Ocean Nets: The Maintenance and Dissolution of an Indigenous Small World-System in West Polynesia

by

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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This thesis is an application of the theory and method of the comparative world-systems approach to West Polynesia. This study examines the interactions between the archipelagos of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa during the period between 1770 and 1870, that include the exchange in prestige valuables, military/political interactions, and marriages. Using the nested interaction net model of Chase-Dunn and Hall, this thesis analyzes the interactions in order to determine whether the interactions display systemic properties, that is to say whether the interactions are important in the social reproduction in each of the particular societal units of the region. The archival evidence shows that the region was an indigenous world-system, whereby interactions served to maintain the stability of the system, which then as a result of European involvement in the region resulted in an increase of Tongan political domination, before the entire system was broken up and governed by different colonial powers.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgments

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this Thesis to my parents
who have supported me all these years.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sources on the history of the western Pacific show that the island groups of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa have been tied together in an exchange network for many centuries, consisting of many different types of interactions. The central question examined in this thesis is: Was there a small world-system in West Polynesia? Corollary questions are: What type was it? What held it together? How did it respond to Western intervention? These questions stem from the study of the comparative approach to world-systems theory proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) that is used to empirically examine each type of interaction. The application of world-systems theory to the Pacific Islands fills a gap in the use of this approach, because the application of this theory so far have concentrated on continental systems of Asia and Europe, and have for the most part excluded the "Americas, southern Africa and much of Oceania" (Marks 2007: 35, 42 fn. 24; Marks 2015: 33 – 37, 225 fn.32). This means that the application of this theory to the Pacific is important for the empirical examination of systems in the Pacific. In this thesis, I will be taking up the challenge of Chase-Dunn and Hall (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 7) of applying this approach more to tributary systems as part of increasing empirical knowledge of world-systems of different types.

Chapter 1 sets up the problem and significance of the main argument of this thesis, starting with an introduction to Chase-Dunn and Hall's comparative approach to world-systems theory. Following that theoretical opening, I will briefly preview the kinds of interactions observed in the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan region, and will present what others have written about the region. I will then develop the concepts and methods for my

new analysis using the comparative world-systems approach. I believe the significance of this research, lies both in terms of the academic significance and the real world significance of this research for people of the region, and better understanding of the events and transformations that occurred in this region between 1770 and 1870 into historical context in terms of the expansion of European powers throughout the world. Finally, I will provide a chapter outline of this thesis which will lay out the particular issues that are relevant to this thesis. The key issues include the exchange of prestige valuables important in hierarchical relations, the political and military interactions that occurred and expanded in this system during this colonial period, the importance of marriage patterns for understanding this pre-modern world-system, and finally the changes to the system as a result of responses to European involvement in the region.

Main Argument

Comparative world-systems' theory is an approach to the study of societal development and transformation that emphasizes the connections that exist among various societies, rather than analyzing the internal aspects of societal structures strictly as discrete units of analysis. More specifically, the comparative approach compares world-systems of different types that are classified on the basis of modes of accumulation as capital, tributary, or kin-ordered systems in order to empirically determine how societies and systems have transformed over time (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997; Chase-Dunn & Jorgenson 2001). Chase-Dunn and Hall's comprehensive work includes a test case representing the kin-ordered type, the Wintu, a group of sedentary foragers in Northern California (Chase-Dunn and Mann1998); this is a partial contribution to the

study of pre-modern kin-ordered world-systems (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997: 251; Chase-Dunn & Mann 1998: 5).

Chase-Dunn and Hall define world-systems as "intersocietal networks in which the interactions (e.g., trade, warfare, intermarriage, information) are important for the reproduction of the internal structures of the composite units and importantly affect changes that occur in these local structures" (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997: 28, 275), that is to say that changes in the larger system or in one constituent part of the system can have profound effects on the local conditions of another constituent part of the system and on the system as a whole.

Furthermore, Chase-Dunn and Hall provide a conceptual model which can be used as a methodological approach, consisting of a set of nested interaction networks based on the type of interactions observed in the system and present a model of the relation between these nets. The nets method is also a way to identify the geographical boundaries of a given world-system at a particular historical period (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997: 52 – 55; Chase-Dunn and Jorgenson 2001).

According to Chase-Dunn and Hall, scholars with various approaches for world-systems studies have defined what constitute regional systems in different ways. These views range from a civilizational approach focusing on city and state societies as units of analysis, a circulation approach, focusing on the exchange of commodities and ideas of "commodity chains" and relations along the links between producers, distributors, and the consumers, and a political approach which focus on political connections among societies, and on conflict and warfare (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997: 11 – 14). Chase-Dunn and Hall's comparative world-systems approach provides a model of interactions that is

based on the types of interactions and spatial boundaries which are 'nested' in structure, with the movement of bulk goods being the smallest and contained within a political/military net, which in turn is situated within a prestige goods net (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997: 54). The prestige goods net is important because it is the exchange of prestige goods that contribute to systemic change due to political elites controlling the exchange in preciosities according to many scholars (Chase-Dunn & Hall 1997:13).

To show the systemic properties of the region, one must be able to demonstrate that societal units function as part of the whole and that the whole affects the parts – it is not enough to be able to show linkages and connections among societies. Social reproduction occurs an a regional basis and changes in the overall system affecting conditions of local units (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 28). For example, Kaeppler points out that the long distance marriage of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to the line of the Tu'i Lakepa from the Lau Islands of Fiji was a necessary component to the maintenance of the Tongan hierarchical and social structure (Kaeppler 1978). This would represent a change in the system affecting local conditions. The main question of my thesis is as follows: did the Tonga-Fiji-Samoa region meet the terms of a small world-system, in terms of the model, rather than just a regional network?

Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, were connected to one another during the period of time 1770 – 1830, when the societies were still autonomous when Europeans first encountered them, and were important into the 20th Century.

Adrienne Kaeppler, based on a special relationship with Queen Salote of Tonga in the mid 20th Century, described the region in terms of being three linked cultures, connected to each other through exchange and marriage (Kaeppler 1978). Hage and

Harary (1996) illustrated the form and content of the area using statistical methods have made the same point; that there were important links of long-distance exchanges (Hage & Harary 1996).

In adding a political element to this idea of networks, scholars have examined the region as being the Tongan Maritime Empire (Petersen 2000: 8). Neil Gunson, for example uses the term "Tongan Imperium" (Gunson 1990: 177, 187), although he makes it clear that while there were many battles between Tongans and Samoans, which were mostly internal Samoan conflicts (Gunson 1990: 187), the periods of dominance at the hands of the Tongans probably coincided with periods of time when there were strong marriage connections between the them (Gunson 1990: 187).

The view that the region was the Tongan Empire is critiqued by some. I. C. Campbell (1992) for example argues that the notion of the region being an empire is improbable. In order to be an empire, he argues, there would need to be a central government that was exercising absolute imperial power over Samoa, for example, coupled with continuous communication between them. Communication, he points out, was "sporadic" in many parts, and therefore would require direct colonization, for which there is no evidence (Campbell 1992: 10 – 13).

In this study with comparative world-systems approach, and by using the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region during the historical period of time, as a static analysis, between 1770 and 1830, and then as a changing system up to 1870 (for which there are first-hand descriptions by missionaries and sailors of the interactions between the Islands) as a test case, this thesis will examine, as a methodological approach, the validity and usefulness of the comparative model of world-systems theory in the analysis of Pacific regional

systems. My thesis will address the following questions: were there regional systems in the Pacific? If so, what was the form and content of the Pacific systems (in particular Tonga-Fiji-Samoa? What was the dominant system logic (in terms of the types of exchanges present) of the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan system and how does it fit in to the model of comparative world-systems theory? My thesis will argue that the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region was not simply a trade network or an empire prior to European involvement but did, in fact, show the characteristics of a system as defined by Chase-Dunn and Hall. I will further argue that while the evidence does not show the existence of a Tongan empire prior to the arrival of Europeans, I will make the case that, as a result of European involvement, the indigenous system expanded in terms of both exchange and political domination, resulting in the beginnings of an imperial-type structure. The evidence of this expansion lies in the appointment of a governor in Moala to oversee the production of coconut oil as tribute (Sahlins 1962: 373 – 375). I will also show, that in terms of modes of accumulation, this system had a mixed kin-based and tributary mode of accumulation, that was on the way to being transformed into a tributary mode, based on data from Moala.

Significance

Investigations into the social structure of the islands in the Pacific for the most part have often taken a culturalist approach that uses cultures as units of analysis. That is to say studies tend to examine particular cultures in their own colonially defined historical context. However it has been recognized from the archaeological record that Pacific Islands, including Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa have been parts of networks for many centuries (e.g., Davidson 1978; Kirch 1984), and that there was influence exerted such as

the case of Tongan cultural influence in the Lau Islands (Hocart 1952). The evidence for world-systems connections is strong enough to argue that the study of the particular places requires a focus at the level of a small world-system in which Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa were parts.

The significance is on two different levels, academic and 'real world'. First of all the academic significance lies with the way in which societies are studied. Currently, if one looks at the map of the Pacific, it is immediately clear that the map of the Tonga-Fiji-Samoa region is divided up into different nation states that are separate entities (in terms of units of analysis), and culture groups: Tonga and Samoa as part of Polynesia, and Fiji as part of Melanesia. In effect the divide between Melanesia and Polynesia as separate entities is directly through the regional system, separating Fiji from Tonga and Samoa.

Generally in Pacific Island studies, the main approach to the study of the societies have been through the lens of historical particularism, which emphasizes that different cultures have their own particular historical contexts, and the analysis should be done in context of the societies being studied, as discrete units of analysis. But nets of interaction between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa shows that the region should be thought of, as Kaeppler argued, one society containing three distinct cultures (Kaeppler 1978: 246), and moreover as being a small world-system in the way defined by the comparative world-systems approach.

This finding suggests further that change in parts of a system is the result of changes in the system as a whole. In the past, before encounters with Europeans, evidence shows there was active in the region a small world-system – a unified system of interaction between the island groups, that was effectively broken up due to the actions of

the imperial and colonial forces. As a result, in the post colonial period, these island groups became separate and independent states that are now on the extreme periphery of the modern world-system, largely ignored as unimportant by the centres of economic and military power, and thus have little say in how the world is run – even in areas that affect the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region. Simply stated, they are now too small to have much in the way of effect.

It is important, in terms of significance, to place this thesis into the historical context. The time period when Europeans became involved in the region coincides with the expansion of Europeans throughout the world, for example in the case of the semi-colonization of China, the addition of India to the British Empire, and involvement in Japan. This period saw the transformation of many societies around the world as a result. An example of this is Japan, which responded to European involvement by industrializing in order to prevent colonization by Europeans (Marks 2007: 131). The result of this industrialization was that Japan became a colonial power in turn, after having defeated the Chinese in 1895, and the Russians in 1905, which in turn resulted in to the repealing of the unequal treaties in 1911 (Marks 2007: 135). The transformation of societies as a result of European involvement did not always result this way, but rather in the destruction of traditional societies and governing structures.

Method

In this thesis, the methodology that I employ is archival research. The information that I am using can be broken down into two main categories, ethnographic and historical, and indigenous. In terms of the scheme of nested interaction networks provided by Chase-Dunn and Hall, I will focus on two nets in particular, the prestige

goods net and the political/military net, because these interactions are best suited for determining systemic properties in the region.

Firstly, ethnographic and historical evidence will include first hand observations of cultural systems, social systems, and kinship systems. Ethnographic information includes the use for which certain prestige items – such as mats, red feathers and so on – were used, and the ceremonies that were involved, such as marriages and investitures (Kaeppler 1978). Other information concerns the role of conflict and political dominance in the region – such as the interference of Tongans in Fijian wars, and the increase in Tongan domination in Fiji, and also the periodic interference in Samoan politics at the hands of Tongans. Also the role of canoes that were built in Lau by Tongans and controlled by Tongan sailors (Kirch 1984), and the invasion in the 1800s of Fiji by Tonga (Derrick 1946) will be discussed. Other sources that I will include are the first hand descriptions of the societies within this region, which include observations found in the journals of Captain Cook and his officers, the observations of John Williams who was a missionary who lived extensively in Samoa (Williams 1984). Other missionaries such as Lawry and Churchward, beachcombers such as William Diapea, the renegade missionary, George Vason, Mrs Smythe who was the wife of the British Commisioner, Col. Smythe, sent to investigate the offer of territorial control by Fijians. (Lawry 1852; Churchward 1887; Diapea 1928; Vason 1810; Smythe 1864). These sources provide primary data on the interactions among the island groups and historical changes to the system.

I will also examine information that comes from oral histories and traditions that demonstrates the nature of the connections between the the component parts of the

system, and as a way of spatially bounding the system. These records and accounts in myths and stories are relevant because they represent the ideational web of the system from the points of view of the Tongans, Fijians, and Samoans, and how they observed the linkages that existed between the islands. The oral traditions found in Krämer (1994a) concerning the origins of the Samoan fine mats are particularly revealing on the values involved with this important form of prestige valuables.

Chapter Outline

In chapter 2, I will focus on the theoretical considerations of this thesis. I will discuss each theoretical element that are drawn from Chase-Dunn and Hall, and then I will contextualize each discrete element to the case study in question. Following this I take all the elements of the theory and bring them together and present in detail the expected conclusion of this thesis. Chapter 2 will also provided a brief description of the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan region, and some of the general observations of the connections between the three archipelagos at the time of the arrival of Europeans.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the exchange in prestige valuables between the three groups. This chapter focuses on interaction between Tonga and Samoa in particular, and will focus only on those prestige goods that show systemic properties, and for that reason it focuses on the exchange of red feathers and Samoan fine mats. In this chapter I will first discuss red feathers in terms of their symbolic meaning, and the uses for which they were put, such as in the manufacture of fine masts in Samoa. I will then discuss the origins of the fine mats, and their importance to the social reproduction of both Samoa and Tonga, paying attention to marriage ceremonies, funerals, and in the investiture of

titles. I will demonstrate that the exchange in these items was systemic in nature, meaning that they were crucial to the social reproduction in these two groups.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the political and military interactions mainly between Tonga and Fiji. I will discuss the role of canoes in the extraction of tribute in Tonga, and will demonstrate that this was facilitated by the building of canoes in Fiji by Tongans due to the lack of sufficient trees in Tonga from which the canoes were made. I will then examine the role of building canoes in Fiji in terms of the conflict that the acquisition of canoes caused between the Tongans and Fijians. Following this I will discuss the involvement of Tongans in Fijian wars in terms of the removal from Tonga of young chiefs who went to fight in Fiji to earn a name for themselves, and thus did not cause trouble at home. This chapter will demonstrate that, in terms of conflict, the interactions between Tonga and Fiji were systemic interactions .

Chapter 5 describes the underlying 'glue' that kept the system going. This refers to the marriage patterns that existed among all three island groups. I will start out by examining the relative rank of women in Tonga, that is to say between chiefs and their sisters. This is important because the relative rank of women in Tongan society, particularly high ranking women, is the reason for the patterns. This chapter focuses on long distance marriage and succession of titles. The marriage patterns developed in association of the needs of Tongan social hierarchy, and thus Tonga became the apex of the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan system as suggested by Kaeppler (Kaeppler 1978). I will discuss the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga's sister to the Tui Lakeba, and will make the case that this was deliberately done in order to prevent her children from taking the title of Tu'i Tonga, which could have destabilized the system. I will then examine the

importation of brides from Samoa as a way to make sure the *hau*, or military chiefs had sufficiently high ranking brides, and also the prestige valuables these marriages brought, which is of crucial importance. Following this, I will examine the marriage of the daughter of the *hau* to the Tu'i Tonga as the favoured wife, and will make the case that this marriage is what connected the two marriage patterns mentioned above and unified these marriages into one, unified system.

Chapter 6 examines the expansion and changes in regional linkages as a result of European involvement in regional affairs, particularly with respect to the introduction of Christianity, that led to a pulse of increasing Tongan political and military expansion in the region, I will make the case that the advent of Europeans brought about a chain of events which led to the eventual break up of this indigenous system and the colonization of the constituent parts (with the exception of Tonga). European ideas, such as Christianity, were used by Tongans to control large areas of the Lau group. The highlighted example was the introduction of direct rule in Moala (Sahlins 1962), for example, and the coercive extraction of tribute from Moala in the form of coconut oil. This spread of influence and power contributed to the cessation of Fiji to Britain in 1874, a key event in the demise of the small world-system.

The conclusion of this thesis will analyze the previous chapters with respect to the comparative world-systems theory of Chase-Dunn and Hall, and will show that prior to the arrival of Europeans there was an indigenous system that fit into the nested interaction net scheme proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall, and that had a limited hierarchical core/periphery structure, with Tongatapu as a moderate centre of accumulation in the system as a whole. This system then pulsed outwards with Tongan

expansion in terms of both the exchange in prestige valuables, and in the growth of political influence of the Tongans only to collapse the break up of the system under colonial pressure. This chapter will finally tie in the events, in particular the expansion of the Tongans, in this region and fit them into the larger picture during a period of time when Europeans were rapidly expanding into large parts of the world.

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Empirical Outline

There are many elements to an analysis that shows the systemic nature of the interactions linking Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan to form a regional world-system. These include key concepts of the mode of accumulation, the spatial bounding of the system, the systemic properties of the regional interactions, efflorescence and pulsation, core/periphery structure, and ideas of semi-peripheral development and the transformation of the system. This chapter will present the main theoretical and empirical elements of this thesis, and will define each discrete element and its application. Following these definitions, I will point out the importance of this comparative world-systems approach for understanding the Oceania region, and then tie each element together and present the the argument of this thesis.

Different Approaches to World-Systems Theory

World-systems theory is an approach that analyzes societal development and transformation that emphasizes the connections that exist among various societies, rather than analyzing the changes that occur within individual societies strictly in terms of themselves. In other words, it is an approach that takes the unit of analysis to be the system as a whole, rather than individual societal units and cultures being the unit of analysis. There are many different approaches to world-systems theorizing that range from the focus on cities and states, to those that focus on the exchange of commodities – including "commodity chains" that examine relations at points in the cycle of production, exchange and consumption, and political interactions and conflict (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 10 – 14). These different approaches can be roughly divided into two main groups

– 'lumpers' and 'splitters'. The lumpers are best represented by theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, who proposed the existence of a single 5000 year old world system, that was based on capital exchange (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 18; Frank and Gills 1993; Frank 1990). Chase Dunn and Hall state that they are on the 'splitter' side of the continuum, which considers the theory in terms of many smaller systems, which Wallerstein calls “mini-systems”, and which cover a smaller geographical area (Wallerstein 1984: 148). The approach of Chase-Dunn and Hall is known as comparative world-systems theory, and is the approach that I am using as the main theoretical underpinning of this thesis.

The Comparative World-Systems Approach and Modes of Accumulation

The comparative approach of Chase-Dunn and Hall compares world-systems of different types in terms of the different system logics that differing societies employ as core modes of accumulation. Chase-Dunn and Hall define modes of accumulation as “the deep structural logic[s] of production, distribution, exchange, and accumulation” (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 29). In their approach, they identify and define four modes of production, which they call kin-ordered mode, tributary mode, capitalist mode, and socialist mode. The kin-ordered mode of accumulation is when accumulation is organized along kinship lines, and are based on definitions of “value, obligations, affective ties, kin-ship networks” that are consensually agreed on (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 30). In this mode, accumulation and exchange operates on the principles of obligation and reciprocity among kin that go along with the item. Exchange incurs an obligation on the part of the person receiving the gift to a), accept the gift, and b), return the gift with another gift of equal or greater value in ongoing relations of reciprocity rather than

commodity purchase and sale. Often the giving of a gift was made in the context of securing or reinforcing an alliance, and so refusing to accept the gift or failure to return it would have resulted in warfare, because it would represent a rejection of amicable relations (Mauss 1967).

The tributary mode of accumulation is based on the control of production, accumulation, and exchange of goods by means of political coercion and legal statutes (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 30). In this mode, the political and ruling elites extracted surplus by force or by threat of force and the tributary obligations are unequal. The capitalist mode is where the production, exchange and circulation of commodities and so on are based on market economics and the commodification of wage labour (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 30).

The final mode of accumulation is known as the socialistic mode of accumulation whereby all production, accumulation, and exchange is governed collectively. This mode was represented in some socialist states of the 20th Century, but at the world-level is hypothetical as a future transformation (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 30).

