

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
NATIVES OF THE
TONGA ISLANDS
IN THE
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN

WITH AN ORIGINAL GRAMMAR AND
VOCABULARY OF THEIR LANGUAGE
COMPILED AND ARRANGED
FROM THE EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS
OF MR WILLIAM MARINER,
SEVERAL YEARS RESIDENT IN THOSE ISLANDS.
BY JOHN MARTIN, M.D.

Edited by

NIGEL STATHAM

and

IAN C. CAMPBELL



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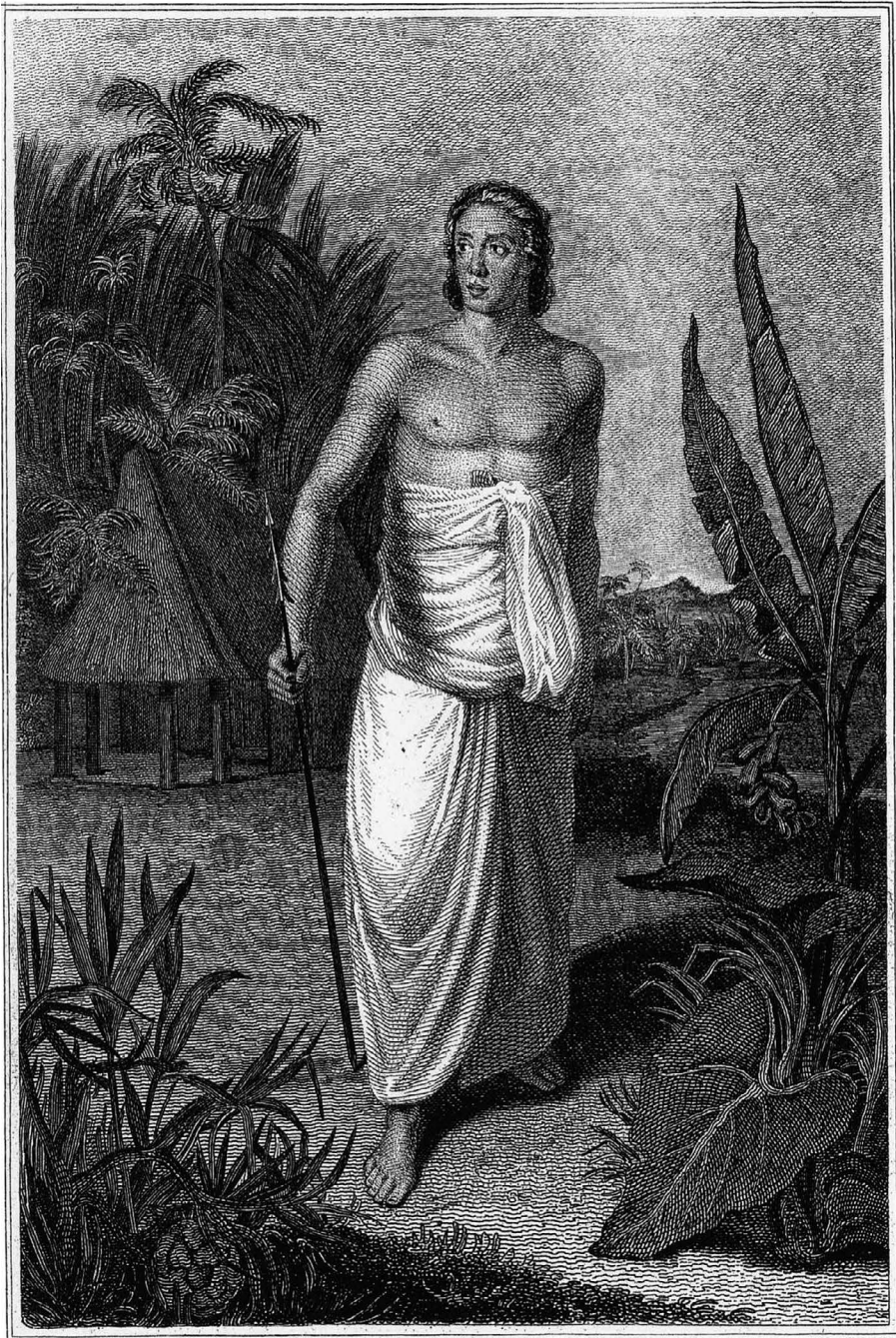
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William Mariner in Tongan dress with imagined background. Engraving by Thomas Bragg (c.1780–1840) from the portrait by François-Nicolas Mouchet (c.1749–1814). Mouchet and Bragg were eminent practitioners of their professions. This portrait was the frontispiece of the first and second editions of *An Account*. Captain Peter Dillon, the discoverer of the tragic fate of the La Pérouse expedition, met Mafihape in Tonga in 1827. Dillon wrote, ‘I showed her a copy of Mr Mariner’s narrative, which contained a portrait of her adopted son habited in the costume of the Friendly Islands. She immediately recognized the likeness, and exclaiming, “it is Tokey,” she wept bitterly.’ Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage*, vol. 1, pp. 285–6.

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To the memory of Denis Joroyal McCulloch, 1918–2013,
Mariner descendant and devoted researcher,
and to the memory of Dorothy Crozier, 1918–2001,
historian, archivist, and Tonga scholar,
this new edition, which they both hoped to see, is respectfully dedicated.



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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the so-called Age of Exploration extended voyages to distant destinations called into being their own literature which flourished most prolifically in the late eighteenth century, stimulated by, though not initiated with, the voyages of Captain James Cook between 1768 and 1780. These works, avidly acquired and read by a heterogeneous public, were supplemented by narratives of those who sojourned longer with the inhabitants of places newly brought within the scope of European knowledge. These accounts were typically true-life adventure stories and, as far as the Pacific Islands were concerned, among the earliest was the present work, John Martin's *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean*, first published in 1817. Unlike most other works of this genre, however, it was not written primarily as an adventure story, but as an exposition of the way of life of the exotic inhabitants with reference to philosophical concerns of the day. It was a prototype of a new kind of travel literature, crossing the boundary between memoir and anthropological inquiry.

The book narrates the adventures of a teenaged youth, William Mariner, from his embarkation on a privateer at the beginning of 1805, to his return to England in 1811. The voyage lasted not quite two years, and ended in Tonga where the ship was sacked by the islanders and half the ship's company were slaughtered. For the following four years, Mariner lived the life of a young Tongan chief, participating in major political and military events of an especially turbulent period, and learning in intimate detail the language, customs and outlook of the people. The book was a model for such literature though for the Pacific Islands it was not emulated either in its literary quality, its systematic coverage of events, or the comprehensive and rational exposition of native custom. It was especially notable for being the first published account of a Pacific Island language, including an extensive vocabulary and an exposition of its grammar and syntax deriving from one who had acquired a native level of fluency. The work was not only unique for its time, but remained so until the development of modern social anthropology.

It was an immediate success. In November of the same year a French translation appeared in Paris. A second edition 'with additions' followed in 1818, again published by John Murray, and followed again by a French translation in 1819 which was reprinted in 1822. A German translation was published in Weimar in 1819 and the next year an American edition was published in Boston. In 1827, a third edition 'considerably improved' appeared as volumes XIII and XIV of *Constable's Miscellany of Literature, Science & the Arts*.¹ An abbreviated Swedish version appeared in a collection of voyages published in Stockholm in 1828.

¹ Vol. 1 included all up to the end of Chapter XIII; Vol. 2, the remainder, with the Grammar and Vocabulary, plus the chapter on Tongan surgical skills, attached as appendices.

The second edition was prompted by the success of the first, and by the discovery of a witness to verify Mariner's authenticity and reliability. This witness was Jeremiah Higgins, one of Mariner's shipmates who had escaped Tonga earlier than Mariner. Higgins' evidence so closely matched Mariner's, especially with regard to the compatibility of their Tongan language usage, that there could be no doubt about the veracity of either. When the first edition was published the only independent verification for Mariner was an account of Hawai'i by Archibald Campbell discovered by Martin after the book was in press.¹ Martin nevertheless compared Campbell's and Mariner's accounts of Hawai'i in his introduction. This comparison was retained in the second edition.

Seven years later, when Martin offered a third edition to a different publisher, he undertook revisions which, although mainly stylistic, also involved minor changes to the information supplied, and the comparison with Campbell's account of Hawai'i was excised.² Mariner and Martin nowhere state their purpose in undertaking the revision which, although carried out by Martin, 'not one of the ensuing pages has been written without his [Mariner's] presence and approval', echoing similar claims in the previous editions. This third edition was the one selected for reproduction as being a refinement of the previous two. The footnotes of the original are distinguished by an unnumbered symbol. Martin's cross-references are adjusted to the present pagination, but are retained in their original positions in the text. Editorial additions are, first, an introduction providing biographical information about Mariner and Martin and historical background information about Tonga and the principal Tongan protagonists in the story, followed by Tongan biographical and cultural introductions. Second, significant textual excisions from the 1818 edition have been restored but placed in footnotes. Third, footnotes provide explanations of events, kinship connections, and cultural references. Fourth, Martin's spelling of Tongan words according to his original orthography is retained, but modern spellings have been supplied in footnotes at the first occurrence. Finally, Mariner and Martin included a long appendix of Tongan vocabulary and grammar. This is here profusely annotated, and preceded by a short editorial assessment and evaluative review of their achievement.

For the antecedents of significant persons, and as well as some of their other historically and sociologically significant kinship connections and descendants, as far as these are known from traditional genealogies, the reader is referred to the Tongan Who Was Who and accompanying genealogical charts.

Where 'today' or 'modern Tonga' or similar expressions are used in comments, the first quarter of the twenty-first century is referred to.

We are indebted to a great-great-grandson of William Mariner, the late Denis J. McCulloch, whose remarkable ancestor was his lifetime interest. Mr McCulloch was

¹ Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World from 1806 to 1812*. The first edition was published in 1816 by Archibald Constable and Company, London.

² Changes made for the 1827 edition were of the following kinds: infrequent and insignificant changes of a word or spelling, or phrasing; addition of some details and removal of others including repetitions; removal of phrases or content that might have been considered offensive to readers; removal of statements suggesting failures or excesses of the *Port au Prince* as a privateer; removal of conjectures; to eliminate vagueness; changes merely of syntax; minor changes to the narrative structure; factual data of interest that was transferred from the main text to footnotes. The third edition also removed the English-Tongan vocabulary, leaving only the Tongan-English.

indefatigable in trying to fill in the gaps of knowledge about Mariner, and wrote a biography intending it for publication. It remains to be published, though several of the images here have been taken with his permission from his collection.¹ We have also drawn on the work of the late Dorothy Crozier who in 1970 undertook to produce but never completed a scholarly edition of 'Mariner's Tonga'. We have found her work useful chiefly for the genealogical information on Tongan chiefs, sourced from the Tonga Palace Records Office in close collaboration with the late Queen Sālote (1900–65). Dorothy Crozier was a graduate of the University of Melbourne. She undertook research in Tonga in 1950–51 and carried out the initial organization of the archives of the High Commission of the Western Pacific which later evolved into the Fijian National Archives.

To these two pathfinders we humbly dedicate this new edition in acknowledgment of their dedication to the subject and in deference to their unfulfilled aspirations.

We are grateful to Dr Niel Gunson and Mr Ewan Maidment who proposed this undertaking. Thanks are due to Mrs Pasemata Vi-Taunisila of the Tonga Palace Traditions Committee for checking the chiefly genealogies and to Dr Geoff Cummins for alerting one of us (NS) to letters written in 1850 by King Taufa'āhau Tupou I and Queen Charlotte to their son George. Many thanks to our wives, Melenaite 'Alakihihifo Statham and Valerie Campbell, for their willing acceptance of our preoccupation with William Mariner for many months.

Nigel Statham
Ian Campbell

¹ For the remainder, every effort has been made to trace and contact copyright holders prior to publication. If notified, all reasonable efforts will be made to rectify any errors or omissions.

A NOTE ON TONGAN LANGUAGE AND ORTHOGRAPHY

‘Mariner’s Tonga’ has the earliest extensive description of a Polynesian language. The Vocabulary of more than 2,300 entries and the Grammar of more than 400 grammatical statements and three extended examples of speech are of unique value and importance to research into the Tongan language itself and into Austronesian comparative linguistics. Each is reviewed in a footnote by comparing it, first, with the published sources of knowledge of the language closest in time to Mariner’s residence in Tonga and, second, with sources of knowledge of the language as it is spoken today. The findings are summarized in the Editor’s Introduction to the Grammar and Vocabulary, on pp. 300–304. Two conclusions are drawn from the review: Mariner’s comprehension of the language was thorough and sophisticated, and the Tongan language for 200 years after his time has proven remarkably durable and resistant to changes of foreign origin.

Since Mariner and Martin’s spelling of Tongan words in the text can be confusing for the reader, the modern Tongan spelling ([a ā ē ē ī ī o ō u ū p t k m n ŋ¹ f v s l h²]) of their contemporary Tongan correlates is given in square brackets beside them (the square brackets are not to be taken as the International Phonetics Association way of indicating the phonetics of a word as distinct from its phonemics).³ The macron indicates a long vowel. Mariner and Martin indicated what they perceived as primary and secondary word stress with the acute accent and the dieresis respectively.

The pronunciation of modern Tongan is given in the following charts under the rubrics and in the symbols of the International Phonetics Association:⁴

¹ This symbol represents the English sound ‘ng’ as in ‘singing’. In writing Tongan words beginning with this sound, Martin usually used ‘gn’ as in English ‘gnu’ and ‘gnostic’ on the analogy of Italian ‘gn’. Where the same sound occurs in the middle or end of a word, Martin spelt it ‘ng’ in the conventional English manner. Missionary linguists subsequently substituted ‘g’ for both ‘gn’ and ‘ng’, and that usage prevailed until an orthographic reform in 1943.

² The glottal stop.

³ Between 1818 and 1820 the Church Missionary Society, which was active in New Zealand, consulted Professor Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, on a suitable orthography for Maori. Lee’s orthography, based on the Italian, or ‘open vowel’ system, subsequently became the basis for writing all Polynesian languages including Tongan. By the time this became known to Martin, if it ever did, his collaboration with Mariner was presumably complete, so Martin’s system is in many particulars different from that which the missionaries later employed, and more awkward, but, as will be seen, it conveys effectively the Tongan phonetics for the most part.

⁴ The consonants are pronounced almost exactly as in English, the vowels almost exactly as in Italian and Spanish.

Consonants

Manner	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p		t	k	
Nasal	m		n	ŋ	
Sibilant fricative		f v	s		h
Lateral approximate			l		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:		u u:
Mid	e e:	o o:	
Open		a a:	

Mariner and Martin's spelling, punctuation and use of italics are reproduced exactly, including the non-italicization of ship names, non-italicization of Tongan words and capitalization of common nouns. Inconsistencies in the spelling and accentuation of Tongan words are not adjusted. In contemporary Tongan glosses in editorial comments, the acute accent associated with the Tongan definite article is omitted. Where literal meanings of compound forms transliterated into the contemporary Tongan orthography are not given, e.g. in the case of the names of dances, songs and other such cultural features, the etymology is unknown.

SELECTED ASPECTS OF TONGAN CULTURE

Tongan society has – and had in Mariner’s time – certain distinctive features which may be obscure to readers from other cultures. These are referred to or assumed throughout Martin’s text. Martin’s original spelling is used, and the modern spelling given in square brackets [].

Cainga [Kāinga]. A socio-political and economic unit associated with a chief, including his extended family, their attendants, and the people who worked the lands belonging to the chief.

Cava [Kava]. An infusion of the root of a species of pepper (*Piper methysticum*), the ceremonial preparation and drinking of which was at the centre of chiefly congresses. The kava ceremony is today the forum at which the installations of the king and nobles are conducted, as well as chiefly and royal funerals and other traditional events. On such occasions the ceremony is conducted according to strict protocols that are precisely those described by Mariner, including the exact wording of the presiding matāpule’s (chief’s spokesman’s) commands. The seating of the chiefs and their matāpules (in a ring on the ground) expresses exactly their relative ranks. The kava was drunk only ritually and not, as might be imagined, as a beverage. The kava ceremony is employed according to its basic protocols as a focus of fellowship by young and old on private occasions.

