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Beyond the beach: Periplean frontiers of Pacific Islanders aboard Euroamerican ships, 1768–1887

Chappell, David Arthur, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1991

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BEYOND THE BEACH: PERIPLEAN FRONTIERS OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS ABOARD EUROAMERICAN SHIPS, 1768-1887

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY AUGUST 1991

By

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I would like to thank many people who have helped to guide me on this academic journey, most notably Brij Lal, David Hanlon, Jerry Bentley, John Stephan, Robert Kiste, Sharon Minichiello, Harry Lamley, H. E. Maude, Greg Dening, Francis Hezel, Alan Howard and Jan Rensel, Rhys Richards, Alexander Spoehr, Carlos Taitano, Jerry Knight, Carol Curtis, Vilsoni Hereniko, Jane Moulin and Lenn Lenja, the University of Hawaii History Department faculty and staff, and the East-West Center, whose financial support enabled me to complete the research and writing.
ABSTRACT

A periplean frontier is a zone of mutual interaction between travelers from different cultures. The Greek verb peripleeo means to sail around and come back with a report. During the first century (1768-1887) of regular maritime contact between indigenous Pacific islanders and intruding Euroamerican explorers, traders and missionaries, voluntary travel aboard foreign ships came to outweigh blackbirding (kidnapping). After trying to encompass Euroamerican ships in various ways, both chiefly "noble savages" and laboring kanaka sailors began to counter-explore the seafaring circuit that connected their islands with an increasingly wider world. Euroamerican ships came to depend on a regional pool of islander labor, and some indigenous returnees from overseas became cross-cultural mediators.

This study attempts to assemble scattered data, which is mainly anecdotal, to give the reader a taste of the cross-cultural limen, or transformative acculturation, that Pacific islanders passed through on Euroamerican shipping. Neophytes underwent several initiations, from seasickness to the rites of Neptune, but their skill as interpreters, pilots, divers, harpooners and deck hands was appreciated by Euroamerican shippers. Perhaps one-fifth of the sailors in the American whaling fleet were kanakas in the 1840s and 1850s. Many died of alien diseases, but returnees inspired even more to ship out. Those who stayed within the Pacific influenced other islands significantly as beachcombers.
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I still remember when, in August 1971, I rode a launch out into Singapore harbor at six in the morning to find a ship, any ship, that would take me anywhere in the world. I was too young to be truly afraid—we all think we are immortal at that age—only curious. Experiential travel is a form of heroism, when you look back on it. At the time, it simply seems necessary, a personal rite of passage we seek out to learn more about ourselves. Encountering other cultures furthers our own self-discovery, which happens, to some degree, no matter why we embark. Every new thing we touch, every communicative gesture, strange vowel or initiative food we try adds another touch of "otherness," of difference, to whomever we might have been if we had stayed home. Being outside opens a great window for looking back, while an alien environment strips away the assumptions and habits of custom, at what remains of our individuality.

Twenty years and twice that many countries later, I am writing this dissertation as a traveler who empathizes with his subjects of study: Pacific islanders who boarded foreign ships to see the world.

NOTE on terminology and orthography: In order to place Pacific islanders squarely on center stage, this study will divide the world into three realms, geographically: the Inner, Outer and Extra Pacific. The Inner Pacific comprises those island groups conventionally referred to as Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia (which includes New Zealand, or Aotearoa, and Easter Island, or Rapanui). The Outer
Pacific is the "rim" of the oceanic basin, including Australia, insular East Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Japan, etc.) and the islands closest to the American continents. The Extra Pacific is defined as anywhere outside the Pacific basin. Regarding naming and spelling, I have tried, whenever feasible, to use the modern countries of the Pacific to label island groups (e.g., Kiribati, not Gilbert Islands) and the indigenous forms of individual islander names. If, however, no "authentic" equivalent was readily available for the sometimes strange spellings of indigenous names by Euroamericans, I have used the form most common in written records of that time. Omai and Lee Boo, for example, are well known in the literature by those appellations, which I have not changed to Mai or Libu. Finally, in Fijian orthography, "c" is pronounced as "th," "d" as "nd," and "b" as "mb."
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION: THE PERIPLEAN FRONTIER

Many studies of "contact" in the Pacific islands presuppose unspoiled beaches where white explorers, beachcombers, traders and missionaries encountered isolated, neolithic native peoples. Yet inter-island contact was common long before Euroamerican entry into the Pacific region. Moreover, indigenous seafarers transferred their voyaging heritage to the new vessels and linkages introduced by foreign (i.e., Euroamerican) shipping. By the 1840s, for example, thousands of Hawaiians were working on whaling ships in the North Pacific. Indeed, the categories of alien intruders suggested above could be populated with counter-exploring Pacific islanders, from sailors to diplomats. This study will focus on cross-cultural experiences by such adventurers aboard foreign ships between 1768 and 1887, the first century of regular islander-Euroamerican contact. From Ahutoru, the "noble savage" who went from Tahiti to France and nearly back again, to David Kalakaua, the Hawaiian monarch who circumnavigated the world and tried to unite his country with Samoa, indigenous islanders used foreign shipping to go beyond their beaches to the very cores of an emerging world economy.

This aspect of contact has so far received only piecemeal attention, if any. Whole books have been written about Omai of Tahiti or Lee Boo of Belau, but most islander sailors or diplomats are barely mentioned in scattered anecdotes, passing references, crew lists or,
occasionally, brief appendices.² H. E. Maude posited over twenty years ago that indigenous beachcombers³ may have outnumbered their better-known Euroamerican counterparts: "This widespread inter-group mixing together of island peoples in early post-contact times is a factor of considerable importance . . ."⁴ Moreover, as shipping routes interconnected previously distant societies, such migrants also visited ports around the Outer Pacific and beyond, gathering intelligence on even stranger cross-cultural frontiers. The impact of those who survived to return home again has until now been largely ignored. In order to avoid "monograph myopia"⁵ and place the revival of long-distance islander travel in regional context, this study is deliberately broad in scope: the entire Inner Pacific for over a century. It cannot claim to be quantitatively exhaustive, because even a lifetime of poring over shipping records and collecting oral traditions would be unlikely to find all the cases of islanders who sailed before the mast. Instead, it is a suggestive prologue that invites further case studies.

Based on a fairly comprehensive sampling, whose 250 most documented individuals are listed in the appendix, this analysis will employ a special poetic to organize and evaluate its data: the periplean frontier. The Greek word peripleo means to sail around, to explore the outer limits of something and return. The Latinized noun periplus is usually translated as a sailing direction or description of a voyage. Such exploration generates a cross-cultural frontier, a concept that has evolved from a boundary between closed social environments to a zone of mutual interaction between open systems.
Moreover, frontiers are not simply places but transformative processes, through the interplay of power and acculturation. Individuals or groups in contact mutually select traits for transmission from partial packages, because "cultures do not meet, but their carriers do," and no one knows his or her entire system. Not only can power relations on a frontier reverse themselves, depending on the relative dynamism of the systems in contact, but frontiers can themselves generate distinctive social matrices. Thus clinal domination-dependency can mutate into clonal semi-autonomy. This study, then, will treat experiential travel by Pacific islanders aboard Euroamerican shipping as a periplean frontier, a seaborne circuit of cross-cultural interaction.

The Limen

Pacific islands and beaches translate readily into conceptual metaphors. Greg Dening has described any journey across the "cultural beach" which divides islander and intruder as dramatic and violent, because "the gestures, the signals, the codes which make the voyager's own world ordered no longer work." He describes indigenous life "behind the beach" as more complete than life aboard ships "beyond the beach," because "things come across the beach partially, without their fuller meaning" and "ships are distorted segments of living . . . they display their cultures but not the whole." Both sides recreate "islands" of familiarity by "encompassing" what they encounter into their own system of signs. Yet Dening calls any ship in port an "ambivalent space," where the cultures in contact lose their discrete
boundaries. Transformative "liminality" can flow either way, creating both Tahitian "wives" and Bounty mutineers. Victor Turner would call such an arena a "cunicular passageway" through which "liminars" are reborn into new identities: "Liminality may perhaps be regarded as . . . a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise." He applied the limen, or threshold, metaphor to initiation rituals and argued that, until the neophyte's social pilgrimage is completed, "The subject of passage ritual is . . . structurally, if not physically, 'invisible.'"  

Turner thus emphasizes dynamic becoming rather than static being, because history is "a continuous tension between structure and communitas," between established tradition and undifferentiated experiment. Temporarily "betwixt-and-between," liminars "are free to contemplate for a while the mysteries that confront all men, the difficulties that peculiarly beset their own society, their personal problems, and the ways in which their own wisest predecessors have sought to order, explain, explain away . . ."  

In fact, a ship did not have to be in port to be liminal, either for Euroamerican sailors or for recruited Pacific Islanders, because world shipping also incorporated Asians, Africans and Native Americans into its social circuit. Such conjunctures gave whole categories of actors a chance to test their accepted values against pragmatic experience. History and culture thus changed each other, producing new mythical realities.  

The periplean frontier was a moving limen through which Pacific islanders passed into new "islands" of unfamiliarity, both on deck and ashore on distant beaches.
Cross-cultural contact, however romanticized, is not necessarily easy. Modern studies indicate that liminars experience various forms of culture shock. Emotionally, travelers often feel anxiety over the novelty of their situation, frustration over ambiguous signals or communication failures, a need to belong, even alienation. Their cognitive knowledge is challenged by different attitudes about work habits and learning procedures, time and space, language use and categorization, personal allegiances and status relations, and explanations for differences. Indeed, Pacific islands specialists have often contrasted "western" values with those of islanders. They usually argue that islanders traditionally placed more emphasis on group loyalty, property sharing, animistic reverence for nature, enjoying the moment and emotional warmth than did individualistic, competitive, resource-exploiting, accumulative, "stiff-upper-lipped" westerners. Such thematic generalizations are risky, considering the wide variety of cultures in the Pacific and the unevenness of contact experiences, but they are useful to keep in mind when evaluating the historical evidence.

Textuality

The goal of this study is to free islander sailors and travelers from marginality in the records and make them central to a fresh discourse. Simply assembling them, from widely scattered bits and pieces of commentary, and trying to resurrect their lives, like neglected treasures looted from the tombs of time, will serve a useful purpose. Yet the historian, and the reader of history, are also cross-cultural voyagers, in the often ambiguous limen of their own
perceptions, interpretations and understandings. The present study is made more challenging by the fact that indigenous sailors and diplomats aboard foreign ships are so scarce or shadowy in the written records, or even in oral traditions. They are simply not an easily accessible population to examine. Most of the information available about them comes from others, often foreign observers with their own cultural or personal biases. Islander liminars are in a sense, then, double ghosts, both physically dead and textually "invisible." Sometimes a ship's log only mentions them in passing, as "a native" or as "Joe Kanaka." Even Omai and Lee Boo, about whom sentimental biographies have been written, remain coopted and disguised by the imaginations of foreign writers.

Despite its use of a score of oral traditions, this study relies mainly on Euroamerican sources for information, partly because of the early time frame. Many more stories could be collected in a thorough canvassing of the Pacific islands, but for logistical reasons they remain untold in this essentially preliminary cataloguing of periplean island travelers. Indeed, oral traditions can be partial texts as susceptible to biases and gaps as the written word, which Euroamericans almost monopolized during the period under study here. Such outside observers, if sympathetic, were capable of varying degrees of accuracy and insight, but they represented the actions and feelings of "noble savages" according to their own viewpoints and only selectively noted (or caricaturized) the pidgin remarks of kanaka sailors. Cross-cultural anecdotes tended to focus on the exotic and dramatic anyway, for entertainment value. Normally, this built-in distortion might
be corrected by statistical data or in-depth analyses, but the information on most Pacific islanders collected in this study is frustratingly difficult to quantify and often so shallow that only intense local research could expand it, if then. Reflective speculation, unfortunately, also has its limits; it can, if overdone, generate more editorializing. Given the nature of most of the evidence, therefore, the plausibility of the incidents assembled will be examined either before or during their inclusion in the text, but the intelligent reader is free to go to the source and draw his or her own conclusions.

In fact, further speculation about and investigation into the data presented here is encouraged. This study is really intended only to introduce the topic and suggest tentative patterns for consideration. Taken compositely, Pacific islanders manage to display their own dynamism in the textual limen, just as they did in its physical prototype. Even condescending caricature by Euroamericans actually reveals vulnerability on the part of the observers, as they try to describe unfamiliar actors in their midst. Once islanders infiltrated foreign shipping, they learned to play roles in a theatrical drama with many costumes and stages. Such liminars caught the fancy of Herman Melville, for example, who gave the archetypal harpooner Queequeg a prominent "speaking part" in Moby Dick. They parade on the following pages in what would make entertaining short stories in the creative hands of fiction writers. There is probably no final word to be said on the meaning of past words or events. The historian can only apply his or her own poetic to any attempt to represent actors
as faithfully as feasible. This study will mix overt analysis with letting the data speak for itself, transparent prejudices and all. The language of quotations from the era is not meant to convey literal truth but rather a taste of the limen, the very mentality with which islanders had to cope aboard Euroamerican ships. Even romanticized accounts have their usefulness in conveying the flavor of the cross-cultural experience, however one-sided or editorialized.

All historical figures, even those documented by their own words, remain imperfect replications, tainted to some degree by their own intentions or those of others. History, for all its pretentions to objectivity and omniscience, is a form of literature, and this study is yet another narrative open to re-examination. "Islander-oriented" scholars have emphasized the participatory choices made by Oceanians interacting with foreigners, while "fatal impact" advocates have emphasized the terrible price in cultural destruction and depopulation that certain islands paid for change. Yet ethnographic historians, wary of all textualizations, argue that history is too complex and subtle a study to be limited by any single orthodoxy of authority. Any attempt to represent and interpret the past should invite debate, the highest compliment to a scholarly endeavor. Perhaps there is no best way to write history, there are only alternative angles of vision, each highlighting different aspects of a collective, multifarious memory. History is always plural, both in its surviving sources and in their neverending re-interpretations.

The number and variety of Pacific island cultures and histories make the task of trying to grasp larger trends daunting, but this
study will undertake to examine the entire periplean frontier of Pacific islanders during the first century of regular Euroamerican contact. There are two main reasons for risking such a broad scope in this dissertation: the scattered and partial quality of the evidence, and the need to place the experiences of kanakas and "noble savages" into the context of the international maritime world.

Regional, or trans-regional, studies invite protests from local area specialists, but the inevitable friction between the two approaches can yield quite positive results: further dialogue and investigation. This study will divide Pacific islander experiences aboard Euroamerican ships into four distinctive matrices: the beach, the ship, the other land and the return. The beach has two parts, "encompassing," which will place Euroamerican-islander contact in regional context and outline its salient characteristics, and "voyaging," which will focus on the process of shipping out. The other land also has two parts, Inner Pacific encounters among islanders as a result of Euroamerican shipping, and Outer and Extra Pacific encounters between islanders and other cultures. Although such phenomena as the Melanesian labor trade, the Polynesian missions to the western Pacific, and even ongoing inter-island canoe contacts deserve, and have received, separate treatment in the historical literature, the frontier between them and our main line of inquiry, those islanders who worked or traveled aboard Euroamerican ships, is really more an overlapping zone than a tidy boundary and will occasionally be explored as such.
Chapter I--Notes


3. A beachcomber is defined as anyone who arrives on an island without a support network, such as a ship, and has to adapt to the local culture in order to survive. See Maude (1968) 135; and Dening (1980) 129.


5. See Howe (1979b) 81-90.


7. Foster (1960) 7-12, 227-29; Bohannan and Plog (1967) 266-70.


15. See Tinker (1974) 41; Kingsley (1897) 646; and Morison (1921) 43.


20. The term "noble savage," despite its pejorative ring, refers here to a functional category of privileged islander diplomats whom
Euro-Americans carried aboard their ships as specimens of Pacific culture, rather than as laborers. It reflects the mentality of the era.

21. The term kanaka is a generic Polynesian word for person, particularly a commoner. See Pukui and Elbert (1986) 127. It acquired a rather pejorative connotation in the days of indigenous labor recruitment in the Pacific, but it indicates another functional category of the day that contrasts with non-working "noble savage" travelers.

CHAPTER II
THE BEACH I: ENCOMPASSING

The Pacific Ocean has always challenged human beings with distance. It covers one third of the earth's surface, more than all the land masses combined, and its maximum width reaches almost halfway around the world. Its sheer size long impelled an equilibrium of disinterest that limited regular two-way voyaging to sub-regional, segmented networks. Despite the proven navigational skills of its indigenous inhabitants, the first documented journey across the Pacific was that of Ferdinand Magellan, on behalf of Spain, in 1521. Magellan's achievement of traversing the planet's largest body of water was perhaps equalled only by his managing to miss every inhabited island between South America and Guam. The Inner Pacific had been semi-isolated for centuries, a vast galaxy of seafaring peoples linked together by their own migrations and exchange systems. Spanish galleons bridged the Pacific with a yearly shipping route from Manila to Acapulco for two hundred years, but it was the arrival of scientific explorers and China traders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that integrated the Inner Pacific into the global economy. From then on, the islanders had to encompass what they could from the outer world before it encompassed them.

The Pre-Euroamerican Pacific

Before the Euroamerican conquest of the Americas, contact between Inner Pacific Islanders and Native Americans had been negligible,
despite the career Thor Heyerdahl has made of advocating connections. Northern Pacific rim peoples like the Aleuts were audacious seafarers, seal-hunting or fishing in kayaks and whaling in larger, open umiaks. They sometimes traveled great distances, tying their boats together to withstand high waves, to trade, raid or simply explore, but they lacked sails. The strong eastward kuroshio current was more likely to carry them farther south along the American coast than into the heart of the Pacific. The Native Americans of the Pacific Northwest Coast built large sea-going canoes, sometimes with sails, and also engaged in whaling, but they believed that the sea had a distant fog-bound edge over which no human could return. Peru was a more likely source of contacts with the Inner Pacific, because the winds were favorable, as Heyerdahl's Kon Tiki expedition proved in 1947. Moreover, his sailing raft was based on the kind of seagoing balsa raft that Pizarro and other Spanish explorers reported along the west coast of South America in the sixteenth century. Merchants with able seamen apparently plied the coast and, according to the legend of Inca Tupac Yupanqui, islands farther west. The story of that Inca's balsa raft voyage to distant islands, and his return with "black people, gold, a chair of brass and a skin and jawbone of a horse" inspired Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to organize several ill-fated expeditions westward to find King Solomon's legendary mines.

Yet lasting cultural influence between the Inner Pacific and the eastern Outer Pacific was apparently minimal, perhaps only exchanging the American sweet potato for the Southeast Asian coconut. Nor did historic East Asia interact significantly with the Inner Pacific.
China's junks sailed as far south and west as Africa, but its geographers admitted, "the Eastern Ocean is yet more vast, and we know of no one who has crossed it." The powerful westerly current was thought to haul unlucky ships down into a whirlpool in the center of the Pacific. In 219 B.C., Emperor Shih Huang Ti reputedly sent off three thousand young male and female virgins with a merchant who promised to bring back the drug of immortality, but the expedition never returned. Not even the great Ming fleets of the fifteenth century contacted the Inner Pacific, except perhaps through Indonesian intermediaries. The Japanese also had a seafaring tradition, directed mainly at mainland and southeastern Asia, until the Tokugawa shoguns instituted their closed country policy in the seventeenth century. Evidence of their crossing the Pacific seems confined to involuntary arrivals by castaways in the Americas, thanks to the kuroshio current. Even the embassy of Hasekura Tsunenaga to Mexico in 1613 was undertaken in a galleon of Spanish design.

It was insular Southeast Asia that provided an ancient, resilient frontier between the Outer and Inner Pacific. The prehistoric ancestors of modern Melanesians and Aborigines had migrated across land bridges or by raft to New Guinea and Australia from Southeast Asia. They survived by hunting and gathering but became isolated when sea levels rose about 8000 years ago. When the Chinese first moved down the Hwang Ho valley, they encountered tattooed, sea-going Austronesians, whom they gradually sinicized. But other Austronesian groups had already established themselves on Taiwan and Southeast Asian archipelagoes. Perhaps as early as 6000 years ago,
such migrants began using their sailing canoes to carry root-crop farming and pig-raising into Melanesia, Micronesia and beyond into what became Polynesia. Many generations of the biological or cultural descendants of these Austronesians voyaged in small groups among the thousands of volcanic peaks and coral atolls of the Inner Pacific. Their maritime skills, neolithic inventory and accompanying livestock and food plants enabled them to adapt to increasingly isolated, undeveloped islands. In historic times, insular Southeast Asian shippers such as the Bajau, Bugis and Malays acquired pearls, tortoise shell, bird feathers, bêche-de-mer (sea slug) and even captives from western Melanesia, thereby maintaining a tenuous, indirect link between their Chinese and Japanese customers and the traditional gateway to the Inner Pacific.

Inner Pacific islanders lived in a maritime world of scattered populations linked by sea lanes that legendary voyagers had pioneered. For example, oral tradition credits the mythic Hawaii Loa with fishing his way northward to the islands that bear his name and settling them with relatives. One version says that he encountered and recruited "people with slanting eyes"--the lost Chinese virgins? Later, a Samoan priest named Pa'ao left Upolu after a bitter dispute with his brother in which both their sons perished. With over forty loyal companions in a double-hulled sailing canoe, he arrived at the island of Hawaii, where he gained acceptance as a high priest and built two large sacrificial heiau. But miscegenation had contaminated the Hawaiian chiefly bloodlines, so Pa'ao went south again and brought back Pili, a man of royal lineage, to reestablish their purity. This story
correlates with changes in twelfth-century Hawaiian society that archeologists explain as a chiefly quest for legitimacy impelled by increasing demographic growth and ecological competition. Ra'iatea, northwest of Tahiti, sent out many voyagers, including Kupe, who purportedly discovered New Zealand (Aotearoa) while chasing an octopus, and the theatrical arioi, who proselytized Oro worship with satire. The latter would make an offering to Oro before setting out on their missionary journeys, praying, "Give us a breeze, to encompass us from behind, that we may sail as smoothly as upon a bed."

Exploration, and even missionary work, were thus common enough among indigenous islanders long before Euroamericans arrived on their beaches. There were also other "pre-contact" interactions, from the Polynesian outliers founded by castaways during the past millennium in Micronesia and Melanesia to the exchange networks that linked many islands together. A very brief list of the latter could include the Kula ring circuit of shell necklaces and armbands off eastern New Guinea, the annual sawei pilgrimage of Carolinian atoll-dwellers to Yap, the intricate bonds of marriage and prestige items which linked Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, the Maori trade of North Island obsidian for South Island greenstone, and the interchange between Australian aborigines and New Guineans across the Torres Straits. The isolation of Inner Pacific peoples was thus relative, not absolute, because they had a heritage of periplean circulation. As Euroamericans penetrated the region, islanders counter-explored, with varying degrees of voluntarism, beginning as early as 1526. Those who entered foreign shipping circuits inevitably experienced what Clive Moore has called
"cultural kidnapping," because they knew less about what they were getting into than their hosts did. But this was really adding new variables to an ancient dynamic. Even "fatal impact," due to gaps in technology and disease immunity, might depend on the importance of the island to foreigners and the consequent intensity of contact.

First Euroamerican Contacts

Pacific islanders tried various strategies to encompass Euroamerican shipping, even giving foreign vessels new names in their own language. The cultural beach of seafaring peoples does not really begin on shore, but in the waters around their islands or even in the sea lanes that connect their islands to others. On Micronesian atolls, for example, land usually belongs to the women, who also forage the reefs, while the sea is the realm of men, who may even sleep in their canoe houses. Vessels arriving from across the sea were readily spotted from a distance, and awaited. From their first contact with Magellan off Guam in 1521, indigenous canoers approached and often surrounded the intruders. Four hundred Marquesans in seventy canoes greeted their first Spanish "discoverers" in 1595, and more than a hundred canoes carrying eight hundred Tahitians met their British "discoverers" in 1767. This testing process included racing and outsailing the foreign ships with swifter native-built craft. Such extroverted behavior was not always the case, particularly in the relatively xenophobic Tuamotus and parts of Melanesia, but many islanders obviously preferred to learn the intentions of foreigners on the sea, before they reached shore.
Such welcomes could be intimidating, even to well-armed visitors. Hundreds of Marquesans swarmed over Alvaro de Mendaña's ship in 1595 and boldly explored his vessel. They handled whatever was within reach, studied the Spaniards' beards and faces, danced and clowned with foreign shirts around their necks, cut off slices of meat in the cook's galley and tried to haul the ship to the beach with a rope. Similarly aggressive behavior was later reported in such distant islands as Belau, Hawaii, or Easter Island. Swimmers might cling to the gunwales of foreign boats going ashore, and fascinated islanders would gather from all around, by foot or canoe. George Mortimer's lament about Tahiti in 1789 was typical:

we were so crowded by the natives that we could scarce move, or hear each other speak; which occasioned our officers some trouble in working the ship . . . Our guests took up their abode with us without the least ceremony, asked for combs and scissors, and cut and dressed each other's hair, admiring themselves at the same time in the looking-glass. At dinner, they made no scruple of helping themselves the instant the victuals were placed on the table; one seizing the head of a large pig, and another a whole quarter . . . Our visitors, not content with pesterling us with their company in the day-time, took it into their heads to stay on board all night; and talked so much, and so loud, that it was impossible for us to get any sleep . . . we never went on shore without being followed by a crowd of people of both sexes, and all ages, who strove to get near and touch us, some of them stroking their hands down our backs and sides, and others admiring our clothes.

There is evidence that animistic islanders regarded the first white visitors they encountered as more than mere curiosities. Their own cultural frontiers already encompassed the supernatural by regarding humans as only one form of being in a larger spirit world.
that included ghosts of deceased ancestors. Gods were not distant sky-dwelling phenomena but active in daily life, assuming various earthly forms along a complex continuum between humans and nature. Moreover, if threatening, their avatars "with sparkling eyes" could be killed. In hierarchical Hawaii, even ali'i were believed to possess divine mana. Captain James Cook was welcomed as royalty would be, by commoners falling "flat on their faces . . . till I made signs to them to rise." Two men holding pigs circled him a dozen times while a chief chanted prayers. At Kealakekua Bay, his arrival coincided with the Makahiki festival, so priests greeted him as the returning god Lono. Maoris and some Melanesians also entertained the idea, at first, that white people were supernatural beings. The Tahitian canoers hovered around Samuel Wallis' vessel in 1767, "and lookt at our ship with great astonishment." After debating among themselves, they made a lengthy votive speech, holding up leaves as peace offerings, and came nearer. Finally, "one fine brisk young man" climbed up the side and into the rigging, laughing and staring. He would not come down or accept gifts, however, until "several of the Indians alalong side made Long talks and throwd in several Branches of plantain Trees." 

**Appropriation**

Yet the islanders soon wanted the material wonders that foreign ships carried, from utilitarian iron to appealing ornaments. Accounts of islander "theft" and consequent violence pervade the early Euro-American records. As early as 1521, Magellan called Guam the Island of Thieves, because the Chamorros "boarded the ships and stole one
thing after another, to such an extent that our men could not protect their belongings." To recover a skiff, he destroyed most of the huts and boats of Umatac village and fed the intestines of dead natives to his vitamin-starved crew members. Mendana's conquistadores vengefully killed 200 "thieving" Marquesans. Two centuries later, when the Tahitians started to loot his ship for iron—one even grabbed off an officer's laced hat—Wallis started firing muskets, cannons and grapeshot at crowds of canoes. Even the otherwise forgiving Cook became more brutal on his third voyage, destroying canoes and houses on Moorea because of a stolen goat, and flogging, cutting off the ears, shaving the head and skinning the eyebrows of a Boraboran ari'i who stole a sextant. Cook found that the first Hawaiian aboard his ship quickly overcame his awe and "without asking any questions" began to load the ship's lead and line into his canoe. Ashore, Hawaiians tried to confiscate the ship's boat and all its contents until the British shot and killed a man. Explorers sometimes took chiefly hostages or confiscated islander property to get stolen items returned, but attempting to do that in Hawaii cost Cook his life. As late as 1813, Peter Dillon complained about the reactions of Tikopians to first contact, "They came on deck without reserve, seized upon bars of iron from the forge, and jumped overboard with that metal, as also a frying-pan, the cook's axe, knife, saucepans, etc. The firing of a musket in the air had not the least effect upon them."

Modern historians and anthropologists have examined this conflict in a number of speculative discourses. It could, for example, indicate a clash between different notions of property: western private
ownership vs. islander communal sharing.\textsuperscript{56} Indeed, castaways on Pacific islands sometimes had their canoes and possessions confiscated by their hosts in return for being assimilated into local society.\textsuperscript{57} Some islands had their own protocol for visitors. On Ulithi atoll in the Carolines, arriving canoes, even if manned by local inhabitants, were expected to announce themselves formally at the men's meeting house: "To violate this necessary gesture is considered to be an outrageous breach... punishable in drastic ways."\textsuperscript{58} Such appropriative islanders may also have been expressing status competition, even among hierarchical Polynesians.\textsuperscript{59} Yet among themselves, Hawaiians rarely stole, thanks to supernatural recourse against such transgressors.\textsuperscript{60} Maoris and Tahitians had similar strictures.\textsuperscript{61} Some early visitors claimed that theft from foreigners occurred on shipboard, not on shore.\textsuperscript{62}

There is another factor to consider: the limen. What were the rules for treating property as exotic as that carried by Euroamerican ships? The relative scarcity of what they had effectively put their wares into a separate category of strangeness, because they could not be replicated locally. Islanders seemed to find their first shipboard encounter so \textit{liminal} that they felt released from normal behavior codes and expressed themselves in liberating, anti-structural communitas. Cook described it best in Hawaii: "their eyes were continually flying from object to object, the wildness of thier looks and actions fully express'd their astonishment..."\textsuperscript{63} When an \textit{ali'i} could not resist the temptation to steal some iron, "he was exceedingly abash'd and frighten'd at being detected, and offer'd a
very fine red Cloak he had on as a ransom for his pardon. In 1793, two Maoris boarding an English vessel, according to their own account, "were blinded by the curious things they saw." In 1828, a Russian captain complained of Pohnpeian "eyes wandering everywhere at once ... If they take something in their hand, it is with a convulsive movement, and in the firm intention, apparently, never to let go as long as there is a possibility to resist."

Some "enlightened" explorers tried to forgive petty thefts and pickpocketing. John Marra, a member of Cook's crew in Tahiti, pointed out that thieves existed in Europe as well: "Is it not very natural, when a people see a company of strangers come among them, and without ceremony cut down their trees, gather their fruits, seize their animals, and, in short, take whatever they want, that such a people should use as little ceremony with the strangers, as the strangers do with them?" Yet it was clear that a ship that allowed islanders to help themselves to its limited capital would not be likely to return to its own country on the other side of the world. Captains had to systematize contact, by creating artificial cultural boundaries with tents, ropes, bayonets or fixed visiting hours and by demonstrating their firearms to chiefs. Even so, ambitious islanders--even those at first "unaddicted to pilfering"--tried to intercept the flow of nonperishable status-symbols across the cultural beach long after they became accustomed to Euroamericans. By the 1820s, organized Hawaiian gangs regularly broke into the homes of foreign residents at night, through windows, doors and even underground tunnels.
Islanders sometimes attempted to capture and loot whole ships to get what they wanted, especially in revenge for mistreatment by current or previous visitors, but they also learned how to get foreign goods by making friends with whom they could exchange gifts. Some Marquesans had greeted the Spaniards as friends, but as the pilot noted, "it was not understood why they gave us a welcome, or what was their intention." Instead of responding kindly, the Spanish shot them wantonly and even stole the offerings they had left at their temples.

Wallis, after slaughtering so many "impudent" Tahitians, made peace with the survivors and befriended their chiefess, who wept when he left. This trans-liminal bonding represented a turning point in islander-Euroamerican relations. Tahitian canoers greeted subsequent visitors with cries of "tayo" (friend) and exchanged names with seamen to whom they remained steadfastly loyal and helpful in return for gifts.

In 1797, at Tahuata in the Marquesas, the crew of the missionary ship Duff found that if each man chose a native boy to carry his knife and other valuables all day, no more thefts occurred.

By 1824, Tahitian identity exchanges with foreigners were such regular occurrences that "in less than an hour these friendly allies were soon walking in couples, arm in arm, around the deck, as though they had been acquainted for years." Indeed, name exchanges occurred between islanders and foreign friends around the Pacific.

Seduction

Bonding could also be more physically intimate. In fact, sensuality became a deliberate islander strategy to manipulate the intruder, to entice both gifts and skilled beachcombers across the
limen into a new mythic reality of South Seas seduction. Within three
days of first contact, Tahitian elders--having experienced the terrible
firepower of cannons and seen the way white sailors looked at their
females--offered women as sexual mediators: "the poor young Girls
seemed a little afraid, but soon after turnd better aquanted."82
Canoes filled with Tahitian women, most stripped naked by their
paddlers, surrounded Bougainville's ship in 1768.83 In Hawaii, Cook
tried to prevent contact between native women and his crew but failed84
and, according to oral tradition, accepted a high-ranking consort
himself.85 Even after his death, and the bloody British revenge,
women still came out to have sex with his crew.86 Indeed, seeing their
women fall in love (aloha) with foreigners had apparently helped to
fuel Hawaiian anger against Cook.87 At Kauai, women who had slept
with his sailors the previous year had the tapa-wrapped umbilical cords
of their newborn babies hidden in nooks aboard the ship, a clear
gesture of trans-liminal bonding.88
La Pérouse's line of marines could not prevent Hawaiian women
from boarding his ship in 1786: "Their manners were gentle, sprightly,
and engaging: against such attacks, an European who has sailed round
the globe, a Frenchman in particular, has no weapons of defence."89
A British warship in Honolulu harbor in 1823 was boarded by 400 such
wahine.90 Herman Melville described how laughing, chattering Marquesan
"mermaids" captured his ship in 1842: "never I will say was vessel
carried before by such a dashing and irresistible party of boarders!"91
Wahine, sometimes as young as eight or nine years old, often shocked
Euroamericans with their confident sexuality, rendering them liminars
in an ageless rite of passage. Such precocious audacity fulfilled lonely sailors' fantasies around the Pacific, as in: "Kierko, the lovely [fifteen-year-old] daughter of the king, falls into my arms. Her expressive eyes are full of laughter; her shivering body sparkles with drops of water." Islander women sang, danced and pushed their way below deck, from Hawaii to Easter Island to New Zealand. Some sailors, however, compared them unfavorably to handsome young male islanders, who danced or "lounged about the deck with a reserved and self-satisfied air, often assuming studied and graceful attitudes to attract attention."

Melanesians long remained relatively reluctant to allow such intercourse between their women and outsiders, as did many Micronesians, but transliminal miscegenation varied with time and place. In 1774, Cook noted that the Melanesian women of Vanuatu and New Caledonia were "far more chaste" than the Polynesians he had encountered: "the Ladies here would frequently divert themselves by going a little aside with our gentlemen as if they meant to grant them the last favour and then run away laughing at them." Half a century later, New Guinean women were enticing whalers into ambushes and New Caledonian women offered sex for tobacco, pipes, cotton and beads. By the mid-nineteenth century, interaction with whalers deprived some Micronesian women of what an earlier visitor had described as "pure, uncorrupted customs, charm, grace, and the gracious bloom of modesty" and sent them swimming out to ships, where native pimps pulled them up on deck by the hair and pointed at them, saying "tobak." Between Cook's second and third voyages, Maori women at
Queen Charlotte Sound changed from jealously guarded property into barter for nails. By 1816, the much-frequented port of Honolulu greeted ships with "propositions shouted at us by all the women round about and by all the men in the name of all the women." Inter-sexual contact across the limen challenged islander and stranger distinctions. Chiefs generally refused to allow their female kin to sleep with foreigners whom they perceived as commoners, but they might permit them to captains, or a chiefess might exercise her own freedom of choice. A chief on Makin atoll in Kiribati sewed up his wives in mats to ensure their fidelity when foreigners visited. Euroamerican sailors usually formed partnerships only with unmarried commoner or slave women, some of whom were sexual specialists. In 1820, a Maori husband beat his wife because she had accepted a nail from a seaman, despite her pleas that she had refused to give sex for it. Yet much-visited Bay of Islands Maoris soon defied customary law by offering even chiefs' daughters as sexual consorts. A gun would buy not just a slave but any married woman. Women, however, began eating forbidden foods in the company of sailors, or if native men were around to ban that, indulged a bit freely in foreign wine. By 1810, the same year that Kamehameha united Hawaii, his favorite royal consort, Ka'ahumanu, was eating pork and shark aboard foreign ships, though she swore her hosts to secrecy. In 1817, Kamehameha's son Liholiho had a dream in which "the dog of all dogs . . . swallowed the Queen Kahumanna, and spit her out as a most frightful monster, which immediately began to ravage the country." When Kamehameha died two years later, Ka'ahumanu
bullied Liholiho into abolishing kapu (traditional law), thereby paving the way for the missionaries. 117

As time passed, the sexual trade became increasingly profane, and many islander women were exploited and degraded, by their own men as well as by foreign seamen. Tahitian, Hawaiian and Maori chiefs sent off low-status women to visiting ships as symbols of friendship, in exchange for guns and powder. 118 Mercenary cynicism existed on both sides, as Cook reported rather ruefully at Tahiti in 1773,

Oreo at this time introduced into the ship two very pretty young women, these two beauties attracted the notice of most of the officers and gentlemen who made love to them in their turns, the ladies very obligingly received their addresses, to one they gave a kind look to another a smile, thus they distributed their favours to all, received presents from all and at last jilted them all. 119

In the 1820s, Maoris might beat slave women if they did not earn enough reward for sleeping aboard ship. 120 A French captain noted, "Every day the chief brought on board several women who, whether they liked it or not, were passed on to everyone in turn, but always for payment that they had to hand over to the chief, unless he himself was waiting at the door for it." 121 Chiefly pimps even squabbled over the territories their girls worked. 122 Whalers called such islander women "squaws" or "niggers" and remarked on the gradual physical decline and dockside manners of "the ladies of pleasure." 123 One ship's gunner chose a very fat Hawaiian woman for himself: "We were forced to hoist her on board; her thighs were as thick as my waist; no hammock in the ship would hold her; many jokes were cracked upon the pair." 124 Women sometimes satisfied as many men as they could for a stick of
tobacco apiece\textsuperscript{125} and had to swim long distances to and from ships, regardless of currents or sharks.\textsuperscript{126} Missionaries and their chiefly converts fought with ship captains to stop such "orgies" aboard "floating exhibitions of Sodom and Gomorrah," with mixed results.\textsuperscript{127} One visitor contrasted corrupt Honolulu harbor with rural Hawaiian morality: "in the places at which ships are accustomed to touch, a universal depravity seems to pervade all classes."\textsuperscript{128} Seaport prostitution, like theft, became part of a worldwide frontier.

Nevertheless, islander women involved with stranger men in the limen could also maintain their dignity and improve their style of life. Tahitian women demonstrated early their attention to dress and ornamentation and had "almost as much Vanity as the Women of Europe."\textsuperscript{129} By the 1820s, they wore European white calico dresses, played Jew's harps and smoked pipes.\textsuperscript{130} By 1800, every woman in Hawaii carried a small mirror and kept it very clean. Those who swam off to the ships held their tapa clothes out of the water to preserve them, switching hands as one became tired, then redressed on deck. Some used gifts from sailors to keep up with current fashions, including Chinese silks and parasols.\textsuperscript{131} Their tapa skirts gradually gave way to European cloth.\textsuperscript{132} Each carried a tobacco pipe tied in a cloth hung around her neck.\textsuperscript{133} They conducted themselves on board "with great order and decorum," not degradation, according to one visitor.\textsuperscript{134} "Fearless Amazons and indefatigable dancers," they knew well how to flirt and still keep their suitors' respect, said another.\textsuperscript{135} In 1820, a well-known Maori woman named Mary, after being banned from a ship by its missionary passengers, retorted that "the New Zealand Women were quite
as handsome as those of Europee.\textsuperscript{136} In the Marquesas in 1803, the women noisily pestered their way into sailors' bunks and swam ashore the next morning carrying their booty above their heads, including a poorer suitor's old trouser-lining.\textsuperscript{137} By 1830, they laughed when told to get off a naval ship and "very composedly remained clustered about, in the belief that like all other ships probably that had ever visited them, the Vincennes was to be their home till her anchor was taken for sea again."\textsuperscript{138}

Strong personal bonds of mutual liminality developed between many islander women and their foreign lovers. Sailors would sometimes find new status in liaisons with islander women, and vice versa. One of Cook's crew fell in love with a Maori in 1777 and tried to desert but was captured. As a marine rhapsodized, perhaps enviously, "They surprized them in a profound sleep locked in each other's arms, dreaming no doubt of love, of kingdoms, and of diadems; of being the progenitors of a numerous family of princes . . ."\textsuperscript{139} The sailor received a dozen lashes, while the woman scarred her face and arms, according to custom, to express her grief.\textsuperscript{140} William Bligh blamed the mutiny of his \textit{Bounty} crew on their ties to "handsome, mild and cheerful" Tahitian women,\textsuperscript{141} who scarred themselves and held up their babies when the H.M.S. \textit{Pandora} later took their husbands away.\textsuperscript{142} Peggy Stewart, one such abandoned \textit{Bounty} wife, had a daughter by her mutineer and brought presents to every British ship, pleading that he not be hanged. She died of a broken heart within a year of the \textit{Pandora}'s departure.\textsuperscript{143} Tahitian slave girls seemed more sincere in their grief when foreign benefactors departed than their ritualistically
tearful rulers did, and they sometimes found ways to pursue their lovers to the next island. Maori women would stay with their "husbands" as long as the ship was in their islands, sometimes for months, washing clothes and cooking. Not only did sailors desert to remain with their loved ones, but women sometimes remained so loyal to their men they had to be evicted by force, whereupon they would cut themselves with shells and follow in canoes as the ships sailed away.

For three years in the 1870s, a whaler pined in his log whenever he had to leave his Pohnpeian girlfriend Juboi. Such "wives" might be left with a few beads and a handshake if their Euroamerican spouses sailed away, or they might embark on foreign adventures with them. After 1827, Maori wives of bay whalers negotiated marriage agreements with their white spouses and used family connections to acquire land for them. The women wore calico and kept clean houses, proudly raised their mixed-race children, mediated drunken quarrels and Maori-stranger disputes, "and occasionally turned the tippler into a sober man." One saved her lover from being killed after he insulted some Maoris. Islander wives even fought alongside their foreign spouses against other islanders, sometimes finding themselves exiled. Richard Cruise remarked that Maori women aboard English ships imitated foreign dress and customs, because "the mild treatment of the Europeans, when compared with that of their own countrymen, had gained their esteem and admiration." Even transient relationships in busy ports like Honolulu could leave romantic memories. A
Hawaiian chant recalls fondly the crowded harbor during the heyday of whaling:

I have seen in my heart
that sea of forest trees
of tall-masted ships returning . . .
Love's gaze is keen and long.

Perhaps I should show my love by asking his:
Come back, dear love, bring ease to me,
comfort of mind.153

Trade

Inter-sexual relations across the Pacific islands maritime frontier took place in a context of material exchange. Indeed, women not only offered their bodies to foreigners but also mediated significantly in both trading and trans-cultural communication. The Tahitian sex-for-nails trade soon caused inflation which threatened Wallis' ability to buy provisions: "Young Girls . . . hade now rose their price . . . from a twenty or thirty penny nail, to a forty penny, and some was so Extravagant as to demand a Seven or nine Inch Spick . . ."154 South Island Maori women came aboard Cook's ship in 1772 and established friendly trade relations between their people and the strangers.155 When the HMS Bounty arrived at Tahiti in 1789, "some of the Weomen who came on board became very Intiligent in a short time and soon brought their quondum husbands into a method of discourse by which evry thing was transacted . . ."156 They also did the laundry of their new mentors157 and picked their pockets.158 Women translated for visitors but might mislead them when they were pursuing thieves or even lure them into ambushes.159 One Maori woman took an
Englishman halfway to shore in her canoe and then told him he would have to swim the rest of the way unless he gave her some fishhooks. Aware of the terms of trade, he had brought a few along. A young Fijian woman slept with a British officer and agreed to do so again if he bought sandalwood from her relatives at high prices; he did so, but she disappeared before fulfilling her promise. Maori women aboard a British man-of-war in 1820 danced and sang in honor of such visits and in hopes that future ships would bring more muskets and powder so they could defeat their enemies. The most terrible price paid for sexual relations with foreigners, however, was venereal disease, and consequent infertility, which, along with other introduced epidemics, drastically reduced the indigenous population in strategic islands like Hawaii or Tahiti.

It was not only wahine who visited ships in port but also swarms of rather aggressive male salesmen. Whether swimming or in canoes, they climbed aboard even before foreign ships had anchored, carrying their wares on their backs and transforming the deck into a lively marketplace: "Each one more eager than the last, they endeavoured to barter their oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, bananas, pineapples, hens and eggs." Hundreds of islanders might crowd the ship for as long as it remained in port and, despite overt signs of friendship, intimidate their hosts with sheer numbers and noisy enthusiasm. Euroamericans depended on islanders for provisions, which they might not receive unless they allowed the islanders on board. Visitors were sometimes surprised by the prodigious amounts of goods brought out by enterprising canoers: "The audacious islander advanced toward
us as far as four sea leagues; choppy waves, storms don't frighten him from his adventurous course: he seemed, from his fragile boat, to defy peril.\textsuperscript{168} Frequently visited ports in Hawaii, the Society Islands and New Zealand adapted their services to Euroamerican needs, ferrying or swimming out water casks,\textsuperscript{169} doing laundry,\textsuperscript{170} raising potatoes, wheat, corn, cabbages and melons,\textsuperscript{171} and selling as many as four hundred hogs at a time.\textsuperscript{172}

After testing the potential of the li\textit{men}, islanders quickly learned to drive a hard bargain. Wallis' firepower did not eliminate negotiation: "the people of this Country deale very cunningly, if they bring down three or four different things to sell, they always indeavour to sell the worst first, and if they get what they want for any trifeling thing that they can easily Spear [spare] they carry back their Hogs pigs and fowls."\textsuperscript{173} Tahitians "subtlely tricked" their first Spanish visitors, said the captain, with "old and worn mats and scraps of native cloth, which they sold as new, but were often full of perfectly disguised mends and patches."\textsuperscript{174} They bought a jacket from a Russian officer with "a pearl which had been ingeniously made out of an oyster-shell."\textsuperscript{175} By 1824, even the Tahitian royal family had difficulty making it aboard a ship through the throngs of vendors.\textsuperscript{176} Visitors began calling Hawaiians the "Jews of the South Seas\textsuperscript{177} and likened Maoris to "the most crafty Jews on the Royal Exchange."\textsuperscript{178} Hawaiian canoers might sell half-finished mats rolled up to look whole and quickly paddle off, or refuse to trade at all if they could not get the particular item they wanted.\textsuperscript{179} Fijians
and New Caledonians received similar grudging accolades by the 1840s. If their first price was agreed to, they often raised it even higher. Easter Islanders offered much for sale but "were impatient, noisy, and urgent: they presented their bags, which they had carefully emptied for the purpose . . . and accompanied their demands by threats." Carolinian salesmen displayed disarming sophistication, and i-Kiribati in the 1850s would sell locally-made hats to whalers, steal them back and resell them to the next (or same) ship. Such entrepreneurs acquired the nickname "bummers." As interaction continued, islanders raised their expectations and adapted their exchange networks. Beads and other trinkets soon lost their appeal compared to iron tools or manufactured cloth. By 1798, Marquesans knew what they wanted: "the small looking-glasses, and bright buttons, when handed to them they would turn over and over, examining every part very carefully before they gave up their articles, then after pondering the pros and cons, they would return the glasses, and point to the pieces of iron hoop." Mapians confidently "went to the grindstone and ground their pieces of iron . . . even a looking-glass could not attract their attention." Systems quickly developed whereby islanders exchanged goods with ships via ropes or baskets, waited their turn to bargain, used white flags as signals for trade, arranged precise terms and kept careful accounts. Visitors complained about their knowledge of dollar values and their selective hoarding of coins. Islanders added Euroamerican products to their traditional exchanges and used foreign ships to acquire prestige items of Pacific origin, from fine tapa cloth or carvings to red bird...
feathers, whales' teeth or stone currency. They also sold such "curios" to foreigners.

Adaptations

Islanders gradually became more dependent, however, on foreign imports, whether tobacco, glass bottles, fishhooks, hatchets or firearms. By 1839, Hawaiians imported four times as much as they exported, Maoris had become "enslaved by wants which were unfelt by their ancestors," and Tahitians found that "foreign commodities . . . by indulgence, have become essential to their comfort." They quickly learned to amuse ship crews by diving for nails, pins, buttons, coins, tobacco, or bits of iron hoop, using the trick that such items usually zig-zagged through the water more slowly than a man could swim. They also worked as commercial divers to repair ship hulls, untangle cables or retrieve lost anchors and pulleys. Islanders served as pilots and interpreters, hauled ships into port, worked the docks and learned shipbuilding and maintenance skills, particularly in Hawaii and the Society Islands.

The detailed information collected by scientific explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries enticed increasing numbers of Euroamerican traders into the Pacific. Whereas the Spanish galleons had by-passed most islands, except Guam, Anglo-American shippers catered to the China market with furs from the northern Pacific rim and island products such as sandalwood or bêche-de-mer. Meanwhile, whalers, sealers and the food-deficient convict colony that Britain founded in Australia in 1788 all sought more regular, ongoing interaction with Inner Pacific islanders. These secular missionaries
of free trade were soon joined by religious evangelists, seeking souls and teaching "civilized" manual skills. Ship captains sometimes took local rulers hostage to recover stolen items or ensure the good behavior of their people. but cooperative chiefs promoted ongoing trade by protecting ships and punishing thieves. They guided ships through familiar islands or sailed as honored passengers, exchanging names with the captains and sleeping on mats in their cabins. Curious, they rang ships' bells, listened to Euroamerican music, tried using rapiers, witnessed cannon and rocket displays, studied magnets and compasses. Covetous, they wheedled gifts, strutted in foreign clothes, ate and drank to excess and began to hoard, sometimes even conceal, their new acquisitions.

Traditional chiefs might increase their power by obtaining firearms or other prestige items and, if their share of foreign-derived mana was great enough, perhaps centralize kingdoms. The ibedul (chief) of Koror (Belau) used British ship crews as allies in his local wars. Cakobau, who nearly united Fiji, could take apart a musket and reassemble it, and some Maori chiefs signed away lands or sold preserved heads to get double-barreled guns. Kamehameha I used foreign guns, beachcombers and schooners to help him unite Hawaii. Once king, he monopolized all sales of hogs, sandalwood, pearls and salt and used spies to learn what cargoes ships carried and their values. He stored his treasures in a well-guarded stone warehouse. The Pomares of Tahiti and Tongan chiefs like Finau 'Ulukalala II or Taufa'ahau Tupou I manipulated firearms and foreigners with comparable
success. Foreign trade, however, made some rulers more exploitative of their subjects, taxing them excessively or mobilizing them to export sandalwood. Pacific island seaports soon developed more mercenary mentalities than their peripheral hinterlands.

Participation by indigenous seamen in foreign shipping often correlated with the degree to which their traditional leaders interacted favorably with outside explorers, traders and missionaries. Such positive relationships, along with geography and resources, created several regional loci around which Euroamerican shipping and recruiting activities would congregate. The strategic location of Honolulu, for example, made it a favorite port of call, followed by Papeete (Tahiti) and Bay of Islands (New Zealand). Missionized Hawaiian chiefs and chiefesses dressed increasingly in European fashions and rode horses or were pushed about in four-wheeled hand-carts by servants, while leaner commoners still wore the malo (loincloth) or dirty cotton smocks and walked in the dust. Papeete was similar, but less developed. The main entertainment became going to church or laughing at the sailors let out of the calaboose every day. Grass huts around quiet bays slowly yielded to busy wharves and streets, wooden or stone houses, churches and taverns. Transient explorers and beachcombers gave way to resident foreign communities of traders, planters, missionaries and consuls.

Hawaii

One attempt at encompassing on the part of island rulers who earned new wealth from exports was their increasing replacement of inter-island canoes with western-style vessels. This changeover in
nautical technology was designed to perpetuate or expand their traditional maritime thalassocracies, which in pre-contact times had controlled the seas around their islands with double-hulled war canoes. Kamehameha of Hawaii spent the night aboard Cook's Resolution as it passed by Hana, Maui in late 1778. Oral tradition records that "The people thought Kamehameha had been taken to a foreign land [kahiki]." They wept at his loss, but he canoed back the next morning, apparently with new insight into the future. In 1794, he broke Makahiki kapu by sailing a short distance aboard George Vancouver's Discovery and persuaded British carpenters to construct him a schooner with cannons, the Beretane. Kamehameha carefully studied foreign ship designs and equipment and built or acquired schooners until he had forty by 1811. He maintained them well, crewed them with Hawaiians instructed by beachcombers and used them for conquest and collecting tribute. In order to train a pool of capable seamen, Kamehameha encouraged Hawaiians to sail aboard the foreign ships going between America and China. Archibald Campbell, his sailmaker, concurred with other foreigners when he said of these Hawaiian trainees, "In a short time they become useful hands." The new shipping, both local and foreign, provided an acculturative medium between Hawaiians and the outside world.

After Hawaiian unification in 1810, the former war fleet served mainly as commercial and passenger carriers or royal pleasure craft. A typical inter-island coaster in 1821 carried, besides livestock and baggage, nearly five hundred people, "occupying the hold, the steerage, the cabin, the deck, the rigging and the tops." Native Hawaiian
captains, supercargoes and sailors operated this "mosquito fleet," which provided employment to an increasing number of local men. Hawaiian crews managed dangerous surf with enthusiasm, dexterity and discipline; one second mate named Kauhane was acquitted in court after knocking out a recalcitrant boatman's eye. They also began playing ukeleles and singing for hula dancers, to earn tips from appreciative travelers. Local passengers took along dried fish and poi and regarded a slow trip as getting more for their money. Some captains were colorful, such as "Admiral" John Hall, "a native of uncommonly good nature" who enjoyed telling about the Royal Hawaiian Navy court-martial that had stripped him of his epaulets and banished him to a long career in the inter-island service. Hawaiian Captain Antonio sailed the royal clipper Kamehameha III and later the packet Excel between islands, and Rikeke the John Young. Although rated "one of the best inter-island pilots we have . . . very prompt," Antonio once drank too much and lost his way between Kauai and Oahu; a whaler rescued his hungry ship northeast of Maui.

Ancient navigation techniques declined as foreign vessels prevailed. Hawaiian sailors sometimes fell asleep at the helm, causing more than one wreck, but as a visitor admitted, "they manage in their own way [and] are fearless on the water." Laws between 1846 and 1866 required proper registration, instruments, certification for captains, annual inspections, emergency food and water supplies, and a limit on passengers. Even after the introduction of steamers in the 1850s, inexpensive and maneuverable Hawaiian cargo schooners continued to sail between the islands. The hard-working steamer
Kilauea connected the islands with ten-day circuits for two decades and inspired a chant:

Beloved ship, sea-roving steed ...  
Now Kilauea's prow heads into the wind,  
smoke breaks from stack, ripples over the sea,  
paddle wheel slowly revolves ...  
given with a King's love.

Hawaiian royalty and chiefs often bought yachts on credit, like the $80,000 Cleopatra's Barge in 1821, and celebrated their voyages between pleasure stops. Such vessels may have cost their size in sandalwood and been built of short-lived wood or wound up on a reef, but they had "showy cabins with looking glasses, sofas with red morocco cushions" for the royal "harems." Hawaii flew its royal flag over two forts at Honolulu, one at the harbor entrance with four to six dozen assorted cannon and one atop Punchbowl Hill, while Lahaina had more modest defenses. Unpleasant experiences with foreign warships, however, and creeping disrepair, rendered the defensive utility of any of them suspect. The navy itself also declined over time, and several of its best brigs were pirated away by Spanish, British or French warships. After examining an up-to-date Russian ship in 1824, Admiral Kalanimoku lamented the passing of Kamehameha the Great, "thou wast taken from us too soon!"

Yet Hawaiian rulers cast their vision across the Pacific more than once. Kamehameha dreamed of conquering Tahiti and once proposed to Pomare I that they each marry a daughter to each other's heir. He sent his own sandalwood shipments to China, in ships half-manned by Hawaiians, but Canton charged him such ruinous fees that he instituted port dues at Honolulu. Kaumualii of Kauai sent
an ambassador to the Society Islands and planned an expedition to Tahiti until Liholiho kidnapped him. Liholiho himself corresponded with Society Island chiefs and sent his own brigs, manned by Hawaiians, to Kamchatka and Northwest America with salt for the Russian fur trade. Although his ships were received cordially by Russian officials, the main rewards they brought back were exotic gifts of deer and bears. High chief Boki opened a trading post in Tahiti and in 1829 led an ill-fated sandalwood expedition to Vanuatu that planned to annex "Certain Islands in the South Seas which are now in an Uncultivated State." Hawaiians also tried but failed to wrest Wallis Island (Uvea) from its local chiefs in 1832. Kings and chiefs of Hawaii attempted to import South Sea Islanders as laborers, and as replacements for a dying population. In 1887, as Euroamerican colonial powers were scrambling to annex the last independent Pacific islands, King Kalakaua sent the Kaimiloa to negotiate unification with Samoa, but German warships made the voyage an embarrassing failure.

Tahiti

Tahiti, because of its familiarity and hospitality, remained a locus of Euroamerican shipping and, consequently, of innovative chiefly ambitions. Pomare I asked at least three times to be taken to England to meet King George but was refused. Like Kamehameha, he familiarized himself with foreign shipping and used firearms to expand his authority. He died just before he and Kamehameha could carry out a plan to marry their daughters to each other's eldest sons. In 1797, the London Missionary Society (LMS) ship Duff left an arsenal on Tahiti. With the help of missionary carpentry and
connections, Society Islands chiefs gradually acquired western-style vessels for conquest or trade. As if to dramatize the technological changeover, a Moorean chief enthusiastically welcomed the Duff and rewarded the missionary who built him a schooner with a double-hulled canoe. Family ties and Tahitian Christian teachers helped Pomare II extend his paramountcy over the Leeward Societies, the Tuamotus and Australs, but he also used personal diplomacy in a bid to monopolize exports of pork, pearls or sandalwood. Sailing to "convert" Raivavae in 1819, he wrote: "We went forth and neared the Southern parts . . . carrying guns." His drive for power even clashed at times with his missionary advisors. He told one of his ship captains: "You are to seek out Polynesians in Port Jackson [Australia] . . . we will not sell pigs to those preachers . . ." In 1826, his queen unleashed loyal "buccaneers" from Anaa to seize unlicensed (i.e., untaxed) pearling ships in the Tuamotus.

Papeete became second only to Honolulu as a port of call. The missionized monarchy flew the royal flag over a small fort, enforced written laws, collected port dues from whalers and sold provisions, pearls, arrow-root, sugar and coconut oil. At first, Society Islanders and their nearby neighbors rode passing ships like taxis from island to island, saying "Me ship, captain; me go Tahiti," and some begged to go to Pretane. As Australian pork-buyers and Anglo-American whalers frequented their islands, curious young men began shipping out as sailors, having heard wondrous tales about England. Frederick Bennett said of them, "they speedily perform the duties of ordinary seamen with steadiness and ability." When the French
conquered the Society Islands in the 1840s, Queen Pomare IV fled to a British warship and sent out appeals for help. One, printed in a Hawaiian language mission paper in Honolulu, reads like Queen Liliuokalani's protests in 1893, when American planters, with the help of U.S. armed forces, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy.

Aotearoa (New Zealand)

After Britain founded its Australian convict colony in 1788, Sydney encompassed New Zealand within its maritime frontier, creating a third major locus of shipping activity in the Inner Pacific. Foreign vessels, particularly whalers, operated what became almost a shuttle service between New Zealand, Australia and even England. The Ngapuhi Maoris of Bay of Islands profited most from such trade contacts, by selling flax and spars for firearms to use against their neighbors in wars. After the massacre of the whaleship Boyd at Whangaroa in 1809, however, foreign shippers tended to avoid New Zealand until Australian-based missionary Samuel Marsden reopened contact with the Bay of Islands. He believed that Australian convicts deserved flogging and that Aborigines were "the most degraded of the human race," but that Maoris were "noble and intelligent." After meeting several Maori chiefs at his Parramatta farm, he defended them against their heathen cannibal stereotype: "Their minds appeared like a rich soil that had never been cultivated ..." Beginning with the voyages of his mission ship Active in 1814, he began to rotate young Maori chiefs between New Zealand and Parramatta:
Many solicited to go with me to Port Jackson, whom I was obliged to refuse, partly because we had room and partly on account of the heavy expense of maintaining them on their passage to and from New Zealand and while the vessel lay at Port Jackson. I told them I would at all times permit a few to have a passage, but that should be in turns, which satisfied them. 281

By 1819, he could write: "Two are learning to make bricks, 1 rail-making, another in the blacksmith shop, and the others will be employed ... in some useful work." Marsden wanted not only to teach them manual skills and Christianity but also to create unity among the divisive Maori: "By the sons of chiefs living together in civil life, and all paid equal attention to, they will form attachments that will destroy the jealousy which has kept their tribes in continual war." 282

Maoris remained disunited, but they gradually incorporated foreign nautical technology into their own ambitions. 283 In 1810, Chief Tara of Bay of Islands received a small, flat-bottomed boat and several gallons of whale oil as a reward for testifying (falsely) against the perpetrators of the Boyd massacre to vengeful whalers. 284 Chief Hongi Hika bought a ship's longboat for warfare in 1823, 285 and by 1838 chiefs regarded whaleboats or skiffs, bought with potatoes, as more "civilized" transport than elaborately-carved war canoes. 286 After British annexation in 1840, Maori acquisition of western-style vessels accelerated until they operated forty-five cutters and schooners by 1847. 287 The "mosquito fleet" of small, coastal sailing ships relied upon Maori recruits. 288 One observer commented, "They adapt themselves readily to European navigation and boating ... and in Cook's Straits many boats are manned by them alone." 289 Whaleships like the Governor
and the _Chance_ were Maori-operated and competed effectively with foreign vessels,²⁹⁰ as did Maori schooners trading for sandalwood, tortoise shell and béche-de-mer as far as Wallis Island.²⁹¹ Maori boat crews donned foreign sailors' clothes, and those who worked in the bay whaling stations struck visitors as just as competent and more respectable than many of their white colleagues, whom Maori wives had to tame. Maoris boiled blubber in the try-works, sailed aboard whale-ships for payment in slops (clothing, etc.) and sold whales they caught on their own.²⁹² Although bay whaling drastically depleted right whale calves and breeding cows,²⁹³ local Maoris continued to hunt with either wooden or explosive harpoons into the twentieth century.²⁹⁴

**Other Loci**

Guam, which became the first foreign base in the Inner Pacific in 1668, was never for Spain a fourth shipping locus to balance Hawaii, Tahiti and Sydney-New Zealand. Spanish conquest and conversion, combined with introduced diseases, wrought near-fatal impact on the indigenous Chamorros of the Marianas.²⁹⁵ Despite strategic dreams of denying other powers access to Micronesia, the resource-poor and nearly depopulated colony could barely defend itself. Corrupt governors, ill-disciplined Mexican and Filipino garrisons and declining Chamorro numbers made it a financial burden on Spain. By the eighteenth century, Manila-Mexico galleons began by-passing Guam, which eventually lost even its regular shipping ties with Manila.²⁹⁶ After a confrontation with rival trade ships at Nootka in 1790 failed to preserve Spain's old papal monopoly over its pan-Pacific "lake," the Manila-Mexico galleons ceased altogether.²⁹⁷ In 1689, a pro-Spanish Chamorro,
Dom Alonse Soon, had tried to reconnoiter the Carolines but failed. Nor did quasi-Christianized castaways help Spain to secure southern bases. Indeed, the bloody Spanish conquest of Guam had frightened away Carolinians, according to their own testimony, until Luito of Lamotrek used ancient navigational chants to reopen the trade route for iron in 1788. His death temporarily halted the new voyages until the Spanish Governor, Don Luis de Torres, visited Woleai in 1804. Torres persuaded the Carolinian canoers to make their Guam journeys an annual event and allowed them to settle on Guam and Saipan. But when American fur traders tried to put Hawaiian colonists on Agrihan to grow provisions, the administration removed them to Guam. One indication of the lack of maritime dynamism in Guam was that the Spaniards tried to compensate for the demise of local canoe-building by buying Carolinian sailing craft.

Other island groups in the Inner Pacific entered the Euroamerican shipping frontier rather later than those loci already discussed. Melanesians, darker-skinned and often hostile toward outsiders, were contacted only briefly by gold-seeking Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even supposedly "enlightened" explorers, like Bougainville and Cook, disdained the physical appearance of Melanesians and exempted them from "noble savage" status. Their cultural diversity (over one thousand languages, one-fourth of the world total), political atomization, war-like reputation and malarial mosquitoes long discouraged regular foreign contact. In 1841, however, high prices in China and a reported trove in New Caledonia set off a Euroamerican sandalwood rush, which heralded the integration of this
most ancient Inner Pacific region into world trade. Ambitious indigenous leaders like the Naisselines of Mare nurtured the new maritime interaction, and increasing numbers of Melanesians sold sandalwood or participated in cutting parties as guides and carriers.

The traditional exchange nexus of Fiji-Tonga-Samoa had always produced travelers, whose lively intercourse relied on indigenous sailing craft long after Euroamerican contact. As late as 1855, a fleet of Tongan war canoes came to the aid of Fiji's Cakobau in the battle of Kaba. Fiji attracted sandalwooders, bêche-de-mer traders and even a handful of foreign residents, but its hazardous power struggles and reputation for cannibalism alienated some shippers. Samoa was relatively neglected by most shipping until the plantation boom of the 1860s, while Tonga, just off the main trade and whaling routes, prevented even planters from gaining a foothold.

The nineteenth-century world economy, stimulated by the China trade and later by cotton speculation during the American civil war, generated denser, more systematic Pacific migrations than ever before. It would intensify, for example, the historical dialectic between Melanesia and Central Polynesia. In ancient times, as we have seen, migrants from Southeast Asia had voyaged eastward through Melanesia, while some Polynesian canoers, intentionally or otherwise, followed the winds back to Melanesian beaches. Anglo-Australian entrepreneurs began transporting Tongan and Rotuman crews to cut sandalwood in Vanuatu as early as the 1820s, and later took Melanesian laborers to plantations in Fiji, Samoa and Tahiti. Meanwhile, from the 1840s on, protestant missionaries sent hundreds of Polynesian converts into
Eventually, thousands of Asian plantation laborers began arriving in the Inner Pacific. Many Melanesian laborers traveled as far as Australia, and some Micronesians worked in Hawaii, which in turn sent missionaries to Micronesia and to the Marquesas. By the 1830s, the Kiribati and Tuvalu archipelagoes were providing food, women and crewmen to whalers, who circulated seasonally between the northern Pacific grounds and the Line (equator). Even Rotumans abandoned their old sailing canoes, bought Australian-made whaleboats as status symbols and eagerly enlisted as sailors, divers and plantation laborers.

J. W. Davidson once likened the various categories of Euroamericans entering the Pacific to overlapping waves washing up on the beach, much as Frederick Jackson Turner described the fur-trappers, miners, cattlemen and farmers who pioneered the American west as successive, jostling waves. But the ocean, like the prairie, is neutral, and waves can carry drifters both ways. The world economy needed not only Pacific products but local labor, both on shore and aboard ship. Once wrenched from their regional semi-isolation by outside forces, indigenous islanders tried to encompass foreign technologies and ideas. At different paces and times, they relied on the same pragmatism that had enabled their ancestors to survive on new beaches as they migrated across the largest ocean on earth. Canoers tested foreign ships, women seduced their lonely crews, salesmen bartered local products for tools and vanities, chiefs bought firearms and built schooners, seaports and production became increasingly westernized, churches replaced heiau. Alien diseases ravaged island populations, but ship
crews too needed replenishing so far from home. Given their escalating interaction with Euroamerican shipping, it would be surprising if islanders had not begun to sail as pilots, divers, deck hands or princely diplomats. The long continuum of exploratory, adaptive contact among Inner Pacific peoples enabled some of them to reawaken their own migratory dynamic and embark on new sea lanes like opportunistic entrepreneurs. By 1820, even Hawaiian children drew foreign vessels very accurately in the sand\textsuperscript{329} and played with carefully-crafted ship models in ponds.\textsuperscript{330}
Chapter II--Notes

1. Spate (1979) 47.
7. Murra (1980) 140-41; and Markham (1872) 14-19.
8. Markham (1907) 135-36.
11. Plummer (1985); Spate (1979) 3; Bennett (1840) 242; Delano (1817) 400-403; Dibble (1909) 6-7.
21. See, for example, Firth (1961) and Guiart (1963).
27. C. Moore (1986) 47.
31. Markham (1904) 16.
34. Beaglehole (1968) Cook I: 70, 409; Delano (1817) 79-80; Dening (1974) 180-81, 266-67; Shineberg (1971a) 305; Tetens (1958) 76.
35. Markham (1904) 14: pp. 16-26.
41. Malo (1951) 135.
44. Smith (1910) 10; Shineberg (1971a) 55.
47. Markham (1904) 137-56.
52. Ibid. 267.
55. Quoted in Davidson (1975) 40.
64. Ibid. 577, quoting the journal of Lieutenant James King.
65. Bougainville (1772) 258; Webster (1863) 107.
67. Lutke (1835) II: 25.
69. Marra (1775) 45.


76. Markham (1904) 25-29.


78. Bougainville (1772) 213-17; Marra (1775) 43; Mortimer (1791) 23.


82. Carrington (1948) 166; See also Pearson (1969).

83. Bougainville (1772) 218.


88. Beaglehole (1967) Cook III, Part 2: 1225; Sahlins (1985) argues that this gesture represented an effort by commoner women to bypass the power of the chiefs in order to acquire status for their children, who they believed were the offspring of "gods." See pp. 5-8. It might simply have indicated that the women wanted their children to become seafarers like their fathers. See Handy and Pukui (1972) 78.

89. La Pérouse (1799) 129.


93. Hooper (1975) 68; Turnbull (1805) I: 191-96; Cruise (1823) 187; Beechey (1831) I: 45-46.


96. Markham (1904) 14: 16-17; Arago (1823) II: 77.

97. Mortimer (1791) 47.


102. Shineberg (1971a) 305.

103. Pigeard (1847) 306-7; Erskine (1967) 364.


105. Log Chili, 7/1856.

106. Marra (1775) 102; Rickman (1781) 50-51.


108. Beaglehole (1969) Cook II: 236; Turnbull (1805) III: 152-53; Bennett (1840) 315; Mortimer (1791) 44; Cruise (1823) 120-21; Hooper (1975) 68.


112. Cruise (1823) 120-21.


118. Beaglehole (1968) Cook I: 128; Mortimer (1791) 44; Turnbull (1805) III: 90; Snow (1925) 311; Cruise (1823) 152-53; Cartwright (1798) 6.


120. Cruise (1823) 103.


122. Cruise (1823) 173.


124. Snow (1925) 123.

125. Log Ann Alexander 1/30/1848.

126. Pèron (1824) II: 157; Log Chili 7/1856.

127. Wilson (1968) 136-37; Jarves (1843) 263-65; Varigny (1981) 44-45; Dibble (1909) 109, 190-95; Bingham (1849) 275-319; Kotzebue (1830) II: 149, 196-97; Beechey (1831) II: 290; Gough (1973) 126; Bennett (1840) 107-9; Wilkes (1845) III: 39.

