

THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION IN FIJI

Roberta Sprague

On May 9, 1840, with a showman's flair, Charles Wilkes led the four ships of the first United States Exploring Expedition smartly into Levuka harbor, off the Fijian island of Ovalau. Carrying full sail until the last moment, the ships came to anchor as the white uniformed crew scrambled aloft to strike sail and man the yards at attention. The onshore spectators welcomed them with a prolonged ovation.¹

Wilkes, entranced by the beauty of the islands, was nevertheless mindful of their reputation in seafaring tales:

"So beautiful was their aspect, that I could scarcely bring my mind to the realizing sense of the well-known fact, that they were the abode of a savage, ferocious and treacherous race of cannibals."²

This visit marked the first official United States presence in Fiji, but it was far from the first experience between Americans and Fijians. Merchants and unofficial explorers from the United States had been in contact with the archipelago throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, particularly during the sandalwood rush which lasted until about 1815.

The published works concerning the Expedition or Fijian history do not deal with the significance of this American contact in terms of its consequences for Fijians or its indication for future American policy, or lack of it, in the area. Wilkes and the Expedition are discussed in a work by two Englishmen who were residents in Fiji at the time of his visit in Fiji and the Fijians³ by Thomas Williams and James Calvert, published in 1859. They are also mentioned in the 1840 journal of missionary Thomas Cargill⁴, and in the narrative of Sir Edward Belcher⁵, in command of a British expedition in Fiji in that year. Other works of later periods which comment on the Exploring

Expedition's stay in Fiji are Stanley Brown's Men from Under the Sky⁶, and David Routledge's Matanitu.⁷

This paper, which relies largely on the narratives and journals published by the members of the Exploring Expedition, will examine this first official American contact with the Fijians in an attempt to explore the difficulties as well as the importance of the meeting of two very different cultures. The Exploring Expedition was in Fiji from May to August 1840. Obviously there is much to say both about Fiji and about the Expedition before and after this brief visit, but in the interest of staying within manageable limits other aspects will not be explored except as they give necessary understanding to the topic. Where contemporary sources disagree on names and dates, those given in Wilkes' Narrative have been used.⁸

Fiji and its inhabitants do not fall neatly into the descriptive categories used in other areas of the Pacific. The islands made up geologically of both coral and volcanic islands, were peopled, at the time of contact with the West, by a race similar to Melanesians in appearance, but possessing a culture more closely akin to that of Polynesia. Current archaeological and linguistic evidence offer some support for the theory that a proto-Polynesian race, which later went on to become Samoans and Tongans, became the first inhabitants of Fiji approximately 3500 years ago. The apparent genetic influence of Melanesia may have occurred after a long period of isolation in which the Polynesian culture developed sufficient strength to resist incursion, or the Melanesian influx may have taken place in small enough increments so the original culture was never overwhelmed, or both.⁹ Older anthropological theories take the opposite approach: Fijians are a Melanesian population impacted by Polynesian culture.

The expedition's vessels were the first American naval ships in the island group which became known to Europeans following the voyage of Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1643. Tasman did not attempt to land. British explorer, Captain James Cook sighted Vatoa, or Turtle Island in 1774, but did not go ashore. Captain William Bligh passed through the archipelago after the Bounty mutineers set him adrift in the ship's launch in 1789. He sketched the islands as he passed them and fixed the location of each as well as he was able. He deliberately avoided making contact with the Fijians fearing a hostile reception and avoided notice, for the most part, by staying as far as possible from land. After Bligh's return to England, these charts, such as they were, were published. A few more islands were added to the charts following the voyages of James Wilson in the Duff in 1797 and Thaddeus von Bellingshausen in 1820. Merchant vessels and unofficial explorers, some of them American, began to make their way to Fiji, relying, when they had charts at all, on this partial and inadequate information.

As was often the case in early contacts between Polynesian and Western culture, conflict developed almost immediately over the concepts of private property. Fijians viewed anything which the wind and tide brought to their shores as a gift from the gods, intended for their benefit and use. Westerners, operating from a rigid 'mine and thine' outlook about their persons as well as their possessions, regarded islanders' attempts to take possession of their gods' gifts as thievery or savage, unprovoked, and unexplainable, aggression. When reports reached home port newspapers they were often about these conflicts. On August 29, 1797, The Albany Sentinel reported that the American ship Arthur fell in with an extensive group of islands, which from the latitude and longitude given in the report indicates

they were in Fiji. Captain Barber found the natives wary, uncomprehending of attempts to barter, though willing to accept presents on their first contact with the ship. They soon returned as a war party, shooting arrows and attempting to board. Barber fired his swivel guns, cut his cable and made an escape. He noted that the Fijians mistook his mens' muskets for clubs, and were driven off as much from fear at the sound of gunfire as efforts made by his crew.¹⁰

It was three more years before the first white men landed, unwillingly, on Fijian soil. These were the survivors of the brig Argo wrecked on a reef in the Lau group in 1800. They made their way to Oneata where many were killed coming ashore. A few were allowed to live and took up residence among the Fijians. One of them, Oliver Slater, noticed the Fijians using sandalwood to scent coconut oil which they rubbed on their bodies. Slater determined that they placed minor value on this fragrant wood, and would gladly trade it for items they valued more, such as iron, glass and red paint.¹¹ He managed to leave Fiji in a passing ship in 1802. Hoping to keep his discovery of sandalwood private information, when he reached New South Wales he confided only to the owner of a small schooner. Together they departed in secret for Fiji, returning to Port Jackson a few months later with a shipload of sandalwood which they sold for transshipment to China. Unfortunately for their hopes to reap a private fortune, the source of their sandalwood became waterfront gossip and several ships left for Fiji before Slater and his partner could refit for a second voyage.

The sandalwood rush was on. It was a violent and confusing period of cultural contact for both sides. The trade ceased as quickly as it began when the sandalwood was cut almost to extinction in 1815, but whalers and beche de

mer shippers continued to seek their quarry in Fijian waters. These contacts had the inevitable result of leaving behind some Western men, whose numbers were augmented by fugitives from the penal colony in New South Wales. Some allied themselves with Fijian chiefs, often giving assistance with armament and strategy in interdistrict wars. Some choose to live in their own colony, which under the unofficial leadership of American expatriate David Whippy, maintained friendly relations with the Fijians and made themselves useful as mediators between Fijians and foreign ships.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century newspapers on the Eastern seaboard of the United States carried reports of sailors killed in Fiji and the casualties of navigation in Fijian waters here no adequate charts had been published. The decision by the Congress of the United States to support a naval exploring expedition was in part a response to the pressure of the seagoing merchants of the time for governmental assistance in eliminating some of the hazards they confronted in this part of the world.

