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PACIFIC BEACH COMMUNITIES
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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A thesis presented in fulfilment of
the requirements for the Degree of
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This thesis is based entirely on my own research, except in cases which I have acknowledged, and was done whilst I was a research scholar at the Australian National University between March 1967 and March 1970.

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CONTENTS

	Page
List of Maps	vi
Abbreviations used	vii
Preface	viii
Chapter I Introduction	1
Chapter II The Beachcombers	33
Chapter III Part 1. Origins of the First Pacific Ports	78
Part 2. Honolulu, Papeete, Levuka and Apia	90
Chapter IV Early Community Development	109
Chapter V Consuls, Missionaries and Company Traders	153
Chapter VI The Pattern of Daily Life	194
Chapter VII The Later Years	236
Chapter VIII Tension and Harmony in the Beach Communities	272
Chapter IX Epilogue	306
Appendix I	between 313-314
Appendix II	314
Bibliography	317

List of Maps

The Pacific	following page	1
Hawaii		86
Tahiti		87
Matavai Bay - Papeete Coastline		87
Fiji		88
Western Samoa		89
The North Island of New Zealand		103
South-East Viti Levu and Ovalau		104

ABBREVIATIONS

Adm.	Admiralty Records held in Public Records Office, London.
AH	Archives of Hawaii.
BCS	British Consulate Samoa.
BPBM	Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
DL	Dixon Library, Sydney.
FO	Foreign Office Records held in Public Records Office, London.
FO & Ex.	Foreign Office and Executive, records in AH.
HHS	Hawaiian Historical Society.
HMCS	Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society.
LCC	Land Claims Commission, Fiji. (P - petition, R - report).
LMS	London Missionary Society.
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney.
MMS	Methodist Missionary Society.
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Australian National University.
PMS	Peabody Museum, Salem.
UH	University of Hawaii.
USCD-	United States Consular Despatches- A. Apia H. Honolulu L. Laucala T. Tahiti
USNR	United States Naval Records, Pacific Squadron.
WTu	Turnbull Library, Wellington.

PREFACE

THE historical study of areas such as the Pacific Islands, where the indigenous peoples have been in contact with Europeans for all or most of the period covered by documentary records, has undergone a marked change of emphasis during recent years. Once visualized as essentially a branch of Imperial history, the focus has now moved to the islands themselves; to studies of the change and development which have occurred in the Pacific under the stimulus of introduced and indigenous cultural forces; political, economic, religious and social. The pioneering work in the reorientation of Pacific history was Professor J.W. Davidson's Ph.D. thesis submitted to Cambridge University in 1942, entitled, 'European Penetration of the South Pacific, 1779-1842', which for the first time detailed the advent and activities of early Europeans in the South Pacific and analyzed the consequential changes effected in the island communities.

Yet, although there has been a general acceptance of Professor Davidson's contention that Pacific historiography should be island-orientated, subsequently writers have for the most part concentrated on the study of particular geographical segments. Histories of missionary activities¹ have been written on a wider

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A.A. Koskinen, Missionary Influence as a political factor in the Pacific Islands (Helsinki, 1953); K.L.P. Martin, Missionaries and Annexation in the Pacific (London, 1924); L.B. Wright and M.I. Fry, Puritans in the South Seas (New York, 1936).

scale but with the emphasis on the European personnel involved and their religious and political successes, while the islanders' reasons for conversion, their understanding of Christianity or the uses to which they put it, have been largely ignored. During the past decade, however, attention has again been focussed on the possibilities of a synoptic approach to Pacific history covering particular themes common to Oceania, rather than more detailed histories limited to a single island or island group.

Studies such as W.H. Pearson's, 'The Reception of European Voyagers on Polynesian Islands 1568-1797', and H.E. Maude's 'Beachcombers and Castaways' are both island-orientated and wide in scope.² The latter work, which is a detailed analysis of the political, economic and social significance of the first semi-permanent European settlers in the islands, suggested the possibility of continuing this general approach one stage further to the rise and development of the beach communities. The scope of this resulting thesis is limited only by the location of the first port towns in the Pacific Islands (in Polynesia and Fiji), and since they were the only beach communities of any consequence in Oceania the title Pacific Beach Communities can be justified.

2

W.H. Pearson, 'The Reception of European Voyagers on Polynesian Islands 1568-1797', to be published in Journal de la Société des Océanistes; H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

'The Beach' was a term frequently used by expatriate residents and visitors to designate the concentration of island and Western-style houses scattered round the shorelines of the principal harbours, and the Europeans who lived in them. The first such aggregation to appear was Honolulu in Hawaii, followed by Papeete in Tahiti, Kororareka at the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, Levuka in Fiji and Apia in Samoa. These proto-urban communities came into existence to supply the needs of the new trades developing in the Pacific. The sandalwood and bêche-de-mer traders and the whalers required accessible, sheltered harbours in the islands, pilots, skilled workmen, provisioning and refitting centres and depots for mail. There were other harbours in the Pacific where a nucleus of resident Europeans could be found such as Lahaina in Maui, Nuku'alofa in Tonga and Avarua in Rarotonga which were visited by shipping for particular purposes, usually fresh supplies and recreation. However, these were essentially satellite ports subsidiary to the main entrepôts, which could supply all services, and they did not develop into organized municipalities during the nineteenth century.

An attempt to compare five beach communities so diverse in location and whose development was not contemporaneous gave rise to problems of analysis and presentation. The exclusion of a full-scale study of Kororareka, which considerations of space made necessary,³

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Although a complete study of Kororareka unfortunately could not be done, it is referred to for comparative purposes since in many instances its development was similar to that of Levuka and Apia.

did not alter the basic difficulties. However, the synoptic approach used in the studies of the early European voyagers, the beachcombers and the early South Pacific trades proved valid, because, of the variables discussed, the similarities greatly outweighed the differences. Likewise in an analysis of the beach communities the factors they had in common, which included their raison d'être, their expatriate composition, the common racial characteristics of the indigenous population (with the partial exception of Levuka) and their similar communal problems especially maintaining law and order and establishing a person in authority, created an identity among the towns that the differences in time scale could not alter. These beach communities did reach social, political and economic maturity at different times, but this was of little significance since they went through basically the same stages of development. One other variable that was not the same during the periods under review was the cultural and intellectual climate in the Western world, but this had little effect on the outposts to which the Europeans came.

A thematic analysis of the four beach communities was essential since separate histories of each, with comparative summaries, would have been unnecessarily cumbersome and masked the general parallels in development which occurred. In an attempt to overcome the problems arising from such a treatment, involving as it must constant alternation between the beach communities, I have included a complete chronological

appendix which details the individual history of each town.

The themes which I have tried to cover are best introduced as a series of questions. In the order in which they are dealt with they are as follows: what were the factors which facilitated the assimilation of individual Europeans into Polynesian, Fijian and Micronesian society and what were their roles? to what extent were the earliest settlement patterns dispersed or aggregated? what led to the formation of beach communities? what percentage of the early beach community populations were previously beachcombers? how did these communities function? and finally, when did the transition from beach communities to European-dominated port towns take place?

The terminal dates of the beach communities, i.e., their transition to European-dominated port towns, were not all marked by a definite event. In Kororareka, Papeete and Levuka annexation in 1840, 1843 and 1874 respectively, signified the end of the residents' political power and the formal recognition of the islanders as people needing protection. With the imposition of colonial rule the towns became subservient to the dictates of European or American-orientated administrations and commercial interests.

Both Honolulu and Apia, however, weathered many years of international intervention and quasi-control before they were formally annexed by a metropolitan power. By 1843, the Hawaiian chiefs were committed to modernization, in the form of governmental, land and

legal reforms, which the Americans in the Hawaiian parliament manipulated to their own advantage. Although Hawaii was not formally included in the American empire until 1899, Honolulu by the 1840s was already politically in foreign control, de facto if not de jure: a codified legal system was fully established; a police force kept good order in the town; the foreign population, including a leaven of European women, numbered over 1,000; and the discomforts of a typical beach community had given way to many of the amenities of colonial town life - a life in which the Hawaiians had little political, economic or social standing.

Apia became a self-governing community by the Municipal Government Act of 1879, which placed control over all urban affairs in European hands exclusively: particularly those of the consuls who were newcomers with little or no knowledge of Samoa. The long-established residents enjoyed negligible political influence and were increasingly forced to join the large mercantile companies, mainly controlled from abroad, to find a living. Samoa was not annexed by Germany until 1899, but by 1879 Apia had lost the significant characteristics of a beach community and become a foreign preserve in which the representatives of England, Germany and America vied for ascendancy.

The transition from a self-regulating, fairly united beach community to a European or American-dominated port town, in which the islanders were denied equality, was not necessarily the product of annexation. In both Honolulu and Apia foreigners manipulated the political,

economic and social scene many years before the island groups were formally annexed.

The emphasis in this study is social and economic, in keeping with the interests of the majority of the early European settlers, who sought material advancement in the islands rather than power or political change. The size of the beach communities and the scope of their commercial activities were so limited that they should properly be defined as proto-urban not urban aggregations. But three of them - Honolulu, Papeete and Apia - have since become major Pacific commercial centres, and this analysis of their origins and early growth provides the introductory framework for a general history of nineteenth century urban development in Oceania. To be complete, however, such a study would have to include the towns which grew up entirely under the stimulus of the colonial powers, in particular Noumea, Suva and Auckland.

The material used in this thesis has been gathered in a number of libraries and archives across the Pacific, as well as in Australia, and ranges from Foreign Office, Admiralty and missionary records, held in the National Library of Australia on microfilm, to private letters and journals, some of which have only recently been made available for historical study. During the past year, for example, the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau has brought to light five journals of J.C. and Amy Williams, written in Apia between 1850 and 1870 as well as James Lyle Young's journal kept in Apia during the Steinberger regime. In Apia, when on

fieldwork in 1968, I found in the Department of Justice British consulate papers recording the births, deaths and registration of many British subjects in Samoa, dating back to the 1840s.⁴ In the archives and libraries of New Zealand, Fiji and Hawaii there are substantial collections of official and private documents; the most exciting in its quality and range of material being the Archives of Hawaii. The collected papers of the late R.S. Kuykendall, now in the library of the University of Hawaii, include valuable copies of manuscript material housed in several different repositories in the United States. From this I gained much information that would have been otherwise unobtainable.

These primary sources were supplemented with published contemporary material, in particular the accounts of travellers, naval officers, traders and beachcombers. Colonial and local island newspapers were also used. Among secondary sources three histories of individual island groups have been especially useful. Most directly helpful was Professor Gavan Daws's Ph.D. thesis 'Honolulu - the First Century: Influences in the Development of the Town to 1876', while the more general studies of R.P. Gilson, Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community, and of Dr Young,

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I am grateful to Sua Leituposa II (F.J. Thomsen) for making these documents available to me and for arranging photocopying facilities.

'Frontier Society in Fiji, 1858-1873', provided much information on Apia and Levuka respectively.⁵

From these various sources it has been possible to compare the rise and development of the Pacific beach communities in the nineteenth century; and the process has revealed a number of general topics which would repay further study. Little has been written on the part-islander populations in the Pacific; while apart from the Tahitian pork trade, the New Hebridean sandalwood trade and the Fijian bêche-de-mer trade,⁶ the general trading history of the Pacific has received no attention since Davidson's early work. These and several other projects invite detailed research; in particular it is hoped that it will be possible to continue the study of Pacific urban history into the twentieth century, despite the problems caused by the diversity of metropolitan powers which control or have controlled the relevant island groups.

5

Gavan Daws's thesis has been extensively rewritten and published as Shoal of Time (New York, 1968); R.P. Gilson, Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community (Melbourne, 1970) has been published posthumously by Oxford University Press; J.M.R. Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji, 1858-1873' (Ph.D. thesis, Adelaide University, 1968).

6

H.E. Maude, 'The Tahitian Pork Trade: 1800-1830', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968) 178-232; Dorothy Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood (Melbourne, 1967); R.G. Ward, 'The Pacific Bêche-de-Mer Trade', seminar paper given at A.N.U., 1967.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Part 1. The Island World: geographical divisions - geological structures - original settlement - political structures - Polynesian cultures, integrated and interdependent - Polynesian receptivity to strangers - treatment of island castaways in pre-European times - tolerance - treatment of castaways at time of contact - treatment on the Polynesian outliers - conclusions.

Part 2. The First Europeans: the explorers - Cook - contact with islanders largely superficial - balance of interests and power - inter-racial understanding - concepts of the 'noble savage'.

Part 3. The Early Pacific Trades: Cook's journals - establishment of penal colony - East India Company regulations - Tahitian pork trade - New Zealand trades - Fiji sandalwood - greater scope of American activities - northwest coast sealing - Hawaiian sandalwood - Fiji bêche-de-mer - ragamuffin traders - whaling - Valparaiso trade - coconut oil trade - conclusions.

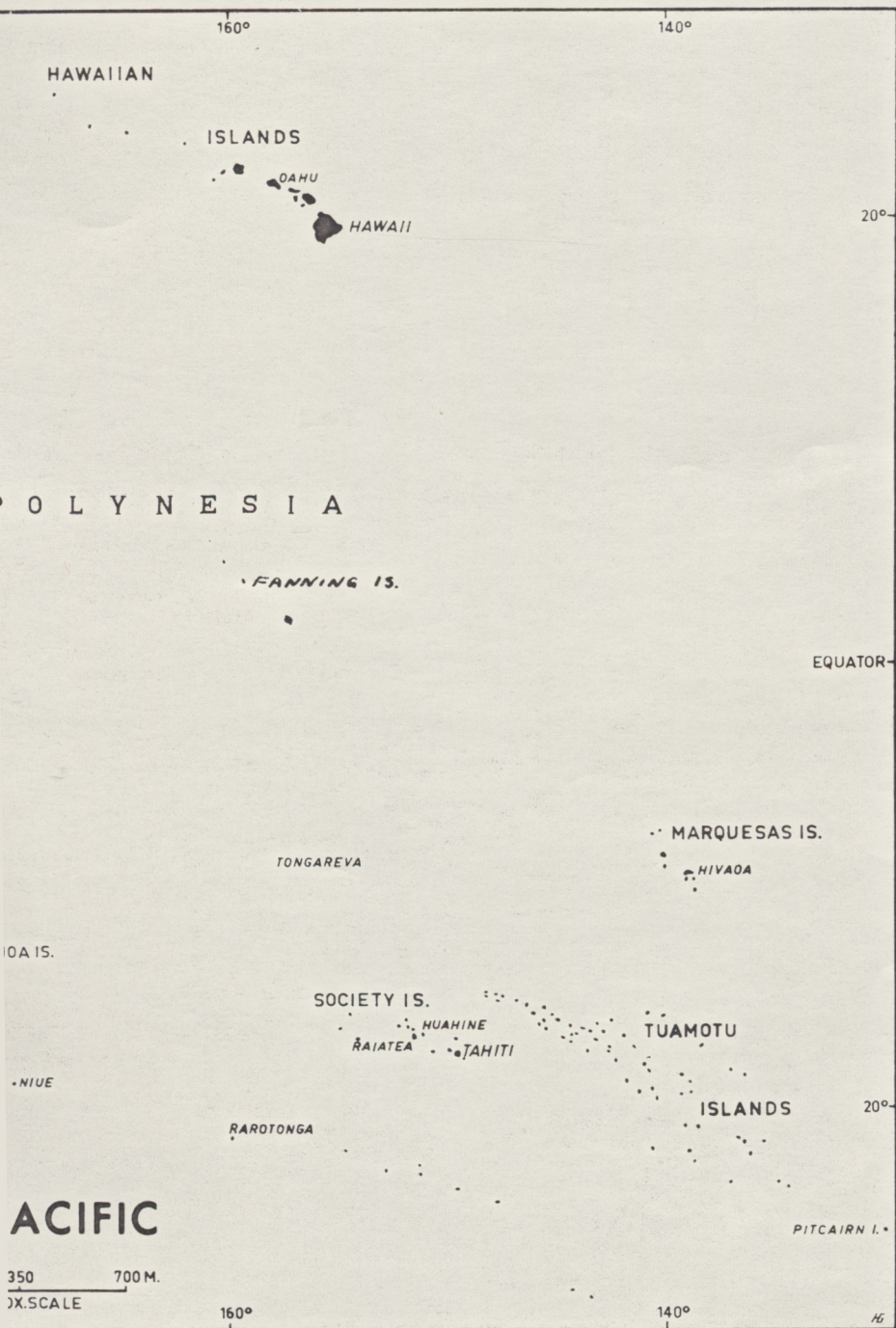
Part 1. The Island World

THE Pacific Islands, scattered across an ocean covering almost one third of the earth's surface,¹ have long been divided into three major geographic groups. To the east and north of the Philippines are the numerous islands of Micronesia: the Palaus and Marianas closest to Asia and the Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert Islands spreading eastward. As the word Micronesia denotes, the

1

British Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, Pacific Islands (London, 1939-45), I, 7.





land area is fragmented into a number of small islands. New Guinea, the largest of the Pacific Islands, lies south of Micronesia and north of the Australian continent in Melanesia, which also includes the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia and Fiji. On the margins of Polynesia and Melanesia, Fiji has many racial and cultural traits in common with both areas. Polynesia, the third division and the focus of this study, covers a wide area of the Central and Eastern Pacific ocean. On its northern perimeter lies Hawaii, to the south New Zealand, in the west are Samoa, Tonga, the Ellice and Tokelau Islands and Niue, the Cook group lies in Central Polynesia with the Society, Tuamotus, Marquesas and Austral Islands, Pitcairn and Easter Island to the east. Outlier Polynesian islands situated within Melanesia include Rennell and Bellona, Kapingamarangi, Tikopia and Ontong Java.

Geologically the Pacific Islands can be divided into the high islands, whose fertile volcanic soil encourages a lush vegetation, and the low islands, typically atoll in formation, with a coralline structure supporting a relatively sparse and limited fauna. The latter may be as large in area as some of the high islands but their average elevation generally does not exceed ten feet.² Thus famine and tidal waves are a constant threat to the small populations that

2

Robert C. Suggs, The Island Civilizations of Polynesia (New York, 1960), 17-19.

manage to subsist on them. There are also several raised coral islands, intermediary in type, of which Niue is the principal.

The original settlement of the Pacific has long been, and still is, a subject of great interest to students of history, anthropology and navigational theory. Botanical, linguistic, anthropological and archeological methods have been employed to help elucidate the problem. Still no definitive answer has been conceded, although the consensus of opinion favours a west-east movement of peoples from southeast Asian coastlands through Micronesia and Melanesia to Polynesia.³ The types and capabilities of vessels and the navigational techniques used by the voyagers remain

3

The numerous, diverse hypotheses concerning Polynesian settlement and navigation have given rise to an enormous body of literature on the topic. Among the principal works are: Peter H. Buck, Vikings of the Sunrise (Philadelphia, 1938); A. Fornander, An Account of the Polynesian Race (London, 1878); Jack Golson, ed., 'Polynesian Navigation: a Symposium on Andrew Sharp's theory of accidental voyages', JPS., LXXI (1962); Thor Heyerdahl, American Indians in the Pacific (London, 1952); David Lewis, 'Polynesian Navigational Methods', JPS., LXXIII (1964), 364-74; Andrew Sharp, Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia (Sydney, 1963); Robert C. Suggs, op. cit.

Present day work includes R.G. Ward's research with a computer programme to cover a very large number of possible accidental voyages; a study of Micronesian navigational knowledge by David Lewis; and experiments to test the capabilities of Hawaiian canoes and the practical problems of the Hawaii-Tahiti run.

contentious.⁴ It is assumed that the Melanesian and Micronesian islands bordering the Asian mainland were inhabited first, and that through them waves of migrating people moved into the more easterly island groups. Settlement within Polynesia has received more intensive study than the path of migration to its threshold in Tonga and Samoa, which are generally considered to be the birthplace of Polynesian culture. Migrations east from this central area led to the occupation of Tahiti and the Marquesas. From these two established dispersal points in eastern Polynesia, Hawaii, New Zealand and the marginal islands were inhabited.⁵

Radio-carbon dating should make it possible to establish at least an approximate time scale for the Pacific migrations and the inter-Polynesian dispersal but, until sufficient archeological excavations have been done, historians and anthropologists are still working on hypotheses. The occupation of western Polynesia probably took place between 750 and 500 B.C. The beginning of the movement into eastern Polynesia is estimated at about 200 B.C. or later, and its settlement within the limits of possible human

4

The controversy is waged mainly between Andrew Sharp and his opponents. See bibliographical references in fn.3.

5

Kenneth Emory, 'East Polynesian Relationships', JPS., LXXII (1963), 78-100.

habitation was completed by about the beginning of the present millenium.⁶

By the time of first contact with Europeans, the Polynesians and the Melanesians had evolved distinctive political systems, both deriving from agricultural populations who cultivated yams, taro, breadfruit, coconuts and bananas by similar techniques. Political units in Melanesia frequently did not exceed 350 persons, who had a strong sense of group identity and considered anyone outside their community as strange and almost always hostile. There was no permanent suprastructure of authority to encourage cooperation between the 'big men', who maintained an unstable domination over their small communities.⁷ In Polynesia, on the other hand, a system of hierarchical nobility made it possible for a paramount chief to consolidate his authority over a numerous population inhabiting a large land area. The wider pattern of loyalties and kinship ties resulted

6

S.A. Wurm, 'Linguistics and the Prehistory of the South-western Pacific', The Journal of Pacific History, II (1967), 25-38; Robert C. Suggs, op. cit., 88-108; Kenneth Emory, 'East Polynesian Relationships', JPS., LXXII (1963), 78-100, suggests a very much earlier dating system for these migrations: 1,500 B.C. for entry into western Polynesia and 700 B.C. into eastern Polynesia.

7

H. Ian Hogbin, and Camilla H. Wedgwood, 'Local Grouping in Melanesia', Oceania, XXIII-IV (1953-4), 241-76 and 58-80; M.D. Sahlins, 'Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political types in Melanesia and Polynesia', in Readings in Australian and Pacific Anthropology, edited by Ian Hogbin and L.R. Hiatt (Melbourne, 1966), 159-79.

in a more open political system in which strangers were usually readily assimilated. In Fiji many chiefs enjoyed an extended power of the Polynesian type, although frequently without the same degree of stability.⁸

Cultural differences between Polynesia and Melanesia were not confined to political development, but were manifest in all aspects of life. Within Polynesia itself, despite geographical and cultural conditions conducive to micro-evolution on the different island groups, there was a large degree of cultural homogeneity in terms of language, religion, technology and social organization, but these were combined with certain striking dissimilarities. In keeping with the assumed dispersal movements, the similarities of culture are most evident between Samoa and Tonga, and between Tahiti, Hawaii and New Zealand, while the differences were greatest between the parent area and Hawaii and New Zealand.⁹

All the components of Polynesian culture, social, religious, political and economic, were fully integrated and interdependent. Every activity, from daily food gathering to house building or warfare, was fitted into a ritual and complex pattern of life. William Pascoe Crook, LMS. missionary among the Marquesans from 1796 to 1799, was troubled that they would not follow his

8

Ibid.

9

Kenneth Emory, 'East Polynesian Relationships', JPS., LXXII (1963), 78-100.

advice to change the designs of their canoes in favour of a better one. What he had failed to understand was that canoe-making was integrated with the full ritual economic and social life of the people, no element of which could be changed without radical effect to the rest.¹⁰ Similarly with all major activities of Polynesian life: the whole community was involved and frequently bound under special tabus until successful completion. Each class, including the highest chief and most sacred priests, had indispensable duties to perform and privileges to enjoy. This strong emphasis on community and mutual support, and the effect of living in an ordered and all-inclusive society led to a pronounced attitude of toleration in Polynesian character.

The Polynesians' receptivity to strangers was only one aspect of this tolerance. At no time had their world been a closed one. Islanders set out by canoe to find new homes or were swept away by sudden storm and their reception and settlement on other inhabited islands were facilitated by the well-developed social mechanisms in Polynesian culture for the assimilation of strangers: in particular, marriage and adoption. Knowledge of the treatment of indigenous castaways in pre-European times can only be gained through legend and tradition, which, if used with discrimination, can provide a useful insight into pre-contact norms. The

10

Gregory Denning, 'Ethnohistory in Polynesia, the value of ethnohistorical evidence', The Journal of Pacific History, I (1966), 23-42.

widespread reaction among academics to the over-enthusiastic use of legends during the latter part of last century,¹¹ has resulted in a more perceptive and reliable analysis of these sources, which cannot be expected to prove all-embracing theories of origin or migration, or establish exact dates from extended genealogies.¹² Social, economic, and sometimes political data can, however, be extracted from what ostensibly relates to the miraculous achievements of a god or hero.¹³

The arrival of a large canoe filled with Gilbertese islanders in about 1720 is recorded in the legends of Rotuma. These strangers were absorbed into the population and one Gilbertese woman became the ancestor of a leading twentieth century chief.¹⁴ The arrival of a Tongan canoe in the early nineteenth century is similarly recorded.¹⁵ Tuamotuans were assimilated into Tahitian society and a regular link between the two groups was established long before

11

Robert C. Suggs, op. cit., 48-54.

12

Gregory Dening, op. cit.; Sione Latukefu, 'Oral Traditions: An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga', The Journal of Pacific History, III (1968), 135-43.

13

Richard M. Dorson, 'Ethnohistory and Ethnic Folklore', Ethnohistory, VII (1961), 12-30.

14

W.J.E. Eason, A Short History of Rotuma (Suva, 1951),

3.

15

Ibid., 32.

European contact.¹⁶ Fijians and Wallis islanders, who had long been resident in Savaii, were found living there peacefully when the first Europeans arrived.¹⁷ The ceremonies conducted by the hosts on the arrival of strangers are also preserved in oral traditions. A series of rituals were performed, which appeased any gods of the sea or land who were concerned, protected the local inhabitants from disease and incorporated the newcomer into the community.

Not all strangers, however, were so hospitably received. On the coral atolls flotsam and jetsam were a major source of potentially useful materials, which were jealously sought after by the inhabitants. While timber, pumice and other usable objects were highly coveted the arrival of human migrants and drift voyagers was often a source of embarrassment. Thus Marquesans landing on the Tuamotus were normally killed.¹⁸ Such incidents, however, which were probably dictated by the scarcity of food resources, were exceptional.

Many legends illustrate the Polynesians' highly evolved standards of hospitality, the feasts to mark a large variety of occasions, the ritual exchange of gifts,

16

Paul Ottino, Ethno-Histoire de Rangiroa (Papeete, n.d.), 25-9.

17

R.P. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900: the Politics of a Multi-cultural Community (Melbourne, 1970), 65.

18

Edward Robarts, Journal, MS. in the Edinburgh National Library of Scotland.

their sexual generosity and the tolerance that marked so many of their actions and attitudes. Places of refuge were found in Polynesia and Micronesia; sometimes enclosed by broad stone walls as in Hawaii; but even when unprotected they were always considered inviolable. To these any tabu breaker or victim of war could flee and its protection continued even after the fugitive had left its precincts. In Hawaii there were six 'cities' of refuge about the time of contact with Europeans.¹⁹ As late as the mid 1880s there is a report of a sanctuary still functioning on Nonouti in the Gilbert Islands. An entire village was set aside for the purpose and the 'elders' were responsible for seeing that all the laws of the island were enforced. During twenty-one years residence on the island the author of the report had never known it to be assailed nor any of its petitioners harmed after they had paid the set price for their crime.²⁰ Young Polynesian adolescents of non-chiefly rank were allowed great sexual freedom and the offspring of these liaison were as acceptable in the community as those of recognized marriages. All children were kindly treated and encouraged to visit their different relations.²¹ Those

19

John Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History (Honolulu, 1959), 138; William Ellis, Polynesian Researches (London, 1831), IV, 166-9.

20

James Asia Lowther, A Petition to the Right Honorable his Excellency the Resident Governor of the Crown Colony Feejee, MS. in the Central Archives of Fiji.

21

John Ii, op. cit., 17-48.

born of strangers were assimilated into their mothers' kinship groups, who performed the ritual duties for them.

Further evidence of island receptivity to strangers is available from European accounts of early post-contact treatment of indigenous castaways. Two parties of Ellice islanders reached Rotuma, one in 1815 and another in 1830, and were assimilated into the community.²² While William Mariner was in Tonga between 1802 and 1806 the son and heir of Finau, a leading chief, returned from Samoa where he had lived for five years and acquired two Samoan wives.²³ Tongans had also been long-settled in the Lau islands of Fiji.²⁴ At Wallis and Futuna they were welcomed and well looked after, while on extended visits.²⁵ A Tahitian woman arrived in Rarotonga after the explorers and the first missionaries had landed on her native island and was thus able to tell them about the white men, their manufactured goods, and their new religion. The Rarotongans were greatly impressed by her stories

22

W.J.E. Eason, op. cit., 32.

23

John Martin, An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific (London, 1818), I, 151-2.

24

Ibid., I, 307; Karl Erik Larsson, Fijian Studies (Goteburg, 1960), 59.

25

John Martin, op. cit., I, 308-12; Thomas West, Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia (London, 1865), 224.

and readily accepted her into their society.²⁶ Again, a group of islanders from Manihiki was caught in a storm while sailing to Rakahanga, and after eight weeks of great privation at sea reached Nukulaelae, in the Ellice group, where they received much needed help.²⁷ All these strangers and many more not detailed,²⁸ were accepted into the social milieu of their hosts' community and assimilated without any dislocation of the existing structure.

A final source of evidence of the treatment of castaways can be gained from the Polynesian communities still functioning along largely traditional lines in the recent past on the Polynesian outlier islands, particularly on Renell and Bellona, Tikopia and Kapingamarangi, which have been extensively studied.²⁹ Here traditions of strangers arriving have been checked and cross-checked by anthropologists and substantiated

26

John Williams, A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands (London, 1846), 90-1.

27

A.W. Murray, Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 to 1875 (London, 1876), 375-80.

28

R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji (Suva, 1946), 6, lists Fijians, Samoans, Hawaiians and Tahitians at Tonga, Futuna islanders at Fiji, and Samoans, Tahitians and Rotumans in Fiji.

29

S.H. Elbert and T. Monberg, From the Two Canoes; Oral Traditions of Rennell and Bellona (Honolulu, 1965); Raymond Firth, History and Traditions of Tikopia (Wellington, 1961); Kenneth Emory, Kapingamarangi, Social and Religious Life of a Polynesian Atoll (Honolulu, 1963).

by the accounts of descendants. Drifted canoes, which were ardently prayed for among the Rennellese, were believed to have been sent by the gods as gifts to particular individuals, whose duty it was to honour the visitors with food distribution rituals. Even castaways who behaved arrogantly were tolerated on Rennell and allowed to return home, which all but two arrivals seem to have done.³⁰ Wives, usually of high rank, were offered to strangers on Kapingamarangi and Tikopia, and as a consequence present-day families trace their ancestry back to survivors from various drifted canoes.³¹ On Kapingamarangi a Gilbertese arrived whose cannibal habits became apparent later, after a number of children had disappeared. Although the Kapingamarangi wanted to kill him he was eventually allowed to live on condition that he left the island.³² Raymond Firth has described the reception and assimilation of strangers in Tikopia:

The protection afforded to an immigrant is fairly well institutionalised. A man who arrives from abroad either as a member of a crew of a canoe or as a castaway is by Tikopia custom taken under the protection of a chief. He is accorded shelter and food, and general hospitality. He is known as manu, a word meaning in the most general sense an animal, most commonly a bird and more specifically a protégé or pet. He assumes a kinship relation

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S.H. Elbert and T. Monberg, op. cit., 369-91.

31

Kenneth Emory, op. cit., 51; Raymond Firth, op. cit., 86.

32

Kenneth Emory, op. cit., 52.

with his benefactor, makes him what gifts he can and performs gardening, fishing and other services as a kind of working guest, in what may be regarded as a universal type of reciprocity...In the earlier periods with which the traditional tales deal, the chief commonly appointed the immigrant to be one of his ritual elders, giving him a specific title, lands, a dwelling site, and a list of gods...together with the privilege of performing kava. In addition, and perhaps first of all, he gave the man a wife - sometimes one of his own daughters. The offspring of the union then continued the succession, and the lineage grew, with the name of the immigrant as its first ancestor.³³

Before the lineage was properly established the children of the immigrant were attached to their mother's clan, who performed the necessary ritual exchange for them.³⁴

The uniform kindness shown on these outliers confirms the traditions of pre-contact times and the later European accounts of hospitality and tolerance in the major Polynesian island groups. Such traits, in association with the well-established social mechanisms for the assimilation of strangers, augured well for the incoming European. But it cannot be assumed that the relative ease with which strangers of island origins were absorbed into another society, culturally similar to their own, would be found possible in the case of a European of an entirely different racial and cultural background. The very appearance of a European amounted

³³Raymond Firth, *op. cit.*, 86.³⁴*Ibid.*, 85-6.

to a cultural shock for the Polynesians, who firmly believed that nothing lay beyond their island world. However, if the initial fear and suspicion on both sides could be overcome, Polynesian culture possessed the social values and attitudes, as well as the necessary institutions, to mediate the induction of alien individuals into it.³⁵

Part 2. The First Europeans

BALBOA looked out across the Pacific in September 1513 but the honour of being the first European to sail upon it fell to Magellan in November 1520. From then until the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish, later succeeded by the Dutch, undertook sporadic exploratory trips. At the beginning of the eighteenth century many islands had still not been sighted by Europeans, but by its close the myth of the great south land had finally been dispelled and all the major island groups of the Pacific were known to the Western world. Credit for this century of exploration belonged to the English; ultimately to Cook, whose three voyages of discovery between 1768 and 1780 left the Pacific a mare cognito; although he had been preceded by the Dutchman, Roggeveen, early in the eighteenth century, and later by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and the Frenchman Bougainville, all of whom sailed in the Pacific

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A.I. Hallowell, 'American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturization', Current Anthropology, IV (December 1963), 519-31.

between 1761 and 1769.³⁶ A number of small islands and many reefs remained to be discovered and charted after Cook but by 1780 enough was known of the Pacific, its islands and resources, to tempt the first pioneer traders to hazard their ships and cargoes within its bounds.

Before the 1760s contact between the islanders and the Europeans was infrequent and largely superficial, except for Mendana's ill-fated second voyage. The northerly routes taken by the Spanish across the Pacific in both directions had kept them at a distance from most well-populated islands, until in July 1595 Mendana discovered the Marquesas. After a visit of eight or nine days at least 200 inhabitants had been killed either by orders from Mendana or casually by the soldier-settlers on board.³⁷ Between September and November of the same year the inhabitants of Santa Cruz, where Mendana attempted to establish a colony, suffered similar slaughter.³⁸ Few atrocities of a comparable magnitude were perpetrated in the islands by Europeans before the present century.

Most explorers and their crews lived strictly on board ship or in closely guarded camps ashore, seldom having any sustained contact with the islanders. Trade

³⁶

J.C. Beaglehole, The Exploration of the Pacific (London, 1947), passim.

³⁷

Ibid., 81.

³⁸

Ibid., 82-92.

was usually brisk and easy but such transactions required a minimum of mutual understanding.³⁹ Furthermore, the explorers regulated bartering very closely in an attempt to ensure that sufficient fresh supplies and water were acquired before the islanders' desire for cheap manufactured articles was satiated. Until these necessities had been secured the ordinary sailors were forbidden to trade. Their contacts with island women were similarly curtailed as far as it was possible. Before 1780 the only Europeans to have lived unprotected on the islands were two Spanish Catholic priests left on Tahiti in 1774, both unfitted for the task of evangelism and too frightened of the Tahitians to establish any meaningful relationship with them; although their interpreter Maximo Rodriguez spoke Tahitian well and gained their confidence.⁴⁰

The balance of interests between the first Europeans and the islanders was delicate.⁴¹ Ostensibly the whites were dependent on the island populations for food, water and women, but the islanders found that their ability to supply the explorers' wants did

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The concept of barter was not new to the Polynesians, who had used such methods among themselves long before Europeans arrived.

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Bolton G. Corney, The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the years 1772-1776 (London, 1913), passim.

41

W.H. Pearson, 'The Reception of European Voyagers on Polynesian Islands 1568-1797', to be published in Journal de la Société des Oceanistes, is a very detailed study of this early contact.

not give them license to steal. Until fresh supplies had been loaded most Europeans were reluctant to display their superior military strength whatever the provocation. Wallis, however, in 1767 repelled the Tahitians' determined efforts to acquire any European property they could, in two conflicts which left about 100 Tahitians dead.⁴² Both Bougainville and Cook benefitted from Wallis's display of strength, when they were in Tahiti in the following year. But as late as 1802, while the Tahitians set a high value on European goods, they still considered their island and culture to be the best and were convinced that the Europeans were dependent on them for food and women.⁴³

The Europeans' demands for immediate provisions often put a heavy strain on an island's resources. At this period of contact no changes had been made in local methods of production - the tabu was the most frequently used device to conserve food supplies for foreign vessels. Similarly the European goods acquired did not cause marked changes in island life but were assimilated into the existing cultures for traditional purposes of canoe and house building, display and warfare.

The islanders had no opportunity to gain a rational insight into European culture; most aspects of which,

42

John Hawkesworth, An Account of the Voyages... performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret and Captain Cook (London, 1773), I, 224-33.

43

John Turnbull, A Voyage round the World in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804 (London, 1813), 133.

except the foreigners' basic needs, were unintelligible to them. Chances for the Europeans to acquire some understanding of the island world were greater but their comprehension was limited by the prejudices and beliefs they brought with them from the West. Their journals recorded the more obvious aspects of material culture, but kinship, political structure and religion could only be guessed at (during such short visits) if mentioned at all. The superficial nature of this early contact, plus the inbuilt preconceptions many Europeans brought with them of the noble savage and an age of innocence, coloured their vision to such an extent that they described island life in terms of ideal Utopian societies. Such aspects of island culture as chiefly tyranny, infanticide and human sacrifice failed to dispel their preconceived illusions. Not until the death of Cook, the massacre of La Perouse's crew and the rise of militant evangelism did the image fade.⁴⁴

The pattern of race relations established during this period cannot be set up as a norm which was later undermined by treachery on either or both sides. The generosity and hospitality of the Polynesians were established cultural habits which persisted despite

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Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas (Oxford, 1960), passim; Clara R. Leshner, 'The South Sea Islanders in English Literature 1519-1798' (Ph.D. thesis, Chicago University, 1937); Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth: Some thoughts on European Images of non-European Man, translated by Elizabeth Wentholt (New Haven, 1965).

their underlying fear and sometimes awe of the explorers. Mutual understanding was at a minimum and later more intensive relations were to reveal, on both sides, attitudes, behaviour and systems of belief alien and often inexplicable in terms of the other culture. The novelty and often the festive atmosphere surrounding the early European visits inevitably gave way to suspicion and disappointment on more frequent and sustained contact. The explorers themselves found that the easy relations of the first few days deteriorated if their sojourns were prolonged.⁴⁵ Tension and total misunderstanding occurred from the beginning but on most occasions without fatal results. Only when Europeans had settled permanently on the islands could more stable and intelligible contact be established.

In view of the strictly limited nature of inter-racial contacts during the discovery period its main significance to the social historian is to mark chronologically when the islanders first became aware of the existence of an alien race utterly dissimilar to their own and were forced to make the first tentative accommodation to a society possessing other cultural values and procedures. Thus the arrival of the explorers presaged change rather than commencing it to any degree.

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Both on Tongatapu and Hawaii Island relations deteriorated on Cook's visits - the second time with fatal results.

Part Three. The Early Pacific Trades

AS has been argued above, the explorers' vessels were merely transient callers which, if one excludes the abortive expeditions of Mendana and Quiros, were not intended or equipped to exploit the commercial resources of the islands. Further, far from encouraging would-be settlers, they used every means possible to prevent members of their crew from escaping ashore. The publication of the journals of Cook's three voyages to the Pacific, together with those of his forerunners, nevertheless revealed trading and whaling resources awaiting development. In Cook's journals there was evidence of seals on the north-west coast of America, timber in New Zealand, whales in many parts of the ocean and abundant supplies at Tahiti. This knowledge naturally led to the advent of commercial shipping, which brought not only trade goods but settlers to the islands.

One of the more immediate results of Cook's voyages was the establishment of a penal colony at Port Jackson. His discovery of the east coast of Australia, combined with the knowledge of available provisions at Tahiti, provided the British government with a suitable dumping ground for its rapidly increasing surplus of convicts. When the New South Wales settlement was first mooted the East India Company had insisted that its monopoly of trading rights in eastern waters should not be jeopardized by any shipping that might be built or acquired by commercial interests in the colony. However, the terms

of Phillip's and his successors' commissions put the islands of the South Pacific, as far east as Tahiti, within the sphere of domestic trade for Port Jackson vessels,⁴⁶ which did in fact appear early in the colony's development.

Domestic shipping received its first major stimulus from the salt pork trade with Tahiti, which was initiated by Governor King in the early 1800s.⁴⁷ After two successful government-sponsored trips, the trade was taken over by free enterprise in 1802. Between 1803 and 1807 only one pork cargo was collected but from 1807 until 1826 the trade supported an average of three cargoes per annum. Profits, estimated at about twenty per cent, were not great but there was a large degree of security and an established market.⁴⁸ Pearls in the Tuamotus and sandalwood in the Marquesas, were both discovered during the pork trade days,⁴⁹ and tempted Australian

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Commissions to Phillip and later governors gave them jurisdiction over, 'all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean, within the latitudes aforesaid of 10° 37' south and 43° 39' south'. No eastern boundary was given but Tahiti and later the Marquesas were considered to be within the limits - HRA. Series 1, I, 1; VII, 794, Note 6.

⁴⁷

H.E. Maude, 'The Tahitian Pork Trade: 1800-1830', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 178-232. The author points out that this was the only trade to carry over from the explorer period.

⁴⁸

Ibid.

⁴⁹

John Turnbull, op. cit., 302. In 1803 the Margaret was trading for pearls in the Tuamotus. Sandalwood was first exported from the Marquesas in 1810 - M. Camille de Roquefeuil, A Voyage Round the World between the years 1816-1819 (London, 1823), 52.

traders in Tahiti, but the risks were high and cargoes could not be disposed of readily on the Sydney market.

The size and profitability of New South Wales trade with New Zealand in flax, timber and foodstuffs were on a similar scale to those of the pork trade. Seal fishing was superseded early in the 1800s by the flax and timber trades, which flourished after 1816. Later, food products, particularly potatoes, and whale oil and bone, were included in cargoes shipped from New Zealand in Australian vessels, which monopolized the trans-Tasman trade.⁵⁰ British and American ships called at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand's commercial centre, before annexation in 1840, but refitting and replenishing supplies were their major activities. Attracted by the more lucrative trades in the Pacific these vessels left the Australians to exploit the minor products of Tahiti and New Zealand.

News of sandalwood in Fiji reached Australian and American traders in Port Jackson in 1804. National rivalry in the trade was immediate and continued until 1810, but with Australia always at a disadvantage owing to the East India Company's regulations.⁵¹

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Exports from New Zealand in 1835 included flax, timber, whale products, potatoes and other items worth £113,000 - J.M.R. Young, 'Australia's Pacific Frontier', Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand, XII (Oct. 1966), 373-88.

51

Sir Everard Im Thurm and L.C. Wharton, The Journal of William Lockerby, Sandalwood Trader in the Fijian Islands during the Years 1808-1809 (London, 1925), passim.

Between 1810 and 1814 the Americans monopolized the depleted resources and the risks from increasingly hostile Fijians. Later Australia, freed from East India Company restrictions in 1834, dominated the sandalwood trade in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.⁵² The colony's first economic probes into the Pacific were neither on a large scale nor highly profitable, except for the later sandalwood trade, but they were responsible in part for introducing western trading practices to the Pacific islands.

The establishment of New South Wales intensified European contact with the South Pacific and fostered particular trades that would otherwise have been ignored or pursued with less vigour. But even at this early stage of Pacific development Australian-based commerce was only a small part of the whole economic complex: the Americans dominated the lucrative luxury products and played a major role in the whaling industry. Hindered by no company monopoly, the Americans also traded freely in China with any cargo they could find that was marketable.

When John Ledyard, an American sailor with Cook on his third voyage, brought back news of the seal colonies on the north-west coast of America, he was unable to persuade any New England company to finance a speculative voyage. British ships were the first on the coast but East India Company regulations and Spanish

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Dorothy Shineberg, They Came for Sandalwood (Melbourne, 1967), passim.

rivalry inhibited their activity and the Americans soon took over from them.⁵³ So the first major Pacific trade was established with the indiscriminate slaughter of seals, which set a pattern for purely exploitative trading practices elsewhere in Oceania. Hawaii was incorporated as a supply and refitting centre on the fur trade route to China and became the first group to receive beachcombers from commercial shipping.

Sandalwood was recognised in these islands as early as 1790, but although the Winship brothers gained monopoly rights from Kamehameha I in 1812, the stands were not systematically exploited until after 1816.⁵⁴ By that time the north-west coast seal population had been decimated and the sandalwood trade in Fiji (1804-14) and the Marquesas (1810-16) had ceased, due mainly to the hostility of the respective islanders rather than the total depletion of resources.⁵⁵ Both in Fiji, and to a lesser extent in the Marquesas, the Americans had had to compete with Australian vessels, but, since they were free to ship direct to China and had more vessels employed in the trade, their

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Ernest S. Dodge, New England and the South Seas (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), 23 and 60.

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H.W. Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii: the Pioneers 1789-1843 (Stanford University, 1942), 55.

55

J.W. Davidson, 'European Penetration of the South Pacific 1779-1842' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1942), 71.

profits were always greater.⁵⁶ In Hawaii, however, the Americans were able to monopolize the sandalwood boom from 1817 to 1822, by which time they had glutted the Canton market. The Hawaiians' extreme reluctance to collect and sell the wood to pay their debts after 1822, plus greatly reduced prices in China, marked the end of this profitable trade.

No single item was discovered by the Americans to take the place of the valuable fur and sandalwood cargoes, but a variety of products, seen on previous voyages, was used to fill their holds - primarily *bêche-de-mer*, but supplemented when possible with pearls, pearl-shell, tortoiseshell, edible birds' nests and coral moss. Fiji became the centre of the Pacific *bêche-de-mer* trade which was controlled almost exclusively from Salem. During the two periods of most intense activity, 1828-35 and 1842-50, an average of three ships per annum worked through the group, exporting a total of approximately 1,200 tons.⁵⁷

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Early American trade in the South Pacific was concentrated on Port Jackson, where speculative cargoes of spirits and provisions could be sold at great profit, if the colonial governor allowed it. Later, American contact with Port Jackson diminished as the colony became self supporting and the Americans established interests in the islands of the South-west Pacific, where they could refresh and often refit without recourse to Sydney. After the early years of the nineteenth century the Australian and American trade patterns in the Pacific developed along largely independent lines - Gordon Greenwood, Early American-Australian Relations (Melbourne, 1944), passim.

57

R.G. Ward, 'The Pacific *Bêche-de-mer* Trade and its Consequences, with special reference to Fiji', seminar paper given at the A.N.U., Canberra, 1967.

Tortoise and pearl shell, with other products, were collected by these ships while waiting to take on cured bêche-de-mer.

None of the latter commodities was exclusive to Fiji nor the special monopoly of the bêche-de-mer traders: many individual operators sailed along the west coast of America and from there to the islands collecting saleable cargoes wherever they could be procured.⁵⁸ These 'ragamuffin' traders, often self-employed, were content to make several stops among the scattered, more remote islands and pick up cargoes in small and diverse lots.

Whaling was the only economic activity in the Pacific which sustained a high profit level for any length of time. By the late eighteenth century, when Cook's journals were published, the Atlantic had been fished out. The first whaler into the Pacific in 1789 was the British ship Amelia, whose captain and first mate were both Nantucket men. News of her successful voyage reached New England in 1791 and the same year five American ships left to work the new grounds.⁵⁹ Five British whalers, after conveying convicts and supplies to N.S.W., were in the Pacific at the same time. Tension between the East India Company and British whalers was apparent from the beginning and by

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H.E. Maude and Ida Leeson, 'The Coconut Oil Trade of the Gilbert Islands', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 233-83.

59

Ernest S. Dodge, op. cit., 35-6.

1806 the British had left the field largely to the Americans.⁶⁰ Australian shipowners lacked the capital and experience to venture into deep sea whaling on a big scale but bay whaling and sealing were conducted from shore bases off the southern coasts of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. With the discovery of the Japanese and the equatorial whaling grounds in the early 1820s Honolulu became the major whaling centre of the Pacific. But Tahiti, the Bay of Islands, Samoa and to a lesser extent Fiji and the Marquesas were also visited by whaling vessels seeking fresh supplies, crew members and recreation.⁶¹ Decline in the industry was not perceptible before the 1850s and major recession occurred only with the American civil war.

Valparaiso was the only major port on the eastern Pacific seaboard during the early decades of the nineteenth century to trade with the islands. Commercial relations were established with Tahiti from 1827 - the principal cargoes being Tuamotuan pearls and pearl shell, which had been discovered by Australians as early as 1803. The Australian entrepreneurs, however, had not had the resources nor the official backing to

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Michael Roe, 'Australia's Place in the Swing to the East 1788-1810', Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand, VIII (1958), 202-13.

61

Despite their seeming aimlessness, whalers did not roam casually round the Pacific but worked through the different whaling grounds systematically, and their arrival at different port towns could be estimated fairly accurately - A.B.C. Whipple, Yankee Whalers in the South Seas (London, 1954), 148-9.

exploit the find, which had therefore been left for over two decades before the Chileans commenced operations. Papeete profited greatly from the relationship, which brought manufactured goods and spirits into the rapidly-growing white community.⁶²

Coconut oil was first collected in commercial quantities for the Western market in Tahiti under missionary stimulus in 1818, but it was many years before it became a major Pacific export. By the early 1840s new techniques had been perfected for using coconut oil in the manufacture of soap and candles and its consequent increase in value made the trade more attractive.⁶³ Companies based in Sydney and Tahiti⁶⁴ shipped coconut oil from Samoa, the Society Islands, Fiji and many of the smaller groups, especially the Gilberts. When bêche-de-mer resources began to diminish in the 1850s the traders collected coconut oil to complete their cargoes.⁶⁵ Whalers similarly used some of their casks for coconut rather than whale oil.⁶⁶

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J.A. Moerenhout, Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan (Paris, 1837), passim.

63

H.E. Maude, and Ida Leeson, 'The Coconut Oil Trade of the Gilbert Islands', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 233-83.

64

The two Tahitian companies were Brander and Hort.

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Dunn to Benjamin A. West, 16 March 1857. West papers in Bêche-de-Mer Records, Salem.

66

R.G. Ward, ed., American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870... (Ridgewood, N.J., 1967), II, 462; H.E. Maude and Ida Leeson, 'The Coconut Oil Trade of the Gilbert Islands', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 233-83.

In 1857 the Godeffroy company established an agency in Apia which in time virtually monopolized the coconut oil trade of the surrounding islands.⁶⁷ In the early 1870s the company experimented with the making of copra (dried coconut meal) and began shipping it instead of coconut oil which was soon superseded.

The dominant characteristic of economic activity in the Pacific before 1870 was the fluctuation in economic importance of individual trades. One commodity was usually exploited at a time until its exhaustion or local hostility made it impossible to pursue the trade; only then were less valuable cargoes considered. News of a seal rockery or a stand of sandalwood was guarded with great secrecy by the discoverers but it could not be kept for long and once it leaked out a rush ensued. Nursing and baby seals were killed and trees cut down without a thought for the future. Depletion of resources was frequently coupled with glutted markets and low prices. Bêche-de-mer was recognized in Fiji by the earliest sandalwood traders,⁶⁸ but it was ignored in favour of the more lucrative trade until 1813, when Captain Robson, experiencing difficulty in procuring sandalwood, shipped the first sun-cured bêche-de-mer cargo.⁶⁹ Later, when the Americans had

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The Godeffroy company had agencies in Samoa, Tonga, the Lau Islands, Tokelaus, Gilbert and Ellice, Marshalls, Carolines, New Guinea, Niue, Futuna and Wallis Islands.

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William Lockerby, Accounts of Different Native Chiefs of the Feejee Islands, Bêche-de-Mer Records, Salem.

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Deposition of Peter Dillon, 6 November 1813, HRA. Series 1, VIII, 103-7.

learnt the smoke-drying method, which made large shipments possible, the Fijian reefs were fished until profitable cargoes could no longer be collected. The traders then took on mixed cargoes of any marketable Fijian product available.

In many trades there was an element of secrecy and a gamble with fluctuating markets and an unpredictable reception from the islanders, behind which lay the lure of a great fortune to be made. The cotton and land booms in Fiji and Samoa in the 1860s and '70s were almost equally hazardous. The first arrivals on a new field might make a large profit, but for the majority money was hard-earned in the Pacific and the strain exacting. Those who came deluded by stories of instant wealth and ease often found only poverty and squalor. Whaling escaped the vicissitudes of the other trades but the conditions of employment were rigorous and the profits meagre for the men who served on the ships.

The proto-industrial societies of America and Australia exploited Pacific resources, and the profits accumulated as working capital for new manufacturing industries.⁷⁰ British merchant shipping was never absent from the Pacific during this period but most vessels were loaded with manufactured goods, or Indian opium, and did not need to scour the Pacific for

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Sturgis to Williams, 18 December 1827, Bryant and Sturgis MS. in Kuykendall Collection in UH. Sturgis explained that they were abandoning their interests in the Pacific trade and investing capital in industry.

marketable cargoes to sell in China. The British-China trade complex was more secure and profitable than any enterprise the islands could offer to English merchants. So it was predominantly Americans and Australians who drew the Pacific islands into the Western economic sphere, and thus provided the commercial shipping that was the basic prerequisite for the beachcomber boom, and later the economic stimulus for the development of the first port towns.

CHAPTER II

THE BEACHCOMBERS

First significant settlers - definitions - scope of this study - beachcomber preference for Micronesia and Polynesia - periods of beachcombing in major islands. Estimates of populations - population makeup: sailors, a few better-educated men, convicts. Reception - stripping - fear of disease - adoption - island tolerance. Welcome determined by skills and goods - attitude towards white skin - chiefs more appreciative than commoners - hostility of priests - recognition of Europeans' status - settlement patterns. Integration - factors involved - loss of language - tattooing - removal of body hair - island wives - participation in war - cannibalism - beachcomber loyalties. Status achieved - relation to tapu - affection revealed - roles played, new and traditional - education of islanders - sailor religions - arrival of traders and missionaries - reaction - end of beachcomber supremacy - conclusions.

