perrott; and Anae "All Power..."). Although they did not all experience these situations personally, almost all of the individuals described in this chapter can pinpoint some effect in their lives which came about as a consequence of the work schemes and their later negative consequences.

Yet in some ways, being part-European spared many German-Tongan individuals from the same discrimination their contemporaries experienced.⁵ For instance, from the turn of the twentieth century until about the mid-1970s and the *Tala'ofa*—an act by the New Zealand government to grant amnesty to Pacific Island overstayers (see Taumoevalau)—German- or British-Tongans applying for a residential-class visa to New Zealand were more likely to be approved than other (full) Tongans. This appears to have arisen from New Zealand's immigration policy of the time, which was fuelled by the belief that full or part-European individuals would assimilate more easily and make more "desirable" immigrants.⁶ As Wayne Hagerty explained in his 1977 Master's thesis,

The basis of immigration policy in New Zealand, and elsewhere, is an objective of maintaining 'a predominantly homogeneous population'. ... In New Zealand this objective has been manifested in a desire to maintain a population of Polynesian, and predominantly British descent. To achieve this goal policy has been designed to selectively encourage the migration of British migrants in particular, and European migrants in general, while at the same time discouraging the migration of other national and ethnic groups. (10)

Although German-Tongans did not widely benefit from pro-European migrant-assistance Acts, it was decidedly easier for them to immigrate than for their unmixed cousins. Firstly, they were generally from wealthier families who could afford to send them abroad—many more European-Tongans left Tonga for education in the early part of the twentieth century than others. Secondly, they were assumed to be able to adapt more easily to the predominately European culture in New Zealand than other island-nationals, who had likely never been exposed to much,

⁵ This is also not to say that German-Tongan descendants have not also been the recipients of other forms of racism, nor also that many did not experience these circumstances in the same way full Tongans did—Karl Tu'inukuafe, for instance, has many stories from this period of frequent police inspections of his home at early hours of the morning (Karl Tu'inukuafe interview).

⁶ See Chapter 2 of Malcom-Black.

if any, Western culture. This favouring of European-descent individuals can be seen in stark reality in Alfred Soakai's work on New Zealand and Tonga's prehistory: of the five personal accounts Soakai uses to illustrate the early migration of Tongans to New Zealand (pre-WWII), just two are full Tongan—the others are all of mixed European-Tongan descent.⁷ The narratives of these individuals also reveal this bias, as they describe the Tongan community in Auckland at that time as being made up of a majority of individuals “of mixed parentage, in particular German-Tongans from Vava'u who [went there] after the war” (19). Between the 1940s and 1950s, Soakai's list of the most prevalent surnames among Tongans in New Zealand is illustrative: “Skudder, Santos, Wolgramm [sic], Skeen, Mann, Sorrenson, Scott, Taylor, Donaldson, Duncan, Witze, Wishart, Harris, Vete, and Ledger and Bates” (11-12). While full Tongan families struggled to emigrate via education and work schemes, many German-Tongan and other mixed families found it much easier.

Being ‘Mixed Race’ in New Zealand

History is replete with examples of prejudice and mistreatment arising between different ethnic and cultural groups. Despite—or maybe because of—its vast diversity and present-day distinction as being among the most multicultural places in the world (“Census 2013” news article), New Zealand has not been immune from this same complex history—some of the darkest events have been mentioned already. Yet by the same token, mixed individuals in New Zealand often find it is one place where they *do* fit—everyone around them is mixed-race too. The stories of the German-Tongan-New Zealanders explored in this chapter are reflective of both sides.

In her 2003 book, Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop suggests that there are four fundamental periods that can be seen in the history of Pacific Islander (PI) emigration to New Zealand: 1) the beginnings to the 1960s; 2) the 1960s and 1970s, “which are the acknowledged heyday of Pacific migration, economic prosperity and buoyancy”; 3) the 1980s and 1990s “when the restructuring of New Zealand's labour force had major consequences for Pacific employment”; and 4) “the PI experiences of today” (25). It was during the second and third periods especially, with the fear that came as a result of uncontrolled numbers of emigrants overstaying their visas, that mistreatment and prejudice against individuals of Pacific Island descent were most common. As one group of government statisticians explains, “[f]ollowing the Second World War, in

⁷ Soakai uses the stories of Frederick Schaumkel and Sven Gутtenbeil (German-Tongans), as well as Bill Sevesi (German-English), Lesieli Meanata (Tongan), and Kitone Lavemai (Tongan).

particular, significant migration from the Pacific Islands introduced a relatively new component to the population. This population grew quite rapidly during the late 1960s and early 1970s, becoming the target of much of the racial tension of the day” (Khawaja et al. 4). This “racial tension” included the police raids mentioned earlier, as well as more subtle racism which manifested itself in personal interactions between individuals of different ethnicities and cultures. For mixed-race individuals, personal identity struggles were not the least of these challenges. Melani Anae, a Samoan-New Zealander, describes hers in the following way:

I am – a Samoan, but not a Samoan
To my ‘aiga in Samoa, I am a *Palagi*
I am – a New Zealander, but not a New Zealander
To New Zealanders I am a ‘bloody coconut’ at worst, a ‘Pacific Islander’ at
best
I am – to my Samoan parents, their child. (“Papalagi Redefined” 89)

As will be seen in the stories of the German-Tongan-New Zealanders later in this chapter, Dr Anae’s story reflects many of the experiences of New Zealand-born German-Tongans as well, yet their experience is coupled with the added identity of their already-mixed heritage. Some German-Tongan individuals report that in some ways, New Zealand felt more like home all along simply because of the Europeaness they found there (Tony Muller interview). In other ways, they related well to the people but missed the “freedom” of the Islands (see Sven Guttenbeil and Bill Sevesi’s stories in Soakai 12-18).

Yet diversity need not always be characterized by struggle or tension. As can be seen clearly in the stories of several individuals in this chapter—Stan Wolfgramm, Dagmar Dyck, and Karl Tu’inukuafe in particular—in many ways being mixed comes with a privileged awareness of and license to move between multiple cultures, languages, countries and other things more freely than someone who is more stereotypically full Tongan, full *Pālangi*, or anything else. In this way, where proximity to the South Pacific and the pride of cosmopolitanism enable mixed individuals greater flexibility in New Zealand than in many other countries and areas of the world, it may be the ideal place to be. The personal accounts of the individuals shown in this chapter indicate that both negative and positive realities exist.

German-Tongans Interviewed

The ten individuals who appear and are examined in this chapter represent seven of the families identified in the *Germans in Tonga* book and database.⁸ Each individual's story is different. Of the ten, four are first-generation emigrants—namely, were born in Tonga and immigrated to New Zealand as adults (Bruno Stanley Brahne, Tukala Lavelua, Charles Riechelmann, and Karl Tu'inukuafe)—while the rest are all second-generation (born in New Zealand to immigrant parents). In the case of Dagmar Dyck and Karl Tu'inukuafe, having a full German parent means that they are probably the most connected to their European sides and roots. Yet others, like Stan Wolfgramm and Tony Muller (who are both mixed with “other” ethnicities as well), still retain varying levels of connectedness to and identification with being German. The individuals represented here are prominent figures in the context of their communities, New Zealand, and the world. Although their experiences cannot definitely be understood to represent those of all German-Tongan-New Zealanders, their stories are, at least, reflective of those of the wider group.

Brähne⁹

Heinrich Bruno (Hans) Brähne was born in a small town outside Leipzig in 1846 (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 27). After traveling through Sydney, Australia, he made his way to Tonga where he took over the lease on a copra plantation in Niumate (ibid). He and his wife Mary Ann (Australian, married 1886) were the parents of twelve children. Although most of their children migrated overseas within their first thirty years, a few stayed. Karl Hermann was one of them. Born at Niumate in 1888, he inherited the lease on his parent's plantation and worked it until his death in 1957. He married Ana Sieni from Kolomotu'a in 1925—together they had three sons, Ralph Carl (Carl), Bruno Stanley (Stanley), and Richard Harvey (Harvey). While Harvey remained in Tonga to take care of their father, his two older brothers both emigrated to New Zealand in the mid-twentieth century, with Harvey following two decades later. Today, there are no remaining Brähnes in Tonga.

⁸ The *Germans in Tonga* database (<https://www.artsfaculty.auckland.ac.nz/special/germansintonga/>) contains the names and information of slightly more individuals than the 2014 book, simply due to publication considerations (see Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 9).

⁹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from personal interviews with Bruno Stanley Brahne on 29 July and 4 August 2016 in Auckland, New Zealand.

Bruno Stanley Brahne

The middle child of Karl and Ana's family, Bruno Stanley (Stanley) Brahne (the umlaut is no longer used) was born in Tonga in 1932, where he grew up until his mid-teens on his family's plantation at Niumate. When his parents separated in 1939, his mother went back to live with her family in Kolomotu'a while the boys remained with their father. It was an interesting environment for a young half-*Pālangi* Tongan boy to grow up in, particularly during the war years. Stanley's father apparently spoke little Tongan, despite having been born and raised exclusively in the islands. Stanley reports, therefore, that early on they (the boys) would speak in a sort of pidgin Tongan-English to their father—consequently, their English was not very good either.

When the Second World War arrived in Tonga (in the form of individuals classed once again as "Enemy Aliens" and deported for internment to New Zealand), Stanley reports that his uncles Otto, Ludwig, and Bruno were interned, "[but] they didn't touch my father, maybe because he was married to a Tongan." A Tongan marriage might not have been Karl's only protector—Stanley also remembers his father effectively 'hiding out' from the Tongan soldiers by working long days with his children on the plantation:

Every day when we get up in the morning we went to the bush. My father, he had a Tongan friend, and he let us plant our food over there in his property because ours—the cows you know they're eating everything. My father said we get up early in the morning and we went to this particular place and we stayed there until dark and then came home because the army trucks and the Government were going around and pick up these Germans. And I remember my father saying vividly, like yesterday, "you know if they come over here (talking about the army), to pick me up, you just hang on to me tightly, just hang on to me."

I'll never forget. [I was] about six or maybe seven years old. [We] went to the bush every day. And then nobody came. But they took his brothers. Maybe because he's married to a Tongan, they didn't touch him. Because [it was] the Tongan army going around and picking up people, not the New Zealand army. But the Tongans know people and know everyone, so maybe that's why he wasn't taken because the Tongans knew him—knew he was married to a Tongan. Then the Americans came and that was good because they couldn't care less about German heritage or not because they have Germans [German-descent individuals] in their army as well, fighting the way in the Pacific.

This account by Stanley is instructive in several ways. First, it demonstrates the real fear Germans or part-Germans in Tonga experienced during the Second World War, with the threat of internment and separation from their families looming over them. Karl's deep desire to not be

separated from his children is keenly and emotionally sensed in the direction he gave to his son to “hang on ... tightly” if he were to be taken. Secondly, this story illustrates the arbitrariness of ethnicity judgements by various governments. While the exact reason Karl was not removed from Tonga remains unknown, Stanley suggests that he was spared on grounds of his Tongan family connections, however there is also an implication that he was simply not ‘hunted’ enough. Research suggests that the first explanation can be disregarded, given that several other Germans who had Tongan wives and children were nevertheless interned during the war—Hermann and Gustav Guttenbeil, for example (see Guttenbeil, *From Prussia...* 68-70). Thus, of the two, the second reason seems more likely.

In Stanley’s second intimation (of his father not being taken because he was effective in hiding from the soldiers who came to collect him), the differences of the various governments’ reactions to the Germans in Tonga appear indicative of their larger concerns. While the New Zealand leaders were anxious to remove individuals they saw as potential threats (based on their German heritage) to the overall war effort, the Tongan Government, on the other hand (or rather, the soldiers assigned to action the orders of the Tongan Government) were more concerned with relational ties than with ancestral connections. Knowing the Brähnes personally (and—what was more likely—potentially knowing the boys’ mother Ana), the Tongan soldiers did not see Karl as a threat, and therefore, let him be. Stanley’s comparison with the United States Government is also instructive, as it demonstrates an ease of movement their purportedly laissez-faire attitude towards ethnic background engendered. In the end, these things seem to point to the fact that all three governments considered that they had “bigger fish to fry” than pedantically ensuring that Tonga was indeed rid of every German “enemy alien” during the Second World War.

Although the war years were therefore a challenge for the Brähne family, Stanley, his father, and his brothers nevertheless got through them. Ever the eager student, Carl began attending high school in Nuku’alofa as a young teenager, eventually emigrating to New Zealand for further study. Stanley reports that, while there, Carl first lived with a family friend for a year on a farm outside Hamilton before one of their uncles fetched him back to Auckland, where he took up studying full time and finished high school. Carl eventually became a registered chartered accountant, but not before his brother Stanley joined him in New Zealand.

Moving to Auckland around 1950, Stanley lived with Carl at the YMCA in downtown Auckland for several years and also attended Wesley College near Paerata, where he finished high school in 1953. Unlike his brother, Stanley did not particularly enjoy studying; after high school, he was anxious to get to work as soon as possible. He found a job at Farmers Trading

Company in downtown Auckland, working in the travel goods section. He reports that at the time, of the almost 400 staff members, he was one of only five non-*Pākehā* (non-white European). Yet, due to his fair skin, name, and his English language skills (which he had developed in high school), his Tonganness was something most around Stanley had no idea of. Indeed, he claims that if he had tried to tell them where he came from, “they would think I was having them on [teasing them—telling a lie].” In the culture of the day, of apparent far greater concern than his Tonganness was his Germanness. Stanley tells a story of a chance encounter with one of his childhood friends from Tonga in Auckland. In Tonga, the boy had been known as Hans, and his family—the Ostermanns¹⁰—were neighbours and friends of the Brähnes. “We go and play with them and everything, but then the war came, and everything changed. They [the Government] put them over here [in New Zealand] and separated the whole thing. My friends [they were] all gone you know.”¹¹ One day, while walking in downtown Auckland looking for a job, Stanley saw Hans digging with a construction crew near the Civic Theatre. He called out to him, but Hans quickly corrected him. Says Stanley:

“He left and put his spade down and [came over to me] and said, “hey, don’t call me Hans.”

I said “why?”

“Oh I have a different name now.”

I said “Oh.”

He asked me “what are you doing?”

I said, “Oh I’m looking for a job.”

He said, “you won’t get a job with [a name like] Bruno Brähne. They might stand you up by the wall and shoot you.”

This is just after [the] war, and I don’t blame [anyone] because the people still just reeling after the war and all that.

Stanley goes on to describe how his friend advised him to use his middle name instead when applying for jobs. Although he felt guilty doing it the first time—feeling that he could not knowingly deceive potential employers—Stanley was thereafter immediately successful in gaining employment with Farmers. He has been known by his middle name ever since.

Although there was no precedent for New Zealanders shooting Germans in their country (and it is unlikely that this fear was actually a reality for Germans and German-Tongans in New Zealand at the time), perhaps Hans Ostermann’s internment with his family in Pukekohe had contributed to his uneasiness with being known as German. In any case, Stanley’s dilemma was not difficult to solve. As he described in the interview, although his concern was more for

¹⁰ See “Ostermann” in *Germans in Tonga*, 67-68.

¹¹ The Ostermann family was evacuated from Tonga to the Pukekohe Detention Centre in New Zealand in 1942. See Porteous.

appearing dishonest (by not being forthcoming about his first name) than with concealing some important part of his identity, his first name also linked him personally to the generation above him (he was named after an uncle). He reported that it was strange to be called Stanley at first, as it felt like only a part of him was being acknowledged. This feeling may not have been due to a specific sense of connectedness to being German, but more with his family and their heritage in Tonga.

In spite of his residence in New Zealand, Stanley's Tongan connections were further secured throughout his life in Auckland. Although his first wife, with whom he had two children, was a *Pākehā* New Zealander, his second marriage was to a Tongan—Primrose Mahoni from Ma'ufanga (she also had some measure of English ancestry, as her great-grandfather was the Joshua Cocker, the first British consul in Tonga). Together Primrose and Stanley had five more children, all of whom were born in New Zealand and raised on Auckland's North Shore. After a diverse career in retail, with New Zealand Post, and in construction, Stanley retired at the age of sixty and now enjoys most just being with his family. Both his father and elder brother having passed away, Stanley, his brother Harvey (who followed Carl and Stanley to New Zealand from Tonga in 1977), and their descendants are the only remaining German-Tongan Brahnes in the world. When asked about this connection, and how he identifies himself given his multicultural background in Tonga and his long life in New Zealand, Stanley gave the following statement:

[My] Tonga[n identity] will come first to me because I was born there, and next to it is over here—New Zealand. And the third one, although I wasn't born there, is Germany. [I'll] put it this way: if, say, the Tongan rugby is coming over here to play New Zealand in rugby, I'll be clapping for Tonga to win. And if the All Blacks going overseas, I'll be clapping for the New Zealand rugby. But if the German play soccer somewhere, I wish the Germans will win. Isn't that strange in some way?

Stanley goes into greater detail about his identity, and describes feeling that Tongans are his "people."

I think where I was born, that's always in my heart, closer to me. And the next one [is] over here [New Zealand], because I spend most of my time over here ... and they're pretty good to me, all around. And the Germans, I don't know why, but when they play soccer, I wish the Germans would win. It's very strange, I don't know why [I feel like that. I've] never been there [to Germany], but probably because of my grandfather. If [my] father swear[s] at someone, it's all in German. But more or less talk to [us] kids in English.

Stanley's multi-cultural and multi-national heritage thus appears, in many ways, to make defining a single loyalty and space of belonging difficult.

Guttenbeil¹²

As introduced in Chapter One, the patriarch of the German-Tongan Guttenbeil family was Gustav Hermann Theodor Gutenbeil (Hermann), born 1855.¹³ Hermann came from an old established family in Pyritz, Prussia, where he had learned the trade of cooper. As previously reported, family history records that he was convinced, at the age of 26, by “a Mr Wolfgramm and Mr Sanft” to go on an “adventure” with them to the South Seas (Muller, *From Prussia...* 23). Hermann arrived in Tonga with his younger brother Karl August Berthold (Berthold) in May 1881. They lived in Vava’u, where Hermann worked for the DHPG. While in Samoa for business Hermann met Lucy Bartley. Lucy was from an Irish family with a history in the Islands—she was born in Fiji but raised in Samoa. Hermann and Lucy were married in Vava’u in 1882 and had four children thereafter, two sons and two daughters. Both of Hermann and Lucy’s sons married Tongan women, and the descendants of the Guttenbeil family from Tonga are likely descended from either of these two men (see Muller, *From Prussia...* 37-43). Tony Muller’s mother Margaret is a great-granddaughter of Hermann Gutenbeil.

Tony Muller

Of all the individuals in this chapter, Dr Tony Muller is arguably the one most well-versed in his extended family history. Thanks to his own fascination with and interest in his genealogical heritage, Tony spent the better part of a decade researching the history of the Guttenbeil family—his maternal bloodline—culminating in a published family history book in 2013: *From Prussia to the Pacific: The Guttenbeil Family of Tonga*. Born in Auckland in the 1980s, Tony is one of four children of Margaret Guttenbeil—the Vava’u-born daughter of Herman Richard “Jim” Guttenbeil and his wife Ako Sanft—and Douglas Muller—the son of a German Jewish refugee who came to New Zealand just before the outbreak of World War II. He was raised in Howick, a predominately well-to-do, *pālangi* area of Auckland city. As a young boy, despite looking much like everyone else on the outside (i.e. fair skinned), Tony reported that he felt he did not fully fit in, particularly at school. “I had a sense that I was different when I was growing up, and even now, I still don’t feel fully comfortable or consider myself fully white

¹² All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Dr Tony Muller in Mt Roskill, Auckland, New Zealand 19 Oct 2013.

¹³ Note the differences in spelling between “Gutenbeil” and “Guttenbeil.” Although the name originally had just one ‘t’, it was given a second by the English registrar who recorded Hermann and Lucy’s marriage. The Guttenbeil family has spelled their surname with two ‘t’s ever since (see Muller, *From Prussia...* 41).

if you will ... there's more to me than that." Tony reports feeling more comfortable and fitting better in Polynesian circles. "My dad often said that I was fortunate—with the background I had, I could take the best out of each culture. ... I'd like to think that that's how I see it, that I can move between the two worlds with fluidity and take what I like and seize what's important out of both."

The duality of Tony's identity certainly appears to have been helpful when he entered the University of Auckland as a first-year medical student. Under the Māori and Pacific Admission Scheme (MAPAS), he was able to gain preferential entry into the medical program, and had access to the special support offered to MAPAS students. Yet even in the journey to get there, his identity was something he had to defend.

There was ... an interview [during the entry process to Medical school] that was designed to assess just how Pacific Island you were for one—how strong the connection was to the Islands for your life. So they interviewed me and asked me what my connection is, and you were able to bring family so mum was along and one of the interviewers spoke in Tongan to her so that made it clear that she wasn't someone who was far removed from Tonga. ... [I]t can be hard at times convincing people I do have Tongan ancestry but I've got the connections so certainly Tongans who know my family know exactly who I am and how I fit in.

After six years at University (plus one year which Tony took off to work on his book), Dr Muller graduated and was appointed to work at Hamilton's Waikato Hospital as a House Officer—he is still there today.

During his time as a student, and also as a practicing doctor, Tony states that his Tongan identity was always a source of pride and importance to him:

I [got] an award in my fifth year of medical school. I was the Pacific Islands student with the highest marks in General Practice. ... that was a special moment. And I got a write-up in one of the Tongan papers locally ... That's another thing—going through med school I noticed that the Tongan community were far prouder of me than anyone else. That they had one of their own, that they had someone who would take care of them. ... I've always felt looked up to and respected [by Tongans], even at my graduation I think. People I never knew were coming up to me saying they wanted a photo with the Tongan doctor. So it was pretty special, and I guess it grounds me and I know really where my heart is and where my focus is—where I'd like to help.

Help Tony would like to give, according to him, is to continue to support the Tongan people in whatever ways he can in his career—he feels that they have been especially supportive of and welcoming to him. Although he was raised exclusively in New Zealand, Tony has spent a fair

amount of time in the Islands as well, having been there four times. He also reports that he learned “a bit of” the language as a child, although he does not speak much now.

These days, Tony juggles his professional workload with studying to specialize as a psychiatrist and continuing research for a second family history book. His motivation to take on such a task stems from a simple but earnest desire he had as a young University student to know, “how did the Germans end up in Tonga anyway?” To Tony, that question is spurred by his personal identity as a mixed-race Tongan-*Pālangi*. And he has become the young expert in his extended family as well—with the publication of his book, Tony also organized the first Guttenbeil family reunion that had been held in many years. With several hundred attendees from New Zealand, the United States, and the Pacific, the reunion demonstrated the strength and diversity of the living Guttenbeil family diaspora.

Quensell¹⁴

Walter George Quensell was a trader and immigrant to Tonga, originally from Helmstedt, Germany, where he was born in 1879. Walter George, best known as the “Tin Can Mailman” or by the appellation *Tu’i Niua* (the King of Niua—referring to his celebrity as the dominant trader of the Niua islands) was first an employee of Burns Philp (South Seas) Co Ltd, when he arrived in Niuafo’ou in 1919. By his own account (in a letter to a friend which has been published online), having worked as the second mate aboard a German ship that travelled to Tonga, after landing and discovering how “well [he] liked it,” Walter George deserted his post and stayed (“Quensell’s ‘Autobiography’”). He was married twice, first to Sela Vaha’i Tu’ipulotu—a full Tongan who died at age thirty and is buried in Ha’apai—then to Emma Hoeft—a German-Tongan from Foa. Walter George is remembered as a very wealthy man (he sent all of his children to New Zealand for their education) yet he lost a great deal of his fortune in a fire sometime before 1947.¹⁵ Presently Quensell descendants live in Tonga, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the United States. His daughter Anna Elfride Alice Rola, more commonly known by her Tongan name Alisi, is Tukala’s grandmother.

¹⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Tukala and Taeao Lavelua in Onehunga, Auckland, New Zealand 31 August 2015.

¹⁵ Quensell wrote to his friend Charles S. Siger of Los Angeles in 1947 about the fire and his stamp collection which went up in flames. See “Quensell’s Autobiography.”

Tukala Lavelua

Born as the eldest of seven children to Sioasi Sitafano and Lātū Lavelua in Niutoua, Tonga, Bishop Tukala Lavelua is named after his great uncle (Walter George's son) Georg Dugald ("Tukala"). The younger Tukala lived what he might describe as an ordinary "Tongan boy" life in Maka'unga, Tonga, until his emigration to Auckland in 1987, following a sister who was already there. Although growing up *anga faka-Tonga* (in the Tongan way), Tukala and his family were aware and proud of their German heritage—"we always knew about our German side," Tukala explains, "we grew up hearing the stories from my grandma—she was half-German. We were very proud to be a part of our family. We were special."

A student at Takuilau and then Beulah colleges in Tonga, Tukala finished his secondary schooling at Liahona High School—although he had been raised in the Wesleyan church, he was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at the age of ten. After high school and before emigrating to New Zealand at twenty-four, Tukala worked as a clerk in a shop in Nuku'alofa. Thereafter, like many other young Tongan immigrants fresh from the Islands, he found employment in a factory in Auckland. Around the same time, Tukala met his wife Taeao, a full Tongan woman who was also a recent immigrant. Together Tukala and Taeao are the parents of five children—four boys and one girl. Tukala, better known in his community and family as "Bishop Lavelua" for the position he holds as the leader of his local LDS congregation, now runs two family businesses—a rock wall contracting firm and a bone carving business. He is well known at markets from Auckland to Hamilton for his unique Māori, Tongan, and LDS religious designs.

When asked how he identifies himself, Tukala is quick to say that he is Tongan. He speaks the language fluently and frequently, and also associates often with other Tongans through church and his community. Yet he is also proud of his German family history, teaching it to his children.¹⁶ As his wife Teao explains, "the [Quensell] family was very high in Tonga. [Tukala's] great-grandfather knew all the ships that would come through—they would all stop at Niua to speak with him." When Walter George passed away, the money from his will enabled one of his sons to emigrate to New Zealand and purchase several homes, beginning a new story for German-Tongan Quensell descendants in Aotearoa. While this was a huge benefit to the individuals it directly benefited, Tukala and his immediate family were not among them (for what are referred to as 'family tussle' reasons). Rather, Tukala and many other family members

¹⁶ His children and wife were the ones to approach me about participating in this research, after a presentation I gave at an LDS-church sponsored "Tri-Stake Family History Day" in Mt Roskill, Auckland 23 May 2015.

who emigrated before him did so with the help of temporary visas and the work schemes mentioned earlier. In a class example of chain migration, Tukala himself helped many of his family members to come to New Zealand after him. Now the whole family—including both of his parents before they died—reside outside of Tonga (most in New Zealand).

What is especially interesting in Tukala's story is that, in spite of his obvious and deep connections to Tonga and other Tongans, for himself and his family, he chooses a stronger engagement with a more diverse population. "Called" (appointed) to his role as Bishop in 2013, Tukala leads and serves a diverse LDS congregation of individuals and families of Samoan, Māori, Tongan, and Pākehā descent, and more. Some who know of his heritage might attribute his leadership capacity to his German great-grandfather—the *Tu'i Niua*—but Tukala himself makes no comment about it. Being part-German is just another piece of interest that allows him to connect with others.

Riechelmann¹⁷

The Riechelmann family is an unusual case of a German-Tongan family. Whereas the intermarriage of other German emigrants and local Tongan women generally occurred in the first generation (i.e. with the original emigrants), despite having been in Tonga since the late nineteenth century, for the Riechelmanns it is only in the past fifty years that anyone other than Europeans have been added to the family. Henry William August (August) Riechelmann, a businessman, was born in Hamburg in 1848. Arriving in Tonga in 1876, "he became a prosperous Pacific Islands trader, and copra planter" (Macintosh 3). Within three years August had established his business and fallen in love with the daughter of the British Consul—Charlotte Cocker—whom he married in 1879. Together they had ten children. Their ninth child, a son named David Joshua Riechelmann, married a woman of European-Samoan descent—Isabella Parsons. It was not until David and Isabella's son Jack Calvin married Fata, a full Tongan woman from Ha'apai, that the German-Tongan Riechelmanns were born (until then the Riechelmanns had been Europeans in Tonga, but not of mixed race).

Charles Riechelmann

Charles Riechelmann was born in Fasi, Tongatapu as the fifth child and only son of Jack Calvin and Fata Riechelmann. In Tongan the family's surname is known as *Likamani*, a

¹⁷ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Charles Riechelmann in Mt Eden, Auckland, New Zealand 25 February 2015.

transliterated form of the German. However, that is not the only change the surname has undergone in the past century. According to Charles, in earlier generations the Riechelmanns were identified by the anglicized “Rickleman”— an attempt at German-heritage concealment around the time of the two world wars. Apparently, although now quite proud to acknowledge their German family history, at that time in Tonga, due both to a lack of connection with Germany and to fear of hostility which might otherwise have been directed towards them as Germans (as in the cases of the internees), the family saw fit to identify themselves as English. This was apparently a sensitive issue amongst the older generation of German-Tongan families in Tonga, particularly those who did endure the hostility themselves, without changing their names. Karl Tu’inukuafe is one who remembers the purported feelings of betrayal this malleability engendered in other Germans in Tonga at the time. According to him, it was seen as a dishonourable ‘disloyalty’ to one’s heritage, or an ‘opportunistic’ coverup (Karl Tu’inukuafe, interview).

Whether this name change was either formal and legal (unlikely, as the family is still properly known as Riechelmann), or even an effective concealment at the time, is not known (Charles did not go into this background in our interview, although he did mention the anglicized version of the name). There were likely many more causes and motivators than are now understood; however, whatever the reason, this change in surname is an interesting indicator of identity by the early Riechelmann descendants. Namely, that they did not feel “German” enough to maintain loyalty first to their surname (German heritage), and secondly, to their father’s home nation. It is an instructive piece of information in this history.

These days, the distinction is not so important to most people anymore, and particularly not as it concerns someone with Charles’ former professional athlete status. Although he played just ten games wearing the All Black jersey, Charles is still recognized as a successful figure and important former professional rugby player. What is surprising to many is just how short his journey to the international game circuit actually was.

As a child growing up in Tonga, Charles reports that he always had much more interesting things to do than play rugby:

In Tonga, I didn’t play at all. After school we always went diving and fishing—we always had a boat—and when we weren’t doing that we were just mucking around doing other things ... so rugby was never in our minds. But when I came [to New Zealand at the age of 14], it seemed like the thing to do, to play rugby. You get involved with a team, you get to meet people—that’s why I joined it. And then I figured out I was pretty good, so it just took off from there.

For Charles “taking off” meant a whirlwind career that went straight from playing on the first XV for four years at Auckland Grammar, to playing for a club, for Auckland’s provincial team at age twenty, then to playing professionally with the All Blacks in 1997 at age twenty-five. Despite his disinterest in rugby until later in his life, Charles describes playing for New Zealand’s premier professional team as an ultimate “dream come true,” with his family being “over the moon.” Although repeated injuries cut his All Black career short, Charles continued playing until 2005, including a three-year stint as a professional player for Toyota in Japan and another year-long contract with Auckland upon his return.

After retiring from Rugby, Charles now splits his time between Auckland and Tonga—where he and his sisters still own several homes—and remains busy with his work in the solar energy market of the Pacific. In spite of now strong connections to New Zealand—his ex-wife (Pākehā-New Zealander) and children, along with his mother live in Auckland—Charles identifies that Tonga is always where he would prefer to be. “[It’s] is still home,” he said, “I’ll always end up back in Tonga.” For him, despite being ‘technically’ (biologically—by descent) half-European (and with a German surname), his mixed-ness appears to be something he simply regards as giving him greater freedom and more choices when it comes to where he decides to place himself.

When responding to a question about how his German herigate affects him, Charles replied: “Up to now people still don’t actually realize that I’m actually Tongan. They probably all do know I’m Tongan but they see [my] last name and think ‘Oh, that’s not Tongan.’ And then they don’t realize that I’m actually fluent in Tongan [...] especially the younger generation.” In this Charles brings up one important “legacy” he has received from his heritage, namely that of a European name. For better or worse, his name ties him (for those who do not know him) immediately to a western, European world. As seen throughout this thesis, it is a legacy many modern German-Tongan individuals carry. Charles, for one, considers it to be only an advantage. Being able to represent New Zealand in Rugby around the world and still retain his strong ties to Tonga places him in an enviable situation—a son of both countries.

Schaumkel¹⁸

There are Schaumkels all throughout the Polynesian Pacific, Samoa and Tonga included. The patriarch of the family was Fritz Carl Heinrich Schaumkel,¹⁹ born in Parchim in 1859. Fritz gained employment with the DHPG and was stationed in Samoa (Wendt). He married Elizabeth Meredith Coe in Apia—an American-Samoan woman—and the couple had three children. When their only daughter became ill, Fritz accompanied her back to Germany—presumably because she would receive better treatment there. Sadly, both he and his daughter died in Germany before the First World War. His wife and two sons, whom he had left in Samoa, fared better. Elizabeth remarried, and she and her elder son—Fritz James Schaumkel—eventually emigrated to New Zealand from Samoa. Born in American Samoa in 1891, Otto Paul was the younger of the two boys. According to his grandson Fred, he emigrated in his early twenties to Tonga, where he married Sositina Maile Feleto’a. The couple lived in Vava’u and were the parents of eleven children. Although Otto was interned in New Zealand during the Second World War, he was repatriated to Tonga in 1944 and died there in 1976 (Bade 100).

Fred Schaumkel

The eldest son of Otto and Maile’s son Friedrich (Frederick) Coe Schaumkel and his wife Akanesi Utu’ikamanu, Fred Schaumkel Jr was born in Auckland in 1957, just a year after his parents had emigrated there from Tonga. Although he is not the oldest of his generation, he tends to be the gatekeeper of the family now, and the spearhead for most family functions. Fred’s father Frederick was an all-around handyman—he first came to New Zealand as a nineteen year old, where he had worked on the freezing works in Mangakino, at a gas company, and in a glass factory. According to Fred, his father spoke both Tongan and English from school in Vava’u. This bilingualism was the alleged result of Otto’s “tough” expectations for his children—they all had to have some numeracy and literacy skills. Although Otto apparently tried to teach his children German, the language phased out since it was not of everyday use to them.

With the Schaumkels being alleged members of the more privileged *hafekasi* community in Vava’u, Frederick Sr grew up around his family’s businesses and investments in Neiafu before his later emigration to New Zealand. Fred Jr remembers benefitting from these businesses as a young child as well—particularly the cinema his grandfather owned downtown. Otto was still

¹⁸ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Fred Schaumkel in Birkenhead, Auckland, New Zealand 7 April 2016.

¹⁹ The surname is sometimes spelt with two “ll”s, however modern descendants spell it with just one (Wendt archive “Schaumkell History...”).

alive until Fred was about ten years old, and he reports having many memories of his grandfather. After his parents married in 1955 (Fred's mother is a full Tongan from Neiafu), the couple moved to Auckland in 1956 and started their family, raising their children on the North Shore. Fred, his two brothers and one sister, all grew up there, and all four are still living in Auckland today.

Perhaps surprisingly, given their mixed heritages and family histories, for the Auckland-based German-Tongan Schaumkel family, identity was a surprisingly easy thing to determine: they were New Zealanders. Fred reports that although they all grew up as children hearing their parents speaking Tongan, he and his siblings did not speak the language much while they were young. In fact, there was a distinct lack of Tongan culture in their home. According to Fred, this exclusion was intentional on the part of his parents:

Dad made a conscious decision to move to the North Shore, [to] put some distance between him and the family so that he and mum could focus on raising their children in a New Zealand culture—New Zealand context. That was a conscious choice for them. ... My Tonganness—I was proud of that. I was proud of the fact that I was Tongan-German, too. The first word I learnt to spell was my last name—Schaumkel. But I was very proud to be a New Zealander as well. I was fully immersed. We went to Tongan occasions—funerals, weddings, birthday parties—visited on the weekends, there was no shortage of that, but it didn't dominate our lives. And that is what mum and dad wanted. Because Tongan culture—any culture—can suffocate the life of a family because of the demands it makes upon them, and inhibits family members from making headway in areas of work or education or whatever. I tip my hat to my parents because they sensed that and didn't want that to happen. They kept it at arm's length. ... We grew up Tongan in many respects. But never tension to identify more strongly with any culture. If anything, mum and dad wanted us to identify with New Zealand. They had come to give us opportunities they never had and could never have.

This statement by Fred is powerful and interesting. It points to a lack of connection with the Tongan culture, especially in his father. Fred indeed reports that that was the case, and that his father simply "didn't care" about most Tongan things "that was mum's world." According to Fred, his father "left Tonga behind" in almost all regards—he respected Tongan things and "would help many Tongans," but his son believes that if he had been asked about his ethnicity and identity, his father would likely have said, "I was born in Tonga," or "I'm from Tonga," but he would also identify his German (*pālangi*) side. Fred's father appears to be a truly interesting example of one German-Tongan who connected much more strongly with his European than his indigenous side.

Then as now, Auckland's North Shore was known for being home to more families of European or Asian descent than otherwise—Fred was the only Pacific Islander he knew in his schools—“just Māori and me.” Although he admits that there were a few times when other children would jokingly point out his racial heritage, to Fred, there was no difference:

I was never conscious of being different at all. Mum and Dad never made a point of saying “now you're a Tongan, be proud of the fact that you have Tongan heritage.” They never put that thought into my head. I knew my heritage, I wasn't ashamed of it, but it wasn't a big deal when I went to school—I went to school to learn and that was what I did. The only time I did become aware of it was when there were what you would now call “racial taunts” and that happened a little bit at primary school, and my mum dealt with it once and that was the end of that. At high school there was a little bit of that, but it was done in ignorance and was just seen as a joke. Nothing serious about it. Just joking.

From his education at Birkdale Primary and Intermediate schools and Westlake Boys High School on the North Shore, Fred went on to study at the University of Auckland where he earned a Bachelor of Laws (LLB) degree. After working in the legal field for a few years and marrying his wife in 1987—a Canadian-German who immigrated with her family to New Zealand—Fred joined the New Zealand Army as an enlisted soldier. He served for twelve years before being employed by his parents-in-law at their importing business in Albany in the early 1990s. Together Fred and his wife are the parents of five children—four daughters and one son—whom they have raised in Auckland.

Although his children are biologically more German than they are Tongan, they are also very proud of both sides of their heritage. Fred reports that his daughters enjoy participating in *Pasifika* dance groups at school, and that their Tongan heritage is reflected in their names: “Our youngest is called Seini. She looks very Tongan. ... all [of the children] have a Tongan name. [We did that] to connect them with Tonga, because I'm sort of the last link as it were.” In this Fred demonstrates his deep appreciation for the Tongan aspect of his identity. Indeed, in spite of the lack of strong Tongan or German-Tongan identity he felt growing up, as an adult Fred is very proud to claim all sides of his heritage. Time spent in Tonga on various trips by himself and with his family has improved his language abilities, and he can converse with fluency in either English or Tongan. When asked about how he identifies himself, Fred gave the following response:

I think I would say I'm Tongan. Tongan-German. But my nationality is New Zealand—New Zealander. I love New Zealand; I'm a very proud New Zealander. But ... I feel Tongan. I feel Tongan-German. And I'm proud of that. ... I love my Tongan-German heritage. ... I am a New Zealander ... I

love New Zealand culture, I do. Culturally, I grew up here, this is the context and the environment in which I live and we raised our family, but I was born to Tongan parents. And that's very much a part of me—the language, not all the customs. I don't know everything, but I know enough. But I know the language, I love going there. I love the country.