In the period before Western contact, Fiji did not live in isolation in the south seas, but maintained extensive contact with Tonga. Groups of Fijians lived in Tonga, while far larger groups of Tongans made up the majority of residents on some of the islands of eastern Fiji. An important attraction for the Tongans was the availability of trees suitable for canoes. Wilkes reported that Tongans were building war canoes for Fijians as well as themselves and exploiting the leverage in Fijian politics which this gave them. Fijians had learned about the western world from their Tongan neighbors. They also acquired some western goods in this fashion before the Argo survivors came ashore.

Christianity was brought to Fiji in 1830 by Tongans when they introduced two Tahitian Christians who preached under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. In 1835 the Tongans brought to Fiji two English missionaries from the Wesley Methodist Missionary Society: William Cross and David Cargill. They and their families had been serving in Tonga. This small contingent of British citizens landed at Lakeba, where their Tongan escorts introduced them as friends and exhorted the Fijians to treat them well. The Fijians treated them indifferently at best. Three more missionaries, Burdsall Lyth, John Hunt and James Calvert had arrived by 1840, but none of them felt in a very secure situation, nor had they had much success in converting Fijians to Christianity.

The men of the Exploring Expedition, and the inhabitants of the Fijian archipelago brought to their encounter with each other, attitudes conditioned by previous experiences and information. Fijians knew the Western world first by hearsay from their Tongan neighbors, later from contacts with castaways, merchant voyagers, beachcombers and missionaries. Reports from American sailors and British missionaries had informed opinion in the United States. Both sides approached each other with curiosity and wariness. Cross-cultural contact was an interesting melange of amusing adaptation, attempted manipulation, and, occasionally, hostile confrontation. This paper is an attempt to look at this contact in the context of the cultural biases which were operating and to determine if it had significant consequences for Fiji or the United States. It is easy to know what the Americans were thinking, for they recorded their thoughts voluminously. It is harder to determine what motivated the Fijians. This can be derived from an occasional insightful

comment made by the writers of the events against a background of Fijian history and customs.

Among the lengthy and specific orders with which the Expedition sailed were instructions to explore and survey the South Pacific including a charge to

...proceed to the Feejee Islands which you will examine with particular attention with the view to the selection of a safe harbour, easy of access, and in every respect adapted to the reception of vessels of the United States engaged in the whale-fishery, and general commerce of the seas, it being the intention of the government to keep one of the squadron of the Pacific cruising near these islands in the future. After selecting the islands and harbours best adapted to the purposes in view, you will use your endeavors to make such arrangements as will ensure a supply of fruits, vegetables and fresh provisions, to vessels visiting it hereafter, teaching the natives the modes of cultivation, and encouraging them to raise hogs in greater abundance.¹²

The expedition was "not for conquest, but discovery...to extend the empire of commerce and science."¹³ Wilkes was not to interfere with the indigenous people nor "to take part in their disputes, except as a mediator; nor commit any act of hostility unless in self-defense or to protect or secure the property of those under your command."¹⁴ In his dealings with natives Wilkes was further instructed "to display neither arrogance nor contempt and appeal to their good will rather than their fears, until it shall become obvious that they can only be restrained by fear or force."¹⁵

The American Congress passed the Act establishing the exploring Expedition on May 18, 1836. It was expected that the ships would be ready to sail early in 1837. Naval hero Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones was placed in charge and solicited advice from American intellectuals, most notably the American Philosophical Society, about scientific objectives to be accomplished. A very junior Navy Lieutenant, Charles Wilkes, was given the responsibility of procuring the instruments needed to carry out these tasks. A number of noted

scientists were engaged to sail with the Expedition, but delays, disputes and disorganization brought about changes of personnel and other frustrations, finally resulting in the resignation of Jones as commander. Various senior naval officers refused the opportunity to get the Expedition underway. On March 20, 1838, the job was offered to the forty year old Wilkes. His acceptance was accompanied by a large outcry over his junior status. Wilkes did not add to his popularity by dismissing many of the scientists previously engaged, nor by his persistent pressure to depart, it seemed to some of his officers, ready or not.

The expedition sailed on August 18, 1838 from Norfolk, Virginia, in the presidency of Martin Van Buren. The "scientifics" aboard were two naturalists, a philologist-ethnologist (linguist-anthropologist in more modern terms), a conchologist, a mineralogist, a horticulturist, a botanist and two draftsmen to illustrate specimens in addition to the unique scenes and people which the Expedition expected to encounter. Naval officers were to do scientific work in the fields of hydrography, geography, astronomy, terrestrial magnetism and meteorology.

Six vessels departed on the expedition. The two largest were Wilkes' flagship Vincennes and the Peacock, under Lt. William Hudson. The brig Porpoise was about half the size of the flagship. Tenders Seagull and Flying Fish were small, about one-quarter the size of the Vincennes. The supply vessel Relief, slightly smaller than the Peacock, was built for capacity, not speed. The Seagull was lost with all hands in a storm off Cape Horn. The slowness of the supply ship proved to be the source of such delay that Wilkes transferred most of the supplies to the other ships and ordered the Relief

detached from the squadron to return home by way of the Sandwich Islands and Sydney depositing the remainder of its cargo at these ports.

Wilkes, with the remaining four ships, sailed into the South Pacific from Callao, Peru in July 1839. The Expedition crossed to Australia surveying and exploring in the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Samoa. A portion of the Expedition fleet departed Sydney in December 1839 for explorations in Antarctica, where a land mass was discovered which remains called by the name the commander gave it, Wilkes Land. Rejoining the remainder of his squadron, Wilkes led the Expedition into the South Pacific for a second time, stopping at New Zealand and Tonga before arriving in Fiji.

Wilkes determined before leaving Tonga to make his first anchorage off Ovalau because of its central location in the archipelago, and because of the reported availability of American expatriate, David Whippy, to interpret and assist in relations with the Fijians.

After the fleet had anchored, Whippy, who had lived in Fiji eighteen years, came off in a small boat to greet Wilkes. Having determined Wilkes' intentions, he returned shortly with Tui Levuka, principal chief of Ovalau, including the harbor area, who was generous in accommodating Wilkes's request for a piece of land to use to set up an observatory on shore. Wilkes selected a site "upon a projecting, insulated point, about thirty feet above the beach, on which was sufficient room to accommodate our tents and houses."¹⁶ In addition it had a few acres of ground for a garden, which was to be well-fenced and placed under the direction of William D. Brackenridge, the horticulturalist. On May 11 the instruments and tents were put on shore and erected.

