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## SECRET SHARERS: INDIGENOUS BEACHCOMBERS IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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> . . . the secret sharer of my cabin and of my thoughts, as though he were my second self, had lowered himself into the water . . . a free man, a proud swimmer striking out for a new destiny.
>
> --Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Sharer*

The acculturative role of beachcombers in the early history of European contact with the Pacific Islands has been recognized at least since H. E. Maude's 1968 essay.[1] In the late eighteenth century, as outsider-indigenous maritime relations intensified and convicts began to escape from the British penal colony in Australia, increasing numbers of ship deserters and castaways arrived on island beaches. To survive, they had to adapt and make themselves useful to their hosts, usually by acting as cultural mediators between ship and shore. Yet because foreign vessels often depended on recruiting native seamen to replace lost crew, Pacific Islander sailors-turned-beachcombers also participated in this acculturation process. In fact, Maude suggested that European ships probably stranded more natives on strange beaches than white expatriates, who were simply better documented. "This widespread inter-group mixing together of island peoples in early post-contact times is a factor of considerable importance to the anthropologist," he wrote, "but the problems arising from intra-regional cross-cultural contact are not necessarily identical and require separate discussion."[2] That separate treatment, if justified, is long overdue.

Before Europeans entered the Pacific, there had been considerable

interisland canoe contact.[3] Indeed, many island communities had become, in Maude's words, "highly receptive to the assimilation of immigrants."[4] That long-standing tradition of intraregional contact would persist alongside indigenous encounters with Western-style vessels and crews.[5] But Maude considered European beachcombers to be a new kind of immigrant group, one that would help to initiate cultural transformations of a different order--without having the power to *force* such changes onto their hosts.[6] The question remains, then, to what extent did "indigenous beachcombers" participate in this process?[7] Maude assumed that maritime travelers from the same region would have cross-cultural encounters that were inherently distinguishable from those of their European counterparts. Similar reasoning was once used to support the strategy of sending Polynesian missionaries into Melanesia to convert "fellow" Islanders, despite a 50 percent death rate and notable cultural chauvinism.[8]

## Beachcombers as Transculturists

To test Maude's hypothesis that beachcombing by Pacific Islanders was likely to be different from that of Europeans, let us consider some generalizations about the latter. Thomas Bargatzky has emphasized the contributions that European beachcombers made to Islander nautical and military technology, though he acknowledges other innovations such as religious syncretism and liquor distilling.[9] Ian Campbell has stressed "the ability to work wood and metal, the ability to use and maintain muskets and small cannon, and the ability to entertain with stories of the world beyond the Pacific." He suggests five rules for success: cooperative conformity, respect for chiefs, earning popularity by being entertaining and generous, guarding one's monopoly over key skills, and restraining acquisitiveness in order to avoid jealousy.[10]

This deliberate effort to "merge" with the host society made beachcombers, in Campbell's view, "not a vanguard of colonization, [but] its antithesis."[11]He dates the heyday of beachcombing from 1780 to about 1840, during which time beachcombers evolved from being rare "pets" of chiefs into commercial middlemen with significant leverage. If such "transculturists" parlayed their relative linguistic and technological advantages into high-ranking marriages, they might even achieve more status than they would have enjoyed in their own society. Because they crossed the beach alone,[12] however, they were generally unable to compete with the overseas connections of subsequent foreign residents, such as traders, missionaries, planters, and consuls. Hence, the 1840 cutoff,

by which time the growth of foreign beach *communities* was changing the dynamics of acculturation.[13] In addition, Pacific Islanders gradually acquired the knowledge needed to replace beachcombers, whose role as "cultural brokers" was thus doubly transitional.[14]

Given the cultural diversity of the Pacific Islands, an indigenous beachcomber was in reality hardly less expatriate on a strange shore than castaway James O'Connell, who danced an amusing jig on the beach of Pohnpei to win acceptance.[15] Moreover, so-called *kanaka*[16] sailors who worked on foreign vessels passed through liminal initiations[17] into the same kinds of esoteric knowledge that their European shipmates might offer island hosts.[18] Aboard ship, *kanakas* received not only a new collective categorization but also new personal names, new clothing, familiarity with European customs, and training with foreign tools, including weapons. They traveled to exotic lands, made new friends and enemies in the cramped forecastle, learned Western-style nautical skills, and even underwent rituals like the shaving and dunking all neophytes endured who crossed the equator for the first time.[19] Henry Opukahaia, whose later conversion to Christianity and death in New England inspired the first missionaries to come to Hawai'i, went through the rite of Neptune at night, so he was able to put the sea king's trumpet *beside* his mouth and avoid swallowing the brine that made a fellow initiate sick.[20]

Instruction in shipboard trade pidgin was an essential part of this personal transformation. "Jo Bob" of Rarotonga not only learned pidgin but taught it, in his own fashion, to a Black Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands while on night watch.[21] Such linguistic knowledge could earn *kanakas* a role in island societies, notably in trade transactions with ships. Skill with new weapons was also "marketable." Hitihiti of Borabora, while traveling with James Cook and later with the *Bounty* mutineers, learned enough about firearms to become a war leader for Pomare I of Tahiti.[22] Some *kanaka* mariners who left ship perpetuated their liminality by piloting ships into port. Others never readjusted to life on the beach and shipped out again at the first opportunity.[23] In short, their experiences aboard European vessels changed such men far more than traditional canoe voyaging would have. Consequently, *kanakas* who found themselves on unfamiliar islands might well earn their keep in innovative ways that were quite similar to those employed by white beachcombers: mediating with foreign ships and offering informed advice to ambitious chiefs.[24]

Maude's speculation about large numbers of indigenous beachcombers is quite plausible. The rate of desertion from European or American

ships was high in the Pacific, perhaps as much as 20 percent on whaling ships, so that sea captains increasingly depended on *kanaka* recruits by the nineteenth century.[25] In 1846, during the peak of Pacific whaling, Interior Minister Keoni Ana of the Kingdom of Hawai'i estimated that as many as three thousand Hawaiians might be working on foreign ships. He estimated that four hundred Hawaiian beachcombers were in Tahiti, compared to five hundred recruits working on contract for fur companies in Northwest America. Conversely, there were perhaps two hundred Tahitians in Hawai'i, one-fifth of all foreigners in the kingdom.[26] Such rare documentation, however approximate, suggests the scale of the phenomenon to which Maude alluded.

