Coast to Coast:
Case Histories of Modern Pacific Crossings
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Edited by

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From the beginnings of human settlement through to the Cook voyages and beyond, histories of ‘the Pacific’ are stories of contact and connection. This vast region can be charted through histories of encounter between the diverse peoples of the Pacific, the Pacific Rim and the wider world. *Coast to Coast* explores the networks of modernity that connected the various peoples of the Pacific, Australia and North America as new means of transportation, distribution and communication developed from the mid-nineteenth century. The dynamics of the market revolution transformed commercial practices during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the Pacific became a conduit through which the ‘modern’ economies on the Pacific Rim traded, communicated and exchanged ideas. Modern means of representation and reproduction affected the cultural encounters, changing the ways people imagine themselves and other, and shaping social interactions. The very act of crossing the Pacific was in itself transformative, as preconceptions were challenged and assumptions overturned. For some, the Pacific was ‘home’; others were outsiders or more recent arrivals. But as the essays contained herein reveal, each shared a fascination, sometimes an obsession, with how ‘the Pacific’ could be understood.

Trans-Pacific interactions were shaped by the associated processes of imperialism and colonialism, as Westerners continued their long gaze toward the Pacific. Europeans had long held contradictory views of the Pacific. For them, the region’s appeal reflected the way in which the Pacific appeared to represent a less-complicated, more ‘natural’ human existence. The Pacific could thus be a destination, as well as a place—sometimes a barrier—to be crossed. The Pacific, as Westerners understood it, was always more imagined than real, signifying a fantasy rather than an understanding of the region. The West’s Pacific was essentially stuck in a romanticised, pre-modern state, which served as an antidote or respite from the corruptions and constraints
of ‘civilisation’. Yet even as Westerners prized the Pacific partly because it had been protected from ‘civilization,’ they sought to change the region, principally for commercial and political gain.

In most cases, Westerners’ understandings of the Pacific paid little heed to the region’s inhabitants. Notwithstanding Westerners’ assumptions about the Pacific as essentially a static, rather than dynamic, place, the Indigenous inhabitants of the Pacific were culturally diverse and forward thinking. Accordingly, whilst Pacific encounters reflected inequalities of power, no two colonial experiences were precisely the same, and trans-Pacific relationships were always mediated by negotiation and compromise, and determined by the specifics of time and place.

On one level, therefore, the chapters of this book share a common concern with Pacific History, with the impact of the West on the Pacific, and with the impact of the Pacific on the West. But another, more specific thread also runs through this collection, concerning the ways in which ‘the Pacific’ shaped interactions between North America and the white settler societies of Australia and New Zealand. For the inhabitants of those societies, the Pacific coasts of North America and the Antipodes were thus borders, if not boundaries, shaping and defining a series of commercial, cultural, and political exchanges.

The United States looms large in any analysis of trans-Pacific cultural, social, or economic exchanges. Implicit in that analysis is the question of ‘Americanisation,’ an issue that has occupied the minds of those who have studied Pacific relations, as well as those affected by the multi-faceted power or influence of the United States. On the most obvious level, the United States was a Pacific colonial power, with significant strategic and commercial interests in the region. As Max Quanchi points out, the masses of historic photographs of scientific, commercial and colonial interests in trading, expeditions, missions, travel, ethnography, provide compelling evidence that the United States did indeed have a Pacific empire. But as Quanchi and others in this collection make clear, America’s encounters with the Pacific tell more than a tale of ‘Americanisation.’ The story was always more complicated and nuanced than the simplicities of a pervasive ‘cultural imperialism’.

America’s fascination with the Pacific was in many respects a continuation, or a reflection, of Europe’s long-standing curiosity toward the region. That interest had typically been projected through sea power, but the European powers’ navies were more than a means of projecting maritime, or strategic power: they were also at the centre of geographic and scientific enquiry, testing and extending the boundaries of human knowledge, and
stimulating public interest in a part of the world as intriguing as it was alien. During the eighteenth century Britain’s Royal Navy took an active interest in the peoples and geography of the Pacific, and functioned as a formal agent of the wider European quest to explore or even ‘occupy’ the Pacific. During the nineteenth century, however, that process was more ad hoc, and the knowledge that was acquired on naval voyages—indeed, the very questions that were asked about the region—reflected the curiosity of individual sailors, rather than formal interests articulated in national policy. Through an analysis of sketches produced aboard the *HMS Dauntless*, which visited the Pacific in 1822, and of Tahitian artefacts collected on the same voyage, Jenny Newell highlights the ways in which artefacts and images offer insights into the impact of nineteenth-century trans-Pacific exchanges. Her analysis of those images and artefacts offers fresh insights into the ways in which European visitors perceived the Pacific, along with the ways Islanders reacted to those visitors. Already involved in trading relationships with Europeans, Tahitians were alert to the commercial possibilities associated with the visits of vessels such as the *Dauntless*. Accordingly, when sailors acquired objects from Islanders, such as the carved anthropomorphic figure in the Tahitian section of the British Museum to which Newell refers, their acquisition of mementoes of their visit to the Pacific was one stage in the cultural, economic, and political transformation of the region. Exchanges between Europeans and Islanders also transformed the environment of the Pacific, and the drawings made by those on board vessels such as the *Dauntless* document the changing Tahitian landscape.