The surprise of the natives was extremely great to find a village or town as they called it, erected in a few hours, and everything in order: the guards on post to prevent their intrusion most excited their curiosity.¹⁷

Fencing the garden illustrated differing cultural expectations. In this instance the visitors made the adjustment.

"About twenty natives were employed in putting up a fence, the chief (Tui Levuka) having agreed with each of them to make two fathoms of it...Mr. Brackenridge marked out the line for the fence but they could not be induced to follow it, each individual making his allotted part according to his own fancy; these separate portions were afterward joined together by a species of Dolichos [a vine] crossed, braced and wattled like basketwork, the whole thing making a tight fence, which answered the purpose well enough."¹⁸

Levuka, in 1840, was one of the districts on Ovalau which declared its allegiance to the island of Bau off the coast of Viti Levu. As guns and men who knew how to use them had infiltrated Fiji in the post-contact years, ambitious chiefs found ways to employ them to increase their tributary domains. One of the most successful of these chiefs was based on Bau. He kept steady pressure on his opponents and a tight rein on his followers until his district became one of the largest and most important in the area. At his death his brother Tanoa succeeded him somewhat unwillingly. Lacking the ability of his predecessor, Tanoa was unable to resist a coup from within his own group. He was exiled from Bau, but his youthful son, Seru, or Cakobau as he became known to history, was allowed to remain. Seru engineered a counter-coup in 1837 restoring his father to authority in Bau. It is a matter of some speculation why Seru did not seize power in name as well as in fact at this point. There is general agreement that it was a matter of strategy rather than filial devotion. When Wilkes and the Exploring Expedition arrived Tanoa was 'king' of Bau and as such dealt with the Americans.

Wilkes decided to attempt a feat of political one-upmanship in his first meeting with Tanoa.

I directed the Chief, Tui Levuka, to send a message immediately to Ambau, to inform King Tanoa of my arrival, and desire him to visit me. This was at once assuming authority over him, and after the fashion (as I understood) of the country; but it was doubted by some whether he would come, as he was old, and a powerful chief. I thought the experiment was worth trying, as, in case he obeyed, it would be considered that he acknowledged me as his superior, which I thought might be beneficial in case of any difficulty occurring during our stay; I believed, moreover, that it would greatly add to the respect which the natives would hold us in.¹⁹

Whether the possibility of political advantage, curiosity or some other motive prompted Tanoa, he sailed into Levuka harbor on May 12 in a canoe which Wilkes deemed suitably majestic and admirably handled.

It was a fit accompaniment to the magnificent scenery around; it was a single canoe, one hundred feet in length, with an outrigger of large size, ornamented with a great number (two thousand and five hundred) of the *Cypraea ovula* shells. Its velocity was almost inconceivable, and everyone was struck with the adroitness with which it was managed and landed on the beach.²⁰

Tanoa's attendants were "generally Tonga men, forty of whom had the direction and sailing of his canoe."²¹ Shortly after Tanoa's arrival a large double canoe carrying two Tongan chiefs and about 500 followers sailed into the harbor. The chiefs told Wilkes that they had been visiting Tanoa when Wilkes' request for an interview arrived and decided to visit him also. They were canoe builders, they said, who were living in the eastern Lau islands constructing vessels for themselves and the Fijians.

Upon his arrival at Levuka Tanoa, as the tributary chief, was honored with ceremonies in the council house. At their conclusion he dispatched Whippy to inform Wilkes, in case it had escaped his notice, that he was in Levuka. If this was a summons to appear in the royal presence, Wilkes was again one up.

He sent a junior officer to pay his respects to Tanoa and say that a boat from the Vincennes would call for him on the following morning.

Whatever his opinion of Wilkes' grasp of Fijian etiquette, Tanoa, together with several Fijian and Tongan chiefs, was conveyed to the flagship the next day. A large Tongan canoe followed the royal party to the ship. The 'king', came on board to face several surprises.

When he reached the deck he was evidently much astonished, particularly when he saw the marines, with their muskets, presenting arms, and so many officers...the novel sight, to him, of my large Newfoundland dog, Sydney, who did not altogether like the sable appearance of his majesty, the noise of the drum and the boatswain's pipe combined to cause him some alarm, and he evinced a disposition to retire, keeping himself close to the ship's side.²²

Wilkes' tone is amused, but he seems favorably impressed with Tanoa whom he describes as a hairy, small-framed man of about 65 years, with European rather than negroid features and noted "his countenance was indicative of intelligence and shrewdness; his mind is said to be quite active," although, curiously, "he speaks through his nose, or rather, as if he had lost his palate."²³ One of Wilkes' officers, Lt. George Colvocoresses, remarked that he had such "a great speech impediment...that there are few persons who can understand him."²⁴ Wilkes' purpose in meeting with Tanoa was to persuade him to agree to the adoption of "rules and regulations for the intercourse with foreign vessels, similar to those established in the Samoan group in the year preceding."²⁵ [See appendix] Wilkes, ever the moralist, suspected something more than cultural surprise was affecting the old man, since at the beginning of the discussion about the agreements to be adopted.

Tanoa seemed rather confused and at first appeared dull and stupid; this imputed to his awa drinking, in which they had all indulged to excess the night before. He did not seem to comprehend the object of them. This is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that this was the first act of the kind he had been called upon to do.²⁶

One of the Tongan chiefs "being a traveler of some note"²⁷ did understand the intent of these papers and explained them to Tanoa's satisfaction. He gave his consent to this agreement and made it official by making his mark on them the following day. Wilkes was not optimistic about their utility.

Although I did not anticipate much immediate good from these regulations, yet I was satisfied they would be of use in restraining the natives as well as masters of ships, and in securing a better understanding between them; at any rate, it was a beginning, and would make them feel we were desirous of doing them justice. I talked to him much, through an interpreter, of the necessity of protecting the whites, and of punishing those who molest and take from them their goods in case of shipwreck. He listened to me very patiently and said 'he had always done so; that my advice was very good, but he did not need it; that I must give plenty of it to his son Seru, and talk hard to him; that he would in a short time be king and need it.'²⁸

Wilkes had originally planned to host a 'feast' (consisting of rice-bread and molasses) on board the Vincennes but Tanoa's party including Tongans was too large to accommodate so he arranged to have it served on shore. After a three hour visit on board, the royal party went ashore to enjoy it.

