

*Polynesian Origins and Destinations:  
Reading the Pacific with S Percy Smith*

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This thesis is the original work of the author unless otherwise acknowledged.

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Stephenson Percy Smith, militia member, surveyor, ethnologist and ethnographer, and founder of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal*, had a major impact on the New Zealand of his day and on a world-wide community of Polynesianist scholars. Whereas a good deal of attention and critique has been given to his work on Māori and the settlement of New Zealand, the purpose of this thesis is to explore those of his writings substantially devoted to the island Pacific outside New Zealand. To that end, I assemble a single Text comprising all of those writings and proceed to read it in terms of itself but also in the light of the period in which it was written and of its intellectual context. My method, largely based on elements of the approach proposed by Roland Barthes in the early 1970s, involves first presenting a representation of that Text and then reading within it a historical figure, the author of its components, as a character in that Text. Before doing so, in a Prologue I set out the broad current understanding of the patterns of settlement of the Pacific and some of the origins of Smith's racial framing. In order to establish context, the early chapters outline his life and career and the intellectual framework, European and New Zealand, within which he thought and wrote as well as the early history of the Hawaiki that would come to absorb him. The following chapters set out my representation and reading of the Smith Text and open up new perspectives on aspects of Smith's concepts of race, of relations among those he conceives as races, and of the settlement of the Pacific. My reading reveals Smith's concern to separate his Polynesians from the other 'races' with which they came into contact in order to preserve their integrity and purity. In particular, in exploring the relationship between possible origins and a certain destination, it throws light on the nature of his quest for Hawaiki, the Polynesian homeland, and, in particular, his drive to locate it beyond and prior to Polynesian contact with those other 'races'. I conclude that, at least in one sense, the real origin of Smith's Polynesians lies in the racial classification of Oceania that emerged in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and still flourished in the twentieth. I end with a vignette of Smith's presence in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand.



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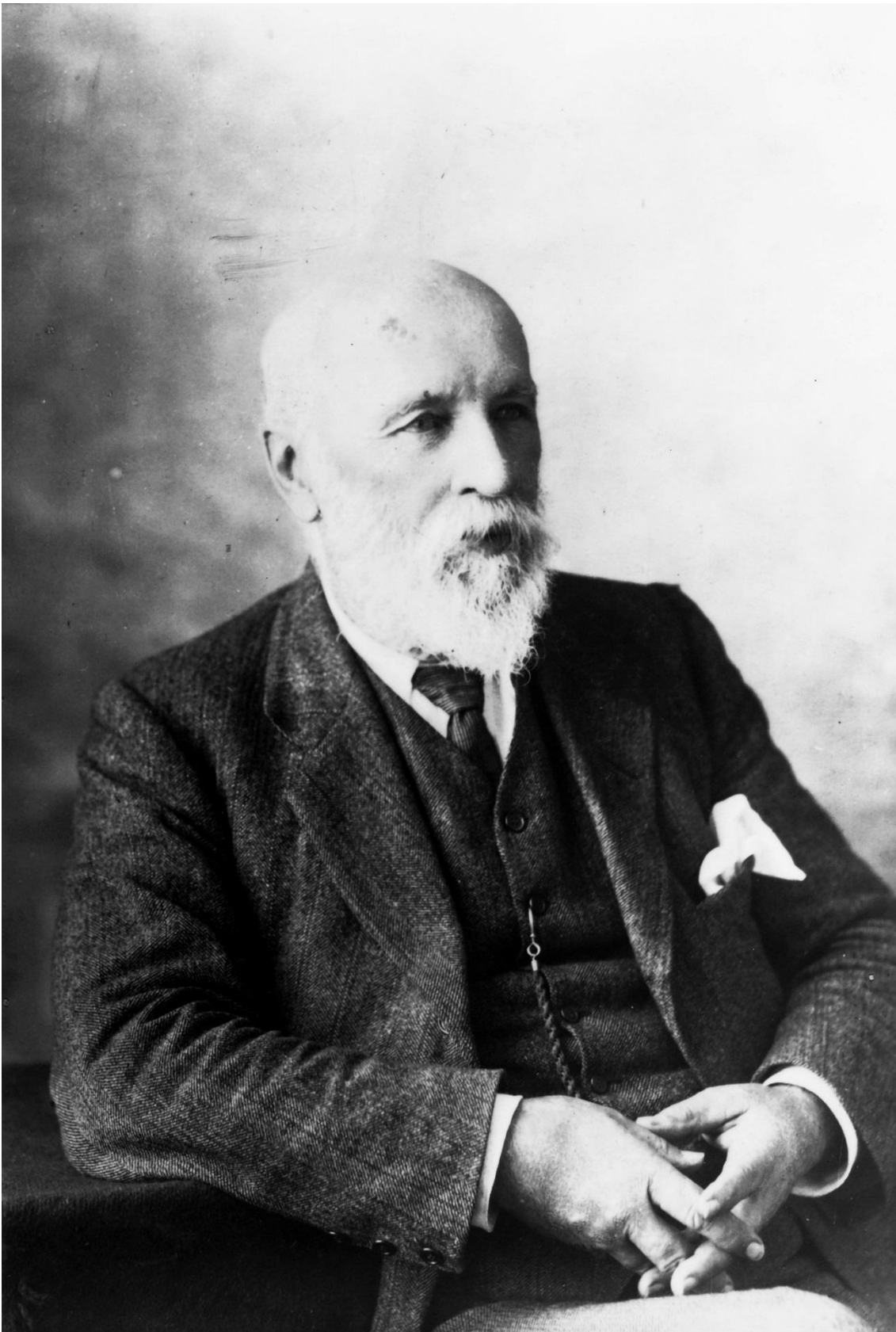
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**Stephenson Percy Smith. Cowan, James, 1870-1943: Collection of photographs. Ref: 1/2-005564-F.  
Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand**

Stephenson Percy Smith, militia member, surveyor, ethnologist and ethnographer, and founder of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal*, had a major impact on the New Zealand of his day and on a world-wide community of Polynesianist scholars. In contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, his hand can be seen in existing survey technologies, in the shapes of a number of North Island towns and cities, in the continuing and unbroken existence of both society and journal, and in the persistence of a number of his Pākehā myths about Māori in particular and about Polynesians and the Pacific in general. Smith's Māori work has been subjected to intensive examination and critique over many decades now and he has been both reviled and revered for it. My interest is in neither of those options but rather in travelling with him in his relatively neglected writings on the island Pacific to find out how he arrived where he did. I must confess, however, in relation to Smith, that I feel some sympathy with E P Thompson's wish, in his great study of the English working class, 'to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the "obsolete" hand loom weaver, the utopian artisan ... from the enormous condescension of posterity' (1963, 12).

The early chapters of my thesis provide background essential to my reading of Smith. In a Prologue I outline some aspects of the current understanding of the settlement of the Pacific and some origins of the binary opposition of Polynesian and Melanesian that is a feature of Smith's writings. Chapter One sets out my personal involvement with the Pacific and the development of the method I employ in reading Smith, including the assembly of the Smith Text, the details of which appear immediately before the References. Chapter Two provides a short biography of Smith, based in part on his

unpublished ‘Reminiscences’, and some contemporary and later assessments of his work, including my own. Chapters Three and Four trace the history of the ideas available to Smith in the late nineteenth century, in the European context in Chapter Three and the New Zealand context in Chapter Four. The First Hawaiki Interlude tracks the European discovery and subsequent speculation about the nature and location of Hawaiki from Cook to the time of Smith.

The following chapters set out my representation and reading of the Smith Text.

Chapter Five combines the progress of Smith’s Pacific involvement, both intellectual and physical, with the representations of the broader Pacific produced in the course of it. It concludes with a consideration of the relationships among genealogy and history, ethnology, and ethnography in his work. Chapter Six concentrates on his representations of the Polynesians in their passage into and across the Pacific. Chapter Seven presents my own reading of the representations in the two previous chapters and of Smith as he appears in them. The Second Hawaiki Interlude picks up the story of speculation about and research into Hawaiki from the time of Smith to the present day. Chapter Eight locates the Text and my reading of it in the context of the framework of ideas available to Smith at the time of the commencement of his Pacific project. Finally, the Afterword is a vignette of one manifestation of Smith’s world in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand.

When I use the word ‘race’ I am referring to a concept from the time of which I am writing, not to an actually existing entity. I use ‘racialism’, ‘racialise’, ‘racial’, and ‘racialist’ of the conceptual framework and ‘racism’ and ‘racist’ of its expression in words or in deeds. A related question is that of the categorisation of both geography and population of Oceania as Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian, one that will recur

frequently throughout this thesis. An erroneous and divisive racialization of the people of the region, its use has become virtually unavoidable in discussing some aspects of the Pacific, not least the writings of Smith. Inherent prejudice and repeated usage have contributed to this, as has the adoption of the terms, often in the cause of solidarity, by the people it originally misrepresented, as in the Melanesian Spearhead Group, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the numerous PolyFests that take place. It is my hope that this thesis may make a small contribution to the contextualisation of the terms and their use by exposing to daylight some of the work they have done in the world.

In accordance with current practice in New Zealand, and with the status of te reo Māori as an official language, I do not italicise New Zealand Māori words, though I do gloss them on first appearance. The glosses should be regarded as indicators of meaning rather than exact equivalents. Where a word is glossed but not repeated, it does not appear in the glossary. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. To avoid anachronism, unless referring to the present day I refer to 'New Zealand' rather than 'Aotearoa New Zealand' as I would in other contexts. Today's country and island names differ from Smith's. I usually go with Smith's usage in any particular passage though I indicate current usage where appropriate or necessary. I do not like using '[sic]' and use it sparingly except in the case of references. All passages quoted are as they appear in the original except for the Chicago-style convention on the first letter of quotes and the omission of footnote markers unless they are relevant to the meaning. In general, I reference only the first appearance of a particular quotation in the Smith Text and not later repeats of the same material.

Anybody working in this field inevitably owes a debt to two scholars who have laid the foundation for the endeavours of others. M P K (Keith) Sorrenson and K R (Kerry)

Howe are frequently cited in this thesis but their pioneering work has an even deeper influence. I also want to recognise the many Pacific scholars in the Research School of Pacific Studies, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, and elsewhere upon whose contributions I have drawn in preparing this work. I have also benefitted from three more recent biographical works on comparable subjects. While my approach is different from each of theirs, Helen Gardner (2006) on missionary George Brown, Martin Thomas (2011) on Australian ethnographer R H Mathews, and Hilary Howes (2011) on German naturalists A B Meyer and Otto Finsch have all contributed to my thinking about how to frame such work.

My principal and most immediate acknowledgement must go to my panel of supervisors in the Department of Pacific and Asian History in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies and, later, the School of Culture, History and Language, College of Asia and the Pacific. Bronwen Douglas (chair for most of my time), Paul D’Arcy (my initial chair), Chris Ballard, and Vicki Luker have offered me challenge and support, critique and companionship in equal measure. I particularly want to thank Bronwen Douglas for her commitment to meticulous scholarship, to this work, and to our friendship. In a less formal but no less generous manner, Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich, professor of Cultural Anthropology at Victoria University of Wellington, has provided me with critique, support, and encouragement throughout this project.

I also want to acknowledge the assistance of the professional staff of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies and, later, the School of Culture, History and Language, and especially Dorothy McIntyre, Indranee Sandanam, Jo Bushby, and more recently, Melissa Orr, and Michèle Segal. Giselle Byrnes and Richard Hill, History professors and Smithians in the best sense, provided me with encouragement and

information. My thanks go to all archivists and librarians, our silent but willing partners, and especially Martin Collett of the Auckland Museum Library and David Colquhoun of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

I owe a great deal to my Pacific History companions in seminar, reading group, writing group, retreat, and just being around. Sam Alasia, Valerie Bichard, Andy Connelly, Dario Di Rosa, Joseph Foukona, Elena Govor, Nic Halter, Jenny Homerang, Hilary Howes, Latu Latai, Antje Lübcke, Siobhan McDonnell, Ruth Nuttall, Zag Puas, Misael Racines, and Cesar Suva have all contributed to my experience here. As have my colleagues and friends from Asian History and other areas of the university: Tiffany Cone, Adam Croft, Mathias Hammer, Rosalind Hewett, Pedro Iacobelli, Lina Koleilat, Thu Le, Danton Leary, Minseon Lee, Geng Li, Maria Myutel, Haruka Nomura, Kelly Silva, Keiko Tamura, and my friend and compatriot Maria Haenga-Collins. Growing friendship and scholarly solidarity with Preedee Hongsaton in shared and neighbouring offices over the years has been one of the great pleasures of my time in Canberra.

I am very grateful to The Australian National University for the award of a Vice-Chancellor's Scholarship with a generous stipend and annual research-support funding. I also want to thank Helen Gardner and Robert Kenny and the Alfred Deakin Research Institute for the invitation and funding to participate in the 'Before the Field' seminar held at the Deakin University Geelong Waterfront Campus on 7 to 8 November 2013; the opportunity to exchange views and experience of approaches and methods with nine other scholars in similar fields was invaluable. The Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington provided me with rental office accommodation and facilities and some collegiality during my early returns to Wellington.





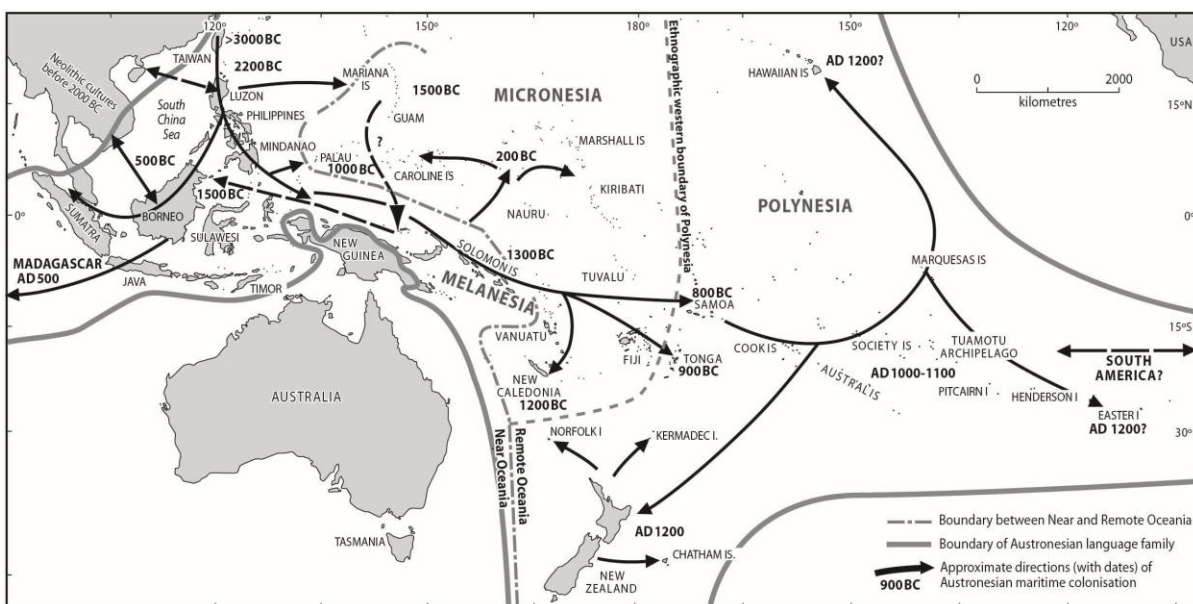
<b>Austronesian</b>	Language family that extends from Taiwan through Southeast Asia to Madagascar, Hawai'i, Rapanui (Easter Island), and New Zealand.
<b>Diffusionism</b>	Theory that cultural forms are spread rather than independently invented.
<b>Eastern Archipelago</b>	Sometimes also or including East Indian Archipelago, Indian Archipelago, Asiatic Archipelago, Indonesia; Island Southeast Asia. A map appears on page 136.
<i>Ēpistémè</i>	'Epistemological field' (Foucault 1966, 13).
<b>Ethnography</b>	Description of 'the races of mankind' (Brabrook 1898, 999).
<b>Ethnology</b>	Differentiation between 'the races of mankind' (Brabrook 1898, 999).
<b>Evolutionism</b>	At core, a theory that organisms tend intrinsically to increase in complexity over time.
<b>Heke</b>	Migration; also, in the Smith context, Great Fleet.
<b>Hominins</b>	Modern and extinct human species.
<b>Iwi</b>	'Tribal' group based on voyaging canoe.
<b>Māori</b>	Indigenous New Zealander; 'Normal, usual, ordinary'; 'Native, or belonging to New Zealand' (Williams 1975, 179).
<i>Maori</i>	Indigenous Cook Islander.
<b>Monogenism</b>	Theory of common descent for all human 'races'.
<b>Pākehā</b>	'An European; a white man' (Kendall and Lee 1820, 187); 'A person of predominantly European descent' (H W Williams 1975, 252).
<i>Palagi</i>	Samoan, a European, a foreigner.
<b>Polygenism</b>	Theory of diverse origins for different 'races'.
<b>Wallacea</b>	Island area between the Asian and Australian continental shelves.