Egi [‘Eiki]. An hereditary chief. The chiefs mentioned by Mariner formed a genuine aristocracy that is not inaccurately described as feudal. Each had jurisdiction over an island or district and total power over the lives and property of its people. Most were scions of families that acquired chiefly authority in the seventeenth century or earlier, and some bore titles derived from the names of the originators of their lines. Most have descendants bearing the same titles today. The category is wider than the modern nobility of thirty-three titles.

Fahu means the obligations owed by a man to his father’s sister and her children, and by extension refers to the recipients. A brother was always expected to provide for and protect his sisters, even after their marriages, and this duty extended to his sons in relation to the sisters’ children. It could be used to activate support in times of political or military need, as well as in mundane affairs. Thus, it was advantageous for an ambitious man to marry a woman whose kāinga was strong, because her children (and his) would be fahu (privileged) to her brother and the brother’s sons.

Gnatoo [Ngatu]. Native cloth made from the beaten bark of the *hiapo* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) and used for clothing, funerary wrappings, head coverings, gifts, tribute and a variety of mundane uses. Commonly but incorrectly called tapa today. It was manufactured in various grades, from very fine and soft to coarse and stiff, depending on the intended use. Bales of ngatu were frequently used

as gifts or tribute. It is still manufactured today in huge quantities, employing the same procedures as Mariner described.

Hootooa [**‘Otua**]. A god or spirit. Tongans had many gods but there were minor differences across the archipelago in the traditions concerning them. There were great gods who were believed to be responsible for the good or bad things that affected human activities, such as winds, storms, agricultural fertility and so on; others who were patrons of various skills or crafts; and others who were patrons of individual chiefs or titles. The gods lived in an earthly paradise called Pulumotu whither the souls of chiefs migrated after death, to become gods themselves or spirits. Common people did not have souls: their existence terminated with physical death. Great gods and lesser gods and spirits were capable of visiting and inspiring humans through whom oracular pronouncements were uttered. There were two classes of priests: ordinary people of any rank in society who were known to be occasionally inhabited by a god and prophesied when inspired, and others who were semi-professional as the custodians of the physical representation of the god and whose intercession was sought when a god's favour was supplicated. Overall, Tongan beliefs about the supernatural were not ordered into a systematic theology, and the gods were viewed simply as sources of favour or disfavour to whom periodical and occasional sacrifices were due, not as objects of worship in a reverential sense.

How [**Hau**]. There is no exact English equivalent for this term though ‘war-lord’ comes close to it. Martin uses the English word ‘king’ for want of a better, though he knew that it was not hereditary, and that the hau was inferior in ritual status to other chiefs, both male and female. It seems not to have been a formal title or position, but the person so described was the chief who, as a matter of practice and by consent, possessed the greatest executive power, probably by a combination of force of personality and the strength of his family, retainers and followers, and ruled over a part or whole of the realm of a hereditary monarch. By the eighteenth century, the hereditary monarch was the Tu‘i Kanokupolu, but during Mariner's time the title was in abeyance, and his patron Finau was the hau in the island groups of Ha‘apai and Vava‘u.

Inachi [**‘Inasi**]. A lavish ‘first fruits’ ceremony held in October each year in which new season yams, pigs and other produce were presented on a national scale to the Tu‘i Tonga as representative of the god Hikule‘o, to acknowledge and ensure the continuing benevolence of the gods. It was the greatest ceremony of the annual ritual cycle. The presentations were accompanied by dancing and other entertainments, and finished with the distribution of the presentations. Finau's son and successor, Moengāngongo, abolished it as useless and wasteful.

Kinship terminology. Tongan kinship terms made distinctions that are not made in English, depending on sex and also on the sex through which the connection existed. Thus, English terms, brother, grandfather, aunt, cousin, etc., have a broader designation than the Tongan terms. Moreover, Tongan kinship terms are classificatory as well as genetic. All kin of a given generation are classified in the same way, so that father's brothers are also ‘father’. Cousins were referred to by the same terms as brothers and sisters, so father's cousins are his brothers and might also be referred to as ‘father.’ Mother's sisters were all ‘mother’, which is not to say that Tongans did not have terms that can correctly be translated ‘uncle’ and ‘aunt.’ In addition, adoption was common without dissociation from the natural family, and adoptive kin were known by the

same terms as if they were genetic kin. This caused early observers of Tongan society much confusion, and has continued to be a source of difficulty for historians and genealogists, as it is not always clear what the genetic relationships were.

Malai [Mala'e]. A public square, or green, that was used for public ceremonies, usually in the vicinity of a chief's residence, as is the case in modern Tonga. In Mariner's time they had permanent buildings on them. Today only temporary, ceremony-specific shelters are built on them.

Mataboole [Matāpule]. Hereditary chiefs' attendants whose prerogative was, as it is in Tonga today, to convene, control and speak at all traditional ceremonies pertaining to their chiefs, the chiefs themselves maintaining a dignified aloofness and only speaking when acknowledging in unison each ritual as it is done. They were also privileged advisers of chiefs, and usually authoritative on matters of genealogy and precedent. Matāpules ranked immediately below hereditary chiefs. The word matāpule is a compound of the words [mata] 'face, eye, front, surface', [a] 'of' and [pule] 'rule, control, manage, authority', hence is best rendered literally 'face of authority'.

Mehégitānga [Mehikitanga].¹ Commonly translated as 'aunt,' and so translated in *An Account*. The sisters of one's father were mehikitanga and accordingly were fahu to him and his sons. The entitlements on one side, and obligations on the other, could extend to successive generations. Although all sisters were treated with deference and support, the father's eldest (or most senior) sister had superior status and exerted considerable influence over the affairs of her brother's family. Aunts on the mother's side could not be mehikitanga.

Moe-moe [Moemoe]. Anyone who infringed tapu could have the effect lifted by touching the feet of a chief more senior in a particular manner, described in detail by Mariner.

Rank. Tongan society was and continues to be infinitely hierarchical and particularly rank-sensitive. Everyone was both senior to others, and junior to some, and the calculation of seniority often involved some fine distinctions and even contradictory considerations. In broad terms, rank was derived from two factors: superiority within the family, and superiority in society at large. Within the family, elder siblings outranked younger siblings, all sisters outranked all brothers, and a mehikitanga's children (their fahu) outranked them all. Within the chiefly system, rank was inherited through the female line. Thus children of chiefly fathers were aristocratic only if the mother was an aristocrat. It was common for men to have children by women of low rank, but not for aristocratic women to have children by men of low rank. Such liaisons were not tolerated. Serial marriages among aristocrats created ranking complications when inherited rank contradicted birth order. For example, the younger children of a male chief might outrank their older siblings whose mothers were of lower rank than their own. Children of an aristocratic woman but by different fathers, theoretically had equal rank, subject to birth order. Thus, among uterine siblings birth order alone determined seniority, whereas among agnatic siblings birth order often contradicted inherited rank. Consequently, uterine siblings were more naturally allies than agnatic siblings. Rank among chiefs was proportional to their closeness in kinship to the Tu'i

¹ All authorities on Tongan kinship and Tongan language spell this word *mehikitanga*. The word is universally pronounced mehikitanga by Tongans, and the orthodox spelling probably derives from an early transcription error.

Tonga,¹ and kinship through a female generally took precedence over kinship traced through a male.

The Tu'i Tonga, whose title was supposed to be ancient and divine in origin, was the highest ranking male chief. Because the Tu'i Tonga was the highest political title, the eldest full sister of a Tu'i Tonga with the title Tu'i Tonga Fefine possessed higher personal rank. Her daughters ranked even higher so the rank of a lineage into which they married would be elevated with each successive generation. This created difficulties because if this succession continued indefinitely there would soon be lineages more highly ranked than that of the Tu'i Tonga. In order to prevent this happening, the Tongans adopted a fiction that would neutralize the logical consequence of the ranking principle, whereby a Tu'i Tonga Fefine could marry only within a narrow circle, called the Fale Fisi, or 'Fijian House' because of its descent from a Fijian chief with the first Tu'i Tonga Fefine. The members of the Fale Fisi were classified as foreigners for ranking purposes. There were two titles originally in the Fale Fisi, Tu'ilakepa and Tu'ihā'ateiho. In some circumstances, a daughter of a Tu'i Tonga Fefine might qualify for an even more exalted title, that of Tamahā. There have been very few Tu'i Tonga Fefine in Tongan history, and only three Tamahā.² The three known Tamahā all married a reigning Tu'i Kanokupolu. In this way they raised the rank of that lineage, but their own exalted rank was not perpetuated. One chief mentioned by Mariner, Veasi'i, was the brother of a Tamahā and, as a child of the Fale Fisi, could not pass on his rank to any descendants. There was, however, one Tongan man who was endowed with higher rank even than a Tamahā, a 'Tama Tauhala' named Makamālohi who married one of Finau's daughters. As the son of Tu'i Ha'ateiho Fā'otusia and Tu'i Tonga Fefine Fatafehi Lapaha, Makamālohi's rank was unique.

Taboo [Tapu]. It has several meanings, but they all derive from the essentially supernatural character of the person or place so designated. Thus, chiefs were tapu in greater and lesser degrees depending on their closeness in kinship to the Tu'i Tonga who was believed to be descended directly from the great god, Hikule'o. Anything belonging to, or touched by this chief became so charged with supernatural power as to be dangerous to those of lower rank. Lesser chiefs likewise were tapu and had the same polluting influence. Consequently, any person or thing that was tapu was forbidden to those lower in the status hierarchy. The concept of tapu enforced the awe, veneration and unquestioning obedience that juniors owed to seniors. There were ceremonies for cleansing or exonerating for lifting the consequences of tapu infringement, notably the moemoe, a form of obeisance due to one's seniors. The simple meaning is something forbidden, with supernatural sanctions.

Tooi [Tu'i]. Often translated as 'king', a tu'i was the paramount chief of a lineage of chiefs called a *ha'a*. The title usually prefixed the name of the eponymous founder of a ha'a, but came also to designate the paramount chief of a territory, as in Tu'i Vava'u or Tu'i Pelehake. The word was often incorporated into personal names as well. There were three principal tu'i: the Tu'i Tonga who was the supreme chief of all Tonga; the

¹ See 'Tooi' below.

² The Tu'i Tonga Fefine only qualified as such if she was older than her brother, and her father's elder sisters were no longer alive. Her daughter could be Tamahā only if she were the firstborn of her parents, and had no living relatives of higher rank than herself. See Bott, *Tongan Society*, pp. 32–5.

Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, head of a lineage derived from an early Tu'i Tonga called Takalaua; and the Tu'i Kanokupolu, head of a group of ha'a associated with Kanokupolu at the western end of Tongatapu. Probably in the late fifteenth century, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua rose to deputize for the Tu'i Tonga and to exercise practical control of affairs. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua was in turn eclipsed in the seventeenth century by a junior branch, the head of which later was known by the title Tu'i Kanokupolu. The political turbulence of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries pivoted on struggles for the power and title of Tu'i Kanokupolu.

WHO WAS WHO IN *AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF THE TONGA ISLANDS*¹

1. Principal Characters

Fīnau. Fīnau ‘Ulukāala-‘i-Feletoa. This chief was Mariner’s patron, and the protagonist of the narrative. He was the son of Fīnau ‘Ulukalala-i-Ma‘ofanga and of ‘Ulukilupetea. His birth name was Fangupō‘o‘otuamu‘a. Mariner provides a vivid pen portrait of his character and his superior abilities. He was particularly adept at achieving his objectives indirectly, through manipulating others.

Fīnaufisi. Fīnau’s agnatic half-brother. He is thought to have been one of the chiefs who fled to Fiji at the time of Tuku‘aho’s assassination and opposed Fīnau in war in Vava‘u. He was reconciled with Fīnau, and devoted himself to the welfare of Fīnau’s son Moengāngongo upon his succeeding his father. He followed Moengāngongo as chief of Vava‘u in 1812, but was killed shortly afterwards in the continuing power struggle.² His wife was Fūnaki, formerly wife of Taimomangungu according to Mariner (otherwise unknown).

Mafihape. Mariner’s adoptive mother and a secondary wife of Fīnau. Her formal name was Fakatoumafi, and she was of high birth, closely related to the highest chiefs, and second cousin of Fīnau. After Fīnau’s death she eventually married a very high chief called Vuki by whom she had four sons. She converted to Christianity about 1830, became literate, and wrote a letter to Mariner in 1832 (reproduced and translated here as Docs C and D on pp. lxx–lxxi).

Moengāngongo. Fīnau’s son with his wife Lāpulou, daughter of Tu‘i Tonga Pau’s sister Siumafua‘uta with Tongamana, son of TK 7 Tupoulahi with ([kitetama] ‘first cousin wife’) Lupemeitakui, daughter of THTe 2 Tungimāna‘ia with his mother’s agnatic sister. He was Mariner’s closest friend after he returned from having lived some years in Samoa, and on succeeding his father as overlord of Vava‘u proved to be an astute leader and shrewd politician. His policy was to sever Vava‘u from Ha‘apai and Tongatapu so that his people could live in peace and recover their former prosperity. He also abolished the office of Tu‘i Tonga and its associated ceremonies, notably the ‘inasi. He had no children with his principal wives, but has many descendants in the town of Tu‘anuku, Vava‘u, and in Lomaloma, Fiji. He died aged only about 25 in 1811 or 1812.

Toe‘umu (full name Toe‘umulotuma). Fīnau’s mehikitanga which Mariner and Martin translate simply as ‘aunt’. She was actually his father’s cousin but nevertheless stood in the relationship of senior aunt, to whom Fīnau owed deference. After the murder

¹ For abbreviations of titles, see p. xxxi. For genealogical relationships, see the charts, pp. xxxii–xxxvii.

² According to one tradition he was killed by his close friend Hala‘api‘api, but according to another, and more likely, account he was killed by a chief called Pāunga, who succeeded him as overlord of Vava‘u.

of Tupouniua she succeeded him as ruler of Vava'u, and led the resistance to Finau when he tried to assert himself there. She retired to Ha'apai after surrendering the fortress of Feletoa to him rather than live under his authority.

Tuku'aho. Son of the Tu'i Kanokupolu Mumui and of a daughter of Ata, the chief of Hihifo. He fought a war against his cousin Tupoumohefo in the 1780s after she had declared herself Tu'i Kanokupolu, and installed his father in her place. He succeeded Mumui as Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1797 with strong support from the Hihifo chiefs to whom he was *fahu*. He was notorious for his cruelty, and was assassinated by Finau and Tupouniua two years later. One of his wives was his cousin 'Ulukilupetea who became the mother of his son Tupouto'a.

Tupoun'ia. A son of Finau 'Ulukālala-i-Ma'ofanga, and thus an agnatic half-brother of Mariner's Finau. He assassinated Tuku'aho, and was appointed overlord of Vava'u by Finau. Mariner praises his character and defends his actions, and says that he was held in high esteem and affection by the people of Vava'u. He was murdered by Tupouto'a, in revenge for the killing of his father Tuku'aho.

Tupouto'a. Son of Tuku'aho and 'Ulukilupetea, and thus Finau's uterine half-brother. He accompanied Finau when the latter withdrew to Ha'apai and plotted the murder of his father's assassin, Tupouniua. When Finau moved to Vava'u, he appointed Tupouto'a overlord of Ha'apai. Subsequently, relations between the two became strained, neither trusting the other. Tupouto'a subsequently became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1813 probably because as his father's son he inherited *fahu* rights in Hihifo, but without being welcome on Tongatapu. He overcame Pāunga in Vava'u, and died in 1820 at a relatively early age. His son Taufā'āhau eventually became Tu'i Kanokupolu, reunified Tonga, and became King Tupou I, founder of the modern royal dynasty.

Veasi'i. The second highest ranking chief next to the Tu'i Tonga, according to Mariner. but actually of higher rank because he was the son of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Nanasipau'u and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. As such he did not possess great authority and was not eligible for any titles. His two sisters were successively Tamahā.

2. Significant Persons

Fatafehi Fuanunuiava. The 38th Tu'i Tonga, and son of Paulaho, (the Tu'i Tonga that James Cook met in 1777) and Tupoumohefo. An alternative genealogy from Vava'u asserts that he was the son of a secondary wife of Paulaho, Inumofalefa, in which case he would have been an illegitimate Tu'i Tonga. His marriage to a daughter of Finau is described by Mariner, and took place about nine months after Mariner's arrival. He died in 1810. His son was Laufilitonga, the 39th and last Tu'i Tonga.