In this early part of his stay Wilkes was intrigued by the Fijians and thought they were more interesting than the Tongans. "It was pleasant to look upon the Tonguese, but I felt more interest in the Feejees; the contrast was somewhat like that observable between a well-bred gentleman and a boor."²⁹ As for the Fijians impressions, Tanoa was reported to have commented that Wilkes' "men might be good warriors, but they walked very much like Muscovy ducks."³⁰

Tanoa returned to the Vincennes for an informal visit the following day. Wilkes entertained him by showing him some mercury, 'silvering' a button for him and being entertained himself by Tanoa's attempts to pick up a piece of the fluid metal and noting "his actions resembled those of a monkey."³¹

The two men returned to the business of the previous day.

He talked a great deal of the regulations he had signed. I was desirous of knowing whether he fully understood them, which I found he did. I then asked him if it would not be better for his son Seru to sign them also, as he is understood to be the acting chief; he said 'no' that his signature was quite sufficient, and made them binding on all the dependencies of Ambau. He desired me when his son Seru paid me a visit, to talk to him and give him plenty of good advice, for he was a young man and frisky; but he himself was old and saw things that were good and bad.³²

Wilkes later took Seru aboard the Vincennes, and, as requested, "gave him plenty of good advice to which he seemed to pay great attention" a circumstance which surprised Wilkes as he

had been told he would probably exhibit hauteur and an arrogant bearing, but he manifested nothing of the kind. He appeared rather, as I had been told by his father I would find him, 'young and frisky'. On the whole I was very much pleased with him during his visit...³⁴

Seru perhaps was on his good behavior for the leader of this impressive squadron since "shortly afterward, he, however, visited the ship during my absence, and displayed a very different bearing, so much so as to require to be checked."³⁵

One of Wilkes' first actions at Levuka was to lead his officers on a hike to the top of the Ovalau mountains. Whippy, some other residents of the beach community and several Fijian guides made up the rest of the hiking party. On the climb Wilkes noted the Fijians making leaf offerings beside the trail. Upon inquiring he was told that each offering was made where a man had been clubbed. "Judging from the number of places in which these atonements were made, many victims have suffered in this way."³⁶ The hikers left early in the morning, thinking to reach the top of the mountain, make their observations and return before dark. Wilkes observed,

I have seldom witnessed a party so helpless as ours appeared, in comparison with natives and white residents who ran over the rocks like goats. Darkness overtook us before we reached the town; many of the natives, however, brought torches of dried coconut leaves to

light us on our way, and we reached our respective ships without accident, though much fatigued.³⁷

Wilkes' reported his two Fijian escorts occasionally "took me under the arms and where necessary lifted me from rock to rock."³⁸ He attributed the safe return of the American hikers not to Whippy's influence with Tui Levuka, but rather to the "bearing and fearlessness shown by the party."³⁹ As Wilkes was to learn later, to appear helpless in Fiji, was to invite attack. Indeed, Whippy's warnings had prompted him to order that officers who left the ship for any purpose were to be armed. His orders on this matter state

the least degree of confidence reposed in the natives was attended with great risk, and that so treacherous a people were not to be trusted in any circumstances.⁴⁰

Wilkes ordered Hudson and the Peacock to Rewa on May 16. He was to obtain the signature of the 'king of Rewa' Tui Dreketi, on the same rules and regulations which Tanoa had signed on behalf of Bau. In this era Rewa, on the south side of Viti Levu, was the other principal chiefdom whose hegemony over the surrounding districts was limited only by the power of Bau to oppose it. Tui Dreketi had the misfortune to have several half-brothers three of whom felt equally entitled to the position which he currently occupied. They were Cokanauto, whom Hudson and company knew as Mr. Phillips, Qaraniqio, and Veidovi.

Hudson's first order of business was to pay a visit to Tui Dreketi. The chief ordered food brought for his guests and after the feast a fingerbowl and water jar were brought for the royal ablutions and were also used by the visiting diners

to the evident distress of the attendant. It was afterward understood that his anxiety arose from the vessel being tabooed as everything belonging or appropriated to the use of the king is.⁴¹

Hudson and party spent the night at Tui Dreketi's where Hudson was surprised by one of the king's wives "...endeavoring to become his bedfellow. This was to him an unexpected adventure, and an honour of which he was not ambitious."⁴² Hudson tried to discourage her but she insisted she had been sent by the king, who would put her to death if she did not do as commanded. Hudson then protested to the king, who ordered her to depart.

The following day the Tui Dreketi and his party came aboard the Peacock with Missionary David Cargill whom Hudson had enlisted as a translator during the treaty negotiations. The rules and regulations were explained and they agreed to adopt them. In celebration of the occasion Hudson put on an American-style celebration that evening which Wilkes recounts in his Narrative.

About nine o'clock the fireworks were exhibited. When the first rocket was sent off, the natives exhibited fear and excitement, the king seized Captain Hudson by the hand and trembled like a leaf. When the rockets burst and displayed their many stars, they all seemed electrified. The effect produced by the blue-lights on the dark groups of naked figures, amazed and bewildered as they were, was quite striking, particularly as the spectacle was accompanied by the uncouth sounds of many conchs, and by the yell of the savages, to drive away the spirits they supposed to be let loose and flying in the air...This exhibition excited the wonder and amazement of all the country round, and induced them to believe these flying spirits were collected for the destruction of Rewa, and that they themselves would be the next to suffer.⁴³

Hudson engaged Cokanauto as an interpreter and pilot while he was at Rewa. Wilkes described him as a rather equivocal character, who called himself the white man's friend, and was ashamed of his reputation among the whites as a former cannibal. Still he seemed

certainly one of the most intelligent natives I have met with in all Polynesia...unfortunately has not sufficient knowledge to distinguish between good and evil. He visits all the vessels that touch at this group, and says he passes most of his time on board of them.⁴⁴

Phillips, the name he used in his dealings with foreigners, became closely associated with the Expedition during its stay. Several of Hudson's officers

stayed at his house while he was away leading a party of the explorers. Dinner there was not exactly what they had expected as "...the supper table was laid with a cloth, dishes, plates, knives and forks, and they were waited on by a white steward (an Italian)".⁴⁵ They must have pondered what sort of impression they were making on their hosts since they reported an extremely noisy gathering that evening as Cokanauto's wife

...did not possess the requisite authority to maintain order...about fifty persons, men, women and children were collected, feasting, drinking awa, and maintaining a prodigious racket. They were apparently engaged in detailing and discussing the events that had taken place on board ship, and the narrative was constantly interrupted by jokes, laughter, expressions of astonishment and arguments leading to sharp words.⁴⁶

While the Peacock was at Rewa, Hudson received a message from Wilkes to arrest one of the Tui Dreketi's half-brothers, Veidovi, as the leader responsible for the seizure of the American brig, Charles Doggett six years earlier and the murder of five of its crew. This information was imparted to Wilkes by Whippy, his Levuka guide, intermediary and translator. Hudson was surprised at this command since Veidovi had assisted the Expedition by guiding one of the exploring parties on a trip up the Rewa river. Since the entire chiefly clan had been invited to visit the Peacock on May 21 the arrest did not seem as though it would present any difficulty. On the appointed day, the rest of the party came on board, but by four o'clock Veidovi had not made an appearance. Hudson decided to hold the rest of the chiefs hostage until he could find him. This turn of events frightened those Fijians whose departure was prohibited.