In addition to remaining connected with the Tongan side of his family, Fred and his extended family members have managed to make contact with several distant cousins in Germany, with whom they have joined for family reunions over the years. To Fred, being a Schaumkel appears to mean being a New Zealander, but having a special connection to many people, and many places.

Wolfgramm

As introduced in Chapter One, arguably the best known and prolific German-Tongan family was the Wolfgramms—a group of five brothers and their three cousins who emigrated from Pyritz, Prussia to Tonga in the late-nineteenth century. All but one of the Wolfgramm men married or had relationships with local Tongan women, resulting in large numbers of German-Tongan descendants. In some cases, it has already been five generations since their first German ancestor arrived in Tonga, yet for many Wolfgramms living today, the connection to their German-Tongan heritage is still strong. The four first-cousins highlighted here are all descendants of Gustav Friedrich Eduard (Lui) Wolfgramm (likely to have arrived in Tonga in the late 1870s), who married Ilaisane Kaipa—a full Tongan woman from Kolomatu'a, Tongatapu (Irwin family history 2.5). Stanley Wolfgramm was a grandson of Lui and Ilaisane, and was among the German-Tongan students admitted to New Zealand for study in the 1940s. After returning to Tonga upon his graduation, Stanley married Vaikalafi (Vai), with whom he had four children—the eventual parents of the cousins featured here. Stanley and Vai immigrated to New Zealand in 1949 under a Ministry of Works labor scheme to build the hydroelectric plant at Mangakino in the Waikato. Eventually their children, who were all born in Tonga but raised mainly in New Zealand, went on to marry non-Tongans, in every case, resulting in even greater diversity among the first cousins of that generation. Each Wolfgramm individual introduced here has managed to successfully incorporate the full spectrum of their respective, unique heritages into their life's work, where the variety appears to have become far more of a strength to each of them than a disadvantage.

Named after his grandfather, Stan Wolfgramm is the son of Frederick Wolfgramm (a son of Stanley and Vai) and his wife Ana, a Cook Islander. A self-described “Pacific storyteller,” Stan has enjoyed success as a model, actor, director, and producer.²¹ Stan was also recently awarded the New Zealand Order of Merit, an honor bestowed upon him “for his services to the arts and Pacific community” (“NZ Director...” news article).

Growing up in Mt Roskill, Auckland, Stan reports being raised around a large Pacific Island community of his parents’ friends. According to him, the diversity of the community around him helped him feel comfortable in his Pacific Island identity, but it was not a specifically Tongan or Cook Island identity. In part, he reflects, because he did not speak either of the languages—he was brought up speaking only English. By the time he entered secondary school, his identity had become something that, for him, felt a little questioned. Yet with a healthy dose of self-confidence and a recognition of the opportunities around him, Stan adopted what he calls an “if you can’t beat ’em, join ’em” philosophy: he attended and excelled at Auckland Grammar School—a premier public boys’ high school—where he became a prefect. This was an unusual achievement for a Pasifika boy at the time, and even now, where Auckland Grammar’s demographics tend to lean much more towards a higher socio-economic group than is common for Pacific Island families in Auckland, where the cost of living is extremely high. Stan does not go into details about attending that school, nor about any personal (mis)treatment he received there. Rather, his achievements speak for themselves: they demonstrate a high regard and trust the school must have had in him.

With these achievements behind him, Stan was accepted after High School to study psychology at the University of Auckland. Yet his true calling, he soon discovered, lay not in science, but in the Arts. A developing passion for style, fashion, and acting led Stan to leave University and travel internationally, eventually ending up in the United States, where he studied acting at the Lee Strasberg Theatre & Film Institute in New York.

Stan regards his time in New York as the beginning of his development as a storyteller:

For me, my acting education strengthened the value of my own story. At the end of the day it wasn’t so much about being a part of storytelling as actually

²⁰All quotes, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Stan Wolfgramm in Mt Eden, Auckland, New Zealand 2 December 2013.

²¹ Stan staged and produced Style Pasifika, the largest indigenous fashion show in the world, in New Zealand for sixteen years, and has worked for two years now as the producer behind Pasifika, the “largest celebration of Pacific Island culture and heritage in the world” (“Pasifika Festival Auckland” website), held annually in Auckland.

telling the stories that you wanted to tell, stories that you're passionate about, about yourself, your people, your own story.

Those first 'storytelling seeds' that were planted within Stan then appeared to awaken his connections to his heritages, and began to be strong motivators for his work. Having since written, directed, starred in, and produced a long line of Pacific stories in the arts community, Stan is widely considered a central figure in Pacific arts today, in New Zealand and the wider world.²²

But it is not only his Pacific Island identity that affects him. When asked what aspects of being German specifically play into his self-identity Stan responded that the connection has become stronger as he has gotten older. He tells the story specifically of being a young filmmaker, flying through Los Angeles, and becoming stranded with no one to call for help. He chose to look up his surname in the telephone directory and found a man with the same name as his father (Fred Wolfgramm) who was willing to come meet him at the airport. "This man, a white man in his sixties, picked me up and took me home with him. He was a professor of neurology at UCLA. His ancestors had come to America [from Germany] as blacksmiths during the civil war." Although Stan and his benefactor never discovered whether they were actually related, the interaction made Stan more aware of his German side and appreciative of the dimension it adds to his identity.

It is obvious when examining Stan's story, that not only does he feel that he has fully embraced his mixed-ness, but also that his multi-ethnic background has an important effect on his life and career. He credits the many facets of his ethnic identity as providing that legitimate voice which tells the stories for which he has become famous.²³

*Dagmar Dyck*²⁴

Biologically, Dagmar is the most German of her first cousins. Her father, Dieter, was raised in Danzig, Germany (now Gdansk, Poland) before his family fled to the Black Forest during World War II. After emigrating to New Zealand, Dieter met Dagmar's mother—Stanley and Vai's only daughter Senikau (Seini) Wolfgramm—at a dance. Together Dieter and Seini have three children, Dagmar being the eldest. The Dycks' first trip to Tonga together as a married couple was in 1966, and in 1984 they decided to move to Vava'u and set up a

²² His "Drum Productions" website references a full list of his work (see "Drum Productions").

²³ Stan's own statement in his brief biography on his webpage acknowledges that his "identity and ethnic background have been hugely influential over his life and work" (Drum Productions, "About us").

²⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Dagmar Dyck in St Heliers, Auckland, New Zealand 1 May 2014.

business—they owned and operated the well-known Tongan Beach Resort in ‘Utungake, Vava’u for twenty-five years. Their children, Dagmar included, lived with them in Tonga for one year while building the resort, enrolling in correspondence school until they returned to New Zealand. While her parents went back and forth to Tonga many times, eventually living there for several years, Dagmar has since lived exclusively in New Zealand. She travels frequently for her artwork, however, including international trips and back to Tonga regularly. After completing her secondary school education in Auckland, Dagmar enrolled at Elam School of Fine Arts, a premier art school at the University of Auckland, where she majored in printmaking. Dagmar holds the distinction of being the first woman of Tongan descent to graduate from Elam (Dyck web). She currently juggles her responsibilities as the mother of three with teaching art at a low-decile school and continuing to produce original prints and paintings as a world-renowned artist.

Dagmar reports that straddling the world of ‘mixed-race’ was at times difficult for her. She relates that as a child, she was raised more *pālangi*, and was encouraged by both of her parents to learn German. Yet for her there was always a strong connection with being Tongan. She reports,

Being Tongan was [also] an important part of my life, maybe more so than the boys [her cousins Stan, Glen, and Willie], because in my case it was my mother who was Tongan. And as women are generally responsible for the raising of the children and how they are brought up, I think I got more of the Tongan connection than others [in my extended family].

This is an important distinction Dagmar makes between her extended family—those for whom the Tongan parent was the father are, according to her, less likely to have as strong connections to Tonga as those raised by Tongan mothers. Using the examples of her cousins in this chapter, that definitely appears to be true for the Wolfgramm family, but it is a theory that can also be applied with success to several other German-Tongan-descent individuals, as will be seen throughout the remainder of this thesis.

As she was an artist, it was an identity that eventually manifested itself on canvas. “The school I was in was pretty white middle-class,” Dagmar explains. “People would just look at me and assume that I was Māori—‘Oh she’s got a bit of brown skin, must be Māori’—and I would say, ‘well no, I’m not,’ and my teacher said, ‘well how can you show that you’re not?’” From this interaction, Dagmar Dyck, the Pacific Island artist, was born.

These days, Dagmar is very well known for her prints and paintings, and for her research on Tongan *Koloa* as an art form. Her work generally references tapa cloth strongly, although she strikes a balance in referencing both of her heritages and her mixed identity in other work as

well—some of her recent pieces have included screen prints of the German “Wolfgramm Brothers” stamp used by her great-grandfather and his brothers in their boat-making shop in Vava’u, as well as prints resembling woolen blankets. This last element of her work is interesting, and when asked about it, Dagmar explains that when her great-grandfather from Tonga was interned at Somes Island in Wellington during World War I, he asked for woolen blankets because it was so cold, coming from the islands. Living in New Zealand now herself, this story touches her, and she thus chose to represent it in her artwork. Always, with a Dagmar Dyck creation, there is a focus on traditional Tongan *Koloa* items—tapa cloth, mats, and celebratory or honorary ornamentation, among others.²⁵

Despite her described freedom to interact with both of her heritages through art, as mentioned previously, living and creating as a mixed-race artist has not always been easy for Dagmar. She discloses that there have been times when her identity has been a source of confusion. Yet artwork appears to be an area where she can strike a balance and find a space. She is also passionate about helping others to do the same. Dagmar is well known for representing and supporting up-and-coming Pacific artists in the Tongan arts scene (Glen Wolfgramm interview). In the things she does, it seems apparent that Dagmar has mastered the art of being herself, whether that is a German-Tongan person or simply an artist.

*William (Willie) Wolfgramm*²⁶

From an American National Football League player to an Olympic boxing champion, the German-Tongan Wolfgramm family at large is full of athletic talent.²⁷ Thanks to Willie and others, the family has also been well represented in the world of rugby league. Willie, a son of Stanley and Vai’s eldest son August, was born in New Zealand in 1970. His mother was Māori, from the northland iwi of Ngati Hine. Taking his mother’s maiden name from birth (an Irish surname—Moroghan), Willie says that it was not until about fourteen years old that he began associating with his father’s side and feeling that he also identified as being Tongan. The catalyst for that feeling, according to Willie, was his parents’ separation, when he chose to live with his father, eventually taking the Wolfgramm surname back as well.

²⁵ Her 2014 commission for Pataka Museum in Porirua, New Zealand, showcased original designs reminiscent of pieces of a Tongan *kiekie* (*Tonga ’i Onopooni*). Dagmar was also a contributor to the *Made in Oceania* Exhibit in Cologne, October 12, 2013—April 27, 2014 (*Made in Oceania* online),

²⁶ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Willie Wolfgramm in Otara, Auckland, New Zealand 23 May 2014.

²⁷ Vai Sikahema and Paea Wolfgramm, respectively.

Rugby was always a major part of Willie's life. He played rugby league in high school and continued afterward with several different teams in New Zealand and Australia. It was to these formative years that Willie especially credits his awareness of and appreciation for his Tongan heritage. He reports becoming gradually more immersed in the Tongan culture in Australia through the influence of several Tongan teammates. With the establishment of the Tongan Rugby League (TRL) in the early 1990s, Willie became a stalwart member of the *Mate Ma'a Tonga*. This also had a great impact on his own conception of his identity. As he explains, "once I got involved with Tongan Rugby League, I started identifying myself and wanting to get to know more about the Tongan culture. It was good. I think it molded me into the person that I am. I learned a lot of stuff." From his experiences in the TRL Willie made the choice to move to Tonga in 1992. He says that living there was "definitely a culture shock, but [the culture was] something I really wanted to immerse myself in." He lived on Tongatapu for a year between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-three, while working for an uncle and playing rugby union for different villages. From there Willie was picked to play on the Tongan National Sevens team (in rugby union) for a tour in Hong Kong, Scotland, and Fiji. He later returned to New Zealand and continued playing. Today, Willie has appearances in well over seventy international matches and tests over his fourteen-year Rugby League service. Additionally, he has coached or been an assistant coach for several club teams in Australia (where his team won four Championships from 1999-2005), coached the Tongan National Rugby League Sevens team from 2003-2006, and won the Pacific Cup in 2006 as a co-coach. Willie continues to both coach and play to this day.

As far as his self-identity goes, despite having a diverse ethnic heritage (and a particularly strong connection to his mother's family when he was young) Willie says that he gets taken as "just a Tongan" most of the time—others are unaware of either his Māori side, or his German heritage beyond his name. He explains this by saying that early in his TRL career, he would not naturally disclose his Māori side. "People would naturally assume I was just Tongan because I played for Tonga. But if I hadn't gone into playing rugby for Tonga, I probably wouldn't have got involved in the Tongan culture as much. Things would have definitely been different in my life. But I have no regrets."²⁸ Although he accepts the "full Tongan" label others put on him, when he is personally asked 'what' he is, Willie tells people that he is Tongan-Māori. For him, there has never really been a connection to being German, aside from having an

²⁸ The strength of Willie's connection to Tonga was also on display during some trouble he got into with two fellow-Tongan teammates over an alleged drug smuggling plan in 2011. The plan later turned out to be based on a con. See news articles by Savage and Steward.

interest in and knowing some of his own family history. In this Willie stands apart from his cousins Stan and Dagmar, yet finds acceptance in a wider-New Zealand framework where he just explains that he is “mixed.”

*Glen Wolfgramm*²⁹

Like Dagmar, Glen Wolfgramm is an artist. Yet unlike his cousin, Glen has no formal training—he paints by feeling and practice. Born as one of six children to Stanley and Vai’s fourth son, Lance, and his wife Elizabeth, an Irish immigrant from Belfast, Glen describes his growing-up years by saying, “we were brought up as Kiwi kids. We knew Dad was Tongan, we knew we were half-Tongan, but we didn’t speak the language—we were Kiwis.”

Glen began painting in high school in a move he describes as simply trying to compete with his older brother, a “brilliant illustrator.” He did not continue after he left school, however, and it was not until his early twenties when Glen finally picked up a brush again, at the insistence of a former girlfriend. Since then Glen has painted regularly. He belongs to the stable of artists at the Orex art gallery in Auckland, has had several sold-out shows, and been a finalist in multiple art competitions. Not having any formal artistic education is something Glen feels is actually beneficial to his work, rather than a disadvantage (Wolfgramm, Glen email).

In light of his admitted lack of connection with any aspect of being Tongan, it is interesting, then, that Glen’s artwork, much like Dagmar’s, mostly revolves around abstract patterns of tapa cloth. When asked why this is, Glen explains how he found painting to be an outlet for the expression of his “Tongan but not Tongan” identity. He explained:

I’ve been showing my artwork at a gallery since I was twenty-eight, but I started mucking around painting around twenty-four. Those first ones were like, I didn’t really know what I was doing, and I just started drawing—painting—tapa patterns. I thought “well, I’m half-Tongan, I’ll do tapa patterns.” But gradually, I grew to enjoy it. And I’m still doing them; I can’t get away from them. Tapa patterns—they tell a story most of the time. But there is no story behind mine. Which... I kind of like that. Because it looks Tongan, but it’s not Tongan. It doesn’t mean anything. It kind of relates to me. And I don’t know what it is, but that’s all I do. My mum’s Irish, I’ve tried drawing—painting—Celtic patterns, but it just doesn’t resonate with me. But that [tapa pattern] piece of identity—or lack of identity—really does. ... That is what my work is about [...]. Sort of looking part-Tongan, but sort of feeling *not* Tongan.

²⁹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Glen Wolfgramm on 12 February 2015 in Auckland, New Zealand.

Glen's lack of identity as a Tongan also comes out in his lack of connectedness to the wider Tongan art community. He describes feeling out of place and not "fitting" with the label of Tongan artist, yet is quick to explain that it is all from his side and not a reflection of the Tongan art community, a community he says is actually very welcoming to him. Like Dagmar, Glen was one of the artists represented in the Tongan art exhibition at Pataka Museum in Porirua, Wellington, New Zealand in 2014 (*Tonga 'i Onopooni*). In this, he was celebrated as a Tongan contemporary artist—yet unlike his cousin, there was nothing to also point to his German heritage.

Perhaps his short artist biography, published by Orex gallery online, best describes this situation:

Much of the dynamic tension in Wolfgramm's work stems from the conflicting cultures that define his current life and ancestry. With an Irish mother and a Tongan father, Wolfgramm looks upon Tonga as a "foreign homeland"; yet he also considers himself "an ordinary Kiwi" within a changing New Zealand ethnographic landscape, where the Pacific is not only where we 'are' but increasingly where we are 'from'. ...For Wolfgramm, paintings are narratives of migration ... primarily concerned with giving expression to contemporary cultural experience. ("Wolfgramm Glen")

Although Glen also has German ancestry (seen clearly in his surname), this is not mentioned in either his online profile or almost anywhere else. In this way, it is apparent that there is a distinct lack of connection, almost the same as with his Tongan side. Yet in the latter case, ironically, the lack of a Tongan identity actually informs his work, becoming a new identity in and of itself.

Zuckschwerdt

Whereas other Germans in Tonga mainly lived in the outer islands of Vava'u and, to a lesser extent, Ha'apai, Georg Ernest Zuckschwerdt—a well-known trader, businessman, and shopkeeper in Nuku'alofa—was one of the few who lived on the main island of Tongatapu. Originally from an area near Magdeburg, Germany, Georg moved to Tonga in April 1903, where he ran a store. Georg Ernest was married to Maria Nerge, a fellow-German who had ended up in Tonga by way of Venezuela and Samoa (Tu'inukuafe)—she had originally come to work as a governess for the German-English Brähne family (see Schober 37). Georg and Maria had three children—two boys and a girl. One of their sons, Adolf, was known as the first photographer in Tonga but died tragically after hitting the edge of a pool when diving as a young adult. Herman—the other son—was later interned on Somes Island during the Second World War. He died unmarried in Tonga just a few years after his repatriation there. German-Tongan

descendants of the Zuckschwerdts are actually descendants of Georg and Maria's daughter Edith, who married a full Tongan from Niualei.

*Karl Tu'inukuafe*³⁰

A "half-caste" grandson of the "old Germans," Karl Tui'nukuafe, or Karl Tui as he is known to friends, is a first-hand survivor of racism and prejudice in the Tonga of the mid-twentieth century. Born in Tonga in 1935, like Bruno Stanley Brahne, Karl holds valuable knowledge of what Tonga was like during the war years—specifically, what it was like to be *hafekasi*. He explains, "during the war we were dirt—worse than dirt. After the war it took years. ... Name-calling, fist fighting, bullying at school—that was normal for being a half-caste." Karl was the eldest son of Edith Zuckschwerdt, and her husband, Mosa'ati Taungahihifo Tu'inukuafe. Mosa'ati had originally worked as a laborer for the Zuckschwerdts before he caused a great scandal by marrying his boss's daughter against their will. Although German-Tongan marriages had been occurring in Vava'u for years, according to Karl, it was not so common in Tongatapu, where, according to him, they tended to marry "other people" (i.e. other Europeans, not Tongans). This claim is supported by the evidence of at least one other German (Hans Brähne), but cannot be understood to apply across the board, when in fact German-Tongan marriages did occur in Tongatapu (Wilhelm Hettig, for instance—see Chapter Three). Whatever the reason, after his parents' marriage, Karl reports that his grandparents essentially disowned the couple. "My grandparents kicked them out, so we lived in the bush—all we knew was Tongan, Tongan life. We lived there for twelve years."

It was during that time of "exile" that the Second World War began. Although their son Herman was taken to New Zealand for internment, according to Karl, his grandparents were left alone and simply put on house arrest for the duration of the war, what was a relatively lenient "punishment" due to their purported close relationship to the Tongan Royal Family (Karl Tu'inukuafe interview). During those years, it was only Karl—the eldest of eight boys—who was allowed to see his grandparents. Karl remembers driving a horse cart on a forty-kilometre round trip, starting at the age of five, to bring his grandparents food and necessities. "I had to carry a card and pass through a lot of checkpoints," he explains, "I was the only one allowed to go through." Time with his grandparents then contributed to Karl's overall education in the long-term. "I learned German then," he said, and his grandmother (who, since there were no German

³⁰ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Karl Tu'inukuafe in Devonport, Auckland, New Zealand 23 February 2015.

schools around, had home-taught her children in lieu of sending them to board somewhere) entertained him and the soldiers around the house with her singing, piano playing, and cooking. “My grandparents had no hard feelings towards me,” Karl explains, “but they wouldn’t acknowledge or speak to my father. They didn’t speak to him until after the war. Everything ended and we were allowed to move back to their house—they had thirteen bedrooms and a big veranda—we called it the veranda house; we all stayed there again together.” Again, it is unknown what exactly the source of Georg and Maria’s animosity towards their Tongan son-in-law was. Karl’s comments and explanations at the most extreme seem to point to a degree of racism, and at the least, to an apparent belief in the fundamental incompatibility of Germans and Tongans. Unfortunately, this attitude is now very difficult to accurately diagnose, and seems to have subsided after the war anyway, when the whole family was “allowed” to move back to the Zuckschwerdt home.

Yet unfortunately for Karl, even being accepted with his whole family by his grandparents did not cure his troubles with being “half-caste.” He reports that it was not until many years after the war had ended that he began to feel more accepted and safe as a German-Tongan living in Tonga. With intelligence like his maternal grandmother (Maria is reported to have spoken eight languages and to have had a university degree in music), Karl’s liberation came through education and the opportunities opened up by Queen Sālote and Prince To’a. As one of the top students at Tonga High School, Karl was selected as one of six students—five boys and one girl—for a Government scholarship to study in New Zealand. Along with his brother Edgar and the other scholarship students, Karl stayed at Atalanga—the royal residence in Epsom—and attended Auckland Grammar in Epsom. After sitting his University Examinations early, he additionally completed teachers training and a three-year theological course in just one year. He was a young man of twenty years old when he returned to Tonga, educated and accomplished. From there his career as a life-long teacher and community servant began. Ten years teaching in Tonga led to another forty-seven in New Zealand at primary, secondary, and University levels. He reports that at that time, New Zealand was short of teachers—he was thus apparently able to expedite his application for permanent residency, and he and his family immigrated permanently to New Zealand in 1969.

Now, retired and serving as a Justice of the Peace, Karl is still a boon to his community and the causes he supports. He is well known in the wider New Zealand-Tongan community for his work with illegal Tongans (overstayers) in the Auckland area during the 1970s and 1980s. Leveraging his skillful understanding of both the Tongan and English educational and civic

systems, he was able to help many gain their permanent residency and adjust to life in New Zealand. In recognition for his long-time service to the community, Karl was awarded the New Zealand Queen's Service Medal in 2002 ("Queen honours..." news article). Though now retired, he continues to work in the community as a member of eight various religious, civic, and local boards. He is a fascinating and important example of someone Damon Salesa might term 'a weaver of the border' (see Salesa, "Emma and Phebe"): namely, by straddling a "third-world" somewhere between Tonga and the wider European contexts, although he may not feel that he belongs to either, Karl is nevertheless able to use understanding of both to his advantage.

Conclusion

There are far more individuals with German-Tongan heritage in New Zealand than those presented here, or that could even be contained in a PhD thesis. While Bruno Stanley, Tony, Tukala, Charles, Fred, Stan, Dagmar, Willie, Glen, and Karl represent just a portion of the talent, leadership, and diversity that exists in the mixed-race German-Tongan (*-something else*) subset, they have an important distinction because of their unique contributions. Their stories illustrate many of the same experiences had by the larger, diverse population of both immigrants and native-born multi-racial and -ethnic persons in New Zealand, yet their German-Tongan heritage is unique in its own way. Additionally, they relate slightly differently to the Tongan emigration patterns seen at the beginning of this chapter.

A few of these individuals—notably Bruno Stanley Brahne, Karl Tu'inukuafe, and Stanley Wolfgramm (grandfather of Stan, Dagmar, Glen, and Willie)—were beneficiaries of educational opportunities in New Zealand, initially migrating specifically for that reason. Interestingly though, they did not all come through the same avenues. Whereas in the Brahne and Wolfgramm cases, Bruno Stanley and Stanley were able to come and study through the support of their families, Karl Tu'inukuafe is the only one to have come through a more traditionally 'Tongan' route—namely, by earning a scholarship. These differences are worth noting, in particular because of the dissimilarities in these individuals' wider families—Bruno Stanley and Stanley, for instance, were raised with a German paternal side and a Tongan maternal side. This circumstance was reversed in Karl's case, and it may have affected his opportunities in this regard. Whatever the reasons which enabled them to study in New Zealand, this opportunity and experience notably affected not only their lives but the lives of their descendants as well. Their family's wider emigration-to-New Zealand stories start with these experiences.

Labour opportunities were also a factor in the immigration stories of many. As seen in the stories shared by Tukala Lavelua, Frederick Schaumkel, and again, Stanley Wolfgramm,

these individuals were granted entrance through work schemes that were available to the wider Tongan population. Notably, in these cases, these individuals' Germanness seems not to have been a factor almost at all, and the work they received was generally manual labour in factories and construction schemes—this fits the picture of wider Tongan immigration as well. In this regard and these cases, perhaps German heritage had very little to do with obtaining work and longer residence.

Despite the differences in their histories and the varying degrees to which they experience their mixedness, in some respect it is that mixedness which has allowed each of the individuals here to have achieved the success they have. Stan, Glen, and Dagmar use their mixed heritages to create art that is relatable by a wide variety of individuals, both of mixed-heritage and not. Their works represent crossroads of culture and identity. The success they have each enjoyed is indicative of the resonance their work finds in the wider community, New Zealand, and the world, and appears to be only a boon to them.

By the same token but as community servants, Dr Tony Muller, Bishop Tukala Lavelua, and Karl Tu'inukuafe have benefitted and helped countless individuals throughout their lives, from many different backgrounds. In religious and civic, medical, and educational circles these German-Tongan descendants are important voices and hands for good—relieving pain, advocating change, and serving both minority and majority individuals. Although their feelings of connectedness to and biological 'parts-German' are different, each of these men uses the variety their mixed heritages give them to relate and give back to their communities.

As professional sportsmen, Willie and Charles also have their own distinct identity. Like other minority athletes, each presents a case of 'reversed fortune,' in a way—a picture which might be read as inspiring young people from the islands or elsewhere to be successful in the wider world of professional sport. In this regard, it is their Tonganness and not their European ancestry which is important—their German heritage, seen in nothing outside of their name, falls by the wayside. However, although neither Charles nor Willie identify particularly strongly with it, both are aware of it and, when necessary, are familiar with it enough to use it to their advantage. In most situations, though, they are considered "Tongan" enough to let it remain an undiscovered aspect of their identity.

One additional comparison needs to be made in these stories, and that is of the alleged treatment of German-Tongan individuals in Tonga during the war years of the mid-twentieth century. In this regard, this chapter is especially privileged to have the only two octegnarians who participated in this project. Bruno Stanley Brahne and Karl Tu'inukuafe both possess

invaluable memories which aid in understanding the treatment of and identity for mixed-race individuals at that time. Their accounts, however, are slightly different. For his part, Bruno Stanley did not seem to remember any direct mistreatment of either himself or his brothers as they were growing up (aside from things he calls “jokes”—apparently racial slurs—which were sometimes said to them in passing or jest by other youths [Bruno Stanley Brahne interview]). He did not report any fights or arguments which may have arisen due to his racial background. The most poignantly negative realities have to be read between the lines, in the understanding of the fear his father lived in during the War, and which—although he many not specifically now remember—likely affected Stanley and his brothers as well, when the threat of internment loomed over their dad.

Karl, on the other hand, reports that taunts, bullying, and violence were commonplace in his life, both from peers and adults. He spoke with a distinct bitterness of those days, and a desire to “forget [his] family history” (the mixed part of it) when he was young. The differences in these two accounts are important to identity, yet perhaps the gap between them is not actually very wide. As young boys, Bruno Stanley and Karl lived in different areas of the island, came from different backgrounds, and had decidedly different home lives. They also attended different schools, with different education pursuits in mind. In these ways, their dissimilarities in the experiences they remember are perhaps not so striking after all.

As is apparent from the lives of all of these individuals, there is no overarching definition which can be given to explain the mixed-race German-Tongan experience in New Zealand. It is varied and multi-dimensional. German-Tongan descendants living in New Zealand, however, do share unique legacies, in the similarities of their more historical family beginnings in the country and the ways emigration policy initially benefitted many of their relatives. They also share a unique advantage in the strength of the multi-ethnic, -national, and -racial communities they find themselves in by living in New Zealand. Particularly living in Auckland, each has the freedom to choose their own identity, be that German, Tongan, New Zealander, or something else. That they have become so adept at mixing and linking those identities is the notable thing.

Chapter 3: German-Tongans in the United States

Since its inaugural era, migrants and emigrants have always been an important part of the population in the United States. Immigrant Pacific Islanders are no exception. With the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 and the acquisition of the eastern Samoan islands in 1899, nationally speaking, there has been a large population of Pacific Islander-Americans in the United States for the past century.¹ Yet today, the more than 1.2 million individuals in the United States who identify as Pacific Islander on national census records (Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian) include many foreign-born immigrants as well—almost five percent of whom are of either full or part-Tongan descent (Hixson et al. 1, 14). Among these are several thousand who also share the rich legacy of German forefathers in Tonga. The seven individuals presented here represent just a sampling of this talented group. From revered sportsmen to international recording stars, and from educators to community servants, German-Tongan individuals living in the United States are a vibrant group of mixed-race individuals who share a common legacy. Although there are many to choose from, the individuals whose stories are highlighted in this chapter are those who responded to research attempts within the necessary timeline. Taken as a group, they reflect the myriad experiences and talents of the wider German-Tongan-American community in the United States.

History of Tongan Emigration to the United States

Tongans began arriving in large numbers in the incorporated United States from the 1960s on, settling in mostly urban areas of Salt Lake City, Utah, Laie, Hawaii, and the Bay Area, California.² This movement was facilitated in large measure by the opportunities provided by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to its “Mormon” constituents—that connection is described in greater detail below. Today, however, chain migration and prolific families play the biggest roles in modern growth, which has been exponential in the past thirty years. Consider the following figures:

¹ However, populations for American Samoa and Hawaii do not appear or have not always appeared as part of the national census record. In the first case, this is due to American Samoa being an unorganized territory and therefore “excluded from the apportionment population, as they do not have voting seats in Congress” (Wynn, Ryes, and Caldwell online 2). Rather, decennial censuses conducted amongst the United States territories and islands reflects the official population and demographic records for American Samoa. Likewise, as Hawaii was not incorporated as a state until 1950, residents only began counting on national censuses since that time. Figures which appear in this chapter, unless otherwise stated, refer to the national census.

² Many Tongans (and other Pacific Islanders) have used migration to American Samoa as a springboard into further migration to Hawaii or the mainland United States. Although this migratory route is very important and is mentioned later on, it is excluded as part of the initial discussion here.

Table 4: Immigrants from Tonga admitted by the United States and granted permanent resident status, 1940-89

Year	Number of Immigrants
1940-49	-
1950-59	35
1960-69	521
1970-79	4647
1980-89	5442

Source: Ahlburg, *Remittances and Their Impact* 12

As seen in the table, previous to the 1960s, there were just a few Tongans in the United States.³ Some of the pioneers, and their reasons for emigrating, are introduced below. Within just thirty years, that number had multiplied extensively, and according to projections by Cathy Small, “an estimated 25,000 Tongans [both Tongan- and American-born] were living in the United States in 1995, equal to more than one-quarter of the entire population of Tonga” (*Voyages* 2). Just one generation later, that number had doubled again—on the 2010 census 57,183 individuals identified as Tongan (Hixon et al. 14).

One of the most impactful contributors to the growth of Tongan and other Pacific Islander populations from the 1960s on was the 1965 change of United States immigration policy. As Cathy Small explains, “before 1965, immigration law was based on country quotas that heavily favoured European nations and discriminated against the Asia-Pacific triangle” (*Voyages* 52). The 1965 Immigration Act was transformative in two specific ways: first, rather than granting visas by national origin quotas, individuals who desired to enter the United States could apply on a “first-come, first-served” basis; secondly, the new act included preference for family unification—rather than only allowing immediate family members to be brought by an emigrant resident in the United States, green card holders (permanent residents) could now apply for visas for their siblings and parents. With the tightknit, family-dominated culture of the islands, this resulted in a tremendous increase of chain migration amongst Pacific Islanders—Tongans and German-Tongans included. “Between 1980 and 1990, the U.S. population of Tongans rose 58 percent” (Small and Dixon). Today, chain migration is only slightly augmented by those who “win the green card/visa lottery,” i.e. are selected as recipients of the Diversity Immigrant Visa to the United States.⁴ This option, however, has strict eligibility regulations, and

³ Although, as noted in the first footnote of this chapter, Tongans living in Hawaii (of which there were many) previous to 1950, would again not have counted or appear in the national census record.

⁴ This program makes 50,000 permanent resident visas available annually to applicants from countries with statistically lower rates of immigration to the United States (i.e. countries from which fewer than 50,000 have

there are no official numbers as to how many Tongans have immigrated via this method since its establishment in 1990.

Today, Tongans and German-Tongans can be found in all regions of the United States, though they are still concentrated most densely in the areas mentioned earlier—California, Hawaii, and Utah. In recent years, western and southern states including Arizona, Texas, Alaska, Washington, Oregon, and Nevada have seen a rise in the numbers of Tongans living there. This growth is not without recognition by the public. Local newspapers from these areas—and sometimes regional or national news outlets—have featured stories, figures, and statistics relative to these changing demographics (Davidson; Trinidad; Longman; Molina; Chandonnet, for example). The distinct culture and traditions these individuals and families bring with them as immigrants present both points of pride and also challenges as they adjust to their new homes, communities, and nation. Some of the challenges faced by the immigrant American-Polynesian population in general and the Tongan population specifically are addressed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The Role of Churches

The factors which contributed to the emigration of Tongans and German-Tongans from Tonga to the United States were similar to that for emigration to New Zealand and elsewhere. Increased urbanization in the Islands led to job shortages as villagers who traditionally supported their family from what they grew on their own land, gathered from the sea, or traded with others, suddenly needed money to compete in an increasingly capitalistic economy. Yet, in the case of the United States—especially at first—religion played an exceptional role. As Cathy Small explains, “one [could almost] interpret Tongan migration to the United States as a religious phenomenon, motivated by a commitment to the American-based Mormon [sic] Church” (*Voyages* 51).

The “Mormon” church is an informal term for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS).⁵ Missionary work by the LDS church began in Tonga in 1891, but proselytizing at that point was short-lived—with just a few converts and in the face of many challenges, the church directed the removal of missionaries from the Islands in 1897. Their presence would not

emigrated to the United States in the past five years). Eligibility criteria also include education and character requirements (see online “The Diversity Visa Process”).

⁵ In Tonga, the LDS church is known as the *Siasi 'o Sīsū Kalaisi 'o e Kau Mā'oni'oni 'i He 'Aho Kimui Ni*.

be felt in Tonga again for another decade when, in 1907, two missionaries were sent to Vava'u at the request of the harbourmaster, Ika Tupou Fulivai.

As the story goes, Fulivai, a full Tongan (who happens to be the maternal great-grandfather of Vai Sikahema—a prominent American football player who appears later in this chapter), was a well-travelled man—he had gone to school in Australia and spoke English fluently. After returning to Tonga, he wanted his children to be well educated, yet did not see many options for them in the country. After striking up a friendship, Fulivai persuaded Thomas A. Court, the President (director) of the LDS church's Samoan mission (who had visited Tonga to purchase horses), to send teachers to educate his children (Sikahema speech "Church Culture...").⁶ Buoyed by Fulivai's support and patronage, missionaries established a school in 1907 and through it, began proselytizing efforts (Britsch 435).

Today, Tonga is home to the highest percentage of Latter-day Saints of any country in the world—reported to be forty percent near the turn of the millennium (Gaunt 42. See also Paul Morris 88-89; Sekona 23; Goodman; "Tonga: Facts and Statistics" online; and Fonua news article).⁷ The small school first established by the missionaries has been replaced with two large LDS high schools—Liahona in Tongatapu and Saineha in Vava'u⁸—as well as five middle schools. There are LDS meetinghouses in almost every village throughout Tonga. As further testament to the strength of the LDS church there, a Temple—a structure considered most holy to members of the LDS faith, and which is generally only built in areas with a high population of church members—was built next to Liahona at Matangiake in 1983. Indeed, it was the desire to attend a Temple, previous to the construction of one in Tonga, which led many Tongans in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s to both New Zealand and the United States. Interestingly, in the United States' case, many of these were German-Tongans.

Although it is difficult to definitively identify who the first Tongan migrant to the United States was, one news article on the subject reports that it was Tupou Hettig, a German-Tongan man from Vava'u who moved to Riverton, Utah in 1924. According to the article, "[h]e was

⁶ See also Richter's journal article, which records that it was the two missionaries, and not Court himself, who came to purchase horses, and who then later returned to establish schools and proselytize.

⁷ The sources on these statistics, however, are split. While the LDS Church determines their figures via actual membership (baptismal) records, Governmental counts often do not agree. This may be due, in part, to social—rather than sincere—conversion, and the fact that some individuals who have been baptized into the LDS Church may not actually consider themselves to be members, and may report other religious affiliation on censuses and other records. Partly because of the many real advantages of LDS Church membership (quality and cost of education and United States emigration opportunities being paramount), there is a great deal of speculation (and humour) about motivating reasons for membership for many Tongans, particularly during the mid-twentieth century (Guttenbeil-Paea interview; see also Paul Morris 89).

⁸ For more information about Liahona and the effect of LDS church schools in Tonga, see Goodman.

brought by a Mormon missionary named Reuben Magnes Wiberg” (“The First Tongans...”). Wiberg was also influential in bringing the next, and probably best known early Tongan to the United States: Rudolph Herbert (Rudy) Wolfgramm. After returning for a second LDS mission to the Islands in 1936, Wiberg assisted Rudy to come as a student that same year (*ibid*). According to his nephew Iohani Wolfgramm—another early Tongan pioneer to the United States (and grandfather of the Jets, mentioned later in this chapter)—Rudy was already hoping and planning as early as 1934 to emigrate (Gerber personal history 94).

The son of Gustav Ludwig Frederick Wolfgramm (a full German and one of the original Wolfgramm brothers to come to Tonga) and Martha Emilie Sanft (the German-Tongan daughter of Friedrich Wilhelm Albert Sanft and his wife Fifita Haliote Afu), Rudy first enrolled as a student at Jordan High School in Sandy, Utah, then attended Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, beginning in 1938 (Davis online). Later, after service as a conscripted soldier in World War II, Rudy was granted United States citizenship in 1942. This step was influential in Rudy’s being able to bring other family members to the United States, among them being Iohani and his family of nineteen children. Elizabeth, Vai, and Emil, highlighted in this chapter, are all direct descendants or relatives of these men.

It was not only the idea of higher wages and a ‘better life’ that prompted these men to leave their home islands. Rather, for those who were truly converted, they were motivated by religious devotion. LDS doctrine promotes a belief in a “literal gathering of Israel,” in the “restoration of the Ten Tribes [of Israel]” and that “Zion (the New Jerusalem) will be built upon the American continent” (Smith 10). This relates to LDS theology’s adherence to biblical Old Testament prophecies and promises made by God to His faithful followers—known in the Old Testament as the House of Israel.⁹ Believing that they were a “branch” of the house of Israel (see the Book of Mormon, Jacob 5) which was prophesied would be ‘gathered back’ at the “last days” (The Holy Bible, Jeremiah 23:3 and Deuteronomy 30:1-5), and supported by a prophetic invitation to ‘gather to Zion,’ many Tongans now resident in the United States (and particularly the early pioneers), moved there as an act of faith.¹⁰ Although it cost many of them all that they

⁹ For more information, see Nelson.