As seasonal whaling routes and trans-Pacific trade with China and Australia intensified interaction between foreign ships and Islanders, few indigenous societies lacked either outbound seamen or incoming beachcombers. Even the isolated island of Rotuma developed a "shipping out" ethic; it was common there for young men to ridicule anyone who had not been *forau* (overseas).[27] Nevertheless, Euroamerican shipping circuits tended to favor certain strategic island groups whose location, hospitality, or resources made them appealing ports of call, such as Hawai'i, the Society Islands (and the Marquesas), Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Loyalty Islands, and the Gilbert-eastern Caroline archipelagoes. Consequently, most seamen were recruited from those loci, which in turn produced and received proportionately more beachcombers.

*Kanaka* sailors often spent time on other islands, because of the temporary, regional nature of their employment. In fact, Euroamerican vessels might leave them on any generic island before leaving the Pacific.[28] In Hawai'i, which was already experiencing drastic depopulation from disease, this practice posed such a threat that in 1841 the government began requiring ship captains to post bonds to encourage the safe return of native recruits.[29] Yet other island groups usually lacked such regulatory power. Whether by choice or by accident, then, many indigenous sailors became beachcombers and had to use their wits to survive in unfamiliar situations. Those *kanakas* who did return home again, after ship work and exposure to other seaports, could play an acculturative role just as important as that of beachcombers, adding another variable to cross-cultural encounters. Maude might say, with obvious merit, that such returnees constituted a separate category of transculturists worthy of yet another essay.

Unfortunately, the limited data make it difficult to separate very discretely the cross-cultural impact of returnees on their home islands from

that of indigenous beachcombers. What little historical evidence is available tends to be rather Eurocentric, anecdotal, and fragmentary. Nevertheless, this essay will attempt to survey the nature of indigenous beachcombing in the Pacific, in hopes that future research can enrich the data on this neglected topic.

## Political and Military Roles

Ambitious chiefs in places like Hawai‘i, Tahiti, or Tonga gained advantages from trade with foreign ships, and beachcombers were potential channels to this new *mana* (power). In the late 1780s, Kamehameha I used ship contacts to acquire the firearms, Western-style vessels, and beachcombers that helped him to unite the Hawaiian Islands into a kingdom. In fact, he deliberately encouraged young men to serve on foreign ships in order to train personnel for his new navy,[30] thereby placing more Hawaiians in Bargatzky's role of nautical innovators. Kamehameha also recruited Hawaiians who had been overseas, such as Ka‘iana (Northwest America and China), Kalehua (Northwest America and Boston), and Kualelo (England), into his retinue as military commanders or interpreters. Ka‘iana, who was from Kaua‘i, not Kamehameha's own island, came ashore from an English fur-trading ship in 1788 with four swivel cannons, six muskets, three barrels of gunpowder, and five double canoes loaded with metal tools and iron bars[31]--before Kamehameha acquired his first European beachcomber.[32]

Into this context of calculated recruitment arrived three Boraborans in 1796, from an American ship. They joined Kamehameha and recommended that after conquering Kaua‘i, he should invade and annex their home island, a prospect he apparently contemplated until his attacks on Kaua‘i aborted.[33] Boraborans had a reputation in the Society Islands for raids and conquest, but these three beachcombers may simply have wanted to get home again on more favorable terms than they left behind. Several Tahitians arrived in Hawai‘i in the early 1800s, some of whom entered chiefly circles; Chief Ke‘eaumoku, for example, had a Tahitian steward.[34] In 1819, a Marquesan called Thomas Patu arrived in Hawai‘i aboard an American ship and was taken into Kamehameha II's royal bodyguard. Tahunaliho, as Patu was renamed, became a petlike favorite with the king, particularly because of his tattoos, but he also suffered abuse when the young monarch drank too much. Patu could not get permission to leave, so he had to escape at night, helped by friendly watchmen, and catch a ship to Canton and New England.[35]

Indigenous beachcombers might therefore be sought after for both

their experience aboard European ships and, as Maude implied, their *mana* from other islands. These two attributes are suggested by John Turnbull's statement that Pomare I of Tahiti employed Hawaiians as royal attendants for "their superior skill and warlike disposition."[36] In 1792, Pomare tried to entice Kualelo, who was returning from England to Hawai'i with George Vancouver, to desert and become a warrior and gunsmith in his entourage. Vancouver had to threaten force to recover the young Hawaiian, who had been offered better prospects than he expected at home.[37]

This weighing of options was also notable in the case of "Jem" the Tahitian, who had visited Australia but chose to live out his days among the Maori in Aotearoa. Having gone to Sydney aboard an English trade-ship at the age of eleven, he enjoyed a comfortable life as a house servant and learned to read. But he yearned for higher status, so he worked his passage to New Zealand's Bay of Islands. Jem's knowledge of firearms and foreign ways earned him a position as war leader and ship mediator for a North Cape chief, whose daughter he married. When Samuel Marsden visited New Zealand in 1814, he found Jem, whom he had known in Sydney, wearing a Maori mat and feathers and wielding his musket in local wars. Jem accompanied Marsden's missionary ship, the *Active,* along the coast and served as a translator and food provisioner, in return for gifts for himself and his father-in-law. He was still working as a ship mediator at Bay of Islands thirteen years later.[38]

Indigenous beachcombers sometimes competed for status against Europeans on the same beach. A Tahitian called Harraweia arrived at Tahuata in the Marquesas aboard the London Missionary Society ship *Duff* in 1797, but instead of helping the English missionary, he stirred up opposition against him. The following year, a Hawaiian called Sam, or Tama, disembarked from an American ship at Tahuata. His captain, too, expected him to help the local English missionary, who was in turn supposed to teach Tama to read and write. Tama spoke pidgin English, so he could mediate with passing ships for the local chief. He could also throw a spear farther than any warrior on the island and entertained his hosts, in typical beachcomber fashion, with tales of the outer world, particularly Hawai'i.