The poor queen was apparently the most alarmed and anxiously inquired of Phillips if they were all to be put to death. Phillips was equally frightened with the rest, and it was observed that his nerves were so much affected for some time afterward that he was unable to light a cigar that was given him, and could not speak distinctly.⁴⁷

Hudson made an effort to reassure them of their safety and provided entertainment for them throughout the night. The royal party eventually recovered its equilibrium. They told Hudson that Veidovi was "a dangerous character among themselves; and that they would be glad to see him removed." Tui Dreketi tried a little power politics of his own, expressing fear for the missionaries on shore when the people of Rewa discovered that their royal family was held hostage on the American ship. But he did not succeed as "Capt. Hudson...well knew this was a ruse on the part of the king."⁴⁸ Hudson had to devise a plan to get the wanted man aboard.

It was shortly arranged that Ngaraningiou and another chief should go quietly to Rewa, take Vendovi by surprise, before he had time to escape, and bring him on board alive if possible. The selection of Ngaraningiou as the emissary to capture the murderer was well-timed, as Vendovi had always been his rival, and the temptation to get rid of so powerful an adversary was an opportunity not to be lost by a Feegee man, although that adversary was a brother.⁴⁹

Qaraniqio and Veidovi appeared at the Peacock the following morning. The accused man acknowledged his guilt and Hudson informed him that he intended to take him to America as a prisoner. Tui Dreketi agreed

that Capt. Hudson had done right; that he would like to go to America himself, they had all been treated so well, that we were now all good friends, and that he should ever continue to be a good friend to all white men.⁵⁰

Veidovi's decision to surrender was viewed with approbation if not relief by many of his compatriots. Cargill informed Hudson that the "chiefs were fully sensible that it was just that Vendovi should be punished."⁵¹ He wrote in his journal on May 22 that

Veidovi was in irons. He acknowledged that his crime was great, and that he merited punishment. Capt. Hudson informed me that he intended to take him to America to show him many of the vessels of war, that he might form an idea of the extent of the power of the Americans in punishing those who kill or molest the crews of any of

their vessels. He wished also to introduce him to Missionary Societies, to teach him Christianity and to imbue his mind with the love of virtue.

Later a chief of Kadavu, "after making inquiry about Vendovi, ...said that the people of Kantavu were glad he had been taken away, for he was continually making exactions on them for all kinds of articles..."⁵² One who was not pleased was the British expedition leader Belcher who observed sourly on hearing the news that Veidovi had been taken prisoner,

it is said he will be taken to America, but what they can do with him is very problematical. In consequence of this affair our reception was anything but flattering. Owing to the threats that vengeance would be taken for the capture of the chief by the Peacock, I did not conceive it right to risk the chance of aggression, by permitting our parties to pursue their examinations where our force could not act; consequently, beyond the island of Nukulau and the beach-line, little was obtained...the abstraction of the Rewa chief by the Americans has irritated the natives amazingly, and will probably injure their mercantile interests.⁵³

It seems unlikely, however, that the Expedition could have 'abstracted the Rewa chief' without his cooperation and that of his brothers. Indeed two attempts were made to capture a Samoan chief who was guilty of a similar offense, but he disappeared into the mountains when the ships arrived and was never taken.⁵⁴ Understandably Tui Dreketi might have been relieved to have a potential rival for his position removed from the islands, as might his two other brothers. Qaraniqio went to 'capture' Veidovi on the afternoon of May 21, spent the night with him, and the two of them appeared at the Peacock the following day. It appears possible that his decision to 'surrender' was motivated by the Rewa chiefs attempt to gain some advantage by close association with the American expedition. Cokanauto's full-time occupation was to make himself useful to any foreign vessel appearing in Fiji. The rival chiefdom of Bau had gained much strength by using the weapons, men and

strategies which contact with foreigners offered it. Rewa had had some success in the same manner. Perhaps by actually sending one of its members to participate in the Western world, the chiefly family hoped to reap even greater benefits. Whippy's motive in incriminating Veidovi in a six-year old massacre is questionable. He might have invoked this punishment to make white men, especially American ones, safer and more powerful in Fiji, or he could have been intriguing as a close associate of Tui Levuka, Tanoa and Seru to weaken a rival chiefdom by depriving it of a leader who had proved able to take decisive and aggressive action. Whatever might have resulted from Veidovi's contact with America, however, was cancelled by his death from tuberculosis four days after the end of the expedition in 1842.

While the motivation which prompted Whippy and the Fijians may be unclear, there is no doubt that the British missionaries with whom the Americans came in contact promoted their own interests through association with the Exploring Expedition. The ties of Christianity apparently overcame any national differences. Wilkes, when writing about any people of the Pacific, consistently maintained that missionary influence was beneficial. His comments on the Fijians reveal this perspective.

Although, as we shall see, the natives of Fiji have made considerable progress in several of the useful arts, they are, in many respects the most barbarous and savage race now existing upon the globe. The intercourse they have had with white men has produced some effect on their political condition, but does not appear to have had the least influence in mitigating the barbarous ferocity of their character. In this group, therefore, may be seen the savage in his state of nature; and a comparison of his character with that of the natives of the groups in which the gospel has been profitably preached, will enable our readers to form a better estimate of the value of missionary labors, than can well be acquired in any other manner.⁵⁵

Wilkes greatly admired the missionaries and sympathized with the difficult conditions in which they labored. Citing the opposition of the chiefs he commented

The missionaries have made but slow advancement in their work, and there is but little to be expected as long as the people remain under their present chiefs, for they dare not do anything but what they allow them...It is not to be supposed, under this state of things, that success of the missionaries will be satisfactory, or adequate to their exertions, or a sufficient recompense for their hardships, deprivations and struggles which they and their families have to encounter. There are few situations in which these devoted and pious individuals are placed; and nothing but a deep sense of duty, and a strong determination to perform it, could induce civilized persons to subject themselves to the sight of such horrid scenes as they are called upon almost daily to witness.⁵⁶

Cargill, while translating at the meeting between Hudson and the Rewa chiefs, took the opportunity to complain to Hudson that dwelling houses which the chiefs had promised the missionaries had never been built. On May 18 he wrote in his journal about the meeting between Hudson and the chiefs

He treated them with great kindness and gave each of them a liberal present. He fired off two large guns. The natives were surprised at their power and the distance to which the balls were thrown. He spoke to the king about erecting our houses. I exhorted him to abandon heathenism and listen to instructions. He reproached the king's brother for improper conduct to the missionaries. His behavior towards them will, I have no doubt, make a deep and beneficial impression on their minds.