128. Cox (1957) 42.

129. Hooper (1975) 68.

130. Debenham (1945) II: 263; Bennett (1840) 126, 142.

131. Smith (1967) 139-40; Beechey (1831) II: 114.


137. Langsdorff (1813) I: 95.
140. Rickman (1781) 59-74.
141. Bligh (1792) 162.
142. Rutter (1935) 123.
144. Mortimer (1791) 48; Rickman (1781) 158.
145. Cruise (1823) 61, 142-43, 165-79.
147. Tetens (1958) 11-26; Riesenberg (1972) 113-18, 200-203.
150. Snow (1925) 173.
151. Turnbull (1805) I: 191-6; Dillon (1829) I: 24-31; Wakefield (1845) I: 30-49, 74.
152. Cruise (1823) 178.
155. Marra (1775) 18, 102.
161. Im Thurn (1925) 72-73.
162. Cruise (1823) 143-44.
163. Varigny (1981) 44-45; Dibble (1909) 109; Anderson (1864) 269-78; Ellis (1969) 35-36; Olmstead (1844) 194, 260-62; Wilson (1922) 12; Munger (1852) 70; Judd (1928) 188-89; Bennett (1840) 148; Wilkes (1845) I: 15, II: 49, IV: 62; for the most recent, and controversial estimate of Hawaiian depopulation, see Stannard (1989).
164. Debenham (1945) II: 261; Kotzebue (1830) II: 147-48; Langsdorff (1813) I: 92.
165. Bougainville (1772) 213; Chamisso (1986) 299-300; Shineberg (1971a) 199-203; Dibble (1909) 29-30; McNab (1908) I: 417-21; Fanning (1833) 173; Beechey (1831) I: 271; Kotzebue (1830) II: 284.
166. Such fresh provisions were essential to avoid scurvy on the long voyages to the Pacific. See Rutter (1935) 28.
167. Snow (1925) 170.
168. Péron (1824) II: 148; Smith (1967) 85; Wilson (1922) 6; Morrell (1832) 371.
169. Carrington (1948) 148; Péron (1824) II: 150-51; Fanning (1833) 169-72.
170. Wilkes (1845) II: 4; Straubel (1954) 17.
171. Franchere (1969) 59; Morrell (1832) 213, 371; Savage (1807) 3; Dibble (1909) 146.
174. Corney (1915) II: 127.
175. Beechey (1831) I: 274.
177. Jarman (1838) 117-18; Simpson (1847) I: 267; Turnbull (1805) II: 23-24; Walpole (1849) II: 236.
179. Cartwright (1798) 20; Wilkes (1845) IV: 191.
180. Wilkes (1845) III: 170; Shineberg (1971a) 119; Im Thurn (1925) 145.


182. Lutke (1835) II: 40-65.


184. Log Avola 6/17/1872. This term is still used today. In Singapore, for example, ships are surrounded by "bum-boats" filled with prostitutes and salesmen, who board vessels using grappling hooks and ropes. They swarm over the ship and set up shop in every passageway.


186. Fanning (1833) 126, 147.

187. Im Thurn (1925) 75.

188. Bougainville (1772) 214; Beaglehole (1969) Cook II: 270; Beechey (1831) I: 271; Mortimer (1791) 50; Nicholas (1971) II: 159; Kotzebue (1830) II: 273-84; Bennett (1840) 313-14.


190. Smith (1967) 144; Beechey (1831) I: 272.


197. Beechey (1831) I: 307-8; see also Martin (1978) for a similar transformation among Native Americans.
198. Carrington (1948) 147; Cartwright (1798) 29; Ross (1849) 44; Ferguson (1979) 6; Log California 3/24/1850, Kotz (1830) II: 273-74.


200. Kotzebue (1830) II: 233; Ross (1849) 44; Meares (1790) 339-49; Turnbull (1805) II: 73-76; Gough (1973) 136-37; Franchere (1969) 59-60; Corney (1896) 8-10.


202. Olmstead (1844) 190-91; Stewart (1970a) 99; Debenham (1945) I: 258; Mortimer (1791) 31; Wilkes (1845) III: 374-75; Bennett (1840) 71, 132; Roe (1967) 284; Morrell (1832) 373.


206. Beaglehole (1969) Cook II: 389; Mortimer (1791) 45; Turnbull (1805) II: 18; Delano (1817) 387; Wilson (1922) 34; Fanning (1833) 169; Shineberg (1971a) 97-102.


214. Kotzebue (1830) II: 187-88; Garner (1966) 72; Ross (1849) 43.

215. Fanning (1833) 165.

217. Kotzebue (1821) II: 48; Bingham (1849) 50; Gough (1973) III; Oliver (1988) 133, 155; Ross (1849) 39.

218. The role of foreign firearms in island state-building is somewhat controversial. Compare, for example, Howe (1974) and Shineberg (1971b) with Thomas (1986).


221. Wakefield (1845) I: 129-32; Elder (1932) 152; Wilkes (1845) II: 339.

222. Meares (1790) 352-56; Mortimer (1791) 53; Roe (1967) 135-36; Turnbull (1805) II: 53, 64; Holt (1979) 92; Stewart (1970a) 28; Péron (1824) II: 148; Bingham (1849) 44-47; Delano (1817) 399.

223. Franchere (1969) 61-64; Ross (1849) 35-39; Smith (1967) 115; Mortimer (1791) 163; Dibble (1909) 60; Turnbull (1805) II: 13-17; Golovnin (1979) 182-83, 203.


225. Bennett (1840) 210; Franchere (1969) 68; Ellis (1969) 129-31; Stewart (1970a) 102-115, 130-31, 151-52; (1970b) II: 204; Anderson (1864) 250-51; Dibble (1909) 74-76; Wilson (1922) 31; Golovnin (1979) 208; Kotzebue (1821) II: 200; Wilkes (1845) IV: 38; Ralston (1984). David Malo claims that few Hawaiian chiefs treated their people well even in pre-contact times, causing many bloody revolts. See (1951) 58, 61.


227. Langsdorff (1813) I: 186; Stackpole (1953) 316; Chamisso (1886) 308; Cox (1957) 42-43; Delano (1817) 399; Olmstead (1844) 262, 277; Stewart (1970b) II: 214; Anderson (1869) 252-53; Bennett (1840) 71-72; Simpson (1847) I: 162-63, II: 50-52; Turnbull (1805) I: 133.


234. Bingham (1849) 44-52; Beechey (1831) II: 90-98.


236. Kotzebue (1830) II: 193.

237. Simpson (1847) II: 18.


239. Ellis (1979) 298.

240. Farrell (1928) 216-19, 231-32; Gilman (1894) 87.

241. Thrum (1889) 73-74; Gilman (1894) 86.

242. Thrum (1889) 72; Judd (1928) 138; Pacific Commercial Advertiser 7/2/1857, 4/1/1858, 1/1/1871.


245. Anderson (1869) 127; Kemble (1945); Pacific Commercial Advertiser, 4/17/1862; Ke Au O'kooa, 1/22/66.


247. Gilman (1894) 85.

248. Wilson (1922) 19-20; Bingham (1849) 126; King (1971) 199; Ross (1849) 39; Beechey (1831) II: 115-116; Olmstead (1844) 209.

250. Dibble (1909) 61; Kotzebue (1830) II: 221-28; Simpson (1847) II: 18; Thrum (1889) 70-71.

251. Kotzebue (1830) II: 228.


253. Ellis (1979) 54.

254. Corney (1896) 71; Dibble (1909) 61; Golovnin (1979) 192-95; Kotzebue (1821) I: 324, 353; Stewart (1970a) 131-32.

255. Turnbull (1805) II: 40-43; Bingham (1849) 134-40.

256. Bingham (1849) 171.

257. Wilson (1922) 38-39; Cochrane (1824) 263.


263. Mortimer (1791) 28; Edwards (1915) 32.


265. Ellis (1979) 54.

266. Wilson (1968) 224.


273. Bennett (1840) 67-73; Ferguson (1979) 5; Olmstead (1844) 276.


278. Sinclair (1985) 33-34.


281. Ibid., 125.


289. Dieffenbach (1843) II: 108.


291. Jarman (1838) 149.


293. Dieffenbach (1843) I: 52-54.


298. Le Gobien (1700) 272-73, 377.
302. See Markham (1904) and Stevens (1930).
304. Shineberg (1967).
305. Howe (1978) and (1979a).
307. Wilkes (1845) III: 40, 54-55.
309. Im Thurn (1925).
312. Wilkes (1845) III: 316.
318. See, for example, Tinker (1974) and Lal (1983), who interpret
this immigration somewhat differently.
322. N. Morris (1979) and (1987).
324. Wood (1875) 15.
325. Goodenough (1876) 317.
327. Davidson (1942) 313.
330. Kotzebue (1830) II: 220.
Despite their voyaging heritage, the earliest Pacific islanders who sailed on foreign ships were "blackbirded" (kidnapped) by transient conquistadores or freebooters. After 1767, the fascination by Enlightenment thinkers with "noble savages" and the need for ongoing trade relations encouraged more careful study of indigenous customs and languages. Soon voluntary travel outweighed coercive "black-birding," and the process of recruitment became more systematic. In fact, foreign ships came to depend on having kanakas in their crews as long as they were in the Pacific, whether as diplomats, deck hands, divers, boat-handlers or harpooners.

Some island societies developed a "shipping out" ethic, so enamored were they with overseas adventures and pay. Ambitious chiefs sent out young men on intelligence and training missions, or themselves traveled to foreign lands. Wahine followed their husbands and lovers, sometimes involuntarily. Missionaries transported converts around like advertisements, and "noble savages" tested Euroamerican suppositions. Interpreters and pilots guided strangers through their world, while islander sailors provided labor. Above all, indigenous voyagers needed to earn acceptance in the foreign shipboard limen if they were to experience its possibilities.
Conquistadores

The periplean frontier opened sadly in the Pacific. In 1526, five years after Magellan's first visit to Guam, the Chamorros experienced their second Spanish expedition. The Victoria, en route to attempt to seize the Spice Islands, picked up a deserter from Magellan's crew, Gonzalo de Vigo, the first Euroamerican beachcomber in the Pacific islands. In addition, according to Andres de Urdaneta's laconic account, "we took eleven natives to work at the pumps, because there were many sick on board." These Chamorros, apparently abducted after being lured aboard the ship to trade, made it at least to Mindanao in the Philippines. The hostility of the Filipinos prevented the Spaniards from provisioning, however, so some of the captives from Guam, if they survived the illnesses that were killing many of the Spanish crew and commanders, may have found themselves embroiled in the war between the Spaniards and the Portuguese in the Moluccas.¹

As sparse as the information about this first journey is--one phrase in a journal--it suggests patterns about islanders aboard Euroamerican ships. First, such ships depended not only on provisions of fresh food and water from the islands they passed in the vast Pacific, but also on islander labor when illness or desertion depleted crews so far from their home bases. The 1526 "blackbirding" was somewhat surprising, because the beachcomber Vigo, who was able to serve as a translator during the eleven days the Spaniards took on provisions at Guam,² could theoretically have persuaded the "Chamorro eleven" to volunteer their services. Perhaps the memory of their
bloody conflict with Magellan made the Chamorros distrust the Spaniards. Or perhaps the scurvy-ridden Spanish crew was too desperate to risk a refusal to keep their leaky ship afloat. The fact that the Chamorro pumpers are mentioned only once, and not by name, is also indicative of their status aboard such foreign ships. Their fate, like their identities, was not considered worthy of record by their abductors. Yet they were obviously needed, as many more would be.

This rather exploitative treatment by Spanish conquistadores is certainly consistent with the "conquest culture" they had transferred from their long wars against the Moors to their new empires in the Americas. Yet the Spaniards, and also the Portuguese, were capable of more tolerant, "enlightened" remarks about Pacific islanders. Antonio Pigafetta, Magellan's chronicler, said of the Chamorros, "Each of them lives according to his own wishes, having no king ... They are of our stature, and are well-informed ... From the signs that they made, these thieves thought that there were no other people in the world besides themselves." Pigafetta also admired their outrigger canoes, which he said "can sail in either direction, without having to be turned about," and "are like dolphins, leaping from wave to wave." Portuguese visitors to Ulithi in the Carolines in 1525 had the impression that "Both men and women were quite pleasant in appearance ... without any malice, fear, or cautiousness ... they were amidst the simplicity of the First Age." These comments are hardly less romantic than those of George Forster 250 years later, who found in Tahitians "the excellence of the human heart, in its simple state." Over-all, however, the Spaniards seemed to regard
Pacific islanders, like the ocean itself, as secondary to their imperial, mercantile crusades. Moreover, unlike their conquistadoring in the Americas or Manila, the Spaniards failed to find what they wanted (e.g., Solomon's legendary gold mines) in the Inner Pacific, or even to make a lasting impression outside the Marianas.

Blackbirding

The battle between the Spaniards and the Portuguese over Moluccan cloves led indirectly to the first attempt to enlist an islander as cross-cultural mediator. In 1528, the hard-pressed Spanish contingent at Tidore sent Alvaro de Sayavedra back to Mexico for reinforcements, but he spent a month waiting for favorable winds off the northwest coast of New Guinea. After "black, ugly and naked" people shot arrows at his men from canoes, he "captured three natives, bringing them on board." Two jumped into the sea, but the third traveled with Sayavedra (who never made it back to Mexico) to Guam, Mindanao, the embattled Moluccas, and home again on May 3, 1529:

We landed him on the same island whence we had taken him. He had become a Christian and had acquired our language. He had been taught that he might tell the natives what people we were, and that if they would bring us provisions we would pay for them. That we might not have to get the boat out, and as he was ready to swim, the Captain let him swim of his own accord. But the natives of the island killed him in the water, and he cried out to us, but nevertheless they killed him. So we made sail...9

What went through the mind of this quasi-Latinized New Guinean as he stood in the shallows of his own land, unrecognized and unwelcome after a year's absence? Was he perhaps killed in revenge for his own kidnapping? Had he landed on the wrong beach, or perhaps entered a
changed polity? We only know that his new mentors offered him no assistance on his lonely mission, so his adventures and explanations never reached the ears of his people. It was a clumsy, tragic homecoming, the only attempt of its kind in the Spanish records until the early eighteenth century.

The kidnapping continued in 1565, when some Carolinian canoers off Sorol were tempted by a red jacket dropped by vengeful Spaniards as bait: "As the canoe came past the side of the ship one of the soldiers leaned over, grabbed a youth in the canoe by the hair, and yanked him over the low side of the ship by main force onto the deck. . . ." The captured boy lost his long locks after a haircut, his nakedness after a gift of shirt and trousers, and his name after being rechristened Vincent, "because his capture took place on Saint Vincent's Day." The Spanish, who had already fought with islanders at Chuuk, drove Vincent's comrades from their canoes with musket and cannon fire and burned their abandoned craft as firewood. The unlucky initiate apparently was a witness to Legazpi's annexation of the Philippines later that year. His new Christian name, commemorating his conscription into foreign service, and his altered physical appearance were typical of the identity changes which the limen would inflict on many islanders. Vincent's captor, the renegade pilot Lope Martin, seems to have had no other motive than malicious trophy-hunting.

In 1606, four Santa Cruz islanders found themselves seized and bound by Spaniards in their own chief's hut. Chief Tumai of Taumaco had befriended Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, leader of the third Spanish quest for King Solomon's mines. The Spanish visitors diverted Tumai's
attention, and by the time he heard the captives crying out to him, it was too late for him to help. Three of the prisoners escaped by jumping into the sea, despite incomprehensible entreaties from the Spaniards about divine grace and/or material luxuries. One escapee, "with great effrontery . . . took off a shirt he had on" and swam to the distant shore. Quiros gave the remaining islander his own name. Pedro later explained that he had actually been a captive of Tumai and therefore chose to cast his fate with the Spaniards. He dutifully attended masses with his namesake "liberator" and, according to Quiros, "went about dressed in silk with a cross on his breast, and bow and arrows, so astonished and pleased at all he saw, and at his cross, that he looked about and showed it, putting his hand on it, and named it many times." Quiros clearly believed he was rescuing such captives from heathenism, arguing that "the cross elevated the mind, even of a barbarian who did not know its significance." He also wanted intermediaries for dealing with other islanders, even if he had to use force at first, because his was a mission of colonization. Indeed, he had once lamented the violence between Spaniards and Marquesans in 1595 when he had been chief pilot for Alvaro de Mendaña: "we did not understand them; and to this may be attributed the evil things that happened, which might have been avoided if there had been some one to make us understand each other." At Gaua in Vanuatu, he captured two more men and had them padlocked to prevent their escaping. One, a man of rank, was fearless and asked many questions. He was "put in the stocks, but on a bed where he could sleep." The second
prisoner jumped overboard and swam about in the dark. For four hours, the swimmer and the chief imprisoned in bed cried out to each other in such doleful tones that it caused grief to all." Finally the swimmer was rescued, released from the heavy padlock and chain on his foot, fed and wined and put into the stocks for the night like his friend: "There both remained all night, talking sadly and in confusion." The next day they endured the now-familiar ritual of having their hair and beards cut, their finger- and toe-nails trimmed "with scissors, the uses of which they admired," and their bodies clothed in colorful silks and plumed hats. Like cross-cultural actors on the liminal deck, they also received gifts of knives, and mirrors "into which they looked with caution." They earned their freedom by helping the Spanish obtain provisions ashore, dressed in "coloured taffeta."17

At Santo, Quiros established a doomed colony called New Jerusalem, attacked a village and captured three boys, the oldest of whom was seven years old. He claimed that saving the souls of the three boys was "predestined" and planned to "send them back clothed and kindly treated."18 He used them as decoys to obtain provisions but refused to listen to their begging—and that of their fathers—to free them. In Spanish, Quiros scolded one uncomprehending boy christened Pablo: "Silence, child! You know not what you ask. Greater good awaits you than the sight and the communion with heathen parents and friends."19 On Santo, loyal Pedro accompanied the Spanish on forays: "He took his bow and arrows to fight against the blacks of this bay who seemed to be enemies of his, because although left at large, he never once wanted to go with them. He had a good disposition ..." The local
people, because they opposed the Spanish intrusion and kidnapping of
their children, were characterized as untrustworthy and "vile."20

Although Quiros failed to find Solomon's gold or create a viable
Spanish colony on Santo, he took both Pablo and Pedro to Mexico,
regarding them as "small fruit" for his labors. Pablo apparently out­
lived his two younger countrymen en route to Acapulco but died at age
eight on Ascension Day in 1607. Quiros mourned the loss of his "very
beautiful eyes, very good form of body" and "docile and pleasant"
temperament. Pedro, a weaver and archer with a wife and son at home,
was really named Luca. He tried so hard to speak Spanish that "he
was sometimes angry, and at other times with the utmost strenuousness
laboured to make himself understood . . ." Pedro gesticulated about
the different peoples and islands within three to five days' sail from
his home and claimed "with great action and ecstasy" that his islands
had abundant pearls. About twenty-five years of age, Pedro "showed
a great desire to return to his country, to tell the Lord of Taumaco
all the good we had done to him . . . and to bring his son, and come
and live with us." Both "Indians" (as the Spanish called them,
compounding their liminality) knew their prayers, participated
obediently in religious ceremonies and died within a year of their
arrival on the Outer Pacific coast. Ironically, Pablo had witnessed
the burial at sea of an aged Catholic priest en route to Mexico and
been puzzled when the corpse was tossed into the Pacific with weights
around its feet. Wondering aloud how the good father could get to
heaven that way, Pablo had been told that only the soul went to heaven,
not the body, but "he remained doubtful."21
The "blackbirding" continued when Luis Vaez de Torres left the increasingly irrational Quiros in mid-1606 and made for the Philippines by way of southern New Guinea. Two New Guinean "Indians" ventured out to the ship in a canoe, only to be captured and ransomed for "a fine big pig." After a bloody battle with other New Guineans, Don Diego de Prado y Tovar was moved by the "many dead children they were carrying in their arms." He rescued "a girl of about fourteen years with the most lovely face and eyes that could be imagined" from sailors who began to fight over her, but for "the honour and glory of God" he selected fourteen boys and girls from six to ten years of age who were later baptised and taught their prayers in Manila. At another island, the Spaniards took three young women "for the service of the crew of the ship," one of whom later gave birth on a gun-carriage. Her baby died in Manila, but the mother lived and "learned to speak." For good measure, they also seized six men in a canoe and selected for abduction "a fine big youth, who after he learned to speak told us in Manila how in that country there were plenty of brilliant red stones like those worn by Spaniards in their finger-rings ..." 

"Learning to speak" across the limen was, so far, a rather one-sided process. It required learning the kidnapper's language and adopting his customs. The Spanish accounts admit quite frankly that the islanders aboard their ships were prisoners and praise them only if they were docile and obedient. The islanders who reached foreign lands such as the Philippines or Mexico tried various survival techniques, from conforming to expectations to tantalizing their captors with tales of rich ransoms available in their homelands. Yet there
is no evidence any of them ever returned home alive. Islanders received new appearances, new names and categorizations, and new religious rituals. Their white masters expected them to be useful as intermediaries, informants or servants. Moreover, travel outside the Inner Pacific, which had long remained outside the Eurasian ecumene, was a serious health risk for such captives.

**Castaways**

Perhaps the most colorful tale of early islander travel comes not from the Spanish voyages, but from that of the English freebooter William Dampier. The traveler was from the Asia-Pacific frontier zone, Miangas atoll between Micronesia, the Philippines and Indonesia. Dampier first encountered the "Painted Prince" Jeoly, not on the latter's home island, but on Mindanao, where the later-famous tattooed man was a castaway slave of the local ruler's interpreter. Jeoly and his mother had been blown by a storm from Miangas to the Philippines and sold by the fishermen who saved them. Dampier crossed paths with them again in Madras, India, where he joined up with a supercargo who had bought them for sixty dollars. In Sumatra in 1690, Dampier acquired part ownership of both chattel. The Prince remembered Dampier from their first meeting on Mindanao and hoped the Englishman would not beat him to make him work as his Filipino master had. Jeoly typically insisted that Miangas abounded in gold and spices, and Dampier vowed to return them home someday, but the mother died in Sumatra. "I did what I could to comfort Jeoly," Dampier says, "but he took extremely, insomuch that I feared him also." They set out for England aboard a ship whose chief mate had bought the other share
in Jeoly from the supercargo. Dampier and the Prince arrived in London in September 1691, where the former sold his half-share in the latter. Jeoly became an itinerant carnival property and died of smallpox in Oxford. His long liminal transformation is aptly summed up by Dampier:

> In the little printed Relation that was made of him when he was shown for a Sight in England, there was a romantick Story of a beautiful Sister of his [who was] a Slave with them at Mindanao; and of the Sultan's falling in Love with her; but these were Stories indeed. They reported also that this Paint was of such Virtue, that Serpents, and venomous Creatures would flee from him, for which reason, I suppose, they represented so many Serpents scampering about in the printed Picture that was made of him. But I never knew any Paint of such Virtue: and as for Jeoly, I have seen him as much afraid of Snakes, Scorpions, or Centapees, as my self.24

Such castaways were sometimes returned to their home islands, or nearly so, in the pre-Enlightenment era. Storms often blew canoes from the Micronesian atolls northwestward to the Philippines or Guam, where Jesuits proselytized among them to train intermediaries for expeditions to the Carolines. Two such attempts are worth noting here because they suggest the ambiguity faced by islanders who recrossed the cultural beach alongside foreign intruders. In 1710, two Jesuits reached Sonsorol accompanied by Moac, a Palauan chief who had been stranded in the Philippines with ten compatriots, including his wife and son, two years earlier. Moac revealed his chiefly tattooing to the Sonsorolese and announced he could control the weather, which set them to dancing and carrying the Spaniards on their shoulders.25 But the ship was soon driven off by strong winds and had to return to
Manila, abandoning the priests and their interpreters to their fate. In 1712 Bernardo de Egui sailed from Guam to find the priests. He used trickery and force to capture guides from Ulithi and Palau during the search but failed to reach Sonsorol and went on to Manila. Subsequent Carolinian castaways reported that Moac, who had been a model Christian convert (baptised Jose Miguel) while in the Philippines, was in reality a rascal who most likely sealed the doom of his priestly companions. Although this rumor was never confirmed, Moac acquired the reputation of an apostate villain in Jesuit circles. 26

Digal, a Woleai castaway rescued at sea by a Spanish ship in 1725, spent four years serving the Governor of Guam before devoting himself to the Jesuits and being baptised Gaspar de los Reyes. He accompanied two priests to Ulithi atoll in 1731, one of whom returned to Guam for supplies. Father Antonio Cantova, who stayed on Ulithi, mentioned in a letter sent with his colleague that the native priests had opposed the missionaries and that their chief had become less friendly after a canoer from Woleai (Digal's atoll) brought bad reports about the way the Spanish garrison in Guam treated Carolinians. Perhaps the three murders and attempted kidnappings perpetrated by Egui in 1712 also lingered in Ulithian memory. When the Jesuit priest who had gone to Guam finally returned to Ulithi in 1733, a captured canoer revealed that Cantova had been murdered by armed natives who complained, "You have come to change our customs." The Jesuits, without direct proof, blamed Digal for treachery. 27 The truth of what Moac and Digal really did—or felt—will remain shrouded in the many layers of their assumed identities, both chosen and imposed. They had managed to return to
the Carolines, though not their home islands. Perhaps the inevitable conflict between outsider and indigenous values made them cultural victims as much as the missionaries. Or perhaps they were indeed charlatan survivors who had simply used the limen to their own advantage. Yet there was, for the first time, an element of voluntarism in their journeys aboard Spanish ships, a means to an end of their own choosing. Indeed, even the Ulithian taken by Egui in 1712 was an old "high-spirited soul who had thrown caution to the wind years before [and] seemed willing to spend the night aboard the Santo Domingo." His intended overnight stay, however, took him to the Philippines.28

Rising Voluntarism

Outside Guam and the other Marianas, which lay in the path of annual Spanish galleons and suffered conquest and near-depopulation in the late seventeenth century, foreign contact with Inner Pacific islands was so far quite fleeting and incompetent. Passing Conquistadores or freebooters were unlikely to be subtle or sensitive in their relations with indigenous islanders, because "The future did not bind them . . . They had no tomorrows in the places they visited."29 Nor, apparently, had unsupported missionaries. After the Treaty of Paris between Britain and France in 1763, however, more systematic, scientific exploration coincided with an Enlightenment quest for "noble savages" and Terra Australis Incognita, cultural and geographic alternatives to an imperfect Europe. Were there uncorrupted children of nature on a yet-unmapped continent that balanced the globe?30 As if to symbolize the new era, circumnavigator Philip Carteret picked
up a native of the Mapia islands northwest of New Guinea in 1767. "Well made & featured" canoers came out to trade coconuts for bits of iron and nimbly climbed up the ship's masts: "one of their People would need stay with us notwithstanding all we & his Cammarades could persuade him to the Contrary, I therefor keept him as it was a free Act of his & called him Joseph Freewill." Joseph enlisted as an able-bodied seaman and traveled as far as Bonthain in the Celebes, where he recognized breadfruit and roasted some right away. But the familiar food came too late: "he afterwards grue sickly from being so long at sea and died." Free will apparently had its price.

By the late eighteenth century, literate western public opinion was gradually siding with "the party of humanity" against intolerance and oppression. Influential philosophes like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot lamented the "chains" that circumscribed European life. Rousseau contrasted the political and material inequalities of "civilized" society with the goodness of "the pure state of Nature" before "iron and wheat ... ruined Mankind." He fondly reminded his readers of a North American Indian chief in London who had rejected all the material wonders displayed before him except a warm blanket, which he rated "almost as good as an animal skin," and of an African raised from infancy as a white man, only to renounce Christianity and European dress when he returned home again, saying: "my resolution is to live and die in the Religion, the ways, and the customs of my Ancestors." Diderot mused about Bougainville's voyage, "for all our striving, we do ourselves as much harm as good ... men become more wicked and unhappy the more civilized they become." He invented
an old Tahitian who cursed the French for corrupting his island: "may the guilty sea, that spared your lives when you came here, now absolve itself and avenge [your] wrongs by swallowing you up on your homeward way!"35

In fact, Tahiti provided several of the best-known voluntary travelers. In 1767, Wallis, who had been separated from Carteret by storms in the Straits of Magellan, befriended a "Sensible and well behaved" young Tahitian chief the English nick-named Jonathan:

he took very particular notice of every thing which we shewd him, and seemed greatly surpriz'd at the construction of our ship . . . but the thing which pleas'd and Astonish'd Jonathan the most of all, was the picture of a very handsome well drest young Lady, in Miniature, which the Docter Showd him, we made him understand that this was the picture of the women in our country and if he went with us he should have one of them always to Sleep with, this put him in such raptures of Joy that its impossible for me to describe he hug'd the picture in his breast and kist it twenty times, and made several other odd motions, to show us how happy he would be with so fine a woman . . . I realy belive he would have come to England for her hade we been willing to take him with us, and his friends contented to let him go.36

Despite the lure of English women, Jonathan did not go to England, but the French explorer Bougainville brought a Tahitian volunteer to Paris the following year. Indeed, it was Bougainville's glowing account that first portrayed Tahiti as a Land of Love preserved in a primeval Golden Age.37

When L'Etoile dropped anchor in 1768, not only sensuous women greeted the French. A young Tahitian named Ahutoru spent the night aboard, according to Bougainville, "without being the least uneasy."
Ahutoru apparently enjoyed this encounter with only the second foreign
ship to reach his island, because, said Bougainville (who was later
criticized for his decision to take Ahutoru away), "The zeal of this
islander to follow us was unfeigned . . . he manifested it to us in
the most expressive manner." Just before the two French ships left,
he came aboard again with the local chief: "Ereti took him by the
hand, and, presenting him to me, gave me to understand, that this man
. . . desired to go with us, and begged that I would consent to it.
He then presented him to each of the officers in particular; telling
them that it was one of his friends, whom he entrusted with those who
were likewise his friends, and recommending him to us with the greatest
signs of concern." After Bougainville accepted the offer, Ahutoru
gave three of his pearl earrings to a pretty young woman in one of
the canoes, embraced her and tore himself away despite her tears.
The dark-skinned offspring of a chief and a female war captive, Ahutoru
may have been considered an expendable ambassador. Bougainville, still
jealous of British power, had strategic designs of his own and
envisioned Ahutoru, if returned, as a useful French agent in Tahiti. 38
Ahutoru, for his part, promised to guide the French to islands
plentiful with "complaisant" women 39 and apparently harbored dreams
"of marrying for a time some white women." 40 At first sight, he had
already detected among the French crew a white female disguised as
a man, something her own shipmates had never discovered. 41 An
aficionado like Ahutoru seemed likely to fulfill, not only his chief's
dream, but Jonathan's as well.
Cook took Tahitian volunteers to the Inner, Outer and Extra-Pacific. Tupaia, a refugee priest driven to Tahiti by a Boraboran invasion of his native Raiatea, was the most knowledgeable and respected. As Chiefess Purea's "right hand man," he attached himself to the British visitors, especially scientist Joseph Banks, almost as soon as they arrived in 1769. Tupaia helped provision the ships, watched over Banks' musket on an excursion, "got most enormously drunk" celebrating King George's birthday, cooked dog for the appreciative Banks, and served as a voluntary hostage to help the British recover two deserters. Having plotted unsuccessfully against Purea's local rival, Tupaia asked Banks to take him away to England. Cook had already found that "several of the natives were daily offering them-selves to go away with us" and wanted guides to help him explore other islands, but he would not take responsibility for any on the part of the British government. Banks resolved to keep Tupaia "as a curiosity, as well as some of my neighbors do lions and tygers at a larger expence than he will probably ever put me to . . ." He foresaw learning much from such an educated priest and navigator, and predicted his usefulness as a guide both to and from England in the future. Tupaia took along a twelve-year-old servant boy, Tayeto, gave gifts to his Tahitian mentors and waved to them from the topmast head as the ship sailed away, "after which he came down and shewed no farther signs of seriousness or concern." Cook and other members of the crew praised Tupaia for his intelligence and breeding and found him useful as a guide and translator. He was perhaps the most willing and qualified argonaut of all the "noble savages" of his era, a skilled professional survivor.
The Enlightenment, however, did not end "blackbirding." Indeed, in New Zealand Cook kidnapped Maoris from a canoe by having Tupaia lure them close to the ship. Like Quiros before him, Cook wanted to win over some natives with "good treatment." When the Maori canoers tried to escape, the British killed several and captured three boys. Te Hourangi, aged 18, Ikirangi, aged 15, and Marukauiti, aged 10, were fed, dressed and given gifts the next day. At first they refused to go ashore and make friends where the British wanted them to, probably because they were in hostile territory. After helping to appease some Maoris who had lost a warrior to British muskets the previous day, they begged to remain with the British, but Cook ordered them left on shore. A friendly canoe finally rescued the boys, and they waved good-bye. Later that same year, the French explorer Jean-François de Surville contemplated kidnapping a Maori, "to try and obtain from him later what information I could about this country." Although North Cape Maoris treated his scurvy-ridden crew hospitably, Surville lost a boat in a gale and then saw "several blacks" around it on shore. He pursued them and asked one to come forward. A chief named Ranginui, who had previously provided the French with food and shelter, held up a green bough in friendship, whereupon Surville had him bound and taken to the ship, driving off his compatriots with bayonets. Ranginui wept and sighed a great deal and elicited compassion from those who recognized him, but Surville put him in irons. The chief died of sorrow and poor health three months later, at Juan Fernandez Island.

Surville had already kidnapped other islanders on his voyage across the Pacific. After impressing three Filipino crewmen to replace
deserters, he needed an intermediary in the Solomon Islands to prevent further skirmishes with local natives and to help him find fresh drinking water. In order to lure a victim to the ship, he put two Malagasy slaves into a captured canoe: "we powdered their Kaffir hair as the people of this country do with lime and in this state they began to imitate the local people, circling the ship and making the same gestures we had seen them make." Two Solomon Islanders approached the ship in a small canoe but saw through the ruse and fled with three French boats in hot pursuit, including the imposters. The whites shot one native and dragged the other, kicking and biting, from the water. Only thirteen years old, Lova Saregua found himself in irons that night and, the next day, tied to a leash as the French forced him to lead them to water. He stalled for time ashore and tried to cut the rope that bound him with shells but was caught and re-tied. When he began to wail loudly and roll in the sand, Surville beat him with the rope and had him clapped into irons again. Lova later shared a quarter-deck cabin with Ranginui, ate at table with the Maori and Surville (the Filipinos were treated like ordinary seamen), and was presented "as a rarity" to the French Navy Minister Praslin, after whom Surville had named the boy's home bay. Surville himself drowned trying to go ashore in Peru.48

Between 1772 and 1775, Spain re-entered the periplean frontier. Aware of the new British and French explorations, the Viceroy of Peru regarded annexation of Tahiti as important to the "stability" of his domain. He sent three expeditions to bring Tahitians to Peru, "in order that the Indians over there should witness in the persons of
their countrymen the good treatment that had been meted out ... and the advantages of which they had been made sensible." After bestowing gifts, the first expedition "brought away" four males "of suitable ages and good intelligence, so that the experiment should not go amiss as we know from other accounts has happened with several travellers." Although the Spanish described all four as "volunteers," the eldest later warned his countrymen: they too would be taken away if they came aboard the Spanish ship, and only the two youngest traveled explicitly by their own or parental consent. The Commander of the second expedition claimed that "An infinite number of Indians wanted to take ship with us for Lima, and tried every means they could by which to gain their wish: even stowing themselves away in the most out-of-the-way places." He took only two along as guides, a Makatean navigator named Puhoro and a Ra'iatean chief, but two Tahitians sailed aboard his accompanying storeship. Because five out of eight of the Society Islanders taken to Peru died, the third expedition allowed no travelers, not even a "handsome" first cousin of Chief Pomare.

In 1773, on his second voyage to the Pacific, Cook enlisted more Tahitian volunteers, apparently seeking a pilot/interpreter for each of his two ships during his explorations. First, a seventeen-year-old commoner named Poreo "having a curiosity to know a little more of the World than he could experience in Oatahite, came on board and desir'd to be admitted as a Volunteer." Cook gave his father a hatchet and other gifts, but canoers came out to the ship to ask for the boy's return, advising Poreo that he would die overseas. After all, Ahutoru and Tupaia had never returned, and neither had the Tahitians taken
to Peru by the Spaniards the year before. Poreo cried, but Cook and
scientist Johann Forster took him into a cabin and "adopted" him as
their son, whereupon he embraced them and ate and slept in their cabin.
Cook thought Poreo "might be of service to us on some occasion" and
turned down "many more" who wanted to go. He suspected, however, that
both Poreo's father and the canoers cared less about the boy than they
did about getting more gifts. The ambivalence of Poreo's decision
to travel grew, for he wept as Tahiti receded, and although he carried
Cook's powder horn and pouch proudly at Huahine, he jumped ship at
Tahaa, apparently for a woman. The other Society Islands were
evidently enough of a glimpse at the wider world to satisfy Poreo.

Meanwhile, Omai had joined Cook at Huahine and asked to go to
Britain, despite a protest from the local chief against taking away
his subjects. Omai entered the crew as able-bodied seaman Tetuby Homy,
aged 22, but generally bore the nick-name Jack and does not seem to
have worked. He was a refugee. Boraboran imperialism had driven him,
like Tupaia, away from his native Ra'iatea. The Boraborans had killed
his father in battle and taken him as a captive to their island, from
which he had escaped by stealing a canoe and imitating their accent
in the dark. One of Wallis' musket balls had wounded him in the side
at Tahiti, but now on Huahine Omai was apparently in danger of being
sacrificed for committing blasphemy. He planned to interfere with
the provisioning of Cook's ship if it did not take him away. Even
while visiting Ra'iatea with Cook, Omai had to flee back on board in
the middle of the night because Boraborans were plotting to kill him.
He claimed to be the second son of a landed chief, an apprentice to
a priest and "a great traveller, having been at most of the Islands within their knowledge." But Omai was in fact a commoner, darker than most Tahitians, as Ahutoru had been, and hopeful that people would no longer laugh at his color and flat nose when he returned with "many fine things" from England. 55

Hitihiti, a Boraboran about 17, also joined the British, to replace Poreo. A high-ranking relative of the chief of his home island, Hitihiti's real name was Mahine, but he had exchanged names with a chief of Moorea. At Ra'iatea, despite warnings about the climatic dangers, the long voyage and the bad food, he asked George Forster to take him to England. Cook took Hitihiti aboard one ship and sent Omai to the other. 56 Both guides traveled around the Inner Pacific for several months before returning to the Society Islands, where Hitihiti remained while Omai went on to London. At least five other Society Islanders used Cook's taxi service among their beaches, and many more volunteered to accompany the British even farther, including a boy named Nuna, whom Johann Forster wanted to take along for "carrying my plantbags," but Cook vetoed that idea. 57

Cook apparently opposed enlisting islanders as servants, unless they were chosen by his "noble savages" as retainers, as Tupaia had selected Tayeto. In 1777, Omai was returning home with Cook's third expedition into the Pacific and recruited two Maori boys to accompany him to Tahiti. Teenaged Tiburoa (or Te Wherua) had met Omai and the British on their previous visit to New Zealand. The ship's surgeon wrote that Tiburoa, "being a good natured honest young fellow was taken more notice of by us now than any of the rest, which probably first
induced him to place such confidence in us to embark." His chiefly father having died in battle, Tiburoa slept every night aboard the Resolution. He and a young friend attached themselves to Omai, who flaunted his wealth and entertained the Maoris with stories of his travels. Cook warned Tiburoa that he would probably never return home, but the boy was determined. His younger companion soon changed his mind about leaving, but Tiburoa's kin found a replacement about nine years old named Kokoa. Cook took both boys ashore one last time to give them a chance to stay in New Zealand, and Omai warned them that they would only be servants in Tahiti, but Tiburoa wanted to go even though his mother wept and cut herself with shark teeth, according to custom. Kokoa, in contrast, was rumored to have been purchased (as a servant's assistant?) and wept for a week after the ship carried him away.

By another twist of fate, Society Islanders attached themselves to the fugitive Bounty mutineers. Fletcher Christian's little band took Tahitians, including Hitihiti, to Tubuai, where their attempts to found a settlement failed, then returned to Tahiti with Tubuaians and took an assortment of both to Pitcairn. Hitihiti and his friends had joined Christian's flight to Tubuai despite being told they would never see Tahiti again. According to one mutineer, "they seemed perfectly easy and satisfied never betraying the least sign of Sorrow for leaving their friends nor did I observe that they ever repined afterwards." Similarly, young Chief Taroameiva of Tubuai, compromised by his friendship with Christian, asked to stay with the mutineers, who took him to Tahiti, with two attendants, and on to Pitcairn. About
twenty islanders accompanied Christian and the eight other whites who did not remain on Tahiti. Some, like the Tubuaians, went voluntarily, but "having invited on board several of the women with the feigned purpose of taking leave, the cables were cut and they were carried off to sea."  

In 1792, William Bligh, having survived the mutiny and a long journey back to England, returned to Tahiti to complete his mission of collecting breadfruit to feed African slaves in Jamaica. For the second time, he turned down Pomare I's request to go to England, but he found that "our friendship hinged on my complying with his request to take one of his Men, who he said would be of great service to him when I sent him out again, from the many things he could learn and see in England." Maititi, an "active" twenty-two-year-old "above the common run of Men," was nevertheless a servant, which Bligh preferred: "Such a Towtow is more likely to benefit his Country than a Chief who would be only led into Idleness and Dissipation as soon as he arrived in Europe, as was the case with Omai." Maititi left Tahiti "without shedding a Tear." Bligh also took an "active" stowaway nicknamed Jacket, because he had been helpful to the botanists, on whom depended the success of this second breadfruit voyage. Pomare did not give up trying to learn more about England. When a British whaler visited Tahiti in 1797, he asked for a volunteer to join its crew, and Tapeooe, "having a thirst for knowledge, immediately replied that he would, and accordingly was taken on board."
Another "noble savage" traveler, Lee Boo of Belau, survives only in a romanticized account written by George Keate, who never saw the Pacific. Purportedly the "second son" of a chief who helped a shipwrecked British crew build a new schooner in 1783, Lee Boo went with Captain Henry Wilson of the British East India Company back to London. Wilson's crew had helped the ibedul of Koror win a few battles during their stay, and the chief wanted to learn more about British ways. He had Lee Boo brought "from a distant place, where he had been under the care of an old man," perhaps a priestly teacher, and described his son as "amiable" and "sensible." Raa Kook, the ibedul's brother, had worked alongside the British and wanted to go, but the ibedul said no, because Raa Kook was his heir--i.e., too important to send away? A young nephew of the ibedul who had eagerly copied the manners of the British also asked to go, but the ibedul scolded him for having "a rambling disposition" and repeatedly neglecting his family. When Lee Boo finally arrived, the ibedul told him to look upon Wilson "as another father," a role which the captain readily accepted. The chief asked Wilson not to let Lee Boo "run after novelty" in England but "to make him an Englishman." Keate even puts these post-mortem words into the ibedul's mouth: "I know that death is to all men inevitable, and whether my son meets this event at PELEW, or elsewhere, is immaterial."65

From Carteret through Keate and beyond, there runs an obvious compulsion in the journals to demonstrate the voluntarism of these islander passengers. Even the up-to-date Peruvian Spaniards insisted that their Tahitians were volunteers selected, like Cook's first Maori
captives, for "good treatment" and eventual release. Only Surville was honest, or blatant, enough to admit to the "cultural kidnapping" all such journeys embodied. Some islanders died resisting captivity, others volunteered but were turned away. Tupaia and Omai proposed themselves, perhaps to escape from difficult situations, while Ahutoru and Lee Boo seem to have been expendable agents for chiefs seeking foreign ties and knowledge. All those who chose to go seem to have been curious, ready to adapt to strange clothes and odd consonants. They worked aboard the ships that took them, not as ordinary sailors, but as pilots, interpreters or informants. Most slept and ate with the officers as privileged diplomats, as living specimens of otherness in the self-reflective Age of Enlightenment. Taking a "noble savage" out of his natural environment and putting a fork into his hands was almost a controlled experiment, a look at both cultural assumptions and psychological projections in a distorted mirror. The mystique of their "tygerhood" won, for a select few, a relative equality with their hosts that would continue into the nineteenth century, even as increasing numbers of islanders assumed more proletarian roles aboard foreign ships.

Hawaii

Hawaii had its share of "noble savage" voyagers as well. In 1787 Ka'iana of Kauai came aboard John Meares' Nootka in a crowd of Hawaiians clamoring to go to "Britanee, Britanee." A high-ranking chief who had already befriended a colleague of Meares', Ka'iana "was alone received to embark with us, amid the envy of all his countrymen."
He joined a select club of Hawaiians whom fur traders took to China and Northwest America "as objects of curiosity." Atu and Opai visited Boston, Matutaray became a captive of Spanish padres in Mexico City and Kualelo went to London aboard the Prince of Wales. A twenty-year-old natural son of Kamehameha volunteered to go with Amasa Delano to Macao in 1801. Having taken the name of Alexander Stewart from a beachcomber, he was described by Delano as "dignified, comely, and sprightly" and dismissed his weeping mother, saying that "she was nothing but a woman and she would forget it by tomorrow." In 1804, amid succession tensions, King "George" Kaumuali'i of Kauai sent his seven-year-old son Humehume (or Prince George) to be educated in New England, entrusting several thousand dollars to a familiar American ship captain. In 1807, Kamehameha also planned to send a son to America to be educated but changed his mind. Two young Hawaiians chosen to accompany the boy, Opukahaia and Hopu, served aboard ships in the Northwest and wound up in New England. Lauri, "jolly and quick," stowed away aboard a Russian ship in 1818 and begged the captain to take him to St. Petersburg: "I took him on; it occurred to me that if he learned the Russian language he might prove very useful to the Russian-American Company in its dealings with the Sandwich Islands." In 1823, Henry Kaparena, or "Maitey," boarded the German merchant ship Mentor in Honolulu. An orphan, "He fervently pleaded to be taken along." The ship needed no crew, but the superf-cargo was aware of the political implications of Liholiho's recent departure for London and took Maitey to Berlin. Another "quick" lad traveled to Holland in 1828.
Hawaiian diplomats boarded foreign ships to represent the interests of their kingdom abroad. Liholiho, feeling pressure from American whalers and missionaries, sailed aboard a British whaler to London in 1823, along with a retinue of chiefs and consorts. His apparent goal was to negotiate British protection for Hawaii, but many chiefs opposed the long journey. To confused, weeping followers on the beach, departing Queen Kamamalu chanted an emotional vow to uphold her duty to her land and people. In 1843, Timothy Haalilio, a royal secretary who "had risen in the world by his talents," traveled with missionary William Richards to Europe and America to obtain guarantees of Hawaiian sovereignty. Future kings Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha undertook a similar mission with Gerrit Judd in 1849-50. Young Alexander took along The Last of the Mohicans to read. Chief William Hoapili, an Anglican priest, visited Europe with his wife in 1865 and paused in New Zealand on the way home. A "man of high Character, imposing presence, an English Scholar and excellent preacher," he almost persuaded large numbers of dispossessed Maoris to migrate to Hawaii. King David Kalakaua, amid appropriate fanfare, journeyed to Washington D.C. in 1875 to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty and circumnavigated the world in 1881 to win recognition for his kingdom and arrange for immigrant plantation labor. Royal retainer Curtis Iaukea followed up Kalakaua's mission to Europe and Asia in 1883, including checking up on the Hawaiian students Kalakaua had sent to Europe.

Hawaiians became involved in a number of far-flung enterprises around the Pacific. The fur trade between Northwest America and
China, inspired by Cook's discoveries, drew away hundreds of Hawaiians as boatmen, servants and bodyguards. A French captain commented, "Un-grateful children of nature . . . they cast unhappy looks beyond the seas; they hope to brave the vast space which separates them from another world; almost all ask us to be admitted among us." Some, like Atu and Opai, shipped out more than once. In 1795, the Mercury kidnapped several Hawaiians to replace deserters; yet after being confined below until the ship left Hawaii, the captives served as armed guards while the ship traded with Northwest Indians and later greeted the Ruby at Niihau with letters of recommendation from the supercargo of the Mercury. The Ruby found many Hawaiians clamoring to go to "Pretanee" and selected one for the Northwest; such "landsmen" also worked aboard sealers. As one captain explained, "The Sandwich Islanders will serve to man the Cannoes to bring the skins in small parcels through the Surf to the boat outside, which, man'd by 4 others, ply to the Ship with them." Some worked as "pretty" cabin boys for ships' officers, but more became respected as sailors. In 1811, both American and British fur companies began recruiting Hawaiians for their ships and their Northwest shore stations. By the mid-1840s, five hundred were working on the Columbia River and another three thousand were sailing the Pacific in whaleships.99

Expanding the Periplean Frontier

Eastern Polynesian islands near Tahiti sold provisions, sandalwood and pearls to foreign ships, which sometimes took away young islanders. In 1798, the young Marquesan chief Temoteitei, having fought alongside
a Hawaiian beachcomber on Tahuata, boarded the Butterworth and became known in England as John Butterworth. A Nukuhivan named Heko went along on a companion ship.\(^\text{90}\) Two decades later, Thomas Patu left the Marquesas for Hawaii, Canton and Boston. Tempted by a whaler to travel, Patu ran away from his possessive father, a local chief, by pretending to go fishing with his little brother, then switching canoes on the beach to escape.\(^\text{91}\) The young chief Temoana, after a failed American attempt to make him King of Nukuhiva, took a ship to England to boost his prestige, and perhaps save his life. The French made him King of the Marquesas in 1842.\(^\text{92}\) Te'ao of Ra'iatea, at first a close follower of Pomare II but later a rebellious Mamaia prophet, saw paths to power and wealth outside the missionary-kingdom when he traveled aboard a sandalwoodeer to Raivavae in the Australs in 1819.\(^\text{93}\) Indeed, Ra'iatean chiefs had built their own war fleet of seven schooners and sloops, encouraged missionary John Williams to construct his Messenger of Peace and nurtured their own foreign trade contacts.\(^\text{94}\) Despite nominal familial and political bonds between Tuamotuan chiefs and the Pomares,\(^\text{95}\) men from the Tuamotu and Austral atolls found their own access to foreign property by hiring themselves out as pearl divers.\(^\text{96}\)

Missionary ships generated their own expanding periplean frontier, as each island sent new converts out to preach to the next. The Duff had come equipped with a Tahitian vocabulary compiled by Bounty mutineers,\(^\text{97}\) and later missionaries hoped "to extend the use of that dialect as far as possible."\(^\text{98}\) The Duff took along two Tahitians to Tonga and the Marquesas. James Wilson regarded them as "proofs that the Otaheiteans taken young, and kept from being held up as shews by
us like Omai, and from the infatuating diversions of their own island, are capable of receiving instructions. In 1822, the Tahitian preacher Auna went to Hawaii aboard the passing Prince Regent, a six-gunned schooner Vancouver had promised to Kamehameha thirty years earlier. Until his death on the beach at Erromanga in 1839, John Williams built ships and took native teachers from Ra'iatea as far as Tonga, Samoa and Tanna. He also took local chiefs, like Tamatoa of Aitutaki, to other islands and once kidnapped, in classic fashion, two Niueans, to convert them, "keep them for a short time, load them with presents of useful articles, and then restore them to their home." With "considerable difficulty," he lured them aboard the ship and sailed away, despite their "tearing their hair and howling in the most affecting manner... for the first three or four days their incessant howlings were of the most heart-rending description; we could induce them neither to eat, to drink nor to sleep." A newspaper later criticized Williams, asking "whether one man has a right to do another a kindness against his own will." What might Quiros have replied?

In Tonga, a visiting Samoan chief named Fauea volunteered to guide Williams to his home island: "He appeared to be an active, intelligent man, and proved to us an invaluable acquisition." The Messenger of Peace, launched from Rarotonga under the LMS flag, was crewed entirely by native sailors. Makea of Rarotonga, after sailing with Williams to new places, outfitted his own trading vessel in the 1840s. The Anglican Active not only carried missionaries and returning Maori chiefs to New Zealand in 1814 but also employed a
variety of Polynesians as crewmen. 107 The Morning Star carried Hawaiian teachers to Micronesia and the Marquesas and employed islander crewmen. 108 Anglican Bishop Selwyn rounded up as many New Caledonian boys as he could for conversion in New Zealand: "steering his own little vessel, he stood surrounded by the black heads of his disciples." 109 The Methodist ship John Wesley, which took King Taufa'ahau of Tonga to Sydney in 1853, had a crew that was half islander, including a Maori, a Tongan, a Fijian and a Rotuman who all worked in harmony. The Maori had seen his father killed and eaten in one of Hongi Hika's wars and decided to become a Christian. 110 Polynesian teachers often formed the vanguard of missionary efforts in Micronesia and Melanesia. 111

Aotearoa (New Zealand)

Although exact numbers are unavailable, 112 Maoris were perhaps second only to Hawaiians in their participation in the periplean frontier, both as chiefly diplomats and as sailors. In 1793, Lieutenant-Governor Phillip King of Norfolk Island had the Daedalus kidnap two Maori canoers from Bay of Islands to teach female convicts how to weave flax into linen. Tuki and Wudu, both of high rank, hesitated to board the ship, but Lieutenant Hanson enticed them below with iron and other "curious things" and prevented their escaping out the cabin windows. They long lamented their capture--and disdained women's work like weaving--but taught what they knew in about an hour and were sent home again with gifts later that year. Both oral tradition and British records credit them with introducing
potato cultivation to New Zealand, a new provision that Marois sold to whalers. By 1803, Ngapuhi chiefs were boarding foreign ships voluntarily, sometimes asking to go to England. Te Pahi, popular among whalers for provisioning them, took his five sons to Norfolk Island and Sydney, to see what Tuki and Wudu had told about. One son, Matara, later went to England and met the king. In 1805, Moehanga, "determined to see the world," stayed aboard a ship for several days, flaunted the sailor clothes given him and charmed surgeon John Savage: "several offered to accompany me to Europe, and I selected one, whose countenance pleased me." Moehanga's father, a priest, pressed his right eye against his son's left for twenty minutes and, standing in his canoe as the ship sailed, prayed open-armed to heaven. The same year, Chief Ruatara and two companions enlisted as common sailors on the whaler Argo. Ruatara would ship out three times in a decade, experiencing drastic ups and downs, and introduce wheat to New Zealand. Maui, having heard about Australia from Tuki and Wudu, shipped aboard a whaler at about age ten. As Tommy Drummond, he lived at Norfolk Island, with the harbormaster's family, and at Parramatta farm outside Sydney, with Anglican missionary Samuel Marsden, visiting England aboard a whaler in 1816.

Marsden regarded his Maori guests not only as future agents for his missionary program but also as guarantees of the security of white missionaries in New Zealand: i.e., as hostages. Young Chief Tuhi accompanied the Active's first diplomatic voyage and persuaded four other chiefs to visit Parramatta: Ruatara, Hongi Hika and his son, and Tuhi's brothers Korokoro and Tirarau. Marsden used them all (and
Maui) to establish a mission station on Te Pahi's land at Bay of Islands and took ten more Maori chiefs, sons of chiefs and servants to Parramatta, including Tuhi again. Although Te Morenga wept during a storm while leaving home with Marsden, Tupehi, a level-headed, "dignified and superior character," led prayers to his "God of New Zealand." Marsden sent Tuhi, along with Titore, to England as a literate showpiece in 1818 and returned both to New Zealand the following year; Tuhi's mission training and family connections made him a prime mediator: "Tooi is a fine man, well informed and well disposed, and has a love of our religion." Te Morenga, "a man that every confidence might be placed in," was an important informant for Marsden and advised him to educate only chiefs' sons, not commoners who "would never rise higher in rank than their parents." Te Uruti, one of Marsden's guests at Parramatta, became known as King George of the Bay of Islands.

For their part, these Maori "noble savages" were competitive warriors who wanted mana in the form of foreign technology and firearms. Like other Polynesian leaders before him, Te Pahi brought home a beachcomber in 1806, to marry his daughter and command his army. If captains mistreated Maori chiefs in their crews, they might suffer bloody revenge, as the Boyd did in 1809. Tuhi, who learned to read and write and went to England, explained: "if you told a New Zealander to work, he fell asleep; but if you spoke of fighting, he opened his eyes ..." Hongi, having seen Sydney in 1814, went to England in 1820, saying "he should die if he did not go--that if he once got to England, he was certain of getting twelve
muskets, and a double-barrelled gun."125 Te Pehi envied Hongi and in 1824 refused to leave the Urania until he received guns, even if he had to stay aboard until it reached London, where he claimed King George would give him what he wanted.126 In 1827, an old Bay of Islands chief, Tenana, asked Peter Dillon to take him to Calcutta for a barrel of musket-balls, but Dillon said he would dream on it overnight and finally refused, claiming he foresaw the chief's death in India.127 Dillon, who had commanded the Active in 1814, carried an assortment of islanders along on his expedition in search of the wreck of La Pérouse in 1827, including Maori chiefs he called His Excellency Morgan McMurray, Prince Brian Boroo, Marquis Wyemattee and King Charley Moehanga (who missed Dr. Savage and wanted a red jacket).128 Dumont D'Urville, following in Dillon's path that same year, took aboard Chief Te Hinui and a companion until he found them useless as pilots outside their tribal territory.129 By 1830, Benjamin Morrell regarded Bay of Islands Maoris as "civilized, rational business people" and turned down a chief's request to accompany him to America, but he had no qualms about kidnapping a Micronesian and a Melanesian, "ferocious savages" he renamed Monday and Sunday, to New York,130 where they were displayed as "objects of much curiosity."131

Most Maori travelers contributed labor, as well as diplomacy, to the new maritime frontier. As early as 1796, whalers began kidnapping or recruiting Maoris as crew. That year, the England's Glory bequeathed to the arriving Mermaid a Maori harpooner-pilot who worked for pay.132 In 1806, Governor King of Australia complained about whalers bringing Maoris "of the lower orders" to see Sydney, but by
the 1820s whaling firms were recommending annexation of New Zealand, partly because of the availability and skill of its native seamen:
"there are no less than 12 New Zealand men on board one single whal­
ship." Samuel Marsden himself arranged working passage for Maoris and employed them on the Active. One well-traveled Maori sailor named Wari, "an expert proficient in turpitude," was flogged for having seduced one of Chief Ruatara's wives and condemned to three years of service on the Active. In 1827, "alert and quick-witted" Kokako, a Bay of Islands slave whose companions had already been sacrificed by his Ngapuhi captors, escaped by enlisting as a servant to Dumont, who explained, "I decided it would be only humane to take him with us." By 1830, sea captains regularly hired Maori crewmen. According to Morrell, "They make excellent sailors, too, after a short course of training." Two Maoris converted their tattoos into a trip to England, with a traveling showman, in 1830. In 1837, two Maori commoners, Nayti and Jacky, worked their passages from Cook's Strait to France in order to meet King Louis-Philippe. Nayti pretended to be a chief to agents of the New Zealand Company and guided its first land-purchasing expedition from London to his homeland in 1839. "Quiet and silent in his manners," he helped Edward Wakefield compile a Maori vocabulary. In New Zealand, Wakefield also recruited E Ware as a seaman, renaming him "Jim Crow" because of his cheerful clowning. Jim had already served aboard a whaler and knew how to steer the ship: "he installed himself among the men without any agreement, and joined in all the work without any recompense but his meals and a little tobacco."
Micronesians, too, participated in the periplean frontier. British shippers, whose forebears had raided Spanish treasure ships, made regular contact with Carolinians on their voyages between Australia and China. Because of Lee Boo, the ibedul of Koror (Belau) acquired livestock, hardware, firearms and more help in his wars against local rivals. He also sent other Belauans on long journeys to study foreign ways. In 1791, his "adopted" (captive?) son Kakawaki, his daughter and another chief's "adopted" daughter went with John McCluer's Panther to Macao. McCluer limited the tearful farewell to half an hour, after which one mother cut off three locks of her daughter's hair to remember her by. A fourth Beluan man was to have gone but became too seasick and returned to shore. McCluer later took Pimu, another chief's son, to New Guinea, along with two women aboard his companion ship, the Endeavour. Pimu's aged father wept bitterly at their parting and lingered alongside in a canoe even after the ship was far from shore. McCluer called Belau "a perfect paradise" inhabited by "noble islanders" and decided to settle there on an estate with Asian slaves, but he apparently grew tired of his isolation, which in fact spoiled his entrepreneurial plans. In 1795, he left, taking away seven Belauan maidservants, without permission, to attend his wife in Bombay.  

It was Russian explorers, inspired by French romanticism, who kept the "noble savage" circuit alive in the Carolines. Kadu, a Woleai castaway in the Marshalls, boarded otto von Kotzebue's Rurik in 1817. After being asked about his strange tattoos, he blurted out a long
tale of hardship and hospitality in his own language which was incomprehensible to the Russians. Nevertheless, his "agreeable countenance" earned him some pieces of iron hoop from Kotzebue, whom he then clung to constantly, expressing his fervent wish to remain with the captain forever. Even though his companions, both Marshallese and Woleaian, tried to change Kadu's mind about leaving, twice by physical force, he resolved to go with Kotzebue: "Kadu, who had been presented with a yellow cloak, and red apron, walked proudly in his ludicrous finery, without condescending to notice his companions [who] cried 'Kadu! Kadu!' He did not deign them a look, always taking care to turn himself in such a manner that they might be able to admire his finery." In the Marshallese, Kotzebue's second officer Adelbert von Chamisso "found pure, uncorrupted customs, charm, grace, and the gracious bloom of modesty," but Kadu was "one of the finest characters I have met in my life, one of the people I have loved most." In 1824, however, when Marshallese Chief Lagediack wanted to send his son with Kotzebue to see Russia, the captain talked him out of it by explaining the boy would never return: "This was too much for the father's heart; he embraced his son, and would no longer think of a separation."

In 1827, Fedor von Lutke befriended Nena and Oa, two Kosraean canoers who tried to imitate western manners. Oa "wanted, from the first moment, to conform to our habits, sit only on a chair, spit only in a spitoon," and sat close to the piano-forte, singing along and peering under its top. He and Nena wanted to understand everything, especially the forge, where Oa asked for a knife he saw being made.
Nena, who held on to Lutke as they walked about the deck, was at first afraid of the ship's bell, then laughed at himself, and after looking through a telescope pronounced it a weapon and asked it to be put away. Nena and Oa spent the night in a cabin, while their eight loyal companions slept on deck: "The peace and trust with which ten men consented to send away their canoes to stay and sleep aboard a sailing ship, would be hard to match. They behaved very well." They did not like the food, but they enjoyed drawings from Krusenstern's atlas of the South Pacific. As soon as they went back ashore, more Kosraeans came aboard. At Guam, Lutke picked up ten Carolinians who wanted to return to their home island of Elato but instead put them into canoes off Faraulep. Lutke tried to recruit Chief Alaberto, who had spent two years on Guam, as a Spanish-speaking guide, but Alaberto simply shrugged he was married now.144

Micronesians also sailed as crew aboard foreign ships. In 1818, many poor Chamorros, resentful of the high prices their Spanish governors charged them for imports on stagnant Guam, asked a Russian captain "repeatedly to take them into service, and one very nice young man was even willing to leave his wife and two children in order to get away. They knew that we were proceeding to Manila and wanted to come along in order to jump ship there."145 By the 1830s, North Pacific whalers coming up from their winter cruise along the Line provisioned and recruited in the Tuvalu and Kiribati archipelagoes, at Nauru, Kosrae and Pohnpei, and to a lesser degree in the Marshalls. In 1831, "Tamana Jack" found work on a short-handed ship but, when harsh reality spoiled the "very favorable opinion of life on board"
his friends had given him, he jumped off at the next island. As in other parts of the Pacific, some ships befriended islanders by rescuing lost canoers. In the 1830s, whalers returned over sixty people from three canoes to Nauru and recruited two men nicknamed Sam and Tom. By the 1840s, such ships regularly hired often-nameless Micronesian "natives," sometimes giving them sobriquets as generic as Jim or Tom Kanaka (a rather ubiquitous "clan" in the logs) or as colorful as Andrew Jackson or Ben Franklin. Pohnpeians shipped aboard whalers despite the possibility they might never return home, but the negative reputation that white beachcombers earned their island sent some ships to Kosrae, where beachcombers were banned and "Native labour can always be got." By the 1840s, beche-de-mer and tortoise shell traders were hiring Belauans and Yapese as crew and divers, taking them as far afield as New Guinea and Hong Kong.

Melanesia and Central Polynesia

The sandalwood trade opened new doors for periple travel in Melanesia. By 1843, British ships regularly hired crew from the Loyalty Islands, whose men had, according to Captain John Erskine, a "love of wandering." Australian whalers recruited seventy Uveans in 1847, and in 1849 one Uvean teenager, renamed George Havannah, persuaded a ship to take him to see Sydney. According to its captain, "the Loyalty islanders . . . are ready to embark in English vessels, where they not only acquire the language but are said to make excellent seamen." Iokui of Uvea met an English missionary while serving on a sandalwooer and, in his trader English, asked for Christian
teachers at his island. Other Melanesians also worked aboard sandalwood ships and later on vessels recruiting plantation labor, but those in New Guinea lagged behind those to the east. They might trade tortoise shell or provisions but remained suspicious of foreign ships. In 1866, Alfred Tetens rescued a Kaniet youth from his Hermit Island captors, offered him employment and renamed him Herman Vesta, but Herman apparently disliked the daily routine and jumped ship at the very next island.

The Fiji-Tonga-Samoa region of the central Pacific, long a crossroads for Melanesian and Polynesian cultural exchanges, also produced periplean liminars. Tongan chief Palu Mata Moina and his wife, having already moved to Fiji, journeyed to Sydney on an English ship before 1806. Both sandalwooding and bêche-de-mer gathering and curing brought Fijians into trade relations with foreign ships. In 1809, a young Fijian chief's son wanted to go to "the white man's country" with a sandalwooder but was dissuaded by his friends. In the 1820s, Siovili of Samoa sailed on ships from Tonga to Tahiti and Sydney, with a Chief Teoneula, and returned home a religious prophet. A Lauan Tongan wanted to go away with a Russian explorer in 1820 but changed his mind when he could not take along his friends. By the 1830s, enterprising Fijian and Tongan chiefs guided foreign ships around their islands. Tubou Totai, a Tongan canoe-builder and pilot at Lakemba in eastern Fiji, went to Sydney as a guest of the governor. He later served as an interpreter for Chief Tanoa of Bau and accompanied the latter's ambassador through the islands with Charles Wilkes, who appreciated their diplomatic services but not "their suites of slaves,
who were a great nuisance." Takai and Langi, Fijian pilots, traveled as seamen to both Australia and Tahiti; they learned English and became Christians. Takai earned a piloting job from Wilkes in 1840 by showing off his collection of written recommendations. Fijians also worked aboard bêche-de-mer ships. One went to America, where he was "exhibited" at the Baltimore Museum in 1836. In 1842, sixty-seven Tongans, including Ma'afu, who later became a power broker in eastern Fiji, went with English vessels from Tahiti to cut sandalwood in Vanuatu. Tongan King Taufa'ahau Tupou himself went to Sydney in 1853, by way of Fiji, and later sent war canoes to help Cakobau of Bau defeat his enemies.

Other Pacific islands contributed significantly to the periplean frontier during the nineteenth century. In 1791, Rotuman canoers gathered to do battle with the HMS Pandora until Captain Edwards made signs of trade, but Rotumans had an ancient seafaring tradition and soon found new opportunities in such foreign shipping. In 1829, two hundred Rotumans enlisted in Samuel Henry's sandalwood-cutting venture on Erromanga, explaining: "Rotuman man want to see new land." Having been forau (foreign) became a status symbol for both the young men, who apparently made "splendid seamen," as well as their proud parents. Rotumans took pride in rounding Cape Horn and bringing back information about the outer world. One father wanted his son to see the world "for the boy's own good," since Rotuma was so small and isolated. At nearby Wallis and Futuna, young men found work aboard whalers because "They also, like the Rotumans, are good sailors." More than a hundred offered themselves to one ship:
"every member wanted to be selected, pushing his candidature with voice and gesture as vigourously as he knew how." In 1806, a "prince" of Easter Island went to London aboard a whaler and was baptized Henry Easter. Even the Mapias, where the era of voluntarism had begun in 1767, furnished another Freewill to a passing sandalwooder in 1809: "Several wished to go with us . . . One of them found his way into the cabin, and could not be persuaded to leave the vessel, so we took him with us and named him David Freewill . . . We cut off his hair, which was three feet long, and hung over his shoulders before and behind, and dressed him in a jacket and trousers, which made him very proud."

Wahine

Islander women also found their way across the beach to distant ports of call. At first they were kidnapped, such as the New Guineans taken to Manila in 1606, and their peculiar utility to lonely seamen made them victims of abduction long after Europe's intellectual "enlightenment," from the Bounty mutiny onward. Sometimes ungallant sailors made their islander lovers swim back to shore from miles away or dropped them at strange islands after tiring of them. Many such women were bought and sold around the Pacific like chattel, until they lost their appeal, and became known as "whalers' trollops." The Hawaiian monarchy, backed by missionaries, prohibited women from swimming out to ships in the 1820s, but the Daniel's captain purchased a woman named Leoiki from a Lahaina chief for $160 and forced her to go along for the cruise "notwithstanding
all her tears and entreaties." The Clark enticed several women aboard at Lahaina, cannonaded the local fort and hijacked them to Honolulu. Even an American warship forced the Honolulu government to allow prostitutes to service its sailors. Lamented a missionary, "In the dusk of the evening of the next day a boat with females passed along the harbor and a shout arose among the shipping at the glorious victory . . ."187 In 1840, Charles Wilkes of the U.S. Exploring Expedition refused to repatriate two Fijian women abducted by an English schooner from Vavau to Tongatapu. The women pleaded, threw away their paddles and set their canoes adrift, but he argued that the laws then current in Tonga prohibited embarkation by women: "I did this because I was not willing to have an appearance of inconsistency in the minds of these natives, in first blaming conduct I thought unwarrantable in Captain Wilson, and then doing the same act myself."188

Other women traveled more voluntarily, as companions, passengers or servants. A "fine" Boraboran woman, who had jilted a chief and gone to Tahiti, rode with Cook to Raiatea in 1774, but the local arioi satirized her faithlessness in a play, bringing her to tears.189 The theatrical commentary was reversed in 1779, when seven Hawaiian women went with the Discovery from bloody Kealakekua Bay to Maui and Oahu. They helped their sailor "husbands" provision but so often danced for other Hawaiians the tale of Cook's mortality that the English finally sent them ashore. Commented surgeon David Samwell, "They would willingly have accompanied us further, but at last we came to think that they had spread the news of our Misfortune far enough."190
Probably the first Hawaiian to leave Hawaii aboard a foreign ship was a young woman named Winee, hired in 1787 as maidservant for the English wife of a Northwest fur trading captain bound for China. According to Meares, Winee "possessed virtues that are seldom to be found in the class of her countrywomen to which she belonged; and a portion of understanding that was not to be expected in a rude and uncultivated mind." 191 Raheina and Timaro, two high-born Hawaiian women taken forcibly from Niihau by another English fur trader, returned home from Northwest America in 1793 with Vancouver, who treated them as ladies. 192

Some Hawaiian women took the "bribes" offered by sea captains as tickets to travel and adventure. 193 One named Louisa, or Rika, came back from voyages to Latin America and Guam to become a self-styled Catholic priestess. 194 Not only strategic Hawaii, however, sent female travelers overseas. In 1791, two chiefly Belauan women, including the ibedul's daughter, traveled as diplomats to Macao with McCluer, who provided them with servants. They too composed songs on their homeward voyage to describe all they had seen. Later that year, McCluer took two more to New Guinea and Indonesia, where they died. In 1794, he took another half dozen to India as servants for his wife and child. 195 Peter Dillon gathered up Maori and Tongan women as he searched for the wreck of La Pérouse. Their presence on the ship helped him calm the suspicions of islanders he met along the way. 196 Maori daughters of Bay of Islands chiefs also voyaged with foreign sea captains. 197 One enterprising Kosraean girl in 1850 told a sailor she wanted to go to America: "A native had been to America,
but could not talk native when he first came back. She said he was
a damned fool." More islander women wanted to travel abroad than
were allowed to go.