Laufilitonga. The 39th and last Tu'i Tonga. He was the son of Fuanunuiava. Born about 1797, he died in 1865, whereupon the title was finally abolished. The noble title Kalaniualu was created for his son who otherwise would have succeeded him.

Lāpulou (not named by Mariner). Wife of Finau and mother of Moengāngongo. She was the daughter of Siumafua'uta who was a sister of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, and also the grand-daughter of Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupoulahi. She was thus of exceptionally high rank which was passed on to Moengāngongo.

Ma'ulupekotofa (not named by Mariner). The 37th Tu'i Tonga, probably the elder brother of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho who died or was killed about 1783. Mariner says that his funeral took place the day after the *Port au Prince* was seized.

Mo'unga'otupou. Finau's favourite wife, daughter of Tongamana.

Mulikiha'amea. He was the 19th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, having resigned as the 11th Tu'i Kanokupolu to take up the more prestigious title. He is mentioned in Mariner's recounting of the assassination of Tuku'aho. He was implicated in the murder, and became the leader of the faction that fought against the supporters of Tuku'aho in the ensuing civil war. He died in one of the early battles in 1799, leaving Finau as the most senior chief and natural leader of that faction. With his death, Finau was left without significant allies on Tongatapu.

Takai. Chief of Pea in the centre of Tongatapu, he was a grandson of the 10th Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Tatafu, and of Lavaka, chief of Pea. He betrayed Finau by burning the rebuilt fortress of Nuku'alofa when the latter withdrew to Ha'apai. His daughter, Pule, was a wife of Tupouto'a.

Teukava. An important chief from Hihifo and master of the fort of Te'ekiu. The murdered Tuku'aho was his fahu, and Teukava was therefore obligated to oppose his enemies and murderers.

Tupoumālohi. Son of Tu'ihalafatai, and briefly Tu'i Kanokupolu during the disordered period following the murder of Tuku'aho, probably about 1804. He sided with Finau's enemies and was the chief of the fortress of Nuku'alofa at the time of the siege. Subsequently, and for reasons unknown, he was unwelcome in one fort after another, so he retired to Vava'u and sought forgiveness and reconciliation with Finau. This incident gave Martin and Mariner the opportunity to describe the ceremony for that.

Tu'ihalafatai. Possibly Tu'i Kanokupolu in succession to Maealiuaki, who was Tu'i Kanokupolu at the time of Cook's visit in 1777. He was probably the chief that Cook calls Finau. He withdrew to Fiji probably in the mid-1780s, and coincidentally returned to Tonga during the war immediately following the assassination of Tuku'aho. He joined Finau's force, and was killed in battle, as described by Mariner. He was a brother of Tupoumohefo, thought to be the instigator of the murder of Tuku'aho.

'Ulukilupetea. She was the daughter of Ngalumoetutulu (son of Tu'i Kanokupolu Ma'afu-'o-Tu'itonga) and a lady from Ha'apai, Siu'ulua (a daughter of Malupō, a chief of 'Uiha). Not mentioned by Mariner, she was important because of her high birth, and particularly because her marriages to four high-ranking chiefs, resulted in sons respectively Tokemoana Tongatoutai, Finau 'Ulukālala-'i-Feletoa, Tupouto'a and Vuna Takitakimālohi, all of whom were powerful chiefs, as well as a daughter, Fatafehihōleva, with Talaumokafoa, a brother of Tu'i Tonga 36 Pau. She was thus a grandmother of Taufā'āhau, later Tupou I.

Vuki. Son of Tamahā Latufuipeka and Tuita and therefore of exceptionally high rank. He was the 'young prince' who, upon Finau's death, was suspected of aspiring to succeed him. Mariner says that he was desperately in love with Mafihape who rejected his advances. They were eventually married. He acted as pilot for Captain J. E. Erskine of HMS *Havannah*, from Vava'u to Ha'apai in July 1849 and, apart from his distinguished descendants, little is otherwise known of him.

3. Persons Referred to Incidentally

Afu. His full name was Afuha'alaufuli and he was a Vava'u *matāpule*, mentioned in Moengāngongo's accession speech. His name later became a formal title with a landed estate, as one of the hereditary *matāpules*.

Alo. Brother of Toe'umu, so Finau's first cousin once removed. He aligned himself with the Hihifo opposition to Finau and was one of the Vava'u chiefs Moengāngongo mentioned in his accession speech.

Ata. Hereditary chief of Hihifo, one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a and therefore influential in the selection of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, and responsible for his safety. The fifth holder of the title, Ngata Telai'afitu led the war party to avenge the murder of Tuku'aho in 1799, and was himself killed in an early battle. His successor, Kaumāvae, was a younger brother of Teukava, chief of Te'ekiu. In the rapid succession of title holders between 1799 and 1811, it is not clear which one Mariner referred to. The title Ata became one of the later noble titles of Tonga.

Hala'api'api. He was Finau's first cousin on his father's side, and thus a classificatory brother of both Finau and Finaufisi. His mother is thought to have been a sister of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, so he was a classificatory son of Pau and classificatory brother of Tu'i Tonga Fuanunuiava. In many ways the ideal of a Tongan chief, Mariner and Martin give an evocative and engaging description of his character, including his devotion to Finaufisi.

Fakafanua. He was the chief of Ma'ofanga, a waterfront district a short distance east of the fortress of Nuku'alofa. He was an ally of Finau. The name is an ancient title.

Filimoe'atu. He was a nephew of Finau; his father Mohetonu was a son of Finau's father. He was in the service of the chief Teukava of Hihifo at the time of the siege of Nuku'alofa, but as a kinsman of Finau, Teukava allowed him join Finau after the siege. Filimoe'atu was the interlocutor who grasped the concept of money from Mariner's imperfect Tongan explanation, and as Mariner said, gave a better explanation of the function of money than he could give himself. Much later he was sent by Finau to Teukava to ask for his *kalae* bird.

Halaevalumoheofo, Saumalelangi, and Vaimoana. Finau's daughters. Halaevalumoheofo married the highest ranking chief ever, Makamālohi, known as the 'Tama Tauhala'. Their daughter was Lupepau'u, the wife of the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, and later wife of King George Tupou I (1797(?)–1893) known as Queen Charlotte. Saumalelangi was the young daughter whose illness and death is described by Mariner, and which precipitated Finau's death. An engaging description of Vaimoana's vivacity is given at the time of his departure from Tonga.

Kākahu. He was the very brave warrior whose arrest Mariner was obliged to facilitate in ignorance that Finau planned his execution.

Kaumoala. A *matāpule* who made a celebrated voyage to Fiji, Futuna and Rotuma and was the main source of Mariner's information about Fiji, much of which was wrong. Nothing else is known of him but his voyage is of great interest for its indication of Tongan maritime skills.

Lātū'ila. He abused the corpse of Tupouniua as having been the murderer of Tuku'aho.

Liufau. A Vava'u chief who was suspected of disloyalty towards Finau, but was exonerated.

- Loloheapipiki.** One of the chiefs who had opposed Finau in Vava'u and, despite joining in the surrender, was treacherously seized and condemned to death by drowning.
- Mahepuku.** The owner of an estate on the north coast of Vava'u which he gave up to Finau who then presented it to Mariner.
- Makapapa.** Probably Talia'ulimakapapa, younger brother of Lātū'ila. One of the Feletoa garrison, he commanded the attack on the canoe Finau sent to Ha'apai for provisions during the siege of Feletoa.
- Mapahā'ano.** Possibly a son of the 15h Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, Fuatakifolaha with Nanasinifuna, a granddaughter of the 34th Tu'i Tonga, Fakana'ana'a. He was disgraced by Finau for treachery. His humiliation was considered a worse punishment than death.
- Moteitā.** Unidentified, but possibly Mateitaloha'apai, son of a younger brother (classificatory son) of Tu'i Ha'ateiho Tungimāna'ia. He was a warrior of both skill and audacity, and made nocturnal raids in the vicinity of Finau's fort at Neiafu, to kill stragglers.
- Naufahu.** Brother of Pupunu. They were sons of Taukinukufili and Fangāpulotu, therefore cousins once removed of Finau Ulukālāl-'i-Feletoa. See Chart 3. He was one of the chiefs executed by Finau by drowning for his role in the Vava'u war in the defence of Feletoa.
- Niukapu.** Probably the second son of Toe'umu. He may be confused with Niukapu, the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chief whose name later became a noble title.
- Palavale.** His accidental desecration of a sacred refuge during the siege of Feletoa required a child to be sacrificed to lift the *tapu* or curse so incurred. He was a brother of Havili whose raid to steal the enemy's hogs failed.
- Pāunga.** A Vava'u chief, a nephew (classificatory son) of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho. He contended for the overlordship of Vava'u after the death of Finaufisi, in which he probably had a hand. He is also thought to have been responsible for the death of Hala'api'api. He was in his turn displaced as overlord of Vava'u by Tupouto'a.
- Pupunu.** Brother of Naufahu. He was one of the chiefs executed by Finau by drowning. He has many descendants with the surname Pupunu.
- Si'ulua.** He was one of Tupouniua's assassins. Nothing else is known of him.
- Talo.** A chief of Vava'u who engaged in a contest with Hala'api'api during a festival. His ill-grace was the cause of an estrangement, and Hala'api'api's attempts at reconciliation provided Mariner with an anecdote to explain something about the latter's character, and also about Tongan customs of reconciliation. His mother was Toa'ila, daughter of Mateitalo, son of Mateitalofisi, son of THTe 2 Tungimāna'ia.
- Tokemoana Toutaitokotaha.** Another husband of Finau's mother, 'Ulukilupetea (thus father of Finau's half-brother Tokemoana Tongatoutai). He was the old chief, a visit to whom by Finau and Tupouniua was the pretext for their being in the vicinity of Tupouto'a's residence, thus giving the latter the opportunity to murder Tupouniua,
- Tongamana.** Father of Lāpulou, the mother of Moengāngongo. He came to Moengāngongo with a request from Tupouto'a to grant him permission to pay his last respects to the memory of Finau despite the ban on communication between Ha'apai and Vava'u. His half-sister, Tupoumoheofo, was the principal wife of Tu'i Tonga Paulaho, and the mother of Fuanuniava. She was briefly Tu'i Kanokupolu, the only woman to hold the title before Queen Sālote. She is thought to have been an instigator of the murder of Tuku'aho.

Tupou‘ahome‘e. Daughter of Tamahā Lātūfuipeka (see Chart 2) with TK10 Tupoulahisi‘i. The wife of Tupouto‘a. Her mother was Tamahā Lātūfuipeka, daughter of the 8th Tu‘i Tonga Fefine, Nanasipau‘u. Tupou‘ahome‘e’s daughter by Tupouto‘a was Halaevalumata‘aho, who married the last Tu‘i Tonga, Laufilitonga. Tupou‘ahome‘e’s mother’s uterine brother was Veasi‘i, and her uterine brother was Vuki.

Tupoumolakepa. The most senior of Moengāngongo’s two Tongan wives. The wedding of these two ladies allowed Mariner to describe in detail a chiefly wedding, and to contrast it with Samoan wedding customs. Moengāngongo already had two Samoan wives who accompanied him back to Vava‘u along with various Samoan friends.

Tupoutea. He was a priest accustomed to be inspired by Fīnau’s tutelar god, Tupoutoutai.

Tupouveiongo. Widow of Tupouniua who also had as wives Feke and Afuvale. Feke has a son Paumolevuka and Afuvale a daughter Levaitai.

Tu‘ipulotumatāpule. Father of Mariner’s adoptive mother Fakatoumafi (Mafihape). He was a son of Tu‘i Kanokupolu Mumui.

Tu‘uhengi. He was sent by Fīnau to procure a rope with which to bind Tupou Tea, priest of his patron god Tupou Toutai, and whose murder Fīnau planned because the god failed to preserve the life of his daughter.

Vaka‘utapoula. He directed the attack on the *Port au Prince*.

Vuna. He was Vuna Takitakimālohi. A senior chief of Vava‘u, uterine half-brother of Fīnau (i.e. son of Vuna Tuiota and ‘Ulukilupetea). Despite his kinship with Fīnau, he distanced himself from his activities. With other chiefs, he fled to Samoa when war broke out after the assassination of Tuku‘aho. Moengāngongo insisted that he remove himself from Vava‘u as a potential rival for supremacy in that district. His grandfather had been overlord of Vava‘u before becoming Tu‘i Kanokupolu. Both his father and grandfather had been bitter rivals of Fīnau’s father and grandfather.

4. Additional Persons Noted in the Charts

‘Alaimalulua. Daughter of Luani II (see Chart 3), an agnatic brother of Talaumote‘emoa, mother of Tuituiuhu, father of Fīnau. His son was Holakeitui, the child of Fusi, daughter of Falekāono who was murdered with Tuku‘aho, and who was the brother of Talaumote‘emoa

‘Atuhakautapu Daughter of Filoimanuma‘a, daughter of TV 1 Vuna Tu‘i‘oetau.

Ata Puakahuhua. Chief of Hihifo. His father’s sister was Lepolo, the mother of TK 14 Tuku‘aho, whom Tupouniua murdered.

Ate. Daughter of Fuinoa (Fauolo) of Ha‘afeva.

Fakana‘ana‘a., TT 34. Adopted son of Manunā, a handmaiden of his father’s wife, Halaevalu. His *mohefo* was Tongotea, daughter of TK 4 Mataeleha‘amea.

Fangatua. Daughter of Ata Tofua‘ipangai, another chief of Hihifo, according to the writer quoted in Gifford, *Tongan Society*, pp. 89–90.

Fatafehihōleva. Daughter of Talaumokafoa, brother of Tu‘i Tonga 36 Pau. See Chart 2.

- Fehi'a.** A daughter of Fuimāono, a matāpule of Niuatoputapu.
- Fehokomoelangi** of Nukulau, Fiji. His wife was Tu'i Tonga Fefine 6 Sinaitakala'ifanakavakilangi. See Chart 2.
- Fifita.** Daughter of Noa, daughter of Tuita, hereditary chief (the title was ennobled in 1880) of 'Utungake, Vava'u.
- Fifitavaluvalu.** Daughter of Vaitai, son of Halafuli (possibly Ha'alaufuli).
- Fotu.** His son with Moa'eueiki was Pale who was Fotu of Leimātu'a (the title was granted a hereditary estate in 1880). See Collocott, MSS, pp.153, 156 (Collocott has 'Pala').
- Fuapau.** His father's mother was Tu'i Tonga Fefine Siumafua'uta, sister of Tu'i Tonga Pau. See Chart 2.
- Fuatakifolaha,** THTa 14. Son of Tangakitaulupekifolaha, son of Tu'ihoua, son of TT 32 'Uluakimata II.
- Fusi.** Daughter of Falekāono who was murdered with TK 14 Tuku'aho.
- Fusipala.** The mother of King George Tupou II.
- Halaevalu Mata'aho.** She was first married to THTe 6 Havea Afi'ofolaha and secondly to the last Tu'i Tonga, Laufiletonga.
- Havea.** A man of Hā'ano.
- Hoamofaleono.** Daughter of Malu'otaua, 4th Ma'afu-'o- Tukui'aulahi, hereditary chief of Vaini (the title was ennobled in 1877).
- Hua.** He was the second son of Kauvakahiva. Other sources have Nukulave and his son Pāletu'a.
- Hūlita Tu'ifua.** Tupouniua and Tupouveiongo also had sons Lasike, Tupoutoutai and Faka'iloatonga.
- Kalolaine Fusimatalili.** Mother of 'Unga Tangitau, eldest son of Tupou I. See Chart 6.
- Kaufusi.** Daughter of Afuha'alaufuli, a matāpule of Ha'alaufuli, Vava'u (the title was ennobled in 1880). Her brother's son or grandson was Afu, to whom Moengāngongo appealed in his speech when his father died.
- Kavakipopua'uliuli.** Her brother was Lasike (the name became a title and was ennobled in 1893).
- Koate.** Chief of Longomapu, Vava'u.
- Lātūfuipeka, Tamahā.** Daughter of Letele, daughter of a high-ranking chief, Lolomāna'ia, or Tu'ifonualava of Makave in Vava'u, Tu'i'āfitu of the Fale Fisi, whose wife was Tupoule'oata, *fokonofa* (secondary wife) of Toāfilimoe'unga. See Chart 4.
- Lavinia Veiongo.** Daughter of 'Asipeli Kupu-'a-vanua with 'Ana Tokanga Fuifulupe Kupu, daughter of the 7th holder of the Niuafou'ou title Fotofili (now held by the holder of the title Kalaniuvulu).
- Lehāuku.** Daughter of THTa 12 Tu'i'onukulava.
- Lātūhōleva.** Daughter of Leka Kiuve'etaha with Tamahā Lātūfuipeka. See Chart 3.
- Lātūtama.** Daughter of THTe 1 Fakatakatu'u. See Chart 3.
- Laumanukilupe.** Daughter of Lātūtama, daughter of THTe 1 Fakatakatu'u. See Chart 3. Her father was Tupouto'a, son of TK 4 Mataleha'amea. See Chart 5.
- Lehāuku.** Other sources, more likely to be correct, have Papa, daughter of Tu'iha'amea as the mother of TK 5 Vuna.
- Likusuosua.** The child Pupunu gave into the care of Talo when he (Pupunu) was executed by drowning. Likusuosua had many eminent descendants, including Filipe Tongilava, secretary to Queen Sālote, and the nobles Vaea and Ve'ehala.