But Tama also brought ashore more tangible cargo: a chest of clothes from Boston, including a military uniform and a musket with ammunition. With the latter, he won a position as *toa,* or war leader, for the chief, forged an alliance between warring groups, and led bloody expeditions against the island of Hiva Oa. At times Tama commanded thirty double canoes carrying nearly one thousand warriors. He helped an

English sailor jump ship to join him on the beach but did little to help the missionary. In fact, he told his hosts that he had seen with his own eyes that white men worshiped no god in their own country. But Hawaiians did, he said, so his followers should bring him pigs to offer to his deity. Tama lost his prestige when wounded by a stone in battle; his alliance collapsed, his influence with tradeships waned, and he died on Hiva Oa after trying to strangle himself in despair.[39]

Examples of tension between indigenous and expatriate beachcombers can also be found on other islands. Finau ʻUlukalala II of Tonga employed Hawaiian as well as European beachcombers in his wars of the early 1800s. Tuitui, who had sailed on an American ship from Hawaiʻi to Manila, knew a little English, so in 1806 he lured the captain and half the crew of the *Port au Prince* ashore in the Haʻapai Islands. Finau's warriors massacred the crew and, after stripping the ship, burned it, sparing the Hawaiian sailors aboard. William Mariner, however, saved his own life by saying *"aloha"* to Tuitui during the fight. Mariner and other beachcombers helped Finau to attack Tongatapu, but Tuitui, to whom Finau accorded life-and-death authority, warned the chief to destroy all Mariner's writing materials and to intercept any written messages that the white man might try to send, lest their "magic" cause harm.[40] Indigenous beachcombers did not always get the upper hand in this competition for influence. In 1843, Maoris on Pohnpei fought with white rivals over local women; two men died on each side before the Maori escaped to an islet.[41]

Participation by indigenous beachcombers in local power struggles seems to have been at least as widespread and enduring as that by Euroamerican transculturists, perhaps even more so. Part-Hawaiian George Manini, who led several trading voyages for the Hawaiian Kingdom, married a chiefs daughter on Wallis Island in 1830. To control the local trade in bêche-de-mer and tortoiseshell, he used Hawaiian seamen to build and man a fort. Manini appointed his father-in-law "king," then prostituted local women to his henchmen and passing ships and exacted heavy labor duties from the local men. Finally, in 1832, the Wallisians assassinated Manini and massacred the other Hawaiians.[42] Maoris, too, apparently earned a reputation among other Islanders for their aggressiveness. Not only did their facial tattooing and cannibalism give them an intimidating image, but their warlike *haka* chant, which they performed almost everywhere they voyaged as sailors on European vessels, impressed ambitious chiefs.[43] Tongan leaders actively sought Maoris as warriors; one lured a Maori to desert from an English whaleship in 1836, only to return him when the captain offered a reward of axes,

knives, fishhooks, and cloth--a rather direct measure of beachcomber worth.[44]

Indigenous transculturists might find themselves embroiled in anti-colonial struggles as well. Tattooed "Marquesan Jack" fought gallantly for Pomare IV against the French invasion of Tahiti in the 1840s.[45] As late as 1887, King Kalakaua of Hawai'i sent the *Kaimiloa* to Samoa in hopes of forming a Polynesian confederation to head off further European colonial annexations, but not even a treaty signed by High Chief Malietoa Laupepa could overcome the intimidation of a German warship that supported Malietoa's rivals. Nevertheless, before the *Kaimiloa* left Samoa, two Hawaiian crewmen deserted on Tutuila. Enticed by a resident Hawaiian shopkeeper, the two, Aniani and Mahelona, brought ashore rifles and cannons from the *Kaimiloa* and used them skillfully to help defend the village of Aunu'u from enemy attackers. They married local women, lived on in oral tradition, and thereby fulfilled, in micro-scale, Kalakaua's ill-fated dream.[46] This incident would seem to render the 1840 cutoff for Pacific beachcombing problematic in the case of native seamen.

## Challenges of Acculturation

Indigenous beachcombers played whatever roles were available to them on strange shores. Some acted as English-speaking guides for visiting foreigners, as two Maoris named Bob and Friday were doing on Tahiti in 1846.[47] A Hawaiian called O'ahu Sam, who had worked on whaleships, became a barber for the Fijian chief Vedovi. When in 1840 Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition arrested Vedovi for attacking an American ship, Sam accompanied his now-captive chief as far as Hawai'i, translating for Wilkes along the way.[48] Another Hawaiian was stranded on Rapa in the Australs by a whaler, but he then persuaded a pearling ship to hire him as supercargo. The captain later fired him when it became clear that he was trading ship's supplies for the favors of women on every Tuamotuan atoll they visited.[49] A Hawaiian exseaman called John Adams worked as harbor pilot at Pago Pago, Samoa, from 1846 to at least 1873. He married a local woman and fathered eight children.[50]

Some *kanakas* turned their work experience into success as entrepreneurs on the beach. After Samuel Henry used Tongan work gangs to procure sandalwood on Erromanga in the mid-1800s, a Tongan named Toriki Rangi stayed behind as his agent. Rangi became so prosperous from sandalwooding that he purchased a thirty-foot boat from Sydney,

raised livestock, and married nine Erromangan women.[51] Meanwhile, a kidnaped Erromangan wound up in Tonga, which he refused to leave despite being offered return passage by a British ship.[52] Rotumans volunteered as early as the 1820s to work for foreign maritime enterprises, initially in sandalwood crews. Later, as sailors aboard whaleships, they found it lucrative to sell whale's teeth to Fijians, for whom the *tabua* held great value in ceremonial exchanges.[53] "Rotuma Tom" sold pigeons and other provisions to passing whaleships at Kosrae in the 1850s. He also served as a harbor pilot; when a sudden wind change threatened to drive the *Emily* onto breakers, he dived overboard and secured the ship to an underwater rock to save it.[54]