¹⁰ The President of the LDS Church at the time of many of the early Tongans’ emigration to the United States was David O. McKay. During the mid-1900s, it is reported that McKay made a statement that those members from the Islands who desired to come to the United States would not be discouraged (Gerber personal history 146). While not a mandate or even an invitation, *per se*, local ecclesiastical leaders were nevertheless instructed not to prevent members who were desirous to emigrate. Joining the church overseas and moving to be with other members in the United States had been part of LDS church practice since the religion’s early days, and one of the major contributors to its strength in the Intermountain West of the United States, particularly from the mid-1800s onward (David Morris 160-66). Beginning around the turn of the twentieth century, however, the church’s policy on ‘migrating to Zion’ changed, and members were thereafter generally encouraged to remain in their own countries and build up the

had, the blessing of being ‘sealed’ as an eternal family in the LDS Temple was, for many Tongans at that time, priceless.¹¹ Iohani Wolfgramm and his wife Salote, for instance, looked upon emigrating to the United States as having more of a spiritual than a physical purpose (Gerber personal history 94, 154). Other Tongans then and now felt the same. In a news article reporting on the large number of Pacific Islanders living in Utah, one Tongan man explained that it was their “desire to live in Zion” that brought them (Kinikini, qtd in Davidson).

Yet Temples and church were not the only motivators or means of emigration for Tongans to the United States. Scholarships provided to Tongan students to study at the former Church College of Hawaii (CCH)—now Brigham Young University-Hawaii (BYUH), a private, LDS church-owned university on Oahu—gave many students the opportunity to emigrate permanently. Additionally, as in the case of Vai Sikahema’s parents (seen later in this chapter), employment offered to CCH and BYUH students at the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC)—a Polynesian-themed live museum, performance centre, and ethnic theme park built and owned by the LDS church—enabled students to save to bring their family members to the United States as well, or simply for their own lives and futures (see Webb 141). And as in Rudy’s case, missionary friends or others from the United States also helped to sponsor many who might otherwise have had a much more difficult time emigrating.

Things have changed today. Although Tongan students still continue to enter the United States (mainly Hawaii) on LDS Church-sponsored scholarships to study at BYUH and work at the PCC, it is no longer common for them to remain in the United States once they have finished their studies. Changes in modern study visa regulations now generally require most international students to return for at least two years to their home country before being eligible to apply for any other kind of visa to the United States.¹² Additionally, the LDS church leadership directive that members (and especially BYUH graduates) return to their homes and strengthen their countries and their local church units, still has strong sway. Although these directives have resulted in fewer Tongans entering the United States in these previously popular ways, they have not served to slow emigration growth completely. As stated, the prolific family growth of

church where they lived (ibid. 154; see also Nelson). This applied and continues to apply to church members generally throughout the world today, although it appears that, in the mid-1900s at least, Tonga was a slight exception.

¹¹ It is part of the LDS faith to believe that families are eternal, when that family has been sealed (united eternally) together by authorized leaders in a dedicated LDS Temple. In the mid-twentieth century, at the time of the early immigration of Tongans to the United States, some Tongan families (including Vai Sikahema’s) travelled to New Zealand to attend and be sealed in the Temple in Hamilton, while others went to Laie, Hawaii, and Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹² This is known as a J-1 Exchange Visitor non-immigrant visa and is a standard visa held by most BYUH students from Pacific Island nations.

Tongans in the United States—whose birth rate is consistently reported as much higher than the national average (see Ahlburg and Levin 14-15)—and chain migration still continue to have important influences on the growth of the Tongan population in the United States.

Social Challenges

Sadly, as in New Zealand and other areas of the world amongst marginalized minority populations, Tongans in the United States often find themselves in the midst of myriad social challenges. Gangs, domestic violence, health problems, low-income jobs, lack of education, and (il)legal statuses all play a role in the darker side of life in Tongan communities in many areas of the United States. According to *Taulama for Tongans*—a Tongan-focused health services group in the San Mateo, California area—in a news report, in their county alone, suicide, illegal weapon handling, vandalism, gang activity, shoplifting, physical violence, truancy, and substance abuse were part of the lives of up to sixty percent of Tongan youth there (Kyriakou). Generally speaking, these issues are prevalent in many disadvantaged immigrant communities, whether from Polynesian, Latino, or any other ethnic background. Yet they seem to earn the Polynesian—and especially Tongan—communities in the United States particular infamy. According to the White House Initiative on Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders in their fact sheet about Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (NHPI), NHPI generally experience poorer health than the American population as a whole (they are more at risk for developing and dying from cancer, heart disease, diabetes and other diseases), to live in poverty and lack health coverage (almost 20% and over 16%, respectively), and are half as likely to have a bachelor's degree in comparison with 27% for the total population (White House Initiative...). Although these statistics include the larger Native Hawaiian-American and American Samoan populations, they sadly illustrate the reality for many Tongan communities around the nation.

Additional research by two minority-focused social issue groups in the United States brings to light further disheartening realities. The 2014 publication *A Community of Contrasts: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the United States* found that NHPI struggle to find affordable housing, are being incarcerated in disproportionate numbers, and face diverse and distinct immigration challenges that can affect their ability to access critical services (Empowering Pacific Islander Communities 5-6). Due to these discouraging statistics and the real-life experiences of many Tongans and other Pacific Islanders in the United States (see news articles by Aronowitz; Reyes), many community, state, and national organizations have been

formed over the years to assist. Several of the individuals in this chapter have either benefitted from or been involved with some of these programs.

Tongan Presence in Sport

One answer to the challenges encountered by many Tongans in the United States is sport. Against the dark realities of the social issues above, Polynesian—including Tongan—success and achievement in American sport shines as a bright highlight. Tongans, often seen as formidable opponents in any sport,¹³ have proven to be especially successful and desirable on the American football field, where more than seventy players in the National Football League (NFL) are said to be of Pacific Island origin or descent (Steinberg news article). To honour their specific influence in American Football, the Polynesian Football Hall of Fame was created in 2014. Among the 2016 inductees is Vai Sikahema, highlighted in greater detail later in this chapter. Vai was the first Tongan to play in the NFL, and he opened the floodgates. In 2014, at least twenty-one NFL players were Tongan (“21 Tongans in the NFL” news article), and Tongans can now be found in a large number of other football teams all across the United States.¹⁴ In 2015, history was made when Kalani Sitake—a Tongan-American who grew up in California—became the first Tongan head coach of a major collegiate football team: the Brigham Young University Cougars in Provo, Utah (“Kalani Sitake Staff Bio”). Today, for better or worse, American football is seen as one of the best “outs” for American Tongan—and German-Tongan—individuals and families struggling with the social challenges mentioned earlier.¹⁵

German-Tongans Interviewed

As will be seen in the stories that follow, there is a tremendous amount of talent and success in the German-Tongan-American community of the United States, plus a great many commonalities. Most of the individuals identified below can trace their family’s emigration story through one of the patterns mentioned above, and have contact with some of the darker social

¹³ Aside from the many Tongans contributing successfully in more traditional sports like Rugby and gridiron (American football), they are also represented and successful in fields like basketball (Steven Adams, Asi Taulava), track and field (Valerie Adams), boxing (John Hopoate, Paea Wolfgramm), luge (Bruno Banani), and wrestling (Sione “The Barbarian” Vailahi, Seini “Lei’D Tapa” Tonga, Simitaitoko “The King” Fale).

¹⁴ Headlines were made all over the country by one high school team in Texas, which has more than a dozen players of Tongan descent (see Longman, “Polynesian...”; Longman, “An Island...”; Goodwyn; Lunsford; and Zillgitt).

¹⁵ An independent film released in 2015 documented the phenomenon that is the Polynesian presence in sport. *In Football We Trust* is a feature-length documentary that follows the lives of several Tongan and Samoan NFL-hopefuls, including the pressures they face and the communities they come from. As explained by Troy Polamalu—a former member of the NFL Pittsburgh Steelers and of Samoan descent—in the film, “We come from a line of warriors. Our culture embodies what football is” (In *Football We Trust*).

challenges as well. From the successful sportsman to the major-label recording artist, and the passionate educator and civil servant to the humble religious leader, each individual highlighted here deserves praise as a contributor to the overall prosperity of their families and communities. Although they are all from different families, due to chain migration, many of the individuals here share related ancestries. For the sake of simplicity and fairness, they are presented here in alphabetical order.

Dietrich^{16 17}

In spite of the excellent research and communication tools available today, there is still a great deal of mystery and speculation regarding the origins of the Dietrich family in Tonga. Known better by the transliterated surname “Teali’i,” according to the oral tradition and family research shared by Afa Palu and his extended family members, one German man and his Irish wife came to Tonga from Germany with their young daughter in the late nineteenth century—their first names are not known. Although they originally went to Vava’u with the intent to establish a business, the over-competition there pushed them to move to the Ha’apai group instead, where they set up a store in ’Uiha. Modern Teali’i family members are descended from the Dietrichs’ daughter and Puaka Ha’angana—a Tongan man who worked in their store. As the story goes, once discovering their daughter’s pregnancy to Pu’aka, the Dietrich parents were ashamed and angry. After the baby—who was named Tevita (David)—was born, Pu’aka came home one day to find “the Germans” had all left, leaving only his infant son crying in the home. The destination and further fate of the Dietrich family was not known. Thereafter, Tevita was given the transliterated surname but raised with his Tongan family in ’Uiha. According to Afa, he was known by everyone as a tall white man with blue eyes. He is documented by the birth and death records of some of his children as having lived in ’Uiha and been married to Mele Mafi (Tongan Records 54, 63, 68, 76, and 77). Afa is a grandson of Tevita’s daughter Kalesita, who in her later life was known as “a totally white woman with *ulu hina* (silver hair).”

Dr. Afa Palu, PhD

Born in Tonga in 1964, Afa (Arthur) Palu was raised on Tongatapu in Havelu as the second eldest of five children. His father is Ahosi’i Palu and his mother is Silivia Latai Tulaki

¹⁶ The Dietrich family is the one family that appears in this thesis who is not also mentioned or documented in the *Germans in Tonga* book or database.

¹⁷ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Dr. Afa Palu in Provo, Utah, USA 11 December 2015.

Toangutu—a Teali'i descendant from 'Uiha. As a child, Afa was always getting into trouble for his questions, curiosity, and attitude. Although he was a good student, family circumstances necessitated his frequent relocation between several different schools. For reasons unknown to him at the time (but which later turned out to be religious), Afa was taken by his maternal grandparents as a young child to be raised by them. With the deaths of first his grandmother and then his grandfather, a maternal aunt took on the task of raising him from the time he was between five and six years old. Passing gradually between two more aunts, Afa was always taught to work hard in school and get a university education. At around fourteen years of age, he was finally returned to his parents so that he could attend high school at Tonga College ('Atele) in Ha'ateiho—a town closer to where his own family lived. Eventually, after a disagreement with a teacher, he ended up finishing his secondary studies at the then Havelu campus of Liahona High School, where he earned a New Zealand school certificate and gained University Entrance in 1983.

Yet for Afa, university would wait. Immediately after graduation, he opted to fulfil a two-year mission for the LDS church in Tonga, finishing just before Christmas in 1985. Connections through church, his mission, and his time at Liahona enabled him to gain entrance to BYUH, where he began university studies with his brother just a few weeks later, in January 1986. It is really there in Laie that Afa's story and experiences take off. Having originally registered a triple major in Computer Science, Chemistry, and Biology, it was his intention to study all three subjects in depth—he imagined that it would take him seven years—then return to Tonga to build on his father's land and work to help his people. Yet things did not turn out as he had originally planned. In 1990, after four years of study, Afa was married and he and his wife had one child. Still intent on the triple-major, he was working and studying very long hours each day, always with the plan to return to Tonga. But his wife felt differently. Eventually, with her support, he dropped his chemistry major to a minor degree, and finally graduated in 1992 with a Bachelor of Science degree in Biology and an associate's degree in Computer Science.

Though of full Tongan heritage herself, Afa's wife was raised in Kahuku, Hawaii. Following one of her sisters, after Afa's graduation the Palus moved to Utah, where they felt it would be more affordable to live while Afa attended graduate school. He took classes at BYU in Provo while his wife worked full time on campus. Afa finished a Master's degree in molecular biology in 2002 and was hired by the then-Tahitian Noni Company (now Morinda, Inc) as a scientist in 2001. Ever the insatiable learner, he continued to take classes in biological science at BYU each semester and, according to him, has today more credits in biology than is required for

the doctorate level, and more than any other student at BYU. Originally planning to do a PhD in Molecular Biology, it was not until after what Afa recalls as a spiritual experience, that he decided to look into Education, believing it to be a way he could help more people.

After I graduated, and even before we moved [to Utah], I would always help kids who were in the process of dropping out. I don't know why, but everybody would call me for that kind of thing. I have been able to have a success rate of about 99%, of helping motivate those kids and help turn them around. ... It was the winter of 2007 and I was running an experiment [at work], and the thought came—and there is no denying that thought, although I thought it was the dumbest thing ever—the thought that came to me was “you are not supposed to go get a PhD in molecular biology, because you will not be helping your people that much with it. You are supposed to go to the Education field and get a doctorate degree, because you will help your people a lot more with that.”

Although he originally did not see the wisdom in it, that is exactly what he decided to do. After a busy seven years of full time work and full time study, Afa finished his PhD in Educational Leadership in 2014. His thesis, which was based in Utah's Salt Lake and Utah counties, studied factors related to dropout rates among Pacific Island youth in the mainland United States. Today, Afa works as a motivational speaker and example of Pacific Islander success. Beginning in early 2016, he became a student services advisor to the Utah State Office of Education in Salt Lake City. Ever a scientist, he holds more patents on the noni plant than anyone else in the world, and is the author of many peer-reviewed publications on a variety of scientific subjects. Though he admits that science will always be his first academic love, he is now thoroughly involved in the educational world as well.

According to Afa, both the German and Tongan aspects of his heritage play an important role in his achievements. He says, “every now and then I got a German part that is not seen among [other] Tongans.” This, apparently, is a way of describing his behaviour during middle and high school, and his later drive as an adult to research, publish, and learn. “[When I was growing up] my family always call me the ‘German with the iron fist’ because I order everyone—even my Mom.” This is a noteworthy statement by Afa. Here, in spite of the question marks surrounding their alleged German ancestry, a simple *belief* in it was strong enough, for this family, to ascribe certain character traits to it. Thus, while details about true origin and blood quantum are not known, the *idea* that there is a German connection, rather than the actual documented knowledge, is the main thing. Today, whether as a result of his German heritage or simply his own personality, Afa's ambition certainly has won him many opportunities to “give back”—as he wanted to all along.

Hansen

Hansen descendants often disagree on whether their grandfather was Danish or German, but it can truthfully be said that he was both. According to the record in *Germans in Tonga*, Hans Jorgen Hansen was born in 1861 “in Hadersleben, in the Danish duchy of Schleswig, which formed part of Germany from 1864 to 1920” (44). He served in the *Deutsche Marine* for almost three years, and arrived in Tonga in the 1880s. Working mainly for the DHPG, Hansen lived in Ha’apai and Vava’u and fathered five children by his Tongan wife Kalesita Fifita Kuma (Edward Hansen Interview).

*Catherine ‘Ofa Hansen Mann*¹⁸

Like Afa Palu, Catherine ‘Ofa is as much an accidental permanent resident of the United States as she is a successful public servant. Born in Tonga in 1950, she is currently in her second term of service as a commissioner for the California State Commission on Asian and Pacific Islander American Affairs. The granddaughter of Hans Jorgen, her father is his and Kalesita’s son Thomas, while her mother Mele Talau is full Tongan, from Tefisi, Vava’u. Catherine ‘Ofa was raised in Nuku’alofa and attended Tonga High School before transferring to Liahona in 1978 to ease a hoped-for transition to BYUH. But her plans changed when she was called on an LDS church mission to Tonga in 1969. Her future was further rerouted when in 1970, as her eighteen-month service came to an end, her father experienced an emergency with his heart which required his relocation to New Zealand for treatment. ‘Ofa accompanied him.

Once in Auckland, although she appreciated her new life, ‘Ofa’s dreams to attend university overseas did not diminish. While working at the then Auckland Technical Institute (now Auckland University of Technology), she saved to pay for her father’s hospital bills while continuing to hope and plan for opportunities further abroad. It was not until she married her husband that those dreams eventually changed. ‘Ofa had met John Mann while they were both serving LDS Church missions in Tonga, and they were married after reconnecting in Auckland in 1971. John, who has English ancestry, was born to immigrant Tongan parents in Auckland and raised there. Together, the couple lived in John’s grandparent’s house on Sussex Street in Grey Lynn before building a home of their own in Glen Eden, where they lived for the next twenty-five years.

¹⁸ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal telephone interview with Catherine ‘Ofa Mann 2 May 2016.

During the years that her four children were young, 'Ofa stayed home and took care of them. But as they grew, she began to develop a deep interest in youth work and psychology. Eventually, after the traumatic suicide of one young girl from church who had continuously opened up to her, 'Ofa's desire to get an education peaked. Luckily, it happened to be the same time she and her husband were planning to move to the United States.

Technically, 'Ofa and her husband had had United States permanent residence since 1979 (as a result of her elder brother Edward emigrating there with his wife and filing the visa paperwork for all of his family), but it was not until a trip there to visit family in 1995 that they seriously considered moving from New Zealand. With a job offer for John in telecommunications and a down payment on "the perfect house," in northern California, John and 'Ofa moved their family to the Bay Area, where they settled in Elk Grove, near Sacramento.

It was there that 'Ofa's public service career began. Although she wanted to study (and had enrolled in to study psychology at Sacramento City College), volunteer work with the Asian and Pacific Islander Community Counselling Centre (APCC) in Sacramento led to a full time job, requiring her to discontinue her study at that point. Eventually, her community work progressed into a job with a non-profit community mental health services program. After realizing how many of her clients were Tongan, she formed a separate organization called *To'utupu 'oe 'Otu Felenite Association* (TOFA) in 2000. According to their website, "TOFA was started to provide a much needed Pacific Island community-based organization that could support the growing numbers of Pacific Islanders in the Sacramento area" (*TOFA Inc*). Its mission is to "preserve and enhance the Pacific Islander Community in the Greater Saramento Area by providing resources that support and promote Health & Wellness, Higher Education, Community Leadership Opportunities, Civil Rights Awareness, and Cultural Arts" (ibid).

Now, more than two decades after she first started, 'Ofa credits her appointment to the Governor's commission to her work with the community and TOFA. The commission is a position she did not apply but was recommended for, based on her skills and passion. Interestingly, those attributes are things she ascribes to her heritage.

I've always thought that my passion and my drive—my passion about things and my drive to do things—comes from that [German] ancestry. That's what I've always felt like. I have had compliments like "you are a very strong person," "you're fearless," "you're not stopping at what the common people would stop at," "you're able to accomplish very big tasks with very little effort" (at least it looks like little effort from their perspective). I think that passion and that drive comes from that ancestry.

This claim—that passion and drive come specifically from the German rather than Tongan ancestry—is curious; however, as will be seen in several other places and statements by research participants in this thesis, it is not uncommon. The idea that Germans are inherently more driven and hardworking than, specifically in comparison, Tongans, is a belief deeply held by many who attempted to express their identities to me. While it may appear stereotypical (and may not actually be true), that does not lessen its impact in the lives of those who believe it. In this case, 'Ofa is proud of her German heritage because she feels that it adds to her ability to succeed in her chosen field. Additionally, this makes her more aware of it.

Today, 'Ofa is exceptionally busy. With a full time job as a case worker at a community mental health program, she balances her unpaid commissioner responsibilities with her role at TOFA, and with her family. She has been asked to run for political office, but she has no interest—she believes it would inhibit her ability to make a difference across a wide spectrum. Although she does not communicate any deep connection to her German (or even Danish) ancestry, she is nevertheless, as noted, markedly grateful for the character traits she believes it has given her.

Hettig¹⁹

August Hettig was one of the few German men to bring a wife and children with him when he emigrated to Tonga. A shipbuilder in Germany, August and his wife Katrina were from Altona, near Hamburg. According to his great-grandson Frederick, with the boom in the coconut oil industry August and his wife decided to pack up their two young children and move to the South Pacific. They first travelled to New Zealand, where they stayed for a brief time in Auckland before later going to Samoa, and then to Tonga. August and Kathrin's children grew to adulthood there, where their daughter met and married her husband—another emigrant German by the surname of Goodwin—and their son Wilhelm married Makelesi Fuiono, a full Tongan woman from Houma. Later, after Makelesi's death, Wilhelm married again, this time to Teine Eteaki. While the Goodwins eventually emigrated to New Zealand—where some of their descendants still live—Wilhelm remained in Tonga. His son August St John is the grandfather of Fred Hettig, featured here.

¹⁹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from personal telephone interviews with Frederick Hettig 31 August and 1 September 2016.

Frederick Hettig

Frederick (Fred) Hettig was born into a proud line of German-Tongans. The only child of August Hettig, the famed prolific photographer of early Tonga,^{20 21} and his full Tongan wife Malia, Fred was born in 1953 in his mother's village of Hofoa and raised on the Hettig homestead *Kapeta*.²² *Kapeta* is a recognizable piece of property on the corner of Hihifo and Vaha'akolo roads in Nuku'alofa, diagonally opposite the royal tombs. It was a markedly prominent property for a markedly prominent family. Fred's parents had married when August was already quite distinguished in years—Fred was born when his father was almost sixty years old. Up to that point, August had made a name for himself (and added to the already-high status of the Hettig legacy in Tonga) as a savvy businessman and artist. Aside from his valuable properties, August owned and operated a soda-making factory and a store. Schooled on Auckland's North Shore in New Zealand himself, it was there that he had learned about photography. Later, sales of prints and postcards he made of his "early Tonga" live and staged photographs supplemented the income of the family for many years. August had also studied acting in New Zealand; later, in Tonga, he would become the director of the first concert, under the management of Queen Mata'aho. Their rendition of *The Mikado* (a Gilbert and Sullivan opera) in Tonga in the early twentieth century is remembered by old timers even today.

Fred, on the other hand, while unlike his father, could be called an artist in his own right; he has had to sew together the myriad cultures and experiences he was exposed to as a child, building his identity and life around them. His first overseas experience was in Fiji, where he was sent at the tender age of nine to live with family friends and attend school. To the Hettig family, overseas education was a rite of passage. As Fred explains,

In Tonga at that time, you know [there was a] hierarchy, different stages of [class]: whites, locals, everything else is kind of different—the classification of stages [statuses]. And we being Germans—Europeans—were the higher class. And the European children are expected to be of a higher standard, so they [the European parents] sent their children to a higher schooling area like New Zealand, Fiji, wherever—away from Tonga, because Tonga at that time did not have the curriculum standard that the other countries had. Local Tongans could not afford that. But Europeans, and European descendants could. That's why

²⁰ Some of August Hettig's photographs appeared in the Kurt Düring book *Pathways to the Tongan Present*. The family also used to make postcards from the photos, and they were used for scholarly purposes by various organizations for many years (Guttenbeil-Paea interview; Fred Hettig interview).

²¹ August had an adopted daughter from his first marriage; however he did not have any other legitimate children.

²² As Fred's first wife Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea explained, *Kapeta* was the property of Fred's grandfather Wilhelm. "What [Wilhelm] was doing was like carpentry—building and doing other stuff—so this area got called *Kapeta*, which means carpenter. That's not what it means in Tongan, but it's a [transliterated] English to Tongan" (interview)

this [my being sent overseas for education] happened. To maintain that hierarchy, so to speak; to perform accordingly.

This “hierarchy” is a notable thing. According to Fred, his family mingled mostly with royalty, and not with other Tongans. This is attributed, again, to the high status enjoyed by those successful business families in Tonga of European descent. According to Fred, it is because “Royalty don’t mix with lower class people.” His family’s connection to the royal family extended to his generation: his second son Ludwig was named by the late King Tupou V, who was crown prince at the time and a close friend of Fred and Yvette (Guttenbeil-Paea interview). It appears that the status afforded to Europeans automatically lifted them into a higher social circuit than average locals. The high socio-economic level the Hettig family specifically enjoyed likely did not hurt either.

By the time he finished primary school and returned to Tonga, Fred reported that he had lost most of his “Tonganness,” particularly the language—in Fiji he had picked up English, Fijian, and “Indian.” When he returned to Tonga, he remembers having to relearn Tongan in order to communicate with his mother, who did not speak anything else. These diverse language abilities became a boon to Fred’s later life. After living just a short time again in Tonga upon his return from Fiji, his parents again sent him overseas for education, this time to New Zealand for high school, where he arrived in 1969. Living with his father’s half-brother John in Papatoetoe, Auckland, Fred attended Aorere College, where he played rugby. After finishing school, he worked and flatted with some friends in Auckland while still playing rugby for the Mangere Rovers club. Although he preferred to stay in New Zealand at that time, Fred reports that his father called him to come back home, ostensibly to continue the family business. As Fred recalls, August’s own father Wilhelm had called August back for the same reasons. He likewise did this for his own son.

Once back in Tonga, Fred worked with his father as well as at various other jobs. Interestingly, he was an assistant driller for a short-lived oil venture in Tongatapu, for a company called Parker Drilling from Denver, Colorado in the United States. Fred married Yvette Guttenbeil (now Guttenbeil-Paea) and had two sons. After their divorce, he married his second wife—a full Tongan from Ha’apai—with whom he had three more children. In 2001, Fred and his second family all emigrated to the United States together. They have lived in the East Bay area of San Francisco, California ever since.

Although he has had many adopted homes throughout his life—Fiji, New Zealand, and now the United States—and a new language (English), when asked how he would state his identity, Fred said:

I would say I'm Tongan. Because that's the strongest place—I feel for Tonga. And [the] most part of my life I was in Tonga. I don't see myself saying I'm somewhere [or something] else because okay, being in America is okay. I'm an American citizen now and I'll probably live here the rest of my life. But as far as where my heart is, the beginning is Tonga.

It is worth noting that Fred does not say anything about the German aspect of his heritage. Nor, it would seem, would he have reason to. As far as he remembers, his own father did not speak the language at all, and had no strong connections himself. Consequently, Fred does not either, although now that he is older, he is more interested in this heritage. He explained how he and his wife had actually planned a trip to Germany a few years ago—ostensibly to visit a friend and do some family history research—but the trip had to be canceled after his mother unexpectedly took ill. Yet he reports that it is still something they would like to do. Although according to Fred's knowledge there has been no communication between their wider extended family in Germany and his own closer relatives, the historical links are aspects he is interested in looking into.

Raass

Although his reasons for emigrating to Tonga are unclear, Albert Henry Raass definitely left an important legacy in the form of his many German-Tongan descendants. Originally from Germany and Austria—the exact locations are unknown (see “Michigan RAAS” online forum thread), Albert became a United States citizen before he left North America for the Pacific. He arrived in Tonga in 1902, living in Toloa on Tongatapu (“Henry Albert Raass” online forum thread). A plantation owner, Albert married Loseli—a local Tongan woman—and together they had eight children. With many of his children parenting more than ten (and sometimes twenty) children, Albert has an extensive posterity. Lolo, the humble pastor featured in this chapter, is one of his grandsons.

Soane Lolo Raass²³

Originally from Malapo, Tonga, Pastor Soane (Lolo) Raass was born in Nuku'alofa in 1958, the son of Lolo and Vika Talalima Raass. His subsequent emigration to Idaho and his volunteer work as the Tongan pastor for the Southside United Methodist Church in Nampa there for the past two decades has seen him help to build and support the Idahoan-Tongan community, all for the love of his people and God. Lolo's journey to the United States took the form of chain

²³ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Lolo Raass in Nampa, Idaho, USA 1 January 2016.

migration—following closely behind an LDS uncle who had moved to Maui, Hawaii in the early 1970s, Lolo’s brother Albert first went to Hawaii for a few years and then to Idaho in 1979. He filed the papers for his brother and sister-in-law to join him there, and Lolo and his wife Losaline moved over in 1985.

With just a few Tongans around at that time, the Polynesian community in Idaho was quite small (and today, is still not extensive). For a job, Lolo first joined his brother as a labourer in a slaughterhouse in Boise, but he disliked the work. Having worked as an accountant and bookkeeper in the Government for fifteen years in Tonga, he had tried to establish a co-operative business there before emigration but had been unsuccessful. Although that desire was still there when he emigrated to Idaho, he eventually settled on a career in construction in Nampa. A talented carpenter, Lolo has used his skills extensively in his religious service, including building matching cabinets for churches in Nampa, Idaho; Salt Lake City, Utah; and Tonga.

Originally, being a Pastor was just a way to serve his community. Gradually, over the years, the Tongan community in Idaho had begun to grow, yet Lolo noticed that many—especially those of the older generation—were kept from attending church because of the language barrier. As Lolo reports, “the pastor over here at that time talked to me and said, ‘are you thinking about your people?’ and I said ‘Yeah, but I’m not a pastor.’ He said ‘I know you can do it!’” Having been highly involved with the English congregation of the church in past years, Lolo had proven himself to be a caring and dedicated servant of God and his fellow man. While on a mission trip to Honduras in the early 2000s, he had felt “the call” to serve as a Tongan-language pastor. But it took a while for him to actually take it seriously. “I already have a mission—why I moved to the States,” he said. “I have four kids. I need to get them an education.”

It was not until five years after his trip to Honduras that Lolo decided to follow through on his “calling.” He started hosting a Tongan service at the church once a month, beginning in 2005. From there, the congregation and church leadership asked if he could increase it to twice a month. At the same time, he started studying online with a theological college in California. His licensing and official appointment came in 2010, and he decided to run the Tongan church services full time (once per week, with other occasional meetings) since then.

Yet he distinctly refuses to think of this work as a job. Lolo reports that although his head pastor and others keep asking him to, he has not taken a single cent in compensation for his work. According to him:

I'm not working for me, I'm working for [them]—to [help others] connect with God. That is who I am. ... I don't have any steady job, but I still survive. That is my belief, if I work for Him, He will take care of me. ... I [do] like money and I wish I were rich, but from my understanding, I am already rich. God takes care of me and I'm still rich. Maybe people think I'm crazy. [Life is] a long run [but] ... someday you are going to get paid off [by God]. I have four kids and they are still in school. Maybe my pay is going to them. That's why we moved to the states [after all].

Lolo's story is a unique one in the annals of emigrant German-Tongan descendant experiences. Although he is aware of his German heritage (mostly because of his surname) and he knows a little bit about his grandfather Albert Henry, Lolo has decidedly little real connection to that family history or past. In fact, he reports that it has no impact on him or his life. He feels fully Tongan, and would still like to return there someday. He said, "I would still like to go back. There is more freedom for me back home. This [life here] is too much stress. Everything is about money." In spite of the relatively close relation with his grandfather being full German, Lolo does not feel that any aspect of culture, language, or identity has been passed on to or affects him. Rather, although he is comfortable speaking and even preaching in English, he is most happy to "just" be Tongan.

Wolfgramm

Elizabeth Atuaia, Emil Wolfgramm, and Vai Sikahema, like their distant New Zealand cousins Dagmar Dyck and Stan, Glen, and Willy Wolfgramm, are Wolfgramm descendants. Emil and Vai are both direct descendants of Emil Otto Friedrich (Otto) Wolfgramm. Otto was born in Pyritz in 1859, emigrating with his brothers to Vava'u in the 1870s (Irwin family history 2.7). In Vava'u, Otto became well known as a baker in Koloa (ibid.)—he had worked as a blacksmith prior to his arrival in Tonga (Charles Wolfgramm 1). Otto was married three times, to three Tongan women (his first two wives died). Both Emil and Vai are descended from his marriage to his third wife, a full Tongan woman named Vika Lataheanga, from Koloa—though they are from different sons. According to family history, Emil was the first German emigrant in Tonga to join the LDS church—he was baptized in 1910. This fact seems particularly important and influential, as many of his children and grandchildren ended up emigrating to the United States through LDS church connections or support.

For her part, Elizabeth is a fourth-generation descendant of Friedrich Gustav Ludwig (Fritz) Wolfgramm. Fritz, who was born in Pyritz in 1856, emigrated with his brothers and cousins to Vava'u and married Kisaea Sisifa Tuinahoki around the year 1888 (Irwin family

history 3.4). Together, the two had four sons, the eldest of whom—Charles Friedrich—was the father of Iohani, the well-known Tongan-American pioneer. Elizabeth and her siblings are Iohani's grandchildren.

*Elizabeth Atuaia*²⁴

From the mid-1980s to the 1990s, arguably one of world's most prominent Rhythm and Blues (R&B) and pop bands was the Jets, a Jackson-esque *Billboard* Hot 100 hit-making family band from Minneapolis, Minnesota. Over the better part of two decades, the Jets—made up of eight of Iohani and Salote Wolfgramm's grandchildren—travelled around the world, performing shows and concerts in places everywhere from Korea to the United Kingdom.

Born as the seventh child of seventeen to Maikeli (Mike) and Vake Tāvo Wolfgramm in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1972, Elizabeth Atuaia is best known as the lead singer and the face of the Jets. Her parents had emigrated to the United States from Tonga in 1965. Mike (the eighth child of Iohani and Salote) and Vake had married young and had their first child—a son they named Leroy—before leaving Tonga. Once in the United States, where their other children were all born, Mike worked as a milkman in a local grocery store during the day and did yard work (*'iate*) for extra money in the evenings and on weekends; Vake worked as a seamstress. Their transition, along with their children, into the music business began as they performed Polynesian dance routines at local *luaus* [Hawaiian celebratory feasts] and community and church events. As the children grew, they joined their parents. Eventually, the overall talent and passion of their family became obvious: a family meeting was held to discuss their future in music—should they keep it on the side, or go full time? The decision was made to pursue it as a family business, and the first Wolfgramm family show was born.

Elizabeth was only five years old at that family meeting, but she remembers the effects:

I don't remember too much about that meeting, but I do remember my father quitting his job and buying all the instruments and bringing them home and setting them up in our living room in Rose Park [Salt Lake] and having no one know[ing] how to play anything. ... My mother and my brother just started learning by ear, then they would teach the rest. I think he [her older brother Leroy] did have lessons for a little bit, but you know, too expensive with ten kids at the time, so from there on it was just radio and the record and then just figure it out.

²⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Elizabeth Atuaia in Provo, Utah, USA 5 January 2016.

In the end, “figuring it out” was a lot of hard work. It took seven years—most of them lived in a motorhome traveling through California, Canada and the Midwestern United States—of performing shows for the Wolfgramm family to begin to be noticed by the major record labels. While living in Minneapolis, the Jets (who were then known professionally as Quasar), were picked up by Don Powell, a “[formerly] retired Motown representative ... who managed young Stevie Wonder and David Bowie in the 60s” (The Jets). The record-label attention he attracted for them led to an eventual contract with MCA in 1984—Elizabeth was only twelve years old at the time.

From that point on, success came rapidly for Elizabeth and her performer siblings. According to their 25th anniversary promotional publication, the Jets released five albums under MCA, two of which were certified Platinum status by the Recording Industry Association of America (as a recognition of sales in excess of one million), and three of which went Gold (a recognition of sales in excess of 500,000). They have eight top-ten hits to their credit in the Dance, R&B, and Pop charts and were nominated for a Grammy award. Between 1984 and the 1990s, the Jets performed all over the world, including at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, Korea, the Montreux Pop Festival in Switzerland, and the Tokyo Music Festival (ibid). One particular highlight of their stardom was the opportunity to go to Tonga—for the first time for most of them—in 1989 to perform for the King. They were subsequently memorialized on a Tongan postage stamp.

Throughout the time that the Jets were touring and performing extensively, they gained fame for Tonga, but also for the German history there. According to Elizabeth, although they never got the chance to perform in Germany, they were interviewed for and published in a German-language young adult magazine there. Many Germans were apparently intrigued with “this Polynesian group out there that carried a German last name.”²⁵ As for the Wolfgramms themselves, they are very aware and proud of their German history. In fact, they attribute much of their success to it. According to Elizabeth:

For a lot of us, we have a lot of pride in the name of Wolfgramm, and that there were these brothers and cousins and uncles who were adventurous enough to go to the Islands and to step out of their comfort zone. ...[T]here’s a lot of pride in that, I know, from my grandfather to my Dad to us children, along with our Polynesian heritage. But I think that kind of set a tone with my grandpa—how he was and my dad—just kind of, not being afraid to cross the line and just do things differently. And I think even with us as a band you know—these guys left not knowing what was ahead but they were adventurous

²⁵ It is also impressive how many of the seventeen Wolfgramm children from this family have a German first or middle name as well, generally the result of a namesake tradition.

enough and hardworking enough just to step out there and get out of their comfort zone and just go for it and I think that's something we take a lot of pride in, that we know that we get that from them.

Like 'Ofa Mann, Elizabeth seems to attribute some positive characteristics of her and her family members to their German heritage. This speaks to an understanding they have of the type of men their ancestors were, and the traits they apparently exemplified. It is noteworthy that this is carried on even in Elizabeth's generation, which comes half a century after their first progenitor passed away (Fritz died in Tonga in 1937 [Irwin family history 3.4]).

Life as an international recording artist was not without its challenges, and for Elizabeth, health became one of them. She stepped away from the band at the age of twenty-two, after being diagnosed with breast cancer and having a mastectomy. She married her husband Mark Atuaia in 1995. Mark, who grew up in Laie, Hawaii, is of Samoan descent. Originally a stand-out American football player, after his NFL goals did not work out, Mark returned to study and earned a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from BYUH, then Juris Doctorate and Masters of Public Administration degrees from BYU. Thereafter, he worked in administration at BYU for one year as Assistant to the Dean of Student Life and one year as Assistant to the Athletic Director. In 2013, Mark was hired as the running backs coach for the BYU Football program. In 2015, he was among those coaches chosen by former BYU head football coach Bronco Mendenhall to accompany him to his new coaching position at the University of Virginia. Thus, Elizabeth and Mark are in the process of relocating their family of nine from Provo to Charlottesville—a process Elizabeth claims is reminiscent of both the adventurous challenges of her growing-up years, and the leap of faith her German ancestors took as emigrants to Tonga.

*Emil Wolfgramm*²⁶

Born in Koloa, Vava'u in 1941, Emil Wolfgramm is the eldest son of Hena Vealangi (a full Tongan woman from Vava'u) and Siale (Charles) Ataongo Wolfgramm, the son of Otto and Vika. His grandfather's LDS faith, which Otto had adopted in Vava'u, was carried on with Emil's father, who was sent to attend the LDS church-owned Māori Agricultural College in Hastings, New Zealand,²⁷ when he was just a young boy. His New Zealand education changed

²⁶ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Emil Wolfgramm in Kaneohe, Hawaii, USA 5 March 2015.

²⁷ The Maori Agricultural College (a secondary boy's boarding school) was established in Hastings in 1912. Its specific aims were to teach Maori agricultural skills, building and carpentry, and "train them in the secular branches of education" (Britsch 292). Self-reliance and "better[ing] the lot of the Maori people" were the main objectives. The school ran for two decades, but then was planned to be closed after the 1930-31 school year—LDS church leadership cited improved New Zealand education and an intended global policy of retreating from secular

him. “He [was] anglophiled in New Zealand,” Emil explains—thus, though Siale returned to Tonga after high school and married there, his English-language ability and familiarity with life in New Zealand called him back, and he took his family with him.