"Legitimate" wives of Euroamericans sometimes left their home
islands when their husbands did. In 1797, Tano Manu, the Tahitian
wife of a Swedish beachcomber, traveled to Tonga and the Marquesas
aboard the Duff, whose captain observed, "by conducting herself in
a modest, affable, and obliging manner, [she] was kindly treated by
all on board: she was also of a good natural understanding, evidently
susceptible of improvement, and always ready to communicate; and was
of great service to [those] learning the language ..." In 1803,
the Marquesan chiefess Enaοaeata, "a fine figure and a handsome woman,"
made Edward Robarts, who had deserted a whaler and seen her bathing.
She visited ships with him as, in his words, a "royal consort," bore
him a daughter and in 1806 went with him, weeping, to Tahiti: "My
wife looks again toward the shore and points with her finger, looking
me in the face with love and tenderness beaming in her bright eyes,
says: 'There's the land that gave me breath. There's my friends and
relations. I forsake them all for your sake.'" Ena later traveled
with Robarts to the Tuamotus, New Zealand and Calcutta. In Penang,
a female Tahitian servant to the wife of an English storekeeper mid-
wifed at Ena's third childbirth. Mary Bruce, a daughter of Te Pahi,
went for a cruise with her beachcomber husband George aboard the
General Wellesley in 1809 but was sold to another ship while George
was ashore at Malacca and had to be rescued.
In 1845 the Tahiti-based trader Edward Lucatt took his Ra'iatean wife Mary to New Zealand, after she failed to persuade the pro-Pomare rebels to negotiate with the French invaders, and then to Valparaiso, where he said, "She was delighted with the scenery, gardens, birds, cattle, flocks, etc., and all the novelties that met her eye; and I enjoyed, beyond measure, witnessing her delight, and listening to the naïveté of the expressions which her admiration called forth." A "sprightly" Marquesan chief's daughter married an American castaway, who supposedly inherited her father's position, and traveled with him to Salem to obtain a Christian missionary. Wives of native teachers also accompanied their husbands to distant islands, as did female kin of other male islander travelers. Hawaiian women went with their husbands to California, while Maori women accompanied foreign sealers to outlying rookeries. In 1847, a New England captain's wife took a ten-year-old Fijian girl away as her servant and named her Phebe. Phebe's chief wanted her to go to America, "to cook, read, and make dresses," even if the ship never returned to Fiji. Phebe's dialect was different from the other Fijians at Nadi, and when she came back two years later, her own mother argued that it was safer for her to remain abroad, so her white mistress concluded that both the mother and daughter had been captives.

Female chiefesses, especially Hawaiians, also traveled the world as diplomats. In 1823, Queen Kamamalu accompanied her husband King Liholiho (Kamehameha II) on a whaleship to visit England, along with several other chiefs and their wives, including Boki's Liliha. Although fearful and reluctant to go, Kamamalu prayed fervently before
they sailed, only to perish of measles in London, along with her husband. In 1865-66, Queen Emma, widow of the deceased Kamehameha IV, went to Europe and visited her favorite correspondent, Queen Victoria of England, partly to win support for the Anglican Church in Hawaii. She wrote letters home to Hawaiian language newspapers about her experiences, as did her companion Chiefess Kiliwehi.

In 1887, Queen Kapiolani and then-Princess Liliuokalani (who had already visited California in 1878) attended Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in London, but during their absence American planters forced Kalakaua to sign away his power in the "Bayonet" Constitution. Another "Queen Emma," daughter of a Samoan chief and an American entrepreneur, signed over Pago Pago harbor to the United States in 1874 on a visit to San Francisco; she also visited Queen Emma of Hawaii, built a copra "empire" in New Guinea and died in Europe. Indeed, the career of this part-Samoan Emma highlights that vague zone of the Pacific frontier inhabited by offspring of islander women and foreign men, perhaps the ultimate liminars caught between worlds. Some part-islanders, like Emma, were able to wrest advantages from their cross-cultural ties and found leading island families, such as the Whippys of Fiji, the deBrums of the Marshalls, the demis of Tahiti or the hapas of Hawaii, while others worked in intermediary roles as pilots, recruiters, labor supervisors, seamen or small traders and boat operators.

Patterns of Recruitment

The recruitment of islanders to work aboard foreign ships fell into three main categories: involuntary, informal and regulated.
Blackbirding continued in the nineteenth century, both for ship crews and, increasingly, for plantation labor. New Guineans had long experienced slave-raiding by Malays. Whalers sometimes conscripted Marquesan crewmen by selecting the fittest and forcing the rest to jump overboard miles from shore. A sealer kidnapped several Easter Islanders in 1825 to work for him at Masafuera. Five Tikopians found themselves involuntary guests aboard a French ship in 1827; one was already a castaway from Wallis Island. Marshallese oral tradition records that Lojeik of Ebon was kidnapped by a whaler when he paddled out to visit the ship. Even at colonial Guam, an American whaler seized sixteen-year-old Jose Taitano in 1855. Mesiol of Pohnpei, according to local tradition, helped provision a ship with five companions, who enjoyed a tour of the deck and the captain's cabin until they noticed the ship was sailing. His friends escaped through a porthole, but he was too short to reach it. Such kidnappings often incited vengeful massacres of visiting ship crews. In fact, chiefs Tuvai of Samoa and Vedovi of Fiji were both taken into exile by the United States Navy in 1839-40 as punishment for killing Americans. Some islander seamen, notably Rotumans, helped to blackbird other islanders at considerable risk to their own lives. Tannese boatmen did such dirty work for a box of trade goods and stories to tell their village. One shipmate wrote, "They were a decent and faithful lot of men . . . we knew that they would have fought at our sides until their shirts bled--had they worn any." On one such occasion, loyal "blackboys" had to right a swamped boat and dive for its valuable trade box while natives on the
beach were shooting at them. In 1882, Nomu, a Tannese interpreter for the Ceara, captured several Erromangans, including a chief's daughter, by asking for water or by luring them to his boat with tobacco.

Nomu was actually an agent for another process that began overlapping with ship recruiting in the 1860s: the plantation labor trade. One Fiji-based vessel hired Rotumans on a four-year contract that covered work both on shore and at sea. A world cotton shortage caused by the American Civil War led to Melanesian (and to a lesser degree Micronesian) recruitment that sent over 100,000 young islanders to plantations in Queensland (Australia) and various islands such as Fiji, Samoa, New Caledonia, Tahiti or Hawaii. Some laborers were blackballed, but most chose, however vaguely, to venture overseas. Successful labor strategies, whereby workers were recruited in small groups to prevent unity and shipped away from their native islands to make them more vulnerable, had already evolved during the sandalwood trade in the 1840s. When cotton planting waned, sugar or copra replaced it. One notorious case of abuse was that aboard the Carl, whose officers murdered seventy recalcitrant captives and later stood trial in Sydney. Even more destructive was the 1862-63 raiding by Peru across the Pacific, from Easter Island to Kiribati, for 3500 slave laborers. As islanders increasingly asked ships to carry them as passengers from place to place, some captains seized this opportunity to "sell" them as laborers to distant plantations. The distinction between voluntary and involuntary voyagers was thus
not always clear. In 1855, a sandalwooder sold ten Loyalty Islander crewmembers as slaves at Pohnpei.232

Volunteering to work aboard foreign ships could be quite informal, depending on where and when the islander made his pitch. Some individuals insinuated their way into foreign crews by their good cheer and willingness to help out. In 1789, Tahitians willingly helped with Mortimer's ship's rigging and did other laborious work to get it ready for sea, "though they in general were repaid for their kindness by abuse from the seamen." One man, despite his brother's warnings that the ship might take him to England, persuaded the captain to give him passage to Tetiaroa. Contemporary Hawaiians were so eager to go abroad that the same captain had to force them off the ship.233 One earned himself a job with a Northwester by making himself familiar through "his great good humor."234 Hawaiians who helped to load and unload cargo sometimes found employment in the crew.235 One boy studied what sailors did on deck and cut fodder to feed a ship's goats. So "quick and cheerfully ready" was he that he talked the first mate into taking him away with him, despite the tearful protests of the boy's mother.236 Kokako, the Bay of Islands Maori slave, worked hard on board a French vessel in port and, after persuading the captain in broken English to take him away, quickly assumed the haughty airs of a uropi.237 E Ware, or "Jim Crow," as we have seen, won a job with a mixture of endearing clowning and demonstrated skill.238

Forming bonds with individual Euroamericans might also enable islanders to travel. Orphaned Henry Opukahaia supped at a captain's
table, spent the night and came to regard his host as a father figure; he escaped from his uncle's hale through a hole in the wall, but the old priest followed him and collected a hog in payment for the boy's departure from Hawaii. A Fijian who had helped a sandalwood trader and learned English from him was only prevented from accompanying him to Sydney by local friends. Sometimes islanders earned jobs as seamen by behaving more loyally and soberly than their Euroamerican counterparts, or by being recommended by missionaries. Others first won acceptance as shipboard vendors or simply stowed away. In 1834, the whaler Arabella hired Marquesans as crew on a liminal deck crowded with women, potato-salesmen and chiefs. Yet some voluntary islander sailors cried when they left their island or did not work out as seamen and were let off. When discharged on strange islands, for the convenience of the ship, many tried to find their way home again by continuing to ship out.

Pilots of course had to prove their abilities. Euroamerican beachcombers often fulfilled this important role for captains and chiefs, but growing familiarity with foreign ships enabled islanders to learn the necessary skills. Tupaia, the Ra'iatean priestly navigator, could describe the locations of many islands he knew, but he repeatedly sent a diver under Cook's rudder to measure the ship's clearance. Rathea of Tikopia earned his job as Dillon's pilot/guide in 1827 because he had been to Vanikoro, heard the story of La Pérouse's shipwreck and brought back artifacts. Hawaii had a few native pilots by the 1810s, notably Jack Nahekeukui, the king's own. Ra'iatea had its own native pilot by 1829, "a fine looking and
A Tahitian nicknamed English Jim had served on foreign ships and successfully piloted them into Matavai Bay from at least 1826 to 1842: "He handled the schooner quite masterly, and we reached our anchorage safely." Jim dressed "respectably," spoke English "tolerably well" and ran a laundry business on the side. A Hawaiian named John Adams piloted ships into Pago Pago harbor in Samoa from 1846 to at least 1873, though one captain said that the harbor was so spacious his services were really superfluous.

At Kosrae, the king's own son piloted ships into port. A "kanaka" piloted the whaler Avola into Mwudok harbor on southern Pohnpei in 1873. Belauan and Yapese piloted for bêche-de-mer traders by the 1840s. New Caledonians, Tongans and Fijians often found employment as pilots. A British captain hired a one-eyed man named Yane Kari to pilot his ship from Isle of Pines to Noumea. After successfully completing his mission and being paid, Yane Kari had to find his own way back home. Dillon's old friend Takai could even present letters of recommendation. Tiana earned a similar certificate from Wilkes, along with "many presents," as did Aliko, who was not only intelligent and knowledgeable but "extremely good-looking." Yet such written documents could prove the undoing of illiterate candidates. Among the Hawaiians with foreign travel experience who piloted ships into Kealakekua Bay was one in 1818 who, according to a Russian captain, "opened several rag bundles and produced some papers containing testimonials [which] described him as an able pilot, good swimmer and diver, and an expert swindler.
In 1828, Chief Tapeligar of Woleai presented two recommendations to a Russian explorer, but they turned out to be letters for the Governor of Guam which he had intercepted. Some native pilots wrecked ships, drank too much or proved difficult to work with, but Wallisian Chief Tuungahala in 1843 insisted on becoming a pilot himself, to replace an Englishman, saying, "If the chiefs of Uvea don't watch out, [foreign pilots] will soon be the masters here and they themselves slaves."

The traditional diving ability of Pacific islanders won them jobs with pearlers or bêche-de-mer traders. In 1813, an Australian captain hired Ra'iateans to dive for pearls in the Tuamotus, but one named Faanuhe, who had been to Sydney, led a bloody mutiny and delivered the ship to his chief at Ra'iatea. By the 1820s, foreign ships were hiring locally, particularly Chain (Anaa) Islanders, who were known in the archipelago for their aggressive expansionism. They dived several fathoms in atoll lagoons for oyster shells, detaching them with one hand and holding them in the crook of their left arm until they arose with four or five; one old worm-eaten shell produced thirteen pearls. Hao and Rapa also provided pearl divers who, for payment in cloth, rum and tobacco, might collectively bring up a ton of shell per six-hour day. One, nicknamed Ofai (stone), could stay down over a minute at a time, but deep dives caused ear-aches and nose-bleeds. Another, Tiemu, learned enough English to serve as an interpreter with natives of the atolls visited. Carolinians worked as divers, whether recovering treasures from sunken ships or collecting bêche-de-mer. For payment in iron pots, flint or cutlery,
they dived for sea slugs, tossed them into boats and cured them in smoke huts ashore. Those already employed, often Yapese, aroused the envy of other islanders whose reefs they looted. By the 1880s, 200 Rotumans worked as pearl divers and boatmen in the Torres Straits between New Guinea and Australia. The divers earned as much as 200 pounds sterling a year and often reshipped out of Sydney.

Regulation of recruiting first took the form of agreements between individual captains and chiefs, but as centralizing rulers codified their relations with foreign shipping, or as colonial regimes intervened, restrictions increased. Powerful chiefs could order commoners to ship out, prohibit them from doing so or confiscate their earnings. The Hawaiian kingdom encouraged young men to enlist as seamen but in 1841 required every captain to post a bond to guarantee promise their safe return to the islands. While in Tahiti, one captain had his Hawaiian crewmen locked up in jail to avoid having to forfeit three hundred dollars if one deserted. Another captain, during a sailor shortage caused by the 1849 California Gold Rush, had to post a $500 bond for each recruit and pay one month's wages in advance, which the king kept. Nor, after missionization, were Hawaiian sailors to be allowed alcohol. They could ship out only with official permission. In 1844 a whaler that tried to take away a Maui boy named Paaluia, who had signed the ship's papers without his father's consent, was forced at Honolulu to relinquish him.

Once the king granted a foreign ship permission to recruit, perhaps upon request by its consul, word was sent out and as many as five hundred volunteers might assemble. The captain usually selected
the fittest, but experienced men like Boatswain Tom could be hired to supervise the recruits. Northwest fur companies came to depend on Hawaiian recruits, whom they hired on three year contracts, promising to feed, clothe and pay the men ten dollars a month. Over one hundred potential cabin boys presented themselves to Delano in 1801, but he chose one lad attending the queen: "He lay down his fan of feathers and took his station at the back of my chair, or seat, and did not leave me one minute after, till I went on board." Some Hawaiians swam off to ships at night if the king refused authorization. By 1842, perhaps five hundred Hawaiians were working for the Hudson Bay Company in Northwest America, while at least that many shipped out every year aboard whalers and merchantmen.

Other islands experienced varying degrees of regulation, depending on their centralization of authority or their degree of intimidation by foreign warships. As early as 1805, the Government of New South Wales became concerned over the number of Tahitians, Hawaiians and Maoris being left by ships at Sydney and required captains to provide for their welfare and return home. It also banned their mistreatment, or use along Australian coasts. Further General Orders in 1813 and 1814 required that islanders be paid whatever wages they had earned, either as seamen or as divers, and that none should be removed from their home islands without the express permission of their chiefs. By the 1830s, however, hundreds of Maoris shipped out aboard foreign ships annually. After New Zealand became a British colony in 1840, American whalers turned even more toward Papeete, but French annexation of Tahiti and neighboring archipelagoes during the 1840s
introduced a requirement that no one could embark without a police permit.\textsuperscript{293} Two Marquesans had to run away, with the help of a third mate, to become harpooners aboard one American whaler.\textsuperscript{294} Fewer whalers called at Wallis and Futuna after French missionization and annexation in 1838-42, partly due to new bans on "orgies" aboard ship.\textsuperscript{295} After the \textit{Carl} scandal in 1872, the British Parliament passed the Pacific Islanders Protection Act, which not only prohibited the kidnapping of plantation labor recruits but also put islander seamen under the scrutiny of government agents backed up by roving men-of-war.\textsuperscript{296} Even the eager Rotumans could ship out only if their chief gave permission, and if the captain had a license.\textsuperscript{297} Before 1840, there was only one foreign colony in the Inner Pacific, Guam, but by 1900 the entire region came under some form of colonial authority.

Such was the context of islander voyaging aboard foreign ships after 1767. Although blackbirding continued, indigenous chiefs and sailors took up the new nautical technology and mastered much of it, extended their ambitions beyond their home islands and tested the unknown waters of a wider world. Indeed, their cooperation at every level was necessary for foreign success on the Pacific frontier. As one captain said of his islander seamen, "No one ought to attempt a voyage through the South Sea Islands without carrying an extra crew of this kind." He praised their boat-handling in treacherous surf, their endurance under the hot sun, their cheerful readiness to please and their insight into island customs.\textsuperscript{298} The islanders themselves chose to journey on foreign ships for a variety of reasons, such as escape from a difficult situation, being "volunteered" by calculating
chiefs, or personal material gain. Queequeg, the archetype portrayed in *Moby Dick*, was a highborn warrior in search of adventure and understanding, "like Czar Peter," who foisted himself on a passing whaler that needed no additional crew. Even after its captain had said no to his "strong desire to see something more of Christendom" and been unswayed by Queequeg's supportive chiefly kin, Queequeg intercepted the departing ship, "with one backward dash of his foot capsized and sank his canoe; climbed up the chains; and throwing himself at full length upon the deck, grappled a ring-bolt there, and swore not to let it go, though hacked to pieces."^{299} Although fictional, this voluntaristic image is supported by abundant historical evidence.
Chapter III--Notes

1. Markham (1911) 50-69. Urdaneta said in 1527 that the Spaniards had 105 surviving men at Tidore (53), but Sayavedra found 120 in 1528 (124-26). Did the latter count Chamorros in his estimate, while the former had not? Perhaps the Chamorros got no farther than the Philippines, if they survived that far. See Hezel (1983) 14.

2. Markham (1911) 51.


4. See Foster (1960), who argues that only a frontier version of Spanish culture was introduced to the American colonies, one born of long wars against the Moors.


6. Ibid. 30-31.


11. Ibid. 38-56.

12. Markham (1904) I (14): 224-34; Kelly (1966) I (126): 187-88. Actually, Quiros' ship was the San Pedro y San Pablo, and he named his two voyagers to Mexico Pedro and Pablo. But because Catholics often received the name of the patron saint of their day of birth, Quiros' use of "Pedro" was a double vanity.


15. Loc. cit.


23. Ibid. 159-71.
27. Cantova (1749) and (1881); Hezel (1983) 47-58.
30. See B. Smith (1960) 133-54 and Spate (1988) 185-263 for somewhat contrasting discussions of these speculations.
32. See Gay (1964).
37. Bougainville (1772) 218-28, 257.
38. Ibid. 216, 241-62.
39. Ibid. 275.
44. Beaglehole (1962) I: 312-316.


49. B. Corney I (1913): 10-11, 254, 342; II (1915): 59.

50. Ibid. II (1915): 1, 87, 148-49.

51. Ibid. II (1915): 172-73, 304-10.


54. Ibid. 211-229; G. Forster (1777) I: 362-64, 400.


60. McNab (1914) II: 198-226; Munford (1963) 21; Zimmermann (1926) 14-15.


64. Richards (1990) 2.

65. Keate (1788) 240-54.

66. Meares (1790) xxxix, 9-10; Portlock (1789) 170-74.

67. Howay (1930) 14.

68. Kuykendaal (1924).

70. Delano (1817) 391-94.
72. Hopoo (1968) 43-44.
76. Kahananui (1984) 244-47; Bingham (1848) 259-60; Stackpole (1972) 362-64.
77. Simpson (1847) I: 234, II: 69; Bradley (1968) 411-12.
83. Péron (1824) II: 152-53.
84. Bell (1794) I: 145; Howay (1930) 15-17.
89. Polynesian 8/8/1846.
90. Temoteitei (1800) 5; Crook (1963) 182-83.
91. Page (1825) 6-7.
94. Gunson (1969) 70-71; Bennett (1840) 132.
95. T. Henry (1928) 110.
98. Williams (1907) 101.
100. Bingham (1849) 161; Maude (1973).
101. Williams (1907) 31, 67, 85.
102. Ibid. 49, 220.
103. Ibid. 259-60.
105. Williams (1907) 267-68.
107. Davidson (1975) 47.
110. R. Young (1858) 232-33.
112. Harry Morton says simply, "hundreds served on whaleships in the 1820s, '30s, and '40s." See (1982) 169. His source may have been Polack (1840) II: 120.
115. Savage (1807) 36-41, 94-95.
116. Elder (1932) 63-70; Turnbull (1805) III: 380-81.
118. Elder (1932) 62-63, 80, 114, 122-23.
119. Ibid. 127.
121. Te Rangi Hiroa (1966) 346.
122. Turnbull (1805) III: 372-75.
125. Cruise (1823) 31.
126. McNab (1908) I: 635-36.
127. Dillon (1829) I: 244-46.
130. Morrell (1832) 374, 466.
133. McNab (1908) I: 262-63, 608-9, 664.
137. Morrell (1832) 372.
139. Wakefield (1845) I: 20, 32-33.
140. McCluer rendered Kakawaki as Cockywack, and Delano as Cockawocky. McCluer (1792) 123-40, 210-13; Delano (1817) 69-75; Hockin (1803) 15-55.
141. Kotzebue (1821) II: 120-26; Chamisso (1886) 157.
142. Chamisso (1886) 129.
143. Kotzebue (1830) I: 316.


147. Logs Harvest 4/16-23/1831; Gideon Howland 10/18-11/3/1839. See also Navy 1/16-17/1863.

148. Logs Elizabeth 2/25/1848 and 12/9/1849; Herald 8/20/1849; Philippe DeLanoye 11/25/1853; Roman II 1/7/1852; Cicero 1/7/1862 and 1/7/63; Java 1/3/1867.

149. Logs Elizabeth 2/25/1849; Miantonomi 10/9/1854; Palmetto 4/15/1882.


152. Shineberg (1971a) 194; Ward (1966) III; 547-57.


155. Pigeard (1847) 220.


157. G. Turner (1861) 397, 512.

158. Inglis (1887) 201-14.

159. Shineberg (1971a) 305.

160. Tetens (1958) 76-78.


163. Im Thurn (1925) 71.


165. Debenham (1945) II: 312.

166. Dillon (1829) I: 270-75; Wilkes (1845) III: 55-57, 143-81.

172. Lucatt (1851) I: 178; Gardiner (1898) 407; Wood (1875) 25.
175. Gardiner (1898) 407; Allen (1895) 556-79.
176. Allardyce (1885-86) 133.
178. Goodenough (1876) 233.
181. Im Thurn (1925) 75-76.
182. Stevens (1930) 159.
184. Logs Zephyr 2/12/1845; Milton 2/20/1850; Chili 7/1856.
188. Wilkes (1845) III: 18-19, 39.
193. Jarves (1843) 263; Reynolds (1938) 15.
194. Bingham (1849) 320-22; Kamakau (1961) 326.
199. Roe (1967) 141; Cox (1957) 45.
204. Beechey (1831) I: 222-25; Gough (1973) III; Maude (1973); Gunson (1978) 357-64.
206. The Friend 7/1/1862.
207. Strauss (1963) 15.
211. Liliuokalani (1964) 61-68, 116-81.
212. Robson (1973) 50-59, 94-95, 218.
216. Beechey (1831) I: 43.
220. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).
221. Wilkes (1845) IV: 106-7.
223. Moresby (1876) 69-70.
224. Farrell (1928) 196-97.
226. Inglis (1887) 212-14.
228. See Corris (1973); C. Moore (1985); Scarr (1970b); J. Bennett (1976); Goodenough (1876) 195-205.
229. Inglis (1887) 198-206.
231. Wood (1875) 42-43, 55-56.
233. Mortimer (1791) 31, 48-49, 55.
234. Roe (1967) 141.
235. Reynolds (1938) 14-22, 111.
239. Dwight (1968) 6-8.
240. Im Thurn (1925) 71.
241. Straubel (1954) 50-51; Gardiner (1898) 401.
242. H. Williams (1964) 326; Davidson (1975) 98.
243. Logs Cortes 2/16/1844; Ocean 10/7/1855; Elizabeth Swift 1/20/1867.

244. H. Williams (1964) 284-85; Logs Omega 4/16/1843; Seashell 4/19/1855; Charles W. Morgan 1/31/1865.

245. Log Arabella 12/24-26/1834.


251. Golovnin (1979) 176; Reynolds (1938) 6; Chamisso (1986) 114; Arago (1823) II: 73.


253. Beechey (1831) I: 293; Wilkes (1845) II: 4; Lucatt (1851) I: 219; Melville (1968) 99-100.

254. Goodenough (1876) 192-94.


256. Log Avola 4/20/73.

257. Shineberg (1971a) 231, 264.

258. Goodenough (1876) 229-36; Im Thurn (1925) 134-36; Log Peru 10/24/1831; Davidson (1975) 86.


260. Wilkes (1845) III: 166-71, 249.


262. Lutke (1835) II: 135; for a similar Hawaiian example, see Kotzebue (1821) I: 347.


264. Portlock (1789) 165.

265. Cruise (1823) 73.
266. Laferriere (1845) 457-58.
269. Lucatt (1851) I: 240-52; Wilkes (1845) I: 328.
270. Lutke (1835) II: 123.
272. Allardyce (1885-86) 132-33; Allen (1895) 565-79.
274. Farrell (1928) 178-79.
277. Farrell (1928) 211.
278. Davis (1869) 199.
279. Wilkes (1845) III: 386.
280. Webster (1863) 19-21.
282. Cox (1957) 44-45; Wilkes (1845) III: 386.
285. Delano (1817) 392.
286. Mullett (1977) 44.
287. Quebec Mission (1956) 133.
290. McNab (1914) II: 316-29.
291. Polack (1840) II: 120.
292. Olmstead (1844) 277.
294. H. Williams (1964) 267-68.
295. Laferrière (1845) 469.
297. Wood (1875) 10, 16-17.
298. Ibid. 6-7.
CHAPTER IV
THE SHIP

Pacific islanders who worked or traveled aboard foreign ships entered a moving frontier between cultures that had its own distinctive social matrix. They had to undergo various liminal initiations by shipmates who in some cases inducted them like fraternity brothers. The shipping limen was international but assimilative, like a colonial society, because Euroamericans generally controlled the capital, trade routes, disciplinary structure and technology. The transitional status of islander neophytes tested their loyalties and identities, and to some extent determined their pay, chances for promotion and general treatment.

The privileged position of "noble savage" diplomats was usually quite different from that of kanaka sailors, but all islanders were able to transfer certain traditional skills to their new endeavors, add regional flavor to shipboard life and actively mediate between the ship and the islands. They contributed a great deal to the success of foreign ships in the Pacific, though their embarkation across the sea in alien vessels entailed risks both physical and liminal. The "betwixt-and-between" could claim recruits even before they reached the ship. In 1854, the whaler India, provisioning at Rarotonga, reported the loss of a boat containing six white crew and a local native: "She had left the shore, pulled out through the reef and set her sail, and that was the last seen of her."
The Shipping Limen

The motivations of white sailors were not very different from those of islander voyagers. Wanderlust caused many young Euroamericans to go to sea, especially if they came from fishing ports with rugged hinterlands, but poverty of choice underlay such dreaming. As one pearl-trader reminisced, "The sheer need for cash starts more men off on adventures than your romantic would allow. I was in sore straits for money. It seemed to me then that I needed it more than any man in England." The "everlasting itch for things remote" was rendered more inspirational by empty pockets and, in the words of Melville's Ishmael, "a damp, drizzly November in my soul . . ." As for the tyranny of life aboard ship, he asked, "Who aint a slave?" Although economically proletarianized by a world shipping system, seamen had the odd freedom of "almost nomadic mobility." They developed a well-deserved reputation for irresponsible spending in port and for shipping out again when they were broke. Pay advances and purchases from the ship's slop chest sometimes put them into debt even before they reached port. Not surprisingly, young Hawaiians who shipped out were unlikely to learn frugality. They would often squander their pay advances before the ship sailed or refuse to re-enlist until their money was gone.

Life on a ship, whether man-of-war, merchantman or whaler, could be harshly liminal even for seamen from its home port. Long voyages, brutal working conditions, bad food, cramped living space and low pay often caused desertions, especially in the palmy Pacific. Indeed, some unscrupulous masters deliberately badgered crewmen into deserting
on remote islands to save the cost of their wages. Nor were health conditions ideal. Jack Tar often risked his life between a "devilish" captain and the deep blue sea. To maintain order, sea captains had to be a law unto themselves. If crews were too unruly, a captain might have to flog the miscreants himself, holding a gun in the other hand. Cook and Vancouver disciplined more men than Bligh did. Flogging around the fleet, running the gauntlet and keel-hauling were common enough to enforce discipline in the British navy. Sometimes press gangs forcibly enlisted seamen, almost half of whom died at sea. Islanders, too, would feel the humiliation of the lash. In 1827, the log of the brig Owhyhee, then trading for furs on the Columbia River, recorded, "Sweetened a Conacher [kanaka] for stealing rum, 2 dozen."

As Euroamerican countries went through the rite of industrialization, seamen became transferable from one job-title and wage-category to another almost like standardized parts. The market value of English sailors tended to increase during wartime, but so did conscription, and even voluntary recruits found themselves proletarianized and segregated into the dank forecastle. Some Euroamerican captains recommended "treating seamen like men, instead of lording it over them as if they were slaves." Respectable white crews won praise even from missionaries, and one mariner protested, "There is no class of men in the world who are so unfairly dealt with, so oppressed, so degraded, as the seamen . . ." But sailors were usually social marginals, ranging from hardened convicts to inexperienced young "greenhands." One said of his shipmates, "A
more ignorant, heartless, treacherous, beastly set of men, I think, never existed . . . They were all blustering and cowardly." Cook's crew were, in the words of J. C. Beaglehole, "the ordinary British sailors of the time . . . so savage, brutal, drunken, insensitive, and blasphemous that one wonders that even a kindly Deity permitted the ship to put to sea." In the Pacific islands, such men were not noted for their morality. As missionaries observed, "when they pass Cape Horn they hang up their consciences there till they return." One old Pacific hand called his crew "without exception the most abandoned set I ever met with; they were all deserters from other ships, not one of them going by his proper name." Some ships themselves bore false names and recruited crew illegally. Euroamerican vessels, then, would expose islander neophytes to a special kind of "savagery," the negative imprint of whose teachers was lamented by some observers.

Despite its assimilative structural unity, the Euroamerican shipping limen was also multifarious. For example, whalers, despite the uncertain pay, hard rowing, risky hunt, oily try-works and epithet "dirty blubber hunters," looked askance at the tame monotony of merchant shipping and claimed to prefer "following the seas for life." More importantly, by the time Euroamerican seamen regularly visited Pacific islands, they were accustomed to relying on non-white shipmates to assist them or boost their numbers. African "Kruboys" enabled foreign shippers to function, even while slave trading, along tropical coasts where white seamen had no immunities to local diseases. Indian "lascars" provided a similar service and, along
with quasi-Malay "manilla-men," found their way from Asian waters into the Inner Pacific. As early as the seventeenth century, Spanish galleons brought Filipinos and Chinese from Manila to Acapulco, where they mingled with Native American and African sailors. American ships, whose crews were sometimes half to three-quarters foreign-born, brought more sailors of African and Native American descent into the Pacific. The former were often stereotyped as cooks and the latter as harpooners. Kanakas would form their own regional labor pool, as essential to Euroamerican shipping as any other. The crew of Melville's ill-fated Pequod was a hodge-podge of ethnicities, from Sicilian to Tahitian. Its three harpooners were Queequeg the Fijian, Tashtego the Native American and Daggoo the African, while manilla-men manned Ahab's own whaleboat. Indeed, Melville hinted that the quest for Moby Dick was symbolic of all things to all men: "in essence whiteness is not so much a color as the visible absence of color, and at the same time the concrete of all colors."41

Rites of Passage

Pacific islanders were subjected to a series of transformative initiations in the limen. One, ironically, was seasickness, a common enough rite of passage for continental recruits. Apparently the movement of larger ships on the waves was significantly different from what islanders were used to in canoes, as numerous accounts testify. Travelers like Omai and Kadu, ordinary recruits, and islander women accompanying their husbands, all suffered through this adjustment. Until he acquired his sea legs, Lee Boo often had to lie down and dreamt that his parents knew he was sick. Just as old salts taunted
greenhands about their seasickness, Dumont d'Urville ridiculed a Maori chief: "It was indeed curious to see this savage, who would have faced death without flinching on a battlefield, so downcast and griefstricken that he abandoned himself to his sorrow and whined plaintively like a sulky child who cannot get his own way." An American whaler also wrote an unsympathetic description of his newly hired kanakas rolling between the rails as the ship moved, groaning in their own spilled food and vomit. In 1795, the Lee Boo and Jackall escaped captivity, in part, because the Hawaiian warriors aboard had become seasick.

Less surprising a test of will, perhaps, was homesickness. An American seaman once said, "I have seen many a homesick fellow that would have given anything in the world, if he had it, if he could only get his feet again on Yankee soil." Tupaia and Kadu, already away from their native islands, showed no regret about leaving their friends, but Moehanga wept and sang himself to sleep at night. Omai's Maori servant boys wept and sang mournfully for a week after leaving New Zealand. Blackbirded islanders, of course, had even more reason to lament their plight. When missionary John Williams kidnapped the two Niueans to convert them, he candidly recorded their unhappiness: "as the youths perceived that we were losing sight of their island, they became most frantic in the expressions of their grief, tearing their hair and howling in the most affecting manner... for the first three or four days their incessant howlings were of the most heart-rending description; we could induce them neither to eat, to drink nor to sleep." Five Tikopians taken by explorer
Dumont d'Urville panicked: "Those poor wretches at first wanted to throw themselves into the sea to get back to their island, and they asked for pieces of wood, indicating by signs that these would be sufficient to keep them afloat." Mesiol "would sit on deck and search the ocean for Ponape." Morrell's Melanesian captive Sunday could hardly eat or sleep as he finally neared his home island and spent whole days peering from the fore-topsail yard.

Anxiety over unfamiliar surroundings, common enough in cross-cultural confrontations, was another obstacle for islander neophytes to overcome. Impressed when French medical techniques healed a sailor bitten by a poisonous sea-snake, Ahutoru expressed culture shock: "this islander would often fall into an ecstatic fit, and blush for his own country, saying with grief, aouaou Taiti." Even adventurous Kadu stayed close beside his adoptive Russian captain. During a shipboard rocket demonstration, the frightened King of Tonga held his host's wrist. Similarly, Nena of Kosrae, awed by the strangeness of the ship's forge, bell and telescope, clung to his host's arm. Such insecure awe could also translate into pleased astonishment. Maoris were at first amazed at how easily the British sawed logs into planks with metal tools or repaired the muskets they bought. Te Pahi and other Maori travelers experienced strange surprises: "The operation of shaving transfixed them with wonder; the reflection of their faces in a mirror filled them with delight." When the band of a U.S. warship played martial tunes on deck for Marquesans or Tahitians, they crouched "in perfect silence, as if under the influence of a charm." Familiarity, however, tended to de-mystify
alien technology. Sunday, Benjamin Morrell's captive, studied foreign tools and machinery to master "the use and principle of every operation."\(^6\)

Islander recruits or passengers worried about many things, such as getting lost when their familiar landmarks disappeared.\(^6\) Ahutoru once seized the wheel at the helm and tried to steer Bougainville's ship toward a certain star.\(^6\) The sheer vastness of the deep could intimidate even people with a seafaring tradition,\(^6\) and one islander, after helping to secure a whale after dark, panicked and might have capsized his boat if the mate had not held a pistol to his head to calm him down.\(^7\) During a gale, a Tahitian on the Duff asked the captain if the ship would not die. So convinced was he that he would never see home again that his spirit remained low even after the weather cleared.\(^7\) Maori chiefs despaired so much during a tempest that only a white female convict could keep them in order. After that, they prayed to their atua.\(^7\) Makea of Rarotonga stayed close to his missionary host during a storm en route to Aitutaki and declared: "Never again will I call those men warriors who fight on the shore; the English only, who battle with the winds and waves of the ocean, are worthy of that name."\(^7\) Omai, too, was afraid he would not survive his first storm at sea.\(^7\)

Islanders could be as wary as Euroamericans among strangers. Omai, who had just escaped being sacrificed on Huahine and murdered on Ra'iatea, was terrified by the first Sunday service he witnessed at sea. His friend James Burney wrote, "he seeing every body getting together, suspected it was to consult whether or not we should kill
him--we were some time before we could learn the cause of his uneasiness & then it was with difficulty we were able to quiet his apprehensions . . ." Kadu thought his Russian hosts would devour him, because his friends had warned him of the danger--Magellan's crew had, after all, eaten Chamorro intestines--and he had seen the crew eating salted ribs. When he saw cattle for the first time in Alaska and was told the meat came from them, he was overjoyed. Surville's captive Solomon islander, Lova Sarague, thought he would be eaten by the French until he saw them eating biscuit and tried some. Ranginui, the captive Maori, shared the same concern. Williams' captive Niueans at first refused cooked flesh in disgust, thinking they too would be cannibalized, until they saw the Christians preparing and eating a pig. Islanders sometimes feared the other beaches ships took them to, because they knew the territorial reputation of the local inhabitants. Dumont's Maori guests were so afraid of neighboring canoers that they hid their faces, then "begged, nay, implored me to kill the newcomers. They went so far as to demand guns so that they could fire on them themselves." Yet such concerns are usually temporary and not necessarily typical of all liminars. J. C. Mullett found two Hawaiian neophytes to be "strangers to fear [who] were always ready to brave any danger, at the word given."

Another initiation that all islander recruits endured, usually with delight, was adopting Euroamerican physical appearance. Western seamen, after all, required a certain kit, walk and look, as if they belonged to "another country." As Richard Henry Dana explained in 1840:
A sailor has a peculiar cut to his clothes, and a way of wearing them which a green hand can never get. The trousers, tight around the hips, and thence hanging long and loose about the feet, a superabundance of checked shirt, a low-crowned, well-varnished black hat, worn on the back of the head, with half a fathom of black ribbon hanging over the left eye, and a slip-tie to the black silk neckerchief, with sundry other minutiae, are signs, the want of which betrays the beginner at once.84

In 1829, the crew of a U.S. warship transformed Marquesans visiting on deck: "they had been but a few minutes with us, before they were metamorphosed, from bare savages, into sturdy tars, in frocks, trowsers, and tarpaulin..."85 After one whaler recruited a near-naked Hope (Arorae) islander in 1854, "The old man sent him forward and told us to use him well and learn him something. One gave him a shirt, another a hat, pants, etc. We then cut his hair, put a knife in his pocket, Christened him Hope and had him metamorphosed into a Yankee sailor."86 The uniform of "civilization" could even be a primary incentive for islanders to enlist.87 Usually, outfits for new recruits came from the ship's slop chest,88 but "noble savages" were likely to receive finer clothing.89

Indeed, gifts of exotic apparel were not only a form of assimilation but a means of pacification when a common language was lacking,90 especially if the voluntarism of the travelers was questionable.91 Islander "haves" often showed off their acquisitions rather ostentatiously to "have-nots" or expressed embarrassment at other islanders' nakedness.92 Omai flaunted his London souvenirs to Maoris to arouse their envy; it helped him recruit his dazzled servant boys.93 Kotzebue noted that Kadu so enjoyed displaying himself in his new finery that he disdained even looking at his canoe-bound friends:
Kadu, who had been presented with a yellow cloak, and red apron, walked proudly in his ludicrous finery, without condescending to notice his companions, who gazed on him with astonishment from their boats, and could not conceive the metaphorosis. In vain they cried 'Kadu! Kadu!' He did not deign them a look, but walked proudly about on the deck, always taking care to turn himself in such a manner that they might be able to admire his finery. 94

One Hawaiian became a real beau, "curled and perfumed like his white shipmate, and wearing Congress boots on his feet, and gloves on his hands, and smiles on his dusky face . . ." 95 Even castaways or other passengers sometimes had to conform to the dress, hairstyle and cleanliness standards of their foreign rescuers, though shoes were difficult to enforce. 96 Euroamerican clothing could become an acquired taste. Lee Boo of Belau at first took off the shirt and waistcoat he had received as too uncomfortable, but he always wore his trousers. George Keate, somewhat naively, said of him, "when he had been a little time accustomed, his new-taught sense of propriety was so great, that he would never change his dress, or any part of it, in the presence of another person, always retiring for that purpose to some dark corner where no one could see him." 97

Islanders could turn such cross-cultural signs in various directions in the theatrical limen. For example, the Tahitian Poreo used his foreign clothing as a disguise, even muttering English-sounding nonsense words, when he went ashore with Cook at unfamiliar Huahine. 98 Opai, a Hawaiian on the Hope in 1791, insisted on wearing his best American suit when going ashore for water in the Marquesas: "When he returned on board, I enquired of him what he had seen on shore, and his answer was many fine women. I asked him if he saw
nothing else, but he said no, for the women crowded about him so as to shut away other objects from his sight." Some early Maoris and Hawaiians still wore their traditional costume on special ambassadorial occasions. Ka'iana, however, soon doffed his chiefly feather cloak and, according to John Meares, "wore the dress of Europe with the habitual ease of its inhabitants, and had not only learned the use and arrangement of its various articles, but applied his knowledge to the uniform and most minute practice of personal cleanliness and decorum." Similarly, Samuel Marsden's traveling Maori chiefs wore their traditional mats until they arrived back in New Zealand, where they went ashore in full military uniform, armed with swords, pistols and muskets, to impress their rivals. At his Sunday service, they again dressed European-style: "though it did not become them as well as their own, it gave them quite a civilized look, particularly those who were not much tattooed. Two of them had got soldiers' jackets and caps, of which they seemed extremely proud..." In 1827, the Maori commoner Moehanga, who had already been to England, asked Peter Dillon to take him to Calcutta; he wanted a red soldier's jacket to complement his old cap. Escaping Maori slave Kokako, to become a uropi, put on his new French clothes "straight away as if he had been used to them all his life."

Costume could become a form of dialogue. Islander interpreters sometimes removed their foreign clothes in order to win the confidence of other islanders, as Ahutoru did in the Samoas. Lojeik of Ebon, who had been away whaling for many years, was unrecognized by his own people until he opened his shirt to display his traditional tattoo.
In 1824, Te Pehi Kupe jumped onto the British whaler Urania leaving most of his attire in a canoe, which he sent away. Wearing nothing but a mat, he insisted that the captain take him to see King George, for guns and clothing such as Hongi Hika had received.\textsuperscript{109} As sailor clothing made its way onto island beaches, some visitors mocked the "bohemian" appearance of local boatmen dressed in motley old hand-me-downs.\textsuperscript{110} In 1840, a whaler laughed at seeing two Hawaiians in Honolulu lord it over their still-poorer compatriots. One wore a sailor's heavy pea-jacket without pants, and the other big boots and a malo.\textsuperscript{111} Yet a visitor to the Marquesas praised the contrast between "the glittering buttons, epaulets, and laced hat of an officer thickly thronged, or the less expensive but gayer uniform of a marine," of which he obviously approved, and "the wild islander, with his tataued skin, savage ornaments, unlanced spear, and war-club tufted with the hair of enemies, slain by him in battle."\textsuperscript{112} Such condescension toward indigenous dress is ironic, considering the flights of fancy that Euroamericans sometimes indulged in when they gave islanders clothes. One British crew hired a ni-Vanuatu interpreter and dressed him up "in a delightful Christy Minstrel dress."\textsuperscript{113}

Perhaps the ultimate identity transformation was the nicknaming that islanders underwent by their shipmates, a rather common practice on Euroamerican ships.\textsuperscript{114} Though such naming could be sarcastic at times, it was reminiscent of the island custom of adopting new names or titles to fit new circumstances.\textsuperscript{115} Hitihiti, for example, had been called Mahine before he exchanged names with a chief on Moorea.\textsuperscript{116} Ahutoru exchanged names with Bougainville and thereafter called himself
Boutavery, but on his way home from France he changed his name again, to Mayoa. Indigenous names were often difficult for non-islanders to pronounce: "they very soon had others given them, that arose from personal peculiarities, or from some whim of the sailors with whom they messed; and they were consequently seldom called by their real names, except at muster." Only two of ten Hawaiians hired by an English merchant ship in 1849 kept their old names: "Chance, or some peculiarity of the individual, soon fastened new appellations upon the [kanakas], and they bore them thereafter, while with us." The derivations of Big Man and Little Bill are obvious; John Gilpin apparently had the same posture as an English cartoon character by that name. Maori chiefs asked Peter Dillon for English names in order, they believed, to be treated better, so he gave them outlandish titles, such as Admiral Thaki, King Charley Moyhanger or Marquis Wyemattee. He named one after a Dr. Robert Tytler who had taken him to court in Tasmania, and others after Irish personalities, such as His Royal Highness Brian Boroo, a celebrated king who had died fighting the Danes.

Every nation named its islander recruits in its own way, thereby adopting them into its own "family" on the sea. A Dutch trader engaged a Hawaiian sailor who had already served on several American whalers and renamed him Kroon (Crown). Spaniards named their Tahitian guests in Peru Manuel, Francisco or Jose. Herman Vesta was named after Alfred Tetens' German ship, the Vesta, and the Euroamerican name for his islands, the Hermits. Because of their monarchy, British
ships produced a fair number of Georges. Russians renamed Lauri "Terentii in honor of the Saint on whose day he came into our service, as if by coming on that day he selected the saint as his patron." Americans gave Hawaiians easy nicknames like Jack or Tom and occasionally more nautical labels like Ropeyarn or Luff. Other recruits were named after misspellings of their islands, such as Owhyhee (Hawaii) or Oneehehow (Niihau). As time passed, islander travelers acquired Biblical names by becoming Christians. In 1834, a Fijian sailor took the name Verani, for having been on a French ship, but by 1850 he was a Christian convert named Elijah.

Some islanders chose foreign names, such as William Gardener or John Parkey, from men they admired or resembled. Opai of Kauai, after sailing to the American Northwest, China and Boston, took the nickname Jack and the family name of his second shipmaster, Ingraham, though on the island of Hawaii he was known as Kalehua. Another Hawaiian who worked in the Northwest fur trade called himself George Washington. After visiting Sydney, the Maori chief Korokoro insisted on being called Governor Macquarie; he also wanted men to bow to him, so he could extend a hand to them, with a slight nod, "as a mark of his condescension." Maui, a Maori boy who had lived with the Drummond family at Norfolk Island and Sydney, took the name Tommy Drummond--until he became a Christian in London, whereupon he reassumed the name Maui. Such shifting appellations sometimes disguised islander seamen in the historical records and quite possibly transformed the islanders' perceptions of themselves. I recall working on a ship where, in a moment of noisy confusion, the boatswain started
calling me Bill. Who, I wondered, was this "Bill"? I realized that I could make him whomever I wanted. I felt oddly freed to experiment with my new identity.

Generically, however, islanders remained categorized as "others," whether called natives, savages, blacks, boys or kanaks, a Polynesian term for "person" that also connoted lowly status. Indeed, the label kanaka gave islanders a certain liminal communitas that transcended the individual nicknames Euroamericans gave them. The word even became current in poly-linguistic Melanesia, along with other racial terms like blackboy, nigger, buck and fuzzy-wuzzy. As a result, the once-disunited Melanesian nationalists of modern New Caledonia have now rejected both their Greek and neo-Scottish labels and call themselves Kanaks (from the French form of kanaka, "canaque") and their islands "Kanaky." Other foreign appellations also affixed themselves to islander identities, such as Marquesan. Early Spanish explorers transferred Columbus' misnomer from the Americas to the Pacific by calling black Melanesians "Indians," perhaps reflecting their conquistadorial ambitions in the East Indies. Yet as late as 1827, Peter Dillon, who interacted with the indigenous peoples as much as anyone, was still calling his Polynesian crewmen, even those he took to India itself, "Indians." Names were thus ambulatory and subjective in the Pacific maritime frontier, sometimes changing more than once in a given individual's lifetime, and the resulting layers of assumed identity could be difficult to penetrate. Te Aara, the Maori chief of Whangaroa and mastermind of the Boyd massacre in 1809, learned fluent English aboard
whalers, took the name George and greeted foreigners with an ironic
"How do you do, my boy?" Morrell, Crusoe-style, called his
kidnapped black New Guinean Sunday, after the day of the week he was
captured. But he later told the American press that the man's real
name was Tellum-by-by Darco.

Naming is but one aspect of language, a form of representative
discourse that challenged every neophyte in the theatrical limen.
Islander travelers on alien ships taught their own languages, learned
those of their employers or got by with a pidgin mélangé of both.
Foreign explorers, mutineers, missionaries, traders, settlers and co-workers
studied island languages. Some "noble savage" diplomats, such as Ahutoru and Omai, had difficulty learning
their hosts' languages and relied on foreign translators, but
others quickly learned enough to speak "broken" English, including
sailor swear words. The Tahitian guests in Peru were interviewed
"in the Spanish language" and showed themselves "bright and intelligent"
enough to describe, probably with many gestures, the previous visits
to their island by Wallis, Bougainville and Cook. Survive's
captive Solomon islander learned French with great facility, though
staying in Peru for a while with the crew temporarily confused his
acquired vocabulary and accent. Te Pehi Kupe knew just enough
English, "King George" and "Europe," to get himself to London. Two New Caledonian chiefs went to Sydney in the 1840s and learned
"enough English to make conversation."

The English that islanders learned on whaleships, even after
years of service, was minimally functional. If illiterate, they
sometimes signed their "X" to the ship's articles that designated their lay (share), perhaps witnessed by a consul. 167 Yet blank expressions or purely indigenous chatter might frustrate the mates giving orders and result in abuse, lower pay or even dismissal. 168 The inability of one mate to communicate with his Tahitian crew during bad weather caused a shipwreck. 169 Blackbirded Mesiol of Pohnpei knew so little pidgin English that he felt isolated and homesick and had to learn by doing. 170 Lack of verbal communication could even produce mental breakdown, as one Nauruan stowaway experienced: "His eyes had a rather wild and worried expression . . . He soon began to get excited and talked quite fast in his own tongue. I tried to calm him but he suddenly grabbed me by the wrist and gave me such a wild look that I wrenched myself free . . . " 171 A pidgin lingua franca, based on infinitives and slang suitable to the international maritime frontier, developed in ports and on ships with mixed crews even before the plantation labor era in the Pacific. 172 "Whaler's Maori" evolved along the coasts of New Zealand. 173 Kokako, the Maori slave who persuaded Dumont to hire him as a sailor, communicated with the Frenchman "in his own language, a mixture of the New Zealand tongue and debased English." 174 Even the French-derived verb "sabe" or "savey" migrated around the Pacific. 175 In 1858, the Marquesan chief Old John of Fatuhiva warned a captain's wife about his subjects, "They sava plenty steal." 176

Religion provided another realm of cross-cultural confrontation. Islanders brought their own animistic beliefs onto the liminal deck
and at first clung tenaciously to them, despite Euroamerican skepticism. 177 For example, Ahutoru insisted to Bougainville that the sun and moon were inhabited but that, unlike meteors, periodic comets were not ill omens. 178 Tupaia, however, interpreted the sighting of a comet as an evil omen indicating that Borabora would again invade Ra'iatea. He also prayed to Tane for wind and claimed success, disregarding Joseph Banks' disbelief, and told stories about Maui, the pan-Polynesian demi-god, which Cook branded "absurd." 179 Kadu, too, prayed for favorable winds, but, Chamisso wrote, "we laughed, and he soon laughed himself at these adjurations, which he afterwards only reported in joke, to amuse us." 180 Islanders held their own religious services aboard foreign ships and prayed for everything from good health to fair weather. 181 Hitihiti said the source of all inspirations was the stomach, not the mind, 182 and Omai explained, "the memory and understanding are Lodged in the Belly, the head is only an instrument— the head sees and speaks but the Belly dictates." 183 That, he said, was how the atua (gods) told Tahitian priests in their oracle towers when human sacrifices were needed. 184 Hawaiians also used this common Polynesian metaphor. 185

Cultural diversity caused islanders to express their spiritual beliefs in various, sometimes conflicting, ways. When Hitihiti chanted solemnly to a heron, a bird sacred on Borabora, Omai (no lover of Boraborans) ridiculed him, claiming the British ate his atua. 186 Nayti saved white albatross feathers, which he regarded as valuable gifts for his Maori kin when he returned home. 187 Two islander sailors claimed that prayers to sacred birds saved them when they fell
When one crew bathed in the ocean during calm weather, three Marquesan sailors enjoyed diving forty feet off the fore-yard—after first reciting a hurried chant. They also refused to eat chicken, which they said was sacred on their island; one broke that tabu in Honolulu and became very sick. When a Maori fell ill with tuberculosis on the Dromedary, a compatriot shaved his head with a shell and quarantined him under strict tabu, but he died anyway. Another who died of dysentery was wrapped in his mat and buried by his chief ashore in New Zealand. When Marsden prayed on Sunday to his God for an end to a storm, which did not abate, his Maori passengers concluded their atua were more powerful. They also believed Marsden's friend Ruatara died because of an enemy's curse. Ruatara had explained many Maori beliefs to his English hosts, including that the Pleiades were seven men sent into space after their deaths as punishment. Other islanders likened the carved figures on ship bows or sterns to sacred icons. Yet as time passed, missionization ashore produced sea-going Christians. As early as 1827, Dillon buried an Aitutakian crewman at sea, "one of the Otaheitans on board, a Christian of the Protestant persuasion, performing the funeral service extemporaneous over the body." Islander sailors went through one initiation ritual that all seamen endured who crossed the Line (equator) for the first time: the rite of Neptune. On the eve of that fateful passage over an invisible world demarcation, King Neptune might call from under the bow, "Ship ahoy!" After the ship identified itself, Neptune would ask if any of his children were aboard who had never seen his dominions.
When the captain said aye, the Sea King made an appointment for noon the following day. The great crossing would be celebrated by shaving neophytes, under the watchful gaze of the royal retinue, in a chair built to tip backwards and dunk its occupant into a stretched canvas bath: "two sailors immediate seize the victim and dip and splash him around until he is greatly exhausted and nearly drowned." The ceremony was specifically designed to crush egos into more agreeable shape. Those who wanted to forego the shaving and dunking were sometimes allowed to pay a fine, by buying grog for Neptune and his entourage, though too many fines paid once made a "god" so merry that, "tired of being out of his element," he jumped overboard and had to be rescued. On another ship, the cook defended himself from his would-be initiators with an iron spit: "in vain did the pipes of the pumps drench the unruly cook with salt water, which mingled with the sauces he had prepared, without making them any the worse." One English crew warned its new Tahitian recruits about "infernal spirits rising out of the water" whenever ships reached a certain place in the ocean. The poor neophytes were already regretting their having left the sight of land and embarked on a seemingly endless voyage. Terrified, they asked if the monster stories were true, and "on being undeceived, gave a scope to their joy in the most extravagant manner, leaping and hallooing about the deck." They were still shaved at the equator, and the ritual seemed to make "a deep impression on the Otaheitans." Two young Hawaiians, Opukahaia and Hopu, experienced the rite aboard an American sealer when it reached the Atlantic. Their version took place entirely at night. Kept aft on
the quarter-deck, they were told that Neptune was a god who could make his iron canoe and paddle float. One sailor went forward, dressed in an old great coat and sheepskin hair, and called out loudly through a speaking-trumpet, "Have you got my boys?" When the captain answered yes, both islanders had to go shake hands with the King or become his servants in the sea. Their reward for such courtesy was having seawater poured through his trumpet into their mouths. Opukahaia held the trumpet against his cheek in the dark to escape swallowing, but Hopu vomited for a whole day.201

Other Adjustments

Living accommodations always require adjustments when crossing cultural frontiers, partly because they test notions of status. "Noble savage" diplomats had a few more privileges than their proletarian counterparts. Some traveled with their own servants.202 A captain would divide islander travelers into either cabin-mates or crew-like according to their perceived status or utility.203 Important dignitaries usually slept in an officers' cabin, in a normal berth or on a floor mat or hospital mattress, while lesser guests might be assigned a sail on the half-deck, depending on the discretion of the captain.204 The crowded, smoky forecastle, "black and slimy with filth, very small, and as hot as an oven,"205 awaited those designated as functional commoners, even if they might be chiefs at home.206 A Massachusetts historian called the forecastles of whaleships "more efficient schools of vice than reformatories."207 Yet even neophyte cabin guests did not necessarily sleep well, sometimes getting up or giggling all night because of their novel surroundings.208 Two New
Guineans traveling with Morrell at first were afraid even to enter the cabin, "thinking that the vessel had no bottom . . ." Cook bedded his three Maori boy captives "upon the lockers" after a full meal, with Tupaia standing watch to comfort them, but Omai’s Maori servants were sent to steerage, where only their own cloaks separated them from the bare deck. Kadu slept above deck at first, on a mat close to the captain, who was avoiding the heat of his cabin and also keeping an eye on his guest. But Kadu took such proximity to his shipmaster as a distinct honor and later ate and slept with the officers in the aft cabin. Hawaiian and Tongan royals traveled as Euroamerican passengers did.

Such V.I.P. treatment could lead to class ambiguities and friction aboard the ship. Pacific islanders knew about hierarchy, especially on long voyages. "Noble savage" diplomats sometimes assumed the same rank as ship’s officers and treated common white seamen as slaves. Ahutoru acted as haughtily toward his French shipmates as any Tahitian ari ‘i would toward his subjects, but there were apparently limits to the privileges of "tygerhood." Tupaia alienated many of the white crew by expecting special treatment from them. In contrast, his young servant Tayota seemed to fulfill their expectations, "being of a mild and docile disposition, ready to do any kind office for the meanest in the ship, and never complaining but always pleased." Humble Tayota became "the darling of the ship’s company from the highest to the lowest." Omai, without traditional status but elevated by Cook’s favoritism, railed at the common sailors who taunted him when he drank too much and threw up. Kadu flaunted his new status by asking the
common sailors to wait upon him as they would an officer, but according to Kotzebue, "He once ordered the waiter to bring him a glass of water; the latter took him by the arm, led him to the water-butt, and gave him the cup out of which the others drank."218

Sensitive islanders could mitigate such tensions. The Maori chief Tetoro praised those English shipmates who spoke to him instead of ignoring him, likening their courtesy to that of King George himself, who had taken off his hat for Te Pahi's visiting son.219 Morrell's Sunday got along well with everyone in the crew by displaying "a most inveterate and praiseworthy habit of minding his own business."220 Young Maori chiefs were willing to do cabin chores, such as washing plates or mopping the deck, as long as no one suggested that such work was beneath their station. Yet one sulked in his bed after his own servant forgot to put sugar in his tea; only Marsden's delivering the sugar himself assuaged Tupehi's hurt feelings.221 Dumont's Tikopian commoners found themselves sleeping in the cutter, but because they were only exotic passengers to Vanikoro, they spent their days chatting under an awning set up on its stern.222 Indeed, islanders were sometimes surprised by the courtesies bestowed upon their commoner compatriots, or even upon Euroamerican common sailors, such as a decent burial at sea.223

Eating habits, food tastes and standards of cleanliness often rankle when cultures meet. The daily fare aboard ships was not generally gourmet, perhaps consisting of salted meat, hard biscuit and boiled potatoes, with molasses pudding or grog as treats.224 Islanders generally preferred fresh fish, such as dolphin or shark,225
to ship fare, though some liked salted pork and bread soaked in coffee. Eating at the officers' table with proper utensils was evidently considered more liminal for islanders than the sailors' mess. The English captain who took Te Pehi Kupe to London said of the Maori chief, "all the time he was on board he lived at my table ... The man is now civilized." The Hawaiian envoy Manuia showed such good table manners when dining with Kotzebue that his Russian host concluded "he had often been on board European ships," but even the neophyte Kadu "accustomed himself with incredible readiness to the use of knives and forks ... as if he had been long associated with civilized people." Morrell's two New Guineans did not find the transition so smooth, as Thomas Jacobs depicts rather colorfully:

When we placed them at the supper-table, they sat very uneasily, and, jumping up, examined closely the camp-stools upon which we had seated them. Having satisfied themselves how they were made, and that there was no charm about them, they again were seated. The knives, forks, plates, cups, etc. underwent a severe scrutiny. They thought that tin cups, bottles, and tumblers were shells that grew upon the coral reefs and sand-spits in the moon ... When offered salted meat and hard bread to eat, they spat it out, preferring the local fruit aboard. One whaler fed its ten Hawaiian recruits stewed beans from a communal pan, which was apparently typical for common seamen. Anyone who complained about his food might have to sit watch on the masthead for hours. Islanders' eating fish raw, hungrily going through the sailors' mess tins for leftovers or feeding on the intestines of slaughtered animals could shock their hosts, but the average Euroamerican sailor was not particularly renowned for his high standards, either.
washed himself several times a day,241 and other islanders were also
fastidious,242 but some offended their Euroamerican shipmates by their
relative lack of cleanliness and the consequent vermin they carried.243

Inner Pacific islanders seemed to possess, if not universally
then quite commonly, one important talent that eased their adaptation
to shipboard life: mimicry. E Ware won himself a job on a New
Zealand Company ship, as Jim Crow,244 by "mimicking almost every one
on board."245 Omai's younger Maori servant, Kokoa, made himself
popular among the English crew by copying their ways and showing "a
very humorous and lively disposition . . . he afforded us much mirth
with his drolleries."246 Kotzebue said of Hawaiians, "Their great
talent is mimicry, and habit made it very easy for us to understand
each other."247 Kadu tried to imitate Kotzebue's walk and mannerisms,
and when he heard Chamisso counting in Spanish, he skillfully copied
his voice.248 Nena of Kosrae "wanted, from the first moment, to
conform to our habits, sit only on a chair, spit only in a spitoon
. . ."249 Three Marquesans aboard an American whaler mimicked "the
sailors' dances, the singing tone of the Sandwich Islanders, peculiar-
ities of manner amongst the crew, or the English language; which last
they considered was nearest approached, by combining with some 'unknown
tongue' a constant succession of hissing sounds."250 Maoris with
Marsden amused themselves "in imitating the particular manner of
walking, or any singularity of attitude which they had observed among
the different persons in the ship."251 Sometimes islanders parodied
Euroamerican courtesies for fun,252 and one Maori asked an English
shipmate wearing glasses if he could see Australia with them: "this
was considered an excellent joke by his countrymen, who laughed heartily at it. 253 When a galley cook scolded some Hawaiians for being dirtier than dogs and threatened to provide them with a trough to eat from, they laughed: "First, sundry diabolical grins were interchanged, then followed pantomimic action, and then barbarous words, and, at length, by way of pleasantry, they made feints to, and actually did lick the bean soup off from each other." 254 Richard Dana noted that Hawaiians were such good mimics that they picked up on their co-workers' quirks "before we had observed them ourselves." 255 One English sailor who squinted and cocked his eye was mimicked by Hawaiian commoners and chiefs alike. 256

Story-telling was another Inner Pacific talent which lent itself well to life among sailors on extended voyages. Tall tales helped seamen make their lives more exciting and passed the time on long watches. 257 It was the entertainment value of a story that counted, not its literal truth, though veracity was ritually insisted upon: "The important thing is not that one lies, but how one lies." 258 A French mariner said, "The more heartily the auditor laughed, the more severe had been the sufferings of the narrator . . . Seamen have a language of their own; a dictionary peculiar to themselves: the nautical terms with which they interlard their narratives produce a truly burlesque effect. They colour what we merely sketch; and their style is a series of images always correct and always striking." 259 A New England trader described story-telling as the sailor's chief glory:
The sailor, after all, is not such an 'unhappy-dog' as many imagine. And those who dwell on shore, whom he has given the 'sobriquet' of 'land-lubbers,' 'Jack' would not exchange situations with. Seated around his kid of beef and bread with his messmates, and in the interval of eating and drinking, holding a junk of beef in one hand, and his jack-knife in the other, assuming a serio-comic face as he commences spinning one of his 'long yarns' to his brother tars, who break out into a broad and hearty laugh when he arrives at the climax of his tale; at such moments, he appears to be the happiest being in the world.

Visitors had long praised Pacific islander oratorical skills. "Adroit lying," or exaggerating partial-truths, was already a perfected tradition in the Pacific. Omai was "addicted to romancing" when he described what he'd seen. He held court among Maoris, who were attentive but in Cook's view, "neither understood nor wished to understand what they heard," and he told Cook islanders that the British "had ships as large as their island, that carried guns so large that several people might sit within them and that one of these guns was sufficient to destroy the whole island at one shot." Kadu thought Chamisso's account of travel by hot-air balloons just as incredible as his description of a horse-drawn coach, but he enjoyed telling his Marshallese friends ashore about his own fabulous adventures. When three chiefs visited the ship, he guided them around, pretending to explain the function of everything they saw, even snuff: "when, to make the matter quite plain to them, he took up the snuff to his nose, he threw the box from him, and began to sneeze, and to cry immoderately, that his astonished auditors ran from him in different directions; but he soon collected himself, and knew how to turn the affair into a joke." E Ware, so entertaining to his
shipmates as Jim Crow, told his curious Maori kin about his travels: "Nothing can remind one more forcibly of the monkey who has seen the world, than a maori thus relating news. He is an incorrigible exaggerator, and swells each minute circumstance into an affair of state, taking delight in drawing repeated exclamations of amazement from the surrounding badauds, who . . . drink in his metaphors and amplifications." In fact, such tales of wonder helped provide ships with fresh recruits. As one sea captain said in 1874, "your travelled South Sea Islander is always a liar--even if he were not, he would always get the credit of being one." Travelers were, in a sense, obliged to tell exotic stories yet also doubted for it.

Pre-literate Pacific islanders sometimes recorded their experiences in chants or songs which provided both private comfort and social currency aboard ship. Kadu learned songs in various languages wherever he went, which "served him, as it were, as a book, in which he sought explanation or confirmation of his assertions." He often sang a chant in honor of Don Luis de Torres, the Governor of Guam who had reopened trade links with his native Woleai; Chamisso learned it and later passed it on to the governor himself. Chants could assuage homesickness or generate it, as one longtime Maori sailor found after hearing Marsden's chiefly dignitaries: "Poor Tommy was so much taken up with the songs and tales of his countrymen, which most probably awakened in his mind some early recollections of a pleasing nature, that, during the whole voyage, he was of no service to us . . ." Such chants could sometimes be satirical of unknowing shipmates, as one "noted improvisatore" demonstrated while working among
Americans and Englishmen: "by the occasional shouts and laughter of the Kanakas, who were at a distance, it was evident that he was singing about the different men that he was at work with. They have great powers of ridicule..."276 One trader complained when his Yapese divers kept themselves happy on voyages" by incessant, ear-splitting singing,"277 but an American praised his Marquesan harpooner's singing: "He had a rich, mellow voice and it was a joy to hear the sailor's yodel when he would assist in hoisting the topsails."278

The cross-cultural deck could indeed work both ways. A Hawaiian chief learned "Rule Britannia" from an English sailor: "Abenoue loved him better than any man in the ship, and always embraced him... and began to sing, Tule Billicany, Billicany tule..."279 George of Whangaroa learned very little English from shipmates but he "remembered some verses of the popular British songs, which he had learned during his service in one of our ships."280 Maori boatmen chanted to pass the time, and when a foreign companion began to put his own English words to their tune, "they all left off pulling to listen, so I was obliged to desist notwithstanding their reiterated cries of 'Tena! Tena!' (Go on! Go on!)"281 As if to presage the commodification of indigenous arts in our modern touristic age, Maori travelers often performed their famous grimacing, tongue-wagging, spear-wielding haka on foreign beaches as well as on deck: "they observed, and with a degree of ridicule, that no two white men ever moved their arms or legs in the same manner."282 Dillon, who self-promoted himself into a French title by unraveling the mystery of the La Pérouse shipwreck, recruited as many islander crew as anyone and
used them like circus acts to drum up publicity for his ventures. His Maoris gave interviews to the press and performed their war-like chant on command. In 1835, three Marquesans entertained their American shipmates by "performing, in unison, a slow, mournful chant, accompanied by an occasional clapping of the hands, their palms being kept concave to produce a hollow sound, which is varied to required keys." Yet Omai had learned to play a hand-organ and George Kaumuali'i a bass viol. By the 1870s, Hawaiian sailors were singing melodies and playing ukuleles.

In short, islanders brought the distinctive flavor of Pacific beaches to the foreign ships they worked on. Early "noble savage" travelers kept track of time using chips or knots in a cord. Tupaia, a healer himself, showed off his stingray-tail spear scar, which impressed Banks with islander medical skill. Indigenous navigational knowledge, perhaps the ultimate achievement of the Inner Pacific, also gained the respect of Euroamerican explorers. Informed islanders could name directional stars, interpret phases of the moon, predict landfalls and the weather, and draw charts of known islands, though as time passed these skills gradually declined and foreign ships often rescued lost canoes and castaways. Two young Hawaiian recruits marveled at how Euroamericans steered ships, "to think a man could guide such a noble piece of workmanship, to any part of the world, without a landmark." Maoris aboard an English ship at first thought the revered ship's compass was the white man's god. For other islanders, a ship's compass became a prize to possess. Kadu, who knew celestial navigation, was particularly impressed when the compass
enabled his hosts to predict landfall accurately, and according to Kotzebue, "he could not understand how we had found these islands [Marshalls] again, after wandering about for so long a time." But he seemed to realize that the Russians were learning by traveling, that, in Chamisso's words, "our superiority depended upon our greater knowledge," so he joined willingly in the research.296

Islanders endeared themselves to their shipmates in a number of ways. Euroamericans often commented that kanakas were warm-hearted and emotional,297 and Kadu impressed his Russian hosts with his generous gift-giving.298 In fact, kanaka sailors were known for sharing what they had with compatriots who lacked, "no matter how small the portion received by any one."299 When they smoked tobacco, for example, they passed the pipe around, after a couple of puffs, to be sociable.300 Wilkes considered it "one of the most pleasing of their social customs, and shows an absence of all selfishness."301 Hawaiians in San Diego introduced Dana to "Oahu puffs" that served for an hour or two: "using pipes with large bowls, and very short stems, or no stems at all [they] take a long draught, getting their mouths as full as they can of smoke, and their cheeks distended, and then let it slowly out through their mouths and nostrils."302 This adaptation enabled islanders to share in what had become a typical sailor pastime, along with making music, dancing, singing, scrimshaw carving, fishing, playing checkers or cards.303 Islander crewmen enjoyed fishing as much as other sailors did,304 and they brought their love of gambling aboard, perhaps nightly risking precious pounds of tobacco at poker.305 One form of acceptance was being preserved in the lore of the limen,
like the kanaka remembered for being the largest of a whaleboat crew of six unusually big men, each of whom weighed over 225 pounds.\textsuperscript{306}

Islanders brought their own expressions of manhood to ships. For example, their tattooing attracted attention, but their designs and techniques generally differed from the variety practiced by Euroamerican seamen.\textsuperscript{307} Charles Darwin observed of Tahitians in 1835, "To see a white man bathing by the side of a Tahitian, was like comparing a plant bleached by the gardeners' art, with one growing in the open fields. Most of the men are tattooed; and the ornaments follow the curvature of the body so gracefully, that they have a very pleasing and elegant effect ... I thought the body of a man thus ornamented, was like the trunk of a noble tree embraced by a delicate creeper."\textsuperscript{308} Some white beachcombers adopted indigenous tattooing when they had to acculturate to their host societies.\textsuperscript{309} Their return home as carnival stars, along with visits by Pacific islanders themselves, stimulated Euroamerican interest in the tattoo, itself a Polynesian-derived term.\textsuperscript{310} Wrestling was a common sport on Pacific islands, usually involving good-humored public challenges and throwing an opponent through sheer strength.\textsuperscript{311} Sunday, or Darco, was quite successful against his sporting shipmates: "He would smile pleasantly and open his arms, clasp them like a bear, and, with one tender hug, lay them sprawling and discomfited on the deck."\textsuperscript{312} A good-natured Hawaiian called Big Man bragged he could throw a white shipmate named Joe with one hand. "Not with both, big as you are," Joe bragged back. "Spose try," Big Man laughed. But Joe knew how to trip and threw the Hawaiian hard onto the deck twice. Then another white sailor threw
Joe down, whereupon Big Man egged Joe on to further duels: "Where your smart? You no put him down. Where your brag?"  