- Liufau.** He had sons Lataimaumi, Tu'i Ha'angana and Fehokomanavahetau by Pule, daughter of Takai of Pea (see Chart 3), Tu'ifuavava'u and Filimohakautofua, both Tu'i Ha'angana, and Sione Fuapau Kuila and Toluta'u with Vini Lolohea.
- Lupemeitakui.** Daughter of THTe 2 Tungimāna'ia Fakatakatu'u (see Chart 3) with Taka (a fokonofo).
- Maecaliuaki.** TK8. Son of Lātūtama, daughter of THTe 2 Tungimāna'ia Fakatakatu'u. See Chart 3. (Grandaughter according to other sources.)
- Mafimatapoko.** Daughter of Ikanāmoē/ Nāmoē. See below.
- Makamālohi.** The Tama Tauhala. The highest- ranking Tongan ever known, as son of Tu'i Tonga Fefine Fatafehi Lapaha with THTe 6 Vuna Fā'otusia.
- Mateitalo.** Other sources have Mafiha'ateiho as the mother of Tofita'e.
- Mekemeke.** Her father's mother was Likupua, daughter of Tu'i Ono-i-Lau of Fiji. His mother's father was Fatafehi of Tungua, probably a member of the Fale Fisi.
- Mo'unga'olakepa.** Only son of Luani II, son of Luani Lahi (see Chart 3) with Fakatoumafi, a granddaughter of TT 33 Tu'ipulotu I.
- Moa'ueiki.** His mother was Hifo, possibly daughter of Mumui with Moa'ila. (Her mother was Lolohea, daughter of Fietu'u according to other sources.)
- Mohetonu.** Son of a daughter of THTe 4 Haveatungua. His wife was Mā'ata.
- Mumui.** TK 13. He had other sons, including Tuku'aho with Lepolo. See Chart 4.
- Nāmoē (Ikanāmoē).** Daughter of Ate with Havea, a man of Hā'ano and uterine sister of Ngalumotutulu. She was the mother of Mafimatapoko, wife of Finau 'Ulukālala I.
- Nanasi (Nanasifuna).** Daughter of 'Alaipuke, son of THTa 7 Fotofili with Toāfilimoe'unga. See Chart 2. Other sources have Nanasi as the daughter of Toāfilimoe'unga's fokonofo Letele.
- Nanasipau'u.** TTF 8. See Baker, MSS, Collocott, MSS, p. 260.
- Ngalu.** Daughter of Niukapu from the Ha'a Tu'itakalaua. See Chart 5.
- Ngata.** TK1. Son of Tohu'ia, daughter of the chief of Ama in Safata, Samoa.
- Ongo'alupe (Fatafehi Ongo'alupe).** Daughter of Talaumokafoa, younger brother of Tu'i Tonga 36 Pau with Laumanukilupe (see Chart 1). Her mother was Fusipalapangai, daughter of Tu'i Lavaka Mataelemuluvala, son of TK 5 Vuna according to the late Queen Sālote; or, Mataelehaumi, son of Mataelemuluvala, according to Collocott, MSS, p. 61.
- Paleisāsā.** A chief of Lakeba, Fiji. He had a son Lasike with Toāfilimoe'unga. See Chart 4, and above for Lasike.
- Paluvale.** Son of Tupoutu'a, daughter of 'Ulukālala I. His father was Tupouha'apai (see Chart 5).
- Papa.** Daughter of Tu'iha'amea Aokatoa.
- Pe'e (Pe'emoana).** Daughter of the matāpule Lauaki of Talafo'ou Tongatapu and Masilamea Vava'u. Lauaki was also known as Maliepō. See Gifford, *Tongan Society*, pp. 37–8, 174.
- Pule'ilangite.** Daughter of Tākai, a chief of Pea, Tongatapu. Other sources have Tokanga Fuifulupe.
- Sālote Pilolevu.** Daughter of Tupou I with Finau Kaunanga, eldest daughter of 'Ulukālala III (see Chart 6) with Tupouto'a, daughter of TK 10 Tupoulahisi. See Chart 5.

- Siu'ulua.** Daughter of Malupō Haveapava, a high-ranking chief of 'Uiha, Ha'apai.
- Siumafua'uta.** She died on or about 7 February 1798. See *TMS*, vol. I, p. 267.
- Sungu (Sungunavanua).** Daughter of Tu'i Tupou Tahifisi of Lakeba, Fiji.
- Tahi (Tahihika).** Daughter of Niukapu with THTe 2 Tungimāna'ia.
- Talaumote'emoa.** Daughter of Luani Lahi and Tukuvakalelei, son of Fotu'aika in Gaunoho, Fiji. (From Talihau, Vava'u, according to other sources.) Her father's father was THTa 8 Vaea. See Chart 3.
- Tamutamū.** Daughter of THTa 15 Fuatakifolaha.
- Tatafu.** THTa 10. Other sources, more likely to be correct, have his brother Moeakiola.
- Tatafu.** Son of Tuita Polutele, son of Fainga'anuku, the first Tuita, who went to Fiji and exchanged names with the Fijian Tuita. His mother was 'Ānaukihesina. See Chart 5.
- Toa.** Elder daughter of THTa 8 Vaea. See Chart 3.
- Tokemoana.** 1st Tu'i Ha'a'uluakimata, sometimes called Tu'itongale'o'inasi. His mother was Toa, daughter of THTa 8 Vaea. See Chart 3.
- Tūfufuiepeka.** Daughter of Lātūnipulu'i-teafua, 2nd Tu'ilakepa.
- Tu'ikolovatu.** Younger brother of THTe 2 Tungimāna'ia.
- Tu'ilakepa.** A chief from Vasivasi in Fiji.
- Tu'ipulotu II.** TT 35. His moheofo was Tu'ilokomana, daughter of TK5 Vuna.
- Tu'ipulotumatāpule.** Son of TK13 Mumui. His mother was Toa, daughter of Vave, son of Tu'ihā'amea.
- Tule.** Adopted daughter of the matāpule Motu'apuaka (granted a hereditary estate in 1880).
- Tungimāna'ia.** Adopted son of 'Uliafu's elder sister, Hinehinatangi, wife of Paleinangalu, son of Nā'utu, son of Fonomanu, son of the Fijian chief Tapu'osi.
- Tupou II.** Father of Queen Sālote.
- Tupoutu'a.** Daughter of 'Ulukālala mo Mafimatapoko, daughter of Faletolu with Ikanāmoe, daughter of Ate and uterine sister of Ngalumoetutulu. See Chart 5.
- Tupoutu'ifangale'ounga.** Son of TK 4 Mataleha'amea.

Key to the Genealogies

The genealogies in the following charts are not intended, unlike most genealogies, to show intra-family descent from a particular ancestor, though they do that in some cases, but to show the kinship connections of persons mentioned by Mariner.¹ Such persons are printed in **bold**. Arabic numerals are employed to indicate successive holders of royal or chiefly titles, even where traditionally Roman numerals are employed. Names preceded by the symbol *f* are women. Husbands and wives are paired vertically, separated by a horizontal line. Broken lines indicate probable kinship. Sibling order is not necessarily from left to right. A question mark indicates that the identification of a person or a titular order of succession is uncertain. Titles and sequence of title holders in some cases is also conjectural and should not be regarded as definitive. Biographical information about ancestors and descendants of persons mentioned by Mariner who are of importance in

¹ Tongan genealogies by family and chiefly line are given in Bott, *Tongan Society*.

Tongan tradition and history is given in the previous section. Titles are abbreviated as follows:

THNg	=	Tu'i Ha'angana
THTa	=	Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
THTe	=	Tu'iha'ateiho
TK	=	Tu'i Kanokupolu
TL	=	Tu'ilakepa
TP	=	Tu'ipelehake
TT	=	Tu'i Tonga
TTF	=	Tu'i Tonga Fefine
TV	=	Tu'i Vavau

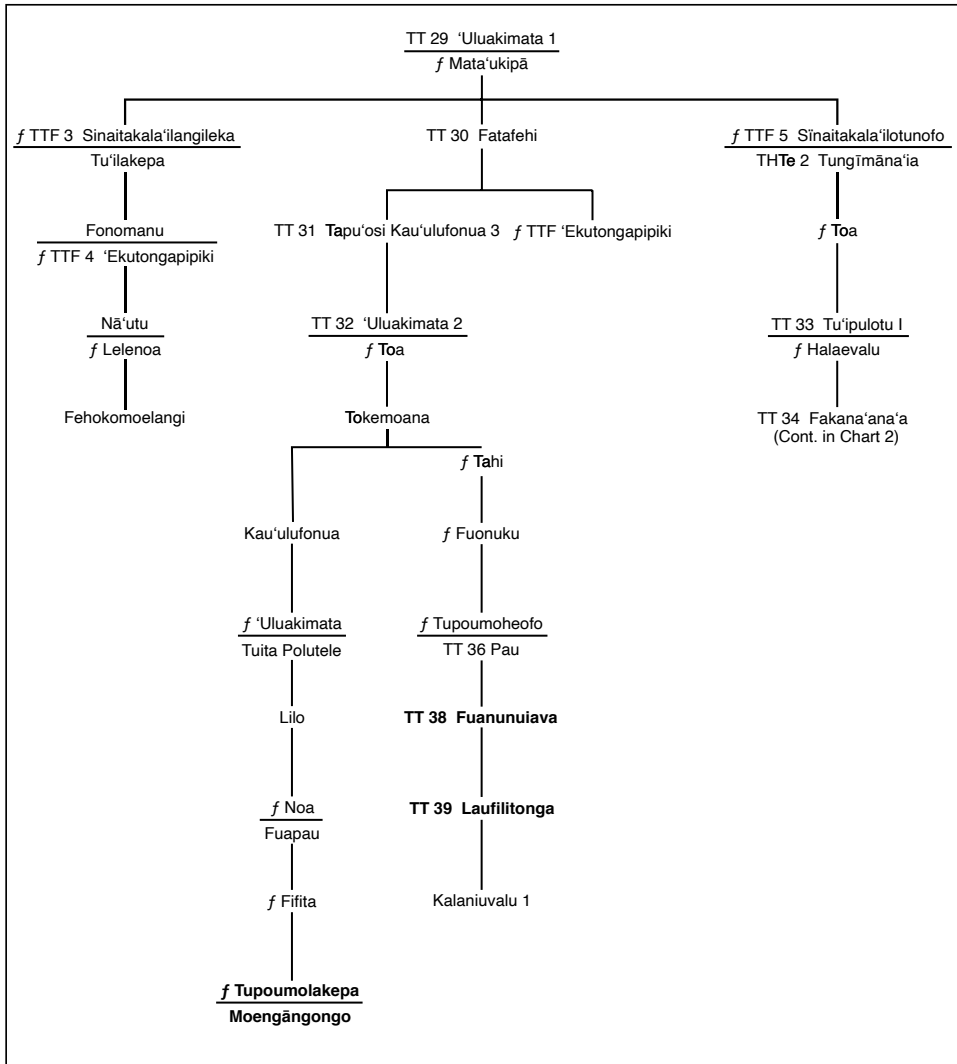
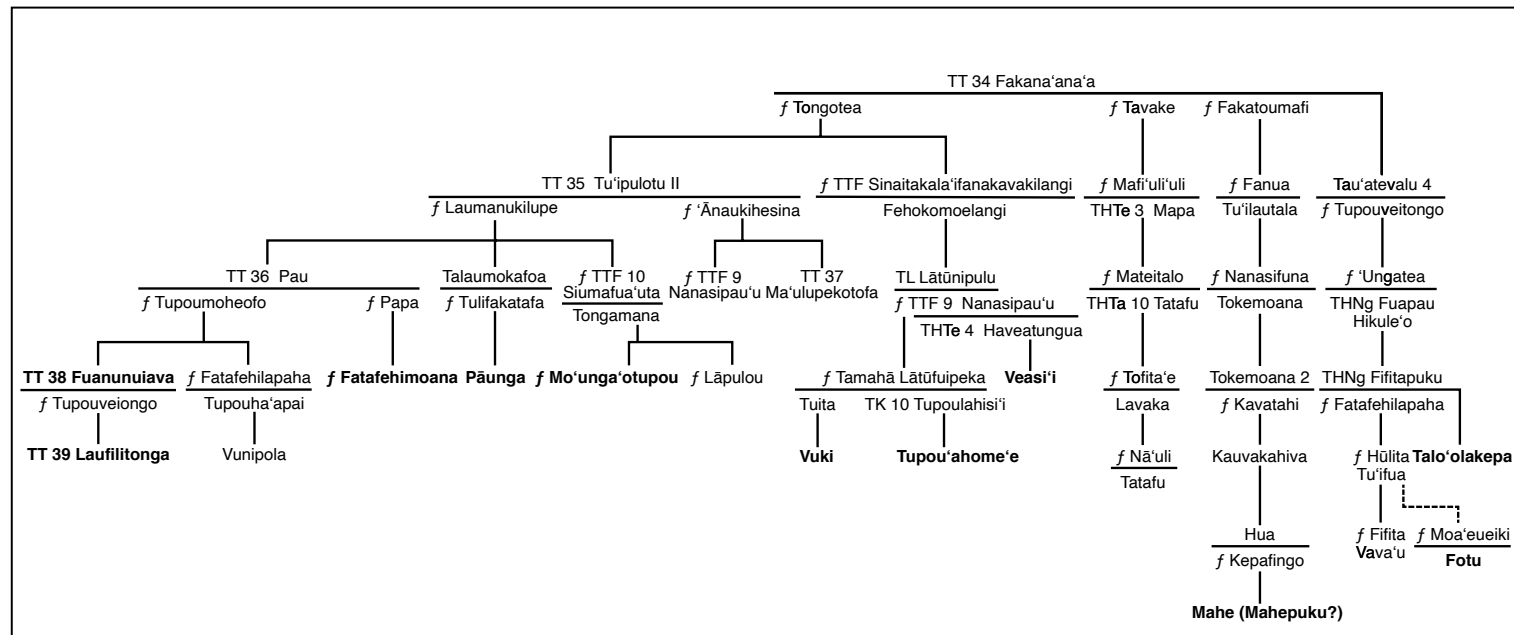


Chart 1



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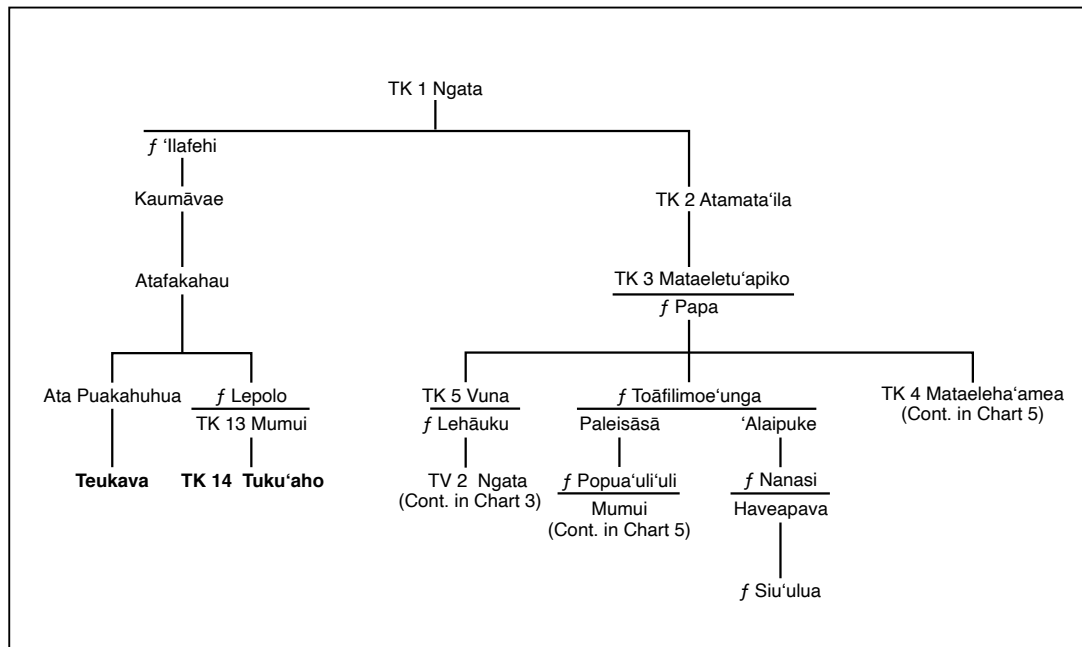