Chase-Dunn and Hall point out that there can be different modes of accumulation within a given system (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 31). A given mode is not exclusive to the structure of any given system, but rather is dominant. In other words, there can be world-systems where there is more than one mode of accumulation. In each system, there is a dominant mode of exchange (or predominant modes of accumulation, in the case of Chase-Dunn and Hall) (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 31; Karatani 2014). A system that consists of more than one dominant mode is thus described as a mixed mode such as in the case of hierarchically stratified stateless societies where the “exploitation of

commoners" and the extraction of tribute is mediated using "kinship metaphors" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 31). This thesis will show that the Tonga had a mixed mode of accumulation whereby the interactions and accumulation involved kin ship within extended family groups, and direct extraction of tribute from the Tongan people to the paramount chief, the Tu'i Tonga, in the case of the annual first fruits ceremony, known as the *'inasi*. I will further show, that as a result of European involvement, the mode of accumulation began to shift toward a full blown tributary mode of accumulation, as evidenced by the taking over of the means of production in Moala (Sahlins 1962).

Thus, the comparative approach to world-systems theory involves, as the name suggests, the comparison of different world-systems in terms of the systemic logic of a given system, that is to say the comparison of different systems in terms of their modes of accumulation, in order to discern the processes which govern the transformation of systems. Chase-Dunn and Hall have pointed out the need for more studies of the tributary mode of accumulation, and this study is a contribution on that subject (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 7).

Spatially Bounding World-Systems in the Comparative Approach

A main reason for using the comparative approach to world-systems analysis is because Chase-Dunn and Hall provide a model that is particularly suited for empirically determining the geographical bounding of a given regional system. This model consists of a series of networks of interaction, each of which focuses on a different type of interaction. The method of interaction nets represents the principle that all types of "regularized" economic and social interactions ought to be considered when determining the geographical extent of any given system (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 52). In their

model these interaction nets are arranged in a nested fashion based on the relative geographical extent of a given type of interaction. Chase-Dunn and Hall propose that the smallest of the nets is the bulk goods net, which is contained within a political/military net, which in turn is contained within a prestige goods net. The information net is often overlapping with the prestige goods net because the prestige goods and information nets mark the geographical extent of the system as a whole (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997:53 – 54).

Generally speaking, bulk goods are those classes of goods that include raw materials that are used in the manufacture of other items, food and other items that do not have prestige value. In chapter three, I will discuss the exchange in red feathers. These items are used in the manufacture of fine mats in Samoa (which I shall also discuss). Normally, because they are used to make something else, I would class them as bulk goods, but because they have demonstrable prestige value in and of themselves, I have classed them as prestige goods.

The political/military net is concerned with interactions that are of a war-like and political nature. These interactions, in the case of Tonga, Fiji and Samoa, include the building of canoes in Fiji by Tongans, which were used in the collection of tribute, and as vehicles that facilitated the ability of Tongans to intrude themselves into Fijian conflicts. There was a question about whether canoes should be treated as bulk-goods, since they are concrete items. The conclusion I come to is that because they were used for political and military purposes, they should not be treated as bulk-goods, but should be included in the political/military net.

The prestige goods net is generally considered to be the largest net, and is used to empirically describe the movement of prestige valuables which Chase-Dunn and Hall define as being "symbolically important goods, typically exotic imports, often of high value-to-weight ratio, whose ownership confers prestige on the owner" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 274). This class of goods is of theoretical importance because the exchanges within a prestige goods economy are controlled by political elites who are concerned with raising their status or with maintaining their stature (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 274). In the context of the Tonga-Fiji-Samoa region, these goods include those that are crucial in many different ceremonies including marriage ceremonies and investitures to titles.

In theory, the information net overlaps with the prestige goods net (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 54). This occurs in the case of down the line trading, for example, where information that accompanies the exchange from person to person becomes lost.

The analysis of nets requires different forms of data and the information available in the sources provides a basis for close examination of the political/military net and prestige goods net in particular. This study focuses on these two nets to establish the systemic nature of the linkages.

Systemic Properties of Interaction Nets

In a thesis study, Tamara Sone (2006) provides a complete analysis of the interactions among Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa and provides a comprehensive list of goods exchanged, and others, such as Kaeppler have done the same (Sone 2006; Kaeppler 1978). Sone's analysis does not, however, go into whether or not the interactions between the three islands groups displayed systemic properties. The main point of this thesis is that these interactions were systemic in nature, in accordance with the definition of

systemness presented by Chase-Dunn and Hall. The essential feature is the relationship between part and whole. Connections make a system when "intersocietal networks in which the interactions (e.g., trade, warfare, intermarriage, information) are important for the reproduction of the internal structures of the composite units and importantly affect changes that occur in the local structures" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 28). In other words the interactions between constituent societies within a given network maintain the structure of those societies, and a change in one part of the system affects the societal units within the system, and the system as a whole, are affected.

In order to demonstrate the systemic properties of the region, I will focus on two of the interaction nets only. These two nets are the political/military net and the prestige goods net. These two nets are of particular importance in this discussion, because there is ample evidence to use. The demonstration of systemic properties in this thesis relies on the exchange of particular prestige valuables – red feathers and Samoan fine mats, which I mentioned above. The red feathers are used in the manufacture of the Samoan fine mats, and are important due to their symbolic value, and the mats demonstrate systemic properties due to their value in marriages and investiture ceremonies in Samoa and in Tonga, as will be discussed in chapter three.

I am also relying on political and military interactions, particularly those between Tonga and Fiji. Specifically, I will be examining the manufacture of canoes by Tongans in Fiji, and the use of these canoes in the collection of tribute in Tonga, and their use in conflicts back at home and in Fiji. In this particular interaction net, I will also examine the conflicts that the Tongans engaged in, again at home in Tonga and in Fiji. I will demonstrate in chapter four that these interactions displayed systemic properties by

pointing out that canoes were necessary items in the collection of tribute and in warfare, because an absence of these canoes would have made inter-island transportation difficult. Similarly, I will argue that participation in Fijian wars by Tongans was systemic both because it, initially, kept Tongan chiefs from fighting at home, which would have destabilized the social structures that existed, and also were a method for acquiring canoes.

The question of marriage relations is important to the discussion of systemic properties, because marriage in kin based societies in particular was a fundamental aspect of the political connections between societies in almost all world-systems (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 52, 135). As such, I propose that in the case of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, marriage relations were intimately associated with prestige goods exchange and political and military alliances. Consequently I will include within my analysis of this case an examination of the marriage patterns among families in the three archipelagos, and the evidence will show that these marriage links are themselves systemic in nature.

Efflorescence and Pulsation

In looking at historical changes, the idea of pulsation is relevant for this case. All systems pulsate, "in the sense that the spatial scale of integration, especially by trade, becomes larger and then smaller again. During the enlarging phase, trade networks grow in territorial size and become more dense in terms of the frequency of transactions", and that during the "declining phase" the frequency of exchanges lessen and the connections between territories also lessen (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 204). Along with the decline, an increased focus on local cultural distinctions occurs (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 204). This last point is important because it shows that, during the expanding stage, there is a

greater focus on a more centralized power structure. In fact, Chase-Dunn and Hall explicitly state this when they say that "all hierarchical intersocietal systems go through sequences of centralization and decentralization of economic, political, and social power. [This] refers to [the] distribution of power among interacting polities rather than [to] the degree of hierarchy within polities" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 206). This concept in world-systems studies relates to the idea of efflorescence of exchange early in the colonial period.

In a study of the effects of colonialism in Papua New Guinea, Gregory (1982) concluded that the arrival of Europeans brought about an efflorescence of prestige valuable exchange. Efflorescence refers to the infusion of new prestige valuables into a system, and also refers to an increase in the volume and frequency of goods being exchanged (Gregory 1982: 4, 115, 166; Sone 2006: 19).

As part of a phase of pulsation, the volume of the exchanges effloresced, the centralization of power and hierarchy within the system increased (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 206). If one considers political influence and domination to be concrete objects, in the same way that prestige valuables are concrete objects, then one can describe the interactions in the same manner. Thus, it will be demonstrated that, in the case of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa – specifically Tonga and Fiji – that the political and military interactions effloresced in terms of political influence and domination, which in turn moved to a central polity (centralized), which, for a short period of time, was Tonga, which increased the geographical area that it controlled, although the effect ultimately was not permanent, and constricted back to a local political unit when the system fell apart and each of the units were dominated by various Western powers.

Core/periphery Structure

The question of dominance and hierarchy is important when one is determining the structure of a given system. As I mentioned above, in the case of pulsation, hierarchy does not refer to the internal structure of a constituent polity, but rather among constituent parts of the system as a whole. There are two possible hierarchical structures that I am considering, peer-polity structure and core/periphery structure, although I do think that these are not mutually exclusive when considering transformations in any given system, and that one structural form can change into the other form over time.

Peer-polity structure is a non-hierarchical structure, and thus is a contrast to the core/periphery model. In a peer-polity structure, there is not a central polity with a number outlying communities that serve to subsidize it. The peer-polity model is a regional interaction model that is made up of a number of independent polities that are roughly the same size, often with a common linguistic and cultural context (Renfrew 1986). As a result, new societal structures, such as political, legal, military, and religious institutions will appear at roughly the same time and thus the process is not an independent one (Renfrew 1986). There are various ways in which societal change occurs within this structure, among them war, competitive emulation whereby constituent societies do not wish to be outdone by their neighbours, and so will compete through a process of 'one-up-manship', that is to say the desire to appear superior to others. Other ways in which change happens is through trade, and the corresponding spread of ideas – thus implying a greater 'ideas network' (Chase-Dunn & Mann, 1998) – and innovative thinking, which in turn could be considered to be a part of competitive emulation

(Renfrew 1986). However the effect of this is a situation where one constituent part of a system is not in a position of dominance (Renfrew 1986; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 39).

Core/periphery structure by contrast, is hierarchical to some degree. Chase-Dunn and Hall make the distinction between core/periphery differentiation, where constituent parts of a system are at different levels of societal complexity, and core/periphery hierarchy, where some polities within a system are dominated by another (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 36). Studies of tributary systems are few, and Chase-Dunn and Hall point out that this structure may not be typical in all cases. Rather, they point out that the form of the inter-societal linkages, in terms of hierarchy, should be empirically determined in each case (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 36 – 37).

In terms of core/periphery differentiation, Tonga had a slightly more centralized power structure than Samoa and Fiji. Tonga's power structure consisted of a number of chiefs governing their own extended family groups, but in addition there was an overarching centralized tri-partite power structure consisting of the paramount chief called the Tu'i Tonga, and the hau which was responsible for the day to day running of Tonga, including military action. The *hau* was the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and then later on, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. This centralized power structure was maintained through the extraction of tribute such as the *'inasi* which will be discussed in chapter 4. Samoa, in contrast to this, had a supreme king, but those chiefs who did become king did not take part in the governing of individual districts, which remained more or less independent (Krämer 1994a:19). Similarly the Tongan structure also contrasted to Fiji, where the people were organized by kin-ship village units, which combined to form *vanua,* or chiefdoms , but

apparently without an overarching monarch (Norton 1993; Turner 1986), until Cakombau became paramount through conquest.

In order to see whether or not there is a core/periphery structure, in terms of hierarchy, the existence of a centre needs to be determined. This thesis will show that the flow of prestige valuables show a centre of accumulation, which was Tonga, and which agrees with Kaeppler's conclusion that Tonga represented the apex of this exchange network (Kaeppler 1978). The data show that Tonga was positioned at the apex of exchanges in prestige valuables moving from Fiji to Samoa and *vice versa*, because there was little direct exchange between Fiji and Samoa. It is the finding in this analysis that Tonga was the centre of accumulation in the system. In conjunction with this centricity, the flow of influence and political domination after the arrival of Europeans, accumulated in Tonga.

Marriage patterns also can be used to show centricity. Chase-Dunn and Hall's used this approach in their examination of the Wintu people of what is now part of the northern end of California's Sacramento Valley (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 121 – 148; Chase-Dunn and Mann 1998). In this case, they determined that the Wintu were wife takers, which they say is the determiner of coreness in terms of marriage, and they concluded that the relationship between the Wintu and their neighbours was mildly core/periphery in nature, in terms of hierarchy (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 137 – 138).

Because marriage patterns are important in determining core/periphery hierarchy, this thesis, in addition to discussing the movement of prestige valuables and the role of conflict, examines the marriage patterns between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. The evidence will show that Tonga acted as spouse takers, and that these marriage patterns existed in

order to serve the needs of Tongan social reproduction in terms of the maintenance of ruling lineages, such as the Tu'i Tonga – the Tongan paramount chief. These marriages were of systemic importance also because these marriages brought with them valuable prestige items that were also systemically important to the reproduction of ruling structures.

Semi-periphery

Chase-Dunn and Hall hypothesize that semi-peripheries are the agents that affect change in a given world-system (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 78). They outline a number of different situations whereby a polity is defined as semi-periphery. Two of these that are important for this thesis are when a polity mixes "both core and peripheral forms of organization", and those that are "intermediate in form between those forms found in adjacent core and peripheral areas" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 78).

Tonga was a central point of accumulation in the indigenous period. After Europeans started to involve themselves in the region, all parts of the system became peripheral to the modern world system as a whole. As time went on, up until the mid 19th Century, Tonga took on more European ideas, which included Christianity and British legal ideas in particular. Christianity is of specific importance, because it will be seen in chapter 6 that the introduction and subsequent adoption of Christianity by Tongans was the was a contributing force that led to a period Tongan expansion in the region. In other words, because Christianity was part of the reason for Tongan domination in the region, Tonga strengthened as a semi-periphery, which in turn led to further attempted domination of the system. However, despite being a semi-periphery, Tonga was not able to extend and hold control over the peripheries in the region for long. It was not strong

enough and after Fiji was ceded to Britain in the context of Tongan semi-peripheral expansion, Tongan influence, as well as the rest of the regional system shrank, and it became part of the extreme periphery of the modern world system. However, despite the break up of the system, Tonga was able to avoid being colonized by Britain, whereas a divided Samoa and Fiji both became colonial possessions.

Application of World-systems Theory to Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa

The application of world-systems theory to the region is important, because while there is a large amount that has been written about the connections and exchange in the region, in terms of it being a trade network, and in terms of it comprising a Tongan Empire, world-systems theory has not really been applied to the region. Robert Marks (2007, 2015), makes the point that the world, as it relates to world-systems theory, does not include the Americas, Southern Africa or Oceania (Marks 2007: 35, 42 footnote 24; Marks 2015: 33 – 37, 225 fn.32), and others have applied the theory to Asia and Europe for the most part (Sone 2006: 6; Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Frank 1998). In this sense the present study pioneers the application of this approach and search for small world-systems into a new area of Oceania.

The region that incorporates the three archipelagos of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa is roughly triangular in shape, with Tonga at the southern apex. Radio-carbon dating indicates that the region was settled by Lapita people about 3000 years ago (Davidson 1978; Kirch 1984), although Burley, Sheppard, and Simonin (2011) state that

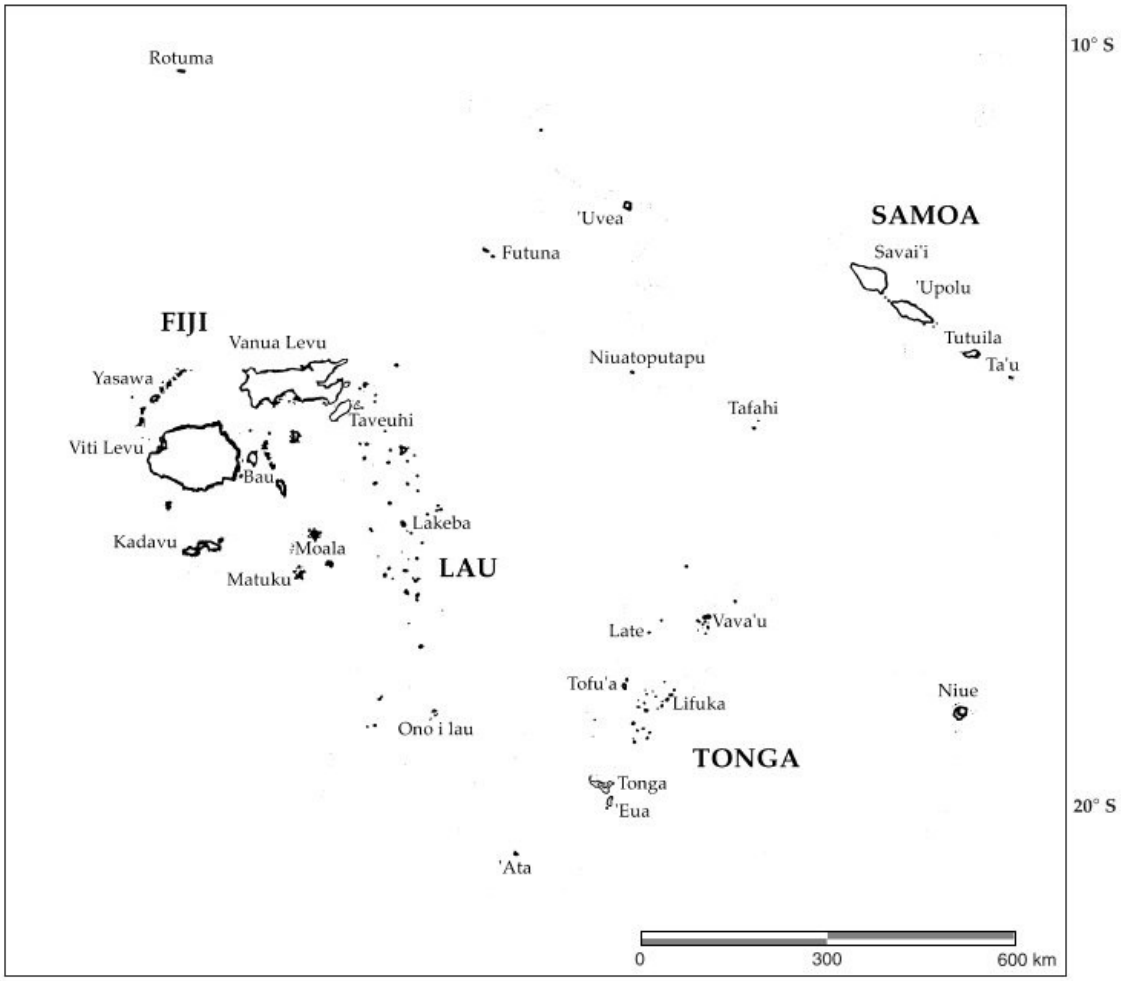

***Fig. 1* - Map of the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan Region (Courtesy of Dr. R.C. Morgan, University of Victoria, Department of Pacific and Asian Studies)**

the first settlement of Tonga was about 750 to 1000 years prior to this date (Burley, Sheppard, & Simonin 2011). In other words, archaeological data have show that there have been people in the region for the last 4000 years in total.

The Tongan archipelago extends 300km in a roughly north-south orientation and contains 160 to 200 islands (Kirch 1984; Burley, Sheppard, & Simonin 2011; Davidson 1978). The largest islands in the group are Tongatapu, 'Eua, and Vava'u, and the entire archipelago consists of three main or core groups: 'Eua, Ha'apai, and Vava'u which are politically tied to the central polity of Tongatapu. In addition, there are a number of

outliers such as Niuatoputapu, Niuafo'ou, and 'Uvea (Kirch 1984). The Samoan archipelago consists of four main islands that are volcanic in nature, Savai'i, 'Upolu, Tutuila, and Manu'a (Davidson 1978; Sone 2006: 24) The Samoan group lies between Latitudes 13 and 15 degrees south, and Longitudes 168 and 173 degrees west, and was known as the Navigator's Islands by European explorers (Sone 2006: 24). Finally, the Fijian group has a land area of 18, 000 square kilometres and consists of about 332 islands, about 100 or so are inhabited and lies approximately between Longitude 169 and 173 degrees west.

The first European to sail in the region was Abel Tasman who arrived at Tonga in 1643, and who traded some trinkets in return for provisions (Sharp 1968). 130 years later, in 1773, Captain James Cook arrived, followed over time by other explorers and then missionaries, who noted, among other things, the connections between the island groups, including non Tongans living in Tonga. William Mariner, for example, who was a beachcomber and a survivor of the Tongan attack on the ship "Port Au Prince", noted that there were Samoans living in Tonga (Ferdon 1987: 235), and it was noted by more than a

few Europeans that there were many Tongans who were residing in Fiji (e.g. Beaglehole 1999b: 1043; Cargill 1977: 64; Diapea 1928: 99; Martin 1981: 153; Smythe 1864) and it was apparent to the early explorers that there was much in the way of interactions between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. For example, Samwell, the surgeon of the Resolution in 1777 noted that:

> During our stay among them they did not seem to have any quarrels on their hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they say lay to the WNW

> at a distance of five day's sail which may be ab^{t} 200 Leagues...At this time there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo. (Beaglehole 1999b: 1043)

Midshipman George Gilbert's journal corroborates Dr. Samwell's, but states that Fiji was about three days to the west (Holmes 1982: 35). The nature of these interactions, as they related to the determination of systemic properties will be discussed in this thesis.