**Job Performance**

For neophytes, training in shipboard duties usually consisted of being arbitrarily divided into watches and "driven about mercilessly amid a perfect hurricane of profanity and blows." In the 1840s, half the American whaling fleet was composed of greenhands being "transformed into sailors," a pattern that often prevailed into the 1870s. Seasoning greenhands could be trying for a business-like officer. In 1840, Charles Wilkes regretted hiring so many Hawaiians to replace his discharged sailors: "though well-disposed men, they are unfitted for service in men-of-war. They do very well when they are working in small parties, but are inclined to be idle, and disposed to let others do all the work . . . they are not apt at learning either the language or the ideas necessary for sailors." Most disliked going aloft but proved useful in the ship's boats. Yet he praised the Tahitians already employed in his squadron, who worked speedily and well. A merchant mariner complained about the poor quality of the Hawaiians his ship hired at the peak of the 1849 gold rush when most experienced *kanakas* had already shipped out. "All the long day we labored, expostulated and gesticulated," he moaned, but even raising the anchor was slow work. Poor old John Gilpin, who had lied about being only twenty-eight years old, never understood his orders: "If he was told to find even the main topsail halliards, he would turn in every direction, with a ghastly grin on his anatomy of a face,
thrusting his hands in this way, and that." In 1851, the mostly-
islander crew of the Wanderer proved amateurish at first, particularly
a one-eyed Rotuman called Friday, who watched the compass with his
blind side and the rigging with the other. Beechey's castaway
passenger Tuwari "lent a willing hand to pull at a rope" but showed
no curiosity about learning.

Yet many Euroamerican mariners commended the rapidity with which
"tractable" islanders learned their nautical terminology and work
duties. As early as 1826, Anglo-Australian shippers recommended
that Britain annex New Zealand, in part because Maoris "readily
volunteer their services, and prove orderly and powerful seamen
..." In 1848, a mate on an American whaler said of two young
Hawaiian recruits, "I took them both in my watch, and my first business
was to learn them the English names of the ship's rigging, masts,
spars, etc., etc., which they learned very readily, and long before
the close of the voyage had become very handy." On another ship,
two Hawaiians rapidly were able to "climb aloft with extraordinary
velocity," and one learned to steer. Islander sailors transferred
to ship work traditional skills such as boat-handling, swimming and
diving, a carryover that their employers valued. To bring his
Russian hosts drinking water, Kadu "frequently went down to the bottom
of the sea, where it is well known that the water is not so salty,
with a cocoa-nut, with only a small opening." Tapeooe of Tahiti
used his diving skill to repair a leak on the bottom of the Plumo and
to gather bêche-de-mer from the waters around Belau. Islander
spear-throwing ability translated readily into harpooning.
dramatic whalehunt itself could be an attraction, albeit a destructive and sometimes dangerous one. Islanders apparently pursued whales with fearless enthusiasm. Even lookout duty could be a relief from the cramped forecastle, a chance for reflection about past and future: "The masthead was a little world of peace and seclusion ... ."

The keen eyesight of Pacific islanders made them excellent whale-spotters. Nor were they strangers to aspects of seafaring that enamored Euroamericans, such as "the beauty of the sea, the bright stars, and the clouds driven swiftly over them ... .", the "pure air" and the esoteric lore of old salts, of whom an American journalist waxed, "there is scarcely an Island, or a reef, which are known, that they cannot put their finger upon; many indeed, are known to them alone."

Pacific islanders, even if hired as common seamen, were expected to be guides and interpreters, however imperfectly, within their own region. Their communication skills helped both Euroamericans and other islanders to cross the maritime frontier. Perhaps the most astute pilot was Tupaia, who was not only helpful in the Society Islands but used his Tahitian to interpret between Cook and Maoris. Inter-Polynesian translating was not always easy, however, because of local language differences. Omai could not communicate with Maoris as well as Cook's veteran white sailors did, and Cook's Tahitians could not understand Tongan very well. In 1829, Tahitian and Hawaiian sailors on a U.S. warship in the Marquesas, "much embarrassed between an imperfect knowledge of English, and a variance between this dialect of the Polynesian tongue and their own," found it easier to let...
a local beachcomber translate for the natives.\textsuperscript{343} Nor was playing ambassador necessarily easy even for a fluent speaker, as Hitihiti, a Boraboran from Ra’iatea, found on Tahiti.\textsuperscript{344} Tupaia could sometimes prevent violence between other islanders and his British hosts, and gather information peacefully,\textsuperscript{345} but he also found himself in the compromising position of luring Maori canoers close enough to be kidnapped or killed.\textsuperscript{346} In 1775, the Spaniards used their gift-bearing Tahitians to befriend the suspicious people of Raiavavae,\textsuperscript{347} but at Temoe in 1797, a Tahitian with the Duff could not even hear the threatening people on the beach because of the crashing surf.\textsuperscript{348} Tuwari was afraid to go ashore at any Tuamotuan atoll other than his own.\textsuperscript{349} The translating of Oahu Sam, the Hawaiian barber of a Fijian chief, produced provisions at Malolo but could not prevent a bloody attack on Wilkes’ boat.\textsuperscript{350}

Nor did Wilkes’ Tahitian-speaking Maori crewman succeed in befriending the Tuamotuan chief of Reao, as the American commander’s period-piece description records:

\begin{quote}
John Sac was truly a savage, although he had imbibed some feelings of discipline, and was generally a well-disposed fellow . . . At times it was difficult to control John's movements. On this occasion he soon became provoked by the chief's obstinancy; and the idea of their receiving all our presents so greedily without even thanks in return, excited his native fire; his eyes shone fiercely, and his whole frame seemed agitated. Half naked as he was, his tattooing conspicuous, he stood in the bow of the boat brandishing his boat-hook like a spear with the dexterity of a savage. It was difficult to recognise the sailor in the fierce majestic-looking warrior before us. The chief and John kept passing words until both were becoming vociferous, the one appearing as savage as the other.\textsuperscript{351}
\end{quote}
A Hawaiian crewmember from another American ship who tried to communicate with unfriendly Tuamotuans was chased away with spears. Yet Tiemu of Anaa learned enough English from pearl diving to translate for a captain at Fangataufa. In 1842, Belauan bêche-de-mer divers helped explain to Yapese atoll-dwellers the purpose of their ship's visit. By 1866, Yapese divers were performing a similar service at other atolls. In 1851, Timmararare of Banaba translated for his captain at other i-Kiribati islands. In culturally diverse Melanesia, sailors as interpreters were a hit and miss proposition, depending on which cove the ship was anchored in. Dillon had to gather interpreters for his interpreters while questing for La Pérouse's shipwreck. When New Guinean canoers hailed Morrell's ship in 1834, "Prince Darco mounted the taffrail and harangued them in return, while we held up, and made a great flourish with condemned beads, looking-glasses, calico, and old rusty iron hoops." Sunday/Darco, like the Malagasy "kaffirs" Surville had dressed up as Solomon islanders sixty-five years earlier, was little more than another outsider hustling trinkets.

Islanders worked at a variety of jobs aboard ships. Apart from interpreting and informing, "noble savages" might have little to do but sing, chat or sleep. Omai dispensed grog, usually special rations at celebrations or as rewards to the crew for hard work. Marsden's Maoris spent most of their time carving spear-handles or cleaning the firearms they had acquired in Sydney, copying the way the ship's British soldiers stacked and maintained their muskets. Ruatara played chess, while Hongi constructed a cartridge-box.
Some guests, however, did cabin chores, helped with the pumps or even pulled at the ropes. Islander sailors, by contrast, might go with shore parties to gather coconuts from trees, "a task which they performed with much more ease than we could," to load water or cut wood, but their real specialty was boat-handling. Especially in difficult surf, such "landsmen" provided an essential link between ship and shore. Divers were equally important to pearling ships, but their employment was often irregular, and among the atolls they could easily be replaced if they produced too little shell. Many islanders served as cabin boys, personal servants, even cooks. Mesiol of Pohnpei scrubbed the decks, a daily shipboard routine, and because of his experience slaughtering pigs, helped the cook.

Thousands of islanders, however, worked as ordinary seamen on trading ships and whalers. By 1830, Northwest fur traders were manned largely by Hawaiians, and it had become standard practice to send out only skeletal crews from Boston because of the availability of Hawaiian labor. By the 1840s, as many as a thousand recruits left Hawaii every year, either for the Northwest or for whaling. At any one time, about three thousand were circulating on whaleships, comprising perhaps one-fifth of the sailors in the American whaling fleet. Maoris and Tahitians sometimes made up an even larger proportion of Australian whaling crews. By mid-century, some Pacific ship crews were two-thirds or more kanaka and included men from a variety of home islands, particularly Rotuma and the Loyalties. After the Melanesian sandalwood and labor trades
developed, ni-Vanuatu and Solomon Islanders found more jobs on ships. Louis Becke, in one of his reminiscing South Sea stories, described the kind of relationship that sometimes developed between kanakas and Euroamericans on trade vessels:

'Tarawa Bob' and 'Rotuma Tom,' two huge, soft-hearted, hard fisted able seamen, whose light brown skins were largely illustrated by fantastic devices in blue and vermilion, were the respective brothers-in-law of the gentlemen who officiated as first and second mates of the schooner--Messrs Joe Freeman and Pedro do Ray. And if, occasionally, their superior position made these officers in times of emergency address their tattooed brethren-in-law in vigorous and uncomplimentary language, emphasized by a knockdown blow, no ill will was either felt on one side nor engendered on the other. Therefore, in moments of relaxation, when the ship lay at anchor and there was nothing to do, the two white men seated on one side of the skylight and the two brown on the other, with a large bottle of Hollands gin, between them, would endeavor to rook each other at cards.

Islanders provided an essential labor component in the new Pacific shipping networks. Even Maori chiefs like Ruatara or George of Whangaroa helped to man whaleboats or slaughtered seals on desolate rock islands. True to the Queequeg archetype, islanders made fine harpooners. One whaler claimed that Maoris "will go alongside a Whale more boldly than a British Man." In Omoo, Melville's Bembo, based on his real-life Maori shipmate Benbo Byrne, supposedly defied death by actually jumping onto a whale to make sure his harpoon hit home and lived to rise out of the foam, a classic sea story that earned repetition in Arthur Thomson's 1859 history of New Zealand. Tall, strong Harry the Marquesan, according to a fellow harpooner, "was an ideal man for this position and might well have posed for
French's statue of the 'Whaleman.'" Harry's brother was also a harpooner, but it was Harry who won the prize of twenty pounds of tobacco for being the first to sight a whale on his two-hour watch atop the fore-topgallant yard. E Ware, alias Jim Crow, had whaling experience and took the helm as soon as he came aboard a New Zealand Company ship in 1839. Edward Wakefield wrote, "I have often seen him, in the violent gales which we weathered on various parts of the coast, out on the end of the yard-arm doing the work of the best man in reefing, and cheering the sailors to exertion by some broad joke or irresistible grimace. He was fully competent to do the work of an able seaman; and his good humour under all circumstances was invincible." 

**Rewards**

The issue of promotions and pay is important for assessing the success of islanders in the shipboard limen. Although rigidly hierarchical, Euroamerican shipping was theoretically a competitive meritocracy. By showing a willingness to work and to respect both superior officers and senior crewmembers, any sailor was supposed to be able to rise in rank. In the words of Massachusetts historian Samuel Eliot Morison, "a whaling skipper generally knew the record if not the pedigree of every man who sailed under his command." In time, some Pacific islanders did win promotions. As early as 1811, Boatswain Tom, a veteran Hawaiian Northwestern, was ready to rope-whip or curse at any compatriot for an extra five dollars a month. One Tahitian boatswain had the task of managing Hawaiian hands he could
barely communicate with, and failed.\textsuperscript{397} A Hawaiian with whaling experience worked as supercargo aboard a whaler in the Australs and Tuamotus until he was fired for privately trading valuable supplies for sex with local women.\textsuperscript{398} In 1853-54, the American whaler \textit{Edgar}, which recruited Hawaiians every spring for north Pacific hunting, was so successful that it promoted almost half its crew.\textsuperscript{399} For an islander to become boatsteerer (harpooner) was a significant promotion above ordinary seaman, in both status and pay. In 1837, a Maori named John William earned promotion from ordinary seaman to boatsteerer in six months, which nearly doubled his lay and won him a chance to reship from Sydney. He replaced a Tahitian who had deserted at Bay of Islands.\textsuperscript{400} A literate Maori named James Earl Bailey served as second and later chief mate aboard the Australian whaler \textit{Earl Stanhope} in the 1830s and was reputedly of "excellent character," both as a whaler and as an officer. He was mentioned so often that he suggests the token exception rather than the rule,\textsuperscript{401} but other Polynesians, such as a Tahitian called John Bull, did become mates.\textsuperscript{402} Some Maoris commanded their own trading schooners,\textsuperscript{403} as did Hawaiians in their inter-island fleet.\textsuperscript{404} Some Marshallese and Cook Island chiefs even owned their own ships.\textsuperscript{405} But in the 1870s, pressure by Australian seamen's unions against employing non-whites diminished the employment and promotional opportunities for many \textit{kanakas}.\textsuperscript{406}

Generally, as seasonal replacements for Euroamericans, Pacific islanders were not known for receiving high wages.\textsuperscript{407} The relatively poor English-speaking ability of non-whites and foreign nationals was sometimes used as an excuse to pay them more poorly than native-born
New Englanders. British laws designed to prevent lascars from being stranded destitute in London actually discriminated against their employment, which was already at lower pay than whites received. This pattern of discrimination seems to have extended to Pacific island sailors as well, who were considered relatively cheap and regionally disposable. In 1789, the American fur trading ship Columbia hired Jack Atu of Kauai as a seaman for one pound, ten shillings per month, its lowest greenhand wage; he served for only nine months. In 1797-98, the sealer Nautilus recruited nine Hawaiians as "landsmen" for about half-pay, mostly in slops from its own store. Ten years later, such boatmen earned twice as much, but fur companies still admitted to hiring them because "they are less expensive than American seamen." Even in 1813, the fur trader New Hazard paid off its Hawaiian crew with clothing, though a kanaka boatswain might earn 50 percent more than his charges. The job classification "landsmen" was sometimes used on whalers to prevent kanakas from receiving a lay, unless they actually participated in the chase.

Maoris at first shipped out as common sailors aboard whalers or sealers (often the same ship did both kinds of hunting) with little or no payment, except in goods. Some captains were more scrupulous than others about paying oil shares. Marsden told the Maoris who made up half the crew of his Active in 1814 that he would pay them two months in advance at wages commensurate with their services, "the same as I paid the Europeans according to the work they did--at this they were astonished and much gratified." Yet he assured the London
Secretary of his Mission that once he employed more Maori crew aboard the Active, "her expenses will not be on that account so great."\textsuperscript{420} Likewise Peter Dillon, known for his paternal familiarity with islanders, paid his Polynesian seamen about the same as his Indian lascars, which was customarily less than what his European crew received.\textsuperscript{421} After the British annexation of New Zealand in 1840, some British whalers paid Maoris less than their white counterparts because, one captain argued, "they are satisfied with a smaller share."\textsuperscript{422} Such ships often paid off islanders in trade goods, and captains might cheat their indigenous seamen out of the two or three pounds per month pay they were due. One said, "They are only niggers, let them wait for their pay."\textsuperscript{423} In 1878, Australian seamen began pressuring shipping companies to hire fewer Asians or Pacific islanders. Consequently, Burns Philp systematically segregated islanders into lower-paying positions.\textsuperscript{424}

Within this over-all framework, however, seafaring experience, current demand and government regulation could enable islanders to earn less discriminatory wages. By the 1830s, Rotumans had become a preferred hire\textsuperscript{425} and, as time passed, reportedly made the same wages as their white shipmates\textsuperscript{426} Relative frequency of contact with foreign shipping, one index of demand, could improve islanders' wages. For example, in 1834 a Tahitian harbor pilot could demand fifteen dollars for his services, eight of which went to his queen,\textsuperscript{427} but fifteen years later a New Caledonian who piloted a British warship from Isle of Pines to Noumea was satisfied with old clothes, pipes, tobacco, a blanket and a sovereign.\textsuperscript{428} By 1838, the whaler Australian
paid its eight Maoris 1/160-1/170th lay, which was about average for its ordinary seamen. One Maori was promoted to boatsteerer, raising his lay to 1/100, equal to that of his fellow harpooners. After 1841, Hawaiian laws regulating recruitment helped to raise the pay of local recruits to a par with that of Euroamericans. The government required not only a $200 bond guaranteeing the safe return of Hawaiian sailors, but also a $20 pay advance for them and anywhere from five to sixteen dollars per month in wages. As whaling boomed, captains began paying Hawaiians a share of the oil profits, usually at the standard "long lay" of a greenhand, about 1/200th. Ordinary or Able-bodied seamen might receive as high as 1/125th, and becoming a boatsteerer (harpooner) could raise it to 1/95th.

What did islanders, perhaps picked up for a few months of regional employment and dropped off anywhere in "kanaka-land," regard as good pay? In a neolithic, barter economy exposed to exotic wares—in Tahiti, for example, iron nails had been more valuable at first than gold—what was the boundary between tangible and intangible rewards? Hawaiian seamen working in the American Northwest might be paid off in slops (clothing and other purchases from ship supplies), but money would for long have been useless to them, and they could give presents to their chiefs in return for land and horses to become "great men." In 1839, experienced helmsman E Ware agreed to work "without any recompense but his meals and a little tobacco," but many Maoris wanted firearms to settle old grudges against their neighbors. Kadu freely gave away his possessions but thereby earned the status almost of a chief in the Marshalls, being paddled
to shore in the place of honor in a canoe and carried through the surf on the shoulders of his friends. Kind employers provided islanders with certificates of recommendation, a new form of talisman in the maritime frontier.

In the limen, one man's pittance could be another's treasure. Timmararare of Banaba went ashore after a three year absence with a trade box full of tobacco and hardware and "had but to make his choice, and there was but little fear of any damsel refusing him." In 1849, Tibu of Abemama left the whaler Josephine after a three years' absence with a chest of tobacco, for which he had exchanged "nearly all his other worldly possessions," because his compatriots ashore wanted tobacco more badly than clothing or coins. That same year, Tom Kanaka of Rotuma shipped out from Pohnpei for ten pounds of tobacco a month. Isolated Tuamotuan divers usually accepted wages in clothing or whiskey, sometimes paid in advance. Melville's Marquesan recruit, Wymontoo-Hee, wanted as pay only a red shirt, a pair of trousers, a hat, a plug of tobacco and a pipe. Hawaiian commoners were thought to desire nothing more than their daily fish and poi, but modest pay advances, quickly spent, lured them onto the ocean. One Euroamerican resident who favored commercial agriculture lamented, "The natives either sailed the seas with the whaling fleet, or else they did nothing at all. Apart from their strong emotional attachment to the whaling industry, and to the opportunities for profits it offered, the Hawaiians confined their activities to cultivating their taro patches. Who was culturally kidnapping whom?
Nevertheless, discrimination toward islanders could take many forms. Inter-ethnic relations might be tense aboard any ship, and the task of commanding a mixed crew was sometimes used to justify harsh discipline. \(^445\) Maori chiefs Ruatara and George of Whangaroa, among others, bitterly resented their mistreatment aboard foreign ships. During his seven-year odyssey, Ruatara was paid nothing at Sydney after a year of working aboard the whaler Argo, suffered from the cold and lack of provisions when abandoned by the Santa Anna for six months to kill seals on Bounty Island with thirteen shipmates, never got to see King George while his ship was at London, and was twice more cheated out of his pay. Moreover, by the time Marsden rescued him, "the English sailors had beat him very much, which caused him to spit blood." \(^446\) During two years of wasted efforts and humiliation, George received no pay at Sydney from the sealing ship he had worked on and was badly treated by the captain of the Boyd on his return voyage to Whangaroa. He fell ill and was accused of stealing a dozen pewter spoons that the lying cook had accidentally dropped overboard in the dishwater. The captain had the Maori flogged: "In vain did George argue that he was a chief, and ought not to be degraded by punishment: Captain Thompson only replied that he was a cokey (slave), thus adding insult to injury." \(^447\) George was also deprived of food and, before being put ashore, stripped of all his English clothes, which exposed his lacerated back. His outraged kin massacred and ate the crew and burned the ship.
"paid with the foretopsail," i.e., paid nothing and sailed away, when leaving crew on lonely islands or acquiring provisions. Like other sailors, islanders might receive a few dozen lashes for deserting or stealing, but kanakas were sometimes known to suffer particular mistreatment.

In Omoo, Melville's Maori harpooner Bembo was disliked by his shipmates for being aloof and moody. After fighting with a drunk ex-convict on watch, he tried to steer the ship into some breakers and suffered a beating by the crew before being locked up at Tahiti. Such fiction was not far from fact. In 1833, a drunken sailor nearly caused a brawl when he ordered a Maori chief back up on deck after the latter came below to light his pipe. Such Maori passengers were not normally allowed below decks because of their "filth."

In 1849, a frustrated mate on the Hampton started a real brawl with his Hawaiian sailors by kicking one for hauling in a sail poorly. Later, the mate hit another Hawaiian over the head with an iron belaying pin for steering incorrectly, whereupon the Hawaiian began to crush him in a bear hug and "chant a dismal song" until subdued by the captain. Old John Gilpin failed not only as a sailor but as a cook's assistant, so the captain smashed a gourd over his head and called him a "brown scoundrel." When the black cook also abused Gilpin, they wrestled until the crew pinned John down, the mate kicked him several times and the captain had him put in irons: "He lay still on his back, glaring at us with eyes as red as fire coals ... all alone." After 300-pound Big Man fell headfirst twenty feet into a hatchway and survived, the captain's son condescendingly remarked,
"Now, in the name of common sense, of what was the skull composed that withstood such a shock? If of common material, how thick was it? In what way would a mere thirty-two pound cannon ball, dashed by a human hand, harm the head of a Kanaka?" For the record, one mate knocked out a Hawaiian seaman in 1811 by hitting him over the head with a large knotted rope. Another Hawaiian was knocked from the yard-arm by a sudden change of wind in a sail and hit the rail with his head before disappearing into the sea forever.

Shippers generally considered kanakas "extremely tractable, free and ingenuous--and if they became vicious the fault is not their own." The strain of the limen could take its toll. When Cook was away, his crew taunted drunken Omai, who "out-acted the savage... storming, roaring, brandishing his arms, and by the contortions of his mouth and face, setting at defiance, after the manner of his country, the whole host of his enemies, who were represented by the common sailors... who knew how to practice upon him." Kadu was teased by the Russian sailors for pretending to officer's status and became hesitant to make mistakes. Mesiol was "the brunt of many jokes." Tamana Jack made the mistake of repairing his new pants with part of a shipmate's blanket. After being chastized, Jack jumped overboard at the next island. So did Tetens' New Guinean Herman Vesta in 1866. An i-Kiribati sailor, "thought to have been deranged," lowered one of his whaleship's boats in open sea, rowed two miles astern and disappeared. Dillon finally discharged a melancholy Marquesan sailor named Peter who "attended muster armed with a club" and shot his musket at a moving sail while on sentry duty:
"His madness, which was a kind of hypochondria, led him to suppose that a part of the sail which was quivering in the wind was an evil spirit..." A kanaka whaler named John Brown went "insane" in Kiribati one night, stabbed three of his watch-mates and, when pursued, fell into the sea and disappeared in the deep. Sam Kanaka of Nauru felt so linguistically isolated that he stabbed two white shipmates, one fatally, and had to be shot in the forecastle as he leaped from bunk to bunk, shouting things that no one could understand.

Some islanders refused to work on whale ships for fear of mistreatment or deserted after being exploited, griping "Too much work... too little eat." One Maori jumped ship in Tonga; he was recaptured but went unpunished because "he said and proved that one of the white men beating him was the cause of his running away." Other islanders mutinied, violently, as many Euroamerican accounts attest. In 1813, a Ra'iatean named Faaanuhe, who had been to Sydney, led his fellow divers in a mutiny aboard an Australian pearl shipping in the Tuamotus, personally axed two mates and turned over the ship to his chief, Tamatoa. Dillon once discharged a Tahitian named Bour, whom he considered dangerous. In 1834, the Hawaiian crew of the schooner John Little killed their English captain, threw him overboard and burned the ship at Fanning's Island. Six Pohnpeians and i-Kiribati killed the captain of the Sharon in 1842, while the ship's crew was chasing a whale, and lost a pitched battle when the boats returned. At one point, the white third mate put out a Pohnpeian's eye with his knife and tried to saw off his head: "one of his eyes hung upon his cheek and his body was covered with gore;
he was still alive but did not move. One of the men stabbed him twice with a boat spade and Mr. Smith discharged a musket at him; he was then caught by the hair, dragged upon deck and thrown into the sea."473

Two i-Kiribati of the John used the same tactic more successfully at Tamana, their captain "having ill used them." They killed him, the cook, the cooper and most of two returning boat crews, allowing only three shipmates to escape in a boat without compass or food, and vowed to run the ship ashore "where no white man lived."474 Ten Maori, Tahitian and Hawaiian crewmen deserted the Cape Packet at Efate in 1847, after a dispute with white shipmates over native women, and with the help of the Efateans—and two other islander sailors who joined them—massacred the crew and burned the ship.474 In 1853, harpooner Oahu Harry led a mutiny aboard the whaler William Penn with fifteen other islanders armed with lances and whaling spades. They killed the white captain, the cook and the steward and left in two boats with muskets, powder and $1000. Harry himself was later killed in a fight on Abemana.476 After a voyage to New Guinea in 1866, Yapese pearl-divers tried to seize the ship and had to be driven off with cannon: "they were disgruntled because I refused to let them take the pearl shells to use as small change."477 Islanders rebelled against blackbirders478 and even joined beachcomber pirates.479 In 1865, thirteen kanaka sailors, mostly Hawaiian, joined the Confederate raider Shenandoah after it destroyed four American whalers at Pohnpei.480

On balance, however, the evidence suggests that rebellion by islander mariners depended on their situations. Tales of islander loyalty abound in the Euroamerican records, partly because the ship,
like a lonely space-craft, became home in strange waters. Indeed, some islanders shipped as security guards "to strengthen the ship's company" against other natives. Hawaiians in particular were known to be "eager, obedient, reliable, and intelligent workers, and always loyal to their superiors. Therefore, the captains of American ships, when suspecting the crew of some dangerous plot on their trips to the northwest coast of America, take along several." Tahitians, too, had a reputation for fidelity aboard American ships, especially if the pay was "liberal." Tetens found his divers not only loyal but better at spear-throwing than attacking Papuans: "My warlike Yaps, eager for a fight, stormed determinedly against the enemy."  

Personal bonds with sympathetic EuroamERICANS could determine islander choices when precariously far from home. Te Pehi Kupe became totally dependent on the captain whom he had badgered into taking him from New Zealand to England in 1824: "he said that if he was seperated from me before he got a passage out again he would put an end to his existance, which I verily believe he would. His affection for me is very great." Brian and Morgan, Dillon's traveling Maori aristocrats, once refused to undergo a medical examination by Doctor Tytler, who was feuding with their benefactor. Dillon, ever the self-promoter, put these words into their mouths:

You are our friend, and protector; you have brought us from our native country over a sea three months long (referring to the length of the voyage from New Zealand), and you have victualled and clothed us: you have also loaded us with presents to take to our country; you are the relation of our fathers and friends in New Zealand: we are therefore directed by our god to fight for you. Those men that are not your friends cannot be our's. We will not speak to the Doctor. We will kill and eat him if he land in our country.
Islanders, after all, were outsiders using foreign ships for their own purposes, which sometimes coincided happily with what their employers required. Two Hawaiians aboard an American whaler warned their first mate, who had enabled them to ship from Honolulu illegally, about a mutiny plot. The ringleader was thrown overboard and his accomplices sent to rescue him in a boat, whereupon the ship sailed. The mate wrote, "the captain and myself had many a hearty laugh over this night's transaction, not forgetting to befriend the natives who betrayed the rogues." Both Hawaiians stayed by the mate's side even when he switched to another ship, declaring "where I went they would go also."488

Islander mariners sometimes found themselves caught in a deadly crossfire between ship and natives and had to choose sides quickly. Tupaia, who was able to speak with Maoris, shot two of them in defense of his British benefactors.489 Even kidnapped Lova Saregua asked for a bow and arrows from Surville's cabin in order to help fight off other Solomon islanders, "letting me understand that he would not miss his mark."490 In 1798, a Hawaiian cabin boy died when Malay pirates captured his ship in the China Sea.491 A Maori used his musket to help defend his whaleship in Kiribati.492 During the notorious Globe mutiny in 1824, a Hawaiian sided with the brutal captain, was marooned on Mili with several shipmates and died at the hands of the indigenous Marshallese.493 In 1829, a Tahitian steward aboard the mission-built Haweis brought up cutlasses for his crew when they were attacked by Maoris. In the ensuing fight, he died of five gunshot wounds, and his head was preserved and tattooed for sale.494 Another Tahitian
died in 1833, when Fijians attacked the Charles Doggett. An i-Kiribati oarsman refused to join the Pohnpeian mutiny aboard the whaler Sharon in 1842 and was axed in the back. A Tannese crewman aboard the sandalwooder Sovereign, which shipwrecked at Efate in 1847, escaped an ensuing massacre by concealing himself ashore for a month until he could swim off to the passing Isabella. In 1848, two islander crewmen died when i-Kiribati took the whaler Triton, but another steered the ship out to sea until the attackers abandoned it. When Nauruans captured and set afire the Sheffield in 1851, a kanaka escaped overboard with one white shipmate, slipped back later and helped sail the burning ship until rescued by another passing whaler. Two i-Kiribati and a white shipmate survived the 1853 massacre of the Inga the same way. In 1866, the chief of Butaritari killed three Hawaiian sailors of the Pfeil when their captain refused to sell his double-barreled gun for a cask of coconut oil.

Risks

Seamen always needed courage, because "The ocean knows no favorites. Her bounty is reserved for those who have the wit to learn her secrets, the courage to bear her buffets, and the will to persist . . ." Accidents killed many sailors, but in emergencies islanders sometimes were able to demonstrate traditional skills, particularly their well-known swimming ability. When the fur trader Tonquin tried to sound the mouth of Columbia River in 1811, a riptide swamped its boat. Two whites drowned, but blacksmith Stephen Weeks survived thanks to two Hawaiian boatmen who, "being expert swimmers," stripped off their clothes, dived to free him from the line that entangled his legs,
pulled his clothes by their teeth to the boat, righted it, bailed it out and recovered an oar.\textsuperscript{504} After a gale nearly capsized the Northwest fur trader \textit{Lark}, a Hawaiian crewman named Power enabled the crew to survive, by diving to retrieve a new sail and food from the submerged portion of the ship. After nineteen days, the \textit{Lark} reached Maui.\textsuperscript{505} One Hawaiian saved his mate from drowning, after their boat was smashed by a whale, but did not receive any better treatment from that "rough and tough sailor."\textsuperscript{506} In 1840, Wilkes complained that his \textit{kanaka} boatmen tended to avoid danger by jumping overboard, but they rescued one of his naval lieutenants from drowning.\textsuperscript{507} Another Hawaiian saved himself in 1847, when a whale destroyed his boat and killed his three crewmates, by keeping himself afloat until rescued.\textsuperscript{508} When the whaler \textit{Mozart} wrecked at Christmas Island that same year, three Hawaiian sailors swam water casks from the ship to the crew ashore, and in 1854 a \textit{kanaka} crewmember swam supplies from the whaler \textit{Canton} to a small island where its crew had assembled after running aground on a sandbar in Kiribati.\textsuperscript{509} Yet islanders were human, too; some suffered injuries on the job\textsuperscript{510} or died in shipwrecks.\textsuperscript{511}

The open sea was always ready to claim islanders for the service of Neptune or other rulers. Tom Hupea of Tahiti was washed overboard off New Zealand in 1806 because, perhaps seasick, he refused to go below during a storm. He fell asleep in the square sail and, when it was hoisted the next day, disappeared into the deep.\textsuperscript{512} An i-Kiribati met the same fate in 1852. The captain noted, "We suppose he got to sleep on the rail and fell overboard and drowned."\textsuperscript{513} In 1809, Thomas Hopu fell overboard when drawing up a bucket of water
for washing dishes, but the ship turned around and, after two and a half hours, saved him. Hopu was an excellent swimmer, but as he tired, he prayed to his akua for help and offered it "a fine jacket, which I had received from my Captain, as a present." A bird came down out of a cloud, to whom Hopu repeated his desperate prayer, and the ship reappeared. Timmararare, a Banaban sailor on the Wanderer in 1851, also claimed to have been rescued by seabirds, after he fell overboard while dumping out a tub of dirty water. One bird perched on his head, and others showed the turning ship the way: "On reaching the deck, he leaped about like one deranged, clapping his hands together and uttering loud cries. He then rushed to the side of the vessel, and gazing on the wild waters he broke out into a chant in his own language, the tones exceedingly wild at first, but ending in a voice very soft and plaintive." After a glass of brandy, Timmararare explained, "Te manu (bird) he speakee me, he say no mate (drown). In my country manu plenty speak to man." Yet one Hawaiian drowned when he tried to save another crewman lost overboard; an albatross landed on the spot where they both went under. There were also accidents of history that intercepted islander destinies. In 1789, Matutaray of Hawaii, a servant to Captain James Colnett of the Northwest fur trader Argonaut found himself a prisoner of the Spanish padres of Mexico City after the Nootka Incident. In 1802, Tapeooe of Tahiti, sailing on a Spanish ship captured by the British, became a prisoner at Guam for three months. Opukahaia and Hopu, working aboard an American ship, were temporarily in custody of a British man-of-war in Macao in 1809. A dishonest English whaler, who stranded Ruatara and two
other Maoris without pay at Norfolk Island in 1811, also took away Te Pahi's son by force, only to be captured by an American privateer. 520

Health was a problem for all sailors, 521 but Pacific islanders seem to have been particularly vulnerable to alien climates or microbes. As Epeli of Rotuma said, "I went looking for money but got a fever." 522 Islander deaths litter the scanty record of their travels. About one-fifth of the individuals in the appendix died prematurely overseas, but the death-rate could sometimes be even higher. Seventy percent of the islanders taken to Mexico or Peru by Spanish explorers died. 523 Of eleven Pacific islanders taken to Calcutta by Dillon in 1826, seven died there or on their return voyage; their illnesses ranged from consumption to measles. 524 Tupaia developed a stomach ailment on the way from Tahiti to New Zealand, which Banks blamed on the cold, and died, with his servant, on Java. 525 Hawaiians with Northwest fur traders tended to become ill in China. Winee died just after leaving and was buried at sea. 526 Smallpox was a threat to the three better-documented "noble savage" visitors to Europe in the late eighteenth century, as we shall see. Lee Boo would die after only six months in London, and Ahutoru in the Indian Ocean returning home, but Banks would vaccinate Omai, who survived to return home. Amasa Delano had his islanders vaccinated against smallpox at Canton, having "in my previous voyages seen many of these poor creatures die with that loathsome and fatal disorder in that place." In 1806, he even experimented with a new serum by using Hawaiian crewmen as guinea pigs. During their temporary illness, he found it "very inconvenient as well as expensive to have them with me." 527 Te Pehi Kupe became
ill from his cow-pox vaccination in 1825 but soon recovered. Kanaka sailors picked up smallpox, dropsy, dysentery and tuberculosis from shipmates and foreign ports. Ruatara became ill with a bloody cough in London, and Maui died of tuberculous there in 1817. Islanders also caught venereal disease just as their fellow sailors did and suffered from scurvy if the crew's diet lacked essential vitamins.

Cold climates were known to weaken or kill many Pacific islanders. Cape Horn thus became a barrier for some. Arctic whaling was particularly hard on Hawaiian recruits. One fell to his death in the Okhotsk Sea when the cold numbed his hands so much he could not hold himself aloft while reefing the foresail. Four drowned in the cold waters off Japan after the wreck of their whale-ship. In 1858, William Kalama died just as the ship's kanakas were enjoying warm weather again. The captain's wife wrote of William, "He has been off duty some time; did not complain but appeared to be running down. Samuel gave him medication and tonics. We had no idea that he was so low until they told us he was dead. He was on deck the day before. I went on deck at sunset to hear the funeral service read before he was consigned to the deep. It seemed rather aggravating after being so long from home to die as it were within sight of it."

One year later, another Hawaiian named John Adams nearly died of "consumption or some kindred disease," but after supper they carried him on deck to bask in the sun: "He seemed to enjoy it very much and thought he felt better for it." The two Hawaiian heroes of the Tonquin boat-swamping at the mouth of the Columbia subsequently became
numb with cold. One died that night, and the other barely survived to see daylight. Kadu disliked the air at Unalaska, and in the American Northwest, Hawaiians often found it difficult to adjust to constant rain, sleet and damp fog: "Used to a dry, pure atmosphere, [they] sank under its influence." In 1818, Opukahaia's death in wintry Cornwall, Connecticut, gave his missionary benefactors a martyr for their fund-raising and Hawaiian adventure. Even within the Pacific islands, travel could be risky, especially in malarial Melanesia. Most of the Polynesians that Dillon took on his La Pérouse quest fell seriously ill. One of Dumont's Polynesian passengers from Tikopia also became ill with fever at Vanikoro, despite their precaution of sleeping on board the ship every night. Fearing for their own lives, his four compatriots planned a desperate sail homeward in stormy weather in a frail canoe: "The sick man was lying near a small fire under a shelter they had rigged up for him on the platform of the outrigger."

The death of compatriot friends in the crew could depress islanders almost inconsolably. After his four compatriots died of thirst and exhaustion in a lifeboat, one kanaka became so despondent that he turned to the sole white survivor "and hesitatingly proposed to me to eat of him. I shuddered at the proposal and discouraged it with disgust, and my companion gave it over." Indeed, emotional fatalism often accompanied illness among Pacific islanders, who were known for being relatively "passive" in their acceptance of death by disease. As one blackbirder put it, "Nurse our passengers as we would, they lay down, resigned to what they regarded as the inevitable,
and gently passed away. None of the dark folk have the fighting spirit of white men."\textsuperscript{548} Marsden found Ruatara "wrapped in an old great coat, very sick and weak... His mind was also very much cast down, and he appeared as if a few days would terminate his existence."\textsuperscript{549} One explanation for this phenomenon, when sheer homesickness was not a factor, could be that Pacific islanders were traditionally animistic. They believed that nothing happened by accident and that only healers familiar with the attacking spiritual power could combat it. Edward Wakefield observed in 1839, for example, that sick Maoris quickly gave in to death: "they say the Atua or 'Spirit' has seized them, and they will take no encouragement."\textsuperscript{550} The loneliness of dying far away from home is expressed in a Hawaiian chant:

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Left in the misty air
Are the bones of the traveler.
My body lies sleepless,
My eyes strain into the distance...
Like a chilling fog is my bitter grief...
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Alcohol abuse, common enough among foreign sailors,\textsuperscript{552} also influenced islander seamen.\textsuperscript{553} Many islanders, after all, had drunk kava or other intoxicants, such as ti root.\textsuperscript{554} Brandy tended to be too harsh at first taste for several islanders in the records,\textsuperscript{555} but wine was more palatable.\textsuperscript{556} Temoana of Nukuhiwa learned to drink wine from a shipmaster who urged him, despite his initial dislike of the first taste, "Drink a little, and by and by you will love it."\textsuperscript{557} George of Whangaroa, mistreated by more than one captain, learned to enjoy wine aboard ships to the point of habitual drunkenness. At one point, he took off all his clothes and "ran up and down the deck, nearly naked, exclaiming 'Me gentleman!'"\textsuperscript{558} When Cook was not present,
Omai lost his self-control and "would drink till he wallowed like a swine in his own filth."559 In 1877, a labor recruiter boarded the Bobtail Nag in Australia to sail to Vanuatu, only to find "a mixed crew of white men and Kanakas sprawling about the deck in various stages of inebriation, and in positions and attitudes which may be described as the sentimental, the pegged out, pugilistic . . ."560 Bay of Islands, New Zealand, like many Pacific ports, witnessed fights between drunken sailors and local men. Indeed, sailors "on the beach" usually boarded with grog shop owners and formed acquaintances with local women, over whom many of the disputes arose. Maori and Hawaiian sailors both liked their grog, and Tamana Jack, an i-Kiribati recruit, always squabbled with local Maoris, once losing some of his clothes in a fight.561 One whaling captain at the Bay lamented seeing most of his crew, "including the Kanakas, emerge from a grog-shop plentifully supplied with bottles, and seating themselves on the beach, commence their carouse. The natives evinced the greatest eagerness to get drunk, swallowing down the horrible 'square gin' as if it were water. They passed with the utmost rapidity through all the stages of drunkenness. Before they had been ashore an hour, most of them were lying like logs, in the full blaze of the sun, on the beach."562 King Kalakaua of Hawaii had learned how to drink before embarking on his 1881 round-the-world tour and was known to joke, "I am drunk, but I am also civilised." During a gale near Japan, however, the ship dipped as he stepped out of the saloon and rolled him into the scuppers, and when he tried to stand up, a wave slapped him in the face.563 On the positive side, tongue-loosening drink could apparently encourage islanders to practice their English.564
Women

Wahine, too, moved across the beach into this seafaring limen, particularly as the objects of Euroamerican male fantasies. Vancouver's petite, fifteen-year-old Hawaiian guest Raheina met his expectations by wearing her riding habit elegantly and by learning not to expose her ankles when climbing the ship's ladders. Tetens insisted that his Yapese consort wear western clothes or leave his ship: "Though Kierko seemed pleased, she felt herself much hampered in her new toilette. After a little while my newly dressed princess tried to divest herself of her shell . . . her tear-filled eyes fixed on me as if she still hoped I would relent." She also agreed not to blacken her teeth, a normal custom for marriageable women. Winee, the Hawaiian servant of a captain's wife, died at sea but bequeathed a porcelain basin, a mirror, a gown, a hoop, a petticoat and a cap to Ka'iana, so he would return the rest of her belongings to her parents.

Such a privileged female passenger might pass her time on soft mats on the cabin floor, fanned by a native sailor, enjoy sugared drinks and bear her mixed-blood children aboard ship. Her newfound status might even disconcert visiting island chiefs who were unused to eating in the company of women. A young Maori consort, nick-named
Mrs. Goshore from her previous sailor affairs, "picked up a good deal of our language" from her husband Captain Jones. Another Maori woman, the daughter of a Bay of Islands chief and former sweetheart of Dillon's Brian Boru, became a captain's lady and "handled her knife, fork, and spoon, and otherwise conformed to our rules of table etiquette, in a style that would do credit to many persons laying claim to a greater share of refinement." Madame Boki, after her voyage to London, also impressed observers with her table manners and dexterity with a fork. Like male seamen, islander women enjoyed swapping stories: "when their stock of facts is exhausted, [they] amused each other with many tales of their own invention." They also chanted and danced gracefully on deck, often composing tales of ships, their travels to foreign ports, and their own homelands. Future Hawaiian queen Liliuokalani passed the time sailing from New York to London by composing songs, including one for Queen Victoria of England, whose Jubilee she and Queen Kapiolani were going to attend.

Some wahine earned respect by contributing significantly to the ship's mission. In 1791, McClure's two female Belauan guests helped befriend New Guinean villagers by paddling around confidently in local canoes. Tano Manu, a Swedish beachcomber's Tahitian wife, taught her language to the missionaries that the Duff was distributing around eastern Polynesia in 1797. Another beachcomber's Marquesan consort served as interpreter for a pearlimg ship in the Tuamotus. Three Fijian wives of white beachcombers fled with Dillon in 1813 after their husbands died in battle. He had to promise his captain to take
responsibility for them, so that they would not be ill-treated. At Tikopia, one fought with a native man trying to steal the compass, grabbed him by the throat and crotch, pulled him under her and tried to strangle him until Dillon separated them. A variety of women helped Dillon guide his ark to La Pérouse's shipwreck site in 1827. Beachcomber Martin Bushart took his Maori wife Tetori on Dillon's quest, along with Emuka and Perikaui, two women Brian Boru lured aboard the ship. In Tonga, Dillon enlisted a teenaged chief's daughter as an interpreter, and tried to enlist a Tongan-speaking Tahitian woman living there but failed. The Tongan chiefess later made friends with Vanikoro women by offering them beads from the ship's rail.

The status of women, however, could be precarious, depending on their (or their spouse's) importance to the ship. For example, the Hawaiian wife of a white chief mate went with him to the American Northwest in 1812, although other female volunteers were turned away. One Tahitian, because of her eating habits, had to dine with the cabin boy, while her beachcomber husband ate with the officers. A Fijian girl accompanying a captain's wife in 1848 learned to sew but clashed with the stewardess, "who is a colored woman, whom we engaged in Manila, and who breaks all our dishes, loses the spoons, knives, etc., and then lays it to the caravan, as she calls Phebe, meaning cannibal." Not long afterwards, Phebe replaced her rival as stewardess. Beachcomber George Bruce took his Maori wife, Te Pahi's favorite daughter, to Penang, Calcutta and Sydney. Along the way she was sold by his captain and had to be rescued. Three castaway Tuamotuan women traveling with their father and brother aboard a
pearler in 1843 "were unable to resist the force or the blandishment of the strangers." Feeling helpless against the crew, the father and brother refused to eat and died before the ship reached Anaa, where the deflowered girls disembarked. Many island women traveled as virtual prisoners like their blackbirded male counterparts. Five Marquesan women of high rank were kidnapped from Hiva Oa in 1850 by the captain and mate of an American whaler, but after jumping overboard in California they were freed by a court in San Francisco: "During the voyage the females were treated with great cruelty." There were also other risks in the limen. At Tongatapu, one captain's beautiful Tahitian wife was killed by a shark before his eyes: "She had gone into the water to amuse her husband with an exhibition of her extraordinary feats of swimming." Just as Matutaray found himself a captive in Mexico in 1789, the Hawaiian wife of an American sea captain was captured with her husband by the Spaniards off Santa Barbara, California, in 1813 and became a Catholic under the name Maria Antonia de la Ascension.

**Liminality**

How liminal was the shipboard frontier for Pacific islanders? That is difficult to say with certainty, but there is evidence that islanders adopted new lifestyles to varying degrees and, like many cross-cultural travelers, acquired ambivalent, transitional identities. The ibedul of Palau, after all, had asked Captain Wilson to make Lee Boo an Englishman, and Kokako of New Zealand ran away from slavery to become a uropi. Richard Cruise observed in 1820 that Maoris aboard foreign ships often forsook their traditional tapu: "Though
all their superstitions were inviolably respected by themselves, when on shore, the moment a New Zealander came on board, he considered himself absolved from them, and he at once conformed to our manners and customs." Some islander travelers, like Omai, borrowed alien notions of private property, hoarding or flaunting their acquisitions. Kadu would let no one else so much as wash his new clothes, and despite his usual generosity was quite upset when his collection of iron, glass and stones disappeared. Marsden's Maoris were afraid that their English shipmates might rob them, even though they saw that the ship was laden with ample trading cargo. The Maori chief Tetoro asked for the pikes and swords he saw aboard the Dromedary. When told they belonged to King George, Tetoro argued that the king, if present, would give them to him, or if not present, would never know they were gone. When threatened by Maori canoers, Tupaia instituted a new maritime law: "while we are at sea you have no manner of Business with us, the Sea is our property as much as yours." Some islanders learned how to use firearms during their voyages, but Marsden's Maoris also worried that British soldiers would use their superior power to take over their homeland the way they had Australia.

Many islanders seemed to join the Euroamerican adventure in the Pacific. Kadu loved his new costume and, apparently, his Russian explorers' quest for knowledge for its own sake. He observed cattle tirelessly and loved to mimic the voice and gait of sea-lions. Ahutoru, having witnessed French love affairs with Tahitian women, looked forward to sharing such revelry at other islands and even tried
to direct Bougainville's ship to places with provisions "and above all women, whom by many gestures he described as complaisant." Hitihiti and Omai both indulged themselves in casual sexual liaisons with local islander women, just as their white shipmates did. Islander travelers, whether seamen or servants, sometimes transferred from one ship to another without ever returning home. Of if they did, they might soon ship out again, having taken a liking to seafaring adventures. Morrell claimed to have transformed his Monday and Sunday from "cannibals" into "civilized, intelligent men" in two years and set up Sunday/Darco, who survived, as a trade agent on Witu.

Some islander travelers came to identify themselves as "all the same white man" and were embarrassed when local canoers wore fewer clothes than they now did. John Steward, a Hawaiian who loved to dress in the finest Euroamerican clothes, returned from London to Honolulu, but a shipmate said, "I can never believe he took kindly to old Arcadian habits again. There might have been a time when John could expend all his taste on the arrangement of his breech-clout, and took pride in wearing it, but that time was past." Castaway Botii of Anaa accompanied her husband Tuwarri home without showing any gratitude toward their English benefactors (and clothiers), but when disembarking at Anaa, "she was laughing at the exposure which she thought she should make going into the boat with out an accommodation ladder." George of Whangaroa "had acquired, too, from his intercourse with European sailors, a coarse familiarity of manner, mingled with a degree of sneering impudence, which gave him a character
completely distinct from his countrymen." Tommy Drummond, or Maui, was more awkward than his fellow Maoris at dancing because he had been away so long: "civilization had cramped his limbs." The well-traveled Tongan chief Ma'afu impressed a British naval officer with his insight: "He is a man of the world, and we were soon on winking terms."
Chapter IV—Notes


3. Farrell (1928) 2-4; Perkins (1924) 17; Morison (1921) 6-7; Olmstead (1844) 126.


11. Dana (1963) 111.

12. Morison (1921) 323-24; Perkins (1924) 4-12; Browne (1846) 24, 308-16, 488-505; Dana (1963) 320-26; Rediker (1987) 105; Weibust (1969) 71-94; Randier (1968) 102-111.


17. Olmstead (1844) 128; Dana (1963) 8; Randier (1968) 112.


21. Howay (1933) 325.

22. Rediker (1987) 31-33, 80-83; Farrell (1928) 7; Dana (1963) 323.

23. Morrell (1832) 468.


25. Browne (1846) 504.


31. Dillon (1829) I: 207.


34. Olmstead (1844) 327; Melville (1981) 74; Browne (1846) 504-5.

35. Kingsley (1897) 645-53; Owen (1833) 84, 104; Carnes (1852) 85-87, 91-92, 111; Bennett and Brooks (1965) 72, 81-91, 110.


39. Olmstead (1844) 45; Dana (1963) 325; Morison (1921) 158.

40. Wood (1875) 6-7.


42. Mullet (1977) 10; Bullen (1899) 4.

44. Keate (1788) 268-69.
45. Browne (1846) 24.
47. Davis (1869) 204.
48. Bingham (1849) 46; Dibble (1909) 55-56; The Friend 6/1/1862.
49. Perkins (1924) 9.
51. Savage (1807) 95.
52. McNab (1917) II: 226.
54. Williams (1907) 259-60.
56. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).
57. Jacobs (1844) 77.
59. Bougainville (1772) 333-35.
60. Kotzebue (1821) II: 120, 153.
62. Lutke (1835) I: 293.
63. Marra (1775) 29; Cruise (1823) 26.
66. Morrell (1832) 466.
68. Bougainville (1772) 275-78.
69. Farrell (1928) 206.
70. Hohman (1928) 189.
73. Williams (1907) 129.
75. Hooper (1975) 80.
76. Kotzebue (1821) II: 166.
78. Williams (1907) 260.
82. Im Thurn (1925) 75-76; McNab (1908) I: 339.
84. Dana (1963) I.
86. Log Seashell 10/2/54.
88. H. Williams (1964) 281.
89. B. Corney (1913) I (32): 12-14.
92. Wakefield (1845) I: 75; King (1971) 29-33; Dunmore (1981) 115; Webster (1863) 90.
93. Rickman (1781) 53-54.
94. Kotzebue (1821) II: 125-26, also 137-38.
95. Davis (1869) 331.
97. Keate (1788) 268.
98. G. Forster (1777) I: 354.
100. Earle (1966) 199; Cruise (1823) 142-43; Howay (1930) 14.
101. Portlock (1789) 360.
102. Meares (1790) 7.
111. Olmstead (1844) 193, 284-88.
113. Goodenough (1876) 298.
114. Farrell (1928) 162. Euroamericans sometimes sailed under assumed names, as well. John Adams, for example, mustered on the *Bounty* as Alexander Smith, then later reverted to John Adams on Pitcairn. See Dening (1988a) 86.
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<td>122. Dillon (1829)</td>
<td>I: 248; Davidson (1975) 92-93, 106, 120.</td>
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<td>124. B. Corney (1915)</td>
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<td>131. G. Turner (1861)</td>
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<td>142. Munger (1852)</td>
<td>22-23, 26; Frouin (1978) 172.</td>
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147. Stevens (1930) 145.
150. Morrell (1832) 466; Jacobs (1844) 23.
151. Foucault (1973) 330.
152. Hooper (1975) 5.
154. Ibid. 81, 113.
156. Wakefield (1845) I: 20.
157. Munger (1852) 63-64.
158. Bougainville (1772) 264.
160. Turnbull (1805) II: 7; Mullet (1977) 46; Wakefield (1845) I: 20-34; Erskine (1967) 400; Bingham (1849) 103; Varigny (1981) 5; Davis (1869) 263.
161. Cox (1957) 45; Davidson (1975) 49-50; Melville (1968) 70.
162. B. Corney (1913) I (32): 349-55.
163. McNab (1914) II: 257.
164. McNab (1908) I: 637.
168. Schmitt (1971) 26; Lucatt (1851) I: 327; Davis (1869) 207, 284-88; Wilkes (1845) IV: 112.
171. H. Williams (1964) 292-96.
177. Wilson (1968) 114; F. Bennett (1840) 286.
178. Bougainville (1772) 267, 276.
181. Dillon (1829) I: 252; McNab (1908) I: 396; Delano (1817) 193.
183. Hooper (1975) 80.
188. Hopoo (1968) 44; Webster (1863) 23.
189. F. Bennett (1840) 285-86.
190. Cruise (1823) 27, 208.
214. Mau Piailug, the Micronesian navigator of the Hokule'a from Hawaii to Tahiti in 1976, speaks eloquently of the authority of the navigator of a traditional Pacific sailing canoe, and archeologist Patrick Kirch suggests that the Hawaiian chiefly hierarchy itself may have derived from the "society of the canoe," in Low (1983). For a discussion of general patterns of Pacific island chiefly authority, see Sahlins (1963), in which he differentiates broadly between Polynesian ascribed leadership and Melanesian earned status and power.
215. Bougainville (1772) 335.
217. Rickman (1781) 55-57.
219. Cruise (1823) 27.
226. For negative reactions by islanders to Euroamerican food aboard ship, see Erskine (1967) 28, 288-89; Jacobs (1844) 24.
231. Ibid. II: 130.
232. Jacobs (1844) 87.
233. Loc. cit.
234. Davis (1869) 203.
235. Randier (1968) 103.
236. Mullett (1977) 22.
237. W. F. Wilson (1922) 44.

241. Keate (1788) 268.


244. Jim Crow was apparently a black-face minstrel character performed aboard nineteenth-century ships which portrayed a stereotypically hapless clown. Americans, for example, amused both Fijian and Tahitian chiefs with the act: "Jim Crow's appearance on the back of a jackass, was truly comical: the ass was enacted by two men in a kneeling posture, with their posteriors in contact . . ." See Wilkes (1845) II: 55, III: 130; and Ward (1966) V: 179. Black cooks sometimes gained social acceptance by playing court jester, stuffing their mouths with fruit, rolling their eyes or playing the fiddle for sailor dances. See Olmstead (1844) 45-46. The English, too, knew of Jim Crow, as E Ware's nicknaming indicated.

245. Wakefield (1845) I: 33.

246. McNab (1914) II: 226-27.


248. Kotzebue (1821) III: 100; Chamisso (1886) 160.

249. Lutke (1835) I: 292.

250. F. Bennett (1840) 285.


254. Davis (1869) 205.

255. Dana (1963) 117.

256. Snow (1925) 123.

257. Mullett (1977) 16, 36; Dana (1963) 10; Browne (1846) 192.


263. Hooper (1975) 81.


266. Kotzebue (1821) II: 126-27, 141.

267. Wakefield (1845) I: 75.

268. Turnbull (1805) III: 123.

269. Wood (1875) 25.


274. McNab (1914) II: 226; Savage (1807) 95.


278. H. Williams (1964) 267-68.

279. Snow (1925) 123, quoting John Nicol.

280. Cruise (1823) 117.


284. F. Bennett (1840) 285.
286. Bingham (1849) 89.
287. Farrell (1928) 216.
293. Mullet (1977) 46.
297. Dunmore (1981) 257; Beechey (1831) I: 236; Munger (1852) 64, 70.
299. Bullen (1899 (211.
301. Wilkes (1845) III: 27.
303. Ibid. 10-13; Stewart (1970b) 29; Perkins (1924) 13; Morison (1921) 325; Olmstead (1844) 146; Weibust (1969) 105-35.
305. Day (1967) 79; P. Corney (1896) 105-106.
307. H. Williams (1964) 270.
308. Darwin (1839) 481-82.
313. Davis (1869) 263-65.
316. H. Williams (1964) 205-6.
318. Ibid. II: 17.
319. Davis (1869) 198-207.
320. Webster (1863) 2-3.
323. McNab (1908) I: 664.
324. Mullett (1977) 44.
326. Howay (1940) 282; Wilkes (1845) IV: 112; Mullet (1977) 46; Dana (1963) 65.
327. Kotzebue (1821) II: 123.
329. Jacobs (1844) 23; Ross (1849) 47-48.
331. Morison (1921) 325; Melville (1981) 16; Perkins (1924) 5, 10, 21; Olmstead (1844) 56-68; Garner (1966) 90; Stewart (1970a) 50-51.

332. Diamond (1990) 127; Wilkes (1845) IV: 112.

333. Browne (1846) 193.

334. H. Williams (1964) 298; Melville (1981) 516; Cruise (1823) 29; Jacobs (1844) 23.

335. Dana (1963) 3.


338. Wilkes (1845) IV: 264.


341. Rickman (1781) 55.


349. Beechey (1831) I: 228.

350. Wilkes (1845) III: 267-75.


352. Ibid. IV: 267.

354. Shineberg (1971a) 241-44.
359. Jacobs (1844) 74.
362. Rickman (1781) 56.
365. Ibid. II: 216.
368. Wilson (1968) 92, 120.
370. Reynolds (1938) 18, 26, 54; Dillon (1829) II: 229.
374. Howay (1940) 447; Kaplanoff (1971) 76; Kuykendall (1924) 38; Cartwright (1978) 12-18; Angas (1847) 247; Webster (1863) 3.
375. Perkins (1924) 8.
376. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).
379. Morison (1920) 27.
Wilkes, (1845) V: 485, describes the American whaling fleet as numbering about 16,000 sailors in 1845. The Polynesian, 8/8/1846, gives the 3000 figure for Hawaiians then working aboard foreign ships. Hence the one-fifth estimate, which is probably a bit high but correlates well with the proportion of Hawaiians in some crews even in the 1850s. Garner (1966) 252-65. Morison, (1921) 185 and 323, estimates that American whaling crews lost as many as 3-4000 deserters annually by the 1850s, most of whom were replaced by kanakas. Indeed, the trend was for increasingly larger proportions of foreign-born workers on American ships. Kuykendall, (1938) 312-13, after examining Hawaiian treasury receipts for the 1850s, estimates that four to five hundred Hawaiians shipped out every year. R. Schmitt, (1968) 182, suggests that the total number of Hawaiians absent from Hawaii remained at about 3500-4000 from 1848-1860. The Polynesian article reported 651 recruits leaving aboard whalers in 1845-46 but admitted that 500 Hawaiians were also working on the Columbia River; 400 had accumulated in Tahiti as beachcombers (8/8/1846).

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383. Shineberg (1967) 15; Giles (1968) 34; Inglis (1887) 201-5.


385. Wood (1875) 6-7.


392. H. Williams (1964) 267-68, 298.

393. Wakefield (1845) I: 21, 32-33.

394. F. Schmitt (1971) 26; Bullen (1899) 3; Perkins (1924) 8; Browne (1846) 15-16, 192-93.

395. Morison (1921) 158, 324.
397. Davis (1869) 198, 207.
404. Thomas (1983) 42.
411. Howay (1941) 150-51.
413. Langsdorff (1813) I: 187.
415. Reynolds (1938) 143-45.
420. Elder (1932) 136, quoting another letter of 9/30/1814 from Marsden to Pratt.


426. Forbes (1875) 226; Des Voeux (1903) 399; Moresby (1876) 69-70.

427. F. Bennett (1840) 66.


432. Reynolds (1938) 143-45; Morison (1920) 27.

433. P. Corney (1896) 105; Walpole (1849) II: 271-72.

434. Wakefield (1845) I: 33.

435. S. Smith (1910) 46-49; McNab (1908) I: 668; Davidson (1975) 80-82.

436. Kotzebue (1821) II: 140-41.

437. Kaplanoff (1971) 76; Wilkes (1845) III: 166-71, 249.

438. Webster (1863) 42-43.


441. Lucatt (1851) I: 240, 308-18; Wilkes (1845) I: 328.


443. Wilkes (1845) IV: 220.

445. Browne (1846) 191, 308-16; Dana (1963) 325; Golovnin (1979) 229; Olmstead (1844) 128; Morrell (1832) 417; Bullen (1899) 3; Reynolds (1938) 58.

446. Elder (1932) 63-67.


448. Reynolds (1938) 50; Dana (1963) 77-84, 270; Browne (1846) 308-16, 487-505; Morison (1921) 323; Lucatt (1851) I: 325; Erskine (1967) 345-46.

449. Howay (1933) 325; R. Clark (1934) 25.


452. Jarman (1838) 213.


456. Mullett (1977) 47.

457. Stackpole (1953) 387. Morison, (1921) 324, compared the fore­castle to a reformatory.

458. Rickman (1781) 56.

459. Kotzebue (1821) III: 100-3.

460. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).


462. Tetens (1958) 77.


464. Dillon (1829) I: 257, 277-78, 293.


466. H. Williams (1964) 292-96.
467. Dillon (1829) II: 325.


471. Dillon (1829) I: 289.

472. F. Bennett (1840) 279; Bingham (1849) 454.


477. Tetens (1958) 70. Yapese treasured large stone wheels they quarried as ceremonial money.


480. Ward (1966) VI: 193-200; Ke Au Oka 8/14/1865, 12/4/1865 and Ke Alaula 4/1856 indicate that the Hawaiians were ashore eating with the Pohnpeians when the Shenandoah attacked their ships. Hence, the Hawaiians may have regarded the Confederate ship as their only means to get home again. The Kamehameha V later picked some up.

481. Howay (1938) 28-33; Dillon (1829) I: 202, 213.

482. Golovnin (1979) 200-201.

483. Wilkes (1845) II: 17.

484. Tetens (1958) 69, 76.

485. Kaplanoff (1971) 76; Davidson (1975) 95.

486. McNab (1908) I: 636.

487. Dillon (1829) I: 92.


491. Lloyds Evening Post 1/12-15/1798.
494. McNab (1908) I: 691-94.
496. Ibid. VI: 147-51.
501. Ibid. II: 61-64.
503. Morison (1921) 7.
504. Ross (1849) 59-64; Franchere (1969) 72-74; P. Corney (1896) 7-10.
505. Corney (1896) 15.
508. Hohman (1928) 185.
510. Reynolds (1938) 54; Dillon (1829) II: 299.
513. Log Roman II 1/11/1852.
515. Webster (1863) 23.
The deaths from the 1862-63 slave raids were even higher. See Maude (1981).
541. Ross (1849) 74.
542. See Dwight (1968).
543. Dillon (1829) II: 324-25.
545. Meares (1790) 27-28; Franchere (1969) 74; Dillon (1829) I: 102; Mullett (1977) 47.
546. Riesenber (1972) 87.
548. Farrell (1928) 206.
549. Elder (1932) 64.
552. Dibble (1909) 187.
553. Log Elizabeth Swift 2/13/1867.
554. Portlock (1789) 165; P. Corney (1896) 106-7.
557. Bingham (1849) 464.
558. Cruise (1823) 119-20, 207.
559. Rickman (1781) 56.
560. Giles (1968) 34.
561. Ibid. 223-26; Snow (1925) 173.
562. Bullen (1899) 222.
564. Ibid. 68.
570. Log John Hownland 1/1870.
572. Dillon (1829) I: 211-12.
574. F. Bennett (1840) 107.
575. Cruise (1823) 143-44; McCluer (1792) 167; Nicholas (1971) I: 53.
576. Liliuokalani (1964) 132.
577. McCluer (1792) 259.
583. Cox (1957) 45.
584. Turnbull (1805) II: 46.
587. Lucatt (1851) II: 40-41.
588. Pritchard (1866) 311-12; Wilkes (1845) III: 18-19, 39.
590. Ibid. VII: 19; Giles (1968) 201.
592. Keate (1788) 253.
594. Cruise (1823) 129.
595. Rickman (1781) 53-54; Cruise (1823) 24-25; Lucatt (1851) I: 325-26.
596. Kotzebue (1821) II: 146, III: 104.
603. Bougainville (1772) 275-76.
607. Morrell (1832) 466.
608. Jacobs (1844) 94.
611. Davis (1869) 331.
615. Goodenough (1876) 222.
The shipboard limen was for islander seamen a transformative preparation, either for re-entering their home society or for testing themselves on a new beach. Indeed, other lands could be as liminal to neophytes as the ships that delivered them. And just as some islanders served on more than one ship, many saw more than one alien beach during their voyages, thereby compounding their cross-cultural testing. They would sometimes finish their days in such places, as déracinés shrouded in acquired identities. Both visitors attached to foreign ships and "beachcombers," who "crossed beaches alone" without a support system and therefore had to adapt to the dominant host culture to survive, could play a significant role in mediating between Euroamericans and indigenous societies.

Within the Inner Pacific, islanders often served as transcultural brokers, liminal inductors whose role was at least as important as that of their better-documented white counterparts, partly because the cross-cultural leap was not always as great for people of intra-regional origin. Islanders encountered increasing strangeness, however, when moving to the Outer Pacific rim or distant Extra Pacific ports, some of them at the cores of the capitalist world economy whose shipping had taken them from their own beaches. Let us first consider the Inner Pacific frontier, then the more foreign matrices where Euroamerican inductors tended to hold the upper hand.
Indigenous Beachcombing

Most islanders traveled or worked aboard foreign ships within the Inner Pacific, where captains often left them before leaving the region. Once their utility to the foreigners ended, "native" or "kanaka" crew often vanished among the islands, leaving perhaps only their nicknames and home beaches in the records. The whaler Miantonomi, for example, hired "a native" at Pohnpei in 1854 to replace "Sam Kanaka," who had deserted three days earlier. Deserters sometimes swam or canoed ashore to escape recapture; if caught, they wound up in irons. They might ship out again on another vessel, perhaps as stowaways, though that ran the risk of being thrown overboard near shore. Some islanders were left ill on strange beaches or died aboard ship, while others survived until their ship took them home again.

H. E. Maude once suggested that indigenous beachcombers often outnumbered their Euroamerican counterparts. Sione Latukefu has argued that Polynesian missionaries in Melanesia adapted more readily to island living than white missionaries did. Yet, given the cultural diversity of the Inner Pacific, the "indigenous" beachcomber was not necessarily any more at home on a strange beach than a white person would be. In 1606, the kidnapped Santa Cruz islander "Pedro" had fought alongside the Spanish against the people of Santo with "his bow and arrows." One hundred and fifty years later, Survílle's captive, Lova Saregua, did the same, after the French clashed with "fellow" Solomon Islanders. He also laughed at the latter for being more naked than he now was. Ahutoru of Tahiti, visiting Samoa with Bougainville in 1768, thought he was home again and took off his
European clothes to talk to canoers, "but they did not understand him." Nor could he understand Solomon Islanders, whom he thought "very ugly." Territorially-minded Tuamotuans feared landing on any atoll other than their own, and Maoris on any portion of the North Island of New Zealand outside their own district. In 1832-35, three Belauans, accompanying the shipwrecked crew of the Mentor to Dutch Ternate in a whaleboat, found themselves prisoners of the Tobi islanders, who apparently treated the white men with a bit more deference than they did the Belauans. In many cases, however, islanders on strange Inner Pacific beaches found they could adapt without too much difficulty to local custom or climate and make themselves useful.

"Noble savage" visitors tended to remain attached to the ships that carried them, but to varying degrees they helped to mediate between other islanders and their Euroamerican hosts. In 1769, for example, the Ra'iatean priest-navigator Tupaia proved his diplomatic skills with Cook in eastern Polynesia. Having joined the explorer at Tahiti, he won the confidence of canoers at nearby Huahine and accompanied the British officers ashore, where he stripped himself to the waist, made a speech to the local chiefs and paid his respects at their marae: "As soon as we landed Tupia squatted down on the ground and ranging us on one side and the Indians on the other began to pray..." At Ra'iatea, Tupaia's home island, he was even more useful, guiding the ships into a good harbor, repeating the deferential appeasement, obtaining cheap provisions and enabling Cook to raise the British flag. Cook later attributed the lack of thefts at
Ra'iatea to Tupaia's influence. Tupaia apparently exercised a certain degree of manipulation over the British as well. For example, he dissuaded them from visiting Borabora, whose people, he propagated, were descended from criminal exiles and had driven him away from Ra'iatea like conquering pirates. He also prevented a visit to Maupiti, which he claimed lacked an adequate harbor. At Rurutu in the Australs, Tupaia's prayerful greetings failed to overcome indigenous defiance, and trade negotiations broke down. Joseph Banks said Tupaia warned the British that the three Rurutuans on the beach were not friends. The interpreter and his white hosts were probably communicating with a mixture of Tahitian and English words and pantomime, because Tupaia had been with the ship only a month.

Perhaps because Ra'iatea was the ancestral homeland of so many Polynesian voyagers, Tupaia found that he could speak effectively with the fellow-Polynesian Maoris of New Zealand, "notwithstanding they make frequent use of the G and K, which the people of Otaheite do not." At first, his linguistic skills could not prevent fights, in which he himself shot Maoris, or kidnappings by Cook, in which Tupaia acted as both lure and paternal jailor. At one point Tupaia's own Tahitian servant boy, Tayeto, was seized and nearly captured when trading with Maori canoers from the ship's ladder. After British gunfire rescued Tayeto, he brought a fish to Tupaia, which the priest blessed before telling the boy to toss it into the sea as an offering of gratitude to the atua—not the British. Gradually, Tupaia was able to win the friendship of Maoris, displaying his hip tattoos for them and offering them Tahitian tapa cloth, which they preferred to
the English variety. According to Cook, he "explained to them the reasons for our comeing here . . . ," including that raising a British flag-pole meant claiming New Zealand by right of discovery!25 Banks recorded that Tupaia prevented a fight by justifying the flogging of a Maori thief and that he told Maoris, "the Sea is as much our property as yours."25 Cook praised Tupaia's utility to him so wholeheartedly27 that it is tempting to ponder who essentially "discovered" New Zealand, Cook or Tupaia? The Ra'iatean mediator became so popular that children were apparently named after him, and Maoris over a wide area knew his name and asked for him "incessantly."28 His reputation became such that when Cook revisited New Zealand in 1773, Maoris who had never met Tupaia asked for him and lamented the news of his death.29

Tupaia's interaction with the Maoris showed evidence of both common understanding and cultural collision. Some Maoris said "he was almost one of themselves" and had long conversations with him.30 At Tologa Bay, he discussed theology with a Maori priest while ashore with a watering party. According to Banks, "they seemd to agree very well in their notions of religion only Tupia was much more learned than the other and all his discourse was heard with much attention."31 Indeed, Tupaia's prophet-like speeches to the Maoris about the creation of the world and other topics seemed to win their respect: "whenever he began to preach as we calld it he was sure of a numerous audience who attended with most profound silence to his doctrines."32 At Bay of Islands, he asked canoers about their geographic knowledge outside of New Zealand, but when they answered that their ancestors had sailed northwest to a large country where people ate hogs (New Caledonia?),
he said that they were liars because their ancestors had obviously brought no hogs back. He asked Maoris about their legends at other locations, as well, but when an old man named Topaa claimed that his ancestors had come south from Hawaiki (the mythic homeland of many Polynesians) and that two other western-style ships had once visited New Zealand and been destroyed, Tupaia said, "they are given to lying . . ." Tupaia also condemned the Maori customs of cannibalism and head-preserving, though he admitted that Ra'iateans committed human sacrifice and saved the jawbones of their defeated enemies. He criticized what he perceived as the relatively disrespectful treatment of Maori women. As Banks noted, "The Women are less regarded here than at the South Sea Islands, at least so Tupia thought who complain of it as an insult upon the sex. They eat with the men however." And Tupaia mistakenly decided that Maori pa, or fortified camps, served the same function as Tahitian marae (temples). In some ways, then, Tupaia was no more sympathetic or adept at interpreting Maori culture than his Euroamerican companions were, despite his origin and fame. This irony might be attributed to his accompanying British transients, but his own pride, of which some of his British shipmates complained, as we have seen, was probably part of the explanation.