Pacific Islander women, too, found themselves on alien beaches. Some landed in comfortable circumstances, others did not. In 1827, High Chief Boki of Hawai'i established a trade shop at Papeete that was managed by a Chief Kamanohu. In fact, it was his wife who sold "Chinese goods, blank books, stationery slates, pencils . . . and various articles of hardware . . . and purchased cocoanut oil and arrow root," while he squandered most of the profits in social gatherings with Tahitian aristocrats.[55] In 1846, Queen Pomare IV of Tahiti had a Fijian female attendant, whom a visiting British naval commander described as "most savage and ferocious." When she quarreled with a French resident who had made her pregnant, "she coolly told him if ever she caught him in Feejee land she would *eat* him." There was also a Cook Islands woman on Tahiti at the time who had the English word "murderer" tattooed across her face. She had apparently killed her first husband on Rarotonga, but missionary John Williams had saved her from execution by suggesting the branding, after which she had fled to Papeete. "Time has made her callous to the gaze of strangers," wrote Captain Henry Byam Martin. "She has married a second husband, and looks very much as tho' she would treat him as she did her first."[56] A Rotuman woman called Henrietta was enticed by Rotuman beachcombers in Fiji to disembark from a ship with her husband. But the local chief found her appealing, killed and ate her husband, and forced her to marry him. Not surprisingly, in 1839 Wilkes found her "in ill-humour."[57]

It would obviously be a distortion to represent all indigenous beachcombers as successful transculturists who never experienced culture shock or other mishaps. In 1799, a Tahitian called "Tapeooe" answered Pomare II's call for volunteers to serve aboard the *Betsey,* an English Whaler-turned-privateer, and visit London. The ship visited Tongatapu on its way to Australia, where Tapeooe received a warm welcome from

English officials and missionaries. Instead of sailing on to England from Australia, however, the *Betsey* set out for more privateering along the Spanish coast of South America. At Tongatapu a second time, the disillusioned Tapeooe met a fellow Tahitian beachcomber who persuaded him to disembark. But after being driven from place to place by bloody civil wars for two years, Tapeooe shipped out again on the *Plumier,* a former Spanish vessel captured by the *Betsey*. The *Plumier* crew mutinied and stopped at Guam in 1802, where the angry Spanish confiscated it and jailed all aboard, including Tapeooe.[58] Another unfortunate, Temoana of Nukuhiva, languished in rags on the beach in Samoa from 1836 to 1839. Initially an assistant to an English missionary, Temoana was ostracized as an outsider by the Samoans and finally returned home, where the French made him "King of the Marquesas."[59]

Sometimes *kanaka* sailors on the beach had cultural traditions that clashed with those of their host societies. For example, Maori beachcombers who fought in a religious civil war on Rotuma wanted to cook and eat some of the slain, an idea the victors adamantly rejected: "You may do that at New Zealand--never at Rotumah."[60] Unrealistic expectations, based on surface impressions, could also produce disillusionment and retreat. Kalehua of Hawai'i, also know as Opai or Jack Ingraham, went ashore at Hiva Oa in 1791. He had been to Boston on a fur-trading ship and went ashore in his best suit to impress the local women, but he soon returned, explaining that Hawai'i had better taro patches and pigs.[61] In 1803, some Tahitians on a British tradeship liked the hospitality that they received among Hawaiians, who admired their tapa cloth and "whose language, complexion and manners, so nearly resembled their own." The Tahitians deserted by swimming ashore at night, boasted about the power and wealth of their king, and seemed to have high hopes of being treated as *ari'i* (nobles). But after a short, disappointing stay, they shipped out again for home.[62] Another Tahitian, named Pemi, was left in Fiji by an American ship in 1813, only to be killed in battle and eaten--a rather less than desirable form of assimilation.[63]

Adjustment to life on a strange shore could be even more challenging if the beachcomber did not begin his stay voluntarily. In 1808, two Tahitians were captured by Fijians after their sandalwood ship had fired on a local canoe. They were returned, badly disfigured by wounds, only when the ship took a Fijian chief hostage.[64] "Blackbirded" Mesiol of Pohnpei, after being almost sold and then jailed in California, stowed away on a ship to Hawai'i, where he was unable to communicate with anyone until he found a missionary who arranged his passage

home.[65] Conversely, a sandalwood ship sold ten Loyalty Islanders in its crew as slaves on Pohnpei in 1855.[66] Other *kanakas* were put ashore when considered crazy, dangerous,[67] or near death.[68] Being marooned by foreign ships was not always so distressing, however. In 1839, Wilkes left on Wallis Island a Samoan chief named Tuvai, whom he had arrested for killing an American. Tuvai had feared being exiled to a place with no coconut trees but was delighted to be sent ashore, with rolls of tapa cloth for the local chief, at Wallis.[69] Not only was his new abode in canoe contact with Samoa but nearby Futuna had been settled by Samoans.[70]

The relative treatment of involuntary indigenous and European beachcombers might be expected to reveal status differences, but the evidence is hardly conclusive. Three Palauans who were taken prisoner by Tobi Islanders in 1832 were treated more harshly than the American sailors who accompanied them. In 1834, Samoans on Savai‘i kidnaped several sailors, including three Hawaiians, in a fight over a missing musket. The ship captain ransomed the white crewmen for two muskets apiece but offered nothing for the Hawaiians. Twenty years later, Nauruans who massacred the American crew of the *Inga* spared the lives of the *kanakas* aboard, who were “from different islands.”[71] An Isle of Pines chief was less discriminating in 1842, when he avenged an insult by sailors from the *Star* by having its whole crew killed, including six assorted *kanaka* seamen and three Polynesian missionaries.[72]