As a child, Emil moved with his parents and siblings at the tender age of five to Grey Lynn, Auckland, where he resided until young adulthood. A product himself of English language schools, he was not particularly comfortable conversing in Tongan with anyone other than his mother until after he returned from a two-year LDS mission to Tonga in his early twenties. For the two years before that, Emil had been living abroad in Hawaii as a student at BYUH. After his mission and with his parents’ blessing, he opted to return to Laie to complete his degree. It was there that he met his wife, an ‘Ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) girl named Momi Larsen. Together, Emil and Momi are the parents of eleven children, all born and raised on either Oahu or Hawa’ii (Big Island). Almost fifty years from the time he first went to attend university there, Emil still resides in Hawaii, where he has a Bachelor’s degree in Physical Science, a Master’s in Physics and Math, and a thirty-year career as a high school teacher and cross country and soccer coach behind him.

When asked about his family heritage, Emil is obviously passionate and proud. His reflection, too, is instructive. He states:

We [the Wolfgramm family] are royalty. We’re among the chiefs. There’s no stigma being a Wolfgramm. In fact, being a Wolfgramm is like being a special line of kings. ... Families [in Tonga] were trying to get their kids married into the lines. Because not only were [the Wolfgramms] good bakers and tradesmen, but they were great fishermen, navigators, builders. ... They were always hardworking, skilled people. ... We’re all good looking and above average.

This description is a tremendous statement of pride in his family, and evidences Emil’s lack of negative associations with being mixed-race German-Tongan. His statement that the Wolfgramms are like “a special line of kings” is instructive of the privilege and entitlement he feels that his family was afforded, presumably set apart by their own lifestyles as well as the treatment of them by other Tongans. Particularly in light of the fact that there is a royal Tongan family, it illustrates a sense of superiority to other Tongans, which is ostensibly based on the German aspect of their heritage. Also his claim that other Tongan families wanted to marry into the Wolfgramm family is noteworthy. It seems to be based on the same idea that Fred Hettig

education as reasons (ibid. 307-308). A massive earthquake in the Hawkes Bay area on 3 February 1931 expedited their plans, as it largely destroyed the campus and buildings—the school was never reopened. Later, the Church College of New Zealand (opened in Temple View, Hamilton in 1958) began another epoch in LDS education in New Zealand (see ibid. 322-328).

mentioned, namely, that German-Tongans—and the Wolfgramms in particular—were of a higher class, wealthier, and generally better off than the common population. This belief aligns with the statements and intimations of some other participants in this research project that being part-*Pālangi* was a badge of privilege and prosperity.

In spite of Emil's frank pride in his German heritage, he is nevertheless disconnected from that specific identity. He does not speak the language, He claims that not speaking the language or being closer to the food or culture is one of the "black holes" of his life. Yet he is quick to explain how he makes up for it by his grasp of the Tongan language. Ever the clever, hardworking student, he explained how the Tongan language opened up to him on his mission, where he was identified as possessing a special gift for Tongan oration. Since his mission fifty years ago, he has continued to hone and use that gift.

When I went on my mission, I had to relearn that [Tongan language] facility. But when I did, and even now, well, I'm a dangerous Tongan speaker. I can orate with the best of them. Now look at me, I'm translating the ancient Tongan—there are only [a few] of us in the world that can do that.

Emil's interest in traditional fables and storytelling began on his mission, but it was not until 1993 that he first began his education in translation. One day, while reading in a magazine he saw an article about a Tongan chant that had been translated into French. Following the style of the author (whom Emil identified as R. Reiter) he worked to translate the text for himself. Today, Emil has countless stories, fables, and facts stored in his memory. His storytelling is a popular fixture at family reunions, funerals, weddings, and community *Talanoa* sessions, where he teaches Pacific Island youth about the ancient traditions of their forefathers, and adults about their heritage. In the Wolfgramm family, he is the identified expert on "the old stories," particularly the Wolfgramm connection with the Tongan Royal Family.²⁸ Since his retirement, this is the work that Emil passionately engages in. In that way, he feels very Tongan. Yet he is quick to clarify his identity: "I'm Tongan. [Those who listen to my stories] know I'm Tongan. I'm Tongan-German. But I'm more British than I am German. I was colonized by the British [in New Zealand]."

²⁸ According to Emil, mutual respect and gifts between Wolfgramm family members and the Tongan Royal Family over the years led to a marriage between a man he identifies as Lui Wolfgramm and a woman named Vahoi—an alleged member of the Royal Family. Although it is not documented, Emil claims that this connection eventually paid off dramatically in the exclusion of many of the Wolfgramms from the deportation and internment to which several of their less well-connected relatives were subject during the Second World War.

Almost every mid-1980s-2000 generation Tongan in the United States knows Vai Sikahema. He is a legend. Born in Tonga in 1962, Vaiangina (Vai) Sikahema is the eldest son of Sione (Loni) Sikahema and Lupi (Ruby) Potenitila Wolfgramm, and the great-grandson of Efalame Wolfgramm—son of Otto. Like many Tongans of that era, the LDS church is central to Vai and his family's story of emigration to the United States. In the late 1960s, his mother was the recipient of a scholarship to study at BYUH. She went over with Vai's father where she attended university full time and they both worked at the PCC to save money to send for their children. Vai was the first to come, arriving in Hawaii in 1970. From there, based on how long it had taken them to save just to bring Vai, his parents decided to quit university study and work full time. With a church connection and his father's brother living in Arizona, that seemed an ideal place. Vai and his parents moved to Phoenix in 1971.

On the surface, it was just a move to bring their family back together faster—Vai and his parents and siblings were all reunited by 1972. But for Vai's father, there was an even deeper plan. The church connection in Arizona turned out to be a couple who had worked at an LDS church high school in Tonga—the husband was a former professional boxer. “My dad's master plan was to train me to become the heavyweight champion of the world,” Vai said. According to Doug Robinson, the author of a three-part news article series about Vai and his life, “Loni had followed the Civil Rights movement of the '60s and the career of Muhammad Ali; he believed that boxing, not education, was the path to success for minorities, and he ingrained this in his son” (“The immigrant's song”). The plan was for the former teacher, whose name was Dwayne Woodruff, to coach Vai to fight. But a rigorous boxing schedule was tough for the young boy, and Vai happily switched his sport to football when he entered high school. According to him, it was mostly for social reasons:

The centre of every high school in America is Friday night football, where all the kids gather. It's the social setting of the week. There's the kids that play, the kids that don't play but go to watch their buddies play, and the girls go because it's where the boys are. I figured that out right away and I wanted to be a part of that. I was athletic and had been training as a boxer. I didn't know how to play football but I became really good really fast and then got recruited.

After graduating from high school in 1980, Vai became the first Tongan ever to earn a football scholarship to BYU. Coached by the legendary Lavell Edwards, he eventually earned further distinction as the first Tongan ever to play in the NFL. He was drafted by the St. Louis

²⁹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from personal telephone interviews with Vai Sikahema on 12 and 13 January 2016.

(now Arizona) Cardinals in 1986, then played for the Green Bay Packers and the Philadelphia Eagles. After his retirement from professional football in 1993, Vai joined the ranks of the fourth largest broadcasting network in the country—NBC10 Philadelphia—as a sport’s broadcaster. In recent years (2008), he gained particular fame again after he knocked out former American Major League Baseball star Jose Canseco within two minutes in a highly-publicized celebrity boxing round for charity (Robinson, “From Tonga...” news article). He was promoted from sports broadcaster to news anchor at NBC Philadelphia in 2013 (Sikahema news article) and has won two Emmy awards for his work in Television (Burke and Chang news article). In 2013 he was inducted into the Broadcast Pioneers Hall of Fame and he was inducted into the Polynesian football hall of fame in January 2016 (*Polynesian Football Hall of Fame*).

As if his fulltime job and celebrity status do not keep him busy enough already, Vai is a highly sought-after speaker and contributor to a variety of issues and platforms. He writes a column for the *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City, Utah] called “Vai’s View,” regularly lends his name, opinions, experiences, and cultural expertise to myriad television programs, columns, and news articles (particularly those involving Polynesians in sport), and voluntarily serves in a busy and high ranking position in his local unit of the LDS church. His twitter account has over 8,500 followers, and his Facebook account is so full of friend requests he cannot accept any more. Although he originally left BYU for the NFL before graduating, in 2002 (much to his mother’s pride and happiness), he finally earned his bachelor’s degree in broadcast journalism. This accomplishment, his religion, and his family are what Vai counts among the greatest blessings of his life. He and his Hawaiian-Japanese-Scandinavian wife Keala are the parents of four children, and the grandparents of four.

When asked what aspects of his mixed German-Tongan heritage play a role in his life, Vai is emotional and candid. In an email response he replied:

I have always been aware of my heritage and the many advantages I had because of my shared European and Tongan culture. It blessed my life in amazing ways as I pursued careers in football and broadcasting. I often sense my ancestors’ guiding hands on my shoulders as I’ve ascended the corporate ladder and perhaps most of all in my personal life. My ancestors were pioneers – those who left the little Prussian village of Pyritz, and those who navigated the biggest ocean of the world in Polynesia via stars, currents and wind. That pioneer spirit was pervasive when I arrived in Provo in 1980, the first Tongan to ever receive a football scholarship at BYU. Today, there are hundreds of Tongans in major colleges around the country but in 1980, it was rare. In fact, only Siotame Uluave at Utah State, was the only other Tongan playing college football in 1980. When I arrived at the Cardinals training camp in 1986 as a 10th round draft choice, I was [not] the first Tongan to ever

[be] drafted by an NFL team but the first to ever play in the league. I made the Pro Bowl my rookie and 2nd year, making me the first Tongan to ever do so. The same thing in broadcasting. With each step of my career, I always sensed the nod of my Tongan and German ancestors who looked on approvingly and perhaps with great pride. (Sikahema email)

In this response Vai shares a belief he holds, which is related to the “pioneering” aspect of his ancestors’ stories—leaving the comfort zone of a homeland to go into an unknown place and pave new lives (and lifestyles) for themselves and their families. This is related to what Elizabeth Atuaia said as well about the “adventurous” spirit she and her siblings feel comes from their German ancestry. This idea does reflect itself well in the examples of these two descendants in particular, with all that they have done in being pioneers in their respective careers and lives. That Vai ascribes that specific personal characteristic of intrepidity to his German ancestors is notable, however (unlike other German-Tongan descendants), it is not at the expense of his Tongan ancestors, whom he also acknowledges. In this regard, the two heritages appear to be equal in Vai’s mind, and point to a knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of both.

That understanding and respect of where he comes from, and his ancestors from both his mother’s and father’s sides, was born in Vai as a young child growing up in Vava’u. In an interview Vai commented:

One of the early memories I have as a young child which I didn’t really connect with my German ancestry—but in retrospect it had everything to do with my German ancestry—was that, as a young boy, I spent a lot of time with my Wolfgramm grandparents in Vava’u. When my parents emigrated, we were left with them. But even before my parents left, we spent a lot of time with my maternal grandparents on that island, in a small village called Feleto’a. And then, it wasn’t unusual for people to still live in thatched huts, but the home that we lived in was made of wood, and we also had a cement cistern that caught rain water. We were the only ones in the village that had a cement cistern. I remember as a child, people—neighbours and villagers—would come to my grandparents’ home and ask for water from the cistern. I never connected the dots really until I was older and already in the States, but my grandfather probably grew up more privileged than many of his Tongan peers, because his father Otto, and Frederick and Carl, were bakers. ... Their bread was the wonder of the islands, and because people bought it, they were able to build those homes and cisterns for themselves and their families.

This memory and the later understanding of it which Vai shares is important, as it illustrates the very real differences in lifestyle and privilege between individuals and families connected to Germans (in Vava’u), and those who were not. That Vai also recognizes it now is telling—it is not something he was told or was pointed out to him as a child; it was only as an adult that he

was able to develop these understandings. While he may have taken it for granted as a child, now, it is something that is obvious and real to him.

Yet in spite of the deep regard Vai has for his German ancestors, he admits that the generational and cultural distance he has from it inhibits him from making it a full part of his identity. When people ask, “I just always say [I’m] Tongan,” Vai explained. “People are surprised when they find out that I have German ancestry, but a lot of the people that are close to me know it because we have talked about it.” It is obvious that, although Vai is proud to be Tongan, he is also proud to be a little bit German as well.

Conclusion

Tongan immigration to the United States may not seem so important given its relatively small proportion to the larger population, but it is obviously a very important case of German emigration, and an important destination for many. It is important to recognise that many of the first Tongan immigrants to the United States had German ancestry, as was the case in New Zealand. However, unlike in New Zealand—where this was either based on the families’ own wealth (sending their children abroad to study) or immigration policies which strongly favoured European-descent individuals—those early German-Tongans to the United States were assisted more by Church support than personal privilege or Governmental acceptance. The prolific chain migration which resulted has created a population full of the same kinds of stories of German-Tongan-Americans presented here, which largely read like case studies in rags-to-riches “American Dream” tales. Although each of the individuals presented here can detail the low points of both their and their family’s lives—often intersecting through some of the social challenges mentioned earlier—most have nevertheless somehow managed to overcome non-ideal circumstances and to thrive.

What is even more interesting is how often that success is then attributed to traits perceived to have been bequeathed by German ancestors. As seen in each story, all but Lolo Raass seem convinced that certain characteristics which have helped them achieve their goals are essentially non-“traditional Polynesian” traits they must have received from elsewhere—presumably from their European ancestry. Though they are different from person to person, these were variously described as drive, ambition, organizational skills, intrepidity, work ethic, physical attractiveness, intelligence, and connectedness. Far from denigrating their Polynesian heritage however, each also expressed a balance they saw in what they perceived as the way that their Pacific Island ancestry affected them, compared to their European. Each expressed

gratitude for both sides of their heritage, and admitted feeling varying levels of connectedness to each side.

On the one hand, German-Tongan Americans are similar to their relatives in other areas of the world in that they left Tonga to look for what they perceived to be a better life elsewhere. They also seem to tend to “fit in” better because of their German ancestry—at least that is the way they see it. Yet they are also a very different group altogether. One of the starkest differences can be seen in their overwhelming connectedness to the LDS church. Although not all Tongans in the United States came by way of an LDS connection, as seen here, many trace some part of their or their family’s emigration story through these lines. While that seems very remarkable, it is also likely that many, seeing the opportunity to emigrate through Church connections, simply joined or participated for those reasons, and are not now affiliated with the LDS church. Such a phenomenon is identified by Paul Morris in his article on the LDS Church in Samoa and Tonga, when he writes about so-called “School Mormons”—students who join the LDS church and attend Liahona, simply so that they can go to BYUH for their tertiary education (89). For those who do remain in the LDS church, however, the pipelines to America that used to be active are still considered blessings by those they affected. At the end of the day, whether living on the East Coast or the West, German-Tongan Americans are a remarkable, and remarkably successful, group of United States immigrants.

Chapter 4: German-Tongans in Europe

That there is even a community of Tongans in Europe—literally on the other side of the world from their South Pacific home—may be of surprise to many. For obvious reasons, Europe is a special place for those German-Tongan individuals who feel strongly connected to their European roots. It is the home of their forebears—the place where their *pālangi* family history stories start. Yet some descendants are more connected to that heritage than others. Although several individuals with German-Tongan heritage now live in Europe, as seen in the lives of the three in this chapter, their reasons for being there generally have little to do with family history. Instead, as illustrated by the stories here, modern German-Tongan emigration to Europe is motivated by personal life situations—romantic relationships, employment, and international dreams. Other Tongans living in Europe (yet without German ancestry) also deserve attention—their children born and/or raised in Europe are members of the newest generation of German- and European-Tongans—those who navigate the mixed-race experience of modern Europe. While using the stories of other Tongans in Germany as examples, this chapter focuses on the stories of three German-Tongan descendants living or having lived in Germany and Belgium to understand the modern German-Tongan diaspora in Europe, and the influence of identity on residence in Europe for both Tongan and German-Tongan individuals.

History

As of 2010, the CIA World Factbook estimated that two percent of the overseas Tongan population reside in Europe (Taufatofua 7-8)—presumably, this also includes those living in Britain. Although part-Tongans have been traveling there since the turn of the twentieth century (as seen below), the Tongan presence in Europe has only become noticeable in recent years, due mostly to Tongan participation in successful Rugby teams. Unsurprisingly, the Germany-Tonga link was at its strongest during the lifetimes of the original German emigrants to Tonga. The migration of first generation German-Tongan children to Germany for education has already been mentioned—more detail is given here. Primary sources indicate that this kind of temporary migration for education amongst first generation descendants may have been, if not usual, then at least common enough to be comfortable. In his personal history, Ludwig Christian Herman Wolfgramm (one of the original Wolfgramms in Tonga and the father of ten children with his wife Sela Maele, from Vava'u), recorded sending two of his children to attend school in Germany (3-4). The eldest, Alma, became a medical doctor in Berlin and is an anomaly in

German-Tongan mixed-race history at that time. Her story is told in greater detail in James Bade's *Germans in Tonga* (120). A younger brother, Arthur, eventually returned to Tonga and married there (Irwin family history 3.7).

Alma and Arthur were just two of the eight first generation German-Tongan Wolfgramm children known to have been sent to Germany for schooling (see Cook 43-44). Others, from other families, were also sent. Mrs Emma Schober mentions the educational migration of some of the first generation German-Tongan children with whom she was associated—Rosie and May Becker. The Becker girls were both born in Tonga but schooled in Auckland and Austria (Schober personal history 20-23, 28).¹

While exact numbers of Tongans or part-Tongans who migrated or travelled to Europe from the turn of the century to 1950 are unknown, it is clear that the educational route at least did not last beyond the early twentieth century and the First World War. Turmoil in Europe and in the Pacific (in the form of the “enemy alien” status and overseas internment many German individuals resident in the Islands were subject to) precluded the possibility of emigration or travel. The recent movement of Tongans to Germany and elsewhere in Europe has only occurred in the past thirty-five years.



Figure 2: Death notice from the Pyritz Kreisblatt 24 February 1912

¹ According to a professional genealogist, Rosie and May's father Eduard was born in Germany in 1844 and arrived in Tonga in 1867, where he worked as the first director for Godeffroy there. He married Amelia Alaelupelahi Tupou, a Tongan woman from Ha'apai, in 1869 (Liava'a online). Together the Beckers had eleven children, several of whom appear to have been sent overseas for education (Schober personal history 20-23, 28).

Treatment of mixed race in Germany

Perhaps the first question one might ask of the history of German-Tongans in Germany (and wider Europe), would be concerned with racial policies and the treatment of mixed-race individuals there. Based on the anti-miscegenation and anti-mixed-race German imperial laws and the racially ordered Nazi regime of 1933-1945, the context would suggest an uncomfortable if not dangerous existence for mixed-race German-Tongans in Europe in the early to mid-twentieth century. Due mostly to a lack of strong documentation, it is a question that is difficult to resolve.

My research on the topic suggests varied realities. On the one hand, almost all of the mixed-race German-Tongan Wolfgramm boys sent for schooling to Germany sadly died before adulthood. What is known about them comes mostly from their death notices in the *Pyritzer Kreisblatt*, presumably submitted by their aunts, with whom they lived (figs 1-6. See also Cook thesis 43-55). In these short public notices, the boys are alternately referred to as “unser innig geliebt[er] Sohn,”² “unser lieb[er] Sohn,”³ “unser inniggeliebt[er] Neffe,”⁴ and “unser teur[er] Entschlafen[er].”⁵ The surviving family members are referred to in these notices as “die trauernden Hinterbliebenen”⁶ (Pyritzer Kreisblatt). Although these appear to be quite standard death notices, tributes, and statements of grief, further examination makes them stand out for a number of reasons. Firstly, they indicate a love and apparent full acceptance of these individuals by their full German family in Germany. Had the family been ashamed of their mixed-race relatives, they could easily have foregone public mention of their deaths⁷. Likewise, nothing is mentioned of their Tongan heritage, except that they are “fern vom Elternhause.”⁸ Thus, it

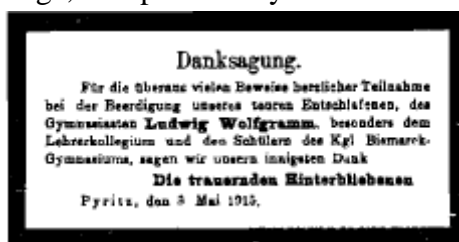


Figure 3: Acknowledgements from the family from the *Pyritzer Kreisblatt* 4 May 1915

² “Our dearly beloved son”

³ “Our beloved son”

⁴ “Our dearly beloved nephew”

⁵ “Our precious departed”

⁶ “The sorrowful survivors”

⁷ The size and prominence of the notifications in the newspaper—where the notices stood out in size and content to other ads on the page—also points to the Wolfgramm family’s status in general—it is unlikely that all Pyritz deaths were thus publicized.

⁸ “Far from their parents’ home”

appears that their mixed-race status was not too much of a consideration, at least for their family members. While this may not seem surprising—given that most families might be perfectly welcoming of any family member, no matter their racial background—it is still worth noting, in a world of such high racial tensions.

Secondly, it is assumed that these individuals were buried in the local German cemetery, and not segregated elsewhere.⁹ Thirdly, the fact that two of these boys (as indicated by their death notices—Heinrich and Fritz) were engaged in apprenticeships at the time of their death indicates a lack of prejudice towards them on the part of their community. Of course these inferences are difficult to substantiate, but they seem to be supported by the limited evidence.



Figure 5: Death notice from the Pyritzer Kreisblatt 29 April 1915

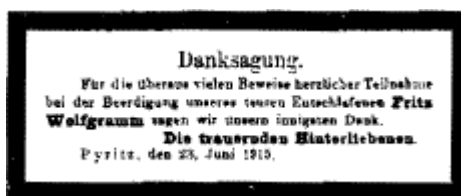


Figure 4: Acknowledgements from the family from the Pyritzer Kreisblatt 24 June 1915

Other records of those who lived longer indicate similarly encouraging realities, albeit to different degrees. As mentioned, the Becker sisters were both educated in Germany, traveling back and forth between there and Tonga at least twice in their lifetimes (Schober personal history 20-23, 18). Although the fate of these two German-Tongan sisters after 1907 is unknown, Mrs Schober's account indicates that they were "satisfied" with the school they attended in Graz (Austria—ibid. 28). This is notable, as mistreatment would likely have led to their being

⁹ This, however, is difficult to fully verify, as there remains no record, and political circumstances in Pyritz—now Pyrzyce, Poland—at the time of and after the Second World War seriously altered both the landscape and inventory of the cemetery, and virtually no German graves remain.

removed from the school by their father or family, but this was not the case here. While not enough is known about these girls' ultimate fates to infer anything concretely, their seeming ease of way with Germans (as evidenced by their light-hearted associations with Mrs. Schober) points to a confidence that must have come based on at least some positive interactions amongst and possible acceptance by full Germans. One of the girls (Filoi) eventually also married a German (a gentleman by the surname of Schröder) in Apia—a photograph of her dressed in European fashion in Mrs. Emma Schober's book suggests she was used to and comfortable with European life (22).

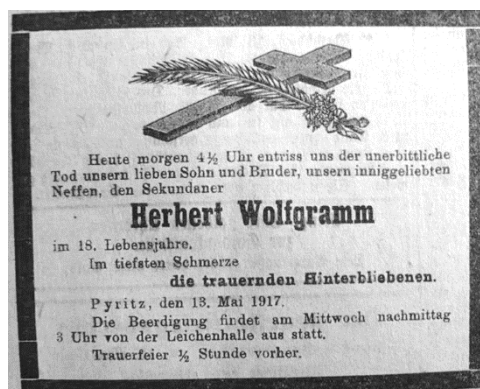


Figure 7: Death notice from the Pyritzer Kreisblatt 20 May 1917



Figure 6: Death notice from the Pyritzer Kreisblatt 20 June 1915

As mentioned, Alma Wolfgramms remains the greatest first-generation German-Tongan success story. As a Tongan-born mixed-race person, and a woman no less, she somehow made it through growing up in Germany (she was also raised by her aunts in Pyritz), University-medical training in Munich (unusual enough at the time for the wider public, let alone a minority woman

in Nazi Germany), and a purportedly successful career as a medical doctor in Berlin.¹⁰ Although she was married but briefly (and few details are public knowledge), Alma had both a son and a god-daughter, both of whom were born in, raised, and have lived their whole lives in Germany. Both remain there to this day, where they are in some contact with researchers. Alma died in Berlin in 1974, having never returned to Tonga. Her wider ties with her immediate family and extended family there are not well known.

While the apparent well-adjustment of these individuals in Germany seems to point to little that would suggest deep discomfort or marginalisation as mixed-race individuals there, on the other hand, there are a few accounts—one particularly tragic one—which do. Alma's younger brother Arthur, whom her father records was sent to Germany with her (Ludwig Wolfgramm personal history 3), ended up returning to Tonga after an unknown length of time and lived there until his death. Both his reasons for returning, and what he did thereafter in Tonga, are unknown.

Herman Wolfgramm, another of the first-cousins sent for school to Germany, also returned to Tonga again as a young adult, but he did not stay long. Family historians debate his reasons for leaving, but dissatisfaction with the islands (given his German upbringing) is the believed cause (see Irwin family history 3.4). Being either uninterested or unable to return to Germany, Herman was last seen by his youngest brother Rudy in his front yard before reportedly stowing away on a ship bound for Brazil or elsewhere (Burningham interview). He is recorded in one newspaper article as being the second Tongan known to have disembarked in the United States when he “came on the four-masted schooner ‘Sophie Christiansen’ from Vava’u with a cargo of Copra,” landing in San Francisco in April 1926 (“The First Tongans...”). Thereafter, Herman moved to Brazil, where he apparently married and raised children. According to the news article, “the last communications he send (sic) to Tonga were to his cousin Rudolph Sanft informing him of his children who were being send (sic) to Pyritz, Pommern, Germany for their education” (ibid). It is unknown whether Herman married a German, or where he lived in Brazil. There is also no further record or indication of his children living or schooling in Germany. On the Wolfgramm family Facebook page, attempts are currently being made by several family members to trace this line up, and to find and establish contact with Herman's potential descendants (*Wolfgramm Family* online).

¹⁰ Family history as well as friends who knew her rumour that Alma was a Berlin socialite, and on terms with some high-ranking Nazi officials. She is even reported to have presided at the birth of one of Hermann Göring's children (Wendt April email).

The most tragic of the mixed-race individuals' stories is that of Frieda Wolfgramm—the only other Wolfgramm girl known to have been sent to Germany with her cousins from Tonga for schooling. Like Alma, she survived all her male cousins in Pyritz, living and being raised to adulthood with her aunts there. Although not much is known about her young adult life, family history reports that she died by suicide in 1935—she apparently hanged herself as a result of being unable to marry her German lover (Irwin email).¹¹ Although it is not reflected in Alma's case (as she married in 1950 when she would not have been subject to the Nazi anti-mixed race marriage laws), the inability to marry a full German was something that stemmed from political laws. As Reinhard Wendt reports, “the laws on race issued by the Nazi regime did not allow [Frieda or other half-castes] to marry at all” (Wendt February email). Frieda's suicide (due to a broken heart) is one of the saddest and most extreme examples of racial prejudice against mixed-race German-Tongans that remains to educate modern researchers. As seen, other experiences by Arthur and Herman possibly indicate a measure of cultural and identity confusion as well. While there is unfortunately not enough first-hand evidence remaining to illustrate the full reality of their lives, these few accounts and their inferences suggest that individual experiences were likely complex and varied.

Fortunately, the experiences of Tongans and German-Tongans in Europe today do not reflect these same challenges. They are also easier to access. As will be seen in the cases presented here, Tongan emigration to Germany and elsewhere in Europe started mostly around the 1980s, with the emigration of just a few families and individuals. Since that time, the trickle of migration has continued, with many more Tongans and German-Tongans now contributing to a more cosmopolitan continent overall.

Modern Tongan and German-Tongan Emigration to Europe

Tongan mobility in Europe has always been partly shaped by large structural developments (empires and wars); more recent developments affecting Tongans in Europe concern military and professional rugby matters. Access to Europe for Tongans and those of Tongan descent (which is dependent on passports, visa grants, and state policies), has remained a decisive part of this pattern. Due mostly to its historical connections with Tonga as a protectorate, Great Britain is the main figure in migration stories which focus largely on professional athletes, but also encapsulate both Governmental and NGO employees, personal

¹¹ Parallels with Frieda may also be found in the tragic suicides of two sons of Phebe Parkinson, an English-Samoan woman, and her German husband, as recorded by Damon Salesa in his history of Emma and Phebe Coe. See Salesa 'Emma and Phebe.'

relationships, and individual career trajectories. As will be seen, Germany has also been an important destination for some modern mixed-race German-Tongan descendants. All of these realities are seen in the individuals surveyed in this chapter.

With the end of the British Treaty of Friendship in 1970 and therefore, the dissolution of Tonga's "protectorate" status, diplomatic relations between Tonga and the United Kingdom commenced. Tonga's first High Commissioner "to the Court of St James" was the late Honourable Baron Vaea (Siaosi Tu'ihala 'Alipate Vaea Tupou—later Prime Minister of Tonga), who served in that capacity from 1969 until 1972 (Tonga High Commission email 25 March). In a survey of the development of Tonga's foreign relations, Martin Daly explains:

When Tonga became fully independent in 1970 it remained within the British Commonwealth. The British Consulate in Tonga became a high commission¹² and resident diplomatic missions were established by Australia, New Zealand and Taiwan. A number of other countries, including France and Germany, had honorary consuls. Tonga for its part established a high commission in London, covering many of the countries of Europe and also the European Union in Brussels, in order to play its full part in the important negotiations between the EU and the Africa, Caribbean, Pacific (ACP) group of former dependent territories over trade and aid" (12)

As will be seen in Gerhard Sanft's story, these events have had a strong impact on the lives of some—Gerhard and his family moved to Belgium from Tonga as a result of his wife Josie's employment with the ACP group.

Since the changes in 1970, the High Commission has been serving Tongan nationals traveling in Europe, and particularly those who live in the United Kingdom. In 2016, they reported 242 members throughout the European Union. This included 160 in the United Kingdom (Wales, Ireland, and Scotland included), 34 in Germany, 14 in France, 8 in Italy, 6 in Sweden, and 5 in Denmark (Tonga High Commission email 30 March). Tongans are also reported to live in Belgium, Finland, Luxembourg, Norway, Spain, and the Netherlands (ibid). While these numbers reflect the individuals the High Commission has on record (who have contacted them and given them their details), they do not reflect those who live outside of the EU region maintained by the Commission (e.g. Switzerland and Norway), or those who (for whatever reason), have not registered with them.

Similar figures have been collected by various Polynesian or Island associations in wider Europe as well. The most notable of these in Germany is the *Deutsch-Pazifische Gesellschaft* (DPG), which has generously made its data available to this project. The DPG was established in

¹² "High commission" is the term used for the equivalent of an embassy within Commonwealth countries.

2004 to provide information about the Pacific area (Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia) in the German language, as well as to “organize conferences, meetings, exhibitions, cultural events and gatherings with Pacific Islanders” in Germany and wider Europe (*Pacific Society in Germany* online). According to an informal survey made by the DPG in 2007 among its members in Germany, there were thirty-one Tongan individuals living there at that time, or at least participating in the Society (Aßmann email). These figures do not include children of emigrant parents, who may be of either full or part-Tongan descent. Firmer numbers are best attainable by word of mouth. Falamoe Weber—a long-time Tongan resident in Germany and one of the research participants for this chapter—estimated in 2015 that there are now actually about fifty Tongans in Germany alone, spread from Berlin to Bavaria, and from Hamburg to Stuttgart—she knows almost all of them.

At this point, a distinction needs to be made for those individuals who are nationally Tongan, versus those who are of Tongan descent. Various European countries are home to both. Understandably, however, due to visa restrictions and ease of international travel for citizens of different nations, numbers of individuals from these two groups are affected differently. New Zealand- and Australian-born Tongans or Tongan citizens of these countries, for instance, have a much easier time traveling to, through, and obtaining residence in, Europe. As they are granted longer visa terms by virtue of their passports alone, migration is made much easier for them. For these reasons as well, they are more difficult to identify in figures of Tongans resident in Europe (i.e. would not appear on the lists of the Tongan High Commission). Although their visas would generally be for shorter terms, American nationals of Tongan descent would be in a similarly advantageous position.

Tongan nationals, on the other hand, have a generally more difficult time traveling. According to the Visa Restriction Index, published annually by Henley & Partners and based on the International Air Transport Association database, the Tongan passport is ranked in 46th place of passports of countries of the world, tied with Vanuatu and Nicaragua (“The Henley & Partners...” online). Thus, Tongan nationals require visas to enter all but 110 countries of the world. While Tonga maintains an agreement with the Schengen states which gives Tongan nationals ninety days’ visa-free stay in most of the European Union,¹³ more permanent migration is made difficult except through marriage, employment, study, or another compelling reason (different countries have different residence-class visa requirements). As seen in the stories

¹³ This was only signed in 2015.

which follow, all three of the individuals who appear in this chapter are Tongan nationals (or were at the time of their immigration), and have had to come through one of these routes.

Although the reasons for Tongans' moves to Europe differ, a key pull-factor for some has been professional sport. In the United Kingdom and across the Continent, numbers of resident Tongans are decidedly higher in areas with professional rugby teams. Great Britain, southern France and Germany are all home to migrant Tongan athletes (although Germany itself is not known for its rugby). In a 2014 news article about the importation of Pacific Islanders—Tongans, Samoans, and Fijians—playing for European Rugby teams, sportswriter Daniel Schofield found: “[f]or the last [British & Irish] Lions tour, there were more players of Pacific Island descent ... than there were Scots in the touring party. There are an estimated 184 professional players of either Samoan, Fijian or Tongan descent playing in European leagues” (see Schofield news article. See also Francis news article). Admittedly, although these men and women (as in the case of Valerie Adams—a New Zealand-born Tongan-English shot-putter living in Switzerland) affect and increase the figures of Tongans and Pacific Islanders living in Europe during their time there, not all stay permanently. In this regard, Tongan migration to Europe parallels the pattern of Tongans in Japan, who come mostly from New Zealand or the Islands on Rugby scholarships to play for corporate Rugby clubs but do not generally stay permanently (see 'Esau, “Tongan Immigrants in Japan”).

The same short-lived European residence is true for Tongan soldiers or the families of military personnel as well, stationed at various bases throughout Europe. Mele Filimoeulie, a German-Tongan woman from Hawaii, and her husband, an American-Tongan soldier, are examples of this—they are currently stationed in Wiesbaden, Germany, where they have lived since 2012. While there is unfortunately no specific data as of yet, as “Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders [including American- or American-Samoan-born Tongans] are overrepresented in the U.S. Army by 249%” (White House Initiative...), it goes without saying that many American servicemen stationed at various bases throughout Germany and wider Europe in the past fifty years are likely to have been Tongan as well.

Aside from athletes and those involved with the military, as will be seen in the stories of individuals presented here, there does not seem to be one single overarching reason for Tongan emigration to Germany, or a clear pattern of settlement once there. Tenisia and Falamoe's residences in Germany are or were due to marriage with Germans, as will be explained below. Such is also the case for Mesualina Döblitz in Düsseldorf, Mele Köhncke and Lenitua Terglane in Berlin, and 'Ofa Other in Munich who, while not of German ancestry themselves, are notable

Tongan immigrants to Germany and the mothers of German-Tongan children (Döblitz and Other interviews, respectively). All were or are married to German men, and have been in Germany for about twenty years. With the exception of Falamoe (who met her husband Hans while studying in Germany), and 'Ofa (who originally came because her sister was married to a German—details unknown), all these women met their respective German husbands and partners in Tonga, where the men were either working or visiting temporarily.

Others have migrated for altogether different reasons. Lasinga Koloamatangi, a Tongan man from Hawaii, is a well-known singer—he currently lives and performs in Germany. In Gerhard Sanft's case, as mentioned, his European residence was brought about by his wife, an international aid employee in Brussels. And, as is the case for the Fau'ese sisters (Tenisia and Falamoe, introduced below), their younger brother who followed them, and several others, chain migration has also played a role in this history. Many Tongans now living in Europe have simply followed the footsteps of a “trailblazing” relative resident there before them.

Opportunities for these individuals to meet each other and interact are provided by several different associations which have developed in recent years to connect and serve Pacific Islanders—Tongans included—around the Continent and in the United Kingdom. As mentioned, one of the largest of these in Germany is the DPG. Other societies host Pacific Island festivals and cultural gatherings, the largest of which takes place annually in different cities. For European-Pacific Islanders, these associations provide links to home where they can gather and speak their own languages, eat their own kinds of food, enjoy Pacific Island music, and make connections with others in similar situations. All Tongans and German-Tongans interviewed in Europe for this project reported participating to some degree with these types of programs and associations.

German-Tongans in Europe

Curiously, the three individuals highlighted in this chapter are descendants of Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft. This is an interesting coincidence, as the Fau'ese sisters did not know Gerhard (nor he them) before they moved to Europe. Of the three, only Gerhard reports being very aware of or feeling connected to his German heritage while growing up, though Tenisia and Falamoe both knew of and mentioned theirs. Although several other individuals with German-Tongan heritage are known to be living in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, this small group reflects those who responded to repeated research attempts. The lack of size is regrettable, considering the vibrant Polynesian community which does exist there. It is hoped that future opportunities will generate a greater pool of experiences, stories, and material. For now, the stories that are

presented here are illuminative of one particular understanding: modern emigration of Tongans and German-Tongans to Europe has little to do with any particular connection or strength of identity associated with heritage. Rather, pull factors can be reduced to personal motivators coupled with increased mobility (opportunity) in the modern age.

Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft

As mentioned, all three of the German-Tongan descendants in this chapter, resident in different parts of Europe, are descendants of Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft. Sanft, a trader, was born in Pyritz in 1849 (Bade 90) and was one of the nephews of August Sanft who arrived in Tonga with his brothers and Wolfgramm cousins in 1872 (Irwin family history 1.1, 1.4). Family history records that Friedrich settled in Vava'u and married Fifita Haliote Afu, a Tongan woman, with whom he had nine children (Bade 90). According to their oral family history, Tenisia and her sister Falamoe are both descendants of Friedrich, although the connection is not documented or well understood. In spite of this, it is notable that both of them report on this heritage and are aware of it, as it is obviously something they were raised believing. Thus, in a small way, it has shaped a portion of their identity. For his part, Gerhard is a direct, fourth-generation descendant of Friedrich Wilhelm.

Tenisia Fau'ese Hager¹⁴

The older of the two sisters spotlighted here, Tenisia Hager was one of the first Tongans to move to Germany in the past half-century. Indeed, she reports knowing of only two other Tongans living there when she arrived in 1983, with whom she came into contact over the course of her residency. Born in 1960 and raised as the second of nine children on the main island of Tongatapu, Tonga, Tenisia says that while she was always aware of her Sanft ancestry when growing up, it was not a factor in her decision to move to Germany. Rather she was influenced by what she described as “simple romance”: as a twenty-two-year-old nurse finishing her degree at Vaiola Hospital in Tonga, Tenisia met Robert Hager in 1982. Robert, a young German doctor, was doing his practicum in the Islands. Over the course of a year, the two courted and fell in love. Tenisia ultimately decided to accompany Robert back to Germany, where they were married.

¹⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal telephone interview with Tenisia Hager 22 September 2014.

At first, coming from the small villages of her island home to Germany, Tenisia was confronted with a tremendous load of resistance, both from the challenges of the transition as well as from the lack of support by people at home:

The culture shock and the language and everything [were very difficult]. I had to go [travel on my own] and everyone thought I was going to die because we were going to “Hitler-land” and everyone said “how can you go there, that’s where the war is.” I think it was very good for me because that made me grow up from twenty-two years old to forty in one or two years.