Cook's other "noble savage" Society Islanders, Omai and Hitihiti, were more pedestrian but equally ambivalent liminars. Having joined Cook at Huahine in 1773, Omai not only failed to deter theft at his home island of Ra'iatea but fled for his life back to the ship when resident Boraborans were rumored to be plotting his death. Neither Omai nor Hitihiti could converse with the Tongans Cook visited, though
they drank kava and ate more heartily than did their less gracious British companions at a welcoming feast.\textsuperscript{39} That royal honor, in a strange land, probably made an impression on their young minds, especially Omai's, who was not of high birth. Both men, along with their white companions, indulged in sexual liaisons with Maori women, and Omai did the same with Cook Islanders in 1777.\textsuperscript{40} In New Zealand, Hitihiti pitied the Maoris for their poverty,\textsuperscript{41} and Omai later lured his two Maori boys into service by flaunting his material acquisitions.\textsuperscript{42} Omai communicated with Maoris more poorly than did Hitihiti (or Cook's own veterans) but apparently spoke easily with Cook Islanders, who were fellow eastern Polynesians, and even his Tongan improved on his second visit.\textsuperscript{43} On Tongatapu in 1777, local chiefs allowed Omai and Cook to enter a sacred temple, the former stripping down to a loin-cloth and the latter removing his hat and untwisting his pig-tail.\textsuperscript{44} Hitihiti was impressed by New Zealand's forests and wild fowl\textsuperscript{45} but horrified when Maoris offered him a slice of recently cooked human flesh. Johann Forster wrote, "he hardly could see the cruel Scene, & went immediately into the Cabbin & shed a flood of tears." Some of the British crew, by contrast, responded with dark humor, and even the Maoris ridiculed Hitihiti for his squeamishness.\textsuperscript{46} Hitihiti had more difficulty communicating with Marquesans than with Easter Islanders, whose wood carvings he bought as souvenirs because they were better than Tahiti's. But he demonstrated how to start a fire by rubbing two sticks together for Marquesans, who Johann Forster claimed "were very attentive & amazed . . ."\textsuperscript{47} His most unusual discovery, evidently, was the snow and ice near Antarctica, but his
countrymen later refused to believe that water could turn solid even after he had told them about it. 48

Kadu was already a beachcomber when Russian explorers turned him into a "noble savage" in 1817. A Carolinian from Woleai atoll, he and three other canoers had been blown off course and marooned at Aur in the Marshall Islands for over three years. The Marshallese sent for him to mediate with the Rurick, because he had already told them second-hand Carolinian stories about such vessels (which he had only heard of) and had reassured them that whites did not eat "blacks," as their ancient traditions told them. His kind treatment by the Russians--and his own self-promotion--further enhanced his status among the Marshallese, but he quickly abandoned them and his fellow Woleian castaways in favor of a voyage of adventure with the foreigners. 49

Kadu was thus as much a liminar as Tupaia, who had already been a successful fortune-seeker before joining Cook's first expedition. Kadu, however, was not of high rank as Tupaia was; he had earned his worldly knowledge and status by being an emissary-navigator for his chief from Woleai to other Carolinian islands. Since being stranded on Aur, he had traded his iron for food, come under the protection of a local elder, married twice and fought in wars for his adoptive hosts. 50 With the Rurick, he traveled to Russian posts in the northern Outer Pacific, as we shall see, but he also visited Hawaii, which was already the most active trade center in the Inner Pacific.

Kadu's "tygerhood" apparently gained him entry into Hawaii at a relatively high level, though he was still subservient to his Russian companions. When the Rurick arrived on the Kona coast of Hawaii
island, he fell in love with an attractive wahine who paddled out alone in her canoe. As Kotzebue wrote, "expressive gestures explained her object, and she was very angry when she saw herself laughed at.

Kotzebue refused to allow her aboard "for good reasons." Kadu tried to communicate with her in every language he knew, without success, so the enraptured Woleaian traveler had to content himself with tossing her all his glass beads and nodding amiably until she was out of sight. 51 After being introduced to the Hawaiian leadership as the inhabitant of "a newly-discovered island," Kadu received many presents. Queen Ka'ahumanu was particularly fascinated by his distended ear-lobes, and King Kamehameha also found the Carolinian interesting. Kadu, "on his part, treated the king with the greatest respect, whose splendid possessions, in his opinion, rendered him the first tamon [chief] in the world." Kadu was delighted to see coconut trees again, after visiting Alaska, though the sight of a man on horseback frightened him. He asked questions about Hawaiian farming techniques and tapa cloth making. Timid at first, he enjoyed the attention paid him by the Hawaiians, especially by two young women who acted as his guides. 52 Chamisso commented that "our friend was shy, but quite poised and well-mannered . . . and he mixed happily with the people." At Honolulu, he "disappeared among the natives, who liked him, and with whom he soon learned to make himself understood." He traded what the Russians had given him for new artifacts to give to his Marshallese friends and helped the Russians gather animals and plant seedlings for the Marshalls. Yet he voiced disapproval when a married Oahu woman offered
herself to him, comparing it to immorality he had seen in Belau since contact with outsiders. 53

Chamisso praised Kadu as an experienced traveler who "always remained within the bounds indicated to him." 54 Yet Kadu also knew how to expand those bounds. Back in the Marshalls after nine months of travel, he showed off his Euroamerican clothes, saying, "Look here! I am Kadu, do you know me still?" Chiefs and commoners alike sat round him in a circle to listen excitedly, and as he spoke, "his eyes sparkled." 55 Thus did such liminars subsume into the Euroamerican encounter with the Pacific. Kadu distributed presents, told entertaining stories about his journey and acted as the right-hand man of his Russian benefactors--i.e., exploited his association with them in the eyes of the Marshallese. Kotzebue noted that "Kadu, who supped with us, explained to them the use of the several utensils, and must have expressed himself very wittily, as they laughed heartily." When the Marshallese expressed disgust at the taste of wine, he laughed at them: "Kadu called them fools, who did not know what was good; they should follow his example as he was a man of experience; at the same time he emptied the glass in one draught." He soon shed his Euroamerican clothes, particularly the boots he disliked so much, but during the after-dinner dance, he stepped into the circle and demonstrated Russian steps, whereupon it was the Marshallese who laughed. He introduced yams, taro, plantain, goats and pigs to Aur, and young women sang his (and the Russians') praise around evening campfires. Yet as the Russians prepared to leave, Kadu became concerned that the Marshallese might steal his treasures, so Kotzebue put on a cannon
and rocket display, with accompanying oratory about the power of the Czar and the consequent danger to anyone who stole from Kadu. As the Rurick sailed away, Kadu wore a white shirt and saber and waved to the Russians with a white handkerchief.56

This attempt to protect, with threats of future retribution, those travelled islanders who lacked traditional status would be repeated in other parts of the Pacific. Chamisso reflected on the fact that the Rurick had left Kadu at Aur, by his own choice, instead of taking him home to Woleai or even on to Russia:

You, my friend Kadu, made the better choice: you parted from us in love... upon your second father-land... But what would you have done in our old Europe? We would have played a vanity-satisfying game with you, we would have exhibited you to princes and potentates; they would have hung medals and tinsel around your neck and then forgotten you... you would have found yourself forsaken in a cold world.57

Apparently, however, Chamisso realized that he and Kotzebue had already done just that with Kadu, because he admitted, "We must confess that our friend stands alone, exposed to the envy of his equals, the greed and power of his chiefs, and the treasures that our love has heaped upon him will draw a storm upon his head."58 As it turned out, Kadu married a chief's daughter and became a local war chief. He fought in a red cap and white shirt with his saber, and his iron weapons tipped the balance in favor of his side in battle.59

But what of indigenous beachcombers who were not backed up by a foreign warship? Were they as able as their white counterparts to translate their liminal experiences into local prestige? To begin with, it should be remembered that Euroamerican beachcombers often
lived very precarious lives on Pacific islands. Many, indeed, were captives or castaways at the mercy of their hosts.\textsuperscript{60} The evidence suggests that indigenous liminars were no less successful at cultural brokering than foreigners were. They even had certain advantages, coming from the near-distance.

\textbf{Hawaii}

Hawaii, as a strategic crossroads for Euroamerican shipping, naturally accumulated its share of South Sea islanders. One Marquesan claimed he was able to understand the Hawaiian language as soon as he arrived, "and in a short time, it was as familiar to him as his own."\textsuperscript{61} As early as 1796, Kamehameha I employed three Boraboran sailors he had acquired from an American vessel. In fact, they urged him to sail to Borabora after conquering Kauai, probably so they could return home again, and he apparently entertained the idea.\textsuperscript{62} Surface familiarity, however, could prove misleading. In 1803, some Tahitian sailors on a British merchant ship at Hawaii deserted, by swimming ashore at night, apparently under false hopes. They had enjoyed the hospitality of King "George" of Kauai, whom a comely Tahitian wahine aboard the ship had charmed by dancing, and been welcomed warmly by the Hawaiians, "whose language, complexion, and manners, so nearly resembled their own." The Tahitians boasted about the power and wealth of their king and noted with pride the admiration Hawaiians showed for Tahitian tapa cloth, but a short stay seemed to convince them that their dreams of revelry and status were illusory, for they soon shipped out again for home.\textsuperscript{63} Not all such beachcombers could get away so easily. In 1819, a Marquesan named Thomas Patu arrived aboard
an American ship and became King Liholiho's royal bodyguard for several months, taking the name Tahunaliho. The young Hawaiian monarch doted on his tattooed warrior but abused him when drunk and gave him a pay raise instead of letting him leave Hawaii. Finally, Patu escaped at night, with the help of friendly sentinels, to Oahu, where he caught a ship to Canton.64

Beachcombing could take many forms. Between 1818 and 1826, several Tahitian Christian converts came to Hawaii to preach to the ali'i. Toketa and Kahikona arrived as sailors from passing ships and, having received some religious instruction in Tahiti, entered chiefly entourages.65 In 1822, others came in company with the missionary William Ellis, brought along their wives and helped to adapt sermons to the Hawaiian language. Most notable was the eloquent, charismatic Ra'iatean, Auna, himself a descendant of traditional priests.66 Auna left after two years, because of his ailing wife, but Kahikona and Kuke lived on in Hawaii for 30-40 years.67 Such religious liminars were instrumental in the missionization of Hawaii,68 but other eastern Polynesian visitors were sometimes less pious. Kaomi, the son of a Tahitian resident and a Hawaiian woman, fell from grace and became the ringleader of Kamehameha III's hulumanu drinking companions in the 1830s.69 During the same period, Boraborans in port earned a reputation for rowdy inebriation and once threw a stick at the king's horse when he was out riding; that indiscretion put them in irons.70 Islander beachcombers appear relatively less prestigiously in the Hawaiian records than do Euroamerican residents, perhaps reflecting the intensity of foreign intrusion into Hawaii compared to other islands.
Nevertheless, by 1846 there were an estimated 200 Tahitians in Hawaii. Foreign sea captains recruiting at Honolulu often hired tattooed Marquesans and Tahitians left by American whalers. One British visitor met a relatively well-dressed, English-speaking Tahitian at the Nuuanu Pali lookout on Oahu. The man claimed he had left Tahiti as a boy to serve aboard a passing whaleship: "Afterwards he was in the British navy, till he was wounded at the battle of Algiers, when he was discharged as unfit for service with a pension of twenty-five pounds a year." The same visitor also met a Tahitian attendant of Queen Ka'ahumanu, "an old cunning fellow, 'Jack Bligh,' native of Otahite, who spoke a little English, and had, he said, been with Captain Bligh in the Bounty at the time of the mutiny." Chief Keeaumoku had a Tahitian steward who was related to a native teacher. Blackbirded Mesio1 of Pohnpei was not so fortunate when he arrived in Honolulu. Despite superficial similarities to his own island and people, he could find no one who understood him until a missionary he knew from Pohnpei rescued him and arranged his passage home. From 1868 to 1887, the Hawaiian government made several attempts to recruit plantation laborers, who might also replenish its dying people, from other Pacific islands, but most died or went home again: "One pathetic commentary on the state of the native Hawaiian population was the attempt by Hawaiians to persuade the Gilbert Islanders to give them their children." In 1875, Samoa's "Queen Emma" stopped in Honolulu on her way home from San Francisco and befriended Hawaii's own Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV. King Kalakaua, who had just returned from signing a Reciprocity Treaty with Washington, made much of the fact that both ladies carried royal Polynesian blood.
Hawaiians, apparently profiting from Hawaii's early contact with foreign ships, provided a fair number of influential beachcombers on other islands in the Pacific. Since cross-cultural communication often took place in trade pidgin using some generic Polynesian root words, Hawaiians might have acquired a linguistic advantage as well, but recorded evidence to clarify that point is scanty. As early as 1791, Opai, returning from Boston with a Northwest fur trader, went ashore at Hiva Oa in the Marquesas in his best suit to impress the local wahine, whose singing and other graces he admired. He felt his own country was better favored in hogs, taro patches and potatoes, however, and did not stay. In 1798, another Hawaiian arrived in the Marquesas with more permanent intentions. Owheve or Ouhwe, called Sam by the Americans and Tama by the Marquesans, had also been to Boston and spoke broken English. Left at Tahuata by a sea captain who expected him to learn to read and write while assisting a local English missionary, Tama came ashore with treasures that immediately made him a factor in local politics: a chest of clothes, including a suit of regimentals, and a musket with ammunition. He also could throw a spear farther than any Marquesan and entertained his hosts with tall tales about the outer world. Though of low rank in Hawaii, he was adopted by a local chief and made toa, or war leader, whereupon he forged an alliance between two groups and led bloody expeditions of nearly 1000 warriors and 30 double canoes against Hiva Oa. At first supportive of the English missionary, he later told the Marquesans that whites had no gods, as he had seen first hand, but Hawaiians did, so they must offer pigs to his deities. After Tama was wounded by a stone
in battle, his alliance collapsed, as did his once-cordial trade relations with foreign ships. He apparently died on Hiva Oa in despair, after trying to strangle himself. 79

Pomare I of Tahiti employed Hawaiian warriors as attendants, according to John Turnbull, "from their superior skill and warlike disposition." 80 As early as 1792, he had enticed Kualelo, who was returning to Hawaii from England with Vancouver, to desert and become a warrior and gunsmith in his entourage. Vancouver, however, forcibly recovered Kualelo, so that the liminar could represent Britain in Hawaii. 81 In 1807, a Hawaiian named Pumaia began distilling ti root liquor for Pomare II, despite missionary protests, 82 and Hawaiian deserters from whaleships sometimes clashed with mission-inspired police. 83 By the 1840s, there were perhaps 400 Hawaiians in Tahiti. 84 In 1847, young Kepelino Keauokalani went with a French Catholic missionary to Tahiti to entice local children to attend the school, but LMS opposition spoiled the plan, and Kepelino was sent home again after getting bored and playing "some little pranks." 85 In 1852, a Hawaiian from Maui named Puu got off an American whaler at Fatuhiva in the Marquesas, married a local chief's daughter and bragged so much about Hawaii that the chief went with him to Oahu to fetch Hawaiian missionaries, which both men hoped would enable them to acquire firearms. As a result, Hawaiian families like the James Kekelas, Samuel Kauwealohas and Zachariah Hapukus spent the rest of the century in the Marquesas, preaching despite opposition from French Catholics and indifference from many indigenous people. 86 Ironically, this mission completed the plan that had brought Ellis and Auna to Hawaii in 1822.
The LMS had intended to introduce Tahitian teachers to the Marquesas at that time, but their ship took them first to Hawaii, which kept them. An attempt in 1832-34 to install American and Hawaiian missionaries in the Marquesas had failed.87

Finau 'Ulukalala II of Tonga employed Hawaiian as well as Euroamerican beachcombers in his wars. In 1806, Tuitui, who had sailed on an American ship from Hawaii to Manila and Tonga, knew a little English, so he enticed the captain and half the crew of the Port au Prince ashore at Ha'apai. The Tongans massacred the crew, stripped the ship and burned it, apparently in revenge for mistreatment they had suffered from a Manila vessel (Tuitui's?). Eight other Hawaiians, whom the ship had hired in Honolulu to man its pumps, joined Finau's forces after the capture of the Port au Prince, as did William Mariner, who saved his life by saying "aloha" to Tuitui. Finau placed several of the ship's cannons under Tuitui's command. He also showed his confidence in his Hawaiian musketeers by ordering one to shoot a Tongan commoner who was cutting iron from the topmast: "Without the least hesitation, the Sandwicher levelled his piece, and instantly brought him down dead; upon which Finow laughed heartily, and seemed mightily pleased at the facility with which his order had been obeyed." Tuitui warned Finau to burn all Mariner's written materials, lest what the Hawaiian called their "magic" might harm Tongans, and to intercept any letter Mariner might write to a passing ship.88 Mariner had reason to dislike the Hawaiian beachcombers in Tonga, but like Tama they were simply using the limen to survive.
Hawaiian ambitions, and pressures by the world economy, planted other beachcombers on distant islands. To pay off mounting royal debts to foreign traders, High Chief Boki sponsored several overseas enterprises in 1827-29. He sent Chief Manuia to Manila and Canton with seal-skins and sandalwood on the royal brigs Koli and Ainoa. Chief Kamanohu, the supercargo of the latter, was left in Tahiti along the way to exchange trade goods for coconut oil. Manuia sold the Ainoa at auction in Canton but bought goods worth $1200 more than his cargo, paying with drafts on the royal treasury and thereby increasing, not decreasing, the debt. Meanwhile, Kamanohu's wife ran their small shop in Tahiti, which a visitor said sold "Chinese goods, blank books, stationery slates, pencils, etc., and various articles of hardware, all in demand here, and purchased for cocoanut oil and arrow root."

Because they resided with Tahitian royals, however, her husband squandered much of the profit on drink and social reciprocity. Boki himself, after an American warship forced him to promise to repay the debts, finally sailed on a desperate sandalwooding expedition to Erromanga with two ships and four hundred armed men, but vanished at sea. Manuia, the second-in-command, perished of disease at Erromanga, along with nearly all his crew. The captain of his ship, the Keoko'i, described how the would-be Hawaiian colonists clashed with the native Erromangans and died of disease in their fortified tent camp. Some crawled down to the beach to watch in vain for Boki's ship, the Kamehameha, whose powder magazine had apparently exploded, leaving only charred debris on the waves. The Keoko'i left twenty sick Hawaiians at Rotuma on the return voyage, some of whom, such as
Kukuinui, later made it back to Hawaii. But in 1838, a whaler found so many Hawaiians from Boki's expedition living at Rotuma that the islet they occupied had acquired the nickname "Oahu." Some of these may have been later arrivals or their descendants. In 1819, for example, an old Hawaiian named "Babahey" died on Rotuma, leaving behind a wife and twelve-year-old daughter. He had long worked as an interpreter for Australian-based British vessels trading in Northwest America, Tahiti, Fiji and Hawaii, had even served on Marsden's mission ship Active in New Zealand and had finally decided to settle down at Rotuma with his trade goods.

George Manini, the part-Hawaiian son of Spanish entrepreneur Don Francisco Paula de Marin, enacted a tragedy at Wallis (Uvea) Island. Boki had sent Manini to Alaska in the Kamahaolani to trade salt (to cure furs) for timber, and to South Pacific islands for bêche-de-mer, tortoise shell, coconut oil and sandalwood. In 1830, he returned from the "Feegees" with a Wallisian wife, Kahoila, her chiefly father, Takala, and three Wallisian wives of Hawaiian sailors, whom he had used as interpreters in Samoa. Samuel Kamakau wrote, "This was the first time that any Wallis islanders had been seen in Hawaii. They appeared to be somewhat civilized as they wore dresses woven like cloth . . . The little fingers of the hands were amputated." With a new ship and a "Dutch" crew (of all nations) that included Hawaiian and Tahitian landsmen, Manini returned to Uvea to establish a bêche-de-mer station. The Wallisians welcomed "Siaosi" Manini warmly, and he used three locally-married Hawaiians he had left behind to negotiate
the "purchase" of an islet. His business manager, Old Slade, complained that Manini had "Napoleonic" ambitions, having already sold guns to rival factions in Samoan and Fijian wars: "his mind was wandering over the ocean continually, dwelling on scenes of danger and blood." Manini built a two-story fort with nine cannons, over which he flew the American flag, bêche-de-mer smoking sheds and storehouses and over thirty residential dwellings. Disputes over the property sale, however, and resentment by the Wallisians about forced labor and low wages (compared to what whaleships offered in trade) led to bloody conflicts. Manini also drank too much and beat his pregnant Wallisian wife until she gave birth prematurely. 99

Wallisian oral tradition records that more than a dozen armed Hawaiians, and one Rurutuan, helped Manini to enforce his authority, as did his business partner, Captain Thomas Meek of the Chinchilla. When Tongan beachcombers from Samoa, led by Vuna, stirred up Wallisian resistance, Manini killed a negotiator and defeated their army, burning a village and shooting many people. He appointed his father-in-law "king," imposed a head tax and told the people to cut their hair and pierce their noses, choosing the prettiest young women as wives for his henchmen and other Wallisians as servants. Finally, a warrior named Hua chopped off the tyrant's head and started a massacre of all the Hawaiians on the island. 100 A traveler to Samoa, probably Tongan, 101 told LMS missionary John Williams that Manini had prostituted women to passing ships and taxed all yams or hogs sold to ships until the Wallisians killed him in 1832. 102 By the time Manini's ship reached Hawaii with 700 pounds of "very thick" tortoise
shell and 100 piculs of cured bêche-de-mer and proclaimed him "king of the Island of Uvea" by right of conquest, his body already lay buried in a grove of coconut trees by the beach. Later that year, the Wallisians also massacred the British whaler Oldham, fearing that it would retaliate against them for Manini's downfall. It is worth noting that Tongan and Samoan beachcombers on Wallis had helped to mobilize opposition to Manini's Hawaiians, and that Maori-commanded schooners were also trading for bêche-de-mer and tortoise shell as far as Wallis Island. The Manini incident thus had a distinctly inter-Polynesian aspect, as ancient Inner Pacific migratory and power dynamics seemed to mix with new competitions introduced by Euroamerican-Asian market forces.

Even Hawaiian missionary work and diplomacy could have martial outcomes in the Inner Pacific. Beginning in 1853, a succession of vessels named The Morning Star took Hawaiian missionaries to Micronesia. In 1868, Hiram Bingham Jr. brought two Hawaiian teachers to Tabiteuea atoll in Kiribati. His own preaching inspired a local prophet to start a syncretic Tioba (Jehovah) cult, an opposition that may have been rooted in older local rivalries. Tiobans resisted, sometimes violently, the preaching of the Hawaiians, Kapu and Nalimu. In 1880, after some Tiobans threatened Kapu while he was preaching, he organized an expedition against the southern part of the atoll. Kapu taught his Christian soldiers a fighting song: "Oh, do not be discouraged, for Jesus is your friend. He will give you grace to conquer ... Yes, I'm glad I'm in this Army and I'll battle for the School." A pitched battle culminated in the massacre of many Tiobans.
and other non-Christians. The Christian force surrounded and pushed together their rivals, whom they slaughtered, piled up and burned. The victors had violated i-Kiribati custom, not only by killing so many in war, but also by enslaving the survivors and confiscating their lands. A mission board investigation could not establish exact culpability, but Tabiteuean oral tradition blamed Kapu for the tragedy. Dismissed from mission service in 1886 for trying to communicate with the spirit of his dead wife, he remained a "Lawgiver" on Tabiteuea until 1892, when a British warship raised the Union Jack and deported him. 109

In 1887, King David Kalakaua sent the Kaimiloa to Samoa to confirm a treaty of federation negotiated with High Chief Malietoa Laupepa. This attempt at pan-Pacific unity, when colonial powers were competing to claim the remaining independent Pacific islands, arose from a mixture of indigenous Polynesian and "beachcomber" discourses. The Hawaiian kingdom had long employed foreign advisors and officials, and the prime mover in Hawaii's overture toward Samoa was Walter Murray Gibson, Kalakaua's prime minister. In 1886, Gibson told John Bush, the part-Hawaiian noble who served as ambassador to Samoa, to propose to Malietoa that Hawaii and Samoa (and later, perhaps, even Tonga and Kiribati!) confederate to present a united front against German or British pressures. 110 Hawaiian cabinet ministers Aholo and Kanoa actually opposed the scheme, but Kalakaua supported Gibson's vision of Hawaiian "Primacy in the family of Polynesian States." As early as 1880, two years before Gibson became premier, the American consul in Hawaii had complained that Kalakaua was "inflamed by the
idea of gathering all the cognate races of the Islands of the Pacific into a great Polynesian Confederacy, over which he will reign." Bush succeeded in negotiating Articles of Confederation, which the Hawaiian cabinet ratified in March 1887, though Germany and Britain refused to allow Hawaii to participate in a conference on Samoan affairs in Washington. 111

Hawaii had already developed its own inter-island shipping, as we have seen, and even sent out ships to trade around the Pacific. Now, for a total cost that was to surpass $80,000, the kingdom armed a converted guano boat with six cannons and sent it to Samoa with a mixed crew of Hawaiian reform school boys, King's Guardsmen and white crew of dubious reliability. Honolulu businessmen ridiculed the expedition in the press, and the ill, sometimes drunken white captain and two "mutinies" (actually minor brawls) gave them plenty of ammunition to condemn this expensive "Hawaiian policy regarding Polynesian communities." In Samoa, the ship's band entertained local chiefs, and its cannons saluted Malietoa, who received a colorful military uniform. But the German warship Adler supported Malietoa's rivals and gave warning, approved by an offended Bismarck, that if Kalakaua persisted in meddling in Samoan affairs, "we should shoot his legs in two . . ." The Kaimiloa steamed sadly homeward, losing three deserters, plus guns and ammunition, on Tutuila. Meanwhile, the all-white Honolulu Rifles had arrested Gibson and forced Kalakaua to sign the "Bayonet Constitution," which effectively stripped him of his power to rule. 112 Samoan oral tradition records that two Hawaiian deserters from the Kaimiloa, Aniani and Mahelona, allied with
Manoa, a resident Hawaiian shopkeeper on Tutuila, to help defend the village of Aunu'u from enemies. Using Kaimiloa rifles and cannons skillfully, the three Hawaiians helped drive off the attackers, became heroes and married local women. Today, then, both Samoans in Aunu'u and Wallisians on Uvea can trace descent from martial nineteenth-century Hawaiian beachcombers.

The Kaimiloa misadventure represented a last desperate attempt by Polynesian leaders to fend off Euroamerican dominance by controlling, in some way, their participation in the world economy. Yet many nameless Hawaiians "colonized," with varying degrees of voluntarism, remote islands of the Pacific. After the Chamorros had nearly died out on Guam, their Spanish rulers tried to prevent any resettlement of the Marianas, except by itinerant Carolinian canoers. But in 1810, the American trade ship Derby kidnapped sixteen Hawaiian women from Kauai and seven men from a Niihau canoe in order to establish a provisioning station on Agrihan. The captain landed the Hawaiians, along with five whites, on Tinian and later on Saipan, in order to gather timber for a boat to take them on to Agrihan. "But," Kotzebue commented, "the Sandwich islanders remembered their liberty, vengeance, and their country. When the mate had finished his vessel, which they intended to make use of to return home, they took advantage, when the party was dispersed and unarmed, to fall upon them . . ." The Spaniards eventually brought all 22 Hawaiians, plus five white and two black crewmen, to Guam. They had to repeat the process in 1815, when another American ship deposited four white men and 35 Hawaiians on Agrihan, but even though the Spaniards destroyed their farms, the
In 1816, the Beverly found two white men and seven Hawaiians left at Agrihan by the American sandalwooder Milwood. Another sandalwooder, the Resource, wrecked on a reef at Agrihan in 1818; its six survivors, including two kanakas, were taken by a Spanish ship to Manila a year later. By 1818, about twenty Hawaiian would-be colonists lived on Guam. Marooned and poor, some worked as divers to support themselves. They were eager for news about their home islands and begged for taro from a Russian ship that had recently visited Hawaii.

Fleeting Hawaiian "colonies" were also established elsewhere. In 1820, the Hawaiian government deported about fifty foreign "riff-raff" and Hawaiians to Fanning Island (Tabuaeran) in the Line atolls, supposedly because they were troublesome (i.e., not clearly under any chief's control). The newly arrived American missionaries complained that this decision robbed their school of nine promising part-Hawaiian pupils. Their exile seems to have been rather brief, but in 1825 another beachcomber was condemned to exile on Fanning for shooting a sea captain who had seduced his Hawaiian wife. By 1832, Fanning was inhabited by a dozen Hawaiians, who had built three or four huts on the beach and worked as divers for ships. In 1828, American entrepreneur Thomas Fowle leased Juan Fernandez Island from Chile, which had abandoned its convict colony there after repeated uprisings. Fowle spoke of moving there with "one or two hundred families from the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of cultivating and the breeding of cattle" to supply whalers, but apparently landed with only six Hawaiians and did not provision many ships. He shipped sealskins to
Valparaiso until Chile, before his lease had expired, sent more convicts to the island, where upon he moved to Masafuera "with his servants" for two years before abandoning his colony altogether.  

121 In 1830, an American named Nathaniel Savory, under British auspices, founded a colony on North Bonin Island, near Japan, with four other white settlers and about 25 Hawaiian men and women, to grow provisions for passing whaleships. By 1840, desertions from whalers had raised the number of white residents to thirty, but the Hawaiian population had declined to fifteen, most of whom were women. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry purchased land on the island for a coaling station and recommended U.S. annexation, but his own "opening" of Japan was eventually to bring the Bonins, including a few remaining Hawaiian settlers, under Meiji rule in 1875.  

Hawaiian sailors usually adapted well to Inner Pacific environments, as when Boki and his companions fished and ate their many catches raw in the Galapagos Islands on their way home from London in 1825.  

123 In 1840, Oahu Sam, who had sailed aboard whaleships, was the personal barber of Fijian chief Vedovi, whom Wilkes deported to New York for attacking an American ship. Sam, because of his ability in both English and Fijian, served as a translator as far as Hawaii.  

124 A Hawaiian whaler stranded in the Australs parlayed his knowledge of English and the islands into a job as supercargo on a pearling ship in the Tuamotus in 1841. "Since childhood," his captain said, "he has been sailing about ... At the close of voyages he has been set ashore at different islands, and in this way I came to pick him up at Rapa." He apparently knew how to exploit the limen, by accepting
hospitality from islanders, trading ship's supplies on the side to build up his image as a "partner" in the enterprise and winning the favors of wahine in every lagoon until his captain finally fired him. 125 A Hawaiian seaman named John Adams served as harbor pilot at Pago Pago from 1846 to at least 1873, having married a Samoan woman and fathered eight children. 126 In 1858, Johnny Boy, after signing onto an American whaler in Honolulu, jumped ship at Ua Pou in the Marquesas. The captain's wife lamented how bad it was "for a Kanaka that has been brought up among partially civilized people to run away in such a place as this..." 127 Other Hawaiian sailors were legally discharged in Kiribati or Carolines. 128

Hawaiian landsmen also worked on alien beaches. As early as 1840, the Wilkes exploring expedition sent nine Hawaiians and six white sailors ashore on Aratika atoll in the Tuamotus to bore for geological samples. 129 In 1857, more than a dozen Hawaiians died when their sandalwooding camp was attacked by indigenous New Caledonians. 130 The Guano Act of 1856 sent American and Hawaiian ships to the Line Islands with anywhere from thirty to one hundred Hawaiian landsmen at a time to dig the reefs for fertilizer. After drying the mixture of bird droppings and coral, the Hawaiians might haul the ore to the beach in mule-drawn railway cars, then transport it to the ship in sailing craft. One captain said in 1859, "The kanakas make the best kind of laborers, being quiet, and good strong fellows to work. We were at [Holland] island 21 days altogether, during which time we discharged 600 tons of ballast and took in and stowed 1500 tons of guano. They gave us one hundred tons per day whenever we could take
Life in tents or pre-fabricated huts on desert-like sandbars was not pleasant. An observer said, "[Starbuck Island] is indeed a desolate region. It puts me in mind of a vast flat iceberg." One young Hawaiian worker dreamt of using his hard-earned wages to buy a gift for his beloved and commemorated his experience on Howland Island in a chant:

There's beauty here on Pua-ka-'ilima,  
that island in the sea,  
but the Kona wind blowing inland  
breaks every leaf and tree.  
Along the ridge a frigate bird soars  
in quiet contentment,  
alone with my diamond ring.

Tahiti

Tahiti, as the shipping locus of eastern Polynesia, also collected and distributed indigenous beachcombers. Both Tupaia and Omai were refugees from Ra'iatea, and therefore already beachcombers, when Cook made them pan-Pacific celebrities. The Pomare monarchy also attracted canoers from the Tuamotus and Australs to Tahiti. Omai brought two Maori servant boys back to Tahiti with him in 1777. Young in age, they probably had come to regard the ships as home and, despite having learned some English during their crossing from New Zealand, quite likely never really understood what they were in for. They wept when told that they could not continue on with the British. In fact, Cook had to evict them by force at Huahine, "which was no easy matter, the eldest now near sixteen, being of an athletic make, and of prodigious strength, and the youngest about eleven, being likewise giant for his age, were not easily managed." Tiburoa, modest and friendly, got
on well with the Society Islanders, and young Kokoa was also generally well-treated, though he lost a few fights to Tahitian boys. When a girl ridiculed his reputedly coming from cannibals by making as if to bite her arm, he got his revenge by pretending to eat a louse from his hair, just as he had seen Tahitians do. Omai took an additional six Tahitian servants to Huahine, but both Maoris apparently "died a natural death" shortly after Omai did. Other Maoris also wound up in Tahiti, no doubt as a result of whaling and the pork trade with Australia. In 1829, New Zealand missionary Thomas Kendall visited Tahiti, where two young Maoris who had once been his pupils walked thirty miles over the hills to see him. Two English-speaking Maori beachcombers named Bob and Friday were acting as guides for foreign ship captains at Tahiti in 1846. Hundreds of Hawaiians also came to Tahiti, as we have seen.

Not only male islanders made their way to Tahiti. Even after the French conquest in the 1840s, Queen Pomare IV had a Fijian female attendant "of most savage & ferocious aspect." A visiting captain said of this woman, "On one occasion having a quarrel with Mr. Lucett, the father of her child, she coolly told him if ever she caught him in a Feejee land she would eat him." He reported that a pretty Tuamotuan consort who lived with a French lieutenant was nicknamed Poison, and that a female Cook Islands resident had the word "Murderer" tattooed across her face. The latter had killed her first husband on Rarotonga, and after intervention from missionary John Williams had saved her from being killed for her crime, she had accepted the branding and fled to Tahiti: "Time has made her callous to the gaze
of strangers. She has married a second husband, & looks very much as tho' she would treat him as she did her first.143 Such anecdotes indicate the toughness female beachcombers sometimes had to display to survive in the limen. Others enjoyed a higher status derived from their consorts' material wealth. In 1803, a Hawaiian wahine accompanying a ship's second mate dressed up to please her adoring husband at Tahiti and became an instant celebrity: "From the first moment of the ship's arrival she was received with uncommon attention by the ladies, who flocked around her in crowds, regarding her attentively from head to foot, and complimenting her very courteously... Every one was eager to become her Tayo; perhaps, as she was the wife of an European, they cherished themselves with the hope that some presents might be in the way." She had a difficult time walking, however, in her new laced shoes.144 In 1829, the shopkeeping wife of Boki's chiefly Hawaiian trader in Papeete lived in comfort with the Tahitian royal family.145

Euroamerican shipping took many eastern Polynesians to new islands. In 1797, the missionary ship Duff carried the Tahitians Harraweia and "Tom" to the Gambiers, Tuamotus and Marquesas, along with Tano Manu, a Swedish beachcomber's wife. Tom, so named by the Bounty mutineers, helped provide the ship with coconuts and, because of bad weather, nearly got marooned on Pukarua. At Tahuata, Harraweia ran away and, instead of helping the English missionary as planned, learned enough Marquesan to stir up opposition against him. Captain James Wilson decided to test Tom's loyalty by ordering him to pack and go ashore as well but, after Tom's tearful farewell, relented and
took him back aboard. At Tahuata, Tano Maru used Tahitian tapa cloth to cover the nakedness of Marquesan wahine who swam to the ship, and at Ua Pou lascivious overtures from male canoers embarrassed her. In 1808, two Tahitians were captured by Fijians, after their sandalwood ship had fired on a local canoe, and, after the ship took a Fijian chief hostage, were returned badly disfigured by wounds. That same year, two more Tahitians, one of whom died of exposure, were sealing with white shipmates on Bounty Island south of New Zealand. A Tahitian named Jem, who had gone to Sydney at the age of eleven, worked his way as a sailor to New Zealand, where he married a North Cape chief's daughter and fought in local wars. When Samuel Marsden visited New Zealand in 1814, he found Jem carrying a musket and wearing a Maori mat and feathers. Because they had previously met in Australia, Jem accompanied Marsden on the Active and became a useful informant and provider, in exchange for gifts for himself and his father-in-law. Jem was still available as a mediator at Bay of Islands in 1827.

The first Active crew had itself included a Tahitian and a Boraboran, and a Marquesan lived in New Zealand in 1820. In 1827, Peter Dillon left Peter, a "crazy" Marquesan crewman, at Tongatapu, along with Bour, a Tahitian he considered "dangerous." "Marquesan Jack," a tattooed seaman, fought "gallantly" for the Tahitians against France in the 1840s. Other Tahitian or Marquesan sailors wound up in well-frequented ports like Hawaii or Pohnpei. Harry the Marquesan harpooner and his brother visited both ports on whaleships, and a Tahitian headsman helped the Proteus at Bay of...
Islands, New Zealand, in 1838. 158 Two Tahitians had to jump overboard and swim to shore when their whaleship was massacred at Namorik in Kiribati in 1834, and two others were rescued by Tongarevans when their ship wrecked in the Cooks in 1853. 159 Tahitians sometimes acted proudly toward other islanders, just as Tupaia had done, 160 convinced as they were "that their own is the first country on the face of the globe . . . " 161 Even in 1792, Bligh's Tahitian travelers, Maititi and "Jacket," had declined a warm invitation by Aitutakians to come ashore. In fact, "with much incivility they laughed at them." 162

The most famous example of Tahitians "colonizing" other islands, via Euroamerican shipping, was the settlement of Pitcairn in 1789 by the Bounty mutineers and their Tahitian and Tubuaian companions. Fletcher Christian's mutineers had first built a fort on Tubuai to establish a colony there, with help from local allies and about thirty Tahitian companions led by Hitihiti. A Boraboran who had already toured the South Pacific with Cook, Hitihiti seemed unconcerned that he might never see Tahiti again. He proved an excellent marksman—in fact, he was the only Tahitian allowed to carry a musket. After bloody conflicts broke out with rival Tubuaians over land, property and women, the mutineers returned to Tahiti and split into two factions, one of which went with Christian to Pitcairn. With his eight white followers went six "Tahitian" or Tubuaian men and a dozen women. 163 After destroying the ship at Pitcairn, the colonists spoke both Tahitian and English, raised Tahitian crops and livestock, built Tahitian-style huts and canoes, and made tapa bark cloth. But the
white men claimed most of the women and all of the land, treating the male "blacks" as servants, sometimes quite brutally. 164

Two years of growing oppression and resentment led Tararu of Ra'iatea and Hu of Tubuai to plot revolt, but a woman warned Christian's wife in a song, "Why does black man sharpen ax to kill white man?" Christian chased Hu with a gun, but the Tubuaian "clapped his hands, gave a shout of defiance and darted into the bush," where Tararu and Teimua joined him. To regain favor with the white men, Tetahiti killed his own uncle, Hu, and persuaded Teimua to kill Tararu, with the help of the latter's former wife (whose confiscation by a white had instigated the crisis). Two years later, however, it was Tetahiti who joined Teimua in revolt, along with Menari and Nihao. They killed five white men in one day, including Christian. Menari then killed Teimua in a quarrel over a woman and fled into the bush, where he joined two hiding white men, who later turned him in to be killed. Two women killed Tetahiti, and a white mutineer killed Nihao, so the remaining four white men had the women all to themselves. The women soon became dissatisfied with their lot, however, moving from man to man, secluding themselves in the bush, gathering guns and attempting an escape in a boat. Finally, drunken suicide, murder and asthma eliminated all but one of the remaining mutineers, John Adams. The so far tragic, Machiavellian history of the Bounty mutineers on Pitcairn suddenly transmuted, as Adams converted the women and children to Christianity and instituted a puritanical life-style. The men ate first, then the women, and all said grace at meals, sang an evening hymn before sleeping and attended five services on Sunday. 165
After an American ship "discovered" Pitcairn in 1808, visitors described the islanders as innocent, healthy and friendly, living in wooden cottages and wearing used clothing from passing ships. The "robust" descendants of the mutineers and their consorts attached themselves to sailors with the same first names and guided them up the steep cliffs from Bounty Bay. In 1817, Jenny Teuhuteatuaonoa managed to return from Pitcairn to Tahiti, via the Marquesas and Valparaiso, in a whaleship. The other Pitcairners, mainly descendants of the original Bounty settlers, followed in 1830 aboard British ships, at their own request, because of a water shortage. Queen Pomare IV granted them land, but Euroamerican church journalists wrote, "The pure and simple minded islanders were shocked beyond measure at the unspeakable corruption which they witnessed at Otaheite." Twelve out of the 87 migrants soon died of disease, and the rest pined for "home." An American ship took them back to Pitcairn in 1831, where they recuperated but showed the effects of their Tahitian sojourn "in the restless state of many among them, and also in their licentious conversations . . ." Another relocation to Norfolk Island in 1856 lasted longer but still resulted in dissatisfaction and moving back "home" again.

Smaller "Tahitian" migrations occurred elsewhere. In 1838, a French Catholic mission ship left two Mangarevans from the Gambiers at Pohnpei, where they married local women, and took two Pohnpeians to Tahiti, where they too settled down. In 1840, eleven Tahitians were catching turtles on Manra in the Phoenix atolls for a ship that had left them there, and another 25 were planting coconuts for Queen
Pomare IV on Tuanake in the Tuamotus. In the 1850s, a part-
Tahitian named Henry English managed a copra plantation on Fanning
Island and paid his hundred or more Tahitian workers in tobacco and
calico. The process also worked in reverse. A French ship black-
birded several dozen Melanesians in 1871 to work on a cotton plantation
at Tahiti, very few of whom survived to see their homes again.

At about the same time, 250 people from Rapanui (Easter Island) came
to work on church plantations at Tahiti, eventually forming a small
community at Pamata'i near Papeete. But their numbers steadily
declined from disease until the most marriageable survivors went home
again before the Chilean annexation of Easter Island in 1888.

Aotearoa (New Zealand)

New Zealand was another locus for circulating islander visitors
and beachcombers via Euroamerican shipping. In the late eighteenth
century, as we have seen, Tupaia, Omai and Hitihiti all visited New
Zealand with Cook, while Surville and Australian-based Britons took
Maoris away from their homeland. Tupaia became a fondly-remembered
celebrity among Maoris, some of whom also pursued Tuki and Huru's
tales of Australia with their own investigations. In 1800, a
Tahitian named Tapeooe helped the British whaler Betsey to obtain
spars in New Zealand. As shipping brought more Tahitians,
Marquesans, Hawaiians and Rotumans to New Zealand, Maoris
learned about what was happening in the homelands of their Polynesian
kin. Just as Tahitian and Hawaiian beachcombers had planted ideas
of kingship in the minds of Marquesans, so the enterprising Maori
chief Whetoi took the name Pomare after hearing about the Tahitian
monarchy. Jem the Tahitian, with his knowledge of firearms and foreign ways, had already married into a chiefly family in the Bay of Islands area and become a powerful war leader and mediator. Not only did Marsden and Dillon take Maori "noble savages" on showcase voyages, but by the early 1800s hundreds of Maoris were shipping out as sailors on foreign ships and becoming beachcombers on Inner Pacific beaches. Right whaling stations at Cloudy Bay were one avenue for Maoris to break into the industry. In 1836, four Cloudy Bay Maoris shipped as ordinary seamen aboard the British whaler Australian, along with a Tahitian harpooner who later deserted at Bay of Islands. A decade later, two Maoris were serving as guides for foreigners on Tahiti. Other Maoris traveled to Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, Pohnpei, and as far afield as England and France.

Maoris sometimes made colorful liminars. For example, their elaborate facial tattooing amazed other islanders. Tahitians criticized them for reportedly being cannibals and fled from their grimacing, aggressive "war dance." Dillon had his Maoris do their famous dance in Tonga and Calcutta but found that their reputation as cannibals disturbed both Tongans and Tikopians. Samoans, too, expressed disgust at Maori sailors "on account of their cannibalism." Rotumans allowed some Maori sailors to bury a dead compatriot in one of their volcanic craters, after a funeral chant and volley of gunfire. But when Maori beachcombers wanted to cook and eat a few of the bodies slain in a religious civil war on the island, the Rotumans said, "You may do that at New Zealand--never at
Rotumah. John Sac, a Maori seaman with the Wilkes expedition in 1840, performed a solo version of his war-like dance in Fiji, "which excited great astonishment among them. John's dance was one of great energy and violence, and as opposite from that we had just witnessed as could well be conceived." His aggressive interpreting in Tahitian with Tuamotuans had already earned Wilkes' criticism the year before: "It was difficult to recognize the sailor in the fierce, majestic-looking warrior before us." Tongan chiefs actively sought Maori beachcombers as warriors, and Maori beachcombers developed a violent image among even their white counterparts, when crossed. Because of Euroamerican shipping, Maoris also helped to "colonize" nearby islands. In 1808, Ruatara spent five difficult months on cold, barren Bounty Island, sealing with two Tahitians and ten white seamen. In the 1830s, white sailors with Maori families, "having, it would seem, no unconquerable antipathy against amalgamation," settled on Three Kings Island, Lord Howe's Island, and Sunday (or Raoul) Island to grow potatoes, cabbages and pigs for passing ships. In 1860, two mixed Maori-pakeha families still made a meager living on desolate Sunday Island, but after an earthquake destroyed their settlement a few years later, they took a whaler to Norfolk Island. The most notorious case of Maori "colonization," however, was the conquest of the Chatham Islands in 1835 by North Island Marois, with the aid of an English ship and firearms. Several Maori men and women had visited the Chathams with sealers and whalers and reported that it abounded with sea life and birds. When the conqueror Te Rauparaha threatened members of the Ngatiawa Maori (who had already fled south
from Hongi's wars), they hijacked the Lord Rodney to transport to the Chathams 900 Ngatiawa settlers, who "engaged in a war of extermination." The aboriginal Moriori could not withstand enslavement and new diseases and declined by 90 percent in twenty-five years, eventually dying out entirely. The historical roles were reversed by 1866, when roving Hawaiian diplomat William Hoapili nearly persuaded Maori chief Tamehana to migrate with "several thousand" of his people away from British-ruled New Zealand to Hawaii, which had a Polynesian king: "Many patriotic Maoris objected to the scheme, deeming it almost a sacrilege to abandon their fatherland, but a large number took another view, saying that their country was virtually lost to them..." King Kamehameha V vetoed the idea, much to the relief of foreign residents in Hawaii.

Micronesia

Guam, and other parts of Micronesia, both attracted and produced Inner Pacific beachcombers, though many still circulated by traditional canoes rather than in Euroamerican ships. Spanish conquest and alien diseases had nearly depopulated the Marianas, whose surviving indigenous people lived mainly on Guam. The surviving Chamorros had lost their seafaring skills and been hybridized by Filipino and Spanish immigrants. Only cattle lived on Tinian, whose huts remained empty until butchers came for the annual slaughter. In the early 1700s, as we have seen, Moac, a Belauan chief castaway in the Philippines, and Digal, a Woleaian castaway on Guam, both failed to help Spanish priests establish missions in the Carolines, perhaps
partly because neither liminar was sent to his home island. But in 1788, Luito of Lamotrek reopened an ancient sailing route between the Carolines and Guam, a connection that Vice-Governor Don Luis de Torres nurtured. After 1804, regular fleets of Carolinian canoers traded for iron at Guam and gathered pigs, yams and arrow-root from Saipan, Tinian and Rota, thereby providing the main form of inter-island shipping for the Marianas. Chamorros repeatedly asked foreign ships to hire them as sailors, to escape the stagnant economy and corrupt administration. Whalers and white beachcombers controlled most trading at Guam, but by 1828, Chief Oralitau of the Carolinian atoll of Elato operated his own sailing ship, whose crew dived for and marketed bêche-de-mer. The Carolinians in the Marianas, according to a Russian visitor, "wore red shirts and straw hats; said Spanish words like adios and si senor . . . have learned to salute, though very awkwardly [and] lose entirely their nationality . . ."  

Belau had sent Lee Boo to London via English shipping in 1783 and more Belauans to Macao and New Guinea in 1791 with John McClure, who took an additional half dozen Belauan women to India in 1794. Kakiwaki, an adopted son of the ibedul of Koror, was unsuccessful at befriending some Filipino turtle-hunters camped in the Babuyan Islands -- the more he chased after them, the more they fled--but two Belauan women with McClure won the confidence of Papuan villagers by paddling around with local friends in their canoes. By 1830, some of the "Manilla-men" sailing aboard bêche-de-mer ships in the Carolines were in fact Yapese who had learned Spanish on ships operating out of Manila or Guam, and Belauans, too, learned enough Spanish to translate
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for Manilla-men in the Carolines.\textsuperscript{219} Blackbirding still occurred, however, as when Benjamin Morrell kidnapped a Micronesian (from Chuuk?) in 1830, nicknamed him Monday, after the day of his capture, and took him away to display in the United States, where he died.\textsuperscript{220} In 1843, Andrew Cheyne took fourteen Belauans, including a chief named Etelokul, to Yap and Pohnpei, to help his Indian lascars establish bêche-de-mer stations. A fight broke out between his Belauans and some Yapese canoers, but his taking a Yapese chief along to Pohnpei as a hostage ensured the safety of five lascars he left at Yap.\textsuperscript{221} In 1866-67, Alfred Tetens took one hundred Yapese with twenty-five canoes on a trading voyage for bêche-de-mer. They dived for him, lived in temporary shelters ashore and learned from a Malay sailor how to catch spears thrown at them. Such training proved useful in armed conflicts with local inhabitants in New Guinea, Chuuk, Ulithi and Losap. Tetens managed to persuade Yapese "Prince Runningebay" not to decapitate the wounded enemies or prisoners for trophies, but at Chuuk the Yapese victors helped themselves to the favors of local women.\textsuperscript{222}

Euroamerican shipping gradually brought islanders from other parts of the Inner Pacific to Micronesia. As early as 1788, the Hawaiian chief Ka'iana, traveling from Macao to the American Northwest aboard the British fur trader Iphigenia, had gone ashore at Tobi in the western Carolines. He claimed to understand several phrases used by the local inhabitants, but he did not tarry.\textsuperscript{223} Other Hawaiians attempted to "colonize" Agrihan\textsuperscript{224} or arrived in Micronesia as missionaries and beachcombers.\textsuperscript{225} The Tahitian Tapeoooe spent three
months as a prisoner on Guam in 1802, after the Spaniards confiscated his ship, the Plumo, for having been Spanish before its capture by a British privateer. By the mid-1830s, whaleships sailing seasonally between the Line (equator) and the northern Pacific created a regular circuit of recruiting and discharging islander sailors, from Wallis Island through Kiribati to the Marshalls. Some islanders changed their minds about being sailors after a few days "on trial" or deserted at other islands. Such circulation did not always go smoothly. For example, in 1863, a kanaka nicknamed John Brown shipped out on the whaler Triton at Beru in Kiribati but jumped overboard only four days and 175 miles later at Abemama. He seemed to be afraid that the Abemamans would kill him, however, and allowed himself to be brought back to the ship, where he fought with three white sailors that night and disappeared into the sea for good. Violent conflicts occurred between such ships and indigenous islanders over provisions, women, and blackbirding, but whaleships also rescued lost canoers to win the good-will of islanders. Pohnpei, Kosrae, and to a lesser extent Banaba and Nauru, became popular ports of call and accumulated Inner Pacific beachcombers from Rotuma, Hawaii, Wallis, Futuna, Samoa, Rarotonga, New Zealand, and Tahiti.

The cross-cultural limen produced a few ironies and tragedies in Micronesia. In 1825, the chief of Ebon in the Marshalls took the name Kaibuke, because he learned, no doubt from a Maori sailor, that it meant "ship" in Maori. Not only did Pohnpeians travel as far as Sydney, Manila, the Bonins, Hawaii and California, but about twenty Pohnpeian men "colonized" Ngatik Island, along with
some white sailors, after Charles "Bloody" Hart massacred the men of Ngatik to acquire their tortoise shell in 1837. The women of Ngatik, part of the spoils, preserved the invasion in oral tradition. In 1843, Maori beachcombers who had taken local wives on Pohnpei killed two white beachcombers who tried to steal them away; other white residents killed two of the Maoris before they escaped to a nearby islet. When Nauruans massacred the American crew of the whaler Inga in 1852, "A part of the men were Kanakas, from different islands. The natives spared their lives, and they are on the island still." In the late 1870s and early 1880s, entrepreneur Daniel O'Keefe persuaded Yapese, who cherished stone money quarried at Belau, to provide him with copra in exchange for passage to and from Belau, thus making 100 percent profit off their cultural values. Meanwhile, at the other end of Micronesia, a Marshallese chief was sending his own schooner, the Lotus, to trade at Pohnpei.

Melanesia and Central Polynesia

Another indigenous beachcombing circuit stretched from New Guinea to Samoa. Euroamerican shipping gradually introduced increasing numbers of outside visitors into this southwestern and central belt of interconnected islands, along which the most ancient migrants into the Inner Pacific had first traveled and precontact exchange networks had kept people in movement. In the late 1700s, Ahutoru had had difficulty communicating with Samoans and Solomon Islanders, nor could Omai or Hitihiti communicate well with Tongans, though they enjoyed the local hospitality. Such "noble savage" tourists merely
passed through, however, without staying for long. In 1800 another Tahitian, Tapeooe, visited Tongatapu on his way to Australia, and on his return voyage he met a fellow Tahitian there who persuaded him to stay for two years. After being driven from place to place because of Tongan civil wars, Tapeooe finally left on the Plumo in 1802. In 1808, two Tahitian sailors were badly treated by Fijians in revenge for their sandalwood ship's firing on a canoe. Not surprisingly, a missionary landing in Fiji a year later heard this about his chosen flock: "The Tahitians on board our vessel despise them and say they are truly savages." Pemi, another Tahitian, was left in Fiji by an American ship in 1813, only to be killed in battle and eaten. In 1834, Samoans on Savai'i acquired three Hawaiian beachcombers after a fight with their ship over a missing musket. Their captain paid two muskets ransom for each white crewman the Samoans had captured, but none for the Hawaiians. Yet in 1836, a Tongan chief enticed a Maori seaman to desert his whaleship, only to return him (and a young white apprentice) to the captain in exchange for axes, knives, fish-hooks and cloth. Tongan chiefs employed not only white beachcombers in their wars but also Hawaiians and Maoris. In 1842, a Fijian chief provided four Tahitian beachcombers with wives and other gifts in return for distilling ti-root liquor for them.

The traditional Fiji-Tonga-Samoa nexus included Rotumans and Futunans and, more distantly, Polynesian outliers in Micronesia and Melanesia. Not only did the Tongans claim that they had learned their canoe-building and sailing skills in Fiji and regard Fijians as refined and worthy of respect, but many Tongans migrated to
eastern Fiji to cut wood for canoes and even to serve Fijian chiefs as crews. Because of inter-marriage ties among their elites, Tongans employed Fijians in their wars, and vice versa. Euroamerican shipping added contacts to this traditional cross-cultural frontier. Fijians, Tongans, Samoans and Wallisians traveled to new beaches, just as their own islands garnered indigenous beachcombers from around the Pacific—though perhaps relatively fewer than did more strategic, established ports of call like Hawaii, Tahiti, or New Zealand. Interactions via the new shipping, even among peoples with ancient contacts, did not always go smoothly. In 1809, a Tongan who was interpreting for his American sandalwood ship in Fiji spent a great deal of time on shore among the Fijians. When he developed a bad head-ache, he decided to try a local cure: penis piercing. With a fellow Tongan, he went ashore to a secluded spot and twice rammed a dry reed up his penis and out a hole below the scrotum, leaving a string through the wound for the day. More than a week later, he still felt feverish and unwell, firmly convinced that the Fijians had "bewitched" him. It may well have been a kava-induced prank. In 1832, one of the Rarotongans visiting Tonga with LMS missionaries fished at Vava'u and carelessly put a dead water snake on some rocks to dry, causing nearby Tongan fishermen to rage about his killing their "god."

Tongans and Rotumans, with difficulty, helped to open up the Euroamerican sandalwooding frontier in Melanesia. In 1829, the year of Boki's ill-fated Hawaiian expedition to Erromanga, British traders led by Samuel Henry took nearly 250 Tongans and Rotumans to the same
island to cut sandalwood. Even Boki's companion ship picked up 100 Rotumans on its way to Erromanga. But indigenous hostility and malaria took its toll on them, just as it did on the Hawaiians, and few lived to see their homes again.\footnote{277} Despite the 1839 murder of LMS missionary John Williams on the beach at Erromanga, apparently in revenge for depredations by a sandalwood ship,\footnote{278} Henry returned to the island in 1842 with 67 Tongans led by young Chief Ma'afu. After three days of cutting, a dispute over thefts led to the deaths of an Erromangan and a Tongan, so the ships left, taking away four Erromangans who happened to be on board. At the nearby island of Efate, the Tongans cut wood for another three days, until the indigenous inhabitants began harassing them, because the visitors had broken \textit{tabu} by harvesting coconuts and singing irreverent songs. Led by Ma'afu, the Tongans used their firearms to take a fort, killed sixty Efateans and smothered another eight in a cave by lighting a fire outside. Seven years later, one of the kidnapped Erromangans was still alive in Tonga, but although he missed his island, he declined a British offer of passage home.\footnote{279} Meanwhile, a Tongan named Toriki Rangi remained at Erromanga and helped Henry to procure sandalwood into the 1860s. Rangi became prosperous enough to purchase a thirty-foot boat from Sydney, marry nine local wives, build himself a fine house and raise livestock.\footnote{280}

The Euroamerican shipping \textit{limen} could put such islander travelers through a variety of transformations, yet it also became a vehicle for their own explorations. For example, Langi, a Tongan in eastern Fiji, went with Dillon to Sydney in 1824, then with Henry to Tahiti, where he converted to Christianity, married a Tahitian and went with
Dillon to Tongatapu in 1825 to spread the gospel. Dillon, whether sandalwooding in Fiji, taking Marsden to New Zealand or searching for the wreck of La Pérouse, carried a variety of islanders as crew and interpreters. After discharging a Tahitian and a Marquesan in Tonga in 1827, he added two Cook Islander castaways to his mixed crew and agreed to take along four Tongans to Rotuma to inquire what had happened to some canoes a Tongan chief had sent there to collect tribute. At Rotuma, one of Dillon's Rotuman crewmen embraced the local chief and learned that the Tongan canoes had already gone on to Fiji, so Dillon took his Tongans to Tikopia in the Solomon Islands. There he picked up Rathea, who knew about the La Pérouse shipwreck site. The omnibus went on to Vanikoro, where Dillon picked up three more Tikopians and solved the mystery of La Pérouse, and to Bay of Islands, New Zealand, from which port the surviving Tongans and Tikopians found ships home again. The Maori and Tongan women Dillon had with him helped to allay the suspicions of both Rotuman and Vanikoro natives, but his faithful guide Rathea died in New Zealand while awaiting transport home. Dillon put these words into his mouth: "Had I coconuts, bread-fruit, bananas, etc., which I have been accustomed to, I might once more see Tucopia; but as it is, I cannot live." 281

Dumont d'Urville, following Dillon's path in 1827, blackbirded five Tikopians, one of whom turned out to be a Wallisian castaway who could interpret for Dumont at Vanikoro. Dumont also found a Maori woman on Tikopia married to a white beachcomber and a Fijian woman on Vanikoro married to an Indian lascar. 282
Sometimes the limen attained typical theatricality. In 1839, Charles Wilkes landed a Samoan chief named Tuvai, whom he had taken into exile for killing an American, at Wallis Island. Placed in the care of a canoer who spoke a little English and laden with rolls of tapa cloth for the local chief, "Tuvai seemed delighted at being released from his confinement on shipboard, and took his leave by shaking hands with the sentry." Tuvai had feared being exiled to a place with no coconut trees and no doubt regarded Wallis, which was even closer to Samoa than Fiji or Tongatapu, as a convenient place to be marooned! Six months later, in Fiji, Wilkes met a Rotuman woman named Henrietta. She had married a Tahitian sailor, left Rotuma with him for a visit to Tahiti and then sailed for home again aboard an American bêche-de-mer ship in 1835. At the small island in Fiji that Wilkes was visiting, Rotuman beachcombers had enticed Henrietta and her husband to disembark, whereupon the local chief took a liking to Henrietta, killed and ate the poor husband and forced her to marry him. Not surprisingly, Wilkes found her "occasionally... in ill-humour." In 1832, John Williams took Chief Makea and other recent Rarotongan converts to Samoa and Tonga to help spread the Christian gospel. Williams introduced Makea, "dressed in European costume, with a red surtout," as a "king" to Malietoa Vai'inupo of Samoa, who "viewed him with an eagle's eye, made many inquiries about him and then called him a handsome man and said he was not able to be equalled by any chief of the Samoas." Yet Temoana, the once-and-future "king" of the Marquesas, languished in rags on the beach in Samoa from 1836 to 1839. Initially an assistant to LMS missionary Thomas Heath,
he was treated as an outsider by the Samoans and finally returned home to Nukuhiva with another passing missionary. In 1873, a British ship carried a Rotuman ambassador to the Tongan outlier of Niuafo'ou, which had once invaded Rotuma. After the leader of that ancient Tongan expedition had died, his followers had withdrawn, leaving behind only their chief's title, Maraf, which a Rotuman had adopted. The Maraf of Rotuma now wanted to invite his Tongan namesake to bring his people back to Rotuma, as he had heard they wished to escape the exactions of King George Tupou I.

Contacts via Euroamerican shipping could generate new relationships and attitudes. In 1853, the King of Tonga, George Tupou I, traveled to Sydney aboard the Methodist mission ship John Wesley. He stopped along the way in Fiji, to urge would-be king Cakobau to convert to Christianity. When Cakobau finally relented in 1854, Tupou returned with thirty Tongan war canoes and nearly 3000 warriors to defeat Cakobau's enemies in a bloody battle at Kaba. Meanwhile, Chief Ma'afu, the leader of the Tongan sandalwooding depredations in Vanuatu in 1842, became a major power broker in eastern Fiji, as more Tongans migrated there to escape King George Tupou's laws. In 1858, Ma'afu told the British consul, "I have been brought up with white men. I have sailed the sea in their ships, and lived in their houses on shore." He promised that if the British supported him instead of Cakobau, he would deliver over the whole of Fiji to them! The consul warned Ma'afu against being too ambitious and wrote, "The Tongan carries with him his conceit wherever he goes, whether to Samoa or to Fiji . . . the events of late years have led him to consider
himself as something superior to either of his neighbors." Other foreign visitors also noted the apparent change in Tongan attitudes toward Fijians, and even Tongan (and Samoan) missionaries acted arrogantly, sometimes violently, toward the Melanesians they were proselytizing. In 1851, Rotumans "Tom" and "Friday" sailed aboard the Wanderer from California to the Solomons, where the captain remarked of relations between his crew and the black Melanesians, "Our islanders look with great contempt on these people, and consider them an inferior order of beings." Yet the captain himself regarded his Polynesians as no more civilized than the Solomon Islanders, who were simply darker.

Apart from the early raids by Quiros and Torres for captive catechists, the Melanesian islands west of Fiji had entered rather late into the periplean frontier. Moreover, their linguistic diversity and political rivalries made it difficult to regularize contact. The Tahitian "noble savage" Ahutoru had been unsympathetic toward Solomon Islanders, whose language was incomprehensible to him and whose appearance he disdained. Even Lova Saregua, the Solomon Islander blackbirded by Surville in 1769, had been of little use as an interpreter away from his own island. Indeed, Lova had quickly become as much a stranger as his French captors; he ridiculed other Solomon Islanders for their nakedness and asked for a bow and arrow with which to fight them. Nor had Sunday, or Darco, the New Guinean islander blackbirded by Morrell in 1830, been very helpful as a mediator on his return voyage until he arrived at his home island. His inability to communicate with other canoers actually drew laughter
Attempts by Micronesian-based traders like Cheyne or Tetens to obtain bêche-de-mer from the northern Solomon or New Guinean islands often met with resistance from local inhabitants, who also ambushed whalers seeking provisions. Cheyne tried employing Solomon islanders in New Georgia, only to find they were traditional enemies, and Tetens encountered indigenous hostility when his Yapese divers plundered New Guinean lagoons. Yet in the 1840s, when the sandalwood trade began in earnest, James Paddon developed a technique of removing Melanesians from their home islands to work at sandalwood stations on nearby, alien beaches, thereby ensuring their dependence on (and cooperation with) their employer. He also hired Melanesian sailors for his ships.

Peripatetic adventures by Melanesian sailors in the nineteenth century took place in the shadow of a larger phenomenon, the plantation labor trade, which displaced over 100,000 people to beaches as distant as Australia and Tahiti. Abuses in early recruiting were common enough to elicit regulatory laws enforced by British warships. Moreover, the practice, begun as early as 1847, of selecting only a few men from each island, in order to prevent combinations against their employers, tampered with Melanesian identities. The massive participation by Melanesians in the rather menial labor trade may well have further harmed their outside image, just as slavery demeaned Africans. Revisionist historians have tried to empower the laborers themselves as choice-makers, but Clive Moore has admitted that "cultural kidnapping" persisted. I-Kiribati and other Micronesians also went to work on plantations in Samoa or Hawaii, with varying degrees of
voluntarism, and Peruvian slavers raided Pacific islands as well. The labor trade sometimes rendered the status of Melanesian sailors precarious, or reduced recruited workers to being liminal pawns. The sandalwooder Two Brothers sold ten Loyalty Islander crewmen as slaves on Pohnpei in 1855, and a German copra trader threatened to land 100 Solomon Islands laborers on Kosrae in 1880 to force the local king to pay off his debts.

The periphrastic frontier increasingly placed Melanesian Iiminars in ambiguous situations. Chief Basset of New Caledonia visited Sydney with his brother and learned enough English to make conversation, but the arrival of French missionaries heralded the imminent interjection of another colonial power. Other New Caledonians, especially Loyalty Islanders, who volunteered for work aboard Anglo-Australian ships would find themselves in a similar plight when France annexed their islands in 1853. Nomu of Tanna worked for sixteen years as a labor recruiter in Vanuatu, sometimes kidnapping fellow islanders for Australian plantations. Such Melanesian sailors might have to do their jobs while their ships were involved in violent disputes with other Melanesians. Non-Melanesian island sailors could also become embroiled in conflicts between their sandalwooding or labor recruiting ships and local inhabitants. In 1842, Chief Matuku of the Isle of Pines, after being insulted by sailors from the Star, massacred the whole crew, which included two Marquesans, two Mangaians, an Aitutakian and a Maori, along with two Samoan and one Rarotongan missionaries. Five years later, ni-Vanuatu of Efate, after a dispute with sailors over women, combined forces with ten Maori, Tahitian and
Hawaiian deserters to massacre the crew of the Cape Packet, which included some Tannese. New Caledonians massacred the Mary in 1849 but spared a near-blind Rotuman sailor, and attacked a sandalwooding camp in 1857, killing perhaps fifteen Hawaiians.

The increased circulation of men and ideas around the Inner Pacific manifested itself in many ways. Marquesans apparently heard about centralized monarchy from Hawaiian beachcombers and sailors, just as a Maori, as we have seen, took the name Pomare because he heard about the Tahitian royal family, and a Marshallese took the name Kaibuke because he heard that it meant "ship" in Maori. Islander liminars, whether sailors, sandalwood cutters, preachers or labor recruiters, helped to induct other islanders into the wider world. They were perhaps avatars of change less alien to imitate than Euroamericans. In any case, ambitious chiefs or curious commoners were likely to seize whatever role model they could get as foreign shipping stirred up the maritime frontier more than ever before.

R. G. Ward has argued that the Tahitians and Maoris employed by bêche-de-mer traders effected important acculturations in Fiji, particularly as beachcombers. The result was not always positive, any more than it was in the case of many Euroamericans who arrived on Pacific beaches. Hawaiians, for example, learned how to distill ti-root liquor from Australian ex-convict deserters, then taught it to Tahitians, as we have seen, who taught it to Fijians. In 1873, a sea captain lamented that twenty moneyed Nauruan beachcombers at Kosrae "had lighted on the place like a pestilence . . . To carry them to any island would have been to convey a plague to the unfortunate
inhabitants; and it would be far better that they should drink themselves to death where they are . . .” 314

Yet the role of indigenous beachcombers, whom local rulers often sought out as eagerly as their white counterparts, has previously been neglected in Pacific islands historiography. Partly, this may be due to the difficulty in recovering data, but it may also be a matter of perception. Such movement by islanders aboard Euroamerican vessels tended to overlap with more traditional canoe-borne travel. In the 1840s, for example, a Samoan named Sualo drifted to Vanuatu with other canoers, who were fleeing from a Samoan civil war, and joined up with an influential Maori beachcomber. Sualo fought in wars for local chiefs, became a middleman between the inhabitants of Efate and sandalwood ships and helped to welcome the first Samoan missionaries. 315 Indigenous beachcombers were thus not really new to the Inner Pacific, as the stories of people like Sualo and Kadu show, but their agency in transacting contact with Euroamericans was.
Chapter V--Notes


9. Latukefu (1978) 101-105. He also suggests that such Polynesian preachers introduced material and cultural progress to the Melanesians from their own customs.


13. Ibid. 292.


20. Parkinson (1773) 73.


23. Parkinson (1773) 88-89; Beaglehole (1968) Cook I: 169, 566; Beaglehole (1962) I: 401, II: 35. See Kirch (1985) 63, for the close linguistic ties between Maori and the Tahitian dialects of Society Islands like Ra'iatea.


32. Beaglehole (1962) II: 34.

33. Ibid. I: 446-47.

34. Ibid. I: 454-63.


40. Hoare (1982) III: 422; G. Forster (1777) I: 504; Rickman (1781) 51; Zimmerman (1926) 16.

41. G. Forster (1777) I: 504.

42. Rickman (1781) 53-54.

44. Zimmermann (1926) 19-20.

45. G. Forster (1777) I: 495.


47. Hoare (1982) III 491-92; G. Forster (1777) I: 562-82; Beaglehole (1969) Cook II: 356, 377. The theatrical scene of Marquesans feigning respectful amazement at a Boraboran's rubbing sticks together to make fire is amusing to contemplate. Explorers were traveling shows!


49. Kotzebue (1821) II: 120-52; Chamisso (1986) 263-64.


51. Kotzebue (1821) II: 188.

52. Ibid. II: 188-99; Chamisso (1986) 270.


58. Ibid. 282.

59. Kotzebue (1830) I: 306-10; Chamisso (1986) 199. In 1828 Lutke, (1835) II: 147, found no news or memory about Kadu in Woleai.