Though they had been stalling Cargill for months, the chiefs soon did as Hudson requested. On May 27 the missionary recorded in his journal that the people of a nearby village had come to build his house. Hudson noted that the natives engaged in the project were "...gay and merry, though busily engaged at their work."⁵⁷ Tragically, Mrs. Cargill and her newborn baby died a few days after construction began. Cargill and five surviving children departed for England shortly thereafter without occupying the long-awaited dwelling.

When Wilkes, temporarily aboard the Porpoise, called at Somu-somu to get the chiefs to sign his rules and regulations, he found missionaries John Hunt and Burdsall Lyth and their wives nervous about hostilities that were apparently brewing with the Vuna people, since, as they related, all strangers residing within the village limits are in time of war considered as enemies and subject to plunder. 'King' Tui Illa-illa was away at Vanua Levu gathering warriors, so Wilkes had a talk with his father, old Tui Cakau.

"I distinctly told the king, that neither the missionaries, nor any other white men must be hurt; that if it ever occurred, or if he touched a hair of their heads, he might rely on it, that sooner or later, punishment would come upon him. I urged upon him for his own sake, the necessity of taking care that no harm should come to them or their families, and spoke of the necessity of giving them ground, and building them a house without the limits of town.⁵⁸

Wilkes and his men did favors large and small for the missionaries. The purser of the Vincennes passed along fifteen colonial newspapers to Cargill. Though they were several months old, he was shocked to read the 'melancholy intelligence' of the death of missionary leader John Williams in the New Hebrides. Missionary John Hunt was transported from Levuka to Somu-somu in the Vincennes. On June 25 Cargill recorded in his journal, "...I received a letter from Mr. Waldron, the purser of the Vincennes, informing me that he had purchased a portion of land from the chief of Levuka on Ovalau." The land was presented to the mission with a request that a missionary be sent to Ovalau as soon as possible. This interest and sponsorship by the Americans contrasted sharply to the action of Belcher who refused Cargill's desperate request to have the ship's doctor call on his dying wife. Two junior British officers were given grudging permission to attend her funeral two days later.

When, on June 10 Wilkes tried to get the Somu-somu chiefs on board ship for a signing of the treaty he ran into difficulty for he found that "...no

inducement could persuade them to place themselves in our power, for fear of a like detention with Vendovi."⁵⁹ A council was consequently held ashore at the king's house, where Wilkes noted "...he also possessed a chair, two chests and several muskets. The former he seemed to take much pleasure sitting in, having discovered, as he told the interpreter, that they were very comfortable for an old man."⁶⁰

By the middle of June the men of the Expedition were beginning to lose whatever interest they may have had in the Fijians. Speaking of the 'king of Lakeba, Tui Nayau', Wilkes observed "...he is a corpulent, nasty-looking fellow, and has the unmitigated habits of a savage." Furthermore "the settlement is dirty and badly built, but has some large houses. In it were seen numbers of ugly women and children."⁶¹

...officers again visited the king, Tui Nayau, at his house; which is really very little better than a large pig-pen. He appeared to be too fat to be able to exert himself. He is about the middle size as to height, slovenly in his person and habits, with a dull-looking countenance, childish in his behavior, and has been found to be mean and niggardly in his disposition.⁶²

Hudson took the treaty to Bua where he had to mediate in a local squabble between two rival chiefs before he could persuade them to sign. Wilkes noted, however, that the Fijian chiefs always signed the agreements "...saying they were glad to enter into them, and they should be strictly observed by their people."⁶³ But he also commented the "they are very quick in discerning what will please those whom they wish to conciliate, and readily accede to their views."⁶⁴

Relations between the Americans and the Fijians took a definite turn for the worse with the capture of a cutter and her crew which had been stranded on a reef in Solevu Bay off Vanua Levu. The Fijians released the crew, but kept the cutter. Wilkes, with Whippy interpreting, set out to retrieve it, laying

down the following conditions: the boat and everything in the boat must be returned or punitive action would be taken. When the boat was returned, stripped, Wilkes was annoyed.

My conditions not being complied with, I determined to make an example of these natives, and to show them that they could no longer hope to commit acts of this description without receiving punishment.⁶⁵

Wilkes had earlier in his Narrative indicated an understanding of the Fijian point of view that

...any canoe or vessel, whether native or foreign, when driven on shore is accounted an offering to the gods. All that it contains is considered as belonging to the chief of the district where the accident happens.⁶⁶

This did not prevent him from landing an expedition party and burning the village. The natives offered no resistance, perhaps feeling a few huts were a cheap price to pay for the items that were seized. Wilkes nevertheless felt his actions were justified and effective.

The infliction of this punishment I deemed necessary; it was efficiently and promptly done, and, without the sacrifices of any lives, taught these savages a salutary lesson.⁶⁷

The need to be constantly on the defensive seemed to be wearing on Wilkes' nerves.

It was by no means pleasant to be constantly feeling that if one of us should straggle, he might be kidnapped and taken off to furnish a cannibal feast. This constant necessity of keeping one's guard for fear of surprise was not a little harrassing, and made my anxieties for the parties very great. The more knowledge I obtained of the natives, the less disposed was I to trust them.⁶⁸

Finally the worst happened. Two crew members, one of them Wilkes' nephew, were killed while bargaining with the Fijians on the beach at Malolo island. They had gone ashore over-confident of the islanders' friendship and practically unarmed. Just as Wilkes was finishing the last of the surveying about five miles east of Malolo three small Expedition boats approached,

"colours at half-mast, union down." On reaching Wilkes they informed him that "a horrid massacre had but a short hour before taken place." Wilkes returned to his ship where he "saw the mutilated and bleeding bodies of Lieutenant Joseph A. Underwood and my nephew Midshipman Wilkes Henry."⁶⁹

Wilkes and his men were in no mood to countenance a philosophical interpretation of Fijian behavior.