Part of her “growing up” included enduring the initially cold treatment of Robert’s family, yet she is now quick to defend them: “You can imagine how [my in-laws] felt,” she explained. “They were this very old, very proud German family and now their son is coming home and saying how he is going to marry someone he met in an unknown island—I was just a little, shy black girl to them.” Although initially treated as an exotic, foreign, and unwelcome intruder into the family, Tenisia reports that everything changed with her acquisition of the language. She began studying German as soon as she arrived in the country, and within three months had achieved enough fluency to begin University classes.

Once I learned the language I was at home. I turned around and talked to [my mother in law]. She turned around and told everyone “oh my gosh, she talks just like you and me!” They had more respect. It was like I went there to educate them. ... They were absolutely primitive. No one had ever flown in a plane. They only knew the things around them.

This and the earlier recollection are important statements by Tenisia, inasmuch as they highlight the stereotypes on both sides of the equation. Tenisia’s German in-laws, for instance, were initially reluctant to accept their son’s marriage, for racial and other reasons. For their part, the Tongans around Tenisia when she was preparing to leave to Germany also demonstrated a lack of understanding about Germans and their country. Ignorance on both parts was apparently easily forgiven by Tenisia, however, as she recognized that neither side would have reason to know anything different. Although the Germans had grown up in a first-world country, they had never experienced Tonga. Likewise, from the First World War on, Tongans would have had very few connections with Germany, or opportunity to expand their understanding. While both sides were wrong about the other, what appears to be the greatest irony is that the person the Germans knew as a “shy black girl” was actually far better-traveled and experienced than they were, even given their privilege.

In spite of the challenges, Tenisia found her new life, the language, and the culture in Germany exciting. She returned home to Tonga only briefly, at the end of 1983, to give birth

there, with her own kind of food (to help her gain weight she had lost on unfamiliar food in Germany) and family around her. But after their son Ferdinand's birth in January of the next year, it was only a few weeks before she and Robert returned to Germany. Back in Europe, with the stability and comfort of her husband's family around her, she lived happily as a new wife and mother—intending to remain so in perpetuity.

But Tenisia's story in Germany at that time ended tragically. She was six months pregnant with their second child when Robert was killed in a car accident in 1985. Although she had previously felt "*zu Hause*" (at home) in Germany, Tenisia described feeling all of a sudden "*fremd*"—"I didn't belong there," she said. "The only person I belonged to was gone and I didn't want to belong to that country anymore." Tenisia briefly returned to her family (who had since moved to New Zealand) in 1985 to give birth to her daughter Roberta (named after her late husband) but was not allowed to stay there with them due to visa restrictions. She thereafter shortly returned to Germany, but this time her younger sister Falamoe came with her. The two thus lived in Bamberg with Robert's family until Tenisia met her next partner, a Dutch man who was living in New Zealand. She thereafter emigrated with her children in 1988 to Christchurch, where she lives to this day.

Despite having left Germany three decades ago, Tenisia's ties to Europe remain strong. "I am a lucky one," she says. "I think me and my kids have travelled to Europe every second or third year of their whole lives." Mostly this travel was to visit Robert's parents in Bavaria, and Tenisia states that both of their children chose to learn German and keep it up in order to be able to speak with their extended family. Tenisia herself has never lost her language skills—she is a polyglot, speaking more than half-a-dozen languages fluently.¹⁵ She credits her time in Germany with putting her onto this path. And when asked, she describes all of the various parts of her identity influenced by this multiculturalism:

I am Tongan—it's a fact and it says it in my passport (but now of course I'm a New Zealander)—but I don't really have to go around preaching that I am Tongan, because I am at home in so many other cultures too. And other Tongans—I feel the love for being Tongan—but I'm not really a heavy Tongan who knows the kingly language and everything, but just a normal Tongan. And I love all other people too.

Thus read between the lines in Tenisia's identity statement is the admission that while she does not necessarily consider herself to be exclusively Tongan, she is probably more Tongan than

¹⁵ Including German, Maori, Spanish, French, Japanese, Tongan, English, Italian, and Dutch.

anything else. Yet, as she describes it, based on her language abilities and early life experiences, she also feels a little bit German too.

*Falamoe Fau'ese Weber*¹⁶

Falamoe's story is quite different than that of her sister. The fifth of her parent's children, she was born and raised in Tonga until she was eighteen, but finished her last two years of high school in New Zealand. She first moved to Germany with her sister in 1985, to help with Tenisia's children and be a companion to her. Yet once there, visa restrictions required either study in Germany or marriage to a German citizen to remain in the country. Falamoe studied the German language for eighteen months, then enrolled at Bamberg University for a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. When Tenisia left for New Zealand, Falamoe was in her third semester at University, enjoying her experiences and life in Europe. Although she would be left alone in Germany, for her to go back with Tenisia at that time would have been complicated—she would have to leave her University program and first return to Tonga before she could try to enter New Zealand again on a student visa, where she would have to start her studies over. For these reasons and others, she decided to stay.

Throughout the time both Falamoe and Tenisia were in Bamberg, they were helped and supported by the Hagers, Tenisia's in-laws. Staying with them was a great convenience for Falamoe, who spent a total of seven years living there. She helped them as they got older, and felt that she was part of the family. In these situations, she was very happy. She reports having many friends, and by 1986 had already met and begun dating her future husband Hans, an engineer from Stuttgart. But in spite of these things, she never intended to stay permanently:

The whole time I was thinking that I would want to go back home, or go back to New Zealand. [Germany] was just too far away. You enjoyed life because it was there, because you can do it. I had a boyfriend, I had a lot of friends, I felt accepted. But then I was still homesick. I had hard times, especially when autumn was approaching, and winter.

As a couple, Hans and Falamoe made plans to marry after her graduation, and to return to the South Pacific. "An engineer can get a job anywhere. We planned to move to New Zealand together—that way we would both be foreigners." But by the time she graduated in 1993, "there were no more plans to go to New Zealand. I wanted to try it out—to be a businesswoman and see what it's like to work in Germany." After her graduation in July, Hans and Falamoe married in

¹⁶ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal telephone interview with Falamoe Weber 11 September 2014.

September of that same year. She got a more permanent visa and moved to Stuttgart, where she embarked on her career as a businesswoman and life as a permanent resident in Germany. With a teenage daughter and a thriving international Heating, Ventilation, and Air Conditioning Company owned and run by her and Hans, Falamoe is a busy and successful mother, wife, and business leader in Germany. She still considers herself Tongan, but her understanding of her identity has changed.

I think I have given up a lot of things [about being Tongan]. The inner part of myself—the nucleus—is still very Tongan, but on the outside, in order for me to survive I have to change a lot of my Tonganness. But I pick a lot of good things from both and make the most out of it. I know very well I can't be a *real* Tongan here. I think if I go back to Tonga I also wouldn't be fully happy there. Because I have changed a lot.

One of those big changes in recent years was finally becoming a German citizen—Falamoe took the test and received her citizenship in July 2014. Her comments about this experience are interesting:

All those years it was very tiring to have to apply for a visa to go everywhere [when she wanted to travel or go places internationally], but I never really felt comfortable with applying for German citizenship. But I did it this year and I was so surprised with how comfortably I identify myself with being German, with the German citizenship also. So it's really accepting it, after such a long time and living here for such an amount of time, and adapting yourself. ... But through that I am really Tongan-German. Or German-Tongan. A very *German* Tongan. In my nucleus, I think I am still Tongan.

This statement and the one above it reflect a tension Falamoe apparently feels to understand herself. Having been away from Tonga now longer than she lived there, there appears to still be a strong internal identity for her in being Tongan, yet it contends with the wider outer world she lives in, which is German. Solidifying the German part of her identity by earning citizenship seems a potent element of her story—a sign of concession to a more complete European identity. However, it seems that her heart would still like to hold on to Tonga.

Part of remaining connected to that Oceanic heritage for Falamoe has been connecting with other Tongans in Europe in the past fifteen years. "I guess people know I'm here, so when others [Tongans] come, you get a phone call that's someone saying they're here and you make connections." After they started their company in 2001, Falamoe started a Tongan dancing group with other Tongans from around Baden-Württemberg. For her, it was a way to address her homesickness and connect with her own culture again: "It was really nice, we learned how to dance. It was really nice to have something to balance out your business life. It was a lot of fun." As a group, Falamoe and her Tongan dancers performed at parties, festivals, celebrations and

other events, gradually becoming so popular that she eventually had to step out—there was too much to balance with her business and family commitments. But she still remains connected to the women and families she met and came to know while dancing. These days, Falamoe is a well-known pioneer and pillar of the Tongan community in Germany and wider Europe, where her “very German-Tonganness” allows her to be a bridge to others in a similar situation.

*Gerhard Sanft*¹⁷

As a young man growing up in Vava'u and Tongatapu, Gerhard (Haati) Sanft always dreamed of traveling to Europe. Now living in Brussels with his wife and son, Haati feels that he is living his dreams. Born in Tonga in 1980, Gerhard was adopted and raised by his biological grandfather's brother Herbert (his technical great-uncle). He is the recipient of a proud legacy of German-Tongan Sanft descendants in Tonga. “My father [Herbert] was a big fan of Germans,” he said. “He named me after the German chancellor—Gerhard Schröder.” A self-described “bad boy” in his younger years, Haati dropped out of high school at sixteen and got into trouble in different ways throughout his young adult years. Although he eventually felt these things had been a mistake, he somehow sensed that things would be better in the future. “I knew if I just kept going,” he said, “things would eventually work back out.” For him there was always the dream of doing something “more,” something “bigger.” Europe called to him.

He described this connection in the following way:

I always asked my father, when he was still alive, “Can we go to Germany?”
“Can we go to Europe?” My mum wanted me to go to the States but I didn't really want to go there. Everything at home was European—books and magazines and stuff. So that is what attracted me and [made me want] to come.

Haati's report here of the European elements in his family home are interesting and distinct. No other German-Tongan descendant I spoke to said the same thing. The Sanft family connection, in this case, likely stemmed from the fact that Haati's biological grandfather, Ralph Sanft, was the honorary German consul at that time (for more information, see “Carl Sanft” in Chapter Five). Due to this close relation, it seems likely that Haati and his family simply gravitated more to their German heritage based on the contemporary connections which later developed. Whatever the reasons, when his father passed away in 1999, Haati felt even more determined to change his life and make it to Europe. He moved permanently to Tongatapu at the age of twenty-four and worked as a sales officer in the Sanft family store, a bartender at the Hotel Nuku'alofa, and as a

¹⁷ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Gerhard and Josie Sanft in Brussels, Belgium 14 November 2015.

personal chauffeur for the prime minister. It was in this last capacity that he met his wife Josephine (Josie) Lātū and his dreams started to come true.

For her part, Josie has always been a scholar. The daughter of a Tongan dentist father and a Chinese-Fijian doctor mother, Josie was raised with an older sister and younger brother in Tonga. Schooled at Tonga High School, she was one of a handful of Tongan students to win a scholarship to the University of Hawaii-Manoa, where she studied political science and French. After graduation and a job as a journalist in Tonga for a few years, she went back to University at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) in New Zealand for a Master's degree in communications. Upon her arrival home to Tonga after earning her Master's, Josie obtained employment as a press officer in the office of the Prime Minister. She and Haati joke that their romance bloomed in her office—she would always be working late and he would come in to visit and try to make her laugh between trips driving the Prime Minister. Their friendship quickly grew to something more. In 2011 while they were planning to marry, Josie was offered the job in Belgium—she now works as a communications and press specialist for the ACP Group of States—a diplomatic and development organisation based in Brussels which facilitates relations between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Both Josie and Haati were taken by surprise at the sudden opportunity, and they jumped at the chance. Josie moved to Europe first, working for a few months before returning home to Tonga for her wedding with Haati. Thereafter, it was easy for Haati to get a special residency card to come with her.¹⁸ They are both quick to attribute the ease of this development for their new family to God—“we look at this situation as God-led,” they both say. “It just fell into our laps and we are grateful and making the most of it.”

For Haati, living in Belgium is a dream come true, and he has loved it since the first day. “He didn’t even have jetlag!” Josie laughed. “The first day he just got up and went jogging. He came home and said, ‘This is my new home! I love it!’” Due to their residency situation in Belgium, it is better and less complicated for their family for Haati not to work. Instead, he spends his time developing his talents and interests in his new country. A bright athlete, Haati took first place in several triathlons back in the Pacific, including the “Friendly Islands Triathlon” in Tonga in 2011. He has continued his triathlon training and competing in Brussels, where he belongs to the Brussels Triathlon Club. When he is not training, Haati spends his time practising and performing the Ukulele. His video of the Tongan song “‘Oku ’i ai ha ki’i Fonua, ‘Oku tu’u ’i ’Oseni”—dedicated to the Tongan national Rugby Team for the World Cup in

¹⁸ Rather than a visa, a special residency card allows residency in Belgium for expats and their families.

2015—has tens of thousands of views and shares on social media. As a Pacific musician in Europe, he often performs for Pacific-interest events, barbeques, or other activities there, as invited. In addition to sports and music, Haati is also an aspiring actor. He recently played a leading role in a Brussels-based rendition of Arthur Schnitzler's play *La Ronde*. Haati and Josie are the parents of Alex, their young son who was born in Brussels in 2012.

When it comes to their identity, both Haati and Josie proudly identify as Tongan, but for Haati, it is an identity he would be happy to diversify. "For me, my whole life [up to now] has been Tongan. Now I'm ready to do something new." Josie already speaks French, and Haati is learning. Given the opportunity, he would be happy to supplement his Tongan passport with a Belgian one. Yet both he and Josie want Alex to grow up knowing his Tongan side. "We'll take him back—send him to school in Tonga. He will learn the language and everything. But I want him to be from this place too," Haati says. For him, he tends to feel more at home and comfortable in Europe than in Tonga. Perhaps a small part of it has to do with his name—"my name is very German and when people hear it they automatically assume I'm German. I tell them my ancestors are from Germany, but I was raised in Tonga. That's fine, no one asks questions." The fact that his name is European perhaps helps Haati feel even more connected to his new country. But it has yet to take him back to Prussia—in spite of their relative close proximity and trips to many other places, Josie and Haati have not yet made it to where the original Sanfts come from—now Pryzycze, Poland. But they say that visit is intended at some point. For now, Josie stays busy with work, while for Haati, life is a likewise busy balance of fatherhood and family, sport competition, music, acting, and becoming accustomed to his new home. Though shaken by the terrible terrorist bombings in Belgium in March 2016, the Sanft family said they were all right and are just trying to go on with their normal lives ("Tongans in Brussels" news article). In a way, for them it is a new life—an unexpected blessing from God, for which they are thankful.

Conclusion

While the Tongan community in Europe is not as sizeable as the myriad other immigrant groups there, in this diasporic study, it is an important piece. It illustrates whether or not, and to what degree, modern descendants of German-Tongan unions resident in Europe identify with or are influenced by their heritage. It also tells a wider story of Tongan immigration to Europe, and its effects on identity and the Continent at large. Since the early 1980s, Tongans and Tongans with German heritage have been making varied and important contributions in their European

communities and homes. In the fields of professional sport, international aid and development, business, art, education, and more, Tongans and German-Tongans are both contributing and benefiting handsomely. Their identities and perceptions of self are affected thereby.

Although she stayed only a brief time in Germany, Tensia Hager's connection to the country via her previous residence there and through her children remains strong, and is an important aspect of her identity. Since her adoption of the language and parts of the culture while living there as a young wife and mother, aspects of *Germanness* have become part of who she is. Today she especially prizes her German language ability and points to it as one of the foremost factors in her aptitude of learning and appreciating other languages and cultures as well. Although she is unlikely to return to Europe for residence, Tensia is nevertheless likely to always go back, and feels very at home while there. This illustrates a flexibility of identity and culture which, while it may not be associated with them, nevertheless reflects Tensia's German ancestors, who were likewise flexible and adaptable.

Falamoe too feels strongly about Germany, to the point now of feeling almost more German than Tongan, although she recognizes that she will always be Tongan inside. Long-time residence in Germany has created within her a sense of belonging and yet also placelessness. Germany is the home of her business and family lives, and is now also her nationality. She has lived there longer than she lived in Tonga, and this is reflected in her manners of thinking and being. Yet her *Tonganness* is also important to her, made even more prominent by its uniqueness in her everyday circles. While both sisters are peripherally aware of some German heritage through the Sanft line, neither claims that such knowledge ever affected them or their lives in Europe. This heritage pales in comparison to the strength of their Tongan identity, and the identities they adopted later in life, as adults.

Yet German-Tongans in Europe cannot be categorically said to be unaffected by these historical relations. Gerhard's experience is the opposite of the disconnectedness expressed by Tensia and Falamoe. Although he proudly acknowledges his Tongan culture and heritage, he is much more eager to acknowledge and embrace the European heritage and connections that first sparked within him the desire to move to and live in Europe. He would rather speak English than Tongan, as he is trying to improve his language skills, and, given the opportunity, would be happy to remain in Europe forever. For him it is an inborn desire and lifelong dream, sparked by his family's historical and more contemporary connections to the Continent. Although Germany is not specifically in his plans, the wider culture and identity of Europe are what capture him.

As is evident from the differences in experiences and motivators to migration in each of these cases, German-Tongans in Europe have unique and particular reasons for leaving their South Pacific homelands and moving to Europe. In each case, personal German heritage has had little to do with the decision. Rather, these individuals are influenced by private circumstances which facilitated their movement within the past three decades. They are also influenced in subtler ways by the circumstances of politics and the opportunities examined above. In many ways, they are no different from the hundreds of other Tongans living in Europe—the many other men and women who make up the European branch of the larger Tongan diaspora. Yet whatever their circumstance, at the end of the day each one—like their German emigrants to Tonga before them—is a pioneer.

Chapter 5: Modern German-Oceania: Hinges of History and Resultant Identities

Examinations of German-Tongan descendants in the overseas' diaspora are invaluable, but fully understanding the distinctiveness of these individuals as a whole requires a more in-depth study of their backgrounds at home. In order to do this, a parallel comparison is necessary. As described in Chapter One, by the time their home country had entered the race for colonies, Germans had already been living in the South Pacific—both Samoa and Tonga—for several decades. In some instances, “half-caste” descendants of German-Samoan and German-Tongan unions were already into the second generation by the turn of the twentieth century. These families—German men with their local wives and part-European children—initially lived similar lives whether in Tonga or Samoa. Yet turn-of-the-century colonization in the latter case changed the situation radically for those on Upolu and Savaii. In Samoa, Governor Solf's 1912 and 1913 anti-miscegenation laws placed “half-caste” children in a questioned borderland (see Salesa, “Troublesome Half-Castes” 1-2), and created a distinct Us-versus-Them culture. Mixed-race descendants found that they had to justify their identity and “prove” whether they were European or Samoan—in some cases the boundaries used to distinguish between the two were changed (ibid. 153-162).¹

In Tonga, on the other hand, *hafekasi* individuals were not so formally criticized. Because Tonga did not belong to any colonial empire as a formal possession, they were not a racial society in the same way that Samoa was. Although German-Tongans could apply to the German consul for recognition as a German citizen, their formal national identification was far less important in Tonga than in Samoa, where their actual lifestyle was prescribed by it. The dissimilarities between the ideology and treatment of mixed-race German-Polynesian individuals in the two countries reflect in the lives, experiences, and self-descriptions of identity of modern German-Samoans still resident in Samoa and German-Tongans still resident in Tonga. It is impossible to properly assess the modern German-Tongan diaspora, and to fully understand its distinctiveness, without looking at this parallel case—a country which had a similar early history with Germany, but later experienced German influence in a dramatically different way.

¹ “Proof” actually consisted mainly of privilege and opportunity, rather than individual preference. Legitimate ‘*afakasi*’ who were raised in a “white” environment were more likely to act and therefore be accepted as European. On the other hand, those who may have had the same amount of actual European blood quantum may have been disqualified, if their personal traits were too similar to that of a full Samoan. As Evelyn Wareham reports, “to Solf the key determinant of legal belonging when assessing the ‘borderland’ between native and foreign continued to be socialisation, rather than physiology. In his system brown could be white – ‘whiteness’ was a matter of culture, not of colour.” (133)

German-Samoa

In many histories relating the events of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Samoa, historians refer to what is known as ‘the half-caste problem,’ or ‘*die Frage der Mischlinge*.’ After years of extensive German immigration and intermarriage with local women there, once Samoa became an official colony, difficulties arose over “what” the ‘*afakasi*, or mixed-race offspring of these unions, were—whether European (and thereby entitled to European privileges), or “*Eingeborene*”—“natives.”² As mentioned in Chapter One, although Germans widely considered Samoans to hold the “highest position in the Pacific” (amongst other Pacific Islanders) they were still at least one rung below Europeans on the ladder of superiority (Steinmetz 304). With the growth of the mixed-race population in Samoa and the German propensity for classification and order, colonial leaders found that the half-caste “problem” was among the most difficult of equations to solve.

Attempted solutions came in a series of three. The first was to define identity by legal parentage, and colonial leaders set forth delineations of who was to be considered “legitimate” and who was not. As George Steinmetz explains,

The citizenship status was clearly defined for indigenous women who [legally] married German men or for people born of legitimate mixed marriages. According to the Germany legal code of 1900, the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, a wife received the citizenship status of her husband, and the legitimate or legally recognized children had the same citizenship as their father. (335)

Thus, children born into a colonial legal³ marriage between a European man and a local or mixed-race woman were meant to be categorically eligible for German nationality. Many contemporary German-Samoan descendants trace their family’s identity to this “purity of

² This was a tremendous issue in colonial Samoa, as an individual’s racial status would determine what schools they were able to attend, the people they were likely to associate with, the opportunities they would have, and the passport they would carry. Yet, as Damon Salesa explains, in Samoa “the status of half-castes was often decided less by ‘blood’ or the physical marks of race, which could easily be disputed (and whose contestation publicly undermined the validity of race), but by social markers of race, which were observed and assessed by the court through veracious legal filters” (“Half-Castes between the Wars” 105). Thus, “a larger number of half-castes [than the number of those who were legally recognized as Europeans], generally those who were poorer, or who did not hold individual property, or who were not as well educated, or who could not find work other than traditional farming, were unrecognized and were regarded as Samoans” (ibid. 101).

³ Although German men and Samoan women had been living together in *fa’a Samoa* relationships as husband and wife for decades before the colonial administration, after 1900 colonial leaders subsequently determined that these unions were not legal according to their European system. Thus, children born into these marriages may have found themselves going from a ‘valid’ (stable) place of belonging to one of questioned racial status. See Salesa, “Troublesome Half-Castes” 59.

nationality” solution. This stipulation also accounts for the fact that many individuals of mixed-parentage were later still considered German for the purposes of internment.

Yet for those *’afakasi* whose parents were either not married or whose marriage was legally in question—a larger group than those easily classed as “legitimate”—a solution was harder to find. At first the colonial government determined to categorize these individuals on a case-by-case basis, largely founding their judgment in the person’s “Europeanness” (based on a court evaluation of their language abilities, personal conduct, education level, and social and economic standing) versus their “Samoanness” (generally poorer and without education who did not hold property or regular employment [Salesa, “Half-castes between the Wars” 100, 101]). This measure resulted in lists being published, amended, and republished, as to who had met the criteria as a legal European. It was a difficult and unreliable method. The subjectivity and fickleness of that system finally being clear, an official declaration (*Bekanntmachung*) was given by Solf in his new appointment as Secretary of the Colonies on 2 August 1912. Solf’s new law banned any further German-Samoan marriages and reinforced that mixed-race children could only be pronounced European if they were born into a legitimate marriage previous to the time of the pronouncement of the new law. Otherwise, a caveat stitched onto the end of the new law continued the provision that “*Solche Eingeborene, die fliessend deutsch sprechen und europäische Bildung nachweisen, können auf Antrag den Weissen gleichgestellt werden*” (Gouvernementssekretär).⁴ Thus, further marriages between Germans and Samoans were banned and delineators of identity were more clearly set.

From these three boundary-forming attempts, a distinct culture was born. The Government founded special schools for European half-caste children, separating them from their Samoan *’aiga* and friends (Keesing 415; Krone interview; Meredith interview). Additionally, the German passports that were given to those classed as Europeans benefited holders “in matters of trade, bureaucracy, ‘protection’ and status” (Salesa, “Half-castes...” 100). By 1934, when Felix Keesing published his *Modern Samoa*, on the islands of Upolu and Savaii (but mostly concentrated in Apia), “those [half-castes] holding ‘European’ status already number[ed] one to every seventeen Samoans, and outnumber[ed] the whites by nearly six to one” (455). The size and unique sociality of this group (in terms of their position advantages and part-Samoan heritage) meant that they owned a great deal of power. As Keesing explains from his observation and experience,

⁴ “Such natives as are fluent in German and can demonstrate their European education can, upon appeal, be considered on equal terms to the Whites [Europeans].”

This group of influential part-Samoans has a great and increasing power in the life of Apia, Pango Pango [sic], and of Samoa generally. Already a large proportion of the commercial life is in their hands, and as the mixed population now control a majority of European votes they hold a strategic political position. To an extent they have worked out a satisfactory social life within their own mixed-blood circle, in most instances being married to fellow mixed bloods. Their home life follows much the same pattern as does that of the whites, and their children are sent abroad for higher education than the islands can offer. In addition, they participate both in the general business, social, and political activities of the European community and less formally in the native kinship group to which their blood is traced. Even those whites most prejudiced against 'half-castes' have to recognize and respect their capacity and power." (460-61)

In most ways, therefore, as much as the position was also challenged, being of mixed German-Samoan heritage in Samoa was a privileged place to be.

Perhaps one of the only negative aspects for 'afakasi classified as European in Samoa was the internment that many individuals—full German as well as part—were subjected to during both the First and Second World Wars. During the First World War, these totalled more than sixty individuals (Love online); during the Second World War, those numbers were even higher. According to W. Wynne Mason in his New Zealand history *Prisoners of War*, although in 1939 it was not anticipated that there would be more than fifty Germans taken from the Islands into custody in New Zealand, by 1944 there had been more than eighty-seven (from both Samoa and Tonga) interned at Somes Island alone (16, 445). These figures included both full Germans during the First World War—as in the case of Rudolf Berking (Brunt, "To Walk..." 20-50 online)—and, especially during the later war, technical 'afakasi as well.

Internment was a difficult situation for those imprisoned and their families, but it ended better for those Germans of part-Samoan descent or who had family there than for those with less of a connection to the islands. Following the end of World War I, in 1920 New Zealand began a repatriation process for German citizens in Samoa. At that time, almost 200 German individuals—men, women, and children—were forcibly removed from the islands and sent back to Germany (ibid.170). Only those who could prove strong personal ties to the islands were allowed to return and remain under New Zealand occupation (see ibid. 73, 95, 96). Although they had had their assets stripped from them when they left for internment (and most property was never returned when they came back), many families report that, through their own hard work and sacrifice, they were able to start again in most instances (Ryan interview; Stunzner interview; Masoe Wetzell interview). In Apia today, there remains a distinct 'afakasi 'class,' consisting mostly of business owners, entrepreneurs, and politicians—a group of considerable

connection and influence, whose presence perfectly echoes Keesing's comments eighty years ago. While those who remain in the Islands also have strong ties to their Samoan sides and to Samoan society and culture more generally,⁵ what stands out is their still solid connection with their German heritage, and the subtle identity that accompanies it. The following individuals who shared their stories with me on a research trip to Apia in May, 2016, serve as effective examples. As will be seen in the comparisons with Tonga which follow, each owns a distinct identity which sets them apart both from their full Samoan contemporaries, and their Tonga-dwelling counterparts.

Modern German-Samoans

Keil

The German-Samoan Keil family stems from Hans Joachim Keil I, who was born in Magdeburg, Prussia in 1864. Hans immigrated with his German wife to Samoa in 1903, where he worked as a civil servant and plantation owner. After his wife's death in 1908, Hans married Daisy Ah Mu, the Chinese-Samoan daughter of Ah Mu—a business owner and immigrant from China—and his local wife in 1909. Together, they had nine children, several of whom migrated to either New Zealand or the United States after the Second World War.

Hans Joachim "Joe" Keil III⁶

With a history spanning multiple countries, careers, and interests, Joe is a man of many talents and accomplishments. Born in Samoa in 1944 as the second eldest of five sons to William and Violet Keil, Joe is his grandfather's namesake. William was one of the sons of Hans and Daisy, born and raised on Upolu, while Violet was born in American Samoa and was an American national. While growing up in Samoa, Joe attended primary school at Leifiifi with many other part-European children like himself. He reports that at that time, in Samoa, there were many Germans, and they all associated together regularly. Joe was eight years old when he first left Samoa, first for schooling in New Zealand from 1952-1959 (before returning to finish his last year of High School in Apia), then to Hawaii in 1961, where he enlisted in the United States Air Force. After basic training in Texas and technical training in Illinois, he was assigned to Beale Air Force Base in California to work as an aircraft electrician for B 52s and KC 135s.

⁵ Tupua and Masoe Wetzell, seen below, are examples—they have both received chiefly titles because of their commitments to their Samoan extended family and villages

⁶ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Joe Keil in Apia, Samoa 13 May 2016 in Apia, Samoa.

This work assisted him directly after his time in the military—he worked in aircraft maintenance while attending flight training school and living in Tulsa, Oklahoma for four years.

Although Joe enjoyed the United States at that time, he always intended to return to Samoa. This intention was fueled by a connection he felt to the islands, and a desire he had to help the country develop. As he explained:

I spent most of my young age overseas, up to after my twenties. And then when I left [Samoa again for the United States], after I finished High School, there was an assembly and they were saying farewell to some students who were leaving, and I was one of them ... and I gave a speech at that assembly. I told them it was my desire to come and settle in Samoa and help build up the country. Because at that time—we're talking about 1961—the colonies in Africa were having a lot of strife. And I knew Samoa would be having its independence in the next six months, and it was my desire to come back and help the country, which hopefully I did because I spent twenty-three years in Government as a service to Samoa.

Joe returned from the United States in 1970, married his wife Celine Hellesoe (also of Samoan-European descent) in 1971, and became a father to four children—three daughters and a son. From 1970 to 1983 he was employed as an airline pilot for Air Samoa and then Polynesian Airlines, all the while working to establish his business investments in Samoa. Although the Keil family is known for having shops and stores like “HJ Keil” all over Apia, Joe is not involved with that business, which he reports is owned by his uncle Hans and his family. Rather, he, along with his father William, a brother, and sisters, have to date owned, developed, or been involved with ventures from shoe and soap factories, cocoa and coconut plantations, a movie theatre, various property development projects, and a paint factory. With his father and the Schwenke family (also of German-Samoan descent), Joe and his family opened the McDonalds family restaurant in Samoa in 1996 (*Keil Reunion* family history, “Hans Joachim Keil III”). In 1988, Joe successfully ran for Parliament in Samoa. Speaking fluent Samoan largely as a result of an LDS mission in Samoa from 1967 to 1969 (his childhood overseas had not lent itself to a strong grasp on the language), his election was also specifically benefitted by his German-heritage: he ran to represent the “Individual Voters Roll, those of European descent who are not tied to the *matai* electoral system” (ibid). In this role, Joe was elected for five terms, serving as Minister of Transport, Trade and Tourism, as well as in several other capacities over the course of more than two decades of public service.

During that time, his German heritage benefitted him well. When one walks into his office in Samoa, one immediately notices the many German beer steins lining the top of one whole wall—these Joe collected on his many trips to Germany during the time he served the

Samoa government, and also as he travelled with his son or family to visit relatives still living there. Although it has been more than a century since the first Keil emigrated to Samoa, ties between the South Pacific and European families still exist, and are nurtured by the interest Joe takes in maintaining them.

Today, Joe and his wife split their time in Samoa with frequent visits to both the United States and New Zealand, where they own second and third homes. Ever an earnest student of history, Joe helped found and has been involved with the Samoan Historical Society (the “Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust”) since 1984. The trust is responsible for printing many books on or related to Samoa, including parts of the German and Chinese histories there. Having shut down or sold off his other businesses in favour of retirement, when he is in Apia Joe can now be found in his office at TV3, a television station he started with family members more than ten years ago. At the time of its founding, TV3 was the first non-government Television station in Samoa.

When asked about his identity, Joe admits the perceived challenges he might have in stating it, based on his history, yet he feels he identifies simply with being Samoan.

Because I’ve lived in Samoa now on and off, it’s been my home for the last forty-six years, so I just say I’m Samoan. Even though I am multi-national, I only use my other [American] identity when I’m out there [in the United States] and I have to say that I’m part of America. [I’m] not much German because I don’t *sprechen sehr gut Deutsch*. People say to me, “well your name is Hans Joachim Keil,” and I have to jokingly (I’m a non-alcohol drinker) say, “well sorry, I can understand *ein bisschen* but just enough to go into a bar and say ‘*geben mir ein Bier oder Zwei bitte.*’” I identify as a Samoan and especially being in Government for twenty-three years, and I live here and I will die and be buried here in Samoa when it’s my time.

Thus, although he is keenly aware and proud of his German heritage (and American citizenship, which he has had to fight to retain⁷), Joe’s residence and involvement in Samoa has the last say in his identity.

⁷ In our interview, Joe told the story of having a dispute with the United States government over his American citizenship about a decade ago. They had apparently queried the process by which he had gained citizenship through American Samoa as a young man more than forty years earlier. Although they initially meted out what Joe referred to as “harsh measures” (including revoking his passport), with a lawyer and the support of many in Samoa (Misa Retzlaff Telefoni, a fellow German-Samoan and the deputy Prime Minister of Samoa at the time, led a protest march in Joe’s behalf), the United States government returned Joe’s passport several months later with these words, according to Joe: “after review, we have come to the conclusion that you are a US citizen by birth [through his mother] and this is your passport back” (Keil interview).

Kruse⁸

According to his descendants in Samoa, Fritz Kruse Sr. was originally a master mariner on a German frigate, but he gave up his commission and the seafaring life in favour of Samoa when he met and fell in love with a local girl after his arrival in the 1870s. Thereafter, it is believed that he worked for the DHPG for several years before becoming a tide-waiter in Apia—a customs officer who would meet the boats coming into the harbour. Together with his wife, he had several children. He is said to have spoken fluent Samoan; he died in the late 1920s. Desmond Hermann Kruse is a great-grandson of Fritz Sr.

Desmond Hermann (Herman) Kruse

Most people in Samoa and American Samoa will recognize the Kruse family name—it is prominently displayed on businesses, a hotel, and shops in both Apia and Pago Pago. One of the most well-known of the clan, Herman has been one of the chief partners of the *Kruse, Enari, & Barlow* law firm since its inception more than twenty-five years ago. Previous to that time, he had been practising law by himself since the 1970s. The second eldest of the eleven children born to Fritz Kruse Jr and his American Samoan wife Peleiupu Mika, Herman was born in Pago Pago in 1949. Although his family mostly resided in Upolu, Herman reports that it was a high priority for his parents to have their children born as American nationals. He explains: “being a Western Samoan at the time, you were only a British protectorate person and getting around was pretty difficult.” With the desire that their children would eventually receive opportunities for overseas education and residence, Herman’s mother was diligent about “catching the boat” each time before she was about to give birth. All but one of his siblings were born in Pago Pago; thereafter, they generally each returned with their parents to live in Upolu.

That is, all but Herman. After living with his family for a short time in Sogi, Upolu, his maternal grandparents asked to adopt (raise) him. Subsequently, Herman grew up with them in Leone, Tutuila until around the age of eight. At that point, his father came to collect him and took him with his older brother Michael to school in New Zealand. Together Herman and Michael attended primary, intermediate, and high school in Auckland before enrolling together at Victoria University in Wellington to study law—their father’s dream for them.

⁸ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Herman Kruse in Apia, Samoa 19 May 2016.

Although Herman's father Fritz was apparently considered German when he was born and growing up,⁹ it does not appear that this identity was either very helpful or important for him during the mid-twentieth century. Consequently, there is little evidence that it was of significance to him at that time. Yet a deeper connection to his heritage became prominent after the wars finished and Samoa gained her independence. Originally a police officer, Fritz later joined the *'afakasi* business community by opening a business with his wife in American Samoa, and then in the 1980s, a hotel in Moto'otua on Upolu. It was in the Hotel pursuit especially that the family's German heritage came back to the forefront—Fritz named the hotel Insel Fehmarn, after the name of an island in Germany where his grandfather had grown up (see "The Name" online). For the Kruse children—including Herman—this was a solid declaration of pride in their European heritage.

The pride—and challenges—of Herman's mixed, multi-national heritage followed him into his work life. After graduating from Victoria with his brother in 1974 and being admitted to the bar in American Samoa, Herman first practised in Pago Pago from 1974 to 1976. He was living there when he married his wife in 1975, a Samoan whom he had met while at University. Yet, as it was always their father's intention that his sons' work would benefit his country (Western Samoa), Fritz convinced Herman to quickly move back to Upolu in 1976, where a semi-new independent Government intended to pass a law that would exclude all but Western Samoan citizens from practising law. Although Herman and his siblings were not citizens of Western Samoa, they had always lived between Upolu and Tutuila—the law would have prohibited them from practising their professions in a place that they still considered home. Herman and his family lobbied for a change in the proposed law and were finally granted it. The new law contained a caveat that stated that anyone who had a law firm and was practicing at the time of the passing of the act would be allowed to practice. Although Herman's citizenship is still that of an American National, he has permanent residency in Western Samoa, where he has lived ever since.

Whereas the German side of their heritage does not appear as strong an identity for the family members of Herman's generation who grew up in Samoa (and those still there now), in an interesting turn of events, it is something that did at least strongly affect their father again right

⁹ Herman relates that when his grandfather Johann (a son of Fritz Kruse Sr) was born in 1900, he was born directly into the German-Samoan *'afakasi* community in Apia—he grew up speaking German and was, insofar as political purposes went, considered German. This also transferred to his children—although Johann married a part-Tongan woman (from the English-Tongan Mann family), he was interned during the Second World War, and Herman reports that there was still some fear that his father—Johann's son—would be drafted to serve in the German military based on the German nationality he inherited from his father. Consequently, Fritz Jr travelled to American Samoa, where he spent the duration of the war. It was there that he met Herman's mother.

up to the twenty-first century. Herman tells the story of taking Fritz to Germany to try to find members of the Kruse family still left there. With Fritz' Western Samoan citizenship, however, they experienced visa problems which kept them stuck between countries on their travel. When Fritz finally made it into Germany, they decided to do something about his nationality. Based on his heritage, Fritz applied for and was granted German citizenship, making it much easier for him to travel overseas from Samoa thereafter. He also apparently met a few members of his extended family who were still alive, and travelled back twice more before his death. A family reunion in Samoa several years ago brought many Kruses from both Europe and the South Pacific together for the first time.

Matthes¹⁰

Julius Waldemar Alfred (Alfred) Matthes, the patriarch of the German-Samoan Matthes family, was born in Freienwalde, Germany and emigrated to Samoa in 1906. As an employee of the colonial government, he worked with cocoa and coffee—teaching others to grow it and opening up the industry in Samoa. He married young to a Samoan woman, with whom he had two sons—Alfred and Julius. After returning to Germany around the 1920s for what was expected to be just a short-term visit to his family, for unknown reasons he did not end up returning to Samoa until six years later. At that point, he found that his wife had remarried—she had thought he was not coming back. Consequently, other Matthes descendants might also stem from his younger three sons—the offspring of Alfred and his second wife Anna Bremner Pump (also German). Alfred was interned at Somes Island during the Second World War, where he died in 1940 with complications arising from pneumonia, blood clots in his sinuses, and diabetes (Registrar New Zealand).