The collector and the artist aboard the *Dauntless* were travellers as well as naval officers. One hundred and twenty years after the voyage of the *Dauntless*, a much larger contingent of military travellers also visited the Pacific. Whilst Pacific historians have considered the impact of the millions of American service personnel who were stationed in the Pacific Theatre during World War Two, the presence of those servicemen—and servicewomen—has usually been analysed through the prism of their contribution to the military struggle that dominated the region during the early 1940s. Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon, however, consider Americans’ wartime encounters with the Pacific by casting American service personnel stationed in the region as tourists. Arguing that American servicemen and servicewomen conformed to many of the stereotypical assumptions and practices of tourists in other contexts, they suggest that Americans sought to appropriate aspects of the physical culture of the South Pacific. Long before their arrival in the Pacific service personnel had clear ideas about the type of souvenirs they sought. Although they craved ‘authenticity’, most Americans understood that the
arts and crafts they procured were usually not products of ‘traditional’ island cultures. It was widely understood that items such as the grass skirt were often manufactured specifically for purchase by servicemen and service-women. But so long as those objects were purchased from locals—rather than from enterprising Americans seeking to capitalise on the burgeoning trade in ‘native’ products—most buyers were content. That remained the case even when items had been mass produced specifically to meet the demand of the ‘tourist’ market that grew apace during the war.

While the Pacific War brought a rush of first-time visitors to the islands, the massive military presence, in turn, brought new experiences to the Islanders. Ann Elias considers the case of Australian and American forces co-opting the Indigenous people of Goodenough Island to one of World War Two’s largest deception schemes—‘Operation Hackney’. The Indigenous people of Goodenough Island were actively involved in the construction and maintenance of the deception scheme, which involved erecting fake military structures across the Island to deceive Japanese reconnaissance planes into thinking the Island was occupied by a formidable army, rather than a struggling and apprehensive contingent of Australian soldiers. As Elias points out, not only did the War directly impact on cultural change on Goodenough Island, through the different occupations by Japanese, Australians and Americans who built airbases there, but the camouflage scheme on Goodenough Island brought the Papuan inhabitants into direct contact with the strategies and tactics of modern warfare based on deception and concealment.

Of all the destinations to which military service personnel were sent during the early 1940s, few had more romantic appeal than Hawaii. That appeal was well-established in Western, particularly American culture, and rested on long-standing images of the Islands. The popular image of Hawaii as an idyll was shaped in part by the ways in which the island group was represented at world expositions from the second half of the nineteenth century. As Adria L. Imada explains, representations of Hawaii at world expositions reflected a contradictory and often conflicting set of imperatives. Although those expositions often appeared to be dominated by the industrialised powers of Western Europe, and, increasingly, by the United States, smaller states such as Hawaii also took advantage of the opportunity to present themselves on the world stage. Investing much of their own personal prestige and authority in the exhibitions, Hawaii’s leaders used world fairs as diplomatic devices, to sustain their constitutional monarchy and temper the imperial ambitions of the larger powers. But the heavy hand of colonialism was also evident in the expositions, as Western businesses, diplomats, and churches sought
to extend their influence in the Hawaiian Islands during the second half of the nineteenth century. As Imada explains, Hawaii’s exhibits at the world’s fairs always reflected these tensions between Indigenous and colonial views of Hawaii. Even as the colonisers’ assumptions about the Islands’ savagery were reinforced, and the redemptive role of the missionaries was lauded, Hawaii’s leaders presented alternate, more positive images of the Islands, focusing on their cultural arts and agricultural products. Yet commercial and political relations between Hawaii and the United States became ever more vexed during the 1870s and 1880s, and although Hawaii’s monarchs embraced Western technologies to defend their kingdom’s independence, and to maintain their own authority, it became increasingly difficult to resist the colonial ambitions of the United States. By century’s end, Hawaii had effectively become an American colony. Nonetheless, as Imada demonstrates, world expositions continued to reflect the tensions inherent in any colonial relationship, for whilst the colonisers sought to present images of Hawaii that served their own commercial and political interests, many of those who attended the expositions—principally, Europeans and Americans who ostensibly benefited from the process of colonisation—favoured exhibits featuring Hawaii’s ‘living arts’ that had been so assiduously promoted by King Kalākaua during the 1880s.