The blood of the slain imperatively called for retribution and the honor of our flag demanded that the outrage upon it should not remain unpunished.

The dead were buried on a small island near Malolo,

far enough removed from these condor-eyed savages to permit them to be entombed in the earth, without risk of exhumation, although there was no doubt that our movements were closely watched from the highest peaks. I could not but feel a melancholy satisfaction in having it in my power to pay them these last sad duties, and that their bodies had been rescued from the shambles of these odious cannibals.⁷¹

Wilkes then undertook to teach the Malolo islanders a lesson. Seventy officers and men went ashore on a mission to destroy all the houses and plantations and kill all the men. Yaro, the first village they reached, was deserted. They burned it without resistance, towed away and destroyed all the canoes. They guessed, correctly, that all the warriors had gone to the island's other village, Solevu, and all the non-combatant men, women, children and movable property had been removed into the mountains.

This fact shows that the islanders were not ignorant of the consequences that were likely to follow the murder of our officers, and had made timely preparations to resist our attack on one of the towns, and save themselves from serious loss at the other.⁷²

As the attacking party approached the second village, the chief came out to plead that his village had not been involved in the attack. He indicated his willingness to give Wilkes some pigs as a peace offering. Wilkes was not interested in peace offerings and proceeded to attack. He was not too

distracted to notice some indigenous peculiarities about the Fijian fighting methods.

The natives...had, in addition to their arrows, clubs, spears and muskets; but the latter were so unskillfully handled as to do little damage, for they as I had been informed was their practice, put charges into them according to the size of the person they intended to shoot at. They believe that it requires a larger load to kill a large man than it does a small one. The bows and arrows were for the most part used by the women...Now was seen what many of those present had not before believed, the expertness with which these people dodge a shot at the flash of a gun.⁷³

The following morning a young woman with a white rooster stood on the shore opposite Wilkes' ship. She had with her, in addition, some of the personal effects of the slain men. Wilkes suspected, but was not positive, that this was a peace offering. He accepted the items which had belonged to his men, but conveyed the message that he would not agree to cease fighting until the entire Fijian village came to sue for peace before his entire force, a custom which he had been told connoted abject surrender. He indicated a hill on which his men would wait. A few hours later the Fijians approached, on their knees and wailing, admitting their defeat and offering themselves as slaves to the Americans. Wilkes gave them a stern lecture then charged them with reprovisioning his ship with food and water, which was done the following day. He sailed away from Malolo feeling that he had responded appropriately to the provocations.

The blow I inflicted not only required to be done promptly and effectually, as a punishment for the murder of my officers, but was richly deserved for other outrages. It could not have fallen upon any place where it would have produced as much effect, in impressing the whole group with a full sense of our power and determination to punish such aggression.⁷⁴

The men of the Expedition arrived in Fiji with prejudices about the 'savages' of the 'Cannibal Isles' and their experiences there confirmed their opinions. Ethnologist Horatio Hale wrote that the Fijians were treacherous

dissimulators, conducting their government by intrigues and machinations. Melanesians, he wrote, (and in this he included Fijians) are

"sullen, sly, treacherous, indocile, stubborn, and of a cold temperament. A constant suspicion, the offspring of a continual fear of treachery, is displayed, not only in their dealings with strangers, but between members of the same tribe and even of the same family. Feejeeans are by nature a bloodthirsty, treacherous and rapacious people. Their evil qualities do not lie merely on the surface of the character but have their roots deep in their moral organization...The Feejeean may be said to differ from the Polynesian as the wolf from the dog; both when wild are equally fierce, but the ferocity of one may be easily subdued, while that of the other is deep-seated and untameable."⁷⁵

Naturalist James D. Dana, though spending most of his time off shore in a small boat was affected as well.

Even the beauty of natural objects had, at times, a dark background. When, for example, after a day among the corals, we came, the next morning, upon a group of Feejee Savages with human bones in their mouths, finishing off the cannibal feast of the night; and as thoughtless of any impropriety as if the roast were of wild game taken the day before. In fact, so it was.⁷⁶

All of them would have agreed with Williams and Calvert who wrote, "murder is not an occasional thing in Fiji, but habitual, systematic and classed among ordinary transactions."⁷⁷ Wilkes concluded his remarks on Fiji in the Narrative, "On taking our final departure from these islands, all of us felt great pleasure; Vendovi alone manifested his feelings by shedding tears at the last view of his native land."⁷⁸

The Fijians were, perhaps, equally relieved to see the last of the Exploring Expedition. As Hudson was preparing to depart from Macuata he

...paid the king and chiefs a visit, gave them some advice relative to their future conduct, and mentioned to them that he was going away. The king and chiefs, with great naivete, replied they were extremely glad to hear it, for they had been in constant dread of having their town burnt, in consequence of the number of lies that were constantly told to him of them.⁷⁹

The United States Exploring Expedition literally put Fiji on the map. The surveys that Wilkes had painstakingly compiled were assembled into charts and published in 1845 by the Navy Department. They were not perfect but they were a great improvement over what had existed before. Islands had been discovered and shoals located with precision. Navigation was much safer in Fijian waters as a direct result.

The published accounts of the Expedition's stay in Fiji did not inspire a great influx of merchants or adventurers to these somewhat hostile shores. Since the end of the sandalwood rush there had been no enticing commercial opportunity to make the dangers seem an acceptable risk when similar cargo could be obtained with greater safety from other islands. In spite of its stated intentions in Wilkes' orders, the American government did not manifest much interest in this distant archipelago which had no centralized government. American attention never progressed much beyond the administration of extraterritorial justice and attempts at enforcing the claim for damages which the United States commercial agent fanatically insisted were due him from Cakobau. Though Wilkes had appointed Whippy U.S. consul during his stay in Fiji this was never confirmed by Congress. First official American diplomatic representation was established when John B. Williams, U.S. consul to New Zealand, was given the additional task of representing American interests as commercial agent in Fiji as well. He was instructed to appoint Whippy as vice-agent, which he did in 1848.

The chiefs of Bau consolidated their dominant position over the other territories of Fiji. Tanoa died in 1852 and Cakobau became the ruler of Bau in name as well as fact. He became a Christian in 1854 at the behest of the Christian ruler of neighboring Tonga, who had come to occupy an influential

position in Fijian politics. With the aid of Tongan forces Bau finally defeated Rewa and a peace treaty was signed in 1855.