Circumstance could obviously outweigh pan-Pacific solidarity in determining indigenous responses to *kanaka* sailors. New Caledonians spared the life of a near-blind Rotuman sailor when they massacred the crew of the *Mary* in 1849, only to kill fifteen Hawaiians at a sandalwood station eight years later.[73] Having predecessors ashore could help. Tuitui, as we have seen, persuaded fellow Hawaiians in the crew of the *Port au Prince* to join Finau’s beachcombers in Tonga, much as Tapeooe’s Tahitian compatriot lured him into disembarking on Tongatapu. But other alliances could be more entangled. In 1847, ten Maori, Hawaiian, and Tahitian sailors deserted the *Cape Packet* at Efate, after disputing with white crew members over access to local women. Once ashore, the deserters conspired with the Efateans, took the ship, and massacred the crew--which included some Tannese.[74]

There were many cases of Pacific Islanders arriving on alien beaches in dependent roles as a result of deliberate initiatives by Euroamerican ships. Examples include the attempts to establish provisioning stations, with Hawaiians on Agrihan,[75] Juan Fernandez Island, and North Bonin Island,[76] and with Maori women accompanying their *pakeha* (white)

mates on Three Kings, Lord Howe's, and Sunday Islands.[77] Euroamerican ships also employed Tongan, Hawaiian, and Rotuman sandalwood gangs in Melanesia[78] and Hawaiian labor on the guano atolls.[79] So many Hawaiians wound up on Rotuma from various passing ships that the islet they occupied acquired the nickname "O'ahu."[80] Fanning Island was at first a dumping ground for unwanted beachcombers from Hawai'i, both expatriate and indigenous,[81] and later became the site of a copra plantation worked by Tahitians.[82] The *Bounty* mutineers took both kidnaped and willing Society Islanders to Pitcairn Island, from which their descendants were later relocated, for a time, to Tahiti and Norfolk Island.[83] Missionaries temporarily relocated 250 Rapanuians (Easter Islanders) to Tahiti in the 1870s,[84] while other Islanders were left by ships at uninhabited islands to kill seals or hunt turtles.[85] There were also naval expeditions, such as Boki's ill-fated attempt to conquer Erromanga for its sandalwood,[86] the genocidal North Island Maori conquest of the Chathams with a captured English ship,[87] and the attack on Ngatik by Charles "Bloody" Hart's sailors and Pohnpeians, who exterminated all the indigenous men and married the women.[88]

This extensive movement of indigenous people around the region by Euroamerican ships overlapped, of course, not only with canoe voyaging but also with the plantation labor trade and with missionary travels by native teachers. The spread of orthodox Christianity in the Pacific Islands was sometimes resisted by white beachcombers because it might interfere with their own activities. In Samoa, for example, English missionaries encountered opposition from some beachcombers who had founded their own self-serving "sailor cults."[89] Yet it is interesting to note that indigenous beachcombers could use aspects of Christian *mana* --esoteric cargo for them--to enhance their own prestige. Between 1818 and 1826, for example, several Tahitian sailors arrived in Hawai'i and used their relatively more advanced knowledge of Protestant Christianity to gain acceptance into chiefly circles.[90] This process coincided with the arrival in 1822 of William Ellis from Tahiti with native teachers like Auna of Ra'iatea, whose father had been a traditional priest.[91]

Christianity could be manipulated to mean different things, depending on who was on the beach. Siovili of Samoa traveled by canoe to Tonga in the 1820s, then by tradeship to Tahiti, where he may have encountered prophets of the Mamaia "heresy." He returned home with his own syncretic "sailor cult" and converted Chief Mata'afa.[92] His countryman Fauea, who met John Williams in Tonga, returned home with the English missionary to urge Chief Malietoa to adopt Protestantism, promising cargo in the form of iron tools and weapons.[93] Langi, a

Tongan from eastern Fiji, voyaged to Sydney in 1824, then to Tahiti, where he converted to Christianity and married a local woman. In 1825, he sailed with Peter Dillon to Tongatapu as a pilot and interpreter and disembarked there to spread the gospel.[94] In 1852, a Hawaiian from Maui named Pu‘u disembarked from an American whaleship at Fatuhiva in the Marquesas. He married a local chiefs daughter and bragged about the availability of firearms in his native kingdom. Together, Pu‘u and his father-in-law journeyed to Hawai‘i to ask for missionaries in hopes of attracting the desired cargo. This embassy led to the dispatching of Hawaiian preachers to the Marquesas, though opposition from French Catholics undermined their efforts at conversion.[95]

The role distinction between native missionaries and beachcombers was not always clear. In the 1840s, a Samoan named Sualo drifted to Efate in Vanuatu with other canoeists, who were fleeing from a Samoan civil war. Sualo allied himself with an influential Maori beachcomber and fought in wars for local big-men, He also became a middleman between Efateans and sandalwood ships and welcomed the first Samoan missionaries.[96] Can Sualo’s contributions to the process of cultural change be easily distinguished from those of his Maori friend or the Samoan preachers? More blurring occurred when native teachers, like some of their European counterparts, “backslid” into unorthodoxy on alien beaches, thereby altering their historical role. For example, a Hawaiian missionary named Kapu organized a bloody Christian crusade against a syncretic church on Tabiteuea in the Gilberts in 1880. After supervising a massacre of enemy warriors, enslaving the survivors, and confiscating their lands, Kapu survived a church investigation. But the mission expelled him anyway six years later for trying to communicate with the spirit of his deceased wife. Kapu--an appropriate name--remained on Tabiteuea as a “lawgiver” until deported by the British in 1892.[97]

## The Liminality of Voyaging

Any assessment of the impact of indigenous beachcombers on Pacific Islands societies must look beyond the image problem that contemporary recordkeepers imposed on the actors. White beachcombers were themselves frequently vilified by fellow Euroamericans as “worthless, dissipated, and worn-out vagabonds.”[98] Similarly, *kanaka* sailors who deserted their ships were often regarded as ungrateful miscreants and blights on the beach. In 1858, a Hawaiian called Johnny Boy jumped ship at Ua Pou in the Marquesas. The captain’s wife wrote how disap-

pointing it was "for a Kanaka who has been brought up among partially civilized people to run away in such a place as this."[99] Fifteen years later, a ship captain commented that twenty 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."[100]