Hawaii was not the only Pacific locale presented as an idyll, as a retreat from the trappings of industrialized society. Similar images were also applied to the West coast of the United States, and to Australasia, and were presented in various ways. As Erika Esau reveals in her analysis of the labels used to market Californian fruit products, the romanticised agricultural landscapes expressed on those labels did more than advertise the products contained within and contribute to the continuing commodification of the Pacific. Produced in their millions during the early decades of the twentieth century, the labels that adorned boxes of fruit also ‘sold’ an image of California as a place of agricultural prosperity, sunshine and healthy living. The growing commercial as well as cultural connections between the United States and Australia was reflected in the ways in which Australian fruit producers sought to emulate their American counterparts’ efforts to market their products. Highlighting the ‘shared sense of a Pacific aesthetic’, Esau thus connects the West coast of the United States, and Australia, with the islands in between. Yet there were also important differences between popular images of California and Australia on the one hand, and the Pacific Islands on the other. Whilst the images of California and Australia presented on the labels reflected many of the values and images associated with the Pacific Islands, those labels were very much associated with the modern, commercial market
economy, with its assumptions of technological superiority over, and distance from, the untouched landscapes of pre-modern societies and cultures—of which the Pacific Islands were implicitly a part.

The distribution of fruit products, along with the depiction of a common Pacific aesthetic, was facilitated by technological change. Frances Steel’s examination of the development of the Union Steam Ship Company, and the trans-Pacific mail lines of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, casts light on another dimension of the impact of technological change on Pacific relations. Situating New Zealand at the centre of her discussion, Steel highlights the ways in which the Union Steam Ship Company, established in Dunedin in 1875, grew into a significant, even dominant player in a number of Pacific shipping routes. Influenced by the development of fast, and for those lucky enough to travel first class, lavishly appointed, trans-Atlantic liners, the owners and managers of the Union Steam Ship Company used their vessels to establish an important role in trans-Pacific exchanges, cultural as well as commercial. Those commercial imperatives were shaped by the vagaries of trade and political economy, but the company also demonstrated an abiding concern for the development of a distinct New Zealand identity, based on an inheritance as well as distance from the Mother Country. Like other New Zealanders, the Union Steam Ship Company, understood that New Zealand’s destiny was as a Pacific nation.

The changing manner in which shipping companies traversed the Pacific enabled cultural exports as much as commercial trade. Richard Waterhouse highlights the number of American minstrel, circus, vaudeville and dramatic companies that travelled from San Francisco to Sydney and Melbourne to perform not only in capital cities but also remote rural theatre venues. Waterhouse argues that these companies were important conduits of American popular culture, which, because it possessed more modern and optimistic qualities than its British counterpart, held a particular appeal to Australian audiences. At the same time, in their passages across the Pacific these travelling troupes also left footprints on the societies and colonies which they visited en route. In the process of transfer, Waterhouse suggests that the transmission of American popular culture to Australia had a wider Pacific impact.

In spite of the growing cases of modernity’s impact on Pacific societies and colonies, the region remained ‘primitive’ in the minds of many Australians and Americans, well into the twentieth century. The persistent myth of the Pacific as an uncivilised and uncharted space was exploited by the early motion picture industry, keen to develop the mass market for vicarious adventure. Prue Ahrens and Lamont Lindstrom describe how American
film-makers Martin and Osa Johnson’s ‘documentary’ films of the Pacific Islands sacrificed authenticity for entertainment value in films which follow the familiar primitivist perceptions of the Pacific. What is interesting about the Johnson films, they argue, is that the Pacific becomes a backdrop for the definition of American modernity, specifically the ideal of a Modern Girl, exemplified by Osa Johnson. In an ironic twist, it is the American’s passage through the ‘primitive’ Pacific, and the adventure it entails, that makes her ‘modern’.

Traversing the Pacific thus contributed to Euro-American self-perceptions, as much as their perceptions of Pacific inhabitants. Understandings of what was ‘modern’, ‘primitive’, ‘foreign’ or ‘familiar’ were unstable and became more so with each cultural encounter. New means of transportation, distribution and communication during the modern period increased the incidence of these cultural encounters, as Mario Einaudi’s catalogue of modern shipping lines testifies. The essays contained within this volume demonstrate that modernity’s march across the Pacific unsettled, rather than enforced, Euro-American understandings of the Pacific, fracturing a vision that had been so certain in their imaginations.
In a box in the Tahitian aisle at the British Museum’s storehouse is an extraordinary, carved anthropomorphic figure. Lifting it out takes some effort; it is made of heavy cordia wood, stocky and standing 59cm (23 inches) high.¹ It has two heads. They are placed on each shoulder, leaning slightly out, and both gaze in the same direction. Tara Hiquily, of the Musée de Tahiti, viewed this figure at the British Museum recently and suggested it was probably carved from a forked tree branch.² When Polynesian figures possess two heads they are usually Janus-faced, facing forward and back. The divided but unified view-point of this figure may refer to the Polynesian gods’ original division of the earth from the sky to create the earth.³ The figure was traded away at a time of deep change in Tahiti, when chiefs and their people were shifting from Indigenous beliefs to Christianity. It is now one of the world’s most famous Tahitian objects.