THE first Europeans to make any significant impact on the Pacific peoples in terms of inter-racial understanding and the advance of European ideas and interests were the beachcombers. Before them the explorers had made tenuous contacts among certain islanders, but intelligible associations and dealings between the two races were only possible with the arrival of the beachcombers, who, as less transitory visitors, were able to assume recognized roles in island society.

The Oxford English Dictionary's definition of a beachcomber: 'a settler on the islands of the Pacific, living by pearl fishing, etc., and often less reputable

means', covers superficially the nineteenth century beachcombers, although the term 'settlers' gives greater permanence to their periods of residence than was usually the case. In anthropological terms a beachcomber is identified as one of a number of transculturites, who, being temporarily or permanently detached from one group, enters the web of social relations that constitutes another society and comes under the influence of its customs, ideas and values to a greater or lesser extent.¹ The uniqueness of the beachcombers' position among the early white immigrants to the Pacific lay in their complete dependence on island hospitality and goodwill for their livelihood and security. Those who were prepared to remain any length of time in the islands inevitably found their skills and loyalties adapted to the interests and activities of their hosts.

H.E. Maude in his paper Beachcombers and Castaways has given a succinct but comprehensive history of beachcombing in the Pacific from its beginnings to the end of the period of their influence.² In this study the economic and social aspects of the same period will be concentrated upon, with emphasis on the degree of integration achieved by the beachcombers and their role as the first influential representatives of Western society.

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A.I. Hallowell, 'American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturization', Current Anthropology, IV(1963) 519-31.

2

H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77. I am most grateful to Mr Maude for his generosity with material both published and unpublished.

Since Magellan the Pacific has tempted men to desert and settle, but they were only able to do so when the first traders and whalers began to frequent the area, discipline on their vessels being customarily less strict than that enforced by the explorers. While at first the Pacific as a whole attracted sailors, they soon found that life in Melanesia was dangerous and disease-ridden, if indeed they succeeded in existing at all. Some Europeans did survive as beachcombers in New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland and parts of the Solomons, but Leonard Shaw's description of life on Kilinailau reveals the hardships and suffering that those who survived might expect.³ With reason, Polynesia and Micronesia became the favoured beachcombing haunts.

Beachcombers appeared with the first Pacific trades⁴ and their period of influence in each island group varied according to the economic conditions and

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Leonard Shaw, 'A Brief Sketch of the Sufferings of Leonard Shaw on Massacre Island', in Benjamin Morrell, Jr., A Narrative of Four Voyages (New York, 1832), 441-8. John Renton, sole survivor of five men who landed at Malaita in the Solomon Islands in 1868, lived among the islanders for eight years. While generally well-treated, there were times when he was in danger of his life. His desire to escape was never assuaged and later describing his experience he revealed little affection or sympathy for his hosts - J.G. Marwick, ed., The Adventures of John Renton (Kirkwall, 1935), passim.

4

For the size and periods of activity of these trades see Chapter I, part 3.

the advent of other Europeans seeking permanent settlement. The ships plying the North-west coast for furs in the 1780s brought the first beachcombers to Hawaii, where they and many later arrivals enjoyed status and power until late in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In the South Pacific the Tahitian pork trade, the Marquesan and Fijian sandalwood trades and the New Zealand flax, timber and food trade were responsible for conveying many potential beachcombers to the islands. Beachcombing conditions were most congenial in Tahiti between 1790 and about 1808, after which time continued civil war and rising missionary prestige weakened their position.

Beachcombers in Fiji, where the missionaries did not arrive until 1836 and had little influence before the 1850s, enjoyed two main periods of settlement. Between 1804 and 1815 many sailors associated with the sandalwood trade deserted ships and allied themselves with Fijian tribes. Their numbers were almost completely annihilated by civil wars during the lull in European shipping between 1815 and 1822. After 1822 until the late 1830s the *bêche-de-mer* industry encouraged a number of beachcombers to settle in the area. Samoa, which was avoided by traders and whalers for many years after its discovery owing to the inhabitants' reputation for savagery, was frequented by beachcombers from about 1820 until the late 1830s, when the missionaries, permanent traders and consuls arrived. Beachcombing did not end once other foreigners had settled permanently in the major island groups, but

rather moved further westward to the less frequented islands of Nauru, Rotuma and Ponape.

Estimates of beachcomber populations for the different periods of their greatest influence are most difficult to establish, since the arrival and departure of Europeans fluctuated continually. But approximate calculations have been put at one hundred and fifty in Hawaii, thirty-five in Tahiti, fifty in Fiji and thirty in Samoa.⁵ These figures involve the immigrant white population exclusively: no account of the number of indigenous transients, particularly missionary teachers and sailors, who moved widely throughout the Pacific, has been taken.⁶

Common sailors were the basic element in beachcomber populations; some of them intentional residents, who had deserted or been put ashore with their captain's permission, others enforced visitors who had been castaway, kidnapped by the islanders or marooned by a commander. To many of these men, subjected to cramped, insanitary shipboard conditions, often subordinated to inhumane masters and with little prospect

5

H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

6

Considerations of space and relevance to the later development of this study made it necessary to exclude these important and most influential island agents of change. A vivid insight into the life and role of a native missionary teacher is gained from: R.G. & Marjorie Crocombe, The Works of Ta'unga. Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas 1833-1836 (Canberra, 1968), passim.

of comfort or influence at home, life in the islands offered irresistible attractions. But of the hundreds who landed on the islands, few stayed longer than six months; incoming vessels usually found as many men ready to re-embark as there were wanting to leave. Disillusionment with island life was, in fact, rapid among most Europeans.

Here, I at first thought, my dreams of island felicity were to be realized....But this could not continue. The gloss of novelty wore off in a few weeks, and disclosed the bareness and poverty of savage life, even in its most inviting forms. I grew weary of lying all day long in the shade, or lounging on the mats of the great house, or bathing in the bright waters. I soon found that the quietude of Samoan life was but apparent. Petty feuds and open hostilities disturbed this small world.⁷

Those sailors who did adapt to the cyclical life of strenuous involvement in war and intrigue, followed by periods of tedious inactivity, either enjoyed to a partial extent the status and security they had sought or were happy to withdraw from the civilized world.⁸ Tolerance gained through travelling facilitated a sailor's acceptance of island customs and codes of behaviour. Most of those who remained had little education and even less love for Western society and

7

[Anon.], 'A Cruise after and among the Cannibals', Harpers Magazine, VII (1853), 455-75.

8

The allure of the islands should not be underrated. The number of defections among the missionaries - men who had gone to the islands with the express purpose of destroying pagan life - underlines the attractions.

its standards. Not all, however, were illiterate. Among the exceptions were some who left invaluable records of their island experience.⁹ The crew of the wrecked bêche-de-mer vessel Glide, marooned in the south-east coast of Vanua Levu, spent some of their time parsing passages out of Pope's Essay on Man, one of the books saved from the wreck.¹⁰

A handful of better-educated men, including a ship's surgeon, Stevenson, a linguist, Davenport, an Anglican clergyman, Howell, and an East India Company captain, McCluer, also dabbled in beachcomber life but none was prepared to cut himself off from civilization for long.¹¹ Little is known of their motivations: whether they differed from those of the ordinary sailor or not. Vancouver intimated that Howell on Hawaii Island in 1794 wanted to escape from the civilized world, but China lured him away after

9

H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77, gives an annotated bibliography of twenty-one outstanding beachcomber accounts.

10

W.G. Dix and J. Oliver, Wreck of the Glide with an account of Life and Manners at the Fiji Islands (Boston, 1846), 110.

11

John Williams, 'Cook Islands 1832-1833. Rarotonga to Navigators, Tongataboo etc. in the Olive Branch', LMS. South Seas Journals, 101 MS. n.d., LMS. archives, London; H. Hale, MS. of the Navigator Islands, 1835, ML.A321; Henry B. Restarick, 'The First Clergyman Resident in Hawaii', HHS. Annual Report, 1923, 54-61; John P. Hockin, A Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands (London, 1803), passim.

little more than a year's residence in the islands.¹² McCluer claimed, when he resigned the command of his Company vessel in 1793 at the Palaus, that he wished to settle among the islanders and teach them the arts of civilization. His philanthropic zeal soon waned and within fifteen months he was in Macao eager for news and to be reinstated in the Company.¹³ Even the well-educated William Mariner, who was a susceptible youth of fifteen when he was left in Tonga after the capture of the Port au Prince in 1806, stayed only four years and then returned to England.¹⁴

The other major component in beachcomber populations was the convicts, who made up about twenty per cent of the total.¹⁵ The desire to change penal servitude for life in the islands drove them to steal boats from Port Jackson and Norfolk Island,¹⁶ to stowaway, and to desert from ships to which they had been assigned. Early in

12

George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1790-1795 (London, 1801), V, 115.

13

John P. Hockin, op. cit., 51-5.

14

John Martin, op. cit., passim.

15

H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

16

J.S. Cumpston, Shipping Arrivals and Departures Sydney 1788-1825 (Canberra, 1964), passim, lists eleven successful and two unsuccessful convict attempts to seize boats and flee from the penal colony. This accounts for only a fraction of the number of convicts and ex-convicts who reached the islands.

the nineteenth century alarmist reports emanated from Sir Joseph Banks and certain New South Wales officials about the numbers of such men in the islands and their fatal influence upon the inhabitants.¹⁷ Undoubtedly the convict beachcombers taught them how to distil alcohol from a variety of natural products, joined in wars armed with muskets, and were excessively quarrelsome, but such behaviour was not exclusive to them. Their aggressive tendencies further mitigated their influence, since they frequently murdered one another or were killed by exasperated chiefs long before they had caused any major harm.

In established contact areas, where beachcombers had already settled, an incoming white could be fairly sure that his arrival would cause little disturbance. But castaways and deserters arriving at isolated or unknown islands had no guarantee of a friendly reception. In many places flotsam and jetsam were integral parts of the island economy. At Tobi Island, canoes were made of logs which drifted ashore.¹⁸ Similarly, in the Gilbert Islands flotsam and jetsam were so important that every inch of the foreshore was demarcated and the collection rights jealously guarded by their owners.¹⁹

17

HRA. Series 1, V, 324; Joseph Banks, 'Some Observations on a bill in committee - the Produce of New South Wales', 7 July 1806, Brabourne Collection, IV, in ML.

18

Horace Holden, A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute (Boston 1836), 88.

19

H.E. Maude, discussant of R.A. Rappaport, 'Aspects of Man's Influence Upon Island Ecosystems: Alteration and Control', in Man's Place in the Island Ecosystem (Honolulu, 1963), 155-74.

The goods and sometimes persons of new arrivals were controlled by the same rights, so stripping of clothing and property occurred frequently, and sometimes even murder. If the foreigners refrained from claiming ownership of their salvaged property, their subsequent acceptance was usually assured.

Often the islanders had little use for the goods which they had appropriated. The Tahitians found that the dollars saved from the wreck of the Matilda were useful for only one purpose - playing ducks and drakes in Matavai Bay.²⁰ When the crew of the wrecked Minerva expressed their desire to send part of their number for help, their hosts, the Vatoans, returned their boat, sextant and compass and supplied them with food for the voyage.²¹

The islanders were also anxious that the newcomer should introduce no new disease and that he should be assigned a proper place in their society. Captain Pease of the Planter, one of the first Europeans to appear off Nanumea in the Ellice group, was rigorously subjected to washing and propitious ceremonies before he was accepted ashore:

20

J.D. Lang, 'Letter I - Origin and Commencement of Missionary Operations in the South Seas', n.d., Ferguson Collection, NLA.

21

Peter Bays, A Narrative of the Wreck of the Minerva Whaler (Cambridge, 1831), 70-2. See also W.G. Dix and J. Oliver, op. cit., 107.

Their manner of receiving strangers is most tedious and ceremonious but at the same time much of it is amusing and attractive. The stranger is required to stop at the water's edge five or six hours when the King and all head chiefs are engaged in religious ceremonies and consultations to intercede with their deities that the stranger may prove good friends, that no calamities may come upon their people in consequence of their strange arrival and to consult respecting the reception to be given and hospitality to be extended to the stranger during his stay on the island.²²

In contrast, both the mate and steward of the Planter, who were South Sea Islanders, were welcomed into the community without any ceremony.²³ Later in 1862 a missionary on Nanumea recorded that: 'all visitors are regarded as under tabu until they have been subjected to a process of purification which occupies a whole day'.²⁴ On Niue in the 1840s a sailor marooned there by his captain was sent away by the islanders, who feared disease. He was given a canoe, a paddle, a bunch of bananas, a piece of sugar cane and some water. After one night in an isolated cave, he paddled out to another European vessel visiting the islands.²⁵

22

Henry Pease, 'Adventure on St Augustine Island'; The Dukes County Intelligencer, III (May, 1962), 3-13.

23

Ibid.

24

Quoted by H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

25

Ibid.

On Tongareva, in 1853, Lamont and the survivors of the shipwrecked Chatham were put through a process of adoption, which involved ceremonies in a marae, fresh water bathing and a long period of wailing and cutting of skin among the islanders. Only later did they learn that by this ritual each of them was becoming the chosen child of a particular chief.²⁶ The ceremonies of purification and adoption made it possible for strangers to be integrated into island society and, if the initial period of mutual misunderstanding and fear were survived, a European had a good chance of becoming, in time, an accepted member of the community. Sometimes, however, if an influx of castaways on a small island taxed the food supplies severely, the newcomers found they were generously assisted in their attempts to leave.²⁷

Once accepted, a European usually did not leave the island unless on his own volition: even ignorant, ill-bred behaviour was tolerated by his Polynesian or Micronesian chief.²⁸ During a tapu period immediately before a funeral ceremony, William Mariner inadvertently

26

E.H. Lamont, Wild Life among the Pacific Islanders (London, 1867), 120-5.

27

Peter Bays, op. cit., 70-2; Horace Holden, op. cit., 61-4.

28

E.H. Lamont, op. cit., 265-6. During a time of fever, an old chief berated the whites, saying they were fed and sheltered, given the pick of wives and worked for and what did the whites do in return. They never worked, abused the women and children and brought sickness among them.

sneezed, an ill-omened occurrence in Tongan custom, liable to punishment. Protected by the high chief Finau, Mariner, however, remained unscathed.²⁹ At the same period of time two other young sailors from the Port au Prince were only reprimanded lightly for stealing from a sacred house, a crime punishable by death for a Tongan.³⁰ James O'Connell and George Keenan, survivors of the wreck of the John Bull in 1830, knowingly ate sacred eels while they were on Ponape. When the bones were found the Ponapeans had little difficulty in ascribing the guilt, but no judgement was passed.³¹ Continued violence or repeated and deliberate violation of island custom could, however, lead to exile and even death. On Abemama, in 1851, certain troublesome Europeans were killed by the chief Baiteke.³²

Apart from the earliest arrivals in some localities, few islanders believed that Europeans were supernatural beings, but they were welcomed into Polynesian and Micronesian society as status symbols, and hopefully as sources of new goods. Frequently the duration of a foreigner's welcome was pragmatically determined by the amount of property or the usefulness

29

John Martin, op. cit., I, 440-4.

30

Ibid., I, 163.

31

J.F. O'Connell, A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands (Boston, 1836), 144-6.

32

H.E. Maude and E. Doran, 'The Precedence of Tarawa Atoll', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LVI (June 1966), 269-89.

of the skills, if any, which he brought with him. Without either his prestige rapidly diminished. The fate of a number of beachcombers in Tahiti in 1803 was typical of other parts of the Pacific:

The condition of these men was by no means enviable; they complained very heavily, and with great reason, of the royal family; who after having tempted them to desert their ship for the sake of their property, had left them when become poor, to shift for themselves. They were now in the most abject state, differing little from the natives.³³

A white skin did not recommend itself unconditionally to the Polynesians, although in some societies it was considered a sign of high rank. At a masquerade in the early 1840s, a Fijian impersonated a European - dressed in sailor's clothes with very bad teeth and an enormous nose, he acted as though he owned the place, treated the chief with no respect and offered him tobacco.³⁴ Lamont complained that the Tongarevan women did not appreciate him or his companions.³⁵ More humiliating was William Diaper's experience on Vanua Levu early in the 1840s: 'Others would say I was a leper, or like one, while others would contradict, by saying I resembled a pig with all

33

John Turnbull, op. cit., 272.

34

John Jackson, pseud. William Diaper, 'Jackson's Narrative', in J.E. Erskine, Journal of a Cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific (London, 1853), 468-9.

35

E.H. Lamont, op. cit., 135.

the hair scorched off.³⁶ In such communities, whites were frequently denied wives. Diaper was thought most presumptuous for aspiring to a chief's daughter, who was considered far beyond his station. But the Fijians conceded to his wishes when he refused to mend their guns.³⁷

While most chiefs recognized the value of European skills and were prepared to foster them, commoners frequently resented their rapid and unorthodox assumption of power. Kamehameha I, anxious to attract resident Europeans to Hawaii, gave land and wives to those he felt would be of use to him, soon after their arrival.³⁸ The crippled Archibald Campbell, however, who had been encouraged to settle in Honolulu by one of Kamehameha's wives in 1809, found the Hawaiians very lax in feeding and tending him during Kamehameha's absences.³⁹ In New Zealand the Maori chiefs were more cautious in granting favours. John Rutherford gave two years valuable service before he was rewarded with two daughters of a chief.⁴⁰

36

John Jackson, pseud. William Diaper, op. cit., 429.

37

Ibid., 441-2.

38

Such gifts of land were not freehold but only for life tenure; land given to whites in other islands was usually similarly restricted.

39

Archibald Campbell, A Voyage Round the World from 1806 to 1812 (Edinburgh, 1816), 134.

40

James Drummond, John Rutherford, The White Chief (Christchurch, 1908), 129-30.

Throughout Polynesia and Micronesia commoners were likely to tease and harrass new arrivals, who found it in their interests to remain close to a chief.

The priests composed another class of islanders instinctively hostile to the new arrivals, whose immunity to the tapu bred scepticism and indifference in the inhabitants, consequently undermining their power. On Tubuai, the religious men confronted by the Bounty mutineers:

became jealous of us with respect to their religious authority to which they saw that we not only refused to take notice of but even ridiculed, for this reason they used all the Means in their power to keep the Chiefs from making Friends, thinking perhaps if we staid in the Island, their Consequence would be lessen'd.⁴¹

In Fiji the fate of the Glide crew was debated between the chief and the priest of the tribe in whose hands they had fallen. The chief's argument, that they could mend and use the new equipment acquired, prevailed over the priests' implausible argument that they would eat too much.⁴²

In most cases differences of rank and ability among the foreigners were recognized by the Polynesians, who treated them accordingly. Among the Tongans ex-missionary Vason was granted chiefly status, while Morgan and Ambler, two beachcombers who had boasted

41

James Morrison, The Journal of James Morrison, Boatswain's Mate of the Bounty (London, 1935), 71.

42

W.G. Dix and J. Oliver, op. cit., 103.

superior ancestry and power to the missionaries, were discredited and later killed because of their continual interference and rudeness.⁴³ Similarly on Vatoa the survivors of the wreck Oeno in 1825 found two houses prepared for them: one for the crew and the other for the officers.⁴⁴

Brought to the islands by different trade and whaling vessels, the beachcombers tended to settle with separate chiefs until political or economic pressures drew them into European aggregates. Together, beachcombers were prone to rivalry and fighting among themselves which made them open to stealing and trickery from their hosts.⁴⁵ However, such was the desire to have a resident foreigner, that the chiefs rarely allowed them to live together, but shared them out among themselves. News of the six survivors of the John Bull on Ponape in 1830 spread rapidly among the chiefs, who hastened to claim one.⁴⁶ Four deserters who landed on Abemama were distributed among the subsidiary chiefs by the High Chief, who kept only one

43

[George Vason], An Authentic Narrative of Four Years Residence At Tongataboo (London, 1810), 101-18.

44

[William Cary], Wrecked On the Feejees (Nantucket, 1928), 12.

45

John P. Twyning, Shipwreck and Adventures of John P. Twyning among the South Sea Islanders (London, 1849), 72-3.

46

J.F. O'Connell, op. cit., 109.

for himself.⁴⁷ Strain on a single village's resources would also lead to a dispersion of sailors over an island,⁴⁸ while convicts and deserters, afraid of detection, sought inaccessible retreats.

In Hawaii beachcombers at first conformed to this pattern, living with chiefs throughout the group, but once Kamehameha began his conquest of the islands they were rapidly drawn into his sphere of patronage. After the defeat of Oahu in 1795, Oliver Holmes, Mr Miller and several other foreigners, who had been previously allied with the chief Kalanikupule, found that security and status were available only from Kamehameha.⁴⁹ Similarly in Fiji Charles Savage, fighting for the Bau chief, Naulivou, between 1808 and 1813, attracted the other scattered beachcombers to his chief, since it was not safe to live among his enemies.⁵⁰ In the late 1820s David Whippy and William Cary, although boyhood friends, were content to associate themselves with different chiefs until the arrival of the bêche-de-mer traders made it to their economic advantage to settle together in Levuka.⁵¹

47

A.M'L., 'A Trading voyage among the South Sea Islands', Newspaper Cuttings Q 988/S, ML.

48

Horace Holden, op. cit., 61.

49

Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 174.

50

Basil Thompson, South Sea Yarns (Edinburgh, 1894), 288-326. Savage refused to attack Verata while fellow Europeans still lived there.

51

[William Cary], op. cit., 43-54.

The degree of integration into a Polynesian or Micronesian society achieved by a beachcomber was conditional upon a number of factors: age, previous attitude towards the islanders, length of residence, motivational considerations and the nature of the roles he performed. Much integration was dictated by expedience. Completely dependent on their hosts, beachcombers had to adopt new habits and acquiesce with the demands of the chiefs. Many Europeans, however, identified themselves with the new environment more closely than was strictly necessary. John Young was one outstanding for his assimilation with and loyalty to the Hawaiian people. After his first two years in the island, he refused all offers of a passage to his homeland, England, and associated himself so closely with Hawaiian patterns of life that he rarely even visited the growing town of Honolulu.⁵² To a lesser extent men like David Whippy and Edward Robarts became champions of their island hosts for several years before reverting to European standards. William Lockerby, marooned at Bua Bay in 1808, and Peter Bays, a survivor from the wreck Minerva in 1829 at Vatoa,⁵³

52

John Young lived with his large Hawaiian family at Kawaihae on the west coast of Hawaii Island. Stephen Reynolds, resident merchant in Honolulu, recorded only three short visits of John Young to the town between 1823 and Young's death in 1835 - Stephen Reynolds, Journal, passim, MS. in PMS.

53

Sir Everard Im Thurm and L.C. Wharton, op. cit., passim; Peter Bays, op. cit., passim.

were both forced to conform to island mores, but neither should be considered beachcombers, since their motives and actions were determined by their constant desire to escape.

Permanent identification involved basic psychological changes, but still there are several reports of Europeans 'going native' and never returning to civilization.⁵⁴ Even among the more culturally conservative beachcombers there were several who temporarily forgot their mother tongue. The Frenchman, Jean Cabri, could only stammer 'Parlez français' to the crew of a visiting Russian ship after five years residence in the Marquesas.⁵⁵ The renegade missionary George Vason in Tonga, though among the more literate of beachcombers, had difficulty communicating in English when he returned to the civilized world.⁵⁶

54

The accusation 'gone native' was used indiscriminately of men who had lived or were living among unusual primitive tribes. Its exact connotation was imprecise. A comparison of Pacific beachcombers with American mountain men who hunted beaver in the Rockies emphasizes the difference in experience of men similarly accused. Pitted against the aggressive Red Indians in a highly competitive commercial rivalry the mountain men adopted the fighting skills and blood thirsty habits, even scalping, of their opponents. Among the hospitable Polynesians, the beachcomber succumbed to idle lasciviousness. Which was the greater evil was never considered - R.A. Billington, The American Frontiersman (Oxford, 1954), passim.

55

G.H. von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World (London, 1813), 98.

56

[George Vason], op. cit., 194.

Tattooing was almost always a sign of enforced integration, which many islanders were adamant in imposing. John Coulter avoided the process until his Marquesan hosts became convinced that his untattooed presence was the cause of a scout's death and two violent storms that destroyed many fruit trees.⁵⁷ O'Connell and Keenan were forcibly tattooed by the Ponapeans. Keenan protested so much that they finally desisted but O'Connell endured the eight day process, after which he was left for a month in a hut. As a reward for his bravery he was given a chief's daughter in marriage, with a large dowry, while Keenan's wife was of no standing or property at all.⁵⁸ In part tattooing was a symbol of formal recognition and incorporation into a kinship group; a necessary protection from hostile forces without which one could attract malevolent spirits. When O'Connell visited neighbouring islands he found that: 'my tattooing, speaking my relationship to Ahoundel-a-Nutt, was better than letters of introduction'.⁵⁹

Removal of body hair, a widespread Polynesian and Micronesian practice, was not so rigorously demanded from the whites; but O'Connell suffered it and Leonard Shaw, stranded on Kilinailau Island in 1830, was so tormented by young males pulling out his beard and

57

John Coulter, Adventures in the Pacific (Dublin, 1845), 205-8.

58

J.F. Connell, op. cit., 114-22.

59

Ibid., 205.

moustache that in self-defence he removed the rest with a pair of pearl shells used as tweezers.⁶⁰

The taking of island wives, which nearly all beachcombers did, greatly facilitated integration: the local language was learnt quickly and the foreigner found he had a ready-made place in the community. Few foreigners, however, considered that these liaisons, which were usually arranged very soon after their arrival, bound them to the islands permanently. It is difficult to explain why several long-resident beachcombers, who were seemingly happy in their new environment, with wives and families to whom they were devoted, suddenly left for the civilized world, where they would be under-privileged, destitute, and even despised if it were known that they had 'gone native'. O'Connell was one of these. Apparently well satisfied with his status and family he showed little desire to escape from Ponape for nearly five years; until one day a ship arrived and he requested a passage.⁶¹ One who did not take marriage so casually was John Twynning from the 1829 Minerva wreck, who did not acquire his wife until he had been in Fiji eight years, by which time his desire to return home was slight. The marriage was transacted on quasi-traditional Fijian lines; a musket and European goods were offered to the bride's family and friends, in return for which Twynning received tappa and other Fijian products. Five years later, when

60

Leonard Shaw, op. cit., 444-5.

61

J.F. O'Connell, op. cit., 223-32.

she died, he lamented the loss of a 'kind affectionate and industrious' companion.⁶²

Beachcomber participation in war was determined more from considerations of expediency than from pleasure in military activities. As Cary explained when his host, a Rewa chief, requested his assistance in fighting: 'Though I felt little inclined to do so, I knew that he would be displeased if I refused, so I consented to go'.⁶³ Similarly, the Bounty mutineers on Tahiti in 1790 acquiesced in Pomare's demand to join his war party, since they could not be certain that their plan of escape would succeed.⁶⁴ Diaper was one of the few beachcombers who enjoyed the precarious pleasures of native warfare. When aged about seventy he confessed: 'I still have a yearning, even at this age, for the sweets of that exhilarating, wild, natural life, so distinct from the artificial, craving, envious, selfish, and greedy life of civilization'.⁶⁵ More typical was Vason's reaction to Tongan warfare: 'too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity'.⁶⁶

62

John P. Twynning, op. cit., 115-46.

63

[William Cary], op. cit., 53-4.

64

James Morrison, op. cit., 100.

65

William Diaper pseud. William Diaper, Cannibal Jack: the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas (London, 1928), 82.

66

[George Vason], op. cit., 169.

No beachcomber openly confessed to have indulged in the cannibal feasts that were customary in several island groups. In Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, the Marquesas, and in Micronesia and Melanesia, beachcombers did witness such feasts, but participation was apparently not enforced. Savage, Whippy and Twynning at different periods in Fiji publicly denounced the practice and tried to convince the chiefs of the evils involved. Little notice was taken of them but their temerity was not punished.⁶⁷ Edward Robarts, a deserter from the Euphrates in 1798, also remonstrated against it in the Marquesas.⁶⁸

Much of beachcomber adaptation to island life could be crudely explained in terms of expediency but the variations in their behaviour and the independence they showed in their denunciations of certain practices reveal that a relationship of tolerance on both sides had been established. A duality in attitude was apparent in the loyalties beachcombers evinced towards their hosts and towards outside foreigners. Robarts protected the Marquesans from sailors' swindles, but he cautioned Krusenstern:

67

Basil Thomson, op. cit., 307-12; David Whippy, Account of a Feejee War, n.d., MS. in Bêche-de-Mer Records, Salem; John P. Twynning, op. cit., 93.

68

Edward Robarts, Journal 1824, MS. in National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

not to place any confidence in these islanders; to be always on our guard, and when any of them offended us, to shoot them immediately.⁶⁹

He believed further that it was his divine duty to stay in the Marquesas for the benefit of European shipping.⁷⁰ Again, O'Connell and Keenan were finally most eager to leave Ponape but, when the captain on whose vessel they departed became involved in a fracas with the Ponapeans, neither Keenan nor O'Connell would fire at their one-time hosts.⁷¹ Some beachcombers on the other hand had no European loyalties at all. Doyle on Tongatapu in 1802 played a leading role in the capture of the Duke of Portland and the massacre of her crew.⁷² Two Irishmen on Nauru terrorized later white arrivals, stripped them of their clothes and denied them food.⁷³ Self-interest rather than any loyalty towards the Nauruans presumably motivated the latter acts.

Further ambiguity in attitude was revealed by some beachcombers, who readily identified with their foster civilization but still felt that their part-island

69

A.J. von Krusenstern, 'Extracts of two letters from Captain von Krusenstern', Philosophical Magazine, XXII (1805), 3-13.

70

Edward Robarts, Journal, passim.

71

J.F. O'Connell, op. cit., 236.

72

Sir Everard Im Thurm and L.C. Wharton, op. cit., 181-2, taken from the Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, 28 October 1804. Doyle was killed in the attempt.

73

Sydney Herald, 4 September 1837 and 7 September 1837.

offspring should be protected from the pervasive pagan influence surrounding them. James Read, wrecked in the Tonga Islands in 1820, twice left the group to satisfy a whim, but always came back and by 1830 had no intention of ever returning to civilization. However, he devoted much of his life to the education of his three part-Tongan children, whom he sheltered from certain aspects of island life.⁷⁴

A European who was capable of adaptation often assumed a position of great influence and prestige. The protection and patronage of a chief enabled him to become an adviser and sometimes even policy-maker, thus enjoying an authoritative position in island society. There are no recorded instances, however, of a foreigner becoming a paramount chief.⁷⁵ Those who claimed that they were given chiefly status were in fact accepted into chiefly ranks as one among many, over whom there was always an ultimate authority.⁷⁶ John Young and Isaac Davis, who both acted as governors at different times in the Hawaiian Islands, were subordinate

74

J. Orlebar, A Midshipman's Journal on board H.M.S. Seringapatam (London, 1833), 69.

75

A.I. Hallowell, op. cit., there were instances of Europeans and Negroes becoming paramount chiefs in Red Indian tribes.

76

European ethnocentricity resulted in whites expecting to be made chiefs and thus interpreting any status given to them as chiefly. This was part of the rationale behind fears of convict influence. It was believed that whites would automatically become leaders.

to Kamehameha I.⁷⁷ Charles Washington, on the Palau Islands, who attained considerable prominence in local affairs was only ranked as sixth chief.⁷⁸

No islander would have accepted as head and embodiment of his social, political, economic and religious cosmos, a man who was not liable to its tapu system, as was the case with most Europeans. Vason, for example, was able to assist in a Tongan war by setting fire to a sacred burial ground, an act no Tongan could have performed.⁷⁹ On Oahu in 1809 Campbell described the strict respect paid to tapu regulations: 'white people were not required to pay these honours though scrupulously exacted from the natives'.⁸⁰

Most islanders accepted the fact that Europeans were controlled by different gods and were amenable to their laws only. However, on Hawaii Island there are two recorded cases of Europeans being governed by tapu regulations. At Kealakekua Bay in 1793 Archibald Menzies, from Vancouver's expedition, met John Smith, who had been with Kamehameha only three months. Everywhere Smith went he was watched narrowly to make sure that he did not break any eating or behavioural tapu. Such close surveillance and tiresome restrictions

77

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 37.

78

Horace Holden, op. cit., 56.

79

[George Vason], op. cit., 174.

80

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 134.

led him to curse the tapu openly and frequently.⁸¹ In the same bay in 1818 Golovnin met Mr Eliot, a Scot who was also known as Eliot d'Castro, the King's surgeon and later 'Foreign Minister'. When rum was offered on shore in a Hawaiian house the chief got up and consumed his outside. Eliot refused a glass as he would have had to follow the chief's example. He explained that he was: 'ordered to have three houses and to follow all their taboos'.⁸² Later Golovnin was refused entrance to a temple to which Eliot had access.⁸³ Nowhere else in the Pacific is there evidence of similar examples. Smith's case must be treated with suspicion since he could rail publicly against the tapu without suffering retribution.

The variations of status achieved by beachcombers, the range of their reactions and behavioural patterns and the lack of precise information about their motivations and feelings make it impossible to establish any norms of white adaptation to Polynesian or Micronesian life. With perhaps the exception of one or two, none of them became full members of tapu-regulated communities, but they were expected to speak the local language, live with island women, take their

81

Archibald Menzies, Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago, edited by W.F. Wilson (Honolulu, 1920), 73-8.

82

Captain Golovnin, Tour Around the World performed by the Command of His Majesty the Emperor on the Sloop of War Kamchatka in 1817, 1818, 1819, typescript translation in Kuykendall Collection, UH.

83

Ibid.

place in a kinship group and be tattooed. Some, even, were accepted as influential chiefs. On the other hand the foreigners appear to have acquiesced in the majority of these requirements most willingly. But the extent of their identification is often obscured because once back in the civilized world an ex-beachcomber's expression of his experiences was inhibited by Western attitudes and values meaningless in terms of island life.⁸⁴ Notwithstanding this, throughout the extant beachcomber records there is a common feeling of mutual respect and affection between islanders and whites.

The capacity and adaptability of the Polynesians drew acclaim from many. Campbell was impressed with the progress of the Hawaiians,⁸⁵ while Morrison in Tahiti maintained that: 'The ingenuity of these people is highly conspicuous in every article of their manufacture...Their only pride is Cleanlyness and

84

The inability of untravelled Europeans to understand the affection and loyalties that grew up between islander and foreigner is most evident from the Reverend James Orange's introduction to George Vason's warm and appreciative book about the Tongans. Orange described Vason's hosts as: 'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperings, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things...Without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful...' - [George Vason], op. cit., 35.

85

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 197-8.

Generosity for which they are remarkable, and I may say they have no equals in these points'.⁸⁶ Twyning's praise of the treatment which he and his fellow sailors received from the Vatoans in 1829 is less fulsome than most, but it emphasizes the mutual tensions and difficulties to be overcome before a tenable islander/beachcomber relationship could be established, and the consequent generosity of the islanders:

At the time we left Turtle Island [Vatoa] the impression on our minds was that we had been treated rather roughly, and this was true to a certain extent, but my after experience has taught me to think that considering their manners, we were used much better than we could, at that time, have had any reason to expect...On our landing among them they considered us as enemies, and even when their fears were removed by our passive behaviour, they probably regarded us with suspicion, and morality taught them to consider that being the stronger party, they were justified in appropriating to themselves whatever we possessed. But when their suspicions were allayed, we found them not only giving up the boat, its sails, the oars, etc., but furnishing the crew that was to take it away, with a fortnight's provisions, on the bare promise that they would return to take us, that were left behind away, and bestow on them a few muskets, as a remuneration of their trouble, if not as a just return of kindness.⁸⁷

The young men responsible for the rough treatment the Europeans suffered were presumably jealous of the foreigners' attentions to the Vatoan women, who at the

86

James Morrison, op. cit., 160-9.

87

John P. Twyning, op. cit., 61-2.

time only numbered seven.⁸⁸ Even a man like Vason, who returned to the civilized world and sorely repented his lapse from grace in the islands, and others who eventually admitted the greater attractions of their former life, still wrote of the islands and their people with a depth of attachment that no discreet reserve could hide.

Skills which could be used to the benefit of the community also facilitated a foreigner's assimilation into island society. Highly acceptable to the Polynesians and Micronesians was the man who could handle and fix guns. The islanders were not slow to learn these skills themselves but during the first decade after the introduction of muskets and cannon into the different island groups Europeans were essential for such services. The political and military importance of the introduction of guns into the island world and of the role the beachcombers plus their new equipment played in the rise of island kingdoms, have been discussed by a number of historians of individual groups and by H.E. Maude in his comprehensive beachcomber paper.⁸⁹ The balance between offence and defence

88

Ibid., 54.

89

R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji (Suva, 1946), 55; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), 35-50; G.C. Henderson, 'A History of Government in Fiji 1760-1875', typescript on microfilm, Menzies Library; Peter France, 'The Charter of the Land' (Ph.D. thesis, ANU, 1966), 62; Dorothy Shineberg, op. cit., 170-6; H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

established in the islands before the advent of the Europeans was shattered by the appearance and uneven acquisition of new weapons and tactics. No single cause, however, was responsible for the rise of the Kamehameha and Pomare families nor the chiefs of Bau, but rather a complex of European and island factors combined to favour their eventual success.

During the process the beachcombers were co-opted into island wars and often found their greatest influence derived from their limited military and tactical knowledge,⁹⁰ while the success of one chief over many others made it necessary for them to change their allegiances and places of settlement.⁹¹ Whether a chief was actually engaged in military aggrandizement or not a foreigner with a repair kit and a taste for fighting was always welcomed. Diaper, for example, was warmly received in the 1840s among any Fijian tribe with his box containing: 'a hammer, pincers, one or two files, screw-driver, together with some old leather, salt, bone, etc., for putting fire into the hammers of flintlock muskets, besides a box full of scissors, mainsprings, feather-springs, hammer-springs, dogs, tumblers, plates, etc.'.⁹²

90

Basil Thomson, *op. cit.*, 288-326; James Morrison, *op. cit.*, 100-1; John Turnbull, *op. cit.*, 319-22; Samuel M. Kamakau, *op. cit.*, 148-74.

91

See above, 50.

92

William Diapea, pseud. William Diaper, *op. cit.*, 43.

Other new skills introduced and practised by the beachcombers included carpentering, boat-building and the maintenance of vessels. Kamehameha, who depended upon his fleet to transport his army around Hawaii, made the English carpenter Boyd and other Europeans responsible for its upkeep and for the building of new vessels.⁹³ The transient Campbell, having repaired Kamehameha's sails, was asked to weave canvas to make new ones.⁹⁴ Thomas Hunt, a follower of Kalaimoku, was always available to fit out and work his chief's small ships. He also went on several voyages to the Northwest coast as a sailor, the proceeds from which were shared with his protector.⁹⁵ A blacksmith was never short of work, refashioning scrap iron into knives, nails, and other articles, or sharpening axes. Shaw on Kilinailau in 1830 was given all the iron plundered from the ship Antarctic to work into knives.⁹⁶ David Whippy and his companions were skilled ship's carpenters, John Rutherford was chief hunter for his Maori tribe since he had a musket, and Peter Haggerstein organized the pig trade in Tahiti.⁹⁷

93

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 155-7.

94

Ibid., 139-41.

95

Department of Land and Natural Resources, records held in A.H., Foreign Register, I, claim no.60.

96

Leonard Shaw, op. cit., 443.

97

Captain Eagleston, Journal, June 1834, Bêche-de-Mer Records, Salem; James Drummond, op. cit., 123; John Turnbull, op. cit., 273.

Such activity should not hide the fact that few beachcombers were overworked. The majority rarely got beyond the keg on the beach, though these were not the ones who rose to positions of prestige in island communities. The Hawaiians were astonished by the behaviour of the Welsh gardener, William Davis, who worked every day from sunrise to sunset. The only explanation they could give was that he had been a Hawaiian commoner who had gone to England after his death and had now returned.⁹⁸

Most islanders were quick to learn the skills they saw practised around them. By 1809 the Hawaiians near Honolulu had acquired numerous new trades and manned the forge without European supervision,⁹⁹ a state of affairs which some beachcombers greatly deprecated, fearing that their period of usefulness would be shortened. Even Isaac Davis, the sole survivor of the Fair American massacre in 1790, who had lived in Hawaii since that time and was well-integrated into the society, argued that the Hawaiians should be taught nothing that made them independent of the whites.¹⁰⁰ Such conservatism was, by 1810, already too late.

Beachcombers were not only valued for the new economic avenues they opened up; some found a

98

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 166-7.

99

Ibid., 199.

100

Ibid., 140.

livelihood and status by adapting their talents to traditional island roles. John Danford, long settled in the mountains of Viti Levu, was asked to officiate on calling the gods before the Yagona ceremonies, since he was accredited with knowing the names of more gods than most Fijians did.¹⁰¹ The narration of Aladdin, The Arabian Nights or Ali Baba earned him two fat pigs.¹⁰² Herman Melville, of Omoo and Typee fame, claimed that as the Marquesans had no notion of singing he was made chief minstrel among the Typees.¹⁰³ Jobs of great tapu significance were often performed by Europeans for the chiefs, whose persons and personal belongings were sacrosanct to their own people. Thomas Wright, formerly servant to the Reverend Walter Lawry on Tonga, remained on the island after the missionary left and was responsible for shaving several of the chiefs.¹⁰⁴ Similarly Thomas Sam was remuneratively employed as spittoon carrier for Kamehameha I.¹⁰⁵

With regard to European development the most important function the beachcombers performed was the interpretation of the incoming civilization to the

101

Mrs S.M. Smythe, Ten Months in the Fiji Islands (Oxford, 1864), 66.

102

Berthold Seeman, 'Foreign Correspondence', The Athenaeum, January 1861, 120-1.

103

Herman Melville, Typee (London, 1850), 188-9.

104

Peter Bays, op. cit., 118-19.

105

Department of Land and Natural Resources, AH., Foreign Register, III, claim no. 887.

island people. New products, plants and skills had been assimilated, but the Polynesians and Micronesians still had no conception of the world beyond the islands; the power and economic systems of Western nations or the empirical knowledge they had accumulated. On Tonga Mariner attempted to explain to Finau the nature of money, the function of the pulse and its relation to disease and passion, the general laws of the solar system and its effect on tide, and he taught him to use a compass.¹⁰⁶ Lamont spent much of his time among the Tongarevans telling them of Western inventions.¹⁰⁷

Undoubtedly the islanders received some highly garbled answers to their constant questions, and frequently such lectures were considered amusing entertainment on both sides. Vason on Tonga was much respected and esteemed once he had learnt the language because he could: 'amuse them with tales and descriptions of European customs, inventions, and events'.¹⁰⁸ Similarly O'Connell and Keenan found:

Not the least interesting among our occupations and amusements on the islands was conversation with the natives, and watching the avidity with which they swallowed whatever we told them, and the dexterity with which they applied the information thus gained to the improvement of their arts.¹⁰⁹

106

John Martin, op. cit., II, 41-7.

107

E.H. Lamont, op. cit., 248-9.

108

[George Vason], op. cit., 159.

109

J.F. Connell, op. cit., 191-2.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the knowledge the islanders gained, by the end of the beachcomber era they understood the function of money, although most of their trade was still based on barter. They realized what importance Europeans put on individual ownership of property and land and that they were not governed by island gods and tapus.

In Samoa news of the new religion that the missionaries had brought was received during the early 1830s. Determined to enjoy the superior benefits of the white man's god, the Samoans turned to their beachcombers for explanation and guidance. Many improvised their own churches and ceremonies; some genuinely attempted to reproduce what they remembered of Christianity, but for most the opportunity to set oneself up in a position of power and plenty was irresistible.¹¹⁰ When John Williams returned to Samoa in 1832 he found many 'sailor religions' and other unorthodox creeds flourishing, the most successful of which was organized by Siovili, a Samoan who had lived in newly converted Tahiti and been intimate with the members of the Mamaia sect.¹¹¹

Contacts between incoming foreigners and islanders could be interpreted and mediated by a beachcomber. Robarts on the Marquesas made sure that his newly

110

George Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia (London, 1861), 103-9.

111

John Williams, op. cit., 360-96; J.D. Freeman, 'The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult', Anthropology in the South Seas, edited by J.D. Freeman and W.R. Geddes (New Plymouth, NZ., 1959), 185-200.

adopted people were not mistreated and when they stole he returned the goods and protected them from punishment.¹¹² Whippy, with his companion Cary, acted as pilot, interpreter and messenger between the bêche-de-mer traders and the Fijians. Through them provisions were procured and work gangs organized without misunderstanding and to the benefit of both races.¹¹³ Young and Davis in Hawaii, Haggerstein in Tahiti, Read in Tonga and many others all played similar roles.¹¹⁴

It was seldom that a beachcomber remained the only representative of Western culture for long. Newly-arrived traders and missionaries who wanted to settle in the islands, reacted in different ways to the European residents already established, but both were to undermine the latter's position. Ship-bound traders, fearing plots on their property, vessels and even persons, were wary of unknown beachcombers who, if inclined, could entice their chiefs and people to acts of plunder and at times murder. The whites scattered round Viti Levu were justly notorious for such activities.¹¹⁵ Many beachcombers, aware of the light in which the rest of the world held them,

112

Edward Robarts, Journal.

113

[William Cary], op. cit., 45-63.

114

George Vancouver, op. cit., V, 112-16; John Turnbull, op. cit., 297-8; J. Orlebar, op. cit., 70.

115

Cheever to J.B. Williams, 29 December 1843, J.B. Williams, MS. in PMS.

supplied themselves with certificates from ships' captains who had found them reliable pilots and interpreters.¹¹⁶ Once traders became permanent residents they enjoyed many advantages over the beachcombers and had little cause to fear them.

To the missionaries a beachcomber was, without question, a renegade, profligate and godless.¹¹⁷ Such opinions, however, did not prevent them from accepting beachcomber help when needed. On arrival in Tahiti in 1797 the LMS. missionaries asked the Swedish beachcomber Peter Haggerstein to use his influence and knowledge of Tahitians on their behalf with Pomare.¹¹⁸ Through him land was made available and when the Duff continued her voyage to the Marquesas and Tonga he went as pilot and interpreter. Despite this assistance, and many other services, the missionaries refused to baptize his Tahitian mistress and then

116

Captain Vancouver wrote a commendatory letter for Young and Davis on Hawaii, which they showed to their benefit to many subsequent commanders - George Vancouver, 'A letter from Vancouver March 2, 1794', HHS. Annual Report, 1908, 18-19; in Levuka Dumont d'Urville found all the Europeans had certificates in 1838 - J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe IV Le Voyage au Pole Sud, typescript translation by Olive Wright in WTu.

117

Not all were godless. The Bounty mutineers said prayers every Sunday and celebrated Christmas Day - James Morrison, op. cit., 81-3. Missionary refusal to judge beachcombers individually led to many would-be respectable men turning into violent missionary detractors.

118

[George Vason], op. cit., 87.

marry them as he requested.¹¹⁹ In Tonga and Fiji, the missionaries were similarly forced to accept beachcomber help to interpret their wishes to the chiefs, but few of them found it possible to change their stereotype conception of the beachcomber as a class. Whippy in Fiji was perhaps the only one whose worth all those missionaries who met him would openly allow.¹²⁰

The advent of traders and missionaries, well supplied with goods from the Western world, marked the end of beachcomber predominance.¹²¹ Some stayed in remoter areas of the large island groups, while others moved to less frequented places. Matthew Hunkin and Henry Gibbons in Samoa tided over the period between beachcombing and village trading by becoming missionary assistants, but few could emulate them.¹²² Whippy and

119

Transactions of the Missionary Society (London, 1804), I, 24-6.

120

John Hunt, 'The Private Journal of John Hunt', 14 June 1847, typescript in ML; John Hunt, Memoir of the Reverend William Cross Wesleyan Missionary to the Friendly and Feejee Islands (London, 1846), 97; G.C. Henderson, ed., The Journal of Thomas Williams Missionary in Fiji 1840-1853 (Sydney, 1931), II, 425.

121

Symptomatic of the beachcombers' rapid decline in influence was the collapse of the 'sailor religions' in Samoa. The superior goods and equipment that the missionaries brought with them outclassed the beachcombers immediately.

122

R.P. Gilson, Samoa 1830-1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community (Melbourne, 1970), 142; A.W. Murray, op. cit., 173-6.

Cary in Levuka, and the foreigners who had followed Kamehameha I to Oahu in 1804, had already moved out of the beachcomber milieu and were capable of, and willing to become, members of beach communities. No beachcomber had the means to prevent the islanders from turning to the missionaries and traders for explanations of the outside world and for the supply of the increasing number of Western goods that had by now been assimilated into their culture.

During the beachcombers' period of influence and usefulness, however, a tenable and easy relationship was established between themselves and the islanders. The killing of foreigners was usually due to differences or misunderstandings about concepts of behaviour, which had not yet been linked to doctrines of race. To quote two instances among several, all but Cary of the Oeno crew were massacred when they disputed the right of the visiting Ono chief and his people to appropriate their property,¹²³ while Rutherford's companion in New Zealand was killed because the chief's mother had died after eating potatoes peeled with the companion's knife, which had been previously used by a slave.¹²⁴ Generally, however, the Europeans were hospitably and generously treated. Their idiosyncracies and ignorance were tolerated, while their skills and property were duly respected.

123

[William Cary], op. cit., 14-18.

124

James Drummond, op. cit., 126.

Insignificant in terms of numbers, the Europeans were forced to adapt many aspects of their conduct if they were to survive and succeed. To the islanders, secure in their own cultural assumptions, foreigners' deviations from their norms of behaviour were a reflection of their oddity and often stupidity. Given these premises the theory of Europe's 'Fatal Impact', in the persons of the beachcombers and later arrivals, on the islanders is hard to substantiate.¹²⁵ European guns and personnel were used for Polynesian and Micronesian goals, while traders in bêche-de-mer, sandalwood and other island products found themselves dependent on the islanders to collect a cargo. Thus sandalwood traders in Fiji could not avoid involvement in the military aggrandizement of the chief of Bua.¹²⁶ Similarly, the widespread fears of the bad influence that beachcombers could and did exert, totally ignored the independence of action and decision which all chiefs could exercise. It cannot be denied that grog selling and drinking, prostitution and underhand practices characterized the behaviour of a number of beachcombers, but the chiefs had some control over it, if they wished. In 1845 the foreigners at Viwa: 'became so uproarious and dangerous that the chiefs commanded some of the natives to tie them, which was done, and they were kept in that situation till they

125

Alan Moorehead, The Fatal Impact: an account of the invasion of the South Pacific 1767-1840 (London, 1966), 78-95.

126

Sir Everard Im Thurm and L.C. Wharton, op. cit., 37.

became sober'.¹²⁷ William Stevenson, ex-convict from New South Wales, became so alcoholic that Kamehameha I deprived him of his still.¹²⁸

Further, there is at least one recorded case of the islanders corrupting Europeans. In 1811 the captain of a Northwest coast vessel in Honolulu harbour found that:

The natives surrounded the ship in great numbers with hundreds of canoes, offering us their goods, in the shape of eatables and the rude manufactures of the island, in exchange for merchandize; but as they had also brought intoxicating liquors in gourds, some of the crew got drunk; the Captain was, consequently, obliged to suspend the trade, and forbade any one to traffic with the Islanders except through the first mate.¹²⁹

Whether addicted to alcohol or not, the beachcombers were largely instrumental in the early processes of acculturation. Once Magellan had entered the Pacific, the advance of the West was inevitable. The beachcombers made no conscious attempt to change island life, but their refusal to countenance cannibalism and ritual killing, their unpunished violation of the tapu system and the superiority of their skills and property helped to accustom the islanders to the demands and behaviour of more stable European groups, who came later.

127

[Mrs M. Wallis], Life in Feejee or Five Years among the cannibals (Boston, 1851), 107.

128

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 146.

129

Gabriel Franchère, A Voyage to the North West Coast of America (Chicago, 1954), 38.

Beachcombers who became completely absorbed into an island culture had a minimal influence on their hosts, although Diaper, Charles Pickering and the many men like them, who were well-integrated into island life, still retained some skills and knowledge that the islanders could imitate. Outstanding beachcombers like Young, Whippy and Robarts acted with responsibility towards their adopted people, introduced new ideas and skills among them, and explained many aspects of the incoming civilization. Few people visiting the islands at the time recognized the worth of such men, but Turnbull in Hawaii in 1803 was an exception. He wrote of their 'good conduct and character' and then continued:

Fortunately, however, for these enterprising people, [the Hawaiians], they have now resident among them several Europeans and Anglo-Americans, men of ability and knowledge; such as Mr. Young, Mr. Davis, Captain Stewart, etc. etc. For twelve or fourteen years before our visit, these gentlemen employed themselves successfully in instructing the natives...in many useful arts.¹³⁰

The beachcombers' role was not peculiar to the Pacific. Among the Red Indians in America, the Aborigines in Australia and even among certain African tribes, during the early stages of Western penetration in each area, individual Europeans were assimilated and became mediators and interpreters between the cultures

130

John Turnbull, op. cit., 236.

involved.¹³¹ Before the pressures of Western penetration became inescapable beachcombers and islanders created a similar pattern in the Pacific. The equilibrium, however, was not permanent. With the arrival of more Europeans, still strongly rooted in their own culture and with greater claims to make on the islanders, the balance of power and interest was to swing inevitably into their hands. But to the beachcombers' credit was the establishment of egalitarian race relations and the islanders' growing understanding of Western habits and methods, which were to help them cope to a certain extent with the surge of missionaries, teachers, consuls and naval personnel who followed, demanding religious, economic, social and political change.

131

A.I. Hallowell, op. cit., passim; George Catlin, Episodes from Life among the Indians, edited by M.C. Ross (Norman, Oklahoma, 1959), 119; John Morgan, The Life and Adventures of William Buckley (Tasmania, 1852), passim; O. Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban, translated by Pamela Powesland (London, 1956), 80-1.

CHAPTER III

Part I. Origins of the First Pacific Ports: island cultures non-urbanized - early Europeans did not change traditional patterns - later trades required island ports - forces determining location - limitation of beach communities to Polynesia and Fiji - factors which led to the establishment of Honolulu - Papeete - Kororareka - Levuka - Apia - human determinants - movement of beachcombers into beach communities.