As I have already indicated in my Preface, my principal concern in this project is not to determine what Percy Smith got right and what he got wrong about this or that aspect of the settlement of the Pacific. Nor is it to find him innocent or guilty of racialism or any other of the intellectual currents of his day. My interest is not in what he wrote in the light of what we know now but in what he wrote in the light of what he could know then. Nonetheless, I think it is important, before embarking on that work, to outline what is currently understood and still debated about migration into and settlement of the Pacific and some of the participants in that process, the subject of so much of Smith's work. The main reason for that is the possibility that readers quite unfamiliar with the subject may take my representation and reading of Smith's work at face value. In that case, I would be guilty of perpetuating its worst racist perspectives, such as his belief in a Melanesian 'taint' in the Polynesians, which I find abhorrent, or helping to sustain such of them as persist into the present day. That, as I shall explain in Chapter Seven, is not to judge Smith in terms of the attitudes of the present but to help illuminate some aspects of the character of the racialism of the late nineteenth century. That will particularly be the case when I come to comment on my reading of Smith in Chapter Eight.

It is neither possible nor necessary here to undertake an exhaustive survey of even just the Pacific element of the current state of research into migration patterns and its various perspectives and theoretical positions. In his recent book, *First Migrants*, archaeologist Peter Bellwood, drawing also on biology, genetics, and linguistics, undertakes a review of 'migration in all periods of human prehistory, from the initial spread of hominins [modern and extinct human species] out of Africa about two million

years ago' (2013, xiv). Bellwood identifies three phases currently attracting research attention and I shall quote his words here in the interest of accuracy and for the succinct overall picture that they give. The phases are, first, 'migrations of extinct members of the genus *Homo*, such as *Homo erectus* and later the Neanderthals, after 2.5 million years ago, within and out of Africa and through Eurasia'; second, 'migrations of ancestral modern humans (*H. sapiens*) through most of the world, including Australia and the Americas, between 120,000 and 10,000 years ago'; and third, 'migrations of farmers, herders, and boat builders in many separate groups, across most oceans and in all continents except Antarctica, during the past 10,000 years' (2013, 4). It is the last two phases that are of interest here and the accompanying map gives patterns and dates of the major movements within them that relate to the Pacific.



**Holocene population movements through Island Southeast Asia and across Oceania, according to archaeological and comparative linguistic data (Bellwood 2013, 193). Reproduced by permission of the author.**

I cannot do justice here to the detail of Bellwood's various arguments, plucking dates and broad sweeps as I am from within his survey of myriad researches into millions of years of migration and complex change. My purpose is simply to cover the current

understanding of the same ground Smith himself worked as it has been derived from the modern research methods developed since his time. Noting that hominins had reached southern Africa, China, and Java by at least 1.5 million years ago, Bellwood suggests, based on a range of evidence, ‘that populations of early *Homo*, still relatively small bodied and small brained, were able to migrate across Asia to as far as China and Indonesia soon after two million years ago’. In Java itself, occasionally joined by land bridges to the Malay Peninsula, the fossil record contains evidence of occupation by *Homo erectus* ‘from possibly 1.8 million to as recently as 50,000 years ago’. Beyond Java, in the area between Asia and Australia called Wallacea, lies a series of islands that, as Bellwood points out, would have required ‘some form of watercraft, something to float upon, or a phenomenal swimming ability’ to reach (2013, 45-49).

In considering the settlement of Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific, another archaeologist, Geoffrey Irwin, makes a point fundamental to the current understanding of that process:

It is now generally accepted that no one group of people travelled all the way from Asia to their new Pacific Island homes. As they moved they changed, interacted with others, and eventually produced the diverse peoples, biological types, cultures and the many hundreds of languages known throughout the wider Pacific region today (Irwin 2006, 56).

Tracing the earliest stages of that journey in the broadest terms, Irwin observes that *Homo sapiens* appeared on the Asian mainland, and possibly Australia about 50,000 years ago, reaching Wallacea and Near Oceania (New Guinea, the Bismarcks, Solomon Islands) from 40,000 years ago (2006, 59). About 15,000 years ago, people from mainland China settled Taiwan, later going on to the northern Philippines 3,500 years ago, followed by the rest of Island Southeast Asia (2006, 64). Drawing on a variety of evidence, Irwin locates Taiwan as the ‘ancestral homeland’ of the Austronesian languages and the Austronesian-speakers who went on to join the ‘prior residents

speaking non-Austronesian languages’ in Wallacea and Near Oceania (2006, 65). While the time and place of the origin of the cultural complex called ‘Lapita’ have not been determined, Irwin suggests that its rapid spread ‘through the archipelagos of Island Melanesia to Fiji and West Polynesia, including Tonga and Samoa’, occurred about 3,000 years ago (2006, 67). After what appears to have been a pause of more than a thousand years, there followed settlement of Rotuma, Niue, Pukapuka in the now northern Cook Islands, the southern Cooks, the Society Islands, and on to the east and eventually Hawai’i, Rapanui (Easter Island), and New Zealand. The dates of those settlements remain a matter of scholarly debate but are seen to range from 2,500 to 1,000 years ago (Irwin 2006, 76-77).

That is far from the only matter remaining open to continuing contestation. Partly to show that the sorts of questions pursued by Percy Smith remain very much alive, but also to indicate the nature of that contestation, I shall give a little background to one of the main issues and briefly summarise a few recent contributions to give some idea of the continuing debate. One of the main points of contention is whether the Lapita peoples took an ‘express train’, ‘slow boat’, or even a ‘triple I’ path from Near Oceania (the Melanesian Islands) to Polynesia. The express-train model, first advanced by Jared Diamond (1988), argues for rapid migration with the result that Polynesians today resemble the Lapita people and their difference from those of Fiji, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia is the result of the latters’ mixing with ‘Papuan’ (Addison & Matisoo-Smith 2010, 4). The slow-boat model, based on the idea ‘that the Polynesians originated not in China/Taiwan, but in eastern Indonesia’, suggests that it was Wallacea that ‘might have harboured an ancient, indigenous population (of ultimately Asian origin) from which the Polynesian colonists emerged’ (Oppenheimer & Richards 2001, 166, 167). The triple-I model (Green 1991), rejects the Lapita Coloniser model for Near Oceania

(western Island Melanesia) and proposes intrusion into it by people from Asia, integration with existing inhabitants, and innovation as a result.

Rejecting all models except for aspects of triple I, David Addison and Elizabeth Matisoo-Smith suggest that ‘in addition to Lapita origins, there were significant later elements introduced to Polynesia that were fundamental to the development of Polynesian culture and biology prior to the settlement of East Polynesia’. They add that some of those elements may be shared with Micronesia and ‘ultimately derived from post-Lapita population movements, perhaps from Island Southeast Asia through the low islands of the Carolines, Kiribati and Tuvalu to West Polynesia’ (2010, 1, 7-8). Other researchers using DNA analysis have questioned the maternal link to Taiwan and traced current Polynesian DNA to Asian migrants who had reached the islands off New Guinea more than 6,000 years ago (Soares 2011, 244). The most recent controversy, sparked by archaeologist David Burley, centres on the question, ‘if Tongans and Fijians are derived from common stock, how, then, did Fijians become Fijian, and why are they not Polynesian?’ (2013, 437). The ensuing debate over possibilities of Fijian polygenesis involved 12 archaeologists, anthropologists, and linguists.

All of these debates and controversies demonstrate continuing preoccupations with one of the principal questions that exercised Percy Smith, that of the relationships between Melanesia and Polynesia, and Melanesians and Polynesians. Bronwen Douglas has exhaustively traced this binary in its persistent, racist, and erroneous forms through the representing, naming, and mapping of its elements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (2011; 2014). On the basis of that evidence, she identifies a number of features of such ‘regional racial taxonomies’, especially in the case of Jules Dumont d’Urville, to whom I shall return. Their characteristics are that they are ‘racial taxa imposed on

actual groupings but reified as real and true'; they 'reinscribe in regional contexts the unqualified universalization of European standards of comparative racial beauty and perfection'; they entangle physical differentiae with ideas about station or class; 'their façade of scientific rationality is rooted in a visceral racial pride that takes for granted the objective factuality of the racial rankings sprung from its own insecurities and deeply ethnocentric aesthetics'; and they resort 'to the *deus ex machina* of racial mixing in order to explain away human variation or exceptions' (2014, 245-249). All are present in Smith's writings, and in the sources available to him, as will emerge in later chapters.

I shall not deal here with the detail of the examples upon which Douglas's observations are based. I shall rather highlight three moments from her extended discussion of the naming of Oceania and its people that bear on Smith's outlook and terminology. In 1756, French scholar and politician Charles de Brosses published his *History of Voyages to the Southern Lands (Histoire des navigations aux terres australes)* (1756). Within the 'fifth part of the world' comprising those southern lands he identifies three divisions: Australasia, Magellanica, and Polynesia (1756, vol. 1, 77).<sup>1</sup> He locates Australasia 'in the Indian Ocean to the south of Asia'.<sup>2</sup> Magellanica, named for its 'discoverer', covers from 'the southern point of the continent of America, including all that stretches up to and beyond the south of Africa'.<sup>3</sup> Polynesia includes 'everything included within the vast Pacific Ocean' and was so named 'because of the multiplicity of islands it contains' (1756, 80).<sup>4</sup> There followed a number of variations, including my second moment, that of Danish-French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun in which he

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<sup>1</sup> 'Toute cette cinquième partie du monde ordinairement désignée sous le nom générique de Terres australes'; respectively: 'australasie', 'magellanique', and 'polynésie'.

<sup>2</sup> 'dans l'océan des Indes au sud de l'Asie'.

<sup>3</sup> 'commençant à la point méridionale du continent d'Amérique, y compris tout ce qui peut s'étendre jusques & au-delà du sud de l'Afrique'.

<sup>4</sup> Respectively; 'tout ce que contient le vaste océan pacifique'; 'à cause de la multiplicité des isles qu'elle renferme'.



moved the discussion from place to people. In 1803, he simply describes the ‘Black Race of the Pacific Ocean’ as being ‘as black as the negroes of Africa with lips as fat, noses as flat, and wool instead of hair’ (1803, 548-549).<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, he describes the ‘tanned race of the islands of the Great Ocean’, the inhabitants of today’s Society Islands, Tonga, Hawai’i, and New Zealand as well as other parts to the east, as ‘often whiter than the Spanish, with a pleasant figure, tall and robust, altogether a very handsome race of men’ (1800, 548-549).<sup>6</sup> Later, ‘Black Race’ is replaced by ‘Oceanic Negroes’ and ‘tanned race’ with ‘Polynesian race’, the latter described as ‘copper-coloured, black haired, broad-faced, with muscular limbs, and neither flattened noses or fat lips’ (Mentelle & Malte-Brun 1804, 474).<sup>7</sup>

My third moment is that of Dumont d’Urville’s formulation of his celebrated four-fold regional classification that appears in his address to the Geography Society of Paris (1832). There he blends place and people to create a division based on both geography and race, the threefold Oceanic part of which has persisted to the present. As with Malte-Brun, Dumont d’Urville begins with a division of Oceanic peoples into two races. One is of a ‘sallow yellow hue ... with sleek hair, most often brown or black, showing quite regular forms, their limbs well-proportioned’.<sup>8</sup> The other is ‘very dark, often the colour of soot, sometimes almost as black as that of the Kaffirs, with hair curly, frizzy, fluffy but rarely woolly, with disagreeable traits, irregular forms, their extremities often spindly and deformed’ (1832, 613).<sup>9</sup> This division takes another shape

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<sup>5</sup> ‘Respectively: *‘Race Noire de l’Océan pacifique’; ‘des hommes aussi noirs que les nègres d’Afrique, ayant les lèvres aussi grosses, le nez aussi plat, et de la laine au lieu des cheveux’.*

<sup>6</sup> Respectively : *‘Race basanée des îles du Grand-Océan’; ‘souvent plus blanche que les Espagnols, d’une figure agréable, d’une taille haute and robuste, enfin une très-belle race d’hommes’.*

<sup>7</sup> *‘au teint cuivré, aux cheveux noirs, au visage large, aux membres musculeux, sans nez applati ni grosses lèvres’.*

<sup>8</sup> *‘au teint d’un jaune olivâtre ... aux cheveux lisses, le plus souvent bruns ou noirs, présentant des formes assez régulières, des membres bien proportionnés’.*

<sup>9</sup> *‘d’un teint très-rembruni, souvent couleur de suie, quelquefois presque aussi noir que celui des Caffres, aux cheveux frisés, crépus, floconneux, mais rarement laineux, avec des traits désagréables, des formes peu régulières, et les extrémités souvent grêles et difformes’.*

in a common trope, racialised in the nineteenth century, that will recur throughout this thesis. In it, ‘the race of darker individuals is that of the true *aborigines* ... of the country, those, at least, who first arrived. The whites are of the race of conquerors and arrived much later in these lands’ (1830, 388).<sup>10</sup>

Dumont d’Urville’s elaborated geographical categories are Polynesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, all inhabited by the yellow race, and Melanesia, by the black. The accompanying map sets out the territories of each. While the first three have their own racialised character, Melanesia is specifically made so, being followed immediately by a discussion of ‘Melanians or Melanesians’ (1832, 615-616).<sup>11</sup> The initial descriptions of Polynesians and Melanesians are very similar to those of the yellow and black races. Elsewhere, however, Dumont d’Urville describes the Melanesian women as ‘even more hideous than the men’ (1832, 620). Of the Melanesians in general he adds that they are more barbaric than the Polynesians and Micronesians, lack government, laws, and religious ceremonies, ‘their dispositions and intelligence are also generally much inferior to those of the bronzed race’ and they are ‘natural enemies of the whites’ (1832, 620-621).<sup>12</sup> Particularly interestingly, given Smith’s preoccupation with Fiji and the relationship there between Melanesians and Polynesians, is this passage containing, in its tail, a persistent canard:

We think that, among the numerous varieties of the Melanesian race, the one that must occupy the top rank is that which inhabits the Fiji islands. Indeed, despite their ferocity and their penchant for cannibalism, these natives have laws, arts, and sometimes constitute a national body. One finds very handsome men among them; their language is richer, more sonorous and more regular than in the islands to the west, and their navigational ability cedes nothing to the men of the other race.... But it is evident that they owed these advantages to their

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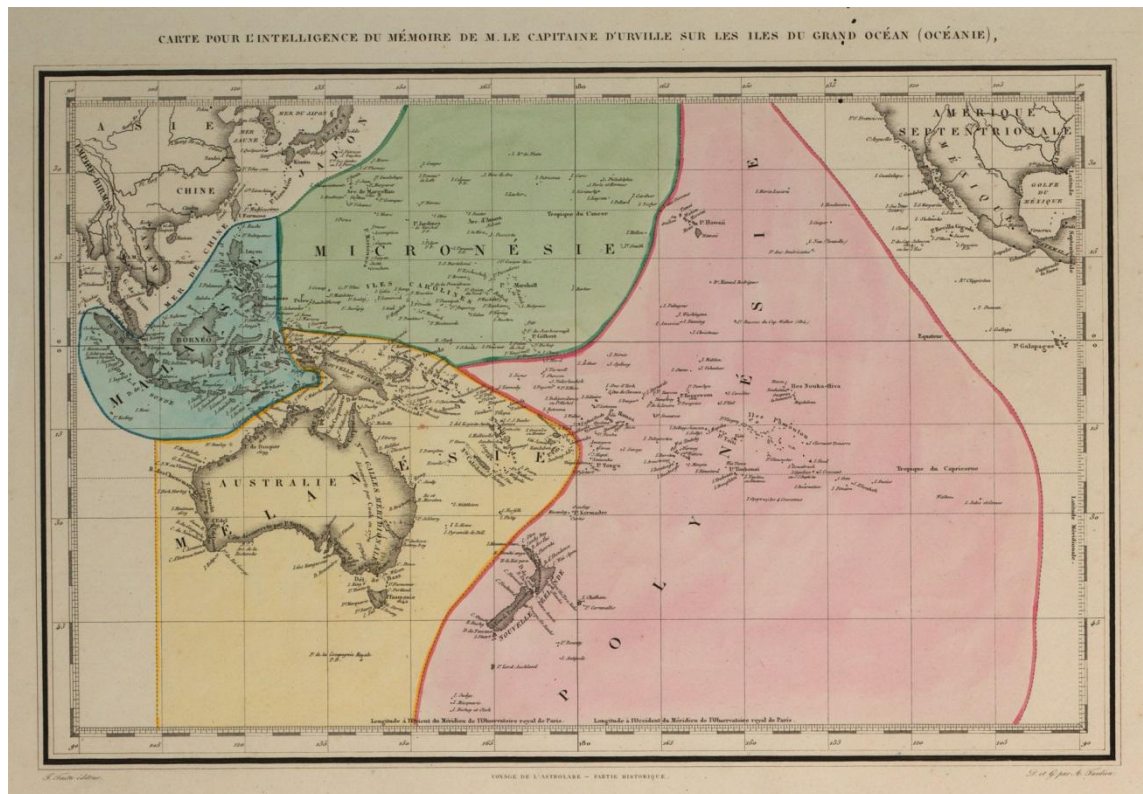
<sup>10</sup> ‘la race des individus plus foncés en couleur est celle des véritables aborigènes ... du pays, de ceux au moins qui y ont paru les premiers. Les blancs sont de la race des conquérans, et sont arrivés beaucoup plus tard dans ces contrées’.