Taking all the elements of Chase-Dunn and Hall's comparative approach to world-systems theory together, the method and data assess the hypothesis that the links among these island groups comprised an indigenous world-system in this region. This was predominantly a tributary system characterized by the exchange in prestige valuables, marriages, a wide political/military net that supported tribute and chiefly rule. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, it was a hierarchical core/periphery in structure with Tonga as the centre of accumulation due to having a more centralized governance structure that had become a tri-partite system. This system was based on a mixed mode of accumulation whereby exchange was kin-ordered at the level of extended family groups with, in the case of Tonga, tribute that was extracted through the threat of force. The structure of this particular system, geographically speaking, conforms to the spatial bounding schema of Chase-Dunn and Hall. Further, this thesis will show that the system underwent fundamental changes as a result of European involvement, whereby it effloresced both in terms of exchange and in terms of political domination, and that this efflorescence was an aspect of the pulsation of world-systems. I will make the point that pulsation in this case, rather than leading to further development into a core power in the region, led to the break up of the system as a whole, even though Tonga did not become a colony itself,

where as Fiji and Samoa did. The ultimate effect, in world-systems parlance, was that the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan region became part of the extreme periphery of the modern world-system.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief introduction to theory and method to be applied in analyzing Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan region in terms of the geography of the region and what some early observers noted. The key issues are the mode of accumulation, the spatial bounding of the system, the systemic properties of the regional interactions, efflorescence and pulsation, core/periphery structure, and semi-peripheral development and system transformation.

Chapter 3

The Movement and Exchange in Prestige Valuables

This chapter discusses the issue of the prestige goods net. This net, which is one of the interaction nets proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall as a methodological tool, is important to the discussion about the systemic structure of the region, because the data will demonstrate that the exchange in prestige valuables were important in the maintenance of the indigenous world-system.

Among the interactions that existed between all three groups in the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region between 1770 and 1830 was the movement of prestige valuables, which are those items that would tend to bring a person greater status by virtue of their possession. This chapter focuses on these interactions in order to demonstrate the systemic effects of the exchanges in these prestige valuables within the prestige goods net, which according to Chase-Dunn and Hall, is the largest of the interaction nets, with the exception of the information net, and is systemically important to the social reproduction within regional systems (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 52 – 55).

Prestige valuables that were exchanged between the island groups included fine mats, sandalwood – the scented oil that was made from sandalwood was used by Tongans to oil themselves – kava bowls, whales' teeth, canoes, wood bowls, wooden neck rests, and slit gongs (Vason 1810: 161; Martin 1981: 190; Sone 2006:101; Kaeppler 1978: 248, 249, 250). This chapter focuses on those items that are bested suited for demonstrating systemic properties of the exchanges between the three island group, and so the two prestige items that will be discussed in this chapter are red feathers from Fiji and Samoan fine mats.

I will describe the exchange of red feathers from Fiji to Tonga, and through Tonga to Samoa. I will discuss the use of these feathers as items for the manufacture of investiture garments in Tonga, and as exchange items that were sought after and highly valued by Samoans who used them in the manufacture of fine mats. Following this, I will discuss the exchange of fine mats between Samoa and Tonga, and the importance of these mats and the role they played in investitures, funerals, and marriage ceremonies in both Samoa and Tonga.

I will make the case that these prestige valuables were important because, at the larger system level, they influenced the economic and social processes in the constituent parts of the system, particularly Tonga and Samoa. In other words I will make the case that the exchange in these prestige valuables were important in the reproduction of chiefly lineages, which in turn had an effect on the system as a whole.

Red Feathers

This section deals with the exchange and use of red feathers, particularly in their use in investiture garments such as the *sisi fale*, and their use in the manufacture in Samoa of fine mats known as *'ie toga* in Samoan, and *kie hingoa*, in Tonga, as well as their importance. The central finding is that long-distance exchange defined the process in the constituent parts of the exchange chains.

A word needs to be said about the classification of red feathers as prestige items as opposed to bulk goods. Since the red feathers were used in the manufacture of *other* items. I would normally classify items used for manufacture as bulk goods, without any inherent prestige value. However, red feathers had inherent prestige value due to their ritual significance, and therefore in this case, I classify red feathers as prestige valuables.

These feathers originated in Fiji, and came from the *kula* bird in Fijian (Labillardière 1800: 105; Ferdon 1987: 235; Derrick 1946: 120; Kaeppler 1978: 250; Campbell 1992: 33; Kirch 1984: 239). The *kula* bird was the Collared Lory (*Phigys solitarius)* which was found on most of the islands of Fiji. The Collared Lory is a small parrot of approximately 20cm in length that is brightly coloured – green and blue, with bright red chin, cheeks, underside, and a red collar that separates the blue crown of the head and the green collar from the green hind-parts. The birds move from place to place, feeding on tree blossoms, fruit, caterpillars and insects, and roosts in flocks of about 50 or so (Clunie and Morse 1984: 58).

When Captain Cook arrived at Tonga, he and his officers were able to observe the use for which the red feathers put. There were a number of occasions when Cook was presented with gifts of these feather from the chiefs of Tongatapu. Cook described one such occasion when the father-in-law of the then Tu'i Tonga, Poulaho, came aboard the "Resolution": he was "dressed in a new piece of cloth, on the skirts of which were fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers" which was then taken off and presented to Cook as a gift (Cook 1997: 341), and on another occasion he was presented with a feathered head dress:

> Poulaho, the King as I shall now call him, came on board betimes and brought, as a present to me, one of their caps, made, or at least covered, with red feathers. These caps were much sought after by us for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But, though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for sale which showed that they were no less valuable in the estimation of the people here; nor was there a person in either ship that could make himself the proprietor of one, except myself, Captain Clarke, and Omai[1]. The caps, or rather bonnets, are composed of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parakeet wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are made so as to tie

[1] Omai was Captain Cook's Tahitian interpreter.

> upon the forehead without any crown, and have the form of the of a semicircle, whose radius is eighteen or twenty inches. (Cook 1997: 333)

It is worth noting that the gifting of one of these caps to Captains Cook and Clerke, and Omai is significant in that it shows the level of respect that the Tongan chiefs had for them. In fact, these feathers were so valuable to the Tongans, that William Anderson, the surgeon's mate on the Resolution noted that the Tongans would fight the Fijians for the feathers if need be:

> [The Tongans] cultivate the friendship of those of [Fiji] apparently out of fear, though they sometimes *venture to skirmish with them on their own ground* [i.e. in Fiji] *and carry off red feathers as their booty* [emphasis mine], which is found in great quantity there and highly valued at Tonga. (Beaglehole 1999b: 958)

According to Adrienne Kaeppler, at the time of Captain Cook's visit the most important items to be found in Tonga used red feathers in their manufacture. The highest "ranked" items, for example were the *pala tavake*, which was the feathered head dress that was described above, and the "special kind of decorative garment" called the *sisi fale*, which were only worn by chiefs in dances and ceremonies (Kaeppler 1999: 173; Kaeppler 1971b: 212 – 213), and which Kaeppler identified as the investiture garment associated with the Tu'i Tonga line (Kaeppler 1999: 173).

Sisi fale

The use of red feathers in investiture garments highlights their importance, and provides a good explanation as to why the Tongans were so willing to fight the Fijians to acquire them. The *sisi fale* was a kind of apron that was worn by the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and the Tamahā (Kaeppler 1999: 173). These garments were observed by the members of Captain Cook's expedition when they first arrived in Tonga in 1773:

Fig. 2 – Sisi Fale **(Kaeppler 2008: 88)**

> They have a curious apron, made of the outside fibres of the cocoanut shell and composed of a number of small pieces sewed together in such a manner as to form stars, half moons, little squares &c[a] and studed with beads of shells and covered with red feathers, so as to have a pretty effect. (Beaglehole1999a: 272)

This description matches the description provided by Adrienne Kaeppler (1999) who

makes the point that the materials that the *sisi fale* are made of – coconut fibre, the whales' teeth, and the red feathers, are "sacred materials throughout Polynesia, and their fabrication into chiefly articles was considered to be a sacred act known to only a few specialized individuals" (Kaeppler 1999: 173 – 174). What makes the red feathers particularly important was that they were seen as "sacred activating ingredient[s] in Polynesia" through which the chief derived his right to be a ruler and were necessary items in investiture ceremonies (Kaeppler 1996: 479). Feathers sourced and exchanged over long distances were essential to the maintenance of hierarchy by ceremonial means in Tonga.

Red Feathers and the Manufacture of Samoa's Fine Mats

The other main use for red feathers was in the manufacture in Samoa of the magnificent and extremely important fine mats. Red feathers were a critically important ingredient in the decoration of the mats, and the use of red feathers from Fiji in the manufacture of fine mats and other precious objects with feathers such as female dress was observed well into the twentieth century according to ethnographer of Samoa, according to Lowell Holmes (1958: 8 – 9).

Red feathers were used in making the borders of the fine mats (Moyle 1984: 255; Ella 1899: 169; Ferdon 1987: 235). Augustin Krämer, a classical German ethnographer of Samoa, provided a detailed description of how the feathers were part of the fine mats:

> Red...feathers [were] used to decorate the border of the fine mat; this on the two shorter sides, opposite each other, while the two longer sides have a single straight edge. The decorated border consists of a tooth-edged rim whose saw teeth, however, are not plaited but consist of the whole white leaf, thus standing out all the more in their gloss... At the base of the pyramids the little red feathers are tied in a long tight line, and from underneath the former the fringes emerge tightly side by side. (Krämer 1994b: 344 – 345)

Mageo (2002), in her ethnography, points out that in Samoa, as in other parts of Polynesia, the red feathers were the "imprimatur", that is to say the objects that conferred legitimacy, in the political sense (Mageo 2002: 507 – 508). Ethnographer Derek Freeman states that the red feathers represented hymenal blood, and were thus representative of virginity which would mean that reproduction in a literal sense was tied to the reproduction of power and political legitimacy (Freeman 1983: 223). The reason for this was the role of the *taupou* or sacred virgin in Samoan rank. The *taupou* was usually the favourite daughter of a high ranking Samoan chief who occupied a special position in comparison to her brothers. Her position was so special that she, as a consequence of being a virgin, raised the rank of the chiefly family to the level of divinity. This was symbolized by the fine mats and by the red feathers. In turn, the mats were the symbol of virginity and the high rank of the *taupou* and her father (Freeman 1983: 228 – 233; Erskine 1853: 411). This would mean, I contend, that red feathers were the one ingredient that was crucial to the manufacture of the mats which were used as investiture items and also were the most important part of female wedding gifts.

Origins of Samoan Fine Mats

It is hard to pinpoint exactly when and where the fine mats, which were critical for the social reproduction of both Tonga and Samoa, originated. The origins of these mats are a part of the mythology and oral traditions of Samoa. Because of this, throughout the course of my research I have found that there is some disagreement on the subject. For example, Samoan scholar Kipeni Su'apa'ia (1962) states that the original fine mat was woven in Tonga by one Fuka of Tonga:

> Fuka was the younger sister of the Tu'i Tonga... She brought the robe from Tonga to Samoa to be presented to her older sister, Lautiovogia, who was then the queen in Samoa to King Tuiatua. Fuka's gift was given to her Queen-sister during her visit to Samoa. In appreciation of the gift, King Tuiatua named the robe "*'Ie-Toga"* in honor of the Royal Family in Tonga. (Su'apa'ia 1962: 49)

The oral stories that Augustin Krämer provided in his work, *The Samoa Islands* which was originally published in German in 1901, give other versions of this origin of the highly valued mat. Included are a number of stories that concern a state mat named "Moeilefuefue". In a Samoan version of the story (Krämer 1994a: 470 – 473) this particular mat was the original *'ie toga*, and its origin as laid out in the the stories that differ in various ways but all associated the mat with inter-island travel and long-distance connections. For example, in one of the stories, this particular mat was woven aboard a canoe, giving it the name "Lagava'a", that was travelling from Pulotu, which is both a part of Fiji, and the mythical home of Polynesians (Geraghty 1993). To be more precise, it was partially woven on board the canoe, and was completed in Saginoga, a village on the island of Savai'i in Samoa, and had become stuck to the ground which led to the name "Pipi'imale'ele'ele". As the story goes, the woman who wove the mat, Fane'a, (whose husband died) became stuck to the sleeping mat that was on top of the fine mat, and was rescued by a man named Tapu of Auala, who subsequently married her. Because she had woven the "sacred mat" due to its origin in Pulotu, her hands were *tapu* or sacred, because of which he had to feed her, and he soon grew tired of this role. She took the mat to the beach and laid it down on some creeping plants where she slept on it, which is how it got the name "Moeilefuefue" (Krämer 1994a: 31 – 32).

It is important to stress the value that was attached to this mat, given its mythical origin, and its value is spelled out in this particular story. According to the story, this mat was passed down through the generations to a time when Fane'a's grand-daughter's (whose name was Fafagailetua) daughter, Tualafalala was getting married to Tagaloalagi. Fafagailetua was mocked by Tagaloagi's relatives who had brought thousands of fine mats, for not having provided a mat for Tualafalala. Fafagailetua, presented the special mat (which acquired the additional name "Matumaivai", due to it being dry despite the fact that she had bathed while wearing it) to accompanying thunder and lightening, proclaiming, "this *'ie toga* is from the Pulotu and is worth far more than your thousand", which earned the mat one more name, "Tasiaeafe" (Krämer 1994a: 32).

The other story that concerns the mat "Moeilefuefue", is not consistent with the story I just discussed. Instead of having originated in the underworld, "Moeilefuefue" appears to have originated in Samoa, but not in Savai'i, as stated above, but rather in Tutuila (Krämer 1994a: 470). In this story the mat was woven in a chief's house in Tutuila by Maofa and it was, according to the story, the first state mat woven in Samoa. Again the mat is passed down the generations until it is in the hands of Tauoloasii and her mother, Manuosofosi. They were kidnapped by Lautivunia, the Tongan Tu'i Tonga's brother who found Tauoloasii sleeping on the mat which was lying on some creepers on the beach, which is how the mat got the name, "Moeilefuefue". The two women were taken to Tonga, and Tauoloasii was given to the Tu'i Tonga, and she began to live with him. In the story she is approached by one of the Tu'i Tonga's wives who asked her why she did not kiss the Tu'i Tonga as they did:

> And so the day came that Tuitoga's wives had to leave. Then a Tongan wife of Tuitoga came to Tauoloasii and said: You are the

> only one who does not kiss Tuitoga's body all over. So Tauoloasii made up her mind and caressed all of Tuitoga's body with her mouth. The government heard of this. They held a meeting and the following were their words: Let the Samoan women be burned to death. They brought wood and rounded up the women to throw them into the fire. Then said Manuosofusi: Wait a while before you throw us in so that we may spread our ransom. So they spread out the fine mat before Tuitoga and the Tongan government. And the woman said: This is our ransom, the fine mat named Moeilefuefue, if by your mercy we will stay alive then the mat is useful. *Although it is only one, this one equals thousands* [emphasis is mine]. And so the mat also has the name Tasiaeafe. (Krämer 1994a: 471)

It speaks to the value of the mat that it was able to be used to spare the lives of the two women, as stated in the story.

The end of the story tells of the mat's return to Samoa – not Tutuila, where it was made, but to Savai'i. The story tells of the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, who according to Krämer, was Laufafa (whose mother was Tauoloasii) who married Tupa'i, the son of Alali, and therefore became the ancestor of many of the Savai'i lineages (Krämer 1994a: 498, end-note 109), went to Savai'i to be married and had the mat brought from Tonga, and a weaving house was built as a result in order that women could be instructed in the weaving of the fine mats. Moeilefuefue thus was named *'Ie Toga* because it had been returned to Samoa where it had been woven (Krämer 1994a: 473).

The stories outlined above show some positional differences. The first short story that Su'apa'ia provided made the case that the mat was called *'Ie Toga* because of its origin in Tonga. The second story stated that the origin was the mythical Polynesian homeland, Pulotu, and was completed in Savai'i. The last story has its origin in Samoa, but gained its importance in Tonga, prior to being returned to Samoa, and called *'Ie Toga.* There are other differences, which means that the stories cannot be taken as the

literal truth. Despite that, these stories are important enough to be used as a source, because they all indicate the interconnections between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, in particular between Tonga and Samoa. The value that was ascribed to the mat "Moeilefuefue" as being worth a thousand other mats, indicates the importance (which will be discussed later in this chapter) of fine mats, both in Samoa and Tonga, for example when it was used to save the lives of Manuosofusi and Tauoloasii. The value of this mat is even further emphasized by having a mythical origin in its connection to Pulotu, and indicates the sacred nature of the fine mats.

Manufacture and Exchange of Fine Mats

According to the missionary, Ella (1899), the most important item of Samoan dress was the fine mat, and he described the manufacturing process:

> [The *'ie toga*] is a fine mat made from narrow strips of the pandanus leaf. The outer cuticle of the leaf is removed, and the inner fibre is neatly rended into strips of an even breadth, about a tenth of an inch or less. When dry and partially bleached, these strips are carefully plaited together in a close web. The mat is generally some six feet wide and four or five feet deep. The ends are fringed with long fine strips of the mesh employed, and further adorned [as I mentioned in the section on red fathers] a border of red feathers of the parraquet. (Ella 1899: 169)

Krämer provides a Samoan source that agrees with the above, but with some additional details:

> *Lau'ie* is the name of the shrub. of its leaves one makes the fine mat. First they are cut, then they are freed of thorns and then put in the sun until they are dry. When they are dry they are rolled up and cooked in the oven. Then they are taken and the bad skin is scraped off. When the scraping is over they are twisted together and taken into the sea where they are left till they are white. Then they are rolled up again and laid in the sun. When the sunning is done they

> are rolled up again. Then they are split into threads and plaited.
> (Krämer 1994b: 345)

These mats are made entirely by women (Krämer 1994b: 345; Stair 1897: 143; Holmes 1958: 10; Moyle 1984: 82; Turner 1884: 120; Su'apa'ia 1962: 48) in special weaving houses called *Fale lalaga* (Krämer 1944b: 345).

It would appear from the oral traditions regarding the manufacture of these mats that the use of specialized weaving houses for weaving the mats is as old as the manufacture of the mats themselves, and were specifically built for this purpose.

The manufacture of the *'ie toga* was an extremely labour intensive process that meant that each mat could take anywhere from eight months to two years to make, as Mariner noted: "These mats are made entirely by hand and, when very fine and large, occupy two years making. This renders them exceedingly valuable" (Martin 1981: 110 fn.). Mariner also noted the quality of the mats and made the statement that the quality was so high that it was almost as if a loom was used to manufacture them (Martin 1981: 110 fn.). Mariner was not the only person who has commented on the very high quality of the mats: Krämer, for example, noted that the fineness of the weave was comparable to a panama hat, and that one could crumple it up and no damage would result (Krämer 1994b: 345), and Turner described them as being "flexible as a piece of calico" (Turner 1884: 120).

Finally, as I discussed in some detail, the key ingredient in the manufacture of the *'ie toga* were the red feathers from Fiji that provided the mats with the 'spiritual' activating power that rendered the mats suitable for the use in ceremonies such as

***Fig. 3 - 'ie töga (cloth for toga) Le ageagea o Tumua,* 1800s, Samoa, maker unknown. Gift of the New Zealand Government, 2002.. CC BY-NC-ND licence. Te Papa (FE011716) – Museum of New Zealand.**

weddings, funerals, and investitures.

Importance of Fine Mats in Samoa

In Samoa, the fine mats were considered to be the most important prestige item (Su'apa'ia 1962: 48; Turner 1884: 120; Stair 1897: 143 – 144; Krämer 1994a: 30; Ella

1899: 169), so important, that the principle measure of chiefly wealth lay in how many mats a chief had, and they were valuable enough that they could be used to acquire land, and even save the life of a condemned man (Su'apa'ia 1962: 48). The value of these mats was not just due to the fact that they were decorated with red feathers which were, as I discussed earlier, the 'spiritual' activating agent, but also comes from the way that they, through the naming process, became attached to both significant events and to specific high-ranking families (Ella 1899: 169; Mageo 2002: 507 – 508). According to Kaeppler (1999), there are only a small number of people who have the authority to name a mat when presenting them as gifts in Samoa, and these are orators that are connected to specific chiefly lineages, such as in the case of a mat being presented by a chief of Tutuila receiving the name "Puluo o le ola", or an orator of the Tui Manua line naming a mat "Puipui o le Fale'ula tauaitu"[2](Kaeppler 1999: 176). As a result, it was often the case that their value increased as their age increased and that an old and tattered and torn mat would be much more highly valued than a new mat (Ella 1899: 169; Turner 1884: 120).