Eric Matthes

Eric Matthes was born in Samoa in 1949, the son of Alfred's son Julius and his wife Emma Lynn Luafatasaga Matthes. Emma Lynn, also European-Samoan, was the daughter of a German woman (surname Cordtz) who married a Samoan man. Consequently, Eric has two German and two Samoan grandparents. Raised in Matautu, Eric did all of his schooling in Samoa, where he earned a New Zealand exam certificate before moving to Auckland in 1968. Originally intending to work in mechanics like his father, he actually ended up as a marine engineer, where he worked on and with ships in Auckland for more than thirty years. After his

¹⁰ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Eric Matthes in Apia, Samoa 16 May 2016.

retirement in 2000, he returned to Samoa with his wife, where he took a government contract as a marine surveyor. His move in this regard was motivated by a desire he had to come back to the land he had grown up on, and build up the estate his family had left. Today, he is fulfilling what he says will be the last of his three-year contracts, working as the maintenance manager at Petroleum Products Supply in Sogi.

Of the three children of his parents, Eric is the only one who does not speak German—his brother and sister both learned German from their father, who spoke the language fluently. Instead, when Eric and his brother and sister are together, they speak English, which is also the preferred language with Eric and his own family. He married in 1975 in Auckland to Jennifer Taylor, a New Zealander. Together, they had one daughter. Later, after their divorce in 1986, Eric married Teri Anna Godinet, a childhood friend of Samoan-French descent who was born in Samoa but raised in New Zealand. Altogether, Eric has three children—two daughters and a son—all resident in either New Zealand or Australia. During his work with the Union Steam Ship company in Auckland, Eric reports having the opportunity to travel to many places on the ships, including Europe, the Caribbean, and the United States. Yet he has never been to Germany and to him, the Pacific area will always be home.

The interest in the German side of their family is not lost however. Eric reports that one of his daughters learned to speak German as an adult, and even travelled to Germany to look for other descendants of the family. Although she was unsuccessful in finding any Matthes relatives in Europe, she was able to trace her mother's French side. Eric is also the keeper of the old documents and genealogy in his family and is listed as one of the contributors of Tony Brunt's book on Germans in Samoa (Brunt online 12). Today, although the Matthes have been back in Samoa for sixteen years, they still split their time frequently with New Zealand, and plan to move back to be near their grandchildren once Eric's most recent contract is finished. Although he still feels that Samoa is his first home, nowadays family connections overseas pull stronger.

Stünzner¹¹

According to Tony Brunt, Friedrich "Fritz" Wilhelm Oskar Heinrich Stünzner was "born in Germany in 1873 and studied Structural engineering. He arrived in Samoa in 1897 at the invitation of his uncle Kurt Hufnagel" (74). Once in Samoa Fritz started a construction company which was kept busy with contracts from the colonial Government. A few of the houses and

¹¹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Klaus Stunzner and Tertia Ryan in Apia, Samoa 13 May 2016.

buildings he constructed can still be seen in Apia today (see *ibid.* 75). In Samoa, Fritz married Mary Ellen Betham, a part-Samoan who had grown up there. Together they had several children. Due to the First World War and New Zealand's German repatriation act in Samoa, after internment on Somes and Motuihe Islands (where his wife and children were allowed to join him), Fritz and his family were repatriated to Germany in 1919 (*ibid.* 95). However, after the war, they were one of the few families who were given approval to return to Samoa, which they did in 1925 (*ibid.*). After several years of hard work rebuilding a new plantation but with war looming again, Fritz and Mary finally returned a last time to Germany in 1939, where they both lived until the end of their lives. Of their seven children, five married and remained in Germany, with just two sons staying behind in Samoa.¹²

Klaus Stunzner Sr

Klaus Stunzner Sr was born in Samoa in 1937, the son of Kurt Stünzner and his wife Lily Jamieson (Samoan-Scottish). He was just a few years old when his father was taken into custody as an internee at Somes Island. Due to the fact that their assets and land had been stripped away during the war, when Kurt was returned several years later, he and his family were required to start over. Together they moved to Lotofaga—the village of Klaus' grandmother—where Kurt found employment running a store and the family lived for six years. Eventually Kurt was able to return to the main town area near Apia where he worked in the public health sector at a hospital, and also as a veterinarian.

As a child growing up in the midst of the war, Klaus reports that his family initially spoke only German at home, but afterwards, when they moved out to the village and experienced “Samoan communal living” amongst their extended family, he learned to speak Samoan. Later, as a pupil in the European school in Apia and with mostly *'afakasi* friends, English became his preferred language. Today, when speaking with his siblings or family, they communicate in English. This may be due in part, as well, to the fact that Klaus is the only one of his siblings left in Samoa—the others have all emigrated to New Zealand or Australia. According to him, Klaus chose to stay because he liked the lifestyle of the Islands, and because of the business interest he later developed there.

¹² Kurt and Fritz Jr, respectively. Both were interned during World War II, yet after being released, only Kurt was allowed to return to Samoa. Fritz Jr was to be denied re-entry. Eventually his wife and family came from Samoa to join him, and they thereafter established their lives in Auckland, where Fritz died in 1987 (Brunt online 108).

Although the Stünzners had been a quite well-known and successful family in Samoa during the colonial period, they had to start from scratch after the war. Klaus' first job was as a policeman, from the age of seventeen. He also worked as a fireman and at Mobil oil while still a young man and after his marriage to Norma Lam, a Samoan-Chinese woman, in 1963. Together they had five children. With the children of his first son Dempsey (who has a different mother), Klaus is the grandfather of more than twenty grandchildren, and a great-grandfather to several more—most live in Samoa. He started his own business in Apia in 1973. Initially, he simply began importing small quantities of automotive spare parts from China. Gradually, over four decades, he and his family have built the business up into one of the leading importers and distributors of automotive parts in Samoa. With over twenty employees (which includes many of his children), the Stunzners' Samoa Spare Parts—importer and distributor of automotive parts, paints, tires, and accessories—is one of the largest and strongest of its kind in Apia. Today, Klaus and his family are strong members of the Apia Business and European-descent communities. Although strangers sometimes question his ethnicity due to his fair skin, slender frame, and light eyes, Klaus is known by friends simply as either Klaus or Kalausa—a Samoan, the identity he claims first.

Tertia Ryan

Born in 1969 as the third child of Klaus and his wife Norma Lam (Samoan-Chinese), Tertia Teresa Stunzner Ryan is the only one of her siblings without a German first name. Instead, her Latin-based name is an acknowledgement of her place in the family: “third-born.” She was born and raised in Apia, where she has lived her whole life apart from four years overseas in Australia, where she studied for a Business Bachelor's degree in Hospitality Management. Returning to Samoa after University, she worked for the Government for one year before moving to teach business, hospitality, and tourism classes at the former Samoa Polytechnic for thirteen years.¹³ In 2007, she finished teaching and “joined the family business.” She now helps out with purchasing products and performs various operational duties at Samoa Spare Parts.

Tertia married John Ryan in Samoa—he is also racially mixed, with Irish, Samoan, and German grandparents (surname Schwalger). Together they have three children. Although she speaks Samoan fluently, in Tertia's family as well, English is the most commonly spoken language. And like her father, based on her phenotype, she is also often asked “what” she is. Yet Tertia happily and quickly replies that she is Samoan. She is aware of all of the different aspects

¹³ Samoa Polytechnic merged with the Samoan National University in 2006, becoming the Institute of Technology.

of her heritage—and interested and connected to them (particularly the German)—but her life is in Samoa. She, therefore, is Samoan.

Wetzell¹⁴

Clemens Stephen Wetzell was born in 1871 in Rothenburg an der Oder (FamilySearch online), which formed part of Prussia until the end of the Second World War. He emigrated to Samoa in the late nineteenth century, where he married Gustava Nelson, the sister of the famed Swedish-Samoan Olaf Frederick Nelson—a central figure in the Samoan Mau movement. Together Clemens and Gustava were the parents of four children, all born in Samoa. Clemens was the owner of a 200-acre plantation during the German colonial period in Samoa and died in Apia in 1916.

Tupua Frederick (Fred) Wetzell

Tupua Fred Wetzell is a popular man. On his birthday every year it is not uncommon to find up to four hundred guests celebrating with him. His generosity and extensive service to his community are likely causes of his celebrity: since his business Apia Concrete Products Ltd was commissioned by the Prime Minister Mataafa on 22 June 1973, Fred and his family have built it from the ground up to a thriving company of eighty employees. What is more impressive is the wide-ranging philanthropic efforts Fred and his family engage in. Aside from personal and quiet generosity to their extended families and villages (for which both Fred and his son Norman have been recognized through the bestowal of Samoan chiefly titles), Fred is well known for his philanthropy. According to his estimates, for more than ten years he has donated an average of about \$50,000 Tala a year to various charities and causes he supports.¹⁵ But these things have not come without a struggle. Frederick Wetzell was born in Apia in 1933 as the second eldest of nine children to Robert Carl Wetzell and his Tongan-English wife Ada Mary Mann. Robert was the eldest son of Clemens and Gustava, born in Motootua in 1898. As a child, Fred grew up as part of the European community in Samoa, including speaking English at home with his family. He was just a young boy when his father and his uncle, Albert, were taken into custody by the

¹⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from personal interviews with Fred and Norman Wetzell on 13 May 2016 in Apia, Samoa.

¹⁵ Fred's extensive charity is well known in his community and well documented in the news articles about some of the various causes he supports. See Keresoma; Maiava; Huckert; Voices for Vanuatu; and "Third Samoa High Commission...".

New Zealand administration and interned on Somes Island. During the more than five years that they were away, Fred and his family lived on the plantation they had established in Siusega.

Fred first left Samoa for New Zealand in 1946 at the age of sixteen, to attend school in Auckland. After secondary school he became a motor mechanic working in the central city. Yet, although he was in a European and English-speaking environment, Fred was always homesick for the islands. He went back to Samoa in 1954, marrying his wife Frances Freda Cynthia Godinet—of Samoan-French descent—in 1955. Later, now with two children, the Wetzells returned to Auckland. This time, Fred started his own business—a service station at which he would employ many Samoans. Yet after three more children and another decade, Fred determined to move back home permanently. “I couldn’t live over there. When I decided to make the break that was it. Like MacArthur, I returned.” He started his concrete business in Apia with just \$5000 Tala. Today, it is one of the oldest and biggest concrete suppliers in Samoa. Fred, who speaks fluent Samoan, is a pillar of the business community in Apia. He served for several decades as the Japan honorary consul general in Samoa—this responsibility was given to him based on his long-time associations and friendships with many prominent Japanese businessmen through his concrete importing business. Consequently, as part of both his business and consular duties, Fred has travelled to Japan many times. At one point during his career, he reports that he even took time off to go to Germany to look for family members. Although he unfortunately did not find any Wetzells, he tells of another discovery he made that served to promote his German identity. While crossing a park in Wiesbaden he saw a statue and decided to inspect it more closely. He discovered that he recognized the man depicted: “I went there and I said, ‘Holy Catfish! You’re the guy I’m named after!’ Frederick [Friedrich] Wilhelm ‘The Great.’” For Fred, it was a moment when his German ancestry was honoured in full strength.

Masoe Norman Wetzell

Norman Wetzell is officially the Vice President of Apia Concrete Products. The youngest of his parents’ five children, he was born in Auckland during the time that his father owned his service station there. When the family came back to Samoa in 1972, Norman was just seven years old. He attended primary, intermediate, and high school in Samoa. Although the students were not allowed to speak Samoan at school, Norman himself had a strong, inborn personal interest in the language and culture. He took Samoan classes, learning even more when he went to work after high school. Today, although most of his communication in his family and company is in English, Norman is also close to his Samoan side and enjoys speaking the

language with employees and community members. He joined the company after finishing high school and has worked there ever since.

Like his father, Norman enjoys philanthropy and working in the community. “My interest for family [history] led me to my Samoan family ... There is a Samoan saying, ‘*Ole ala ile pule ole tautua*’—‘Service is your way to leadership.’ So without seeing or thinking [that anyone was watching or noticing], I’d go to my father’s extended family and help out ... Getting in touch with my mum’s Samoan side as well ...” Eventually, Norman was recognized with the bestowal of a chiefly title “Masoe”—a title that for him, “is an honour, not knowing that my service to the extended family was being noticed by the big chief of the village.” With his title come responsibilities which tie him even closer to the villages and lands of his family. As he says, “We consider ourselves Samoans, but we are mixed—many bloods, many cultures.”

Germans in Tonga

Whereas Germans in Samoa from the turn of the twentieth century had to answer to a German Colonial Government, Germans in Tonga remained free from any direct administrative influence by their home country. It was not until the turn of the twentieth century, as a result of the tripartite agreement between Germany, Great Britain, and the United States over Samoa, that Tonga became a British protectorate.¹⁶ Thereafter there was a significant increase in the European population in Tongatapu as a result of British Christian missionaries, schoolteachers, and Governmental administrative staff (e.g. the British Consul to Tonga, a foreign affairs advisor, etc.) who worked there. Generally speaking, these individuals only took short-term posts in Tonga and did not develop strong personal interests in the islands.¹⁷ The German population, on the other hand, was entirely focused on business and trade and was spread throughout the whole island chain (yet the population was densest in Vava’u, where the Copra trade was largest). These men learned the Tongan language, married local (or mixed-race, in a few cases) women, and were fully integrated into their communities.

¹⁶ This was one of the stipulations of the tripartite agreement—that Great Britain would step out of Samoa, but that Germany would transfer all of her Tongan assets, including former plans for a naval coaling station, to Her Majesty the Queen (see Ryden 571-572).

¹⁷ William and Joshua Cocker are two of the exceptions. Sons of Joshua and Elizabeth Cocker—the first British consul to Tonga and his wife—William and Joshua were both raised in Tonga after their parents immigrated there, and both married full Tongan women (although for his part, William [“Willie”] is remembered by some who knew him as being “taciturn and suspicious of everyone, [...] dislik[ing] both Europeans and Tongans” [Schober personal history 38]). While they are both buried in Tonga and some of their mixed-race descendants can still be found there, many more live amongst the Tongan diaspora in New Zealand and the United States (see “The Cockers of Tonga” family history).

Commentators on the differences between the British and German influence in the islands—as seen below—are candid regarding their feelings of the distinct legacies left by each group. Whereas the British influenced Tongan legal, educational, and religious systems in a way that is still apparent today, Germans are credited with leaving their strongest footprint in the economy and commerce of the islands. Alleged characteristics of personal industry, independence, and flexibility and adaptation in new environments are reported as having set the Germans in Tonga apart, both from local Tongans and apparently, according to several oral reports (as seen below), from other Europeans there as well. Again, due to the lack of a colonial administration, Tongan *hafekasi*, as opposed to the “*Mischlinge*” of Samoa, were not forced into such stringent categories as their mixed-race counterparts in other countries. These factors make the Tongan case unique in the counter-history of European colonialism in the Pacific and, as will be seen in the stories of the descendants that follow, continue their influence in the identities of descendants still resident in the Islands today.

Unlike the treaty in Samoa and the subsequent relationship scuffles that followed, the Treaty of Friendship between Germany and Tonga in 1876 was an undramatic affair. Congenial relations between Germans and the Tongans they associated with, including many nobles (whose daughters they had sometimes married [see Düring, “Early Photography...” 88]) and even the King (Bade *Germans in Tonga* 13-14), ensured a generally peaceful existence for Germans in the Tongan group. Businesses grew, additional relatives, friends, and (in a very few cases) spouses¹⁸ were brought from Germany, marriages occurred, and families expanded. For the most part, due to the lack of a school or consistent, strong contact with Germany, preservation of the German identity in Tonga came only through interaction with other German businessmen and traders. This interaction, while not wholly infrequent for some—particularly those living in Vava’u—was not generally of the nature or consistency to preserve, let alone enhance, an individuals’ *Deutschtum*. Rather, acculturation was the answer: German men in the Vava’u, Ha’apai, and Niua groups resided in the villages, learned to speak Tongan, and by all accounts became essentially fully integrated. (Some of them were called “*Insel-Leute*,” an acknowledgement of their deeply formed attachment to their adopted homes [see Wendt]). Their connection to Tonga

¹⁸ August Sanft, Ludwig Schober, and George Albert August Riechelmann are the only men I am aware of to have ‘imported’ wives from Germany, and August Hettig is the only one I know who brought his wife with him (as mentioned in “Hettig” in Chapter Three of this thesis). Apart from these men, all known German emigrants to Tonga were unmarried at the time they arrived. Thereafter, they married in the country, either to Tongans, part-Europeans, or, in the rare case, to another full-European, as in the case of Georg Ernest Zuckschwerdt who married Maria, a full-German governess brought to Tonga by the Brähnes (see Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 141-142 and Schober personal history 37), and Hans Brähne, whose wife was Australian (mentioned in “Brähne” in Chapter Two of this thesis).

was, of course, magnified through their marriages to Tongan women, and the *hafekasi* children they fathered.

Only the Germans living on Tongatapu—where the larger foreign-born population of the country was located—had a greater opportunity to preserve a European identity. In 1907, the number of “white residents” (Europeans) in the country was reported to be about 350 (*The Cyclopedia of Tonga* 1).¹⁹ Although the exact count for each island is unknown, owing to Nuku’alofa being the seat of the monarchy and headquarters of the British LMS, there were far more Europeans there than elsewhere—mostly English. Emma Schober’s personal history is especially reflective of this reality. After she and her husband Ludwig moved from Vava’u to Nuku’alofa, she comments often on the local European population there—not only was it far larger in Tongatapu than in Vava’u, but it was largely British as well (19-20, 38, 40, 45-46, 49).

Unlike the colonial-influenced racial society of Samoa, where there was a need to classify and categorize each individual in the country, even under a British-influenced government, Tonga did not have the same racializing problems. Tongans themselves, like Samoans, were not bothered by racial boundaries (see Wareham 125), and, as the intermarriage and integration of their parents showed, their families were generally not all that exclusive either. Although German-Tongan descendants born into a Tongan-European world still had difficulties as to how they would be identified by others or identify themselves, due to the lack of a colonial administration and racial society, there was not as much pressure in Tonga as in Samoa to *be* exclusively one or the other. The daily realities and experiences of Tongan *hafekasi* are difficult to fully verify, however; while there is an extensive database of literature and commentary that exists on the Samoan *afakasi* community, very little has been written about the same in Tonga—political and oral histories are the surviving link to these past times. On a legal level, at any point when a European power was involved (generally either the German Consul or the Tonga High Commission, to issue a passport, for instance, or in the survey of “Enemy Aliens”), the same general European practice of the wife and children carrying the nationality of the husband and father which was practised in other areas, prevailed in Tonga as well. As in Samoa, this accounts for the fact that some of those classed as Germans and therefore, “Enemy Aliens,” in Tonga during the First and Second World Wars were actually technical *hafekasi* (see Liava’a archive “Enemy Aliens...”).

¹⁹ This number is not thought to include individuals of part-European descent, but it is also assumed to be an inaccurate reflection of the number of Europeans who had lived in Tonga from the 1860s onward, as many had either died or moved away beforehand (the Davids, for instance—see David personal history 29).

With regard to those of German-Tongan mixed-race who were classified as Germans, according to some, race actually had nothing to do with it. Reinhard Wendt is one who believes that, actually, the political label was the paramount consideration. According to him:

Allerdings hing es nicht von Merkmalen ab, die üblicherweise mit nationalen Identitäten in Verbindung gebracht werden. Sprache spielte keine Rolle und auch Religion nicht. Selbst die Hautfarbe – und damit die Rasse – stand keineswegs immer im Vordergrund, hatte nicht selten sogar keinerlei Bedeutung. Für die deutsche ebenso wie für die britische Seite beinhaltete Deutschsein im Wesentlichen politische Merkmale und manifestierte sich besonders in Loyalität zum Reich.²⁰ (“Deutschsein in der Südsee”).

It is thus Professor Wendt’s opinion, based on his research and experience, that German emigrants in Tonga defied broad classification as national Germans, because Germanness was a measure of loyalty to the state. While Wendt states that some of the Wolfgramms, at least, tried to use German nationality to their advantage during their New Zealand internment (the Second World War) by applying to the German government for assistance (*ibid.*), there is, unfortunately, not enough first-hand information about these persons individually to ascertain their actual political allegiances and “sympathies.” What does seem to come across is that for them, cultural Germanness (for example food, language, and cultural values) was stronger than loyalty to a particular Government. This inference is drawn from the lack of opposition these men had to English administration in the Islands, as well as the fact that most did not send their children back to Germany (or pass on aspects of their national identity to them); nor did they return home permanently themselves.

For those few German fathers (generally of the first generation of German emigrants to Tonga) who were desirous that their mixed-race children maintain German legal status, application to the German Consul was possible.²¹ This particular is understood to have aided the international travel of those *hafekasi* who did travel abroad (particularly to Europe—for example the Wolfgramm children mentioned in Chapter Two), but was not necessarily a widespread practice. While German legal status may have been a benefit to mixed-race German-Tongans abroad, at home in the Islands—with the independence from their home Government of Germans there in Tonga—it may have been less of a material concern, even given the advantages it would

²⁰ “All things considered, [being German in the Pacific] did not depend so much on characteristics associated with national identity. Language was not a factor, and neither was religion. Skin colour and race were also inconsequential and often of no import at all. For the Germans as well as the British, the main measure of ‘Germanness’ was manifested in one’s political sympathies, particularly, in this case, by loyalty to the *Reich*” (translation mine).

²¹ Waldemar von Treskow served as Imperial German Consul in Tonga after moving to Vava’u with his family from Samoa in 1877, then to Tongatapu (see Kelly 10). Previous to von Treskow, “Count Grunow” was the German consul responsible for Tonga (Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 35).

have afforded (accessibility to a foreign Government, for instance). All of these factors contribute to a person's identity, yet national and social adhesion are not always the strongest factors in how they are treated or identified by themselves and others. For German-Tongan descendants in Tonga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and even today, a person's or family's status was determined largely on personal characteristics of work ethic (illustrated through financial success) and phenotype.

In many records (and particularly in oral histories), a theme of Germans in Tonga being hardworking, industrious people—allegedly even more so than other Europeans—is visible. In an interview about the modern effect of historical German emigration to Tonga, Lord Albert Vaea, currently the Nobles' Representative for Tongatapu and former Minister for Internal Affairs, continuously stressed the “special” characteristics of the Germans that set them apart as foreigners in Tonga:

The Germans were more inclined [than the British] to work, they traded better, they were very selective in the people coming across to the Pacific. Very hardworking people, people who could remain in isolation in remote areas for long periods. As a farmer, running a plantation. That's hard work. Picking [the copra], splitting it, husking it, drying it, and then securing it, packing it, transporting. It's a very difficult process. But part of the German industry is that they are very disciplined in their time use and their work management and they keep going, they do not falter.

While the Germans who worked for the DHPG were likely supported in this “hard work” by Tongan and other laborers they sometimes employed²² (see Figure III in Cook 9), for those running personal copra enterprises or doing other work, narratives by their descendants—as seen below—support this idealization of their forebears as particularly hardworking, stalwart pioneer individuals. This commentary is generally juxtaposed against what is perceived to be a more laid-back or “lazy” Island (Tongan) attitude. In general, this industry of the Germans was compensated by financial rewards, causing them to be among the economic and business elite of the day.

In addition to their work ethic, Germans in Tonga were also considered unique in the fact that they were able to succeed in what would have been very remote conditions. Lord Vaea postulates further:

²² While the importation of laborers was a practice widespread in Samoa at the time (see Moses, “The Coolie Labour Question...” 102), it was far less usual in Tonga, where workers were primarily German or Tongan. 'Ema Ngata is one of the only ones I know who has reported on anything similar in Tonga—according to her, her father Alipate (part-German) imported workers from the Solomon Islands (see her story under “Hoeft” below).

You just can't say that anybody from Stuttgart or Berlin [could] come [live and work in the Pacific], because they can't [all] adapt. So you'd probably be looking at people who are used to farming. People who are perhaps not well versed in the administration in Berlin or Bonn or wherever. You'll be looking at farming areas, you'll be looking at areas that are very distant from industrial areas. People who would be able to work by themselves. So your selection of migrants would come out of that. So to say that the [German] people who came to the Pacific were just randomly selected, I don't think so. These people were actually [well] selected, very strong people who could come live in isolation for long periods, endure the tropical heat, learn the language and live in peace with the local people. So you have that very very strong perception within a lot of them that came over. "This is what I'm going to do, this is how I'm going to survive—maybe I won't go back."

Lord Vaea's statement about the origins of the German emigrants to Tonga is indeed indicative of reality: while a few may have actually come from more highly populated areas of Germany, the vast majority were from smaller, agrarian communities like Prussia's Pyritz (as in the case of the Sanfts, Wolfgramms, and Guttenbeils) or Bernstein (as in the case of Arthur Schulke). While they may not have all been selected in the way he implies (i.e. by an external stakeholder—although some were), they may have undergone a more Darwinian-esque process of selection or self-selection merely by virtue of the environments they grew up in.

This perception that Germans living in Tonga were somehow special or distinct from others is not new to modern speculation though. Otto Riedel, a German man who travelled through the Pacific in the late nineteenth century and later published his personal history and experiences there, made the following remark after visiting the German firms, traders, and shops throughout Tonga and meeting their proprietors:

Unser Agent Pfannkuch auf Vavau arbeitete mit Angestellten und selbständigen Händlern, von denen die Mehrzahl deutsche Seeleute gewesen waren. Unter ihnen gab es sehr ordentliche Leute, die auch etwas hinter sich gebracht haben. Andere freilich ergaben sich dem Alkohol an sieben Tagen der Woche, was bekanntlich weder gesundheitlich noch geschäftlich vorteilhaft ist.

Es war für mich äußerst instruktiv, die doch sehr eigenartige Geschäftsführung eines solchen Ladens aus eigener Anschauung kennenzulernen. Nur ein sehr beweglicher Mann, der guten Kontakt mit den Eingeborenen hielt, konnte hier etwas erreichen. Er mußte auch den Mut haben, etwas zu wagen.²³ (90)

²³ "Our agent Pfannkuch on Vava'u worked with both staff and independent distributors, the majority of which are former German sailors. Among them are many decent men, who have achieved something here. Yet others partook of alcohol freely seven days a week—this behaviour is known to be neither healthy nor advantageous to business.

It was immediately instructive to me, to observe the very strange manner in which such stores were managed. Only a very flexible, versatile man, who could maintain good relations with natives, could achieve anything here. He must also have the courage to take risks" (translation mine).

Riedel's observation is perhaps a much more balanced and fair estimate of the personalities of those German emigrants to Tonga: while some may indeed have been the noble pioneer sort characterized by their descendants and Vaea, it is also likely that at least a few also struggled with and in their new Island homes. Paula David is one German woman who found she did not fit well in Tonga (nothing is said about her husband's attitude). She expressed frustration with the isolation and lack of Europeanness of the Kingdom when she said in her diary, "*Unser Platz hier [in Vava'u] ist Gott sei Dank endlich verkauft an einen Herrn in Tongatabu, und ich kann den Staub hier von den Füßen schütteln. Wir gehen nach Apia, wo bedeutend mehr Weiße als hier sind*"²⁴ (30). In this regard, with its larger European community, Samoa seems to have been a better middle-ground of Pacific life for some, with more of the comforts of home than Tonga.

Aside from their reported work ethic, there seemed also to be a general consensus in the Islands of the superiority of European (German) lifestyles and materials over Tongan. As in other areas of the world, whiteness was prized in Tonga where, for Europeans, it signified "civilization" (Wheeler 271), and apparently for Tongans, rank (social position) and wealth.²⁵ As many research participants in this project report, Tongan families were quite happy to have a *pālangi* married in; it lifted the status of the whole family. Although Mrs Emma Schober writes that German-Tongan children "have to be objects of pity, because they are accepted nowhere" (15), there does not seem to be much evidence to support an actual strong anti-mixed-race bias on either the Tongan or European side. Rather, according to reports by descendants, on a day-to-day basis, German-Tongan *hafekasi* appear to have been held in higher esteem by local individuals than perhaps full Tongan children would have been. And aside from Mrs Schober, Europeans, for their part, seemed slow to offer an opinion. Instead, mixed-race German-Tongans were judged socially by their conduct and lifestyle (many were taught by their fathers to eat at a table with forks and knives [Fred and Emily Wolfgramm interview; Muller interview]), privilege (access to their father's businesses), and physical characteristics. Whereas *hafekasi* intermarriage occurred in Tonga as it did in Samoa (and full German men did tend to favour *hafekasi* women

²⁴ "Our place here, thank God, has finally been sold to a gentleman in Tongatapu, and I can shake the dust off my feet here. We are going to Apia, where there are significantly more white people than here" (David 29).

²⁵ The fact that many German men married the daughters of high ranking nobles was one thing which resulted in higher status for their children, however several of my research participants also spoke of the Tongan sides of their families as wanting, being very happy with, or being proud of intermarriages with Germans, simply for the marriages' sake. This was mentioned as something that somehow lifted the status of the whole family, presumably simply because *pālangis* tended to be better off with more connections (of a higher rank/status/class) than the average Tongan. Marriage to a European, in this regard, was considered an act that would increase one's social position (Muller interview, Emil Wolfgramm interview, Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea interview; Schober personal history 15).

when available²⁶), it was on a smaller scale than in Apia, where there was a much larger population to choose from. The stories of modern German-Tongan descendants still living in the islands reflect all of these realities.

Modern German-Tongans

Guttenbeil

As introduced in Chapter Two, the Guttenbeil families of Tonga are descendants of two progenitors, both sons of Hermann Gustav and Lucy Bartley Guttenbeil. A descendant from each is presented here. Richard is the grandson of Hermann Edward Guttenbeil (born 1886) and his wife Martha Ana Wolfgramm (the illegitimate German-Tongan daughter of Franz Otto Wolfgramm and Ane Latu Lima [Muller family history 45]), while Yvette is the granddaughter of Charles Berthold (born 1884) and his Tongan wife Toa. Both Charles and Hermann were sent to New Zealand for schooling as young men, attending primary school in Auckland for at least three years (*ibid.*). After returning to Vava'u, both married, and Charles worked as a teacher, trader, and coachbuilder while Hermann became a baker and trader (Guttenbeil-Paea interview; Muller family history 45). Hermann was interned on Somes Island during the war, and died in New Zealand in 1943 (*ibid.* 68). Charles, who passed away in 1926, was never interned.

*Richard Guttenbeil*²⁷

Born in Vava'u in 1942 as the third of ten children to Hermann Richard “Jim” and Akosita Sanft Guttenbeil, Richard Guttenbeil entered life at “a tough time for the world.” His grandfather Hermann Edward was interned as an “Enemy Alien” on Somes Island, and the German community living in Tonga during the war, according to what Richard was told, had a hard time of it. “My father was not taken [to Wellington]. He was lucky to stay home. I think because we were kids at that time—young kids.” Jim, Richard’s father, was an enterprising businessman. Starting out with just a bakery and small shop in Kolonga, where his children were raised, Jim eventually built up his entrepreneurial portfolio to include being the proprietor of a loan business, a wholesale shop (distributing goods to local merchants), and the owner of several

²⁶ Due to the density of the Tongan population as compared to the German, it was not often common for German men to have many marriageable options as far as *hafekasi* or European women were concerned.

²⁷ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Richard Guttenbeil in Neiafu, Vava'u, Tonga 28 June 2016.

property investments in downtown Neiafu. It is largely thanks to his father that Richard has the business expertise he now does. As he grew, he benefited from watching his father's example, and eventually, straight after finishing high school in Tongatapu, he went right back to Vava'u to begin work with his father.

Although Jim had started the wholesale business, Richard helped with its expansion and by increasing its profitability. Working first mainly as an accountant, he helped to grow the business by placing overseas orders on a larger scale. Eventually, the Guttenbeil wholesale company was the top business in Vava'u by imports. This was due largely to Richard's hard work and ingenuity as a young man. Richard is also quick to acknowledge the debt he owes to his late first wife (a full Tongan from Vava'u), whom he married in 1966. With his wife, Richard is the father of four sons. Today, he still resides in Vava'u, where he is the owner of a busy petrol station close to Neiafu, and the proprietor of his father's downtown real estate. Of the ten children of Jim and Akosita, just Richard and his younger brother Jack have remained in Vava'u—the rest emigrated to New Zealand.

When asked what made him stay, Richard admits that he “really likes New Zealand” and even bought a home for himself in Manurewa, Auckland, but loyalty to his father and the businesses kept him from following his siblings overseas. “It's an investment for the family—[my father's] whole life went to these things. So I have a feeling to try to keep the thing going.” In the past two decades his ties to Tonga have been made stronger by the number of loved ones he has buried in Matafolau cemetery—a traditionally European cemetery overlooking the Port of Refuge. His mother, father, grandparents, and even his first and second wives (both of whom died of ill-health) are buried close to each other there. As one of the last remaining Guttenbeils in Vava'u (his brother Jack is also a business owner—his store can be seen prominently on the main road going to Neiafu), Richard is also an effective patriarch for his family—he stays on the land and holds the stories that link the older generation of his grandfather with the younger of his own grandchildren.

When it comes to his physical appearance, Richard is easily profiled as part-European based on his fair skin, light eyes, and frame. The legacy of entrepreneurship is also an indicator of his privileged status: he is the recipient of a commercial legacy of three generations of Guttenbeil business owners in Tonga before him, something that other Tongans are not beneficiaries of. Yet the fact that his father was not considered “German enough” to intern—despite having two German grandparents (both his paternal and maternal grandfathers were from Germany)—perhaps points to the strength of the Tongan connection in their family as well.

Richard's father Jim spoke both English and Tongan fluently, as does Richard himself. Neither learned German. Living in Vava'u, Richard would likely claim a Tongan identity, yet he benefits much from his European side. For him, there has reportedly been little connection to Germany throughout his life—just the names passed on to him and his family members.

*Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea*²⁸

The long-awaited eldest child of Michael (Miki) Guttenbeil and his full Tongan wife, Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea is Richard's first cousin. She grew up in Vaini helping her father in his bakery by counting the bread loaves as they would go out for delivery. Miki had learned the bakery trade from his uncle Hermann, who had taken him and his siblings in after their father's death. Coming thus from a large family without enough resources to spread around to everyone, Miki moved to Tongatapu in the 1940s, hoping to start his own business. He met and married his wife (a full Tongan from Vaini) there. A few years later, with the gift of some land by a Catholic priest, he was able to establish a bakery and raise his family. Eventually, Yvette was followed in the family by three brothers—Gustav, Joshua, and Ingold. Born in 1953, Yvette was sixteen years old when she was sent to New Zealand to live with a sister of her father and finish high school at St Mary's College in Ponsonby, Auckland.

Adjusting to New Zealand was not easy for Yvette. The school, the bus, the weather, the differences in uniform (pantyhose, different shoes depending on the time of year, hats, and a tie), and the language were all challenging aspects of her initial adjustment, yet when the time came for her to return to Tonga at the age of eighteen, she would rather have stayed in New Zealand. Her parents, however (especially her mother) were concerned about the moral environment she may have found herself in and told her to come home. Yvette returned to Tonga, where she married her first husband, Frederick Hettig, when she was just twenty-one. According to Yvette, her mother was especially supportive of the marriage, given that Fred was also from a German family.

Throughout their marriage, Fred, Yvette, and their two sons lived on the *Kapeta* property,²⁹ where Yvette was a guardian and fierce defender of the Hettig buildings and August's photographic legacies.³⁰ After she and Fred separated in 1982, many of the old buildings and pieces of the property began to be sold off. Although Yvette had been overseas for

²⁸ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, Tonga 1 July 2016.

²⁹ See "Frederick Hettig" and footnote 21 in Chapter Three of this thesis.

³⁰ Although she is not mentioned in the book, appreciative readers of Kurt Düring's *Pathways to the Tongan Present* largely have Yvette to thank for access to the Hettig photographs which appear there.

many years, she returned to Tonga and was able to purchase the Hettig home from Fred in 1998, where she still lives to this day. Today, the old home is much the same as it used to be, although it has been remodelled and updated to provide extra space and bedrooms. With just herself and her second husband Salesi (who is from Vava'u) living there, in 2013 the pair decided to turn the home into a hostel, after the style of property they own and rent out in Neiafu. Today, Yvette and Salesi's backpacker-style accommodation both on the *kapeta* property in Tongatapu (Backpackers' Townhouse) and in central, downtown Neiafu (Port of Refuge Villas) are among the highest rated accommodation rentals in the whole of Tonga. Although she is technically retired (Yvette worked for ANZ bank for seventeen years, including as a branch manager in Dili, East Timor), she stays busy looking after the rental properties and serving her guests, who visit from many countries of the world.

There was a great deal of pride for Yvette and her family in being German-Tongan. Yvette describes how she felt growing up and said, "I was very proud of my *pālangi* blood. They called us like half-castes. Not half-caste in a bad way, but they said, oh, 'oku ke hafekasi?', so it seems like we got away with a lot of stuff that a normal Tongan girl won't, because of our *pālangi* side." In addition to the "privilege" that went with being part-*pālangi* and "getting away with stuff," there was apparently another status as well that went with being a part-German Guttenbeil:

Because my father worked so hard, and when I grew up, by the time I was older my father had established his business. So they look up to that because they see that's the German blood, that's why we're successful. Because the Tongan—my mother's family—is totally different. They're totally relaxed. And my brothers take after my mother's side, that's what they think.

The "they" that Yvette is referring to seems to be other Tongan people, and a clear division is seen in the way she talks about full Tongans and her family and others who were part-German. The idea that Germans work harder, or that *pālangis* are more successful is inherent in the judgments Yvette and her family were exposed to as German-Tongan descendants. Yvette's present command of both the English and Tongan languages likely adds to her ability to see both sides of the situation. Either way, she is obviously comfortable and proud to be both Tongan and European.

Hoef

The Hoef family of Tonga has a very interesting multi-national heritage, which only settled more permanently in Tonga with the generation examined here. As documented in

Germans in Tonga, Carl August “Siale” Hoeft was born in Ueckermünde, Western Pomerania, in 1862 (55). According to his grandchildren ‘Ema and ‘Okusi, Siale then went to Samoa, where he met and married his wife Siniua Peau, a full Samoan. From Samoa, the Hoefts moved to Ha’apai, Tonga, where Siale operated a bakery and shop. He also apparently still continued to travel frequently back and forth to Samoa, as his son Alipate did after him (‘Okusi Hoeft interview). Hoeft descendants can still be found in many areas of Tonga (most notably in Ha’apai), although most are now overseas, in New Zealand and the United States. ‘Ema and ‘Okusi, featured below, are both children of Albert Emil “Alipate” Hoeft—the eldest son of Siale and Sinuia Hoeft—and his full Tongan wife Siaosi Sivoki Ama, from Vava’u.

*‘Ema Luisa Hoeft Ngata*³¹

‘Ema Luisa Hoeft is the ninth child of her parents’ ten. Born in Pangai in 1943, ‘Ema grew up mostly in Fotua village on Foa island, Ha’apai, where her family moved after the death of her grandfather in 1944. Her father was the first to have a bakery in Fotua, and he also worked in the copra business. As a child, ‘Ema remembers watching Alipate work with employees he had brought in from the Solomon islands, presumably to gather gold and also coal from the island. These types of resources on the island were not well-known, but ‘Ema remembers her father having a wooden box with a large piece of gold in it—the family called it the museum. It was apparently stolen (or disappeared) after his death.