<sup>11</sup> Respectively: ‘Polynésie’; ‘Micronésie’; ‘Malaisie’; ‘Mélanésie’; ‘Mélaniens ou Mélanésiens’.

<sup>12</sup> Respectively: ‘leurs dispositions et leur intelligence sont aussi généralement bien inférieures à celles de la race cuivrée’; ‘Ennemis naturels des blancs’.

proximity to the Tongan people, and to the frequent communications they have had with the Polynesian race (1832, 621-622).<sup>13</sup>

While only the categories of Melanesia and Melanesian are new in Dumont d'Urville's racial classification of Oceania and its inhabitants, its power has lain in its ability to appeal to both prejudice and imagination.



**Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand Océan  
(Océanie) (Tardieu 1833)**

<sup>13</sup> *‘Nous pensons que, parmi les nombreuses variétés de la race mélanésienne, celle qui doit occuper le premier rang est celle qui habite les îles Viti. En effet, malgré leur férocité penchant au cannibalisme, ces naturels ont des lois, des arts, et forment quelquefois un corps de nation. On trouve parmi eux de très-beaux hommes; leur langue est plus riche, plus sonore et plus régulière que dans les îles de l’Ouest, et leur habileté dans la navigation ne le cède pas à celle des hommes de l’autre race.... Mais il est évident qu’ils devaient ces avantages à leur voisinage du peuple Tonga, et aux fréquentes communications qu’ils avaient eues avec la race polynésienne’.*



## *Chapter One*

### *Reading the Pacific with S Percy Smith*

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Why Percy Smith? Why reading with? And why the Pacific? Where to begin? Perhaps with the latter, with the ‘dawn raids’ of the 1970s in Auckland, New Zealand. In them, Pacific ‘overstayers’ were subjected to random checks and arrest in their homes at dawn, in the street at any time, and in the hotels of Karangahape Road and South Auckland. Or in the evenings by some combination of officious immigration officials, aggressive police officers, and their police dogs. The raids, harassments, and detentions, however, were not confined to those people of the Pacific, especially Tongans and Samoans, who had outstayed the decline in New Zealand industry’s previously expanding appetite for labour power in the aftermath of the 1973 ‘oil shock’. Suspects included Cook Island Maori, Niueans, and Tokelauans, New Zealand citizens by colonial right, others of Pacific origin but born in New Zealand, and even New Zealand Māori, but not the much greater number of British, US, European, and other white ‘overstayers’. It is a story well told by Melani Anae in her chapter of the book associated with the exhibition *Tangata o le Moana* at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (2012). Becoming involved in the campaigns against these injustices and abuses, I first acquired a sense, initially both vague and a little threatening, that this world was not one to which I belonged, but one to which I could have an honest relationship and in connection with which I had a clear and current responsibility. This was a sense that paralleled but also contrasted with my existing exploration of what it may mean to be a Pākehā New Zealander.

In this new world I found myself, as a political and union activist, involved with an exhilarating variety of groups of Pacific people of whom I had previously been broadly aware, and with whom I had had some workplace contact. Previously, however, they had been somewhat screened from my active awareness by those attempts to learn to become a Pākehā in that difficult but invigorating decade of the 1970s. The word Pākehā was recorded by English missionary Thomas Kendall in his 1820 vocabulary of ‘the Language of New Zealand’ as ‘Pakéha, s. An European; a white man’ and defined in the seventh edition of the Williams dictionary as ‘A person of predominantly European descent’ (Kendall and Lee 1820, 187; H W Williams 1975, 252). The term became something of a shibboleth in the context of the ‘Māori renaissance’ and emerging biculturalism in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s. Its adoption by some white New Zealanders indicated acknowledgment of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi), the original treaty between Māori and the Crown, as a foundation document and Māori as Tangata Whenua, the original people of the land. It remains a strongly contested term into the present, with a substantial number of New Zealanders of European descent still regarding it as an insulting form of address and many preferring to use ‘New Zealander’.

Associated issues, as well as something of the tenor of the times, are captured by Michael King, historian and biographer of Māori and Pākehā, in his *Being Pakeha*:

To be a citizen of Aotearoa in the 1980s, even a Pakeha one, is to be inevitably affected by the enlarging Maori presence and the renaissance of Maori rituals and values—something my European ancestors here never experienced. For some that effect may be limited to fear or rejection of those elements in New Zealand life. For most of us, however, they will penetrate our consciousness to some extent. For myself, the Maori presence has given the land on which I live an historical echo, a resonance it would otherwise lack; it has put me in touch with symbols that may arise out of man’s collective subconscious, but which here are Maori and therefore New Zealand in idiom; it has exposed me to concepts—the mauri [spirit] of people and places for example—which I believe have universal value and application; and it has revealed to me more of life and

death—and of living and dying—than I had encountered in twenty previous years of purely Pakeha existence (1986, 177).

King added, ‘None of which makes me Maori’ (1986, 177). And none of which, in my view, was quite enough to satisfy my sense of what it means to become fully Pākehā.

For me, a child of early settler/invaders, the process of becoming Pākehā had at least to involve acceptance of the framing and description of myself and my people by Tangata Whenua. It also involved recognition that any right I may have of ‘standing upright here’ proceeds not just from the existence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and its principle of equal partnership between Tangata Whenua and Tangata Tiriti (Treaty people, non-Māori); it also depends upon its full implementation, a process then and now far from achievement. Intellectually, these requirements were difficult but not impossible to accept; politically and practically, however, and even personally, I often found them very difficult to meet and this tension would later be exacerbated by the complex inter-relationships of biculturalism and neoliberalism in the 1990s and after. In pursuit of this right to a place to stand, we Pākehā often resort to, and attempt to co-opt, the Māori word *turangawaewae*, a place to stand, to our situation as if it could be earned by sheer duration of settlement. My own feeling is better reflected in the words poet Allen Curnow used in a slightly different context in 1943: ‘Not I, some child born in a marvellous year, Will learn the trick of standing upright here’ (Curnow 1997, 21).

In the three years leading up to the commencement of the dawn raids in 1973, I had been a drivers’ union job delegate at a waste-paper-recycling plant in South Auckland. The factory workers and drivers were mostly Māori, with a couple of other Pākehā and a single Chinese-Samoan, as he was described, of long residence. Certainly there were periods of strain and misunderstanding in my relationship with the tight group of Māori workers and moments of honest horror at the occasional violence on their part and

especially on the part of the Samoan driver. The job, for the most part, however, offered an accessible, if sometimes uneasy, companionship and an antidote to my enthusiastic attempts to romanticise them all as both ‘Natives’ and representatives of the working class. With work at the plant expanding in the boom years of the early 1970s, the management introduced a group of perhaps ten migrants from Tonga to supplement the team of factory workers. At first this seemed to me to offer a welcome touch of the exoticism that my workmates stubbornly refused to display and an opportunity for me, as a benevolent third party, to facilitate pan-Polynesian unity and co-operation. So it came as a complete surprise to me that the Māori workers and, especially, the Samoan were belligerently opposed to the introduction of the Tongans. The Tongans, in turn, refused to have any relationship with the existing workforce beyond the most basic one demanded by the operations of the factory. Lacking both the theoretical understanding and the maturity to make any sense of this antipathy and having achieved nothing more than a strained truce between the two groups, I took advantage of a continuing back injury to retreat from the scene of my failure.

In contrast to the bruises and abrasions received in a variety of other attempts to engage with working-class Māori, and ill-informed attempts at an ill-defined partnership with the growing numbers of ‘Māori radicals’, involvement with the various Pacific communities, and a slightly more tenuous overall Pasifika community, in their responses to the dawn raids seemed to offer me a warm and welcoming, if rather confusing, refuge. This new area of activity became all the more attractive in light of some contemporary developments. This was the period in which there emerged a number of courageous and important attempts by groups of progressive Pākehā to increase awareness of the real provisions and implications of Te Tiriti. This also involved analysing the nature of continuing colonisation and the tension between an at-



least-partially postcolonial population of mainly European origin and those experiencing that continuing colonisation. My own experience of such activities, and my observation of their effects upon mainly middle-class Pākehā, led me to the view that, whatever the intentions, and except in the case of a core of already engaged activists, they more often resulted in a sense of immobilising guilt than a commitment to political activity. In the campaigns against random checks, dawn raids, and rampant racism, I found a current cause I thought I could practically and wholeheartedly pursue without the accompanying guilt of having been complicit, however passively, in past injustice and oppression. Within that context I developed an alternative approach of accepting a mobilising responsibility both for events occurring in my own lifetime and to the Pacific people living in New Zealand. This commitment has never really been shaken, even by an occasional suspicion that it could just be an attempt at retreat and a refuge from a justified sense of guilt. In short, at a time when a key issue in anti-racist politics was around the question of whether to say just 'Polynesians', 'Māori and Polynesians' or 'Māori and Other Polynesians', I decided, for the time being at least, to go with the 'Other Polynesians'.

As I have already said, I had found in the gatherings formed to oppose the immigration abuses, the assemblies of chiefs of one sort or another, pastors, community activists and leaders, lawyers, and teachers from each of the Pacific communities a cordial and welcoming environment largely free of the tensions of the broader and bicultural anti-racism movement. This seemingly unified and easy-going atmosphere and the laying aside of long-standing contestations was a curious product of the sense of crisis felt by the people of different island origins and the community as a whole. Against a background of amelioration of the immigration legislation and provisions and my participation in major national events such as the 1976 occupation of Māori land at

Bastion Point in the face of a latter-day confiscation and the massive protests against apartheid triggered by the 1981 Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand, I began to take part in a broader range of community and social activities. This involvement was strengthened by the beginnings of a relationship with a daughter of a New Zealand-based *Afakasi* (Samoan and German, in this case) family. In this setting I became increasingly aware that the cohesiveness and comparative uniformity of the earlier gatherings had been, to a large degree, no more than the product of crisis and the temporary suspension of often long-standing contestations and rivalries. The differentiation by nation or even individual island, language, alliance, and class or stratum that emerged as I became involved in longer-term and less-dramatic contexts fascinated me even more than had my earlier perception of a single, and single-minded, community.

In the course of all this, I became increasingly captivated, to the point of obsession, by Samoans, Samoa, the *Fa'asamoa* (the Samoan way), and the possibility of learning the Samoan language. The latter took place in a series of more-or-less-poorly resourced and ineffectual night classes; the former mostly by negotiating awards and agreements for industries and jobs with high Pacific participation and working closely with Pacific people, principally Samoans, in campaigns to introduce and promote the Pacific Island presence in the trade union movement. It was only at this late stage that I really started to become aware of New Zealand's long history of aspiration to and achievement of a Pacific sub-empire, a realisation accelerated by Michael Field's 1984 publication of *Mau: Samoa's Struggle Against New Zealand Oppression*. In a sense I found myself back in the position I felt I had, at least temporarily, vacated in relation to Māori, that of feeling captive of a sense of guilt for past actions that I could not, by their historical nature, ever try to influence or change. I began to read more seriously about the Pacific,

particularly Samoa and the work of J W Davidson (1967) and Richard Gilson (1970), and later Malama Meleisea (1987a; 1987b). With them and in the history of communist and other left-wing support for indigenous movements in Samoa and the Cook Islands I found a resource that again enabled me to see the possibilities offered by a mobilising sense of responsibility, by inheritance, for past actions and abuses (Holland 1918, 1928; [Mason] 1947). At the same time, I experienced the beginning of a sense that, if I was serious about that, my responsibility, as well as the place upon which I could stand in relation to the Pacific, may lie in a primary focus upon the actions of my own people in their dealings with those of the Pacific. At the same time, that focus imposed an obligation of learning to become *Palagi* (Samoan for one of European origin) and the equivalent in relation to a whole variety of Pacific peoples. This was a task more diffuse, but perhaps made less exacting than that of becoming Pākehā by the absence, for the most part, in the countries that had achieved formal independence of resistance to the continuation of colonial land confiscations.

At the end of 1986, I moved to the capital, Wellington, to take up a national position with the newly formed Trade Union Education Authority (TUEA). This, together with a position on the national committee of the Public Service Association, involved me in more intensive work, among a number of other responsibilities, on building Pacific Island union structures at the level of national unions and the national union centre. At the same time, TUEA's generous employment conditions allowed me to take up the first two years of the Samoan language programme just as it was established at Victoria University of Wellington. It is almost impossible now to recapture the intensity of the excitement I felt then about the prospects this seemed to offer. What hindsight does make clear, however, is that, at some level, I was almost able to convince myself that it could provide a pathway to becoming Samoan, or something like it, a considerable

diversion from the task of learning to become a *Palagi*. Only apparently paradoxically, I increasingly found that one significant result of study of the language was that any prospect of real access to the actuality of the *Fa'asamoa* seemed to become more and more remote.

All of this came into sharper and wider focus as a result of my secondment in 1989 as co-ordinator of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC) Pacific Education Project. The council was London-based but the project offices were in Brisbane; it was largely funded by the Australian government aid and development agency and monitored locally by the national union centres of Australia and New Zealand. Like the other CTUC projects in India, Africa, and the Caribbean, we worked alongside other international union educational and organising projects. This project specialised in designing and conducting, in association with locally based educators, workshop programmes in the education of educators and the writing of educational materials. The project countries were the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, (then-Western) Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

In spite of my now quite-long-standing interest in the Pacific and a relieving role in conducting two of the project's workshops in Samoa and Tonga, the span of the project took me far beyond any skills and knowledge I had already acquired. As I have written elsewhere:

I was thrown into this work without any real preparation, and the Pacific, as ever, stubbornly refused to succumb to the stereotypes and preconceptions so plentifully bestowed on it by both the ill and the well intentioned. In short, I was desperate to understand what was going on around me and where it had come from. I devoured everything I could lay my hands on: histories, travel guides, ethnographers early and late, fiction by Westerners and locals, political analyses, genealogies, explorers' journals, airline magazines, missionary memoirs, and local papers. As well, I constantly questioned my union hosts, to the extent that people would hide from me rather than be subjected to another interrogation session (2010, 382).

In the same article, I wrote of discovering, at this time, Albert Wendt's 1976 'Towards a New Oceania', and acknowledged the enormous influence it had and would continue to have in forming my new intellectual and cultural maps of the Pacific (Whimp 2010, 382-383).

In personal terms, the results of my project work included, obviously, access to a Pacific far beyond my earlier vision of a Samoan centre with a few Polynesian satellites and, in particular, an awareness of Melanesia and Micronesia that had not previously been available. Furthermore, by dint of continuing contacts over a nine-year period with people working on the ground in the project countries, I was able to develop a significantly deeper understanding of their issues as well as the vast array of commonalities and divergences that spread across the Pacific. As time went on I became increasingly troubled by the strain between my commitment to the Pacific and its people on the one hand and my loyalty to the New Zealand and Australian union movements on the other, as well as their supervisory role in relation to the project. This conflict was finally resolved, as such conflicts often are, by illness. At the end of nine years of almost constant travel around the nine project countries, I had accumulated such a range of illnesses and injuries that I was no longer able to continue. Returning home to Wellington, I withdrew from the physical Pacific and also, for a period of recovery and recuperation, from my own intellectual and emotional Pacifics.

In early 2002, after a long period of convalescence and unemployment I returned to study at Victoria University, initially at the suggestion of a composer friend and neighbour, just to do some papers in musicology. At the same time, I discovered that a Pacific Studies programme had been introduced two years earlier and, after a discussion with the programme director, Teresia Teaiwa, I enrolled in some of her introductory

papers as well. While I took enormous pleasure in my musicological studies, it was the Pacific that captured me again, the course of study reviving all my old interests, loves, and antipathies to colonisation and drawing very pleasingly on my nine years in the region. Apart from the Pacific itself, I was also attracted by the intellectual framework and underpinnings of the Victoria programme and especially the idea of working in a field of study rather than a discipline.