Part 2. Honolulu, Papeete, Levuka and Apia: Early history of Honolulu - Levuka - Papeete - Apia - not subsidiary to the Pacific peripheral ports - port town functions - locations had no significance in traditional cultures - islanders' acceptance of them - growth of the port towns' hinterlands - appearance of subsidiary ports - Avarua - Nuku'alofa - Lomaloma - Lahaina - mutual relationship between trade and population - conclusions.

Part I. Origins of the First Pacific Ports

THE traditional cultures of the Pacific islands were essentially rural. There was no function for urban aggregations and indeed no economic structure which could sustain them. Most people were settled in household groups or hamlets along the beaches, in valleys leading to the sea, and in Melanesia in the more mountainous areas beyond. These settlement groups were focussed upon, but not crowded about, ceremonial centres or the dwellings of leading persons. Despite their preference for dispersed rural living the Polynesians and Micronesians, at least, were not socially isolated. They travelled within island groups, and

even beyond, as shown by the enclaves of settlers from other islands.¹

Large gatherings of people did occur under special circumstances. Threatened with war, the Fijians of Bua Bay built a fort to protect themselves and their newly acquired European goods from the depredations of envious neighbouring tribes, but it did not subsequently become a settled place of residence.² Like the hill forts of Rapa, pahs built by the Maoris, were of a more permanent construction, but the residents worked land outside the settlement and were accustomed to erecting grass huts when engaged in long fishing or hunting expeditions. In eastern Polynesia the only settlements resembling villages were those concentrated round such exceptionally rich resources as the fish-filled Lake Maeva on Huahine.³ Pre-contact aggregations throughout the Pacific were essentially due to defence needs, plentiful food resources or the existence of a hierarchical social structure causing concentrations around the court of an important chief. The important distinction between these villages and later proto-urban aggregations was that in no case were the former established for purely commercial reasons, or in places necessarily suited to trade.

1

See Chapter I, part 1.

2

Sir Everard Im Thurm and L.C. Wharton, *op. cit.*, 27-30.

3

D.L. Oliver, 'Papeete, Tahiti', Pacific Port Towns and Cities, edited by Alexander Spoehr (Honolulu, 1963), 43.

The basic factor that militated against concentrated settlement was logistical: the necessity of people living within reasonable distance of their food supplies. Several additional circumstances were also involved. The limited trading operations conducted between the islanders did not require any elaborate entrepôt centre. Within island groups there was a large uniformity of marketable goods which inhibited trade, while inter-island exchange or barter of pottery, canoes and other artefacts between Tonga and Fiji, Tonga and Samoa, and Tahiti and the Tuamotus, was regulated through kinship ties or long-established trading relations.

Wars among the islanders were conducted on a principle of raid, plunder and withdrawal which made administrative centres for subduing and controlling a defeated people unnecessary. Pacific conquerors loaded their canoes with movable trophies and other plunder and, after razing or otherwise destroying their enemies' houses and food supply, returned to their own districts or islands. Tribute might be exacted in succeeding years but no formal daily control was imposed. In none of the islands were political structures so elaborate as to require more than rudimentary urban centres. Even the courts of the Polynesian chiefs were small in scale and often itinerant. Lastly, the Micronesian and Polynesian traveller who could rely on the wide inter and intra island ramifications of his particular kinship system

was never in need of accommodation such as would normally be provided in town areas.⁴

The early explorers, traders and beachcombers had no occasion, and usually no power, to change the existing settlement patterns. Trade for supplies was conducted from ships' decks or tiny outposts on shore, while none of the first commercial ventures in the Pacific - the provisioning of fur traders in Hawaii, the Tahitian pork trade and the sandalwood trade in Fiji and later the Marquesas - necessitated the development of proto-urban communities. Furthermore, the beachcomber found all his needs well catered for with one of the island chiefs and his people. But when the earliest exploited products no longer guaranteed profitable margins, new commodities and trade patterns were instituted that demanded and stimulated the growth of port towns.

Harbours within the Pacific basin became necessary adjuncts to the development of the sandalwood trade in Hawaii, the bêche-de-mer trade in Fiji and the general provisioning trade to whalers. The major ports on the Pacific periphery, Sydney, Manila, Canton and those on the west coast of North and South America, which had serviced the various trading ventures of the early nineteenth century, could no longer meet the immediate and multifarious needs of the new island trade

4

The model for this argument is based on: H.E. Maude and E. Doran Jr., 'The Precedence of Tarawa Atoll', Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LVI (June 1966), 269-89.

complexes. The greater periods of time spent in the islands collecting cargoes and the discovery of the new mid-Pacific equatorial and Japan whaling grounds remote from peripheral refitting centres, made a number of island bases essential, for although the marketable resources of the Pacific were not considerable they were scattered across the ocean, from sandalwood in Hawaii to flax and timber in New Zealand. In 1818 the naval captain Alexander M'Konochie claimed that: 'The Pacific Ocean is of such immense extent, it is hardly possible that any one point should be susceptible of general application to all its branches of trade'.⁵

Granted that ports were necessary in the region, their location and number were largely determined by geographical and economic factors, and the range of choice open to European traders was restricted to a few harbour locations in the major archipelagos that alone constituted potentially viable trading areas.

The forces determining trade also stimulated and determined location and vice versa.⁶ Thus the growth of sandalwood in Hawaii and the group's commanding position on the North Pacific trade routes, the presence of bêche-de-mer on the reefs of Viti and Vanua Levu and the whaling activities throughout the Pacific all interacted with geographical factors in determining

5

Alexander M'Konochie, A Summary View of the Statistics and Existing Commerce on the Principal Shores of the Pacific Ocean (London, 1818), 340-1.

6

A.D. Couper, 'The Island Trade' (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U., 1967), xxiii.

the location of the five major Pacific island ports established in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus the interdependence between trade and location, plus the fact that only certain harbours were suitable for European shipping in each potential trading area, resulted in a certain degree of inevitability in the number and sites of the new centres.

Alexander Spoehr, while discussing twentieth century port towns, wrote:

As these Pacific towns and small centres have changed from being creations of necessity, or for the convenience of administering metropolitan nations, to an ethnically integral part of the Pacific scene they have become a focal point...⁷

Given the resources available and the presence of Europeans in the Pacific with trading propensities, Honolulu, Papeete, Kororareka, Levuka and Apia were 'creations of necessity' to make possible the development of the new trades. In contrast, Noumea, Honiara, Suva and Auckland were port towns established for colonial administrative purposes.

No claim is made that specific sites had necessarily to be chosen; only that within a number of fairly limited areas European aggregations to service and stimulate various trades were inevitable. Professor Spate has warned that in a discussion of geographical determinism particular site must not be

7

Alexander Spoehr, 'Port Town and Hinterland in the Pacific Islands', American Anthropologist, LXII (1960), 586-92. [My underlining.]

confused with general location.⁸ In agreement with this statement it can be claimed that the general location of the nineteenth century Pacific port towns was largely predictable from economic considerations, while within these areas the number of particular sites possible was greatly restricted by geographical factors.

The limitation of beach communities to Polynesia and Fiji was determined to a great extent by geographical fragmentation in Micronesia and ethnic fragmentation in Melanesia. No island in Micronesia could provide an economic hinterland sufficient to support an independent beach community. The aggregation of Agana, on Guam, never conformed to the definition of a beach community,⁹ but was always one of Belshaw's 'colonial-parasitic' towns.¹⁰ At Koror in the Palau Islands the development of a beach community was prohibited by the chiefs in power.¹¹ Similarly on Ponape, the more numerous foreigners were divided among

8

O.H.K. Spate, 'The Nature of Historical Geography', The Geographical Society of New South Wales Monthly Bulletin, VII (November 1962), new series.

9

Laura Thompson, The Native Culture of the Marianas Islands (Honolulu, 1945), 12.

10

Cyril Belshaw, 'Pacific Island Towns and the Theory of Growth', in Pacific Port Towns and Cities, edited by Alexander Spoehr (Honolulu, 1963), 17.

11

Alfred Tetens, Among the Savages of the South Seas, translated by Florence M. Spoehr (Stanford, 1958), passim.

the various tribes.¹² Only on Kusaie in the Carolines did a beach community appear for a short time during the height of whaling activity on the equatorial grounds. But its size and significance were greatly limited by the scarcity of provisioning resources, difficulties of egress from the harbour and the unpredictability of the islanders' attitude to foreigners.¹³

In Melanesia the inhabitants' deep-seated suspicion towards strangers and widespread debilitating diseases were inimical to the aggregation of small numbers of foreigners which marked the beginnings of beach communities in Polynesia and Fiji. The first marketable product to attract traders to Melanesia was sandalwood, found in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. The short-lived trading stations set up by the Australian entrepreneurs Paddon and Towns during the 1840s and '50s were, however, very different in structure and origins to the island ports to the east. Each depot was the deliberate creation of either Paddon or Towns, on one or other of whom every white inhabitant was dependent.¹⁴ They did not evolve spontaneously, through the voluntary cooperation of a few independent settlers, with the tacit agreement of the local chief.

12

S. Riesenbergh, The Native Polity of Ponape (Washington, 1968), 4-5.

13

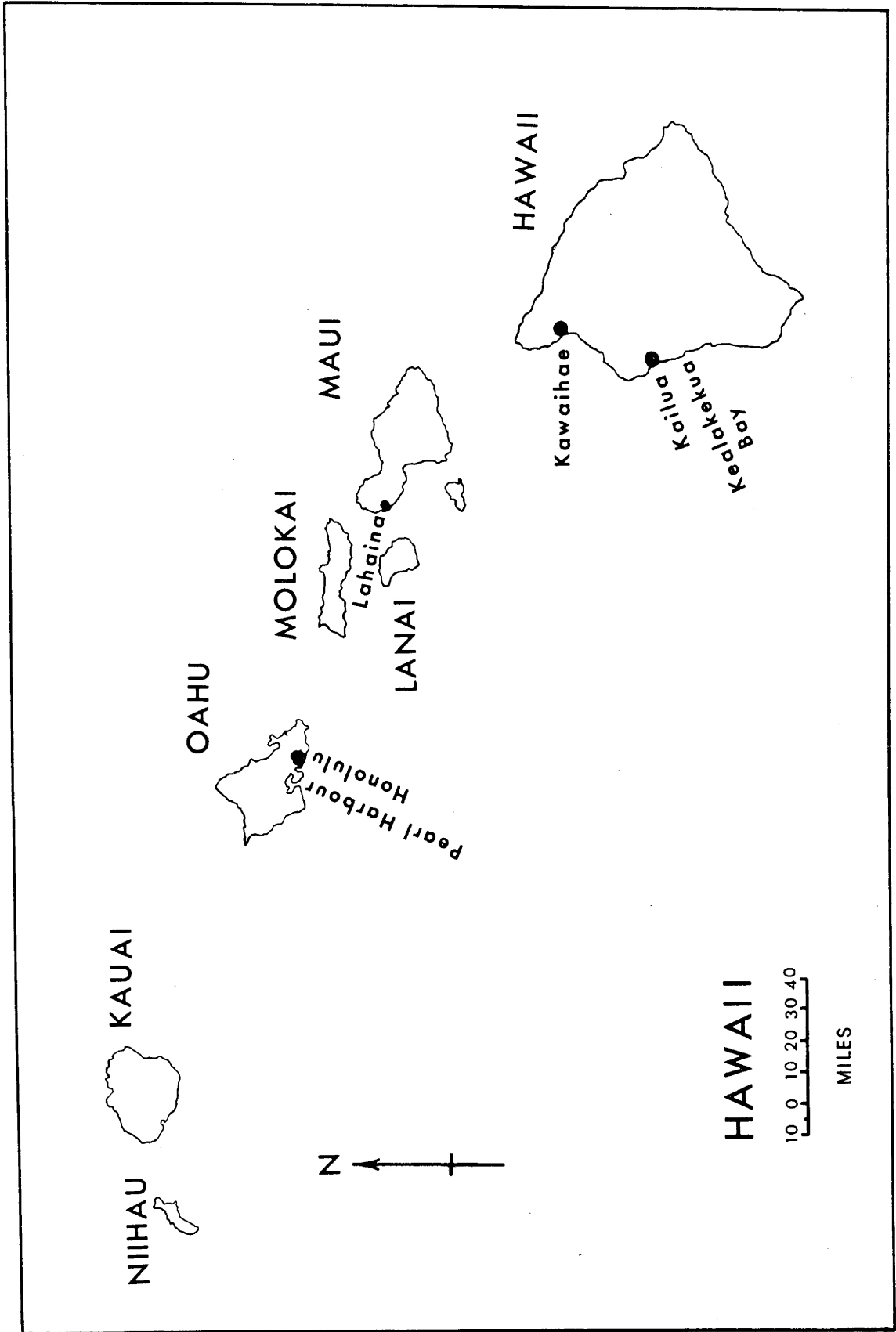
R.G. Ward, ed., American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870 (Ridgewood, N.J., 1967), III, 534-622.

14

Dorothy Shineberg, *op. cit.*, passim.

In Polynesia and Fiji, where numerous beachcombers had been integrated into island society from the earliest years of the nineteenth century, Honolulu, Papeete, Kororareka, Levuka and Apia, grew up with the new trades. The logistic problem, which had impeded the development of aggregations in traditional cultures, was overcome in the early beach communities by the islanders' desire for European goods. Supplies were brought in from an extensive radius round each centre; a solution impossible in pre-European days (except by compulsion for court needs) because of the lack of anything to exchange.

While the sandalwood trader in Fiji had worked the limited wooded areas in south-east Vanua Levu from his ship, his counterpart in Hawaii a few years later found sandalwood growing on several of the islands in the group. Such dispersion required depots and agents in many places and one central harbour through which European ships could collect their cargoes and distribute trade goods. Honolulu was the only deep-water harbour in the Hawaiian Islands. Kealakekua Bay in Hawaii Island and the Lahaina Roads, in Maui, offered some protection to shipping, but neither could compete with the extensive shelter offered at Honolulu and its facilities for repairing and hoving down vessels. Capital brought in by the sandalwood traders sustained Honolulu's early growth and later, when debts became difficult to collect, some agents previously scattered throughout the group were forced to settle in Honolulu in pursuit of defaulting Hawaiian chiefs. Thomas Brown, one of the agents for Marshall and Wildes, wrote

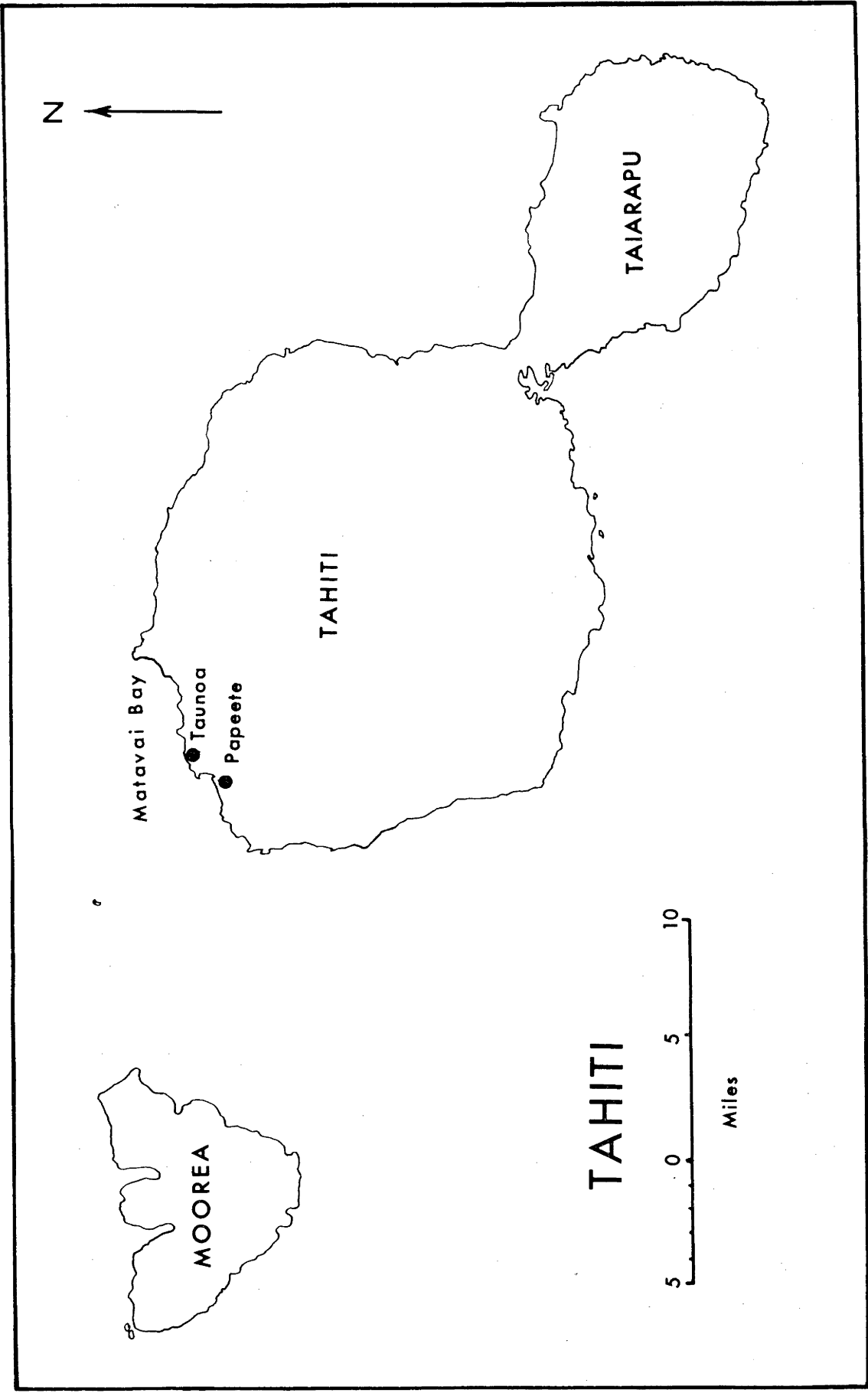


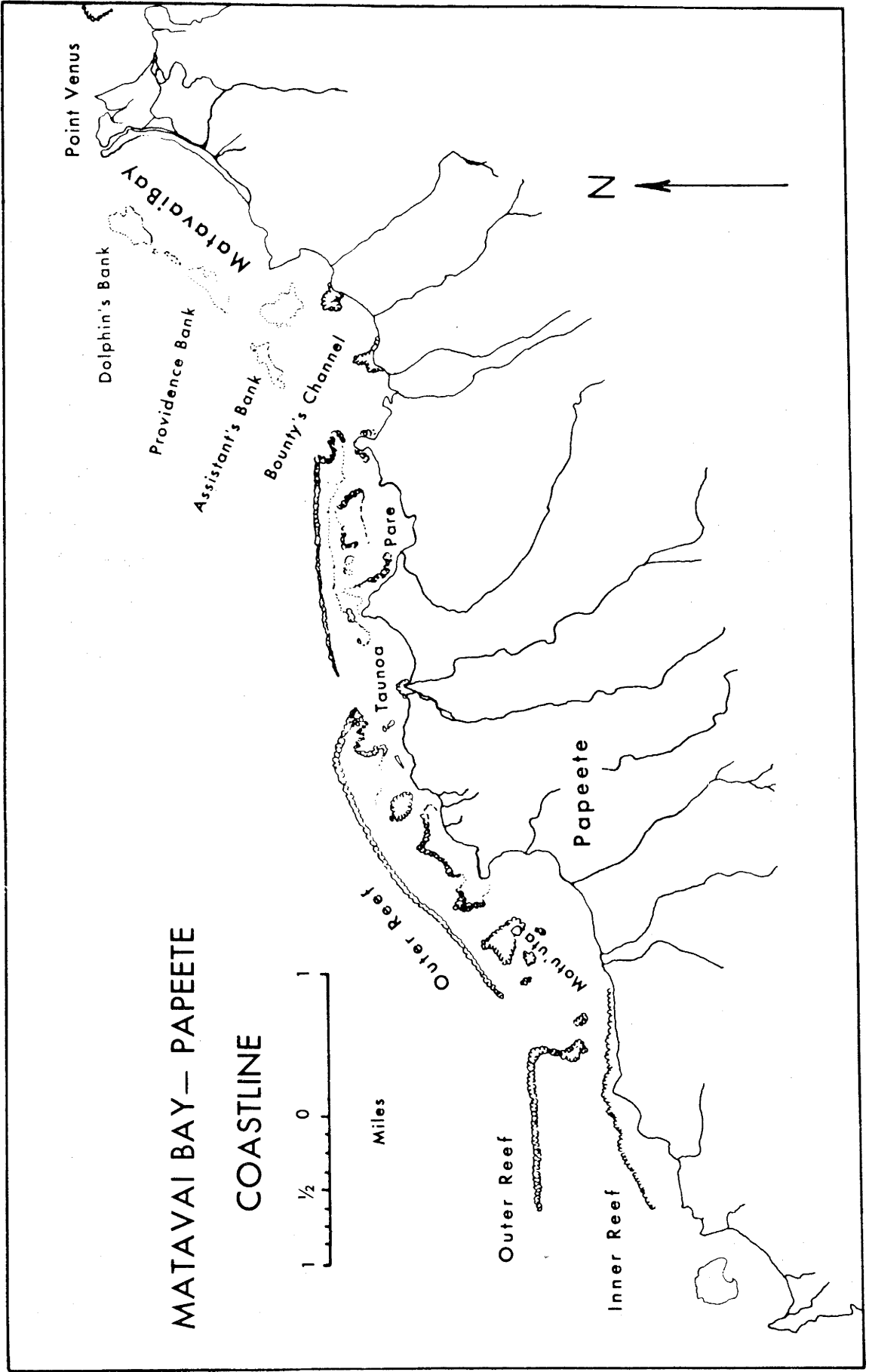
to his employers to explain his change of residence: 'The King of Atooi [Kauai] is now living at Woahoo [Oahu] with his new wife which has induced me to give up our establishment there'.¹⁵

The several anchorages available between Matavai Bay and Papeete were among the first known to Europeans and were later found to provide the best protection to European shipping throughout the Society Islands. The choice of Papeete as the major port was not final until almost fifty years after Tahiti's discovery, when trade in the region greatly increased in volume with the arrival of the whalers working the equatorial grounds and the Valparaiso traders. Protected in all weather, except a hurricane, by a barrier reef and the islet Motu Uta, Papeete harbour could accommodate the largest ships and also had double entry passages. These advantages ensured its predominance. European contact in New Zealand was largely concentrated on the far north of the North Island. Of the three ports most frequently used, Hokianga was exposed and a sandbar made entry difficult, while Whangaroa was an inferior harbour. Thus Kororareka in the southern portion of the Bay of Islands, where shelter and good anchorage were available, became the principal port and developed rapidly with the expansion of the whaling industry in the late 1820s.

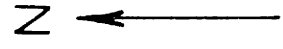
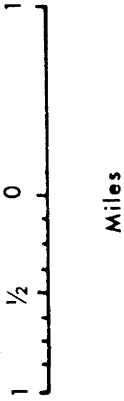
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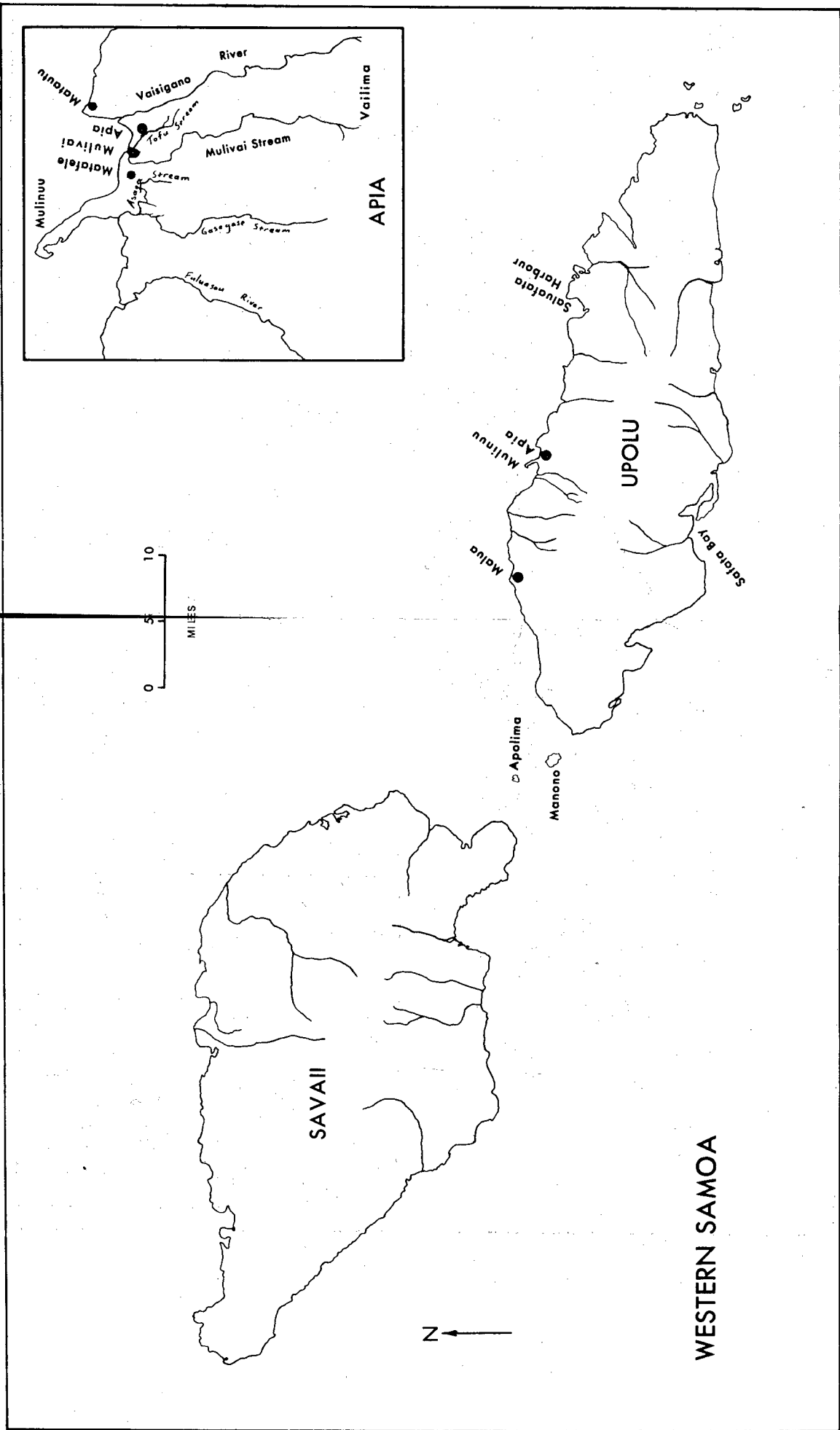
Thomas Brown to Marshall and Wildes, Canton, 1822, copies of Marshall and Wildes Papers in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

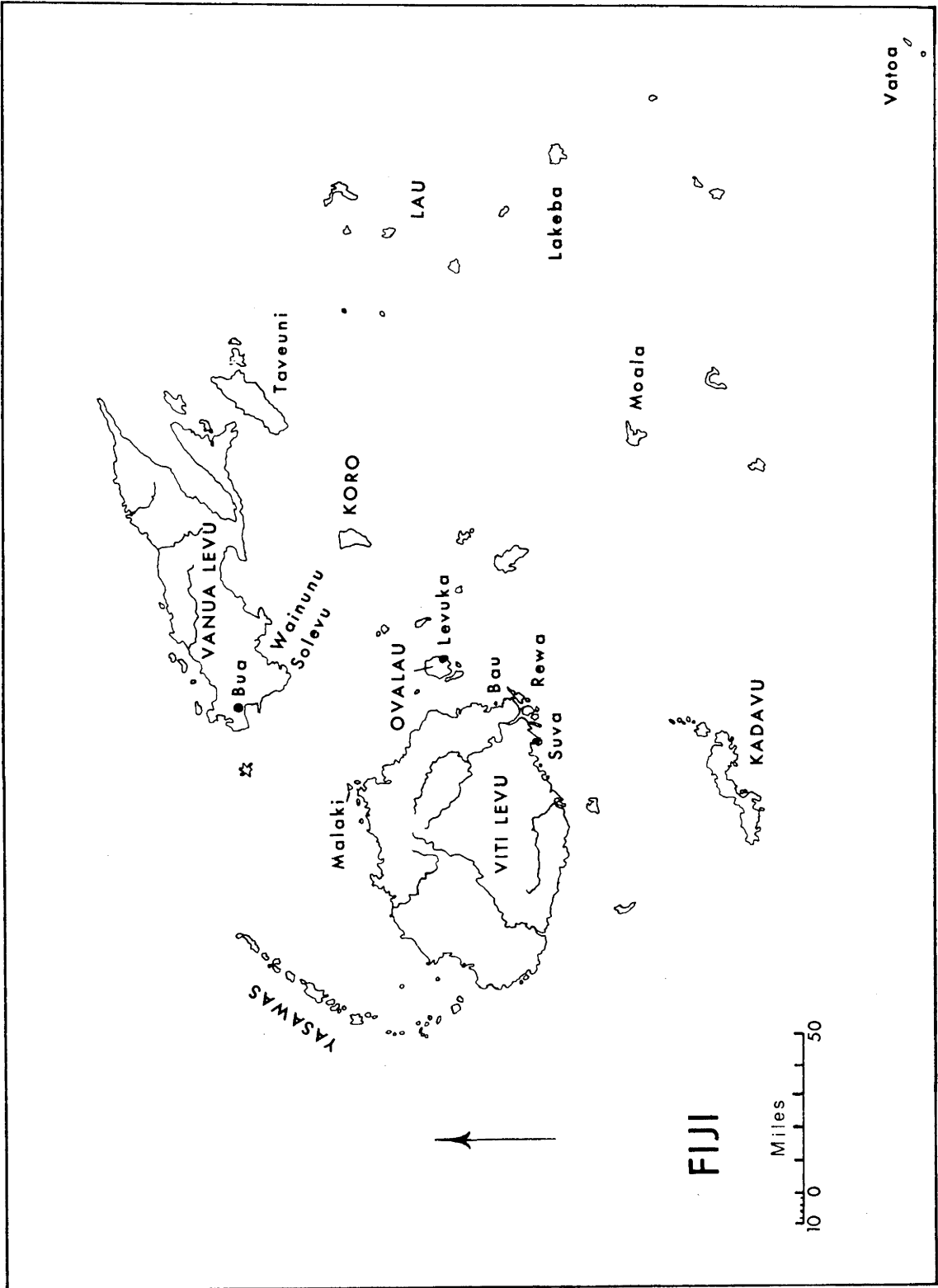




MATAVAI BAY - PAPEETE COASTLINE







the place because of its relatively dense population. Such considerations did not affect the location of any other major island port nor was access to the harbours from the hinterland by land important in the Pacific.¹⁷ Everywhere the sea was the main avenue of transportation, whether by ship or canoe.

Geographic and economic factors have been emphasized as the major determinants in the location of the first beach communities, but human decisions and attitudes also had some influence. Without the cooperation or at least toleration of the islanders the likelihood that the early proto-port towns would have foundered on local intrigue is very high. But Kamehameha I, Pomare I and II, Whareumu¹⁸ and Tui Levuka were all aware of the advantages accruing from European trade and were prepared to encourage foreign settlement in their territories.

A variety of factors drew the previously isolated beachcombers into these port areas. The deserters and castaways who had become disillusioned with island life after the first careless rapture found them convenient centres for seeking passages on incoming vessels.¹⁹ Once ships began to appear with some regularity in the island groups other beachcombers were quick to

17

F.W. Morgan, Ports and Harbours (London, 1952), 47.

18

Kathleen Shawcross, 'The Maoris of the Bay of Islands 1769-1840' (M.A. thesis, Auckland University, 1967), 328-9.

19

See above Chapter II, 38.

recognize the profitable use to which they could put their skills and special knowledge, particularly in piloting and interpreting. Hope of economic gain and independence from chiefly hospitality and its obligations drew many of these to the harbours frequented by European shipping. Here, removed from daily involvement in island life, they enjoyed the psychological satisfaction of participating in Western economic methods and of identifying themselves with other Europeans. The money or goods earned by the foreigners in these new pursuits, provided the means to support their households of island women and part-island offspring. These small multi-racial groups, plus the agents left by the incoming vessels, were the first inhabitants of the beach communities.

Part 2. Honolulu, Papeete, Levuka and Apia

AFTER the defeat of Kalanikupule, ruling chief of Oahu, in 1795 the beachcombers on that island gravitated towards the victor Kamehameha I; the only reliable source of security and patronage.²⁰ Honolulu at that time was already established as one of the supply centres for the fur trade, but it was not until Kamehameha returned to Waikiki in 1804 that it became the focus of European population and trade for the whole Hawaiian group. Why Kamehameha decided to return to Oahu is not difficult to explain. After his victory in

20

S.M. Kamakau, op. cit., 174.

1795 he had remained for a time at Waikiki preparing an attack against Kauai. But he returned to Hawaii Island to subdue a rebellion before a successful attempt could be made. While resident on Hawaii between 1796 and 1803 Kamehameha augmented his fleet of European vessels and his supply of foreign equipment.²¹

In 1803, confident that the English beachcomber John Young could govern Hawaii efficiently in his absence,²² Kamehameha moved with his fleet and troops first to Lahaina and later to Waikiki, where his attempt against Kauai was again thwarted; this time by a foreign-introduced disease which swept Oahu in 1804.²³ Since Kamehameha was determined to conquer Kauai, Oahu was the logical base from which to launch an attack, and Honolulu the only harbour which could accommodate his European ships.

As a supply and refitting centre for the North-west Coast fur trade, which flourished from the late 1780s to the early 1820s, Honolulu had competed with Kealakekua Bay until the second decade of the nineteenth century. From 1804, however, traders became increasingly aware of Honolulu's advantages and by 1812 the major

21

A.I. Andreev, ed., Russian Discoveries in the Pacific (Michigan, 1952), 163-4; H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 23-4.

22

A.I. Andreev, ed., op. cit., 163.

23

R.S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1947), 49.

European centre had also become the most important focus of trade. Kamehameha's return to Hawaii Island in 1812 had little effect on Honolulu's foreign inhabitants, who were by then profitably engaged in commerce and no longer in need of his patronage and protection. However, after 1812 ships employed in the fur trade and others generally stopped first at Kailua on Hawaii Island to visit Kamehameha and gain his permission before proceeding to Honolulu.²⁴ The systematic exploitation of the sandalwood trade after 1816 guaranteed Honolulu's permanence and predominance over Kealahou Bay.

David Whippy arrived in Fiji on the Calder (Captain Peter Dillon) in January 1825.²⁵ By 1826, tired of beachcomber life, he had established himself at Levuka, which was removed from the centres of political intrigue that so frequently convulsed Fiji. There is a strong probability that Tanoa, permanent chief of Bau, sent Whippy to Ovalau, over which he had suzerainty, so that he could ensure the benefits from

24

Peter Corney, Voyages in the Northern Pacific...1813 to 1818 (Honolulu, 1896), 96; Adelbert von Chamisso, Chamisso's Account of the Voyage Around the World on the Rurik 1815-1818, translated from the 1836 edition; typescript in AH.

25

J.W. Davidson, 'Peter Dillon: the voyages of the Calder and St Patrick, 1823-6', Pacific Islands Portraits (Canberra, 1970).

the trade.²⁶ Tui Levuka, the subordinate chief of the area, made no objection to Whippy's settlement.

Two other foreigners had moved to Levuka when William Cary, sole survivor of the wreck of the whaleship Oeno near Vatoa in 1825, arrived there in April 1826.²⁷ Of the two, one was a Manilaman from the Spanish ship Conception, whose crew mutinied in January 1824;²⁸ the other is believed to have been Patrick Connel, a beachcomber from the 1808-15 sandalwood days.²⁹ Very few beachcombers survived the hiatus of European shipping between 1815 and 1822 and none besides Connel is known to have moved into Levuka.

Still enjoying Fijian life and the protection of different chiefs, Cary did not remain at Ovalau in 1826, but more than a year later Whippy invited him to return and join him in piloting and interpreting for the Salem bêche-de-mer traders. For their services to the ship Clay in 1828 Whippy and Cary were paid a boat, a keg of

26

Whippy was certainly in contact with Bau and fought for it - [William Cary], op. cit., 27; David Whippy, 'An account of a Feejee War' in Bêche-de-mer records, Salem. I am grateful to Dr Young for his suggestions concerning this argument.

27

[William Cary], op. cit., 28.

28

Ibid.

29

Ibid. Cary said that this man had been in the group ten to twelve years and was called by the Fijians, 'Old Barry'. In 1836 Eagleston's first mate Cheever recorded the fact that there was a man in Levuka called 'Old Barry' who had been in the islands 35 years. Wilkes in 1840 met Paddy Connel, also known as 'Berry', who have lived in Levuka but did so no longer.

powder, two muskets and several small articles.³⁰ After that, whenever Cary was not employed on the vessels, it was to his economic advantage to live in Levuka, available for employment by the next arrivals. Most deserters and castaways who arrived in Fiji after about 1828 found life in Levuka more attractive and secure than with a chief.

The early explorers and traders at Tahiti refreshed, took on supplies and refitted their vessels at a number of harbours between Matavai Bay and Papeete. The beachcomber population rose steadily to about thirty five in the early years of the nineteenth century,³¹ but during the civil wars between 1808 and 1815 they left the main island. In 1813 the missionary, William Henry, reported to Governor Macquarie that there were no foreigners on Tahiti other than the mission people.³² However, from reports of missionaries on the Leeward Islands, it is clear that a number of beachcombers had not moved far. How many returned to Tahiti after 1815 is difficult to ascertain. A pilot called Williams who was referred to in mission records in 1809 as being at Huahine appears at Matavai Bay in 1820,³³ but it is not definite that it is the same man.

30

Ibid., 51.

31

H.E. Maude, 'Beachcombers and Castaways', in 'Of Islands and Men (Melbourne, 1968), 134-77.

32

HRA., Series I, VIII, 102.

33

John Davies, 22 January 1809, LMS. South Seas Journals Box 3, 1808-1810; F.G. Bellingshausen, The Voyage of Captain Bellingshausen (London, 1945), II, 261-2.

Herman Melville was in Papeete briefly in 1842 after his Marquesan beachcombing experience³⁴ but no reference has been found to persons who had been beachcombers in Tahiti, living in Papeete once it was recognized as the major port. The new settlers in the 1820s were of missionary descent, like Samuel P. Henry and George Bicknell, or newly arrived in the Pacific, like Thomas Ebrill. However, until men of capital from Valparaiso arrived later in the decade, Papeete remained a minor port.

Apia was already a centre of LMS. activity when the first recorded whaler entered the harbour in 1836.³⁵ Several traders arrived soon after to provision and service the increasing number of vessels using the port. The movement of beachcomber to beach community here is poorly documented. The high percentage of convicts among the original beachcombers certainly lessened the numbers eligible for such a transfer.³⁶ Of the others Matthew Hunkin and Henry Gibbons on Tutuila became missionary assistants and later village traders.³⁷ A number of beachcombers moved into Apia seeking protection or guns to sell to the Samoans during the 1848 civil war.³⁸ Only one beachcomber, however, John

³⁴

Herman Melville, Omoo (London, 1893), 65-200.

³⁵

George Platt, 'Raiatea to Hervey and Samoan Groups 1835-1836', LMS. South Seas Journals, Box 8, item 110.

³⁶

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 142-3.

³⁷

See Chapter II, 72.

³⁸

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 176.

Wright, is recorded as becoming a permanent resident in the beach community. He had lived on the eastern end of Savaii for several years when John Williams met him there in 1830.³⁹ By 1855 he had settled in Apia and become involved in its political intrigues.⁴⁰

These island ports were not just subsidiary branches of the major ports on the Pacific periphery; they were also linked with a much wider complex of world trade. Levuka and Honolulu looked to the New England companies engaged in the China trade for much of their early working capital. Later Honolulu, Apia and Papeete owed their development to New England whaling communities. Valparaiso was a second and important source of capital for Papeete. Sydney had links with Levuka, Apia and Tahiti, which were strengthened by the expansion of the coconut oil trade in the 1840s. Trade routes across the Pacific incorporated island and peripheral ports with several major ports beyond the Pacific basin in a combined exploitation of resources.

Two distinct functions were characteristic of island ports - one was the draining of local products from the hinterlands to outside markets and the second was the supply trade to whalers and other traders who

39

John Williams and Charles Barff, 'A Journal of a Voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Fegees and Hamoas', MS. in ML.

40

Petition to Commander Bayley, 18 September 1855, USNR., Pacific Squadron, August 1854 - June 1856.

were not basically interested in hinterland materials. The two were not mutually exclusive: whalers after 1840 were willing to take on coconut oil while they provisioned. Nor was a port confined to only one operation: Papeete served both Valparaiso and Sydney traders, as well as American whalers. Honolulu began its commercial life as one of several supply and refitting centres in Hawaii for the fur traders. Later it thrived on the export of sandalwood, only to return to the supply and repair trade with the rise of the whaling industry.

None of the sites of the island ports had enjoyed any great importance in pre-European times. A centre to the islanders was a place of ceremonial or military significance; canoes could be pulled up on any sandy stretch of beach and trade required no special entry ports. European requirements for a town were very different. Ease of access and egress for their vessels, deep anchorage, shelter, adequate onshore storage facilities and proximity to trading and whaling routes, all had to be considered. It was factors such as these, of concern only to Europeans, which determined the situation of the ports, and not those which had conferred locational importance to particular sites in the island cultures.

In the Society Islands, before the advent of Europeans, Raiatea and Huahine were more significant in terms of culture and religion than Tahiti, and of the foreign-created town a chiefly Tahitian remarked: 'No native tradition or dignity was associated with Papeete

which grew into consequence only on account of its harbour'.⁴¹ The Tahitians were, however, forced to recognize the importance of Papeete: the source of all European goods and Western advancement. In 1827 Pomare IV, who had been brought up in the town, settled there permanently and the quasi-parliamentary body proclaimed it the seat of the Tahitian monarchy.⁴²

Similarly Hawaii Island had been a more important ceremonial centre than Oahu. The sandy beach at Waikiki had attracted royal canoes, which brought the chiefs to holiday there, but none had settled on the dry plains round the harbour of Honolulu just to the north.⁴³ Kamehameah I lived in Honolulu itself for only two or three years, 1809-12; however, in September 1820, little over a year after his death, the chiefs in council at Kailua, Hawaii Island, decided that henceforth Oahu should be the principal residence of the royal entourage.⁴⁴ At this time it was considered of commercial importance only: Lahaina on Maui, being the site of the royal home and council meetings from

41

Quoted by W.W. Bolton, 'The Beginnings of Papeete and its Founding as the Capital of Tahiti', Société des Études Océaniques, V (1935), 437-42.

42

Ibid.

43

The name 'Honolulu' was not used for the port locality until about 1800. Traditionally the name had been used for a small district about two miles from the harbour - Bruce Cartwright, 'Place Names in Old Honolulu', Paradise of the Pacific, L (January 1938), 18-20.

44

Elisha Loomis, Journal, 11 September 1820, MS. in HMCS.

1820 to 1850. Honolulu was formally proclaimed the capital city in 1850 and became the permanent royal residence with Kamehameha IV in 1854.

After the 1820 decree Kamehameha II moved first to Lahaina, and then to Honolulu, arriving in February 1821. Both he and his successor Kamehameha III preferred the peace and relative cool of Lahaina, to which they escaped as often as possible, but the growing foreign population and their incessant intrigues forced them to spend increasingly long months in Honolulu.

In Samoa and Fiji, the islands on which the Europeans chose to settle had not been of outstanding traditional importance. Savaii took precedence over Upolu as did Bau and many other places over Ovalua. The area later to be incorporated into Apia had been the site of three Samoa villages in pre-European times; none of them, however, of any particular significance. In 1868 the Samoan chiefs and orators agreed to the formation of a central government with its headquarters at Mulinuu, the narrow promontory bounding Apia harbour to the West.⁴⁵ From then on Apia was considered the Samoans' political capital. Cakobau recognized the usefulness of Levuka and his dependence upon it as a source of European trade goods, especially guns and ammunition, only after he had banished its inhabitants to Solevu in 1844. Captain J.E. Erskine of H.M.S. Havannah reported in 1849 that Cakobau had soon relented

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J.W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa (Melbourne, 1967), 43.

and tried to coax the foreigners back to Ovalau, but for reasons of their own they refused to go until early 1849.⁴⁶

Once established, the island ports slowly enlarged the initially modest scale of their commercial operations by expanding their economic hinterlands as well as the products they dealt with and the services they provided. Honolulu's hinterland was restricted to the Hawaiian group but from its strategic position it grew to dominate the North Pacific trade routes. As an entrepôt between China and the Americas and in the path of whalers to and from the Japanese grounds the lack of internal resources after the decline of the sandalwood trade had little effect on its growth.

The products of the Society Islands did not attract big companies from the outside world, but Samuel P. Henry and Thomas Ebrill established themselves as small island traders conveying sinnet, pork, arrowroot, coconut oil and other products to the New South Wales markets. Under their auspices Tahiti gradually dominated the whole Society Islands trade. Later Tuamotuan pearls attracted Valparaiso merchants to the eastern Pacific to the benefit of Papeete, the only port in the region suitably equipped to serve the trade. Taiohae Bay, on Nukuhiva, in the Marquesas had the basic potentialities to make a good port for European shipping, but it could never overcome the advantages which the Matavai Bay-Papeete area enjoyed

46

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 174.

from its early discovery and subsequent use.⁴⁷
 Tuamotuan and Marquesan resources were therefore channelled through Papeete, later to be joined by Austral and Cook Islands products. Avarua, the only anchorage of Rarotonga, could not admit large ships across the reef. Furthermore, the missionaries stationed on the island looked to Tahiti as their base, which reinforced the geographic factors determining Papeete's predominance. Thus by mid-century Papeete monopolized the east Pacific trade in pearls, pearlshell and lesser island products.

Levuka's hinterland encompassed the Fiji archipelago from which bêche-de-mer, tortoiseshell, birds' nests and some food products were collected. After the decline of the bêche-de-mer trade in the 1850s Levuka was dependent on a motley trade of island products from all areas, including pigs and yams.⁴⁸
 Whalers seldom penetrated the treacherous Fijian waters to take on provisions at Levuka. The hiatus in systematic commercial activity in Fiji eased in the late 1850s with the expansion of the coconut oil trade, but Levuka did not recover from the recession until the 1860s and the arrival of new settlers to exploit the cotton boom.

47

Gregory Dening, ed., Robarts Journal, to be published soon.

48

800 pigs were sent to California in 1851 and 8,000 yams and 200 pigs to Sydney in 1853. Neither south-eastern Australia nor western America could feed the men thronging to the gold fields - R.G. Ward, Land Use and Population in Fiji (London, 1965), 21.

The Samoan Islands which constituted Apia's hinterland were little exploited during the port's early economic development, based as it was on the supply trade to whalers. Small quantities of coconut oil were exported,⁴⁹ but the islands' potential was not fully recognized until Augustus Unshelm established an agency for the German Godeffroy Company in Apia in 1857. At the centre of an area with a high potential for coconut oil production and unclaimed by any Western power, Samoa was an eminently suitable place for the Germans to move into. By 1870 the Godeffroy Company had agents stationed at the Tokelaus, the Gilbert and Ellice, the Marshall, Caroline and Palau Islands, in New Britain, New Ireland and the New Hebrides and at Futuna, Wallis, Niue, and the Tongan and Lau Islands. In fact, 'they had an agent in every productive island inhabited by natives sufficiently well-disposed to permit a white man to reside among them.'⁵⁰ Apia became the centre of the Godeffroy Pacific empire with a hinterland spread over a large part of the Central Pacific.

With the exception of Apia and Levuka, which vied together over the exploitation of the Lau Islands, competition between the port towns was non-existent. Alexander Spoehr has claimed that this lack of competition, which still continues, is due to the

49

J.C. Williams exported the first quantity of coconut oil from Samoa in 1842 - R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 165.

50

H. Stonehewer Cooper, Coral Lands (London, 1880), II, 51-2.

distance between port town locations,⁵¹ but to this must be added the fact that the resources of the hinterlands that each virtually monopolized were, and still are, too meagre to support any rival port.

The vulnerability of the four major ports to competition did not, however, prevent the appearance of subsidiary port towns in less developed economic areas such as Avurua in the Cook Islands, Nuku'alofa in Tonga, Lomaloma in the Lau Islands and Lahaina on Maui, to name only four.⁵² These aggregates, which were never fully self-sufficient or independent, tended to augment rather than diminish trade through the major ports. The small port of Avarua was supplying as many as 100 whaling ships in the 1850s, but they were forced to remain outside the reef. Provisions were taken out by canoe and small boats, while any ship needing refitting facilities had to go to Tahiti. On shore the missionary-inspired laws denying Europeans the right to own land freehold and to marry island women greatly retarded foreign settlement. Tahiti, and later in the 1880s Auckland, handled the bulk of the Cook Island exports and imports and Avarua never became a major island port.⁵³

51

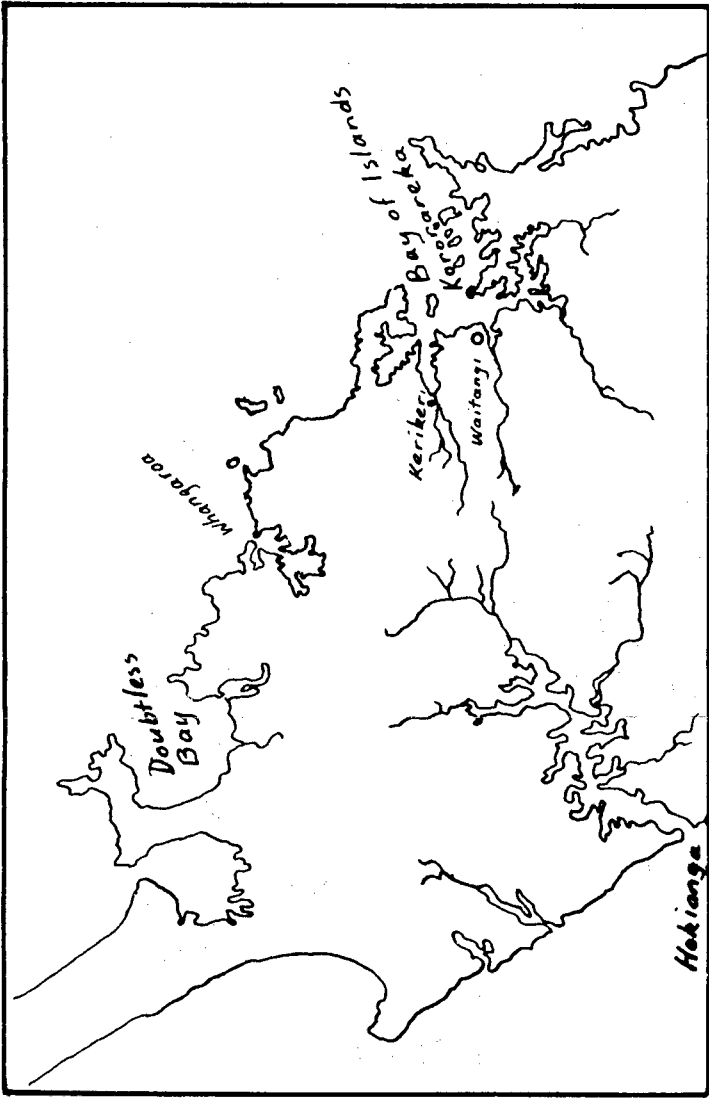
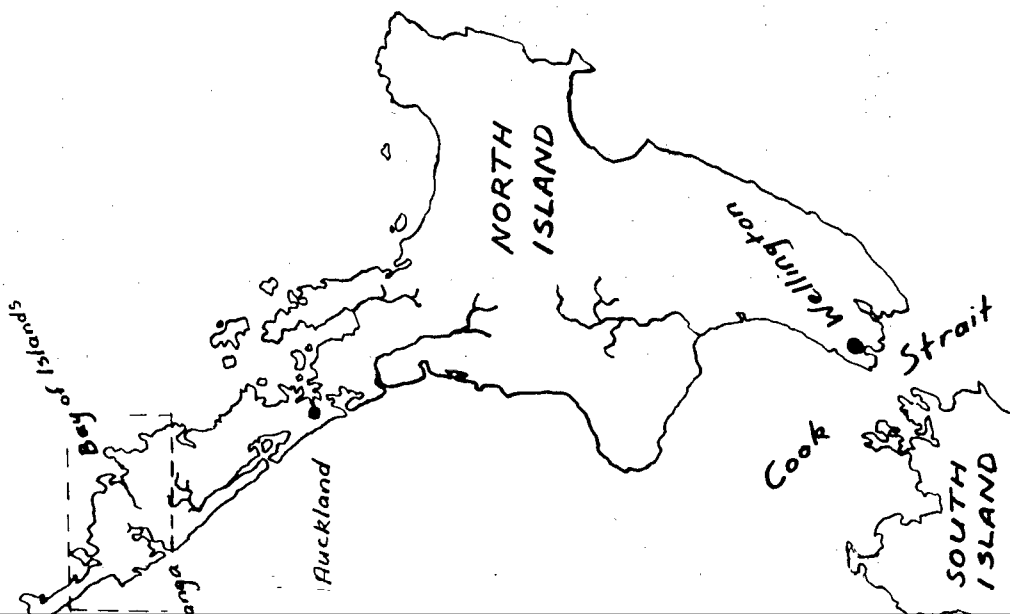
Alexander Spoehr, 'Port Town and Hinterland in the Pacific Islands', American Anthropologist, LXII (1960), 586-92.

52

Hokianga on the west coast of northern New Zealand was a subsidiary port to Kororareka.

53

Ernest Beaglehole, Social Change in the South Pacific: Rarotonga and Aitutaki (London, 1957), 69; R.P. Gilson, 'The Administration of the Cook Islands' (MSc. thesis, London University, 1952), 111-12.



INSET: THE BAY OF ISLANDS AND HOKIANGA

THE NORTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND

In Tonga, the growth of Nuku'alofa was similarly retarded by prohibitive land-holding laws and a lack of marketable resources.⁵⁴ However, with the development of the coconut oil trade it was drawn into Apia's sphere of influence, once the Godeffroy Company set up collection depots throughout the group.