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¹ Cordia wood is a heavy, durable hardwood often used in carpentry and furniture making.
² Janus-faced figures are common in Polynesian art and are believed to have symbolic significance.
³ The division of the earth from the sky is a key myth in Polynesian creation stories.
The figure can be interpreted as a type of *tiʻi*. These figures are approachable, anthropomorphic objects into which, traditionally, Tahitians would entice ancestor spirits to ask for help or protection. Most *tiʻi* in museum collections are small, single-headed and compact, and most of them were sent to Europe by missionaries in the nineteenth century as trophies of conversion. The double-headed *tiʻi* has a different story. The British Museum’s register for October 1955 lists a purchase from a private collection in Ireland of a figure collected by Lieutenant Samson Jervois during a naval cruise of the Pacific in *HMS Dauntless*. Naval cruises are not usually productive of rich records or material evidence for the historian. I was surprised to find, however, while hunting for Tahitian sources at the National Library of Australia, that the *Dauntless* cruise had been unusually fruitful in producing souvenirs. An unnamed member of the *Dauntless* crew, probably either Lieutenant Allan F. Gardiner or the assistant surgeon, Thomas Brownrigg, produced an album of pen drawings along the way. The artist penned 37 scenes at ports in Australia, South America, the Marquesas, Tahiti and China. The material evidence from this cruise cuts across the history of the Pacific at one moment of time: 1822. The double-headed *tiʻi*, and the drawings, open up vistas into how Islanders were responding to the potential offered by the increasing range of visitors and the types of souvenir collection taking place. They are rare sources illustrating the changes underway and the types of connections that were being made between ports on Pacific Islands and the Pacific Rim.

Samson Jervois, and the pen-and-ink artist, were operating during a period that was economical in its creation of records. Captains and officers on naval ships kept lean, weather-centred logs, brief lists of crewmen and the occasional coastal profile. There is little for the historian to work with. Unlike the rich, descriptive journals, detailed artworks and expansive collections institutionally required of eighteenth-century Pacific voyagers and London Missionary Society brethren, the requirement for the *Dauntless* to record its observations was so meagre that even its exact mission is unclear. The ship was based at the East India station 1818-1823, and the cruise of 1822 was carried out under Captain George Gambier. They were keeping an eye on waters and ports that were already relatively well-known. There were no scientists on board, no professional artists, no overt interest from the Royal Society or the general public in the results of the expedition. Captain Gambier records observations in his ‘Remark Book’ on the availability of provisions in each port, the character of trade and port defences in Port Callao in Lima, and the best routes to take from the India station around the Pacific and back again.

From 1803 the British government’s need for naval patrols across its widening network of activity increased with the renewal of the Napoleonic War
in Europe. There were economic rivals to keep an eye on as well: Americans were becoming increasingly engaged in whaling in the Pacific from the early 1820s, sandalwood from 1803 to the 1830s, and other commodities soon followed. Traders, including Americans, Australians, British, and island chiefs such as Kamehameha in Hawai‘i and Pomare II in Tahiti, tested a variety of Pacific Island resources as trade commodities in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. From the 1820s, for instance, a trade was established in Tuamotuan pearls and pearl shell from the nascent port of Papeete, Tahiti, to Lima’s cosmopolitan port Valparaiso on the west coast of South America.

The activities of traders in Tahiti focused on raw materials: pork, pearls, coconut oil, and largely ignored locally-crafted artefacts. The specific circumstances and motivations behind Jervois’ collecting of the double-headed ti ‘i are unlikely to be uncovered, but the fact of its collection makes a clear statement about a persistence, amongst some individuals at least, of an interest that had characterised the Enlightenment engagement with the Pacific, in acquiring objects as personal souvenirs or as curios for sale.

During its circuit around the Pacific, the *Dauntless* anchored for nine days in Matavai Bay, Tahiti, to take on fresh water, fruit and pork. Captain Gambier’s log records the bare logistics of the time spent at anchor and the disciplinary action that suddenly needed to be exercised on seamen who were drinking, becoming insolent, deserting their posts, and apparently finding the pleasures of the island too hard to resist. When they sailed west to Huahine, another of the Society Islands, on January 20, Captain Gambier wrote a more discursive comment on his experiences. It is not clear whether he made this in a letter or journal or later published piece, but seven years later the Reverend William Ellis published Gambier’s views on the mission in a lengthy quote. Gambier had initially been uneasy about the missionaries’ enterprise in the islands, but was won over on seeing in Huahine the neat English houses, European dresses, and that ‘civilization was advancing with wonderfully rapid strides’.

The people of the Matavai region had been trading with visiting Europeans for the previous 45 years, and the pace had increased since the turn of the century. Tahiti in the early nineteenth century was a place of sweeping, fundamental changes. Wide-spread epidemics of ship-borne diseases, ongoing power struggles between rival chiefs, combined with a deepening division between adherents to the old gods and converts to Christianity. The London Missionary Society had established a tenuous settlement in Tahiti in 1797 and tried, over the course of two frustrating decades, to dislodge the Maohi cosmology. This cosmology centred on relationships with major gods (such as Oro, god of war, in ascendance in the island in the late eighteenth
century), minor gods, spirits and ancestors, keeping the world of the living and light (the Ao) in balance with the world of the dead and darkness (the Po). Priests and chiefs managed the flow of dangerous, sacred power between the realms, using objects like ti‘i, as well as the more powerful, more abstract vessels for gods, to‘o. After sixteen years in Tahiti, the missionary brothers were finally able to parade the fact of their first significant convert. The ari‘i (chief) Pomare II made his politically-savvy conversion to Christianity in 1813, being formally baptised in 1819.10