Ella further pointed out that the manufacture of these mats was not only the work of women, as was mentioned earlier, but was the work of *high-ranking* women and girls, because the manufacture of these mats was considered to be "*sa*", that is to say *tabu* or sacred, and that commoners as a result, could not infringe on what Ella states was a monopoly (Ella 1899: 169). This would make sense given that only orator chiefs had the authority to name them.

This connection between rank and the use of mats as clothing was noticed by John Williams who described three types of dress among Samoan women:

[2] There are eight orators of the Tui Manua line, and of these eight, four of them (including Kaeppler's informant, Tauese Sunia) can name mats. Kaeppler points out that as a result, there can be many mats having the same name (Kaeppler 1999: 176).

> The females have three dresses. The first is the *titi* or roundabout made of green and yellow leaves. This is tied around the loins as low down as possible and extend to the knees. These are worn by lower order females...doing the drudgery work of cooking etc. which is in general performed by them. The second is a strong mat wove from the bark of a tree shaggy outside & very strong. Although nearly white when new it is immediately dyed a dirty red colour with a red clay & oil and this is the general everyday dress of the respectable females. The third is the beautiful white flaxen mat. I never saw any of these worn but by young Chief girls and what be called ladies of the tribe. They do also wear mats very finely woven from the *fala* [pandanus] with edges trimmed with red feathers which a Samoan lady is in full dress for the ball with a white silky looking flaxen mat on round her loins extending nearly to the knee with the corner tucked up. (Moyle 1984: 231 – 232).

This matches Ella's observation that the manufacture of mats was only being performed by the highest ranking women which further highlights the prestige value behind the ceremonial uses of these mats.

These mats were an essential part of of ceremonial life in Samoa, including being used as offerings to the gods (Moyle 1984: 83), in weddings (Churchward 1887: 394; Moyle 1984: 78, 255), funerals (Krämer 1994a: 30 – 31), and as gifts for the repayment of services rendered, such as gifts to orator chiefs in return for being invested with a title, to the builders of boats, houses, gifts to tattoo artists, and so on (Krämer 1994a: 30 – 31). The three most important ceremonies in which the *'ie toga* were used was in the investiture of titles, funerals, weddings.

Ethnographer and administrator in Samoa, John Stair (1897) provided a description of the process of an investiture of a chief (whom Stair does not name) who would become *Tupu*, or King, which he describes as having “little ceremony”. In the bestowing of the title A'ana, which was the first title to be conferred upon him, the various settlements on Manono assembled to chose the chief who would be the recipient

of this title, and upon making their choices, a delegation was sent to the chief in question, wherever he might be, and after depositing some fine mats in front of him, declared that he had been chosen for this title. They then left and about a week later, all of the high ranking individuals in this district returned, bringing with them food, and the necessary items for the *kava* ceremony, which in turn was necessary for investitures, and then the chief received publicly the title of O *le tui A'ana* (Stair 1897: 79 – 80). The mats that had previously been brought to the chief were presumably for him to sit on, according to Stair based on traditions in Atua, whereby the chief indicated his acceptance of the title by sitting on them (Stair 1897: 81). Following this, other districts followed suit, and the *Tupu* would receive three other titles. He then travelled around the islands with a large number of attendants. At each district, the *Tupu* would receive gifts of food for which those who presented food to the king would receive fine mats that Stair called *Tonga* (Stair 1897: 81 – 82). In this context, the mats were, according to Mageo, "requisite to signifying and brokering political power" (Mageo 2002: 495) and were thus an indispensable ingredient in investitures.

In the case of funerals as well, mats were distributed to the servants of chiefs who died. These particular *'ie toga* were known specifically as *'ie o le lagi* or "mats of heaven" and were gathered up by the families of the chief. The first mat to be used was a sacred offering which had to be made before the other mats could be distributed, and it had to be an especially fine mat, otherwise people bringing it would be subject to a curse (Krämer 1994a: 31). According to Krämer, this practice goes back as far as King Galumalemana[3].

[3] About five generations prior to the initial publishing of "The Samoan Islands" in 1901 (Krämer does not provide a date).

> When an aloali'i dies, or a king, or a son of Tuimaleali'ifano, or a son of I'amafana; if one of these chiefs dies, then his *lagi*[4] is prepared. First a very beautiful fine mat is spread out as a sanctified gift for Letelemalanuola; for if one brings a bad mat, then she is angry and speaks the words: May all your children soon die because of this. When the mat is spread and the woman accepts it, not until then can the fine mats of heaven be passed out to all of Samoa. This is the contract to which all kings have adhered. (Krämer 1994b: 31)

Krämer supports the last sentence by stating that this practice was used at the death of Malietoa Laupepa (Krämer 1994b:46 note 64) in 1898.

In the case of high ranking weddings, mats were the most important item of the bride's marriage goods, without which a girl, usually the *taupou*, was not eligible to be married to a chief or the son of a chief (Krämer 1994a: 37). Once a marriage prospect had been confirmed, both the groom's family and the bride's family gathered up various items. The groom's family gathered male marriage items, including red feathers, hair for head-dresses, weapons, and so on. The bride's family in return gathered up female marriage items including *'ie toga* (Krämer 1994a: 38) which were the most important items. In the case of Samoan brides marrying Tongan chiefs, the movement of mats to Tonga as bridal wealth in return for red feathers, meant that these marriages and movement of these particular prestige valuables were of systemic importance.

Mats were not important simply because they were exchanged and distributed, but were an important part of the ceremony itself, specifically the defloweration ceremony, as Williams noted when he described the brides as being dressed in fine mats (Moyle 1984: 78, 255). Krämer quotes Stuebel:

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[4] Tomb

> The lady is then clothed in a fine mat. Over it another fine mat is arranged with many siapo. The attire is called the laufau...[on the day of the defloweration ceremony] the whole village gathers on the malae and down on one side of it. The soafafine[5] and the lady are seated on the other side. The manaia and two tulafale or chiefs are seated in front of the whole village... In front of them a white mat ('ie sina) is spread ... Now the lady approaches them, holding the fine mat with which she is clothed, firmly up under her armpits...[and] acts as if she were about to kneel. Hereupon the [groom] thrusts his index finger upward into the lady's sex organ. Now blood flows upon the mat that is spread out before the manaia [and] she throws off the fine mat which was fastened under her armpits and walks naked to the side of the village green where her soafafine are seated. (Stuebel n.d. quoted in Krämer 1994a: 39)

Williams noted that at the point that she was deflowered, her female friends, presumably her retinue also threw off their mats, and danced with the bride. Williams' account agrees with Stuebel's description, except that the mat was thrown off and *then* she was deflowered (Moyle 1984: 255). It is important to note that at the time that Krämer wrote *The Samoan Islands*, this custom appeared to have been extinct (Krämer 1994a: 46 – 47 note 87). Following this, the mats were offered to the groom by placing them before him in a heap, and then they were distributed to the *tulafale* (Krämer 1994a: 39 – 40).

In all three of the examples that I provided above, the one commonality was the use of fine mats. The mats were necessary because "no function or sacred ceremony is ever complete without a gift or display and exchange of [fine mats]" (Su'apa'ia 1962: 51). This means that these mats were an essential part of Samoan social reproduction.

Kie Hingoa – Named Mats in Tonga

The Samoan fine mats were called *kie hingoa* in Tonga, and were first observed to be an article of clothing by Captain Cook and his officers. During Cook's first visit in

[5] The bride's retinue.

1773 he noted that "They... make various sorts of matts of a fine texture that serve them both for cloathing and beding. Their Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their middle" (Beaglehole 1999a: 266), and Samwell described them in 1777 as "[having] various sorts of matts with fringes & tossels worked on them which they wear upon extraordinary Occasions" (Beaglehole 1999b: 1041). It is not clear from these descriptions alone whether the mats observed by Cook originated in Samoa or were made in Tonga, because not all fine mats had a Samoan origin – those that were made in Tonga were known as *ngafingafi,* and were associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, whereas those which originated in Samoa were associated with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line (Kaeppler 1999:187). It is the mats that originated in Samoa that are important for the purposes of determining systemic properties in the movement of mats between Samoa and Tonga.

These mats were just as important in Tonga as they were in Samoa, as the missionary John Williams noted in 1830:

> They also make a small kind of mat which they weave with a remarkably fine thread from a species of the Palm leaf. These mats are much sought after by the Tongataboons, who come from Tonga in their canoes to purchase[6] them a distance of six or seven hundred miles as an article of dress for the Tonga chiefs. Seven large canoes had visited the Samoas from Tonga just before our arrival to purchase the above articles. Four had returned again and the other three were waiting for a favourable wind to return. (Moyle 1984:82 – 83)

Named mats were not just an important item to the Tongans, but were the most important items in Tonga, and they were passed down through the generations in certain chiefly families, and were used – as in Samoa – as gifts or clothing in weddings, funerals, and investitures (Kaeppler 1999: 168). They were used only in chiefly families, as

[6] Of course, they would not have been purchased in the modern sense of the word, but would rather have been associated with weddings, since the mats were p[art of a woman's marriage wealth .

Labillardière noted in 1793 (Labillardière 1800: 118), and not by the general populace, as they were considered *tabu,* and therefore forbidden to commoners. The reason for this, according to Kaeppler, was because they carried the "reproductive power of Tongan society" (Kaeppler 1999: 168), that is to say that they were the prestige valuables that were necessary to social reproduction, and thus needed in order to complete any ceremony (again, as in Samoa).

The two most important uses for the named mats were weddings and investiture ceremonies, but it needs to be noted first that they were also used in chiefly funerals as Mariner noted, such as being used to wrap the body as was the case in Finow's[7] funeral: "Finow's body was oiled with sandalwood and wrapped in fine mats from Samoa" (Martin 1981: 222) and were also usually buried with the body, as was the case with the burial of a Tu'i Tonga (Martin 1981: 350). Smith, from the missionary ship "Duff", that stopped briefly in Tonga in 1793, also noted this, and made the further point that when buried with a body, these mats were considered to be gifts to the deceased (Smith 1813: 165).

When it came to the uses of Samoan mats in marriage ceremonies, it is well documented that mats were used as displays in weddings. Lawry provided an observation from his diary of the wedding on July 3rd, 1850 of the T'ui Tonga's son who had been given the English name William. In this particular entry, he described the mats that the bride wore: "the female was so large with the mats wrapped around her, that it required three women to support her during the service" (Lawry 1852: 301).

[7] Finow was the Chief of Ha'apai and Vava'u who had adopted Mariner in 1806 (Martin 1981).

Kaeppler mentions that not all fine mats were of Samoan origin, but there were mats – the *ngafingafi* – that had their origins in Tonga. These particular mats were associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, whereas the mats that originated in Samoa were associated with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, and with associated geneaologies including the 'Ulukālala line (Kaeppler1999: 187). Those Samoan mats that did make their way into the Tu'i Tonga line did so as the bridal wealth of the Kanokupolu daughters marrying the Tu'i Tonga, and would end up ultimately with the Tamahā[8] (Kaeppler 1999: 186).

The use of Samoan mats in the marriages of the Kanokupolu (and associated lines) was clearly in place at the time of Mariner, who observed the use of Samoan mats specifically in the case of the marriage of Finow 'Ulukālala's eldest daughter to the T'ui Tonga:

> The young lady having profusely anointed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood, was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's Islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as silk. So many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture. (Martin 1981: 96 – 97)

The mats, in this case, were Samoan, due to the fact that the 'Ulukālala line was associated with the Kanokupolu line, and thus the 'Ulukālala family would have received them as bridal wealth from Samoan brides, which Mariner also observed when the son of Finow, who had returned from Samoa, married two girls from there in a Samoan style wedding:

> The two brides were now conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow, near the *malái.* They were dressed in the

[8] See chapter 5

> finest Hamoa mats, but not in such profusion as described in the Tooitonga's marriage. (Martin 1981: 109 – 110)

The *kie hingoa* that were associated with the Kanokupolu line have their origin, according to Kaeppler, at the very beginning of the Kanokupolu line, when the son of the the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga 'O Tonga, Ngata became the first Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ngata's mother was Tovia, the daughter of a Samoan chief named 'Ama from the island of 'Upolu who had brought the mat "Maneafainga'a" to Tonga as part of her marriage wealth when she married Mo'unga 'O Tonga (Kaeppler 1996: 478), and as a result Ngata became known as "*Kano 'Upolu*", which means "Flesh of 'Upolu" (Kaeppler 1999: 147). Kaeppler goes on to point out that the title "T'ui Kanokupolu" became connected to the mat, Mafeafainga'a, due to it being worn at ceremonial events, in particular his own investiture (Kaeppeler 1996: 478). Also, because the fine mats in Samoa, which were the most important item of female wealth, were symbolic of fertility because the red feathers that adorned it were the symbol of hymenal blood, and thus the reproduction of the Kanokupolu line – as the *mana* or spirit of chiefs became retained in *kie hingoa* (Kaeppler 1996: 480), this particular mat (and other mats) became investiture items for the T'ui Kanokupolu (Kaeppler 1999:174) and were "necessities" (Kaeppler 1996: 479). The mat, Maneafainga'a, is the equivalent in terms of status of the British crown jewels and is still used in events associated with the continuation of the Tongan governmental system, has continued to be used in the investiture of the T'ui Kanokupolu well into the twentieth century, as was seen during the investiture of King Tubou VI, who is the 22nd Tu'i Kanokupolu, in 1967 (Kaeppler 1999: 175).

With the above example, it becomes clear that the *kie hingoa* were not just associated with marriages, but also linked marriages to investitures, since the mats were associated with fertility and therefore the reproduction of chiefly lineages. It then follows that since these mats were dowry items necessary for any marriage to take place, they then became necessary items in the ritual investiture of chiefs, without which the investitures could not take place.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has examined the movement of prestige valuables in order to demonstrate the systemic properties of the interactions in the region. In order to make the case for systemness, I have focused on two items in particular, the red feathers from Fiji and the the Samoan fine mats that were of great value in both Samoa and Tonga, and will now relate my data with the definition of system that Chase-Dunn and Hall provided. In order for a regional exchange network to be considered a system, in terms of the exchange of prestige valuables, what needs to be demonstrated is a change in social reproduction in one or more constituent parts of the system and the system as a whole. The examination of red feathers and Samoan mats has demonstrated the existence of an indigenous world-system in the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region.

The reason for the value of red feathers is twofold, Firstly, they were considered to be sacred items that conferred political legitimacy, and conferred on a chief his very right to rule, and were thus in Tonga, only worn by the Tu'i Tonga on very special occasions. The second reason for their value is that the Samoans used them to make their extremely fine mats, which were highly prized by both Samoans and Tongans. The feathers that were used symbolized hymenal blood, and by extension, virginity, which is

how *taupou* or village maidens derived their rank, and with it the rank of chiefs, which was raised to the level of divinity. It is this that makes the feathers the source of political legitimacy, which in turn causes the mats to be sacred and thus indispensable items in the reproduction of chiefly authority and status – without which no ceremony, investitures and marriages, could be completed. In other words, if it was not for the movement of red feathers from Tonga to Samoa, the *'ie toga* would not be the highly symbolic and sacred items used in Samoan social reproduction, but would rather only be really nicely made mats, which means, as in the case of the *sisi fale* in Tonga, that the way in which social reproduction happened would have been changed.

In exchange for feathers moving from Tonga to Samoa as male marriage goods, the *kie hingoa*, as they were know as in Tonga, moved as the female marriage goods of Samoan brides marrying Tongan Chiefs, in particular the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The origin of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line occurred when the Ngata married Tovia, the daughter of the chief of 'Upolu. It is from this marriage that the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu came into being – *kano 'Upolu* mean "flesh of 'Upolu". The mat that Tovia brought with her was called "Mafeafainga'a" which has become the most important investiture item of all. This particular mat serves to illustrate the importance of *kie hingoa* in general, and demonstrates the systemic nature of these mats – without this mat which was of fundamental importance in the marriage between Ngata and Tovia, and thus there would have been no Tu'i Kanokupolu line in the first place, and without the specific mat, there could have been no investitures of that line.

Based on the analysis of the exchange and uses of these prestige valuables, the evidence is mounting to show that the links between Samoa and Tonga were systemic in

regional systems terms, and that any change in Samoa where fine mats were manufactured in response to the demands of the larger regional system, would have affected the social reproduction process in Tonga. Coupled with this, it the supply of red feathers from Fiji had ended, then the Samoan mats that were necessary to social reproduction could not have been made, and thus the social reproduction in Samoa and Tonga would likewise be changed. This would have altered the type of interactions between the three island groups would have bee altered, resulting in a change in the system as a whole. I conclude by re-iterating that the evidence on prestige valuables that I have presented in this chapter, show that the exchange in red feathers and *'ie toga* in the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan regional world-system did show systemic properties, thus demonstrating that the region was not simply a network.

Chapter 4

Political/Military Net: Tribute, Canoes, and Warfare

In the model proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall, there is another interaction net which is concerned with political power and the exercise of military force, which they label as the Political/Military Net, and which is contained within the prestige net (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 52 – 55). This chapter is concerned with the political and conflict interactions between Tonga and Fiji in particular.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first deals with the necessity of acquiring canoes from Fiji, in order for the Tongans to efficiently collect tribute, particularly in the case of the first fruits ceremony – the *'inasi*. This acquisition of canoes was of vital importance, because without them, the Tongans would not be able to collect tribute, which was necessary for the reproduction of the Tu'i Tonga's power and authority.

The second part deals with conflict as an interaction, both as a means for acquiring canoes from Fiji,which became a source of conflict in and of itself, and as a means for young Tongan chiefs to be able to gain a name for themselves by participating in Fijian wars. This participation became a way for these chiefs to not be a cause trouble at home. I will demonstrate that both cases were dependant on each other; that the acquisition of canoes led to an opportunity for participation in Fijian wars, and that participation in wars in turn meant an increase in demand for canoes, without which the Tongans could not effectively wage wars.

Tribute

The exercise of dominance by Tongatapu over the other islands in the Tongan archipelago, including the smaller islands such as Niuatobutabu, Tafaui, and Niuafo'ou for example (West 1865: 217 – 218, 78) as well as the bigger archipelagos – Vava'u, and Ha'apa, featured the collection of tribute. Perhaps the most poignant example of tribute collection was the preparation for the annual *'inasi,* a form of internal tribute collection that relied on the larger political military net as a means of support. In other words, internal tribute collection was facilitated by the use of military supplies, resources and experience in the larger system

'Inasi

The *'inasi* was probably one of the most important ceremonies that were concerned with the Tu'i Tonga. It is this ceremony that I am basing the importance of canoes built in Fiji for the use of tribute collection on, and the systemic properties of that particular interaction. The *'inasi* was the annual first fruits ceremony. The primary crop that was offered to the Tu'i Tonga during this ceremony were yams, which were offered to the Tu'i Tonga at the royal grave of his ancestors (Bott and Tavi 1982: 39; Kirch 1984: 221; Luke 1954: 35; Smith 1813: 155). Vason (1810) said the following about the typical *'inasi*:

> It was the time of making the yearly offering to Duatonga [Tu'i Tonga], which was called the natche. He was the high priest of the island, and on this occasion was superior to everyone...as he was descended from the family, who were thought originally to have come from the sky.
>
> Duatonga as priest of all the islands, and their mediator to converse with the Deity, and insure them plenty, was greatly reverenced throughout the island, and supported in splendour and dignity by the contributions of the different districts, as well as by the productions of his own ample estate. So like the ancient priests

> of Egypt, he was a prince as well as a priest... If he was journeying, no native dared to walk or stand while he remained in sight.
>
> The period of the annual oblation being arrived, all the Chiefs from the Arbai Narou, and all the other neighbouring isles, assembled together at Mooa[9] in the fallee or mansion of Duatonga, to present him with their first ripe yams and other first fruits of their fields; a custom, which, however remote the island, seems derived from original tradition[10]...On this occasion, Duatonga personated the Deity of their fields, who they supposed caused them to be fruitful. They paid him the homage due to him whom he represented. with the fruits in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in their various dresses, which distinguished the districts over which they presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation, in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotonous song, and upon their bended knees, presented the first productions of their abbees. They then rose up and passed off in the same order, and with the same solemnity. (Vason 1810: 158 – 160)

Three decades or so earlier, Cook and his officers had also witnessed the *'inasi* and described the scene in great detail. Cook described that high ranking men carried, in a procession, poles upon which bundles of sticks had been tied. He was informed that these were actually yams, but he checked the pile that had been left at the end of the first day and confirmed that they were indeed sticks, despite the Tongans' insistence that they were yams. He came to the conclusion that these sticks were there in order to represent yams (Cook 1997: 359, 366). On the second day, he witnessed other goods being offered including fish, and some baskets which later proved to be empty. Only the fish were real, and Cook concluded that, with the exception of the fish, the baskets as with the sticks witnessed the day before, only represented certain goods, which implied that the *'inasi* which he observed was unusual in some respects (Cook 1997: 365 – 366). Since the *'inasi* was supposed to be the ceremony of first fruits, the use of the bundles of sticks in

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[9] Mua

[10] According to Campbell, the practice of the *'inasi* originated in the 16th century (Campbell 1992: 18), which would coincide with the segmentation of the Tu'i Tonga line that resulted in the formation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title and the elevation of the Tu'i Tonga as the primary religious chief.

place of yams indicates that this particular *'inasi* may have been performed earlier than usual. The unusual nature of the ceremony was confirmed when Cook was informed that Poulaho's son was to be "initiated into certain privileges" (Cook 1997: 357). This particular *'inasi* was unusual for other reasons as well, such as the fact that it only involved the island of Tongatapu itself, but Cook was informed that there would be a bigger, more elaborate *'inasi* later on, that would involve Ha'apai, Vava'u, and all of the other islands within Tonga (Cook 1997: 366: Beaglehole 1999b: 917).