In fact, liquor distilling was one of the acquired skills that such beachcombers helped to spread around the Pacific. Hawaiians, for example, learned to make ti-root liquor from Australian exconvict deserters.[101] In 1807, a Hawaiian named Pumai'a began distilling ti root for Pomare II of Tahiti, despite missionary protests.[102] By 1842, a Fijian chief was giving four Tahitian beachcombers women and other rewards in exchange for making ti-root liquor.[103] Clearly, the image of rowdy inebriation was not entirely undeserved. Kaomi, the son of a Tahitian migrant, was the ringleader of Kamehameha III's drinking companions in the 1830s, and drunken Boraborans in Honolulu threw a stick at the king's horse one day when he was out riding, thereby earning themselves a night in irons.[104]

Yet the evidence assembled in this exploratory overview suggests that the acculturative role played by indigenous beachcombers was also significant in more constructive ways. As interpreters between ship and shore, technical advisors to island leaders, and craftsmen, traders, and missionaries, they (and returned *kanaka* sailors) constituted an informal counterintelligence network that helped to mediate between island societies and encroaching outsiders. Campbell argues that Euroamerican transculturists merely participated in change rather than causing it, because they had to "merge" with their host societies, who were the true agents of their own transformation.[105] But what, then, could be said of *indigenous* beachcombers or returnees? To place them in the liminal frontline of acculturation, as Greg Dening would,[106] does not diminish the agency of other Islanders who may have learned from their cross-cultural encounters without ever sailing off on a foreign ship. The interactions that transformed the Pacific were complex enough to encompass more than one kind of native agent.

Indigenous beachcombers may have represented more imitable role models than the Euroamerican counterparts they occasionally outcompeted. Dening suggests that Marquesans saw other Polynesians "as metaphoric variations on their own themes."[107] In his commentary on a beachcomber journal he goes farther: "The Polynesians were always more interested in other Polynesian islands and their customs than in

anything the Europeans had to offer."[108] Both Dening and Nicholas Thomas have said that Hawaiian and Tahitian sailors and beachcombers introduced the idea of centralized monarchy to Marquesan chiefs.[109] Such transculturists thus played important roles not only in external relations but also in local politics. Tuitui, Tama, and "Jem," as we have seen, all attained prominence in their host societies because of the military and linguistic knowledge they acquired abroad. R. G. Ward has argued that Tahitians and Maoris employed by bêche-de-mer traders in Fiji effected important socioeconomic changes, particularly as beachcombers.[110] Overall, inter-Islander encounters via Euroamerican shipping must have stimulated "a great deal of innovation in such areas as material culture and political practice."[111] Such veterans of cross-cultural initiations could translate the geographic distances they had traveled into "an esoteric resource,"[112] much as a shaman "knows the roads of the extraterrestrial regions."[113]

At times, *kanaka* mariners do seem to have had certain advantages on island beaches. For example, a Marquesan in Honolulu claimed that 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."[114] Kadu of Woleai was already a castaway in the Marshall Islands before sailing on a Russian ship. In Honolulu, he "disappeared among the natives, who liked him, and with whom he soon learned to make himself understood."[115] The relative "invisibility" of indigenous beachcombers in the records, compared to their Euroamerican counterparts, may be due to more than a simple absence of written memoirs, because they were commensurate and novel at the same time. They could potentially be true chameleons, with eyes looking in multiple directions, and use a wider range of strategies to adapt to their new, yet still intraregional, surroundings.

But they also risked "losing" their original identities--like actors who had played too many roles. As Dening has said, crossing the cultural beach "did violence to a man in all his parts."[116] By definition, indigenous beachcombers did that *more than once.* Some became colorful oracles living out riddles from the beyond. In Hawai'i in 1825, at the Nu'uanu Pali lookout on O'ahu, a British visitor met a well-dressed, English-speaking Tahitian who said that he had left Tahiti as a boy on 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 met another Tahitian who lacked a pension but had won a place in Queen Ka'ahumanu's entourage: "an old cunning fellow, 'Jack Bligh'

. . . who spoke a little English, and had, he said, been with Captain Bligh in the *Bounty* at the time of the mutiny."[117]

Others might retire on a favorite beach, ending their sailing days more humbly and happily than lonely Tama, whose fall from glory had led him to attempt suicide. A Hawaiian called "Babahey" worked for many years as a sailor and interpreter on Anglo-Australian vessels, fur trading in Northwest America, buying pork in Tahiti for Sydney convicts, and shipping sandalwood from Fiji. He even mediated on Marsden's missionary vessel, the *Active,* in New Zealand. Aging, he finally asked to be put ashore with his trade goods at Rotuma in 1814. When he died five years later, he left behind a wife and a twelve-year-old daughter,[118] indicating that like many other seamen he had already established a household ashore while continuing to sail the sea. Apart from a brief but fond mention in Peter Dillon's account of his quest for the La Pérouse wreck, "Babahey" left no memoir but his genes. His name was most likely an English corruption of the Hawaiian *Papa he'e (nalu),* "surfboard,"[119] an appropriate metaphor for someone who had mastered the limen. He apparently felt no need to return to his native Hawai'i, because he was at home wherever the waves hit the sand.

## NOTES

1. H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968), chapter 4.

2. Ibid., 135.

3. See Martha Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 363-375, for oral traditions; and Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), for a well-known ethnographic study.

4. Maude, *Of Islands and Men,* 149.

5. Greg Dening, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians and the Nature of Inter-Island Contact," in Jack Golson (ed.), *Polynesian Navigation* (Sydney: Reed, 1972), 102-153.