Chart 4

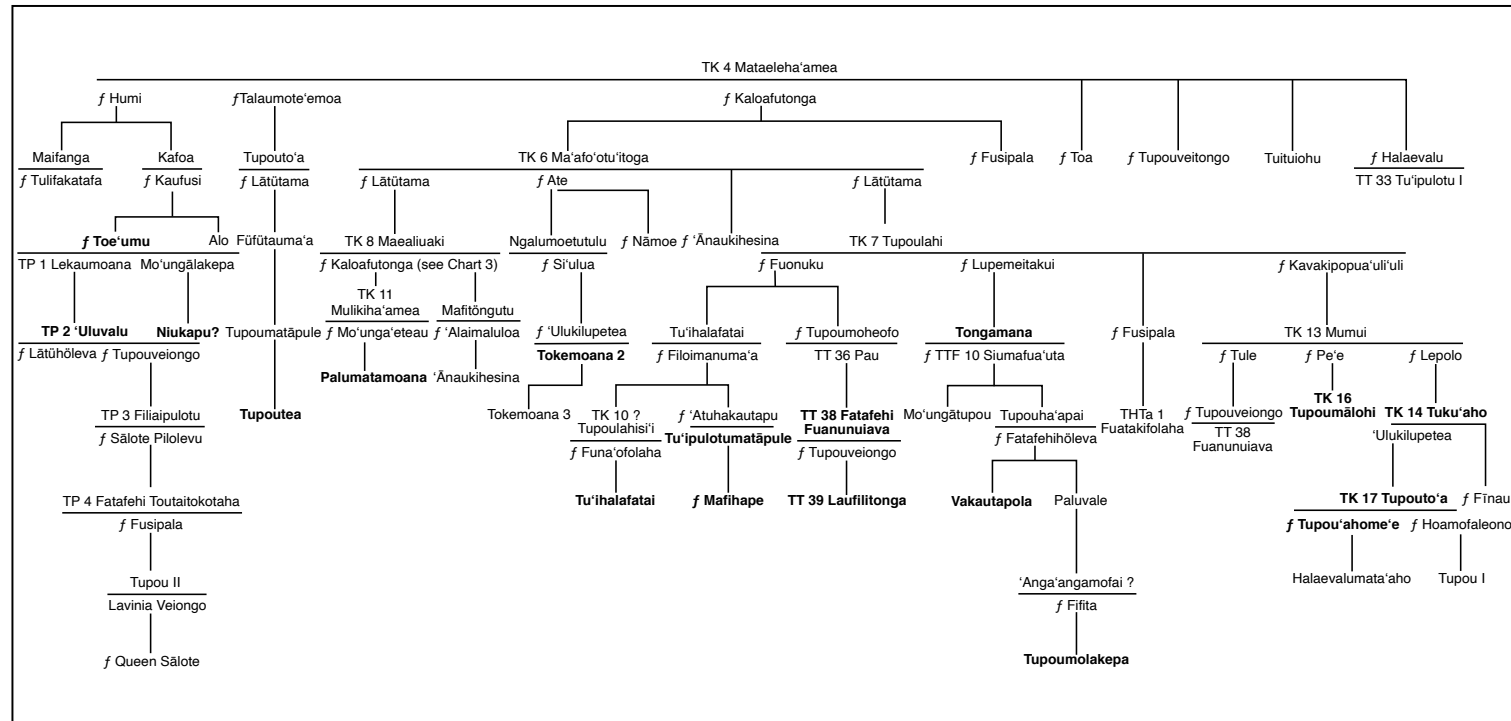


Chart 5

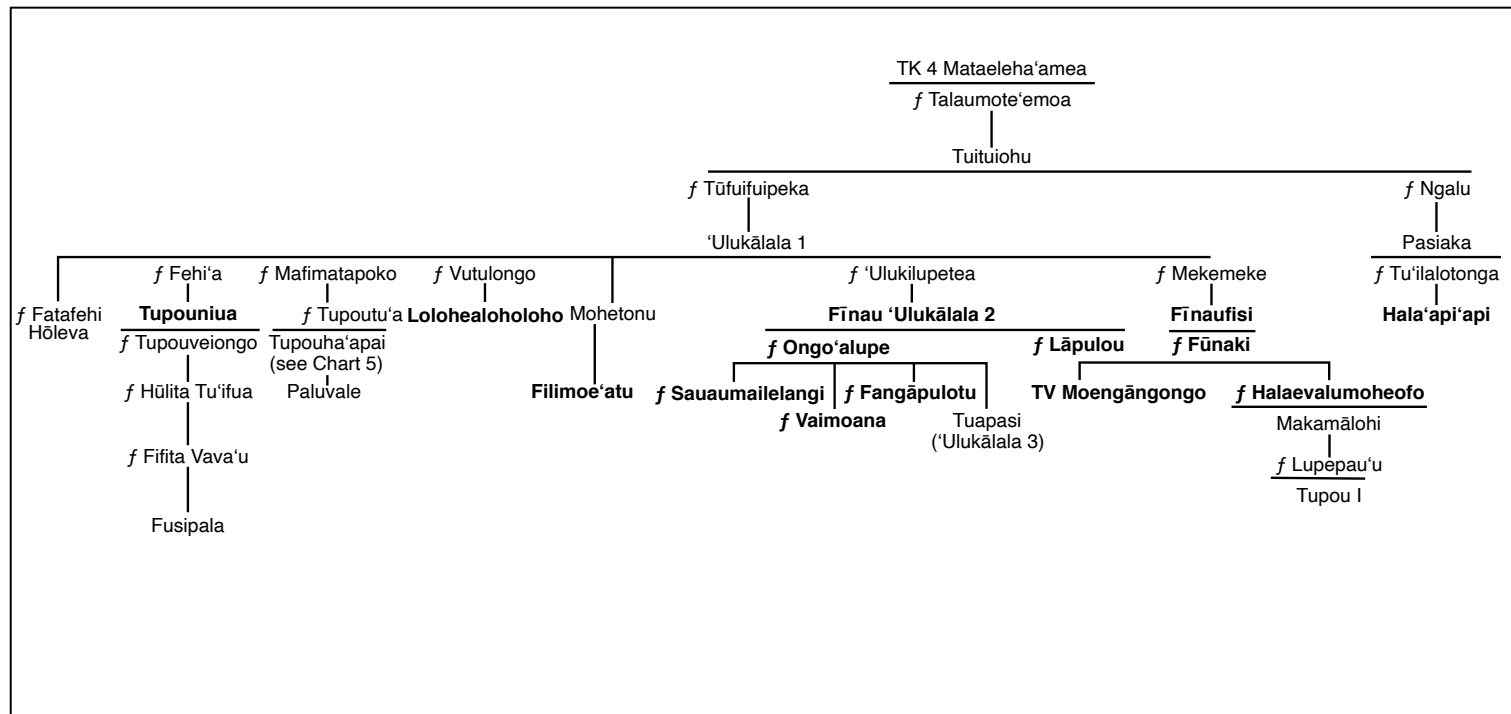
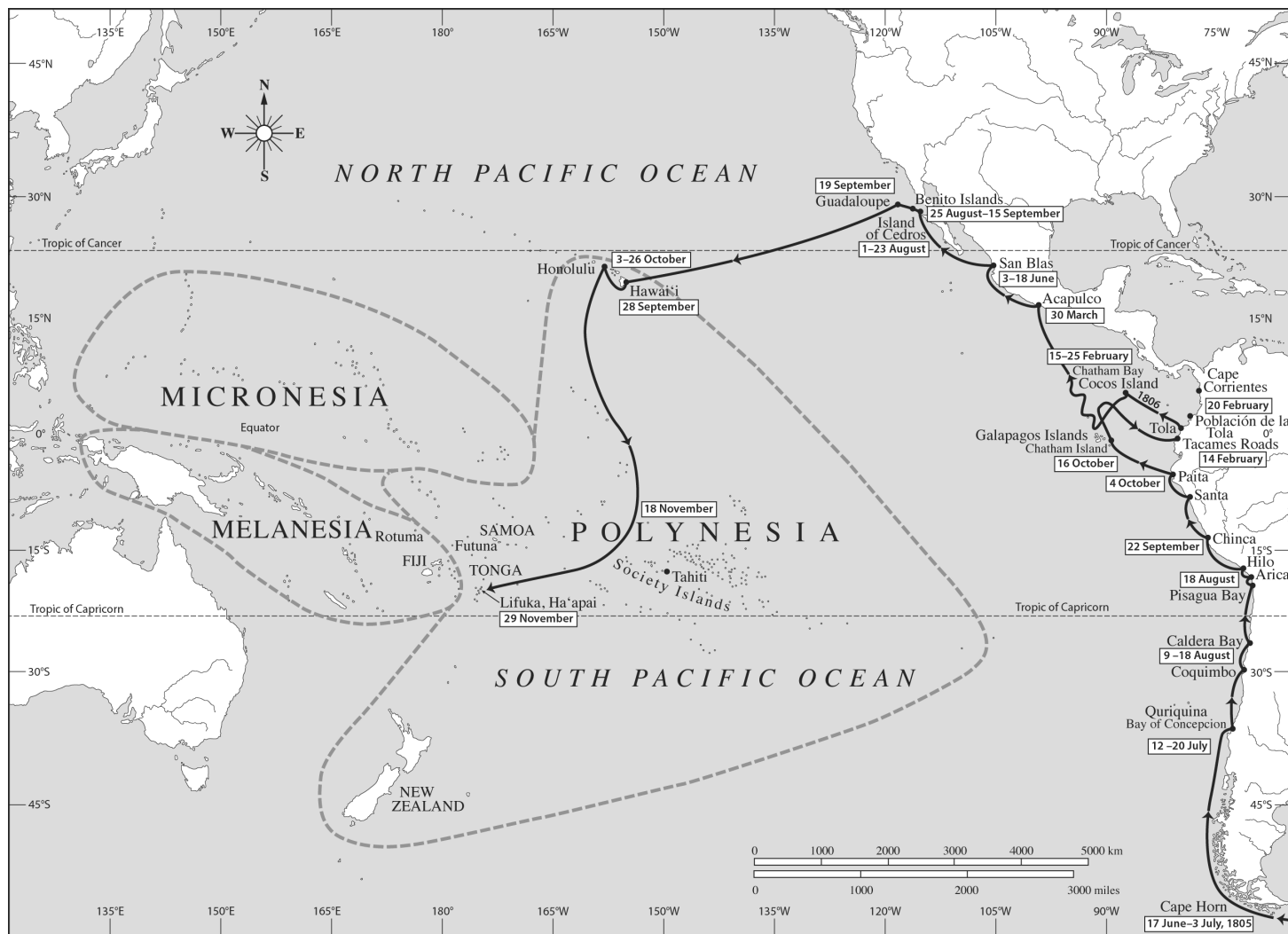
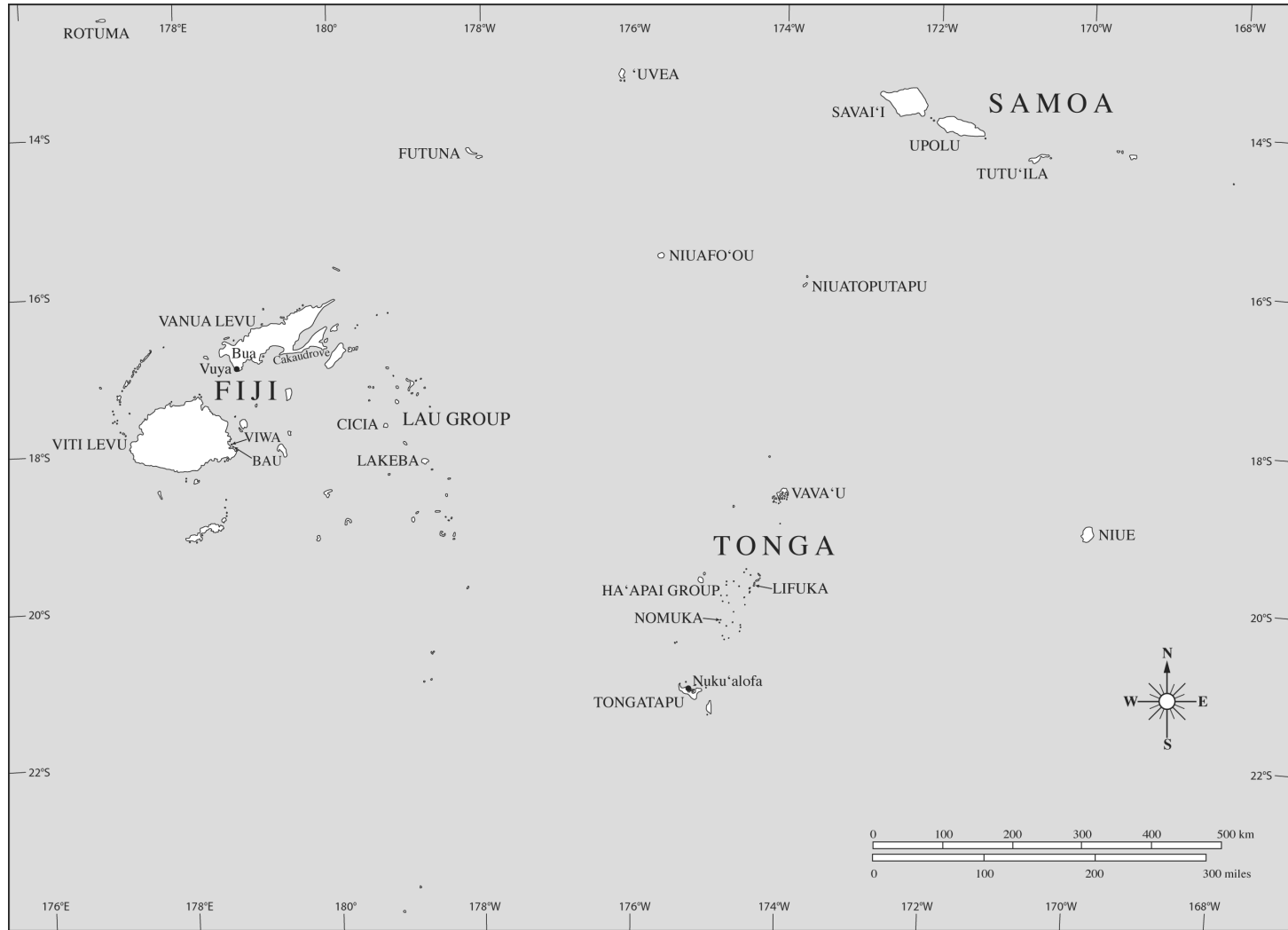