'Mr. Phillips', Cokanauto, succeeded to the title of Tui Dreketi after Cakobau had the holder of that office killed in 1845. Qaranqio also ruled as Tui Dreketi in 1851 after his half-brother died. If an American-oriented, Christianized Veidovi had survived to influence events in Rewa during these years it is interesting to speculate whether the United States might have taken more interest in opposing Bau's increasing strength. As events did turn out, Cakobau acquired sufficient power to refer to himself as Tui Viti, 'King of Fiji', in 1852 and eventually to form an archipelago-wide government in 1867.

Perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of American Expedition were the British missionaries and, indirectly, the British government. Wilkes found the missionaries in precarious condition, worried about their survival, unable to concentrate on the spreading of the gospel. He felt "they needed encouragement and ought to receive (it) from all who have it in their power to bestow"⁸⁰. Wilkes did his best to encourage the missionaries directly and to leave no doubt in Fijian minds that they had the support of strong and ruthless Western powers. This was the result of personal conviction, not government instruction. He wrote in his autobiography

...it is a matter of gratification that we have tended to establish the missionaries and afford them protection and certain privileges conceded by the chiefs which will materially aid their efforts in civilizing them and putting an end to their savage barbarities so common before our operations.⁸¹

Following his visit the missionaries were treated with more respect and their message heeded with more attention, with a consequent increase in

conversions. In his analysis of cultural change in Fiji, W.R. Geddes maintains that

An important factor in gaining prestige for the Christian god was the navies possessed by his followers. The strength of the European power alone told in favour of the Christian god - especially to the warlike Fijians - but when it was deliberately used to support the missionary its effect was vastly increased.⁸²

Wilkes and the men of the Exploring Expedition provided the last display of naval power from the outside world in Fiji until 1848, if American commercial agent Williams is to be believed. He notes, in a message to the Department of State in that year, that the British ship Calypso paid the first visit of any man-of-war from any nation since the Exploring Expedition departed in August of 1840.⁸³ By that time the missionary effect was well-established as The History of the Wesley Methodist Missionary Society declares that "...toward the end of 1848, after thirteen years' labour the Wesley Mission had gained a secure footing in the Fijian Islands and was laying plans for evangelizing the country."⁸⁴ Encouraged, the Wesleyans sent more missionaries, some of whom eventually became the advisors and champions of Cakobau in his struggle against the 'American claims', which were pressed so hard by Williams. The captain of an American warship in Fiji to force settlement of these claims grumbled against the British influence "that where one native is taught to love God, two are taught to love Queen Victoria."⁸⁵ As American pressure to pay this rather questionable debt increased, the British missionaries offered Cakobau a solution. The proposal to cede Fiji to Britain contained a clause which also turned over responsibility for the payment of the claims. In 1874 this proposal was accepted. Undoubtedly this result of his decidedly pro-missionary bias was not foreseen by Wilkes in 1840. Nevertheless, it is a result he probably approved. Colvocoresses, expressed his opinion, which

likely mirrored that of Wilkes and the majority of the squadron's men when he wrote his summation of the Fijians.

I think it would be a blessing to the whole race if the United States or some other civilized nation would conquer them into subjection and order. It would at once put an end to their dissensions and barbarities, and afford encouragement to commerce and safety to person and property.⁸⁶

A product of his time and his country, Wilkes followed his conscience in the confrontation between Christianity and 'heathenism.' The forces of 'enlightenment' and 'civilization' won his allegiance, though, in Fiji, they were sponsored by the British.

NOTES

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47. Wilkes, Narrative, Vol. 3, 128.
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APPENDIX I

FEEJEE REGULATIONS

COMMERCIAL REGULATIONS MADE BY THE PRINCIPAL CHIEFS OF THE FEEJEE GROUP OF ISLANDS, AFTER FULL CONSIDERATION IN COUNCIL ON THE 14TH DAY OF MAY 1840

- 1st. All Consuls duly appointed, and received in the Feejee group of islands, shall be protected and respected both in their persons and property, and all foreigners obtaining the consent of the government, and conforming to the laws, shall receive the protection of the kings and chiefs.
- 2nd. All foreign vessels shall be received into the ports and harbours of the Feejees, for the purpose of obtaining supplies, and for commerce; and with their officers and crews, so long as they shall comply with these regulations, and behave themselves peaceably, shall receive the protection of the kings and chiefs.
- 3rd. The fullest protection shall be given to all foreign ships and vessels which may be wrecked and any property saved shall be taken possession of by the master of the vessel; who will allow a salvage, or portion of the property so saved, to those who may aid in saving, and protecting the same; and no embezzlement will be permitted under the circumstances whatever. The effects of all persons deceased shall be given up to the Consul of the nation to which they may have belonged.
- 4th. Any person guilty of the crime of murder upon any foreigner, shall be given up without delay to the commander of any public vessel of the nation to which the deceased may have belonged, upon his demanding the same, or be punished on shore.
- 5th. Every vessel shall pay a port charge of three dollars, to the king, before she will be allowed to receive refreshments on board; and shall pay for pilotage in and out, the sum of seven dollars, before she leaves the harbour; and pilots shall be appointed subject to the approval of the Consuls.
- 6th. All trading in spirituous liquors, or landing the same is strictly forbidden. Any person offending shall pay a fine of twenty-five dollars; and the vessel to which he belongs shall receive no more refreshments. Any spirituous liquors found on shore will be seized and destroyed.
- 7th. All deserters from vessels will be apprehended, and a reward paid of eight dollars to the person who apprehended him, and three dollars to the chief of the district in which he may be apprehended, on his delivery to the proper officer of the vessel. No master shall refuse to receive such deserter under a penalty of twenty-five dollars. Deserters taken after the vessel has sailed, shall be delivered up to the consul, to be dealt with as he may think fit. Any person who entices another to desert, or in any way assist him, shall be subject to a penalty of five dollars.

8th. Any seaman remaining on shore after nine o'clock at night, shall be made a prisoner of until the next morning when he shall be sent on board, and shall pay a fine of five dollars.

9th. Should the master of any vessel refuse to comply with any of these regulations, a statement of the case shall be furnished to the nation or the consul of the nation to which he belongs, and redress sought from thence.

10th. All magistrates or chiefs of districts where vessels or boats may visit, shall enforce the rules and regulations relative to the apprehension of deserters, or pay such a fine as the principal chief imposes.

11th. These regulations shall be printed, promulgated, and a copy furnished to the master of each vessel visiting these islands.

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