Of all of the children born to Siale and Siaosi, Alipate was the only one to remain in Tonga. As ‘Ema grew, she also watched her siblings disappear overseas—three of the ten children emigrated to New Zealand, and almost all others spent at least a few years overseas either there or in the United States. ‘Ema is the exception. She married a full Tongan man and remained close to the family property in Fotua. The German genes appear quite strong in ‘Ema’s children however, who were all born and raised in Ha’apai and are very fair and European-looking. As opposed to her father (who spoke Samoan, German, and Tongan) and many of her siblings (who speak English as well as Tongan), ‘Ema speaks only Tongan. She is one of only three remaining Hoeft siblings still alive. Her elder brother Robert (Lopeti) lives near her in Fotua, with her next brother, ‘Okusi, in Neiafu.

³¹ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with ‘Ema Ngata in Fotua, Ha’apai, Tonga 20 June 2016.

The youngest of his parents' children, 'Okusi seems to have had a much different experience growing up from his older siblings. According to him, their father travelled a lot, mostly back and forth to Samoa. Although it was not mentioned by 'Ema, 'Okusi reports that the family actually spent a great deal of time in Vava'u—his six eldest siblings were born there before the family moved back to Pangai to stay with their grandfather Siale, who was getting older. Although none of the Hoefts were ever interned during the wars, 'Okusi mentioned that his father was supposed to have been—he was listed as an Enemy Alien by the British Consul in 1916 (Liava'a archive 8) and apparently went to American Samoa during the Second World War to avoid being taken. 'Okusi states that his father was in Tutuila when he was born in Ha'apai in 1946.

Looking at the Hoeft siblings as a whole, 'Okusi could be said to be the odd one out. He, for instance, is the only one who left Ha'apai for Vava'u, where he still lives today. Having grown up in Fotua until high school, 'Okusi then left for Tonga where he studied and graduated from Liahona—one of his brothers had joined the LDS church and had helped with the construction of the school. Straight after, fresh out of high school, 'Okusi moved for three months to New Zealand, where he stayed with an older sister while working part-time at a hotel in downtown Auckland.

Working in Auckland is really what opened 'Okusi's future. From the hotel there, he was offered a position at a newly opened Port of Refuge motel in Vava'u, where he worked after he married his wife in Tonga. Although it is now defunct (having burned down in the early 2000s) at that time the Port of Refuge motel could house 145 guests, and included special suites for the Tongan Royal Family when they visited. 'Okusi, who is close friends with the Royal Family through a tight friendship with King Tupou V from high school days, would often entertain, cook for, and accompany the Royal Family on these visits.

From Vava'u, it was only a few years before 'Okusi was recruited by a hotel to come to the United States. With permanent residency for himself and his family included in the employment contract, he and his wife moved to Hawaii in 1976, where 'Okusi worked as a manager at the Outrigger Hotel in Waikiki. Living in a penthouse at the hotel, 'Okusi's wife worked at the immigration office during the day while 'Okusi worked at everything from the front desk to landscape, recreation, bar service, and entertaining hotel guests. During these years

³² All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with 'Okusi Hoeft in Neiafu, Vava'u, Tonga 27 June 2016.

of frenetic hotel work, 'Okusi says that his wife would often ask him when he was going to rest. "I have the German muscles or something," he says, "I'm a workaholic."

During this time, 'Okusi and his wife gained American citizenship and became the parents of three children—two daughters and a son. His heart ever in Tonga, 'Okusi would often travel back by himself, where he would visit his family in Ha'apai or his wife's family in Vava'u. In 1982, he began construction of a house on a property in Neiafu that was given to him by his wife's cousin. Seven years later, worried about the gang environments they saw their children being exposed to, 'Okusi and his wife quit everything and moved their family back to Neiafu.

Once in Vava'u, life did not slow down for 'Okusi in the least. Ever a friend to the Tongan Royal Family, he was asked to take a job looking after the plantations and livestock of King Tupou IV. Along with being responsible for the King's cows and pigs, 'Okusi managed the crew that grew, dried, and exported vanilla from the King's plantation in Vava'u to Europe, Asia, and elsewhere. Simultaneously, he worked as the port agent for the cruise ships, passenger ferries, petrol boats, and overseas shipping containers coming into the wharf at Vava'u. All of these jobs—various hats he has worn—make him a very popular man in Tonga. "Everywhere I go in Tonga, people recognize me. My father was known everywhere. He was a huge man—tall, white hair. Taller than anyone else."

According to this description, 'Okusi seems to take after his father, in travel bug and business skill as well as appearance. With fair skin, light eyes, fine hair and a medium, muscular frame, phenotypically he looks much more German than he does Tongan, and his Hawaii-pidgin accent would seem to place him closer to the world of Portuguese descendants in Oahu than German descendants in Tonga. If you ask him, he actually *is* more German than Tongan in many ways, particularly, he claims, when it comes to his work ethic and ambition. According to 'Okusi, this is something that sets him apart significantly in his community, but also in his family as well:

I'm here [in Vava'u—i.e the only one in Tonga to move away from Ha'apai] now. I'm still sweating and working. I want my family name up all the time. That's what I'm dying for here in Tonga. And nobody else is doing it, only 'Okusi. Everybody in Ha'apai's sleeping. I keep asking them to send their kids over here, to stay with me and help me—I'll pay them! They're scared to come because they think I'm a workaholic. Maybe it comes from the German. I keep saying to my mind, I'm lucky I'm half-Tongan half-*pālangi*—I've got white thinking over there.

'Okusi, like Yvette, identifies hard work and motivation as typically German traits, as compared to what he implies would be a Tongan tendency to be satisfied simply by what is.

Sanft³³

The history of the Sanft family in Tonga has been well documented, and for good reason—German emigrants to Tonga have Christian Friedrich August Sanft to thank for paving the way (see “Sanft” Chapter Two). Yet he was not the only Sanft there. Friedrich Wilhelm Sanft (who was documented in Chapter Four of this thesis as the shared progenitor of the three German-Tongans living in Europe) was better known as Alipate, or Albert. He was born in 1849 in Pyritz and was one of the nephews August brought back to Tonga in the early 1870s. In Vava'u, Alipate married Fifita Haliote Afu—the daughter of a nobleman—and had nine children. Their eighth child—a son named Otto—is Carl's grandfather.

Carl Sanft

Carl Sanft is arguably the most prominent German-Tongan in Tonga today, due partly to the historical status of the Sanft family, but also because of his personal status as well. Having served as the German honorary consul in Tonga since 2002, Carl is the son of Ralph Walter “Lolo” Sanft, who served in that capacity before him, since the 1970s. Born as one of a total of twelve children to Ralph and his full Tongan wife in Neiafu, Vava'u in 1955, Carl attended primary school in Vava'u for just a few years before moving with his father and family to Tongatapu in 1961. From primary school in Nuku'alofa to the Tonga Side School for intermediate, Carl says that Tonga High School was “the end of his formal education.” After that, he simply increased his business acumen and developed his assets through working with his father and his own endeavours. After graduation, he went straight to work as a clerk for his father and, according to Carl, that was how he learned the “family business.”

Ralph was a businessman. Together with his brother Herbert (who remained in Vava'u), Ralph was the co-president of the businesses which had been passed down from their grandfather to their uncle and father, and then to them. Yet the business had changed much over the years. From the first copra and merchant enterprises in Vava'u which their grandfather had established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, through the hard work of Alipate's son Frank

³³ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Carl Sanft on 1 July 2016 in Nuku'alofa, Tonga.

and Carl's grandfather Otto, the Sanfts also became the manufacturers of slippers, furniture, and welded metal-works, the owners of retail shops and investment real estate, and the proprietors of entertainment venues—for almost thirty years, they owned and operated two cinemas: one in Vava'u and one in Tongatapu. Under Carl's leadership (following the death of his brother Herbert a few years ago), many of these companies are still running today, plus others Carl has started on his own.

In addition to the heritage through business which was left to Carl by his German forefathers, in Tonga, the strength of his connection to Germany is increased by his professional position: in his consular capacities, he has been to Germany several times, and it is his job to assist in maintaining the Germany-Tonga relationship in the present day. This is a legacy he inherited from his father (who served as consul before him), but it has been increased by Carl's own interest in his heritage. For Carl, this started as a child:

Growing up in Vava'u and coming to Tonga, we would always have a fight with the neighbour's children—neighbours at school. They always called me half-caste, because of the German side. They would say "Oh you're half-caste," and they'd put it half-*kosi*. *Kosi* is a goat. So "eh half-*kosi*—half-caste." And perhaps because of my skin, I was regarded more as not a Tongan, just a European. They always forget my Tongan side.

Yet for Carl, who spoke only Tongan at that point and was not yet fully aware of his family history, it was a point of contention:

I had a lot of fights—especially I was just considered as a European, as a *pālangi*, not a Tongan. At that age I didn't know I was German. I thought I was just Tongan. Even with my last name I didn't think about it. But then I went to high school and it sort of dawned on me there that I wasn't Tongan—full Tongan. And mentally also, growing up, I always considered myself as a Tongan, but I knew there was something wrong somewhere. Something different.

For Carl, being connected to his German heritage began with his high-school recognition, and has been strengthened by his various other pursuits throughout the years. Of the twelve children in his family, Carl—number five—is one of only four who remained in Tonga; the others are all scattered around the United States and New Zealand. All of Carl's children, as well, live overseas, yet Carl himself has never lived outside of Tonga, or even travelled overseas for a period longer than two and half weeks. This includes his many trips to visit family internationally, and his several trips to either Australia or Germany on consular business. Rather, he prefers to remain in Tonga, where he can look after his businesses and remain a pillar for his family there. He explained, "all of our family—all the Sanfts, Wolfgramms—German family,

English family—they work [in Tonga], get their money, and they move on [overseas]. But somehow, I couldn't establish anything in New Zealand—I go to New Zealand the most ... But I miss [Tonga]. I end up coming back to run the business here. ... I never really get my way around there.” Although he is one of the few in his family who decided to stay permanently in Tonga, Carl is very happy with his choice and will likely never change.

Schulke—Wolfgramm³⁴

Both the Schulke and Wolfgramm families were among the German-Tongan families resident in Vava'u at the turn of the twentieth century. The first Wolfgramms to emigrate were nephews of August Sanft, who then later brought some of their cousins (Irwin family history 1.4). On her Wolfgramm side, Rena is a descendant of the same man as the four first-cousin Wolfgramms seen in Chapter Two.³⁵ Namely, her paternal great-grandfather is Gustav Friedrich Eduard “Lui” Wolfgramm, who was born in Pyritz in 1856. After his emigration with his brothers to Vava'u, Lui married Ilaisane Kaipa from Kolomotua, Tongatapu (ibid 2.5). Rena's grandfather Otto Lui is a son of this union. On her maternal side, Rena is the great-granddaughter of Arthur Erich Ernst “Afa” Schulke, and his German-Tongan wife Helene Hedwig Sanft—daughter of Wilhelm Albert Sanft and his Tongan wife Fifita Haliote (see Bade, *Germans in Tonga* 90).

Emma Renata “Rena” Wolfgramm

Born in Vava'u in 1959, with German ancestry on both sides of her family, Rena is the embodiment of the intermarriage between Germans and part-German individuals in Tonga around the turn of the twentieth century. The eldest child of Robert Henry Wolfgramm—son of Otto Lui—and Edna Christina Schulke—Rena is the granddaughter of Afa and Helene's son Haloti. Having grown up in Vava'u until high school age, she recalls spending a great deal of time in both her father's and her grandfather's stores. With stock including strong twine, sewing material, perfume, gold chains, and other valuable imports, her grandfather's store was reportedly known as one of the best in the Islands. According to Rena, the quality of the shop was a reflection of Otto's connection to Germany: “[people] said—‘your grandfather is gone but he had the best shop in town.’ Because he knew where to get all this material, from Europe—he

³⁴ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Rena in Neiafu, Vava'u, Tonga 28 June 2016.

³⁵ Dagmar Dyck and Stan, Glen, and Willie Wolfgramm.

never bought cheap material. And I [still] have old ladies who come and hug and kiss me and say, ‘your grandfather got it all.’” Although it was formerly very popular and successful, the family business unfortunately started to suffer in the 1970s. After Otto Lui’s death in 1974, his estate was divided among his thirteen children, most of whom now live overseas. Rena’s father Robert Henry continued to run his own store in downtown Neiafu, and raised his children in the same European-style home that had been built by his father, close to the harbour in Vava’u.

At the time of her grandfather’s death, Rena was in Form three (age 15) at St. Andrews high school in Tonga. After graduation she returned to Vava’u, where she gave birth to her first child—a daughter named Natania. Because she was not married at that time, her parents felt it would be better for them to raise Natania while Rena went to experience something new. In 1984, Rena left with her sister for the United States. Living first with family in San Francisco, she worked at a book binding factory and soon married her husband, a full Tongan from Tongatapu who had lived in the United States for many years. Within the course of thirteen years, Rena became a mother to four more children, all born in California. Although her husband was an American citizen, in 1997 he decided to return to Tonga—Rena and the children followed two years later. She and her husband divorced in Tonga in 2003, and Rena continued to raise her children in Vava’u where they lived with her mother Edna until her death in 2011. To this day, Rena still lives in the home her grandfather built, and she frequently expresses gratitude for the legacy of hard work passed down to her through her German lines.

If it wasn’t for them, we won’t be living in a house you know—I always think that. And looking back, I say I’m very lucky to come from them—Grandpa must have really known, to make sure that he’s getting this [house] well-standing [strong], so when he’s gone my father and the rest of the kids still have a life on it and when Dad’s gone now it’s us grandkids still there. ... We never really [had to] work as hard as they do.

Although the Wolfgramm family is still widely known and well regarded in Tonga, Rena is actually one of the last ones there. According to her, on her Schulke side, her mother Edna was the last one in Vava’u—the rest have emigrated elsewhere. And it is a similar story with Rena’s siblings as well: of the ten children, just Rena and one brother are in Tonga, with the rest living in either the United States or New Zealand. It was only when their mother Edna passed away that everyone was reunited in Vava’u. For herself, Rena is not sure whether she will actually permanently remain in Tonga (five of her children are American citizens and several want to go back to the United States at some point), but she feels that her connections are strongly rooted in Neiafu. For now, she feels it is likely that she will never move away again.

Walter³⁶

The Walter family in Ha'apai began with George Abraham Walter, a baker who was born in Germany in 1856. Although the exact date he arrived in Tonga is unknown, George eventually emigrated to Ha'apai through Apia and Vava'u sometime in the 1870s, where he married Jane Smith. Jane is listed in the *Germans in Tonga* book as a German national born in Fiji (116), yet is remembered by family to have been the daughter of a "pure Tongan mother and her father was from Boston America." It very well could have been that her nationality came from her husband. George Abraham died in 1921 and is buried in the Shirley Baker cemetery in Pangai, Ha'apai.

Finau Walter

Born in 1946 to Konga'ika Walter and his wife Kaiala, Finau is the grandson of Frederick William Walter—a son of George Abraham and Jane. Frederick, who is remembered as a trader, lived in various places near and around Pangai, Ha'apai, where he owned a bakery. Today, his grandson Finau still lives there, in Hihifo where he retired from the airline business and operates a small backpacker's accommodation called "Lindsay's Guesthouse." Growing up, Finau helped his grandfather and father work at the family business—his grandfather's bakery—which he also still operates one day per week.

Finau was already twenty years old when his grandfather passed away. According to him, there was little about being German that was passed on to his grandfather, in spite of his being almost full *pālangi*. He spoke fluent Tongan and also English, having been educated in New Zealand along with his other siblings, yet never learned German from his father or anyone else. Being more at home in Tonga than his siblings seemed to be, when it came time for them all to move into adulthood, Finau reported that Frederick William encouraged all of his siblings to emigrate elsewhere, leaving him alone with his own lifestyle in Tonga.

His grandson has a similar story. Of his parents' four children, Finau is the only one to have remained permanently in Tonga. He still lives in the same house, on the same property where he was raised as a small child. Although he travelled extensively in his more than thirty years as an employee of three successive airline companies in Tonga, he has never had an interest in permanently leaving Ha'apai. To him, in spite of having visited New Zealand and Australia dozens of times, and going several times to the United States, Tonga is home. He is the

³⁶ All quotes and information, unless otherwise cited, are from a personal interview with Finau Walter in Hihifo, Ha'apai, Tonga 17 June 2016.

self-described anchor of the family there, and whenever extended family comes from overseas, it is his job to look after them:

My grandfather's two brothers went to New Zealand and [their children] came here and talk with us and they also trying to get a hold [of family in Germany]. They come and ask us. ... Whenever my family or part of my family coming here, they come and stay. I say, "your only part take care of your ticket. To sleep and to eat, that is my responsibility."

Due to this kind of generosity with his family, he gets a lot of visitors when they come back to see the Islands. To Finau, it is his pleasure to take care of his family then, and if he could contact his family in Germany, he would be happy to host them too. As it is, he describes a lack of connectedness to the German side, as so little of the information was passed on from the earlier generation. He reports that there was a time when his grandfather, with the help of a French nun in Ha'apai who could read and write in German, was exchanging letters with relatives in Germany. Yet, as there was no one who could understand them, after his grandfather passed away, the letters were lost. To Finau, it is a sad ending to his family's German connection.

Conclusion

There are so many differences between modern Samoa and modern Tonga on the whole; a parallel comparison of the two countries is very difficult. Yet their heritage, in regard to the first decades of German contact there, was very similar. Nowadays, however, variations in the way the German story played out in Samoa as opposed to Tonga make the lives and self-expressions of identity by modern German-Samoan and German-Tongan descendants very different. German colonization in the Samoan case opened wide the door for a more extensive Western influence there than in Tonga, where a tradition of indigenous governance has never been broken. Consequently (and due also to the larger size and population of the Samoan Islands), Apia is a much busier, more developed city than Nuku'alofa, the same now as then. German commerce was one of the spurs for this, as was the German colonial government—they put in place a large part of the infrastructure that would later be used during New Zealand occupation as well as independent Samoan nationhood. The scale of German influence in Samoa versus that of Tonga—where the German population was more spread out and focused solely on trade and commerce rather than administration—ensured a very different experience for those of part-German descent in the two nations. These differences make the Tongan case of German emigration even more unique on a worldwide scale. Although many modern German-Tongan descendants are successful businessmen (as are their counterparts in Samoa), their stories and

statements of identity tend to reflect a more compelling connection to their Island heritage than part-German descendants in Samoa.

At first glance, the fact that Germans in Samoa were able to purchase land there—whereas Germans in Tonga could only lease—seems to have great import in analysing the experiences of their descendants. Early part-German ancestors in Samoa were generally the recipients of great property possessions—the majority of farmable land in Samoa was owned by Europeans (largely Germans) from the early to mid-1800s. While this may not accurately be said to account for the privilege of modern German-Samoan descendants today (owing to the fact that many families had their properties and all other assets confiscated during the war years, never to be returned or compensated for), it certainly made a difference in the numbers of Germans who moved to Samoa versus those who moved to Tonga.

Yet there also seems to be a trend in the stories of heritage of modern German-Tongans which says that their ancestors were unique in a totally different way. Several infer that there was a supposedly special ‘hardworking German gene’ or the like, which set their forefathers apart from their countrymen who went to other places in the world. Lord Vaea especially advocated the idea of a ‘careful selection’ necessary to weed out those who would be able to stay in Tonga, from those who would not be happy or successful there. The fact that most of the Germans in Tonga married full Tongan women appears due not only to the fact that there were probably fewer European women there to choose from to start with, but also that they were comfortable with the local population in a way that helped them gain full acceptance and acculturation in their communities, and that there were no formal colonial laws forbidding or disallowing intermarriage, as there were in Samoa. All of the German-Tongan descendants interviewed for this chapter reported that their German forebears in Tonga spoke fluent Tongan and worked happily with local individuals. German-Samoan descendants, on the other hand, all spoke of their progenitors belonging to the European community in Apia—the only local influences were in the women who left their own families and married in.³⁷

The dissimilarities in privileges between German-Samoans and German-Tongans is also something which differentiates them. Of those German-Samoans who were interviewed for and appear in this chapter, all are—without exception—descendants of those *’afakasi* who, during the time of national and ethnic classification by the German government, were legally recognized as European. This probably contributes strongly to the conceptions of identity by

³⁷ In my interviews with German-Samoans in Apia, whenever they spoke of their maternal (Samoan) sides, they spoke of going “back” to the villages, and implied that there was a distinct divide between their Samoan and *Papalagi* sides.

their descendants, who are the recipients of legacies of privilege in terms of the higher quality education they were able to receive (at the dedicated European schools), the people they associated with, and the opportunities they had. While the same could also be said to be true in Tonga to a degree, it could only be applied to those who grew up in Tongatapu. Although there was no official, dedicated *hafekasi* school there, at least Carl Sanft reports that many children of full or part-European descent did end up at the same schools in Nuku'alofa, where the larger foreign-national and expatriate population lived. Rather, *hafekasi* privilege in the Tongan case looks more like general opportunities to be involved with businesses to a larger degree than full Tongans were—Richard Guttenbeil, Carl Sanft, and, to a smaller extent, Finau Walter are all recipients of commercial legacies passed down from their parents and grandparents.

Interesting themes are seen in both German-Samoan and German-Tongan accounts of why they each remained in the Islands, when, in both cases, many of their other family members have migrated overseas. Three distinct groups emerge: those who went overseas for a short time but returned to live permanently in Samoa (because they either preferred the lifestyle of the islands or felt some connection and pull to come back); those who went overseas and came back but still may not stay permanently; and those who almost never left—and never plan to leave—the islands. Individuals belonging to the first group include Joe Keil and Fred Wetzell in the Samoan case, and Rena Wolfgramm, 'Okusi Hoeft, and Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea in the Tongan. These individuals all went overseas for a period of time—generally for education or work—yet discovered that they were happier and more at home in their respective lands of birth. Although some continue to travel overseas for visits when they are able (Joe Keil, 'Okusi Hoeft, and Yvette Guttenbeil-Paea), they each never plan to leave their homes permanently again.

In the second case, of individuals who lived overseas for a period of time but returned non-permanently, Eric Matthes of Samoa is the most prominent example. After living several decades in New Zealand, his return to Samoa for work was motivated in large part by his family stake there. Yet current family ties overseas are now much stronger. He and his wife plan to move back to Auckland in just a few more years. While Eric is alone in this chapter with his desire to leave his home country again after living there for so long, he is not unique on the larger scale of diasporic individuals. As seen in other chapters of this thesis, while many German-Tongans would love to still live in the Islands, generally family ties and new roots in adopted countries keep them away.

The last thematic group of individuals emerging in this chapter are those who have never lived overseas for an extended period of time, and who never plan to. In the Samoan case, this

includes Tertia Ryan (who only spent four years overseas in Australia for her degree and never planned to remain permanently), her father Klaus Stunzner, and Norman Wetzell (who, although he was born and lived several years in New Zealand, had little choice then and has never moved away from Apia again since coming back with his family at age seven). In the Tongan case, Richard Guttenbeil, 'Ema Hoeft Ngata, Carl Sanft, and Finau Walter exemplify this trend. Unsurprisingly, given their heritage and connection to their Tongan sides, there are more German-Tongans who fit in this category than the German-Samoans. Given their lack of land from their German sides, this may seem surprising—each of these individuals has had to find their own places and lean on other family connections to establish something in Tonga. Largely, their modern ties are to their maternal sides, from whom several have acquired land and help over the years.

Aside from their connections to their countries, another factor which tends to group these individuals together is their connection to their German heritage. On the whole, both German-Samoans and German-Tongans are proud carriers of their German surnames and the accompanying legacies. They are generally all aware of the names and stories of their German forebears, yet they express varying degrees of connectedness. Some have had relationships with the German sides of their families as recently as the past generation; however, these are mostly the Samoans: Joe Keil, Klaus Stunzner, and Herman Kruse all reported having some communication with their German extended family within their lifetimes. Others, like the Wetzells and Matthes's, have tried to find, but been unsuccessful in making, these connections thus far. In the Tongan case, those who have remained connected to their German relations are almost non-existent, at least in the individuals seen in this chapter. This suggests a much stronger connection with Germany in the Samoan instance than the Tongan. It again underscores the full acculturation of Germans in Tonga—ties with extended family were all but lost in the growth of roots and foundations in Tonga. Additionally, nowadays these traditionally German surnames mean something more; to those of their communities, they now also identify holders as Samoan or Tongan—the German aspect is background.

All differences aside, one clear characteristic that all of the individuals in this chapter share—whether from Samoa or Tonga—is their status as the respective gatekeepers of their family history in the Islands. With immediate and extended families largely resident overseas, the individuals examined here represent special stakeholders for their families in their respective towns and villages. They are looked to by diaspora-dwelling family members as the knowledgeable ones—through their access to the lands of their family foundations, they are seen

to hold keys to their family stories, and often, the responsibilities of maintaining family lands, traditions, names, and statuses in the islands. When family members return for reunions or other purposes, almost all of the individuals identified here become hosts and hostesses, helping relatives to regain their identities as individuals of Polynesian, as well as of German, descent. Whether in Samoa or Tonga, pride in these multi-cultural heritages is strong, and is reflected as much in Vava'u as in Vaitele.

The Blue-eyed Tongans: A Conclusion

When German emigrants first went to Tonga, settling there, marrying local women, and building families and lives, they likely had no idea of the interesting and varied multi-cultural, -national, -racial, and -ethnic journeys awaiting their posterity. Their decisions—combined with the circumstances of history—have resulted in unforeseen consequences for the family members who have succeeded them. Examining these experiences for some of the most prominent of these descendants reveals important trends, and statements can be made to begin to more definitively understand these descendants, their experiences, their choices, their lives, and their own identity.

Starting with the historical times of their European ancestors' first migration to the Islands, various political and social conditions resulted not only in new lifestyles (complete with privileges) for descendants, but also in new identities. These circumstances in turn led to emigration patterns which, while resembling in some ways those routes followed by many other (full) Tongans, were nevertheless also influenced and benefitted by their German heritage. Today, although most descendants have no strong connecting ties to this heritage, general awareness of it added to the names that are often carried, biological racial indicators, and—for descendants in Tonga at least—a tendency towards still-visible privilege, continues to mark the descendants of this heritage prominently.

Historical Circumstances

The most important and obvious conditions which affected the identities, loyalties, and lifestyles of those German emigrants resident in Tonga and their ensuing offspring was the lack of formal German administration there, and the two World Wars. The impact of these circumstances is seen across the board in the stories examined in this thesis. Lack of direct jurisdiction by any of the racially-ordered colonial regimes in the Pacific allowed Germans, and their mixed-race descendants, a type of freedom rarely experienced by mixed-race people in any area of the world. German men and women were free to marry Tongans, and aside from racial-prejudices demonstrated by a few, these unions appear to have been largely accepted by the majority of the population.¹ The prolific occurrence of these marriages also aided the acculturation of German emigrants to Tonga—by uniting themselves so expansively to a Tongan

¹ Even Mrs. Schober, who so clearly disagreed with German-Tongan intermarriage, reported that “nevertheless [notwithstanding their unsuitability for marriage to a European], we Europeans who lived in small numbers here could rub along with our brown and half-white sisters without any discord” (personal history 13).

rather than European community, their national and cultural identities appear to have been affected—their identification with Germany was in some ways lessened.

This disconnection was, of course, also strongly subject to the political turmoil their home country (Germany) found itself in in the two World Wars—wars that followed in relatively short succession during the lifetime of most of these emigrants, and the first few generations of their descendants. At that point, not only did their loyalty to their home country come into question, but many were also penalized for it—the threat of deportation to and internment in New Zealand strongly influenced the haste with which one of these individuals might otherwise have asserted their German identity. Their desire to pass along this heritage to their children was also impinged. Namely, the political situations of the early to mid-twentieth century effectively served to sever whatever ties there initially were, even with family members. As is clearly seen in the comparison with Samoa, where German emigrants there had communication with and ties to their extended families even after the First World War (due largely to the fact that it was an official colony and therefore had established lines of communication), modern descendants still living in Upolu are far more likely to retain more recent connections to or a better knowledge of these relatives than their counterparts in Tonga. Although most German-Tongan descendants report an interest in their family heritage and a desire to link back up with it, there have been, in most cases, no connections or communications at all with German relatives or extended family members in more than a century. Due largely to these circumstances, and also to living amongst a higher British expatriate population than German, these individuals and their descendants, rather than maintaining their distinctness as Germans, largely adopted simply a ‘European’ identity: what began to distinguish them from other Tongans was not their Germanness *per se*, but simply their whiteness.

These circumstances strongly affected descendants. With the lack of a formal administration hanging over them, rather than being defined by narrow racial laws which existed in Samoa and other areas of the official German colonial empire, German-Tongans were judged by slightly more expansive terms: simply being European afforded them privileges and a higher social status than their full Tongan counterparts, and was unrelated to whether that Europeanness came from being German or something else. The nonexistence of schools in Tonga to instruct descendants in German ways of being was likewise a compelling omission in their failure to develop a strong German identity—the fact that most were sent overseas for education in English schools was an important element which moved these descendants from a strictly German- to a broader European-descent identity.

Diasporic Patterns

This identity is seen clearly in the diasporic patterns of these descendants. Due to the Tongan constitution's strict policies which deny land ownership to foreigners, although these Germans had emigrated permanently to Tonga, they were not able to secure anything more stable than a long-term lease on properties and plantations they worked for years to build. The fact that they did not own those properties proved to be a strong catalyst, in ensuing years, for German-Tongan emigration outside of Tonga into other nations—parents and their children recognized that their lifestyles in Tonga would be unsustainable for future generations; of the German-Tongan descendants still resident in Tonga, it is notable how many mentioned something about their parents or grandparents being the only ones (or one of the only ones) who remained in Tonga—the rest sought “better,” more sustainable lives elsewhere. This largely accounts for the vast external migration of these descendants, to all corners of the globe.

However much this situation (having to move away from their homeland) was hardly ideal for those affected, these individuals were nevertheless recipients of a great deal of privilege, even in their migrations. Aside from their businesses and the associations their almost-automatic higher class afforded them (i.e. with nobles and royalty), early on, emigrant German-Tongans were also the beneficiaries of extensive cultural bias on the part of foreign Governments—because New Zealand and the United States' early immigration policies favoured individuals of European descent, early German-Tongan emigrants had a distinctive advantage over other (full) Tongans hoping to move to these countries. Additionally, even before their more permanent migrations, these individuals were afforded opportunities in overseas education, jobs, and relationships with high-ranking people that most Tongans could only dream of. These came simply by virtue of their family backgrounds. As seen in the stories in this thesis, however, these things seemed only to be a benefit to the earlier German-Tongans—later, with further intermarriage with Tongans and changes to immigration policies in New Zealand and the United States (i.e. around the 1960s and 1970s in both cases), the emigration methods and patterns (routes) of German-Tongans from the 1970s on began to more closely resemble that for full Tongans. Today, there is almost no distinction.

Identity in Diaspora

This thesis has tried to make a case for the value and essentiality of examining the experiences and lives of mixed-race German-Tongan descendants in diaspora, rather than grouping them categorically simply as “Tongans.” As seen in the stories presented here by individuals from myriad families, backgrounds, circumstances, and locations, these individuals’ experiences actually vary widely, as do their personal conceptions of identity. While virtually none are strongly connected to a sense of being or feeling German (i.e. that heritage mostly does not have a tangible influence in their lives), their levels of connectedness to Tonga are also varied. Some—generally those who either live or were raised there—strongly identify themselves as Tongan. Others born in, raised in, or simply well connected to other places are more likely to report an identity augmented by those other experiences. What does stand out in this study is that for those individuals living in diaspora, it is the Tongan identity which makes them unique, whereas for those living in Tonga, it is the German connection and heritage.

This is understandable given the environments these individuals find themselves in, but it is also interesting—many of these descendants share characteristics of phenotype and German first names and/or surnames that do not set them apart from each other much at all. For instance, lighter eye, skin, and hair colors, combined with physical stature, are generally apparent in modern German-Tongan descendants across the board—though these physical characteristics are stronger in some than others. Similarly, many descendants around the world still carry German names and surnames—even in the modern generation, which at this point may actually be fairly far removed from their first German ancestors in Tonga. This phenomenon appears to be the result of a strong namesake tradition in Polynesian culture, and also the fact that most often in these families the surname has favoured the paternal (masculine) side. However, the continuation of German names in families has also sometimes been a statement of pride or connection to heritage—Elizabeth Wolfgramm Atuaia and her siblings stand out in this regard. Although they are four generations removed from their first German progenitor in Tonga, most of Maikeli and Vake Wolfgramm’s seventeen children have German first names, apparently as a result of pride in and a feeling of connectedness to their European family history.

While traditionally “white” physical characteristics and European names do not seem to be great indicators of identity in the diaspora, as seen in the stories here (i.e. for German-Tongan descendants living in the ‘whiter’ worlds of New Zealand, the United States, and Europe where they are most often known just as ‘Tongans’), in Tonga they still tend to set descendants apart and make them unique. Although they may be several generations removed from their first

German forefather in Tonga, as seen in this thesis, many descendants are still known as *hafekasis*, both to others and themselves. Generally, this identification is also still associated with privilege: although not all German-Tongan descendants in Tonga own businesses or associate with elite classes, it is notable that the majority (at least of those identified in this research) still do. While their status is largely the result of their own hard work, these individuals have been indisputably benefitted as well by the legacies passed on to them from previous generations of part-European businessmen and social elites before them.

Finally, the beliefs these individuals have about their own German ancestry is also an important contributor to their overall identities. As seen in most of the stories of this thesis, characteristics of hard work, intelligence, ambition, drive, and courage in the descendants who share their stories here all tend to be ascribed back to their German—rather than Tongan—heritage. This is interesting, given that many of these individuals' Tongan ancestors can be said to be as hard working, intelligent, ambitious, driven, and brave as their German counterparts. Those emigrating to other countries especially seem to fit this list of characteristics well. According to most descendants' accounts, however, the things they identify as 'counting' as German are to a certain extent the stereotype of Northern European diligence seen in wider stories of Germans around the world rather than in stories of Tongans. In this regard then, it is not actually the reality of the existence of these characteristics in their ancestors that matters, but rather what the individuals seen here believe about them.

Conclusion

In his 1991 publication, William Safran identified six considerations that could be used to assess a diaspora. Part of the work of this thesis was to discover whether German-Tongan descendants living around the world, taken as a whole, can accurately be said to belong to his type of strictly-understood definition. At the end of this study, it is clear that they can and do. Above and beyond this definition, however, is the important consideration that these individuals represent a group of minority mixed-race families who have, to a large extent, taken advantage of the circumstances of history and their various social values in a way which has allowed them to have a significant impact on the world.

Using Safran's terms and as seen in this thesis, German-Tongans around the world are an expatriate minority group who have been dispersed (whether for education, employment, or other reasons) from a homeland—Tonga, the place where their mixed-race context begins—to other, foreign nations. They are a unique group—part-German, part-Tongan, yet living in myriad

places all over the world. They also hold unique collective memories. This is seen in this thesis in the stories German-Tongans tell from home about their families, or the histories which have been passed down to them. While they may not know all of the details, most of the descendants who appeared in this thesis are at least peripherally aware of the circumstances of their German emigrant ancestor's moves to Tonga and their lives once there. Additionally, these individuals are the recipients of beliefs and myths² which have been passed down to them about their emigrant forefathers and early family members. In these cases, the details of these collective memories are less important than the memories themselves—true or not, the beliefs alone have power to draw these individuals closer to the “memory” (or idea) of their forefathers, and thence, to the place their ancestors come from (i.e. Germany). It is a powerful collective memory shared by German-Tongan descendants all around the world.

Part of the additional uniqueness and distinctiveness of this group as a diasporic community are their bi-national relations. Rather than relating to only one place, for modern German-Tongan descendants in the areas of the world examined in this thesis, there are many who do still regard both Tonga and Germany as their ancestral homelands. While they may not plan to return to either place permanently, depending on the strength of connection they feel to them, many relate to both countries either personally or vicariously and state a desire to know more about or be more involved with both of them. For many, these realities were stated in a sense of gratitude towards and pride in both Tonga and Germany—frequently expressed as a desire to “do something” for Tonga, and a wish to be more connected to or knowledgeable about Germany and their family history there.

In any regard, the German-Tongan group is an irreplaceable subset of a larger, diverse world population. They perfectly fit the definition of diaspora given by several advanced English dictionaries, including the authoritative COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary, that “diaspora” refers to “People who come from a particular nation, or whose ancestors came from it, but who now live in many different parts of the world” (COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary online): in the German-Tongan case, that “particular nation” is actually two—Germany and Tonga. Descendants hold a strong sense of distinctiveness that comes from being part of both. As seen in this thesis, prominent individuals with German-Tongan ancestry around the world use this distinctiveness to contribute in meaningful, valuable ways to their homes, communities, countries, and the wider world. The varied parts they play, as well, reflect on their ancestry: without the decisions made by their early German progenitors to move to Tonga, marry

² Stereotypes they believe but which may not necessarily be true.

within the local population, and remain there—combined with other circumstances of history and social environments—these individuals’ contributions would not be possible. In this regard, German emigration to Tonga is a vital chapter of history which continues to have important repercussions in the modern age. Their German ancestors in Tonga would indeed be proud to know of the multi-faceted international legacies that they left in their wake.

Bibliography

Arranged in the following order:

1. *Primary sources*
 - a. *Archival records: microfilm resources*
 - b. *Printed Material: personal histories and published journals*
 - c. *Personal Communications: recorded interviews and conversations, emails, Facebook messages, etc*
2. *Secondary Sources*
 - a. *Published Books and Articles*
 - b. *Family Histories*
 - c. *Newspaper and Magazine articles: printed and online*
 - d. *Online resources: Censuses, web projects, online archives, databases, social media pages, multimedia*
 - e. *Unpublished theses and dissertations: PhD, Master's, and Honours*
 - f. *Speeches: Conference presentations, Published public talks*
3. *Additional Bibliography (also consulted)*

Primary Sources

Archival records

- Foreign Office Annual Series. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance—Pacific Islands—Report for the year 1884 on the Trade of Tonga*. London: Harrison and Sons, 1886. Microfilm.
- Gouvernementssekretär Schultz. “Beglaubigte Abschrift: Bekanntmachung.” Apia: Government Press Office, 1913. Microfilm.
- Liava’a, Christine. “Enemy Aliens in Tonga May 1916: as listed by the British Consul in Tonga, From the Western Pacific Archives.” Transcription. Western Pacific Archives, Special Collections, University of Auckland Library. Auckland: New Zealand, July 2005. Print.
- . “Tongan Students in New Zealand.” Spreadsheet. Personal compilation, 2013. March, John. *Tonga: Statistics of the Tonga Islands: For the Half-Years ending 30th June, 1887 and 1888: Trade and Commerce: Compiled from official records in the office of the collection of customs*. Suva: Government Printer, 1888.
- March, John. *Tonga: Statistics of the Tonga Islands: For the Half-Years ending 30th June, 1887 and 1888: Trade and Commerce: Compiled from official records in the office of the collection of customs*. Suva: Government Printer, 1888.
- Pyritzer Kreisblatt. Obituaries appearing 24 February 1912; 29 April 1915; 20 June 1915; 24 June 1915; 4 May 1915; 19 May 1917. Pyritz, Germany. Microfilm. Universitätsbibliothek Greifswald. Greifswald, Germany.
- Registrar New Zealand. “Certified Copy of Entry of Death in the Registrar-General’s Office: Julius Waldemar Alfred Matthes.” Lower Hutt, Wellington: 27 August 1993. Print.
- Tongan Records: Births, Deaths and Genealogy: Section 1—Government Birth and Death Records of Ha’apai District, Tonga. Compiled by Viliami and Ann ’Iongi. N.p, 1995. Available through Familysearch.org.
- Wendt, Reinhard. “Schaumkell History from Parchim.” Research papers held at the Parchim Museum, Parchim, Germany.