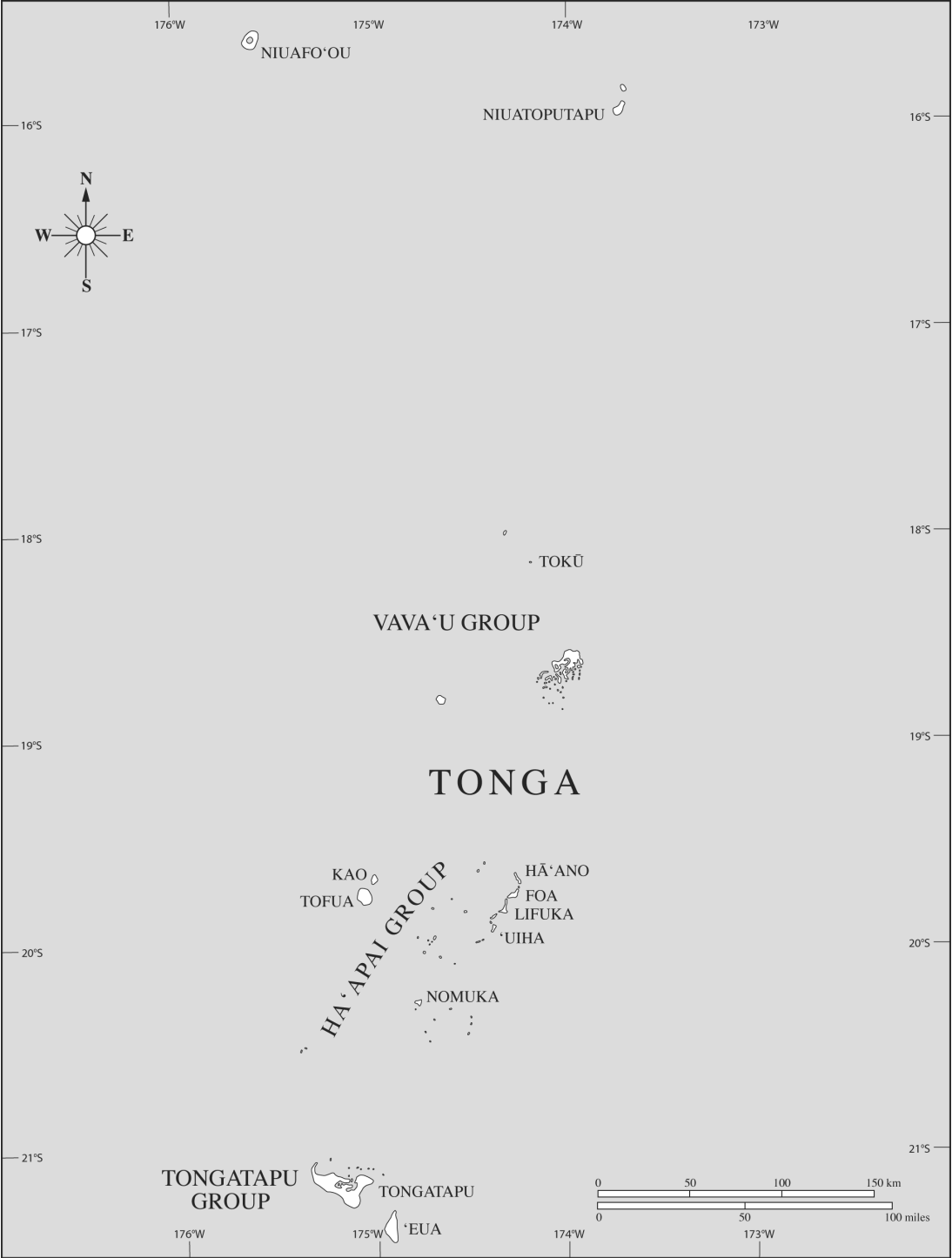
Chart 6



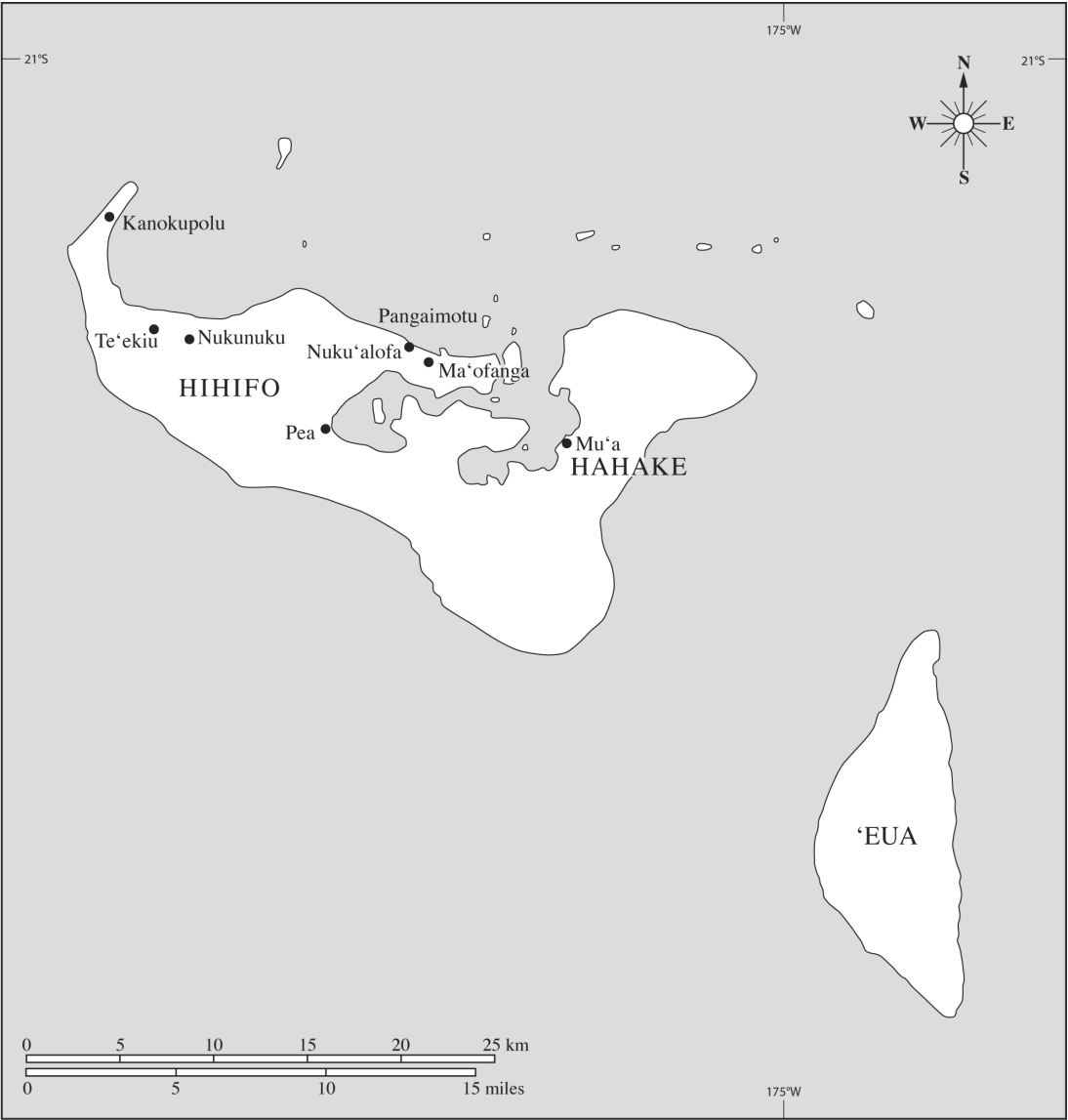
Map 1. The Pacific Ocean, with the track of the privateer *Port au Prince* from Cape Horn to Tonga in 1805-6



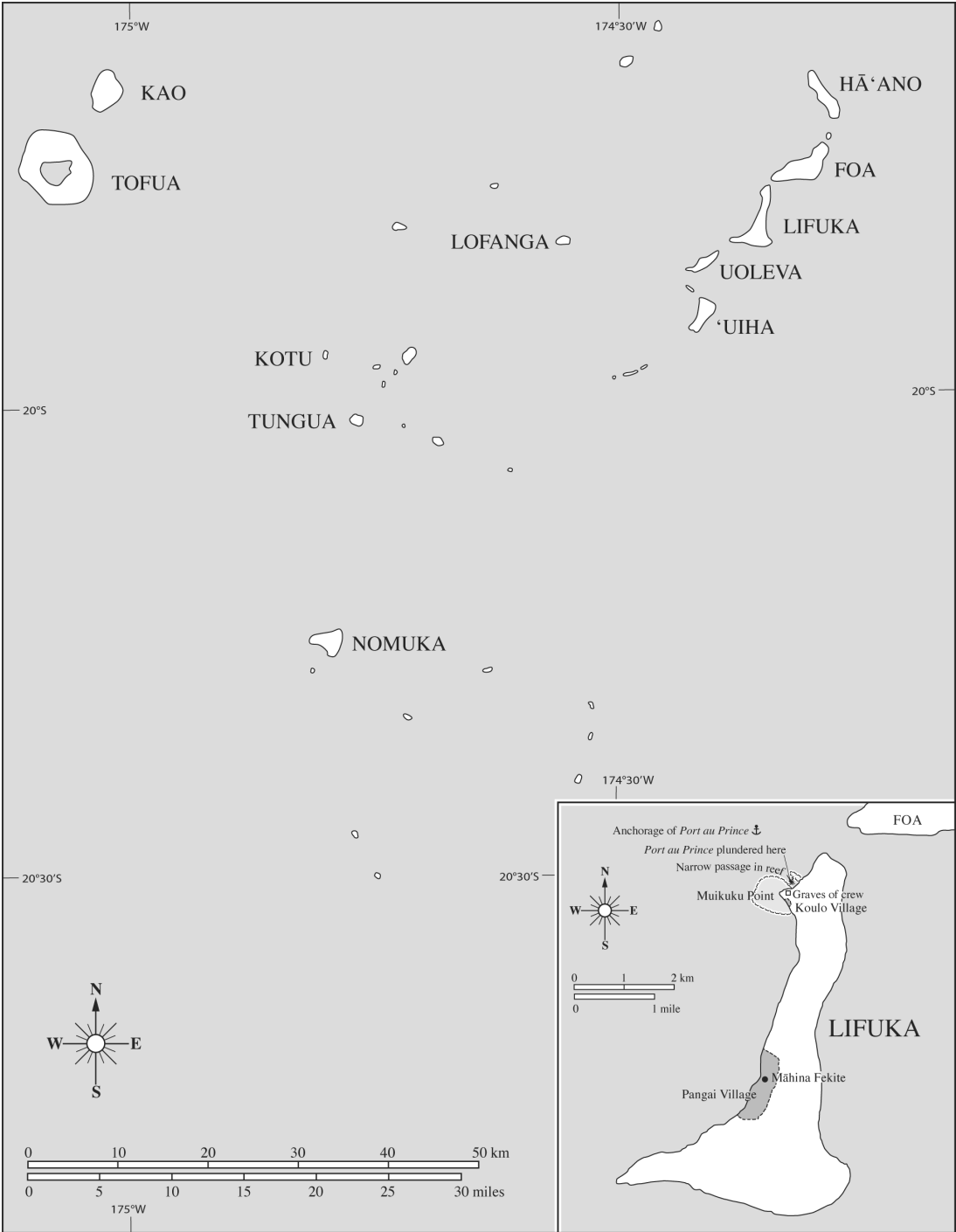
Map 2. Western Polynesia



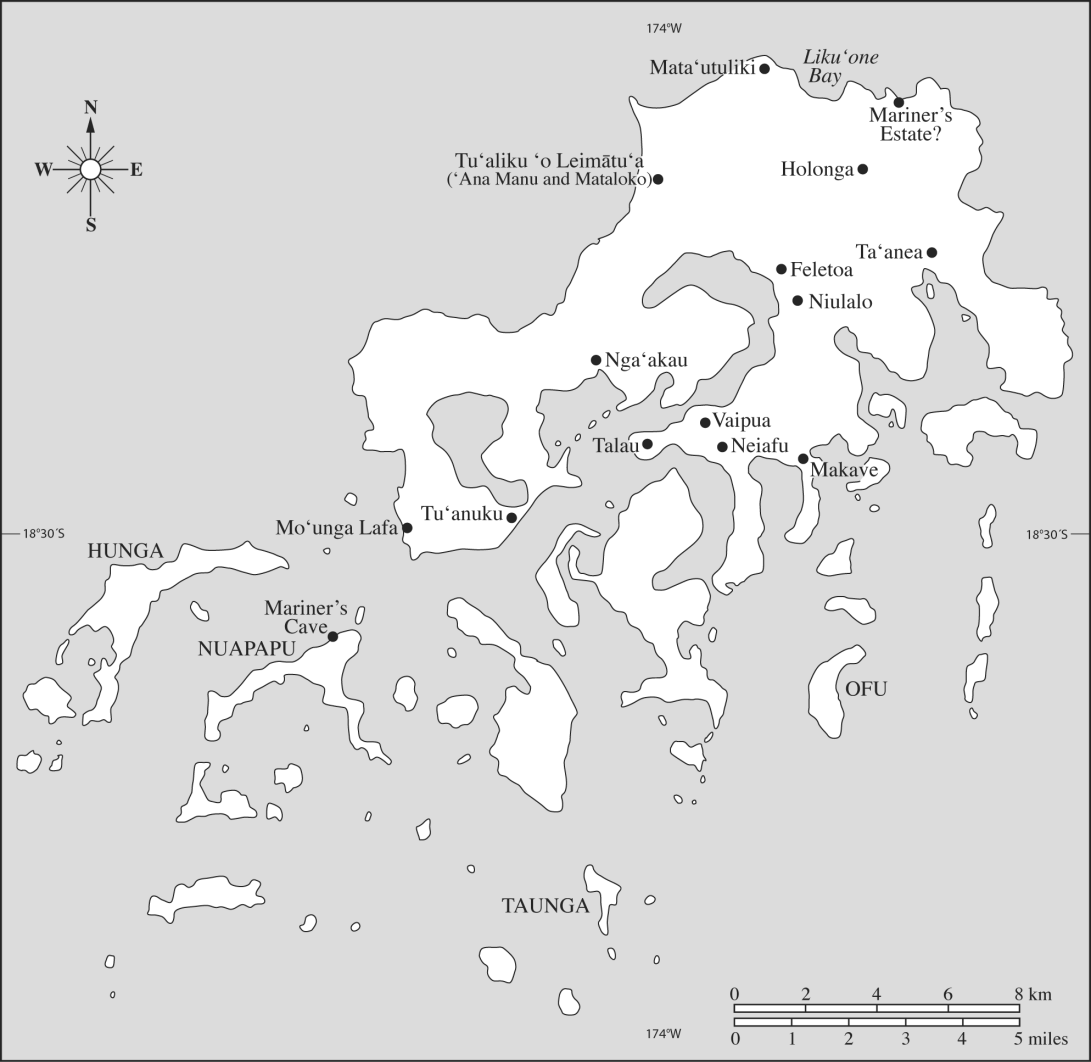
Map 3. The Tongan Archipelago



Map 4. The Tongatapu Group



Map 5. The Ha'apai Group



Map 6. The Vava'u Group

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

In February 1805, a thirteen-year-old boy was belatedly added to the crew of an English privateer about to embark on a voyage through the Atlantic and into the Pacific Ocean. He was probably the youngest person on board, and was taken as captain's clerk by favour of the captain to the boy's father. It is owing to this apparently random event that twelve years later a book was published in London giving the most detailed information about a Polynesian society that had not then been subjected to any significant influences from European contact. The book was unique for its subject matter, its detail, and its inherent human interest, and it remained so, for among the numerous memoirs of foreign residents in the Pacific islands that were published during the next several decades, and ethnographic descriptions of some island societies by nineteenth-century missionaries, none can match the intimacy of the account, or the identification of the author with the leading figures of the society.

William Mariner, John Martin and Their *Account*

The boy was William Mariner, the privateer the *Port au Prince*, a ship licensed as a privateer during the Napoleonic wars to prey on French and Spanish shipping,¹ and equipped for whaling in the virtually unexploited waters of the Pacific. The Polynesian society was Tonga, and the resulting book was *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean*, 'compiled and arranged', as the title page has it, by John Martin, M.D. By the time Mariner's residence in Tonga began, he had just turned fifteen. The cruise had been adventurous, raiding Spanish settlements on the west coast of South America, having battles with shore batteries and Spanish warships, with some whaling and sealing on the side. Battle damage and the wear and tear of twenty-two months at sea reduced the seaworthiness of the ship to the extent that it sought refuge in the islands that Captain James Cook had named 'the Friendly Islands'.