It is clear from both Cook's and Vason's descriptions, that the purpose was ostensibly to appease the gods, particularly Hikule'o, in order to ensure that the harvests were good ones, and to make sure that the gods did not subject the people to disasters (Ferdon 1987: 90; Campbell 1992: 31; Martin 1981: 246). Because of the Tu'i Tonga's supposed descent from the gods, it was his job to to be their representative, and thus to have the first fruits offered to him. In the religious sense, it was not the Tu'i Tonga himself who was the final recipient of the tribute, but the gods themselves.

The religious aspect may have been the stated reason for the *'inasi*, but it is apparent that the practical reason was political, and was actually an exercise of power over the people by the Tu'i Tonga. The *Discovery's* commander, Captain Clerke noted the following concerning the special nature of the 1777 *'inasi*:

> The Purport of the ceremony seems to me nothing more or less that the Nobles paying their Alegience to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the Samples offer'd him, I imagined are purposed as Imitations of their future Intentions of supplying him with these Matters, and if we understand them right, after having reciev'd these Acknowledgements and promises of future services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was rendered consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. (Beaglehole 1999b: 1308)

Anderson, in his journal also provided some insight into the political nature of the ceremony:

> The ceremony which is call'd Natche has so much mystery running though the whole that it is hard to tell whether it is most of the religious or political kind. That it should be done so secretly and with such restrictions as to exclude all but the persons immediately assisting would argue it of the first sort, but there are many circumstances which persuade us to think that it has still a greater share of the last. I apprehend it as a sort of oath of allegiance which they take to the heir of the crown (who seem'd the principle person concern'd), and that the cloth, mats, yams & other things are merely representations of what they engage to furnish him in future, as they have done his father, who either from an ancient custom or perhaps to insure the succession wishes to see it done whilst alive. This seems the more probable as all the principle people we have yet seen assisted in the procession, and the solemn manner in which in which it is executed appears as if they held in in a religious light, which is probably done to secure the performance of promises which are often broke if made independent of any such tie. The present Natche might then be consider'd as merely ceremonial, for the small quantity of yams that we saw on the first day could not be intended as a general contribution , and indeed they made us sensible they were a portion consecrated to the O'tooa or divinity. (Beaglehole 1999b: 916 – 917)

The *'inasi*, together with other tribute processions, were seen as gifts on the part of donors to increase their own prestige and power (Ferdon 1987: 89), but were in fact completely mandatory. It was an absolute obligation of lower ranking chiefs on the various islands to provide tribute for higher ranking chiefs, in particular the Tu'i Tonga. Mariner pointed out that it may have been in the form of a gift, but if the *'inasi* and other forms of tribute were withheld, it was seen as a grave matter and as an act of rebellion against the authority of the Tu'i Tonga (Martin 1981: 147 footnote). It is clear from Anderson and Clerke's descriptions that the extraction of tribute was for the purposes for the swearing of allegiance (at least that is what they thought it was). The unusual nature

of this particular *'inasi* involving Poulaho's son being invested into some higher status than he had previously had, would be an indication that this was so.

Mariner's observations of Finau 'Ulukalala II shows that he saw the *'inasi* as an unpopular and heavy burden that served no practical purpose except to extract a "heavy tax", which is why, when Finau saw the Tu'i Tonga's power in steep decline, he took steps to make sure that the *'inasi* was never performed again (Martin 1981: 252). This ties the *'inasi* directly to the exercise of power at the hands of the Tu'i Tonga, and that the decline of his authority meant that it no longer had any purpose. This in turn meant that the end of the *'inasi* would result in the further decline in the power of the Tu'i Tonga lineage.

Canoes and the Fiji Connection

The above ceremony of the *'inasi* was, as I have just discussed, an indispensable aspect of Tongan social reproduction, in that it enhanced and perpetuated the system of governance that was embodied in the Tu'i Tonga, because it insured the continuance of the power of the Tu'i Tonga line by maintaining political ties (Kirch 1984: 237). This ceremony was made possible by large sailing canoes that, in the context of a polity consisting of many islands, was a necessary ingredient in inter-island communication and transport, without which there could not have been a unified society. As part of that communication and transportation, the goods that were offered to the Tu'i Tonga were transported using canoes which was witnessed by Mariner and others such as Dillon (Martin 1981: 244; Dillon 1829: 295).

The Tongans had various different types of canoes, but the ones that were used for long distance navigation were called *kalia,* or *drua* in Fijian. Captain Cook described

two different types of canoes, those which he termed “Common Canoes” which were about thirty feet in length and were propelled by using paddles (Beaglehole 1999a: 263 – 264), and sailing canoes which he described as follows:

> [The canoes] intended for sailing are a great deal larger[11] [and] two [of the larger common canoe hulls] they fasten together alongside of each other (leaving a space of about 6 feet between them) by means of strong beams secured to the upper parts of the riseing above mentioned. The ends of these beams project but very little without the offsides of the Canoes, over them is laid a boarded platform the ends of which project considerably over the beams.
>
> They are not only made vessels of burdthen but fit for distant Navigation, they are rigged with one mast which steps upon the platform and can be easily raised and taken down... they are sailed with a Lateen sail...made of matting... They fix a little hut or shed (for it is open on one side) on the Platform which they keep their provisions &c[a]. (Beaglehole 1999a: 264)

Cook's description of these canoes is consistent with other descriptions. West for instance, describes them as being able to carry 100 to 150 people, were double hulled, between 40 and 90ft in length, with each hull being 3 to 5 feet wide and tapering at both ends, and the depth of each hull was between 4 and 6 feet. Each hull was connected by a platform that was made from beams and planking, and the space between them was between 5 and 12 feet. They were single masted with triangular sails that were made of matting. Lastly, on the deck, there was a single deck house (West 1865: 48 – 50). Captain Cook's description was of canoes that were in the middle of the length range presented by West. These canoes were observed to have been widely used, and the descriptions of this particular type of canoe, including the number of people that they could accommodate, are consistent (Labillardière 1800: 135; Erskine 1967: 132; Lawry 1852: 63;

[11] 69 feet according to the footnote in Beaglehole (1999a: 264 fn.)

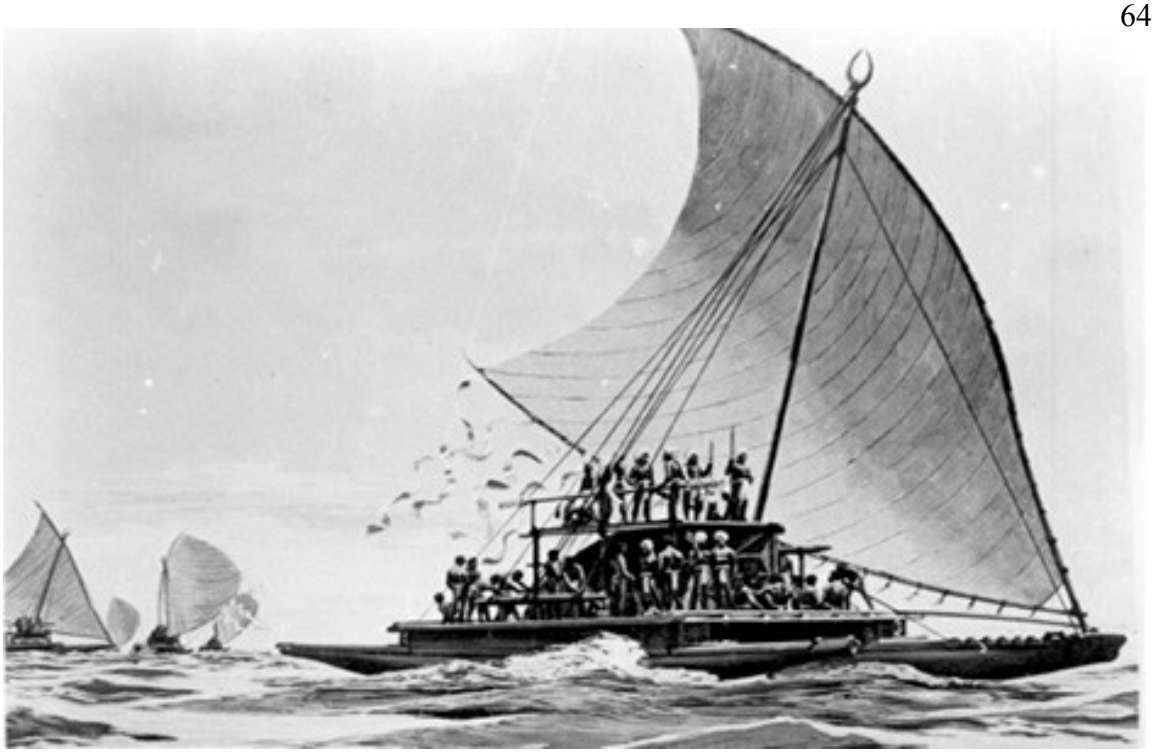

***Fig. 4* - A Fijian *Drua*. (Spurway 2015: 604)**

Diapea 1928; 110 – 114). Erskine further noted that these *drua* took some six or seven years to build (Erskine 1967: 132).

The material that these canoes were made from was *vesi* (Cargill 1977: 120) or *fehi* in Tongan, which Mariner noted was not prone to being eaten by worms (Mariner 1981: 359), which would have made it an ideal material for this purpose. The material needed to make these canoes is important, because it determined the location of the canoes' manufacture. They could not be built in Tonga because there were not sufficient trees with which to make them, and so they had to find some other location for construction, and the place where they chose was Fiji, particularly on the island of Lakeba (Erskine 1967: 132; Williams 1984: 55; Diapea 1928: 110 – 114; Martin 1981: 359; Spurway 2002: 6). It would appear that these canoes were owned by high-ranking members of Tongan society and were thus items which conferred prestige upon their owners. Both Cook and Mariner describe this – Cook in 1773 during the first visit

describes being shown a boathouse by an old chief that contained a double hulled canoe: "in a boathouse [an] old chief shewed us a large double canoe...and did not fail to make us sencible that it belonged to him" (Beaglehole 1999a: 254). Mariner also informs us that the canoes which he witnessed being used in the *'inasi* were owned by the Tu'i Tonga and a chief from Ha'apai called Tonga-Mana (Martin 1981: 243 – 244).

These canoes were not only procured from Fiji because of the lack of materials at home, but also because the Tongans saw that the design of the *drua* was superior to their own canoes, while the skill of Tongan carpenters were superior to that of the Fijians (Williams 1958: 76; Lawry 1852: 451 – 452). As a result, these canoes ended up being made by Tongan carpenters (Diapea 1928: 110 – 114). These Tongans, by necessity, needed to live in Fiji, as the canoes they were building took between four and seven years to build (Diapea 1928: 113; Erskine 1967: 132), which led to a great deal of trouble and a changing Political/Military Net.

Canoes and Conflict

It would appear that initially the knowledge of Fijian canoe designs came to Tonga more or less as a result of an accidental interaction between Tongans and Fijians. Mariner offered the following theory:

> It may be here noticed...that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes, from the natives of the Fiji Islands...In all probability, the communication between these two nations at a distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Fiji Islands by stress of the weather, although they have no tradition of such a circumstance. It is highly probable that neither of them went on a voyage of discovery or if such an opinion be admitted, there is little doubt but that the people of Tonga first made the attempt, although

> construction and rigging of their canoes were at the time far inferior. (Martin 1981: 358 – 359)

Canoes were acquired, it would appear, initially as a result of gifts, including whale's teeth, to Fijian chiefs in return for permission to manufacture them (Dillon 1829b: 78 – 79; Diapea 1928: 114; Mariner 1981: 359). This relationship may have started out as a peaceful one, but it was not long before there was a distinct relation between violence and the acquisition of canoes.

One form of violent interaction that related directly to canoes was the way that they were acquired. The Tongans would simply take the canoes from the Fijians and in some cases, even forced the Fijians to make the canoes (Smythe 1864:127; Dillon 1829b: 78 – 79: Martin 1981: 359). Another form of violent interaction that related to canoes was the participation of Tongans in Fijian wars. Mariner recounts a story where a certain Tongan chief, who he identified as the Tu'i Hala Fatai, went to Fiji with 250 warriors for the explicit purpose of attaching himself and his men to one group of Fijians or another and participating in wars in order to take plunder, including Fijian *drua,* which were superior, and as a result returned to Tonga after an absence of a two years in those Fijian canoes (Martin 1981: 69). Mariner also described other Tongan chiefs who had gone to Fiji in order fight (Martin 1981: 182 – 183), and others noted this fact as well (Labillardière 1800: 94; Smythe 1864: 107 – 109; Brewster 1922: 78; Erskine 1967: 132). It was also the case that aid in Fijian wars was offered in return for canoes. Mrs. Smythe, for example, noted that in return for this participation, Tongan chiefs received canoes. She noted that such a transaction occurred when King George Tupou of Tonga arrived in Fiji in 1855 to be presented with a large canoe by Cakobau. Cakobau was facing a rebellion and was offered assistance in the war in exchange for the canoe by King

George Tupou I who subsequently aided him in suppressing a rebellion by his brother (Smythe 1864: 125).

Tongan Participation in Fijian Wars

The involvement of Tongans in Fijian wars became commonplace, and not simply for the purpose of acquiring canoes. It became normal for young Tongans to go to Fiji and prove themselves in battle, and in the process gain a name for themselves back home (Brewster 1922: 78; Martin 1981: 69; Spurway 2002: 17; Smythe 1864: 125). Derrick states that this was necessary part of the education of young chiefs; that without this participation, their education was not complete (Derrick 1946: 121).

These conflicts were so numerous that Mariner quotes Finou 'Ulakalala II as saying that wars between Tongans and Fijians were constant (Martin 1981: 227). The Tongans were usually successful, which earned them a reputation for being ferocious. Mara, who had been defeated by the Tongans stated, according to Smythe, that fighting the Tongans was a foolhardy thing to do, because he said they were like gods (Smythe 1864: 125). Of course, despite the reputation for being unbeatable, there were some cases where they did not succeed, such as the time when a canoe load of Tongans in the Cikobia Islands were killed and then eaten (Diapea 1928: 75). I mentioned earlier that Tongans would receive canoes in exchange for warrior services (if the Tongans didn't simply take them), but in some cases Tongan chiefs even had small islands ceded to them in return (Williams 1858: 45).

The presence of so many Tongans in Fiji, in particular Lakeba, coupled with their success created many incidents between the Tongans and the Fijian residents. A number of observers noted that there were many incidents which mainly involved the Tongans

acting as if they owned the place, with no regard for the property, or even the lives of the Fijians. Lawry notes on a number of occasions that the Tongans "generally act[ed] as the English did in Paris – cast off restraint and live[d] as they list" (Lawry 1852: 349). This lack of restraint was something that Smythe noted was nothing less than lawlessness:

> A great deal of mischief is done by them. The missionaries at Lakemba speak very strongly of their lawlessness, and the oppression they exercise on the Fijians. They will land at a town, enter the houses, and say, "Let this part of the house be mine!" and there remain, taking the lion's share of the food and causing much evil. (Smythe 1864: 126 – 127)

The problems with the Tongans not only resulted in Tongans fighting Fijians, but according to Mariner, they even fought each other in Fiji and in Tonga (Martin 1981: 69), which is important to mention because it indicates that the conflicts had a profound effect in Tonga.

Canoes and Troubles at Home

One of the effects of the participation of Tongans in Fijian affairs was a considerable set of changes at home. I mentioned earlier that it is my belief that initially the driving force behind Tongans intruding into Fijian affairs was the acquisition of canoes. There was one other major driving force, and that was boredom. Tonga at the time of Cook appeared to have been a peaceful place, and thus was not a place where they could find fame in battle, so they went to Fiji in order to do so (Derrick 1946: 122). After the "young bloods", as Derrick put it (1946: 122) returned to Tonga, it was not long until the relative peace at Tonga grew intolerable. They began to behave in a manner that cannot be described in any way as peaceful, involving themselves in many intrigues (Derrick 1946: 122 – 123). The result was the start of a long civil war in 1797, which became very much about succession, according to Derrick and many chiefs were

involved, including Finow 'Ulukalala II (Mariner's Finow). Finow initially had confined himself to annual raiding trips to Tongatapu, because he had found the defences there to be too difficult to overcome. His chance came when the "Port-au-Prince" landed at Lifuka, and he captured it and killed most of its crew (except, for Mariner, who Finow adopted) and used its cannons in 1806 to attack Tongatapu[12]. Finow is important to mention, because the son of his nephew, Finow IV, was Tāufa'āhau, who eventually became King George Tupou I (Derrick 1946: 123 – 124).

Canoes, which had been one of the driving forces for involvement in Fijian affairs at the hands of the Tongans in the first place, became an indispensable factor in the civil war at home. According to Derrick, this conflict meant that Fijian canoes became very much in demand, so that they could be used in the fighting (Derrick 1946: 124), which further ties Tonga and Fiji together terms of the political/military net.

Tonga and Samoa

It is difficult to assess the nature of political and military interactions between Tonga and Samoa, because there does not appear to be very much in the way of first hand observations. It is clear that there have been many examples of interactions between the two island groups that I have discussed in preceding chapters of this thesis, including marriages and the exchange in prestige items. But information concerning military and political interactions are scant. What little I found is contradictory in nature. Stair states that there were many incidences of Tongans trying to subdue Samoa, but then he states that all attempts failed (Stair 1897: 241). Gunson states that there were some reports of Tongan involvement in Samoan conflicts, but dismisses them as unreliable (Gunson

[12] The events and conflicts mentioned above were fully described by Mariner, who had become a member of Finow's party (Martin 1981).

1990: 181). Anderson, who was a member of Cook's expedition in 1777 states that Tonga had conquered Samoa, and the Tu'i Tonga, Poulaho, lived in Samoa (Beaglehole 1999b: 957). Beaglehole disputes this, stating that:

> Tongan forces did conquer Samoa, or part of it, from perhaps the end of the 12th Century, and the Tu'i Tongas did spend some time there; but they were driven out about the middle of the 13th Century. Later Tongan rulers sometimes visited the group, but it does not appear that any of them did so in the 18th Century. (Beaglehole 1999b: 957 fn.)

Beaglehole is borne out by a Samoan source, who states that the Tongans did dominate Samoa around the time of the 13th Century, but that the Malietoa family defeated them. The Tu'i Tonga congratulated the Samoans saying, "*Ua malie toa! Ua malie tau! Ou te le toe sau i le auliuli tau. Ae o le a ou sau i le auliuli li falau*. (Congratulations thou hero! I am pleased with your Fighting! I shall return no more as a warrior. But I will come back as your guest)" (Su'apa'ia 1962: 24 – 25). Based on independent archival research, Gunson states that it is likely that parts of Samoa remained under Tongan control (or at least was influenced by Tonga), and that some chiefs *may* have paid tribute to Tonga, since the departure of the 15th Tu'i Tonga (Gunson 1990: 186 -187). This is far from definitive, and so I cannot take it on face value and derive a conclusion from it. Others such as the Russian explorer Otto Von Kotzebue described source making the statement that Samoa had indeed been conquered by Tonga, and that Samoa paid tribute to Tongatapu on an annual basis (Gunson 1990: 179 – 180; Von Kotzebue 1967: 215). He also describes an encounter with a canoe at Savai'i which was crewed by ten men and which carried a chief who in exchange for a blue bead gave Von Kotzebue a Spanish dollar obtained at Tongatapu (Von Kotzebue 1967: 277 – 281). Gunson states that the chief in question was "clearly a Tongan high chief" (Gunson 1990: 180),

providing a further case of important associations and movements of people on the Tonga-Samoa links.