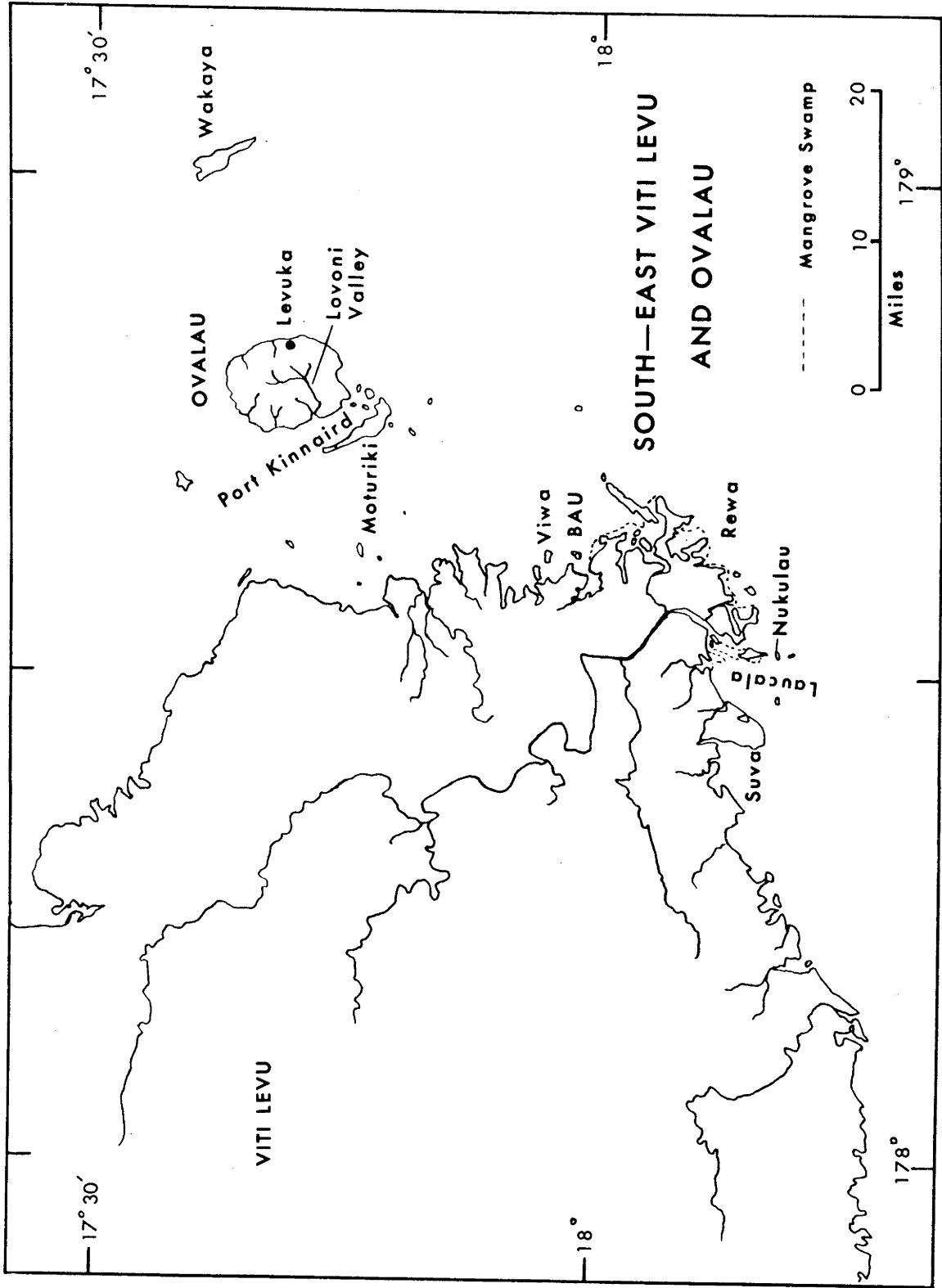
Lomaloma was not the only port to test Levuka's predominance. Port Kinnaird, William T. Pritchard's projected base to supersede Levuka, never constituted a serious challenge,⁵⁵ since it was handicapped with a difficult downwind entrance and a late start in 1859-60. Lomaloma, however, did at times challenge Levuka as an economic and even political centre. The sagacious Tongan chief, Ma'afu, who controlled the Lau Islands, cooperated with the increasing number of European cotton planters and offered them greater security than Cakobau was ever able to provide in Vanua or Viti Levu or the adjacent islands. But there was little of a permanent or independent nature either in Lomaloma's origins or later development; its beginnings were closely linked with the Apia-dominated coconut oil trade. A Godeffroy agency had been established by William Hennings in 1858, and the later sudden expansion of cotton plantations soon proved a flash-in-the-pan enterprise. By 1874 Lomaloma's future was already uncertain, but it was listed as a

54

See above footnote 16, 88.

55

LCC., R314; Berthold Seeman, Viti: An Account of a Government Mission...1860-61 (Cambridge, 1862), 65-72.



port of entry under the new British administration and it continued to function until 1882, when Suva was proclaimed the capital, and it was finally closed.⁵⁶

Earlier in the century Galoa harbour, Kadavu Island, monopolized the supply trade to whalers who approached the Fiji group but did not penetrate the hazardous archipelago further than this easily accessible island. Between 1869 and 1877 its peripheral location was the basic factor in its selection as Fiji's port for the trans-Pacific steamers, but this did little damage to Levuka's position since all goods, passengers and mail were ferried direct to Ovalau.⁵⁷

Only in Hawaii did a minor port rival and even attract a greater number of ships than the recognized major port.⁵⁸ With better harbour and supply facilities than Lahaina, Honolulu was visited by a greater number of whaling ships between 1820 and 1830, but the following decade cheaper supply prices at the open roadstead of Lahaina brought the number of ships at each place to a par. The 1840s saw twice as many

56

A.D. Couper, op. cit., 65-6. Closure of Lomaloma as a port of entry effectively cut the Godeffroy Company out of the Lau Group's coconut oil trade, since all cargoes had to be rerouted through Levuka, the nearest port of entry. Levuka remained the focus of the copra trade long after Suva was claimed capital.

57

Ibid., 30-1.

58

G. Daws, 'Honolulu in the 19th Century', The Journal of Pacific History, II (1967), 77-96, supplied the data for this analysis.

ships at Lahaina than Honolulu, which re-established its pre-eminence only in the early 1850s. Two reasons for this sudden reversal of positions have been suggested: one, that Lahaina was the first to offer supplies of white potato, far more popular with sailors than the sweet potato supplied at Honolulu; and two, that after the death of the devout Christian Hoapili, Governor of Maui, his successors found it to their financial advantage to permit grog shops and prostitution. Less weight should be given to the second reason since many whaling captains from New England ports sailed under strict temperance regulations. But the majority of these still preferred the cheaper prices at Lahaina and there were other captains and sailors who willingly availed themselves of the more liberal entertainments offered there. Commercialized vice was never totally extirpated in Honolulu, but its grog shops were limited by the number of liquor licences available and periodic temperance drives had far-reaching influence for short intervals. The potato boom was over by the mid 1850s and with prostitution and the sale of alcohol flourishing in Honolulu, the status quo was re-established.

Neither Avarua, Lomaloma, Galoa nor Nuku'alofa was able to compete directly with the parent port. Lahaina successfully challenged Honolulu for over a decade, but only as the result of a combination of fortuitous historical factors, which proved transient. It seems clear that, given the economic position in the nineteenth century, the Pacific Islands could not

support more than five major European ports, and that of these Levuka's position during the 1850s was tenuous. Late in the '50s the Godeffroy Company revealed their interest in Fiji by establishing coconut oil depots on the outer islands of the archipelago, and had W.T. Pritchard not appeared as British Consul in 1858 and re-awakened outside interest, it would have been quite possible for Apia, through the Godeffroy Company, to have established her hegemony over the group. The subsequent cotton boom, followed by the more permanent success of the sugar industry, re-established Fiji as an economically viable region, able to support its own major port.

Once the island ports were established there was a mutual relationship between trade and population growth. Honolulu, on the cross-roads of the north Pacific, grew most rapidly. From 1820 onwards its foreign population was never less than 100, while in Papeete, Apia and Levuka for comparable periods fifty was a maximum figure. Carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, boatbuilders, merchants and storekeepers, grog sellers, boarding-house keepers, and frequently a tailor, bootmaker and butcher, were the core of these early beach community populations. For a beachcomber the movement into a proto-port town was a relatively easy process of re-identification with fellow Europeans and frequently the resumption of jobs for which he had been trained in earlier life. The social and sexual attractions of island life which he had more recently enjoyed were continued in the ports.

For the islanders, however, the rise of the first port towns was a crucial development in their relationship with foreigners. In the earlier beachcomber period the onus of assimilation and the assumption of new codes of behaviour had fallen solely on the Europeans, if they wanted to survive and be accepted, but in the new proto-urban environment, the pendulum began to swing to the opposite extreme. With the sense of security and self-assurance that results from greater numbers, the expatriates slowly imposed their ways upon the islanders, who had to adopt European methods and work habits to succeed in a beach community. Forces of cultural change emanated from the new centres in the form of Western goods, ideas and economic life. For many years there was no compulsion upon the islanders to become involved in the new foreign communities. But the very presence of the port towns underlined the intensification of European and American interest in the Pacific - their desire to control and exploit its economic resources, which inevitably led to greater and more sustained demands on many other aspects of island life.

CHAPTER IVEARLY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Time scale - definition - behavioural codes - justice - population estimates - settlers lack of assistance from home governments - priorities of settlement by consuls and missionaries. Nature of economic activities - pilotage - provisioning - grog shops - prostitution - artisans. The major trades - Hawaiian sandalwood - contrast in Papeete - bêche-de-mer in Fiji - ship provisioning at Apia. Land ownership - leadership in beach communities - Kamehameha I - David Whippy - no comparable leadership patterns in Papeete and Apia - maintenance of law and order - threat of exile Honolulu and Levuka. Role of mediators - Whippy - Young and Marin - no counterparts in Papeete and Apia - island attempts to control expatriate development.

SINCE none of the beach communities developed contemporaneously, the term 'early' necessarily refers to different periods of time in each port town. Furthermore the towns least frequented by foreign shipping evolved more slowly and retained the features of the 'early' period longer, and finally the aspects considered characteristic of early development did not always appear in each beach community in their entirety. However, similar origins¹ did give them a basic common identity.

1

See above, Chapter III.

During the initial periods of growth the small expatriate populations lived in varying degrees of association with the island people. Freed from direct chiefly domination, the foreigners were dependent on their own ability to maintain good relations with the islanders and to establish a profitable trading link with Western shipping. The resultant organization of beach community life was a combination of Western economic practices with island social and sexual mores. Patterns of conduct usually had no more sanction than the tacit agreement of the group at the time, but occasionally someone appeared on the beach capable of enforcing a more definite code of laws and of regulating society with the consent of the majority. All codes or behavioural patterns, however, were constantly being modified, since the contacts established within these racially mixed communities, and between the communities and visiting foreign vessels, tended to stimulate economic advancement and social change.

Beyond the fringe of Western judicial control, as the beach communities were, the novel problems of regulating trading and social relations and of maintaining a semblance of law and order were compounded by the lack of any recognized agencies for enforcing justice, which under the circumstances had to be supplied in partial and de facto forms by the residents themselves or by an accepted leader. At most periods the foreign residents, who seldom numbered more than fifty, were able to impose such laws as they found necessary, although often in a brutal and arbitrary way.

Only the roughest estimates can be made of foreign populations in beach communities at any time before colonial rule was established. A passing observer had no means of distinguishing temporary visitors - shipwrecked sailors and crews from vessels in the harbour - from the more permanent residents, and frequently they gave foreign population figures for the whole island or group rather than just the town. The following figures stated by visitors to the early beach communities must therefore be taken as guidelines only. Archibald Campbell claimed that Honolulu's foreign population in 1809 was about sixty but he added later that it had decreased markedly before his departure in 1810.² By 1820 the foreigners in Honolulu numbered between eighty and one hundred.³ During its early growth Papeete's foreign population was rarely, if ever, differentiated from the total foreign population of Tahiti. In 1824 Kotzebue claimed that there were twenty foreigners on the whole island.⁴ The number of foreigners in Levuka fluctuated considerably. The missionaries in 1842 believed there were about twenty,⁵ at Solevu between 1844 and 1849

2

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 165.

3

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 82, estimated Honolulu's foreign population in 1826 to be between 100 and 200. From this an estimate of 80 to 100 for 1820 has been made.

4

Otto von Kotzebue, A New Voyage Round the World (London, 1830), I, 146.

5

'The Report of the Work of God in the Bau circuit for the year ending June 1842', MMS. papers.

records consistently estimated the foreign population at thirty,⁶ while later back in Levuka in 1849 Captain Erskine claimed that there were only fourteen or fifteen.⁷ Dysentery and fever had killed a number of them in Solevu in 1848. By 1852 their numbers had increased to about fifty.⁸ Apia, the last beach community to be established, grew slowly throughout the 1840s and had a foreign population of about fifty by the mid-1850s.⁹

These small pockets of expatriate settlers had to rely on their own skills and ingenuity to establish a tolerable and tenable existence in the islands. No assistance or control was forthcoming from home governments and in most early beach communities no missionary was present to complicate relations between islander and foreigner. Neither foreign consuls nor missionaries appeared in Honolulu between 1804 and 1820.¹⁰ The foreign traders, artisans and loafers on the beach had to deal directly with Kamehameha I, on whose goodwill their lives and security of property

6

Hunt to Miller, 23 May 1847, British Consulate Tahiti MSS 24/3 in ML; Pritchard to Palmerston, 12 August 1848, Adm. 1/5593; The Samoan Reporter, March 1849.

7

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173.

8

Home to Secy. of Admiralty, 20 December 1852, Adm. 1/5617.

9

John D'Ewes, China, Australia and the Pacific Islands in the Years 1855-56 (London, 1857), 170.

10

John Coffin Jones was appointed American agent in 1820 and the American missionaries arrived at Oahu in April the same year.

depended. The LMS. missionaries arrived in Tahiti in March 1797 long before Papeete showed any signs of becoming a European centre.¹¹ But between 1815 and 1828 they had little influence over the resident foreigners in Papeete, which during this period slowly established its precedence over the other harbours of the Matavai Bay-Papeete coastline. By 1823 conditions in the port were so uncongenial to mission work that William Crook, who had been stationed there since 1818, was forced to leave his dwindling congregation to the temptations of the grog sellers, both foreign and Tahitian, some of them ex-members of the church.¹² George Pritchard recommenced mission work at Papeete in 1825 and attained some ascendancy over the Tahitians,¹³ but among the foreigners he wielded little influence until the late 1830s, when he changed his missionary role for a consular one.¹⁴ Without any consular representation until 1836,¹⁵ and unhindered

11

James Wilson, A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean (London, 1799), 56-9.

12

Crook to Burder, 3 October 1823, LMS. South Seas Letters, Box 4, folder 2B.

13

John Davies, The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830 (Cambridge, 1961), 249-50.

14

Pritchard became increasingly involved in foreign commercial activities during the 1830s, but only after he was appointed British consul in 1837 did his participation become decisive.

15

Moerenhout assumed duty as American consular agent in January 1836.

by the missionaries, the handful of foreign settlers at Papeete were free to establish their own modus vivendi with the Tahitians.

John B. Williams, who was appointed United States consul for Fiji in 1844, reached the group in 1846, but he refused to settle in Levuka until 1858, when the arrival of W.T. Pritchard, the first British consul in the town, made his presence there essential.¹⁶ The Wesleyan missionaries settled in the group as early as 1836 but a permanent station at Levuka was not established until 1852¹⁷ and then by John Binner, who was not a trained minister but a schoolmaster greatly interested in trade and land buying.¹⁸ Between 1825 and the early 1850s, therefore, neither consuls nor missionaries interfered with the Levuka residents' organization of society or their relations with the Fijians.¹⁹

16

J.B. Williams moved his office to Totoga, South Levuka, on 30 November 1858, J.B. Williams MS. in PMS. Williams still retained his house at Laucala.

17

G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), II, 564, fn.16.

18

J.B. Williams to Henry Williams, 15 January 1860, J.B. Williams MS.; W.T. Pritchard, Polynesian Reminiscences (London, 1866), 240-1.

19

Whippy was appointed vice consul by J.B. Williams in January 1846, but the position appears to have made little difference to his behaviour until after 1850.

In Apia, however, the pattern was almost completely reversed. The LMS. missionaries were the first settlers in the area in 1836²⁰ and the non-missionary foreigners who followed in their wake found consuls soon settled amongst them. In 1839 W.C. Cunningham was appointed acting consul for Great Britain by George Pritchard, who was then British consul in Tahiti.²¹ The appointment was never ratified in London and Cunningham left Apia in 1841, but not before J.C. Williams had been appointed United States consular agent by Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the United States exploring expedition.²² George Pritchard became the first official British consul in Samoa in 1845, by which time the foreign population was not more than thirty.²³ From the beginning of the settlement, therefore, both missionaries and consuls were present, competing for influence and control over the foreign residents and they were intimately involved in every foreign transaction with the Samoans, numbers of whom were resident in the vicinity. Over any crisis or matter of general importance, the town

20

Mills to Tidman, 12 October 1852, LMS. Letters, Box 24, folder 10C. 'For many years after we settled here not a single white person was near us for many miles'.

21

R.P. Gilson, Samoa 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community (Melbourne, 1970), 150-1.

22

Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition (London, 1845), II, 103.

23

Home to Cochrane, 15 October 1844, Adm. 1/5548, estimated that there were 60 foreigners on the whole of Upolu.

divided into different interest groups. At no time did the foreigners, who had both an American and a British consul in their midst, feel compelled to suit their habits or style of life to Samoan standards. Always they fostered the hope that external assistance would come to force their demands on their hosts.

Economic life in the early beach communities made few intensive demands on its participants. No trade or business pursuit required a regular weekly, much less daily, work pattern. Even men engaged in the more substantial commercial enterprises, such as the sandalwood trade in Hawaii, enjoyed long periods of inactivity. Dixie Wildes, a partner of the New England company of Marshall & Wildes, who traded in China, maintained that in Honolulu at the end of the sandalwood era: 'Most of the agents at the Sandwich Islands divide the 24 hours into three parts, Drinking, Gambling and Sleeping.'²⁴ When Captain Home arrived in Apia on 24 August 1844 he found the trading community was seven days out of date - they claimed it was 31 August.²⁵ Standards of regular, hard work in vogue in the Western world were not to be found in the Pacific ports.

While major development in the beach communities depended on the different resources of the respective island groups and on their proximity to trading and

²⁴

Wildes to Marshall, 27 March 1825, Marshall MS. in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

²⁵

Home to Cochrane, 15 October 1844, Adm. 1/5548.

whaling routes, certain basic skills and economic activities requiring a minimum of capital investment were found in every town. Familiar with the hazards of the harbours and of those of the surrounding islands, many foreigners acted as pilots. Dumont d'Urville, in Levuka in October 1838, found that: 'all the Europeans I met were provided with certificates', and competed for the job of piloting.²⁶ John Young,²⁷ Isaac Davis (before his death in 1810)²⁸ and John Harbottle,²⁹ who were all English, acted as pilots among the Hawaiian Islands and particularly into Honolulu harbour.³⁰

As whaling and trading expanded throughout the Pacific an increasing number of expatriates and islanders were employed growing and purveying fresh supplies; even the consuls J.C. Williams and George Pritchard in Apia engaged in such activities.³¹

26

J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, op. cit.

27

John Young, from the Eleanor, arrived in Hawaii in March 1790.

28

Isaac Davis was the sole survivor of the massacre of the Fair American crew also in March 1790.

29

The Jackal in the Hawaiian Islands in 1793 was responsible for conveying John Harbottle to the islands.

30

Peter Corney, op. cit., 48; Isaac Iselin, Journal of a Trading Voyage Around the World, 1805-1808 (New York, n.d.), 74; Adelbert von Chamisso, op. cit.; Stephen Reynolds, The Voyage of the New Hazard 1810-1813 (Salem, 1938), 115.

31

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 112; William Shaw, Golden Dreams and Waking Realities (London, 1851), 306.

Francisco de Paula Marin, a Spaniard who had been resident in Hawaii since the early 1790s,³² spent much of his life on Oahu, where he engaged in a most profitable supply trade, importing and cultivating exotic fruits and vegetables, and raising goats, rabbits and other animals, which were most welcome to crews weary of salt provisions.³³ Oliver Holmes, an American resident in Honolulu from 1796,³⁴ and Harbottle, also added purveying to their other occupations.³⁵ The Hawaiians were similarly aware of the profits of the trade but their attempts to participate were blocked by chiefs; in particular by Kamehameha I, who frequently enforced a monopoly on the sale of all native produce. Pigs were only supplied through Kamehameha or his appointed governors³⁶ and in June 1815 an order was made that no-one but Holmes, Marin and Queen Kaahumanu were allowed to kill goats.³⁷ About 1818 Pomare II tried to establish a similar royal monopoly on Tahitian

32

No date has been agreed upon for Marin's arrival in the islands.

33

Marin MS. in AH.; Ross Cox, The Columbia River (Norman, 1957), 44-5; Peter Corney, op. cit., 99-109.

34

After two years in the Hawaiian Islands Oliver Holmes was left at Waikiki by the P.W. Henry in January 1796.

35

Isaac Iselin, op. cit., 77; Ross Cox, op. cit., 44-5.

36

Gabriel Franchère, op. cit., 33-4.

37

Marin, Journal, 5 June 1815.

trade by claiming an exclusive right to purchase all island produce.³⁸

Grog victuallers, stocked with raw alcohol bought from vessels, or even more dangerous brews distilled from local products, always found ready customers among the sailors, local foreigners and islanders. Little capital was needed for the initial outlay on liquor and even less on housing it, while the profits gained were substantial and steady as long as missionaries and local authorities tolerated the trade. A rash of shanty grog shops sprang up in Papeete during 1822-3; the same pattern evolved in Apia in the early 1850s, George Pritchard being responsible for importing several large cargoes of spirits and turning the British consulate into a pot shop.³⁹

Captain Home, who returned to Apia in 1852, found the place 'much less civilized' than on his previous visit in 1844:

The place called the Consulate is of a description quite unfit for a respectable Englishman to live in or for the English Flag to fly in front of. Although the sale of spirits is contrary to the law of Samoa established by the Chiefs, yet of the few houses which compose the town of Apia, I have reason to believe that nearly everyone of them deals in that article; no vigilance

38

J.W. Davidson, 'European Penetration of the South Pacific 1779-1842' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1942), 113-14.

39

Mills to Tidman, 12 October 1852, LMS. Letters, Box 24, Folder 10C.

could keep the people sober who were engaged in watering.⁴⁰

The same year the Reverend William Mills complained that there were more than twelve grog shops within less than half a mile either side of his house,⁴¹ while the foreign population did not exceed sixty.⁴² In Papeete and Apia it should be remembered that the grog shops supplied the crews of whalers as well as the local population. Only in Levuka, and even there only for a short time, were grog shops absent. A naval commander could allow his men liberty ashore without fear of a drunken aftermath; a situation Dumont d'Urville took advantage of in 1838.⁴³

Money earned by island women on board ships or in the shanty areas of the ports was spent almost entirely in the shops of the small traders. In Honolulu, later in its development, these men expected to net a large proportion of their incomes during the biannual whaling visits to the port.⁴⁴ Prostitution in Apia and Papeete was prohibited by the missionaries and religiously minded chiefs, but except for very

40

Home to Stafford, 20 December 1852, Adm. 1/5617.

41

Mills to Tidman, Apia, 12 October 1852, LMS. Letters, Box 24, Folder 10C.

42

The Samoan Reporter, January 1854, estimated Apia's foreign population at 60.

43

J.C.S. Dumont d'Urville, op. cit.

44

Gavan Daws, 'Honolulu in the 19th Century', Journal of Pacific History, II (1967), 77-96.

brief periods their attempts were singularly ineffective and the women's illegal earnings were spent in the same way as in Honolulu. In Levuka there was too little shipping for the profession to become an important source of capital.

Carpentering, coopering, blacksmithing, and other skilled trades connected with shipping were widely patronized and small businesses could be set up with little financial backing. While Archibald Campbell lived in Honolulu in 1809-10 many of the foreigners on Oahu were employed in Kamehameha's service as carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, masons and blacksmiths.⁴⁵ Campbell's first job was to mend the sails for Kamehameha's many ships, after which he was asked to weave new canvas.⁴⁶ The fleet, built by Hawaiian ships' carpenters under the direction of the Englishman Boyd, was commanded by foreigners. Harbottle, official pilot of the port, was also captain of the newly-acquired Lilly Bird, which was at the time anchored at the wharf for repairs. The former mate of the Lilly Bird, an Englishman called Clerk, was in charge of the whole fleet, which numbered about thirty vessels.⁴⁷

In the other ports chiefly patronage did not encourage or support such a diversity of mechanical

⁴⁵

Archibald Campbell, op. cit., 165-6.

⁴⁶

Ibid., 139-40.

⁴⁷

Ibid., 155-7.

skills, but services among themselves and for incoming ships kept many foreigners employed. Shipbuilding and carpentering occupied a number of settlers in Levuka where Whippy set up a partnership⁴⁸ with the later arrivals Simpson and William Cusack.⁴⁹ Although these trades, which made up the economic substrata of the beach communities, were in constant demand throughout the nineteenth century, few of them in any period of port development resulted in a large accumulation of wealth. By 1856 Whippy had saved enough money to send his second son Samuel to school in Sydney,⁵⁰ but the only person to make a large fortune was James Robinson, who arrived in Honolulu a destitute, shipwrecked sailor in 1822. He established a shipyard and was in possession of several hotels and stores when he died there in 1876 worth nearly half a million dollars.⁵¹

48

The Cyclopedia of Fiji (Sydney, 1907), 75, claimed that it was the first mercantile house in Fiji. How formal the arrangements were between the three is unknown but certainly they established for Levuka its now long-held reputation as a boat-building centre.

49

The arrival dates of Simpson, a London-born ships' carpenter and Cusack (sometimes Cusick), a carpenter, are not known. The first references made to them in Fiji appear in G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), I, 201, 6 October 1843.

By that time they were commanding boats round the islands and appeared well established.

50

John Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji, 1858-1873', (Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1968), 73.

51

Hawaiian Gazette, 13 September 1876.

The prosperity of the beach communities and their development, however, were ultimately dependent on the more substantial commercial enterprises which brought capital into the islands, stimulated economic growth and supported the individual service trades that were at all times subsidiary to them. Honolulu received its first large influx of capital from the sandalwood trade, which flourished from 1815 to 1822. For much of this time the profits went to the New England companies which monopolized the trade, but their agents, many of whom ultimately settled in Honolulu, were men with sound financial backing and large warehouses full of European goods for disposal in the islands. Labour was required to build and staff these new establishments, including clerks and storekeepers. Sandalwood vessels had to be manned, provisioned and repaired. Money was therefore distributed through several sectors of the community, both Hawaiian and foreign.⁵²

Although the sandalwood traders were the major source of capital in the town, they had to submit to chiefs' orders and respect all tapus. On 15 January 1818 James Hunnewell from Charlestown, Massachusetts, who was the first to set up a mercantile business in Honolulu, recorded in his diary: 'The principal chiefs left here [Honolulu] in the Columbia. We have had no business, as it is tabooed till their return.'⁵³ The

52

Marshall and Wildes MS. and Bryant and Sturgis MS., copies in Kuykendall Collection, in UH.

53

James Hunnewell, 'Honolulu in 1817 and 1818', HHS. Papers, VIII (1895), 3-19.

death of a chief and customary ritual tapus also left the traders without customers or an incoming supply of sandalwood.⁵⁴ Despite these temporary inconveniences the trade remained highly profitable until the early 1820s. In 1819 the first whaling boats called at Honolulu, forerunners of the rush of whalers en route to the Japanese ground,⁵⁵ so the port's development and permanence were guaranteed even when the sandalwood trade collapsed.

Early development in Papeete enjoyed no such impetus from large mercantile traders. The first settlers, Henry, Bicknell and Ebrill, who had no financial backing, were employed by Pomare II in the early 1820s sailing vessels between Tahiti and Port Jackson, and they also organized their own sugar plantation in the islands.⁵⁶ After Pomare II's death in 1821, Bicknell concentrated entirely on sugar, while Henry and Ebrill took part in a number of commercial ventures, collecting coconut oil, pork, sinnet and arrowroot throughout the Society Islands from chiefs and other traders, and exporting more exotic goods from distant groups.⁵⁷ By 1825 Solomon Levey, an emancipist merchant in New South Wales, had an establishment in Tahiti with two brigs of 140 tons

⁵⁴

Ibid.

⁵⁵

Edouard Stackpole, The Seahunters (Philadelphia, 1953), 267-8.

⁵⁶

William Crook, Journals 1820-1, LMS. Journals, Box 4, Items 54 and 58.

⁵⁷

J.W. Davidson, 'European Penetration of the South Pacific 1779-1842' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1942), 162.

employed in collecting various island products in connection with Henry and Ebrill, and had invested £5,000 in the business.⁵⁸ The same year Levey joined forces with Daniel Cooper, who was also financially interested in Henry's enterprises.⁵⁹

However, since the products were loaded from various centres in the eastern Pacific and shipped direct to New South Wales, Papeete gained little benefit from this trade; and as the Tahitians' demands for European goods were limited to clothing and hardware⁶⁰ no mercantile company could be tempted to set up an agency for such a small market. By the early 1820s the Hawaiian chiefs were buying fabrics, spirits and hardware plus cut glass, expensive dinner services, billiard tables, frame houses and sailing ships which helped to stimulate American enterprise.⁶¹ But there was little desire for Westernized styles of

58

George Bergman, 'Solomon Levey in Sydney', Royal Australian Historical Society Journal, XLIX (March 1964), 401-22.

59

Daniel Cooper, entry in Australian Dictionary of Biography, 1788-1850, edited by D. Pike (Melbourne, 1967), I, 245-6.

60

S.P. Henry to Captain Laws, 6 January 1829, 'Pacific Islands 1823-75, Two Collections' in DL.

61

Gavan Daws, 'The High Chief Boki', JPS., LXXV (March 1966), 65-83. For many years the Tahitian chiefs lacked the social aplomb of their Hawaiian counterparts. As late as 1839 they could be found vying with one another for the dirty washing from visiting ships: 'a business which is among the prerogatives of the queen and chiefs' - Charles Wilkes, op. cit., II, 4.

life to disturb the scene at Papeete, where the handful of foreign residents, excluding Henry, Bicknell and Ebrill, survived on piloting fees and a small supply trade. In 1824 there was only one forge on the island and 'even the foreigners established here carry on no kind of mechanical trade'.⁶²

Bêche-de-mer, the holothurian which was thickly distributed on the reefs of south-east Vanua Levu and the islands of the Koro sea, attracted a number of capital investors to Fiji and was the basis of Levuka's development from the 1820s to the early '50s. Salem traders first collected it in large quantities in 1819 but it was not until the smoke-drying technique of curing the fish was taught to the Americans in 1827, by the crew who had mutinied from the Spanish ship Conception, that the trade became fully established and expanded rapidly.⁶³ Levuka residents were hired as interpreters and agents between the Fijians and the traders and helped to repair vessels. Eagleston's ship, the Peru, was caulked by two Levuka carpenters in December 1832.⁶⁴ The township's gain from the first intensive exploitation of bêche-de-mer from 1822 to 1835 was slight in terms of capital acquired but at least it had become recognized by the Salem traders as the centre of foreign population in Fiji.

62

Otto von Kotzebue, A New Voyage Round the World (London, 1830), I, 171.

63

G.G. Putnam, Salem Vessels and their Voyages (Salem, 1930), IV, 96.

64

J.H. Eagleston Journal, Bêche-de-mer Records, Salem.

By 1835 the serious depopulation of the reefs led to a lull in the trade, which lasted from 1835 to 1842. Only Captain Eagleston and the Sydney ship Sir David Ogilby visited the group for bêche-de-mer in the intervening years. The second major period of the trade, 1842-50, was more directly important for the development of Levuka. On no reef was the bêche-de-mer as prolific as it had been previously; many more fishing establishments had to be set up and the time required to collect a full cargo was much longer. The Levuka men, who had increased in numbers by the 1840s, through shipwreck and desertions,⁶⁵ were hired to work on the boats and ashore. Some set up their own curing stations and sold the produce to the big traders.

At Levuka itself the shipbuilding company, Whippy, Simpson and Cusack, built small vessels which were used by the traders as tenders to scour the outer islands for bêche-de-mer, tortoiseshell and supplies of food.⁶⁶ Eagleston, who in 1834 was the first to have a boat built in Levuka, wrote to his employer, S.C. Phillips, about her:

I mentioned to you before leaving home of the Whites residing at these lds. having a small vessel under way [on the slips] and that I should employ her if possible. She will be

65

One of the first references to Levuka as a white settlement was made by Eagleston on 6 June 1831. By 1842 there were twenty foreigners in the township - The Report of the work of God in Bau Circuit for the Year ending June 1842, MMS. Papers.

66

R.G. Ward, 'The Pacific Bêche-de-mer Trade and its Consequences, with special reference to Fiji', seminar paper, ANU, 1967.

ready to launch on my return from Otahete and if I can obtain masts for her I shall put her in commission, while she is under my orders she will answer to the name of opposition. Sails I shall make for her out of some of the ship's old ones. I think of putting Mr [Litch?] as skipper of her, and some of the owners as pilots.⁶⁷

After 1842 shipbuilding increased rapidly and continued even when the settlers went into exile at Solevu.⁶⁸ The missionaries in Fiji also relied on the Levuka men for transport between their stations and to build them small schooners. On 14 October 1848 Lyth recorded in his journal that Simpson and Miller had come over from Solevu in order to make an arrangement with him about a new craft. On 8 June 1849 the schooner was delivered from Ovalau and payment was settled soon after.⁶⁹ Missionaries' trips between stations in Levuka craft cost an average of £10 per fortnight.⁷⁰ But in comparison with the bêche-de-mer

67

J.H. Eagleston, letters, Bêche-de-mer Records, Salem.

68
John Hunt, 'The Private Journal of John Hunt', 21 May 184[6?], typescript in ML. The decline of the bêche-de-mer trade in the 1850s caused a lull in the shipbuilding trade, but only temporarily. With the growth of the cotton industry many planters were in need of small boats to carry them round the group - Jones to Secy of State, 31 December 1867, Trade Report. Extracts from the letter books of HMBM Consular Office, Levuka, Fiji in ML.

69

R.B. Lyth, Journals V and VI, in ML.

70

R.B. Lyth, Journal II; J. Calvert, Journal, 12 December 1839, MMS. papers.

traders, mission contributions to Levuka finance were small.

In Apia the supply trade to whalers attracted a number of small mercantile companies to the beach community. In 1846 seventy-two whalers and other vessels anchored in Apia⁷¹ and the numbers greatly increased in the following decade. The grog-shops and small trading stores, which proliferated, were largely dependent on the shipping trade, since Samoan demands for European goods were spasmodic and then only for cheap items of cloth and hardware.⁷² By 1856 the number of settlers involved in general trading and provisioning exceeded the demand for these services and a decline in the whaling industry in the Central Pacific at this time was, as a consequence, felt acutely. Intensified competition between rival companies forced several to close; Pritchard and Company in 1855, Chapin and Van Camp in '56. William Yandall, a British boat builder, was financially broken by the late 1850s and the large Tahitian-based Hort company collapsed in 1862.⁷³ Too many had believed that a quick fortune could be made in Apia, where early growth was in fact characterized by instability, debt and foreclosure.⁷⁴

71

J.W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa (Melbourne, 1967), 38.

72

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 182-3.

73

Ibid., 185.

74

The pattern changed with the rise of the Godeffroy company. See below, Chapter V, 172-3.

Few of the early residents in the beach communities had any desire to own large tracts of land, however there was a widespread need for small areas suitable for housing, stores and workshops. Such parcels of land were usually acquired from the islanders without difficulty, but ignorant of European systems of land tenure the donor conceived that he was giving the right of temporary usufruct, not any form of freehold ownership. As a rule the land belonged to a foreigner during his lifetime only; he could not sell it nor could his wife or children inherit it after his death. Some foreigners acquired land through their island wives but the same restrictions obtained, except of course that the woman retained her customary rights to it after her husband's death or departure. Foreigners who left the islands had no claim to land given them during their residence.

In Hawaii Kamehameha I rewarded the services of many foreigners with land grants. In time these allotments frequently came to be considered foreign property and those who settled permanently in the islands or their descendants claimed them before the Lands Commission in the late 1840s, and were granted freehold titles.⁷⁵ Although this was a natural consequence of the controlling power which foreigners wielded in the Hawaiian government by the late '40s,

75

Settlers or their descendants who received land included Adams, Auld, Anderson, Butler, Gravier, Kilday, Holmes, Marin, Reynolds, Rives, Robinson, Young, Davis, Gowan and Zupplien.

plus the fact that the Hawaiians had by then become accustomed to considering these lands as foreign property, it was a sequel which Kamehameha I, when he distributed the land, had never intended. During the early years even well-established settlers such as Marin found that their land was not inviolable. In 1823, when the Hawaiian chiefs accused Marin of flouting the tapu prohibiting the sale of provisions by the foreigners to ships in the harbour, much of his land and property was confiscated and only returned when he had satisfied Kamehameha II that he was innocent.⁷⁶

At all times foreigners who were granted land were expected to behave properly, according to Hawaiian lights. The chief Kekauonohi explained to the land commission the terms under which he had given land to John White in 1826: 'It was not given to be his forever but given as land is always given by the Chiefs to foreigners: that is as long as they behave well and live uprightly'.⁷⁷ E.R. Butler paid Kamehameha I \$100 in cash for land which was allotted to him near Honolulu in 1813.⁷⁸ Five years later Joseph Thomas paid the chief Keaumoku \$100 in cash and goods for five or six acres at Wailua.⁷⁹ Neither of them, however,

76

Francisco de Paula Marin Journal, 22-30 September 1823.

77

Department of Land and National Resources, AH., Foreign Testimony, II, no.364.

78

Ibid., Foreign Register, I, no.32.

79

Ibid., Foreign Register, I, no.248.

received deeds for their property and their security of tenure was not absolute. Leases for short term residents were always most precarious; and as late as the 1830s Stephen Grant explained: 'We held our lands at the sufferance of the chiefs and when they saw fit to turn us off, they might with impunity'.⁸⁰

Kamehameha I's concern over land ownership led to the law forbidding foreigners to build permanent, European-style houses: 'in those days no one thought of erecting houses without consulting a chief'.⁸¹

Among the early settlers in Fiji the holding of land under casual verbal arrangements had much in common with the usage of their island hosts. No records or evidence have survived of any land sales in Levuka before 1838, although foreigners had been resident there for over twelve years. During this early period they presumably held land by usufruct only and made no attempt to claim individual freehold ownership. Deeds of sales for 1838 and later were lost in the fires which periodically swept Levuka after 1841. But it appears from evidence collected for the Land Claims Commission in the 1880s that, as a rule, land was only formally divided and given to individual owners during this period to settle a debt

80

Ibid., Foreign Testimony, II, no.311.

81

Ibid., Foreign Testimony, II, no.576.

or a dispute⁸² or for a foreigner who expressly demanded it. Lydia Connor, former widow of William Cusack, explained how her first husband came into possession of half an acre on the edge of Levuka-Vakaviti:

First of all it was given in a friendly way afterwards property was given and the soil was given actually. There was a deed made at that time.⁸³

Usually land was held by extended family groups and divided among its members as required. Charles Wise, a part-Fijian son of James Magoun, who had been adopted by his aunt, gave evidence concerning the changed ownership of a piece of land in Vagadace:⁸⁴

Caroline and James Magoun gave it to my parents, who were always giving presents. It was not a sale but a gift in a relationship sort of way. My mother and Caroline Magoun were sisters.⁸⁵

The first demands on Samoan land were made in the early 1840s, by which time the Samoans were fully conversant with the French troubles in Tahiti and wary of foreign ambitions. To the expatriates, there had

82

J.H. Eagleston was involved in a land dispute with James Magoun in 1838 at Vagadace, just north of Levuka - LCC. R570. J.M.R. Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji, 1858-1873' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1968), 68-9.

83

LCC. R87.

84

See footnote 82 for position of Vagadace.

85

LCC. R525.

appeared to be large stretches of vacant land around Apia harbour, notwithstanding the presence of three Samoan villages in the area. But the chiefs had rights over all the land and were well aware of its value. The missionaries and J.C. Williams, son of the celebrated missionary John Williams, had little difficulty acquiring land but later arrivals, men intending to set up trading stations, and land-speculating whaling captains found that leasehold was the only form of tenure available.⁸⁶

George Pritchard, who was unceremoniously left at Apia as British consul in July 1845, had great difficulty, as he protested to the Secretary of State: 'I have been here more than five months and have not been able either to rent or purchase an inch of ground on which to build a Consulate or Residence.'⁸⁷ In 1847, after Pritchard had at last been formally introduced and saluted as the British consul in Samoa by a naval vessel, land was sold to him. During the 1850s certain small areas around Apia were opened for sale,⁸⁸ but large-scale purchases were impossible until the civil wars of 1869-73, when the Samoans' desire for guns overcame their scruples about selling land.

⁸⁶

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 162-3.

⁸⁷

Pritchard to Secy. of State, Navigator Islands, 31 December 1845, FO 58/38.

⁸⁸

Matautu, at the eastern end of Apia harbour was opened at this period.

In Papeete the early settlers, who were happy to live under casual social and land arrangements with the Tahitians, put little pressure on them for freehold rights. However, the chiefs were at no time anxious to sell their lands. When foreign demands increased with the expansion of the Valparaiso and whaling trades, leasehold was the only tenure offered around Papeete, except to a favoured few.⁸⁹ Later both the sale and lease of land to foreigners were totally prohibited.⁹⁰

Leadership in a beach community could only be established by an individual of forceful character who could command respect and approval for his decisions. In Honolulu and Levuka such men appeared but in Papeete and Apia no one could transcend the conflicting interests that troubled those towns. Kamehameha I extended his traditional chiefly powers to include all the Hawaiians and foreign settlers. No foreigner enjoyed any special privileges; landholding and the building of permanent houses were carefully restricted, as they were for the Hawaiians themselves, while the establishment of segregated expatriate areas was prohibited.⁹¹ The widespread

89

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., II, 20-1; J. Davies, op. cit., 332; Rufus Newburgh, 'A Narrative of Voyage', MS. in AH.

90

J. Davies, op. cit., 370.

91

Captain Golovnin, op. cit.

acceptance of Kamehameha's authority made it possible for him to impose a monopoly on the pork trade to shipping and later on the more lucrative sandalwood trade.⁹² Although fond of alcohol he limited its production and consumption as far as it was in his power:

Old Tamehameha not only forbid the distilling of it, but that no native should be allowed to have any in possession, and that old ruler was one whose orders were respected & that law was in force at Oahu until the last of 1820 or the beginning of 1821 - in 1817 & 1818 to my knowledge one of the constant crys of Oahu was Tabu ka loma, Tabu ka wiwi.⁹³

By 1817-18 Kamehameha had returned to Hawaii Island, where he lived the remaining years of his life (1812-19), but his control over the mixed population at Honolulu did not lessen. Through his governors - first the Englishman Holmes, followed by Kalanimoku⁹⁴ and then Boki⁹⁵ - he was able to encourage the industrious, threaten the loafers with exile and summon the law breakers to trail in Hawaii.⁹⁶ Experienced traders in the islands knew the wisdom and

92

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 55.

93

Hunnewell to Chamberlin, 25 April 1832, in Kuykendall Collection in UH. (loma - lazy; wiwi - rickety); see above Chapter II, 75.

94

Otto von Kotzebue, Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas (London, 1821), 94.

95

W.D. Alexander, 'Early Trading in Hawaii', HHS. Papers, XI (1903), 22-4.

96

Maria Loomis, Journal, 8 August 1820, MS. in HMCS.

advantage of seeking Kamehameha's 'permission-to-enter' and protection at Hawaii before proceeding to Honolulu harbour.⁹⁷ From the diary which Hunnewell kept in Honolulu for the years 1817-18 it is evident that economic pursuits were profitable and life as a whole secure and even dull.⁹⁸

While in Honolulu stability was enforced by an Hawaiian, in Levuka it was the expatriate David Whippy who for a period of about twelve years, from 1840 to 1852, maintained an effective leadership - to the extent that he was able to persuade his fellow residents and the Fijians in contact with the town to formulate their own laws and establish an ad hoc body to enforce them.⁹⁹ Surrounded by Fijian wars and plots the Levuka men tried to remain neutral and refused to harbour anyone in their midst who was involved in Fijian politics.¹⁰⁰ While in Fiji in 1840 Wilkes met the reprobate Patrick Connel who:

had lived much at Rewa, and until lately had been a resident at Levuka, but had, in consequence of his intrigues, been expelled by the white residents, to the island of Ambatiki. It appeared that they had unanimously come to the conclusion that if he did not remove, they would be obliged to put him to death for their own safety.¹⁰¹

97

See above Chapter III, 92.

98

James Hunnewell, op. cit.

99

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173.

100

Ibid.

101

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., III, 69.

Wilkes approved of the Levuka men's 'general deportment and good conduct', and their leader, Whippy. In fact he considered them the best disposed community that he met anywhere in the Pacific.¹⁰² Several bêche-de-mer captains, including Eagleston, owed the continued safety of their vessels to Whippy's timely warnings of planned Fijian attacks.¹⁰³ Captain Bureaux of the L'Aimable Josephine ignored his advice and lost vessel, crew and his own life.¹⁰⁴

A crude system of justice was practised by the Levuka settlers, who in March 1842 took it upon themselves to catch the murderers of James Carter, a Fijian and an Hawaiian, and after inquiry hanged them.¹⁰⁵ In 1849, after a period in exile, Whippy and his compatriots were still able to command respect; this time from Captain Erskine of HMS Havannah who commented that: 'he [Whippy] is a man of excellent character, and has succeeded by his good example in giving a tone of order and true respectability to the community'.¹⁰⁶ Whippy's standing with the Fijians, among whom he was

102

Ibid., 47-8.

103

J.H. Eagleston Journal, June 1831 and May 1834, Bêche-de-mer Records, Salem; R.B. Lyth, 'Tongan and Fijian Reminiscences', II in ML.

104

R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji (Suva, 1946), 59-62.

105

G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), I, 77.

106

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173.

accepted as royal messenger and interpreter,¹⁰⁷ combined with his steady influence over the Levuka settlers and his loyalty to foreign shipping, made it possible for him to work in the interests of both races, and to keep relations between them on an easy level.

In neither Papeete nor Apia, on the other hand, were the local authorities or the foreigners able or willing to create a working liaison which could control the various relations of the newly established urban centres. In Tahiti the missionaries had gained control over the ruling chiefs, and advised them on law codes, long before Papeete became the most-frequented port. Until the mid-1820s the foreign population was not concentrated at Papeete but spread along the Matavai Bay-Papeete coastline. With so few foreign settlers and so little commercial activity, the lack of community leadership in Papeete during the early years created no major difficulties.¹⁰⁸ The Tahitian chiefs kept what order and laws they thought necessary and sought missionary advice only if foreigners' demands or threats became too insistent.

107

Eagleston, Journal, May 1837, Bêche-de-Mer Records, Salem.

108

Foreigners were settled throughout the Society Islands. Captain Hunter, a boat-builder, lived on Raiatea where S.P. Henry also had a house. Joseph Smith worked a sugar plantation on Opore for several years - E. Lucett, Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849 (London, 1851), I, 302-3; J.W. Davidson, 'European Penetration of the South Pacific 1779-1842' (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1942), 146; [Joseph Smith], 'Tahiti 1824-1857', Ross MSS in BPBM.

In Apia the early arrival of missionaries and consuls, who influenced loyalties and directed the chiefs' law-making, precluded the appearance of a recognized expatriate leader and caused a division of interests in the town from its earliest years. Among the foreigners national divisions occurred, but were not lasting or exclusive: beach riff-raff might combine against those who considered themselves more respectable, or occupational groups would make common cause if they felt themselves threatened. One antagonism, however, was constant: good relations existed between individual Samoans and foreigners, but as a group the expatriates, especially the consuls, were aware and jealous of the resident Samoan chiefs' reluctance to lease or sell land, their control over their people's social and economic activities and their constant efforts to thwart foreign expansion.¹⁰⁹

Under these conditions it was in Apia that the only foreign protection societies appeared in any early beach community. The first was established in 1848 under the threat of a Samoan civil war,¹¹⁰ and the second in 1854 ostensibly for the same reason, although in reality it became a society to protect foreigners from one another's sharp dealings and to free them, or so they hoped, from missionary and chiefly

109

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 231; Fremantle to Osborne, 15 November 1855, Adm. 1/5672.

110

Maxwell to Secy. of Admiralty, 18 March 1848, Adm. 1/5590.

interference.¹¹¹ The second society, more elaborate than the first, enacted laws to regulate commercial transactions and to maintain order throughout the community. A court, established to try offenders and allocate fines to minor public works, was soon fully employed attempting to protect the Apia residents from the illegal practices of the newly-arrived American consul, Aaron Van Camp.

Between 1854 and 1856 barratry, rigged auctions, underhand transfers of property and embezzlement were among the accusations laid to Van Camp's charge. George Pritchard led the fight against his consular colleague and the United States naval officers who tried to uphold him. So far did he associate himself with the beach element against Van Camp that he sanctioned the fraudulent transfer of American grog shops and dance halls to British citizens so that American officials had no power to close them.¹¹² Apia, known as the Cairo of the Pacific,¹¹³ had never enjoyed a very savoury reputation and by 1856 it reached its lowest ebb. Naval officers, both British and American, who were sent to establish order from the chaos, were appalled by the situation they found:

111

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 231; USCD-A, I, 1854, passim. George Pritchard took a leading part in the creation and proceedings of both societies.

112

Mervine to Secy. of Navy, 30 June 1856, USNR, Pacific Squadron 1841-1886; Van Camp to Pritchard, 11 April 1856, BCS. 2/1.

113

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 179.

There was, moreover, so much exaggeration and so much personal enmity displayed on the part of his [Van Camp's] accusers (none of whom were free from criminality in some shape or other) and on all sides such rude and insulting language and such flat contradictions, that one could not feel otherwise than ashamed and disgusted to be involved in the exposure of so much falsehood and dishonesty: a reproach to the very name of commerce.¹¹⁴

Not only those closely involved in the Van Camp intrigues were accused of outrageous behaviour; the population as a whole was seen to be in a degraded condition. Commodore Mervine arrived in Apia in April 1856 and found:

a state of society existing that beggars all description; composed of a heterogeneous mass of the most immoral and dissolute foreigners that ever disgraced humanity: principally composed of Americans and Englishmen, several of whom had been Sidney convicts. Responsible to no laws for their conduct - certainly none that the Natives have the power or disposition to enforce against them - there exist anarchy, riot and debauchery which render life and property insecure.¹¹⁵

With Van Camp's departure in July 1856 conditions improved rapidly but the lack of any strong social cohesion and a recognized leader remained, and any slight disturbance could develop into a crisis that shattered the tenuous bonds of community solidarity.

114

Fremantle to Osborne, 15 November 1855, Adm. 1/5672.

115

Mervine to Secy. of Navy, 30 June 1856, USNR, Pacific Squadron 1841-1886.

Despite the inevitable tensions that resulted from the establishment of part-alien enclaves in the midst of independent political groups possessing very different social and economic interests, the incidence of major crimes was remarkably low. Threats and occasional intimidation were resorted to but it soon became apparent to both the island authorities and the settlers that each was necessary to the other and that acts which tended to disrupt the status quo could destroy the very communities themselves. No act of intentional homicide among the foreign residents was recorded in any early port town, although there were a few drunken brawls that ended fatally.¹¹⁶ Even in Apia during the Van Camp incident no blood was shed. 'Drunkenness and debauchery were in the ascendent', but, the visitor D'Ewes claimed, 'violent scenes were of rare occurrence'.¹¹⁷ A fine was the usual punishment for any offence, since jails were non-existent and furthermore no one in a port town would have had the authority to imprison anybody.

In Apia, where there was no accepted leader to enforce justice, the residents and Samoans eventually recognized a mixed court to settle civil cases. The consul of the foreigner concerned and two Samoan chiefs constituted the judicial body and within its limited

116

In 1852 Henry Carleton, an American seaman, killed H. Epps, after a drinking bout in an Apia grog shop. Evidence pointed to misadventure, not intentional killing - G. Pritchard to Chapin, 6 October 1854, USCD-A, I.

117

John D'Ewes, op. cit., 172.

sphere of operation - it only had competence over issues between Samoans and foreigners - it proved effective for several years.¹¹⁸ In all communities might tended to be right, but the number of times force was resorted to were not many.

While Honolulu and Levuka enjoyed greater internal stability than either Papeete or Apia, the residents of the former towns were subjected to the threat and even punishment of exile. In 1814 and 1815 word came from Kamehameha I on Hawaii Island that the foreigners in Honolulu without land and skills were to depart: 'that he did not like them'.¹¹⁹ The continuing influx of deserters was the focus of Kamehameha's anxiety; the well-established foreigners were not included. But even they could not always be sure that Hawaiian suspicion and desire to acquire European goods might not extend to themselves. On 23 April 1818 the residents were startled by the arrival of a brig from Hawaii Island:

With an Indian captain, who informed us that all the white men on the islands were to be put to death at midnight. We were alarmed by a loud cry through the village, when we expected the hour was come; but the natives were contented with the burning of a few houses.¹²⁰

118

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 242-5. The process of consular courts for cases between foreigners will be discussed in Chapter V.

119

Marin, Journal, 30 October 1814, 26 November 1814 and 16 January 1815.

120

James Hunnewell, op. cit.

None of the threats was fully acted upon but it kept the foreigners aware of the tenuousness of their security and their dependence on Hawaiian goodwill.

Conditions for beachcombing and foreign settlement were more dangerous in Fiji than in Polynesia, since the threat of cannibalism and Fijian intrigue were present for many years after the first European contact. The Levuka settlers considered themselves immune from Fijian wars and attacks, but William Diaper in 1842 had no faith in their supposed security:

They appeared to be comfortable enough, and I could have remained with them if I thought proper, but I did not entertain the notion of attempting a civilized life in the midst of cannibals, and thought that they incurred more danger in this kind of semi-civilization and apparent independence than I actually did, who was seeing fresh adventures every day, and trusting to the mercy of savages.¹²¹

Two years later the 'semi-civilization' was shattered when the Levuka men abused the laws of neutrality tacitly understood between themselves and Cakobau, the most powerful chief of the area. Despite their regulations against harbouring war-mongering foreigners inside Levuka,¹²² they rescued Charles Pickering from Lakeba, whence he had escaped after his schooner was wrecked at Cicia Island. Since he was believed to have been carrying information for the chief of Rewa,

¹²¹

John Jackson pseud. William Diaper, op. cit., 453.