60. See, for example, J. Martin (1981); Riesenberg (1972); Maude (1968) 134-69.


62. Broughton (1804) 42.

63. Turnbull (1805) II: 32-76.

64. Page (1825) 6-7.
68. Dibble (1909) 121.
69. Bingham (1849) 251, 447-55; Dibble (1909) 254.
70. Bingham (1849) 411.
71. The Polynesian 8/8/1846.
72. F. Bennett (1840) 284-85; Frouin (1978) 310.
73. W. F. Wilson (1922) 26, 44.
74. Stewart (1970a) 276.
75. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).
77. Robson (1973) 59.
79. Crook (1963) 153-58; Dening (1974) 6, 46-55, 94; Temoteiti (1800) 9-10. Fanning, (1833) 133-38, calls Tama an Italian, for some reason. A strange honor for a troublesome indigenous beachcomber, to be made white?
83. Stewart (1970b) II: 43.
84. The Polynesian 8/8/1846.
85. Beckwith (1932) 3-5.
86. N. Morris (1979) 46-49.
87. Bingham (1849) 161, 437-38, 459-64.
92. Denison (1876) 40-41.
94. Jarman (1938) 186.
95. Dillon (1829) II: 102; Im Thurn (1925) 213-14.
97. Burrows (1937) 48 gives a Wallisian oral tradition about the Manini affair. See also Denison (1876) 46.
100. Burrows (1937) 48-51.
101. Ibid. 49.
102. Williams (1907) 180.
104. Kuykendall (1929) 29-32.
111. Adler (1973) 114-235.
114. Ibid. 269; Burrows (1937) 51.
119. Ralston (1978) 109-19; Bingham (1849) 118.
120. Kuykendall (1929) 32.
125. Lucatt (1851) I: 325-27.
126. Goodenough (1876) 193-94.
129. Wilkes (1845) IV: 264.
132. Ibid. VI: 512.
133. Pukui and Korn (1973) 80-82.
137. Ibid. 239, 1470-71.
138. Bligh (1792) 62.
144. Turnbull (1805) II: 121-26.
147. Im Thurn (1925) 16-19.
148. Elder (1932) 63-64.
150. Dillon (1829) I: 213, 327.
152. Cruise (1823) 88.
153. Dillon (1829) I: 289, 293.
156. Log Ohio 4/28/1839, 4/20/1840.
157. H. Williams (1964) 267-68.
161. Turnbull (1805) I: 133, II: 32.
163. Rutter (1935) 52-75; Dening (1988a) 35-39; Beechey (1831) I: 77-80; Delano (1817) 120-21.

164. Delano (1817) 128, 142; Beechey (1831) I: 81; Gough (1973) 83-84; Dening (1988a) 81-84.

165. Beechey (1831) I: 82-106; Gough (1973) 84-92; Dening (1988a) 81-89; Delano (1817) 126-28.


167. Davidson (1975) 85; Dening (1988a) 86.


169. Hezel (1979) 42.


175. Elder (1932) 58-59, 70.


177. Elder (1932) 81.

178. Cruise (1823) 88.


180. Wakefield (1845) I: 205.


184. Harry Morton (1982) 169; Polack (1840) 120.

185. Wilkes (1845) II: 407.


188. ERskine (1967) 411-12.
190. Wilkes (1845) III: 190.
193. Elder (1932) 64-78.
198. Dillon (1829) I: 275-79; Davidson (1975) 120.
199. Dillon (1829) II: 325.
200. Williams (1907) 235.
201. Lucatt (1851) I: 158.
203. Wilkes (1845) III: 190.
204. Ibid. I: 311-14.
207. Elder (1932) 63-64.
212. Muir (1953) 7-9.
213. Kotzebue (1821) II: 230-37; Golovnin (1979) 230-33; Mortimer (1791) 65-68; Morrell (1832) 420.


216. Keate (1788); Hockin (1803) 28-55.

217. Delano (1817) 44-54, 193; McCluer (1792) 141, 258-59.

218. Morrell (1832) 417, 434, 468; Lutke (1835) II: 128-32.


220. Morrell (1832) 466.


223. Meares (1790) 292-93.


236. Log Swift 9/13/1851.


239. Log Ohio 4/28/1839, 4/20/1840.


243. Cholmondeley (1915) 114.

244. Log Milton 4/6/1854, 11/1/1854; Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).

245. H. Williams (1964) 326; Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).


254. Im Thurn (1925) 16-19.

255. Ibid. 137.
256. Dillon (1829) I: 24-25.
262. Dillon (1829) II: 102; Goodenough (1876) 233-34; Wilkes (1845) III: 21-24, 227-32.
265. Wilkes (1845) III: 25-26, 40.
266. Ibid. III: 54-55.
268. Wilkes (1845) III: 28.
270. Ward (1966) 113; R. Young (1858) 177.
275. Im Thurn (1925) 141-44.
278. G. Turner (1861) 490.
280. Shineberg (1967) 135, 141, 266.


284. Ibid. II: 90-91.


288. Wood (1875) 14-17, 53.

289. R. Young (1858) 179-81.


292. Pritchard (1866) 225-32, 283-94.

293. Wood (1875) 64-67.


295. Webster (1863) 3, 90.

296. Bougainville (1772) 292.


298. Jacobs (1844) 69-75.


300. Inglis (1887) 201-02.

301. Ibid. 198-207; Goodenough (1876) 203-5; Keesing (1986).


307. Inglis (1887) 212-14.
311. Thomas (1986) 8; Dening (1980) 133.
314. Wood (1875) 188-90.
315. G. Turner (1861) 386-95, 454.
CHAPTER VI

THE OTHER LAND II: THE OUTER AND EXTRA PACIFIC

If islander travelers mingled and influenced each other on Inner Pacific beaches, the Outer and Extra Pacific proved to be even more liminal a periplean frontier. The climates, lifestyles, and hence the roles available to Pacific islanders, would often be markedly different from the Inner Pacific. Islanders could still use the limen to advantage, given the right circumstances, but they were on more alien ground and had to make bigger adjustments in their behavior, their shipboard initiations notwithstanding. Euroamericans recorded, sometimes self-servingly or condescendingly, the degree of Pacific islander "astonishment" in China or Europe, and typically caricaturized the almost unsettling emotionalism of islander reactions. Moreover, islanders were entering cross-cultural frontiers already established by Euroamericans with other non-white peoples. In many cases, kanakas and "noble savages" alike seemed to conform to Euroamerican attitudes toward those Outer or Extra Pacific peoples, perhaps reflecting their own increasing dependence the farther they traveled from the Inner Pacific. First, let us consider the Outer Pacific rim.

Near-Polar Regions

The uninhabited Antarctic was perhaps the most severe climatic test for South Sea islanders. Hitihiti, who accompanied Cook's futile quest for the southern continent in 1773-74, was duly amazed by snow, which he decided to call "white rain" when he returned home to Tahiti,
and by icebergs, which he would call "white land." He paced the deck in boredom, warmed himself by a fire in the captain's cabin and showed his disgust with the cold climate and salted meat rations. Nor was the extreme north Pacific well-liked by such islanders. Those who sailed there in whaleships, notably Hawaiians, suffered from the cold, sometimes fatally. At least the northern Pacific arc had indigenous human inhabitants, peoples in fact whom the world economy was peripheralizing in familiar ways.

Native Americans, like Inner Pacific islanders, had long remained outside the Eurasian ecumene and hence suffered drastically from alien diseases and technological backwardness when Europeans (and soon, Euroamericans) arrived in their lands. As early as the 1740s, when Spain pretended to command the Pacific from Manila to Mexico, Russian promyshlenniks (fur trappers or traders) began to expand from Kamchatka to the Aleutians and Alaska, pursuing the ever-dwindling sea otter. By 1799, they had built forts at Kodiak and Sitka and united as the Russian American Company (RAC). The RAC added Fort Ross in California in 1812 and, unofficially, attempted to expand into Hawaii in 1816. The Russians conscripted Aleut kayakers as hunters, but exploitation, disease and displacement (as far as California and Hawaii) reduced the Aleut population by half by 1800. Alaskan Tlingit Indians resisted more effectively with guns they bought from Anglo-American traders, who began to dominate the isolated Russian colonies economically after 1804. Most Russian missionizing was confined to the forts, convict exiles outnumbered free settlers, and timber and ice exports failed to compensate for diminishing furs and food shortages. Despite Russian
intermarriage with local women and visits by a few Aleuts to Russia, discrimination toward Native Americans and even their mixed offspring discouraged real assimilation, other than growing dependency on liquor and tobacco. Nor was Czarist treatment of the native Kamchadals and Chukchi of northeastern Asia particularly enlightened.

The best-known Inner Pacific islander to visit the Russian colonies was Kadu, aboard Kotzebue's Rurick in 1817. Although fascinated by whales, sea lions (whose territorial warfare he mimicked comically) and the cattle at Unalaska Island (which he followed around and sang to), he was unimpressed by the treeless terrain and harsh air. Nor did he find Aleut underground dwellings appealing; he asked if people lived that way in St. Petersburg. At St. Lawrence Island, near the Bering Strait, he doubted the native people were really human, "on account of their fur-clothing," and warned Kotzebue that they had knives up their sleeves. He made it clear that he preferred life in the Marshalls and Carolines and missed his coconuts and breadfruit.

Yet the Russian American Company employed some Hawaiian kanakas and even considered recruiting more to replace the Aleuts working on the islands of St. Paul and St. George north of Unalaska. Some islanders visited Russian colonies in trade ships or whalers. In 1819, seven Hawaiians arrived at Sitka in the Fortuna, a prize taken by Spanish insurgents at Monterey. Two rebel warships had hired eighty Hawaiians at Honolulu for their expedition against Spanish California and, after a mutiny aboard the frigates, ordered seven Hawaiian sailors to follow them in the Fortuna. One Hawaiian who had sailed on American ships barely knew how to use a compass, and they soon fell behind. After
deciding to sail back to Hawaii and present the ship to King Kamehameha, they wound up at Sitka 82 days later, very short of food and water. The Russians confiscated the schooner, detained the Hawaiian captain and his assistant and sent the other Hawaiians home on a Company ship. Other Hawaiian sailors visited Alaska and Kamchatka aboard trade ships sent by their government in the 1820s. The northern climate was hard on such kanakas, however. Four Hawaiians aboard a whaleship died at Kamchatka in the winter of 1845.

**Northwest America**

Between the Russian and Spanish colonies in America lay a no-man's-land where northwest coast peoples tried to maintain a degree of independence by trading furs to Anglo-American ships for firearms and other manufactures. As in the Pacific islands, Native Americans exchanged names with white seamen as a token of friendship, appropriated iron and offered their women. A few traveled with Euroamerican ships to Sitka, Hawaii and China, but there were also massacres of ships by "Indians" who felt wronged. After Cook's third Pacific expedition, in quest of a Northwest Passage, discovered the wealth of furs available, British traders like John Meares made regular circuits between the American Northwest and Canton, provisioning and recruiting in Hawaii en route. The Hawaiian chief Ka'iana, whom Meares treated as a "child of nature," visited Nootka Sound in the summer of 1788 aboard the *Iphigenia*. Wearing a fur cap and warm clothing, he looked forward to returning home again and regarded the local natives, even one who had traveled with him from China, with apparent contempt. According to Meares, "when he, with his fine
colossal figure, stood by [chief] Maquilla, who was rather of a low stature, the difference was such, as not only to strike every beholder, but even to affect themselves with the different sensations of an exulting or a wounded pride. . . ." When Meares' Chinese carpenters built a new vessel, the Felice, to sail to Hawaii, Ka'iana "expressed his astonishment, by capering about, clapping his hands, and exclaiming Myty, Myty." 17

Hawaiians developed a periplean relationship with the American Northwest even before their kingdom was united,18 partly because Kamehameha wanted to train sailors for his navy.19 Matutaray, a Hawaiian cabin boy aboard the British trader Argonaut, found himself a captive in Mexico after the Spanish captured his ship in the Nootka Incident of 1789.20 In 1791, Jack Atu of Niihau arrived at Vancouver Island aboard the American fur trader Columbia, which had already taken him to Boston. He tried to desert, "and go among the natives," but Captain Robert Gray took a local chief hostage to recover Atu and flogged the Hawaiian to set an example. During a second visit less than a year later, the chief, perhaps angry about having been lured aboard the ship and taken prisoner to force Atu's return, tried to entice the young Hawaiian, who he no doubt assumed would resent his flogging, to help him capture the ship. When an officer separated the two and scolded Atu, the Hawaiian complained, "What is Mr. Smith mad with me for, does he think I talk with Tootoocheetticus to come and take the ship?" Thus the plot was discovered, and Atu never got to wet the ship's guns in return for the chiefly status and wealth of otter skins promised him.21 Kalehua (or Opai, also nicknamed Jack
Ingraham, after his former American mentor), who had been to Boston
with Atu, arrived at Nootka later in 1792 aboard George Vancouver's
HMS Discovery. Kalehua could speak English fairly well and had helped
Vancouver provision in Hawaii, but he tried to desert to Ingraham's
Hope at Nootka. Ingraham had no need of him and attributed Kalehua's
motives to "a restless disposition." Vancouver also returned home
two young Niihau women who had been forcibly taken to Nootka by the
British fur trader Jenny. 

Hundreds of Hawaiians would help Anglo-American fur traders
penetrate the Northwest and, in the ambiguity of the limen, assist
in the peripheralization of Native Americans. In the 1790s and early
1800s, Hawaiians served mainly on coastal ships in the Northwest,
manning boats for fur traders and sealers and helping to defend their
vessels against attack. In 1807, Opukahaia and Hopu, serving as
sailor and cabin boy respectively, visited the Northwest aboard an
American sealer before traveling to China and New England. After
1810, Hawaiians were increasingly employed inland by Anglo-American
fur companies establishing forts, trading with the indigenous peoples
and sending voyageurs into the interior to trap. In 1811, Hawaiians
helped to found Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River and Fort
Okanogan farther upstream for the Pacific Fur Company. Three also
joined a British Northwest Company expedition that traveled overland
to Lake Superior. In 1812, twenty went with a brigade from Astoria
to Nez Perce country, where in 1818 thirty-two more helped the
Northwest Company establish a fort. Their employer wrote about the
Nez Perce, "The natives were offered such terms as were given in other
parts of the country. That they should have the choice of cultivating a peaceable understanding with us and might profit by a friendly intercourse, or lay their account to undergo the vengeance of all the whites and ever after be deprived of the benefit resulting from a trade established among them.”

Hawaiians carved out a special place for themselves in the liminal Northwest. Their expert swimming ability made them an asset on canoe voyages. As one employer testified, "little of our effects are lost beyond recovery that accident now and then consigns to the bottom of the water in our perilous navigations; and it is next to impossible for a person to get drowned if one or more of them are near at hand." They also earned the respect of indigenous warriors as fighters. On an armed expedition inland in 1812, "Owing to the extreme heat, the Sandwich Islanders had thrown off their jackets and shirts during the day, and their swarthy bodies, decorated with buff belts, seemed to excite the particular attention of the Indians, who repeatedly pointed towards them, and then spoke to each other with considerable animation." In 1814, Fort Okanogan was defended only by three Hawaiians nicknamed Bonaparte, Washington and Caesar. Later that year, six Hawaiians told their boss, Ross Cox, they would gladly fight against threatening Walla Walla warriors: "Missi Keit, we kill every man you bid us." One Indian chief preached peace to avert the battle. Nor did the Nez Perce, said Cox, "half relish the worthy aspect of these invincibles." At another confrontation on the Snake River, a half dozen Hawaiians won a tense stand-off against Indians by leveling their guns and vowing, "Me broke him." Like Ka'iana, the
Hawaiians exhibited contempt for local Indians, even when badly outnumbered, and "if they were let loose against them, they rush upon them like tigers." In 1819, however, three were ambushed and killed while trapping beaver along a river that was thereafter called the Owhyhee. Tygerhood had its own peculiar immortality.

The limen sometimes tested the loyalty of kanakas, like Atu in 1792, to their white employers. Hawaiians usually served in Anglo-American fur trapping expeditions alongside French Canadian and Iroquois voyageurs and were considered the most trustworthy of the three types of employees. Yet in 1811, Naukane, nicknamed John Coxe because he resembled a shipmate on the American fur trader Tonquin, arrived at the Columbia River as Kamehameha's emissary, to look after the interests of twenty-four Hawaiians hired to help found Astoria. On a Pacific Fur Company voyage inland, Coxe's "wit and humour" charmed a British Northwest Company commander, who swapped a French Canadian from his own expedition for him and took Coxe overland to Canada and by sea to England. In 1813, Coxe piloted a British warship up the Columbia so it could seize Astoria! He returned to Honolulu in 1815 with stories about being arrested while drunk in London and burning his nose when gunpowder blew up on his British warship. Naukane went back to England in 1823, with King Liholiho, worked again in the Northwest, for the Hudson's Bay Company, and finished his days as an aging swineherd on the Columbia River, where he died of tuberculosis in 1838. Once in the Northwest, Hawaiians might desert to whichever company paid better. In 1816, a Russian renegade persuaded a dozen Hawaiians to leave Fort George (Astoria), but they returned after three
days of dissension. In 1834, twelve Hawaiians grew tired of walking through the snow while their white bosses rode on horseback and deserted with the horses. Five died from drowning, frost-bite or conflicts with Indians before the survivors turned themselves in.

Hawaiians adapted with varying success to the Northwest environment. They found the voyageur diet of venison and fish "delicious," ate dogs and horsemeat without complaint and introduced a new dish to Hawaii by sending home salted salmon, which was part of their pay. They also learned to communicate with "a medley of Chinook, English, and their own vernacular jargon" and married Indian women, who sometimes managed to assimilate them into local society. In 1811, Hawaiians on the Columbia River buried a compatriot who had died of exposure when rescuing a white shipmate in cold water. Under the direction of one Hawaiian who acted as priest, they dug a deep pit in the sand, put sea biscuit under the arm of the corpse, pork lard under the chin and tobacco under the genitals. After burying the body, they knelt in two rows facing eastward, received a libation of sea water from the priest's hat and prayed together, then rose and walked away without looking back. Aspects of this ceremony, notably the sprinkling of sea water on a row of seated mourners, conformed to traditional Hawaiian burial customs, indicating cultural survival within the limen. Statistics are unavailable, but plentiful anecdotal evidence indicates that the damp, rainy Northwest climate, frigid winters and foreign diseases often took their toll on Hawaiians. Many, however, adapted to "forest life" and became good lumberjacks, sawmill workers, and livestock keepers. They also worked as field
hands and house servants, apparently more willingly than Indians, for both the Hudson's Bay Company in British Columbia and American protestant missions in Oregon. In 1842, more than 500 Hawaiians were working on the Columbia River, and some even lived at Fort William on Lake Superior. Yet they encountered growing racial discrimination as the American and Canadian settlers expanded to the Pacific, even though some Oregon politicians were to propose the American annexation of Hawaii as a natural economic appendage of their state.

California and Latin America

The Spanish, established on the Pacific coast of the Americas since the sixteenth century, opposed initiatives by Anglo-American traders in Nootka Sound and by Russians in California. Yet their own colonial record was hardly laudatory. Western contact had generally proved devastating to epidemiologically vulnerable Native Americans, and Spanish colonization, which enserfed the Indians, compounded the tragedy. Not only did conquistadores destroy the centralized civilizations of Mexico and Peru, but in the South American pampas, "wild Indians" (often Andean peoples driven from their homelands by wars against the Spanish) were systematically hunted down and killed into the 1870s. When Charles Darwin asked "banditti-like soldiers" why they massacred all Indian women over twenty years old, they replied, "What can be done? they breed so!" In California, Spanish cavalry roped fleeing Indians as if at a round-up and drove them to mission stations, where like slaves they farmed and tended orchards for monks. The latter earned profits by provisioning ships
and by exporting grain, horses, beef, tallow and hides. The stern, paternalistic padres converted and clothed their captives and taught them crafts and how to play Spanish music, but exploitation and foreign diseases reduced Indian numbers drastically and produced revolts. Mexican independence had taken away power from the missions in favor of corrupt administrators, and the lot of the Indians did not improve.

Hawaiians seem to have been the most prominent Pacific islander visitors to early California. In 1818, two anti-Spanish rebel warships, the *Santa Rosa* and the *Argentina*, recruited eighty Hawaiians in Honolulu for a raid on the California coast. After first bombarding San Francisco, they captured, looted and burned Monterey, where Hawaiians dressed in Spanish clothing led the assault on the presidio with a phalanx of pikes and were the first to haul down the Spanish flag. Yet by the 1830s, ships with mostly Hawaiian crews were trading along the coast from California to Peru. Hawaiians manned surfboats, which they loaded with dried bullock hides and bags of tallow brought to the beach by Indians in ox-carts. At San Diego, Hawaiians mixed with other sailors, including Tahitians and Marquesans, in adobe grog-shops and rented horses to ride around the countryside. In fact, a small community of Hawaiians lived on the beach there, curing hides gathered by ships from other parts of the coast. In 1835, a Mr. Manini was their quick-witted spokesman and finest singer, though another Hawaiian, elderly Mr. Bingham, held the position of patriarch. Several lived in a large, abandoned bread oven, fishing, drinking, smoking and gambling at cards: "So long as they had money they would
not work for fifty dollars a month, and when their money was gone they would work for ten." Richard Henry Dana spent four months living and working with them and learned to admire the way they shared everything according to the principle, "Kanaka all 'e same a' one!" In keeping with their custom, he developed a special friendship with one aikane, Hope, a Hawaiian nicknamed after a ship he had served on. Dana taught Hope letters and numbers and saved him from deathly illness with ships' medicines. When Dana parted with his Hawaiian friends for the last time, "Old 'Mr. Bingham' and 'King Mannini' went down to the beach with me, shook me heartily by the hand, wished us a good voyage, and went back to the oven, chanting one of their deep, monotonous, improvised songs, the burden of which I gathered to be about us and our voyage."

By the 1840s, every port in California had its Hawaiians, who comprised ten percent of the small population of San Francisco. Between 1835 and 1847, Hawaiians gradually took over much of the boat-handling in San Francisco Bay from local Indians. John Sutter arrived in California with ten Hawaiians to found his empire, and the ensuing 1849 Gold Rush brought hundreds more Hawaiians to California and southern Oregon, so many that ships passing through Hawaii were hard-pressed to find good seamen. Hawaiian gold-seekers often dived in rivers and thereby incurred the wrath of white miners who could not imitate their methods. Despite sometimes violent opposition from such white competitors, Hawaiian "Diggers" formed their own communities, such as Kanaka Flat or Kanaka Glade, intermarried with Indian women, some of whom learned to speak and read Hawaiian, and
started their own churches. William Kanui and Thomas Hopu, who had come home with the first missionaries to Hawaii, both went to the California gold fields. Kanui opened a restaurant near Sutter's fort and later deposited $6000 in gold in a San Francisco bank, which failed a few days later. Many such Hawaiian fortune-hunters became so indebted to local shopkeepers that they could not pay for food or medicines and died in the winters. Others prospered by selling fish in Sacramento and built clapboard houses. A visiting clergyman complained, "Gold is their god, as it is the god of many a white man." After American annexation, California harbored other islanders like Mesiol of Pohnpei, who was stranded in San Francisco by the ship that blackbirded him and was unable to communicate or find shelter, except in jail, until a kindly islander sailor smuggled him aboard his ship. "Joe," another Pohnpeian, lived as a whaler's houseboy in Oakland for a year. Rotumans, ni-Vanuatu and i-Kiribati also shipped out of San Francisco, and island dignitaries frequented the port. Hawaiian Princes Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha visited San Francisco in 1849. Liliuokalani and Kalakaua of Hawaii knew the Bay area, the latter dying there in 1891. In 1874, Samoa's "Queen Emma" signed over Pago Pago harbor to the United States in a San Francisco hotel.

Ever since the Pacific had become a "Spanish Lake," Mexico, Peru and Chile accumulated islander sailors and beachcombers. In 1606, Quiros had brought Pedro and Pablo from Melanesia to Acapulco, the main terminus of the annual Manila galleons. After learning a bit of Spanish, they dutifully told him about the resources and customs
of their islands, participated in Catholic services and died within a year. Surville drowned in the surf at Peru in 1770, but his teen-aged Solomon Islander captive, Lova Saregua, explored Lima, a coach-ride away from the crowded port of Callao, with the French crew. Amazed by the size of the Spanish houses, Lova tried to shake their walls. His French at first became tainted by Peruvian Spanish, but after two or three months, "he managed quite well to make himself understood in both languages." The Spanish brought eight Tahitians to Peru between 1772 and 1775, one of whom died at Valparaiso on the way. The Viceroy kept them at his palace in Lima. In order to make a favorable impression and gain influence over Tahiti, he clothed and entertained them "in more than commonplace decency," but three died anyway. The surviving "noble savages" learned some Spanish before being repatriated, and one insisted on staying in Peru. In 1789, the Hawaiian Matutaray became a pawn in British-Spanish rivalry over Nootka Sound when Spanish warships captured the fur trader Argonaut, on which he served as cabin boy for Captain James Colnett. The Viceroy of New Spain decided that Hawaii, like Tahiti, was in danger of being taken over by the British, so Matutaray was brought to Mexico City and placed in the possessive care of Franciscan friars. A year of correspondence and persistent intervention by Colnett, amid the international war-talk arising from the Nootka Incident, finally won Matutaray's release. Although Matutaray grew "accustomed to dress very neatly in the Spanish fashion," he rejected Catholicism, because the padres told him that his countrymen would burn in Hell for wickedness and that "he must not have a wife in this world or the next
and starve two or three days in a week..." Before leaving, Matutaray attended a theater performance, where he made the audience laugh by yelling out encouragement to an actor who was romancing a young lady.81

By the 1800s, Pacific trade was bringing more islanders to Latin American coasts.82 In 1817, six Hawaiians deserted in Mexico from the Boston merchantman Bordeaux Packet.83 In 1819, five Hawaiians in a fishing canoe were blackbarded by a short-handed American vessel, which in turn was captured by a Spanish privateer in the Gulf of California. Spaniards at San Josef killed two of the Hawaiians, and another paddled desperately out to sea in a canoe. The two survivors, Busohu and Tuana, had to do slave labor, first in a silver mine, then as pearl divers. Finally, they escaped aboard an English whaleship that took them to London.84 Dillon brought two Maori chiefs to Callao in 1823, where he provided them with guns and ammunition, and took a crew of Tahitians to Valparaiso in 1825, where miscommunication between them and his drunken first mate caused the Calder to wreck in a storm.85 In 1824, Te Pehi Kupe, who had foisted himself on the British captain of the Urania at New Zealand, stayed close by the latter's side while ashore at Lima, and at Monte Video and Buenos Aires as well.86 Hawaiian envoy Timothy Haalilio traveled overland through the mountainous Mexican interior with William Richards in 1842, in order to avoid being intercepted by foreign powers who might oppose their mission to seek guarantees of Hawaiian sovereignty.87 In 1846, a Hawaiian naval ship, the Don Quixote, arrived in Acapulco during the Mexican War against the United States. The fort, which did not
know the Hawaiian flag, was preparing to do battle when some Hawaiians ashore explained the ship's nationality to the commander. Fifteen Hawaiians in Acapulco had just spent a year serving in the Mexican navy.

That same year, 1846, an estimated fifty Hawaiians were reported at Paita, Peru, but Valparaiso was the chief entrepôt on the Pacific coast south of Acapulco. As late as 1842 it lacked a wharf, and one narrow street ran around the bay, crowded with one-story, adobe buildings with tiled roofs, many of which were grog-shops filled with drunken sailors and prostitutes. Chilenos in loincloths worked the lighters that loaded and unloaded ships, and a Customs House collected duties in cash. It was there, amid a raging smallpox epidemic in 1825, that Captain Jack Naihekukui, or Kapihe, died of an apparent blood clot to the brain on his return from England aboard the HMS Blonde. In 1844, a pearling ship hired a Tubuaiian in Valparaiso, and one year later the same captain brought his Raiatean wife to the port. They crossed a plain of ranches to see Santiago, a city of courtyards around a Grand Plaza: "She was delighted with the scenery, gardens, birds, cattle, flocks, etc., and all the novelties that met her eye." Yet people from Hawaii found Valparaiso, even the appearance of the Chilenos, reminiscent of Honolulu, and the sunny markets and palm trees of Acapulco evoked similar sentiments in visiting Hawaiians. Less happy were the Pacific islanders black-birded during the Peruvian slave trade of 1862-63, most of whom perished of disease and harsh labor.
Insular Southeast Asia

Manila, at the other end of the trans-Pacific galleon route, was Spain's trade link to China and Southeast Asia. Between 1526 and 1606, Spanish blackbirders brought at least thirty Inner Pacific islanders to the Philippines, and Carolinian castaways washed up on its shores in lost canoes. In 1788, the Hawaiian chief Ka'iana recovered from a fever while ashore at Mindanao, thanks to a medicinal bark. As more Euroamerican ships began to pass through Manila in the late eighteenth century, they often hired "manilla-men" for crew, mixed Spanish-Malay sailors who sometimes turned out to be stranded Micronesians. By the 1830s, Chinese junks dominated regional shipping, as did Chinese craftsmen and shopkeepers local commerce. Built at a river mouth on the shore of a bay, Manila was fortified by a wall armed with cannon, within which only the higher class Spaniards could live, in two-story stone houses. Chinese and other foreigners lived outside the walls, and native Filipino regiments patrolled each other's home districts in a classic system of divide and rule. One of the largest local industries was cigar-making: 8000 women made 200 apiece daily. In 1831, bêche-de-mer trader John Eagleton brought two Fijians to Manila, apparently at their own request. In 1844, Andrew Cheyne hired five "manilla-men" as soldiers, complete with regimental band instruments, for his bêche-de-mer ship. He also found a Pohnpeian boy in Manila, who had survived a shipwreck, and returned him home. Phebe, a Fijian servant girl traveling with an American sea captain's wife, visited Manila in 1848 and 1850. She was vaccinated there against smallpox during an
epidemic, and she rode in a carriage to see the Chinese shops and Malay cock-fights. But her Protestant mistress would not let her attend Catholic Christmas festivals.103

Indonesia was another, often fatal, limen for Inner Pacific islanders. Wrested by the Dutch from Spain's early rival, Portugal, in the seventeenth century, the East Indies long remained a key source of spices and the gateway into the Pacific for shipping coming from Europe. Batavia, on Java, was described by visiting sea captains in both 1768 and 1842 as "one of the finest colonies in the world."104 Because it was a flourishing trade crossroads, the Dutch East India Company provided a hotel for visiting seamen.105 Batavia had European-style sedan-chairs and carriages, boulevards along canals, concerts, festivals and theater (both European and Chinese). An English artist remarked, "The men are dressed excessively gay, having silk and velvet garments, richly laced and embroidered, with laced hats, and finely dressed wigs . . ." There was a clear ethnic hierarchy of Europeans, Chinese and Malays, chattel slavery (including Papuans), a colorful Chinatown and busy markets. The Dutch controlled the spice trade by warring against indigenous Malay and Papuan rivals and by forcing islands to specialize in certain crops.106 Yet the colony was also notorious for its unhealthy climate, being humid, odorous and fertile with fevers. By 1842, Europeans transacted their business during the day and retreated to hill villas outside town after 4 p.m.107 Ahutoru fell ill in Batavia, along with many of Bougainville's crew, but he took his medicine willingly and survived, labeling the deathly port "the land which kills, enoua mate."108 Cook's crew
also suffered sickness there, but Tupaia refused to take any medicine and died in a tent on the beach shortly after his beloved servant Tayeto did. Tupaia called out the boy's name in despair and regretted that they had ever left Tahiti. Illness killed all three Belauans that McCluer took to Indonesia in 1791.

Nevertheless, the Dutch establishments evidently impressed early islander visitors as much as Euroamericans. At Buru, Ahutoru became curiously self-conscious when Bougainville broke precedent by not taking his Tahitian "guide" along during his first visits ashore: "he imagined it was because his knees are distorted, and absolutely wanted some sailors to get upon them, to set them to rights." But once in circulation, Ahutoru admired, said Bougainville, the factory's houses and gardens, the dress and manners of its Europeans, whom he tried earnestly to imitate. He presented himself as a great chief on a pleasure cruise and asked if Paris was as fine as Buru. He also assumed that the hospitality accorded the French ships was free, since he did not see the payments made. McClure's Belauans also enjoyed touring the European-style houses at Timor and Amboyna, where one host entertained them with sleight-of-hand tricks. Pimu, unlike the two young women, managed to sneak out for "night games." He bathed twice a day and ironed his own shirts but died of smallpox anyway, about a month after a fever had killed both the women. Batavia amazed both Tupaia and Tayeto, particularly the boy: "Houses, carriages, streets, in short every thing were to him sights which he had often heard described but never well understand, so he lookd upon them all with more than wonder, almost mad with the numberless novelties which
diverted his attention from one to the other he danc'd about the streets." Tupaia, however, asked questions, having become fairly proficient in English after a year and a half with Cook, and saw that everyone dressed in the style of his own country. Joseph Banks recorded, "He desird to have his, on which South Sea cloth was sent for on board and he cloathd himself according to his taste." Theatrical "tygerhood" had various costumes to choose from, as the contrast between Tupaia and Ahutoru shows.

China and Japan

Vast and practically impenetrable until the Opium Wars of the mid-nineteenth century, China was not a Euroamerican colony. Its ancient, centralized civilization, confident of itself, offered a peculiar limen for Pacific islanders, who usually stayed among foreigners in its ports. Euroamerican shippers based themselves at Portuguese Macao and traded at Canton under closely regulated conditions. After acquiring the proper permits, paying port duties, renting a factory and hiring Chinese comprador-interpreters and coolies, Euroamericans dealt primarily with one of the twelve Hong merchants appointed by the government. As many as 200 war junks might be in port to ward off coastal pirates and protect regional shipping to Manila, Japan and Singapore. In 1787, Ka'iana arrived at Canton from Hawaii with a British fur trader, who said of the chief, "When he first beheld the ships at Wampoa, his astonishment possessed an activity which baffles description, and he emphatically called them the islands [moku, or ships] of Britanee ..." He seemed disappointed to find that Canton was not Britain and expressed as much disgust
toward the Chinese, according to Meares, as he would later toward Native Americans: "their bald heads, distended nostrils, and unmeaning features, had raised in his mind the strongest sensations of contempt." Nor did he appreciate their shutting away their women from him. Chinese crowds, for their part, seemed to regard him with fearful awe and parted for the six-foot four-inch giant, especially when he wore his Hawaiian *malo*, feathered cap and cloak, and carried a spear. He once tried to throw a Chinese harbor pilot over the side for a perceived indiscretion, yet he also gave food leftovers to beggar sampans and expressed surprise at their plight. At Macao in 1783, Lee Boo of Palau showed equal astonishment at the number of ships in port, and gave away bits of the foods he liked best to Chinese women, with children tied on their backs, who begged from sampans. Hopu of Hawaii, with an American sealer in 1808, also found the number of ships at Macao astonishing, as did the Yapese at Hong Kong with Alfred Tetens in 1866.

Kakawaki of Belau, in 1791, may have been the most adventurous islander to visit Macao. He bargained alone with Chinese vendors in the market and bragged about his great deals, though McCluer claimed that Kakawaki actually paid four times the fair price. One day a pickpocket tried to rob the Belauan, who grabbed a hatchet and chased the thief through narrow lanes until confronted by a Chinese gang with bamboo sticks who clubbed him unconscious. Kakawaki later wanted to kill the Chinese in revenge, but McCluer showed him a Portuguese prison dungeon, which Kakawaki pronounced "a place of evil spirits." Much islander cross-cultural exploration in China, however, seems to have
been among the foreigners in its ports, whose racial attitudes toward Chinese may well have affected their islander protégés. The Euroamerican records are filled, somewhat self-servingly, with examples of islander naïveté when confronted with foreign objects, including Western-style houses. For example, Lee Boo, who enjoyed a harbor-view room in Canton, wondered at the square, flat ceilings and decorations, particularly glassware. When presented with a mirror, he looked behind it to find the young man who stared back at him. The number of servants who waited on the table during meals and changed the plates between every course impressed him. Both Lee Boo and Kakawaki, like true "noble savages" were asked to demonstrate their spear-throwing abilities and obliged their hosts with great skill. Spear-carrying Ka'iana valued iron more highly than money and once tried to buy oranges from a Chinese woman with a nail, which she did not appreciate. The sight of horses and other four-legged animals frightened Belauans at first, though Lee Boo finally agreed to ride a horse. McCluer's Belauans barked to mimic Chinese dogs, and Ka'iana spent hours on the floor of a factory room with two white rabbits, "running after them, and imitating their motions by crouching and squatting upon his hams." Lee Boo liked tea but not the smell of coffee, and the sight of a drunken sailor turned him against liquor, while Kakawaki's attempt to smoke a Dutch pipe sent him running away into the Chinese market.

Islanders underwent a number of initiations in this new shore limen. One was vaccination against smallpox, a precaution taken by more than one captain to keep alive his "noble savages" or sailors.
from the Inner Pacific. Because smallpox had killed Lee Boo in London, McCluer had Kakawaki inoculated in Macao in 1791. When a trickle of blood flowed from the wound, Kakawaki asked, "Is that all?" Accustomed to tattooing, he offered the doctor a carving knife, saying "Cut away," and laughed contemptuously when the doctor argued that it was not necessary. In Canton fifteen years later, Amasa Delano used his Hawaiian crewmen as guinea pigs for a new cowpox vaccine: "I had in my previous voyages seen many of these poor creatures die with that loathsome and fatal disorder in that place." Ka'iana learned how to wear Euroamerican clothes, after some initial reluctance, as did Lee Boo, and the three Belauans with McCluer. Lee Boo found the European women he met enchanting and allowed them to examine his tattooed hands, but Kakawaki struck one white woman twice with a cane when she pushed his probing hand away from her. Resident painters and photographers preserved the likenesses of such "noble savages." McCluer rented a house for his three Belauans and provided them with servants and sumptuous meals. Western-style musical concerts did not appeal to McCluer's Belauans, who preferred to gaze at the sparkling chandeliers, but Ka'iana attended masses in Macao and imitated the worshippers. The Yapese prince Ligefer, like Melville's Queequeg, so admired the silk top hats worn by English merchants in Hong Kong that he insisted on having one. Tetens complained, "it now became almost impossible for me to lead my Yap company through the streets. The sight of the naked prince with his inevitable silk hat squashed on his head produced a sensational effect." Later, during a vigorous
dance they were performing at a German merchant's house, all ten Yapese suddenly tore off their loincloths: "Before the dance came to an end, the entire company of ladies shrieking and laughing, had surged from the hall . . ."\textsuperscript{142}

As time passed, many more islanders visited Asia, most as common sailors bringing furs, sandalwood and culinary delicacies like bêche-de-mer to Canton.\textsuperscript{143} Amazed by the thousands of Chinese fishing boats along the coast in 1809, Opukahaia and Hopu soon found themselves prisoners of a British warship in Macao, but they were soon released. Both spent six months in Canton, while their ship sold its sealskins for tea, cinnamon, nankeens and silk before sailing on to New York.\textsuperscript{144} Few islanders visited Japan before 1854, because of its closed country policy. Eight Hawaiians deserted there from the \textit{Ladoga} in 1848, because of harsh treatment by their captain. Along with ten white shipmates, they were kept in cages and transported to the Dutch station at Nagasaki, a typical Japanese response to foreign interlopers. One Hawaiian hanged himself, but his body was not removed from the cage for two days and was denied burial even then.\textsuperscript{145} By 1881, however, King Kalakaua of Hawaii was able to travel to Japan, China and Southeast Asia as a much-honored dignitary, exchanging decorative medals with every monarch. Ironically, he had his white valet wear the traditional \textit{ali'i} feather cloak at receptions. He also promoted the recruitment of Japanese and Chinese plantation laborers for Hawaii, proposed that his niece, Princess Kaiulani, be wed to a Japanese prince to unite their royal families, and professed racial kinship with both Siamese and Malays. Both the King of Siam and the Maharajah of Johore,
under pressure themselves from foreign powers, were quite gracious in their positive response to Kalakaua's assertion that they were "long-lost brothers," on the basis of Malay-Hawaiian linguistic and physical similarities. The Japanese emperor, however, was less than enthusiastic about the royal marriage proposal. Kalakaua also sent three young Hawaiians to study in Canton and Tokyo in 1882. His efforts in Asia and elsewhere indicated a real desire to earn Hawaii (and the Inner Pacific in general) more respect in an increasingly interconnected world.

Australia

Australia, to many Pacific islanders, was England, or "the white man's country." British colonial settlement had certainly tried to make it that way. In 1770, Aborigines at Botany Bay had yelled and thrown spears at Cook's longboats until driven away by gunfire, but the British left gifts in their abandoned huts. By 1788, when the first convict ships arrived, Aborigines accepted any presents offered, or appropriated what they could. But they also killed encroaching convicts, incurring punitive reprisals, and even speared the governor, who had tried to "civilize" an Aborigine captive by renaming him, tying him to a leash and forcing him to dine at table. By the early 1800s, governors gave the elders whom they recognized as chiefs copper name-tags to wear on chains around their necks. A Russian observer deduced that this identity-making was "in order gradually to accustom the natives to submission, and to engage their assistance in searching for fugitive convicts." Aborigines came into
Sydney each day to beg, to wash out brandy casks for taverns in return for a taste and, though naked, to clean glasses in private homes "with their long slender fingers." They learned English curses and convict slang and, an Englishman observed, mimicked "the oddities, dress, walk, gait and looks, of all the Europeans [so exactly] as to be a kind of historic register," but they also stuck stubbornly to their own ways. Though increasingly dependent economically, the "black fellows" seemed to feel superior to the "white fellows." They begged or worked for liquor and tobacco, and alien diseases decimated their population, but they remained proudly attached to their ancestral sacred sites and speared the cattle of frontier ranchers, who then shot Aborigines in revenge. Perhaps 20,000 Aborigines died resisting the conquest of their continent, while disease, displacement and cultural destruction reduced their overall population by more than eighty percent in a century.

Nor did Pacific islanders necessarily relate well to Aborigines, perhaps due to the influence of Euroamericans. Tupaia regarded them as so poor that they were fit only for sacrificial victims (taata ino), yet Cook expected him to act as an intermediary, as he had in New Zealand. Unable to communicate verbally with the Aborigines, the Ra'iatean offered them gifts and gestured that they put aside their weapons and sit down with him. They slowly began to like Tupaia, visited his tent and brought roots that helped to cure his scurvy. Omai was useless in bridging the cultural gap between his British shipmates and Tasmanians. He even scared them away by shooting off a musket. But Tahitians at Port Jackson in 1801 asked for, and
after unexpected hesitation received, a few fish from Aborigines. 157 Like some white observers, such as Marsden, 158 who seemed to prefer Polynesians to other Pacific peoples, 159 Maoris tended to compare Australian Aborigines unfavorably to themselves. In 1805, Te Pahi and his son attended an Aborigine funeral outside Sydney that was followed by a battle among those in attendance. As the primary target of vengeance warded off spear after spear with his shield, Te Pahi exhorted the attacking Aborigines to finish him off and even asked to participate. He admired the Aboriginal throwing stick, for giving greater velocity to their weapons, but said a warrior should be able to deflect spears bare-handed. For their part, the Aborigines dreaded to approach the two Maoris, even when Te Pahi's son tried to demonstrate his own spear-throwing technique. 160 Maoris who visited Australia in 1814 tried to befriend Aborigines by rubbing their noses, Polynesian-style, shaking their hands, even dancing and singing for them and giving them tobacco. One Aborigine tried to sing back but choked on the tobacco in his cheek. According to John Nicholas, "The New Zealanders stared at him in astonishment, and thought he was mad... to the mirthful surprise of everybody present." The Maoris discussed Aboriginal poverty and nakedness, asking if Aborigines cultivated crops or raised pigs, and pitied "their wretched mode of living." 161

Pacific islanders encountered cross-cultural conflicts themselves in Australia. Already aboard the Euroamerican ships that brought them, islander sailors sometimes experienced mistreatment and contempt. 162 Yet Sydney also became a place to put seamen on trial for criminal behavior, even those who committed offenses aboard foreign ships.
In 1842, the New England whaler Sharon brought a Pohnpeian there in irons, on charges of mutiny and murder. This "legal" limen produced a Maori interpreter for a Hawaiian giving evidence in a Sydney law court in 1850. The Melanesian labor trade, dealing as it did mainly in kanakas about as dark as the Aborigines, seemed to increase prejudice toward Pacific islanders. In 1850, a British warship took nine Fijians from Sydney, where eleven of their compatriots had died in less than a year, back to their home island. One returnee entertained his chief at a kava party with stories about the "white people's country," where he said that his black skin had earned him discrimination. His boss, he claimed, had made him eat and sleep with the pigs, not in the house, and had made him work at the forge with a hammer much heavier than that used by white men, one that sent sparks flying into his face and left holes that looked like those made by small-pox. Such kava-induced yarn-spinning must have contained some truth, because other Fijians told a British visitor, "Too much work at Sydney, too little eat!" As early as 1847, New Caledonians and ni-Vanuatu went to work in Australia, but a disillusioned contingent deserted their jobs and found ships home. After 1863, the Melanesian labor trade brought many thousands of islanders to Australian docks and sugar or cotton plantations, some of whom later complained, "Bad men Port Mackay [Queensland], shoot black fellow." The "White Australia" policy instituted after 1901 led to the deportation of most Melanesians and discrimination against those who remained.

By the early 1800s, Sydney was slowly becoming a town of sandstone or red brick rising up the hills from busy Port Jackson. Commerce
brought a rising settler population that stimulated speculators to develop the land around the capital, in the words of Charles Wilkes, "cutting down hills, filling up valleys, laying out and selling lots." The banks and stores of George Street contrasted with a neighborhood near the dockyard and jail known as "The Rocks," which boasted 250 licensed grog shops. Pacific islanders mingled there with Chinese, Indians, Malays and many kinds of EuroAmericans and provided a growing proportion of the sailors for hire. Epeli of Rotuma later reminisced that he had left his ship at Sydney to "play around," spending all his money on rum and women. Many islanders wanted to see Sydney after hearing about it from their friends. The Tahitian pork trade, sandalwooding, sealing and whaling so increased the number of Tahitians, Hawaiians and Maoris in port that, beginning in 1805, the Australian government issued a series of General Orders to regulate their use, ensure their proper treatment and payment and provide for their repatriation. In 1814, Samuel Marsden was instrumental in organizing a benevolent society to look after South Sea islanders in New South Wales. His own mission farm at Parramatta became a safe haven for such beachcombers, though he and other observers also regarded his charges as hostages to ensure the safety of white missionaries in New Zealand. Sometimes, young islanders were taken in by English gentlemen to be educated and "civilized," in return for servant duties. One twelve-year-old Loyalty Islander, who spoke perfect English after two years in Sydney, made his living selling oranges, "every body preferring to buy from this witty little urchin." Still, safety sometimes eluded islander visitors. In
1810, Te Pahi's daughter Mary Bruce, who had married his favorite white beachcomber and left New Zealand, died in Sydney at the age of eighteen.  

Two years later, Tapeooe of Tahiti died in Parramatta after his many travels. Stranded, destitute Maoris could still be found without shelter in 1836. Some died of exposure rather than going to the local Benevolent Asylum, where 200 indigent inmates lived under strict rules.

The initiations undergone by islanders in Australia were many. A Tahitian who arrived at Norfolk Island aboard a trade vessel in 1801, though quite proud of his country, was impressed by the colony, notably its many white children and well-provisioned homes, where people welcomed him warmly. Clad in fine Tahitian tapa, he met a compatriot, Oreo, who had worked his way to England aboard the Albion and was "smartly dressed in the style of an English sailor." Oreo also had guns, metal tools, extra clothing and travel stories to tell, which markedly changed the status of his relationship to the envious neophyte. In about 1803, the Tongan chief Palu Mata Moina and his wife Fatafehi went to Sydney, where they were put to work sweeping the floors at the governor's house. They said they were of high rank, but no one understood or protected them, and no house would invite them inside to eat, unlike in Tonga, where Finau 'Ulukalala II once told a white beachcomber to help himself to meals wherever he pleased. When Palu saw people coming out of a shop with food, he went in and awaited his share, whereupon the owner assumed Palu was a thief and chased him outside, teaching him that "money made a man a chief" in Sydney. Some "noble savage" visitors became self-conscious about
their traditional dress and changed to Euroamerican attire on arrival. Their choices of what to wear could reflect ironically on the class system in Australia. Maori chiefs Ruatara, Hongi and Korokoro were proud to don the red officers' uniforms, complete with swords, given them by Governor Macquarie in 1814. In 1828, visiting Maori chiefs at first put on convict clothes for their meeting with the governor, until white friends diplomatically advised them to wear their traditional costumes instead. A quarter-century later, a missionized Fijian chief said that he first thought all the inhabitants of Sydney were preachers, because they wore white shirts like ones the native teachers wore in his islands.

Islanders admired much of what they saw in Australia, as Euroamerican sources pointedly record. The "forest of shipping" in Port Jackson impressed islander newcomers, as did its windmills and horse-drawn carriages. Parades and drills by British redcoats delighted both Tahitians and Maoris; the latter reciprocated with their own haka. "Noble savages" of course received greater honors than common sailors, in order to keep the colony on good terms with their home islands. Peter Dillon introduced Takai as a Fijian admiral and Langi as a Tongan prince and had cards printed up for them to present to well-wishers. They stayed at the shop of a rather large-sized trader named Robert Cooper, whom they at first mistook, according to Dillon, as the King of Sydney. Impressed by a steam engine, cutlery and firearms, they asked for presents from the people they met in local high society. Dillon also brought Tongan chief Tupou Tutai to Sydney in 1838, along with several other Tongans and Fijians.
visited Government House, as other "noble savage" tourists did, and attended the usual circuit of balls and dinner parties, where he apparently received plenty of attention from the ladies. According to Charles Wilkes, "He said that they had admired him very much, and called him a very handsome man." Wilkes hired Tupou Tutai as a pilot in eastern Fiji in 1840 and found him to be polite and fairly fluent in English, with "all the grace and elegance of a finished gentleman, if one can imagine such a being in a Tongese Islander ... He was a professing Christian, and might be called more than half civilized." Yet the "noble savage" circuit could be cross-culturally taxing. Maori chiefs at one dinner party became sleepy rather early and found it difficult to be comfortable in their chairs, so they retired to an adjoining room and curled up in their mats on the floor. So much for Euroamerican pretensions of having a stimulating social life!

In fact, islanders in Australia also stood up for their own values. Tuki and Huru, the Maoris kidnapped to Norfolk Island in 1793 to teach flax-weaving, lived with Lieutenant-Governor Philip King but disdained the woman's work they were supposed to be expert in and repeatedly asked to be sent back home, even threatening suicide. Unlike Tuki, Huru was not curious about what he saw. King said that "like a true patriot [Huru] thinks there is no Country, People, or Customs, equal to his own." Te Pahi stayed with King after he became governor in Sydney. The proud chief presented the English official with Maori mats and a patu-patu club and rubbed noses with him: "he spared no pains to convince us that the customs of his
country were in several instances better than ours, many of which he looked on with the greatest contempt." When mocked by an English gentleman for his facial tattoos, Te Pahi pointed to the powder and grease on the man's own hair. He also urged King not to execute three white men convicted of stealing pork, arguing that only the theft of something permanent and rare like iron should merit such harsh treatment, that his people always fed the hungry, and that sea captains who flogged Maori sailors or stole potatoes from New Zealand should also be punished. Te Pahi admitted to killing one of his wives "for having a troublesome tongue; nor could he help testifying his surprise that many of the women here did not suffer the same fate." He also became upset when a lady complained that he had passed on some earrings she had given him to another, younger woman. He immediately returned everything that the lady had given him and insisted that what he did with presents was his own business. Islanders disliked the barren countryside around Sydney, because it lacked familiar trees and greenery and was cold in winter. Jem the Tahitian left a comfortable life there, as a literate house servant, but shipped out for New Zealand, where his travel knowledge and possessions earned him higher status. Hongi Hika, when passing through Sydney on his return from England in 1820, did not hesitate to exchange most of his glittering souvenirs for muskets, which would better fit his plans in New Zealand. In 1853, King Taufa'ahau Tupou I of Tonga visited Sydney, where, according to oral tradition, the sight of so many beggars convinced him to enact laws to keep Tongan land in Tongan hands.
The Indian and Atlantic Oceans

Most Pacific islanders on Euroamerican ships spent their careers circulating in the Inner Pacific, or possibly in key Outer Pacific rim ports like Sydney, but a few managed to pass beyond the confines of their own region into the Indian and Atlantic oceans, where liminality and health risks both increased. Generally, the westward route around Africa took them to Europe, and the Cape Horn route to the eastern Americas, but there were exceptions. The Indian Ocean had been traversed since ancient times by Indonesians migrating to Madagascar and by Arab, Indian and Chinese trading fleets, but in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, armed European mercantilists, led by Portugal, used it to bind Europe to the Pacific.\(^{198}\)

Vasco de Gama needed an Arab pilot to guide him to India in 1498, after which Portuguese gunships conquered the Swahili coast of East Africa, Goa in India and Melaka in Indonesia and began centuries of European competition for power over resilient non-white rulers and traders.\(^{199}\)

Except for the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, the coasts of Africa were often dangerous for white crews because of diseases to which they had little resistance. Even the slave traders largely depended on African intermediaries and sailors, like the much-traveled "Kru" of Liberia, to help them survive the climate.\(^{200}\)

India was not much healthier for outsiders than Africa or Indonesia, so Indian lascars joined "black Portuguese" and Malays in Euroamerican crews.\(^{201}\)

Jeoly of Miangas, having been sold from the Philippines to Madras, lost his mother to disease on the west coast of Sumatra in 1690 and himself succumbed to smallpox in England.\(^{202}\) The next islander to
penetrate Extra-Pacific regions was apparently Ahutoru, who sailed with Bougainville from Tahiti to France in 1768-69 via the Indian Ocean, followed by Omai and other "noble savages."

India may have been the jewel in the British imperial crown, but it could be a deadly place for Pacific islanders. In 1794, McClure took half a dozen Belauan women via Bengal to Bombay as servants for his wife, three of whom died there of smallpox before the British East India Company could arrange to ship the survivors home again in 1798. Two more islander women, the Maori Mary Bruce and the Marquesan Ena Robarts, entered the Indian Ocean in 1809, as the wives of traveling white beachcombers. At Melaka, Mary was kidnapped by a sea captain to Penang, where her husband managed to rescue her and take her to Calcutta, then back to Sydney, her gravesite. Ena lived with her husband in Penang for a year, where she bore him their third child with the help of a Tahitian mid-wife. In 1810, they moved to Calcutta, where, sad and sickly, she gave birth to two more children before dying in 1813. Her husband later wrote, "my daughters told me that for some time before she died, when I was absent every day on my duty, that she would go into her chamber and weep, and, when the time drew near for my return, she would wash her face and be cheerfull, strictly chargeing the children not to tell me. She had often expressed a desire to return to her native Island." The children, often destitute because of their meandering father, all died by 1823, except one. Of eleven Pacific islanders brought to Calcutta by Dillon in 1826, four died of tuberculosis and three more died, apparently of measles, soon after they left.
Yet Dillon's two Maori "princes," Brian Boroo and Morgan McMurragh, helped him to win official support for his La Pérouse expedition, by dressing in full traditional regalia and doing "war dances" on command. British Indian newspapers interviewed them and recorded their tygerhood with a mixture of benign curiosity and condescending caricature. At a hotel restaurant, when a reporter asked Brian about the purpose of his visit, apparently without a good interpreter, Brian pointed to some cold cuts and said "good." When a reporter asked him about the political situation in New Zealand, Brian asked for more mustard. Tongue-in-cheek, the colonial newspaper concluded, "He is rather modest in his demeanor for a Prince, and very guarded in his conversation, as men of rank, birth and station ought to be." Morgan, the papers decided, thirsted for knowledge, while Brian only wanted guns and ammunition. When the latter saw so many Indian servants waiting on his British hosts, he said, via Dillon, "Ah, you will come and take my country too, I have no doubt, as you have taken this." In 1851, Calcutta police took old John Gilpin, a Hawaiian sailing aboard an American merchant ship, to prison in irons, for having fought with the ship's cook. Although John soon died there of a fever, eight other Hawaiian crewmen took their liberty money ashore and deserted the ship. They had already mutinied once because of physical abuse by a mate. King Kalakaua of Hawaii reached Calcutta in 1881, after visiting the British colonies at Melaka, Penang and Rangoon. He had ridden elephants and seen Buddhist pagodas in Southeast Asia, and now he traveled by train across India, touring the holy city of Benares and observing the "Towers of Silence" where
the Parsees of Bombay exposed their dead. Before he left India, according to traveling companion William Armstrong, Kalakaua bought "a striking image of Buddha, for the purpose . . . of showing to his own people that nations with some high civilisation used a variety of idols as well as the Hawaiians. His people, he said, were not beastly pagans that the travellers and missionaries had represented them to be." In Cairo, the king visited the pyramids and noted that "the Egyptians, like the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Siamese, traced the origin of their sovereigns to a divine source." At Alexandria, he drank a toast to Cook's fatal ship of discovery, the Resolution, by then a rusty coal barge in the harbor.

Before the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, Mauritius and Capetown were also frequented by islanders on their way to and from Europe. Port Louis, at Ile de France in Mauritius, had a large, protected harbor and ship repair facilities. French rulers imported Africans to work on sugar plantations and treated them harshly, but Indian indentured labor brought in later by British rulers fared little better. Ahutoru saw Ile de France in 1768, on his way to France, and stayed there for ten months in 1770, on his way home to Tahiti. Although treated like a celebrity by French residents, as he had been in France itself, he caught smallpox and died before his ship could finish provisioning at Madagascar. The Maori Moehanga passed through Mauritius in 1806, before Britain captured it, but when Morrell's Melanesian Sunday, or Darco, visited Port Louis in 1834, Africans and Indians lived in segregated camps on either side of a multi-storied town where white residents attended operas. The
well-located Dutch provisioning station at the Cape of Good Hope was visited by most ships rounding Africa. The Dutch sold fresh meat, bread and wine produced by their African slaves and took ships' officers into their Spartan homes as lodgers.\textsuperscript{214} Equally Calvinist French Huguenots also came to the colony, as did English settlers after British conquest in 1806,\textsuperscript{215} but the change in government did not prevent wars of extermination against encroaching indigenous peoples.\textsuperscript{216} Perhaps sensing his liminality in a slave society, dark, flat-nosed Omai introduced himself at Capetown as a royal attendant to the Tahitian king, instead of as a commoner.\textsuperscript{217} He was apparently quite taken by a young Dutch lady and parted from her reluctantly.\textsuperscript{218} On his return voyage, Omai scratched his autograph in a window pane in Capetown, like a tourist seeking immortality in graffiti. He also recovered there from "the French pox," along with many of Cook's other sailors.\textsuperscript{219} In 1791, Kualelo of Hawaii visited Capetown with Vancouver's ships and received gifts of a sword, two pistols and a rifle.\textsuperscript{220}

Once around the southern capes of South America or Africa, islanders entered a region thoroughly dominated by Euroamerican shipping. St. Helena, Napoleon's gravesite, was a port of call for many ships, and hence periplean islanders. When Jeoly went ashore there in 1691, "he was very diligent to pick up such things as the Islands afforded, carrying ashore with him a Bag, which the People of the Isle filled with Roots for him. They flocked about him, and seemed to admire him very much."\textsuperscript{221} In 1783, Lee Boo of Palau admired the British warships in the harbor and the fort's cannons and soldiers,
and he visited a school where he said he envied the boys' learning. He rode a horse into the country and enjoyed the shade of an English garden, saying, according to Keate, "on this island they had but little wood, yet applied it to a good purpose; that at PELEW they had great abundance, and knew not how to use it ..." Moehanga was there in 1805, having disliked snow-covered, barren Cape Horn and nearly been eaten by a shark while swimming in warmer waters. He too admired the ships and military hardware, particularly the vast amount of iron. He danced and sang for joy until a salute from the fort sent him diving to the deck, covering his ears. On shore, he inspected people's clothing so closely that he almost got into a fight, but the governor's regal appearance impressed him most. Oxen and horses made him laugh, and the regimental band entranced him, but the barren island soon became boring, so Moehanga spent the remaining time in port on the ship, barely escaping another shark attack while bathing. Temoana of Nukuhiva, the future "king" of the Marquesas, paid his respects to Napoleon's tomb when he passed through St. Helena. In 1769, Ahutoru and his French crewmates caught turtles at Ascension Island, and a young Maori named Pomare caught scavenging pigeons near Cape Horn with a hook and line. The balmy Cape Verde Island of St. Jagos reminded Opai of his native Hawaii in 1790. Having tired of Boston, he liked seeing coconuts and plantains again. He also bought a monkey and saved the seeds of orange, lemon and lime trees to plant on Kauai. In 1834, Morrell's kidnapped Darco, peering from the masthead for familiar land, thought the Cape Verde Islands looked like his Melanesian homeland.
The Atlantic could be risky for Pacific islanders. In 1793, young "Jacket" of Tahiti passed through St. Helena on his way to help Bligh finally deliver Tahitian breadfruit to Jamaica. After assisting the British scientists for a short while, however, "Jacket" died on that West Indian island. Nor did the African slaves like to eat the strange foodstuff brought with so much trouble from the South Pacific to feed them. During the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States, Thomas Hopu of Hawaii was taken prisoner twice while serving as a sailor aboard American trade ships in the West Indies. He detested the way white sugar planters chained, starved and cruelly abused their African slaves, who once offered him some of their own meager food and water. In 1819, during a storm in the cold south Atlantic, the Hawaiian Lauri experienced what Hitihiti had seen with Cook in 1773: ice and hail. According to his Russian Captain, Lauri "thought that stones were falling from heaven and immediately began to collect the hailstones in his handkerchief, explaining that he wanted to show them to his compatriots later. When they started melting, he thought that they had gotten wet and started drying them with his handkerchief; it is impossible to describe his astonishment when he discovered that the supposed stones were nothing more than solidified water." When his Russian shipmates laughed at nature's joke on Lauri and teased him by bringing more hailstones for his disappearing collection, he became angry and complained to the captain. In 1820, the Marquesan Thomas Patu had the misfortune to work on a sealing ship in the South Shetland Islands, between Cape Horn and Antarctica. He nearly died when the shrouds gave way under his feet while he was working aloft;
he fell into the sea, cut off his boots with a knife and swam until the ship turned about to rescue him. After returning to Boston, his captain had to take him to the Marine Hospital. King Liholiho of Hawaii passed through Rio de Janeiro in 1823, at a time when Africans, slave or free, dominated the population and Britain dominated Brazil's trade. Liholiho attended a ball given by the British consul and Emperor Don Pedro, but his British ship captain lured him into drinking and gambling. The king had left Hawaii with $25,000 in expense money but arrived in London with only $10,000, which his hosts promptly put in the Bank of England for safekeeping.

Europe

Just when eighteenth century European intellectuals were discussing Rousseau's idea of the pure state of nature, Ahutoru arrived in France from Tahiti, in 1769. Protected and financed by Bougainville, this Pacific "noble savage" spent nearly a year in Paris under constant scrutiny and questioning by curious intellectuals. "The desire of seeing him," Bougainville wrote, "has been very violent ..." Ahutoru went for daily walks around Paris alone, without getting lost, and paid fair prices for souvenirs he purchased. He carried a watch and knew the days when the opera performed. After buying a cheap ticket, he would peep through little windows in the back walls of the expensive boxes for a better look at the dancers and, with characteristic enthusiasm, mimic the songs later. The Duchess of Choiseul became a benefactor and close friend and helped to finance the tools, seeds and cattle he took on his homeward voyage. Critics called Ahutoru stupid for not learning more French, but others
called him intelligent and understood his sign language.\textsuperscript{234} He bequeathed a Tahitian vocabulary, but his main interest in visiting France had apparently been the women.\textsuperscript{235} Diderot criticized France for opening up Tahiti to enslaving "civilization" and disease but expected that Ahutoru would be considered a liar anyway when he returned home.\textsuperscript{236} Although a "noble" celebrity in Europe, Ahutoru was of relatively low rank at home.\textsuperscript{237} So were Nayti and "Jacky," two young Maoris who worked their way from New Zealand to Le Havre in 1837 as common seamen on a French whaleship in order to meet King Louis-Philippe. When taken to London by New Zealand Association agents, Nayti passed himself off as a prince.\textsuperscript{238} Less able to disguise himself was Joseph Maheo, a Hawaiian sailor aboard another French whaler who, in 1855, was taken from Honolulu to France to face charges of criminal misbehavior.\textsuperscript{239} Hawaiian royals like Prince Alexander Liholiho\textsuperscript{240} and Dowager Queen Emma\textsuperscript{241} also visited France in the mid-1880s, as part of their European sight-seeing tours. Both enjoyed their stays, although Alexander wrote that he had to answer "a great many queer questions" at social gatherings.\textsuperscript{242}

London, as capital of the world-spanning British Empire, became the major locus for Pacific island visitors, rivaled perhaps only by New England during its own whaling heyday. Perhaps typical of the plight of pre-Enlightenment islanders in the hands of Europeans, tattooed Jeoly of Miangas arrived in England in 1691, to be resold and displayed in itinerant carnival sideshows as the Painted Prince until he died of small pox at Oxford. Printed handouts, with a colorful drawing and fanciful description, immortalized his captivity
in the limen. More celebrated than Jeoly but hardly less appropriated, was Omai the Ra'iatean, brought to London in 1774 by Cook's companion ship, the HMS Adventure. After John Hawkesworth's rather literary compilation of Cook's first Pacific voyage, English intellectual circles were no less ready than their French counterparts for a live specimen from the South Seas. Omai first stayed with Joseph Banks, the very scientist who had so appreciated Tupaia's tygerhood until the latter's death in Batavia. The young islander was happy to find that Banks and Dr. Daniel Solander still remembered their Tahitian, because he had learned very little English. They wisely had Omai inoculated against smallpox, enabling him to spend two years in England and return home alive. The cold climate displeased him, however, and he suspected that Hertford graveyard was filled with patients whom his own doctor had inoculated. Nor did his traditional chants please English ears. He was at first amazed by carriages and houses, and he enjoyed military parades. He found amusing the corporal punishment of schoolboys by their teachers but expressed disgust at fishermen who baited their hooks with live worms.

Omai played his romantic role well, once accepting a handkerchief from the Duchess of Gloucester and, when she glanced at him afterwards, kissing it warmly. When introduced to Fanny Burney, a sister of his favorite shipmate, James, Omai bowed graciously, offered her a chair and pulled his own close to her. Without many words, he convinced her that he cared deeply about her welfare. After supper, however, he left in a coach to visit "twelve woman!" He loved to
rhapsodize about the beauty of the aristocratic women he met and
remonstrated with one who had let two of her hair curls become unpinned
in public. To amuse his hosts, he displayed the usual islander skills
of mimicry and story-telling. Omai dressed carefully, attended the
theater in the upper boxes and learned polite table manners. He even
met King George III and heard him speak to the House of Lords. Once
acculturated, Omai walked around London alone, as Ahutoru had Paris,
and lived by himself on Warwick Street.247 The renowned scholar
Samuel Johnson found it hard to tell Omai from Lord Mulgrave in bad
light and attributed the illusion to Omai's having circulated "only
in the best company; so that all he had acquired of our manners was
genteel."248 But the Ra'iatean, a commoner in his home islands, found
himself the object of varied, conflicting representations in English
gossip, correspondence, newspapers and portraits. The more he shed
his Tahitian *tapa* and made an effort to learn correct English, the
less interesting he became,249 yet if he communicated in his own
language, through a translator, "it rendered Omiah far less entertaining
than . . . when he was obliged, despite of difficulties, to explain
himself as well as he could [in broken English]."250 What price
tygerhood?

In 1784, Lee Boo of Belau became another liminal text, thanks
to George Keate, a friend of Voltaire's. Keate befriended the young
Belauan about a week after his arrival and portrayed him as a princely
"noble savage," complete with stoic humility and temperance. Lee Boo
saw more ships at Portsmouth than he could keep track of with his
knotted cord and soon concluded that Englishmen lived in countless
boxes, from ship cabins to wheeled carriages to stacks of what he perceived to be separate houses, each of which contained box-like four-posted beds. In fact, not even seeing a hot air balloonist perform impressed him as much as horse-drawn coaches, in which a person could travel and converse at the same time. He lived as a member of Captain Henry Wilson's family in Rotherhithe, a typical London seaman's parish, and attended church and school. He carefully imitated proper table manners and entertained his hosts by mimicking, in true islander style, people's peculiarities. His lively eyes and expressive gestures helped him to communicate as he learned more English. Like Omai, he also had the help of a translator, first an unreliable Malay servant his father had sent along and then an English shipmate who had been in Belau. Apart from retaining his traditional long hair, he dressed and acted the role of an Englishman and enjoyed the hospitality of high society. The operation of a harpsichord interested him more than the music it produced, but his own singing was as unappreciated as that of Omai had been. According to Keate, Lee Boo expressed sympathy for older beggars (as he had for Chinese sampan beggars) but not for the young and able-bodied who seemed unwilling to work. He visited public buildings but was kept away from entertainments, other than the changing of the guard at St. James, because Wilson claimed to be hesitant to inoculate the Palauan against smallpox until he could explain it to him in English. Not only was such reasoning questionable, but after only six months in England, twenty-year-old Lee Boo died of smallpox anyway. His adoptive family and schoolmates attended his funeral, and his congregation buried him in Rotherhithe churchyard.
shortly after Christmas. Once, when viewing a miniature portrait of
Keate, the Balauan had understood it represented a form of immortality:
"that Misser KEATE die--this Misser KEATE live." Keate reciprocated
by publishing his own cooptive version of Lee Boo and amending the
young man's tombstone epitaph, "Stop, Reader, Stop!--let NATURE claim
a Tear--A Prince of Mine, LEE BOO, lies bury'd here."251

The waning "noble savage" vogue survived the end of the eighteenth
century in various forms, as entrepreneurs hoped to cultivate agents,
missionaries sought to save heathen souls or islander sailors tried
to pass themselves off as chiefs. The young Hawaiian Kualelo came
to London in 1789 aboard the fur trader Prince of Wales and received
good treatment and some schooling before being sent home at his own
request two years later. Banks arranged for Vancouver to return
Kualelo to Hawaii with clothing and whatever else he wanted "to an
unlimited amount," in order to establish a pro-British agent there.252
Maititi of Tahiti, however, sent to England with Bligh at the urging
of Pomare I, died a few weeks after his arrival in 1793.253 Temoteitei,
or John Butterworth, arrived in 1799 from the Marquesas aboard the
tradeship Butterworth, followed later that year by another Marquesan,
Hekenaek (or Heko), and the Tahitian Harraweia. The change of climate
adversely affected the health of all three islanders, but because
Temoteitei had sailed in the company of a returning English missionary,
he was inoculated against smallpox and survived. He underwent the
ordeal with twenty-four Africans from Sierra Leone. "Over these,"
wrote a missionary, "he assumed a superiority, proportioned to the
difference of his complexion; and made suitable reports of their
behavior." Temoteitei himself had slightly deformed legs, was lightly tattooed and had lost his father in war when still a child. In London, he boarded with a paternal Director of the East India Company until urban living again affected his health, whereupon he was taken to the country to recover. Although Temoteitei adopted English manners and styles of worship, his interest in learning the language, either written or spoken, was limited by his enduring pride in Marquesan ways. He disliked monogamy, saw nothing wrong in cannibalism and decided that, because his mentors translated their words and prayers into Marquesan for him, they had no language of their own worth knowing. He resented attempts to convert him to Christianity, telling the missionary that in his own country he had heard gods "whistle among the trees, and in the thatch of the houses; but we [the English] have no gods in our country." He judged character shrewdly and remembered faces well. 254

So did Moehanga, who came to England from New Zealand in 1805. According to his Maori-speaking mentor, surgeon John Savage, "He was a great physiognomist, and approved or disliked at a first interview." Moehanga loved to watch people in London and point out their peculiarities, often belittling their appearance, saying "good for nothing" or laughing at the lame, particularly those with wooden legs. He worried at first how so many people could feed themselves without cattle or gardens but felt reassured when he saw noisy markets, wagons of provisions, and droves of oxen going by in the street. The sight of fat passers-by led him to comment, "That man has plenty to eat." His own tattoos attracted the attention of Londoners, to whom he
offered his hand and said, as his sailor shipmates had taught him, "How do you do, my boy?" Ironware and clothing shops, the height of church steeples, the numerous ships in the Thames and of course horse-drawn carriages all impressed him, to the point where he worried about his own identity, as a lower-class Maori, in such a vast metropolis. But Savage (ironic name!) introduced Moehanga as a chief to Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton. Instead of admiring the Earl's paintings, furniture and mirrors, Moehanga counted his chairs, using a stick which he broke into segments, and concluded, "A great number of men sit with the chief." He pulled up a chair to study a marble bust of the Earl, the lines of whose face pleased him very much, and he gazed at monuments the English put up of their national heroes. But he was disappointed that King George III was an old man instead of a vigorous young warrior. Moehanga frightened the queen with a war-like haka, but she gave him some gold guineas, which he quickly traded one-for-one for silver shillings. As he later told Peter Dillon, "I thought the people in England very foolish to give so many white monies of the same size for the red one of Queen Charlotte." Before his guineas were gone, Moehanga said he used some to obtain a "wife" named Nancy, apparently a prostitute. "She was very fond of me," he told Dillon, "and proved pregnant. She used to ask me if the child when born would go to New Zealand, and if it would have such marks on its face as mine." Savage sent Moehanga home with an "ample stock of tools," many of which he had learned how to use, but the Maori long regretted that he had not asked for firearms instead.255
Other Maoris came to London in the early 1800s, but some felt as captive as Jeoly. They found themselves in a damp, cold city at the vortex of an economic system that even treated many Englishmen badly. In 1807, Te Pahi's son Matara met King George, who graciously took off his hat for the young chief, but Matara suffered from the cold weather, caught tuberculosis and died soon after his return home. Chief Ruatara, after many misadventures as a common sailor aboard British ships, reached England in 1809 on the sealer Santa Anna, only to be disappointed in his desire to meet the king. Seldom even allowed to go ashore and denied the wages due him, he fell seriously ill and was beaten for not working. After being transferred "naked and miserable" to the Australia-bound convict ship Ann, Ruatara was nursed back to health by Samuel Marsden, who happened to be aboard. Maui, or Tommy Drummond, had worked on whaleships and lived in Australia before he set out for England as a common sailor on board the whaler Jefferson in 1815. Protected and schooled by Anglican missionaries in London, he converted to Christianity in 1816 and died of tuberculosis in 1817. Marsden sent Tuhi and Titore from his school at Parramatta to England in 1816 in the HMS Kangaroo, where they wrote back letters filled with proper piety: "I go home tell my countrymen, that Jesus is the true God. Atua is false--no God, all nonsense. I tell my countrymen, Englishman no hang his self--not eat a man--no tattooing--no fall cutting his self." But Tuhi became very ill and died shortly after his return home in 1819. Hongi Hika, who had already visited Marsden in Australia and sold land to the missionaries, went with fellow chief Waikato and missionary Thomas
Kendall to London in 1820, where they helped to perfect a Maori alphabet and vocabulary begun by Tuhi. According to the Church Missionary Register, the two "manly" chiefs spoke little English but met King George IV, "who treated them with the greatest condescension and affability, conducted them to his armoury, gave them several valuable presents and allowed them the honour of kissing his hand." They also visited the British Museum, the Tower of London, Cambridge University and the House of Lords, where they met the usual dignitaries. They wanted to take home "at least one hundred" English miners, carpenters, blacksmiths, soldiers, settlers and preachers, plus cattle, but most of all desired firearms. Though they lived with Kendall's family, to control their diet, the climate still undermined their health. Apart from his double-barreled gun, Hongi was most pleased with the helmet, suit of armor and sword he had received from the king, all of which he wore in battle back in New Zealand like an anachronistic knight errant.