The friendliness of the islanders on this occasion was a mere ruse, half the crew were lured ashore, some were killed, and those left on board were massacred. Young William Mariner was one of only two on board who survived the massacre. He was told later that instructions had been given that he was to be spared because the paramount chief had taken a liking to him. As a result, Mariner was taken into the family of the chief, introduced to the reader as 'Finow', and placed in the charge of one of his younger wives, known to history as Mafihape, a compassionate, intelligent and conscientious young woman who cared for him as she would have for a son of her own. It was she who instructed him in the proper language and behaviour of a Tongan aristocrat, and watched

¹ See Doc. F, p. lxxii.

over his welfare. Meanwhile, Mariner was the frequent if not constant companion of his adopted father and chief, Fīnau, the leader of a faction in a ruthless civil war then waging intermittently, and later of Fīnau's son and successor, Moengāngongo. As a consequence, Mariner's experience of Tongan society embraced both the political and military events of a critical period in Tongan history, and the normal social and mundane affairs of a society at peace.

After almost exactly four years living the privileged and active life of a young chief, Mariner had the good fortune to be rescued by one of the infrequently passing trading vessels, and made his way back to England to attempt to resume the middle-class life of an English youth. The year was 1811, and in the normal course of events, neither Mariner nor his adventures would ever have been heard of. However, a chance meeting brought him into contact with John Martin, recently graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh. Martin, a young man of exceptional intellectual range and maturity combined with a hitherto unrevealed literary flair, immediately recognized in Mariner an extraordinary opportunity first to satisfy his own curiosity, and next to cast light on contemporary concerns of moral and social philosophy. Mariner was not merely a youth who had happened to spend four years stranded on the other side of the globe, but a precocious young man thoroughly imbued with the mores of an exotic world, with unique mastery of its language, combined with a memory of rare retentivity and accuracy. It is apparent also, that Mariner's ability to express himself in English was likewise of a superior order. Their collaboration, described by Martin, involved extended dialogue in which the creative and intellectual talents of the two were combined, resulting in the publication of a work which was instantly recognized and celebrated, and which has continued to be the major source for Tongan affairs and society of its time.

The work itself is the only source of information about Mariner's early life. Martin tells us a few raw facts: he was born in London on 10 September 1791, the second child of Magnus Mariner, sometime privateer owner and commander. Magnus Mariner, though not wealthy, was evidently able to afford to send William to a boarding school for five or six years. Formal education ended at the age of thirteen and, to judge from William's later fund of general knowledge, the schooling was rigorous and comprehensive. As a boy he was high spirited and, in deference to his mother's wishes, he was engaged in a solicitor's office but on meeting a former protégé of his father, Captain Isaac Duck – one suspects the meeting was contrived by his father who wanted a maritime career for his son – his imagination was fired by Duck's tales of adventure, and it was arranged that he join the privateer due shortly to sail, as captain's clerk.

We know nothing of how Mariner adapted to the life on an armed sailing ship of the era, but he seems from later evidence to have been an adaptable boy, well equipped with common sense and a knack of developing easy relationships. He seems to have acquired a large fund of practical ability to add to his natural intelligence and formal education by the time the voyage came to its premature and tragic end. These qualities are evidenced by his account of his conduct during the shipboard massacre, his role as a member of Fīnau's household and military retinue, and his conduct as inter-cultural intermediary when he was rescued from Tonga. His return to England was facilitated by attracting the sympathetic patronage of several ships' captains, but ironically he found himself in a situation that he could not turn to his advantage almost immediately on arriving in London, when he was press-ganged for service in the navy. Even then, he had the presence

of mind and resourcefulness to get a message to his father who, presumably on the strength of his own naval contacts, was able to secure his release.

For his life subsequently, the main source is Mariner's autobiographical pamphlet published in 1843 after a major financial scandal.¹ The intellectual promise that Mariner showed as a precocious and outgoing adolescent continued to be fruitful. In Martin's account, Mariner was a personable youth, who made friends easily and repeatedly made a good impression with actual and potential patrons, both British and Tongan. He showed initiative and resourcefulness, intelligence and quickness of mind. His truly exceptional intelligence and powers of observation, and his psychological percipience, should have identified him as a man who would make a mark in whatever social setting he found himself. That setting proved to be commerce and finance. Martin tells us that, soon after his return to London, he made a voyage to the West Indies; but we are not told in what capacity or for what reason. A surviving letter from 1818 states that he had acquired a part-share in a merchant vessel of which he was to take command, but whether there was such a voyage is unknown. Mariner stayed with his first employer, a Mr N. Warin, for eleven years, learning the business of a merchant and building such a reputation for business acumen and reliability that, on the failure of Warin's business in 1822, he was invited to join a stock-brokerage, operated by a Mr Edward Hancock with whom he stayed for seven years. He next became a clerk (we should probably take that to mean 'accountant') for the National Brazilian Mining Company. Within a few years he was the company secretary. Now aged in his forties, he had become an accomplished man of business, well known in the City of London, and developing a reputation for financial expertise and unimpeachable probity (see Figure 1). Though not a member of the stock exchange, Mariner still worked as a broker, and was well-to-do, a man of property, able to educate his large family and maintain a household with governess and servants.

He resigned from the mining company in 1841 because of slurs cast at both his acumen and character arising from a financial scandal known as the Exchequer Bills Forgery of 1836–41.² In the booklet that he wrote in his defence, Mariner argued his innocence of the fraud with cogency, vehemence, and eloquence, representing himself as a victim both of the fraud and of the subsequent inquiries. His reputation was severely damaged, and his self-esteem more so. Thanks to his pamphlet and his prior reputation, he was able to resume his business career, but not at the same level nor with the same success as before. He carried on until his death, at the age of 62, on 20 October 1853, somewhat ironically considering the maritime adventures and dangers of his youth, attributed to accidental drowning in the Grand Surrey Canal, Camberwell, an urban waterway, only 20 miles from his family home at Gravesend.³

A little is known of his private life, thanks to the lifetime research of his great-great-grandson, Denis McCulloch. We know nothing of his re-adaptation to English life, but something may be inferred from the memoirs of other 'transculturists' from Polynesia. For those who succeeded in returning home, the transition was marked and marred by culture shock. All were changed by their experiences, perhaps traumatized. Picking up the threads of a former life involved emotional adjustment. Relearning social cues, skills

¹ Mariner, *Exchequer Bills Forgery. A Statement* (London, 1843).

² House of Commons, *Reports from Commissioners* and *Hansard, House of Commons Debates*, 3 March 1842 and 13 Feb. 1843.

³ McCulloch, 'William Mariner of Tonga'. See Figures 1–5, also Doc. E, p. lxxi.

and sometimes language proved to be stressful. Exotic modes of behaviour and reactions that had become habitual had to be un-learned. Their experiences isolated them from those who had stayed at home. The common experience therefore was that they did not fit in any more.¹ The only clues that Mariner was affected in the same way are offered by Martin's comments on the perceived change in his personality reported by those who had known him previously. The adventurous outgoing boy had turned into a taciturn, rather reserved young man who showed no inclination to talk about his adventures unprompted. This might partly be attributed to the normal process of maturation, although there was nothing normal about Mariner's adolescent years. He left as a boy, and came back a man who had been exposed to appalling horrors beyond the fantasies of fiction and surpassing the hardships of life and warfare on a privateer. Furthermore, in Tonga he had experienced the gratifications of social and political privilege. Returning to England involved loss of social status compounded by his having missed the normal experiences of English middle-class socialization that might have been expected during his teenage years. He seems, however, to have had no immediate economic anxieties. His father was comfortably off, so Mariner was evidently insulated from some of the troubles that others who had returned might have known. His father's influence which rescued him from the navy probably was responsible for his obtaining a position in Warin's merchant house. His early employment there was perhaps the means of his meeting the daughter of a banker, Margaret Roberts, whom he married in 1818. The couple by then already had two sons, William born in 1815, and John born in 1817. A third son, Thomas, was born in December 1818. The couple had eleven children altogether over a nineteen-year period.²

In the little that is known of Mariner's later life, there is scarcely an echo of his attachment to Tonga. His departure had been affectionate and emotional, with a solemn promise to his friend Moengāngongo the new Fīnau, that he would one day return. He never did, but probably knew through his shipmate Thomas Eversfield, who left Tonga after he did and after whom his third son was named, that Moengāngongo had died in 1812. However, the emotional legacy is suggested in the naming of another son Peter Fīnau, born in 1820. Although Mariner himself never returned to Tonga, Denis McCulloch believed that his eldest son, William, went to sea, and arrived in Tonga about 1835 when he would have been twenty years of age. The story derives only from a Samoan family surnamed Marriner, who claimed that a European or part-European named George came to Vava'u, married a grand-daughter of Fīnau, called Sela Tauvao (but known as Melenaita), and migrated to Samoa. At some point the story was elaborated giving rise to the belief that they were descended from William Mariner. It would add to the romance to think that the elder William encouraged his son to go, or that young William was inspired by his father's fame or anecdotes to keep his unfulfilled promise to return. The romantically inclined might also like to connect the possibility with a letter from Mafihape, Mariner's Tongan foster mother, written to him in 1832, but not received until March 1837,³ allowing for some flexibility in the chronology of the oral

¹ Campbell, 'Gone Native', pp. 91–2.

² McCulloch, 'William Mariner of Tonga', p. 12, gives 10 children, without William. However, in his later entry for William Mariner in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, McCulloch states that the Mariners had 11 children, including the elder son, William.

³ Statham, 'Mafihape's Letter', pp. 341–6. See also below, Docs C and D, pp. lxx–lxxi, where it is reproduced.

tradition. Mariner was evidently pleased to receive Mafihape's letter, but claimed to have been able to make little sense of it after twenty-six years, and there is no evidence that he replied, except perhaps by sending his son, if that is what happened.¹ His attachment, however, is suggested by his preserving the letter, and making a gift of it to one of his daughters (McCulloch's great grandmother) in 1849 (see Figure 14).

The Tongan experience left a deep mark on Mariner's psyche; one wonders, therefore, at his apparent lack of connection for the rest of his life, a period when English missionaries were active in Tonga and published accounts of voyages made it possible to stay informed. According to his biographer, Mariner had a collection of such works, but there is no evidence of his being directly involved in matters connected with Tonga or elsewhere in the Pacific.²

Even less is known of the man who penned Mariner's account, John Martin. He was well educated, and mixed in cultured circles in London. He is thought to have been born in 1789, but nothing is known otherwise of his origins. He is certainly the Englishman John Martin who graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh in 1810, but his maturity of outlook, breadth of knowledge, and sophisticated exposition seem extraordinary for a new graduate aged only twenty-two when he met Mariner, and only twenty-seven when the book was published.³ How Martin came by his knowledge of the currents of the philosophical concerns of the Scottish Enlightenment is unknown, but indicates a remarkable intellectual range, breadth of education and social engagement that can hardly have been typical of a young medical undergraduate of the time. He tells us that a book of Mariner's experiences was his suggestion, that Mariner doubted his ability to write one, and that the manner of their collaboration was also his. He described his method in detail. First he asked Mariner to make brief notes of incidents as they came to mind. These notes were the basis of intense conversations, followed by further reflection and more conversation as Mariner's memory was stimulated by their interaction. Discussion of events gave rise to questions about customary practices, social

¹ See Docs A–D, pp. lxi–lxxi. No record has been found of William junior's putative arrival in Tonga. To contact members of Finau's family it would have been necessary to make inquiries with the few Europeans competent in both English and Tongan, i.e. the missionaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. These knew Mariner's story from having used *An Account* and, had Mariner's son turned up wanting to contact his father's old friends, it is unlikely that they would not have remarked on it. No such record has been found. Nor is the Samoan family story consistent in claiming descent from an English-born son of Mariner. The earliest written record of the family's European ancestry (a copy in possession of Nigel Statham) identifies its founder as 'George,' a part-Tongan born in Tonga. From that, the story evolved to his being the English-born son of Mariner, and from 'George' to 'George William' and later to 'William George'. Similarly, the surname evolved from Marriner to Mariner after contact was made with McCulloch. Mariner was not known by that name in Tonga during his residence; he was 'Toki Ukamea' so there would have been no ready means of identifying a part-Tongan son (if any) with a former resident called Mariner until after his book became known in Tonga through the missionaries. McCulloch quotes the former British consul in Tonga, A. C. Reid, reporting to him that 'the most noted [Tongan] authority on Tongan traditions in the Islands ... was most definite that no child had been fathered' by Mariner in Tonga (McCulloch, 'William Mariner of Tonga', p. 42). As to Mariner's English-born children, none had the name 'George' either as a first or second name. William was baptized as simply 'William' on 20 Aug. 1820. *Baptisms Celebrated in the Parish of St Dunstan, Stepney* [London]. The claim of a Samoan connection has too many improbabilities to be credible and has been contradicted by recent DNA analysis.

² McCulloch, 'William Mariner of Tonga', pp. 114, 117.

³ Goodwin and McCulloch, 'Martin, John'; Anon., 'Appendix. Theses of those who have graduated at the University of Edinburgh from 1726 to 1823', p. 367.

and political organization, traditions, music and language. Martin's probing was evidently systematic and penetrating. He was careful also to verify Mariner's authenticity and the accuracy of his information by such means as were available, namely conversations with Mariner's ship-mates who returned to London at various times, and by comparison with the publications of prior naval and evangelical visitors. The resulting work was a landmark in the origins of social anthropology, although it seems to have had no effect on the development of anthropology as a discipline which, for most of the nineteenth century, was preoccupied with anatomy, questions of evolution, and speculative histories of human society. Martin apparently was forgotten except by a few interested in Tonga, and modern histories of anthropology are silent about him. He was nevertheless a pioneer in that his philosophical turn of mind meant that he did not stop with the narrative of events, or the description of ceremonies or social institutions, but probed the affective and moral aspects of Tongan life with a view to explaining the way that Tongans understood human affairs. In his objectivity and understanding of the relativity of social conventions, Martin was almost a century ahead of his time.

The same may be said of his work on the Tongan language. Working in close collaboration with Mariner, Martin accomplished a pioneering study in philology. In addition to compiling an extensive vocabulary, rules of pronunciation and an orthography were developed, and by working through Mariner's recollected conversations, monologues, and experiments in translation into and out of Tongan, the principles of grammar and syntax were identified. Thus, as Martin explained:

we ascertained what could readily be translated, what not; where the language was ample in expression, where poor; what was definite, and what vague; where there were rules, and where anomalies. By gradual and diligent procedure, the character and genius of the language were unfolded, and we soon arrived at the theoretical knowledge of its structure.¹

Martin therefore was more than just an amanuensis. We should regard *An Account* as a true collaboration in which the text emerged from the conversations between the two young men. Martin for his part studied the subject, strove to understand it, and endeavoured to explain Tongan society, both on its own terms and with reference to the philosophical questions which prompted him to undertake the work. One must be astonished at the result.

An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands was Martin's only book. It is presumed that he continued to practise medicine in London for several years after its first publication. Letters to the publisher use a London address until 1823 when he moved to Lisbon.² He was back in London in August 1827 according to the date he gives in the introduction to the third edition, and at an unknown date he returned to Lisbon where his presence was noticed in 1844, and where he was continuously resident at least since 1849 until his death twenty years later. All that has been found about him is recorded in an obituary, which confirms that he was a remarkable man in both intellect and scientific spirit:

¹ See below, p. 11.

² Goodwin and McCulloch, 'Martin, John', state that he was in financial straits in 1823, misreading a remark in Martin's letter to his publisher dated 20 April 1823. Their statement that he was briefly imprisoned for debt in 1826 and received a charitable grant is also incorrect, and derived from an archival error which mistakenly supplied McCulloch with letters from the Romantic artist, John Martin (1789–1854).