At an early stage we were introduced to Terence Wesley-Smith's foundational 1995 article, 'Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies' and I was excited by the possibilities offered by his vision of new directions that may take the field beyond the rationales of pragmatism, the laboratory, and even empowerment (1995). In particular, it was his advocacy of interdisciplinary approaches, a concept with which I was unfamiliar, that caught my attention. This was reinforced by Teresia's proclamation that Victoria's Pacific Studies would be based on interdisciplinarity, comparativity, and indigenous location. Comparativity was well catered for by my experience on the nine Pacific project countries. Indigenous location was something for which I was by nature ill-equipped and for which I should have to find a valid alternative. Interdisciplinarity, however, what it may mean, and how it may be implemented, became a central focus of my continuing studies. I would go on to resume the BA I had commenced in Auckland in 1962 in English, French, and Philosophy, completing it at Victoria in 2003 in Musicology and Pacific Studies with papers in Pacific Art History and Pacific History.

I have written elsewhere about my initial explorations of the idea of interdisciplinarity and I shall only summarise the main points here (2008c). My eye had particularly been caught by a sentence from an article published by Roland Barthes in 1972 and cited by Wesley-Smith as quoted by James Clifford in his 'Introduction' to *Writing Cultures*

(Clifford 186, 1): ‘Interdisciplinarity consists in creating a new object that belongs to no one’ (Wesley-Smith 1995, 123). The beauty of this, as I then saw it, was that, even if I myself, as I had learnt in the course of my Samoan interlude, was unable to occupy an indigenous location, the creation of such a ‘new object’ may enable me to find a place to stand outside my European and even Pākehā tradition and perhaps a little closer to the Pacific and its own orientations. Furthermore, when I tracked the quotation down to its original source, I discovered that Barthes had followed that sentence up with this: ‘The Text is, I believe, one such object’ (Barthes [1972] 1994, 1420).<sup>14</sup> In spite of the obvious objection that such a thing as a Text (as I then understood it) seems an odd and rather alien vehicle through which to find a location closer to the Pacific, it appeared to me to offer the possibility of at least escaping the embrace of the disciplines in quest of such a place.

I had the opportunity to conduct a first and fairly rudimentary exercise in assembling a Text for my own purposes by selection from the works of others and setting about reading it when I was commissioned by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa to prepare a paper on relationships between Pacific people and cetaceans to support a forthcoming exhibition. I was able to identify some 85 documents published in English and recording observations of whales, dolphins, and porpoises, their human fellow actors, and the relationships among them. Reading closely, I derived from them six categories which formed the framework of my paper: deity and veneration; origins and classification; power, status, and adornment; alliance and protection; enmity and threat; and capture and consumption. To me, one of the strengths of my paper was that, in each example, it accepted the values and orientation, as far as discernible, of the Pacific people involved. Unsurprisingly, I suppose, this agitated the more scientifically

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<sup>14</sup> ‘*Le Texte est, je crois, l’un de ces objets*’.

disposed of the exhibition team who wanted me to correct the Pacific people when they were ‘wrong’ in terms of current scientific understanding, classifying, for example, for their own very good reasons, whales among the fishes. Interestingly, when it came to publication, it appeared that a broader group of museum scientists supported the appearance of the paper and it has since been cited in hard-science journals (Whimp 2008b).

I was able to take this approach further in two of the papers, later published, for my honours degree. In one case, I assembled a Text from the newsprint coverage of a confected media scandal involving a New Zealand-Samoan mother and daughter pair of community workers in the context of hip hop (2008d). Reading this Text in the light of two related documents and associated parliamentary questions was effective in revealing the underlying narrative structure which enabled the scandal and consequent moral panic. My taking up the issue in the first place was the result of anger at the injustice that had occurred. It was not anger, though, but what I would learn to call ‘reading against the grain’, in the spirit of Walter Benjamin’s injunction ‘to brush history against the grain’, that was effective in exposing that injustice (1969 [1950], 257). A second paper involved the assembly and reading of all available written commentary by and about New Zealand visual artists of Pacific origin to try to determine the nature of the location in which they envisaged themselves in relation to contemporary New Zealand society (2009). As with the cetaceans paper, this also involved largely accepting the artists’ and critics’ ideas and commentary at face value and deriving my own categories from a process of reading the entire Text itself rather than adopting and imposing the categories of art history.



Studying for an honours degree also gave me the opportunity to follow up in more detail the question of what interdisciplinarity may be and may be able to do, particularly in and for the field of Pacific Studies. In the paper which became the article referred to above, I surveyed the aspiration to interdisciplinarity, such information as exists about early Pacific knowledges, the historical development of disciplinarity, the development of alternatives to disciplinarity, the relationship between interdisciplinarity and area studies, and the absence of models for interdisciplinary programmes. I also suggested some possibilities for introducing and promoting interdisciplinary approaches in the Pacific Studies programme at Victoria University of Wellington (2008c). Rather than defining a universal interdisciplinarity applicable in every circumstance, I identified a particular interdisciplinarity for that program and, incidentally, for myself. This was the result of combining my discussion of the ‘inter-ness’ of interdisciplinarity in terms of disciplines and the subjects of study and the Pacific concept expressed in the Samoan word *vā*, the separation that connects. I proposed that a ‘transformative Pacific studies would always operate in the “inter-,” in the *vā*, and the essence of its interdisciplinarity would lie in the framing of its projects, from their very conception, in the *vā*, whatever varieties and combinations of partnerships may develop in the implementation of those projects’ (2008c, 412). I concluded that ‘the Text’ is capable of meeting those conditions and, although influenced by Clifford Geertz and Vilsoni Hereniko to extend my understanding of what may constitute a Text (2008c, 409), I continued to be attracted to the documentary form. In part, and despite my earlier reservations about print, this came about because of my growing conviction that I should concentrate my attention upon the deeds of my own people in relation to those of the Pacific.

Still working within the framework of Pacific Studies and preparing to embark on writing my MA thesis on the first New Zealand colonial administrator in the Cook

Islands, I was keen to apply these ideas on a larger scale. Reading a little further in Barthes's early 1970s writings, I was attracted by his conception of the Text as 'a methodological field', not 'calculable' but characterised by 'a motion more "Einsteinian" than "Newtonian"' (1994 [1971], 1212; 1994 [1972], 1421).<sup>15</sup> I was pleased by the idea of working in a field within a field and I was content to stop there rather than pursue Barthes's further explorations of work and Text, reading and pleasure. Instead, I co-opted this device of the methodological field in the service of 'a possible location outside the disciplines from which to formulate a project and thus to satisfy my sense of some of the preconditions for both interdisciplinarity and Pacific Studies' (Whimp 2008a, 2).

In my previous exercise in textual reading, it was clear that my instinctive response was to read against those to whom I felt some antipathy and with those for whom I felt sympathy. In the course of my preparatory reading, I came across a short passage by Gyan Prakash that would, as I made clear in my thesis, greatly influence my approach to reading Texts:

To begin with, one cannot simply use colonial documents as repositories of information. One needs to take into account not only the purposes for which they were produced but also how and why they were preserved. Secondly, one must read them for the kind of knowledge they authorize.... One needs to pay attention to the ruling concepts of the documents, to what they render thinkable as well as to what they imply is unthinkable. If I were to put it in Foucaultian terms, one needs to consider the type of truth regime that the documents establish.

Rather than claiming an all-seeing eye—that allows one to grasp what colonial officials could not—the intent would be to make the documents confront their own contradictions, their own silences. I do not mean the object should be to fill in the silences as a sort of compensatory history, to give the colonized a voice denied them by colonialism. Instead I would make the silences, contradictions, and ambiguities essential elements in the colonial story (Prakash 2000, 296).

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<sup>15</sup> Respectively: '*un champ méthodologique*'; '*computable*'; '*un mouvement plus « einsteinien » que « Newtonian »*'.

Combined with my newly strengthened adherence to the Text as a methodological vehicle, the second paragraph offered me the prospect of an approach I could draw from the material of the Text itself rather than a preconceived one to be imposed upon it. In turn, it also offered an alternative to the two registers I had previously adopted of antipathy or sympathy, a partisanship of doubtful honesty in academic terms and unproductive in the long term. Unwilling to shed a lifetime's habit, I nonetheless adopted a strategy of limiting my partisanship to my choice of subject and a tactic of reading a Text, as I began to call it, 'in terms of itself' and along the lines proposed by Prakash. Finally, this approach accorded with my now-firm conviction that my responsibility towards the Pacific was to examine my own people through glasses of my own devising rather than Pacific people through glasses manufactured in Europe.

Accordingly, the subject of my MA thesis was Walter Edward Gudgeon, farmer, soldier, public servant, land court judge, ethnologist, and first New Zealand colonial administrator in the Cook Islands. The Text that I assembled comprised Gudgeon's unpublished journal of his time in the Cook Islands from 1898 to 1909, his official correspondence during that period, and a magazine article on New Zealand's annexation of the Cooks. The selection was based on the facts that all were written, at least initially, in the Cook Islands, all were intended for an audience, and all shared an all-seeing quality not present in his other writings. I drew on a wide body of writing on colonialism to set up my project, including works by James Belich, David Cannadine, Frederick Cooper, Nicholas Dirks, John Field, D K Fieldhouse, W P Morrell, Thomas Richards, Keith Sinclair, Ann Laura Stoler, and Nicholas Thomas. I was particularly influenced in preparing my approach to reading by the latter's *Colonialism's Culture*, and especially his plea in 'Partial Texts' not to deny 'complexity and agency to those accused of denying it to others' (1990, 147).

Concerned to ensure that a reader should be able to assess critically both my selection of the Gudgeon Text and my reading of that, I provided a good deal of preparatory background material. This included a short biography of Gudgeon drawn partly from his unpublished autobiography, secondary material on concepts of imperialism, especially from J A Hobson's *Imperialism: A Study*, on New Zealand's sub-imperialism, and on concepts of 'The Māori', as well as a very truncated history of the Cook Islands. That done, I set about presenting the major elements of my Gudgeon Text with as much accuracy as I could muster, to the extent of eschewing commentary entirely beyond linking passages between sections. I was stubbornly insistent on this quite arduous duty as I wanted to ensure that my representation could be checked against carefully cited sources, that Gudgeon's voice could be clearly heard, and that the reader could closely evaluate my reading and conclusions against that representation. The chapter headings and sub-headings for my representation were drawn from the Text itself. The first representation chapter heading was 'Gudgeon's Actors', with sub-headings of *The Maori*, Islanders, Chiefs, Small People, Women, Mission, Moss, Officials, and Europeans and Foreigners. The second representation chapter, 'Gudgeon's Theatres', had sub-headings of Islands, Annexation, Land, Settlement, Education, Health, Native Government, and Colonial Governing. The sub-headings for the following chapter, 'Reading the Colony', were drawn from the representation itself: 'The Land', 'The People', and 'The Colony'. Throughout, I made clear that I was not interested in relating the Text to 'what really happened' (though that is of fundamental importance as well) but reading it in terms of itself and along the lines proposed by Prakash. As a result, I felt able to claim that I had realised the hope expressed in my introduction that my reading would 'present a version of the colonial experience ... more complex, less straightforward, and more precarious' than earlier accounts (2008a, 8). I could also

claim that the reading had de-centred rather than re-centred the administrator and that it had provided the foundation for a re-examination of Cook Islands history and New Zealand's Pacific sub-empire as well as its present dealings in the region (2008a, 103-104). I took pleasure in the way that existing History had contributed to the reading of my Gudgeon Text, the interdisciplinary object, from the reading of which future History may be in a position to draw benefit.

Gudgeon had been a student of Māori language and culture from as early as the 1860s, chaired the founding meeting of the Polynesian Society in 1892, and published an article on Māori deities in the first issue of its *Journal* in the same year. Also present, among others, at that meeting and in that first issue were Elsdon Best, Edward Tregear, and Stephenson Percy Smith. Smith was a surveyor and serious amateur ethnologist who was the prime mover in the establishment of the society and who would continue to dominate its affairs until his death in 1922. The four men remained at the centre of Polynesian inquiry over the following decades and, in my researches on Gudgeon, I repeatedly ran across the other three. I came to regard the four as something of a unit in the last great stage of New Zealand-based amateur Polynesian ethnology, though Best would go on partly to enter the world of semi-professional ethnography. They seemed an ideal subject for my continuing focus on submitting my own people to scrutiny. This was especially so given their direct engagement in the British colonial and New Zealand sub-imperial projects, an intense commitment to ethnology, and a deep and, within the perceptions of the time, sincere sympathy with and affection for the people of Polynesia. While a great deal had been written about their contributions to the understanding, as well as the misunderstanding, of New Zealand Māori, little attention had been paid to their very substantial body of writing on the rest of the Pacific. I proposed to answer the following questions using an approach similar to that of my MA

thesis: What was the Pacific that they wrote? Why did they write that Pacific? What was the career of that Pacific? To what extent, if any, is that Pacific still alive in existing New Zealand perceptions of the Pacific?

As a result of wider and closer reading, weaknesses appeared in my original focus. First, Gudgeon emerged as a minor figure in terms of the development of ideas and I bade him a regretful farewell. Second, for all the value of Best's researches on New Zealand Māori, his publications on the island Pacific outside New Zealand proved to be very much secondary and similar to Smith's main lines. I decided to concentrate on Smith and Tregear but with reservations as to the latter, even at this stage. I had developed great affection for Tregear, the progressive public servant, romantic socialist, and wildly eccentric philologist. Eventually, however, I came to the reluctant conclusion that both scale and coherence suggested concentration on Smith, not for nothing known to his colleagues as 'the boss', and relegation of Tregear to the chapter on the intellectual environment of the time (Sorrenson 1992, 26). It also seemed that something similar may occur with my initial questions, with some becoming more substantial, more important, and more relevant than others in the course of writing as much as in the course of reading. In considering the possibility of that I find support in Laurel Richardson's concept of the writing process: 'I consider writing as a *method of inquiry*, a way of finding out about yourself and your topic. Although we usually think about writing as a mode of "telling" about the social world, writing is not just a mopping-up activity at the end of a research project. Writing is also a way of "knowing"—a method of discovery and analysis' (2000, 923).

Another problem emerged at an early stage: that of demarcation between Smith's writings on New Zealand Māori and those on the island Pacific. The former have been

subjected to intensive scrutiny and critique, virtually ever since his death, and his conflations, distortions, and fabrications exposed in detail by authors such as D R Simmons (1976), Keith Sorrenson (1979), and Kerry Howe (2008). At the same time, they continue to have a strong influence on popular conceptions and public discourse around Māori, their origins, and their arrival in New Zealand. In some cases, Smith's representations have been integrated into Māori tribal histories and he continues to be both reviled and esteemed by Māori. My problems, rather than fears of being embroiled in that arena of contestation, were threefold: first, that this material had been dealt with so thoroughly by the scholars I have just mentioned that I felt I had nothing to add; second, that the writing on the island Pacific was framed to such an extent against a background of 'the whence of the Māori'; and third, and consequently, that any conceivable demarcation between Māori and 'other Polynesians' in Smith's writings may inevitably be so porous as to be meaningless. In practice, these difficulties have not been as great as I had feared. In the first place, I have selected for my Text only those articles and books that dealt predominantly, or at least substantially, with the island Pacific and its people. In the second, I have not excluded mention of matters Māori when they occur in the course of a passage but have avoided incorporating into my Text *te Ao Māori* (the Māori world).

The process of preparation for writing this thesis had provided the opportunity to read more widely and re-examine my ideas about the composite Text as an interdisciplinary device, the reading of such a Text, and the relationship between the field of Pacific Studies and the discipline of History. I should re-emphasise here that the manner of Text to which I refer is not an existing entity but one assembled for a purpose. Similarly, the categories drawn from it, however closely that may be done, are not inevitable products of the Text but are choices made in relation to it. I use the term

‘Text’ to distinguish this composite body of material, assembled around some coherent organising principle, from the more usual ‘text’ referring to a single historical document. I take some comfort in the etymology of the word as a defence of my own particular usage, its origins lying in the Latin *textus*, ‘texture, structure; context’, from *texere* ‘to weave, plait, fit together’, derived from the Indo-European base *tekht, tek-*, ‘to build (of wood), carpenter, to weave’ with a probable original meaning of ‘to plait, twist’ (Klein 1971, 757).

Returning to Barthes and, particularly, his 1971 article, ‘From Work to Text’ (*De l’œuvre au texte*), I remained largely satisfied with the extent to which I had already drawn on him without venturing further into his distinction between work, as ‘a fragment of matter occupying part of the space of books’ and Text, as ‘a methodological field’ (1994 [1971], 1212).<sup>16</sup> I still saw value in the sense of Text as ‘a new object that belongs to no one’, not that I wanted to divorce it entirely and permanently from my subject of inquiry, Smith. Rather, I wanted to isolate the Text temporarily as a methodological field in which I could perform my reading, as proposed by Prakash, in terms of itself.