¹²²

Patrick Connel was exiled from Levuka for this offence.

Cakobau had also been in pursuit of him. Thwarted in his attempt Cakobau vented his anger on the Levuka men, exiling them from the island.¹²³ Petitions from neither Whippy nor the missionaries weakened his resolve; all the foreigners were forced to depart, leaving a seventy-ton schooner half-finished on the slips.¹²⁴ They did not, however, join Cakobau's enemies at Rewa but retired to Solevu, on Vanua Levu, and took no part in the war.¹²⁵ A return to the original town was made possible early in 1849.¹²⁶ The foreigners had had no recourse to any outside power to enforce their reinstatement, nor did they demand compensation at this stage for the loss of property they had sustained when the Lovoni men from the

123

G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), II, 285; R.A. Derrick, A History of Fiji (Suva, 1946), 93-4.

124

Ibid., 94; Mrs Wallis, op. cit., 24. Although it was claimed that all the foreigners were driven from Levuka, late in 1846 when the Lovoni tribe razed the village, five whitemen were killed. (Mrs Wallis, op. cit., 234-5). It is likely that these men were left in Levuka temporarily from bêche-de-mer vessels currently in the group. Certainly after 1846 no foreigner is recorded in Levuka until 1849.

125

R.A. Derrick, op. cit., 94; Hunt to Miller, 23 May 1847, British Consulate Tahiti, MSS 24/3 in ML.; The Samoan Reporter, March 1849.

126

G.C. Henderson, op. cit., II, 472-4; Calvert to Miller, 10 January 1849, British Consulate Tahiti MSS 24/3 in ML.; see above Chapter III for Cakobau's reappraisal of his action.

interior of Ovalau razed Levuka in 1846.¹²⁷ Like the Honolulu settlers their livelihood and security of tenure were dependent on their ability to maintain good relations with their island hosts.

The good relations that were established and maintained in the early beach communities were actively assisted in a number of cases by whites who had absorbed so much of the island way of life that they had become sympathetic and tolerant towards the norms of local society and equipped to act as a bridge between islander and settler.¹²⁸ Many of these were beachcombers who, moving into beach communities, brought with them habits of cooperation with the islanders and used their knowledge to guide the chief's dealings with newly arrived and more influential foreigners. Whippy's concern for the safety of several *bêche-de-mer* vessels was probably activated by his loyalty both to the Fijians, who would have suffered severe reprisals had they been successful, and to his fellow countrymen. Later in 1852, at a time when several Americans were intransigently demanding compensation for recent fires and depredations, Whippy went with Captain Home of HMS Calliope to Bua as Cakobau's messenger of peace and did much to

127

Mrs Wallis, op. cit., 234-5.

128

E.G. Schwimmer, 'The Mediator', JPS., LXVII (1958), 335-50, analyzes the role of inter-cultural mediators in societies facing rapid change.

encourage the combatant parties to make a settlement.¹²⁹ During Home's same tour of duty in Fiji, Whippy made it possible for him to capture two undesirable white men on Moala Island. 'Without his valuable assistance, knowledge of the Natives, and their character', and his 'warm desire to do good', Home stated to his superior officer, nothing would have been accomplished.¹³⁰

John Young and Francisco de Paula Marin were similarly concerned to foster the best interests of their newly adopted homeland, Hawaii. The threat of Russian settlement and perhaps even invasion of the Hawaiian islands brought Young to Honolulu late in 1815, where he supervised the construction of a fort¹³¹ and kept Kamehameha I posted concerning the Russians' movements on Kauai. On his advice Alexander Adams and William Sumner¹³² were sent to disband the settlement.¹³³ When the Russian captain Kotzebue

129

'Vewa Record', 8 November 1852, Calvert's Miscellaneous Papers, MMS.; Home to Secy. of Admiralty, 20 December 1852, Adm. 1/5617.

130

Ibid., enclosure 6.

131

Otto von Kotzebue, Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas (London, 1821), 94.

132

Adams arrived in Hawaii early in 1816 in the brig Forester, which was sold to Kamehameha, who appointed Adams to command her. William Sumner arrived in the islands in 1806.

133

Hawaiian Gazette, 5 June 1896; A. Adams, Journal, February 1817 in AH.

arrived in Honolulu harbour in November 1816 it was Young who smoothed his way and quietened the Hawaiians' fears that Kotzebue was surveying the harbour as a prelude to annexing the islands.¹³⁴

Marin was a trusted interpreter to three successive Kamehamehas and it was he who instructed Kamehameha I to hold two vessels that took refuge in the islands in 1817 from the United Provinces of South America under most suspicious circumstances.¹³⁵ When Captain Bouchard arrived in September 1818 in search of the pirated vessels Kamehameha immediately handed them over to him with much of their cargo and equipment intact.¹³⁶

The foreign settlers of Papeete and Apia evinced no comparable sense of responsibility or concern. The Pomare family was renowned for its meanness in rewarding the services of foreigners in their employ,¹³⁷ which may in part have contributed to the lack of loyalty they inspired in foreigners. Even S.P. Henry, who was born and brought up in the islands as the son of a missionary, revealed little vital interest in

134

Otto von Kotzebue, Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas (London, 1821), 96-7.

135

John Ii, op. cit., 128-9.

136

Peter Corney, op. cit., 119.

137

Early in the nineteenth century the beachcomber Peter Haggerstein threatened to change his allegiance to another tribe if Pomare I did not honour his promises of land and goods - John Turnbull, op. cit., 294-8.

Pomare II's new economic ventures.¹³⁸ Entrusted with certain business transactions for Pomare II in 1820, Henry acted entirely in his own interests¹³⁹ without thought of his employer's rights or needs. This lack of consideration towards the Pomare family was symptomatic of the attitudes of all later non-missionary settlers in Papeete. No mediator was concerned to advise or protect the Tahitians' interests, which the foreigners disregarded completely in their pursuit of economic gain.

Similarly in Apia a quick fortune and return to the civilized world were the goals of the majority of traders, who saw their main avenue to success in the exploitation of the Samoans, not in fostering their interests. With no liaison or tradition of cooperation between the foreigners and the Tahitian or Samoan chiefs in Papeete and Apia, these towns lacked stability, and any minor incident could develop into a crisis detrimental to the interests of both races.

While the settlers were endeavouring to consolidate and, when conditions permitted, to extend their newly-found urban beach-heads in the islands, the islanders themselves strove to maintain an uneasy ascendancy over the slowly expanding foreign populations. Exile

138

High Court of Appeals, Edward Eager v. S.P. Henry, Sydney, March 1822, in 'Pacific Islands 1823-75, two collections', in DL.; E. Eager to S.P. Henry, 1 December 1820, LMS. letters, Box 3, folder 2B.

139

P.E. Le Roy, 'The Emancipists', Royal Australian Historical Society Journal, XLVII-XLVIII (1961-3), 270-301.

was threatened and imposed, property was confiscated and business activities were incommoded by tapus, and in Apia in 1855 even by boycott.¹⁴⁰ Kamehameha I would not tolerate the claim that the English had rights over his islands through his treaty with Vancouver in 1794.¹⁴¹ The title 'Sandwich Islands' was forbidden and each island had to be called by its Hawaiian name.¹⁴² Other island authorities, however, were not as astute or powerful as Kamehameha I. In vain the chiefs of Apia opposed the British and American consuls' decision in 1857 to appropriate the harbour dues which had always been their prerogative as owners of the surrounding land. W.T. Pritchard, British Consul since the departure of his father,¹⁴³ denied them the right to tax the shipping of other nations unless some commensurate benefits were provided in the harbour.¹⁴⁴

For a period a few chiefs were able to direct foreign activities in their own interests. But although the early residents, without consular representation, were dependent on their hosts' goodwill, they had much

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Fremantle to Secy. of Admiralty, 15 November 1855, Adm. 1/5672.

¹⁴¹

George Vancouver, op. cit., V, 90-5.

¹⁴²

Capt. Golovnin, op. cit.

¹⁴³

George Pritchard left Samoa on 13 December 1856 - BCS. 3/1.

¹⁴⁴

W.T. Pritchard to Secy. of State, 30 September 1857, BCS. 3/2.

in the way of goods and skills that had become essential to island life. No chief was willing or able to cut himself and his people off from such benefits. Any stand against foreign expansion, therefore, could not be permanently effective. Nevertheless, as long as the islanders were confident of the validity of their own culture and were not intimidated by threats of naval reprisals, they were able to impose their will upon a number of foreign enterprises. It was only with the arrival of consuls that their precarious power was inevitably upset, and their right to control land, trading practices, harbour dues and town development increasingly denied.

CHAPTER VCONSULS, MISSIONARIES AND COMPANY TRADERS

Population increase - diversification of occupational groups. The selection of consuls - role in the port towns - reception - trading activities - maintenance of law and order - judicial procedures and punishments - demand for new courts - protection societies - naval intervention - heightened national solidarity - changes in island/foreign relations - new leadership patterns - island resistance - protests to British and American governments - changes effected by consuls. Missionary activity in beach communities - introduction of Roman Catholicism - repercussions in Honolulu and Papeete. Influence of large company traders. Conclusions.

AS the beach communities established themselves and began to attract more foreign settlers, they underwent a fundamental change. In part this was due just to the dynamics of growth - the Europeans no longer occupied dwellings interspersed among those of the islanders, but moved together into what became sizeable nuclei of predominately white settlers. Islanders still lived in proximity to the foreigners, but certain areas became recognized white preserves in which the former were visitors or employees (usually domestic) rather than neighbours. Within these foreign settlements, numbers and propinquity tended to generate a community of interest vis-a-vis the surrounding indigenous population, despite the existence of constant inter-group frictions inevitable in view of divergent economic and

social interests and personality clashes, exacerbated by the isolated conditions of island life.¹

The diversification of the foreign populations in the beach communities was another important factor leading to change, in particular in the patterns of leadership, which resulted in new loyalties and allegiances. The advent and subsequent activities of three immigrant occupational groups - the consuls, missionaries and company traders - were to dominate the later development in the beach communities. Priority of consideration is accorded here to the consular representatives of the metropolitan powers, not because they necessarily arrived on the scene first, but because their influence in the community was unquestionably greatest, while at the same time the effect of the others was mainly felt within the context of the new situation which consular ascendancy created.

In the early years of European settlement in the Pacific the European power most affected, by virtue of the number of its nationals in the area, was Great Britain, who considered it sufficient to supervise their activities by such ad hoc arrangements as the

1

There was much in common between life in Pacific beach communities and factory life in India and the East. The small enclaves of expatriates living in isolation from their home environment engendered similar emotional tensions and made such communities sensitive to gossip, rumour and sudden violent feelings of resentment against their host populations.

occasional visitations of warships and the appointment of magistrates at Tahiti and Kororareka.²

But as the more important Pacific Islands groups began to attract larger numbers of foreign settlers, the British and American governments were obliged to offer greater protection to their respective subjects' commercial interests and to regulate their activities on shore more closely. Since neither government had any wish to acquire colonial possessions in the area, arrangements for establishing effective control were made on the assumption that the British and Americans were dealing with independent island kingdoms capable of regulating relations with foreign settlers in their territories. Pursuing policies of minimal intervention both governments appointed consular agents without magisterial powers who, it was expected, would encourage and protect their compatriots' trading enterprises and cooperate with island authorities to regulate their behaviour.³

Initially neither government believed the Pacific posts important enough to justify anything but the lowest grade of appointment, i.e., part-time trading

2

In Tahiti the LMS. missionary William Henry was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1811. Three years later Thomas Kendall, a CMS. missionary, was given the same status at the Bay of Islands.

3

Studies of British and American policy in the Pacific last century are numerous. The most helpful for this thesis were: J.M. Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific (Sydney, 1948), passim; Jean I. Brookes, International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-1875 (Berkeley, 1941), passim.

consuls on a minimal salary or a fees for work basis.⁴
 In fact pressures from several sources had to be brought to bear before the governments would contemplate even these appointments. Reports of violent crimes perpetrated both by Europeans and islanders, which were sent to England and America, elicited little government response, but mercantile and whaling companies engaged in the Pacific were also anxious to gain better protection for their enterprises. These pressure groups, plus some of the nationals already present in the beach communities, were able to stimulate their respective governments into action.

Marshall and Wildes, one of the two major Northwest coast and sandalwood trading companies in New England, engineered the appointment of their employee, John Coffin Jones, as the first 'agent of the United States for commerce and seamen' in Hawaii.⁵ Jonas M. Coe, for many years a beachcomber-trader in Apia, discovered in 1863 that the influential businessman, Edward Coe in California, was his brother.

4

R. Charlton was appointed British consular agent to Hawaii in 1825 at a salary of £200 per annum. The first consuls in the South Pacific were given similar amounts. The first career consul was General Miller, appointed to Hawaii in 1843 on a salary of £800, but he was denied the right to trade. Later this condition, accompanied by varying increases in salary, was enforced on all consuls.

5

Bryant and Sturgis to Bullard, 12 October 1820, Bryant and Sturgis MS. in Kuykendall Collection in UH.; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1947), 98. Richard Charlton, 1st British representative in Hawaii, was the nominee and employee of Palmer, Wilson and Company - Jean I. Brookes. op. cit., 49-50.

Through the latter's advocacy and that of his West coast associates engaged in the Pacific trade, the American consular agency in Apia devolved on him.⁶

The men who were appointed to consular positions had, indeed, little or nothing in terms of character, education or intellectual standing to recommend them for the job. The dearth of suitable candidates available made a satisfactory selection almost impossible. Few hardworking or respectable men on the beach wanted to take on a post which entailed much time-consuming and often acrimonious business, rewarded by such a meagre salary (about £200 or its equivalent per annum). As Thomas Crocker, Jones's vice-agent in Honolulu, explained:

On my departure from the Islands I did not leave any agent, as there was no resident who would accept of it that was respectable and responsible, owing to the very frequent and troublesome calls upon him, and being a place destitute of all law as regards the whites.⁷

Frequently, however, the governments did not make any real effort to ensure that the best available man was

6

Robert W. Robson, Queen Emma (Sydney, 1965), 16. A number of British residents on Tahiti and George Pritchard himself pressured the British government into appointing him consul to the Society Islands in 1836 - Foreign Residents' Petition to Secy. of State, 25 February 1836, and G. Pritchard to Secy. of State, 5 March 1836, FO. 58/14.

7

Crocker to Secy. of State, 9 November 1825, in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

appointed.⁸ A number of American consular posts were dependent on the outcome of government elections,⁹ while the British representatives frequently owed their positions to the home government's indifference.¹⁰

Once established in a port town, however, consuls played leading roles simply by virtue of the offices they performed. Only they were able to register deeds and other legal instruments, issue birth and death certificates, provide for the administration of deceased estates and enforce maritime law in respect of European vessels and their cargoes.¹¹ With and without authority they performed the marriage service and produced the requisite lines.¹² W.T. Pritchard,

8

Appointment to consular positions was still open to manipulation once the post was established, since the out-going incumbent was responsible for installing his successor, subject to subsequent confirmation from the home authorities.

9

This was apparent in Apia, especially after the Steinberger incident in 1875.

10

It was admitted by British officials as early as 1836 that Charlton was of 'very unpredictable temper' but he was not replaced until 1843, after he had played a major part in a serious diplomatic incident - Unsigned Memorandum to Admiralty, 20 September 1836, FO. 58/8. Similarly Pritchard was reappointed British consul in the Western Pacific, after he had caused the government considerable trouble in Tahiti.

11

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 222.

12

Consuls were not automatically given the right to solemnize marriages. A special licence was required. All the marriages J.C. Williams performed as British Consul in Apia between 1858 and 1870 were declared void in England - BCS. 3/3.

as British consul in Fiji, even married himself to an English woman in Levuka in 1861.¹³

Although not all consuls sought to enlarge their official duties none was able to avoid the assumption of more general political powers. Civil and criminal cases and demands for protection and compensation were thrust upon them, as the only men on the beach who enjoyed any status or authority at all. Thus the arrival of consular agents gave a new focus to beach community life, despite the fact that many were already familiar figures in their respective communities. Once they were recognised as representatives of their home governments, they became the focal point for complaints and the centre of self-conscious, national solidarity.

Not all foreigners in beach communities welcomed the arrival of consuls - some departed unobtrusively as these portents of law and order appeared. One consul in Apia was told, 'We old hands on the beach looked upon the likes of you as we did the police at home - as always trying to run us in'.¹⁴ W.T. Pritchard was welcomed by the British settlers in Levuka and inundated with claims, but he was made to understand that they would brook no interference with their domestic arrangements.¹⁵

13

H.M. Jones to Secy. of State, 12 May 1865, FO. 58/105.

14

W.B. Churchward, Blackbirding in the South Pacific (London, 1888), 15.

15

W.T. Pritchard, op. cit., 210-14.

From the outset, the first consuls were involved in island affairs,¹⁶ and their right and need to trade after taking up their new positions increased their identity with the beach community residents. Sandalwood trading, pearling, coconut oil collection, the bêche-de-mer trade, purveying, wholesale and retail merchandizing and cotton growing all had consular participants.¹⁷ Built side by side with other stores and houses on the beach, consulates frequently had not even a flagpole to distinguish them from the rest. In Apia, G. Pritchard's residence was just one grog shop among many in the town in the early 1850s.¹⁸ Other consuls also combined their legitimate trading activities with less acceptable pursuits.¹⁹ J.C. Jones openly confessed

16

Many consuls had been involved in beach community life before they accepted consular positions. Jones, Charlton, Dudoit and Moerenhout had all traded extensively in the islands, so when they became consuls they had vested interests to protect and decided views about island authority. G. Pritchard, a missionary in Tahiti from 1824 and advisor and spokesman for Pomare IV, was also heavily involved in Tahitian politics before he assumed consular office.

17

J.C. Jones was engaged in the sandalwood trade, Moerenhout in pearling, J.C. Williams in coconut oil collection, J.B. Williams in bêche-de-mer, G. Pritchard and J.C. Williams in purveying, while I.M. Brower grew cotton. The majority also had some general mercantile interests.

18

Mills to Tidman, 12 October 1852, LMS. letters, Box 24, Folder 10C. See above Chapter IV, 119.

19

S. Blackler made great profits importing and selling liquor, both prohibited by Tahitian law - To the President of America, 18 August 1841, USCD-T., II.

to his warmongering activities in Honolulu: 'I am endeavouring to make them believe this will be the case [that a rumoured civil war would in fact break out] in order that we may sell our powder and muskets.'²⁰ In Fiji both J.B. Williams and W.T. Pritchard speculated heavily in land and attempted to divert settlers and shipping from Levuka to areas in which they had made substantial investments.²¹ Neither, however, was successful.

These trade and land speculating commitments made it impossible for many consuls to act with impartiality or disinterest in their official capacities. Furthermore their attempts to maintain law and order were handicapped by the minimum of de jure power entrusted to them. With the exception of the German consuls and the United States representatives after 1870, no consul had magisterial rights; civil cases could only be heard if the persons concerned were prepared to accept a consular court and cooperate with other national representatives if necessary. Even then no fine or punishment was binding. Murder or kidnapping suspects had to be sent to their place of origin for trial, accompanied by sufficient witnesses and evidence

20

Jones to Marshall and Wildes, December 1822, Marshall and Wildes MS. in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

21

John C. Dorrance, 'John Brown Williams and the American Claim in Fiji (a Study)', PMB. 27; J.B. Williams to Secy. of State, 20 June 1846, USCD-L, I. See above Chapter III, for Pritchard's activities.

to ensure a conviction; a condition that could rarely be fulfilled.²²

Crimes committed in beach communities, however, were seldom so serious as to defy settlement. Collection of debts, breach of promise and petty theft could usually be legitimately dealt with by the consular courts in participation with the beach residents and islanders, neither of whom was sparing in the infliction of punishments. In 1866 the American negro, Thomas Tilton, and the German, Henry Nestfall, were brought to trial in Apia by J.M. Coe, American consul, and Theodore Weber, the German consul. A jury of eight German and American settlers found them guilty of the theft of fourteen bottles of gin - the punishment awarded was exile. Nestfall was sent to Germany, but suddenly, for no apparent reason, Coe opposed the court decision and Tilton remained in Apia.²³ The settlers' indignant outburst resulted in much consular correspondence concerning the case, which has preserved it for posterity: most trials were settled without such voluminously recorded publicity.

In Honolulu, until the late 1830s, accused persons were heard and punished by a joint meeting of chiefs and foreigners. Joseph Navarro shot Captain Sistare twice, neither time seriously, for enticing his

²²

J.M. Ward, op. cit., 50-7.

²³

Williams to Coe, 18 June 1866, USCD-A, II et seq. Coe's action is difficult to justify since Tilton had a long record of robbery and more serious crime.

Hawaiian woman away from him. The chiefs held a meeting on 24 August 1825, to which all the foreigners were invited, to consider what punishments should be inflicted. Both were sentenced to exile, one for stealing another man's 'wife' and making false assertions and the second for making an attempt on another man's life.²⁴ In 1831 Thomas Cooper, a negro, and John Mackay broke into a Honolulu store and stole \$2,000. The money was later recovered, but Mackay was tied to a cart and given 100 lashes while being dragged through the town, and Cooper received three dozen strokes. Again chiefs and foreigners jointly decided on the punishment.²⁵

Justice in respect to the more serious crimes was rough; but in a fashion it was seen to be done and the majority of expatriates respected it. A breakdown in consular cooperation and court procedure, as occurred in Apia in 1855-6, could, however, shatter such an ad hoc legal system and a beach community remained without any recourse to law until the consuls were prepared to come to terms. For a period in 1839-40 hostility between Blackler, Moerenhout and G. Pritchard in Papeete brought all legal processes to a standstill, since each consul thwarted the others' intentions

24

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 22 August-3 September 1825, MS. in HMCS.

25

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 24-26 April 1831, MS. in PMS.

whenever possible, harboured criminals and refused to bring them to trial or enforce punishments.²⁶

For a time after the arrival of consuls the foreign residents were content to use these mixed courts, but later, led by consular example, they became increasingly eager to place all their affairs beyond island control. Wary of island governments' intentions and of their ability to understand the complexities of commercial and international law, they became more self-assertive in demanding what they considered were their rights and privileges as white men. As a result they agitated for extra-territorial judicial procedures, with juries composed only of nationals of the person accused, whether the case concerned an islander or not. In Honolulu, between 1836 and 1839, the British and French, and the Americans in an informal way,²⁷ all made treaties with the Hawaiian government enforcing this requirement.²⁸

Protection societies which appeared during the early development of beach communities only in

26

USCD-T, I-II; FO. 58/15-16; John Davies, op. cit., 337.

27

Kamehameha III to the American consul, 31 October 1839, U.S. Legation Archives Hawaii, copy in Kuykendall Collection.

28

Treaty with Lord Russell, 16 November 1836, FO. and Ex 1836; treaty with Captain Laplace, July 1839, FO. and Ex 1839; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1947), 147-8 and 165-7.

Apia,²⁹ were established in Levuka and Kororareka during this later period. Their appearance was another indication of the foreigners' self-assurance and sense of superiority as well as their feelings of insecurity and inability to maintain a dual system of government with the islanders. Direct consular participation in this type of society occurred only in Apia where J.C. Williams in the early 1860s agreed to be president of the Foreign Residents' Court, part of the protection society, which had been resurrected with his approval.³⁰ In Levuka the increased population was forced to recognize the limitation of consular authority in 1862, when W.T. Pritchard was stripped of the numerous powers and functions he had illegally assumed. The realization that their property and interests were virtually unprotected led to the rise of a vigilante committee.³¹ The origins of the protection society in Kororareka were similar. The settlers who poured in from Australia and England after 1836, found that the British Resident James Busby, would not guarantee protection or impose justice and that they were forced to rely on their own self-created institutions.³²

29

See above Chapter IV, 140-1.

30

J.C. Williams to Secy. of State, 1 April 1864 and 27 February 1865, BCS. 3/3. In the second letter Williams agreed to resign from the presidency.

31

W.T. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 349-50; see below Chapter VIII, 296-7.

32

Marie King, Port in the North (Russell, n.d.), 31-2.

Given the isolated environment of the beach communities, the conflicting interests of a multi-racial society and the consuls' position in it, the increased intransigence of foreign attitudes made manifest in the demand for extra-territorial legal rights and the appearance of vigilante committees, was all but inevitable. On one hand the residents were eager to believe that the consuls had the power to protect their interests, even in defiance of island law. One's nationality, which in earlier periods was of little significance, was seen as a source of commercial and political privileges.³³ On the other hand the consuls willingly championed their nationals' claims, often regardless of the rights of each case and encouraged them to believe that with the protection which they could provide, the need to conciliate island governments

33

However long they lived in the islands, many Europeans remained orientated towards their national representatives and home governments as the only source of law and protection. This has been described as a state of 'psychological impermanence' - Constance M. Green, Washington, Capital City, 1879-1950 (Princeton, 1963), II, viii. Gavan Daws used the term to describe the attitude of the foreigners to the Hawaiian government - 'Honolulu in the 19th Century', The Journal of Pacific History, II (1967), 77-96.

no longer existed.³⁴ As the focus of vocal dissatisfaction and resistance to island authority the consuls soon became involved in political, economic and religious matters that were beyond the limits of legitimate consular action.

Unversed in international law, no island authority, however, understood the bounds of consular rights nor could they afford to ignore the consuls' constant threats of naval intervention, since the occasional visits of men-of-war were the one time when they did have the power to back up their fulminations. If a naval commander could be made to see the situation in the same light as the consul then retribution, punishments and fines followed. Although naval personnel usually made some attempt to view with objectivity the various complaints laid before them, they were dependent on the consuls and other equally partisan witnesses for explanation of the events. Some

34

One outstanding example of consular insensitivity to island authority was the reaction of the newly-appointed American consul in Apia, J.C. Jenkins, to Captain Fremantle's attempt to reimpose prohibition on Apia Harbour. He refused to comply, arguing that:

Any attempt to restrict the Commerce of a Country so long as it in no way conflicted with the laws of Nations in an Island where there is no King, no Government and in many cases no God, would be ridiculous. (Jenkins to Secy. of State, 15 August 1856, USCD-A., I.)

Until the Samoans were capable of creating their own unified government and imposing national laws, Jenkins was not going to restrict imports of American liquor for Samoan benefit.

accepted consular versions without hesitation, glad to 'teach the natives a lesson' and enhance white prestige and development. But there were other officers who read between the lines, sought evidence from the islanders and refused to have anything to do with consular proposals.

George Pritchard, who continually misused the threat of naval justice, was criticized by Captain Maxwell in 1848 for demanding naval intervention in a matter that Pritchard himself had done nothing to investigate or settle:

It might at least have been expected that you would previously have adopted the usual course of writing to the Chiefs of the District to which the parties belong.---At all events until such measures have been tried and failed, I must decline any interference in the matter and I (cannot?) for a moment admit the supposition that Mr Sunderland or any other missionary could possibly desire the intervention of an armed force for the recovery of a few Pigs. Should a demonstration of British Force, ever be required in these Islands, to overawe the Natives I trust the occasion and the object in view will be somewhat more important than the punishment of a few casual instances of Pig Stealing or Cattle Spearing.³⁵

Captain Erskine was another British officer more likely to interrogate the consuls and the beach residents than shell island villages.³⁶

35

Maxwell to G. Pritchard, 4 February 1848, BCS., 2/1.

36

Dorothy Shineberg, op. cit., 124.

The very presence of a warship in the island, however, reinforced the foreigners' feelings of national solidarity and the belief that their interests would be upheld whatever individual captains might do. The more frequent arrival of ships representing one country rather than another caused jealousy and unease in a beach community - fears were rife that one group of nationals would enjoy increased influence over the island government and consequent favours.³⁷ Disgusted with the pro-islander attitude of certain British captains several British subjects in Fiji sought American citizenship, hoping to benefit from the more aggressive conduct of United States commanders.³⁸ The most permanent and crucial effect of naval intervention in the Pacific was an increasing disregard of the rights of island governments.

Inevitably loyalties and patterns of leadership between the islanders and foreigners changed during this period. National pride and rivalries, which were stimulated and exacerbated by the consuls, rode roughshod over any previous feeling of responsibility to island governments or respect for local leaders.

37

The American sandalwood traders in Honolulu regarded with suspicion the visit of HMS. Blonde, Lord Byron, in 1825 and later claimed that his influence had adversely effected their interests. The arrival of an American vessel in 1826 re-established the balance.

38

This trend appeared most noticeably in the early 1850s when the American naval officers were demanding extensive compensation payments for their nationals.

Constant demands for the most-favoured-nation-treatment and a desire for independence from island control dominated foreigners' attitudes. They took themselves, their livelihoods and their property much more seriously than they had in the early days of beach community life, when they had recognized and accepted the reality of island power.

The largely undifferentiated society of pre-1820 Honolulu had looked to Kamehameha I as its source of authority and controller of land, building rights and trading monopolies.³⁹ With his death in May 1819 and the arrival of a number of new settlers, including the American missionaries and consul, society polarized between two bitter factions; most of the foreigners, led by the consuls Jones and later Charlton, versus the missionaries. Intransigence on both sides resulted in a divided community and continual jockeying for control over island affairs in which the Hawaiian chiefs became unwilling pawns.⁴⁰

The Tahitian chiefs, who for many years had considered the missionaries as the authorities concerning national and international rights, and the correct behaviour towards warships, found, after the establishment of consulates in Papeete, a rival centre of power in their midst with very different attitudes

39

See above Chapter IV, 135-7.

40

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 1823-39; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 1828-41.

and demands.⁴¹ It was soon apparent to them that the missionaries had no standing in national affairs and that the consuls were the authorities with whom they had to deal.

In Fiji the change of leadership occurred more gradually. J.B. Williams, the American consular agent, arrived in 1846, but before the 1850s he had little influence over the white settlers.⁴² The foreigners' return from exile in Solevu in 1849 was effected without consular or naval intervention. By 1850, however, Williams was demanding naval support to exact compensation from the Fijians for goods stolen when his house was burnt down during July 4th celebrations the year before.⁴³ Others, including several Levuka residents, who had lost property in wrecks, fires and during their exile, followed his example.⁴⁴ While Williams was gaining an ascendancy among the foreigners in the early 1850s, Whippy was still able to act as mediator between the Fijian tribes and the missionaries at the Bau-Bua peace settlement in 1852.⁴⁵ But he abdicated this role

⁴¹

John Davies, op. cit., 334.

⁴²

During this period Williams lived at Rewa and was chiefly concerned with land transactions and his numerous trading ventures - J.B. Williams MS. in PMS.

⁴³

Williams to Secy. of State, 25 July 1849 and 1 January 1850, USCD-L., I-II.

⁴⁴

USCD-L., IV.

⁴⁵

See above Chapter IV, 147-8.

later when he too became involved in the American claims and accepted Williams's leadership.⁴⁶

Consuls in Apia had struggled for ascendancy over the foreign residents from the early years of settlement;⁴⁷ but, with little support from home governments, their powers of commanding respect were slight. J.C. Williams, as United States commercial agent from 1841 to 1851, was not once visited by an American warship,⁴⁸ while George Pritchard was more often humiliated by British commanders than helped to establish any authority.⁴⁹ The economic instability that characterized Apia up to the mid 1850s forced the consular agents to concentrate on guarding their commercial interests and at times brought them into direct conflict with one another. Economic conditions improved with the rise of the Godeffroy company, society became more homogeneous and the competitive spirit between consuls subsided for a time. The company's first manager, August Unshelm, who brought his wife with him, was also consul for Hamburg (later

46

In time Whippy became one of the most insistent claimants for compensation - Whippy to J.B. Williams, 14 April 1858, USCD-L., III.

47

See above Chapter IV, 140-1.

48

J.C. Williams to Secy. of State, 1843-51, USCD-A., I, passim.

49

Blake to Secy. of Admiralty, 30 March 1847, Adm. 1/5577; Maxwell to Secy. of Admiralty, 18 March 1848, Adm. 1/5590; Fremantle to Secy. of Admiralty, 15 November 1855, Adm. 1/5672.

Germany), and in cooperation with his British and American counterparts he, in time, enjoyed a political, economic and social ascendancy over the settlers.⁵⁰

Faced with these new leaders who encouraged foreign encroachment into many fields, the chiefs strove to safeguard their independence and assert their right to impose laws on anyone settled on their islands. In September 1820 Kamehameha II, concerned about the influx of white 'riff-raff' into Honolulu, exiled a number of deserters and beachcombers to Fanning Island.⁵¹ J.C. Jones had not yet arrived in Honolulu with his new commission, but it is unlikely that he would have tried to countermand the order. Nine years later Kamehameha III and his chiefly advisors refused to be intimidated by Charlton's demands to be compensated for his cow, which was shot by an Hawaiian for trespassing repeatedly on his cultivated fields.⁵²

50

By 1860 society as a whole in Apia was slowly becoming more stable and respectable. See below Chapter VI, 226.

51

Maria Loomis, Journal, 8 August-20 November 1820; Don Francisco de Paula Marin, Journal, 8 August-15 September 1820; Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty One Years in the Sandwich Islands (New York, 1847), 112-13. Fanning Island in the Line Islands is a low, coral atoll with little vegetation. Supplies had to be carried to the exiles who exchanged bêche-de-mer for them. Luckily their period of banishment was not long. One of their number was back in Honolulu by 1823. Fifty foreigners and Hawaiians were estimated to be on Fanning in 1822.

52

The 'cow case' gave Kamehameha III the opportunity to assert emphatically that the Hawaiian law applied to all. His judgement was generally recognized to be just and left no doubt as to his authority.

Charlton on his own initiative caught the culprit, tied him behind his horse and dragged him towards Honolulu. In a public proclamation Kamehameha III refused to punish the Hawaiian, who had been cut loose by a friend, or to compensate Charlton, and he rebuked the latter for presuming to take the law into his own hands. But more important he prefaced his edict with a statement of the laws in force in his kingdom and continued: 'If any man shall transgress any of these laws he is liable to the penalty, the same for every foreigner and for the people of these Islands.'⁵³ In this proclamation he also upheld Christian marriage, declaring that every man should live with one woman as a wife - no polygamous or adulterous associations were to be permitted.⁵⁴ Thus Charlton's blustering attempt to undermine the Hawaiian government's authority was met with a forceful but judicial statement of the laws and authority of the ruling power.

The indigenous leaders in the other island groups were less capable of curbing foreign usurpation but no less determined. From the early 1840s Levuka was subject to occasional incendiary raids by the Lovoni hill tribe of Ovalau, whose actions were frequently determined by Bau or Viwa chiefs, but between 1850 and

53

Proclamation of Kauikeaouli [Kamehameha III],
7 October 1829, FO. and Ex.1829.

54

Ibid. See Appendix II for the full text of the proclamation.

1858, the period during which large claims for compensation were being made, the Levuka residents suffered at least three fires, and possibly more.⁵⁵ The 1853 conflagration had been preceded by an incident at Malaki Island during which the foreigners had taken the law into their own hands, killed several Fijians and burnt and plundered a town.⁵⁶ Evidence suggests that the chief of Viwa, to whom Malaki was subject, instigated the Lovoni's attack.⁵⁷ The foreigners believed that Tui Levuka was responsible for the firing in July 1858 because of his concern over the white men's growing wealth and independence.⁵⁸

By 1835 the Tahitians were also eager to frustrate expatriate activities:

The Chiefs are excessively jealous of
Foreigners settling on the Islands and throw

55

Levuka was fired in 1841, late 1846, September 1853, September 1855 and July 1858.

56

Mrs S.M. Smythe, *op. cit.*, 103; Calvert to Hebblewhite, 7 October 1853, Pacific Islands: Two collections of papers 1822-75, in DL. For a detailed analysis of this event see below Chapter VIII.

57

Ibid., Calvert considered that neither Bau nor Viwa was responsible for instigating this attack but the foreign settlers appear to have thought otherwise. After the firing they bribed the Lovoni to change their allegiances from Bau and Viwa to themselves, a plan which proved temporarily successful.

58

Whippy to J.B. Williams, 28 June 1858, USCD-L., III; To Captain Le Bris, of the French Ship of War, 'Bayonnaise', July 1858, USCD-L., III; J.B. Williams to Secy. of State, 2 August 1858, USCD-L., III.

every obstacle in the way of the few that are working Plantations. --- A law has been recently passed to prevent the increase of foreign settlers. Rum and all spirits were now prohibited.⁵⁹

In Samoa the chiefs had been wary of foreign expansion from the earliest settlement. Their attempts to impose chiefly authority on the residents forced the latter to form protection societies. At the Vaialele fono in mid-1866 a local law was passed stating that no Samoan would pick cotton for less than two cents a pound and that no other island labour would be allowed into the district. A foreigner's reaction to this law reveals the opposition against which the Samoans had to contend:

Now while the man-of-war is here I should think this kind of thing should be put a stop to. You will see at once that this leaves us at the mercy of the Natives.⁶⁰

One rather unsuccessful form of defence employed by the Hawaiians and Tahitians against the consuls was to write to the appropriate metropolitan governments concerning the conduct of their representatives and asking for their recall. In the case of Charlton, Hawaiian appeals to the British government in November 1836 that he had continually ridiculed and degraded their people and threatened them with destruction by

59

Rufus Newburg, op. cit.

60

Bartley to Coe, 26 July 1866, USCD-A., II.

British naval vessels elicited no response.⁶¹ Similar complaints to the United States government concerning J.C. Jones's activities did, however, effect his recall in 1838.⁶² Both the Tahitians and an American naval officer protested to the American government that its representative, Samuel Blackler, constantly broke the law and behaved in an undignified and dictatorial manner in the execution of his official duties.⁶³ Notwithstanding these complaints, Blackler died at his post in November 1844.⁶⁴

The changes effected in beach community life by the presence of the consuls cannot be assessed in quantitative terms, since in the main their effect was to influence people's attitudes, ambitions and beliefs. For some years home governments were not anxious to support their representatives with naval power. Throughout a whole decade (1856-65) the United States government felt no need to send a man-of-war to Samoa.⁶⁵ The numbers of American whalers in the Central Pacific

61

To his Majesty William the Fourth of Great Britain, 16 November 1836, FO. and Ex.1836.

62

Kamehameha III and Kaahumanu II to the President of the United States, 21 November 1837, USCD-H., I; To the President of the United States from six Ship Masters, November 1837, USCD-H., I.

63

To the President of America, 18 August 1841, USCD-T., II; Aulick to Secy. of Navy, 13 October 1841, USCD-T., II.

64

The Friend, 1 May 1847, reported that his death had occurred in November 1844.

65

Coe to Secy. of State, 1 April 1865, USCD-A., II.

had declined rapidly after 1856, and the government's main interest in the area had been to protect this industry. More significantly, only a small stratum of any beach community was directly involved in the consuls' various political and economic activities. For a large percentage of the time the majority of small shopkeepers and artisans lived and worked together, and with the islanders, without prejudice or discord.

Certainly no American sailor or mechanic in Honolulu could expect to get much help from his consul. The blacksmith, John Colcord, was thrown out of a forge establishment by his drunken partner, who refused, with a chief's approval, to return all his property. Colcord accepted the situation philosophically: 'I knew it was of no use for me to fight against the whole Sandwich Isles. I also knew it was of less use to apply to the Consul as I had never known him to do anything for a poor sailor.'⁶⁶ Such minor injustices were settled in an out-of-court manner or just let pass, which helped to maintain a certain harmony on the beach. Even in Apia, where jealousies and rivalries were most intense, a reasonable degree of cooperation was maintained on all but one occasion: the Van Camp incident.⁶⁷

66

John Colcord, Journal.

67

See above Chapter IV, 141-2.

The bulk of beach residents, the traders, grog sellers, shopkeepers and mechanics, had a minimal interest in the political setup as long as it guaranteed good working conditions. Their attitudes to law and order and to the consuls themselves were well analyzed by the American consul for Samoa, James Dirickson, in 1859:

I have always found them ready and willing to assist, all the Foreign Consuls in their Official Capacity as long as there was no gross assumption of power, and firm supporters of law and order. --- I fully beleive if Consuls appointed here would only attend to their official business as Consul, or if they engaged in business as merchants, would carefully refrain from allowing their private and public business to come in contact, they would have no cause to complain of the Foreign Residents who are shrewd business men and as quick of perception as they are honorable.⁶⁸

Most residents only became caught up in consular controversies when their economic livelihood and security were at stake.

In times of peace, therefore, the effect of the consuls' presence in beach communities should not be over-emphasized, but in a crisis, and the consuls were adept at manufacturing crises out of the smallest incidents, the foreign residents led by the consuls became aggressively self-assertive for the honour of their respective countries and for their own pockets.

68

Dirickson to Secy. of State, 25 November 1859, USCD-A., II.

Ready to increase their power and influence, and that of their fellow countrymen, at any opportunity, the consuls were always a discordant element in society; a rallying point for national solidarity and a potential threat to island independence.

The early missionaries stationed in or near the beach communities were not held responsible for the spiritual well-being of the foreign residents, but they were seriously concerned about the influence non-missionary Europeans exercised over the islanders, and consequently made their presence felt in the port towns in a number of economic and political matters.⁶⁹ Their attempts to regulate foreigners' trading practices with the islanders and to influence law-making aroused hostile opposition from the residents and resulted in dissension within the community on which the consuls battered.

The traders and merchants were justified in their belief that the missionaries spoiled their opportunities for making large profits by teaching the islanders the values of European goods in the Western world. J.C. Jones complained to his employers in November 1821 that little would be received for the frame houses then being built, since the Hawaiian boys belonging to the missionary family had told the chiefs that such houses sold for only \$300 in the United States.⁷⁰

69

The social role which religion played in beach community life will be discussed in the following chapter.

70

Jones to Marshall and Wildes, 20 November 1821, Marshall and Wildes MS. in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

In all beach communities, except Honolulu, missionaries and other foreigners lived side by side, remonstrated occasionally against one another's practices but rarely had any significant or sustained contact. At Levuka the missionary school teacher was so busily occupied in trade himself that he had no time or inclination to interfere with others' activities. From the earliest period of settlement in Apia the merchants had lived in fairly peaceful coexistence with the missionaries, who had in fact demonstrated that the islands were safe for trade. And George Pritchard, missionary for Papeete between 1825 and 1837, always took a worldly interest in the foreigners' exploits; nor was he averse to trading himself.⁷¹

Only in Honolulu did serious friction occur. For more than twenty years the foreigners had traded and lived in the Hawaiian islands without any interference or competition.⁷² When the missionaries first arrived in Honolulu in 1820 they were warmly welcomed by a large number of foreigners, who offered shelter, food and other useful gifts.⁷³ But the initial friendship was severely strained by the puritanical standards of

71

Moerenhout to Ellis, 30 April 1836, extract in the sale catalogue for the O'Reilly Collection. Moerenhout wrote Pritchard: 'est considéré comme le principal marchand de la place'. At this time Pritchard was still officially a full-time missionary.

72

See above Chapter IV, 112.

73

Maria Loomis, Journal, 18-19 April; 30 May; 23 June; 29 November 1820.

morality on which the missionaries insisted - standards not to be found in similar communities in the United States.⁷⁴ Furthermore the foreigners soon realized that their influence and powers of intimidation over the Hawaiians diminished in direct ratio with the missionaries' ascendancy.

The flashpoint, which severed good relations, occurred in May 1821 - fifteen months after the missionaries' arrival. An expedition to Tahiti in one of the Hawaiians' newly-acquired schooners was planned by the missionaries, who wished to visit their fellow evangelicals and to introduce the accompanying Hawaiian chiefs to a converted island people.⁷⁵ The foreigners strongly opposed the plan, giving a number of spurious reasons, behind which lay the hard economic fact that the Hawaiian chiefs were deeply indebted to them. The vessel scheduled to sail to Tahiti was required in Hawaii to collect sandalwood and the chiefs were needed to organize their people to gather it.⁷⁶ The missionaries were accused of encouraging the Hawaiians to repudiate their debts, and while the incident itself was minor the feelings and frustrations it engendered were not assuaged for over a decade. A

74

The missionaries tried to impose total prohibition on spirituous liquors and gambling, and even on card-playing.

75

Maria Loomis, Journal, 25 July-13 September 1821.

76

Gavan Daws, 'Honolulu - The First Century' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1966), 92.

struggle for influence over Kamehameha II and III ensued; each faction endeavouring to safeguard its interests.

As the missionaries extended their control over the chiefs, 'blue laws' were imposed forbidding, among many things, spirits, gambling, adultery and the long-established custom of girls swimming off to the ships at anchor. Captains, sailors and beach residents combined in anger against the missionaries whom they believed to be the initiators of this legislation.⁷⁷ The first attempt by the Hawaiians to impose a 'Ten Commandments' code of law in 1825 was thwarted by the foreigners, sailors and Boki, a chief unsympathetic to missionary interference.⁷⁸ But missionary persuasion continued to attract converts so that by 1829, in his public proclamation after the cow incident, Kamehameha III was able to impose a number of moral laws.⁷⁹

At no time in the ensuing decade were these laws consistently or steadfastly enforced. During Kamehameha III's rebellion against the missionaries in

77

Both in Lahaina and Honolulu the mission stations were attacked by sailors and captains, after the imposition of 'blue laws' in 1825 - Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 4 October 1825, 26 February 1826; Elisha Loomis, Journal, 4 October 1825; Report of the ABCFM for the Eighteenth General Meeting 1827 - Accusations against Lieutenant Percival.

78

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 12 December 1825; Elisha Loomis, Journal, 12 December 1825.

79

See Appendix II.

1833 the prohibitions frequently lapsed,⁸⁰ only to be re-enacted, amid strong protest, when the missionaries could force the issue. For the numerous owners of taverns and gambling houses, and for the small traders who relied on the sale of goods to the women who visited the ships, however, it was a period of great financial uncertainty for which the missionaries were blamed.

The reaction of the islanders to Christianity in its various forms lies beyond the scope of this thesis; however, the late arrival of Roman Catholicism and the political ends to which the islanders and foreigners put the rivalry between the Protestant and Roman Catholic groups did have repercussions in beach communities. Incidents such as Tui Levuka's defiant conversion to Catholicism in 1868 in a bid to throw off Cakobau's control⁸¹ or J.B. Williams's invitation to the French Catholic priests at Lau to settle in Levuka in opposition to the Wesleyans whom he disliked,⁸² were perhaps of slight importance. In Honolulu and Papeete, however, the consequences of the introduction of Roman Catholicism were more serious.

80

In 1833 Kamehameha III broke away from missionary control and, with his court, patronized the local grog shops and taverns. He also refused to enforce the other 'blue laws'.

81

F.J. Moss, A Month in Fiji (Melbourne, 1868), 8.

82

'Vewa Record', 16 September 1851, in MMS. papers.

Both the Hawaiian and Tahitian governments recognized the threat an alternative Christian organization posed to their authority, which was firmly based on Protestant doctrines and guidance. As they feared, the Roman Catholic priests became rallying points for all islanders and foreigners dissatisfied with quasi-Protestant missionary rule: the actual tenets of Catholicism were not the real issue. With at least tacit missionary approval the chiefs exiled the priests from their islands. Although they lacked the necessary orders both Captains Laplace and du Petit Thouars interpreted this treatment to France's holy representatives as a national insult requiring immediate compensation and rectification.

In both towns the French, English and American consuls,⁸³ who had from the beginning championed the priests' right to remain, to preach their doctrines and to enjoy the privileges and protection granted to all residents and in particular to the Protestant missionaries,⁸⁴ joined the French naval officers in their efforts to have them reinstated and the island governments punished. Other foreigners involved themselves in the ensuing incidents as it suited their interests. No desire to protect the rights or comply with orders of the island governments was manifested.

83

Moerenhout, Dudoit, Jones and Charlton all concerned themselves in the Roman Catholic controversy.

84

Both Laplace and du Petit Thouars included these demands in the treaties they enforced.

The Hawaiian government struggled with the problem for over a decade (1827-39), and paid heavily for their repeated attempts to expel the French priests and for the persecutions inflicted upon a number of Hawaiian converts to Catholicism.⁸⁵ In July 1839 Captain Laplace sailed into Honolulu in the frigate L'Artemise and, under threat of immediate hostilities, demanded that Roman Catholicism should be tolerated throughout Hawaii and enjoy all the privileges granted to Protestantism, and that a bond of \$20,000 be deposited with him to guarantee future good behaviour.⁸⁶ The Hawaiians were forced to submit even before Kamehameha III had time to arrive from Lahaina.⁸⁷ The money was raised from the resident merchants, who would have lost most if Honolulu had been bombarded, and a treaty was finally signed which included a further two clauses: one permitting the importation of French wine and brandies, which effectively nullified the prohibition laws of 1838; and the second agreeing to allow a jury to consist entirely of foreigners, summoned by the French consul, for any Frenchman accused of crime.⁸⁸

85

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 8-10 August 1829; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 4 January 1830, 2 April 1831 and 25 June 1839; H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 204-10 and 312-13.

86

Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1947), 165-7.

87

Ibid.

88

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., IV, 14, claimed there were only four Frenchmen on Oahu in 1839.

To the foreigners in Honolulu Laplace was a hero: a letter of respect and gratitude was sent to him and a grand dinner given.⁸⁹ The entry from Stephen Reynolds's journal for the 17 July 1839, reads: 'Glorious day King signed the French Treaty'.⁹⁰ Little sympathy was felt for the humiliation inflicted upon the Hawaiian government; only the journalist James Jarves condemned Laplace in the Hawaiian Spectator, for which he was later criticized.⁹¹ The merchants reclaimed their bond money through taxes on the Hawaiians and Ladd and Company extended their premises in expectation of a greatly increased liquor trade.⁹²

For Tahiti the final outcome of the crisis over Catholicism was annexation. The preceding events were dominated by foreign intrigue and speculation; the traders were antagonistic towards the Protestant missionaries, whom they believed were responsible for

89

Sandwich Island Mirror, 15 August 1839; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 19 July 1839; Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 14 July 1839.

90

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 17 July 1839.

91

Jarves v. Dudoit, August 1839, FO. and Ex.1839. A meeting was arranged with a panel of five to act as arbitrators. Jarves's defender, William Richards, was rudely interrupted, no islander was allowed to give evidence and the final judgment was unanimous that Jarves had failed to prove that Laplace had used force to gain Kamehameha's signature to the treaty.

92

John Colcord, Journal, 1839.

the prohibition and pricing laws,⁹³ and were even more hostile towards George Pritchard, ex-missionary, then British consul, who, with a consular salary to fall back on, was able to undersell everyone on the beach.⁹⁴ His influence over Pomare IV made him an envied and suspected figure with all foreigners. The merchants had no vested interests to ensure their loyalty to Pomare IV's regime and, as it became increasingly incapable during the early 1840s of enforcing law and regulating relations with foreign shipping, they looked to annexation by any power as the only means of establishing order and good working conditions.

Among the Tahitians few, if any, converts were made to Catholicism during the priests' very short visits. The chiefs Paofai, Hitoti and others, who were opposed to Pomare IV and Pritchard's rule, had welcomed the Roman Catholic priests when they first arrived in 1836, but by 1839 they were strongly averse to any foreign settlers in Tahiti.⁹⁵ Moerenhout, French consul since November 1838, became the prime instigator in the subsequent events. He is believed to have recalled the priests to Tahiti deliberately in

93

H.B. Sterndale, 'Memoranda on some of the South Sea Islands', Papers Relating to the South Sea Islands their Natural Products --- etc. (Wellington, 1874), 34.

94

[Joseph Smith], op. cit.; Moerenhout to Ellis, 30 April 1836, extract in the sale catalogue of the O'Reilly collection.

95

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., II, 20-1.

1837, in defiance of the law forbidding persons to reside ashore without the queen's permission, and of her known wishes. He refused to recognize any Tahitian law, since in his opinion, they all originated with Pritchard.⁹⁶ Once the latter, who was Moerenhout's most hostile opponent, departed for England early in 1841,⁹⁷ the field was undefended, and by September 1842 Moerenhout's manoeuvres successfully culminated in the establishment of a French protectorate.⁹⁸ In both Honolulu and Papeete the crisis of Catholicism gave the consuls and foreigners several opportunities to enhance their influence and economic standing to the detriment of the island governments, which were exposed to intimidation and abolition.

The third major group to join the consuls and missionaries in the beach communities were the company traders. Like the consuls many of them were directed by decision-makers in their home countries and were concerned with company and national prestige. Once the Godeffroy company had established its trading empire in the Central Pacific, the economic and political pressures it could bring to bear upon the Samoan authorities in any matter concerning its interests made

96

[Joseph Smith], op. cit.

97

Pritchard to Secy. of State, 25 June 1841, FO. 58/16.

98

Blackler to Secy. of State, 10 September 1842, USCD-T., II. The French did not effect complete annexation until November 1843. Paofai, Hitoti and the other dissident chiefs had facilitated Moerenhout's plans, when they realized in the early '40s that Pomare IV was incapable of establishing any control over the foreigners.

it a dominating force behind many Samoan decisions. Guided by instructions from Germany, the consul-cum-manager of the company was well placed to manipulate events to the company's advantage.

The Valparaiso merchants, who set up trading establishments in Papeete after 1827, and those involved in the supply trade to whalers did not have the backing to wield any great influence over the Tahitian government, but they did everything in their power to keep their persons, premises and activities beyond the reach of local laws and to bring the government into disrepute.⁹⁹ Similarly in Fiji the merchants who settled in Levuka in the 1860s were dependent on the newly established cotton planters for a livelihood. They took little interest in the Fijians unless expatriate development was threatened by island opposition, when they became actively concerned to protect it.¹⁰⁰

In Honolulu commercial activity was extensive and although it was concentrated almost exclusively on the supply trade to whalers it sustained twenty merchant houses, sixteen retail shops and over one hundred artisans.¹⁰¹ Close consular participation and interest in business frequently gave the merchants and consuls

99

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., II, 13-14.

100

The protection society of 1862 and the experimental governments of 1865 and '67 were attempts to manipulate political events to European advantage.