The Pomare chiefly clan, occupying the north-west coast of the island near Matavai Bay where most European ships anchored, had cornered the trade with ships’ captains for muskets, ammunition and powder. This gave the Pomares an advantage over their rivals. In 1801, Governor King in the fledgling colony of New South Wales was struggling to find enough food for the convicts and soldiers. His largest expense was importing salted pork from England. Tahiti had been a plentiful, safe and welcoming provisioning stop for European voyagers since 1767; it was to this island that King turned to seek out a supply of salt pork.11 The Pomares agreed to King’s request, which had been accompanied by a large gift of iron tools, cloth, and six stand of muskets. To build up stocks, they forbade their people from eating pigs, using them for ceremonial gifts or sacrifices to the gods. What was once a sacred animal was becoming a commodity. The trade ran for 25 years, until 1826. The number of guns on the island rose rapidly, and the crews from Port Jackson lent themselves and their firearms to Pomare’s battles. The Dauntless arrived near the end of this period, when Pomare was starting to trade pork on his own account. In 1820 and 1821 Pomare bought two trading ships, the Queen Charlotte and Macquarie, to send cargoes of salt pork, coconut oil and arrowroot to Port Jackson.

In 1815 Pomare, with the support of the missionaries and his large armies of converts, well-armed with muskets and ammunition from the pork trade, had been able to secure domination of the whole island.12 A period of iconoclasm followed, spreading from Tahiti to other Polynesian islands, often carried by Christian Islanders acting as ‘teachers’. Many of the islands’ sacred figures were unwrapped, burnt, sawn up, or otherwise destroyed in public ceremonies. Others were shipped back to Britain as trophies of conversion.

If the double-headed figure had previously been an active ti‘i, giving it away could have been a method of ensuring its sacred power—its mana—was retained or safely disposed of. For someone who maintained a respect for the ti‘i and its occupying spirits and who was being compelled by chiefs and missionaries to abandon it, trading the ti‘i away to a visitor could perhaps have been a way to keep it safe from the destructive reach of missionaries,
or ensure this conduit for spirits and their vengeful anger was transported far from the island.\textsuperscript{13}

However, the carving on this \textit{ti’i} is not quite finished, suggesting it may never have been put to active use. Only one of the eyes is completed with the typical ridge dividing it longitudinally. The other three eyes are blank. It may be an early example of tourist art. The carver may have started carving the figure when the \textit{Dauntless} arrived and may have been ready to leave before the figure was quite ready. In any case, Samson Jervois would have decided to procure it, even if he had noticed the unmatched eyes. It would have been a useful transaction for the carver, who would have secured some of the attractive European goods that were highly valued on the island. Sharp, resilient iron tools, exotic clothes, lengths of printed or plain cloth that could be used in place of finely-beaten bark-cloth (\textit{tapa}) were all sought-after items. The new tools and materials were labour-saving, status-laden, and inspired creative innovations such as the new \textit{hapa’a} style of \textit{tapa} decoration that Tahitian women developed by using scissors to cut dyed sheets of \textit{tapa} into detailed, geometric patterns which were pasted onto a lighter ground.\textsuperscript{14} These objects, possessing a particular exotic caché, were soon incorporated into local systems of gift-giving and exchange.\textsuperscript{15} One observer, George Tobin, in 1792, noted that most of the Islanders had their own chests for storing trade valuables, many of them made on request by ship’s carpenters. Beyond objects of utility or of dress, the Islanders sought out objects they simply found interesting. As George Tobin noted: ‘they have at O’tahytye their Collectors, and their cabinets of European curiosities’.\textsuperscript{16}
The double-headed *ti‘i* stands as a testament to how quickly these powerful objects were being extracted from the Tahitian spiritual system after Pomare’s conversion only a few years earlier. The *ti‘i*’s presence in Britain also documents the interest the new category of visitor to the islands had in collecting the Islanders’ artefacts. There had been clear agendas set out by scientific societies and naval authorities for eighteenth-century voyagers to the Pacific to collect evidence of the ways of life of island peoples. Naval cruises and commercial trading ventures of the nineteenth-century had different priorities. Any collecting their participants carried out was for personal rather than official possession, a way of marking their travels and retaining a material memento of their experiences. Similar motivations inspired record-making beyond the basic log book entries required of the naval establishment.

*Figure 2-3. ‘The chapel at Matavai, Jany. 14’, Views taken while on the East Indian Station in HM Ships Leander and Dauntless between 1820 to 1822, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia, Canberra PIC T894 NK9840/22*
Changing Landscapes

Going ashore in Tahiti with sketchbook and pen, one of the Dauntless officers sat on the beach to record a scene of an Islander picking up a coconut, some goats nearby, looking comfortable on the sand and grassy verge with mountains in the distance. A little way inland, he captured another scene: the missionaries’ chapel, with a pig foraging in the grass and in the mid-ground, two rabbits. These sketches look humble but they are exceptional records of the changes underway in Tahiti’s landscape, uncovering some of the environmental implications of the island becoming more closely enmeshed with the activities of Europeans operating across Oceania.