In this regard, I found some further support in Barthes’s explorations and, particularly, in one aspect of his discussion of the relationship between the author and the Text:

The author is regarded as the father and proprietor of his work; so literary science teaches *respect* for the manuscript and the declared intentions of the author, and society asserts the legality of the relationship between the author and his work (copyright),....). The Text itself reads without the inscription of the Father. It is here that the metaphor of the Text again separates itself from the metaphor of the work; ... the metaphor of the Text is that of the *network* (1994 [1971], 1215).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Respectively: ‘*un fragment de substance [qui] occupe une portion de l’espace des livres*’; ‘*un champ méthodologique*’.

<sup>17</sup> ‘*L’auteur est réputé le père et le propriétaire de son œuvre ; la science littéraire apprend donc à respecter le manuscrit et les intentions déclarées de l’auteur, et la société postule une légalité du rapport de l’auteur à son œuvre (c’est le «droit d’auteur»,....). Le Texte, lui, se lit sans l’inscription du Père. La*



Barthes continues, in the spirit of my desire for an independent methodological field:

It is not that the author can't 'come back' into the Text, his text; but then it is, so to say, as a 'guest'; if he is a novelist, he is inscribed there as one of his characters, a figure in the carpet; his inscription no longer privileged, paternal, aletheological [relating to the nature of truth and evidence], but ludic: he becomes, as it were, a paper author; his life is no longer the origin of his fictions, but a fiction in competition with his work; (1994 [1971], 1215).<sup>18</sup>

The function of my Text, then, and my representation and reading of it, is to distance

Smith, the author, from that position of authority in relation to the individual works.

This is in order to be able to read the Text 'in terms of itself' rather than 'in terms of its author' and hence to reveal such traces as it contains of the character Smith, the

participant in a particular colonial project, as well as the discourse initiated or advanced by that project. Of course, accurately to read that Text 'in terms of itself', given the period of its production, it is also necessary to read it 'in terms of its time', hence the background material presented in the first part of the thesis.

In the end, I assembled a Text of 37 books and articles of almost 1300 pages written by Smith that were principally oriented towards some aspect of the island Pacific, not all of which have been referenced in my representation of that Text.<sup>19</sup> For instance, when a passage is repeated in full or in large part in a later publication, as in the successive editions of *Hawaiki*, I have referenced the earliest appearance. I have confined myself to published material from which to draw because my eventual concern is for the relationship of the Text to public discourse and its impact thereon. By way of introduction to my representation of the Smith Text, and to the reader's evaluation of

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*métaphore du Texte se détache ici encore de la métaphore de l'œuvre ;... la métaphore du Texte est celle du réseau'.*

<sup>18</sup> 'Ce n'est pas que l'Auteur ne puisse «revenir» dans le Texte, dans son texte; mais c'est alors, si l'on peut dire, à titre d'invité ; s'il est romancier, il s'y inscrit comme l'un de ses personnages, dessiné dans le tapis ; son inscription n'est plus privilégiée, paternelle, aléthique, mais ludique : il devient, si l'on peut dire, un auteur de papier ; sa vie n'est plus l'origine de ses fables, mais une fable concurrente à son œuvre; '.

<sup>19</sup> A list of the works comprising the Smith Text appears immediately before References.

both representation and reading, I shall cover some essential background on the intellectual context of the time.

When it came to setting about representing the Smith Text that I had assembled, I encountered a further difficulty. I began work on a provisional set of categories I believed I had drawn from the Text. They were peoples, islands, artefacts, and customs and, within peoples, Tongans, Samoans, Niueans, Tahitians, Rarotongans, Hawaiians, Moriori, Manahune, Fijians, Malays, Melanesians, Negritos, and Papuans, the last three apparently being different manifestations of the same people. When I began to write my representation of the Text using these categories, however, they appeared to me false and imposed rather than drawn from my Text. I put them aside to work on the development of Smith's relationship with the Pacific over the years 1890 to 1901, the material that appears in Chapter Five. Returning to and rereading the Text in the light of that work, I derived a new set of categories that mainly followed Smith's representations of the passage of the Polynesians across the Pacific and accorded much more closely with the flow of Smith's writing than did the previous set of static categories. Those new categories are Origins, Departures, Voyages, Discoveries, Migrations, Sojourns, and Settlements. My own presentation of Smith's Text under those headings appears here as Chapter Six. For that reason, the Polynesians have assumed a greater role than I had originally envisaged and the orientation of the work has shifted somewhat from the Pacific to Polynesians, though the Pacific in the widest sense has remained, as it were, the field of operations.

In developing an approach to the reading of colonial texts, the field of subaltern studies was a natural progression from Barthes and Prakash. I was particularly challenged and attracted by Ranajit Guha's 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency' with its distinction and

analysis of primary, secondary, and tertiary discourse. I was particularly attracted to his deployment of Barthes's syntagmatic functions and paradigmatic indices, and the perspective provided by consideration of the 'forelengthening' of an event through context and its extension by means of perspective (1983). While providing stimulus to my thinking about the possibilities of reading, the article did not meet my current needs for two main reasons. First, it was, obviously, dealing with readings across a variety of separate texts, while I was concentrating on my formation and study of a single Text. Second, it was my aspiration to address my Text with as little in the way of preconception and borrowed template as possible, beyond the idea of the interdisciplinary Text itself and the background material necessary to that.

It was in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's critique of the approaches of the subaltern studies group that I re-encountered Terry Eagleton's practice of reading against the grain (Spivak 1985, 351; Eagleton 1986). One particular assertion in that complex document caught my eye, interesting me very much at one level but also leaving me with a certain uneasiness in relation to the kind of reading towards which I was moving. Spivak writes, 'You can only read against the grain if misfits in the text signal the way. (These are sometimes called "moments of transgression".)' (1985, 351). In the Pacific context, I encountered the same concept in Robert Nicole's *Disturbing History*, where he declares that here, 'reading against the grain recognises that a multiplicity of contending voices, stories and truths inform the archive; that these contending voices do not carry equal power or resonance'. He adds: 'A historian who reads against the grain will seek those moments where ordinary men and women interfered with the otherwise monotonous yet fractured narratives of colonial pacification and ordering (2011, 8). Similarly, Margaret Jolly and Serge Tcherkézoff say of their edited volume, *Oceanic Encounters*, that their authors 'assume that there is a possibility to read past European

narratives “against the grain” and to there discern glimpses of what the people of the place thought when they first encountered newcomers’ (2009, 16-17). Following a discussion of possible obstacles to such a practice, they conclude: ‘Many chapters in this volume demonstrate the potential of reading and looking “against the grain,” revealing through deconstructive exercises how “facts” are created from Oceanic experiences and how authorial positions are made authoritative’ (18).

All of this, and especially Spivak’s ‘misfits’ and my deep uneasiness about the possibility of discerning others’ thoughts in colonial texts, led me to turn again to Bronwen Douglas. Her close and complex readings of a variety of kinds of texts had already inspired me at an early stage of my thinking about reading. Her identification of the need ‘to know what the authors/artists were thinking, seeing and representing *with* and *about*’ had informed my thinking about the kind of background and context I would need to provide for my reading. Furthermore, her ‘indigenous countersigns’ offered a much more nuanced approach to reading colonial texts than the blunt instrument of ‘reading against the grain’, though she did use that as her starting point (1999, 68, 65). Douglas’s conception of texts ‘as ethnographic palimpsests, their language, content and silences registering inadvertent traces of indigenous actions, relationships and settings that are susceptible to informed ethnographic readings’ accorded with my long-standing adherence to Prakash. So did her description of indigenous countersigns as ‘the oblique stamp of indigenous actions, desires and agency on recorded imperial imaginings’ mesh with my commitment to the Pacific and its people and my resolve to scrutinise my own people (1999, 68).

As productive as these authors were in stimulating my thinking about reading, my problem with them was twofold. First, the nature of my self-imposed task was

essentially different from that of these scholars in that they were seeking traces of the Indigenous, often, as with Guha's article, in a variety of texts, while I was seeking traces of the colonialist in a single Text comprising a coherent body of individual documents. Second, except in the case of Douglas, there was my instinctive but not yet fully articulated reaction against the idea of simply reading *against* the grain which might, in part, have related to my sense of relationship to those I wished to read. I had already begun to use, rather glibly at first, the slogan 'reading with the grain' as an expression of that unformulated aversion. That was significantly extended and reinforced when a colleague in my reading group compared 'reading against the grain' to the kind of analysis of colonial texts that sees resistance as the only form of indigenous response to colonisation rather than the wide range of positions actually taken by the Indigenous. It was only when I used the expression in a conference presentation that my attention was drawn by a friend in the audience to Ann Laura Stoler's *Along the Archival Grain*. While Stoler was working within a different textual framework from mine, I was encouraged by her characterisation of her parallel endeavour: 'Some would argue that the grand narratives of colonialism have been amply and excessively told. On this argument, students of colonialisms often turn quickly and confidently to read "against the grain" of colonial conventions. One fundamental premise of this book is a commitment to a less assured and perhaps more humble stance—to explore the grain with care and read along it first' (2009, 50). In an important sense, this whole thesis, as well as being an examination of a key moment in the history of a particular ethnological enterprise, is an exploration of what a process of reading with the grain may entail and what it may reveal.

At this point I should draw together some of these strands to summarise the approach that I shall be taking in this work. My commitment to the Pacific and its people remains

strong, as does my belief that the best way for me to manifest that commitment is to examine the actions of my own people in relation to it and to them. Some uneasiness in my own relationship with my subjects stems from the sense of distance I feel from them and their world; in that way I am no ‘insider’. This is coupled with an equal reluctance to distance myself from them and absolve myself of receiving the benefits I have as a result of at least some of their actions. Similarly, I remain committed to the concept of interdisciplinarity to which I had been introduced by Pacific Studies, Wesley-Smith, and Barthes. I no longer believe, though, partly because of the results of my work on Gudgeon, that it can only be implemented in the context of a field of study. Those same methods can, as in the Gudgeon case, contribute to the pursuit of History and, as I intend to do in this case, take account of an historical perspective in carrying out that work.

While, in the case of the representation and initial reading of the Gudgeon Text I was determinedly ahistorical, in setting up and representing the Smith Text, therefore, I see no problem with some opening to an historical perspective; quite the opposite. As to the nature of that representation of my Text, in the case of Gudgeon I felt able to represent the whole of the Text that I had assembled; in the case of Smith, its sheer scale makes that impossible. Therefore I produce one possible representation of the Text across the whole Text but not representing every aspect of that Text. The absolute requirement for, or at least aspiration to, accuracy in the representation of that aspect or set of aspects remains, as does the need to represent Smith with as little direct intervention from me as is compatible with coherence in that representation. This is not to deny that the very act of selection is, in itself, an intervention. In reading that Text, or at least my representation of that Text, my commitment is to conduct that reading, as far as possible, in terms of the Text itself in the company of the character Smith manifested in

that Text. That reading completed, I shall make some comment on it in the light of the intellectual context set out in two earlier chapters. As to the question of why Percy Smith, I take that up again in the next, biographical, chapter.





## *Chapter Two*

### *Life and Work of Percy Smith*

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Nine decades after his death, a full-length biography of Stephenson Percy Smith remains to be published. The lack is made all the more surprising by the availability of such treatments of Tregear (Howe 1991), Best (Craig 1964), and even Gudgeon (Craig 1985), as well as a recent dual biography of Best and his Tuhoe colleague, Tutakangahau (Holman 2010). There are, however, various shorter biographical materials including a retirement biography in the Lands and Survey Annual Report (1891); an unattributed obituary I take to have been by the newly appointed editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, W H Skinner (1922); a memoir by Tregear (1922) in the special issue of the *Journal* published after Smith's death; an article by popular author James Cowan (1935) in the *New Zealand Railways Magazine* 'Famous New Zealanders' series; Austin Graham Bagnall's (1966) brief entry in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*; Rhonda Bartle's (2005) note for Taranaki's *Puke Ariki* website; Giselle Byrnes's (2010a) entry in *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*; and, most recently, Brad Patterson's longer contribution to the abridged edition of Smith's 'Reminiscences' (Patterson 2011; Smith 2011). In addition, Keith Sorrenson (1992) provides a good deal of biographical information relating to Smith and the Polynesian Society in his history of the organisation. Unpublished autobiographical sources include the 'Reminiscences', completed by Smith in 1916, letters to his wife from his 1897 Pacific voyages (1912), and notes from his 1901 residence in Niue (Smith 1916, 1912 [1897], 1901a). Finally, Giselle Byrnes (2010b) has generously allowed me access to her unpublished conference paper engaging with the problems of writing a Smith biography in the present. I have drawn on and across all these sources in preparing this

chapter, though, in the absence of a detailed biography, I shall rely principally on the ‘Reminiscences’ for his origins, childhood, and youth and his perceptions of them.

The bare outline of Smith’s life is recorded in those texts. He was born in Suffolk, England, in 1840 to a merchant father and a well-connected mother and emigrated to New Plymouth in New Zealand with his family in 1849. Schooling and work on the family farm in Taranaki followed, and he undertook painting lessons with landscape artist John Gully. In 1855 he was recruited as a survey cadet to the Taranaki Provincial Government and thereafter worked in a variety of surveying roles in public-service organisations. In them, he was responsible for a number of important technological and methodological developments in surveying as well as the transformation of vast areas of Māori land into colonial entities. In the course of that work and as a leisure pursuit he undertook many arduous journeys and explorations. In 1857 he served in the local militia in the Taranaki land wars and continued to be associated with military projects for some time thereafter. The nature of his career as a surveyor allowed him to pursue his intense interest in Māori culture and language, in which he was fluent, and to develop his genealogical, ethnological, and ethnographic skills. In addition to a number of titles relating to his surveys and explorations, he would publish three major books on matters Māori, becoming, for quite a long period of time, the pre-eminent authority. In 1862 he married Mary Anne Crompton who gave birth to six children, one of whom died in infancy. Advancing steadily in the public service throughout his career, he reached the very top of his field by becoming surveyor general and secretary for lands and mines for more than a decade before his retirement in 1900.

Before that retirement, Smith took leave in 1897 to undertake two Pacific voyages around much of Polynesia, collecting material and ideas that would form the basis of

three *Journal* articles and his four editions of *Hawaiki* (1898a; 1898b; 1899; 1898c; 1904; 1910b; 1921). Since 1890 he had been producing material on the island Pacific as well as New Zealand. In 1892, he advocated, promoted, and succeeded in the establishment of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal*, which he co-edited and in which he continued to publish prolifically until the year of his death. Both continue to this day as major institutions in Pacific research. In 1901, Smith was sent to newly annexed Niue as government resident under Gudgeon to introduce a system of government and law, an enterprise that resulted in the publication of five *Journal* articles (1901b; 1902a; 1902b; 1902c; 1903a). In retirement, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the work of the Polynesian Society and his own researches while also taking up a variety of official and local-body positions as well as others in the community and in the Anglican Church. Smith was a fellow or member of most of the societies and other bodies associated with the Polynesian researches of his day and, while he received no official honour, he was awarded the Hector Medal by the New Zealand Institute, forerunner of the Royal Society of New Zealand. Smith died at his home, Matai-moana, in New Plymouth, his original place of settlement, on 19 April 1922, 11 years after the death of his wife. While his researches on New Zealand Māori are still drawn upon by scholars, much of the methodology he employed has been discredited in those circles, though some of his contributions, such as the ‘Great Fleet’, maintain an afterlife in popular perceptions and in some Māori traditions. Such was his influence that historian James Belich has coined the term ‘Smithing’ as a general description of the technique of ‘forging a picture of the Maori past for Pakeha ideological purposes’ in the ‘process of constructing Maori history’ by a variety of ‘Smithians’ (Belich 1997, 16; 2007, 24).



**Smith, Maurice Crompton, 1864-1953. Creator unknown: Group photograph of Huntly Elliot, Stephenson Percy Smith, Frank Waldegrave and others. Ref: PA7-43-01. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand**

In her unpublished conference paper, Byrnes asks how one may ‘write the story of a man whose life was so deeply inscribed with and by not only colonialist, but highly gendered (and “classed”) discourses?’. In particular, she also asks, ‘Is it possible to write a postcolonial biography of a problematic colonial figure that respects the contours of modern historical scholarship while also locating the man in *his* times?’ (2010b, 1). In partial answer to those questions, Byrnes distinguishes two possible approaches: the thematic, the approach I will adopt in this chapter; and the textual, the approach at which I have arrived by a different route set out in my introductory chapter, and the one I will pursue to a slightly different end in my later chapters (2010b, 7). A question as to whether the textual approach may risk privileging Smith’s ethnological

identity is no problem for me since I am not proposing to write a full biography. It is precisely my intention to privilege his texts dealing with the Pacific. Furthermore, Byrnes makes the very cogent point that each of his major texts ‘relies upon and is representative of much earlier research—his careers as a field surveyor, public servant and colonial official feed into these texts which, in many respects, represent the culmination of a life’s work’ (2010b, 8). Hence, nonetheless, my concentration here on providing an overview of that life as background to my account of the development of his Pacific researches and to my representation and reading of some of those texts. The themes I have adopted for that biographical task are origins and ancestry, childhood and youth, surveying and career, and Polynesian Society and they are somewhat interwoven. I have paid considerable attention to Smith’s recorded memories of childhood and early youth as set out in the ‘Reminiscences’, in part because these years have not been covered in the existing biographical writing; in part because they provide some foundation for envisaging the physical and intellectual reality of his early life; and in part because of their record of events which would contribute to his later life. I am not for a moment trying to assert that the nature and interests of ‘the man’ are present and already formed in ‘the boy’. I am, however, interested, in the spirit of Byrnes’s aim of ‘locating the man in *his* times’, in those events and pursuits that might have prepared him, to some degree, for his adult life and career as well as those that remained vivid in the memory of the older Smith.