101

The Friend, 15 January 1847.

together decisive powers over the Hawaiian government.¹⁰² During the Laplace affair, they collected the \$20,000 bond money and strongly urged the Hawaiian government to capitulate to French demands. All the merchants attempted to keep their businesses beyond island interference and control. Determinedly extra-territorial in attitude, they wanted freehold rights to their land and their own law courts. They questioned the government's authority to impose any law, especially import restrictions and duties, and always expected their interests to be paramount in any government decision.¹⁰³

The arrival of consuls, missionaries and company traders gave the growing foreign populations in beach communities greater stability and self-awareness. Casual friendships between islanders and residents were succeeded in many cases by more formal relationships in which a settler's place of origin and his status as a white man were 'properly' emphasized. Consuls, backed by naval power and ultimately the forces of a home government, became the foci of the residents'

102

By the 1830's there were a number of well-established companies, including Peirce and Co., Ladd, Hooper and Brinsmade [the latter became American consul in the islands in 1838], Marshall and Johnson, Grimes and Reynolds.

103

Kamehameha III was reported to have said: 'Not one of its [the Hawaiian government's] acts was permitted to pass without his being called, in a rude and uncivil manner, to account for it [by the foreign residents]' - Charles Wilkes, op. cit., IV, 10.

complaints and ambitions. Island authorities found it increasingly difficult to enforce their laws on the foreigners, who ignored or reversed them if it suited their purposes. The missionaries were genuinely interested in the rights and welfare of their converts, but their close identification with island governments and legislation, their rigidly puritanical outlook, and their intransigent stand against Roman Catholicism, roused great hostility among Honolulu and Papeete residents, whose dissension and scheming later caused the abrogation of several Hawaiian laws and the annexation of Tahiti.

Company merchants brought with them the complex trading procedures and large establishments of Western commerce, in which few islanders could find employment. Beyond the port towns island labour was still used for pearl diving and to some extent in the coconut oil and copra industries,¹⁰⁴ but increasingly on large company plantations non-indigenous labour was used. In spite of experience in inter-island trade the islanders seldom succeeded as traders or ship owners when they entered the European commercial system.¹⁰⁵ Stripped of their sandalwood and bêche-de-mer resources they had no product attractive or profitable on the world

104

Some copra was made and sold by the Samoans to the Godeffroy company, but they never developed it into a serious enterprise.

105

A.D. Couper, op. cit., 100. Difficulties in book-keeping and organization were partly responsible but basically it was the islanders' inability to resist their relations' demands for credit.

market, while their land was sold for minimal prices or retained and worked in traditional, non-profit-making methods.¹⁰⁶ Throughout the Pacific the major economic enterprises gradually devolved into foreign hands.¹⁰⁷ In both political and economic spheres the consuls and merchants assumed the initiative, which the island governments, through lack of power and experience in world affairs, could no longer exercise. Thus each incident or crisis between the foreigners and their hosts was manipulated by the new leaders of the beach communities to strengthen their control over island governments and commerce.

106

The islanders were usually most reluctant to sell any large sections of land at all.

107

The Fijians put up a struggle against the European-imported, coconut oil extracting machines. They refused to supply an adequate quantity of nuts since coconut oil was their only means of purchasing European goods. Their opposition, however, was not long-lasting - Jones to Secy. of State, 31 December 1864, extracts from Consular Letter Books, Levuka.

CHAPTER VITHE PATTERN OF DAILY LIFE

Visitors' reactions to beach communities - nature of society - sexual mores - housing patterns - living conditions - the beach patriarchs - heterogeneity of foreign population - hospitality - national celebrations - daily entertainment. Education - religion - bethel movement - exceptional decade at Levuka - the rise of 'respectability' - eccentricity encouraged - some conventions observed. Lack of public facilities - race relations good - society divided into classes - conclusion.

The majority of English and American residents in Fiji live in a state of unblushing polygamy: the number of their wives and women is unlimited, and it is not uncommon for two or three of them to be confined at the same time. In this particular, as well as in other sensual indulgences, they are ready to conform greedily to the customs of their adopted country, and their domestic life is grossly immoral. There are amongst them some very degraded characters, and it would be no easy matter to discover from whence they have congregated. In Levuka they number between fifty and sixty, with some two or three hundred half caste children. They mostly hail as shipwrecked mariners; and there is not one in the whole Society in what may be called a respectable position, nor is there a dwelling except the Missionary's house better than a common barn. The village where the houses are concentrated is filthily dirty, and better deserves the appellation of pigsty than of a town....The White people I must say are comparatively industrious and live on good terms

with each other; the principal occupation is boat building.¹

SUCH a reaction was typical of an educated visitor, conditioned to the mores of civilized life, to one of the beach communities. From a port town anchorage the vegetation looked lush, the sea and shore sparkling, and the scattering of island and European style houses through the trees most romantic, but once ashore the lack of sanitation, roads and bridges, the jumble of jerry-built houses and the unconventional social and familial arrangements among the Europeans and islanders shattered the first illusion and often prejudiced all subsequent judgement of the community. Fremantle was finally forced to admit that the Levuka men were peaceable and 'comparatively industrious' but he found nothing further could be said in their favour, although he had just left Apia about which he had written: 'a more unruly, disreputable community cannot be conceived.'² To Fremantle, as to many men of his class in society, the indolence and sexual laxity of the beach communities could not be condoned, whatever other virtues the inhabitants might possess.

While economic and political factors impinging upon port town life changed with the availability of resources or the arrival of official representatives of

1

Fremantle to Secy. of Admiralty, 12 December 1855, Adm. 122/12.

2

Fremantle to Secy. of Admiralty, 15 November 1855, Adm. 1/5672. Fremantle had been investigating the Van Camp affair.

the metropolitan powers, the social complexion of beach communities remained relatively stable. Neither the basic population composition nor locally sanctioned domestic and marital arrangements was affected by changes in economic pursuits or in patterns of leadership. In these frontier towns men of sailor and mechanic origins were the foundation of society. Some were content to loaf their days away on the beach with the islanders, drinking kegs of gin and only taking on odd sailing jobs when it became necessary.³ Others became full-time sailor-traders plying their craft within the island groups, collecting coconut oil, tortoiseshell and any other marketable island products in exchange for European goods.⁴

Opportunities for skilled artisans, carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths were always available and no one demanded high standards of workmanship or perseverance. The sailor-mechanics who took on some kind of employment were, like the less energetic sailors, prone to long and heavy bouts of drinking,⁵ so grog shop-keepers never lacked for custom.⁶ This predominant

3

W.B. Churchward, op. cit., 206; C.S. Stewart, The Hawaiian Islands in 1822 (Boston, n.d.), 12-13.

4

Stephen Reynolds, Journal; Levi Chamberlin, Journal; R.B. Lyth, Journals, II-VII, 1842-51, passim.

5

John Colcord, Journal, passim; R.B. Lyth, Journal IV, 1848.

6

Harry Zupplien, a grog seller in Honolulu, who arrived with nothing in about 1813, was worth many thousands of dollars by the 1830s.

class was supplemented by a number of more substantial shop-keepers and merchants, most of whom had arrived after the port towns were firmly established, but who still thought it prudent to come without wives. The totality of white society was completed by the missionaries and consuls, a number of whom brought wives with them.

As on other frontiers of European expansion the scarcity of white women was compensated for by the incorporation of native and mixed-blood women into the foreign communities. In the Pacific there were no island customs inimical to liaisons between foreign men and island women and the practice was accepted without stigma in the port towns for several decades. Many such arrangements were based on great affection and were considered as marriages. Stephen Reynolds's grief, when the part-Hawaiian girl he had lived with for over three years died, is revealed in his journal:

Her native simplicity and kindness had drawn from all with whom she was acquainted their friendship and esteem. How much more then from me who had every opportunity of knowing and experiencing her attentions and disposition. Her behaviour since my acquaintance has gained my esteem which will ever be remembered with feelings of tenderness and respect.⁷

The demands of one's wife's relations, however, could mar and even break one of these liaisons. In Samoa a 'wife' was cheap to acquire but proved expensive

7

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 5 May 1829.

later when no plea from a kinsman for credit or goods could be denied.⁸ Richard Hinds in Honolulu in 1837 claimed that a number of foreigners with Hawaiian wives had to keep the extent of their property and money a secret from the latter because a chief could easily ask the women for as much as half and they would feel compelled to give it: 'Mr Mitchener, a respectable man, now compelled to keep a billiard table through misfortunes, is in this awkward situation.'⁹ To overcome this difficulty many traders acquired wives from islands distant from their trading stores. Women from the Gilberts and from Manihiki Island were greatly sought after.¹⁰

Wives were not included at dinner parties or other social entertainments in the community and several were poorly treated, beaten and thrown out.¹¹ Most foreigners considered their marital relationship with an island woman in a master-servant light. The

8

George Brown, 'Old Hands and Old Times', typescript in ML.

9

R.B. Hinds, 'The Sandwich Islands from Richard Brinsley Hinds' Journal of the Voyage of the "Sulphur" (1836-1842)', The Hawaiian Journal of History, II (1968), 102-35.

10

H.B. Sterndale, op. cit., 14.

11

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 26 December 1828; Robert Coffin, The Last of the Logan (New York, 1941), edited by H.W. Thompson, 86-7; Litton Forbes, Two Years in Fiji (London, 1875), 95. Island wives of planters did not eat with their husbands.

woman was acquired, often by purchase (through presents) from a chief or relatives and could be discharged like any other domestic servant in the event of not giving satisfaction. Some masters at least relented later: 'Joseph Rees sailed for Rakiraki in search of his wife whom he dismissed 2 or 3 weeks ago, on some slight offence'.¹² An island wife was afforded little of the respect which a European wife would have expected, but her lack of equality was also suffered by her white counterpart to a lesser extent.

On his death-bed John Sullivan, a settler in Fiji, made sure that all his wives and children were taken care of:

I give my women, eight in number, their liberty and permission to return to their own towns.... I give all my property to John, Matthew, James, Hannah and Mary, my illegitimate children to be divided equally among them - annually to the amount of fifty or sixty dollars.¹³

His offspring also received certain pieces of land. Matthew Hunkin, a permanent resident in Samoa, was glad that his eldest daughter was marrying a Samoan, whom he believed was: 'much superior in every respect to the generality of Europeans in these parts', and he stated further: 'if a girl is to marry in Samoa, she is likely to be happier with a native'.¹⁴ Both wives

¹²

R.B. Lyth, Journal IV, 3 June 1848.

¹³

LCC., R369.

¹⁴

T.H. Hood, Notes of A Cruise in H.M.S. Fawn in the Western Pacific in the Year 1862 (Edinburgh, 1863), 104.

and part-island children were treated with a degree of casualness, but often there was genuine affection as well; a relationship perhaps typical of the Polynesians themselves, among whom marriage was essentially a contractual relationship to be dissolved at will.

Island and European style houses were mingled together in the beach communities without distinction; many foreigners preferring to live in the cheaply built, island variety which were better suited to the climate and to the families under their protection. Apia in 1874 was typical of all the port towns for many years:

The middle ground along the beach is filled up with small white houses and native cottages, savage and civilized life strangely blended together.¹⁵

Except in Honolulu, little money was spent on ostentatious architecture, and even in that town the mixture of houses was characteristic until later in the nineteenth century. In February 1842 Sir George Simpson wrote: 'The town of Honolulu presented a strange admixture of the savage and the civilized, stacks of warehouses rising amid straw huts.'¹⁶ Papeete in 1839 was perhaps more unpretentious than the others: 'Among all its dwellings, the royal residence, and the house of

15

J.W. Boddam-Whetham, Pearls of the Pacific (London, 1876), 146.

16

George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841-1842 (London, 1847), I, 427.

Mr Pritchard, are the only ones which possess the luxury of glazed windows.'¹⁷ But in Levuka and Apia island houses out-numbered European types until the 1870s, and even later in Apia.

Superficially the simplicity of island life seemed most attractive: 'Several Mechanics and Seamen have left thier Vessells here [Papeete, 1828] and have taken Native Wives and appear to live extremely happy. Living here in a manner costs nothing and they get employment from the Vessells who put in here to refresh'.¹⁸ But some travellers recognized the squalor in which foreigners without property or skills often lived:

The working class, are sadly addicted to drinking, and lead a miserable and degraded life; indeed the humbler classes of white men in all the islands, with their careworn faces and haggard looks, exhibit a wretched appearance. Allied as a general rule to native women, they live as the natives do, have no social comfort, and make no effort to get it, making up for their poor bill of fare and discomfort by seeking for its deficiency in the stimulus and excitement of the glass.¹⁹

Much in the living conditions and behaviour of the foreigners in beach communities must have disenchantd the new arrival; the latent attractions of these port towns were revealed only on further

17

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., II, 47-8.

18

Hugh Cuming, 'Journal of a Voyage...'.
 19

W.K. Bull, A Trip to Tahiti and other islands in the South Seas (Melbourne, 1858), 28.

acquaintance. During one of his early visits to Papeete in 1833-4 the doctor John Coulter found: 'The white residents there were all a sordid, speculative set, with few exceptions'.²⁰ Two years effected a marked change in his attitude:

I felt so completely at home and in security at Tahiti, that when I left it for the last time, I felt much regret. I was charmed with the island, I liked the natives, and received unlimited kindness from the missionaries, and several English residents. In fact, we all felt as if leaving a home port, more than a distant island in the Pacific.²¹

Richard Hinds, leaving Honolulu after a visit of little more than a fortnight, expressed a similar feeling.²² Little of the glamour associated with island life was to be found in the beach communities, but the tradition of island hospitality, combined with the foreigners' desire to hear the latest news from Europe opened society to the visitor, who thus became better able to judge its essential character.

The long-established beachcomber settlers achieved a status and standard of living in the port towns that would have been quite beyond their reach in their natal societies. With limited aspirations and content to live the rest of their lives in the islands, these beach patriarchs were renowned for their open-house

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John Coulter, op. cit., 270.

²¹

Ibid., 280-1.

²²

R.B. Hinds, op. cit.

style of hospitality, their island 'wives' and numerous part-island children. In the fales of Jonas M. Coe past Samoan wives visited and lived with present ones and from three of his six quasi-formal unions Coe recognized eighteen children whose names were recorded in the family Bible.²³ According to R.W. Robson in Queen Emma many other were brought up within the same household but Coe never revealed the same strictness or sense of responsibility towards them. Recognized Coe offspring were obliged to observe European table manners, to sit at table with their father and use cutlery. They were also made to wear shoes.²⁴ Robson gives no documentary evidence for these more intimate statements of Coe family life, nor have any been found in recent research. The price and scarcity of shoes in Apia as in all early beach communities makes that regulation seem unlikely. Few of the old residents themselves sported such articles. But that Coe was a disciplinarian was confirmed by his daughter Phoebe Park, née Coe, who described her father as a strict man.²⁵ Except for two rather frail daughters who were educated at the local convent, all the recognized children were sent away from the contaminating influences of the beach to school in Australia or the United States.²⁶ Phoebe Park further

23

R.W. Robson, op. cit., 16-33. The family Bible is now held in the manuscript section, NLA.

24

Ibid., 31.

25

Lilian Overell, A Woman's Impressions of German New Guinea (London, 1923), 43.

26

Ibid.

explained that his daughters were only allowed to marry white men, but any suggestion of latent racialism is modified by her later remark: 'I was one of the girls chosen to chew the kava for King Malietoa and my father.'²⁷

In Levuka David Whippy lived in a large Fijian style bure which accommodated his own wife and children and the orphans, and sometime companions, of deceased or departed foreigners.²⁸ The shipwrecked sailor Robert Coffin, who was billeted there in 1855, until he could arrange a passage from the group, found the Whippy children entertaining bilingual companions.²⁹ While he was there Whippy's first wife came to visit after an absence of almost twenty years.³⁰ At the time Whippy was living with his second wife Dorcas, to whom he had been married by the missionary, John Calvert.³¹ From appearances his marital relations appeared unexpectedly conventional, but Coffin talks of further Whippy offspring born of Dorcas's women attendants;³² these, however, were not recognized in their

²⁷ Ibid., 147.

²⁸ Whippy to J.B. Williams, 27 December 1859, USCD-L., IV.

²⁹ Robert Coffin, op. cit., 80-1.

³⁰ Ibid., 81.

³¹ LCC. R989.

³² Robert Coffin, op. cit., 81. Reports of Whippy's life in the islands, written in exaggerated terms, reached his family in Nantucket who refused to accept the statements and defended David to the end - Whippy MS. in Central Archives of Fiji.

father's will.³³ Missionaries, naval personnel and the foreign settlers in Fiji all acknowledged Whippy's qualities of leadership and accepted his position of authority. He held himself responsible for several part-Fijian children, helped regulate beach community life and even organized the rescue of foreigners stranded among semi-hostile Fijian tribes.³⁴ On beach community standards he justly earned the title of 'Old gentleman'.³⁵

In Honolulu the older residents had greater scope and opportunity to live in style. Oliver Holmes, governor of Oahu for many years, owned extensive plantations on Oahu and Molokai, with about 180 Hawaiians to work them. As a visitor in 1811 Ross Cox was lavishly entertained by him and waited upon at table by Hawaiian servants with napkins.³⁶ Holmes's part-Hawaiian daughters were bilingual and greatly sought after by Honolulu society. As the missionary Elisha Loomis succinctly stated the Holmes girls were all prostituted to respectable foreigners.³⁷ The

33

LCC. R 588.

34

James Magoun was rescued from Viti Levu by Whippy in the mid 1830s - E.J. Turpin, 'Diary and Narratives', MS. in Central Archives of Fiji.

35

Steward to Whippy, 29 December 1856, USCD-L, IV.

36

Ross Cox, op. cit., 30-2.

37

E. Loomis, Journal, 6 August 1825. Hannah Holmes was for many years the mistress of J.C. Jones.

energetic, eclectic Marin, physician, tailor, horticulturist, builder, interpreter, adviser and vigneron to the Hawaiian chiefs, had been given the right to build a stone house in Honolulu by Kamehameha I, for whom he had already constructed one.³⁸ His Roman Catholic affinities were obvious in the drawing room which was decorated with Chinese pictures and crucifixes: 'but on removing a sliding pannel from the opposite side, subjects of a far different nature were represented!'³⁹ After 1810 his house and large compound were the rendezvous and information centre for the sandalwood traders. The captains, supercargoes and agents came and went as they pleased, stayed with Marin or just ate meals there, set up Hawaiian houses and installed their entourages. Winship, captain of a sandalwood vessel, frequently stayed in Honolulu and readily fitted into this society with his seven 'wives'.⁴⁰

Later in life Marin's Roman Catholicism, which he adhered to despite many inconsistencies,⁴¹ caused him

38

Don Francisco de Paula Marin, Journal, passim; Marin MS. Collection, passim, in AH; Otto von Kotzebue, Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea... (London, 1821), 96-8; Peter Corney, op. cit., 99-116.

39

Ross Cox, op. cit., 31.

40

Marin Journal, 28 April 1815 and passim.

41

Marin was in regular correspondence with Spanish priests at Monterey on the west coast of North America. In 1823 he even seriously considered going to America to die among his own people and to bring up his children among people of the Faith - Marin to Alguello, 6 April 1823, Marin Collection, Item 32.

considerable difficulty, particularly after the arrival of the first Roman Catholic priests in 1827. Although he gave them no assistance,⁴² the ardent Protestant convert, Kaahumanu, the regent of the islands, grew suspicious of his activities and in 1829 ordered him to stop celebrating mass and baptizing his children and the Hawaiians in his employ; something he had practised for many years.⁴³ Father Short, one of the first priests, praised Marin's faith and behaviour:

Withal he sticks firmly to the old religion. He baptizes all his children and teaches them their prayers in Spanish and does not allow them to communicate with the pseudo-missionaries. Morning and night he makes them say their prayers and the beads; on Sundays he reads the greater part of the mass, his family gathering around him, and he gives them an exhortation in Spanish....If polygamy were allowed he could pass for a patriarch.⁴⁴

Notwithstanding prayers and exhortations, Marin's daughters had inherited their father's promiscuous proclivities. Two years after Kaahumanu's prohibition on Marin's religious activities, she told him he must stop his daughters committing adultery.⁴⁵ The permissive atmosphere that prevailed in beach

42

Reginald Yzendoorn, History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands (Honolulu, 1927), 34.

43

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 30 December 1828, and 8 August 1829.

44

Reginald Yzendoorn, op. cit., 41, quoting from a letter, Short to Cummins, 27 July 1827.

45

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 2 April 1831.

communities and the minimum of hard labour required to enjoy many of the comforts of life did not encourage European moral standards among the young part-islanders or the older white settlers.

Relations between foreigners in port towns were only friendly and united in the face of a common threat to the community. Thus Fremantle's obviously critical presence drew the Levuka men together. Since the towns were such small enclaves in alien territory, and threats from island populations were more serious than those from censorious naval personnel, some degree of temporary cohesion was essential for protection and development. Negroes and men of different religious convictions, including Jews, were accepted members of beach society, which often comprised representatives from all the European nations, plus Chinese, Malays and Africans, who would act in concert if the need arose. But in the absence of a common threat these isolated, heterogeneous populations fragmented into a number of cliques, each highly critical of the others. This was most clearly revealed in Honolulu where society was continuously realigning itself according to the latest scandal or political intrigue. Fragmentation was less severe in the other beach communities, where populations were smaller, but the Germans employed by the Godeffroy company in Apia tended to hold themselves apart from the rest of the foreign community.⁴⁶

46

Young German clerks working for the company were all housed together and formed an independent social group.

Despite inter-clique rivalry a visitor to a port town was received with great hospitality from all sides. Richard Hinds, who returned to Honolulu in 1839, found:

There is a want of conciliation which give rise to numerous differences & when we arrived the families were much divided, and presented numerous shades of hostility, sometimes they did not visit but spoke when meeting at a third person; sometimes, a coolness existed at all times, and here and there they were in the most decided hostility. Even we as strangers found a little tact necessary in steering among these social breakers. In one respect they all agreed, and it would be the grossest injustice to be [...] on the abundant hospitality which everywhere greeted us, and their exceedingly kind and friendly bearing towards us.⁴⁷

In small beach communities survivors from shipwrecks were generously taken care of and billeted among the residents until arrangements could be made for them, while in Honolulu the consuls were responsible for housing or hospitalizing their sailors before they could be reshipped home. But this hospitality, which was due to a craving for any novelty in an isolated community, soon wore thin if the visitor or shipwrecked sailor showed signs of becoming a permanent resident, upon which he was forced to join a clique and assume its values and loyalties.

The observance of national days was one of many manifestations of the general rule that settlers in

47

R.B. Hinds, op. cit.

beach communities never regarded their residence, even if permanent, as modifying in any way their national status as British, American or whatever, and that if anything their patriotic chauvinism increased in these settlements. Members of a particular clique tended to be of the same nationality and the usual beach squabbles frequently assumed a nationalistic flavour. National day celebrations to which residents of all origins were invited, became occasions for the clique concerned to display nationalistic pride.

On 4 July 1812⁴⁸ three American vessels then in Honolulu harbour received permission from Kamehameha I to celebrate. The national salute was fired three times during the day and evening, and in the afternoon a large banquet was prepared to which all the foreigners on the vessels and ashore were invited, including the Englishman, John Young and the Spaniard, Marin. Kamehameha I, his chiefs and priests were also present.⁴⁹ An even earlier 4 July celebration was recorded by Isaac Iselin in Honolulu in 1807 - this time the Hawaiian chiefs seem to have been the major participants:

The grand anniversary of American Independence was ushered in with a salute, and the ship dressed in all colors, while the king with

48

Alexander Adams describing this celebration, dated it 1814 - Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 10 July 1856; John Ii, op. cit., 88, claims it was 1812 and gives substantiating evidence which proves Adams mistaken.

49

Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 10 July 1856.

royal family etc., celebrated the day in streams of gin.⁵⁰

After the arrival of the United States representative, J.C. Jones, the celebration became an annual event to which the leading residents irrespective of nationality, the chiefs and the missionaries were invited. The 4 July 1829 was heralded with many gun salutes. A dinner was held at the Oahu Hotel arranged by Messrs. Knight and Warren in splendid style. The company of about fifty included the American and Catholic missionaries, the English consul and residents, the Dutch and Spanish and many Hawaiians, as well as the American settlers.⁵¹ The demands of hospitality could momentarily transcend the hostility between merchants and Protestant missionaries, the Protestant/Roman Catholic split and any other minor disturbances in society.

Throughout the Pacific the Americans were the most nationalistic-minded and in Honolulu where the foreign population was large and the wealthiest predominantly American, their national days were regularly celebrated with much display. In other parts national days sometimes warranted a few extra drinks, but were quite frequently forgotten.⁵² Christmas celebrations in 1880 even drew the Germans into Apia society, when they

50

Isaac Iselin, op. cit., 78.

51

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 4 July 1829.

52

Queen Victoria's birthday was celebrated in a desultory fashion among the predominantly British population in Fiji - Fiji Times, 27 May 1871; Fiji Gazette, 31 May 1873.

invited a number of the foreign residents to a Christmas eve party.⁵³

Everyday entertainments in beach communities were characteristic of those found in any frontier society; alcohol, gambling, billiards, bowling alleys and cards were the only pastimes that enjoyed regular patrons. Whatever the prevailing law, alcohol of some variety was always available to foreigners, islanders and part-islanders. The Pomares and Kamehamehas, and Tui Levuka were encouraged to indulge their partiality for liquor by the foreign residents, who found it greatly to their advantage to have the chiefs under the influence. Before the Temperance Movement engaged the loyalties of the missionaries in the Pacific, they too were glad to accept gifts of wines and porter from visiting captains.⁵⁴ The grog shops and taverns attracted men from all levels of beach society. On 24 June 1828 Reynolds recorded that the chief Boki and Kamehameha III had been gambling until three o'clock that morning with several of the mechanics in the village.⁵⁵ Boat and horse racing, cards, billiards and bowling, which was most popular in Honolulu and Apia, where there were significant American populations, could all be gambled upon. In Honolulu Messrs Mitchener and Boyd lost over one hundred dollars in one

53

Samoa Times, 1 January 1881.

54

Maria Loomis, Journal, 1819-21.

55

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 24 June 1828.

evening playing billiards at three to five dollars a game.⁵⁶

A high alcohol consumption rate was an enduring feature in all beach communities; except Levuka for a limited time. John Colcord, temporarily a teetotaler, found he had more work than he could handle in Honolulu in 1826 because: 'My Brother Blacksmiths continued to carouse sometimes 2 or 3 weeks together and would not work at all'. If weaned from their addiction they 'began to look and act like men',⁵⁷ but few remained teetotal long. Reprimands for excessive drunkenness chequered Alexander Adams' s long piloting career in Honolulu,⁵⁸ but does not appear to have ever blighted his material or marital success. In September 1828 the Reverend Hiram Bingham refused to marry Adams to a Hawaiian woman because he was 'crazy with rum', but Governor Boki was prepared to officiate instead.⁵⁹ When Adams presented himself for marriage to another Hawaiian girl three years later Bingham again refused to perform the ceremony for the same reason. Boki was

56

Ibid., 5 January 1828.

57

John Colcord, Journal, 1826.

58

Adams died aged 91 and ten months, having enjoyed an iron constitution and a vigorous old age with an unclouded intellect. He had been pilot at Honolulu for over 40 years - The Friend, December 1871.

59

E. Clark, Journal, 13 September 1828; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 13 September 1828.

dead by this time and it is not recorded whether anyone else was prepared to act.⁶⁰

Similarly in the other port towns alcohol played a major role. At Levuka in 1860:

Intemperance still prevails among the whites here. We hoped to have had a little respite after the burning down of the grog shop, which occurred a few weeks ago, but the "Jennie Dove" has brought an additional supply and started the people off again.⁶¹

In Papeete prohibition laws were rarely properly enforced since liquor fines were one of the government's major sources of income. To an outsider there appeared to be no such laws at all:

The abundance and indiscriminate sale of ardent spirits, as well as the laxity of the laws which permitted the sensuality of a sea-port to be carried to a boundless extent, caused scenes of riot and debauchery to be nightly exhibited at Pápeéte that would have disgraced the most profligate purlieus of London.⁶²

In drinking as in gambling the lack of moderation exercised suggests the tedium endemic in beach communities and the craving for excitement among the anti-intellectual foreigners. There was little attempt

60

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 27 April 1831.

61

Binner to Eggleston, 3 October 1860, Missionary Correspondence, Fiji-Rewa Rotuma and Ovalua, Bau and Miscellaneous, MS.

62

F.D. Bennett, Narrative of a Whaling Voyage...1833 to 1836 (London, 1840), I, 81.

to diversify the leisure-time activities of the beach residents, most of whom were well satisfied with the pleasures of the taverns. W.T. Pritchard's failure to establish a reading room in Levuka in 1860 underlies the residents' continuing lack of interest in the cultural aspects of the societies they had left.⁶³

In keeping with this general indifference to anything except immediate gratification was the irresponsible attitude many fathers had towards the education of their part-island offspring. Unless outside pressure was brought to bear most children who were not brought up within their mothers' culture, were left to roam the beach without restraint. The more affluent and conscientious sent their children to school in the United States, New Zealand or Australia, but the majority of settlers were not in a position to afford such expense or to appreciate its desirability. Men like Whippy, John Young, Colcord and Cummins, however, who started life in the islands with nothing, did earn the money and have the inclination to send at least one of their children to school outside the islands.⁶⁴

63

W.T. Pritchard, op. cit., 238-9.

64

Whippy's son Samuel had at least a year's schooling in Sydney. LCC. R400; Robert Young, John Young's son by his first marriage, went to school in America - Magee to Young, 10 February 1804; for Colcord's daughter, see p.225; Cummins sent a son to be educated in New England, Cummins to Hunnewell, 7 October 1833, Hunnewell Papers in Harvard College Library.

Soon after their arrival in Honolulu the missionaries opened a school for the numerous part-Hawaiian children in the town. The foreigners responded enthusiastically to the plan, offering gifts and money, and by September 1820 thirty pupils attended the school regularly.⁶⁵ Most of the children had so little English that lessons had to be interpreted into Hawaiian for them by Sally Jackson, a Hawaiian woman, wife of one of the foreign residents.⁶⁶ In 1822, after the school was well established, the missionaries decided that all their efforts should be concentrated on the redemption of the Hawaiians.⁶⁷ By this time the early cooperation between merchant and missionary had disintegrated and no foreigner had the time or interest to prevent the school's closure. Part-Hawaiian education was then neglected for another decade, until the establishment of the Oahu Charity school in 1833.⁶⁸

In Apia the missionaries first attempted to establish a school for the children of foreign residents in 1846,⁶⁹ but it was not until June 1856 that they pressured the foreigners into action.⁷⁰ A school house

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Maria Loomis, Journal, May-September 1820.

⁶⁶

Ibid., 4 September 1820.

⁶⁷

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 130-1.

⁶⁸

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 10 January 1833.

⁶⁹

Mills to Tidman, 1 July 1852, LMS. Letters, Box 24, folder 10b; R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 241.

⁷⁰

The Samoan Reporter, March 1860.

was built and a teacher provided under the guidance but not the patronage of the missionaries.⁷¹ The school's subsequent history of closure due to lack of funds to employ a teacher emphasizes the foreigners' lethargy.⁷² In Tahiti, where the children of mixed marriages were less numerous, the missionaries took some of them in and brought them up with their own families.⁷³ But as late as 1840 education for the remaining part-Tahitians was still most uncertain. The school that had been established for them and the Tahitians by the missionaries was far from successful.⁷⁴

Similar apathy characterized the foreign residents' attitudes towards religion, although in Honolulu there developed a bitter, anti-missionary prejudice, which prevented any interest or cooperation in religious or educational matters for over a decade.⁷⁵ This hostility was not constantly at fever pitch, but both parties were always suspicious of the other's activities and motives. The Bethel movement, which aimed at the redemption of souls among sailors and other Europeans in distant lands, appeared first in 1833

71

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 241.

72

J.C. Williams to Firth, 16 March 1867, BCS., 5/1.

73

Niel Gunson, 'The Deviations of a Missionary Family; the Henrys of Tahiti', in J.W. Davidson and D.A. Scarr, ed., Pacific Islands Portraits (Canberra, 1970).

74

Henry to Ellis, 2 November 1840, LMS. letters, Box 13, folder 2D.

75

See above Chapter V, 182.

at Honolulu, where a seamen's chapel was opened. The Reverend John Diell, its own specially appointed minister, was warmly welcomed to Honolulu by the foreign residents, in particular by such men as H. Peirce, J.C. Jones, William French and Eliab Grimes, who had all been stalwart opponents of the mission.⁷⁶ This suggests that these men were not basically irreligious but rather strongly averse to the missionaries for political and economic reasons. They had no cause to fear Diell, who was grateful for their attention:

The gentlemen of the village took an early opportunity of introducing me to the king and principal chiefs, and in every way have manifested a spirit of kindness, for which I feel myself under many obligations.⁷⁷

But as had happened in the previous decade, early goodwill dissipated in the face of Diell's denunciations of theatricals, dancing and card-playing, which were becoming fashionable in Honolulu at the time.⁷⁸ Neither Diell nor the missionaries before him, were able to moderate the rigorous moral standards that evangelical Protestantism demanded, in an attempt to gain the loyalties of the foreign community. Church members in New England were not excommunicated for dancing, but

⁷⁶

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 379.

⁷⁷

Diell to ? , 7 May 1833, Sailors' Magazine, November 1833.

⁷⁸

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 9 March 1834 and 4 March 1836.

this was threatened and imposed in Honolulu in 1836.⁷⁹

Later the Bethel movement spread to Papeete and Apia,⁸⁰ only to meet with the same lack of success it experienced in Honolulu. Few residents were prepared to join a movement dedicated to the principle of abstinence. Congregations in port town chapels were made up of whaling captains and sailors on temporary visits. In Apia in 1845-6 a flash of interest was shown in a Temperance society, to which the leading expatriates belonged.⁸¹ Three years later a subscription was raised to buy and bring out from London a corrugated-iron chapel, twenty feet by forty feet, part of which was to be screened off as a reading room.⁸² The foreigners assembled the chapel and attended its opening in January 1849, but by November of the same year they handed over all responsibilities to the mission and were seldom to be found there themselves.⁸³ Interest in the Temperance society had

79

Gavan Daws, 'Honolulu - The First Century' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1966), 454.

80

In Papeete and Apia the established missionaries started Bethel services in their churches - no special ministers were sent.

81

The Samoan Reporter, September 1846; Mills to Tidman and Freeman, 13 November 1845, LMS. Letters, Box 18, folder 8D.

82

The Samoan Reporter, March 1849; The Friend, 1 September 1849.

83

The utter unsuitability of the building for the climate may have been partly responsible for their absence.

been even more short-lived; not lasting out the year of 1846. The prospects of material success and the leisure-time entertainments which attracted men to beach communities were so incompatible with the aims and standards of the Bethel movement that its lack of success among most foreign residents was not surprising.

Early Levuka proved an exception to this general picture of improvident, ungodly foreigners. Between 1840 and 1850 a succession of surprised observers commented on the order, industry and cleanliness of Levuka, and later of Solevu.⁸⁴ In 1838 Dumont d'Urville remarked on the dangerous lack of unanimity among the whites, who appeared to dislike one another mutually.⁸⁵ Two years later, however, Wilkes described Levuka as a well-regulated community that recognized Whippy as its leader.⁸⁶ Their self-government was combined with a concern for the education and religious training not only of their children and Fijian wives but even of themselves.

Between 1840 and 1843 repeated requests were made to the missionaries to provide them with a teacher and

84

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., III, 47-8; Hunt to Miller, 23 May 1847, British Consulate Tahiti, MSS 24/3; Charles St. Julian, Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia (Sydney, 1851), 38; H. Carleton to Colonial Secy., 26 March 1849, Pacific Islands, Two Collections of Papers about the South Sea Islands, MS. in DL.; J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173.

85

J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, op. cit.

86

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., III, 47.

minister⁸⁷ and in 1842 a deputation went to the mission at Viwa to beg for a missionary to be sent to Levuka. But only a teacher could be spared.⁸⁸

However, the following year Christianity appeared to be flourishing, according to the Reverend John Hunt's report:

Levuka, Vuna, Lovoni. At these three places on the island of Ovalau we have 147 professing Christians. Twenty-one of these are white people, chiefly English, and the greater part of the rest are their wives, servants and children. Four of the white people have been married to native women during the year. They attend the means of grace at every opportunity when I visit them and some of them attend the native services on the Sabbath....They are all anxious that their children should be well instructed, and do all they can to induce them to attend to school and the ordinances of God's house.⁸⁹

Exile at Solevu in 1844 did not discourage them. The good relations, mutual help and interchange of visits between the two parties continued. After the destruction of Levuka in 1846, Hunt rescued material from two whale boats that were destroyed and returned it to the men at Solevu. In gratitude for this and many other acts of kindness they built the missionary a comfortable wooden house at Viwa.⁹⁰ On a visit to

87

Ibid., III, 362-3.

88

The Report of the Work of God in the Bau Circuit for the year ending June 1842, MMS. Reports.

89

Ibid., for the year ending June 1843, MMS. Reports.

90

M. Wallis, op. cit., 245.

Solevu Hunt was welcomed 'with great cordiality'. But the foreigners' amiability and exceptional interest in religious and educational matters still left them open to missionary reproof. A few days after Hunt had arrived, he recorded in his journal: 'I had already warned the white men against reading certain books and pamphlets which I had seen among them containing Socinianism and Universalism in its most insinuating forms.'⁹¹

This unusual situation did not survive the foreigners' return to Levuka in 1849. When Captain Erskine visited the settlement later that year he praised the tone of society and the industry of the residents, but there was no school or church.⁹² In July 1851 the Levuka men were urged by an American naval officer to stop drinking and turn to religion; the first of many similar sermons.⁹³ Levuka's population increase from about thirty to fifty between 1848 and 1852,⁹⁴ the decline in Whippy's position and his personal involvement in the American claims, and the residents' changed allegiance to the United States consul, J.B. Williams, all had some part in Levuka's fall from grace and the concurrent deterioration in

91

John Hunt, Private Journal, typescript in ML.

92

J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173-4.

93

'Vewa Record', August 1851, MMS, Calvert's Miscellaneous Papers.

94

Pritchard to Secy. of State, 12 August 1848, Adm. 1/5593; Nautical Magazine, XXII (September 1853), 456-60.

race relations.⁹⁵ With the arrival of John Binner a school for part-Fijians was re-established, but neither religion nor education had much relevance in a community with such changed motivations and outlook.⁹⁶

With time and the increase of settlers coming to the islands with European wives and set economic aims, a modicum of respectability and staidness was imposed upon the beach communities. Slowly the more uproarious beachcomber activities disappeared - groups of foreigners and islanders no longer sat on the beach for days on end drinking a cask dry. Then the stigma fell on the long-established habits of gambling and tavern drinking and the taking of island 'wives'. From the Honolulu diary of Levi Chamberlin, who was the secular agent for the mission for over twenty years,⁹⁷ the change and growing complexity of society is clearly revealed; the transition from grog shops to hotels and well-appointed, private dinner parties, from frenetic mission baiting to a tolerant acceptance, and from Hawaiian grass hales to stone or wooden mansions. Over a period of twenty years and within a population that had grown to about

95

See below Chapter VIII.

96

Extract from a letter by Mrs Wilson, Vewa, 16 April 1855, Events in Feejee (London, 1856), 29.

97

Levi Chamberlin arrived in Honolulu in 1823 to organize all secular matters for the mission-buildings, distribution of supplies and all transactions with the foreigners. His diary therefore contains much concerning the foreigners' activities.

600 foreigners,⁹⁸ the process was not unusual. It occurred in the other beach communities, as in most frontier societies, but nowhere in the Pacific did it have much effect on the sailor-mechanic class.

In Honolulu the arrival of the missionaries and of permanent merchant settlers marked the beginning of a new era. But the example of the missionaries, the godly merchant, Hunnewell,⁹⁹ the pious captains Dean, Whippey and many others,¹⁰⁰ was counterbalanced by the activities of the United States consular representative, J.C. Jones, and his fellow sandalwood traders. The funeral of ex-governor Holmes, for whom the missionaries had held great hopes, underlines the limitations of merchant respectability:

The mourners followed the coffin the females being supported by foreigners. The most decent of the foreigners, those who pride themselves on being above the vulgar, walking in procession arm in arm with their paramoursTo add to the scene the keepers of grog shops displayed flags, which are hoisted as signals of their traffic, at half mast.¹⁰¹

98

Honolulu's population was estimated at 600 in 1840 - Francis A. Olmsted, Incidents of a Whaling Voyage (London, 1844), 57.

99

Hunnewell, who was the first resident merchant in Honolulu, arrived in 1817 but sailed again the following year. He returned in 1820 and lived much of the next ten years in the town, during all of which time he was on most cordial terms with the missionaries - Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 1823-30.

100

Ibid.; Maria Loomis, Journal.

101

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 7 August 1825.

For six years, 1826-32, John Colcord the blacksmith struggled to give up drinking. When he finally succeeded and took the pledge in October 1832, taunts and tricks were played upon him, and many people refused to employ him. With industry, however, he rapidly built up new custom and expanded his forge to include a store, three salesmen, three shoemakers and a tailor.¹⁰² He considered the Oahu Charity School not good enough for his part-Hawaiian daughter, Susan, whom he sent to Boston for her education. By 1839 Colcord's second Hawaiian wife had died and he decided to visit the States with his four sons. Before he left, his property was valued at between 7,000 and 10,000 dollars.¹⁰³ In May 1841 he returned with an American wife and his daughter, having left the four boys at school. He was accepted as a member of the merchant class and became a frequent visitor at the mission.¹⁰⁴ Opportunities were not lacking in Honolulu for those who could break themselves from the taverns and gambling houses, and money, a white wife and children at school in New England, guaranteed one a place among the élite of Honolulu society.

In the other beach communities a similar quasi-respectability was to be found among sections of the

102

John Colcord, Journal.

103

Ibid.

104

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, May 1841 - December 1843;
Levi Chamberlin, Journal, May 1841 - December 1843.

merchant class. Thomas Trood, frequent visitor and resident in the islands from 1857, contended that:

Levuka, Ovalua, at that time [1860] was about on a par with Apia as regards the quality of the denizens of both. All the original residents had either died off, killed one another, or been killed by the natives, and a new class of men had come into the groups, some of very superior education and antecedents.¹⁰⁵

A number of the new arrivals in Apia in the late 1850s proved more amenable to the missionaries than earlier settlers.¹⁰⁶ Among the old residents, furthermore, the diehard beach leaders Pritchard, Yandall and Hamilton had all turned to the church for spiritual comfort. Pritchard had become bankrupt, Yandall had lost almost all his property by fire¹⁰⁷ and E.L. Hamilton, in a drunken moment, had nearly killed somebody.¹⁰⁸ New interest was shown in the little iron chapel, erected in 1849. One hundred and twenty pounds collected from the residents and visiting captains made it possible in 1860 to move the building to a more suitable site and improve its facilities.¹⁰⁹

105

Thomas Trood, Island Reminiscences (Sydney, 1912), 43-4.

106

A.W. Murray, op. cit., 321.

107

Ibid., 336-7.

108

Ibid., 351-2.

109

The Samoan Reporter, March 1860.

By 1860 Levuka was no longer the residence of David Whippy, who, accompanied by William Simpson, Isaac Hathaway and several part-Fijians, had left the town late in 1858 for the island of Wakaya.¹¹⁰ A scandal involving one of the Whippys and a daughter of the chief of Batiki may have been partially responsible for this removal,¹¹¹ but more important was the fact that Levuka had again been razed by the Lovoni in September 1858. All David Whippy's property had been destroyed in the blaze and since Levuka and his standing in it had altered so much in the previous ten years, the time was advantageous to leave with what remained of his following.¹¹² But the superiority of those who succeeded him, either in education or antecedents, which Trood maintained, would be difficult to establish. W.T. Pritchard arrived in November 1858 as British consul and in his wake came a medley of people from Samoa and the colonies, attracted to Fiji by his reports of its great potentialities.¹¹³

110

LCC. R 393.

111

John Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji 1858-1873' (Ph.D. thesis, Adelaide, 1968), 74-5, found evidence of scandal from a number of interviews with Whippy descendants. There was, however, some confusion whether it was David Whippy or one of his sons who was involved. No documentary evidence has been found on the subject.

112

LCC. R 393.

113

W.T. Pritchard, op. cit., 257; Binner to Eggleston, 30 October 1860, Missionary Correspondence Fiji - Rewa, Rotuma and Ovalau, Bau and Miscellaneous.

The missionaries at Levuka did not welcome their arrival:

We are getting an accession of Foreigners to these Islands. And I am sorry to say that too many of them are fearfully addicted to intemperance. Since Mr Pritchard came, I suppose no fewer than 20 whites have come from Samoa....This is by far the worst station in the group. Here most of the whites reside. Here grog is drunk to the greatest excess.¹¹⁴

Similarly in Apia Trood's new élite showed no aversion to alcohol, associations with island women or appearing for work in pyjamas, which were in fact the day time uniform of many foreigners on the beach.¹¹⁵

Beach community life encouraged and indulged eccentric behaviour and illusions of grandeur among its foreign settlers. Many of the 'captains' and 'colonels' in port towns owed their titles to personal acts of promotion since their arrival as destitute, shipwrecked sailors, deserters or ordinary soldiers. The number of disinherited or remittance men of European aristocratic families to find their way to the Pacific was also surprising. In Apia John King Bruce, a Negro born in Liverpool, insisted on calling himself the first white man on the beach: 'I am British born and bred, thank God! and at that time no people in the islands but British were called

114

Binner to ? , 21 February 1859, Missionary Correspondence Fiji - Rewa Rotuma and Ovalua, Bau and Miscellaneous.

115

Thomas Trood, op. cit., 31.

"white".¹¹⁶ He refused to countenance the claim of two British convicts who were in Samoa when he arrived, since they were covered in tattooing and more savage than their hosts. The rights of a Portuguese to the title were also brushed aside.¹¹⁷

To Charles Pickering the marriage of a part-Fijian girl to a chief was totally against his principles. Rather than let the daughter of a white man marry a Fijian he added her to his own already extensive harem.¹¹⁸ Stephen Reynolds was considered eccentric in his dress, thinking and behaviour.¹¹⁹ His irascible temper and refusal to do business, even of a consular nature, with persons he did not like,¹²⁰ were mitigated in many peoples' eyes by his genuine interest in the welfare of part-Hawaiians and the time he spent playing his fiddle, while teaching the girls to dance.¹²¹ The boisterous activities of the pirate Bully Hayes would be classed by most people as criminal rather than eccentric, but his exuberance and flair for deceiving persons in authority made him a much admired figure during his periodic visits to Apia.¹²²

116

W.B. Churchward, op. cit., 9.

117

Ibid., 10-12.

118

The Australasian, 17 November 1866.

119

G.D. Gilman, 'Streets of Honolulu in the Early Forties', The Hawaiian Almanac, 1904, 74-101.

120

Stephen Reynolds, Journal.

121

Ibid., 1841-3.

122

G.B. Rieman, Papalangee or Uncle Sam in Samoa (Oakland, 1874), 32-3; R.W. Robson, op. cit., 43-4.

The conventions of Western society had little relevance in beach communities, where no-one questioned the background or upbringing of his neighbours too closely unless he was prepared to face ostracism. For many years after the arrival of the missionaries and the few godly merchants, hard drinking, marriage and living with island women, together with a marked reluctance for sustained work were predominant features of port town life, despite admonitions to do otherwise. But such society was not without some affectation. In 1868 twenty-four British residents in Apia sent a letter of loyalty to Prince Alfred, who had been recently attacked in New South Wales:

We regard with the greatest indignation the murderous attack made on your royal person.... We assure your Royal Highness that although far from our beloved country, we still have the deepest devotion of loyalty towards your Royal Mother, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Prince of Wales, and all the members of the Royal family. We can confidently assure your Royal Highness that though living in these so called uncivilized islands, we should have heartily welcomed your Royal Highness had it been your good pleasure to extend your visit to us.¹²³

Such sentiments were not everyday phenomena in beach communities but the smallness of society and its whimsical, momentary interests and loyalties often made it possible for one man to initiate a pet project or petition and carry many of his immediate colleagues or fellow nationals with him. Sudden effusions of

123

Petition, 12 May 1868, BCS. 3/3.

intense group loyalty, combined with the intrigue and rivalry endemic in most beach communities, left little room for respectability as the Western world understood it.

All port towns suffered from primitive public facilities. The foreigners' strong extra-territorial attitudes, and their feelings of impermanence, plus the fact that few of them owned the land on which they lived, made the development of a sense of community almost impossible. Beach towns grew at the whim of island and foreign settlers without reference to any housing or street plans. Any project for community development thus fell victim to the total lack of concern evinced by the large majority of foreign residents. Burials were casually performed in close proximity to permanent settlement, roads were inadequate, bridges non-existent or precariously temporary and any system of sewerage completely unknown. There can have been little to attract either eye or nose along the beach fronts littered with rotting animal and vegetable matter.

The death rate in beach communities was high but despite the unhygienic conditions, alcohol rather than contagious diseases such as dysentery or typhoid was the killer:

In the Navigator Islands, as in Fiji, disease of any kind (---) is to be attributed, not to the effects of climate, but of those of intoxicating drink. When one considers the astonishing quantity of alcoholic drink, chiefly "square gin", consumed during any one month in either Apia or Levuka by so

disproportionate a number of white settlers, one need not be surprised at hearing an outcry about disease.¹²⁴

Any increase of population on the beach, however, was a potential threat to public health, and the islanders, if not the foreigners, were decimated by infections which could have been controlled if the foreigners had had any interest in, or proper knowledge of, public sanitation.

For many years beach community populations were a casual combination of foreigners and island women. The men came from a wide section of European society but with a preponderance from the working class. Among the island women there were many of high rank and in Fiji at least it was possible for a minor chief (Tui Levuka) to marry a part-Fijian girl (Elizabeth Grundy, widow of an expatriate).¹²⁵ Social gatherings between the chiefs and leading foreigners were frequent and easy - island feasts and foreign celebrations were well attended by both races. The visits of mercantile and official naval vessels provided further opportunities for mixed entertainment. The Hawaiians, who proved most adept at many European games, revealed their expertise on board the Tonquin in Honolulu harbour in 1811:

In the course of the evening the queens [of Kamehameha I] played draughts with some of

124

H.B. Sterndale, op. cit., 9.

125

LCC. R 975.

our most scientific amateurs, whom they beat hollow; and such was the skill evinced by them in the game, that not one of our best players succeeded in making a king.¹²⁶

Repeatedly visitors to the islands remarked on the ease with which Polynesians and Fijians acquired Western table manners. Hugh Cuming in Papeete harbour, early in January 1828, invited Pomare IV and her retinue to dine on board. They drank very sparingly in the missionaries' presence but after the clerics' departure, a large quantity of wine disappeared and the women quarrelled over a length of scarlet ribbon. However: 'At Dinner the Ladies behaved with the greatest propriety, used the Knife and Fork in an admirable manner'.¹²⁷ The islanders' adaptive and imitative skills, which were frequently combined with polite but dignified bearing, made mixed social intercourse easy for both races.

Social differentiation within a tribe was commonly practised among the Fijians and Polynesians, who were quick to recognize the personal worth and standing of most immigrants and to respect them accordingly. Once beach communities began to grow, society divided quite naturally into two or more classes. By 1824 in Honolulu there were numerous, shanty grog shops kept by runaway sailors, but there were others: 'fitted up in a superior style, for the exclusive accommodation of

126

Ross Cox, op. cit., 29.

127

Hugh Cuming, 'Journal of a Voyage...'. .

Yeris [chiefs] and ships' officers, admission being refused to Kanackas and sailors'.¹²⁸ Christmas dinner 1827 was celebrated in Honolulu at the chief Boki's house, at the American consul's and among the mechanics and other Hawaiians.¹²⁹ Similar divisions between leading foreigners and those of chiefly rank, and the mechanics, islanders and part-islanders appeared in the other port towns.

Early beach communities provided a meeting place where both races could participate in economic and social activities. Any inequality of opportunity arose from the division of society which had a class rather than a racial basis. Later when the number of foreigners in port towns increased the islanders and part-islanders found that preference in employment was always given to the expatriates and that they had no place in the newly emerging, Western-dominated society. But before this development race relations in beach communities, although subject to moments of suspicion and tension, were predominantly easy and flexible.

Captain Fremantle considered beach community life in Levuka to be immoral, the foreign inhabitants the scum of the Western world and the conditions sordid and squalid in the extreme. His terms of condemnation may have been exaggerated but a description of the other beach communities has shown that basically Levuka in 1855 was not an exception. The exigencies of

128

Otto von Kotzebue, A New Voyage..., II, 218.

129

Levi Chamberlin, Journal, 25 December 1827.

frontier society made the foreigners insensitive to the moral standards of the West, while their pursuit of wealth and, for many, their desire not to remain permanently in the islands made them indifferent to the conditions in which they lived. The mitigating aspects, such as the generous hospitality and good race relations found in beach communities, were ignored by their more hostile critics.

Primarily, however, these towns came into being to serve Western commerce, and Fremantle, like so many others, had to admit the foreigners' industry. Frederick Bennett condemned Papeete in 1834 for the depths of iniquity to which it had sunk, but despite its depravity the town had an 'air of commercial importance.'¹³⁰ Similarly Apia, soon after the Van Camp crisis, appeared to be a prosperous settlement: 'Although of a most mixed character, and built without any regularity, yet with its European stores, native houses, chapels and public houses, [it] constitutes a considerable township, and has quite a business look with it.'¹³¹ Whatever social conditions prevailed, the port towns were capable of serving the mercantile ventures attempted in the Pacific, and they were always ready to offer shelter and entertainment to any newcomer willing to accept the standards and modes of life he found around him.

130

F.D. Bennett, op. cit., I, 64.

131

W.K. Bull, op. cit., 23.

CHAPTER VIITHE LATER YEARS

Growth of beach community populations - increased contact with outside world - change in foreigners' attitudes to island government and society - political developments - Hawaii's bid for independence - the Cakobau government - Steinberger in Samoa - diminution of island sovereignty - difficulties imposing law and order. Changing social life - arrival of white women - housing - new entertainments - self-improving clubs - lodge - Island newspapers - public facilities - deteriorating race relations - conclusion.