There really is not much information that I could find, and that which I could find was contradictory in nature, which makes it clear that alliance between Tonga and Samoa had held up to the later period that this thesis deals, with the exception of some push associated with the spread of Christianity into Samoa, which was partly facilitated by the Tongans (Gunson 1990), as it was George Tupou's policy to aid missionaries, as I mentioned when discussing the spread of Christianity in Fiji. It appears to be the case that at one time, during about the 12th Century, the Tongans had been in control of Samoa, but this control and domination ended, with a period of peace following that time. It could be that during the 18th century, relations were peaceful, without significant conflict, but I cannot even reach that conclusion due to lack of data.

Discussion and Conclusion

These interactions between Fiji and Tonga were systemic in nature, and they both served to maintain, at least initially, the social and political *status quo,* in that both Fiji and Tonga benefited in a manner that kept the system going, although it would appear that Tonga got the better deal.

In terms of the Tongans obtaining canoes from Fiji that related to tribute payments of the *'inasi* in particular, I have included this interaction in the Political/Military Net, even though canoes were items that brought prestige to the owners. I have done this because of the political nature of tribute payment. This particular interaction can be demonstrated as displaying systemic properties, because, as with the case of the movement of prestige valuables. These canoes were a necessary part of the

annual *'inasi*, without which tribute could not be transported. This would result in a change of social reproduction by depriving the Tu'i Tonga of a significant amount of influence and power, and thus authority. In fact, this is exactly why Finau 'Ulakalala II ended the sending of tribute from Vava'u, which further contributed to the already declining authority of the Tu'i Tonga (Martin 1981: 252). The ending of the *'inasi* by Finow represents an example of an internal process of societal change, but even this internal aspect of the change in social reproduction was very much influenced by the conflicts in Fiji, which also influenced the civil war at home, in the Tongan islands.

The acquisition of canoes was not only systemic in that it supported the collection of tribute, itself a political act, but also allowed those Tongan chiefs who had gone over to Fiji in order to gain a name for themselves in Fijian conflicts, to be able to participate. Without the canoes, Tongans would have found it difficult to gain a name for themselves in Fiji. The participation in Fiji benefited both the Fijians and Tongans. The regional linkages also influenced local affairs in Fiji as certain Fijian Chiefs were then able to make conquests, most notably Cakobau, who was able to quell a rebellion with the help of George Tupou, and become supreme. The participation in Fijian conflicts mostly had effects in Tonga where the collection of tribute relied on the regional system relationships.

CHAPTER 5

Long-Distance Marriages as a System Feature

The previous two chapters dealt with the exchanges in prestige valuables across long distances within the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan small world-system, and demonstrated that the prestige goods net displayed systemic properties. This chapter deals with the marriage patterns that existed at the time of Captain Cook's visits in the 1770s, as a feature closely associated with the exchange in prestige valuables. Adrienne Kaeppler (1978) stated that she believed that the exchange of goods and spouses in Tonga-Fiji-Samoa region was Tonga-centric, and tied the patterns to Tongan rank and marriage principles and further that the patterns of marriage resulted from principles of rank and succession to hierarchical titles in Tonga before Christianity (Kaeppler 1978).

An understanding of Tonga societal structure is necessary in understanding the marriage patterns between the three island groups, and because of this, this chapter will examine the underlying social structure and familial relationships that existed at the time that Europeans made detailed observations in Tongatapu and Ha'apai in the 1770s, in particular with respect to the relative rank between brothers and sisters. The data will show first that a marriage net integrated all three island groups in a systemic way that influenced social reproduction proccesses in particular societal units, and second that the requirements for stable succession to the Tu'i Tonga title were the underlying impetus to the long-distance marriage patterns in the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region. Marriage nets interactions, because of the needs of Tongan social reproduction, displayed systemic properties. Relations with Fiji and Samoa, in terms of marriage patterns sustained Tongan social reproduction and the maintenance of Tongan political structure. The evidence

confirms Kaeppler's analysis that the exchange patterns were Tonga-centric in nature, with both Fiji and Samoa being spouse givers to Tonga.

The Rank of Women

The rank of women in Tonga is the important aspect in understanding the marriages in the region. European observers noticed the differences of rank between men and women, and were surprised. Cook, for example noted this when the Tu'i Tonga, Poulaho, wouldn't eat in the presence of a certain woman (Beaglehole 1999c: 129), whom Bott and Tavi identify as his sister (Bott and Tavi 1982: 29 – 30). On another occasion, cook noted:

> In order to be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with us, but neither eat nor drank. This was in account of a Woman which he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retires. He immediately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only person we ever saw him reverence. (Beaglehole 1999c: 136)

This episode was also noted by Anderson, who provided some added insight:

> It was discovered one day by a woman before whom Poulaho would not eat though she made no scruple to do so before him, and to whom when she left the house he payed the usual mark of respect as his superior – a respect we never saw him pay to any other person though as was said before he acknowledg'd a woman living at Vavaoo to be his superior. It was also accidentally discover'd that a person named [Latinipulu][13], the brother of this woman, who is call'd [Moungalakepa], was of the same rank though we never saw him touch his foot, for Poulaho would never come to a house where he knew he was, and if the other came into a house where the King was eating the last immediately left off and had the victuals put aside. He also made no scruple of taking anything from the people even if it belong'd to the King, and though in other respects almost disregarded everyone seem'd to allow him this mark of superiority, not withstanding at the at the

[13] The chief that Cook had taken to be king in 1773.

> ceremony call'd Natche[14] he assisted only in the same manner as the other principle men. We enquired of Poulaho the reason of such an odd custom and were told that when he father was alive the sister of his father, who is the woman mention'd at Vav'vaoo, reign'd jointly with him at Tonga, and that a man who came from the island of Feejee had these two persons by her with a third call'd Tooeela'kaiba[15], their sister now living at Vavaoo, who were all distinquished by the name of Tammaha [Tamaha] and the only persons posess'd of a title of such dignity. (Beaglehole 1999b: 954)

The obeisance payed to the sister of the Tu'i Tonga was also observed by Labillardière, a member of Admiral d'Entrecasteaux' s expedition in 1793:

> Quite close to the market, whither the natives came and brought us their Commodities, we perceived a woman of extraordinary embonpoint , at least fifty years of age, round whom the natives formed a very numerous circle: some paid her, in our presence, marks of respect, by taking her right foot, and placing it on their head, after having made a low bow; others came and touched with their right hand the sole of her right foot. Several chiefs , whom we knew, also paid her other marks of deference. We were informed that she was Queen Tineh[16] [after she had went on board the *Recherche* – d'Entrecasteaux's ship]. (Labillardière 1800: 125 – 126)

This show of deference was considered to be somewhat of an inconvenience, which some Tongan chiefs tried to avoid:

> Tineh was very tenacious of the honours which the chiefs did not dare to refuse her when they met her; accordingly some avoided being in her presence. Feenou, and the King's brother Toobou, were on board, and had just promised to stay and dine with us when she came alongside; they immediately urged us not to let her come upon the quarterdeck; however she soon made her appearance there, and we saw these two chiefs precipitately retreat into their canoes; for they would have been obligated...to come and take hold of her right foot and very respectfully incline their heads towards it, as an acknowledgement of their inferiority[17]. This Queen Tineh informed us with an air of satisfaction, that king Toobou even was

[14] The *'inasi* first fruits ceremony (see Chapter 4)

[15] Tu'i Lakepa (Beaglehole 1999b: 954, footnote)

[16] This was the sister of the Tu'i Tonga, Poulaho (Whom Cook had met in 1777), who had the title of Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Williamson 1976: 193).

[17] called the *moemoe* (Bott & Tavi 1982: 171)

> compelled to pay her these marks of respect, because it was from her that he held his dignity. (Labillardière 1800: 128 – 129)

These observations of the relative rank of brothers and sisters serve as illustrations of the the principles of rank in Tongan social organization.

Basic Principles of Rank in Tonga

There are two different aspects of rank that are distinguished by Kaeppler (1978) mentioned above can be classified as social ranking and societal ranking. Social ranking is the operating principle within extended familial groups or *kāinga*, and societal ranking applied to the *Ha'a* or noble houses, which was involved in the transmission of titles and political authority.

A *kāinga* is a social grouping that is based on landholdings that are controlled by a particular chief, and which are divided into extended families which in turn are controlled by lower ranked chiefs (Lātūkefu 1975: 2). The social rank within these social groupings is based on three main principles. The first is that one's father and his father's relatives were higher ranked with respect to that person. The second is that sisters are higher in rank with respect to brothers, and the third is that older siblings of the same sex are higher in rank than younger siblings of the same sex (Kaeppler 1971: 177; Bott and Tavi 1982: 57-58).

What this meant in practical terms, was that chief had absolute power in their own *kāinga* in their role as father, and everyone owed him allegiance, except for his sister. Sisters outranked their brothers, and so her children were likewise were higher in rank to the chief and his children. Due to her higher rank, the sister of a chief had certain political

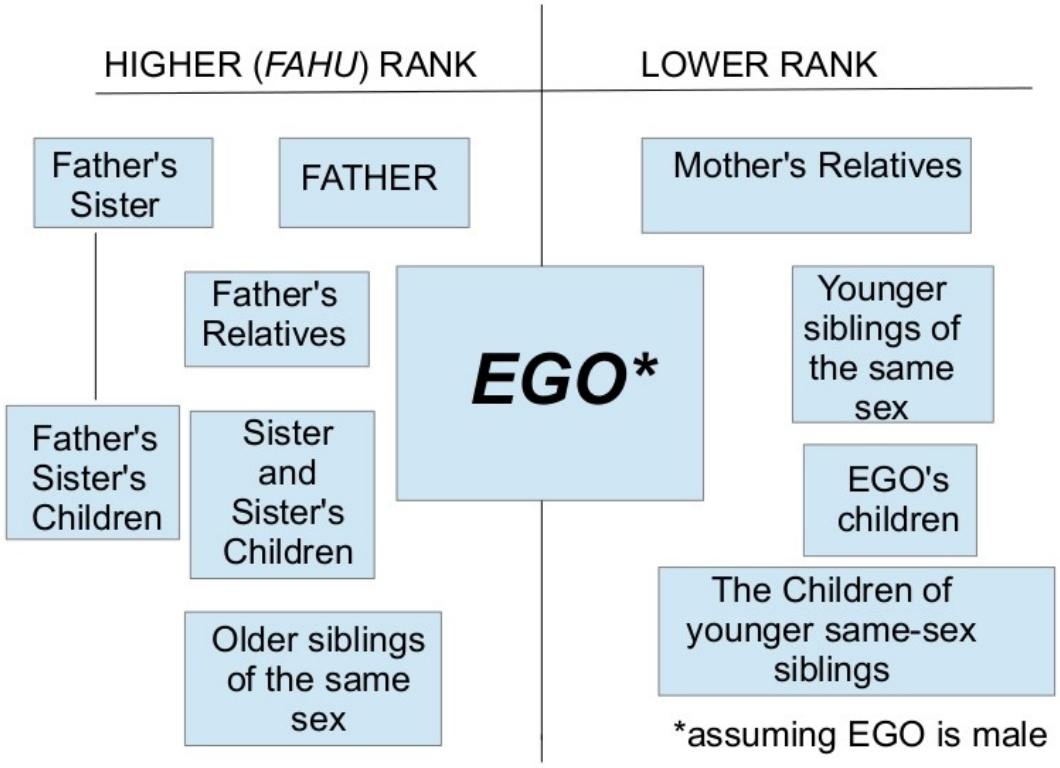

***Fig. 5* - Rank relationships with in the *kāinga* group based on Kaeppler 1971: 177**

rights, such as the right to have some say in which of the chief's sons would inherit the chief's title, having, as she did, a "mystic ritual power" over them (Bott and Tavi 1982: 58 – 59). But women could not inherit property, or chiefly title, as these were held by males in the *ha'a* title-holding group.

A *ha'a* is a group of genealogically related titles whose members, who are recognized as relatives by the title holder, can be mobilized to provide supplies, as tribute, for various ceremonies, such as the *pongipongi*, or the chief's ceremonial installation (Bott & Tavi 1982: 78 – 80), and there are three *ha'a* that are of particular relevance to the discussion of marriage patterns in Tonga, and these are the lineages of the highest ranked chiefs in Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu

The Tongan term “Tu'i”translates as “prince”, “lord”, or “king” and in the period under study these were the three highest titles in the formal hierarchy of Tonga. The requirements for maintaining this positions were particularly important in demonstrating the systemic nature of the long-distance marriage patterns. Of the three *ha'a,* the most senior was the Ha'a Tui Tonga, followed by the Ha'a Takalaua, then the Ha'a Ngata (which includes the Tu'i Kanokupolu), and are offshoots of the preceding *ha'a.* That is to say that, as a result of a process of collateral segmentation, the Ha'a Takalaua became separate from the Ha'a Tu'i Tonga in the 15th Century (Bott and Tavi 1982: 169). During the reign of the 24th Tu'i Tonga, Kau'ulufonua[18], after a series of Tu'i Tongas, culminating with Kau'ulufonua's predecessor Takalaua, were assassinated, temporal power was delegated to his younger brother, Mo'ungamotu'a who became the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (Kaeppler 1971: 180; Bott and Tavi 1982: 169) while retaining the spiritual power that the Tu'i Tonga had in addition to the temporal power that he had prior to the formation of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalua (Bott and Tavi 1982: 91). The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given the authority to make sure that lands were divided up when needed, and he had the duty to protect the Tu'i Tonga and to make sure that tribute, particularly the *'inasi* (which was discussed in chapter 4), was collected (Bott and Tavi 1982: 109).

Similarly, the formation of the Ha'a Ngata arose out of the same process, when the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalua, Mo'ungatonga, who had developed the desire to become more like the Tu'i Tonga, presumably in terms of being a spiritual chief, created a new dynastic line of chiefs (Lātūkefu 1974: 3), bestowed on his younger son, Ngata, the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu with the day to day governing authority including tasks such as the

[18] In the 15th Century (Bott and Tavi 1982: 169)

collection of tribute, while retaining his rank (Kaeppler 1971: 180, 184; Lātūkefu 1974: 3). By the 17th century, this tripartite system of governance in terms of chiefly control had emerged (Cummings 1977: 64), with religious authority under the Tu'i Tonga and political authority concentrated in the Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tu'i Lakeba

When one considers the relative ranks of the Tu'i Tonga, his sister the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and the children of the the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, particularly the oldest daughter – the Tamaha[19], it becomes clear as to why the children of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine outranked the children of the Tu'i Tonga – the sister of the Tu'i Tonga outranked him, and because of the principle of matrillineal inheritance of *kāinga* rank, her children inherited her *higher* rank (Kaeppler 1978).

The higher relative *kāinga* rank of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's children presented somewhat of a contradiction. Technically, because *ha'a* ranking was patrilineal, women could not inherit titles, even though the sisters of chiefs had higher *kāinga* rank. This is of particular importance when one considers the highest chiefly rank, the Tu'i Tonga. Only male children could inherit the title. The contradiction, or dilemma, lay in the fact that because the higher rank of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's children was higher than their cousins, the Tu'i Tonga's children, there existed the potential for conflict resulting from the assertion of rival claims on the title, even though they could not inherit the it (Kirch 1984:226). There have been some cases of women assuming a title, such as Tubou-moheofo, who assumed the title of 12th Tu'i Kanokuplou in the late 18th Century (Erskine 1867: 158; Bott and Tavi 1982: 14; Gunson 1979: 40; Herda 1987), and so there

[19] I mentioned earlier that Beaglehole described Latunipulu as a male Tāmaha ((Beaglehole 1999a: 257, fn. 5), but the title of Tāmaha *as a specific title* could only be held by the oldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Bott and Tavi 1982: 35).

was some precedent for women taking on titles, which would increase the claim of her children on whichever title was in question.

The ability to assert a claim on a title by someone in competition to inherit it, could have resulted in periods of instability that could in turn have led, potentially, to a change in the ruling lineages, such as the Tu'i Tonga. The resolution of this issue involved marrying the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to a foreign chief, in particular the Tui Lakeba, who was a Fijian Chief, and thus was outside the ruling lines in Tonga (Kaeppler 1978; Kirch 1984: 226). However, while it might be arguable that Fiji, as a result, took on the role of 'wife taker' in relation to Tonga (Kaeppler 1978: 246), it would be unlikely because, the social position of women in Tonga did not correspond to the position of women in Fiji, and so they would not have consented to being taken to Fiji and brought into the Fijian system. This meant that the Tui Lakeba had to come to Tonga and so Fiji, instead of being a 'wife taker', was the 'husband giver' (Kaeppler 1978: 247).

This practice of marrying the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to a Fijian, according to Bott and Tavi, was mandatory, that is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's marriage to the Tui Lakeba (or the Tui Ha'ateiho) was “prescribed” (Bott and Tavi 1982: 33), and the resulting lineage was known as the Fale Fisi or House of Fiji, which reflected the title's home location (Derrick 1946; Kaeppler 1978: 248). The origin of this lineage lay with the marriage of Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka, who was the daughter of the 30th Tu'i Tonga Tele'a, to Tapu'osi of Lakeba, one of the Lau Islands of Fiji. Tapu'osi arrived in Tonga with a large following (Derrick 1946), where he married Sinaitakala-'i-Langileka who was ill, and whose father had summoned Tapu'osi (who was of relatively low rank) at her behest as one of the stories go (Bott and Tavi 1982: 12, 32, 33, 34). Their son, Fonomanu, became

the first head of the *Fale Fisi*, and the titles Tu'i Lakeba, Tu'i Ha'a teiho, and a couple of others stem from Fonomanu (Bott and Tavi 1982: 33). These titles, according to Bott and Tavi,

> [P]rovide a sort of genealogical fiction for allowing the existence of persons of higher rank than the Tu'i Tonga without their being a threat to his position as sacred king [and because] Tapu'osi was a foreigner, and, in addition of low rank , according to Tongan conceptions his descendents were forever foreign and therefore had no political status. (Bott and Tavi 1982: 33)

The consequence of this, as Bott stated, is that because The Tui Lakeba was a foreigner, the children of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine no longer had any ability to make a valid claim on the title of Tu'i Tonga because the Fale Fisi was lower in terms of *ha'a* ranking even though they would have higher social rank (Kaeppler 1971: 181), which in turn removed from the mix the potential for any trouble and resulting instability in Tongan social reproduction (at least as it pertained to the highest title in Tonga). According to archival historian, Gunson the creation of the Fale Fisi was not simply a by-product of the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to a foreign chief, but was a deliberate creation, which had the sole purpose of providing a Tu'i Tonga Fefine with a supply of spouses (Gunson 1997: 149), and historian Campbell (1992) saw the marriage pattern as a purely political solution to the problem.

The Problem of Sufficiently High Ranking Brides For The *Hau*

The next problem that confronted the Tongans was concerned with finding brides of high enough rank for the *hau* - the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and then the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and there appear to have been two ways of solving that problem. Both Kaeppler and Kirch state that one of the solutions entailed the importation of high ranking brides from Samoa, as does Campbell (Campbell 1992: 15; Kaeppler 1978: 248 – 249; Kirch 1984:

226). Mariner describes one such marriage that was between Finau's son to two Samoan brides: "the two brides were conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow, near the *malái*. They were dressed in their finest Hamoa mats[20]" (Martin 1981: 109 – 110).

According to Kaeppler and Lātūkefu, the Tu'i Ha'atakalua Mo'ungatonga wanted to become like the Tu'i Tonga, in terms of spiritual authority, and so appointed his younger son, Ngata, to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu with the authority to govern the day to day affairs of Tonga (Kaeppler 1971: 180, 184; Lātūkefu 1974: 3). Sources report that Ngata's mother was named Tovia (Toho'ia), who was the daughter of 'Ama, a chief in 'Upolu[21] (Kaeppler 1996: 478; Bott and Tavi 1982: 113). Among the marriage items that were exchanged as part of that marriage came the most important item of female marriage wealth, the *Kie Hingoa* (named mat) called "Maneafainga'a", which is still in use today as the investiture garment of the Tu'i Kanokupolu (Kaeppler 1996). The marriages between Tongans and Samoans brought very important prestige valuables to Tonga that were important as paraphernalia in the reproduction of hierarchy.