Before reaching Tahiti the artist had also recorded views of the occupied landscape in Hobart, Port Jackson, Valpariso, and Resolution Bay in the Marquesas. The views reveal people going about their daily lives, travelling in boats, riding horses, and show the built environment, all set within carefully-observed, skilfully-rendered geographies. There was clearly a naval training in drawing coastal profiles informing these works. There was also a fascination with the ways of life, the clothes, the architecture and environments of the people being met. In Hobart the young township is shown, only eighteen years old, but boasting a range of single and two-storey houses and public buildings, the hill in the distance neatly converted from forest into...
field. A couple in fine bonnet and top hat are being rowed towards shore. The face of Hobart is genteel and cultivated with no visible sign of the brutality of the penal settlement and no indication of the Indigenous inhabitants. The process of genocide was coming, another eight years before the systematic slaughter of the Black Line.

The views the artist captured in Peru are of mixed communities, including a range of coloured studies of the local costumes. A formal avenue leading to the city of Lima is framed with parkland, benches, and a grand Spanish arch, riders and pedestrians going about their business.

A complete contrast to the settler communities on the Australian and South American edges of the Pacific is given in the series of drawings of the Marquesas. The shore reveals Marquesan dwellings alone—no colonial structures in view—a Marquesan tiki, and the people wear the tapa clothing, tattoos and hair styles recorded in earlier eras. Although several ships had stopped at the island group since the sixteenth century, provisioning ships there was difficult, relations were uneasy, often ending in violence, and trade remained limited. The images both here and in Tahiti reflect a quietness, an absence of the bustling activity that eighteenth-century journals described. There is no

Figure 2-5. ‘Marae and atoua, or deity, Resolution Bay, Marquesas’, Views taken while on the East Indian Station in HM Ships Leander and Dauntless between 1820 to 1822, Courtesy of the National Library of Australia, Canberra, PIC T894 NK9840/21
sense here of the hundreds of people crowding onto the beach or flotillas of canoes bustling about the bay to trade with the ship. Certainly, by the 1820s, a ship anchoring off-shore was a familiar, less captivating event, but more fundamentally, the number of people in the Marquesas, Society Islands and many other Pacific Islands had plummeted. Too many had died of ship-borne diseases to create crowds on the shore.

The *Dauntless* artist did not sign his name on his drawings, but he did include captions and many refer to a page number, presumably in a journal, which appears not to have survived. The title the artist gave to his album of drawings is *Views taken while on the East Indian Station in HM Ships Leander and Dauntless between 1820 to 1822*. This does help to pinpoint the identity of the artist. Two officers had been on the *Leander* and transferred to the *Dauntless* before the 1822 cruise. One was a Lieutenant, Allan F. Gardiner (transferred 11 May 1820), the other the ship’s assistant surgeon, Thomas Brownrigg (6 May 1821). Either could have completed the drawings. It is more likely that an officer, rather than a midshipman, would have had the self-directed time and inclination to complete these drawings.

The Tahitian drawings usefully document the ways that coming into connection with other nations was changing the nature of Tahiti’s landscape. They reveal the presence of goats and rabbits: two species that had been introduced into the island decades previously. Goats, acknowledged to be ‘the single most destructive herbivore’ in island environments, were introduced by Captains Cook, Furneaux, and the missionaries. The missionary Brother Henry brought a pair of rabbits from New South Wales into the island in 1800, which he ‘put away to burrow’, hoping to establish them on the island along with sheep, cattle, goats, pumpkins and other ‘useful’ species. Without the *Dauntless* sketches, it would not be possible to trace the path of rabbits on the island thereafter. When investigating the pathways of introduced animals in Tahiti, I searched fruitlessly for any documentary reference to rabbits after 1800. They had the potential to cause extensive damage, as they did on Lisianski, in the Hawaiian archipelago, where rabbits introduced in 1903 ate themselves into extinction, creating a wasteland in the space of twenty years. The *Dauntless* sketch shows that some rabbits survived in Tahiti until 1822, quite likely the offspring of the pair introduced twenty years before. However, the Tahitians and their environment seem to have kept the rabbits under control: most likely the islands’ dogs (and perhaps also the pigs) had added rabbits to their diet. Goats were not encouraged, as they were in the Marquesas where their meat was appreciated. While they have had some environmental impact on Tahiti, they have been kept under control to curb their destruction of gardens and plantations. Many other introduced species
made a major impact on Tahiti—guava, miconia, mynah birds, bulbuls and cats have continued to be widely destructive. But there are no longer any rabbits visible in Tahiti.

All these views along the course of the *Dauntless* cruise add depth to our conception of the Pacific in the documentary gap that exists between the period of voyaging artists and journal-keepers of the late eighteenth century and the late nineteenth, with the arrival of travelogue-writers and photographers.