ALTHOUGH several aspects of beach community life were slow to change, increased contact with the outer world and the growth of foreign populations which occurred in the port towns during the later stages of development, did introduce new economic and political interests and bring in their wake new social patterns. Levuka experienced the largest population increase with a rise from about sixty residents in 1858 to over five hundred late in 1870,¹ but both Honolulu and Apia grew in size, if not quite so dramatically, during their later

1

J.B. Williams to Secy. of State, 30 June 1858, USCD-L., III; Fiji Times, 21 December 1870.

years.² The sudden annexation of Tahiti in 1843 brought to an end independent beach community life in Papeete, when its population was no more than seventy.³ Economic activities in the group were confined to the supply trade to whalers and the export of island products, among which pearl shell was still important.⁴ Papeete's development under French rule after 1843 was controlled indirectly from Paris and directly by the local French functionaries. The affairs of the beach community were henceforth the concern of a single European power, in place of a nominally independent island administration and it therefore ceases to fall within the conspectus of this study.

Between 1830 and 1840 Honolulu's foreign population rose steadily from about 200 to over 600 residents, the majority of whom were engaged in the supply trade to whalers, or peripheral activities.⁵ Interest, however, was shown during the late 1830s in Hawaii's agricultural

2

The periods in which these later developments occurred are estimated as follows:

Honolulu, 1836-43.

Apia, 1865-79.

Levuka, 1860-74.

3

John Davies, op. cit., 332.

4

The Tuamotuan pearl shell industry, directed from Papeete, was still productive in the mid-twentieth century - British Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, Pacific Islands (London, 1945), II, 118-9.

5

Hiram Bingham, op. cit., 408; Francis A. Olmsted, op. cit., 57.

potential. Attempts to establish cattle ranches on Hawaii Island and plantations of sugar, coffee and mulberry trees for silk worms on Kauai were on a small scale and beset with many obstacles, but both William French and Co. and Ladd and Co. in Honolulu invested capital in sugar and several new arrivals became engaged in other agricultural enterprises.⁶

Apia's population, estimated at about 120 in 1860, declined to fifty in 1865, before it began its increase again to about 150 in 1877.⁷ The sudden decrease, 1865-8, was due to a minor cotton boom. High cotton prices on the world market, during and immediately after the American civil war, enticed many Apia residents to take up small blocks of land on Upolu. In 1866 and '67 cotton was Samoa's leading export.⁸ The following year, however, the overseas market eased for kidney cotton, on which the foreigners in Samoa had concentrated, and conditions in the group made the islanders most reluctant to engage as wage labour. Deprived of Samoans to pick the cotton, the small traders and artisans were forced to leave much of the 1868 crop to rot on the bushes while they returned to

6

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 239-50.

7

The Samoan Reporter March 1860; [Cecil George Liverpool], Three Years on the Australian Station (London, 1868), 157; Samoa Times, 27 October 1877.

8

J.C. Williams to Secy. of State, 2 January 1867 and 1 January 1868, BCS. 3/3.

their safer occupations in Apia.⁹ In addition to these former residents Apia's population increased slowly between 1868 and 1879 through a number of merchants engaged in the Central Pacific copra trade and others hoping to make fortunes in land speculation.

Levuka's first marked increase in population occurred in 1859-60, when over 100 foreigners, some from Samoa and many more from the colonies of Australia and New Zealand, arrived in Fiji in response to W.T. Pritchard's private and public statements about the islands' economic potential and the likelihood of early annexation by Great Britain.¹⁰ Disappointed in their expectations, many left the group, while the majority of those who remained took refuge in Levuka. Throughout the '60s there was a steady inflow of foreigners, many of whom sought in Fiji the quick, easy fortunes that had evaded them on the Australian and New Zealand gold fields, whose production during the decade greatly declined. A general economic depression in Australia and the Maori wars in New Zealand encouraged further colonials to try their luck in the islands.¹¹ The high prices for cotton provided the

9

Cotton was only planted subsequently by the Godeffroy company, who used it as a secondary crop - R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 258.

10

See above Chapter VI, 227-8; Karl Van Damme, 'In the South Seas', Australasian, October-December 1866; R.A. Derrick, op. cit., 146.

11

J.M.R. Young, 'Australia's Pacific Frontier', Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand, XII (October 1966), 373-88.

incentive to go to Fiji, not only to would-be planters, but also to merchants with substantial capital backing, surveyors, land and real estate agents, lawyers, auctioneers and professional gamblers, who all anticipated a share in cotton boom profits.¹²

The new arrivals, few of whom considered themselves permanent island dwellers, increased the beach communities' contacts with the outside world. Letters, newspapers and journals kept them up to date with colonial and European events. Steamship communications across the Pacific made mail and passenger services more frequent and reliable. At the same time European interest in the islands was heightened; naval vessels from England, the United States, France and Germany became expected visitors in the port towns. New commercial interests also made it imperative to keep in constant contact with the outside world. The profitable production of sugar and cotton, and to a lesser extent copra, was closely linked to the prices current on the world markets. Boom cotton prices lasted only as long as the cotton fields of Southern America were out of production. None of the island plantations, which were already hampered by adverse climatic conditions, could compete against the enormous exports of Negro-grown cotton from America.

In the islands the spread of foreign population and interest beyond the port towns did not weaken the

12

The rapid increase and diversification of advertisements in the Fiji Times between 1869 and 1870 are proof of the number of new types of employment in Levuka.

latter's importance. Unlike the small village shopkeepers and the bêche-de-mer or copra traders who were scattered round the islands and remained as self-reliant as possible, the planters depended on the foreign centres for equipment, supplies, credit facilities, news, hospitality, and often to gin and export their crop.

The foreigners' new commercial enterprises led to a fundamental change in attitude towards island authority and even to the whole structure of island society. The predominantly trader-artisan populations of early port towns had minimal political interests as long as good trading conditions prevailed.¹³ This did not, however, prevent the early residents from provoking incidents of a political nature, but these were nearly always a mask for trading rivalries. With the advent of a planter community and the growth of interest in port towns in the development of agriculture, many foreigners became vitally concerned in island policies. The planters' prerequisites: security of land tenure, the continued availability of land for sale, and an adequate supply of cheap labour often brought them, and other foreigners with property interests, into direct conflict with island governments and rights.¹⁴ Once beach community establishments became involved in exporting commodities for the world markets there was an increasing demand for political stability and

13

See above Chapter V, 178-9.

14

J.W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa (Melbourne, 1967), 47.

governmental efficiency, without which it was impossible to attract capital for investment or to arrange monetary and credit systems. No island government, however, had mastered the complicated and advanced Western political and administrative methods required to meet the foreigners' needs. The attempts made by island authorities to deal with the changed conditions strictly belong to the history of island political development, but since beach communities were vitally affected by any reforms, some analysis of them must be made.

By the late 1830s in Honolulu the bitter hostility between merchant and missionary, which had been a dominant element in the port for over a decade, was gradually losing its intensity:

A warfare was, however, kept up between the individuals belonging to the rival nations of England and the United States, which afforded ample room for the tongue of scandal to indulge itself.¹⁵

Thus the town still lacked harmony among its foreign residents and between them and the government. Jealous of American business and investment, the English accused them of bringing unjust influence to bear on the Hawaiian government through the agency of the American missionaries, and especially the ex-missionary advisers to the chiefs. Conversely, the sudden growth of British trade through Honolulu alarmed American merchants - one British resident claimed that the annual

15

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., III, 394.

value of British trade through the port rose in the three years 1839-42 from \$20,000 to \$150,000.¹⁶

On the international level the Hawaiian government was faced with militant demands from British and French naval officers, in particular Lord Russell in 1836 and Captain Laplace in 1839.¹⁷ The treaties they imposed against the Hawaiians' will negated laws previously promulgated and undermined land policies of long-standing. No foreign resident, however, would counsel or uphold the Hawaiian government, since every concession granted increased their ascendancy and advantages. Similarly, on the internal level no consideration was given to the government's wishes or rights. In 1840 Charlton laid claim to a large block of land in the heart of commercial Honolulu. The government agreed to his right to part of it but to the most valuable section they denied his claim.¹⁸ This suit was to harass the Hawaiians for many years¹⁹ but in 1840 the English residents just saw it as further evidence of the chiefs' hostile attitude

16

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 397. The increase was largely due to the activities of the Hudson Bay Company.

17

See above Chapter V, 186-7.

18

H.W. Bradley, op. cit., 398.

19

England's recognition of Hawaii's independence in 1843 was made dependent on the successful solution of Charlton's land claims, but the case was not finally settled until August 1847.

towards all the British.²⁰ In October 1841 a dispute over the interpretation of a contract between an Englishman, Skinner, and a naturalized American, Dominis, was brought before an all-foreign jury for trial. When Skinner withdrew the case on the pretext that the jury was predominantly American, the Governor Kekuanaoa dismissed the case without further hearing.²¹ This added more heat to the national rivalries and these two cases plus other claims,²² several of which involved many thousands of dollars, hung over the government and were obviously to become matters of contention when next a naval vessel arrived.

Although the chiefs, with missionary guidance, had begun to modernize their methods of government - a bill of rights had been promulgated and land reforms mooted²³ - the foreigners were clamorous for more reforms and concessions. The likelihood that an alien might precipitate an incident which would lead to intervention and to possible loss of independence was very real. In an attempt to forestall such an event

20

Document of an interview between Charlton, T.C.B. Rooke, Kekauluohi and Kekuanaoa, 16 April 1840, FO. and Ex. 1840.

21

Skinner/Dominis case, October 1841, FO. and Ex. 1841.

22

Two cases of bankruptcy in the early 1840s, those of F. Greenway and Ladd and Co., caused further difficulties.

23

Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1947) Chapters X and XIV.

the Hawaiian government sought to have their independence formally recognized by the great powers.

An ill-organized and unsuccessful bid was made in 1840, followed by a second, equally unproductive, in November 1841.²⁴ The agent of the latter attempt was P.A. Brinsmade, United States consul, who was working on behalf of Ladd and Co. The government had given the company permission to lease all the unoccupied lands in the entire group, but the lease was conditional on the recognition of Hawaii's independence by the great powers. Clearly the government was prepared to pay a high price for Ladd and Co's assistance in their bid to bolster Hawaiian sovereignty.²⁵ The third envoy, William Richards, an ex-missionary adviser to the government, and the chief Timothy Haalilio, were finally successful in 1844.²⁶ The Hawaiian monarchy survived for another fifty years, although not without several threats against its independence: from the French, the Americans in California and from internal revolt in 1873. Behind the facade of full sovereignty, however, a thoroughly Westernized government dominated by foreign ministers and representatives passed legislation to ensure expatriate development.

The Fiji cotton boom of 1868-71 attracted hundreds of settlers to the group, and more significantly to

24

H.W. Bradley, *op. cit.*, 402-5.

25

Ibid.

26

Ibid., 441-66.

Levuka. Of a total population increase of 716 in 1870 about 400 remained in Levuka.²⁷ A large majority of these were intent on establishing any kind of business that did not involve money or hard work. Arbitrators, commission agents, notaries, brokers, land and real estate agents all hoped to make a fortune from other peoples' labour.²⁸ Jerry-built, weatherboard houses with corrugated zinc or iron roofs, stores, warehouses, two gins and many hotels and boarding houses spread south from Levuka Vakaviti over Totoga creek and down to the point towards Nasova. Enclosed by rugged hills Levuka had a minimum of land for expansion; overcrowding and a deterioration of living conditions were inevitable. As late as 1875 there was no permanent building in Levuka.²⁹ Accommodation in the town was always at a premium; planters on business or holidaying competed with new arrivals and travellers for a bed. The boom, however, was short-lived: prices for Sea Island cotton eased late in 1870;³⁰ and by April 1871, after a severe hurricane which ruined more than quarter of the total crop,³¹ cotton was obviously not able to

27

Henry Britton, Fiji in 1870 (Melbourne, 1870), 40; Fiji Times, 21 December 1870 and 7 January 1871.

28

Litton Forbes, op. cit., 278.

29

Arthur H. Gordon Stanmore, Fiji: Records of Private and of Public Life 1875-1880 (Edinburgh, 1901), I, 167.

30

J.M.R. Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji 1858-1873' (Ph.D. thesis, Adelaide University, 1968), 302-3.

31

Fiji Times, 12 April 1871.

provide the basis for a new Anglo-Saxon empire in the Pacific. By mid-1872 the fortune-seekers were turning their attention to New Guinea as the next possible place for emigration.³²

While the boom lasted, a tide of optimism had helped to disguise the many difficulties, particularly financial, besetting the commercial community. Without a functioning government or any recognized security, no banking or formal credit facilities could be established. Furthermore, the British residents, who constituted a large proportion of the foreign population had no recourse to justice since their consul was not granted magisterial rights. Commercial transactions, land sales and transfers, in fact all contracts, depended upon a man's word, which was not sufficient in the densely populated and highly competitive Levuka society.

Two attempts had been made in the previous decade to establish Western-style governments but neither satisfied the majority of settlers and planters, who lived in the Bau area.³³ By June 1871 the collapse of

32

Fiji Times, 19 June 1872.

33

The united confederation of 1865 collapsed when the presidency was to have been transferred from Cakobau to Ma'afu, who was trusted by even fewer Fijian chiefs than the former. Two separate confederations were subsequently established in 1867, one in the eastern islands headed by Ma'afu and the other in the west with Cakobau in charge. Ma'afu, an astute politician, advised by responsible foreigners, governed well and offered planters the security of land tenure they required. Cakobau's kingdom, burdened with a greater number of clamorous foreigners and a heavy debt to the United States, was doomed from its inception.

the cotton industry combined with chaotic commercial conditions in Levuka induced a handful of new-comers to establish another government.³⁴ The secrecy surrounding its inauguration and the crowning of Cakobau, its initial success followed by bitter opposition among the merchants and planters, the organization of the more rebellious Levuka residents into a Ku Klux Klan, the later rise of the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society and the final annexation of the islands by Great Britain, frequently brought Levuka to the point of anarchy between 1871 and 1874.³⁵ The crux of events during these three years was the inability of the government under any of its different ministries to gain the approval of all the foreign settlers, the Fijians and the British government. Without such support, dissension and hostility among the settlers and between them and the Fijians increased and no help was forthcoming from outside banks to ease the financial situation. The actions of some ministers led many to believe that Cakobau's cabinet was not interested in promoting good relations or general prosperity:

The government of Fiji was constructed on such an extensive scale as to at once suggest the idea that its prospectors were not in earnest;

34

Fiji Times, 7 June 1871.

35

J.M.R. Young, 'Frontier Society in Fiji 1858-1873' (Ph.D. thesis, Adelaide University, 1968), Chapter VIII; R.A. Derrick, op. cit., Chapters XVIII-XXI; G.C. Henderson, 'History of Government in Fiji 1760-1875', passim, typescript in Menzies Library.

but had simply got up a very elaborate speculation, a sort of bubble company, by means of which they hoped to gull the public, and having filled their pockets, make good their retreat, when the affairs should collapse.³⁶

While the total foreign population in Fiji declined after 1871, in Levuka numbers fluctuated between four and five hundred until after annexation,³⁷ which put a continued strain on the town's resources. When the commissioners Goodenough and Layard investigated the state of Fiji in 1874 their final recommendation of annexation to the British government was strongly influenced by their knowledge that the government had survived previous crises only by the intervention of H.M. naval vessels, that it was heavily indebted, and still spending beyond its income and that many foreigners faced ruin if the British government did not intervene.³⁸ The anarchy generated by the foreigners during the cotton boom forced the Fijians to accept annexation in 1874 as the only way to safeguard their land and interests, and transfer the intricacies of government into more experienced and trustworthy hands.

36

Richard Philp, Diary, 19 August-13 December 1872, MS. in Central Archives of Fiji. Philp's sentiments were embittered by the fact that he had been refused the Attorney-Generalship.

37

Levuka's population in 1875 was about 600 - C.F. Gordon Cumming, At Home in Fiji (Edinburgh, 1885), 41.

38

R.A. Derrick, op. cit., Chapters XXI-XXII.

In Apia the growth of the foreign population after 1868 was not as great as in Honolulu or Levuka at similar stages of their development, but a number of the new arrivals were bent on making fortunes through land speculation, which caused the Samoans considerable embarrassment. For the first time, during the civil war, 1869-73, land in Samoa was readily available to foreigners in return for guns and ammunition.³⁹ Many Apia residents and a few private speculators from America and the colonies took advantage of the situation, but the major investors were agents of the Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company (CPLCC.), a west coast American firm of somewhat disreputable origins and intentions. Great tracts of unsurveyed land changed hands in fraudulent sales that were not authorized by the Samoan owners involved nor properly documented - boundaries and acreage were often left blank. Further the CPLCC. agents only paid nominal deposits for the land they alienated, avowedly while they were awaiting the results of survey.⁴⁰ By 1873 the dangerous extent of land sales was apparent to the Samoans. However, the haste in which they had been contracted resulted in several lots of land being sold more than once and even more being sold by Samoans who had no right to it. The very irregularity of these sales gave the Samoans grounds to dispute the foreigners'

39

J.C. Williams to Secy. of State, 1 January 1873, BCS., 3/3; Coe to Secy. of State, 2 January 1873, USCD-A., III.

40

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 276-85.

claims⁴¹ and the expatriates were similarly aware that no island government could hope to disentangle their conflicting 'rights'.

Into this atmosphere of confusion, hostility and frustration stepped Albert B. Steinberger, an American political adventurer about whose antecedents little is known apart from his informal connection with the CPLCC., which had been declared bankrupt in 1873. The reactions of the Apia residents to the course of Steinberger's filibuster in Samoa between 1873 and 1876 fluctuated from enthusiastic support to unrelenting opposition and determination to depose him.⁴² During his first visit Steinberger promised all things to all people and on the most vexed question of land alienation he diplomatically called a moratorium of a year before any commission should be set up. The prospect of American annexation before the completion of the year was widely anticipated by the foreign residents, among whom the assiduously spread rumour had been welcomed. In two months (August to October 1873) Steinberger succeeded in gaining the approval of the Samoans, the foreign residents, the Godeffroy company and the missionaries to his cause. But on his return to Apia in April 1875, without any documents for American annexation, everyone looked to him to execute his contradictory promises. The foreign residents soon became disillusioned, questioned his status with the United States government and finally, with

41

Ibid.

42

BCS., 3/3. 1875-6; USCD-A, III, 1875; USCD-A., IV, 1876.

missionary approval (the missionaries had also been disappointed in their expectations), they combined to effect his downfall. With the aid of Captain Stevens of HMS Barracouta this was achieved in January 1876 and the town reverted to the inadequacies of consular rule.⁴³

Between 1875 and 1877 several of the fortune seekers and agitators who had lived in Levuka before annexation found colonial rule most uncongenial. The confusion and lack of organized government, under which they had thriven in Fiji, now attracted them to Apia, where they continued to prosper.⁴⁴ The ensuing political and economic unrest led Arthur Hamilton Gordon, the first governor of Fiji, to intervene and expedite the establishment of a municipal government for Apia in 1879, in which the Samoans had no effective part. International treaties made in 1878-9 between Samoa and Great Britain, the United States and Germany helped the foreign residents to impose a complete domination over the land and harbour of Apia, since the nationals concerned were exempt from paying any import or export taxes.⁴⁵ The Samoans were understandably

43

Steinberger's activities in Samoa were reported by a number of participants. The best coverage is found in: BCS., 2/1, 3/3, 5/2; USCD-A., III-IV; J.L. Young, Journal, 6 January 1875-24 May 1876, PMB 21. The most detailed and helpful analysis of these events is R.P. Gilson, op. cit., chapter XIII, 291-333.

44

Petition to Liardet, 29 June 1877, BCS., 2/2.

45

J.W. Davidson, Samoa mo Samoa (Melbourne, 1967), 60.

hostile to the municipal act, which virtually annulled their sovereignty over part of Samoa and deprived them of a substantial portion of their revenue.

In Hawaii, Fiji and Samoa the increase of the foreign populations and their political and commercial interests, together with greater contact with the outside world, resulted in the diminution of island sovereignty either in fact or in practice. Political movements and pressure groups originated and had their greatest influence in the beach communities, where the concentration of expatriate population and financial investment led the foreigners to assert their rights and demand reforms in government, and in particular in the system of land tenure and the process of justice. Honolulu's foreign residents were largely responsible for French intervention in support of Roman Catholicism in 1839, precipitated the judicial crises of 1840-'41, and throughout the late 1830s and early '40s were clamorous for freehold title to their land. Recognition of independence did not solve the Hawaiians' difficulties, but rather left the foreigners undisturbed to manipulate the newly formed, Western-style government in their own interests.

Attempts by foreigners in Fiji in the 1860s and '70s to emulate the Hawaiian system were more fatal to the Fijians than the new government had been to the Hawaiians.⁴⁶ The Levuka residents set up a King and

46

W.P. Morrell, Britain in the Pacific Islands (Oxford, 1960), 144.

government, opposed it when it overspent its budget, and sought to annul it when its ministers pursued policies inimical to their interests. The resultant chaos, plus great financial difficulties, was only resolved by annexation. In Apia the successful removal of Steinberger multiplied difficulties and left the community open to renewed agitation from the CPLCC. agents and the recalcitrants from Levuka. The charter for municipal government safeguarded them from Samoan intervention but they continued to suffer political instability until annexation in 1899.

Political unrest amid the enlarged foreign populations made it increasingly difficult for island and consular authorities to impose law and order. In Honolulu the visiting sailors involved in brawls or minor crimes found Governor Kekuanaoa rigorous in inflicting punishments.⁴⁷ Lieutenant Wilkes, while upholding the governor's authority, complained in Honolulu in 1840 that one of his sailors had been punished for his part in a brawl in an arbitrary and most informal way, a fine and twenty-eight lashes having been inflicted. Kekuanaoa refused to admit Wilkes's complaint, maintaining that the meeting to impose the punishment had been honestly conducted.⁴⁸ The differences of cultural background influenced the two men's attitude to justice. In the American's eyes no punishment could be considered legal without a properly

⁴⁷

Charles Wilkes, op. cit., IV, 58.

⁴⁸

FO. and Ex. 1840.

constituted trial with sworn witnesses. Kekuanaoa's extrajudicial methods of dispensing justice greatly concerned Honolulu's foreign residents as well as Wilkes. More serious were the highly technical cases of commercial contract and law, which lay outside Kekuanaoa's or any Hawaiian chief's range of experience.

Despite the influx of fortune-seeking foreigners, Levuka did not succumb to rowdyism for any sustained length of time. The unprecedented expansion of the port in 1870 and the failure of the cotton crop in 1871 combined to make the latter year crucial for the maintenance of justice in the group.⁴⁹ The romantically inclined Earl of Pembroke found Levuka society in 1871 as pleasant, orderly and often as clever as any he had ever met, but he was convinced that the continued rush of foreigners would inevitably end in disorder.⁵⁰ Litton Forbes, also in Levuka in 1871, emphasized the difficulties which faced the town:

In 1871 the numbers of this semi-criminal class in the islands had increased to such an extent that the very name of Fiji was looked on in Sydney and Melbourne with loathing and contempt. 'Gone to Fiji' bore the same significance in Australia as 'Gone to Texas' did in America a few years ago.⁵¹

49

Henry Britton, op. cit., 40; W.C. Pechey, Fijian Cotton Culture and Planters' Guide to the Islands (London, 1870), 13. Both these authors considered Levuka a quiet town in 1870.

50

Earl of Pembroke, Remarks taken from 'Temple Bar', Fiji Times, 5 February 1873.

51

Litton Forbes, op. cit., 277.

Notwithstanding the disreputable nature of many of Levuka's inhabitants Forbes was forced to admit that although club law was often the only way to gain redress or satisfaction, the community was essentially English and intent on making money.⁵² Debts, which were notoriously difficult to collect, were customarily settled by debtor and creditor fighting it out in the rotunda behind Manton's hotel.⁵³

A swaggering, arrogant attitude was adopted by many foreigners in Levuka. The planters moved along the beach in gangs known as the Taveuni Lords, Nandi Swells, and Rewa Roughs,⁵⁴ followed by their labour boys, but single-handed duels or combat were the extent of their belligerence and courage.⁵⁵ Even the Ku Klux Klan men and the members of the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society, who were sworn to overthrow the government, never were a party to, or encouraged, any major crime,⁵⁶ which was indeed exceptional at any

52

Ibid., 279-80.

53

John Gaggin, Among the Man-Eaters (London, 1900), 22.

54

Ibid., 27-30.

55

Duels and fights were usually watched by a concourse of spectators, who soon decided, after the first misfirings or after a few rounds, that honour was satisfied and that it was time for a drink - G.L. Ryder, 'Pioneering in the South Seas', Ryder Papers in ML.

56

A case in point occurred late in 1870. The members of the Ku Klux Klan refused to recognize the authority of the new government courts, so they stormed the jail and released a British prisoner. At an improvised trial they found him guilty and handed him over to the British consul March, who had no more authority to imprison anyone than the government, so the unfortunate man was returned to his former jail - R.A. Derrick, op. cit., 210.

time.⁵⁷ By 1874 the town was as peaceful as it had been in the years before 1871:

I had heard so much of the rowdyism and ruffianism at Levuka that I was surprised to find it during the whole of my stay as quiet and orderly as a town in England.⁵⁸

Until 1877 the mixed and consular courts of Apia were able to dispense such justice as the community required, except during the time when they were temporarily superseded by the Steinberger government courts. In 1877, however, renewed attempts were made by the CPLCC. to make good their land purchases. The resultant struggle between rival claimants attracted a number of Fiji's freebooters.⁵⁹ Except for the German element, the whole community was convulsed in a wave of violence, which produced a state of chaos reminiscent of the Van Camp fracas in 1855-6. Alarmed by recent events the old-established residents of Apia petitioned Edward Liardet, British Consul, in June 1877 to deport the worst offenders in an effort to stop the prevalent 'spirit of ruffianism and utter lawlessness' from spreading.⁶⁰ But violence and commercial rowdyism continued until intervention from

57

Probably the most serious crime committed on the beach was the assault on an amateur actress, Mrs Vernon, with vitriol, which burned her seriously - Fiji Gazette, 7 December 1872.

58

J.W. Boddam-Whetham, op. cit., 293-5.

59

R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 347-8.

60

Petition to Liardet, 29 June 1877, BCS., 2/2.

Governor Gordon became essential, after the lynching of Cochrane in November of the same year.⁶¹

Cochrane had been found guilty of the murder of the sailor James Cox,⁶² by an American consular court, and put on board the Ada May, without guards, to be transported to the United States. At a meeting of more than eighty per cent of the foreign residents straight after the trial, it was decided that the immediate punishment of Cochrane on shore would have a salutary effect on the disorderly beach elements. The hanging took place that night, attended by the foreigners at the meeting, including the medical missionary, Dr G.A. Turner.⁶³

Later reports of the incident by participants and others stressed their awareness of the enormity of the act in normal circumstances, but claimed that in a town without law courts or police, the measure was essential to maintain law and order.⁶⁴ Even Consul Liardet argued:

I believe, my Lord, it would be injudicious to visit any punishment on Mr Pritchard, [chairman of the lynching meeting] who has acted under force of circumstances, and which

61

Samoa Times, 10 November 1877.

62

Cochrane had pleaded unintentional murder, due to intoxication. His victim was unknown to him - Griffin to Secy. of State, 10 November 1877, USCD-A., III.

63

Samoa Times, 10 November 1877; USCD-A., V, 1877-8.

64

In particular, Samoa Times, 2 March 1878 and 16 August 1879; FO. Confidential Print, 3846.

action has indirectly produced a quieter feeling among the community, who had been previously so disturbed by the lawless acts committed by the agitators who came here from Fiji.⁶⁵

With the appearance of Governor Gordon in 1878 and the decline in active interest in the CPLCC. claims, commercial and social harmony was re-established. The sources of potential discord in Apia, however, had not decreased; no final judgement about land rights had been given and the scope for political intrigue was not lessened by the Municipal Act.

Against this background of political upheaval and legal uncertainty, the social tempo of life in beach communities fluctuated from unrestrained enthusiasm to utter despair as each pet project followed its mercurial course. Even in Honolulu, which was not as disturbed as Levuka or Apia in later years, residents became intensely involved in the slightest incident or scandal. Mrs Nye, a visitor to the port in 1842, found the febrile atmosphere uncongenial:

The old fashioned quietude of domestic life, here, seems much interrupted by continual excitement. You cannot imagine what a bustle an arrival produces - or any trifling affair - I do feel it injurious to anyone, who lives upon excitement. It is an artificial stimulus, giving vivacity and cheerfulness to the

65

Liardet to Secy. of State, 20 December 1877, FO. Confidential Print 3846.

depressed, and lonely; however it is the order of the day, and I do not consider myself free from its influence.⁶⁶

However, while gossip and rumour still dominated port town society, much of the rough, frontier atmosphere familiar in the early beach communities was giving way to more conventional standards of living.

The arrival of a number of expatriate women was the most influential, single factor in this process, but white women per se were no guarantee of respectability. Mrs Cooper, at her third or fourth trial in Papeete, became most abusive and refused to pay her fines for having been in possession of seventy crates of gin.⁶⁷ The majority of women, however, brought with them the attitudes and many of the moveable attributes of Western civilization. Upright pianos, silver salvers, paste board and bustles, all became part of the social ritual in Levuka and Honolulu.

In the presence of the newly arrived women, some of the older residents in Levuka became aware of their lack of polish and lapses from Western standards. They grudgingly admitted that: 'obscene language [was] used in the hearing of the gentle-nurtured females', but they argued: 'We are yet too new to have worn out altogether the influences on men of weak minds, created by habits of self indulgence, savage communion and long

⁶⁶

Mrs Nye, Journal, 30 December 1842, MS. in AH. (Her underlining.)

⁶⁷

Wilson to Pritchard, 27 May 1841, British Consular Papers Tahiti, MSS 24/8.

severence from the restraints and usages of society.'⁶⁸
 In April 1872 twenty-four Levuka gentlemen expressed their appreciation to Mrs Perrin for her admirable conduct at a concert when she slapped a man's face on his refusal to give up his seat to a lady: 'We---present you with this brooch as a token of our admiration of your pluck in doing what was the duty of every gentleman present to do'.⁶⁹ Men in Honolulu re-entered mixed society without such an effort:

We have now quite a different state of society lately - so many ladies that the parties are really interesting, on every Wednesday eve' we have what are called free & easy's or conversaciones given by the ladies alternately and everyone to call during the evening and go when they please without any ceremony - they are very pleasant.⁷⁰

Few women would countenance an island-built house, however cool or suited to the climate. In Honolulu the pleasant, New England style, mission houses were copied by many of the wealthy Americans who followed later. Others built in wood or stone according to their means. In Levuka and Apia the predominantly colonial populations had no comparable tradition of attractive domestic architecture to draw upon and also little experience of tropical conditions:

⁶⁸

Fiji Times, 6 August 1870.

⁶⁹

Fiji Times, 3 April 1872.

⁷⁰

Hinckley to Hunnewell, 26 November 1833, Hunnewell collection, MS. in BPBM.

The people who have gone to Fiji have no idea of the construction of houses suited for a warm climate. They build these shantys as they would build them on some Australian gold field; and they furnish them as if they were in England.⁷¹

In 1874 Miss Gordon Cumming, accustomed to expatriate British life in India, was more outspoken about the discomfort of Levuka houses:

As to the houses, they are all alike hideous, being built of wood (weatherboard is the word), and roofed with corrugated iron or zinc, on which the mad tropical rains pour with deafening noise; or else the burning sun beats so fiercely as well-nigh to stifle the inmates, to whom the luxuries of punkahs and ice are unknown.⁷²

Hotels and stores were built with a similar lack of amenities and comfort.

Individual weatherboard houses, which tended to symbolize both social and racial differences in beach communities, were only one index of the greater exclusiveness among foreign residents. Within several such houses complete expatriate families could be found divorced from the indigenous and part-islander populations by wealth, property and ideology. A stigma fell on mixed racial marriages and liaisons. Ambitious young merchants in Honolulu returned to the States to

71

Richard Philp, Journal, August-December 1872.

72

C.F. Gordon Cumming, op. cit., 28.

choose wives,⁷³ since: 'having a regular wife perhaps may look a little better in the eyes of respectable strangers.'⁷⁴ In Levuka, hoteliers with an eye for business brought in attractive barmaids from the colonies.⁷⁵ A girl with any looks at all could be guaranteed five or six offers of marriage in her first six months.⁷⁶

With the advent of white women, a number of new entertainments appeared. Balls and informal dancing, picnics and mixed concerts became part of the daily round. These did not necessarily increase white exclusiveness, but few islanders were at home at such gatherings and the tendency was towards segregation. As soon as sufficient women were present dancing was enthusiastically taken up. The arrival of a man-of-war - the Americans often with their own band - led to a whirl of parties and dinners given by and for the naval personnel.⁷⁷ Officers and men fresh from the civilized world found the communities unskilled in the latest dancing fashions, even in Honolulu, the most advanced port town:

73

Colcord chose his third wife in New England - see above Chapter VI, 225; Mr Peck planned to return to the States for a wife in 1838 - P.A. Brinsmade to his wife, 13 October 1837, Brinsmade Collection, MS. in AH.

74

Hinckley to Hunnewell, 26 November 1833, Hunnewell collection, MS. This attitude intensified throughout the 1830s.

75

G.H.W. Markham, Fiji Diary 1869-74, 27 February 1870 and 15 March 1871, MS. in ML.

76

Town and Country Journal, 8 July 1871.

77

Even a ladies sewing circle was held on USS. Boston in Honolulu harbour! - Mrs Nye, Journal, 7 March 1843.

There was some dancing, but little waltzing as there is few or none of the residents (men) who can, and the officers waltzed so very fast the ladies found great difficulty in keeping time with them.⁷⁸

Jigs, reels and highland flings were still danced in Apia in 1872.⁷⁹

Among the Pacific islanders, the Hawaiian chiefs had adapted themselves more fully to Western life than any others. Between 1836, when dancing became a permanent social feature in Honolulu, until 1843, Kamehameha III and his court were among invited guests at balls and dinner parties particularly on board naval vessels. But the foreigners taxed them with 'great listlessness and want of conversation'⁸⁰ and they were frequently excluded from residents' functions. In Levuka Ma'afu and Judge Marika both attended at different balls,⁸¹ but their presence was exceptional in a society more exclusive than Honolulu had ever been. At a fancy dress ball in early January 1872 in Levuka: 'Every preparation for the comfort of the guests had been made, by a fence to make the premisses private and so to exclude the natives from window views'.⁸² Picnics also became a strictly expatriate

78

Faxon D. Atherton, The Californian Diary --- (San Francisco, 1964), 122.

79

G.B. Rieman, op. cit., 34.

80

R.B. Hinds, op. cit.

81

Fiji Times, 20 August 1870; Fiji Gazette, 16 November 1872.

82

Fiji Times, 6 January 1872.

entertainment in Levuka, while in Honolulu and Apia they were more frequently mixed affairs. On 25 November 1842 Kamehameha gave a picnic (luau) at his house in the Nuuanu Valley. Forty to fifty foreign residents, missionaries and Hawaiians attended the Hawaiian style meal, eaten on the ground.⁸³

Amateur theatricals came into fashion in Honolulu about the same time as dancing, both much to the disapproval of the missionaries and the pious trader Brinsmade.⁸⁴ Talent was drawn from among the young clerks and a few of the merchants in the town, but all the ladies and a large number of Hawaiians were present at their performances.⁸⁵ By the 1870s ladies were more willing to appear on stage, so the Levuka theatrical company could offer diversified programmes to their mixed audiences,⁸⁶ but as in Honolulu enthusiasm within the club fluctuated greatly and neither became permanent.⁸⁷

Self-improving clubs of different kinds appeared in Honolulu, Apia and Levuka, the one at Levuka later

83

Mrs Nye, Journal, 25 November 1842.

84

P.A. Brinsmade to Wife, 23 November 1836, Brinsmade collection.

85

E.H. Harrison, Journal, 15 June 1834 and 4 August 1834, MS. in WTu.; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 1834.

86

Fiji Times, 13 May 1871 and 17 January 1872.

87

Fiji Gazette, 29 March and 11 April 1873; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 26 March 1836, claimed that permission to build a permanent theatre was refused.

becoming a Mechanics' Institute, in keeping with educational fashions in the colonies.⁸⁸ Lectures and debates on educational and moral subjects were the basic activities, but reading rooms, chess clubs, painting and choral lessons, and in Levuka even classes in Fijian,⁸⁹ were organized. Apart from its self-improvement Institute, Apia had no organized societies until the 1880s. Political intrigue dominated the foreigners' activities throughout the '70s, while the small population with relatively few females, limited the scope of dramatic or choral entertainment and the incentive to arrange it.

The pinnacle of social development was the inauguration of Masonic Lodges. The first lodge in the Pacific, Lodge le Progres de L'Océanie was established in Honolulu in 1843 by French and American merchants.⁹⁰ In Apia the brethren were called to a preliminary meeting in December 1877 but nothing further eventuated.⁹¹ The first attempt to establish

88

The Sandwich Island Institute was established in 1837 and lasted until 1841 - Hawaiian Spectator, I, April 1838; Polynesian, 10 July 1841. Amy Williams, Journal, 29 October 1873, MS., PMB 24, mentioned a lecture at the Institute in Apia. The first general meeting of the Levuka Mutual Improvement Club was held in August 1872. In 1874 the club changed its name to Mechanics' Institute - Fiji Times, 21 August 1872 and 14 January 1874.

89

Fiji Times, 30 April 1873.

90

William Paty, Journal, 11 April 1843, MS. in AH.; Mrs Nye, Journal, 8 April 1843; Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 1843.

91

Samoa Times, 1 December 1877.

a lodge in Levuka early in 1871 also failed due to personal differences,⁹² but by the end of the year the Free and Accepted Masons of Polynesia were ready for initiation:

The regalia and requisite paraphernalia having arrived from Sydney, the above Lodge will be opened in due form and according to ancient custom and pristine usage, on Wednesday, 27th December, (St. John's Day) at high twelve.⁹³

Despite proscription early in 1872, owing to a confusion with the Ku Klux Klan, and a difficulty over a charter, the Lodge, unlike the other clubs and societies, kept the interest of its members, held regular meetings and is still functioning today.⁹⁴

The pioneer island newspapers, which appeared with the increase in foreign population and the expansion of economic interests, played an important role in reinforcing the foreign residents' group identity and exclusiveness, and fostering a sense of community among them.⁹⁵ In all three ports the first attempts at publication were hindered by the lack of skilled

92

Town and Country Journal, 15 July 1871.

93

Fiji Times, 6 December 1871.

94

L.M. Sherwood, 'An Account of Freemasonry in Fiji', Transactions of the United Masters Lodge, No.167, N.Z.C. (n.d.), 249-52.

95

Oliver Knight, 'The Owyhee Avalanche: the frontier Newspaper as a Catalyst in Social Change', Pacific Northwest Quarterly, LVIII (April 1967), 74-81.

printers, the irregular supply of suitable paper and inks and their failure to gain sufficient financial support from the relatively small commercial interests they served.⁹⁶ Only the Fiji Times, which succeeded the Fiji Weekly News and Planters' Journal in 1869, became a permanent publication and is still published today in Suva.

Despite their short lives and intermittent appearance the newspapers covered local economic conditions and reported movements on the world markets as they were received. Through their pages public entertainments and dates for club and lodge meetings were widely advertized. Editorials and leader articles brought to the residents' attention the dangerous and unsanitary state of the community. Through newspaper advocacy fire brigades were established, bridges were made more secure, committees to improve the state of cemeteries were set up and some effort was made to ensure efficient sewerage disposal and rubbish

96

Pioneer island newspapers were published in the following years:

- Honolulu - Sandwich Island Gazette 1836-9.
Sandwich Island Mirror 1839-40.
Polynesian 1840-1.
The Friend 1843-
- Levuka - The Fiji Weekly News and Planters' Journal 1868
The Fiji Times 1869-
The Fiji Gazette and Central Polynesian 1871-4.
Fiji Argus 1874-6.
- Apia - Samoan Reporter 1845-70.
The Samoa Times 1877-81.

collection.⁹⁷ The predominant characteristic of the pioneer island newspapers was their prompting and encouragement of all efforts to replace the raw squalor of beach community life with the amenities, and even some of the niceties, of the civilized world.

Like the clubs and societies, however, attempts by editors to improve community conditions were met with momentary enthusiasm followed by inertia and unconcern. Most foreigners agreed with editorial condemnations, but effective action was difficult to organize and almost impossible to sustain. Despite repeated warnings in the Fiji Times that rotting matter would increase the likelihood of dysentery and other infections, Levuka's health officer Dr Ryley reported in January 1873 that cesspools were everywhere in use and offensive piggeries and fowl yards were built very close to houses:

From the inequalities of the ground stagnant water is sometimes found in back yards, and slop water in a putrid state, --- and to complete the picture, we sometimes find mole hills of rubbish, offal, and filth indescribable, reeking and seething after rain in a broiling sun.⁹⁸

In time some basic safety and sanitary precautions were taken but the tendency to revert to former conditions was always present.

97

It is not necessary to list all the improvements inaugurated through the newspapers, but the Samoa Times was particularly concerned about the state of the public cemetery, the Fiji Times organized the Levuka Fire Brigade and the Sandwich Island Gazette encouraged the modernization of Honolulu's streets.

98

Fiji Times, 18 January 1873.

Little was done to install more general public facilities. A scattering of kerosene lights was put up in much frequented places and in Honolulu the maze of pot-holed, dust or mud lanes was transformed into a modern grid of wide streets crossing at right angles.⁹⁹ But the editors' dreams of well-built jetties, gardens and squares in Levuka or Apia had to await annexation and were realized in Honolulu only after the problems of land, labour, and other aspects of expatriate development, had been dealt with.

The rapport between foreigners and islanders in early beach communities and the acceptance of informal island or expatriate leadership did not survive the greater social and political complexity which characterized the port towns in later years. Political control devolved upon foreign consuls and subsequently on filibusters, or foreign ministers and parliamentary representatives in island governments, some of whom were anxious to safeguard island rights, although their attempts were often frustrated by self-seeking Europeans. Major economic enterprises were controlled by foreign personnel, capital and knowledge. While the early sandalwood, bêche-de-mer and coconut-oil traders had worked in close contact with the islanders upon whose cooperation and labour they were dependent, the later cotton and land-speculating enterprises avoided island contact and control as much as possible.

99

FO. and Ex. 1841.

Similarly in society the foreigners became more exclusive. Balls, picnics and sport days frequently barred the islanders and sometimes the part-islanders, while in most of the clubs, including the Levuka lodge,¹⁰⁰ and even in some churches, segregation was an established fact. Efforts to improve living standards and bring an aura of civilization to the ports reinforced these exclusive tendencies. Fear of fire led to the prohibition of island-built houses in the heart of beach communities, and in an attempt to improve the facilities of the natural bathing pools in Levuka one was set aside for white use only.

The cooperation and good will characteristic of early beach community life were submerged by the foreigners' ambitions for land, power, wealth and the superficial marks of civilization. For a period beach communities had offered political, economic and social opportunities to both races and a place where they could meet and respect each other as individuals. But as expatriate numbers increased port towns became the organizing centres for their political and economic aggrandizement. Islanders and part-islanders no longer had a place in these Western preserves, where social and economic avenues of advance were closed to them and their self-respect and equality denied.

100

The lodge in Honolulu was open to Hawaiians and in later years Kamehameha IV became its worshipful Master - G.D. Gilman, op. cit.

CHAPTER VIIITENSION AND HARMONY IN THE BEACH COMMUNITIES

Beach community development caused tensions - pressure of competition - beachcombers, traders and missionaries offered knowledge and goods complementary to island life - consuls upset the equilibrium - planters and land speculators most serious threat - planters in Levuka - speculators in Apia. Arrival of expatriate women, in Fiji and in Hawaii - Westernization of society - history of part-islanders in beach communities. Problem of jurisdiction - cow incident and subsequent events - Wave incident - rise of protection societies. Forces of harmony - personal attractiveness of Polynesians and Fijians - island tolerance and dignity - nature of penetration - personal, inter-racial friendships - conclusions.

Development in the beach communities, due to the growth of foreign populations and the expansion of their economic and political enterprises, caused increased tension in these multi-racial societies. At no time had the communities been completely free from conflict, whether caused by economic or social interests, concepts of leadership or legal rights; all problems inherent in any inter-cultural situation. However, during the beachcomber-trader period a precarious balance of interests had been established, and in Honolulu and Levuka at least, leaders acceptable to the mixed populations had been able to establish their authority. Without naval or governmental backing the foreigners moderated their demands and complied with island laws while their hosts, eager for manufactured goods,

encouraged the foreigners to settle and offered them protection. But this compromise, which partially disguised the underlying tensions, was not lasting.

The increasing discord in the communities during their later years can be analyzed in terms of the pressures of competition between island and foreign interests. Feelings of intolerance, misunderstanding and straightforward opposition multiplied in the port towns in proportion to the various demands made upon the islanders' land, labour and ways of life by incoming groups of Europeans. The beachcombers, traders and missionaries, who comprised the foreign population during the early period of harmony, had offered knowledge and goods which were complementary to the island cultures. The beachcombers who moved into the beach communities as a rule brought with them traditions of tolerance to island customs and responsibility towards the chiefs and people. With their knowledge of the language, they were able to expedite trading procedures between the islanders and foreigners and to explain Western economic methods.

Early traders at times indulged in fraudulent practices to sell their goods but these frequently rebounded upon them. As the islanders became increasingly dependent on European goods the traders' position in the community was assured without the need for coercive measures and was further strengthened, for many, by their association with island women. Trade is considered one of the most impersonal of human relationships, requiring a minimum of contact

and understanding between the two parties.¹ Certainly barter trade from the itinerant merchant vessels was at first conducted on this superficial level, but the traders who settled in the beach communities were fully integrated members of the newly emergent societies, in which their roles were mutually beneficial to both races. Similarly the missionary religion was seen to offer a more powerful god, in material, military and medical terms, to the islanders than their traditional beliefs. The few Protestant missionaries who settled in the beach communities sided with the island authorities in any inter-racial struggle. Discord between these different groups in the beach communities was usually not lasting; the most serious tensions being within the white sector - the missionary party versus the rest.

E.C. Hughes maintains that the aims and ambitions of immigrant Europeans have a direct bearing on the setting up of barriers in a multi-cultural community.² The first representatives of the Western world in the Pacific were not looking for land, natural resources or political power. Thus most beachcombers sought only the ease and plenty they believed were the basic and continuous elements of island life, while their ambitions rarely extended further than a wife of high

1

R.E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, 1950), edited by E.C. Hughes, 18.

2

E.C. Hughes, 'The Nature of Racial Frontiers', in J. Masuoka and P. Valien, ed., Race Relations (Chapel Hill, 1961), 52.

rank. Those who later moved into beach communities identified themselves with European trading practices, but only to the extent that they were able to provide their island families with the necessities of life and perhaps a few Western-manufactured luxuries. The traders had greater ambitions than these but they were still dependent on island goodwill and a reciprocity of trust to pursue their businesses. The first serious threat to harmonious relations was presented by the missionaries, who sought to convert the islanders to Christianity and the superior civilization of the West. While their attitudes had little of the tolerance of the beachcombers and traders, the missionaries were also dependent on island hospitality and had to attract the islanders to Christianity, rather than coerce them. Therefore in the early beach communities an identity of interest among the heterogeneous populations and the need for security helped to maintain harmony. Tensions were never eradicated, but all groups realized that prolonged discord could shatter the tenuous bonds of community and destroy the settlements completely.

On the other hand, the consuls who brought with them the expectation of Western governmental support and intervention, offered the foreign residents an alternative source of security. The merchants and traders, who had previously felt obliged to submit to island authority, now turned to their national representatives and henceforward declined to respect island laws and customs unless it suited them to do so. The chiefs and consuls soon found themselves competing for the loyalties of the beach residents and the right

to control their trading and social activities. Areas of potential discord expanded between islander and foreigner, as well as within the foreign community, which divided into different national groups with rival interests. Although there were times when national factionalism and the foreigners' refusal to respect island authority threatened to undermine the easy relations established by early settlers, incidents of overt hostility were not long lasting and on most occasions a semblance of harmony could be restored.

At the same time as consuls were testing the political strength and viability of the chiefs, large company traders were creating a monopoly over the major economic activities in the Pacific. The islanders had shown little inclination to compete in the Western-dominated trading complexes (the few who tried, had been unsuccessful) and therefore the development of companies caused little friction. But with the arrival of planters and land speculators the islanders became at once intimately concerned, since their land and labour were in demand. Although planters and speculators worked outside the beach communities, the deterioration of race relations consequent upon their activities had serious repercussions in the port towns.

In Hawaii, plantation agriculture did not appear until the 1850s and '60s, well after the period of Hawaiian history discussed in this thesis. Its development involved the widespread assumption of Hawaiian land, the influx of Japanese, Chinese and Philippine labour, the use of bastardized command

languages and the feudal plantation social and economic systems, all of which had deleterious effects on race relations throughout Hawaii and especially in Honolulu during the second half of the nineteenth century.³

The Society Islands did not attract planters or land speculators before French annexation, but both Fiji and Samoa were troubled by separate influxes of immigrant Europeans of this class. Although tension in Levuka and Apia increased rapidly during the years of maximum cotton-growing and land-speculating activity the fact that neither enterprise proved a profitable pursuit saved both towns from a complete breakdown in community relations.

The cotton planters in Fiji looked upon Levuka as the centre of commerce and social life, the stronghold of the foreign population and the forum for foreign dissatisfaction and vocal dissent. During the boom years, however, Levuka was essentially the centre of entertainment and hospitality. Little thought was given at this time to Fijian opposition over land sales and their refusal to work as plantation labour. But with the collapse of the cotton industry in Fiji the patronizing self-assurance of former years gave way to a bitter frustration. Many bankrupt planters were forced to leave their land and take refuge in Levuka. There, with other foreign malcontents who had suffered in the financial collapse, they loudly denounced the allegedly inefficient, racially-biassed Cakobau

3

Andrew Lind, 'Race Relations Frontiers in Hawaii', in J. Masuoka and P. Valien, *op. cit.*, 67-70.

government and the inferior Fijians who thwarted what they held to be their inalienable rights to self improvement. This reaction to failure was not peculiar to Levuka. In all beach communities any commercial difficulty or embarrassment suffered by the Europeans caused discord. It brought into the open latent attitudes and expressions of white superiority - racial prejudice became a palliative for economic failure and a feeling of superiority based on colour solaced for defeat.⁴

In Levuka, where the cotton collapse was perhaps the most severely felt economic failure in the pre-colonial port towns, the most aggressive and racist organizations appeared: at first the Ku Klux Klan, followed by the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society. Despite its name the former was not responsible for any lynchings: in fact both societies usually limited their activities to voluminous newspaper correspondence and single-handed combats with other foreigners. Several incidents between 1871 and '74 threatened to divide the town into warring factions but a compromise was always accepted or forced upon them before serious hostilities eventuated.⁵

4

Herbert Blumer, 'The Nature of Race Prejudice', in E.T. Thompson and E.C. Hughes, ed., Race: Individual and Collective Behaviour (Glencoe, 1958), 492.

5

In May 1872 the Ku Klux Klan fomented a crisis in Levuka which could have sparked off serious hostilities but for the intervention of Captain Douglas, of HMS. Cossack. Again, the riot at Nasova on 5 September 1873,

(continued on p.279)

In Apia the failure of land speculation did not generate the degree of discord and hostility that was caused by the cotton collapse in Fiji. Fewer people had been involved in the former enterprise and not more than ten lived for any length of time in the town. Between 1873 and 1879, however, speculators' attempts to make good their land claims caused instability and political unrest in Apia. So many foreigners involved themselves in Samoan affairs and interfered with their governmental procedures that the chiefs had lost all confidence in their ability to govern a multi-racial community and finally accepted municipal rule in Apia in 1879. On an individual level inter-community relations continued to be fairly easy but there remained a deep hostility among the Samoans against the municipal government and the Europeans' assumption of sovereignty over part of their land. This feeling was to last until the end of colonial rule in Western Samoa and is still found in American Samoa today.

While company traders, planters and land speculators intensified economic competition in the beach communities, the arrival of a significant number of white women, which occurred at about the same time, introduced a further discordant element into society.⁶ It is widely

5 (continued from p. 278)
when an unruly gang of British subjects broke through the first picket of Fijians and Tongans guarding Government House and fired on a second group of soldiers, could have ended in a racist war if Captain Simpson, of HMS. Blanche, had not been able to pacify both sides.

6

A settlement which is socially divided does not automatically result in tense community relations, but
(continued on p. 280)

accepted among historians dealing with various aspects of European expansion that the permanent residence of expatriate women in multi-cultural settlements is not conducive to the maintenance of harmonious community relations.⁷ The experience of Fiji, and to a lesser extent of Hawaii before 1843, was in keeping with this hypothesis. The concept of competition between foreign and island women cannot fully explain the tensions caused by the appearance of expatriate females, but jealousy evoked by the position island girls had made for themselves in the port towns, and by their energy and vitality in what to many white women must have been a debilitating climate, did stimulate the latter to demand and cling to the social standards to which they had become accustomed. By their denunciations of mixed marriages and island-style housing they sought to safeguard their vulnerable positions.

In Fiji European women began to arrive during the height of the cotton boom, when planters believed that fortunes were guaranteed. Surrounded by numbers of Europeans and convinced of success these women, mostly living in Levuka, had no wish and saw little need to compromise with the Fijians or their customs. Many of them, like their husbands, came from the Australian

⁶ (continued from p.279)

the insidious segregation that followed the residence of white women in beach communities did undermine the easy inter-racial and inter-group contact of earlier years.

⁷

For example T.G.P. Spear, The Nabobs (London, 1932); O. Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban, translated by Pamela Powesland (London, 1956); Philip Mason, Prospero's Magic (London, 1962).

colonies, where the Aboriginal population had submitted to 'inevitable European progress and civilization' with little opposition.⁸ Even the colonials from New Zealand who had witnessed the Maori wars and knew the tenacity with which islanders would fight for their land and rights, had acquired little caution or tolerance.

A replica of colonial society was built up in Levuka, but the women were not alone in insisting on the standards and customs of home. The men were also eager to civilize their ways and offer their women the comforts of a former life;⁹ most frequently it was they who demanded improvements on the women's behalf. By mid-1870, when female numbers were rapidly increasing, a jetty into Levuka harbour, which the 'old hands' had done without for decades, was suddenly deemed essential.