Te Pehi Kupe imitated Hongi's quest for weaponry by coming to England in 1825 to see King George. He visited public buildings and industrial factories in London, Liverpool, Birmingham and Gloucester and was fascinated by steam machinery and water-mills. He wanted not only the usual firearms--a regiment of dragoons typically excited him, once he got used to the horses--but agricultural tools. He laughed when he saw a flax plant, so common in New Zealand, growing in a flower pot. People crowded around wherever he went, but he made little progress in the English language. His sea captain mentor inoculated him against smallpox, provided him with food, clothing and lodging,
but Te Pehi caught measles and chickenpox. Finally, the government provided money for his expenses and return voyage to New Zealand in 1826. Te Pehi's visit was so memorable that an English showman brought two tattooed Maoris to England in 1830, in true Jeolyesque fashion, and exhibited them around the country, where they did their famous "war dance" and made fire by rubbing sticks together. Deserted by their employer when they came down with measles, they won the support of local charities and returned home again in good health.

In 1837, an agent of the New Zealand Association brought Maori commoners Nayti and "Jacky" from France to England to further its colonization plans. When Edward Wakefield took them by hackney-coach to his home in Chelsea and pointed out the passing shops, crowds and public buildings, "They gazed for some minutes in mute astonishment on the bewildering sight, and then, by apparently unanimous impulse, covered their faces with their hands, and leant back in the coach, as though they could not conceive, and refused to be forced to see, any more . . ." Jacky soon died of tuberculosis, but Nayti presented himself as a chief and befriended the Duke of Sussex. He skated on the Serpentine, rode horseback in Hyde Park, attended church and dinners and the House of Lords and walked around London alone sight-seeing, before sailing home with Wakefield's first settler ship in 1839 and losing all his status.

Not only Maoris moved along the nineteenth-century periplean conduit between the Pacific and London. The Evangelical Magazine of August 1800 reported the arrival of a ten-year-old Tahitian, in the company of a missionary couple, who were teaching him to read and
write in English. The boy had already picked up "the Moor's slang" and a bit of Dutch on his passage via Bengal and Capetown. In 1806, Tapeooe of Tahiti, having spent nearly a decade sailing and beachcombing around the Pacific, arrived in London on the tradeship Warley, captained by the son of Lee Boo's former mentor. When the London Missionary Society (LMS) refused to support Tapeooe, the Tahitian stayed with another sea captain. An English sailor named Kelso, who had known Tapeooe on Tongatapu years earlier, lured him into the exhibition circuit. Commodified like Jeoly and the two Maoris before him, Tapeooe spent perhaps a year helping to raise money "from many humane individuals," but Kelso kept him illiterate and hit him with a chair when he tried to quit. Finally a surgeon rescued Tapeooe and placed him in school, whereupon a committee raised subscriptions enough to send him to Australia as a passenger on a convict ship in 1810. Another Tahitian named Tomma, who had worked as a sawyer for the missionaries, had to sail as a common seaman. In Port Jackson, Tapeooe was robbed, and he finished his days at Parramatta. About the same time that Tapeooe had arrived in England, a teenager from Easter Island sailed there aboard the whaler Adventure. He lived in Rotherhithe for six years and was baptised Henry Easter. In the 1820s, an American whaler kidnapped a Tongan after his compatriot stole an ax from the ship; the man later left New England for London, where he became a bass drummer in the Duke of York's band. A Tahitian with whaling experience served in the British navy during the 1824 bombardment of Algiers, but he was wounded, discharged with a pension and wound up in Hawaii. The Marquesan Temoana, after being
proclaimed king of Nukuhiva by an American warship in 1829, fled an ensuing island power struggle aboard the British merchant ship Royal Sovereign, which took him to London. There he was exhibited like a tattooed wild beast, a humiliation he bitterly remembered. Rescued and semi-educated by the LMS, he wound up a destitute, alienated missionary's assistant in Samoa until a ship finally took him home again.

Hawaiians felt a special attachment to England, ever since Vancouver helped Kamehameha, who had once asked for British protection against other foreign powers. Kualelo had been the first Hawaiian to visit London, in 1789, but a "sprightly" natural son of Kamehameha arrived in 1802. American sealer Amasa Delano had taken young "Alexander Stewart," as he was called, to Canton. There he had vaccinated the boy against smallpox and allowed him to transfer to a British vessel, where Alex had made the acquaintance of an English sailor. Later, Delano heard that the boy was "taken notice of on his arrival in England by a gentleman of consequence, who took him to his own house with an intention of giving him an education." In 1812, after traveling overland from the Pacific Northwest with English fur trappers, Naukane, or John Coxe, sailed from Quebec to Portsmouth, England, aboard the Isaac Todd. Tempted by his Canadian shipmates into drinking and womanizing while in port, Coxe joined a rowdy group that sailed a small boat around the harbor until caught by a navy press gang and nearly assigned to a new ship. In 1813, Coxe sailed on the Isaac Todd back to the Northwest via Cape Horn to capture Astoria for Britain. Two Hawaiians wound up in England in 1820 after being
blackbired by an American ship, enslaved by Spaniards in Mexico and rescued by a British whaler. 277 Half a dozen Hawaiian monarchs and their entourages also visited England in the nineteenth century. The first were Liholiho and Kamamalu, who arrived aboard the whaler L'Aigle in 1824 and sought confirmation of Kamehameha's request for British protection from other foreign powers. The government put the Hawaiian party into a fashionable hotel and took them sight-seeing and to the theater, where they occupied the royal boxes. But before Liholiho could meet King George IV, he and Kamamalu both died of measles, so High Chief Boki had to negotiate with the king. After George agreed to see to Hawaii's protection without interfering in its internal affairs, the foreign office appointed a consul for Hawaii and sent home the royal caskets and survivors in a warship. 278

More assurances were needed as the age of imperialism accelerated. After several threats to Honolulu by foreign warships, including the HMS Carysfort, royal secretary Timothy Haalilio traveled with American missionary William Richards to London, Paris and Brussels in 1843 to negotiate formal assurances of Hawaiian sovereignty. The diplomacy succeeded, though Haalilio remained a token "silent partner" and caught a cold in the English winter which killed him before he reached home again. 279 Seven years later, Princes Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha came with Dr. Gerrit Judd for more assurances, once again acting as touring figureheads for a missionary diplomat. 280 In 1865, dowager Queen Emma of Hawaii, herself part-English and educated by an English governess, visited Queen Victoria, with whom she had been corresponding since the death of Emma's son and husband in 1862-63.
Emma was accompanied by William Hoapili, the first Hawaiian Anglican priest, who with his wife Haauwai sang Hawaiian songs for Alfred Lord Tennyson at his home. The party spent a night with the royal family at Windsor Castle before visiting other parts of Europe. In 1881, King Kalakaua visited England on his round-the-world tour and examined Windsor Castle with great attentiveness, assuring Queen Victoria that Emma was well. He handed the female singer Patti a bouquet at the opera, told the Baroness Burdett-Coutts about Hawaiian traditions and enjoyed the "magnificent" horses at the Royal Stables. Kalakaua claimed to have acquired an English accent during his visit and met the Princess of Wales at a soiree: "It was one of my proudest moments to have had the honor and pleasure of walking under my arm the future Queen of England, who is very much beloved and respected by all classes." Yet he was puzzled that the English kept a monarch without allowing her to rule. In 1887, his consort, Queen Kapiolani, went to England to attend Victoria's fifty-year Jubilee, along with royal envoy Curtis Piehu Iaukea and the future queen Liliuokalani, who had composed a special song for their hostess. But while in London they learned that American residents in Hawaii had forced Kalakaua to sign the "Bayonet Constitution," which deprived him of real power.

Other countries in Europe also received Hawaiian visitors. In 1819, Lauri arrived at St. Petersburg with the Russian explorer Vasili Golovnin. A "merry" young man, in Golovnin's words, he lived "in one of the houses of the Russian-American Company, near the Semenovsky bridge." Lauri walked around the city without getting lost, a common enough criterion to earn respect by Europeans for Pacific
islander intelligence, and made purchases on his own, sometimes paying prices that were too high, like many such tourists. He waited until all the more important people in the room sat down before taking a seat himself and carried his wolf-skin fur coat on his arm instead of risking dirtying it. Lauri liked the drums and trumpets of a cavalry parade and performed "native dances" on command, but he found an opera singer boring. The huge buildings, plentiful ships and splendid clothes predictably impressed him, and he liked sweets, but alcohol, beards and losing money at dominoes displeased him. Nor did he like the Russian winter, which gave him a cough. After the novelty wore off, he missed Oahu and was sent home on a company ship.284 In 1883, on behalf of the Hawaiian government, royal envoy Iaukea attended the coronation of Czar Alexander III in Moscow. He was particularly fascinated by the Czar's Asiatic subjects, writing: "These primitive warriors, armed with lances and steel maces, wore long coats of mail over the brilliant silk dresses, priceless furs, and damask helmets or Tartar caps. As the breeze meshed and unmeshed their floating banners, and bells tinkled when their horses tossed their heads, the deputies presented a dazzling kaleidoscope of human beings and horse-flesh ..."285 Iaukea also visited Vienna, Belgrade, London, Paris and Rome.286 Both Emma and Kalakaua had paved the way by traveling in Europe as respected dignitaries.287 The Netherlands received a few Hawaiian sailors,288 and in the 1880s, Kalakaua sent eleven young Hawaiians to study in Italy, Scotland and England.289

Perhaps the longest stay in Europe was by Kaparena, or Harry Maitey, who lived in Prussia from 1824 to 1872. A professed orphan
without family, he persuaded the tradeship Mentor to take him aboard in Honolulu, even though it needed no new crewmen. From a Baltic port he was taken by carriage to Berlin, where he spent six years preparing for baptism, so that he could serve King Frederick William III. Rather than being welcomed as a "noble savage," he was treated as part of the "exotic bounty" brought back by the first Prussian ship to circumnavigate the globe. The Seehandlung, or Maritime Company, displayed him in an exhibition along with other artifacts and curios from the voyage; he obligingly performed a hula for a crowd that joked about his probably being a cannibal. He lived with the president of the Seehandlung as a house servant and attended a school for wayward children. Although he became part of the family and received special treatment at the school (being able to eat and dress better than its full-time students), Prussian expectations and his own frustrations caused some friction. Another Hawaiian, Jony Kahopimeai, joined him at the school in 1829, a trophy from the second Prussian circumnavigation; a third young Hawaiian had died of dysentery on that voyage. Jony proved even more promising a learner than Maitey but died of pneumonia his second winter, because he had to wear a thin student uniform. After his baptism in 1830, Maitey worked as a salaried assistant to the steam water-pump engineer on Peacock Island, an exotic royal retreat on a Berlin lake. In company with a giant, two dwarfs, peacocks and a lion, Maitey helped his supervisor build miniature castles and married the animal-keeper's daughter, siring three children. Only in 1872, when French prisoners-of-war were planting trees along the Havel River, did smallpox invade Maitey's
little village near Peacock Island and end his quaint life at sixty-four. During his half-century as a Prussian, no one had ever vaccinated him; his working on an island apparently saved him even from the Berlin cholera epidemic of 1831.\(^{290}\)

It is worth noting that during Maitey's laborious early education in German, "experts" decided that a "clumsy and not fully developed vocal apparatus" caused his difficulty in pronouncing consonants properly.\(^{291}\) Yet Tapeoooe, according to a church fund-raising tract, had received special tutoring from Englishmen "in the articulation of the difficult sounds of our language, which are usually so insurmountable to foreigners, on account of the number of consonants ...",\(^{292}\) and Frenchmen had accused Ahutoru of having a speech impediment for the same reason.\(^{293}\) Apparently, Europeans did not consider islander fluency in their own Pacific languages a true measure of their abilities. Nor were their abundant gestures and skillful mimicry, or the "pandemonium"\(^{294}\) of their hybrid sailor pidgin, valued as respectable communication. What "enlightened" Europeans wanted from "noble savages" was evidence that "nature can do without art ..."\(^{295}\) As George Keate put it, "natural good manners is the natural result of natural good sense."\(^{296}\) Yet the proof of "natural" virtue was, ironically, the demonstration of "proper" European diction and manners. The farther Pacific islanders went from their own region, the more "culturally kidnapped" they became, dependent as they were on white mentors. The very physical survival of such liminars was also under attack: about one third of those Extra Pacific travelers discussed so far died from exposure to alien diseases ranging from
smallpox to measles. Potentially deadly epidemiologically, the periplean frontier rewarded skilled chameleons. For a few islanders, like Alexander Stewart or Harry Maitey, being a nobleman's well-dressed servant in an industrial country may have outweighed their nostalgia for sun, beaches, fish and poi. Even performing as a tattooed specimen might pay cross-cultural wages. Some actors, like Omai or Nayti, managed to appropriate new status in the theatrical limen, while others, like Kualelo or Hongi, acquired new material wealth and knowledge to ensure their status when they returned home.

The United States

New England shipping linked the Pacific to the United States long before the American land frontier reached the west coast. Thanks to information provided by John Ledyard, an American-born British marine who served under Cook, the Empress of China sailed to Canton in 1784 to exchange New England ginseng for tea. By 1789, one-seventh of American imports derived from the China trade, and in 1817-18 the value of American trade (and shipping tonnage) in Canton exceeded that of the British East India Company. New Englanders soon controlled most of the Northwest fur trade and carried Hawaiian sandalwood to China. They so dominated the Pacific whaling industry that even French and British whaleships relied mainly on Nantucket captains. Consequently, significant numbers of Pacific islander sailors began circulating in New England seaports. Newspapers accused South Sea islander sailors in Nantucket of performing pagan rites on the docks in the light of the full moon, but more sympathetic observers attributed such scenes to "innocent frolics." In the whaling port
of Cold Spring Harbor on eastern Long Island, "Bedlam Street" was known for its kanaka residents, who whittled bone ornaments on the front porch of the Stone Jug. The proprietress got along well with them, but they suffered from the damp climate, and one who died of tuberculosis was buried in a nearby wood by his friends. In Moby Dick, Melville caricaturized the docks of New Bedford: "actual cannibals stand chatting at street corners; savages outright; many of whom yet carry on their bones unholy flesh." Like many other "Feegeeans, Tongatabooarrs, Erromangoans, Pannangians, and Brighggians" in town, dark, tattooed Queequeg lived at a sailor's inn, where he tried to sell a preserved head to finance his board and lodging, prayed to an idol in his room and brought his top hat and harpoon to breakfast: "Queequeg, do you see, was a creature in the transition state—neither caterpillar nor butterfly. He was just enough civilized to show off his outlandishness in the strangest possible manner. His education was not yet completed." What better definition, albeit condescending, of liminality?

The first Pacific islanders in New England may have been Atu and Opai, two young Hawaiian sailors who arrived at Boston aboard the Northwest fur trader Columbia in 1790. Their captain, Robert Gray, exchanged cannon salutes with the harbor fort, and a crowd gathered on the dock. As Ka'iana had in Canton, Atu dressed "like a living flame" in ali'i feathered helmet and cloak. Billed as a "crown prince," he walked through the streets arm in arm with Gray to meet the Governor of Massachusetts, who foretold a friendly intercourse between his Commonwealth and Hawaii. "The prince," reminisced a local
newspaper, "was an Apollo in personal symmetry and beauty." 303 Both Hawaiians quickly tired of Boston, however, and shipped out again for the Pacific. 304 In 1798, a French captain wrote of Boston that it had a spacious harbor but an unhealthy climate: "sadness and boredom are . . . no less to be feared." 305 Delano brought his Hawaiian cabin boy "Bill" to Boston in 1803 and said, "He performed on the Boston stage several times, in the tragedy of Captain Cook, and was much admired by the audience and the publick in general." Did Bill play a villainous murderer, or a loyal servant? One clue may be that when Delano took him back to Hawaii, liminal Bill chose to continue on to Canton and was paid off there. 306 In 1819, the Lion brought three tattooed Marquesans to Providence, Rhode Island, from Nuku Hiva, which an American warship had claimed as a possession of the United States six years earlier. "They appeared to be inoffensive youths," a local newspaper said, "and as they are American citizens, having been adopted by the great American family, we trust they will be treated with kindness and hospitality." 307 Such commentaries show the difficulty of finding the islanders beneath their cooptation into Euroamerican ways of thinking, a typical cross-cultural phenomenon. 308

More overt "patriotism" was shown by Humehume, or Prince George Kaumuali'i of Kauai, who had arrived in Providence in 1805 at the age of eight. Although his father had given the captain of the Hazard $7000 to finance his education in America, George had to work as a servant to earn his keep, and after four years the money was gone, along with the health, apparently, of the captain, who had moved with George to Massachusetts. After six more years surviving as a
carpenter and farm-hand, George enlisted in the United States Navy at Boston, during the War of 1812, as landsman "George Prince." In 1813, his ship, the USS Enterprise, fought against the HMS Boxer, and George claimed to have been wounded in the side by a boarding pike; in fact, he did not join that ship until 1815. He also claimed to have fought in 1815 aboard Stephen Decatur's flagship, the USS Guerriere, against the Barbary pirates at Algiers and Tripoli; actually, he served aboard the Enterprise in the Mediterranean, after Decatur's victories, and transferred to the Guerriere in New York. Another Marquesan, Thomas Patu, arrived in Boston in 1819, having served as a royal guard in Hawaii. While working as a house servant for a sea captain, he entered a Sabbath school and quickly learned the English alphabet, but he soon began to associate with "vicious boys" who lured him back to sea. After barely surviving the sealing experience in the South Shetland Islands, he returned to his studies under the care of his latest captain. Patu fell ill in Boston and moved to Coventry, Connecticut, where he lived with a benevolent Christian family. He had apparently attended Boston theater performances until he decided, "too much negro there." This cryptic quotation by Hiram Bingham invites speculation: did Patu acquire his attitude toward American blacks in the company of fellow seamen (what "theaters" were these?), or was he perhaps alienated by the condescending minstrel shows that were so common in those days? Like other Pacific islanders already discussed, he may have absorbed the prejudices of the EuroAmericans around him and perhaps felt the need to distance himself from people whose low status had become an American tradition.
The theatricality of Pacific islanders in the United States persisted. In 1831, Morrell brought his two kidnapped Pacific islanders, Sunday and Monday, to exhibit as "objects of much curiosity" in New York. Alongside bows and arrows, spears, paddles, fishing lines, bark cloth and other artifacts, a newspaper reported, "They have been visited by thousands ... with wonder and gratification." The money that Sunday and Monday raised for Morrell supposedly was to defray "the expense, of a voyage by which they may return to their own country, somewhat enlightened and improved." Morrell claimed that after two years in his care, the dark, tattooed former "cannibals" became "civilized, intelligent men, well fitted for becoming proper agents, or interpreters and missionaries to open an intercourse with their native isles, which cannot fail of resulting in immense commercial advantages to the United States." Sunday, or Darco, "who was a chief in his native country, has a great taste for the mechanic arts, particularly such as require the use of machinery and edge tools. He visits, of his own accord, the different factories and workshops, with the inquisitive eye of a philosopher, and is never satisfied until the use and principle of every operation have been explained to him." Yet Monday, a Micronesian, "was suspicious, moody, and difficult of restraint. He could not be made to understand that, in taking him from his native land, the whites could have had other than hostile intentions. No kindness could win his confidence." He hated American food and clothing and the cold climate, often wept and soon died. In 1836, another captain displayed a Fijian at the Baltimore Museum. In 1842, Vedovi, a Fijian chief whom Wilkes had taken into
exile for killing Americans, died of tuberculosis in the New York Naval Hospital. Aboard ship, he had participated in the crew's celebration of the Fourth of July "dressed out after the Fijian fashion." 316

Perhaps the most important consequence of Hawaiians' coming to New England as seamen was the resulting Christian mission to their islands in 1820. In 1809, Henry Opukahaia and Thomas Hopu arrived at New York, where they attended a theater with their captain and were surprised to see men and women eating together in restaurants. The ship continued on to New Haven, Connecticut, where the two Hawaiians lived with local families. At first clothed in his rough sailor suit, Opukahaia amused people, with typical islander mimicry, by impersonating various personalities and asking, "who dis?" When a friend demonstrated Opukahaia's own awkward walking style, the young Hawaiian fell laughing to the floor. Opukahaia worked as a farm-hand until his health failed. After weeping at Yale over his own ignorance, he began his real education as a Christian. Moreover, he often walked for miles to proselytize among other Hawaiians. One, called George Sandwich, had been in New England so long that he barely remembered his own language; he later entered the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, for which Opukahaia helped to raise funds. Hopu went to sea again during the War of 1812 but returned after his misadventures in the West Indies. He lived to sail back to Hawaii with the first missionaries on the Thaddeus in 1819, but Opukahaia died longing to see his homeland again and was made a martyr by the mission. 317 Another Hawaiian, William Kanui, arrived at Boston in 1809 with his brother and four other Hawaiians, all of whom were taken in by local families as servants.
and farm-hands. With only "haphazard schooling" and limited prospects, Kanui and his brother enlisted on American privateers during the War of 1812 (perhaps crossing paths with Hopu and Kaumuali'i?). After their discharges, both left for New York, but Kanui's brother died en route in Providence, so Kanui wound up in New Haven with Opukahaia and company. John Honorii arrived in Boston in 1815 and became the third ex-seaman the missionaries would take to Hawaii as interpreters and assistants. 

Missionization seemed to offer an alternative liminal relationship between Pacific islanders and Americans. After working as a servant to the purser of Charlestown Navy Yard in 1816, George Kaumuali'i joined Opukahaia's Hawaiians in Connecticut and became one of the founding students of the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall. In the limelight of the missionaries, who taught him to play the bass viol and sing hymns, his self-esteem soon rose after so many years of struggle, though he was never as inspired by Christianity as his Hawaiian shipmates on the Thaddeus. The Marquesan Thomas Patu at first resisted Christianity, because he felt "my heart good enough," but he began praying with John Paru, a Hawaiian, and in 1823 entered the Foreign Mission School. He visited the grave of Opukahaia, but his own health had been declining and he died of a sore throat later that year. In 1826, two Hawaiian sailors, Homimano and George Naua, returned to Honolulu from Boston aboard the schooner Missionary Packet, which was destined for sale to Princess Nahienaena. On behalf of King Kamehameha III, Timothy Haalilio visited Washington, D.C., in 1842 with missionary William Richards to secure support for
Hawaiian sovereignty. Although apparently put off at first by Haalilio's "dark complexion," Secretary of State Daniel Webster finally gave in to Richards' persistence and, in effect, extended the Monroe Doctrine to Hawaii. A more formal diplomatic treaty was signed in 1849. In 1853, the Emma Parker brought some missionized Tahitians to Boston, who served, in the words of a typical newspaper of the era, "as proofs of the advanced state of civilization to which they have attained. They are light hearted, merry, affable; fond of music and social enjoyment, and ... partial to Americans."

Other Pacific islanders also came to America, such as three i-Kiribati sailors returned to their home island by a New Bedford whaler in 1856. Whether as seafaring proletarians or as "noble savage" artifacts useful to missionaries and commercial agents, periplean liminars helped to bind their distant Pacific beaches to the cores of the emerging world economy. As in Europe, royal diplomats eventually made their way to the United States to complete the process of interdependence. In 1874, King Kalakaua traveled to Washington, D.C., to negotiate a commercial reciprocity treaty with the American government, thereby promoting the sugar industry in Hawaii. He also passed through New York, Philadelphia and Washington in 1881 on his way home from circling the globe, but he died in San Francisco in 1891, spiritually broken by the growing power of American residents in his native land. His sister, Liliuokalani, who was to experience first-hand the demise of the Hawaiian kingdom, said of Kalakaua, "He sacrificed himself in the interests of the very people who had done him so much wrong ... " Such an epitaph might apply to any number
of "ennobled others" whose lives were expended in the imperial game of "enlightenment," from living museum exhibits to saved souls to exploited sailors. Yet the liminars who went beyond the Inner Pacific did not all suffer negative consequences. Some managed to snatch heady moments of personal glory from the periplean frontier. For example, Kalakaua sent four young Hawaiian students to American private schools in the 1880s. Three entered a military academy in California, but the fourth, Henry Grube Marchant, studied engraving in Boston, a century after "prince" Atu had paraded through the town in full "savage" regalia. Marchant's prints were part of the Hawaiian exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1889. What would Ahutoru, the first Pacific "noble savage," have thought?

Islander liminars thus experienced varying degrees of cultural collision and physical risk as they ventured beyond the Inner Pacific. As time passed, the more literate travelers, like Kalakaua, recorded their own impressions. Yet even those that come down to us through Euroamerican writings indicate that amid the unsurprising fascination with strange places, islanders often retained a strong sense of pride and exploited the limen, whenever they could, to their own advantage, even at the expense of other non-whites. In fact, some islanders made as much impact on foreign thinking about them as other lands made on the islanders themselves. Diderot concluded that "civilization" would ruin Tahiti, whereas New England missionaries saw in Hawaiian sailors a calling to save the heathen. The periplean frontier was a two-way street.
Chapter VI--Notes


12. Reynolds (1938) 105.

13. Bell (1794) II: 7-10, 80-87.


15. Franchere (1969) 127; Roe (1967) 140; Cox (1957) 56-67; Ross (1849) 159-67; McLoughlin (1941) 71-73.


18. The literature on this diaspora is extensive. See Howay (1930); Quimby (1972); Blue (1925); Duncan (1972) and (1973).


24. Hopoo (1968) 43-44; Dwight (1968) 8.

25. Franchere (1969) 92-115; Cox (1957) 74-91; Kittelson (1969) 214; Barry (1930) 20-22; Ross (1849) 103-14 and (1956) 117-21, the source of the quotation.


27. Cox (1957) 82.

28. Ibid. 145.

29. Ibid. 198, 204, 249.

30. Simpson (1847) 101-02.


33. Franchere (1969) 92; Ross (1849) 114, 200; Barry (1930) and Kittelson (1969).

34. Duncan (1972) 8; Ross (1956) 83.


36. F. Young (1973) 233-37, 250.


42. Franchere (1869) 97-98.

43. Malo (1951) 97-98.
44. Cox (1957) 145, 206-7; Ross (1849) 74 and (1956) 194; K. G. Davies (1961) 167, 173; Bowsfield (1979) 26; Hines (1850) 413; R. Clark (1934) 25, 29.

45. Blue (1925) 21.

46. Lyman (1903) 255; Minto (1908) 128; Duncan (1972) 7.

47. Duncan (1972) 11-13; Hines (1850) 412-13; Simpson (1847) 142-43; Quebec Mission (1956) 104, 133.

48. Quebec Mission (1956) 133.

49. Cox (1957) 333.


51. Blue (1925) 21-22.


55. Darwin (1839) 118-23; Tapson (1962); J. Brown (1979) 170-73.

56. Golovnin (1979) 138-67; Kotzebue (1821) I: 279-84; Beechey (1831) II: 7-36, 68-70; Morrell (1832) 208.


58. P. Corney (1896) 121-27; Morrell (1832) 207-8; Beechey (1831) II: 85-86; Dmytryshyn, Crownhart-Vaughan and Vaughan (1989) 331-32; Tikhmenev (1978) 150.


60. Greer (1967) 223.


63. R. Dillon (1955) 17.

64. Davis (1869) 7, 198.


66. The Friend 7/1/1866; Blue (1925) 20; R. Dillon (1955); Kenn (1966) 12-14.
71. The Friend 8/1/1868.
72. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).
73. H. Williams (1964) 326.
74. Webster (1863) 1-4; Log Elizabeth Swift 1/3/1867.
76. Liliuokalani (1964) 61-63, 118, 209.
77. Robson (1973) 50-53.
81. Howay (1940) 103-98; Kuykendall (1924) 38-49.
83. Hunnewell (1909) 6-7.
84. B. Judd (1947) 13-17.
85. Davidson (1975) 75-83, 94-98.
86. McNab (1908) I: 636.
88. Greer (1967) 223.
89. The Polynesian 8/8/1846.
92. Lucatt (1851) II: 53, 188-89.
96. Markham (1911) 50-69, 126-28; Sharp (1960) 37-56; Stevens (1930) 145-71.
98. Meares (1790) 36, 293.
99. Richards (1983); Morrell (1832) 417, 434, 468.
100. Morrell (1832) 473; Shineberg (1971a) 71-73.
101. Log Peru 5/16/1831.
102. Shineberg (1971a) 333-337.
104. Bougainville (1772) 419; Shineberg (1971a) 85.
105. Bougainville (1772) 422; Beaglehole (1962) I: 186; Parkinson (1973) 175.
106. Parkinson (1973) 175-76; Bougainville (1772) 423-42; Hughes (1977) 17.
107. Bougainville (1772) 420-22; Parkinson (1773) 173; Bligh (1792) 253-54; Shineberg (1971a) 84-85.
108. Bougainville (1772) 447.
111. Bougainville (1772) 376-77.
114. Fanning (1833) 263-66; Im Thurn (1925) 77-86; Morrell (1832) 469-70; Keate (1788) 279-81.
115. Meares (1790) 6-7; Portlock (1789) 360-63; Mortimer (1791) 51-52.
117. Hopoo (1968) 45.
118. Tetens (1958) 73.
119. McCluer (1792) 159-62.
120. Tetens (1958) 73.
121. Keate (1788) 275-85.
122. Ibid. 283-84; McCluer (1792) 146.
123. Portlock (1789) 360-61; Meares (1790) 7.
124. Tetens (1958) 73.
125. Keate (1788) 280-81.
126. McCluer (1792) 142.
127. Mortimer (1791) 52.
128. Keate (1788) 282.
129. McCluer (1792) 159-60.
130. Ibid. 145-46, 154-55.
131. Delano (1817) 393. Unfortunately, Delano did not say how successful the inoculations were.
132. Meares (1790) 7; Portlock (1789) 360.
133. Keate (1788) 268.
134. McCluer (1792) 157.
135. Keate (1788) 275, 279-80.
136. McCluer (1792) 163-64.
137. Ibid. 156; Tetens (1958) 74.
138. McCluer (1792) 146-47.
139. Ibid. 157-58.
140. Portlock (1789) 360.
143. Meares (1790) 9-10; Delano (1817) 393-94.
144. Hopoo (1968) 45; Dwight (1968) 8-9.
145. Duncan (1772) 14.
146. Armstrong (1986) 41, 62-63, 126, 143-44; Greer (1971) 75-84.
148. Turnbull (1805) I: 130; Im Thurn (1925) 71; Erskine (1967) 366.
152. Riesenber (1972) 93-94.
158. Elder (1932) 231-32; Nicholas (1971) II: 396.
162. Elder (1932) 59-66; Cruise (1823) 156-57; McNab (1908) I: 262-63.
164. Webster (1863) 8.
166. Ibid. 341-43, 366; Inglis (1887) 198-99.
167. Goodenough (1876) 325-26; Inglis (1887) 202-204.
170. Hocart (1913) 4753.
171. Erskine (1967) 367; Im Thurn (1925) 71.
173. Elder (1932) 71; Debenham (1945) I: 215; McNab (1908) I: 403.
175. Angas (1847) 206.
181. R. Young (1858) 233.
182. McNab (1908) I: 363.
184. R. Young (1858) 177.
185. R. Young (1858) 234; Turnbull (1805) II: 130-31; Erskine (1967) 367; Earle (1966) 196-97.
188. Davidson (1975) 92-93, 278.
190. Wilkes (1845) III: 143.
192. McNab (1908) I: 169, 182-93, (1914) II: 539-44.
194. Turnbull (1805) II: 125, 130; Dillon (1829) I: 270.
196. S. Smith (1910) 181-89.
197. Rutherford (1977) 157-58. Actually, Taufa'ahau had already incorporated the concept of his missionary-inspired 1839 law code, but visiting Sydney may have confirmed his convictions on the matter of land.
200. Kingsley (1897) 645-53; Owen (1833) 84, 104; Carnes (1852) 85-87, 91-92, 111; Bennett and Brooks (1965) 72, 81-91, 110.
203. Hockin (1803) 54-58; Delano (1817) 74-75.
207. Davis (1869) 215-19, 284-89.
211. Bougainville (1772) 454-58; Dunmore (1965) 170-71.
212. Dillon (1829) I: 199.
215. Morrell (1832) 279-82.
216. Owen (1833) 46.
217. G. Forster (1777) I: 388.
219. Ibid. 193-94.
220. Bell (1794) I: 94.
222. Keate (1788) 342-43. This rather self-serving quotation raises the issue of how truthful Keate, a flowery Euroamerican romantic, was being. His account of Lee Boo is supposedly based on Captain Henry Wilson's papers and other documents, and he did know the young Palauan. He is practically the only source available on Lee Boo, other than Peacock (1987), who is also sentimental. It seems likely that Lee Boo had learned how to be complimentary to his mentors, and too the garden may have impressed him on its own merit.
223. Savage (1807) 97-100.
225. Bougainville (1772) 464.
226. Angas (1847) 247.
228. Jacobs (1844) 24.
231. Golovnin (1979) 264, 324.
232. Page (1825) 8-11.
235. Dunmore (1965) 83, 182; Bougainville (1772) 275.

237. Bougainville (1772) 249.


239. Frouin (1978) 311. The source mentions this in the appended muster roll but gives no explanation in the text of its account. Such was the importance of kanaka sailors aboard a French whalenship.


241. See Korn (1957).


248. Boswell (1925) II: 608.


250. A. Ellis (1913) II: 134.


252. Bell (1794) I: 9-10, 96.


254. Temoteitei (1800) 4-13; Crook (1963) 182-83. The August, 1800, supplement to Evangelical Magazine p. 552 reported that Temoteitei was now praying to Jesus Christ, not his atua. But was it a true conversion?


258. Elder (1932) 63-65.
259. Ibid. 70-78; Nicholas (1971) I: 255-58.
261. Elder (1934) 161-66; Wakefield (1845) I: 4-6.
266. Evangelical Magazine 8/1800: 338.
269. Dillon (1829) I: 293.
274. Bell (1794) I: 9-10.
275. Delano (1817) 391-94.
279. Simpson (1847) 69, 234; Bingham (1849) 586-605; Bradley (1968) 412, 447-64; Kuykendall (1938) I: 196-226.
286. Ibid. 53-103.
291. Ibid. 130, 137, 141.
293. Bougainville (1772) 264.
294. Bingham (1849) 103.
295. A. Ellis (1913) I: 337.
296. Keate (1788) 349.
299. Stackpole (1972); Wilkes (1845) V: 485-86.
300. Stackpole (1953) 387.
301. F. Schmitt (1971) 120.
303. Ward (1966) III: 142-3; Howay (1930) 14; Morison (1921) 43.
305. Peron (1824) II: 269, 279.
306. Delano (1817) 394.
308. Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie and Young (1986) 41.

310. Page (1825) 7-11.

311. Bingham (1849) 461.


313. Morrell (1832) 466.


321. Kuykendall (1934) 82-83.


CHAPTER VII
THE RETURN

Greg Dening has suggested that crossing the cultural beach "did violence to a man in all his parts."¹ The liminar had to experiment to survive, adapting to new habits and identities. After a long experiential voyage, the traveler coming home is likely to feel another kind of culture shock, that of a person who is no longer what he or she once was. The beach that such a returnee originally left behind might well have changed in his or her absence, or even look different from a changed perspective, but it will still conjure up another person, that "other" the limen has altered. Some islanders made an effort to fit in again, others saw that it was hopeless and continued traveling. Some brought new ideas or skills to challenge the old order, even attaching themselves to a foreign presence permanently, in any way they could. Still others managed to live in between worlds indefinitely, trying to assemble the best of both. Those who lacked traditional status were often unlikely to retain their periplean prestige for very long, particularly as experience informed more indigenous islanders about the outer world. Victor Turner's concept of liminal rites of passage assumes a stage of reintegration, after an initial breach with the old permits transformative, anti-structural communitas.² But for cross-cultural liminars, re-entry was not necessarily guaranteed.
Reintegration

Pacific islanders who returned from overseas voyages sometimes underwent traditional rituals to enable them to recross the beach into their home societies. In Rotuma, for example, such forau (travelers to foreign lands) who wade ashore, whether commoner or chief, might still be welcomed by the mamasa or "drying" ceremony. A chief would sit on a pile of fine mats in a specially-constructed shelter, where he received a flower lei, musical and oratorical greetings, kava and food. Commoners would experience a somewhat simpler welcome from their own relatives, but in both cases there should be no delay to express thanks that the forau had survived his or her dangerous sea voyage. Otherwise, a smooth re-entry into the community might be jeopardized. The most important re-initiative gesture was being rubbed with local coconut oil, to remove the sea salt, followed by a change from really or symbolically "wet" foreign clothing into a traditional suiu.3 In Hawaii, George Vancouver noted that it was "a prevailing custom after being some time at sea" for native mariners, even those leaving foreign ships, to wash immediately in fresh water once ashore.4

At Ulithi, in the Carolines, returnees had to participate in a solemn news-bringing ritual in the local men's house.5 In 1851, Timararare left the Wanderer at his home island of Banaba in Kiribati, after an absence of three years. On the beach, an elderly priestess passed a handful of leaves over his face and body, chanting, "May your days be long! May your coconuts yield abundantly, and your friends be numerous!" Timararare's father had died, so in addition to his chest of foreign-made treasures he inherited new wealth in coconut
plantations. A crowd accompanied him to his family home, where another priestess sprinkled water from a coconut shell on his head and face and chanted vehemently to drive away any evil lurking in the house. Local chiefs attended Timararare's homecoming feast and began to divest him of the contents of his trade box. Yet such receptions could be altered by the presence of Euroamericans, as when Amasa Delano's giving Belauan chiefs firearms in 1798 rather overshadowed the welcome home for three Belauan women who had survived four years in Bombay.

Homecomings in the Pacific islands could be emotionally and ritually memorable on both sides of the limen. Pautu, returning to Tahiti from Peru in 1774 in Spanish clothes, was so overwhelmed by his relatives' "weeping bitterly, kissing him, and lavishing their caresses on him in such profusion that they left him no chance to utter a word." His female kin cut themselves with sharks' teeth—a form of emotional tattooing—but prodded by his Spanish padres, Pautu asked them to stop. Two young Maori chiefs, after being to Australia, vowed to act like stiff-upper-lipped Englishmen and not weep when they returned home, but the customary outpourings of affection by their families quickly softened their resolve. Rubbing noses, hugging, crying, exclaiming joy and ritual scarring all conspired to elicit tearful gratitude from the liminals. Chief Temoana of Nukuhiva came home to a hero's welcome in 1839, after five years of suffering travels. The return of a dead leader could be even more extreme, by adding mourning to welcoming. When the coffins of Liholiho and Kamamalu arrived in Hawaii aboard the HMS Blonde, thousands of their subjects waited on the beach while the Blonde exchanged cannon salutes
with the Honolulu forts. Boki and other surviving chiefs in Liholiho's entourage, clad in black, met with typical "hugging, weeping, and rubbing of noses." For their part, Euroamericans describe many sad partings from islander sailing companions. Hitihiti and Omai both left Cook with great reluctance, clinging tearfully to their mentor to the last moment. Moehanga's farewell to Savage was similarly affecting, and after leaving a longtime Hawaiian shipmate at Honolulu, one seaman wrote, "I shall never forget the feelings manifested towards me by this native and his relatives as I took the parting hand."

Some islanders, prisoners of their own liminality like many other cross-cultural travelers, did not succeed at re-entering their home communities. Both Atu and Opai, whom Gray had taken to the Northwest as cabin boys and paraded through Boston, found it difficult to readjust to life in Hawaii. In 1791, Opai came back to Hawaii on the Hope, but after a two-year absence, it took him a while even to understand the language again (or the Big Island dialect?). After rubbing noses with fellow Kauaians who told him about the current inter-island war, Opai stayed with Kamehameha instead of going on to Kauai. Yet ten months later, he joined the crew of Vancouver's HMS Discovery, calling himself Kalehua or Jack Ingraham. "Jack" helped the ship to provision at Kauai and Niihau and went twice to the Northwest. In 1792 Atu returned to Niihau, where his family came off in canoes and greeted him affectionately. But Atu refused even to go ashore and, with Captain Gray's permission, continued on to Canton and out of historical view. Similarly, Delano's cabin boy Bill,
who had performed on the Boston stage, returned to Hawaii in 1804, "but not wishing to remain there, he went to Canton in the Pilgrim, where he was paid off, and I have heard nothing of him since."19

Maui, or Tommy Drummond, returned to New Zealand with Samuel Marsden on the Active in 1814, after eight years in Australia. He was entranced by the old songs and tales he heard from the Maori chiefs aboard, but he could no longer dance as well as they. After trying to settle down at Bay of Islands, he shipped out aboard the whaler Jefferson for England and never saw home again. An English friend said, "the restless spirit of curiosity was too powerful in his mind, and induced him to give up his ease and a fixed abode, for hardship and precarious adventure."20 Changes on the beach could also make coming home traumatic. In 1807, a chiefly Tongan couple returned home after several years in Fiji and Australia, only to find Tongatapu in civil war, so they went back to Sydney.21 Tuati, or John Sac, who had long served as a seaman aboard American ships, returned with Charles Wilkes to Bay of Islands in 1840, just when Britain was annexing New Zealand. Tuati was nostalgic and enthusiastic, having bragged to his shipmates about how great his country was, but the exhorbitant prices that local Maoris changed him for canoe transportation and the dismay his family felt over English immigration left him "sitting on a log, greatly mortified, depressed, and incensed at such treatment." He returned on board and continued his life at sea.22

Phebe, a Fijian girl, revisited Nadi in 1849, but her mother, a chief's captive, told her to stay with the American captain's wife she served, or she might be harmed ashore. Phebe chose to go back to Salem.23
New Mana?

Several perilean voyagers returned home to become powerful war leaders, thanks to their knowledge of foreign firearms, languages and commerce. Ambitious chiefs sought to recruit such experienced indigenous travelers just as they would foreign beachcombers. Kamehameha deliberately sent young Hawaiians overseas aboard Euroamerican ships to train seamen for his new war fleet.24 Such veterans might receive land, horses and employment as interpreters or pilots.25 Kalehua, or Opai of Kauai, served Kamehameha, more specifically Chief Keeaumoku, first after returning from Boston and again after sailing with Vancouver. He helped to exchange provisions for cattle and firearms, though Vancouver was reluctant to give the latter to Keeaumoku. Kalehua also translated at Vancouver's investigation of the 1793 HMS Daedalus murders and interpreted when Kamehameha offered Hawaii to Vancouver as a British "protectorate" in 1794.26 Another young Hawaiian veteran of Northwest fur trading actually witnessed the killing of the men from the Daedalus at Waimea, Oahu. He testified to Vancouver but was afraid to lead the British to the killers.27 When Vancouver returned Kualelo to Hawaii from London via Tahiti in 1792, the young Molokaian received land, a house and high rank in return for service in Kamehameha's retinue, specifically under Ka'iiana. Unfortunately Kualelo had already given away most of his possessions in Tahiti. He went ashore with only one shirt, two trousers and a few trinkets, "like a convict to his place of transportation," and soon lost everything but his malo and had to beg for gifts from friendly ship captains. Hawaiian chiefs wanted such
liminars to help them obtain muskets and ammunition or serve in their navies. Several traveled Hawaiians from Niihau and Kauai developed their own relationships with foreign ships. Even those kidnapped by the Mercury in 1795 made it back to Niihau, where they sadly told the tale of Northwest Indians' killing the captain when he was leading a wood-cutting party ashore. They even showed letters of recommendation from the Mercury's supercargo to passing ships and asked to be taken to "Pretanee." In 1798, a Kauai-based Northwest veteran nicknamed "General Washington" helped a ship to buy yams at Niihau.

The best-known and most powerful early Hawaiian returnee was Ka'iana, a young chief of Kauai who had accompanied British fur traders to China and the Northwest. In 1788, he was so impatient to get home that he sometimes became violently angry, yet once at Kauai, his mood changed to grave and thoughtful, because Kamehameha's inter-island war had made him a political exile. Ka'iana decided to stay instead on the island of Hawaii, with those Kauaiian kin who had allied with Kamehameha, who in turn rewarded Ka'iana with land and security. Ka'iana helped his ship, the Iphigenia, obtain plentiful provisions, divers to recover a lost cable and anchor, and probably sandalwood, in return for four swivel cannons, six muskets, three barrels of gunpowder and five double canoes loaded with metal tools and iron bars. He also helped to recruit Kalehua and Kualelo into Kamehameha's service. In fact, he aroused suspicion by interrogating them about the defenses of the ships that returned them home. Several captains blamed Ka'iana for the seizure of the schooner Fair American in 1790, but he presented letters of recommendation from ship captains to assuage such fears.
Respected for his foreign knowledge and war skills, Ka'iana taunted enemy chiefs in battle and exhorted his own warriors to fight more bravely. He was so successful as a war chief against Kamehameha's rivals that he aroused the jealousy of the future king himself, particularly after an affair with Kamehameha's favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu. Finally, Ka'iana switched sides and fought against Kamehameha on Oahu but was killed in battle in 1795. He had learned little English and earned even less respect for his trustworthiness, but his special status derived from using foreign firearms in Hawaii had, according to Vancouver, "produced in every chief of consequence an inordinate thirst for power; and a spirit of enterprise and ambition . . ."33

Competition and wars among Hawaiian ali'i certainly predated Euroamerican contact,34 but foreign travel experience may well have contributed to the self-aggrandizing behavior of chiefs like Ka'iana. Familiarity with firearms or outside ways could provide an additional means to power, as long as the liminar had some traditional status to begin with. It could also generate doomed dreams. Humehume, or George Kaumualii'i, was heir to the kingdom of Kauai and signed onto American ships as "George Prince." He clearly enjoyed the attention shown him by the missionaries who brought him home again and persuaded his grateful father to welcome Christian teachers on Kauai. But having once been "courteous and affectionate" among his missionary benefactors, he soon showed "downward tendencies," in Hiram Bingham's words, and became "a professed skeptic," despite a visit by the missionary to Kauai. After Liholiho kidnapped the elder Kaumualii'i to Oahu and
forced him to marry Ka'ahumanu, George was passed over for the governorship of Kauai. He lived in poverty with his wife and a handful of followers, including a few "worthless white men," near the beach. When his father died while Liholiho was in England in 1824, George raised an army and attacked the royal fort at Waimea. His cannons, however, missed their targets, his men panicked and, like his father, George went to Oahu as a prisoner.35

Other returnees turned rebel, as well. After his emotional return from England with Liholiho's body in 1825, when he was treated like the deceased king himself, Boki competed with Ka'ahumanu for power. He even sided with French Catholics against her American protestant allies. But Boki soon lost the no'a pebble in his hand, as John Ii figuratively called his secret plotting, to Ka'ahumanu loyalists. His business ventures, often offensive to missionary tastes, also failed, so he embarked, debt-driven and politically isolated, to his doom in Vanuatu in 1829. Nor did his wife Liliha, who had accompanied him to London, succeed in her planned revolt of 1831.36 Dowager Queen Emma, a longtime Anglophile who had corresponded with and visited Queen Victoria, lost a disputed election for the Hawaiian throne to David Kalakaua in 1874.37 Kalakaua was supported by American residents in that election, but when he returned from visiting foreign monarchs around the world in 1881, he initiated a new departure in Hawaiian politics. He built Iolani Palace, held an elaborate coronation and embarked on such diplomatic adventures as his proposed confederation with Samoa. Such "extravagances" became excuses for foreign residents to strip him of his power in 1887.38 His sister Liliuokalani, who
was then attending Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London, met an even
harsher fate when she tried to halt the steady rise of local haole
power in 1893. Her overthrow, and imprisonment inside Iolani Palace,
made Kalakaua's homecoming chant of 1881 even more poignant:

I have traveled over many lands and distant seas,
to India afar and China renowned.
I have touched the shores of Africa
and the boundaries of Europe,
and I have met the great ones of all the lands.

As I stood at the side of heads of governments,
next to leaders proud of their rule,
their authority over their own,
I realized how small and weak is the power I hold.
For mine is a throne established upon a heap of lava.
They rule where millions obey their commands.
Only a few thousands can I count under my care.

Yet one thought came to me of which I may boast,
that of all beauties locked within the embrace of
these shores,
one is a jewel more precious than any owned by my
fellow monarchs.
I have nothing in my Kingdom to dread.

I mingle with my people without fear.
My safety is no concern, I require no bodyguards.
Mine is the boast that a pearl of great price
has fallen to me from above.
Mine is the loyalty of my people.

Returned travelers also influenced local politics in other Pacific
islands, such as Tahiti. In 1774, Hitihiti arrived at Tahiti, after
spending seven months with Cook's second expedition around the South
Pacific. Pomare I welcomed the young Boraboran "prodigy" warmly,
offering him land, status and a high-born beauty to marry, but the
British intended to return Hitihiti to Ra'iatea, whence he had begun
his liminal voyage. Having learned to shoot, Hitihiti helped Cook
to pursue gun-thieves on Huahine, but he arrived at Ra'iatea with only
one servant boy and found that his brother had taken over his "estate." The latter would allow Hitihiti only two small pigs to offer Cook as gifts. Overindulging in kava only temporarily softened the pain of Hitihiti's being abandoned on the beach again. Cook wrote him a letter of recommendation and allowed him to fire some cannons on King George's birthday but was saddened by Hitihiti's tearful desire to remain with the ship: "At Otaheite he might have had any thing that was in their power to bestow, whereas here he was not the least noticed."41 By 1777, Hitihiti was back at Tahiti, where he lived with his pretty wife at Matavai Bay, spoke better English than the returning Omai and invited Cook to dine with him ashore. He often came drunk to ask for gifts from old friends aboard Cook's ship, to whom he appeared foolish.42

In 1788, as an advisor to Pomare I, Hitihiti greeted Bligh on the Bounty,43 yet he willingly accompanied Fletcher Christian's mutineers to Tubuai. There he used his musket in battle against the Tubuaians, and returned once again to Tahiti when the mutineers split up. Often in company with the mutineers who stayed at Tahiti, Hitihiti fought successfully against Pomare's rivals, ordering his sentries to call out "all's well" every half hour to show the enemy that they were prepared for night attacks. He warned the mutineers when the HMS Pandora arrived in 179144 and expressed horror at the idea of helping the warship hunt down his fugitive tayo.45 Although he traveled with the Pandora as far as Huahine,46 he was back at Tahiti again in 1792, when Bligh arrived in the HMS Providence to complete his breadfruit mission. Hitihiti helpfully caught a thief who was
stealing sheets, by chasing him in his own canoe. In 1824, when Kotzebue visited Tahiti, a seventy-year-old man calling himself Cook boasted of having accompanied his namesake around the Pacific, drew a world map, and mimicked the use of a sextant. Since Hitihiti was about seventeen in 1773, the old man man well have been Hitihiti, living out his glory.

Other eastern and central Polynesian travelers aboard Euroamerican ships also tried to parlay their foreign experiences into local power bases. Tapiru, a Tahitian who had gone with Christian's mutineers to Tubuai in 1789, became "a Person of some power," in Bligh's estimation. By 1792, the returnee was waging war on behalf of rival Matavai chiefs against Pomare, with firearms he had taken from the shipwrecked whaler Matilda and knew how to use from his Tubuai days. Tapiru kept his five muskets (compared to Pomare's eight) under his sleeping mat. Bligh demanded the return of the weapons, but Tapiru only returned some cash from the Matilda. Temoana of Nukuhiva, after his bitter experiences in England and Samoa, returned home in 1839 to lead a thousand warriors on a war of conquest, hoping to imitate the achievements of Tahitian and Hawaiian monarchs. But lacking the power to win, and failing to get help from British warships, Temoana relied on the French after 1842. They established him as "King Charles of the Marquesas." He lived in a little well-furnished cottage near the beach under the protection of a French fort, but even Nukuhivans resisted his power. He mediated a civil war on Ua Pou, but in 1852, when he protested against depredations by whalers and French soldiers, the colonial authorities arrested him and locked him up on Tahiti for
ten days. Having once gone obstinately barefoot, drunk to excess and ridiculed French dependence on outside supplies and arms, he converted to Christianity and died an ally of the Catholic mission. Jacques Arago called him "a trinket king." The Tongan chief Ma'afu, having, as he himself said, "been brought up with white men [and] sailed the sea in their ships," made himself a "pro-Christian" power broker in eastern Fiji. In a bid for foreign support, he once offered the whole island group to Britain. A man of the world, he led his gun-toting, tribute-collecting armies skillfully in battle against Fijian "heathens," recalling his bloody campaigns against ni-Vanuatu in his sandalwooding youth. Similarly, King Taufa'ahu Tupou of Tonga, after passing through Fiji on his way to Australia aboard the mission ship John Wesley in 1853, came to Cakobau's help with a war fleet two years later and briefly entertained notions of hegemony over Fiji. Yet high traditional status gave the above liminars greater claim to fame than those whose relied only on foreign-derived prestige, as we shall see.

Maori power struggles clearly felt the impact of indigenous returnees. Tuki and Huru brought back potatoes from Australia and Ruatara brought wheat, both key export crops that enabled Maoris to exchange more provisions to passing ships for firearms and other manufactures. Although Moehanga always regretted getting tools from King George instead of firearms, Te Pahi brought home a white beachcomber from Australia in 1806, married him to his daughter and made him a war chief. Later Maori chiefs brought their own foreign weaponry expertise back to New Zealand. Even Marsden's Maori chiefs
devoted much of their time aboard the Active to maintaining their firearms, making cartridge boxes or safeguarding their gunpowder. When they arrived in New Zealand, they dressed in full uniform, with swords, and shot off their muskets repeatedly to impress their kin or rivals. After firing guns into the air, Ruatara forced George of Whangaroa, whose mistreatment had caused the Boyd massacre, to conciliate with both the English and the Bay of Islands Maoris. Yet in pursuing a Maori thief, Ruatara did not even have to load his weapon because, as he explained, "as soon as New Zealand man see musket presented at him, he run away." Tuhi, who had been missionized by Marsden and visited England, used guns bought from whalers to kill 200 enemies in war. He bragged about personally taking twenty-two lives, though he said he never fought on Sundays. He argued that fighting interested Maoris more than farming. In 1825, Te Pehi Kupe went to England specifically to obtain firearms from King George for use against his enemies. The actual impact of foreign firearms on indigenous power struggles in the Pacific has been a controversial topic, but it seems clear from the evidence that guns were eagerly sought after, which in turn put those who knew how to use or acquire them in a relatively privileged position.

The best-known Maori returnee power broker was Hongi Hika, who used his firearms to wreak utu (vengeance) on his old enemies and consequently forced refugees to migrate away from his power base at Bay of Islands. As Ruatara's uncle, he grew wheat when other chiefs ridiculed the idea. He visited Australia in 1814 and so charmed Marsden that the latter became an apologist for Hongi, despite the
chief's many wars. Hongi granted the missionaries land in return for forty-eight axes, always welcomed Marsden hospitably and graciously offered to postpone his attack on Whangaroa during an 1819 visit by the missionary. Marsden wrote, "Shunghee is a man of the mildest manners and disposition and appears to possess a very superior mind." Even Hongi's descriptions of killings and his displays of dead enemy heads on poles did not prevent Marsden from defending him. Marsden went so far as to compare the Maori desire for utu to the Old Testament "eye for an eye" dictum. Yet other Maori chiefs complained that Hongi was monopolizing trade by keeping the missionaries with him. In 1820, he traveled to England with a missionary to get a double-barreled gun from King George, which he received along with a suit of chain armor.

In Sydney, Hongi exchanged most of his other presents for 300 muskets and gunpowder and composed a chant about his planned wars of revenge. At Bay of Islands, he drank cow's milk to symbolize the power he had obtained from the pakeha (whites) and lined up his muskets in rows, giving each the name of the Ngapuhi defeat it was to avenge. Once he began his bloody expeditions, he even killed and drank the blood of a chief who had accompanied him home from Sydney, Te Hinaki. Hongi wore a red coat, armor, helmet and sword, spied on Te Hinaki with a telescope and bowed and saluted him when they bragged to each other before the fateful battle. A Quaker commentator wrote that once Hongi threw aside "the mask of Christian meekness which he had worn in this country, he appeared in his true character of an ambitious and bloodthirsty warrior." Yet Marsden proposed to Maori chiefs
that they make Hongi their king and even explained away an Ngapuhi attack on the Wesleyan mission at Whangaroa. He said that the choice of location was unfortunate, because Hongi's father originally owned that land. Like a modern defense lawyer, Marsden wrote, "Shunghee has lately suffered very great personal as well as family afflictions." After Marsden left, Hongi nearly annihilated the Whangaroa Maoris, to avenge not only the desecration of his father-in-law's bones but also the Boyd massacre, "as he always styled himself 'the friend of the English.'"

Indeed, when he first came back from England, "Shunghee had impressed the natives with a very great idea of the power of King George--he used to tell the chiefs that if King George was to go to war with them there would be only one battle, and New Zealand would be conquered." Hongi was accused of making profits by selling preserved heads to passing ships, and he showed off a whistling bullethole through his lung with good humor. His warriors camped on beaches alongside their ornamented canoes, stacking their muskets "in regular good order," and he used military engineering to get at the enemies his troops later devoured or enslaved. His wars temporarily upset the balance of power in the North Island and caused southward migrations, but he died in 1828 of his chest wound, on a bed surrounded by weapons. Loyal chiefs divided up his armor as trophies, and his relatives dug up his bones after a year, painted them with red ochre and hid them. Hongi's Maori neighbors dreaded him, but Englishmen who met him repeatedly described him as mild-mannered. One nineteenth century pakeha New Zealand historian
treated him as a hero: "He had a high sense of honor and a tender
heart . . . and no insult ever provoked him to take the life of a
European." Hongi apparently knew which audiences mattered most.

Efforts by explorers, missionaries and traders to use periplean
returnees as agents or helpers had mixed results, partly because of
the cross-cultural ambiguities the liminar usually experienced once
home again. In 1774, two Tahitians came back from Peru in company
with two Franciscan padres, an interpreter, a servant, and a portable
house. Two other Tahitians had died in Valparaiso and Lima, but Thomas
Pautu, in his early thirties, and Manuel Tetuanui, barely a teenager,
had spent a year as guests of the Viceroy and were expected to be
helpful to the missionaries in exploring the possibility of a Spanish
settlement at Tahiti. Pautu went ashore well-clothed and warmly
received by his kin, who gave provisions to the Spanish ship, then
mediated with Pomare I for a site for the padres' hospice. Tetuanui's
father, who had given the Spaniards permission to take his boy to Peru,
stayed aboard the Aguila several days, apparently "lost in contemplation
at again seeing his son, and marveling at the stories he related about
Lima." The mission, however, failed. Fathers Geronimo and Narciso
felt so insecure that they rarely left their hospice. The people of
Tahiti openly mocked their celibacy and distrust. The servant boy,
Francisco, soon showed disrespect toward the fearful padres, mistreated
young Tetuanui and alienated other Tahitians in disputes over property.
Maximo Rodriguez, the interpreter, resented the padres' demands that
he cook for them. Even the Viceroy later criticized the padres for
lacking "such personal qualities as the apostles enjoyed" and acceded
to their pleas to be taken back to Peru after only a year. Yet the Tahitian ari‘i, including Pomare, had tried to help the padres and seemed to want them to stay. 80

Both Pautu and Tetuanui, seen through sometimes conflicting Spanish accounts, found the cultural ambiguities of their assigned role impossible to resolve. Initially, Pautu played the game reasonably well. He explained to Pomare how he had earned the cross around his neck by being catechized and baptized. He told his sisters not to scar themselves with shark teeth in welcoming him home. But property became a liminal issue, as Tahitians used various means to get foreign clothing from the Spaniards or their two protégés. Two fights over clothing between Spanish sailors and Tahitians led to tensions and a Spanish threat to withdraw the padres. Rodriguez noted, "The two natives Pautu and [Tetuanui] now became very morose and said they would cast themselves ashore naked, that they wanted no clothes nor anything else from us, but only to stay in their own country." Pautu at first tried to remove his clothing and offer it to Pomare, only to have the Spaniards stop him. Then he wanted to give that of a compatriot who had died in Lima to young Chief Vehiatua. Although wearing a shirt and jacket, Pautu uncovered his shoulders out of respect for Vehiatua, then noticed Rodriguez and pulled the clothing up over only the shoulder facing the Spaniard, a gesture symbolic of his own cross-cultural quandary! When Vehiatua started to accompany Pautu to the ship, the latter warned his chief, and Pomare as well, not to board the Aguila. 81 According to the commanders of the Aguila and the Jupiter, Pautu told the ari‘i that they would be taken away to Lima,
just as he had been, because the Spaniards wanted to be "masters of the island" and reduce Tahitians to "slavery." But the ari'i listened instead to assurances from the Spanish interpreter and shooed Pautu away, considering him "no more than a humbug whom, as such and also as a thief, they had held in poor esteem even before he went to Lima." All accounts agree that Pautu then stripped himself of his Spanish clothes and went about wearing only a loincloth, claiming that "he wished to be free and follow his own bent." He occasionally asked forgiveness and offered to return to Peru, apparently only in order to get permission to take clothes from his treasure chest to Vehiatua, but according to Rodriguez, "even his own people ranged themselves against him." Just before the padres left for Peru, however, Pautu "the apostate" paid a friendly visit to the mission with his wife.

The "betwixt-and-between" could be testing for liminars. Young Manuel Tetuanui suffered ostracism even harsher than Pautu's. Kept on board the Aguila at first because he had caught smallpox en route from Peru, Tetuanui proved useless to the padres as a house servant, "because of his tender age." Chief Vehiatua, himself only about eight years old, came with his mother to claim all of Tetuanui's clothes by stripping him in front of the padres. The padres, however, asserted themselves and took back everything but a red sash, which Vehiatua wore as a loincloth. Tetuanui also found himself in the awkward position of having to translate to the padres when his compatriots, even the ari'i, ridiculed the sexlessness of the two priests. Finally, abuse from the Spanish servant and the appropriation of some cloth from the mission by Tetuanui's visiting relatives broke the teenager's
tenuous bond with the padres. The latter tried several times, using Vehiatua's bodyguards and Rodriguez, to bring Tetuanui back, but the boy feared being beaten and defiantly refused to stay at the mission anymore. He even insulted Rodriguez, who hit him and wrestled with his father. Consequently, Vehiatua ordered Tetuanui's house burnt, his father banished and their kin dispossessed of their lands, but their return of some cloth at least saved the house. Tetuanui and his father became poverty-stricken wanderers and, after a last half-hearted offer to return to Lima, the boy disappeared. More fortunate was Puhoro, a Makatean navigator taken from Tahiti by the Aguila in 1774, along with three other men, and returned by the same expedition that took the padres away. Two of his fellow travelers had died in Peru and another chose to remain in Lima, but Puhoro brought back such a plentiful stock of ironware and clothing that a Tahitian ari'i invited him to join his entourage. In 1777, Cook met a Peru-traveled islander at Tahiti who announced himself with a conch shell before entering the captain's cabin. Another veteran of Peru seemed "a low fellow and a little out of his senses, and this opinion was confirmed by his countrymen." The first may have been Puhoro, now devoid of treasures, and the second Pautu, who apparently was a commoner. In 1789, one of them, probably Puhoro, came aboard the Mercury at Matavai Bay: "He seemed very partial to the Spaniards, and spoke much of the favourable reception he had met with at Lima."

Not only Spaniards found it difficult to establish returnees as agents in Tahiti. In 1777, Omai returned to Tahiti with Cook, but because he was not of high rank traditionally, his pretentions to new
status proved as ephemeral as his material wealth. When leaving the Society Islands in mid-1774, Cook had regarded Hitihiti as a "better specimen of the Nation" than Omai. He described the latter as "dark, ugly and a downright blackguard [commoner]." Yet three years of travel later, Cook "played him off as a prodigy of genius, in honour of Pretanee, where, it was given out, his talents had been much improved." A veteran actor on English and other beaches, Omai was well aware of the theatricality of his return to Tahiti and jealous of being upstaged. Instead of befriending Puhoro, he quickly hustled the potential rival off Cook's ship, "being displeased there was a traveler upon the island besides himself." Omai stayed in the Spanish padres' abandoned house while on Tahiti, adding another layer of periplean liminality to the place. Omai at first disdained recognizing his sister, but his mother struck her own face and arms with shark's teeth and gave provisions to the British, who rewarded her with red feathers from Tonga. Omai also gave some of the much-coveted feathers to his brother and to chiefs aboard ship. Cook observed ruefully, "it was evident to everyone that it was not the Man but his property they were in love with." His reputation ashore grew as he bragged about his travels and gave away his wealth. Omai passed out more red feathers as he walked to Pomare's residence, even though his British companions advised him to save them for the king himself. Dressed in a captain's uniform, he went unrecognized until he uncovered in deference to Pomare. In response to questions from the latter, he so magnified what he had seen in England that, according to a shipmate, "The king seemed more astonished than delighted..."
and suddenly left Omai," to talk with Cook and the other British officers. 94

Cook and Omai conspired in improvised dramas for the sake of their intertwined images. In a suit of armor, Omai galloped around on a horse, a creature which Tahitians had never seen before. When the crowd gathered too near and impeded his progress, he shot pistols in the air and waved a sword like some medieval knight. After a fireworks display by the British, Cook and Omai together led a fleet of war canoes against Pomare in a mock sea battle. Omai taunted his opponents to throw their spears at him, but his armor protected him from injury. He paraded triumphantly in his canoe along the shore, but Cook wrote disappointedly, "it did not draw their attention so much as might be expected." After giving Pomare "various ironware articles," Omai received a double canoe and sixteen paddlers from the king. 95 When Tahitians on Moorea stole one of Cook's goats, Omai and three of his paddlers joined the punitive expedition that marched over the hills burning houses. He himself volunteered to kill the first man they met and advised Cook to "shoot every Soul." Even Moorean canoes were broken into pieces to use in constructing Omai a house on Huahine. 96 The liminal symbolism of that transmutation is almost as striking as the fact that Omai's own canoe became separated in the mist from Cook's ships on the way to Huahine. To recover his new reality, Omai fired off a cannon on his canoe, which the Resolution answered through the fog. Omai also hoisted a British flag on his mast as he reached the island, where Cook purchased an acre and a half of land around the beach. For Omai, his two Maori boys and a handful
of Tahitian servants, the British built a house (without ironwork that might be stolen), dug him a powder magazine for his firearms, planted him an English garden and provided him with a menagerie of livestock, all surrounded by a moat-like ditch.97

Omai's "noble" fantasy seemed complete. Like Kotzebue with Kadu in the Marshalls, Cook warned the people of Huahine that he would return, whereupon he would punish anyone who dared to tamper with Omai's estate.98 Yet a marine commented, "Omai had ever since our arrival among these isles been declining not only in our estimation but in the opinions of the natives, among whom he was envied for undeserved riches and despised for his obscure birth and impudent pretentions to rule and command, in short his ignorance and vanity were insupportable."99 Cook had already complained on Tahiti that Omai "associated with none but refugees and strangers whose sole views were to plunder him." Even the ari'i had resented the quality of goods Omai passed out to marginal "rascals" who misled him and betrayed his naive friendship.100 On Huahine, Omai protested that his new house had only one story, as an English pigsty would, but Cook only laughed.101 A Boraboran, whom Cook had punished severely for stealing a sextant, uprooted many of Omai's plants, tore down his fence and set loose several animals, vowing to kill the upstart as soon as Cook would leave. Although caught again, the man escaped overboard at night and cast a gloomy shadow over Omai's future.102

Omai became more dejected as Cook's departure neared, but they rode horseback together daily and Cook supplied his protégés with prestigious wealth. Omai displayed his treasures in public, shot off
fireworks and, with Cook's help, held several feasts at which he eagerly gave out nails, red feathers, white shirts, glass and chinaware to local chiefs. It was obvious that his status would last only as long as his possessions. Both Omai and his Maoris begged not to be left behind, but finally Cook fired a salute of five cannons and sailed away. Later visitors heard that Omai enjoyed "every fine woman on the island" but expended his gunpowder in a successful war against Ra'iatea and Borabora. He rode his horse so often that Huahineans tattooed its image onto their legs but died only four years after Cook left, of "natural" causes such as an ague-type fever or venereal disease. In 1797, Tahitians told their first English missionaries about a big monkey left behind by Cook, which became a chief with a wife and thirty servants. One day, the "great man dog" disgusted his spouse by eating flies, so she fled to the hills, where a jealous rival killed the pursuing monkey. Such a strange story might be an appropriate epitaph for Omai, whose physical appearance and social pretensions earned him so little real respect while he lived, despite all his world travels.