Images and objects like these sketches and the double-headed *ti’i* give rare insights into places and context in the nineteenth century, into impacts created by past visitors, carrying exotic spiritualities and exotic species, and the impacts being created by current voyages. Both the *ti’i* and the drawings provide a way into uncovering the impacts of trans-Pacific connections during the nineteenth century. The collector and the artist were naval officers, but they also behaved as travellers, the vanguard of the private individuals who would subsequently travel through the Pacific for interest and leisure, making souvenirs and writing travelogues. Opening a window into the more sparsely-documented 1820s, the *Dauntless* officers’ souvenirs provide an unusually eloquent view into the exchanges taking place and the settlements and environments being created.

Notes

1 *Cordia* identification by Dr Paula Rudall, Jodrell Laboratory, Kew Gardens, United Kingdom.
2 Tara Hiquily, Head of Collections, Musée de Tahiti et ses Îles, Punaauia, Tahiti. This observation was also made by B.A.L. Cranstone, ‘A Unique Tahitian Figure’, *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. XXVII, no.s 1-2 (1963), pp. 45-47.
3 This point was made by Lissant Bolton and Julie Adams in the exhibition ‘Power and Taboo: Sacred Objects from the Pacific at the British Museum’, 28 Sept. 2006 - 7 Jan. 2007. The doubled but unified view-point exists on only one other known figure—a Hawaiian figure carved in stone. Cranstone, ‘A Unique Tahitian Figure’ (1963), p. 45. See also T. Barrow, *The Art of Tahiti* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 47.
4 British Museum register, 1955, Oc10-1. Purchased from Dr Wolfgang Luck, October 1955.
5 Captain George C. Gambier, Remark Book, between 27 January 1821 & 31 December 1922, Hydrographic Department records (ADM 51/2042), Australian Joint Copying Project Reel M2321, pp. 391-405.
WITNESSING CHANGE

7 Captain’s log, *Dauntless*, Public Record Office, Kew, ADM51/2042 (1820-21); ADM 53/466.


9 Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* (1829), pp. 78-79.


12 For accounts of these battles, such as the decisive battle of Fe‘i Pi, 12 November 1815, see Oliver, *Ancient Tahitian Society* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), pp. 1346-50.

13 Tara Hiquily (Musée de Tahiti et ses Îles), pers. comm., and see T. Hiquily, *Nō hea mai mātou? Destins d’objets polynésiens* (Punaauia, Tahiti: Musée de Tahiti et des Îles/Te Fare Manaha, 2007), especially pp. 11, 16.


18 There are many examples of ship’s officers producing drawings and paintings during the course of a voyage, in addition to the coastal profiles they were trained to produce. Seamen would probably have had difficulty securing the time, materials, and respect of their peers had they wanted to record their observations artistically.


22 After domestic rabbits were introduced in 1903, an expedition that turned up in 1923 found only a desert-like surface and bleached rabbit skeletons. J. S. Watson, ‘Feral Rabbit Populations on Pacific Islands’, *Pacific Science*, 15 (1961), pp. 591-93.
A little schooner with two masts, well manned with captain and sailors, ready to sail out on the far ocean. Such is the Hawaiian kingdom.

– Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, 1869

The Hawaii Pavilion at the New York World’s Fair in 1964–1965 introduced Hawai‘i, the newest American state, with all manner of live entertainment. Hawaiians demonstrated hula, quilt making, lei weaving, and outrigger canoe paddling in order to attract tourists to the islands. While any Hawai‘i-related attraction today is unimaginable without hula and Hawaiian music, cultural performances did not regularly figure in the public display of the islands until Hawai‘i’s 1893 colonization by the United States. Rather, the Hawaiian kingdom organized international exhibitions of Hawaiian commodities and material culture as part of a self-conscious strategy to assert the civilizational and commercial value of the islands. High-ranking ali‘i (chiefs) eagerly indigenized Western technologies of photography and museums, sending prime examples to cities like Paris, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Sydney (Fig. 3-1).

International expositions during this age of empire are often analyzed as a manifestation of the imperial sweep of Euro-American nations. At nineteenth-century international expositions, Western powers like Great Britain, France, Germany, and the newly ascendant United States, asserted their economic and political supremacy and showcased their new colonies to the world. Originally conceived as a modest way to sell manufactured goods, world’s fairs became bombastic national vehicles exhibiting nearly everything of commercial, industrial, cultural, educational, scientific, and artistic value. By the mid-nineteenth century, the pursuit of international trade and the demonstration of national ‘progress’ were the primary objectives of these highly competitive events.
However, nations standing in the shadow of imperial powers also participated. The Hawaiian kingdom took part in international expositions as early as 1855 and continued its involvement until its colonization. What would weaker countries like Hawai‘i hope to gain by contributing to these imperial expositions? During this period, Hawaiian ali‘i nui (ruling chiefs) increasingly found their authority and political independence eroded by Euro-American missionary descendents, businessmen, and maritime powers. The Hawaiian constitutional monarchy participated in fairs to advance diplomatic relations, assert their national autonomy and cultural distinctiveness, and soften the imperialist urges of larger nations. Hawaiian chiefly monarchs also had a personal stake in these expositions, sending their collections of sacred objects across foreign seas in order to demonstrate their vested authority to rule. Exhibits of sacred and commonplace artifacts further operated as national symbols for Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) subjects and kindled national pride.