According to Kaeppler, the marriages of Tongan chiefs to Samoan brides brought two important things that accumulated in Tonga. Firstly, they brought in items that were part of the marriage gifts of the Samoan brides, particularly the fine mats, called *kie hingoa* in Tonga, and other items that were used in demonstration and installation of Tongan leaders (Kaeppler 1978: 249). The case of the mat named "Maneafainga'a" highlights this importance social reproduction would be altered, as was shown in chapter

[20] Hamoa = Samoa. These mats indicate the brides were from Samoa, since these mats were bridal wealth items. This subject will be covered in the next chapter in more detail.

[21] Hence the title being Tu'i Kanokupolu, which means "flesh of 'Upolu" as Ngata was known as (Kaeppler 1999: 147). Also, see Chapter 4

3. The second reason that Kaeppler provides lies in restrictions on Tongans touching a certain person of chiefly rank. Samoa was close enough to Tonga in terms of culture, and because Samoans had an intermediary rank between commoners and chiefs known as *matapule* (*tūlāfale* in Samoan), to serve as ceremonial attendants at funerals. These attendants could perform the tasks that Tongan commoners could not – such as cutting hair, preparing the body of a chief for burial etc., and they would often receive land and other rewards in return (Kaeppler 1978: 248).

In addition to the importation of Samoan brides, the holders of the Tu'i Kanokupou title also took brides from high-ranking Tongan chiefs, such as the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and the genealogies that Bott (1982) provides also show that three of the Tu'i Kanokupolu married Tāmahas. The first of these was Tu'imala, the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine 'Ekutongapiki, who married the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko. The second was Lātūfuipeka, the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u and the Tu'i Lakeba Lātūnipulu-'I-Teafua. Lastly, the third was 'Amelia Fakahikuo'uiha, the daughter of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u (who was also the mother of Lātūfuipeka by a different husband) and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho Haveatungua. The other Tu'i Kanokupolu title holders married other daughters of high ranking chiefs such as the Tu'i Ha'avea (Bott and Tavi 1982: 12, 89 – 87), and more importantly, the daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, which meant that, because wife givers had to provide support to the wife-taker according to Bott, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua became in a way subordinate to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, even though the Ha'a Ngata was junior (Bott and Tavi 1982: 64).

Moheofo

The third marriage arrangement that needs to be discussed is important because it connects the *hau* with the Tu'i Tonga. The word *moheofo* means “principle wife” (Bott and Tavi 1982: 36). I mentioned earlier that it had been customary for the Tu'i Tonga to marry Samoan brides right up to the reign of the 30th Tu'i Tonga, Fatafehi (Gunson 1979: 38), a situation that would subsequently change after this, when it became customary for the the daughter of the *hau* to be married to the Tu'i Tonga (Gunson 1979: 38; Bott and Tavi 1982: 59, 60; Lātūkefu 1974: 3). The result was that it not only raised the influence that the *hau* received, but was also used to maintain the supremacy of the Tu'i Tonga title (Bott and Tavi 1982: 60). The reason why it maintained the Tu'i Tonga supremacy, particularly when the *hau* was the Tu'i Kanokupolu, was that while the Tāmaha was of higher *Kāinga* rank, her children with the *hau* were of lower *ha'a* rank than the Tu'i Tonga (Bott and Tavi 1982: 36), which maintained his rank.

When the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu was instituted, which occurred during the same time period as the formation of the *Fale Fisi* (Bott and Tavi 1982: 32), daughters of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua were married to the Tu'i Kanakupolu, which raised his status by obliging the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua to support him, and as the political influence of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title grew as a result of this and their marriage to the Tāmaha, they began to send their daughters to the Tu'i Tonga as the *moheofo* (Bott and Tavi 1982: 64).

The marriage of the *moheofo* made the marriage connections between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa complete. It linked the marriage of the *hau* and Samoan women with the marriage of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to the Tu'i Lakeba (and the subsequent marriage of the Tāmaha to the Tu'i Kanokupolu). This shows the an indirect marriage structure.

Discussion and Conclusion

The marriage patterns that I have discussed above, are a component of the systemic form of interaction across the Tonga-Fiji-Samoan region. The evidence has shown that these marriage patterns are each systemic, but in different ways. In the case of the Tonga-Fijian marriage, that data have shown that the formation of the *Fale Fisi* had the effect of removing any ability of the children of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine to be a threat to the established social order by asserting a claim on the title of Tu'i Tonga over the legitimate claim of the Tu'i Tonga's own children.

This claim by the children of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was based on the principle of sisters having higher social rank than brothers, resulting in her children having higher rank than the brother's children, according to Kaeppler (1978). This claim existed despite the fact that under inheritance rules, women could not inherit titles, and thus her children similarly could not inherit them. In the case of the highest ranking title in Tonga, this claim could have resulted in social and political instability, which the Tongans themselves recognized as a problem. This instability could potentially have resulted in a change of the ruling lineage, which would be a change in social reproduction. The solution was simply to remove any claim that the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's children might have advanced by marrying her to a foreigner, who they brought to Tonga, rather than having her move to Fiji, which she would not have consented to (Kaeppler 1978: 246), and thus making her children in effect, foreigners, or at least part of a foreign line, and thus outside of Tongan politics, and thus not a threat to the supremacy of the Tu'i Tonga lineage.

The need for sufficiently high ranking brides for the *hau* meant that initially, the *hau* took Samoan brides. Prior to this the Tu'i Tonga had also taken Samoan brides, but with the formation of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, the Tu'i Tonga started to marry the *hau's* daughter who was known as the *moheofo* or principle wife, which shows that the marriage patterns were re-aligned with the formation of the *hau.* These brides brought with them bride wealth items that were of systemic importance such as fine mats from Samoa which were needed for the Tongan ceremonies that ensured social reproduction which would have changed without them, and also ceremonial attendants called *matapule,* who were needed to carry out tasks that commoners could not have performed, chiefs being *tapu,* or sacred, and thus could not be touched by commoners (Kaeppler 1978). These marriages were systemic on two levels, as a result. They filled a need for the *hau* to have brides of sufficiently high rank, which would have created changes in chiefly lineages without the Samoan brides. These were what I term directly systemic. The second level of systemness lies in the prestige valuables that were brought with the Samoan brides, and so this level of systemic properties I term as *indirectly systemic,* because the prestige valuables themselves were systemic in nature.

In addition to the direct systemic properties displayed by the marriages themselves the, indirect systemic properties were present. It was not only the *hau* who had, prior to the formation of the Ha'a Ngata, taken Samoan wives, other chiefs did as well, and continued to do so, as Mariner observed (Martin 1981: 109 – 110). These marriages continued to bring in systemically important prestige items highlighted by the mat called “Maneafainga'a”. The marriage net was an important component of the interactions across the small world-system of West Polynesia. This finding adds to the

analysis of marriage as a component in pre-capitalist (kin-ordered and tributary) types of world-systems started by Chase-Dunn and Hall in the study of the very small kin-ordered world-system in indigenous California. The marriage net is important for analysis of many pre-modern world-systems as it relates to local social processes within the larger unit.

In conclusion, this chapter has established that the marriage patterns between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa were systemic in nature, both in terms of the individual connections themselves, but also in that they were a component that was fundamental in integrating the regional system together as a cohesive whole.

Chapter 6

Transformation and Efflorescence

The previous chapters provided a static analysis of the interaction nets in a given period when the indigenous system was still intact that demonstrated the systemic nature of the interactions among the three island groups. Of course, during these and later years, the system as a whole was not static at all, but dynamic and changing. The focus of this chapter is the changing nature of the small world-system itself, particularly in terms of political expansion and attempted domination at the hands of Tongans. It is my analysis that the arrival of Europeans resulted in fundamental transformations, not just in particular societies, but at the level of the system, which ultimately resulted in its incorporation into the central world-system. In this analysis, I wish to demonstrate that a form of political efflorescence of interactions across the occurred as this indigenous system merged with the modern central world-system.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the efflorescence of exchanges in prestige valuables, and will show that the arrival of Europeans in the region had the result of increasing the amount of prestige valuables being exchanged, coupled with the introduction of new items springing from European involvement. I will make the point that the increase in the exchange of prestige goods, particularly whales' teeth, helped to facilitate the increase in the acquisition of canoes, which in turn allowed for greater participation in Fijian conflicts. This in turn resulted in a surge of political dominance at the hands of the Tongans.

Related to this, I also discuss the introduction of Christianity, which together with the returning to Tonga by combat hardened Tongans contributed to a civil war

which resulted ultimately in George Tupou I becoming King of Tonga. This is important because it was the policy of the Tongans under George Tupou to aid the missionaries in the spread of Christianity, which resulted in further Tongan involvement in Fiji. I will show that the efflorescence of the system interactions, coupled with the spread of Christianity resulted in the eventual dissolution of the system itself, and that this demonstrates by highlighting changes in a network, the systemic nature of the connections between Tonga and Fiji in particular.

Transformation and Efflorescence in the Prestige Goods Net

The economic anthropologist C. A. Gregory (1982) studied the effects of the colonialism on Papua New Guinea as it related to the infusion of non indigenous artifacts into the local gift-exchange networks, which effloresced as a result. Efflorescence entails an increase in the amount of items exchanged, the frequency of trade, and the inclusion of commodities into gifts which can also include indigenous items that increased in the system as result European interactions (Gregory 1982: 4, 115, 166; Sone 2003: 19).

The first European who actually landed at Tonga was Abel Tasman in 1643, who was thus the first European to offer a first hand description of "Amsterdam", which was the name that he gave to Tongatapu, the main island of Tonga (Sharp 1969: 153). This was also the time when the first European goods were introduced into Tonga, items that included nails, beads, mirrors and such over the course of Tasman's stay at Tonga, for which they received gifts of food and supplies in return – because of which, Tasman's crew was able to replenish their supplies (Sharp 1968). After an absence of Europeans for the next 130 years, Captain Cook made three visits in the 1770s. He was followed by a steady stream of European visitors in the form of traders, whalers and missionaries

(Derrick 1946) and with them came new items which included mirrors, glass beads, nails, muskets, hatchets and axes, the first of which were introduced to Fiji by Tongans (Williams 1858: 94), and muskets. The Tongans exchanged these items in return for canoes, spars, sail mats, pottery, mosquito curtains, and sinnet (Williams 1858: 94).

One of the most striking items that entered the system, were whales' teeth – known as *tambua*, which in Fiji could be used to secure alliances, to break up existing alliances, as peace offerings, to save a life, to atone for bad actions, as tribute, and which more valuable than "silver among Europeans" (Diapea 1928: 17, 22; Williams 1858: 40, 44). prior to this, *tambua* had been made of wood, and were called *bua-ta*, and made from the polished wood of the bua tree, and were shaped like whales' teeth, which European whalers' brought to Fiji (Tabua n.d.). These whales' teeth were also brought to Fiji by the Tongans who used them to acquire various other prestige valuables that were described in chapter 3. This increase in the exchange of whales' teeth had an effect on the political/military net in addition, because the exchange of them allowed the Tongans to (initially) acquire canoes. This exchange, in turn, helped to facilitate the major expansion that occurred in the political/military net, with the ultimate break up of the system as a whole.

Transformation and Efflorescence of the Political/Military Net – Canoes

One of the effects of the efflorescence in the exchange in prestige valuables, was that the number of interactions between Tonga and Fiji had increased since the arrival of Captain Cook (Lawry 1852: 451). Lawry made this point: "When Captain Cook was at [Tonga], little was known respecting the Feejee Islands. *Thirty years afterwards, when Mariner resided on the Tonga Islands, intercourse has increased* [emphasis mine]"

(Lawry 1852: 452). As part of the increase in interactions, there was a corresponding increase in demand for certain items, in particular canoes According to Derrick, during the period between 1800 and the middle of the 19th Century, canoes had become an item that was in very high demand as a result of participation in Fijian wars, and the troubles that started at home were a further result, at least in part (Derrick 1946: 124). This increase in demand for canoes is very important because it contributed, in terms of ability, to an increase in conflict, both in Fiji and at home in Tonga.

Increase of Tongan Domination

The acquisition of canoes did not simply entail going to Fiji and then returning home, but led to, what were in effect, colonies of Tongans. Many noted that Tongans were actually living in Fiji, particularly Lakeba and the other Lau islands, even as far back as Cook (Beaglehole 1999b 958; Diapea 1928: 77, 99; Cargill 1977: 61, 64) and interactions went even further back than that (Brewster 1922: 73, 78). Because canoes took a number of years to build, it was the case that they resided there, particularly in the Lau group. The increase in demand for canoes in turn meant even greater numbers of Tongans residing there and having children with Fijian women resulting in colonies of half-castes in these areas which had ample trees for canoe building (Derrick 1946: 121).

With this increased traffic, came increased influence and power at the hands of the Tongans, together with more coercive methods of acquiring canoes. As Derrick put it: “with the increase of Tongan influence and domination, [gaining canoes by means of exchange] deteriorated into *tribute* [emphasis mine] paid by the Fijians to buy off marauding bands” (Derrick 1946:121). Smythe's description of Tongans walking into the homes of the Fijians and demanding living space and food, can be taken as a demand for

tribute as well, because it shows that the Tongans themselves had come to see themselves as in a dominant position. Also the ceding of small islands to Tongan Chiefs (see chapter 4) would result in the belief of superiority over the Fijians. In an example of this domination, Smythe states that the Tui Nayau – the Chief of Lakeba was " a man of very weak character, and entirely under the influence of the Tongans" (Smythe 1864: 128). Tongan influence and domination had increased to the extent that, according to John Williams, George Tupou himself was seen as "a kind of Superior over them" (Williams 1984: 213).

Finally, I would like to add one more indication that Tongans were in a dominant position with respect to the Fijians. This one aspect stems out of the Tongan participation in Fijian wars, regular construction and seizing of canoes from Fijians, and Tongan superiority in navigation, and it is important because it represents the take over and control of canoe travel between Tonga and Fiji. Dillon noted that no Fijian travelled to Tonga, except in canoes crewed by Tongans (Dillon 1829b: 78 – 79). Lawry noted the same, making the following statement: "[The Tongans'] superiority [in navigation] was so great [at the time of Mariner] that no native of Feejee would venture to Tonga, except in a canoe manned with Tonga people; nor return to his own islands , unless under the same guidance and protection. This is still the case [in the 1830s]" (Lawry 1852: 451 – 452). The Samoans were expert sailors, but less engaged in long-distance travel than Tongans who controlled most indigenous shipping in the system as a whole.

Christianity

Christianity is an extremely important ingredient in the transformation of the

political/military net, because the introduction of Christianity led to a political change in Tonga, and then by extension, due to Tongan policy, led to political change in Fiji.

In Tonga, the first missionaries to arrive were the Wesleyans in 1797 aboard the Duff (Campbell 1992: 42). The missionaries saw this as part of the process of bringing civilization to Tonga: “Our object is not only to evangelize, but also to civilize...every encouragement is given to the poor natives in their attempts to imitate us in all reasonable matters” (Lawry 1852: 313). The process of converting Tongans to Christianity was complicated and there were many different attempts to introduce Christianity to the islands, many of which were abandoned due to many factors including threats of death. It did, however, start to take hold when Aleamotu'a, later known as Josiah Tupou, converted. There was a concerted effort on the part of chiefs opposed to the new religion, to make him recant including offering him the position of Tu'i Kanokupoku, which he accepted, and he was installed as such in 1827. However, he had never did recant and had, in fact, continued to worship in secret until six months after his installation, when he began worshipping publicly. Other chiefs started showing an interest including Mariner's Finow 'Ulukalala II, and Tāufa'āhau, who was Josiah's nephew and the son of Finow IV, who took over the governing of Vava'u after the death of Finow IV, as well as his own islands in Ha'apai. It was at this juncture that he introduced to Ha'apai and Vava'u laws that advanced the practice of Christianity there, which in turn led to resistance that on a couple of occasions boiled over into open warfare (on one occasion to the death of a British Captain whom the missionaries had asked for help). Ultimately, Josiah, with the support of has nephew, managed to overcome all opposition. It needs to be said that, according to Campbell, Josiah was a gentle ruler, and so it was Tāufa'āhau

who actually won the wars on his uncle's behalf (Campbell 1992: 52 – 62). Out of the Ha'apai Islands the Tupou dynasty expanded to control all of Tonga, and then to expand into areas of eastern and northern Fiji already tied to Tonga by existing networks and tried to establish full control, which ultimately failed.

When Josiah died in 1845, his successor was his nephew, who according to West was reluctant to take on the position, but did so after wide acclaim and a unanimous vote from the Tongan chiefs, taking on the name George Tubou (West 1865: 58; Campbell 1992: 62). According to Campbell, George Tupou saw the spread of Christianity as of vital political importance, because he saw it as a change from the old ways. This he saw as a way to gain more power than he would have had under the old ways, and as such desired to change his chiefdom into a Kingdom, in the European sense (Campbell 1992: 63). He wanted his kingdom to have modern laws in order to take on Western ideas, and so he was advised by the missionaries to seek legal expertise from New Zealand, which he did, receiving a reply, the result of which was the promulgation of a new legal code in 1847 (West 1865: 211 – 212). The introduction of Christianity was important because George Tubou saw it as the way in which Tonga could be returned to a state of peace (Lawry 1852: 326) after the long civil war and conflict that had been in existence since 1797.

Christianity was introduced to Fiji from Tonga by Wesleyan missionaries (Smythe 1864: 20, 124), who had originated in Tahiti, and who had resided on Tonga for four years (Derrick 1946: 71). The first British missionaries were William Cross and David Cargill who arrived at Lakepa in 1835 (Derrick 1946:71; Waterhouse 1866: 69). When the missionaries arrived in Lakepa, they were welcomed by the chief who,

however did not exhibit an interesting in converting. The work of the missionaries in converting Fijians was a slow process, and while it was the case, according to Derrick, the people and the chiefs were willing to learn reading and writing, the chiefs proved to be quite resistant to converting to Christianity. This was due to the fact that what the missionaries were teaching, such as pacifism, was diametrically opposed to the traditional ways of ruling through violence. Increasing numbers of foreigners beside the missionaries were arriving in Fiji, and was not long until the Fijians chiefs found their old ways called into question. The British and the French in particular made it abundantly clear that violence against their nationals would not be tolerated, and so it became apparent that it was in the best interest of chiefs to discard the old ways of doing things and embracing new ways, that came with Christianization, and that meant conversion (Derrick 1946: 73 – 74).

Cakobau, the Tui Viti or King of Fiji, was particularly resistant to the spread of Christianity, and had refused missionaries access to Bau (Derrick 1946: 73; Waterhouse 1866: 70). Since he was the most powerful chief, particularly after George Tubou I helped him quell a rebellion (as I mentioned above), he was in a position to obstruct the missionaries, whom he was angry with due to them not treating him as a god, as he saw himself, but rather as just a mere man, and also due to the fact that rebels would use Christianity as their reason for rebelling (Waterhouse 1866: 187). He went so far as to order the removal of the missionaries – who were not to be harmed, and to order the massacre of the native converts (Waterhouse 1866: 188 – 189). Christianity became part of the information net to justify political/military expansion.

It was the policy of George Tupou to support the missionaries, and as such was a driving force behind the spread of Christianity in Fiji, actively supporting them (Derrick 1946: 71, 128). Other chiefs also actively supported them, as is illustrated by the response of the removal of the missionries from Bau, that I mentioned above, which was to appeal to the Tongans for help: "The missionaries now appealed to a Tongan chief, who was at Bau with three hundred men. With all their faults, the Tongans invariably rally round the missionary in the hour of danger" (Waterhouse 1866: 187).

Initially George Tupou sent Tongan teachers to assist the missionaries in order to not only convert Fijians, but the Tongans residing there as well. When the first set of teachers returned to Tonga, their appointments were filled by the second group of Tongan teachers active in Fiji (Derrick 1946: 129; Smythe 1864: 126 – 127). These native preachers were one vanguard of Tongan expansion in the system.

Ma'afu

As part of the effort to extend control into Fiji, George Tubou appointed his cousin Ma'afu to keep control of the Tongans and to establish government on Lakeba (Derrick 1946: 127; Spurway 2002: 9 – 10), as Smythe put it: "when George Tupou I returned to Tonga, he gave Maafu full command of the Tongans in Fiji. Maafu had a large amount of influence in Lakemba and was generally beneficial and he kept his Tongans under control" (Smythe 1864: 126 – 127). According to Spurway, this appointment was actually at the behest of the missionaries (Spurway 2002: 17).