In a move that seems to parallel his later obsession with Rarotongan traditions and genealogies and perhaps even his close relations with highly ranking Maori scholars, Smith is at pains in his ‘Reminiscences’ to outline the ancestry of the family to his intended audience, his children. He begins by tracing a connection through ancestor Thomas Smyth’s marriage to Anne Thorold in about 1680 to one of the oldest families

in England. That family is believed to have been founded by the 'Ceorl of Deira, and also Vices comes, living in the years 1041-1066, the famous benefactor of York Cathedral' (1916, 1). Smith goes on to trace the Thorold line through the first known holder of the name, one Richard, who 'flourished in 1303', his son, also Richard, 'ancestor of the Lincolnshire family of that name', and his 'great great great grandson, William'. The latter was high sheriff of the county in 1558 and it was from him and his wife, Margaret Hussey, that 'descend the Baronets Thorold, a line which is in existence still' (1916, 1-2). Thereafter we learn of their son, Robert, who married one Agnes Audley, and Margaret's brother, 'Baron Hussey a celebrated character in the reign of Henry the VIII'. Robert's claim to distinction was that 'he cut off the Baron's head' for showing sympathy with a local rebellion against the king, joined in that connection and fate by 'another ancestor of yours on your mother's side, the Earl of Northumberland' who had also joined the rebellion. Before returning to the Smyth line, Smith covers a variety of other connections from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, including the fact that Agnes was the great, great, great-granddaughter of a Lord High Chancellor, 'who granted the divorces of some of Henry VIII's wives' (1916, 2). Returning to Thomas and Anne from the beginning of his account, Smith rather summarily traces his line through their second son, Samuel, who came into possession of two Lincolnshire manors, his son and grandson, both Thomas, and the latter's son, William Smith. William was Smith's own grandfather and married Elizabeth Stephenson, who gave birth to his father, John Stephenson Smith, un-named in the 'Reminiscences'. In 1839, John married Hannah Hursthouse and took up a position in the Beccles, Suffolk, branch of the timber and corn business owned by Hannah's uncles, William and Charles Jecks. Smith was born in Beccles on 11 June 1840, the first of eight children.

As Smith tells, the family soon made a move, the first of many, to Wisbech, a market town in the Fens of Cambridgeshire, where John took charge of another Jecks branch. Among Smith's few memories of the town and the time are the brightly painted Dutch boats on the river or canal; a long and arduous walk home from his grandfather's house at the age of four, 'a great undertaking' and a pointer to future activities; and his first and, as he recalls, only 'whipping', though he 'was always considered a good boy' (1916, 4). The next move was to Norwich, where family religious observance shifted between chapel and cathedral. The burning of the military barracks there caused great excitement, and Smith says he remembers witnessing 'the commencement of the great Chartist Movement in England, which culminated in 1848, by an insurrection which had to be suppressed by the military' (1916, 6). The family's next move was back to Beccles for John to take over the local Jecks branch. There Smith was introduced to boats and boating, in the course of the move itself, on family business and excursions, and even on long expeditions to Boulton Broad. It was in Beccles that he began school in about 1847 at 'the academy of the Misses Sair', learning, he supposes, 'some thing of the three "Rs" there'. There, too, he took up with 'companions not always very suitable ones I imagine because my parents did not like my often being with them'. He narrowly survived, in the course of his escapades, a near-fatal hanging, two drownings, and a near-shooting in a corn granary by the local ratcatcher (1916, 9-11).

On 9 August 1849, at the urging of one of Smith's uncles who had migrated to New Plymouth in New Zealand earlier in the decade, the family left for New Zealand. The party comprised grandfather, aunt, mother, father, five children, and an Irish servant picked up on their London sojourn, all travelling on the passenger ship *Pekin* for Port Chalmers in Otago and, eventually, New Plymouth in Taranaki. Smith supposes in the 'Reminiscences' that the underlying reason for emigration was that 'my father saw little

chance of advancement in the world in the old country, and thought there would be a better chance in the new one' (1916, 11). The strong likelihood of this is suggested by those present, by virtue of a Hursthouse connection, to farewell them: four Richmonds and a Miss Atkinson who would become a Richmond by marriage. All were members of the two families which would be very prominent and influential in the settlement of Taranaki and in New Zealand's colonial politics. The voyage seems to have been uneventful apart from an early collision, a slow passage down the Channel, an unrealised prospect of pirates, and some childish sky-larking in the masts and rigging. Arrived in Port Chalmers on 5 December, the family, according to the later Smith, was 'more particularly interested in the Maoris' and his parents 'became acquainted with a man who was very well worth knowing, a naturalist, a geologist and one who knew a great deal about the Maoris' (1916, 14, 15). After a fortnight, the ship sailed for an early and unformed Wellington, whence his father and a companion walked and rode some 250 miles to New Plymouth, the family later sailing and arriving on 7 February 1850. Smith sums up the voyage: 'Thus ended our long voyage of two days under six months. It was altogether a pleasant experience for a boy like me and I learnt a good deal about ships &c which has always remained, together with a fondness for the sea' (1916, 16).

Settled on a 100 acre farm, named Okoare after the neighbouring Māori pā (settlement), unoccupied but still intact at that time and surrounded by Hursthouse relations, Smith set about learning to drive bullocks and milk cows in what appear to be idyllic surroundings. His first schooling in New Zealand was provided by a visiting tutor, who later became a district judge. Soon, however, a day school started up in New Plymouth, a four-mile walk in each direction from the farm, the roads so bad that he and his companions resorted to crossing the fields and climbing the fences. Eventually, he went to live on a small farm settled by a Mr Crompton who had recently started a school.



Crompton, at the time first editor of *The Taranaki Herald*, ‘had been a Professor in the College at Rouen in France—a man of scientific attainments and a pleasant companion to us withal’ (1916, 21). Part of the education involved ‘long walking expeditions into the bush or along the coast where Mr Crompton used to teach us a little botany and other natural sciences’ (1916, 21). One of these expeditions was the occasion of Smith’s meeting ‘Black Davis, an old Negro, as black as sin, who by his Maori wife has left a great many descendants in whom the Negro blood shows very plainly’ (1916, 21-22). Smith also learnt Latin, later lost, he regrets, ‘though French remains as a frequent enjoyment in these latter days’ (1916, 22). It is clear from the ‘Reminiscences’ that Crompton had a lasting effect on Smith, in more ways than one:

Mr Crompton when he arrived after so many years in France, was almost a Frenchman, with the very polie [sic] manners, and his clothes were also French, which seemed strange to us. There is no doubt that I am indebted for many of my tastes, that have always been a happiness to me through life, to Mr Cromptons teachings—without taking into consideration many other kindnesses in after life, the chief of which was giving me his daughter to wife (1916, 22).

Smith left school at the end of 1854, at the age of 14, and returned home to work on the family farm. His memories of the second half of the 1850s are marked by regular social gatherings, often with the Atkinsons and Richmonds or Cromptons, the great Wellington earthquake, celebration of the fall of Sebastopol in the Crimean War, and ‘troubles among the Maoris’ resulting in fighting. He served in the volunteers and militia, sketched and collected plants, undertook long walking tours and expeditions, climbed Mount Egmont, and learned painting with the distinguished artist John Gully. He certainly remembers the arrival of ‘Miss Crompton’ to live with the Smith family and teach his sisters. In the early days of his surveying expeditions he would be accompanied by Māori and began to learn their language as well as ‘bush-lore and woodcraft’ (1916, 27). Here is a young man who more than meets Giselle Byrnes’s characterisation, in her history of New Zealand colonial surveying, of the ‘young men with a keen sense of adventure and an abundance of energy’ who were attracted to

surveying (2001, 23). ‘Surveyors’, she writes, ‘were often men of learning and intellectual ability, with interests as broad as art, poetry, ethnology, philology and geology. When not engaged in marking out boundaries and making maps, many field surveyors spent their spare hours collecting and describing specimens of native plants, birds and animals. For many, Maori themselves were the objects of their enquiry’ (2001, 22).

### *Surveying*

In January 1855, Smith was invited to apply for one of the new survey cadetships being offered by the Taranaki Provincial Government, a pleasing prospect ‘because it not only gave me an opening in the world, but offered opportunities to developing my tastes for exploring and for the study of the plants of N Z and drawing’ (1916, 23). He joined the department on 4 February as its first cadet at a salary of £25 a year. The retirement biography included in the Department of Lands and Survey 1901 Annual Report summarises his subsequent 45-year career thus: ‘Although not one of the very first surveyors to practice in New Zealand, Mr. Smith is entitled to rank with the foremost of those pioneers who did the arduous work of getting land ready for settlement’ (Lands & Survey 1901, xxii). The article goes on to list his activities and achievements in surveying in some detail and I draw on that material for this section of the chapter, supplemented by Brad Patterson’s introductory biography in the edited version of the ‘Reminiscences’ and that same document.

Smith completed his cadetship in 1857 and became an assistant surveyor for Taranaki, setting about surveying that province’s forested inland with two other young Pākehā men, including a Hursthouse, to prepare it for settlement. The work was arduous: ‘In those days roads and tracks were few and far between, and all survey equipment and



**Stephenson Percy Smith and his survey party. Ref: 1/2-061056-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand**

stores had to be carried on the men's backs (always Maoris), the surveyors taking their share in this laborious work, frequently suffering considerable hardship' (Lands & Survey 1901, xxii). It is often difficult to distinguish Smith's work activities from his recreational (one can hardly say leisure) pursuits. One such was the two-month journey of some 600 miles by foot and canoe he undertook with four other young men in 1858 from New Plymouth, through the lakes and the bush of the country around the Tongariro and Ruapehu mountains, and back to New Plymouth by way of the coast. In 1859, he was made surveyor attached to the Native Land Purchase Department carrying out much of the initial survey of large blocks of land under government purchase in the Kaipara district north of Auckland. This was followed in 1863 by transfer as a district surveyor to the General Survey Department newly established in Auckland 'to undertake the surveys of confiscated lands for the settlement of military settlers' (Lands & Survey 1901, xxiii).

In 1865, Smith was transferred back to Taranaki to take charge of all the surveys for military settlement north of New Plymouth. Unsurprisingly, as the departmental report has it, the surveys ‘were carried out at great risk, owing to parties of Hauhaus [members of a resistant Māori religious movement] prowling about the country, and all the work was done under covering parties, usually composed of friendly Natives’ (Lands & Survey 1901, xxiii). Similar work followed in a variety of districts and, at the end of the decade, he conducted a trigonometrical survey of the Chatham Islands, ‘and corrected a serious error in the longitude of the group, accepted up to that time’, later surveying the whole group for the Native Land Court (Lands & Survey 1901, xxiii). In 1870, Smith was appointed the first geodetic specialist in the Inspector of Surveys Department in Auckland, ‘extending the major triangulation over a considerable portion of that province, and extending the work to Hawke’s Bay and Northern Wellington’, an undertaking Patterson has evaluated as ‘Smith’s field-surveying high point’ (Lands & Survey 1901, xxiii; Patterson 2011, 8).

With the abolition of the provinces in 1876 and the establishment of a national Survey Department, Smith was appointed first geodesical surveyor, soon going on to become chief surveyor in the Auckland District. He added the position of assistant surveyor-general to that role in 1882, and that of commissioner of Crown lands in Auckland in 1888. While absorbed in administrative activities, he continued to be involved, from time to time, in field work, completing a topographical survey of the site of the Tarawera eruption in 1886 and being sent by the government to take possession of the Kermadec Islands for New Zealand in 1888. On 29 January 1889, he was appointed surveyor-general and secretary for Crown lands and mines, positions he held until his retirement in 1900. Other official positions held by Smith included chairman of the

Board of Land Purchase Commissioners, chairman of the Urewera Native Reserves Board, member of the Boards of the Government Life Insurance Investment Board and the Public Trustee as well as joint responsibility for 'allocating lands to the landless Natives of the South Island' (Lands & Survey 1901, xxiv). He was also chairman of the Board of Examiners for Surveyors and was a founder member and later president of the Institute of Surveyors.

Smith was a considerable innovator in his surveying work and life. Patterson describes him as being recognised as 'a survey visionary' for fostering more scientific methods and sums up his achievements in this way: 'Tellingly, it was Smith who was frequently at the cutting edge of field improvements in survey practice. It was he, for example, who first extensively substituted the steel band for Gunter's chain; he who first locally applied Gale's system of coordinating traverses; he who first used solar observations to check out bearings' (Patterson 2011, 8). Smith published some important material on surveying and related subjects, particularly in the later stages of his career. His first publication, in 1858, was an account of the epic journey inland from New Plymouth. It was followed, sometime later, by his 1868 mapping of the Chatham Islands, his 1886 report on the eruption of Tarawera and map of the surrounding country, an 1887 volume on the capabilities and extent of the Kermadec Islands, and his 1897 book on the New Zealand land system with a description of its land districts.

Yet Smith's surveying legacy lies much more in and on the land than in the pages of any books. Again, it is Patterson who captures the extent and duration of his influence:

He was thus a vital agent in the transforming of large tracts of the nineteenth-century New Zealand landscape into occupied farm and town lands. He and his colleagues left New Zealand in his (and their) eyes, 'much changed for the better'. Cast as a cadastral modeller, it was Smith's task, with others, to measure parcels of a size and shape consistent with introduced property rights, then to arrange them in accord with the values systems of the colonisers. That this was

no easy task should be apparent. Yet, with the initial lines scribed on the colonial land surface being enduring, many mute monuments to Smith's technical skill and foresight remain: in the street alignments of towns and townships, in the placement and size of the reserves, in the mosaic of farm boundaries in the rural districts (Patterson 2011, 8).

Byrnes has cast that achievement within the wider context of empire, colonisation, and anthropology. She, tellingly, sees the surveyors 'charged with extending the boundaries of empire: advancing colonisation on the ground, at the frontier of theory and practice. Although physically located on the margins of the settler society, land surveyors operated, quite literally, at the cutting edge of colonisation' (2001, 5). She goes on to make the anthropological connection and the link between land and literature:

Ironically, while Skinner [another early surveyor/ethnographer], Smith and Tregear were engaged in the physical transformation of the natural landscape, they were simultaneously involved in the textual conservation of its indigenous inhabitants, including people. As surveyors they were employed to transform the landscape; as ethnographers, they were intent on preserving at least the image of 'the Maori as he was', to borrow Elsdon Best's phrase. In this way, surveying texts may be considered as ethnographic texts, as a means through which Pakeha observers represented others and projected themselves in print. It is no coincidence that surveying and ethnology went hand in hand. The surveying of Maori land naturally brought surveyors into contact (and conflict) with Maori ... For young men interested in observing and recording aspects of Maori culture, land surveying provided the perfect occasion and opportunity (2001, 23).

In the course of his surveying career, Smith accumulated great quantities of Māori matter, material and verbal. While Patterson alludes to possible episodes of grave-robbing, there is evidence to suggest that he had relationships of some trust, not always warranted, with at least some groups of Māori. Among the occasions on which he put that trust to the test were his 1860 mission to recruit northern Ngati Whatua to the defence of Auckland against attack from Waikato in the south, his efforts as 'the government's dampener of smouldering embers in Taranaki, in the Waikato and Thames districts, and ultimately in the King Country', and his dispatch to Urewera country to 'breakdown Tuhoe resistance to the survey of their lands' (Patterson 2011, 10, 13). Perhaps the strongest evidence of that trust, however, is the vast scale of the

genealogical and historical information he was able to elicit from individual learned Māori as evidenced in the diversity and sheer quantity of material written and published by him from the 1890s.