6. Maude, *Of Islands and Men,* 168-169.

7. Finding an appropriate term for such ship travelers is problematic, but this one, first used by Rhys Richards in his "Indigenous Beachcombers: The Case of Tapeooe, a Tahitian Traveller from 1798 to 1812" *(The Great Circle,* 12, No. 1 [1990], 1), is less contradictory than it may sound. Richards applies it to "those Pacific Islanders who from a very early date chose to join foreign vessels, but later left them in order to settle among other Pacific Island people than their own." In this essay, an "indigenous beachcomber" was someone native to the region but not to the particular island at which a foreign ship left him. The

strength of this label is that it creates a separate category from Euroamerican beachcombers, who have been the focus of most previous investigations.

8. Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 357-364; Sione Latukefu, "The Impact of South Sea Islands Missionaries on Melanesia," in James Boutilier, Daniel Hughes, and Sharon Tiffany (eds.), *Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania* (New York: University Press of America, 1978), 91-108.

9. Thomas Bargatzky, "Beachcombers and Castaways as Innovators," *Journal of Pacific History,* 15, No. 1 (1980), 93-102.

10. I. C. Campbell, "European Transculturists in Polynesia, 1789-ca. 1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Adelaide, 1976), 252-256.

11. Ibid., 454.

12. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 129.

13. Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities in the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978), 66.

14. K. R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii *Press,* 1984), 107.

15. See Saul Riesenberg (ed.), *A Residence of Eleven Years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands by James F. O'Connell* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1972).

16. This generic Polynesian word means person, but in Pacific trade pidgin it connoted a manual laborer or "bush" native. It was used in the plantation labor trade and today, as Kanak, is the collective term that indigenous Melanesian nationalists of New Caledonia apply to themselves. In this essay, it refers exclusively to Pacific Islanders who worked on foreign ships and hence denotes an occupational category that reflects nineteenth-century maritime usage. Many native seamen on Euroamerican ships were given "Kanaka" as a family name in the logs.

17. Victor Turner, in *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93-97, first applied the concept of the limen, or threshhold, to rite-of-passage initiations, during which neophytes pass through a "betwixt-and-between" stage before being reborn into new social identities. Greg Dening has applied this idea of liminality to cross-cultural encounters on the decks of ships in Pacific ports. *See* his *The Bounty: An Ethnographic History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 31.

18. For a general discussion of the liminality of overseas travel, see Mary Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), especially 150-155 and 191-197 for the Pacific. For a more Pacific-focused discussion, see Roderic Lacey, "*To Limlimbur,* the 'Wanderers,' "*Pacific Studies,* 9, No. 1 (November 1985), 83-146.

19. For an extended discussion of this topic, see David A. Chappell, "Beyond the Beach: Periplean Frontiers of Pacific Islanders aboard Euroamerican Ships, 1767-1887" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 1991), chapter 4 [available from University Microfilms International].

20. Edwin Dwight (ed.), *The Memoirs of Henry Obookiah* (Honolulu: United Church of Christ, 1968), 10-11.

21. [John D. Jones], *Life and Adventure in the South Pacific by a Roving Printer* (New York: Harper, 1861), 36.

22. See Owen Rutter (ed.), *The Journal of James Morrison* (London: Golden Cockerel Press, 1935), 53-119.

23. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), II:4, 378.

24. As the example of Hitihiti demonstrates, beachcombers helped indigenous leaders not only in relations with foreign ships but also in local power struggles. See Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses,* 29.

25. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 323.

26. *The Polynesian* (Honolulu), 8 August 1846.

27. J. Stanley Gardiner, "The Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 27 (1898), 407.

28. John Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London: Dawsons, 1967), 346.

29. Richard Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas: Notes on Hawaiian Emigration before 1848," *Journal of the West,* 6, No. 2 (April 1967), 221-225.

30. Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage round the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 154.

31. [Edward Bell], Journal of the *Chatham,* 1791-1794, manuscript, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, I:122.

32. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 69.

33. William Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1804), 42.

34. C. S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 276.

35. Harlan Page, *A Memoir of Thomas H. Patoo of the Marquesan Islands* (Andover, Mass.: American Tract Society, 1825), 6-7.

36. John Turnbull, *A Voyage round the World* (London: Phillips, 1805), II:67.

37. Bell, Journal of the *Chatham,* 1:93-97.

38. John Rawson Elder (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden* (Dunedin: Wilkie, 1932), 81-82, 125-127; John Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton, 1971), 1:92-96, 240-241, 11:209-220; Peter Dillon, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas* (London: Hurst, Chance, 1829), I:213, 327.

39. Greg Dening (ed.), *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts, 1797-1824* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 4-5, 46-55; William Pascoe Crook, "Account of the Marquesas," typescript in George Sheehan, *Marquesan Source Materials* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1963), Part I, 150-158.

40. John Martin, *Tonga Islands: William Mariner's Account* (Tonga: Vava'u Press, 1981), 55-67, 91-92, 284; Everard Im Thurn and Leonard Wharton (eds.), *The Journal of William Lockerby* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1925), 201.

41. Dorothy Shineberg (ed.), *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 286-290.

42. Charles Denison (ed.), *Old Slade* (Boston: Putnam, 1876), 49-101; for Wallisian oral tradition on this topic, see Edwin Burrows, "George Manini in Uvea (Wallis Island)," *Forty-fifth Annual Report, 1936* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1937), 48-51.

43. Chappell, "Beyond the Beach," 266-267.

44. C. R. Straubel (ed.), *The Whaling Journal of Captain W. B. Rhodes* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1954), 27-29, 115.

45. Henry Byam Martin, *The Polynesian Journal of Captain Henry Byam Martin* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1981), 176.

46. For a Samoan oral tradition of this incident, see William Pila Kikuchi, "A Legend of *Kaimiloa* Hawaiians in American Samoa," in Richard Greer (ed.), *Hawaiian Historical Review: Selected Readings* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1969), 268-269.

47. Byam Martin, *Polynesian Journal,* 116, 171.

48. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:445-448.

49. Edward Lucatt, *Rovings in the Pacific* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851), I:325-327.

50. James Goodenough, *Journal of Commodore Goodenough* (London: King, 1876), 193-194.

51. Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967), 135, 141, 266.

52. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 143-146.

53. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1991), 111.

54. Jones, *Life and Adventure,* 132, 153.

55. C. S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas* (New York: Praeger, 1970), II:20-21.

56. Byam Martin, *Polynesian Journal,* 57, 116, 126-127.

57. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:227-228.

58. Richards, "Indigenous Beachcombers," 2-9.

59. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 216.

60. George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (London: John Snow, 1861), 358.

61. Mark Kaplanoff (ed.), *Joseph Ingraham's Journal of the Brigantine* Hope (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1971), 43-55.

62. Turnbull, *Voyage round the World,* II:32-76.

63. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:24-25.

64. Im Thurn and Wharton, *Journal of William Lockerby,* 16-19.

65. David Hanlon and Epension Eperiam, "The Saga of Mesiol," in *Islander Resurrection* (supplement to *Guam Daily News*), 20 August 1978, 12-14.

66. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years,* 509.

67. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:289, 293.

68. Thomas Landers, Log of the *Charles W. Morgan,* 2 March 1858, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Microfilm 316, Australian National University.

69. Wilkes, *Narrative,* II:88, 90-91, 157.

70. Karl H. Rensch, "Wallis and Futuna," in *Politics in Polynesia* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific Press, 1983), 4.

71. R. G. Ward (ed.), *American Activities in the Central Pacific 1790-1870* (Ridgewood, N. J.: Bentley, 1966), V:32, 425-426, 440, VI:394-395.

72. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 344-345, 390-391.

73. Ward, *American Activities,* V:61-62, 73.

74. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 327-329.

75. The Spanish repeatedly transported such "colonies" to Guam, where a small, unhappy Hawaiian community formed. See Ward, *American Activities,* I:80-86, V:277; and Otto von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Seas. . . .* (London: Longman, 1821), 11:247-248, III:86-88.

76. Ward, *American Activities,* II:16-30, III:445-448, VI:399-400; and Lionel B. Cholmondeley, *The History of the Bonin Islands* (London: Constable, 1915), 16-99, 148, 164-169.

77. Ward, *American Activities,* VI:237-239, 254; Straubel, *Whaling Journal,* 34-41.

78. Shineberg, *Sandalwood,* 17-22.

79. Ward, *American Activities,* III:311, 391, 432, IV:88, 94-95, VI:512.

80. Robert Jarman, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in the "Japan"* (London: Longman, 1838), 186.

81. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1849), 118.

82. Ward, *American Activities,* II:338.

83. Dening, *The Bounty,* 35-39; Ward, *American* Activities, VI:57-68; Stanton Garner (ed.), *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of May Chipman Lawrence* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1966), 68.

84. Grant McCall, *Rapanui* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 139-140.

85. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:370, IV:264-265; Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden,* 63-64.

86. Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1961), 294-296.

87. Rhys Richards, *Whaling and Sealing of the Chatham Islands* (Canberra: Roebuck Society, 1982), 43-50.

88. Lin Poyer, "The Ngatik Massacre: Documentary and Oral Traditional Accounts," *Journal of Pacific History,* 20, No. 1 (1985), 4-22.

89. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 340-347; Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses,* 33.

90. Dorothy Barrière and Marshall Sahlins, "Tahitians in the Early History of Hawaiian Christianity: The Journal of Toketa," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 13 (1979), 20; Dorothy Barrière, "A Tahitian Journal in the History of Hawai'i: The Journal of Kahikona," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 23 (1989), 76-77.

91. H. E. Maude, "The Raiatean Chief Auna and the Conversion of Hawaii," *Journal of Pacific History,* 8 (1973), 188-191.

92. J. D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult," in J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (eds.), *Anthropology in the South Seas* (New Plymouth, N.Z.: Avery, 1959), 185-199.

93. John Williams, *Missionary Enterprises in the South-Sea Islands* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board, 1907), 267-311.

94. Dillon, *Narrative,* I:270-271, 299-300.

95. Nancy J. Morris, "Hawaiian Missionaries in the Marquesas," *Hawaiian Journal of History,* 13 (1979), 46-49.

96. G. Turner, *Nineteen Years,* 386-395, 454.

97. Katharine Luomala, "A Gilbertese Tradition of a Religious Massacre," *Sixty-second Annual Report, 1953* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1954), 19-25.

98. Wilkes, *Narrative,* III:385.

99. Garner, *Captain's Best Mate,* 74.

100. C. F. Wood, *A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas* (London: Henry King, 1875), 188-190.

101. Peter Corney, *Voyages in the North Pacific* (Honolulu: Thrum, 1896), 106-107.

102. John Davies, *The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830,* ed. Cohn Newbury (London: Hakluyt Society, 1961), 230-231.

193. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise,* 461-462.

104. Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 251, 411, 447-455.

105. Campbell, "European Transculturists," 443-444, 454.

106. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 129-133.

107. Ibid., 133.

108. Dening, *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts,* 47.

109. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 133; Nicholas Thomas, " 'Le Roi de Tahuata': Iotete and the Transformation of South Marquesan Politics, 1826-1842," *Journal of Pacific History,* 21, No. 1 (1986), 8.

110. R, Gerard Ward, "The Pacific Bêche-de-Mer Trade with Special Reference to Fiji," in R. Gerard Ward (ed.), *Man in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 113-118.

111. Thomas, *Entangled Objects,* 112.

112. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail,* 81.

113. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 182.

114. John Dominis Holt (ed.), *The Hawaiian Journal of John B. Whitman, 1813-1815* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1979), 17. This would not be surprising, since archaeologists believe the first settlers of Hawai'i came from the Marquesas. See Patrick Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 63.

115. Adelbert von Chamisso, *A Voyage around the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 181-186, 267-268; Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery,* II:106.

116. Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* 34.

117. William F. Wilson (ed.), *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825, Being Extracts from the MS Diary of James Macrae* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1922), 26, 44.

118. Dillon, *Narrative,* II:102.

119. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 317.