Such evidence indicates that, at least in Polynesia, it was generally difficult for a peripatetic returnee without traditional, ascribed status to translate his acquired, personal wealth or foreign connections into lasting prestige. Once the safety net of the foreign ship left the scene, tributary or reciprocal demands on the liminar's property rapidly drained away his finite symbols of prestige and reduced him, like an actor stripped of his make-up and props, to what he had been before he embarked on his voyage. In 1789, for example,
former friends and servants of Omai revealed that, before he fled aboard the Adventure in 1773, Omai was a commoner about to be sacrificed for committing blasphemy against a Huahine chief. His souvenirs from England, particularly the armor and firearms, had earned him only temporary respect. After he and his Maoris died, his goods and surviving animals were divided up by those who would once have sacrificed him. Even the transmuted boards of his house disappeared behind the beach. Similarly, high-ranking Maoris were more likely to retain their celebrity status when they returned to New Zealand. In 1794, Governor King personally returned Tuki and Huru, who had claimed to have some traditional status, to Bay of Islands. There King bribed chiefs with presents, demonstrated his musket and cannon power and vowed to return later to see that his flax-teachers fared well. In 1819, Huru was a war chief under Korokoro, who had visited Samuel Marsden in Australia in 1814.

Marsden's Maoris were usually chiefs, whose firearms and foreign travels simply added to their traditional mana. In fact, they recommended, perhaps defensively, that he not educate commoners, who "had no lands or servants, and would never rise higher in rank than their parents ..." Te Pahi had said the same thing to Governor King in 1806, when the latter wanted to bring Maoris to Australia as shepherds. The chief "insisted on sending the middling order of people, who would be more expert at labour and tractable than the emokis or lower class, who were too idle and vicious to send here and from whom no good could be got." In 1839, Nayti, a Maori commoner who had passed himself off as a chief in England, returned with
Wakefield's colonizing ships to New Zealand. There his countrymen of all ranks ridiculed his pretensions and soon divested him of all his possessions, leaving him only a traditional blanket and mat. Though grief-stricken, Nayti apparently accepted his fate and died in poverty of tuberculosis in 1842.\textsuperscript{115} Similarly, Moehanga, a "slave"\textsuperscript{116} who had presented himself in England as "a man of some consequence,"\textsuperscript{117} arrived home via whaling ship with little fanfare in 1807.\textsuperscript{118} By 1814, his plentiful supply of hardware was apparently consumed, as he had predicted to Dr. Savage, by his social obligations.\textsuperscript{119} Yet Moehanga was a more persistent liminar than Nayti.

Moehanga came aboard Marsden's Active asking for gifts. Not only had his superiors dispossessed him, since he was really only a commoner, but after he had stolen an ax from the visiting Ferret out of desperation, his chief had had him flogged and banished. Moehanga found employment, however, as an interpreter for another chief, who lived a bit south of Bay of Islands. In 1814, the liminar led his British guests arm-in-arm from the beach through the crowd, "Europee fashion," as he called it. He talked constantly, but his English had so deteriorated that neither side could communicate effectively. Though he lived like a Maori again, Moehanga, perhaps not surprisingly, wanted to revisit England.\textsuperscript{120} By 1819, he still lived south of Bay of Islands but visited the Bay, where he told stories of his travels and helped to guide Marsden.\textsuperscript{121} In 1827, Moehanga was serving as interpreter for "King George" (Te Uruti) of Bay of Islands, whose "uncle" he had become, apparently through marriage. He claimed to have been to England again, and to India, which Peter Dillon later
learned was a lie. He asked Dillon to take him and "George" to India to see Dr. Savage, so they could obtain firearms. Instead, Dillon dubbed Moehanga "King Charley" and took him and his son, along with several other Maoris, on his La Pérouse expedition, to Tonga, Rotuma, Vanikoro and back to Bay of Islands. 122

Perhaps the most colorful, and factually questionable, return home by an islander to a position of power was that of Morrell's Sunday, or Darco, who purportedly became "king" of his island near New Britain in 1834. According to Thomas Jacobs, who claimed to have learned Darco's language aboard the ship, "Prince Tellum-by-by" was a chief's son whose father had died during his four-year absence. At "Riger," Darco's mother's island, whose "red" chiefs were supposedly descended from a French surgeon named Laveaux of the La Pérouse expedition, Morrell's ship was mistaken for Pongo, a monster who had attacked the islands in ancient times with fiery mouths that shot a now-sacred cannon ball at the local people. Darco took off his foreign clothes, yelling, "Me hab been to America ... Me no white!" and convinced the islanders who he was. After telling his tales and hearing about the political situation on "Nyappa," the island his father had ruled, Darco told Morrell to stay at Riger that day. It was an interesting example of the ambiguity of power relations in the limen, where ship captains, even kidnappers like Morrell, depended to some extent on their indigenous guides. During their warm reception among Darco's relatives, the crew also had to remove their shirts, "to conform to their style of dress, and thus gain their confidence and friendship." Two other warriors, one of whom had been wounded
when Morrell's Antarctic first took Darco prisoner in 1830, went to Nyappa with Darco on the ship and were shocked by its cannon balls and a weaponry demonstration. At Nyappa, Darco was "crowned King" and, building on the fear among enemy hill people that he was in league with Pongo, conquered them with firearms that Morrell gave him. Darco reverted to a thoroughly native appearance, complete with feathers in his hair, but revealingly, he kept the knowledge of how to load a gun to himself. He seemed content, with both his traditional status and his wealth of foreign hardware, and told wondrous tales of what he had seen in America. He also provided a considerable cargo of shell to Morrell but declined his former kidnapper's offer to return to the United States: "No; me more happy here!"123

New Atua?

Like the Franciscan padres sent to Tahiti by Spain in 1774, missionaries sometimes found that their islander helpers felt the strain of mediating between cultures. The transmission of religious beliefs is by its very nature so subjective that it defies impartial measurement. Many a Euroamerican attends church but negotiates the tenets of his or her Christianity in daily life, and the missionaries who came to the Pacific were often recently "born again," out to prove themselves as much as to save the souls of others. As dedicated as they were, they did not necessarily typify even their own societies, as their clashes with Euroamerican traders and whalers testified.124 Moreover, the traditional class and kin-group allegiances of "native teachers" could affect their proselytizing. Te Morenga helped Marsden, with whom he had lived at Parramatta in 1815-16, as an interpreter
and informant in New Zealand. Yet Te Morenga was an active war chief and jealous rival to Hongi who complained when the latter tried to monopolize all the missionary settlements. Te Morenga tried to represent Marsden's teachings to other Maoris but said that missionary settlers would be more convincing. He even built a road to give them, and their trade goods, easier access to his people. Te Morenga also defended what Marsden called Maori "superstitions," because unlike Christ who "was good and over Whom the atua of New Zealand had no power . . . their god was always angry." By the 1850s, missionary-educated Maoris, particularly the pupils of Octavius Hadfield in Otaki, were organizing an alliance against land sales that culminated in widespread armed resistance to European settlement. Tamihana Te Rauparaha, the literate son of a famous war chief, went to England to meet Queen Victoria in 1851 and returned home to promote the creation of a Maori monarchy. Hoping for the kingship himself, he began traveling around the North Island to preach in favor of Maori unity, the protection of indigenous land rights and the creation of a new law-making system to replace the declining tapu. But as the King Movement resistance spread, other leaders and more traditional candidates emerged, and in 1858 Te Wherowhero was elected Potatau I.

In Hawaii and Samoa, some peripatetic returnees helped Euroamerican missionaries while others generated syncretic movements. In 1820, the New England missionaries aboard the Thaddeus, inspired by the "martyrdom" of Opukahaia, brought along four Hawaiian ex-seamen to assist in the conversion of their people. George Kaumuali'i participated in prayer services and returned home to Kauai, where he persuaded
his father to accept missionaries. Thomas Hopu, Opukahaia's old shipmate, and John Honorii served as interpreters who translated sermons "with peculiar freedom and force" for Bingham and other white preachers. But unlike the visiting LMS missionary William Ellis, Bingham would not allow "native teachers" to become ordained ministers. The fourth ex-sailor, William Kanui, was expelled from the church for excessive drinking and "became a wanderer for many years." Hopu, too, was suspended from teaching more than once, for "irregular conduct," and Honorii soon died, while Kaumuali'i rebelled against the government. Mission historian Sheldon Dibble criticized the Hawaiian teachers, including those who came with the second group of white preachers in 1823, for linguistic and spiritual flaws and egotism: "To have visited a foreign land, to be better clad than their fellow countrymen, to receive some attention from chiefs and foreigners, were distinctions which their weak brains and unstable minds could not endure." But Charles Stewart praised their preaching ability, and even Bingham slowly warmed to the possibility of ordaining a few:

Native Christians engage in prayer with great propriety, both as to matter and manner, but rarely, or never, by a committed form. They often use Scripture phraseology, not in a stereotype order, but adapt their thanksgivings, confessions, and petitions to the circumstances in which they are placed, uttering them in a natural, slow, distinct, and reverential manner.

Such trans-liminality (borrowing and adapting) was less threatening, perhaps, than another Christian sect. More disconcerting to the New Englanders in Hawaii was the arrival of Catholicism, to which chiefs Boki and Kalanimoku both converted. Ka'ahumanu, seeking a new
state religion, temporarily expelled French priests in 1831, but the French warship L'Artemise forced the government to tolerate Catholic missionaries in 1839. A Hawaiian woman named Louisa, or Rika, who had traveled with a sea captain to Guam in the early 1820s (one of those Hawaiians marooned on Agrihan?) returned to preach her own version of Catholicism. She first lived with the family of the Spaniard Don Francisco de Paula Marin, whose part-Hawaiian son would try to take over Wallis Island. Louisa converted his household servants and other Hawaiians, all of whom greeted the French priests who arrived in 1827. The latter, perhaps desperate for support, did not seem to object to Louisa's unorthodoxy, but when Bingham asked to see Louisa's catechism book, she refused, saying, "you don't believe it is true." Ka'ahumanu banned Catholic worship and took Louisa into her household as a servant but soon found her "haughty and disrespectful." Louisa was locked in irons and sent to Maui for banishment on Kahoolawe. Missionary William Richards of Lahaina intervened, however, and Louisa was brought back to Honolulu to do forced labor in the bulrush swamps of Waikiki along with other unrepentent Catholics. Louisa persisted in her faith, styled herself a priestess and baptised, among others, the elderly chiefess Kalola. A more famous Catholic convert was Kepelino Keauokalani, a descendant of the priest Pa'ao. As a boy, Kepelino, or Zepherin, went briefly to Tahiti to assist Father Ernest Heurtel in 1847. He later became an important historian of Hawaiian genealogy and folklore. Legislator and royal official William Hoapili left the Congregationalist fold in 1862 and became an Anglican priest two years later. He visited England with Queen
Emma in 1865-66 but later opposed her 1874 election campaign, supporting Kalakaua while Kepelino actively backed Emma.

English Protestant missionaries arrived in eastern Polynesia as early as 1797, gradually using converts to help proselytize farther west. Simply being a Christian islander soon invited the slang label "missionary." In 1830, John Williams arrived in Samoa on the 

**Messenger of Peace** with Chief Fauea, who had already become a Christian in Tonga along with his wife. Fauea and his wife attracted large crowds when they spoke eloquently of their conversion. They also advised the native teachers with Williams not to ban all amusements immediately but simply to win the hearts of the people by preaching the gospel and teaching literacy. Two years later, Williams brought Makea of Rarotonga to Samoa to show off "our noble-looking chief" to Malietoa Va'ainupo. Yet the Samoan mission received competition from the syncretic Siovili cult. This popular movement may have partly derived from the Tahitian Mamaia heresy, itself initiated by Te'ao, a former attendant of Pomare II who had traveled with that monarch to other islands. Sio, or Joe aboard ship, was skilled at drilling with a vili, a Samoan carpentry tool; hence his nickname Siovili, or Joe Gimlet. In the 1820s, he traveled with his chief from Samoa to Tonga, probably by canoe, then in a tradeship to Tahiti, and possibly on to Sydney, whence he returned home in a whaler. A Samoan hymn even credited the two with reaching Britain, and a "Land of Compassion" beyond. His travels gave Siovili prestige, and he promised to bring his followers material possessions like the whites had. He would wrap an English book in *tapa* cloth and pray to Jehovah and to Jesus,
who he said could take possession of an old priestess and enable her
to heal the sick during nighttime ceremonies. Siovili allowed
polygamy, dancing and feast days, when guns were shot off. His
followers harvested their crops and slaughtered their animals for him,
in preparation for the arrival of Jesus, who was to walk across the
waves from the northwest, bring down riches from the sky and punish
the wicked. Though he failed to revive the dead son of a chief,
Siovili stirred up opposition to the white missionaries and convinced
many people that his was the only true religion. High Chief Mata'afa,
Malietoa's main rival, became a follower, but by the late 1850s only
a few elderly believers waited on the beach, watching the waves.140

New Stories

One way that returned islanders represented themselves as special
was as repositories of wisdom about the wonders they had seen when
overseas.141 Their colorful tales, no doubt embellished by their
conditioning as yarn-telling sailors, did not always achieve
credibility, even in the early stages of contact.142 But then,
credibility is not necessarily the primary goal in good story-telling,
on ship or shore, and even a relatively accurate reporter can be
tempted into literary license, no matter what his or her origin. In
Hawaii, where so many young men traveled to the American Northwest,
part of being prosperous and respectable was, according to John
Turnbull, "describing with great emphasis and extravagance the singular
events of their voyage."143 Many Euroamerican seamen recorded, with
somewhat hypocritical disdain, the metaphors their periplean companions
used in their homecoming tales. Darco, Jacobs said, "indulged in the
traveller's license to an almost unpardonable degree" and gave his fellow New Guineans the impression that America was "situated in the moon." Yet he also told them of six-story houses, steam-propelled ships, horse-drawn carriages, stone pavements and water "as solid as stone." Moehanga complained that other Maoris listened but did not take him seriously when he talked about what he had seen in his travels, such as water being piped into people's houses. But he also told Dillon that he had been to India, which turned out to be untrue. Astronomer William Wales, with Cook at Tahiti in 1774, noticed that Hitihiti's tales of seeing Maoris eat human flesh, or of endless Antarctic days that eliminated darkness, convinced few listeners: "I have always thought the situation of a Traveller singularly hard: If he tells nothing which is uncommon, he must be a stupid fellow to have gone so far, and brought home so little; and if he does, why . . . 'He's a Traveler!'"

Even those who tried but failed to return could sometimes transcend their mortality, at least for a time, in various ways. Winee, Lee Boo and Tapeooe sent material gifts home from their death beds. Lee Boo's "father" had counted the moons since his "son's" departure by tying knots in a rope, which he finally buried when he gave up hope. But eight years after the young Belauan left home, John McClure arrived to shower the ibedul with livestock, weapons, cloth and, presumably, Lee Boo's precious blue glass vases. The welcoming, curious crowd around Pautu prevented him from taking the clothing of Heiao, who had died in Valparaiso, to the man's relatives. But interpreter Maximo Rodriguez told Tipitipia's family that their son
had died in Lima and assured them that the Spanish had made every attempt to save his life: "With that they embraced me and sat me down between them; and then some conversation ensued about my staying in the island, at which they were highly gratified." 151 Perhaps a society accustomed to adoption might find it easy to substitute such a signifier for a signified. In another example, a Maori chief whose son had died in Australia sat the family in a circle on the deck of the Dromedary and mourned over the boy's mat, "the only relic of him." Then he accepted a musket and powder, as he said, "to salute the memory of his child." 152 After a four years' absence, Cook said that commoners and chiefs at Tahiti, and almost everyone at both Huahine and Ra'iatea, asked about Tupaia's fate: "like true Philosophers [they] were perfectly satisfied with the answers we gave them ..." 153 Many islanders, after all, disappeared when their fishing canoes never came home. 154 A mission historian claimed that Hawaiian chiefs and commoners "had no more thought of Opukahaia and his companions than Americans would have of some wandering sailors," 155 but Hiram Bingham observed that reading and interpreting Opukahaia's memoir in Sunday school caused Hawaiian students to weep over his death scene. 156

Around the Inner Pacific, news about the outer world filtered through indigenous textuality. Just as written accounts of the Pacific were often tailored to Euroamerican perceptions, island cultures enshrined memories in ritual oratory. After Te Pahi's historic journey to Australia, his daughter composed a chant, which Maoris could still sing for pakeha seven years later. 157 Both Hawaiians and Rotumans commemorated the voyages of periplean travelers in songs or chants. 158
The tragic journey of Liholiho to England, for example, was immortalized in a hula chant. Kadu's stories helped to earn him a safe haven among the Marshallese, who sang for years about him and his powerful mentor Kotzebue. Yet islander audiences could also be skeptical, as we have seen. When Ruatara told his Maori friends about seeing horses, which he described as large dogs that could "carry men and women about in land canoes," his listeners plugged their ears in disbelief. A few tried to ride pigs around but fell off laughing into the dirt. People laughed at a Fijian who claimed, over a bowl of kava, to have seen sawmills run by water power. He had already told them that, when he tried to measure the size of an Australian building with his arms, he had given up after three months because it was too large. Similarly, Lauri said he had seen a house in Russia that was so large, he walked for three days without coming to the end of it. How, then, did it sound when he argued that in winter one could lose a nose or an ear unless fur clothing covered the entire body? Or that "cold changed water into a solid substance, resembling glass in appearance, but of so much strength that it was used for a high road, people passing over it in huge chests drawn by horses, without breaking it?" One Hawaiian chant poked fun at a know-it-all returned sailor:

Bill's home again. 
Now he's an ice skater. 
Back from his seafaring, 
when Bill opens his mouth 
the words come a-tumbling--
you never heard such jargon! 

"Mi no hao!" says Bill. 
Everything jibber-jabber, 
jabber-jibber, pell mell!!

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Self-serving exaggerations could, of course, also boost the interests of foreign powers, especially as recorded by appreciative Euroamericans. Omai, for example, apparently told Cook Islanders that the British "had ships as large as their island, that carried guns so large that several people might sit within them and that one of these guns was sufficient to destroy the whole island at one shot." He also told Tongans and Tahitians about British power, which was of course the basis of his own new status. He told Pomare I that King George had a court as brilliant as "the stars in the firmament," dominions as vast as "heaven," and power as great as "the thunder that shakes the earth." Britain, he said, had 300,000 warriors and twice that number of sailors, "who traversed the globe, from the rising of the sun to his setting" in warships that made Tahitian war canoes look like mere outriggers. London alone had more people than all the Society Islands and over 100 kinds of four-footed animals that would overrun the land if some were not killed for food. Pomare seemed to know that Omai was lying, to some extent, and quickly lost interest. McClure said his Belauans told their people that British warships were as big as islands and that the Chinese were "effeminate and crafty," not "brave and warlike" like the English. Vancouver noted that Jack Ingraham, or Opai, who had already been to Boston with Gray, magnified the powers of the British as the Discovery sailed among the Hawaiian islands; "it would not be his fault, if we were not in high repute amongst the islanders." Returned Maoris sometimes magnified British power to their countrymen. Siovili's voyaging hymn about "dashing through the waves" praised the governor of Australia as "a
great king." 170 Indeed, travelers' tales excited curiosity and helped to recruit new sailors for foreign ships. 171

**Betwixt-and-Between**

Euroamericans did not always appreciate returnees who might threaten their own cultural representations. 172 A captain visiting Fiji in 1875 showed this uneasiness when he wrote, "A regular traveled ape came up... and talked a good bit of English. He had been to Sydney. His hair was raised to a high frizzled ridge on the crown like a cock's comb, and on the sides was worked into balls..." 173 Returnees provided a window, or mirror, for island cultures that Euroamericans, who were by definition alien, could not. On Pohnpei, for example, returned island sailors tended to undermine the missionary program because of their adopted secularity. They knew first-hand that many Euroamericans were not so pious at home. 174 Even King Kalakaua, once he had seen how people in Europe enjoyed themselves, decided that the missionaries had misled Hawaiians into becoming a "miserable bigoted community... all sober and down in the mouth keeping a wrong sabbath instead of a proper Sunday." 175 On Rotuma, where most young men acquired overseas experience, forau sometimes ridiculed both missionary and traditional values: "They find their people and their chiefs in precisely the same condition as when they left and despise them accordingly." 176 Indeed, many returnees found themselves drawn back toward their traditions. The young Maori chief Titore, who had become a Christian in Australia and visited England, had himself re-tattooed when he came back to New Zealand, to avoid being taken for "a woman." 177 An Englishman observed of Melanesians
who had been to Australia in the 1870s, "It is usual for all the Kanakas to resume their old savage customs again as soon as they return to the Islands and their first proceeding is to discard all their clothes." \(^{178}\) Other Euroamerican accounts describe similar episodes of liminars "going native" again once they were back home, \(^{179}\) despite skepticism by some observers that supposedly "civilized" islanders could revert to "old Arcadian habits again." \(^{180}\) Epeli of Rotuma came back home when he was broke, saying, "white man's lands are good but if no money no food. Here a man has not money but there's plenty to eat." \(^{181}\)

In 1837, a Boston newspaper said of the Pitcairn Islanders, who were bilingual in English and Tahitian, "In intellect and habits, they form a link between the civilized European and unsophisticated Polynesian." \(^{182}\) Yet even migrants with less amalgamative a genealogical history than the part-Tahitian descendants of \textit{Bounty} mutineers had an opportunity to "link" cultures in contact. Indeed, the limen forced many returning islanders to make choices about their identities and loyalties. A Pohnpeian who had visited Hawaii on a ship, told outsiders, "Me no black man. Me go Hawaii." \(^{183}\) Similarly, a Tannese nicknamed Dick sold yams from his canoe in exchange for tobacco, saying, "me too much like-em smoke." He told an Englishman that he had worked in Australia and that, even though his white master had mistreated him, he had become, liminally, "all the same white man." \(^{184}\) By 1845, so many Marquesans at Nukuhiva had sailed on whaleships that even away from the beach, a visitor could find some who spoke "perfectly intelligible English." \(^{185}\) Chief Basset of Hienghene, in New Caledonia,
visited Sydney with his brother, learned English and wore cotton shirts. An English captain said, "The white people [English] gave him the credit of having been a greater tyrant and cannibal, until his intercourse with a somewhat better class of English and his visit to Sydney." Basset offered tabu coconuts to thirsty whites but beheaded any local woman who took one. A Fijian chief who returned from Sydney wore English-style clothes to show that he was as "civilized" as resident islander missionaries. Mesiol's return to Pohnpei, after being kidnapped and taken to Honolulu and San Francisco, became an incentive to start missionary schools, so that the people would understand more about the outer world. In a fascinating comment on textuality, anthropologist Gordon MacGregor relied on a half dozen ex-sailors, though not exclusively, as informants when he studied Rotuma. Either they had keen insights from having been forau, or they must have told great stories!

Periplean liminars had the power to cause, or avert, tragic conflict. In 1809, when the captain of the Boyd mistreated George of Whangaroa, who was a Maori chief shipping as a sailor, George's kin killed the crew and burnt the ship in revenge. Te Pahi, who had returned to Bay of Islands from Australia in 1807, was trading fish at Whangaroa that day, and his complicity became the subject of debate. Three white survivors and Chief Tara of Bay of Islands (who earned a boat for his testimony) blamed Te Pahi for leading the attack, while Hongi and Ruatara later blamed Te Puhi of Whangaroa. When word of the massacre spread, British whalers may have confused the better-known Te Pahi for the similar-sounding Te Puhi. Five whaleships burned
Te Pahi's village the following year, killing sixty people and wounding him. In order to open the missionary frontier in New Zealand, Marsden later did what he could to de-mystify the massacre and redeem his friend Te Pahi's name, claiming that the friendly chief had actually tried to save the lives of some white sailors but failed. 190 Te Pahi, however, may well have cooperated with the Whangaroa Maoris to avenge the kidnapping and abuse of his sons by English ships, as well as the clandestine departure of his favorite daughter with her beachcomber husband the previous year. 191 Billy, a Solomon Islander who had been to Sydney and spoke English well, helped local chiefs to capture two ships between 1858 and 1860 and kill or enslave the crews. 192 Yet Lojeik of Ebon, who had been kidnapped by an American whaler, was able to prevent a massacre, because he was not recognized when he first returned after several years. He overheard his people plotting to ambush his shipmates and told the latter to shoot some guns at trees to discourage the islanders. Only when he opened his shirt and revealed a tattoo did his people recognize him and abandon their plot. 193 Verani of Fiji seems to have been trapped in the betwixt-and-between. In 1834, he betrayed his ship, the French brig Josephine, to his relatives at Viwa, who massacred the crew and incurred a French reprisal in 1838 that destroyed their village. By 1849, Verani had taken the name Elijah and become the principal supporter of English missionaries, claiming that he had only collaborated in the massacre to save his own life. 194

Some colorful returnees did not achieve great power or glory but nevertheless played Bill the Ice Skater's "me-know-how" game skillfully.
One way was to pilot foreign ships around familiar islands and into port. For example, "English Jim," the Tahitian harbor pilot at Papeete for two decades, built a career in the limen and gained immortality in Melville. Jim was already piloting at Tahiti by 1826, after working on whaleships. In 1834, he was charging fifteen Spanish dollars for his services, half of which went to Queen Pomare IV. Though considered eccentric, he displayed sound knowledge of seamanship from his being "a travelled man." Jim also ran a busy laundry business on the side and dressed respectably in European fashions. His nautical wisdom was apparently syncretic: thunder and lightning indicated that ships of war were coming, unusually clear weather indicated a merchant vessel was approaching, whale spouts in the harbor foretold the arrival of a whaleship, a certain sacred bird could prophesy invasions, and palm fronds in a grove where had been hanged spoke to him with the dead souls' voices in the breeze. Melville met Jim at Tahiti in 1842 and, in Omoo, dressed the aging pilot in an old naval frock-coat. Jim came out to the ship in a canoe, hitting his young fellow paddler for poor steering and aggressively offering his services to the mate. When the latter tried to chase the old salt away, Melville had Jim shout back, "You sabbee me? You know me, ah? Well: me Jim, me pilot--been pilot now long time." He climbed aboard and claimed forcefully that the Julia was under his authority until the anchor dropped. Jim got his way and directed the helmsman to safety with an air of "immense importance." English Jim was a source of endless stories around Papeete.
By the 1840s, when thousands of Hawaiians were sailing abroad every year, the Honolulu Seaman's Chapel attracted kanakas as well as transient Euroamericans. In 1862, Dr. Rufus Anderson, Foreign Secretary for the ABCFM, visited a church at Waimea, Kauai, and met Old Jonah, a periplean veteran with "a governing mind" who had been "an agent of the old chiefs in every species of service." With a glowing face and a knowing twinkle in his eye, Old Jonah listened to Anderson's sermon, which referred to "Jerusalem and other places." After church, when he was asked about the accomplishments of the Christian mission in Hawaii, Jonah "replied that the first period was one of luxuriant growth, but the time of sifting had now come, and it was seen what was good." Sifting through the choices in the limen to find peace of mind was not always easy for returnees. "Sir Joseph Banks," an English-speaking Hawaiian who had been to China and commanded a schooner, helped the American missionaries first gain acceptance in 1820. Perhaps because of his familiarity with foreigners, he had the prestige to contradict those Hawaiian chiefs who suspected that the missionaries wanted to take away the land. Joe pointed out that these whites came peacefully, with their women, and meant no harm. He attended religious services and literacy classes for a while, until the chiefs made too many demands on his services as an interpreter. Then, according to Bingham, Joe fell prey to "the lovers of rum-selling and dram-drinking . . . from whose influence he never escaped." In 1825, Kaahumanu appointed Joe official guide for Lord Byron, who had just brought back Liholiho's body from London. Joe hiked with his tourists to see Kilauea volcano, amusing them along the way with
a story about a mullet-filled fish pond: "o dis noting, sir--noting--I see him before now;--he so full fish, I see one man, he fall backwards in him, he no sink at all!" In 1831, this Polynesian Sir Joseph Banks sailed off to Tahiti. Reversing the "tygerhood" of the frontier, he said, "I like take the sun, sail out o' sight o' land, and go to any part o' the world."
Chapter VII--Notes

1. Dening (1980) 34.
7. Delano (1817) 74-75.
8. B. Corney (1915) II (36): 118.
10. Elder (1932) 84; Nicholas (1971) I: 118; Cruise (1823) 30.
19. Delano (1817) 394-95, 420.
25. Reynolds (1938) 6-7, 143-45; Corney (1896) 105; Walpole (1849) 271-72.


31. Meares (1790) 335-56; Bell (1794) I: 122; Kalakaua (1972) 402.

32. Kaplanoff (1971) 69-76; Bell (1794) I: 118-22, II: 37-48; Mortimer (1791) 51-52; Roe (1967) 143.


34. For many examples, see Kamakau (1961).

35. Bingham (1849) 97-98, 113-14, 228-39; Stewart (1970a) 104-5, 319-20; Dibble (1909) 172-73; Stauder (1972) 40-42.


37. Kuykendall (1967) III: 3-16.

38. Ibid. 259-65, 322-72.


43. Bligh (1792) 91; Oliver (1988) 64.

45. Edwards (1915) 110.

46. Ibid. 38-39.


49. G. Forster (1777) I: 411.


52. Pritchard (1866) 225-32, 290-92; Goodenough (1876) 222; Erskine (1967) 143-45, 326-27.

53. R. Young (1858) 179-87; Routledge (1985) 82-87, 100.

54. McNab (1908) I: 254.

55. Elder (1932) 67-70.


60. Compare, for example, Howe (1974) and Shineberg (1971b) with Wright (1959) and S. Smith (1910).


64. Elder (1932) 356-58.


66. Elder (1932) 388.

67. McNab (1908) I: 668.

68. Dillon (1829) I: 193.

70. Earle (1966) 87.

71. McNab (1908) I: 628.

72. Wilkes (1845) II: 399.

73. Dillon (1829) I: 331-32.


78. Cruise (1823) 31; Nicholas (1971) I: 27; Earle (1966) 89.


82. Ibid. (1915) II (36): 144-49, 299-300.


87. Mortimer (1791) 46.


89. Rickman (1781) 151.


91. Rickman (1781) 133.


93. Rickman (1781) 143-44.
105. Bligh (1792) 92, 144.
106. Bligh (1792) 62; Mortimer (1791) 25; Rutter (1935) 112; Edwards (1915) 122.
109. Rickman (1781) 180.
110. Rutter (1935) 112; Bligh (1792) 144.
111. McNab (1908) I: 170-85.
112. Elder (1932) 62, 155.
113. Ibid. 118.
114. McNab (1908) I: 266.
115. Wakefield (1845) I: 75-76, 132-33, 221-23.
117. Savage (1807) 102.
119. Savage (1807) 39.
123. Jacobs (1844) 77-103.
124. For a sociological analysis of the missionaries, see Gunson (1978). Loyalty Islanders opposed Ta'unga's preaching in 1846, saying that white sandalwood traders had told them that Jehovah was a man-eating god from Samoa and that white men had no god. See Crocombe (1984) 81. For other clashes, see Bingham (1849).
126. Pei Te Hurinui (1958) 183-90; Sorrenson (1963) 44-45 and (1981) 179-80; Oliver (1960) 82-83; Cowan (1969) I: 121, 150. Subsequent wars between Maori and pakeha in New Zealand led to the growth of alternative religious cults that proposed innovative definitions of Maori identity, such as the Pai Marire.
127. A syncretic cult is here defined as some combination of Christian and indigenous beliefs and practices. Such movements occurred around the Pacific, as islanders tried to adapt alien ideas to their own needs.
128. Bingham (1849) 69-70, 89-97, 103-17, 125, 156-67, 616; S. Bell (1976).
130. Stewart (1970a) 277-78.
131. Bingham (1849) 441, 477.
134. See Beckwith (1932) introduction.
140. Pritchard (1866) 205-7; G. Turner (1861) 106-8; Wilkes (1845) II: 99-101; Freeman (1959) 187-88, 197-98.
142. Hockin (1803) 36; McCluer (1792) 167.
143. Turnbull (1805) I: 71.
144. Jacobs (1844) 81-82, 87-88.
149. Meares (1790) 29; Keate (1788) 357; J. Davies (1961) 160.
150. Hockin (1803) 9-18; Keate (1788) 284-85, 357.
151. B. Corney (1919) III (43): 4-5, 15.
152. Cruise (1823) 31-32.
154. Lutke (1835) II: 147.
155. Dibble (1909) 122.
156. Bingham (1849) 117.
158. See Pukui and Korn (1973), several of whose selections have appeared in this text. Also Howard (1961) 275.
159. Beechey (1831) II: 105-6.


163. Kotzebue (1830) II: 239-40. The reports of what Lauri said to people come to us third-hand, via Kotzebue's account of what Queen Nomohana told him. Yet they also give us a rare glimpse of how people heard Lauri. As Euroamerican chroniclers went, Kotzebue was fairly sympathetic to Pacific islanders, but the layers of textuality in such cases are impossible for us now to separate. Stories generated stories, like waves across the cultural beach, giving us another taste of the limen to go with the texts Euroamericans left to us.


166. Rickman (1781) 139-41.

167. Hockin (1803) 36.


170. For this oral tradition, see Freeman (1959) 188.

171. Dibble (1909) 118; Turnbull (1805) III: 122-23; Jarman (1838) 166, 183; Erskine (1967) 341-42, 366; Elder (1932) 59, 70.

172. Wood (1875) 25.

173. Goodenough (1876) 299.


176. Romilly (188).

177. Cruise (1823) 38. Maoris had distinctive facial tattooing, different for men and women, to denote their station in life. See Te Rangi Hiroa (1966) 299.

178. Giles (1968) 54.
179. Bingham (1849) 114; Jacobs (1844) 80, 94; Nicholas (1971) I: 426-31; Wakefield (1845) I: 223; Wright (1959) 131.

180. Davis (1869) 331.

181. Hocart (1913) 4753.


183. Ibid. VI: 130.

184. Giles (1968) 37. It is difficult to be certain from the context of this pidgin quotation, but it seems Dick meant that he was more than simply equal to white men, that he had in fact become culturally white, in his own eyes. Yet he lived ambiguously in the frontier zone.

185. Lucatt (1851) II: 195.

186. Erskine (1967) 354-57. The pattern of exempting such foreigners from certain traditional customs occurred in many places. Basset had displayed the heads of women who ate coconuts.

187. R. Young (1858) 177.

188. Hanlon and Eperiam (1978).

189. MacGregor (1932).


196. Beechey (1831) I: 293.

197. Wilkes (1845) II: 4.

198. F. Bennett (1840) 66.

199. Wilkes (1845) II: 4, 39.
200. Melville (1968) 100. Although Omoo was a novel, it was customary for Melville to incorporate the writings of others and his own personal experiences into his fiction. See the chapter on Melville in Day (1987). This particular item fits with the accounts of Wilkes and Beechey. Clearly, Jim became a liminal text.

201. Beechey (1831) I: 293-94.


203. Hines (1850) 216-17.

204. Anderson (1864) 224.

205. Bingham (1849) 107.


207. Bingham (1849) 107, 411.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

Hawaiian oral tradition records that when Cook first arrived off Kauai in 1778, canoers saw on "Lono's" ship a wealth of iron, a substance that Hawaiians already knew from flotsam and regarded as sacred. A warrior named Kapupu'u vowed, "I'll go and gather that treasure because that's how I make my living, merely scooping up whatever I can."¹ Cook wrote that the first Hawaiian to board the Resolution immediately began loading lead and line into his canoe, saying, "I am only going to put it into my boat," and that another native jumped over the side with a meat-cleaver.² From the very beginning, then, foreign ships represented to Pacific islanders an appropriative opportunity. Local chiefs tried to harness Euroamerican technology and status symbols by adopting new armaments and attire and by converting their inter-island shipping to Euroamerican-style vessels. Commoners, male or female, traded what they could on the decks of visiting ships, hoping to "scoop up" their own exotic cloth, tools and vanities from the market of contact. They normally had to leave the ship before it sailed away, but as time passed both chiefs and commoners began voyaging with the foreigners. This change was actually a logical extension of the encompassing process already taking place on Pacific island lagoons and beaches.

Those who took passage on Euroamerican ships, at first involuntarily, garnered first-hand news about other lands and cultures, as
well as material souvenirs. Even those who were kidnapped and survived to return could bring back information, not all of it negative. As we have seen, flax-dressers Tuki and Huru spoke so highly of Norfolk Island that Te Pahi and Maui both took ships to see it. Joseph Freewill was only the first of many who actively chose to travel aboard foreign vessels. Their own exploring heritage told Pacific islanders that the ocean was a road-map, not a barrier, that sailing routes, like highways, connected worlds. Both Euroamerican shippers and Pacific islanders were meeting, then, in a common periphery, a maritime frontier zone between open systems. Infiltrating across the reefs of contact, they mutually "bared" their cultures to each other. Just as Euroamerican beachcombers, traders and missionaries came among the Pacific islanders at home, so indigenous voyagers combed distant world beaches for new forms of mana. During his twenty-three years as a sailor or diver, Epeli of Rotuma visited New Zealand, Australia, New York, London, Scotland, South Africa, India, Mauritius and half a dozen Pacific island groups from New Guinea to Samoa. Sailors usually saw only certain aspects of the foreign shores they visited, but in the maritime world of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, seamen played a crucial role in cross-cultural interaction.

As shipping linked distant regions more than ever before, periplean liminars joined a circuit of unprecedented mobility and diversity that was likely to make any sailor a "man of the world" capable of "creative survival." The way to survive, even to succeed, in the limen was to scout the boundaries of the roles available and follow the rules of a competitive system. Given the power asymmetry
of the deck, that task required playing along to find out what was expected, which islanders did with skillful mimicry. The first communication test was to earn the chance to travel, by befriending a particular person, whether indigenous or foreign, who could grant permission, by helping the sailors do their jobs with energy and enthusiasm, or by pleading with gestures or a few common words, perhaps even stowing away and relying on the mercy of the captain. Once inside the cabin, forecastle or hold, dramatic adjustments imposed themselves rather quickly, from learning the ship's jargon⁶ to enduring "mischief" from shipmates.⁷ Nicknames like Jim Crow or Tellum-by-by Darco were disguises tolerated by cross-cultural voyagers who had their own agendas. The experienced Maori sailor E Ware joked, took the wheel and showed off his skill to win another job on a ship. Sunday, or Darco, made the best of his plight by playing carnival specimen until his captor finally returned him home to "kinghood." Islander sailors experienced discrimination, in both pay and treatment, but it did not deter them from shipping out. Indeed, their terms of trade gradually improved over time, as dependency on them increased. The contractual agreements required of foreign captains by the Hawaiian government after 1841 seemed to help raise the wages of kanakas to a par with white seamen,⁸ much as British regulation of recruitment improved the treatment of islander seamen in other parts of the Pacific.⁹ Wherever trade relations became regularized, voluntary enlistment came to outweigh "blackbirding."
Agency vs. Fatal Impact

The findings of this study suggest that the dichotomy in Pacific historiography between "fatal impact" and/or imperialist domination and "islander-oriented" agency or participation is somewhat artificial. The cross-cultural frontier was a two-way limen. Counter-exploratory kanaka voyaging on Euroamerican shipping was multi-faceted and difficult to stereotype exclusively in terms of either passive victimization or active choice-making, though distorted arguments could be made for either case. Any story-telling yields "partial texts," both incomplete and biased. Studies of African-American slavery, for example, have grappled with the almost contradictory task of portraying both the humiliations of servitude and the human dignity of the sufferers, as have studies of the Melanesian labor trade or Indo-Fijian indenture. This dissertation has tried to treat islander travelers and workers aboard foreign ships as actors, even if kidnapped. They often struggled, whether as "noble savages" or kanaka sailors, against imposed structures (and textuality), but they struggled nevertheless. The kanakas, named and unnamed, who voyaged across the sea as their ancestors had done were heroes, flawed and sometimes doomed but still defying the twin threats of demographic holocaust and colonial domination. Let us examine these two issues.

The drastic depopulation experienced on many Pacific islands as a result of Euroamerican contact had its parallels on the American mainland, where many other epidemiologically-vulnerable peoples almost vanished. The participation of so many healthy young islanders in the periplean frontier generated debate, even in the nineteenth
century, about the "fatal impact" of such risky voyaging. In the 1840s and 1850s, at least five hundred young Hawaiians left aboard foreign ships every year, so that perhaps 3000 were at sea at any given time, or about a fifth of the males between the ages of 17 and 30. Yet statistics are too incomplete to measure accurately the net demographic loss from such seafaring, because no record was kept of what proportion returned. Nevertheless, the anecdotal evidence is rather persuasive. In 1842, an English visitor to Hawaii (whose own fur company took hundreds of young Hawaiian men to the Northwest every year) blamed the steady decline of indigenous numbers partly on recruitment for ship crews: "about a thousand males in the very prime of life are estimated annually to leave the islands [and] a considerable portion of them are said to be permanently lost to the country, either dying during their engagements, or settling in other parts of the world." Hawaiian cabinet minister Charles de Varigny argued that tempting pay advances lured "the very finest flower of ... hale and hearty male natives" into unhealthy or cold climates where they perished. He called kanaka recruitment "a system of conscription, profitable to none but the foreigner; and the population continued to decrease at an alarming rate." Interior Minister Keoni Ana admitted to the loss but viewed it as a necessary price to pay for material progress. Despite the potentially detrimental effect on indigenous population, both ministers were afraid that if Hawaii stopped supplying sailors to whaleships, it might cost it both remitted wages and the provisioning trade.
Overseas encounters with deadly diseases and cold climates were a harsh reality for Pacific islanders and left many negative memories. A Hawaiian sailor who had lost a compatriot while whaling in the frigid North Pacific asked Kamehameha III to forgive him for leaving Honolulu without permission, explaining that he had naively stowed away to see the world. The king reprimanded him only mildly, grateful that he had returned alive. Hawaiians who had survived going with Liholiho to England spoke often of its deadly diseases. But those ailments also came to Hawaii itself, where missionaries tried to save Hawaiian souls as their bodies succumbed to "the destroying angel." Nor was Hawaii exceptional. In 1820, about half the chiefly Maoris staying with Marsden died at Parramatta or en route home again. New Zealand itself experienced such severe depopulation that the mission stopped sending Maoris out of the country. Many Rotumans who shipped out never returned home, leaving a preponderance of females to males in a declining population. The plantation labor trade, and consequent exposure to alien diseases and climates that killed as many as a third of the migrants, drew similar criticism. Even those liminars who perished in distant places, like Lee Boo or Henry Opukahaia, left strong impressions on the outsiders who met them, thereby affecting attitudes toward their home cultures. Diderot concluded that Ahutoru's Tahiti would be ruined by corrupting Western influence, whereas missionaries felt a calling. On balance, braving death outside may have been no riskier than waiting for it on the beach. As an ancient Tikopian voyaging chant argued, "If we stay on land we shall die; if we go to sea we shall die; let us go then . . ."
Despite the prominence of "noble savages" in the anecdotal records, the periplean frontier was mainly a "proletarian diaspora." As such, it helped to integrate kanaka sailors into the lower rungs of an international labor hierarchy, potentially preparing the way as much for colonialism as for resilient self-assertion. This cooption of non-whites into Euroamerican overseas activities was part of a pattern that also conscripted African slaves, Chinese coolies and Indian indentured laborers. Indigenous regional trading persisted, but the global demands of Euroamerican shipping required reinforcements, especially in the tropics. Indian lascars ("camp followers") derived status from being part of the British East India Company apparatus, trade-box-rich African "Krubos" called themselves "Englishmen" and quasi-Malays subsumed into the "Manilla-man" synthesis. Pacific island kanakas formed their own regional labor pool, as essential as any other indigenous enlistment. As we have seen, perhaps twenty percent of the sailors in the American whaling fleet in the 1840s and 1850s were Pacific islanders. Like their Kru and lascar counterparts, kanakas also helped to transport, even to recruit, plantation laborers from their own regions. Nomu of Tanna, who worked in the shipping business for sixteen years, had no apparent qualms about unscrupulous recruiting, nor did many Rotumans, who sometimes risked their lives kidnapping other islanders.

Imperialism often needs collaborators, and adapting to shipboard life did imply a certain degree of acquiescence, even complicity, on the part of Pacific islanders. Some took on their new trappings, from clothing to language, with such determination that they came to
identify themselves culturally as "white." Their own self-perception as "others" was typified by the kanaka crewmen aboard the Wanderer in 1851, who looked down on Solomon Islands canoers as untrustworthy and backward. Moreover, returnees often clung to the limen as trade agents, harbor pilots, interpreters, missionary allies, or even as story-telling propagandists. Despite Lauri's grim tales of winter in St. Petersburg, Hawaiian chiefess Namahana told Kotzebue she had heard such positive things from Lauri about the kindness, wisdom and accomplishments of the Russians that she wished she could make the same journey. The Hawaiian chiefs who had survived Liloliho's tragic journey to London, despite their unhappy memories, made a perhaps calculated point of speaking highly of England to sea captains from that country. Such ingratiating behavior by local elites does sound rather collaborative, especially in light of the way they sometimes exploited their subjects to provide exports to foreign luxury salesmen. Yet chiefs also tried to acquire the new nautical technology and to trade for themselves. Leaders like Kamehameha and Pomare recognized the need quite early to get some people trained in foreign shipping and weaponry. Some liminal travelers foresaw the colonial conquest of their islands and tried to help shape what was to come. Visionary kings like Kalakaua and Tupou seemed to regard the periplean frontier as a source of innovations that could help to protect their islands' sovereignty. The accelerating scramble for colonies by industrial powers in the late 1800s rendered Kalakaua's Samoan gambit impractical, but Tupou's land laws and constitution survived British hegemony.
Loyalty, clowning and tractability certainly drew the most frequent compliments by Euroamerican mariners about kanaka seamen, while recalcitrance or physical resistance, unsurprisingly, incurred just the opposite reaction. One whaler called his two faithful Hawaiian shipmates "noble seamen," but more than one Euroamerican also wrote condescending accounts of islanders "capering" about in amusing ways. Mimicry, which helped islanders to adapt so well to their liminal roles, was nevertheless a double-edged weapon. In fact, it could be sarcastic, empowering even kanakas to criticize what they encountered. Satire has threatened power elites since ancient times, and Ra'iatea, the spiritual homeland of so many Polynesians, was noted for its roving arioi "comedians," to which both Tupaia and Hitihiti, for example, belonged. Covert autonomy reveals itself both in E Ware's calculated jesting about his shipmates' quirks and in "King Manini's" humorous singing (in Hawaiian) about his co-workers. Desertion was another common form of protest, "an affireration of the sailor's own power." It could even take cultural form. Many islanders went conspicuously "native" once they were home again, or combined their liminal borrowings in ways that surprised their former mentors, such as hybrid dress-styles. Finally, the frequent negative reporting in newspapers of the era about kanaka sailor conspiracies to mutiny or massacre crews testifies to the fact that not all islander sailors simply conformed to Euroamerican expectations. As a whaler provisioning at Hilo in 1851 wrote, "Our Kanakas also left us here, and this, we were not sorry for; they are not the most agreeable ship mates in the world."
Choosing Identities

Islander liminaires retained noticeable pride in their own identities and traditions. For example, Tupaia, Atu, Ka'iana and many Maoris made a point of wearing their traditional dress on foreign beaches. Indeed, their reactions to what they saw are comments on "enlightened" Western civilization itself. Te Pahi, as we have seen, argued with Governor King in Australia that no Maori would punish anyone for taking food. Both Ka'iana and Lee Boo were more generous toward Chinese sampan beggars than their Euroamerican companions were. Hawaiian chief Manuia, as Kamehameha's envoy between islands, had already had experience with foreign ships before going to London. On his return, he took issue with an Englishman aboard the HMS Blonde who complained about Hawaiians eating fish raw on the deck. Manuia argued that "he saw plenty of poor people in England, but we see none here, that they got plenty of poi, taro and fish and no want for anything like many a man at home." Nor did Euroamerican city life always impress islanders. Lee Boo noted that Londoners lived in stacks of compartmentalized "boxes" and sympathized with elderly beggars. Moehanga worried about where the food came from to feed so many non-farmers, and Taufa'ahau Tupou thought the number of beggars in Sydney was a consequence of poor leadership. As we have seen, returnees also commented that white men had no gods or were at least less pious at home than they acted in the Pacific. The ability to make such criticisms depended partly on the status of the islander, since "noble savages" had more privileges (including literary immortality) than common kanaka sailors did. Sam Kanaka of Nauru,
with no one to communicate with, never even got to explain his grievances before he was shot in his bunk. Yet after his many years at sea, Epeli of Rotuma told an anthropologist that he came home when broke because, at least in his own society, he was assured of being able to eat.

Third-culture beaches compounded the liminality of the islander's voyage: how many layers of mannerisms and assumptions clothed each one on shore liberty? One might expect kanakas to feel empathy for other non-whites, but they often seemed to identify more with their Euroamerican shipmates than with Chinese, Aborigines or Native Americans. Ka'iana disdained Chinese and Native Americans alike. Nor did other early Hawaiian travelers relate particularly well, at first, to Native Americans in the Northwest. In fact, they helped to colonize the Nez Perce and other peoples with fur company forts. Yet Atu seemed truly tempted to desert from, and later to help Indians ambush, the Columbia in the Northwest, and later Hawaiian migrants intermarried with Native American women. Maoris seemed to despise Australian Aborigines as much as their white companions did, though Tupaia of Ra'iatea managed to befriend a few after initial setbacks. The many Euroamerican accounts of loyalty on the part of islander sailors and landsmen indicate that the liminal deck had already conditioned them to some extent, as rites of passage are supposed to do. Yet islanders usually reached such alien beaches in a dependent role, and it may have been an act of self-esteem, or even of survival, to distinguish themselves from more marginalized, or competitive, non-whites. Phebe, the Fijian girl traveling with Lady Wallis, encountered
jealous behavior from an African-American woman servant, who called her a cannibal, and Hami Patu voiced disapproval of African-Americans in New England. Omai felt threatened even by fellow islander Puhoru and hurried him right off Cook's ship. A certain amount of "otherness" was not only inescapable, but perhaps precious.

Some islander travelers were already marginals, as were many of their Euroamerican counterparts. Tupaia and Omai, for example, were almost professional refugees, while Ahutoru and Lee Boo were expendable chiefly emissaries. Princes George Kaumuali'i and Temoana were fleeing local power struggles, and Pedro and Kokako were captives escaping their fates. Harry Maitey and Henry Opukahaia were reputed "orphans," while Moac, Digal, Tuari and Kadu were homesick castaways. Yet voyaging was not monopolized by people who had nothing to lose. Perhaps a fifth of all able-bodied young Hawaiian males were sailing around the Pacific on whalers, many of whom were veterans, would re-enlist or inspire others to follow them. Varigny complained that Hawaiians, if they needed money, preferred shipping out to working on plantations. In fact, some islands developed a "shipping-out" ethic. Young Hawaiian men displayed a "strong emotional attachment to the whaling industry [and] a taste for far-flung adventures." Young Rotumans looked down on anyone who had not been forau. Even young males recruited for overseas plantation work were sometimes acting out a traditional rite-of-passage typical of their gender and age-group. Yet the seafaring life bred a certain degree of irresponsibility, from alcoholism to wife-desertion. Varigny attributed Hawaiian female prostitution and consequent infertility
from venereal disease, in part, to wives' being abandoned by their sailor husbands. In 1847, the Hawaiian kingdom passed a law that required departing ship recruits to post a bond covering support for their wives and families, just as ship captains had to guarantee the return of the sailors themselves. Foreign travel itself might render such mainstream migrants marginal: exposure to alien ways could produce uprooted malcontents, like the Rotumans who came home to ridicule their chiefs. Almost one-fifth of the individuals listed in the appendix shipped out again, instead of settling back into their home society for good, and one-third are known to have finished their lives overseas.

Seamen, like pioneers on a new frontier, could herald changes occurring or impending within their own cultures. In nineteenth century Europe, Bohemians helped to define an emerging bourgeois society by testing its borders "in a twilight zone between ingenuity and criminality" and by temporarily rejecting the very values they would later uphold:

Bohemia was an identifiable country with visible inhabitants, but one not marked on any map. To trace its frontiers was to cross constantly back and forth between fantasy and reality... Explorers recognized Bohemia by signs: art, youth, the underworld, the gypsy life-style.

Seaports were a kind of Bohemia unto themselves, with their own fantasies and realities. They harbored a distinctive, semi-skilled working class whose motivations for shipping out ranged from sheer necessity to a thirst for adventure. The individual's existentialist act of boarding a ship became part of a collective process that drew
rural people toward active ports, into the arms of global economic demand and perhaps back again, just as their societies as a whole felt the swings of world trade. Periplean liminars helped the Pacific islands as a region through a major rite of passage: adapting to the modern world economy. Well-traveled Rotumans, for example, were said to show greater shrewdness in business and became rather cosmopolitan in their world-view: "It is no rare thing to find men who have visited Havre, or New York, or Calcutta, men who can discuss the relative merits of a sailors' home in London or Liverpool, and dilate on the advantages of steam over sailing vessels. Thus the native of Rotumah is more than usually capable and intelligent." Epeli of Rotuma left home for money and came back broke two decades later, but collectively, such foreign travel experiences seemed to help his community to adapt so well to change that today Rotuman migrants are some of the most successful people in urban Fiji.

Periplean veterans helped to mediate between their islands and outsiders in various transactions, from interpreting between chiefs and captains to acquiring and disbursing territory. Foreign Relations Minister Robert Wyllie claimed that well-regulated travel improved Hawaiians, that the sea offered young men greater opportunities than what was available ashore: "many of them returned, and those who did, carried with them a degree of knowledge and civilization, useful to their countrymen, and more than compensating for the loss of those who never came back." Returnees like Hitihiti, Ka'iana or Ruatara were in a sense the first pan-Pacific personalities, because of their regional travel experiences, as were many less prominent working
kanakas. Even while their islands were being peripheralized by a world economy, kanakas, noble or commoner, tried to "scoop up" what they could. After visiting Australia, as we have seen, Hongi Hika parlayed the land-sale he had made to Samuel Marsden's missionaries into his musket-shopping journey and future conquests. Yet the social function of shipping for islanders, as opposed to its purely commercial requirements, made it difficult for indigenous shippers using foreign-style vessels to compete. The demands made by their kin and other local groups or classes often rendered them financially insolvent. Kanaka sailors, despite their growing skills, found it hard to rise to high-paying rank on expatriate ships, due to Euroamerican favoritism toward their own kind, especially after the union movement in Australian shipping. Even so, the periplean frontier still gave most of the Pacific islanders discussed in this study a wider range of personal choices than they might otherwise have had. Young Hawaiians certainly preferred shipping out to plantation work. This contrasted with the Melanesian case, which probably reflected the scale of opportunities available during the labor trade. Melanesians worked on ships, but more found openings on plantations. Contracted Hawaiian "landsmen" went to the American Northwest instead.

Like the proverbial fish out of water, seafaring liminars found out who they were by leaving home, became more conscious of differences and similarities, and reflected. Travel offers a peculiar freedom to experiment, to test new identities. Pacific islanders seem to have adapted remarkably well to what they encountered, even the supposedly forbidding American Northwest, where many of their descendants still
live today. But most remained islanders at heart, smoking Oahu puffs on the beach in San Diego or performing Maori "war dances" on alien stages. They were social transitionals, and knew it. Jose Taitano, through kidnapped from Guam, chose to spend the next twenty years sailing on foreign ships, then returned with a pocket full of Mexican pesos and married. He loved to tell his offspring how, as Joe Guam, he had seen King Kalakaua of Hawaii and President Abraham Lincoln. Enough such liminars survived, in one form or another, to inspire ongoing outmigration by Pacific islanders, whether by ship or other means. Indeed, modern analysts have had to invent the MIRAB paradigm to describe a strange new status somewhere between dependency and self-assertion. Migrants are a crucial component in many island economies today, sending home wages or information like fifth-column infiltrators on the world frontier. MIRAB is not really new, any more than voyaging is, and it may portray a human reality more pervasive than bounded notions of "nation-states" and "traditional cultures." Today's Pacific islander outmigrants, like their voyaging ancestors and kanaka sailor predecessors, are struggling to pioneer new transactions in self-discovery. Kiribati even perpetuates a "shipping-out" ethic today.

This study indicates that Pacific islanders played a significant participatory role both in Euroamerican shipping itself and, as inter-island beachcombers and returnees, in the acculturation of the Inner Pacific to the modern world. Periplean liminars, whether "noble savage" or kanaka sailor, "counter-explored" the cross-cultural frontier and
often made the Euroamerican overseas adventure their own. In 1989, I interviewed a Marshall Islander named Biliet Lokonwa who was over one hundred years old. Through an interpreter from the Alele museum in Majuro, Biliet told me his story of travels aboard German, Japanese and English trading vessels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His little room in a house by the Yacht Club was a shrine to his glory days, festooned with memorabilia. He showed me the list on the door of those Marshallese who had sailed with him to San Francisco, in 1913, and unbuttoned his shirt to reveal an American eagle he had had tattooed on his chest to prove to people where he had been. Seventy-six years had wrinkled the eagle, but that did not diminish the glee with which neighbor children still listened to his tales. For Biliet, like many people who refer back to some bigger-than-life adventure in their past, the memory of his traveling days made him feel special, worthy of ongoing respect. He vowed that if he could, he would return to San Francisco, walk on its famous bridge (built since he was there), find an old woman (one had been "kind" to him there) and settle down for good. Who, I wondered, was whose "noble savage"?
Chapter VIII--Notes

4. Hocart (1913) 4753.
7. Turnbull (1805) II: 11.
17. Simpson (1847) 245.
23. L. Judd (1928) 141; Bingham (1849) 486; Jarves (1843) 397-407.
27. Giles (1968) 54.
30. Wallerstein (1974) 348-52. World system theory is a bit all-encompassing and hence controversial, but it is not a prescription, only an attempt to conceptualize a world problem. It seems apparent that there is some kind of world economic hierarchy, if not a centralized system.
33. Kingsley (1897) 651 and (1899) 47.
35. Wood (1875) 6-7.
36. Inglis (1887) 212-14.
37. Moresby (1876) 69-70.
39. Webster (1844) 90.
40. Kotzebue (1830) II: 239-41.
42. See Ralston (1984).
43. Elder (1932) 141; Davidson (1975) 120.
44. Hempenstall (1975).
46. Mullett (1977) 46.
47. Ward (1966) V: 179; Meares (1790) 221.
49. Henry (1928) 95.
51. Wakefield (1845) I: 33.
52. Dana (1963) 117.
54. Munger (1852) 39.
56. W. F. Wilson (1922) 44, 47.
57. Hanlon (1988) 124; Greer (1971) 105; Romilly (1880); Temoteitei (1800); Crook (1963) 154.
58. The Polynesian 8/8/1846.
60. Allen (1895) 273; Forbes (1875) 248.
62. Gardiner (1898) 407.
68. Goodenough (1876) 317.
69. Forbes (1875) 226.
70. See Howard (1961).

75. Bertram and Watters (1985). MIRAB stands for Migration, Remittance, Aid and Bureaucracy. Outmigrants send home remittances to the home economy through their relatives, while local bureaucratic elites try to acquire aid grants to develop infrastructure. It is a paradigm that attempts to describe a reality, not recommend it.


77. Tea'iwa (1991). Young i-Kiribati train with German shippers from Bremen, and young women dream of marrying sailors (partly because they stay away so long).

APPENDIX
PACIFIC ISLANDER TRAVELERS AND SAILORS

The following is a sampling of Pacific islander travelers and sailors mentioned, based on sources cited in the text.

Abbreviations: n.s. (noble savage), b.b. (blackbirded), j.s. (jumped ship), b.c. (beachcomber)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Voyage</th>
<th>Fate</th>
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<tr>
<td>1526</td>
<td>11 Chamorros</td>
<td>Guam</td>
<td>pumpers</td>
<td>Victoria (Sp.) &gt; Philippines</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(b.b.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>&quot;Vincent&quot;</td>
<td>Sorol</td>
<td>trophy?</td>
<td>San Lucas (Sp.) &gt; Philippines</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(b.b.)</td>
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<td>1690</td>
<td>Jeoly</td>
<td>Miangas (&gt;Phil.)</td>
<td>slave (castaway)</td>
<td>w/W. Dampier &gt; England</td>
<td>d. Oxford</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Painted Prince)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Moac</td>
<td>Belau (&gt;Phil.)</td>
<td>guide (castaway)</td>
<td>w/Sp. Jesuits &gt; Songorol</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Jose Miguel)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>Ulithi</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>Santo Domingo &gt; Philippines</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(w/young Belauan)</td>
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<td>(b.b.)</td>
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<td>Digal</td>
<td>Woleai (&gt; Guam)</td>
<td>guide (castaway)</td>
<td>w/Sp. Jesuits &gt; Ulithi</td>
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<td>1783</td>
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<td>Orooolong (Br.)</td>
<td>d. London</td>
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<td>w/servant</td>
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<td>(n.s.)</td>
<td>&gt; China</td>
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<td>chief son</td>
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<td>Belau</td>
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<td>Panther (Br.)</td>
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<td>castaway</td>
<td>Rurick (Rus.)</td>
<td>return</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>(n.s.)</td>
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<td>Pohnpei</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>Florence (U.S.) &gt; Oakland</td>
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**FRENCH POLYNESIA (Society Is., Marquesas, Australs, etc.)**

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<td>Bill</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
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<td>Pilgrim (U.S.)</td>
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<td>George Kaumualii</td>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>chief son, sailor</td>
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<td>(Hume Hume)</td>
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<td>1811 1823</td>
<td>Naukane (John Coxe)</td>
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<td>Liholiho (Kamehameha II) w/Kamamalu</td>
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<td>L'Aigle (Br.) &gt;England</td>
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<td>1823, 1829</td>
<td>Boki</td>
<td>Oahu</td>
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<td>fur trade ships&lt;br&gt; &gt; NW, China, Tahiti</td>
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<td>Louisa (Rika)</td>
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<td>Kamanohu w/wife</td>
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<td>Ainoa (Haw.)&lt;br&gt; &gt; Tahiti</td>
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<td>Manini (George)</td>
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<td>Kepelino Keauokalani (Zepherin)</td>
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<td>1849</td>
<td>Alexander Liholiho &amp; Lot Kamehameha</td>
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<td>w/Gerrit Judd&lt;br&gt; &gt; U.S., Europe</td>
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<td>Big Man</td>
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<td>Hampton (U.S.) &gt; Asia</td>
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<td>Henry</td>
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<td>William Penn (U.S.) &gt; Kiribati</td>
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<td>Johnny Boy</td>
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<td>Addison (U.S.) &gt; Marquesas</td>
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<td>Hoapili (William)</td>
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<td>W. B. Kapu</td>
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<td>Morning Star (U.S.) &gt; Tabiteuea</td>
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<td>(David)</td>
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<td>&gt; circumnavigated</td>
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<td>1883,</td>
<td>Iaukea</td>
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<td>1887</td>
<td>(Curtis)</td>
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<td>&gt; Europe (twice)</td>
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<td>Kapiolani</td>
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<td>w/Liliuokalani</td>
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**MAORIS OF AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)**

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<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Ranginui</td>
<td>North</td>
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<td>St. Jean-Baptiste (Fr.)</td>
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<td>(b.b.)</td>
<td>&gt; Juan Fernandez Is.</td>
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<td>1777</td>
<td>Tiburoa &amp; Kokoa</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>servants</td>
<td>HMS Resolution</td>
<td>d. Huahine</td>
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<td>(of Omai)</td>
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<td>1793</td>
<td>Tuki &amp; Huru</td>
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<td>Lady Nelson (Br.)</td>
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<td>Moehanga</td>
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<td>commoner</td>
<td>w/Savage, Dillon</td>
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<td>Te Aara, (George of Whangaroa)</td>
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<td>Mary Bruce (Te Pahi's daughter)</td>
<td>North</td>
<td>consort (of b.c.)</td>
<td>General Wellesley</td>
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<td>HMS Coromandel</td>
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<td>New Zealander (Br.)</td>
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<td>&gt; whaling</td>
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<td>1846</td>
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<td>sailors, guides</td>
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<td>1851</td>
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**MELANESIA (INCLUDING FIJI)**

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<td>1528</td>
<td>Papua New Guinean</td>
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<td>Florida (Sp.)</td>
<td>return</td>
<td>Guam, Moluccas (killed)</td>
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<td>1606</td>
<td>Luca (Pedro) (Solomons)</td>
<td>Taumako (b.b.)</td>
<td>San Pedro y San Pablo</td>
<td>d. Mexico</td>
<td>Mexico w/Quiros</td>
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<td>1606</td>
<td>Pablo (Vanuatu)</td>
<td>Santo (b.b.)</td>
<td>San Pedro y San Pablo</td>
<td>d. Mexico</td>
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<td>1606</td>
<td>4 adults, 14 children</td>
<td>New Guinea (b.b.)</td>
<td>San Pablo (Sp.)</td>
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<td>Manila</td>
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<td>1767</td>
<td>Joseph Freewill</td>
<td>Mapia</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>HMS Swallow</td>
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<td>St. Jean-Baptiste (Fr.)</td>
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<td>(b.b.)</td>
<td>&gt; Peru, France</td>
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<td>Favourite (Br.)</td>
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<td>&gt; Canton</td>
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<td>1825</td>
<td>Takai</td>
<td>Lakeba (Fiji)</td>
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<td>&gt; Aus., Tahiti</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>Sunday (Darco)</td>
<td>Witu (N.G.)</td>
<td>n.s. (b.b.)</td>
<td>Antarctic (U.S.)</td>
<td>return</td>
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<td>&gt; U.S. w/Morrell</td>
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<td>1834</td>
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<td>Viwa (Fiji)</td>
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<td>Josephine (Fr.)</td>
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<td>&gt; massacre</td>
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<td>1836</td>
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<td>&gt; U.S.</td>
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<td>1839</td>
<td>Vedovi</td>
<td>Fiji</td>
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<td>USS Vincennes</td>
<td>d. N.Y.</td>
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<td>exile</td>
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<td>1845</td>
<td>Iokui</td>
<td>Uvea (Loyalty)</td>
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<td>Br. sandalwooder</td>
<td>return, convert</td>
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<td>&gt; Vanuatu</td>
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<td>1847</td>
<td>Phebe</td>
<td>Nadi (Fiji)</td>
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<td>&gt; Salem</td>
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<td>1847</td>
<td>Basset w/brother</td>
<td>New Caledonia</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>Br. sandalwooder</td>
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<td>&gt; Australia</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Status</td>
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<td>1849</td>
<td>George Havannah</td>
<td>Uvea (Loyalty)</td>
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<td>HMS Havannah &gt; Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Solomons</td>
<td>sailor</td>
<td>Pearl, Superior (U.S.) return &gt; whaling, massacres</td>
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<td>1866</td>
<td>Herman Vesta</td>
<td>Hermits (N.G.)</td>
<td>sailor, rescued</td>
<td>Vesta (Ger.) &gt; next island</td>
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<td>1882</td>
<td>Nomu</td>
<td>Tanna (Vanuatu)</td>
<td>recruiter (16 yrs.)</td>
<td>Ceara (Br.) &gt; Australia</td>
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**CENTRAL & EASTERN POLYNESIA**

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<tr>
<td>1804?</td>
<td>Palu Mata Moina</td>
<td>Tonga (&gt;Fiji)</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>Br. ships return, reship</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Easter Island</td>
<td>chief son</td>
<td>Adventure (Br.) return &gt; London</td>
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<td>Siovili (Joe Gimlet)</td>
<td>Samoa (&gt;Tonga)</td>
<td>sailor, matai</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Rathea</td>
<td>Tikopia</td>
<td>chief</td>
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<td>&gt; Ra'iatea</td>
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<td>1830</td>
<td>Fauea</td>
<td>Samoa</td>
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<td>Messenger of Peace</td>
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<tr>
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<td>w/wife</td>
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<td>Niue</td>
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<td>Tupou Totai</td>
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<td>Jess (Br.)</td>
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<td>Tom Kanaka</td>
<td>Rotuma</td>
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<td>Elizabeth (U.S.)</td>
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<td>ship out Pohnpei</td>
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<td>Rotuma</td>
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<td>S.F. &gt; Solomons</td>
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<td>1853</td>
<td>Taufa'ahau</td>
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<td>John Wesley (Br.)</td>
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<td>Tupou I</td>
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<td>&gt; Fiji, Australia</td>
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<td>1862</td>
<td>Toriki Rangi</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>agent</td>
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<td>&gt; Erromanga</td>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>Emma Coe</td>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>&quot;queen&quot;</td>
<td>various steamships</td>
<td>d. Monte Carlo</td>
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Apart from ship logs and journals available through the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (Canberra), all other sources, whether primary, secondary, published or unpublished, are listed alphabetically in a single grouping, for easy access.

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Abigail, New Bedford (NB), George E. Young, 1847-52, PMB 571.
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Arabella, Sag Harbor, James Pierson, 1830-34, PMB 687.
Atkins Adams, Fairhaven, Samuel Lane, 1846-50, PMB 286.
Avola, Sharon, Zenas A. Bourne, 1870-77, PMB 803.
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________, NB, John R. Stivers, 1860-65, PMB 232.
Cortes, NB, John W. Hammond, 1842-46, PMB 321.
Elizabeth, NB, Capt. Michael Baker, Journal Thomas Bryant, 1847-51, PMB 808.
Emerald, Salem, John H. Eagleston, 1833-36, PMB 205, 223.
Emily Morgan, NB, P. W. Ewer, 1842-46, PMB 323.
Fortune, NB, E. H. Woodbridge, 1847-50, PMB 266.
__________, NB, David E. Hathaway, 1850-54, PMB 262.


General Scott, James R. Hunting, 1858-62, PMB 809.

Gideon Howland, NB, Michael Baker, 1838-42, PMB 863.


Henry Taber, NB, Prince W. Ewer, 1855-59, PMB 257.

Herald, Providence, Charles Terry, 1847-54, PMB 867.

Hope, NB, Leonard S. Gifford, 1863, PMB 222, 279.


Java, NB, Manuel Enos, 1864-67, PMB 871.


Lion, Providence, Capt. William H. Hardwick, Log George Macy 1854-56, PMB 875.

Martha, Fairhaven, Samuel B. Meader, 1852-57, PMB 264.


Miantonomi, NB, William W. Clement, 1853-54, PMB 349.

__________, NB, Benjamin F. Jones, 1851-56, PMB 255, 256.

Navy, Sharon, Andrew S. Sarvent, 1859-64, PMB 281, 300, 814.


Ocean, NB, William C. Fuller, 1853-56, PMB 381.

Ohio, Nantucket, Charles W. Coffin, 1837-41, PMB 268.
Omega, Nantucket, George Haggerty, 1840-44, PMB 381, 397.
Omega, Fair Haven, Israel Morey, 1847-50, PMB 885.
Palmetto, NB, Fred T. Tripp, 1880-83, PMB 250.
Peru, Salem, John H. Eagleston, 1830-33, PMB 205-206.
Petrel, NB, Edwin J. Reed, 1871-74, PMB 809.
Phebe, Nantucket, Samuel W. Harris, 1842-47, PMB 383-84.
Philip DeLanoye, Sharon, David G. Pierce, 1852-55, PMB 805.
Potomac, Nantucket, Charles Grant, 1849-53, PMB 384.
Roman II, NB, Pardon Tripp, 1850-52, PMB 816.
________, NB, Abraham DeHart, 1857-60, PMB 249.
Rose Pool, Edgartown, Alexander P. Fisher, 1856-60, PMB 672.
________, Warren, Paul Ware, 1856-60, PMB 823.
Sharon, Fairhaven, Howes S. Norris & Thomas Smith, 1841-45, PMB 674, 893.
Swift, NB, Frederick Vincent, 1849-52, PMB 367, 842, 895.
Tuscaloosa, NB, Capt. Frederick C. Taber, Journal George deWolf,
________, PMB 289.
Two Brothers, NB, Joshua B. Davis, 1858-63, PMB 284-85.
Wilmington and Liverpool Packet, NB, Samuel Brush, 1841-44, PMB 899.
Young Hector, NB, Peter Smith, 1853-57, PMB 819.
Zephyr, NB, Thomas Smith, 1843-47, PMB 900.
OTHER SOURCES:

Abbreviations: AGI Archivo General de Indias
ANU Australia National University
HHS Hawaiian Historical Society
HJH Hawaiian Journal of History
JPH Journal of Pacific History
JPS Journal of the Polynesian Society
UH University of Hawaii
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