### *The Polynesian Society*

On 19 June 1891, Smith circulated 450 copies of a proposal to form a ‘Polynesian Society’. ‘Polynesian’ was intended ‘to embrace Australia, New Zealand, Chatham Islands, Polynesia proper, Melanesia, Micronesia, Malaysia, and Papua, and their native races’, a geographical span that is again today a subject of considerable scholarly discussion (Smith 1891c). A New Zealand Institute, forerunner of the Royal Society of New Zealand and publisher of an annual *Transactions and Proceedings*, had been established in 1867, as had a variety of provincial societies in the same decade. Smith’s vision, however, was of something different and more specialised. His circular proposed, among other objects, that it would ‘afford a means of communication, co-operation and mutual criticism between those interested in, or studying Polynesian anthropology, ethnology, philology, history, manners, and customs of the Oceanic races, and the preservation of all that relates to such subjects in a permanent form’. Smith hoped that its membership would ‘be widely scattered throughout Australia, New Zealand, and the Islands of the Pacific’. Such membership being practically unable to meet, he proposed the publication of a periodical, the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. The duties of members would be ‘the careful preservation of all that relates to the history, traditions, manners and customs, languages, antiquities and all other matters of interest concerning the Australian, Polynesian, and other Oceanic races, and the reporting of the same to the Council for publication in the Journal’ (Smith 1891c). When he came, some years later, to launch the first version of his ‘Hawaiki’ writings, he explained that the primary question for the society’s New Zealand members, would be

‘the immediate whence of the Maori people’ (though this was not mentioned in the circular), adding:

It seemed therefore to the writer that the attempt to clear up this and other questions once for all was worth making. Time was pressing—the old men of the Polynesian race from whom their history could be obtained were fast passing away—civilisation was fast extinguishing what little remained of ancient lore—the people themselves were dying out before the incoming white man—and, to all appearances, there would soon be nothing left but regrets over lost opportunities (1898a, 137-138).

Salvage of the Polynesian past was at the heart and centre of the foundation of the Polynesian Society as it was of Smith’s preoccupations and research over the next three decades.

Keith Sorrenson’s history of the Polynesian Society is a great resource for understanding this period and I largely draw upon it for the balance of this section (1992). The inaugural meeting of the society was held on 8 January 1892 in Wellington, with Walter Edward Gudgeon in the chair and Elsdon Best and Edward Tregear as well as Smith present. The disparity between the small attendance of ten men and a membership already numbering 112 is understandable given a rival attraction in the form of a lecture by Henry Morton Stanley, famous African explorer and seeker of David Livingstone. The society was duly formed and based in Wellington, with Queen Liliuokalani of Hawai’i as patron (one of three women members). H G Seth-Smith, chief judge of the Land Court, was elected president, joined by Smith and Tregear as joint secretaries, treasurers, and editors of the quarterly *Journal*, the first issue of which appeared remarkably soon after in April 1892. Equally remarkably, both society and *Journal* remain vigorously and uninterruptedly alive 120 years later, although that life was sometimes precarious, especially in the early years. While, as the distribution of offices makes clear, Smith and Tregear nominally shared control of the executive positions, it was and remained the case that Smith was ‘the boss’ as indicated by the



‘minor crisis’ that occurred during Smith’s six-month absence on his 1897 Pacific voyages (Sorrenson 1992, 26, 32). Two characteristics of the early years of the society made it unusual for the time: first, women were able to join as members, a provision unknown in, for example, similar institutions in Britain; second, a considerable number of Māori became members, largely as a result of Smith’s efforts.

A more substantial crisis, and one demonstrating ‘Smith’s domination of the Society, both intellectually and in its day-to-day affairs’ occurred with Smith’s retirement and his decision to move to New Plymouth (Sorrenson 1992, 43). Accepting the inevitable, given that domination, the 1901 AGM of the society approved a virtually total transfer of its base, papers, library, and its supply of back issues of the *Journal* to New Plymouth with Smith. The meeting also elected a new council based in New Plymouth, except for Tregear who became president. Three years later, Smith replaced him in that position and the control and operations of the society remained in New Plymouth until his death in 1922. He briefly co-edited and later edited the *Journal* except for a period in 1904-05, published articles in almost every issue (some of the series of which would also take book form). He also conducted a number of campaigns, such as the unsuccessful one to add ‘Royal’ to the society’s name. In addition, Smith actively supported the developing career of Elsdon Best, and helped to advance those of younger contributors such as Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) and Harry Skinner. He conducted correspondence with some British scholars, including A C Haddon, G H Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, and Sir James Frazer, and the diffusionists G Elliott Smith and W J Perry, but not, as Sorrenson points out, W H Rivers, A Radcliffe Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, or much in the way of those in the US (1992, 51).

Despite the wide geographic ambitions expressed in the founding proposal circulated by Smith, both he and the *Journal* during his lifetime would concentrate on New Zealand Māori, the island Pacific and its people, the relationship between the two, and the passage of the Māori through the Pacific. In addition to his articles in the *Journal* and in other scholarly publications, Smith published a major essay and three volumes based on *Journal* articles specifically on Māori, four editions of *Hawaiki* informed by his 1897 voyages and later research, and an assembly of the *Journal* articles based on his time in Niue. The first of the Māori works, published in 1896-97, was the long essay, 'The Peopling of the North'. It was based on unpublished and later much-discredited material from John White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, Smith's own researches while surveying, and contributions by society members. The second, published commercially in 1904, was *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*, bringing together material serialised in the *Journal* since 1899 as 'Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes of New Zealand'. The third, Smith's 'History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast', also based on the White material and similarly serialised 1907-10, appeared in 1910 as a society *Memoir*. The fourth, *The Lore of the Whare-wanaga*, was serialised in 1912-13 and again published as a society *Memoir* in two volumes in 1913 and 1915. It derived, according to Smith, from 'a very ... important paper dictated to Whatahoro in 1863 by an old Tohunga [priest] of Wairarapa which supplies information on the subject of Kupe, Toi, Whatonga and others of that period that none of us had any idea was in existence' (Sorrenson 1992, 36).

For the reasons outlined in my introduction, I am not going to provide a detailed critique of these works here. While Smith was not publicly challenged on them during his lifetime, both his reliance on texts of dubious authority and the manner of his manipulation of them and of other more valid records have been subjected to intensive

and justified criticism since his death. Among many such critiques, by far the most substantial is David Simmons's study, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, both monumental and minutely argued. In it, Simmons concluded, in relation to Smith, that 'what is usually accepted and repeated as authentic Maori tradition in the New Zealand "myth" is an interpretation in European terms of non-authentic traditions' (Simmons 1976, 315). In particular, Simmons found that the 'European tradition' of the settlement of New Zealand by a Great Fleet of six canoes was 'shown to be a rationalisation of disparate canoe traditions which gradually became more and more accepted as "factual" and "historical" as time passed. This arose out of the desire of European scholars to provide a coherent framework by which to interpret the pre-history of New Zealand' (1976, 316). Virtually all subsequent critique has been built upon these foundations. Other, perhaps more accessible, works include Keith Sorrenson's *Maori Origins and Migrations* (1979) and Kerry Howe's more recent *The Quest for Origins* (2008). The same critique has not been sustained, however, on the kind of material he collected in the course of his surveying activities, which remains a resource for scholars Māori and Pākehā, academic and iwi (tribal). It is also worth calling to mind the Taranaki kaumatua (elder), recorded by Byrnes as recounting the tradition history of his people before the Waitangi Tribunal in 1991. He tells of 'origins, settlement, war, conquest and building alliances ... all of this presented orally and without recourse to notes and some of it presented through waiata [songs]. Yet this testimony is almost word-for-word verbatim a recitation of Percy Smith's 1910 *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*' (Byrnes 2010b, 10).

Smith's writings on the island Pacific, the content of my Smith text, commenced publication in 1890 with an ethnological article on 'Tongarewa' (today Tongareva or Penrhyn) in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* for that year

and concluded with the fourth edition of *Hawaiki* in 1921, the year before his death. They total 37 articles and books, 25 of the articles appearing in the *Journal*. As will appear in Chapter Five, his early production was largely ethnological, drawing on the writings of early visitors to the islands and the work of other scholars. This, however, would change in two directions after his 1897 voyages to the Cook Islands, what is now French Polynesia, Samoa, Hawai'i, and, Tonga. His two new interests, new in the context of the Pacific though not in that of New Zealand Māori, were ethnographic and genealogical/historical. The ethnographic made up a considerable part of the first edition of *Hawaiki* and the genealogical/historical remained central to his researches for the rest of his life. The relationships among his ethnological, ethnographic, and genealogical/historical will also be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Quite a vivid sketch of Smith at work appears in one of the letters he sent to his wife during the first voyage. He is interviewing two chiefly figures in Rarotonga, Pa-ariki and Pa-vahine:

They are very nice people and I enjoyed several hours talk with this intelligent chief, as we mutually understand one another with not much trouble, or by aid of an English word now and then, a language he understands very well. But it seems so natural to speak of Polynesian matters in the language of the Pacific, that we rarely resort to English—No one, in my opinion, who has not read the scriptures in Polynesian, can appreciate their beauty, the language seems to have been formed for expressing the ideas and for telling the narratives connected with the patriarchese[?] life depicted in the Old Testament (1912 [1897], 30).

What emerges in the course of those letters and in the first edition of *Hawaiki* is that Smith's enthusiasm reflects the fact the he is able in Rarotonga to discuss and collect information on genealogical/historical matters relating quite immediately to 'the whence of the Maori'. In Samoa, however, his observations tend much more to the ethnographic, a pursuit occasioned by the Samoans' 'ignorance of their ancient history' and lack of genealogical depth (1898a, 149-150). Interesting as the Samoans may be in themselves, this was not the work of salvage and, for Smith, the high point of the

voyages was his acquisition, as he would later write, of ‘the Traditions, and mainly those of Rarotonga, a written copy of which was secured by the author in Rarotonga in 1897. These traditions were dictated by Te Ariki-tara-are, the last of the high priests of Rarotonga, and therefore are from the highest authority possible’ (1904, Preface).

Smith’s other direct experience of the island Pacific was to occur when he spent almost four months on Niue, ‘having gone there at the request of His Excellency the Earl of Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand, to introduce a form of government somewhat more consonant with British ideas than the existing one’ (1902a, 80). He was satisfied that he was successful in this mission but dissatisfied with his time on Niue from the point of view of his researches. Once again, as with the Samoans, the Niueans had ‘few historical traditions’ and ‘no genealogies of consequence’, this, of course, from the perspective of the immediate ‘whence of the Maori’ (1902b, 81). Consequently, his series of articles from his time on Niue contains a considerable amount of ethnographic observation and, after a couple of months, his notes are filled with complaints and expressions of his desire to return home: ‘It is very disappointing, and makes me regret my long exile from home to so little purpose’ (1901a, 54).

In Smith’s second edition of *Hawaiki* of 1904, the one that has proved most influential, he removed virtually all of the ethnographic material that had appeared in the first and, having had time to absorb and work on the traditions he had collected in Rarotonga on the voyages, greatly expanded the genealogical/historical discussion. The third and fourth editions would add some material to the earlier one, delete a little, and change some emphases but remained otherwise unchanged, except that the fourth presented his definitive account of the ‘three migrations’ of the Polynesians (1921, 88-136). The four editions contributed greatly to Smith’s reputation in certain quarters during his lifetime,

a reputation that would be accorded considerable honours and positions of a scholarly nature. Those honours included fellow of the Royal Geographical Society; becoming one of the first 20 fellows of the New Zealand Institute; honorary member of The Spalding Gentlemen's Society (England's original antiquarian society); honorary member of the New Zealand Institute; and corresponding member of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, the Societa d'Anthropologia d'Italia, the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, and the Hawaiian Historical Society. The grant he received with his award of the Hector Medal by the New Zealand Institute for services to Polynesian ethnology went to the University of Otago to fund a prize in anthropology.

### *Reputation*

In concluding this chapter and in trying to deal with Smith's contribution, particularly as it relates to the Pacific, I want to return to the biographical sources I listed at the beginning of this chapter as well as the tributes that appeared in the special memorial edition of the *Journal* and to some more recent commentary. The memorial obituary concludes: 'No one could meet S. Percy Smith without being conscious of the strength and range of his intellectual activities. He rendered ready help alike to great and small, and his loss will be felt not only by those who knew him, who will ever cherish his memory, but by every student who begins research in the field of which he was the unchallenged master' ([Skinner, W H] 1922, 71]. To this, Tregear adds that the knowledge salvaged in his writings would 'certainly be written about and enlarged upon by numerous students of many different countries and centuries' and that 'the dominant idea in all his diligent research and publication was a very simple one. It was to him an absolute necessity to gather together information for the scholar of the future, because the Polynesian languages, traditions and religions were fast passing away' (1922, 73, 74). Best, in a brief memoir marked by great affection but little in the way of

commentary on Smith's actual work, characterises him as one in whom 'graces and personal charm' added to 'character and ability' made him 'a man who towers above his fellows, and becomes a universally acknowledged superior. His innate qualities of justice, sympathy and tactfulness endeared him to natives as well as to us; they acknowledged his virtues and influence, and recognised the source thereof' (Best 1922, 75).

The poroporoaki (farewell) of Hare Hongi (Henry Matthew Stowell), Māori scholar and contributor to the *Journal*, appears in Māori and English translation; from the latter:

Greetings unto thee, O friend, Mr. Smith. Greetings unto thee as the one who saw and communed with our elders (of far-back years.) Greetings unto thee as the supreme head of the institution which (more than any other) has embalmed and conserved the choicest remains preserved in the language of our forefathers. Thou also art Tupai-whakarongo-wananga; for thine ears heard and thy mind heldfast to all of the ritualistic and sacredly-historical teachings of our elders. Greetings unto thee, by the sweat of thy brow thou didst carry the burden of their sacred-recitals. Greetings unto thee, thy manifold works lie here in their abundance. Thou hast assembled these and hast had them embalmed in the pages of the Polynesian Journal and numerous other books and papers. And, thou hast now died. Yet no; for thou still survivest in these thy works. Greetings unto thee who so strenuously sought the whereabouts of the original Hawaiki-land; the land whence originated the Maori race (Hongi (1922, 79).

The tangi (lament) of Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), the distinguished anthropologist, also appears in both languages and also speaks at length of his achievements:

Though in his veins there was no drop of Maori blood, yet in thoughts and ideals, he was more Maori than the present generation of Maoris. Though he was not schooled in the ancient House of Learning of our ancestors, yet it was he who gathered together the fragments from the various canoes of Aotearoa and the canoes of Hawaiki. The sacred Houses of Learning had fallen to the ground. It was S. Percy Smith who collected a slab here and a beam there until there was sufficient to re-erect a house of learning for this generation and the generations whose canoes have not yet made their landfall. He crossed the great ocean of Kiwa. He retraced the sacred path, the difficult way of Tane, who severed Earth from Sky, the ocean-way adown which the spray flew from the paddles of our ancestors when the great canoes migrated. He visited Rarotonga to see the descendants of Takitimu and connect up our genealogical trees. He landed on Rai'atea to view the court yard of Turi and the land whence the seed was sown to grow up into the tribes of his canoe, Aotea. He reached Tahiti and Pikopiko-i-whiti, the island and the lagoon, whence Toi and Whatonga sailed in days of yore. He saw the land trodden by the feet of Kupe, the Discoverer, who sailed

the Mata-horua canoe under wide spreading skies, and towards far stretching horizons to reach Aotearoa. Tonga, Samoa, Niue and other Isles were visited by him to blend together lines of descent and scattered history, in order that the story of the Polynesian Race might rest on the foundation of clear knowledge. The fruit of his labour is compiled in his work, 'Hawaiki, the Whence of the Maori.' (Buck 1922, 82).

Finally in that issue, Henry Devenish Skinner, ethnologist and later museum director and New Zealand's first academic anthropologist, identifies four aspects of Smith's work 'that will be gratefully remembered':

In the first place students will always be grateful to him for the material which he himself collected among the Maoris, material which has not often been exceeded in amount, and never surpassed in accuracy by any field-worker in New Zealand. Secondly, he will be remembered for the exceptional ability and the stupendous industry involved in his thirty years editorship of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. There is no need to elaborate this side of his work, but I may record the conviction that it represents the greatest single contribution yet made to the cause of Ethnology in the Pacific. Thirdly, he will be remembered for his theories of Polynesian origins, which, until the last few years, stood almost alone among a crowd of fantasies propounded by less able and less clear-sighted theorists. Finally, he will be remembered by those who knew him as a man of outstanding personality, equally distinguished as a student and as a man of affairs (Skinner, H D 1922, 84).

Writing in the following decade, Cowan describes Smith as New Zealand's 'great pioneer Maori-Polynesian historian and ethnologist, blazing the way of knowledge as he has so often blazed the trail in the Maori forest' (1935, 21). Later in the same article he adds that Smith's 'close and diligent study of the ancient traditions and genealogies and related lore laid a solid foundation for the scientific younger generation of recorders who have taken the Pacific as their field of exploration and enquiry' (1935, 46). Thirty years on, the tone of the assessment in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* has shifted only slightly: 'Although they [Smith's two tribal histories] can now be amplified or corrected on points of detail, the structure is substantially unchanged. In his studies on Maori origins he was more uncritical and framed hypotheses on what now seems slender linguistic and traditional evidence. The nevertheless high standard, for the period, of his own work and its publication provided a touchstone for later amplification which is being revised only today by more developed archaeological and critical



techniques’ (Bagnall 1966). Interestingly, this assessment is closely echoed in the recent entry on the website of Puke Ariki, the museum in New Plymouth (Bartle 2005).