Figure 3-1. Hawaiian Exhibit, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889. Hawai‘i State Archives (PP-20-1)
Hawai‘i’s international exhibits were not produced by a single constituency, but initiated and supported by ali‘i and white business owners in the islands; therefore, they were shaped by shifting nationalist, foreign, and commercial interests. I avoid categorizing exhibits prior to 1893 as authentically Native, and those after as Euro-American, for the commodification of Hawaiian culture and land for Western consumption had been underway for decades. Even exhibits that largely bore the intentions and desires of Hawaiian chiefs were arranged under the partial influence and watchful eye of Euro-American statesmen, businessmen, and missionaries. The resulting exhibits were co-productions and the result of compromises. Yet, it is also true that as Hawaiian chiefs lost political ground to foreigners, the latter also assumed more authority over the tenor and content of these exhibits and stood to profit directly from them.

A NATION OF CANNIBALS?

Since the arrival of American Congregational missionaries in 1820, ali‘i and ali‘i nui had been increasingly educated in Protestant schools and pressured to restructure their traditional system of governance as an American republican government. By 1840, the Hawaiian government was a hereditary constitutional monarchy, with the mo‘i (paramount chief or king) sharing power with a house of nobles and an elected house of representatives. Although the mo‘i still ascended to power based on chiefly rank and genealogy, larger numbers of haole (white) foreigners, some of them former missionaries, held prominent positions within the mo‘i’s cabinet and enjoyed direct access to ali‘i, much to the worry of the maka‘āinana (commoner class).

The independence of Hawai‘i was threatened by the internal political disruption of haole expatriates and external pressure exerted by powerful Euro-American countries. Foreign demands upon the Hawaiian crown and their home countries compromised Hawaiian independence. In 1843, for example, the British naval commander Lord George Paulet intervened in a property dispute between a British citizen and the Hawaiian government. Paulet annexed the islands for Britain, and the sovereignty of Hawai‘i was restored only after Paulet’s commanding officer arrived and returned the islands to the king. The British were not the only rapacious foreigners; Americans residing in the islands also began organizing for annexation, using the threat of violence in the 1850s.

Safeguarding the independence of the kingdom became the priority of Hawai‘i’s foreign policy during the mid-nineteenth century. The govern-
ment expanded its diplomatic reach and established many diplomatic and consular agencies worldwide. The government maintained chargés d'affaires in England, the United States, France and Prussia, as well as consuls in Bremen, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Chile, Peru, Hong Kong, and Japan. Many of these countries also maintained ministers and consuls in Hawai‘i. The Hawai‘i ministry of foreign affairs attempted to negotiate tripartite or quadripartite treaties with the United States, France, and Great Britain that would guarantee the independence and neutrality of the kingdom. 

Since European contact, ali‘i undertook foreign travel as part of their edification and to advance diplomatic relations. Kamehameha II (Liholiho) was the first mo‘i to visit Europe in 1823; he and his consort Victoria Kamāmalu died in London of measles before they could negotiate an alliance with the British government. As teenage princes, the future kings Alexander Liholiho and his brother Lota Kapu‘aiwa, traveled throughout the United States and Europe in 1849-1850. King David Kalākaua later toured the United States in 1874 and undertook an ambitious, diplomatic voyage around the world in 1881, making him the first ruling monarch of any nation to circumnavigate the globe.

Hawai‘i’s active diplomacy extended to international expositions in the nineteenth century. Hawai‘i vigorously asserted its national sovereignty as its political and economic autonomy declined. Establishing economic self-sufficiency was one goal of these expositions. After the decline of the whaling trade in the 1860s, Hawai‘i needed European and American markets for its agricultural products. The kingdom of Hawai‘i allocated legislative monies and appointed commissioners to fairs held in Paris (1855, 1867, 1889), Philadelphia (1876), Boston (1884), New Orleans (1884), Sydney (1888), as well as a few other smaller expositions (Table 3-1).

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Hawai‘i first tried to prove itself a cultivated and culturally unique nation on the world stage in 1855 and 1867 at the Paris Expositions Universelle. The government of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) issued a circular in 1854 asking planters and manufacturers in the islands to contribute to a Hawaiian exhibition at the Paris Exposition the following year. Planters, the majority of whom were haole, responded to the government’s request and the Hawai‘i ministry of foreign affairs in turn sent a small display of agricultural products to Paris.

However, Kānaka Maoli had another important reason to participate in expositions during an age of colonization: to declare themselves civilized people of commensurate status to Euro-Americans. Eighty years of contact with Western explorers, missionaries, and settlers had made Hawaiians well aware of how white nations were inclined to read them as savages, cannibals,