Ladies accustomed to the decencies of European life prefer almost any way of getting ashore to being hugged in the arms of a half-naked savage.¹⁰

Church attendance, in which few Europeans in former days had indulged, became a social must for those seeking status and respectability. Of necessity, services were

8

One Australian's attitude to Fijian opposition to the planters, while perhaps more crude than most, revealed the predominant feeling among the planters: 'We had plenty of trouble with the natives in Victoria, long before the gold was ever found there, and I can tell you a few bags of flour and a pound of arsenic go a long way to settle the native question' - Karl Van Damme, 'In the South Seas', Australasian, 24 November 1866.

9

See above Chapter VII, 260-1.

10

Fiji Times, 6 August 1870.

held in both Fijian and English, a language division which was used to enforce racial segregation. At the same time picnics and sports days became exclusively European entertainments. This insidious segregation of social life in Levuka was widespread by late 1870 and had greatly undermined the easy, inter-racial contacts of earlier years.

With the hurricane and the fall of cotton prices in 1871 white exclusiveness hardened among many settlers into unrelenting racist hostility. What responsibility lay with European women for this erosion of understanding cannot be precisely ascertained. The demands and aspirations of the planters put a strain on Fijian/European relations, and the whole tenor of white society, even before the arrival of a significant number of white women, had grown more insistent on expansion and success. The appearance of European women strengthened and encouraged these ambitions and stimulated the growth of many colonial institutions and entertainments. Later, faced with defeat, Europeans of both sexes found solace and a sense of superiority in the comprehensive reconstruction of colonial society which they had created.

In Honolulu the arrival of a number of American women did not presage such a marked change in the existing patterns of community life. Class snobbery among the foreigners was more immediately apparent than racial prejudice. On several occasions Stephen Reynolds mentioned with displeasure the cliquishness which was developing in Honolulu. In mid-July 1840 all the foreign women in the town were invited on board the

British man-of-war in the harbour. Not a single English woman attended and a number of Americans, who could have gone, refused. The reason given later was that some of the American women asked were mechanics' wives.¹¹ The raising of class barriers was a natural process in any growing white society, but Philip Mason has maintained that there are strict parallels between the way people speak and feel about those of a different class and the way they speak and feel about those of a different race.¹²

Letters written by the wives of merchants in Honolulu certainly reveal not only their pretensions in white society but also their total lack of interest and even latent hostility towards the Hawaiians. Mrs E.R. Jarves, writing to Mrs Hooper, recently returned to New England, found no place in a long, gossipy letter to mention anything about Hawaii, the Hawaiians or their affairs. In fact there was nothing except the address to indicate that it was not written in America.¹³ A letter written a year earlier by Mrs Hooper to her husband, then on a visit to the United States, reveals how close to the surface racial prejudice was:

11

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 24 July 1840.

12

Philip Mason, Prospero's Magic (London, 1962), 2.

13

Mrs E.R. Jarves to Mrs Hooper, 31 July 1841, Hooper Papers, MS. in UH.

Mrs Wood like everyone else, is troubled with her natives - oh dear I will never attempt to keep house with nothing but natives - 'tis dreadful beyond endurance.⁴⁰

Snobbery between foreigners and latent prejudice towards the Hawaiians made it increasingly difficult to maintain any corporate community spirit in Honolulu, the total population of which was well over 8,000 in the early 1840s.¹⁵

With the advent of expatriate women the organization of society followed the path already taken by commerce, which had become increasingly complex and Western orientated. Positions in mercantile companies and the newly evolving beach societies were more and more difficult for islanders to find. Inter-racial marriages and liaisons with island women came under severe censure; at the same time the heterogeneous housing and living patterns slowly changed as new Western-style homes were built and island style houses were banished from the centre of towns. The kind and scope of entertainment and the locally held canons of good behaviour were altered to conform to Western standards. The leisurely atmosphere which pervaded the early port towns was no longer tolerated. Public clocks or the firing of cannon at noon day were instituted, public holidays respected and fixed business hours observed.

14

Mrs Hooper to Mr Hooper, 12 March 1840, *ibid.*

15

In 1842 Honolulu's population was estimated at 9,000 - George Simpson, *op. cit.*, I, 434.

The piecemeal process of Westernization gained concentrated support and direction from the island newspapers, which consistently encouraged any improvement in the beach communities.¹⁶ Their continual appeal to community spirit gave rise to a strong sense of group identity among the Europeans, who were led to see themselves as an alien élite in an unreliable and often unstable island culture. Any advance, from a newly-built jetty to a neatly walled-in cemetery with tidy individual plots, was considered proof of the superiority of Western civilization over the idolence and disinterest that characterized island life. Inevitably the islanders were made to feel out of place in communities which posited such emphasis on Western mores.¹⁷

The Europeans' determination to succeed at any cost is well illustrated by the history of the part-islanders in the beach communities. Numerous children of multi-racial origins were born throughout the Pacific, but exact figures are unobtainable since the majority of them were assimilated into their mothers' culture and were rarely distinguished from their full-blood associates. Information concerning the part-islanders affiliated with European culture is fragmentary and often

16

See above Chapter VII, 268-9.

17

T.G.P. Spear, discussing relations between the English and the Indians, found that the purging of the Company administration in the late eighteenth century and the arrival of women in India at the same time led to great social distance between the two races. The English carefully modelled their settlements on English patterns and became an exclusive, highly self-conscious and self-confident community - T.G.P. Spear, op. cit., passim.

one-sided. Frequently it was only the law breakers who gained notice in European journals and letters.

However, during the early development of the island trade the handful of Europeans in beach communities had to rely on the part-islanders for the making of coconut oil and the collection of bêche-de-mer, tortoise-shell, sinnet, pork and other island products, and they regularly employed them in manning boats to bring in such goods to the central depots. George Manini, a part-Hawaiian son of Marin, had a store and a fifty per cent stake in a hotel in Honolulu and undertook many trading ventures in the Pacific, one of which finally cost him his life.¹⁸ David Whippy, junior, captained boats in Fiji and even on the Samoa-Fiji run.¹⁹ Part-islanders who were fortunate enough to gain some education were employed as clerks and salesmen in the trading companies and as sailors, pilots and interpreters. At the Oahu Charity School in the late 1830s there were enrolled nearly twice as many girls as boys, since the latter had all been taken into business.²⁰

But apart from the eccentric Reynolds in Honolulu, who was largely responsible for the founding of the Oahu Charity School and established a dancing and etiquette school for part-Hawaiian girls,²¹ few Europeans were

18

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 1825-32.

19

[Anon], 'A Cruise after and among the Cannibals', Harpers Magazine, VII (November 1853), 455-75.

20

Stephen Reynolds, Journal, 30 November 1836.

21

Ibid., 1833-43.

interested in their careers. In Levuka the part-Fijians had owed much to Whippy, as the Reverend James Calvert in 1861 acknowledged: 'led by his example, they plant - are honest - are opposed to Popery and, when of a proper age, they marry among themselves, and avoid fornication'.²² But Whippy retired from Levuka before the influx of new settlers in the 1860s, who took over the jobs of the part-Fijians and bought up their land at low prices.

Similarly in other communities, once foreigners capable of filling the positions of the part-islander men arrived, the latter found themselves unemployed and with no role to play in either of their parents' societies. Superficially the girls, in a community where there were no expatriate women, were accepted more readily by the foreigners, but the liaisons between expatriates and part-islanders seldom offered any security or dignity to the women involved and they were still subject to social discrimination. This intensified with the arrival of European women and, like their male counterparts, these girls were manoeuvred out of beach-community society and neglected. Emma Coe, part-Samoan daughter of Jonas Coe, finally left Apia in 1878 determined to return only in such circumstances as would protect her from the insults to which she had previously been subjected.²³

²²

James Calvert, Journal, 31 July 1861, MS. in MMS.

²³

R.W. Robson, op. cit., 92.

Although the effect of European treatment of part-islanders was similar in all port towns, individual attitudes towards them differed. A few maintained that they were far above the indigenous population. Dawson, United States consul in Apia in 1879, wrote:

I am sure no half caste would wish to be treated as a Samoan. Nor should he be. The blood of a superior race flows in his veins. His father is a citizen of a great Republic, and acquainted with a higher civilization than is known to the mother who bore him. He perceives the superior intelligence of his father....He feels measurably superior to a Samoan, and is.²⁴

Other Europeans were not so convinced of part-islander superiority. In Levuka in 1870 the Europeans established the Corporation of Fiji Settlers to regulate all matters between themselves and the Fijians. At first it was decided that: 'the half castes be invited to co-operate with us and enjoy our laws', but later the last four words deleted.²⁵ In the interests of expatriate ascendancy considerations of community or social harmony were sacrificed.

One of the most sensitive areas in beach community relations was that of jurisdiction. Even in the earliest settlements, when foreigners were content to work and live with islanders, there was still friction if an attempt was made by a chief to impose his authority and punish a European. All foreigners were loath to submit

²⁴

Dawson to Secretary of State, 16 December 1879, USCD-A, VII.

²⁵

Fiji Times, 18 June 1870.

to island jurisdiction, but in the early beach communities except on the occasional visit of a British naval vessel no alternative was available, unless they could isolate themselves from island authority completely.²⁶

With the arrival of consuls the situation changed dramatically. Although they had no magisterial rights the consuls were entitled to set up consular courts, whose only punitive powers derived from public opinion and pressure. Despite its limitations foreigners clung to consular authority and with their encouragement became arrogantly extra-territorial in their attitude. 'Native evidence was said to be worth nothing',²⁷ their presence on juries was scorned and their ability to govern derided. The Cakobau government was censured because: 'they had attempted to arrest a man...the information against whom was sworn by a black man, by a nigger'.²⁸

Two events in the early histories of Honolulu and Levuka reveal the emotions and tensions engendered by conflicting foreign and island rights to jurisdiction. In Honolulu the cow incident of 1829, which has been described in a previous chapter,²⁹ induced Kamehameha III

26

The early residents at Levuka tried to remain completely independent, but their refusal to help Cakobau in a war resulted in the burning of their settlement in 1841. Again in 1844 exile was imposed upon them for rescuing the shipwrecked Charles Pickering, a European allied against Cakobau.

27

Jarves/Dudoit Case, 8 August 1839, FO. & Ex. 1839.

28

Fiji Times, 14 December 1872.

29

See above Chapter V, 173-4.

to proclaim the laws in force in his kingdom and to emphasize that all the foreigners, including the consuls, were under his jurisdiction. The proposed publication of this statement caused such excitement and dissatisfaction in the town that gentlemen friendly with the missionaries warned them, without success, against printing it. The statement was so justly put,³⁰ that Charlton the British Consul, who had been responsible for the incident and who had hoped to gain most from it, had no recourse but to bluster. The other English residents who had championed the consul's rights and demanded proper security for their property were similarly embarrassed. No British naval officer or home government would have accepted the consul's interpretation of events, once they had read the Hawaiian decree. From that moment Charlton became an intransigent opponent of the Hawaiian government, sought any and every opportunity to hinder and embarrass it and claimed heavily for all British property stolen or damaged.

Only a week after the laws were publicly stated USS. Vincennes, Captain Finch, arrived with presents and an official letter to Kamehameha III and his court. The whole tenor of the letter, which praised the government's efforts towards modernization and recommended the American missionaries and their religion to the Hawaiians, antagonized the American residents. One sentence in particular crystallized their resentment and brought their

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See Appendix II.

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To... 11, 20 January 1859, Vol. 8 Ex. 1859.
... 32
... to Secretary of State, 10 November 1859, copy.

sentiments into line with those of the disaffected British citizens:

Our Citizens who violate your laws, or interfere with your regulations, violate at the same time their duty to their own Government and Country, and merit censure and punishment.³¹

In almost hysterical terms several American merchants wrote to the Secretary of State in protest:

...against this letter as containing parts which are unnecessary and improper, assertions which are false and unwarranted, and that the whole will have a powerful tendency, to deceive the minds of the people of the Sandwich Islands, jeopardize the lives and property of Americans here residing, and erect the standard of fanaticism on the ruins of enterprise and industry.³²

These two separate incidents brought both the British and American settlers into sudden collision with the Hawaiian government, which they believed was deliberately jeopardizing the security of their property and interfering with their business pursuits. Every attempt was made at this time to place all foreign activity beyond the Hawaiians' jurisdiction. It is not surprising that the Hawaiian chiefs wrote to Captain Finch complaining of the 'evil' deeds perpetrated against them by Charlton, Jones and another American resident, French.³³

31

To Kamehameha III, 20 January 1829, FO. & Ex. 1829.

32

Petition to Secretary of State, 10 November 1829, copy from Navy Archives, in Kuykendall Collection in UH.

33

Petition to Captain Finch, 30 October 1829, copy from Navy Archives, *ibid.*

Extreme hostility was not lasting but the residual effects of these two incidents were seen in the behaviour of the consuls during the ensuing decade.

Until the 1850s in Fiji, the white residents even in Levuka had relied much upon the forbearance and protection of the chiefs for their personal security and had enjoyed remarkably good relations with their hosts despite exile and the occasional killing of a European.³⁴ But on the foreigners' return from exile in Solevu, conditions in Levuka changed rapidly. In 1850 J.B. Williams made the first demand for compensation for goods stolen during a fire, and many Americans and a few English residents, who had suffered during exile, were not slow to follow his lead. Whippy, once the leader and focus of the community, soon joined their number.³⁵ By 1852 the foreign population in Levuka had risen to fifty.³⁶ This significant increase of thirty five people since 1849 and the arrival of United States naval vessels, intransigently demanding retribution, gave rise to a strong feeling of European independence and superiority.

Symptomatic of the resultant deterioration in community and race relations was the Europeans' reaction

34

While in exile four Europeans were killed - G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), II, 325-7.

35

See above Chapter V, 171-2.

36

Home to Secretary of the Admiralty, 20 December 1852, Adm 1/5617, estimated Levuka's population at about fifty. J.E. Erskine, op. cit., 173, believed there were fourteen or fifteen in Levuka, soon after they returned from exile in 1849.

to the plundering of the wreck of the Levuka cutter Wave in September 1853. News of the event, which occurred on Malaki, an island under the authority of the chief of Viwa, reached Levuka within twenty-four hours, but instead of leaving the matter to the Viwa chief for settlement, as had been customary, the Levuka men took justice into their own hands and set out to revenge the attack.³⁷ On the way they met Thomas Ryder, master and owner of the Wave, whom previously they had believed murdered. However, although he was unharmed by his experience, they determined to proceed. When the Europeans found that the Malaki islanders had not returned all the plunder on demand, they instituted a massacre.³⁸

No direct punishment was incurred by the residents since the chief of Viwa, fearing the unpredictable reactions of naval commanders to any action which he might take, decided to leave the matter to the judgement of the next man-of-war. By their behaviour the residents had made it quite clear that they refused any longer to bow to the authority of the Fijian chiefs. The determination shown on this occasion placed them on a new footing and gave them greater influence in Fijian affairs, but not without hazard. All pretence of European neutrality had been shattered and the Levuka

37

The consul, Williams, did not participate in this incident.

38

Calvert to Hebblewhite, 7 October 1853, Pacific Islands; two collections of papers about the South Sea Islands 1822-1875 in DL.

settlers soon found involvement in Fijian politics highly injurious to their safety and economic prosperity.³⁹

These two events, each considered crucial at the time, awakened strong feelings of identification among the foreigners,⁴⁰ who believed their welfare and development were being threatened. The cow 'proclamation' and subsequent incidents caused a sudden, articulate outburst of prejudice, and a realignment of community loyalties, which, however, lasted only as long as the residents believed that their interests were seriously endangered. The Wave incident, on the other hand, was the culmination of several trends which resulted in the foreigners taking a more determined stand against Fijian authority. Subsequent events and attitudes were greatly influenced by the foreigners' forceful and unchallenged action during this crisis. Henceforth they endeavoured to keep Levuka and all foreign enterprises associated with it beyond Fijian interference, although without success.

The establishment of protection societies, which appeared in Apia, Levuka and Kororareka, was another method used by the foreigners to frustrate the process

39

Mrs S.M. Smythe, op. cit., 103. Levuka was fired very soon after the Wave incident and again in July 1858. During 1854-55 the Levuka settlers were seriously involved in the civil wars that convulsed Fiji at that time.

40

Herbert Blumer, 'Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position', in J. Masuoka and P. Valien, op. cit., 225. Blumer discusses the 'crucial big event' which raises fundamental questions about community relations and around which the image of a sub-race centres.

of island law and to hold themselves and their concerns aloof from island government. Except for the consuls and filibusters, most Europeans settled in the islands for reasons of social and economic betterment, not to make political careers or in any way to force political change. When a protection or reform society was considered necessary, therefore, it was because the Europeans believed their social and economic interests were threatened. A defensive element, an inability to work with and a fear of the islanders, were common to all political associations. During the early 1860s J.C. Williams attempted to reform the Samoan political system to give them more effective authority over both their own people and the Europeans. But by 1863 the self-confident, aggressive manner of the Samoan police towards Europeans had alienated all white support and forced them to withdraw from the experimental government.⁴¹ By April 1864 the disturbances in Apia and the foreigners' acute feeling of insecurity led them to establish another Foreign Residents' Society, which they hoped would have complete jurisdiction over the Apia settlers and keep them secure from all Samoan interference. J.C. Williams, as British consul, wrote to the Secretary of State:

⁴¹

MacFarland to Unshelm, 19 August 1863, BCS., 5/1; R.P. Gilson, *op. cit.*, 249-51.

The steps taken by the Foreign Residents, I can recommend, for there is no dependance to be placed on the native authorities, there is so much jealousy existing amongst themselves they cannot act with any decision or impartiality.⁴²

The Samoan chiefs resented the diminution of their power, but were forced to accept it.

The several hundred newcomers to Fiji in the early 1860s soon realised their expectations of quick fortunes were groundless. Those who remained in the hopes that the current offer of cession would be accepted by Great Britain and that annexation would guarantee expatriate development were further disappointed by the refusal of cession announced in Fiji in July 1862. The all but autocratic powers W.T. Pritchard had assumed since 1859 were stripped from him and the foreigners in Levuka, the majority of whom had little or no understanding of or contact with the Fijians, found themselves powerless to stop the islanders pillaging an Englishman's house in the centre of town.⁴³ Faced with a situation in which no European had any ascendancy over the Fijians the foreigners felt compelled to organize a self-protecting society 'to repel any aggression on the part of the natives by force of arms'.⁴⁴ The society was not long-lasting but the causes for its sudden appearance lay in the foreigners' feeling of vulnerability and their

⁴²

J.C. Williams to Secretary of State, 1 April 1864, BCS., 3/3.

⁴³

W.T. Pritchard, op. cit., 349.

⁴⁴

Ibid.

unpleasant realization that without the power to stop
Fijian depredations they were also without the means to
protect themselves from Fijian authority and jurisdiction.

At Kororaraka in 1838 the foreign residents, whose
numbers had increased greatly since 1836, found it
necessary to form a vigilante committee essentially to
protect themselves from the thievery of the ruffian white
elements on the beach. Unlike other protection societies
the Kororaraka Association gained the co-operation of
the Maoris, whose rights were considered equally with
those of the Europeans.⁴⁵ This unaccustomed tolerance
on the part of the foreigners was due largely to the
smallness of the Maori population in the area, which was
completely outnumbered by aliens. Resenting the
residents' rapid expansion they had slowly retreated
from their land rather than try to compete with them or
enforce their own authority.⁴⁶

Although the emphasis has been placed on the many
discordant elements in the port towns, at no time did
they obliterate completely the basic harmony and
community of interests that united the settlements and
guaranteed their continued existence. Factors fostering
good community relations are more difficult to isolate
and discuss than those productive of discord, but this
in no way limited their effectiveness. The fact that
despite moments of outspoken racial hostility, persistent
consular campaigns to weaken island authority, and

45

Marie King, op. cit., 32.

46

Kathleen Shawcross, op. cit., 365.

humiliating social exclusiveness imposed against both islanders and lower class foreigners, the beach communities never became divided by rigid social or racial barriers, emphasizes the centripetal forces operating within these communities.

Basic among the factors of attraction was the relative ease with which Europeans were able to establish good relations with the Polynesians and Fijians; people who satisfied their canons of beauty, grace and cleanliness and towards whose women they were attracted sexually.⁴⁷ Furthermore, once contact was established, the islanders' careful imitation of many aspects of Western social behaviour, particularly table etiquette, heightened foreign appreciation. Complementary to the foreigners' attraction was the islanders' tolerance of European arrogance and their lack of knowledge of correct island behaviour. Even with the beachcombers who, among the Europeans, made the greatest effort to adapt their ways to island custom, the islanders exercised much patience.

In Fiji in the late 1840s a beachcomber, Saunders, abused all the rules of hospitality, insulted the chief, who was his host, lowered him in the eyes of his people, spoke in his disfavour to visiting shipmasters and ill-treated a woman. A letter was thereupon written

47

Philip Mason, An Essay on Racial Tension (London, 1954), 18. Mason considers that the absence of people of Negro origins, who present the most marked differences in racial characteristics from the Europeans, is of major significance in the maintenance of good race relations in the Pacific.

for the chief concerned, Cakanauto, to J.B. Williams, newly appointed American agent:

I do not choose [that] he should remain any longer on this Island of Nukulau but for your sake who have prevailed with me to let him have his woman again and for me not to treat him harshly, I am willing not only to help him move all his goods but my people shall build him a house on some other land round the Harbour.⁴⁸

In Samoa a European who deliberately ignored island custom was not punished by the chiefs but regarded as someone of no breeding who could not be expected to do or know better.⁴⁹

The missionaries also benefitted from the islanders' tolerance. Their prospective converts listened politely to Christian doctrines and even excused their insensitive and belittling denunciations of island religion:

After a little time in shewing them the folly and inutility of their proceedings, I was civilly requested to proceed on my way, lest by my presence and remarks, the gods should be affrighted and take their departure.⁵⁰

The islanders' amiability, their acceptance of a people of different cultural and racial origins and the facility with which they adopted new social and

48

Written for Cakanauto to J.B. Williams, 20 June 1848, USCD-L, I.

49

George Brown, 'Old Hands and Old Times', typescript in ML.

50

G.C. Henderson, The Journal of Thomas Williams (Sydney, 1931), I, 155-7.

economic practices, made informal contact within the multi-cultural settlements possible. Combined with this was their natural sense of dignity and their refusal to be considered as an inferior group in the community. Many Europeans, not untainted with racial prejudice, mistook this unwillingness to indulge in self-abasement or subservience as an indication of arrogance and contempt. D'Ewes, a visitor to Tonga in 1856, wrote:

The prevailing vice of these islanders is the most inordinate pride; they consider themselves inferior to no native in the world, and do not think they can pay an European a greater compliment than by comparing him to a Tonga man.⁵¹

Trood in Apia in 1857 found the Samoans 'excessively impudent and overbearing to foreigners'.⁵² To expatriates, convinced of their own superiority, such behaviour was most galling, but the islanders' self-confidence and dignity were essential for maintaining relations in the port towns on a footing which, even if they deviated at times from strict equality, never became servile.

The initial low intensity of foreign penetration and exploitation as compared with most other parts of the colonial world were also important factors in the maintenance of good race relations. The influence of this was, however, mitigated to some extent in the port towns, where foreign populations were concentrated and

⁵¹ John D'Ewes, *op. cit.*, 145.

⁵² Thomas Trood, *op. cit.*, 37.

competition most intense. Thus the greatest pressures put upon the islanders in the pre-colonial period originated in these centres. But only islanders willing to assimilate Western mores and eager to benefit from close association with foreign trade moved into beach communities. Those intimidated by, or resentful of, foreign settlement could easily isolate themselves from port town influences.

During their early development, beach communities were completely open settlements in which islander and foreigner lived in equality. Inter-racial liaisons were encouraged and a depth of mutual understanding was acquired through communal living and working patterns. In later years many foreigners believed that their numerical strength in the port towns was sufficient to crush island opposition to the expansion of plantations or to any particular development within the settlements themselves. Fortunately, however, tolerance prevailed and the good community relations established by the beachcombers, traders and missionaries were usually capable of restraining the more extravagant and arrogant attitudes of the incoming planters and speculators. Even in Levuka during the height of racial hostility there were still some people who persisted in pointing out the weakness of the Europeans' position and the inadvisability of exacerbating the Fijians further.⁵³

53

Fiji Times, 21 May 1870, 18 December 1872, 31 May 1873.

At all times during the growth of the beach communities, personal inter-racial relations played an important role in maintaining a background of community goodwill and sympathetic communication. In commercial and political spheres tensions multiplied but on individual, social levels, except perhaps during the last years in Levuka, there was an atmosphere of equality and a desire to live in harmony.⁵⁴ In Honolulu between chiefs and commoners and foreigners of all classes personal contacts were numerous and friendly. From the journals of John Colcord, Stephen Reynolds, Levi Chamberlin, Lydia Nye and William Paty it is possible to build up a picture of inter-community, social intercourse that extended from the most polite afternoon tea parties to long nights of gambling in the saloons.

Friendships between leading foreigners and Kamehameha III or the chiefs Boki, Kuakini and Kaahumanu bear the taint of opportunism but, since contacts were long sustained and the exchange of gifts frequent, it is reasonable to assume that a depth of attachment was also involved. In 1834 102 foreign residents in Honolulu, which was at least one third of the total foreign population, subscribed \$800 to buy Kamehameha III a gift of clothing.⁵⁵ All nationalities and classes were

54

In America, the Red Indians soon realized that they would have to fight for survival, but despite many battles they remained on very good terms with individual Europeans - Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., The Indian and the White Man (New York, 1964), 78.

55

To his Majesty Kauikeaouli, 19 March 1834, FO. & Ex. 1834.

involved and few could have believed that they would benefit individually from the gift.⁵⁶ Undoubtedly the community as a whole was strengthened. Even in the late 1830s, when the political and economic situation was becoming increasingly competitive, it was still the practice among the Honolulu merchants to send the King gifts of liquor and clothes: '2 bottles of wine for his Majesty's Dinner from Old H. Paty.'⁵⁷

The few Negroes, Chinese, Malays and Europeans of minority groups, especially Jews, who settled in the beach communities were accepted without discrimination. The tavern of a Bensusan Jew in Levuka in the early 1860s was well patronized by the local community,⁵⁸ as was Black Bill's boarding house and other grog shops in Apia.⁵⁹ In Honolulu the Negroes Allen and Anderson became wealthy and well respected citizens during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The former engaged in blacksmithing, raising animals, distilling

56

Contributors included the consuls, Jones and Charlton, leading American and British merchants Peirce and Hinckley, Reynolds, Rooke and Robinson, old residents, Marin, Adams and Auld, and even mechanics Colcord, Vowels and Allen.

57

H. Paty to Kamehameha III, 13 May 1839 (his underlining) Interior Department, Miscellaneous, 1839, in AH. In February 1838 Hiram Grimes gave Kamehameha III a large present of liquor, including '5 boxes Old Sherry wine' - Grimes to Kamehameha III, 19 February 1838, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, 1838.

58

Binner to Eggleston, 3 October 1860, Missionary Correspondence, Fiji-Rewa Rotuma and Ovalau, typescript in DL.

59

Thomas Trood, op. cit., 33.

liquor and even dabbling in medicine,⁶⁰ while the latter was a sailor and helped maintain vessels.⁶¹ John King Bruce, the mildly eccentric Negro in Apia, was a registered British subject and volunteered for special constable duties during the disturbances of early 1876.⁶² Later developments in the beach communities, in particular the arrival of planters, speculators and expatriate women increased inter-community tensions and created social barriers - but for many years there had been such ease of contact between most residents that it was not completely undermined by growing friction and disharmony.

The widely-held, idyllic belief that community and race relations in the Pacific have always been harmonious is inevitably reduced to a more realistic picture on closer analysis. Racial wars or the creation of impenetrable racial barriers did not occur in the pre-colonial port towns, but on a less intense level, antagonism within the multi-cultural settlements became increasingly common, sometimes bitter and implacable, but more frequently capable of amelioration in time. The growing number of foreigners in the beach communities with different commercial ambitions, social aspirations and status created tensions and divisions among the Europeans and between them and the island peoples.

60

Maria Loomis, *Journal*, 23 June 1820; Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1831), I, 425.

61

Peter Corney, *op. cit.*, 7; *The Friend*, 1 January 1845.

62

BCS., Miscellaneous Documents, List of British Subjects from 1808, in Department of Justice, Apia.

The intensity of change imposed upon the islanders could not have been effected without some feelings of resentment and fear. On the other hand the lack of success suffered by many foreign enterprises caused distrust and bitterness. What once had been united multi-cultural communities faced disintegration into antagonistic racial groups, each seeing their hopes of survival and success thwarted by the demands of the other.

However, despite moments of bitterness and opposition, life in beach communities was most frequently egalitarian and easy. Many factors were involved in maintaining this status quo but most important was the fact that in these port towns, the centres of multi-racial contact, no situation or attitude was insusceptible to change. Divisions and social barriers in the communities never became formalized as they did in South Africa or southern America and hostility rarely resulted in bloodshed, even in situations which were potentially explosive.

CHAPTER IXEPILOGUE

A period of about forty years of increasingly intense foreign contact in the beach communities resulted in European domination in political, economic and religious spheres and the slow Westernization of these and many other aspects of life. The internal leadership and the egalitarian atmosphere which were the basic characteristics of the early beach communities were slowly engulfed in the transition to port towns orientated exclusively to the demands of expatriate commerce and society. The span of forty years must be taken only as a flexible guideline to the length of time it took for Europeans to gain predominance. In two instances, Kororareka and Papeete, annexation formalized European control long before the resident foreign population had gained such a position.

The beginnings of any beach community cannot be ascribed to a particular year, but for Honolulu the return of Kamehameha and his foreign retinue to Oahu in 1804 consolidated earlier European contacts with the harbour and marked the beginning of the port's rise to predominance. By the early 1840s American and English residents were firmly entrenched in the town, which many of them considered a permanent home, and they enjoyed a controlling position in the Hawaiian parliament, whose legislation could be manipulated to their own advantage.

In Fiji the bêche-de-mer traders first spoke of the aggregate of Europeans on Ovalau as the township of Levuka in 1831.¹ By the early '70s the overwhelming influx of foreigners in the town, seeking fortunes from the cotton boom, forced the Fijian chiefs to cede their islands to Great Britain. Apia, which grew slowly from missionary beginnings in 1836, did not have a significant non-missionary population until the early 1840s. By 1879, however, the number of foreign residents had increased greatly and they had secured, through the consuls of Great Britain, America and Germany, complete control over the land and harbour of Apia and all their economic and social activities. Within a span of about forty years the islanders living in Honolulu, Levuka and Apia had become second-class citizens, whose interests and rights were subordinate to foreign development. Only in Fiji, however, was this situation formally recognized by annexation.

Imperial intervention in Tahiti and New Zealand cut short independent foreign expansion in Papeete and Kororareka. The former did not become a major harbour in the Society Islands until the 1820s and not until 1828, or even later, did it gain predominance. The growth of its foreign population was slow and it numbered only seventy when the French annexation of Tahiti occurred in 1843. Kororareka, whose earliest settlers arrived in the mid-1820s,² was overrun by foreigners between 1836

1

J.H. Eagleston, Journal, 6 June 1831.

2

Marie King, op. cit., 13.

and 1840, when New Zealand was annexed. The sudden expansion of Koroareka's population was in fact largely due to the widely circulated rumours of impending British intervention.

In Kororareka and Levuka the ceremonies of annexation proved later to have been their finest hours, which were followed by a loss of status as European centres of power and the desertion of much of their populations. On 29 February 1840, after New Zealand had been ceded to Britain, Lucett described the feverish activity in Kororareka:

Such a rush has been made to New Zealand that the place is crowded with Europeans....Every house has got more than three-fold its complement of inhabitants: tents pitched here and there supply with some the deficiency of house room. The market is glutted with goods. Auction bells are going all day long, and notwithstanding the government proclamations, land is daily being bought and sold; a monomaniacal plague or land fever is abroad, and the whole atmosphere is infected with it.³

Everyone believed that Kororareka would be the new capital, but in August 1840, after a bid to establish the capital at Okiato, Auckland was chosen as the seat of government. Despite bitter opposition from the Kororareka settlers the government removed to Auckland in March 1841; Kororareka was closed as a free port and with the rapid decrease in trade a large majority of the population was forced to move south. By November 1841, when Lucett returned, a very different scene prevailed:

3

[E. Lucett], op. cit., I, 66-7.

I walked over to Kororarika, and was struck with the apparent solitude of the place. Scarcely an individual was to be seen; the place seemed deserted, and business suspended; silence had usurped the place of noise, bustle, and activity, that prevailed the last time I was there....No improvements had taken place; and works I had seen in progress had been abandoned.⁴

Levuka held tenuously to its title of capital for eight years after annexation, but indecision over the permanent site of the capital affected trade.⁵ In August 1879 Suva was chosen, and three years later the government offices were opened in the newly constructed township. The merchants maintained that Levuka would never lose its commercial predominance but insidiously the population ebbed to Suva and by 1886 even the Fiji Times, which had fought the government decision persistently, was forced to admit that it could no longer afford not to follow suit.

[The Fiji Times] has vainly struggled against the deathly depression we have of late years experienced. But the strain still continues without the prospect of immediate relief; and having seen a population of 2,000, ninety per cent of whom were adult males, dwindle to fewer than 500, less than forty per cent of whom are wage earners and bread winners despite the force of old ties the admission is at length compelled that Levuka is no longer the place at which to publish the leading journal of the colony.⁶

4

Ibid., 213.

5

Fiji Times, 10 December 1879.

6

Fiji Times, 29 December 1886.

Dual mercantile establishments were set up in Levuka and Suva by some merchants but those who could not afford to divide their businesses moved to the centre of European population.

The opportunists, such as George Woods and Richard Hetherington, who had thriven in Levuka before annexation, were drawn to Apia rather than Suva,⁷ while one of the leaders of the British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society, St John Curtis Keyse, was murdered at Abaiang in the Gilberts in 1875.⁸ Otty Cudlip, who had been mayor of Levuka before annexation, died in December 1881 before the exodus and its effect were felt.⁹ The fashionable days of Levuka were long past when the traveller Reginald Gallop reached the town in 1887:

Since the seat of Government was shifted Levuka has been going down hill and the traces of this are sadly evident. There are more tennis courts than in Suva and not enough players. The Club has moved to Suva and Govt.Ho. is abandoned.¹⁰

7

Both Hetherington and Woods were in Apia in 1877 - R.P. Gilson, op. cit., 341-8; The Cyclopedia of Samoa (Sydney 1907), 96.

8

Clipperton to Stevens, 8 September 1875, Adm. RNAS Pacific Islands 1857-76, I. Clipperton claimed Keyse had not provoked the attack.

9

Fiji Times, 21 December 1881.

10

Reginald Gallop, 'Letters from the Pacific', IX, 31 July 1887, MS. in ML.

Suva became an outstanding example of an alien imposition referred to by Spoehr:¹¹ a town built at the dictates of a colonial government, whose main functions were simply those of organizing expatriate trade between the island hinterlands and the Imperial metropolitan countries. But Honolulu, Apia and Papeete, despite their informal beginnings as beach communities with casual trading and political arrangements, were slowly moulded into functionally similar towns. Levuka and Kororareka were not to become foci of European power, but they did not retain the characteristics of a beach community after annexation.

Although none of the beach settlements of the early nineteenth century survived the intensive foreign contact of later years, at Wainunu, in Vanua Levu, Fiji, far from the centre of colonial government, a settlement grew up that had many of the characteristics of the earlier towns. Here, a few miles from the exile settlement of Solevu, David Whippy and several other Europeans and their families sought a final refuge.¹² Land was divided among the extended Whippy family, the heirs of William Simpson who died on Wakaya Island, Isaac Driver, Isaac Hathaway, Jacob Andrews, James Stewart and Frank Johnson. Substantial houses were built and, on a communal basis, cotton and coconuts were cultivated, timber sawn for boat

11

Alexander Spoehr, 'Port Town and Hinterland in the Pacific Islands', American Anthropologist, LXII (1960), 586-92.

12

In 1862 the settlement David Whippy established on Wakaya Island broke up and Whippy and his followers moved to Wainunu.

building and cattle raised.¹³ No Fijian villages remained on the 9,000 acres of land owned by the Wainunu inhabitants but the Fijians, part-Fijians and Europeans within the settlement formed a united community in which Fijian and European cultures were harmoniously blended.¹⁴

During the later years the long-established residents in all beach communities except Papeete were greatly outnumbered by new immigrant foreigners. The commercial enterprises built up by the pioneers made it possible for the late arrivals to settle in the port towns, without at any time having to establish significant contact with the islanders. Knowledge of their new environment and its inhabitants was thus minimal or non-existent. European personnel, capital and techniques took over the commercial sphere and wielded great influence in politics. In keeping with these developments beach-community society gradually assumed Western standards and conventions. Inevitably the islanders became second-class citizens in towns where social and economic opportunities had once been open to all. Between the foreign-dominated port settlements and the traditional villages a gulf appeared across which few were encouraged to pass. In their villages the islanders still had recognized positions in the social hierarchy and the means of producing a livelihood, but the beach

13

LCC R588.

14

Ibid. David Whippy died at Wainunu in 1871 [Fiji Times, 8 November 1871] probably the last full-blood European in the settlement, which has since become more and more Fijian in racial composition and culture.

communities, where once both races lived and worked together in a great degree of harmony, had become alien enclaves in which the rights, interests and equality of the islanders were subordinated to the needs of expatriate development.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1642			Tasman first sighted New Zealand	Tasman sailed among the Fiji Islands	
1643					Roogeevegn first sighted Samoa
1722					
1767		Tahiti discovered by Captain Wallis			
1769		Captain Cook's first visit			
1774		Two Spanish Catholic priests in Tahiti			
1778	Cook discovered Hawaii				
1779	Cook died at Kealakekua Bay				
1780s	First fur traders provisioning in the islands; number of beachcombers throughout the group				
1787	First beachcomber landed in Hawaii				Massacre of La Perouse's crew. First major European contact with Samoans
1789		Bounty mutineers in Tahiti			
1790	John Young and Isaac Davis arrived at Hawaii Island				
1792	Honolulu Harbour used for first time		First sealing gangs left on the South Island of N.Z.		
1793		Peter Haggerstein arrived			
1794	'Cession' of Hawaiian Islands to Vancouver				
1795	Kamehameha conquered Oahu with aid of several Europeans. Lived at Waikiki				
1796	Kamehameha returned to Hawaii Island				
1797		First missionaries arrived			
1800			Number of beachcombers settled in N.Z.	Oliver Slater spent 21 months in Fiji from 1800	

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1801		Beginning of the salt pork trade to N.S.W.			
1802					Bass found a beachcomber settled in Samoa
1803		Number of beachcombers and European sailors fighting in Pomare's wars			
1804	Kamehameha returned to Waikiki; John Young left as governor of Hawaii Island. Honolulu rapidly became centre of European population			Beginning of sandalwood trade in Fiji	
1808		Civil war broke out again. Majority of missionaries left for N.S.W. Beachcombers removed to outer islands		Rise of Bau - assisted by Charles Savage and other beachcombers	
1809	Kamehameha moved into Honolulu from Waikiki. Foreign population about 60				
1810	Isaac Davis died				
1812	Sandalwood agreement signed between Kamehameha and the Winships. Kamehameha returned to Hawaii Island. Holmes governor of Oahu		Sealing industry collapsed. Trade in foodstuffs centred round Bay of Islands		
1813				Savage and several other Europeans killed at Bua Bay	
1814			First CMS missionaries settled at the Bay of Islands	End of sandalwood trade	
1815	Whites in Honolulu threatened with exile	Peace-spread of Christianity. Name 'Papeete' becoming established	Timber trade flourishing	Decline in beachcomber population	
1816	Beginning of intensive sandalwood trade. Russian scare. Kalanimoku, governor of Oahu. Young in Honolulu supervising fort construction				

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1817	Munnewell sets up first store in Honolulu				
1818		Crook established Papeete mission. Tahiti Missionary Society commenced. Beginning of coconut oil trade			
1819	Kamehameha I died. First whaler in Honolulu Harbour. Boki, governor of Oahu				
1820	Arrival of first American missionaries. J.C. Jones appointed first U.S. consular agent. Chiefs decided that Honolulu should be king's principal residence. Exile of whites to Fanning Island. Foreign population in Honolulu growing rapidly	S.P. Henry employed by Pomare II. Ebrill and Bicknell in the islands. English church services given at Papeete for whalers.	Flax trade established		Number of convict beachcombers settled in Samoa
1821	Kamehameha II arrived in Honolulu. Breakdown in missionary/merchant relations				
1822	Decline in sandalwood trade				
1823	Four merchant houses established. Supply trade to whalers flourishing	Rash of grog shops appeared. Crook left Papeete.			
1824		Twenty foreigners on Tahiti - very little economic development			
1825	Kamehameha III confirmed as King (Kamehameha II died in England). Charlton arrived as British consular agent. Missionaries gaining ascendancy - first 'blue laws' promulgated. Missionary/Merchant split intensified	Pritchard re-established mission at Papeete			David Whippy arrived
1826			First settlers at Kororareka - large number of whalers anchored off shore		Whippy and two companions settled at Levuka

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1827	First R.C. priests arrived	Papeete established as royal seat. First Chilean ventures for pearls. Foreign population rapidly increasing		Beginning of first intensive period of béche-de-mer fishing	
1828		About twelve store-houses established	Gilbert Mair left mission and set up in Kororareka as a ship trader. First grog shop appeared		
1829	Cow incident. Visit of U.S.S. Vincennes. Boki left on sandalwood venture. Wife, Liliha governor of Oahu	Moerenhout arrived with Chilean artisans			
1830	Foreign population about 200	Expansion of Papeete-Vaiparaiso trade. Decline in missionary influence			Williams and Barff arrived. First missionary voyage to Samoa. Island teachers left
1831	Kuakini, governor of Oahu, R.C. priests exiled				Rise of 'sailor' religions and Sio Villi cult attack
1832					Eagleston's barque, Peru caulked by two carpenters
1833	Oahu Charity School opened. Blue laws lapsed. Diehl, Bethel chaplain arrived		Busby, British Resident settled in Bay of Islands		
1834	Theatre Club established			First vessel built at Levuka	
1835	John Young died. First large-scale sugar planting		Polack built a brewery	Bêche-de-mer fishing greatly reduced	Eagleston found Samoans eager to trade for blue beads
1836	First publication of Sandwich Island Gazette. Dancing becoming fashionable. Fourteen women living in Honolulu. Lord Russell incident	Moerenhout installed as U.S. consul. First attempt by R.C. priests to land on Tahiti	Temperance society established and survived one meeting. Foreign population growing. Crime rate higher		Missionaries established at Apia. First whaler reported in the harbour
1837	Renewed difficulties with R.C. priests-Clementine case. Dudoit appointed French consul. Sandwich Island Institute established	Second R.C. attempt to land. Pritchard became British consul. Late 1830s, 70-80 whalers in Papeete harbour per annum			
1838	Brinmade succeeded J.C. Jones as U.S. consul	Thouars first visit-demanded an indemnity for R.C. priests. Moerenhout became French consul	Kororareka Association established. 500-000 foreigners in Bay of Islands. Clendon appointed U.S. consular agent		

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1839	Sandwich Island Gazette ceased publication. Sandwich Island Mirror started. Laplace incident	Blackler arrived as U.S. consul	R. C. bishop settled in Kororareka. Land Company and bank floated	Rev. James Calvert preached to twelve foreign settlers at Levuka	Pritchard visited Samoa- appointed K.C. Cunningham British vice consul agent. Cunningham set up first store. Wilkes expedition in Samoa. J.C. Williams appointed U.S. consular agent
1840	Polynesian established. Sandwich Island Mirror collapsed. Kekuaaoa, governor of Oahu	Foreign population about 70	Annexation. Auckland named as site of future capital	Whippy's leadership firmly established. Self-governing body set up	
1841	Reynolds started his dancing school. Polynesian collapsed. Second bid for Independence	Pritchard left Tahiti for England	Government moved to Auckland. Kororareka no longer a free port	Levuka fired by the Lovoni tribesmen	
1842		Sale and lease of land to foreigners prohibited. Thousars second visit. Sept. - French protectorate established		Rough system of justice Bêche-de-mer industry expanding again. Foreigners requested a missionary and teacher	J.C. Williams first exported coconut oil
1843	Masonic Lodge Chariton inaugurated. Chariton left for England. Paulet incident. August - Admiral Thomas restored Hawaiian Independence				
1844	Formal recognition by great powers of Hawaii's Independence		Kororareka renamed Russell	Whites exiled to Solevu	J.C. Williams opened a store. Foreigners' attempts to set up grog shops failed
1845					Pritchard arrived as British consul. Two Marist priests settled in Samoa. First publication of the Samoan Reporter. Temperance Society formed
1846				Levuka razed by the Lovoni. J.B. Williams arrived as U.S. consular agent. David Whippy appointed vice consular agent	Chauvel, French merchant associated with Marist priests opened a store. Temperance Society collapsed
1847					Pritchard allowed to buy land. First attempt to establish a Foreign Residents' Protection Society
1848				Foreigners returned to Levuka	Civil war broke out
1849					Foreign Residents' Chapel built

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1850				First American claims made	Pritchard ignored prohibition laws and imported a cargo of liquor. Numerous grog shops sprang up
1852				Population about 50. First mission station established in Levuka	
1853				Wave Incident. Levuka fired	
1854					Second Foreign Residents' Society formed
1855				Captain Boutwell demanded heavy American retribution	Foreign population about 50. Samoans attempted to boycott Apia merchants. Pritchard and Sons failed. Van Camp incident - break down in law and order
1856					School for part-Samoans started. Van Camp and Chapin Co., failed. Decrease in whaling industry
1857					Mixed court established. Goddefroy company set up an agency in Apia
1858				Levuka fired. W.T. Pritchard arrived as British Consul. Left November for England with request for cession. J.B. Williams moved to Levuka from Laucala. Whippy and his followers left Levuka for Wakaya Island	
1859				W.T. Pritchard returned. Settlement at Port Kinnaird started. Attempt to establish a Reading Room failed	
1860				J.B. Williams died. I.M. Brower succeeded. Significant increase in foreign population	Foreign Residents' Chapel removed to a new site
1861					J.C. Williams instituted some governmental reforms among the Samoans

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1862				Cotton planting growing slowly. British refusal of Cession, Pritchard stripped of illegally assumed authority. Foreigners' Self Protection Society formed	
1863				Pritchard removed. Port Kinaidra deserted	First cotton planting. Failure of experimental government
1864					Foreign Residents' Society reformed
1865				First Fijian Confederacy	Exodus from Apia to cotton fields
1867				Second Fijian Confederacy	Cotton leading export 1866-7
1868				Beginning of the cotton boom. Boys school opened. Fijian Weekly News & Planters' Journal published 17 issues	Cotton failure. Samoans agreed to establish a central government with Malimau as headquarters
1869				Fiji Times published	Civil war broke out again
1870				Cotton boom. Number of foreign women arrived	Land sales greatly increased
1871				Dramatic Club established. Cakobau government inaugurated. Whippy died at Wainunu. Masonic Lodge instituted	1871-2 CPLCC. agents buying large tracts of land
1872				Ku Klux Klan formed. Later renamed British Subjects' Mutual Protection Society. Mutual Improvement Society started	
1873				Nasova Incident	Steinberger's first visit
1874				Annexation by Great Britain	
1875					Steinberger returned and established a new government
1876					Steinberger deposed and deported

DATE	HONOLULU	PAPEETE	KORORAREKA	LEVUKA	APIA
1877					Number of Levuka ruffians in Apia. First publication of Samoa Times. Cochrane lynching. Preliminary meeting of Free Masons. Foreign population about 150
1878					1878-9 Treaties signed with America, Germany and Great Britain
1879				Suva named as future Capital	Municipal Government established
1882				Government removed to Suva	

APPENDIX II

(TRANSLATION)

These are the names of the King of the Islands, and the Chiefs in Council:

KAUIKEAOULI, the King, GOV. BOKI,
 KAAHUMANU, GOV. ADAMS KUAKINI,
 MANUIA, KEKUANA OA, HINAU, AIKANAKA, PAKI,
 KINAU, JOHN II, JAMES KAHUHU.

OAHU, Oct. 7, 1829.

This is my decision for you: we assent to the request of the English residents; we grant the protection of the laws; that is the sum of your petition.

This therefore is my proclamation, which I make known to you, all people from foreign countries:- The laws of my country prohibit Murder, Theft, Adultery, Fornication, Retailing Ardent Spirits at houses for selling spirits, Amusements on the Sabbath day, Gambling and Betting on the Sabbath day and at all times.

If any man shall transgress any of these laws, he is liable to the penalty, the same for every foreigner and for the people of these Islands, whoever shall violate these laws shall be punished.

This also I make known, - The Law of the Great God of heaven, that is the great thing by which we shall promote peace; let all men who remain here obey it.

Christian Marriage is proper for men and women. But if a woman regard her man as her only husband, and the man regard his woman as his only wife, they are legally husband and wife; but if the parties are not married, nor regard themselves as husband and wife, let them be forthwith entirely separate.

II. This is also our decision, which I now declare to you. We have seen your wickedness heretofore. You did not warn us that your dooryards and enclosed plantations were tabu before the time when our animals went into your enclosures; you unhesitatingly killed our animals. But we warned you of the tabu of our plantations before the time when the animals came into them, even yours; and then it was told again to you that have cattle; but for some days past we have known your cattle to come in to eat up what we had planted; on that account some of your cattle are dead.

This then is the way to obtain justice: if you judged the man guilty, you are not forthwith to punish him; wait till we have a consultation first: then, had we judged him guilty, we would have given you damages; but no you rashly and suddenly injured the man; that is one of the crimes of two of you. And we state to you all that the wounding of a beast is by no means equal to the wounding of a man, inasmuch as man is lord over all the beasts.

This is our communication to you all, ye parents from the countries whence originate the winds: have compassion on a nation of little children, very small and young, who are yet in mental darkness, and help us

to do right and follow with us that which will be for the best good of this our country.

III. As to the recent death of the cow: she died for breaking a tabu for the protection of the plantation. The place was defended also by a fence built by the owner of the plantation. Having secured his field by a fence, what remained to be done was the duty of the owners of cattle, who were told by him who had charge of the plantation, to bring home their cattle at evening. He did tell them so; but they did not regard it: and in the night they came in, but not by day. On that account the owner of the plantation hoped to recover damage; for many were the cattle that were taken up before, but no damage was recovered for the crop they had devoured; the owners plead them off without paying damage, therefore he to whom belonged the crop determined that one of the cattle should die, for destroying the crop; for it had been said that if any of the cattle should come into the enclosure devouring the crop, such cattle would be forfeited and become the property of the owner of the crop. Many have been seized, but they were begged off and given up again; this has been done many times. Why then are you so quick to be angry? For within the enclosure was the place where the cow was wounded, after which she made her way out. What then means your declaration that the cow was wantonly shot in the common? The cow would not have been killed for simply grazing in the common pasture; her feeding upon the cultivated crop was well known by those who had the care of the plantation.

(Signed)

KAUIKEAOULI¹

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Original in FO. & Ex. 1829, in AH.

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In Australia the most extensive collections of Pacific material are housed in the National Library of Australia (NLA) in Canberra, the Mitchell Library (ML) in Sydney and the Victorian Public Library (VPL) in Melbourne. At the NLA are found microfilm copies of the Public Records Office material relating to Australia and the Pacific and also copies of similar material from the archives of the London and Methodist Missionary Societies, all of which have been acquired from London through the Joint Copying Project (JCP). In addition the NLA has microfilm copies of much American archival material pertaining to the area and a comprehensive range of nineteenth century published works. The ML, another member of the JCP, also has a large collection of non-official manuscripts and of contemporary publications both newspapers and books. The most complete island and colonial newspaper series are held in the VPL, which also houses a unique collection of pamphlets about the Pacific published during the last century.

Among Pacific repositories the Archives of Hawaii and the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission hold valuable official and non-official documents relative to their respective island groups. In Samoa official manuscripts are kept in several

different departments - land records in the Land Department, wills and probate with the Public Trustee and certain British consulate papers in the Department of Justice. Other libraries used were the Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the Auckland Public Library, both of which have manuscript collections largely concerned with early New Zealand history, but with Fijian and Samoan items as well. In Honolulu the extensive missionary records housed at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library (HCMS) proved useful, as did the Kuykendall Collection in the library of the University of Hawaii (UH) and the small manuscript collection, largely copies of material from American libraries, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum (BPBM). Finally the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (PMB), which was established in 1968 as part of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, to locate unpublished documents of value concerning the Pacific Islands, has brought to light several documents which have been read for this thesis. Copies of all material received by the Bureau are sent to the NLA, the ML, the Library of the University of Hawaii and the New Zealand National Library.

Unless otherwise stated the official manuscripts, which include Foreign Office files, British Admiralty records, United States consular despatches, United States naval records and naval records from the Australian Station, were all read on microfilm at the NLA. The location of official manuscripts not in the NLA and of all the non-official manuscripts read, including missionary records, is given with each reference.

The number and diversity of sources available for a comparative study of this kind have made it necessary to restrict the works listed in the bibliography to those directly related to the Pacific. Works written about similar contact situations in Africa, Asia and America have not been detailed unless cited in the text and further, the more theoretical anthropological, sociological and race relations texts read, have only been included if they were of outstanding help and relevance.

The bibliography, divided into primary and secondary sources is organized as follows:

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The Fiji Times September 1869-December 1887.

The Fijian Weekly News & Planters' Journal August-November 1868 (thirteen issues only).

The Friend 1843-1846. The title of the paper changed from Temperance Advocate & Seamen's Friend to The Friend, of Temperance and Seamen. It was always, and still is, referred to as The Friend.

The Hawaiian Spectator 1838-1839. Two, four-part volumes published by the mission.

The Polynesian June 1840-December 1841. In 1844 it recommenced publication under the same name and became the official government paper.

The Samoa Times 1877-1881.

The Samoan Reporter 1845-1870. A missionary publication concerned largely with their own activities.

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Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette 1839-1840 (twelve issues only including a supplement in January 1840).

Several colonial papers published articles and letters about the islands.

Australasian, first published in Melbourne in 1866, carried much information about Fiji. The experiences of early settlers and the fortunes of the Polynesian Company were well covered. As late as 1884 a series of articles appeared about early Levuka.

Bruce Herald, published in Dunedin, New Zealand, contains a series of letters by Thos. Muir entitled 'Fiji and the Fijians', which were published in 1869.

Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser gave reports of European activities in the islands between 1800 and 1826.

Sydney Herald published several reports about a number of beachcombers on Pleasant Island in 1837.

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