We regret to announce the death, at Lisbon, on the 8th ultimo [July], of a veteran both in literature and science, Dr. John Martin. So far back as 1817, he was the editor of 'Mariner's Tonga Islands,' a work which has been always held in high estimation, and in our own pages we have had occasion to record his labours during the last twenty years in the observation of atmospherical phenomena, especially with reference to pressure, temperature, and moisture. Dr. Martin laid down meteorological charts representing the varying aspects of months, seasons, and years from daily observation. He also made careful observation with reference to ozone, as well as on the characteristics and circumstances affecting cholera and yellow fever. These labours are the more commendable as the work of an old man, executed in different colours with scrupulous neatness, and mostly at night after the fatigue of practice. Dr. Martin died at the advanced age of eighty.¹

The remarkable book that the collaboration produced has ever since been unequivocally accepted as an authentic and reliable portrayal of Tongan history and society. From the time of the Wesleyan mission in the 1820s to the latest anthropological or historical research, scholarship has been informed directly or indirectly by Mariner's testimony. Reciprocally, every scholarly work ever since confirms the accuracy of Mariner's evidence, and the fidelity of Martin's presentation of it. In the 1890s, the observant and erudite British colonial civil servant Basil Thomson wrote:

Mariner ... spent scarcely four years among the people, yet his account of the Tongans, elicited by questions put to him by Dr Martin, leaves little to be added by later travellers. The book so produced has become a classic: one does not know which most to admire, Mariner's observation and wonderful memory, or Martin's ingenuity, industry, and pure style.²

Over a century after Mariner's residence the anthropologists Edward Gifford (1920s) and Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1930s) remarked on the fidelity of his account to the society that they witnessed, testifying to the accuracy of Mariner's descriptions. Gifford, in particular, gave it high praise:

Of published works Mariner's Tonga Islands is by far the most extensive and possesses the merit of great accuracy and understanding on the part of its author. Doubtless Mariner's work is to be regarded as the standard by which modern work is to be checked.³

Queen Sālote of Tonga (1900–65), whose authority in matters of Tongan tradition remains unchallenged, also had a high opinion of *An Account*. She was reported as having been interviewed by a descendant of Mariner in 1935. When asked to comment on the book, she replied:

'Certainly. We regard it as extremely valuable.' Many of the young Tongans, she added, were keenly interested in the past, and Mariner's book was regarded as a unique record, not merely for its vocabulary, but because of its detailed description of many of the ancient ceremonies.⁴

For contemporary observers of Tongan society, including Tongans, Mariner's account is accepted as both authentic and authoritative. Much of the material culture described is exactly as found in contemporary Tonga. Traditional songs, and choreographed mass

¹ *The Athenaeum*, 7 August 1869, p. 181.

² Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p. 51.

³ Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 1.

⁴ *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 6:3 (24 Oct. 1935), p. 28.

dances such as those described by Cook in the 1770s and Mariner in the 1800s survive in modern Tonga, as does the tradition of composition. Other practices have fallen or are falling into disuse, but survived long enough to be observed by anthropologists. Similarly, aspects of social organization survive into the present, especially Tongan sensitivities around rank and precedence, the respect shown to women, especially to sisters and father's sisters, and the use of an honorific register in addressing nobles and royalty. Any short-comings have more to do with omissions than errors. For example, Mariner and Martin comment only briefly on child-rearing practices, and say nothing about family sizes or mortality rates among infants and children. They are silent about various skill sets that Mariner might have been expected to be both interested in and knowledgeable about, especially navigation and seamanship, both of which he had frequent opportunities to observe. Nor does the reader find any description as to how stone and shell tools were made, or what materials were favoured. One silence is informative, that pertaining to introduced diseases and associated mortality by which Pacific island societies were ravaged during the nineteenth century, which suggests that Tonga was free of them during his time. The clearest evidence of Mariner's reliability is linguistic. The data provided is copious, and not such as could have been fabricated or derived from other sources. Missionaries coming to Tonga in the 1820s and later used Mariner's grammar and vocabulary for their early studies in the language. The Reverend Nathaniel Turner, resident in Tonga 1827–31, claimed to have learned sufficient Tongan from Mariner's vocabulary during his voyage to Tonga to enable him, within a few weeks of arriving, to compose in the language a hymn, a short prayer and a short sermon, and to use all three in public worship.¹

Mariner's account is a unique source for a period of profound change in Tongan politics, for much of which he was an eye-witness, and for the events preceding his arrival, he had the testimony of participants. His account of these developments has generally been accepted by historians. Where details can be compared with the evidence of independent contemporary observers, Mariner's accounts (rather, his report of the accounts of his Tongan informants) prove to be sufficiently accurate to inspire confidence.²

Having been adopted by the leading chief of the time and place, Mariner was in a privileged position to observe and gather information. It is evident that he watched, questioned and conversed to satisfy an insatiable curiosity so that his testimony is not the result of casual observation but of intentional, directed inquiry into many things. His relationship with his Tongan family was crucial. No foreigner could survive or prosper in a Polynesian society without being taken into a kinship group, and all of the survivors of the *Port au Prince* massacre must have been adopted into a family. Given their novelty as European residents, it is probable that they were all received by high-status families (Mariner does not say), but Mariner's situation was unique in his being taken into the family of the ruling chief, the formidable Finau, who thought he was the captain's son from his demeanour and apparently privileged position on board. Having taken him in,

¹ Turner, *Pioneer Missionary*, p. 95. Turner had the advantage of having already been a missionary for three years in New Zealand where he learned Maori, a cognate language with Tongan.

² These include the accounts of the assassination that triggered the civil war in 1799, and the murder of a member of William Bligh's marooned crew on the island of Tofua in 1789.

and given him the name of a deceased son of his own, Toki Ukamea, he passed him into the hands of one of his wives, the young Mafihape who, if reports twenty years later may be relied on, could have been only a year or two older than Mariner himself.¹ Her maternal affection for him, and Mariner's own regard for her – he described her as 'a woman of great understanding, personal beauty, and amiable manners' who always 'conducted herself towards him with maternal affection, modesty, and propriety'² – suggests a greater age difference.

Mafihape (or to give her her proper name, Fakatoumafi) took primary responsibility for Mariner's well-being, trained him in correct speech and behaviour, and advised him. It was through her, in addition to his own observation of the behaviour of those around him, that he must have learnt the intricacies of the Tongan kinship system, with its distinctions between male and female roles and status – matters which were intrinsic to family dynamics as well as having significant political implications given the multiple and entangled kinship relations of the higher chiefs. The combination of rank with youth in Mariner's case permitted him access to high and low alike, as it did also to female society.

Mariner's closest friend in Tonga was his 'older brother', Finau's son Moengāngongo by his senior wife, who had been in Samoa at the time of Mariner's arrival. It is also clear from the dialogues at the time of Mariner's departure from Tonga that he had an amiable relationship with at least one of his sisters, perhaps less restrained than was usual between adolescent brothers and sisters. Tongan kinship rules were usually strict and were conscientiously observed, but it is possible that in these a degree of latitude was permitted Mariner as a foreigner, as was the case with other rules, especially where *tapu* was involved.³ Tongans, like other Polynesians, could sometimes be quite pragmatic about matters that were normally rigorously observed, and it was often expedient or compassionate to relax certain rules on the grounds that foreigners, having gods of their own, were not subject to the requirements of Tongan gods. Mariner's relationships with his immediate Tongan family seem more relaxed than was usual. Mariner, like all sons and status subordinates, owed Finau unquestioning obedience and deference, and yet on occasion excused himself from carrying out Finau's wishes on the grounds of conscience or English custom, and on other occasions offered unsolicited advice on military matters. The latitude allowed him points to genuine affection and indeed, compassion:

how often, at his [Finau's] request, he had lain down upon the same mat with him, in the evening, to talk about the king of England, and after a long conversation, when Finow supposed him to be asleep, he would lay his hand gently upon his forehead and say 'Poor Papālangi! what a distance his country is off! Very likely his father and mother are now talking about him, and comforting themselves by saying "perhaps to-morrow a ship will arrive and bring our son back to us"'.⁴

Other incidents attest Finau's unqualified affection and indulgence. Mariner reciprocated to the extent of showing un-Tongan and 'un-manly' distress at Finau's death. His grief was not self-interested, because his safety and comfort were no longer dependent on Finau

¹ The Reverend John Thomas and Captain Peter Dillon both met her in 1827 and estimated her age then as 37 or 38. Statham, 'Mafihape's Letter,' p. 355.

² See below, p. 213.

³ Tapu: behavioural restrictions or prescriptions with supernatural sanctions.

⁴ See below, p. 191.

alone. Notwithstanding his affection, he had a realistic understanding of his patron. He admired his charisma, oratory, martial prowess, and political astuteness at the same time as he abhorred his deviousness, duplicity, ruthlessness, and pragmatism. He preferred the company of Moengāngongo who was not only nearer his own age but whose ‘character and habits’ were more to his taste.¹

Getting away from Tonga at that time was a plain matter of chance. Ships occasionally passed, some stopped to try to obtain provisions, none came to fixed points or in any predictable manner. Mariner’s experience reveals the difficulty of men marooned far from frequented places. Even when a ship came by, there was a limit to how many waifs its captain was prepared to take on board, so Mariner’s companions left only gradually, and some not at all. His own escape in November 1810 was by means of a passing trader, the *Favorite*, en route from the Society Islands with a cargo of pearl shell, to Fiji for sandalwood, both for the Chinese market. Although the narrative seldom mentions any of the other survivors of the *Port au Prince* massacre, Mariner knew their fates up to the time of writing. Of the twenty-five surviving of the original crew, six had been picked up by passing ships before Mariner escaped, and another two later. Five accompanied Mariner on the *Favorite* as far as Canton. A few chose to remain in Tonga, including at least two who survived into the 1830s. This choice was not uncommon for men in their situation, especially if several years had elapsed before they had an opportunity to depart. In probably all cases such men had become socially established, had wives and children, and often possessed higher status and greater physical comfort and security than if they were to leave, especially if leaving Tonga meant a life as crew on whalers or other merchant shipping. The option to stay was more likely to be taken by the very young and those of advanced years.

The Tongan Context

The Tonga islands (see Map 3) are an archipelago extending over about 200 miles (300 kilometres) of ocean lying NNE–SSW, situated close to and east of the 180th meridian and almost as far south as the Tropic of Capricorn.² The climate is mildly tropical. The islands themselves are mostly atolls some of which have been subject to tectonic uplift. The northernmost of the main islands, Vava’u (see Map 6), rises to a height of about 600 feet (200 metres) above sea level at the highest point, but generally with the relatively flat topography typical of a raised reef. The largest island, Tongatapu in the far south, is also a tilted plain, rising to a height of about 100 feet (30 metres) on its southern coast (see Map 4). The adjacent island of ‘Eua is also elevated, and the only part of Tonga that has a partially continental origin. With the exception of three active volcanoes, the other 170 islands are low and flat, but unlike most islands of similar type, Tonga’s soils are rich and productive, the result of volcanic ash blanketing the islands over aeons.

Between about 300 and 500 miles (500 and 800 kilometres) to the west and slightly north of Vava’u is the large archipelago of Fiji, the main islands of which are geologically continental (see Map 2). The eastern fringe of Fiji, collectively known as the Lau islands,

¹ See below, p. 100.

² More specifically, between approximately 15° and 22° S latitude, and between 174° and 176° W longitude.

is a chain mainly of atolls similar to Tonga's: they were much influenced by Tongan contact and migration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. About 400 miles (600 kilometres) north and slightly east of Vava'u lies Samoa whose predominantly high islands are typical 'hot-spot' oceanic volcanic landforms. Other islands in the vicinity of these three archipelagoes include 'Uvea (Wallis) and Futuna; between them and Vava'u are the volcanic Tongan outliers Niuafu'ou and Niuatoputapu.

Excluding the outliers, Tonga comprises three sub-archipelagoes: Vava'u in the north where Mariner lived most of the time, Tongatapu in the south which for some centuries was the political centre of gravity of the archipelago, with 'Eua. More or less mid-way between Vava'u and Tongatapu are the scattered islands of Ha'apai of which the largest are Nomuka and Lifuka. The latter was where Mariner's residence began. Across the three sub-archipelagoes there was a broad cultural and linguistic homogeneity, and for several generations at least, possibly for 400 years, the islands acknowledged a common political hierarchy at the pinnacle of which was the Tu'i Tonga whose authority as supreme ruler had become attenuated into ritual superiority while his political dominance passed successively to nominally subordinate titles, first the Tu'i Ha'atakalua and later the Tu'i Kanokupolu. At the time of Mariner's residence, the political consensus had collapsed into civil war and disunity.

Tongan History before European Contact

The original settlement of Tonga has been determined to have been on Tongatapu at the village of Nukuleka around the year 890 BC.¹ The people were carriers of the Lapita culture from an unknown place in Melanesia to the west. The so-called 'Lapita people' are first identified in archaeology as having arrived at Talasea on the island of New Britain (part of modern Papua New Guinea) from South-East Asia probably during the fourteenth century BC, and spread from there over the next few centuries south and east through the island chains of the Solomons, Banks Islands and Vanuatu, and eastward to Fiji by the tenth century BC. The progressive settlement of islands happened too rapidly to be driven by population pressure; rather, it was the result of systematic exploration and deliberate colonization. The village at Nukuleka was the first settlement east of Fiji (though not from Fiji) and is thus the founding settlement for the whole of Polynesia. The colonists spread rapidly across the Tongan islands, and, apparently as rapidly, contact with cognate settlements to the west petered out.²

Royal genealogies recorded in the nineteenth century enumerate thirty-nine generations, but associated legends and oral traditions do not reach back into the past before a chief called Momo, ostensibly the tenth Tu'i Tonga who is posited to have died about the year 1350.³ The title 'Tu'i Tonga' or 'overlord of Tonga' implies only the island later called Tongatapu, and the legends associated with Momo and his immediate successors suggest that it was not until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that attempts were made to bring the rest of the Tongan islands into a single political unit.

¹ 2846–2830 BP by precise radiocarbon measurements. Burley, Weisler, and Zhao, 'High Precision U/Th Dating'.

² Burley and Dickinson, 'Origin and Significance'.

³ Clark and Reepmeyer, 'Stone Architecture, Monumentality and the Rise of the Early Tongan Chiefdom'.

The Tongans were bold marine adventurers, and oral traditions from Tonga and elsewhere in the western Pacific attest their widespread voyaging, almost certainly extending many hundreds of kilometres, as far north as Kiribati and west as far as Vanuatu; how far to the south and east they travelled in those centuries and later remains an unresolved question, but contact with the Cook Islands, Society Islands and even New Zealand is not impossible.¹ During the Little Ice Age, voyaging spheres generally appear to have contracted and much navigational lore atrophied, but communication within the Tongan group was maintained. The secular and ritual status of the Tu'i Tonga became widely accepted, but power to command was less easily asserted and the oral traditions suggest that repeated attempts to restrain local independence were necessary. The so-called 'Tu'i Tonga Empire' was a domain of tribute not of imperium.

By Mariner's time, contact with Samoa and Fiji was frequent. Close contact with both is attested in tradition at least as far back as the sixteenth century, the voyaging being undertaken by the Tongans, who apparently had the greatest motivation. Tonga indeed was the pivot of a triangular trade, its communication with both places being greater than the other two with each other. Chiefly genealogies and associated stories include Fijian and Samoan names and, reciprocally, Tongan names appear in the traditions of both places. Cognate place names attest the antiquity of close contacts. In the eighteenth century, communication with both places was frequent if not regular. High-ranking marriage partners were exchanged between the island groups, Tonga typically receiving women from Samoa and men from Fiji.² The connection with Samoa was valued as a source of prestige goods, especially fine mats for which Samoan craftsmanship was superior. In return, Tongan bark cloth, red feathers and coarse mats were sent to Samoa. Aromatic sandalwood, used for making perfume, came from Fiji. The Fijian connection gave Tongans a source of pottery the manufacture of which had ceased in about 400 BC³ and never resumed. Fiji also provided high-quality wooden artefacts and the magnificent ocean-going canoes known in Fiji as *drua* and in Tonga as *kalia*, built from the hardwood tree *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga*) which did not grow in Tonga. During the late eighteenth century *kalia* were replacing the older and less versatile design known as *tongiaki* which for centuries had served Tongans well in their intra- and inter-archipelagic voyaging. In the late eighteenth century also, Tongans were becoming increasingly involved in Fijian warfare, and adopted Fijian weaponry and fortifications. The Tongan word 'kolo' for fort (and later for a village) is a direct import from Fiji at that time.

The complexity of Tonga's political structure, and the Tongans' maritime activities imply a sizeable population. Their cultural sophistication is consistent with a society having a substantial social surplus, and professional specialization. The Tongan achievement therefore is all the more remarkable considering that the total land area is only about 250 square miles (650 square kilometres), spread over 170 islands ranging in size and fertility from a few acres of thin, sandy soils, to the rich volcanic ash soils of Tongatapu with 40 per cent of the total land area. To these terrestrial assets were added the richness in edible species from fringing reefs, off-shore reefs, and the deep ocean. Maximum sustainable population size was reached in less than a thousand years after first

¹ For Pacific islanders' navigation and seamanship, see Lewis, *We, the Navigators*, and for exploration strategies, Irwin, *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific*.

² Kaeppler, 'Exchange Patterns,' pp. 246–52.

³ Burley, Connaughton, and Clark, 'Early Cessation of Ceramic Production'.