Zivilkabinet. HA Rep. 89. *Treaty of Friendship between His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia etc. in the name of the German Empire and His Majesty the King of Tonga*. Berlin: Government Press Office, 1876. Microfilm.

Personal Histories

- David, Paula. *Zehn Jahre auf den Inseln der Südsee: 1887-1897*. Eds. Schlossmuseum Sonderhausen, James Bade, and James Braund. Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2011. Print.
- Fakatou, Helene Hedwig Sanft. "Personal History of Helene Hedwig Sanft: Material taken mostly from personal interviews About 1981/1982 by Edna P. Wolfgramm. Corrections and additions by her children Mary, Rodney, and Ivoni." Salt Lake City: n.p, circa 1985. Print. Available on Familysearch.org.
- Gerber, Tisina Wolfgramm. *Iohani Wolfgramm: Man of Faith and Vision 1911-1997*. Location Unknown: Private Printer, n.d. Print. Available through Familysearch.org.
- Macintosh, June D. "Tonga: Fond Recollections of Tonga." *Janes Oceania*, 11 August 2010, http://www.janesoceania.com/tonga_recollections1/index.htm. Web. 21 August 2015.
- Schober, Emma. *South Seas Reminiscences: Mrs. Emma Schober in the Kingdom of Tonga 1902-1921*. Ed. Kurt Düring. Nuku'alofa: Island Press, 1997.
- Wolfgramm, Charles. "Charles (Siale) 'Ataongo Wolfgramm." Personal history. N.d. Held by Kamake'e Wolfgramm Lindsey, Kahuku, Hawaii. Print.
- Wolfgramm, Ludwig Christian Herman. *A History of Ludwig Christian Herman Wolfgramm: Mataika, Vava'u, Tongan Islands May 5, 1937*. Salt Lake City: n.p, circa 1985. Print.

Personal Communication

- Atuaia, Elizabeth. Personal telephone interview. 5 January 2016.
- Aßmann, Manfred. "Tongan list." Message to the author. 26 Jun 2014. Email.
- Brahne, Bruno Stanley. Personal interviews. 29 July and 4 August 2016.
- Burningham, Edna Wolfgramm. Personal telephone interview. 25 March 2010.
- Döblitz, Mesualina and Frank. Personal interview. 18 Nov. 2015.
- Dyck, Dagmar. Personal interview. 1 May 2014.
- Guttenbeil, Richard. Personal interview. 28 June 2016.
- Guttenbeil-Paea, Yvette. Personal interview. 1 July 2016.
- Hager, Tenisia. Personal interview. 22 September 2014.
- Hettig, Fred. Personal telephone interviews. 30 August and 1 September 2016.
- Hoeft, 'Okusi. Personal interview. 27 June 2016.
- Irwin, Caroline Wolfgramm. "Re: Alma Wolfgramm & other family tidbits." Message to the author. 18 Feb. 2010. Email.
- Keil, Joe. Personal interview. 13 May 2016.
- Krone, Desmond. Personal interview. 16 May 2016.
- Kruse, Hermann. Personal interview. 19 May 2016.
- Lavelua, Tukala and Taeao. Personal interview. 31 Aug 2015.
- Mann, Catherine 'Ofa. Personal telephone interview. 2 May 2016.
- Matthes, Eric. Personal interview. 16 May 2016.
- Meredith, Peter. Personal interview. 16 May 2016.
- Muller, Tony. Personal interview. 19 October 2013.
- Müller-Studer, Luka. "Germans in Tonga." Message to the author. 5 May 2014. Email.
- Ngata, 'Ema Luisa Hoeft. Personal interview. 20 June 2016.
- Other, 'Ofa. Personal interview. 22 June 2014.

Palu, Afa. Personal interview. 11 December 2015.
 Raass, Soane. Personal interview. 1 January 2016.
 Riechelmann, Charles. Personal interview. 25 February 2015.
 Ryan, Tertia. Personal interview. 13 May 2016.
 Sanft, Carl. Personal interview. 1 July 2016.
 Sanft, Gerhard and Josephine Lātū. Personal interview. 14 November 2015.
 Schaumkel, Fred. Personal interview. 7 April 2016.
 Sikahema, Vai. "Re: German-Tongan family history." Message to the author. 1 Oct. 2013. Email.
 ---. Personal telephone interviews. 12 and 13 January 2016.
 Stuntzner, Klaus Sr. Personal interview. 13 May 2016.
 Tonga High Commission. "Re: Tongans in the UK/Europe." Message to the author. 30 March 2016. Email.
 ---. Tonga High Commission. "Re: Tongans in the UK/Europe." Message to the author. 25 March 2016. Email.
 Tu'inukuafe, Karl Leonard. Personal interview. 23 February 2015.
 Vaea, Lord Albert. Personal interview. 10 June 2016.
 Walter, Finau. Personal interview. 17 June 2016.
 Weber, Falamoe. Personal interview. 11 September 2014.
 Wendt, Reinhard. "Re: German-Tongans." Message to the author. 23 Feb. 2010. Email.
 ---. "Re: German-Tongans." Message to the author. 14 April 2010. Email.
 Wetzell, Masoe Norman. Personal interview. 13 May 2016.
 Wetzell, Tupua Frederick. Personal interview. 13 May 2016.
 Wolfgramm, Emil. Personal interview. 5 March 2015.
 Wolfgramm, Emma Renata. Personal interview. 28 June 2016.
 Wolfgramm, Fred and Emily. Personal interview. September 2010.
 Wolfgramm, Glen. "Re: Book Chapter." Message to the author. 7 April 2015. Email.
 ---. Personal interview. 12 February 2015.
 Wolfgramm, Rena. Personal interview. 28 June 2016.
 Wolfgramm, Stan. Personal interview. 2 December 2013.
 Wolfgramm, William. Personal interview. 23 May 2014.

Secondary Sources

Published Books and Articles

Addo, Ping-Ann. *Creating a Nation With Cloth: Women, Wealth, and Tradition in the Tongan Diaspora*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013. Print.
 'Ahio, Finau Pila. "Christianity and Taufā'āhau in Tonga: 1800-1850." *Melanesian Journal of Theology* 23.1 (2007): 22-80. Print.
 Ahlburg, Dennis A. *Remittances and Their Impact: A Study of Tonga and Western Samoa*. Canberra, A.C.T: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, 1991. Print.
 Ahlburg, Dennis A. and Michael J. Levin. *The Northeast Passage: A Study of Pacific Islander Migration to American Samoa and the United States*. Canberra, A.C.T: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, 1990. Print.
 Amrhein, Hans. *Die deutsche Schule im Auslande*. Leipzig: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1905. Print.

- Anae, Melani. "All Power to the People." In *Tangata o le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific*. Eds. Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai and Damon Salesa. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2012. Print.
- . "Papalagi Redefined: Toward a New Zealand-Born Samoan Identity." *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific*. Eds. Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright. Honolulu, HI: U Hawaii P, 2002. 150-168. Print.
- Bade, James N. *Germans in Tonga*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014. Print.
- . "Tonga—The Friendly Isles." In *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*. Eds. Diethelm Knauf and Barry Moreno. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2010. 171-173. Print.
- Banner, Stuart. *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard UP, 2007. Print.
- Bedford, Richard, Elsie Ho, and Jacqueline Lidgard. "International Migration in New Zealand: Context, Components and Policy Issues." *Population Studies Centre Discussion Papers*. University of Waikato: Population Studies Centre, 2000. Print.
- Bennion, Tom. "Treaty-Making in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century and the Treaty of Waitangi." In *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review* 35.1 (2004): 165-206. Print.
- Bollard, A. E. "The Financial Adventures of J. C. Godeffroy and Son in the Pacific." *The Journal of Pacific History* 16.1 (1981): 3-19. Print.
- The Book of Mormon*. Ed. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, UT [USA]: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981. Print.
- Britsch, R. Lanier. *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*. Salt Lake City, UT, USA: Deseret Book, 1986. Print.
- Buchenau, Jürgen. "Blond and Blue-Eyed in Mexico City, 1812-1975." In *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*. Eds. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin. Ann Arbor: U Michigan P, 2005. 85-110. Print.
- Burley, David V. "Archaeological Demography and Population Growth in the Kingdom of Tonga: 950 BC to the Historic Era." In *The Growth and Collapse of Pacific Island Societies: Archaeological and Demographic Perspectives*. Eds. Patrick V. Irch and Jean-Louis Rallu. Honolulu: U Hawai'i P, 2007. Google Scholar ebook.
- Camino, Mercedes Maroto. *Exploring the Explorers: Spaniards in Oceania, 1519-1794*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2008. Print.
- Campbell, Ian C. *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern*. 3rd edition. Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury UP, 2015. Print.
- Chludzinski, Katrina. "The Fear of Colonial Miscegenation in the British Colonies of Southeast Asia." *The Forum: Journal of History* 1.1 (2009): 54-64. Print.
- Connor, Walker. "The Impact of Homelands Upon Diasporas." In *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, ed. Gabriel Sheffer. New York: St. Martin's, 1986. 16-45. Print.
- Conrad, Sebastian. *German Colonialism: A Short History*. Cambridge; Cambridge UP, 2008. Print.
- The Cyclopaedia of Tonga (Illustrated)*. Papakura, NZ: R. McMillan, 1983. Facsimile of the original—Sydney: McCarron, Stewart & Co., 1907. Print.
- Daly, Martin. *Tonga: A New Bibliography*. Honolulu: U Hawai'i P, 2009. Print.
- de Bres, Joris. *How Tonga Aids New Zealand: a Report on Migration and Education*. Wellington: South Pacific Action Network, 1974. New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2005. Web. 9 September 2016.
- Djajić, Slobodan. *International Migration Trends, Policies and Economic Impact*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Düring, Kurt. *Early Photography Tonga & Samoa 1855-1900*. Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 2001. Print.

- . *Pathways to the Tongan Present ('Uuni Hala ki Tonga he Kuonga ni)*. Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1990. Print.
- Empowering Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC) & Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAAJ). *A Community of Contrasts: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the United States*. EPIC & AAJ, 2014. Web. 30 May 2016.
- 'Esau, Raelyn Lolohea. "International Migration from Tonga, South Pacific: A Behavioral Approach." *Geographical Review of Japan* 77.5 (2004): 352-367. Print.
- . "Tongan Immigrants in Japan." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 16.2 (2007): 289-300. Print.
- Fairbairn-Dunlop, Peggy. "Some Markers on the Journey." In *Making Our Place: Growing up PI in New Zealand*. Eds. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, Gabrielle Sisifo Makisi. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press, 2003. 20-43. Print.
- Firth, Stewart G. "German Firms in the Pacific Islands, 1857-1914." In *Germany in the Pacific and Far East*. Eds. John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy. St. Lucia, Queensland: U of Queensland P, 1977. 3-25. Print.
- Franklin, Marianne I. "I define my own identity: Pacific articulations of 'race' and 'culture' on the internet." In *Ethnicities* 3.4 (2003): 465-490. Print.
- Gaunt, LaRene Porter. "Tonga: A Land of Believing People." In *Liahona*. April 2002: 40-46. Print.
- Goodman, Michael A. "Church Growth in Tonga: Historical and Cultural Connections." *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The Pacific Isles*. Eds. Reid L. Nielsen, Steven C. Harper, Craig K. Manscill, and Mary Jane Woodger. Provo, UT, USA: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2008. 27-54. Web. 23 May 2016.
- Gordon, Sarah Ann. *Hitler, Germans, and the "Jewish question."* Princeton, New Jersey, USA: Princeton UP, 1984.
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. "Our Sea of Islands." *The Contemporary Pacific* 6.1 (1993): 147-161. Print.
- Hawgood, John A. *The Evolution of Germany*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1955. Print.
- Helu, 'I. F. *Critical Essays: Cultural Perspectives from the South Seas*. Canberra: ANU Printing Service, 1999. Print.
- Henderson, W. O. *Studies in German Colonial History*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1962. Print.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried. *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache*. Berlin: Voß, 1772. *Projekt Gutenberg – DE*. Web. 23 August 2016.
- Hixson, Lindsay, Bradford B. Hepler, and Myoung Ouk Kim. "The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population: 2010." *2010 Census Briefs May 2012*. US Census Bureau: US Department of Commerce. Web. 5 September 2016.
- The Holy Bible: Authorized King James Version with Explanatory Notes and Cross References to the Standard Works of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Ed. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City, UT [USA]: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979. Print.
- Instituto Brasileiro De Geografia E Estatística. "Censo Demográfico: População e Habitação." *Série Nacional Vol II*. 1940. Web. 18 Feb 2016.
- The Jets: 25th Anniversary*. Pamphlet, no publisher. N.d. Print.
- Keesing, Felix M. *Modern Samoa: Its Government and Changing Life*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1934. Print.
- Kelly, John L. *The South Sea Islands – Possibilities of Trade with New Zealand: A Report to the Auckland Chamber of Commerce*, 1885. In *The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 82*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Library. Web. 19 August 2016.

- Kennedy, Paul M. "Germany and the Samoan Tridominium, 1889-98." In *Germany in the Pacific and Far East*. Eds. John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy. St. Lucia, Queensland: U of Queensland P, 1977. 89-114. Print.
- Knapman, Claudia. *White Women in Fiji 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire?* Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986. Print.
- Knoll, Arthur J. and Hermann J. Hiery, eds. *The German Colonial Experience: Select Documents on German Rule in Africa, China, and the Pacific 1884-1914*. Lanham, MD, USA: UP of America, Inc, 2010. Print.
- Lambkin, Brian. "Hallelujah, We're off to America!: The European Cultures of Origin in Western, Central and Northern Europe." In *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*. Eds. Diethelm Knauf and Barry Moreno. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2010. 27-49. Print.
- Lātūkefu, Sione. *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875*. Canberra, ACT: Australia National University P, 1974. Print.
- Ledyard, Patricia. *The Tongan Past*. 2nd edition. Nukualofa, Tonga: Matheson, 1999. Print.
- Lee, Helen Morton. *Tongans Overseas: Between Two Shores*. Honolulu: U Hawaii P, 2003. Print.
- . "Transforming Transnationalism: Second Generation Tongans Overseas." In *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* 16.2 (2007): 157-178. Print.
- Luke, Sir Harry. *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*. London: Putnam, 1954. Print.
- Luebke, Frederick C. *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration*. Champaign: U Illinois P, 1999. Print.
- Māhina, 'Okusitino. "Myths and History: Some Aspects of History in the Tu'i Tonga Myths." In *Tonga Culture and history: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference held in Canberra 14-17 January 1987*. Eds. Phyllis Herda, Jennifer Terrell, and Niel Gunson. Canberra, ACT: ANU Printing and Publishing Service, 1990. 30-45. Print.
- Making Our Place: Growing up PI in New Zealand*. Ed. Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, Gabrielle Sisifo Makisi. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press, 2003. Print.
- Mallon, Sean. "Little-known Lives: Pacific Islanders in nineteenth-century New Zealand." *Tangata O Le Moana*. Eds. Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai, and Damon Salesa. Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2012. 77-95. Print.
- Manz, Stefan. *Constructing a German Diaspora: The "Greater German Empire", 1871-1914*. New York: Routledge, 2014. Print.
- Martin, John. *An Account of the Natives of the Tongan Islands in the South Pacific Ocean, with an Original Grammar and Vocabulary of their Language*. Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1972. Print.
- Mason, W. Wynne. *Prisoners of War*. Wellington: Historical Publications Branch, 1954. Web. 23 July 2016.
- McBryde, Michael. "German Possessions in the Tropical South Pacific." In *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Bade. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993. 5-14. Print.
- McGill, David. *The Other New Zealanders*. Wellington: Mallinson Rendel, 1982. Print.
- Mizutani, Satoshi. "Rethinking Inclusion and Exclusion: the Question of Mixed-Race Presence in Late Colonial India." *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (2002):1-22. Print.
- Morris, David M. "The Rhetoric of the Gathering and Zion: Consistency through Change, 1831-1920." *International Journal of Mormon Studies* 1 (2008): 154-171. Web. 23 May 2016.

- Morris, Paul. "Polynesians and Mormonism: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the 'Islands of the Sea.'" *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 18:4 (2015): 83-101. Print.
- Moses, John A. "The Coolie Labour Question and German Colonial Policy in Samoa, 1900-1914." *The Journal of Pacific History* 8 (1973): 101-124. Print.
- . "The Solf Regime in Western Samoa: Ideal and Reality." *The New Zealand Journal of History*, VI (1972): 42-56. Print.
- Nagel, Joane. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." In *Social Problems* 41.1 (1994): 152-176. Print.
- Naranch, Bradley D. "Inventing Auslandsdeutsche: Emigration, Colonial Fantasy, and German National Identity, 1848-71." In *Germany's Colonial Pasts*. Eds. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, Lora Wildenthal, and Sander L. Gilman. Lincoln, NE, USA: U of Nebraska P, 2005. 21-40. Print.
- Nelson, Russell M. "The Gathering of Scattered Israel." In *Liahona*, Nov. 2006, pp. 79-81. Print.
- Petersen, Glenn. "Indigenous Island Empires: Yap and Tonga Considered." *The Journal of Pacific History* 35:1 (2000): 5-27. Print.
- Porteous, Michael. "The Pukekohe Detention Centre for German Evacuees from Tonga 1942-1945." *Working papers of the Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific No. 4*. Ed. Bade. Auckland: Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific, 2004. Print.
- Richter, Fa'aki Kihelotu 'Alatini. "Missionary Work in Tonga." In *Mormon Pacific Historical Society* 2.1 (1981): 49-64. Print.
- Riedel, Otto. *Der Kampf um Deutsch-Samoa: Erinnerungen eines Hamburger Kaufmanns*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1938. Print.
- Rössler, Horst. "'The Time has Come, We are Going to America.': The main Travel Routes and Emigrant Ports." In *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*. Eds. Knauf, Diethelm and Barry Moreno. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2010. 89-103. Print.
- Routledge, David. "Pacific History as Seen from the Pacific Islands." *Pacific Studies* 8.2 (1985): 81-99. Print.
- Rutherford, Noel. *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*. 2nd ed. Auckland: Pasifika Press, 1996. Print.
- Ryden, George Herbert. *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa*. New York: Octagon Books, 1975. Print.
- Safran, William. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." In *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1.1 (1991): 83-99. Print.
- Salesa, Toeolesulusulu Damon. "Half-castes between the Wars: Colonial Categories in New Zealand and Samoa." *New Zealand Journal of History* 34.1 (2000): 98-116. Print.
- . "Emma and Phebe: 'Weavers of the Border.'" In *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 123.2 (2014): 145-168. Web. 26 August 2016.
- Schiff, Warren. "The Germans in Mexican Trade and Industry during the Díaz Period." In *The Americas* 23.3 (1967): 279-296. Print.
- Schmidt, Franz. "Ein Schulmannsleben in der Zeitenwende." In *Lebenserinnerungen*. Weinheim [Germany]: Kommissionsverlag Julius Beltz, 1961. Print.
- Sekona, Harvalene K. "Tonga: A Land Dedicated to God." In *Liahona*. Aug 2014: 23-27. Print.
- Small, Cathy A. and David L. Dixon. "Country Profiles – Tonga: Migration and the Homeland." Migration Policy Institute. Washington, D.C: MPI, 2004: 7-8. Web. 01 Sept. 2014.
- Small, Cathy A. *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs*. 2nd ed. New York: Cornell UP, 2011. Print.

- Smith, Joseph. "The Articles of Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." *The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, n.d. Web. 20 May 2016.
- Spennemann, Dirk H. R. "Urbanisation in Tonga: Expansion and Contraction of Political Centres in a Tropical Chiefdom." In *The Development of Urbanism from a Global Perspective*. Eds. Sinclair, Mutoro and Abung, 2002. Web. 29 February 2016.
- Spoehr, Florence Mann. *White Falcon: The House of Godeffroy and Its Commercial and Scientific Role in the Pacific*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1963. Print.
- Steinmetz, George. *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 2007. Print.
- Taufatofua, Pita. "Migration, Remittance and Development: Tonga." *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Sub-Regional Office for the Pacific Islands Report*. Rome: FAO, 2011. Web. 01 Sept. 2014.
- Thaman, Randolph Robert. *The Tongan Agricultural System: With Special Emphasis on Plant Assemblages*. Suva: The University of the South Pacific, 1976. Print.
- Thompson, Debra. "Nation and Miscegenation: Comparing Anti-Miscegenation Regulations in North America." Canadian Political Science Association 80th Annual Conference. 4-6 June 2008, University of Toronto. Conference Paper. Web.
- Tonga 'i Onopooni: Tonga Contemporary. Museum display brochure. Curated Nina Kinahoi Tonga, 12 April– 24 Aug, 2014. Pataka Museum, Porirua. Print.
- Tu'inukuafe, Edgar. "Tongans in New Zealand – A Brief Study." *Tongan Culture and History: Papers from the 1st Tongan History Conference held in Caberra 14-17 January 1987*. Eds. Phyllis Herda, Jennifer Terrell and Niel Gunson. Canberra, ACT: ANU Printing and Publishing Service, 1990. 206-214. Print.
- Walther, Daniel. "Creating Germans Abroad: White Education in German Southwest Africa, 1894-1914." In *German Studies Review* 24.2 (2001): 325-351. Print.
- Wareham, Evelyn. *Race and Realpolitik: The Politics of Colonisation in German Samoa*. In *Germanica Pacifica* Band 1. Ed. James Bade. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2002. Print.
- Webb, Terry. D. "Profit and Prophecy: The Polynesian cultural Centre and Lā'ie's Recurrent Colonialism." In *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 127-150. Print.
- Wendt, Reinhard. "Deutschsein in der Südsee: Berichte des Schweizerischen Konsuls in Neuseeland über Internierte aus Vava'u (Tonga-Inseln) während des Zweiten Weltkriegs." In Wheeler, Roxann. *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2000. Web. 2 August 2016.
- West, Barbara A. *Encyclopedia of the Peoples of Asia and Oceania, Volume 1*. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009. Web. 3 March 2016.
- Wildenthal, Lora. *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945*. London: Duke UP, 2001. Print.
- Wood, A. H. *History and Geography of Tonga*. Kingston, A. C. T., Australia: Kalia Press, 1932. Print.

Family Histories

- "The Cockers of Tonga: The Descendants of Joshua and Elizabeth Cocker." *Mālō Tonga: Koe Ngaahi Tohi Hohoko*. n.d. Web. 7 September 2016.
- Irwin, Caroline Wolfgramm. *Beyond the South Seas: Wolfgramm Family History—1996*. North Logan: n.p, 1996. Print.
- Keil Reunion 2015*. Ed. Hans Joachim Keil III. Unknown publisher: Apia, Samoa, 2015. Print.

Muller, Tony. *From Prussia to the Pacific: The Guttenbeil Family of Tonga*. Auckland: Express Communications Limited, 2013. Print.

Newspapers and Online publications

- “21 Tongans in the NFL.” *Matangi Tonga*. Matangitonga.to, 14 January 2015. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Arnowitz, Nona Willis. “How Pacific Islander Students Are Slipping Through the Cracks.” *NBC News*. Nbcnews.com, 10 July 2014. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Burke, Kathleen and David Chang. “NBC10’s Vai Sikahema Inducted Into Hall of Fame.” *NBC10*. 23 Nov. 2013. Web. 10 May 2016.
- “Census 2013: More ethnicities than the world’s countries.” *New Zealand Herald* 11 Dec 2013. Web.
- Chandonnet, Ann. “Juneau Color: Tongan family makes a village in Southeast.” *Juneau Empire* [Juneau, AK]: 20 July 2001. Web. 10 May 2016.
- Davidson, Lee. “One of every four Tongans in U.S. calls Utah home.” *The Salt Lake Tribune* [Salt Lake City, UT]: 12 Sept. 2011. Web. 10 May 2016.
- “The First Tongans to Come to America: The long road from the Tongan Islands.” *Tonga News Network* [Salt Lake City, UT, USA] 1.1 (1994): 1, 5. Web. 5 May 2016.
- Fonua, Finau. “Mormons surpass Catholics in Tonga.” *Matangi Tonga*. Matangitonga.to, 14 January 2015. Web. 29 August 2016.
- Francis, Neil. “Neil Francis: It will soon become the British & Irish & Tongan & Samoan & Fijian Lions.” *Independent* 10 March 2016: Online. Web. 24 March 2016.
- Goodwyn, Wade. “Texas Football Team Thrives on Tonga Connection.” *National Public Radio*. Npr.org, 4 October 2008. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Huckert, Mathias. “Looking back on a phenomenal fishing tournament.” *Samoa Observer* [Apia, Samoa]: 11 May 2016. Web. 6 September 2016.
- Keresoma, Lagi. “Apia Concrete Products donates \$60,000 for Manu Samoa.” *Talamua Online News* [Apia, Samoa]: 25 June 2015. Web. 6 September 2016.
- Kryiakou, Niko. “San Mateo County Tongan population looks for strength.” *San Francisco Examiner*. 4 Sept. 2011. Web. 10 May 2016.
- Longman, Jere. “Polynesian Pipeline Feeds a Football Titan.” *NY Times*. NYtimes.com, 7 Oct 2008. Web. 30 May 2016.
- . “An island for Tongans in a Texas high school.” *NY Times*. NYtimes.com, 9 Oct 2008. Web. 10 May 2016.
- Lunsford, J. Lynn. “A Tongan War Dance Enlivens Football In Euless, Texas.” *The Wall Street Journal*. Wsj.com, 16 November 2006. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Maiava, Vatapuia. “20th Game Fishing tournament opened.” *Samoa Observer* [Apia, Samoa]: 1 May 2016. Web. 6 September 2016.
- Molina, Alejandra. “Immigration: Tongans building Inland presence.” *The Press Enterprise* [Riverside, CA]: 12 Jan 2016. Web. 10 May 2016.
- “NZ Director hopes to expand to Pacific.” *Radio New Zealand: Te Reo Irirangi O Aotearoa* 31 Dec 2014. Web. Accessed 29 Sept 2015.
- Perrott, Alan. “Days of dawn raids cast a long shadow.” *Nzherald.co.nz* 23 Sept 2000. Web.
- “Queen honours artists, mathematicians, sports people and literary lights.” *New Zealand Herald* 3 Jun 2002. Web.
- Reyes, Emily Alpert. “L.A.’s close-knit Tongan community struggles with poverty.” *LA Times*. LATimes.com, 28 November 2013. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Robinson, Doug. “Doug Robinson: From Tonga to the NFL: Vai Sikahema beating the odds.” *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City, UT]: 8 Oct 2010. Web. 9 May 2016.

- . "Doug Robinson: The immigrant's song: Vai Sikahema inspires Tongan youths." *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City, UT]: 9 Oct 2010. Web. 9 May 2016.
- Savage, Jared. "Tongan sport trio on fake P charges." *Nzherald.co.nz*. 18 August 2011. Web. 10 September 2016.
- Schofield, Daniel. "England v Samoa: Why the world should repay debt to the Pacific Islands." *Telegraph* 21 November 2014: Online. Web. 24 March 2016.
- Sikahema, Vai. "Vai's View: The return of Vai's View." *Deseret News* [Salt Lake City, UT]: 8 May 2014. Web. 10 May 2016.
- Steinberg, Leigh. "How can tiny Samoa dominate the NFL?" *Forbes: SportsMoney*. Forbes.com, 21 May 2015. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Steward, Ian. "Ex-league player tried to import meth." *Stuff.co.nz*. 5 September 2012. Web. 10 September 2016.
- "Third Samoa High Commission Golf Academy Tournament." *Samoa High Commission* [Wellington, New Zealand]: 2 December 2015. Web. 6 September 2016.
- "Tongans in Brussels thankful to be okay." *Matangi Tonga Online*. 25 March 2016. Web. 7 April 2016.
- Trinidad, Elson. "Visibility from Invisibility: The South Bay's Tongan American Community." *KCET*. KCET [Los Angeles, CA, USA] 20 Sept. 2012. Web. 10 May 2016.
- Voices 4 Vanuatu. "Vanuatu fundraiser a booming success." *Scoop Independent News* [Wellington, New Zealand]: 1 April 2015. Web. 6 September 2016.
- Zillgitt, Jeff. "Tongan players help build football powerhouse in Texas." *USA Today*. USAtoday.com, 20 November 2008. Web. 30 May 2016.

Online resources

- Auckland Council. "The Auckland Plan: A Plan for All Aucklanders." Auckland: Auckland Council, 2016. Web. 17 March 2016.
- Brunt, Tony. "*To Walk Under Palm Trees*." Ebook: Auckland, 2016. Web. 20 July 2016.
- COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary. "Diaspora." *Harper Collins Publishers*. Collinsdictionary.com. Web. 24 September 2016.
- Davis, Beth. "Sketches --- Wolfgramm." News article clipping, unknown newspaper. n. d. "Rudolph H. Wolfgramm Memories," Familysearch.org. Web. 5 May 2016.
- Drum Productions. *Drum Productions*, 2014, www.drumproductions.co.nz. Accessed 4 April 2016.
- Dyck, Dagmar. "Biography." *Dagmardyck.com/biography*, 2012. Web. 17 March 2016.
- "Einige Worte zu Preußen." *Freistaat-Preussen*. Freistaat-Preussen, 27 Sept. 2014. Web. 14 April 2016.
- FamilySearch. "Clemens Stephen Wetzell." FamilySearch.org. Web. 3 Aug 2016.
- Germans in Tonga 1855-1960*. The Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific. *Arts Faculty—The University of Auckland*. Online database. N.d. Web. 1 September 2013.
- German-Tongan Legacies*. Facebook. *Facebook.com*. Web. Accessed 13 August 2016.
- Haberstroh, Richard. "Kleindeutschland: Little Germany in the Lower East Side." Lower East Side Preservation Initiative (LESPI). LESPI, n.d. Web. 18 Feb 2016.
- "Hamani/Christian Ludwig Herman Wolfgramm (1868-1910) Photo Album." Wolfgramm & Sanft Reunion. Myevent, n.d. Web. 22 Feb 2016.
- "The Henley & Partners Visa Restrictions Index 2016: Global Travel Freedom at a Glance." *Henley & Partners*. Henleyglobal.com. Web. 27 August 2016.

- “Henry Albert Raass.” Forum thread. *Ancestry.com*. 8 Nov. 2002. Web. 25 May 2016.
- In Football We Trust. “In Football We Trust official trailer.” Online video clip. *YouTube*. YouTube, 8 December 2014. Web. 1 June 2016.
- “Kalani Sitake Staff Bio: Head Football Coach.” *BYUCougars.com*, n.d. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Khawaja, Mansoor, Bill Boddington, and Robert Didham. *Growing Ethnic Diversity in New Zealand and its Implications for Measuring Differentials in Fertility and Mortality*. Statistics New Zealand, 2000. Web.
- Liava’a, Christine. “Re: Edward Becker born about 1834 Germany – Pathways to the Tongan Present.” *Message Boards*. *Ancestry.com*, 9 October 2006. Web. 22 March 2016.
- Love, Janneen. “Telling the Story of the 1914 Occupation of German Sāmoa. *NZ WW100*. *Ww100.govt.nz*. 28 August 2014. Web. 28 July 2016.
- Made in Oceania: Tapa—Art and Social Landscapes*. Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum, Cologne, 2003. Web. 15 March 2016.
- “Michigan RAAS (RAASS).” Forum thread. *Ancestry.com*. 24 Sept. 2015. Web. 25 May 2016.
- “The Name.” Insel Fehmarn Hotel Samoa, n.d. Web. 3 Aug 2016.
- Pacific Society in Germany*. Deutsch-Pazifische Gesellschaft e.V. *Pacific-society.de*. Web. 27 August 2016.
- “Pasifika Festival Auckland.” *Auckland*, 2014, www.aucklandnz.com/pasifika. Accessed 1 April 2016.
- Polynesian Football Hall of Fame: Honouring Polynesia’s Greatest Football Players, Coaches, and Contributors*. Polynesian Football Hall of Fame, n.d. Web. 10 May 2016.
- “Quensell’s ‘Autobiography’: A letter of January 23, 1947 to his friend Charles S. Siger of Los Angeles, California.” *Bettybillingham.co.uk*, n.p., n.d. Web. 14 March 2016.
- Statistics New Zealand. “2013 Census QuickStats about culture and identity: Pacific peoples ethnic group.” *Statistics New Zealand*. 15 April 2014. Web. 24 August 2016.
- Taumoeofolau, Melenaite. “Tongans.” *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 10 Dec 2014. Web.
- “The Diversity Visa Process.” *U.S. Department of State: Bureau of Consular Affairs*, n.d., <https://travel.state.gov/content/visas/en/immigrate/diversity-visa/entry.html>. Accessed 1 September 2016.
- TOFA Inc.* To’utupu ’oe ’Otu Felenite Association, n.d. Web. 30 May 2016.
- “Tonga: Facts and Statistics.” *Mormon Newsroom*. Mormon Newsroom, 2016. Web. 4 May 2016.
- Wendt, Reinhard. “Projekt: Von Pyritz nach Vava’u. Auswanderung von Pommern nach Polynesien und Bildung einer transkulturellen Diaspora von German Pacific Islanders.” *FernUniversität in Hagen*, 2 April 2015, www.fernuni-hagen.de/geschichte/projekte/lg3/pyritz.shtml. Web. 11 August 2016.
- White House Initiative on Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders (WHIAAPI). “Fact Sheet: What you should know about Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (NHPI’s).” WHIAAPI, n.d. Web. 30 May 2016.
- Wolfgramm Family*. Closed group. *Facebook*. Facebook.com. Web. Accessed 27 August 2016.
- “Wolfgramm Glen.” *Bio*. *Orexart.co.nz*. n.d. Web. 17 March 2016.
- Wynn, John D., Daniel A. Reyes, and Willard E. Caldwell. *United States Census 2010: A Description of the 2010 Census Operations and Data Products of the Island Areas, and How They compare to the 50 States and the District of Columbia*. US Department of Commerce—Bureau of the Census. 11 February 2011. Web. 29 August 2016.

Unpublished theses

- Barber, Marian Jean. "How the Irish, Germans, and Czechs Became Anglo: Race and Identity in the Texas-Mexico Borderlands." PhD thesis. The University of Texas at Austin, USA, 2010. Print.
- Cook, Kasia. "Germans in Tonga: A Look at Racial Integration and Relations in the late-Nineteenth and early-Twentieth Centuries." BA Honors thesis. Brigham Young University, 2011. Print.
- Hegarty, Wayne. *New Zealand Immigration Policy: The Tongan Experience*. MA thesis. University of Canterbury, 1977.
- Ka'ili, Tēvita. "Tauhi Vā: Creating Beauty through the Art of Sociospatial Relations." PhD thesis. University of Washington, USA, 2008. Print.
- Lātū, Viliami Uasikē. "International Migration and Societal Change in the Kingdom of Tonga." PhD thesis. Ritsumeiken Asia Pacific University, Japan, 2006. Print.
- Lavaka, Penelope. "The Limits of Advice: Britain and the Kingdom of Tonga, 1900-1970." PhD thesis. Australian National University, 1981. Print.
- Levick, Wayne. "Contract Labour Migration Between Fiji and New Zealand: A Case Study of a South Pacific Work Permit Scheme." MA thesis. University of Canterbury, 1988. Print.
- Malcolm-Black, Joanna. "*Suitable*" for New Zealand: *The Impact of Inter-War Migration on an Emergent Nationalism, 1919-39*. MA thesis. University of Canterbury, 1997. Christchurch: UMI, 1997. Print.
- Mitchell, James. *Immigration and National Identity in 1970s New Zealand*. Diss. University of Otago, 2003. Dunedin: UMI, 2010. Print.
- Salesa, Damon. "'Troublesome Half-Castes': Tales of a Samoan Borderland." MA thesis. The University of Auckland, 1997. Print.
- Soakai, Alfred G. *Tonga and New Zealand: A Pre-History*. MA thesis. University of Auckland, 1993. Print.
- Tu'inukuafe, Karl. "Overseas-trained Tongans and their contribution to the modern development of Tonga." MA thesis. University of Auckland, 1976. Print.
- Vaka'uta, Silia Tupou. "Dwelling in a Hyphen: Tongan diaspora and the question of home." MA thesis. University of Auckland, New Zealand, 2009. Print.

Speeches

- Sikahema, Vai. "Church Culture, Ethnic Culture, and Education." Brigham Young University—Hawaii. Laie, Hawaii. 26 August 2014. Devotional address. Web. 9 May 2016.

Additionally Consulted

Printed

- Hemptenstall, Peter J. *Pacific Islanders Under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*. Canberra, ACT: Australian National UP, 1978. Print.
- Henderson, W. O. *The German Colonial Empire 1884-1919*. London: Fran Cass & Co, Ltd, 1993. Print.
- Hiery, Hermann Joseph. *Die Deutsche Südsee 1884-1914: Ein Handbuch*. Paderborn, Germany: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2001. Print.
- Lawry, Walter. *Friendly and Fiji Islands: a missionary visit to various stations in the South Seas in the year 1847*. London: J. Mason, 1850. Print.

- Lee, Helen Morton. "Pacific Migration and Transnationalism: Historical Perspectives." In *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*. Eds. Lee, Helen and Steve Tupai Francis. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009. Print.
- Morton, Helen. "Creating Their Own Culture: Diasporic Tongans." In *The Contemporary Pacific* 10.1 (1998): 1-30. Print.
- Tangata O Te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Ed. Cluny Macpherson, Paul Spoonley, Melani Anae. Palmerston North: Dunmore, 2001. Print.
- Schnee. "Abschrift Nr. IA 3433/5012 b. Der Präsident der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft an das Reichs-und Preussische Innenministerium." Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt. 17 April 1936. Microfilm.
- Some family lines of Tisina Wolfgramm Gerber: histories of Ludwig Christian Herman Wolfgramm, Helene Hedwig Sanft, Sanft-Wolfgramm, Tonga the friendly islands*. Salt Lake City: Family Printer, circa 1985. Print. Available through Familysearch.org.
- Wendt, Reinhard. "Being German in the South Pacific." Trans. Dieter Dyck. "Deutschsein in der Südsee." Berichte des Schweizerischen Konsuls in Neuseeland über Internierte aus Vava'u (Tonga-Inseln) während des Zweiten Weltkriegs. Von Pyritz nach Vava'u. FernUni-Hagen blog. Web. 4 March 2016.

Personal Communication

- Brahne, Stanley. Personal interview. 26 September 2015.
- Döblitz, Frank. "Mesualina Döblitz." Message to the author. 19 November 2015. Email.
- Dyck, Dieter and Senikau. Personal interview. 13 May 2014.
- Filimoeuli, Mele. "German-Tongan PhD Project." Message to the author. 24 April 2016. Email.
- Haleck, Otto Vincent Jr. Personal interview. 11 April 2016.
- Hansen, Edward. Personal interview. 4 January 2016.
- Hettig, John. Personal interview. 10 July 2016.
- Laupepa, Esca. Personal interview. 4 July 2016.
- Lindsey, Kamake'e Wolfgramm. Personal interview. 3 March 2015.
- Lotaki, Siosua Vaea. Personal interview. 30 June 2016.
- Vahai, Oloka. Personal interview. 24 May 2014.
- Wihongi, Stranz. Personal interview. 31 May 2014.
- Wolfgramm, Albert and Marianne. Personal interview. 24 May 2014.
- Wolfgramm, Frederick Carl and Mereanna. Personal interview. 25 March 2015.