The appointment of Ma'afu, however, did not result in peaceful relations between Tongans and Fijians, as had been the plan. Ma'afu used the excuse of protecting missionaries (even though they later complained about his actions), and the Tongan

converts, as a pretext for making the Lau group his own personal chiefdom (Sahlins 1962: 17), which was his intent all along, according to Spurway, and would have succeeded had it not been for the British (Spurway 2002: 6). In the mean time he managed to take over a large area of the Lau Group, including the conquest of the island of Moala.

The island of Moala in the Lau Group in Fiji is a good example of the effects of Tongan domination on the peripheral group under Ma'afu. Moala had been under the influence of Cakombau, the chief of Bau. This influence in Moala, however, did not rise to the level of control of Moala by Cakobau. Moala was extremely resistant to conversion, which did not suit the aspirations of the missionaries, and the political goals of the Tongans, which was expansion and control of Moala, and they managed to conquer Moala under the pretext of defending Christianity and Christians (Sahlins 1962: 16 – 17), which linked the spread of Christianity with the spread of Tongan control. The Tongans briefly ruled Moala, both directly and indirectly. They appointed the chief of the village of Navucinmasi named Roko Ju'ji Baba as the first person to hold the newly created title of Tu'i Moala (Sahlins 1962: 366). The Tu'i Moala did not rule alone but rather alongside a personal representative of Ma'afu, who was given the title of *kovana* (governor) whose job it was to preside over meetings of local chiefs, and to ensure the collection of tribute in the form of taxes (Sahlins 1962: 373 – 375). The tribute was presented in the form of coconut oil, which, as a result, had the systemic result of increasing and transforming coconut production in the local economy of Moala (Sahlins 1962: 29). The Tongans used tributary methods of accumulation to ensure control over the supply of coconut oil. The methods involved dividing the land into land-sections called *magi-magi* that were 240

feet in length and assigned each section to an adult male, who then had the responsibility of meeting the demand for the coconut oil tribute (Sahlins 1962: 129).

This development in tributary trade was something new in the region among the Tongans and Fijians. This was not simply a case of conquering an island, making oneself chief and simply demanding tribute to maintain a chiefly cycle but was a new situation of direct political control that involved taking over the system of production. This was therefore not just expansion on the old mode but direct colonization and transformation of the peripheral area of Moala.

Ma'afu's expansion in the Lau group, however, did not last. He had treated Cakobau as a friend during his conquering of the Lau group, but when it came to dealing with Cakobau, the Tongan found his ambition thwarted by resistance on Taveuni followed by the cessation of Fiji to the British in 1874 (Derrick 1946: 130 - 131) which put an end to Tongan expansion.

Discussion and Conclusion

The changing nature of the system between 1770 and 1870 is an important aspect in the analysis of this system as a whole. It is important because it demonstrates what happens when a new factor is introduced into an existing system. When the interaction networks are relatively static, by which I mean stable without any changes occurring, the interactions serve to maintain the social reproduction, in terms of governance and the reproduction of chiefly rule, which are part of the governing and social structure of constituent societies. When changes occurred in one constituent part of a system, such as the introduction and spread of Christianity in the Tonga and Fiji, then the whole system was affected. Thus, what we have in the interactions between Tonga and Fiji in particular

was a well established set of interactions at the time of Cook according to Lawry, that then changed (Lawry 1852: 451).

This is where the arrival of Europeans is important, this relatively stable situation became unstable, and violent, both in terms of the weapons that they brought, and which were utilized by Tongan chiefs such as Finau 'Ulukalala II and George Tupou himself, first on behalf of Josiah and then for his own ends, but also in terms of something else that they had brought with them: Christianity. In Tonga, the spread of Christianity was not just due to the conversion of Tongans in general, but because it was utilized by Josiah and George Tupou as a method for gaining political power in order to return Tonga to a state of peace as a unified kingdom with modern (ie. European influenced) laws. Thus, I submit that the spread of Christianity was a deliberate political act, and as such should be included in any discussion of the political/military net in particular. The spread of Christianity in Fiji was also an overt political act, because both George Tupou and Ma'afu used it as a pretext to gain control of the Lau group where Tongan domination had subsequently increased resulting in conquest and colonization (the taking over the means of production in Moala is the best example of this). The result was the eventual dissolution of the system due to fact that the level of dominance by the Tongans eventually meant the cessation of Fiji to Britain, which put an end to Tongan conquest.

The definition of efflorescence therefore can be extended in order to account for other types of interaction. These other interactions include conflict, and the increase in dominance, which can be added to frequency and volume of trade in the description of efflorescence, and so one can think of efflorescence as involving an increase in conflict and dominance, as well as volume of trade and numbers of interactions. The

efflorescence of exchange included the interactions that occurred in the political/military net, particularly between Tonga and Fiji, for which there is more information. It is clear from the descriptions of the increasing demand for canoes and the resulting conflicts, and also the institution of Christianity and the resulting growth in conflicts in both Tonga and Fiji, that in terms of frequency and volume of trade, the Political/Military Net expanded and effloresced. As the Tongans, under Ma'afu in particular, took over large areas of the Lau Islands, it is fair to to say that Tongan dominance pulsed briefly, as well. Thus it is my argument that the information presented in my thesis can be used to make the case that the concept of efflorescence can be extended from its initial application to prestige goods exchange to the description of political and military interactions as well. As the question of a Tongan Empire, the data show that there was no 'empire' prior to the arrival of Europeans, but as a result of this efflorescence that occurred after the Europeans became involved, Tonga started to move to an 'imperial' type of polity. This was demonstrated most specifically by the case of Moala, where a type of direct rule was instituted.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This thesis examined the connections that existed between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa during the period of time between 1770 and 1870, following the arrival of Europeans in the region. The main method of this thesis has been to focus on the prestige goods net and the political/military net to establish that these linkages rose to the level of being a small world-system. Historical data on these nets show that the connections between the archipelagos were systemic, that is, formed a small world-system, in accordance with Chase-Dunn and Hall's definition of a small world-system. The study has demonstrated the systemic properties primarily through a static analysis of the prestige goods net and political/military net. The following goal was to describe the changes that occurred in the system as a result of European involvement in the region, and show that these changes were tied to processes at the level of this Oceanic world-system. This thesis concludes with a summary of the methodology employed, and then summarizes the main empirical findings of this thesis. Following this, a description and analysis of the theoretical findings of this thesis will be provided.

Methodology

In order to address the issues that this thesis is concerned with, the following methodology of archival research was employed. This thesis, in order to provide as full a picture as possible, examined four main types of data. Firstly, this thesis examined the first hand observations from Europeans, who had arrived on the scene. These included observations from sailors, who, despite not knowing the significance of what they were observing or knowing the language well, although Cook did have knowledge of

vocabulary and a Polynesian interpreter, none the less provided very detailed descriptions of what they observed. Thus their descriptions are valuable in determining the issue of who, what, where, and when. Other European observers, such as missionaries, renegade missionaries (in the case of Vason), and beachcombers provided more insight into what they were describing because they often lived among the Islanders for extended periods of time, and often spoke the languages of the Islanders. Another source of information was provided by ethnographers such as Adrienne Kaeppler and , whose work included long-term conversations and interviews, and genealogical research. These ethnographies served to confirm what early observers described, but also provide added insight beyond the 'who, what, where, when', and provided insight into the 'why'. A third source of information was provided by oral traditions from the region, which were valuable in providing an indigenous perspective on such questions as the origins of the Samoan fine mats, and on the defeat of the Tongans by the Samoans in the 12th century.

This thesis only examined those interactions that were needed to demonstrate systemic properties of the interactions between the three archipelagos, and so did not provide a comprehensive description and analysis of all the interactions, including every prestige item exchanged, or every incidence of conflict, or every single marriage that took place. This thesis focused only on those interactions that were useful in the demonstration of systemness, such as red feathers, Samoan fine mats, canoes, participation in Fijian wars by young Tongan chiefs, and elite marriages of the Tongan paramounts.

Empirical Conclusions

Chapter 2 laid out the theoretical framework of this thesis, and divided this

framework into different elements that included the different approaches to world-systems theory in order to justify the use of the comparative approach proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall. Following this I discussed other elements including the spatial boundaries of the system in terms of the nested interaction nets, the systemic properties of each interaction net that I focused on – the prestige goods net and the political/military net, and also the systemic nature of the marriage patterns in the region. I then discussed the issue of efflorescence and pulsation, core/periphery structure, and transformation of the system and semi-periphery action. After discussing these elements I then discussed the application of world-systems theory to the Pacific Region, and made the point that this theory and method really has not been applied to the region. As part of the application to the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, I provided a brief description of the region. This was both in terms of geography and in fact that the island groups were connected together, as observed by Europeans.

Chapter 3 focused on the exchange of prestige valuables between Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa. The focus was on two particular prestige items, red feathers from Fiji, that moved to Tonga, and through Tonga to Samoa, and on Samoan fine mats, which mainly concerned Tonga and Samoa. This chapter focused on these two items because these items demonstrated the systemic nature of the exchange in prestige goods. This chapter established the systemic nature of prestige goods exchange by demonstrating that these items were essential items in many chiefly ceremonies such as marriages, funerals, and investiture ceremonies. These items were essential to these ceremonies, and in turn, these ceremonies were essential to the social reproduction of Samoa and Tonga, in terms of the

reproduction of chiefly lines and chiefly authority of the Tongan and Samoan paramounts.

Chapter 4 examined the role of political and military interactions in the region, focusing on the interactions between Tonga and Fiji specifically. This chapter is divided into two main sections, the role of canoes in the collection of tribute in Tonga, and the use of canoes in warfare. These canoes connected Tonga to Fiji in a systemic way because the Tongans, due to the lack of sufficient trees in Tonga had to manufacture them in Fiji. Because these canoes were used in the collection of tribute, and thus necessary to the reproduction of the Tu'i Tonga's political authority, the manufacture of canoes in Fiji was an interaction that was systemic. This chapter also demonstrated the systemic nature of conflict, because conflict was one of the ways that the Tongans acquired the canoes, and were then used for young Tongan chiefs to go to Fiji in order to participate in Fijian wars in order to make a name for themselves. This meant that they were not making trouble at home in Tonga, and so were not destabilizing the political situation there.

Chapter 5 focused on the marriage patterns between the three island groups. This chapter established the systemic properties of the marriages, and made the point that they were the underlying reason for Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa comprising a system. The marriages displayed systemic properties because they acted to maintain the reproduction of chiefly lines. The marriages between the Tu'i Tonga Fefine and the Tui Lakeba from Lau maintained the Tu'i Tonga line by removing her children as claimants to the Tu'i Tonga title by, in effect, making them foreigners and thus outside of Tongan politics. The importation of brides from Samoa was systemic because it ensured a supply of sufficiently high ranking brides for the *hau*, firstly the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and then the Tu'i

Kanokupolu. Not only in the case of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, but also chiefly lines that were associated to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, such as in the case of Finau's son taking Samoan brides, as observed by Mariner. This importation of brides from Samoa was systemic, both directly, in the case of the brides themselves, and also indirectly because important prestige goods – fine mats – from Samoa to Tonga as bridal wealth which were important to Tongan social reproduction. The marriages of the *moheofo* – usually a daughter of the *hau* to the Tu'i Tonga was the last piece in the marriage patterns. This was systemic in nature because this was the piece that made the marriage patterns a unified system that encompassed all three island groups.

Chapter 6 examined the efflorescence and transformation of the system, as a result of European involvement in the region. This chapter demonstrated that the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan system effloresced as a result of the influx of European goods, and indigenous goods that were then exchanged after the arrival of Europeans into the system. This efflorescence was not only in the form of the exchange of prestige goods, but also was in the form of increased political and military interactions and the resulting increase in Tongan domination in the region, and was due to the introduction of European ideas. Specifically, the introduction of Christianity was the most significant idea to be introduced, because the Tongans used Christianity as a political tool in order to, a), turn Tonga into a unified and modern kingdom, and b), increase their territorial domination of much of the Lau Islands of Fiji. The end result of this was temporary Tongan control, followed by the ceding of Fiji to Britain, which led to the demise of the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan regional indigenous world-system, which was subsequently incorporated into the modern world-system.

The previous chapters, in addition to demonstrating that the interactions between the three island groups displayed systemic properties, but also demonstrate the interaction networks proposed by Chase-Dunn and Hall accurately describe the geographical bounding of this system. While I did not use the bulk goods net in the empirical determination of the system, it would appear that there was little or no exchange in bulk-goods among the three archipelagos. I could not find any such instance, and so it would appear that each groups was self-sufficient in terms of food and raw materials, which would confirm Chase-Dunn and Hall's assertion that the bulk-goods net was the smallest net in this case.

In the case of the political/military net, I have demonstrated that there were two such nets, one encompassing Tonga and Fiji, and the other encompassing Tonga and Samoa. As Kaeppler pointed out, there was little direct interaction between Fiji and Samoa, which would imply that perhaps there were two distinct prestige goods nets, but there were in fact prestige valuables moving between Fiji and Samoa, but they did so indirectly through Tonga. This means that there was one prestige goods net that was centred on Tonga. This in turn means that the prestige goods net was larger than the two political/ military nets.

Also, this thesis did not analyze the information net, because to do so would have entailed linguistic analyses that would be beyond the scope of this thesis. However, there are indications that there was an information net that include commonalities in prestige valuables, ideas of hierarchy and chiefly authority, and religious beliefs in the three island groups. Despite only focusing on the political/military nets and the prestige goods

net, the data presented in this thesis supports empirically, Chase-Dunn and Hall's model of nested interaction nets.

Theoretical Conclusions

After having empirically determined the spatial bounding of the system, and the systemic properties of the interaction nets, the next issue to discuss is what kind of a system it was. The theoretical considerations that are of importance for this issue, are the issue of modes of accumulation, the question of centricity and core/periphery structure, and semi-peripheral action.

In terms of the modes of accumulation, Chase-Dunn and Hall have defined four modes, the important ones for this discussion are kin-based and tributary based. Kin-based mode of accumulation refers to the accumulation and exchange of items mediated through blood and marriage obligations, and tributary accumulation refers to the control of accumulation by a leader through coercion. Chase-Dunn and Hall discuss a mixed mode of accumulation which refers to a system, in this case, that combines kin-ship exchange and tributary exchange. In the case of Tonga, both types of accumulation were seen, whereby goods were gathered by the chiefs from their *kainga*, for use in ceremonies, the data have shown that tributary exchange was very much in evidence in the case of the *'inasi*, whereby yams, primarily, were gathered as first fruits and offered to the gods through the Tu'i Tonga as their representative. While this was seen as a voluntary donation, it was in fact strictly enforced, with non-compliance treated as an act of rebellion, implying that it was not voluntary at all, but collected through coercion. This means, then, that because there were two modes of accumulation that were combined, Tonga had a mixed mode of accumulation.

This is important when one considers the changes that occurred in the system during the 19th Century. The case of Moala is important, because it shows that, as a result of increased political dominance in the Lau Group, Tonga started to move away from a mixed mode to a full-blown tributary mode. This occurred because Tonga instituted a form of direct rule into Moala, and reorganized the production of coconut oil for the expressed purpose of tribute collection. The focus of the accumulation became about the item in question, which means that this accumulation moved away from the kin-based part of the mixed mode of accumulation.

In terms of centricity, this thesis has demonstrated that Tonga was the centre of accumulation. While the data has shown that prestige valuables moved between the three archipelagos through Tonga, due to the fact that there was little exchange directly between Fiji and Tonga, I must conclude that the aspect that best demonstrated Tongan centricity was the marriage patterns that existed between the three groups. The data have shown that it was Tonga that acted as spouse-takers from the other two archipelagos. This confirms two things: firstly it confirms Kaeppler's suggestion that Tonga was at the apex of this exchange network, and secondly, it confirms Chase-Dunn and Hall's suggestion that marriages can be used to determined centricity in terms of accumulation, as they did in the case of the Wintu.

This brings us to core/periphery structure. I have determined in this thesis that in terms of the pre-existing indigenous system that, because of Tonga's tri-partite centralized governing system, that Tonga was mildly core, in terms of differentiation. In terms of core/periphery hierarchy, I find that there was core/periphery hierarchy. I base this on the fact that while Tonga did not directly control the other two island groups,

Tonga was the centre of accumulation, as demonstrated by the marriage patterns, which existed to serve the needs of *Tongan* hierarchy and social reproduction. Thus I conclude that this Oceanic world-system had a mild hierarchical core/periphery structure.

After the arrival of Europeans, Tonga became semi-peripheral due to the core/periphery structure of the indigenous system. The new core became the modern-world system as a whole, as represented by the British, initially. Because of its position as the new semi-peripheral polity, it was able to transform itself to a more modern state after adopting European ideas including Christianity and British legal advice. This represented an innovation in the the social structure of Tonga as it took on characteristics of both core (in terms of the modern system) and periphery (through the maintenance traditional chiefly governance). Because of this, Tonga was able to gain a large degree of political dominance in the Lau Island Group. Thus Tonga's increased dominance was the result of semi-peripheral development, which Chase-Dunn and Hall suggest is what drives the transformation of world-systems (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 78).

This ties in efflorescence and pulsation, because, since I have empirically demonstrated that the system effloresced politically, and since I have also demonstrated that the spread of Tongan dominance in Lau was the result of semi-peripheral action, I can then generally conclude that efflorescence can be the result of semi-peripheral action. Also, because I have tied efflorescence to pulsation, which was described by Chase-Dunn and Hall, it can be concluded that pulsation in world-systems can be the result of semi-peripheral action. In this specific case-study, it would appear to be the case that efflorescence and pulsation were the result of semi-peripheral development.

Tying in modes of accumulation then, it can be seen that semi-peripheral action started to transform this region from a mixed mode of accumulation to a tributary mode. However, this did not last long. Tonga was not strong enough to prevent the colonization of Fiji by the British. This colonization was the result of the cessation of Fiji to the British by Cakobau. This means that the result of Tongan semi-peripheral development had the effect of peripheralization of the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan world-system, and the break up of the system. Tonga, however, was able to avoid being colonized by the British and others, while Fiji and Samoa were colonized by the British, Germans, and Americans.

One of the questions of this thesis concerned the idea of a Tongan empire, which was of concern to Campbell (1992). The data do not show that the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan system constituted an empire, since there is no evidence of any kind of direct rule by Tongans in any of the Fijian or Samoan archipelagos at the time that Europeans arrived in the region. Stories do show that such a relationship occurred between Tonga and Samoa during the 12th Century, but that relationship had ended long before Europeans arrived. Similarly, in the case of Tonga and Fiji, statements that Fiji had been subject to conquest or tribute collection by Tongans were strongly denied by the Fijians, and the tributary ties were tenuous at best. But the question of empire is important, because the conquest of large parts of the Lau Group by Tongans in the 19th Century were not simply the growth of dominance, but as the case of Moala shows, that the appointment of a 'governor' to supplement the Tu'i Moala – which itself was a creation of the Tongans, could be considered to be a move to the formation of a Tongan empire.

However, since the cessation of Fiji to Britain put a halt to Tongan expansionism, no empire actually formed.

In conclusion, thesis has demonstrated that the region comprising Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa was not simply a exchange network, but was in fact a system, as defined by Chase-Dunn and Hall. This thesis has established that the system fits the general model for the spatial bounding of pre-modern world-systems. Furthermore, this thesis has established that the system had a mild core/periphery structure that leaned toward the hierarchical end of the spectrum with Tonga as the centre. As Tonga responded to influences from the modern world system by adopting European ideas – especially Christianity, it expanded its influence and control of parts of Fiji, for a short time, before it largely dissolved and split up into colonies and territories in a global imperial system.

In summary, the central argument of this thesis is that the long-distance interactions involving exchange of prestige valuables, political/military nets, and a marriage net comprised a small world-system in West Polynesia. Corollary arguments are that in this indigenous world-system, the prestige goods net, the political military net, and marriage net were the most important relations holding this system together. Secondly, prestige goods exchange were important to the maintenance of hierarchical control in the particular polities that comprised the system. Thirdly, the political/military net extended from Tonga to Fiji, and accumulation from peripheral areas on Fiji was fundamental to the system of control in Tonga and especially in providing military supplies for the tribute extraction associated with the *'inasi* agricultural ceremony. Lastly, changes in the particular societal units of Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa were associated with particular local interactions with Westerners, but also linkages and changes to the larger system level.

These findings suggest that future studies of the region will be improved by including a comparative world-systems perspective to examine the units of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa respectively.

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