That aside, and for obvious reasons, popular assessments shift significantly after the publication of Simmons’s 1976 critique. Byrnes, for example, writing in *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, pithily concludes: ‘Although it is now generally accepted that much of his work on the Maori is unreliable, his research nevertheless provided a basis for the development of professional ethnology in New Zealand’ (2010a). Patterson is in general agreement with that but adds another perspective: ‘Smith, of course, was not perfect. He sometimes demonstrated unshakeable faith, not always soundly based, in the rightness of his own opinions. He shared many of the prejudices, ethnocentric and otherwise, of contemporaries. These frailties, however, should be assessed in the context of the milieu of which he was part, not with the benefit of twentieth-first century hindsight’ (2011, 7). Casting the net a little more widely, Māori political commentator and indigenous-studies academic, Rawiri Taonui, argues that the ‘most notorious examples of errant historical analysis are from Hawai’i, Rarotonga and New Zealand’. He condemns Smith and others for having ‘misinterpreted, embellished with their own ideas or manipulated existing authentic oral traditions to make extravagant claims purporting to trace the migrations of the Polynesians through Asia, India and the Middle East’, their misinterpretations remaining ‘widely accepted particularly through populist non-academic writers—’. Specifically, ‘Smith concocted a still widely held paradigm that Maori had arrived in New Zealand as part of a seven-canoe fleet’ and, furthermore, ‘these accounts were often perpetuated in publications by indigenous writers such as P. Buck ... which unfortunately added the impression of indigenous authenticity’ (Taonui 2006, 35).

Māori-Studies academic and iwi leader, Peter Addis, however, setting the scene for a multi-authored history of Pacific people in New Zealand, acknowledges, on the one hand, the tireless work of Smith and Best. He adds that ‘today their voluminous manuscript collections and publication records are a valuable repository of information that Māori have been using to reconstruct and relearn parts of their lost cultural heritage’. On the other hand, he completely accepts Simmons’s critique of the methods and calculations Smith employed in arriving at his theory of the settlement of New Zealand (2012, 30).

After the best part of a lifetime of direct engagement, discussion, and observation with and of Māori, Smith conducted his earliest Pacific researches seated firmly in an ethnological armchair. Eventually dissatisfied with the prospects of such efforts, he became his own fieldworker, embarking on the two voyages and the residency and devoting a considerable part of the first versions of his most influential work on the quest for Hawaiki to ethnography as well as genealogy and history. Finally, as will appear in Chapter Five, unable to grasp its relevance to his quest for origins, he discarded the ethnography, on which his reputation was at least partly based, in the second edition and left it behind altogether after his sojourn in Niue. Hence, as I shall discuss, the absence of ethnographic inquiry in Rarotonga; it evaporated in the presence of genealogical charts.

His great work of Polynesian salvage too late for the great evolutionist mills of the second half of the nineteenth century, Smith’s publications were largely ignored by the dominant metropolitan scholars who, instead, cited his predecessors in New Zealand and the Pacific and emerging specialists such as his colleague, Elsdon Best. For all his institutional awards and honours, he was too early or at least too *passé* for the new

professional fieldworkers such as those in the Torres Strait and the Trobriand Islands. He failed to enter their field of vision and they his. While he certainly corresponded with such metropolitan figures as Frazer, Pitt-Rivers, and Haddon, though not Rivers, Radcliffe Brown, or Malinowski, the reality, on the evidence of their respective writings, was that Smith had no more use for the great metropolitan figures than they for him (Sorrenson 1992, 51). In one sense, Percy Smith had missed his moment; in another, he made his own.

Smith created his own metropole as founder and president of the Polynesian Society and editor of its *Journal*, over both of which he had been ‘the active director and controller’ for thirty years until his death in 1922 (Council 1923, i). Even located in a provincial New Zealand town after his retirement, he lived and worked at the centre of a network which included a great proportion of the significant Polynesianists of the time. Certainly, the ‘honorary members’ of the society included such figures as Codrington, Frazer, Haddon, and Baldwin Spencer, but appointment had always been a sort of window-dressing for Smith (Sorrenson 1992, 25-26, 31). The real network comprised, at the time of Smith’s death, over 200 active members and subscribers throughout every part of New Zealand and spanning Australia, Hawai’i, Niue, Rarotonga, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, the Philippines, Japan, China, Ecuador, the United States, England, and France. The *Journal* was received by societies and institutions in all those countries as well as Fiji, Tahiti, Java, India, Brazil, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Sweden (Council 1922, i-xi). *Journal* publication broadly reflected the same spread.

Smith became and remained during his lifetime the pre-eminent authority on Polynesian voyaging and settlement and the ultimate arbiter of new theories, approaches, and facts. While this authority was maintained in part by the respectful silence of a number of

critics who would emerge after his death and extended through much of that network until well after it, remnants may still be found in significant pockets of popular discourse in New Zealand and elsewhere to this day. Much more will become clear about Smith, his work, and his influence in the course of the later chapters. In the meantime, however, and in order to advance the perception of the man within his milieu, I turn, in the next two chapters, to the history of the intellectual context available to Smith in the 1890s and the scholarly framework within which he carried out his researches.

## *Chapter Three*

### *From the Study of Man to Anthropology*

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As I have suggested in my introductory chapter, reading a text in terms of itself necessarily involves reading it in its own time. In this chapter, my aim is to sketch out the history of some important strands in the development of intellectual, and especially ethnological, perspectives current in the late nineteenth century. The purpose of that work is, first, to sharpen my own vision for the reading of the Smith Text and its environment. Second, it is to provide the reader with a framework within which to read not just the Text itself but also to scrutinise my own reading of it. This chapter is not, and cannot be in the context of this thesis, a comprehensive history of the development of anthropological thought; instead, my intention is to assemble a variety of institutions, individuals, moments, and currents in that history that contributed to the intellectual and methodological environment in which Percy Smith and his colleagues lived and worked.

Rather than attempting to identify a procrustean set of ‘influences’ upon Smith or a single paradigm obtaining in the period of the formation of his ideas I am seeking an understanding of what Michel Foucault, in a celebrated passage, has called an *épistémè*:<sup>20</sup>

So it is not a question of describing knowledge in its passage towards an objectivity in which today’s science can at last be recognised; what I want to bring out is the epistemological field, the *épistémè* in which knowledge, envisaged quite apart from any criteria relating to its rational value or objective forms, establishes its positivity and so displays a history not that of its increasing perfection but rather of its conditions of possibility; what should appear in the territory of knowledge are those configurations which have given rise to the

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<sup>20</sup> I retain this form to distinguish Foucault’s usage from the English transliteration of the Greek ἐπιστήμη.

various forms of empirical knowledge. Rather than a history in the traditional sense, it is a question of ‘archaeology’ (Foucault 1966, 13).<sup>21</sup>

What I am seeking in this chapter and the next and in the First Hawaiki Interlude is neither influences nor paradigm but what was available to be thought, what could be said and what was required to be said, in the time of Percy Smith.

In her recent Chekhov-inspired exploration of the craft of ethnographic writing, Kirin Narayan, citing Judith Barrington, discusses the deployment of successive ‘scenes’ and ‘summaries’ in the production of a narrative and that describes quite accurately the process I have used here (Narayan 2012, 9-11). And this is probably a suitable point for my acknowledgement that mine too is indeed a narrative, one that I have constructed for myself and for my reader, with all that that implies in terms of selection, emphasis, and omission. Because I want to convey not just the content and chronology but also the texture and taste of the times, events, and personalities in this narrative, I shall rely extensively, in the scenes, on direct quotation; in the summaries, I shall equally rely on the elision of a good deal of relevant and interesting information in the interests of concision. I shall necessarily skirt intense controversies, efface subtle variation, avoid fascinating byways, and omit much personal detail.

Initially I shall make use of a wide, but still European, canvas to provide a foundation, in itself rather an arbitrary choice, in the Renaissance and Enlightenment, later narrowing my focus to largely British metropolitan ethnological and anthropological

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<sup>21</sup> ‘Il ne sera donc pas question de connaissances décrites dans leur progrès vers une objectivité dans laquelle notre science d’aujourd’hui pourrait enfin se reconnaître ; ce qu’on voudrait mettre au jour, c’est le champ épistémologique, l’épistémè où les connaissances, envisagées hors de tout critère se référant à leur valeur rationnelle ou à leurs formes objectives, enfoncent leur positivité et manifestent ainsi une histoire qui n’est pas celle de leur perfection croissante, mais plutôt celle de leurs conditions de possibilité ; en ce récit, ce qui doit apparaître, ce sont, dans l’espace du savoir, les configurations qui ont donné lieu aux formes diverses de la connaissance empirique. Plutôt que d’une histoire au sens traditionnel du mot, il s’agit d’une «archéologie»’.

thought. As Keith Sorrenson has argued in relation to that focus, ‘the main influences on Smith and the founders of the Polynesian Society were, not surprisingly, British. From the moment it became a colony, New Zealand was intimately linked with British intellectual and scientific institutions’ (1992, 20). The metropolitan thought I shall outline here depended heavily, from its earliest days, upon a multiplicity of ethnographic observations carried out in the field by armies of explorers, adventurers, traders, missionaries, administrators, and others; they will not appear here but they underlie every turn. Inevitably, my work overall in this chapter and, in some cases, my selection of texts for consideration and quotation, have been informed by both Marvin Harris’s *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* and George Stocking’s *Victorian Anthropology* (Harris 1968; Stocking 1987).

In his 1891 circular seeking support for the foundation of a Polynesian Society, Percy Smith proposed that it be established ‘somewhat on the lines and with the objects of the celebrated Asiatic Society’ (1891c). The Asiatic Society, as it was originally named, was one in a long line of learned societies formed from the seventeenth century and especially during the eighteenth. Those societies often consolidated the activities and status of less formal Renaissance academies and were informed, in part, by the European voyagers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The original object of the Asiatic Society, founded by judge and philologist Sir William Jones in Calcutta in 1784, was ‘enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia’ (Mitra 1885, 4). At the foundation meeting, attended by 30 ‘gentlemen’ representing ‘the *élite* of the European community in Calcutta at the time’ and ‘the leading officers of the East India Company’ (Mitra 1885, 2), Jones urged them in the following terms:

You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature; will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals and even the traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have

peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of Government, with their institutions, civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry—in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic; their skill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufacture, and trade; and, whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which comforts, and even elegances of social life, are supplied or improved (Mitra 1885, 4-5).

The pursuit of many of these tasks would be taken up by Percy Smith and his associates a century later in relation to Polynesia and the wider Pacific, as was Jones's summation as set out in the society's memorandum of articles: 'The bounds of its investigations will be the geographical limits of Asia, and within these limits its enquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by MAN or produced by NATURE' (Mitra 1885, 5; Asiatic Society 2004, 2).

### *The Enlightenment*

Although, the history of ethnological observation and inquiry can broadly be traced back at least to Herodotus, it is in the period subsequently known in English as the Enlightenment that many of the currents and ideas central to the development of anthropological thinking in the nineteenth century would emerge. Christopher Berry, whose work has helped to inform these following paragraphs, has summarised the Enlightenment as 'a self-conscious movement' of 'members of the educated stratum of society' spread across 'the full extent of the western world' to whose 'core concerns ... their imagery of "light" provides the best guide. They thought of themselves as living in and promoting *un siècle des lumières* [a century of lights]' (1997, 1-2). He continues: This implied that earlier times were comparatively benighted. In less metaphorical terms this contrast between light and dark is the contrast between knowledge, reason or science and ignorance, prejudice and superstition. Hence any institutions such as slavery, torture, witchcraft or religious persecution that still existed were to be opposed



as relics, as creatures of the night. The radiance of reason and the appliance of science would likewise clear away the light-blocking debris of poverty, disease and crime (1997, 2).

The great intellectual monument of the Enlightenment was the 28-volume *Encyclopedia* (*Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*), published between 1751 and 1772. It was edited by Denis Diderot and, initially, co-edited by Alembert (Jean Le Rond), with major contributions by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet). In his preliminary remarks to the series of volumes, Alembert identifies four great men who ‘from afar, in shadow and silence, prepared the light by which the world would, little by little and by imperceptible degrees, be illuminated’ (1751, xxiv).<sup>22</sup> Alembert’s precursors of the Enlightenment are Francis Bacon (1561-1626), for his differentiation and cataloguing of the natural sciences, emphasis on experience and experimentation, and rejection of rigid scholasticism; René Descartes (1596-1650), for his example in daring ‘to shake off the yoke of scholasticism, established opinion, authority, in short prejudice and barbarity’;<sup>23</sup> Isaac Newton (1642-1727), for his method, his almost innumerable discoveries, and his ‘Theory of the World’;<sup>24</sup> and John Locke (1632-1704) for his rejection of ‘abstractions and absurd questions’ of existing philosophy and his rigorous empiricism (1751, xxiv-xxvii).<sup>25</sup> The impulse behind the application of all this acknowledged groundwork is encapsulated in Immanuel Kant’s ‘Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?’ (*Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung*), with its prescription for ‘freedom; and

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<sup>22</sup> ‘préparoient de loin dans l’ombre & le silence la lumière dont le monde devoient être éclairé peu-à-peu & par degrés insensibles’.

<sup>23</sup> ‘à secouer le joug de la scolastique, de l’opinion, de l’autorité, en un mot des préjugés & de la barbarie’.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Théorie du monde’.

<sup>25</sup> ‘les abstractions & les questions ridicules’.

indeed the most harmless form of freedom that may be so called, namely: to make public use of one's own reason in all things' (Kant 1990 [1784], 455).<sup>26</sup>

### *Progress and Stages of Development*

Beyond these starting points, other concepts emerged in the course of the Enlightenment that would become central to ethnological and anthropological thought. None were more important than those of human differentiation and classification and of accompanying 'progress', often with at least an implication of social-evolutionary development. In his pursuit of comparative methods of political classification and applicable laws, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws* (*De l'Esprit des loix*), identifies climate as a principal determinant of human difference: 'If it is true that character of mind and the passions of the heart are markedly different in diverse climates, laws should relate to the difference of those passions and to the difference of those characters' 1749, 1).<sup>27</sup> He spells out the impact of climate: 'In cold lands, there is little sensibility of pleasure; it will be greater in temperate lands; in hot lands it will be extreme. Just as climates are distinguished by degrees of latitude, they could also be distinguished, as it were, by degrees of sensibility' (1749, 5).<sup>28</sup> So rapid, according to Montesquieu, is the impact of climate that, 'The Indians naturally lack courage: even those European children born in the Indies lose the courage characteristic of their own climate' (1749, 7).<sup>29</sup> It is true that Montesquieu elsewhere appears less determinist than he does here, and that his views on climate were

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<sup>26</sup> 'Freiheit; und zwar die unschädlichste unter allem, was nur Freiheit heißen mag, nämlich die: von seiner Vernunft in allen Stücken öffentlichen Gebrauch zu machen'.

<sup>27</sup> 'S'il est vrai que le caractère de l'esprit & les passions du cœur soient extrêmement différents dans les divers climats, les Loix doivent être relatives & à la différence de ces passions & à la différence de ces caractères'.

<sup>28</sup> 'Dans les pays froids, on aura peu de sensibilité pour les plaisirs ; elle sera plus grande dans les pays tempérés ; dans les pays chauds, elle sera extrême. Comme on distingue les climats par les degrés de latitude, on pourroit les distinguer, pour-ainsi-dire, par les degrés de sensibilité'.

<sup>29</sup> 'Les Indiens sont naturellement sans courage : les enfants même des Européens nés aux Indes perdent celui de leur climat' (Footnote markers deleted).

challenged before the end of the eighteenth century; yet these beliefs remained influential well into the following century.

Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot's contribution to the expanding conception of progress was his proposal for a 'Universal History':

Thus Universal History includes consideration of the successive progress of humankind and the particular causes contributing to it. The very beginnings of man; the shaping, the composition of nations; the origins, the revolutions of governments; the progress of languages, physics, morals, customs, sciences, and arts; the revolutions leading to empire succeeding empire, nation, nation, and religion, religion; humankind unchanging throughout its upheavals, like the ocean its tempests, and always advancing towards its perfection (Turgot 1808, 212).<sup>30</sup>

Already, Montesquieu had distinguished between savages, who were generally hunters, and barbarians who were pastoralists (1749, 92). Turgot, in his *Plan for Two Discourses on Universal History (Plan des Discours sur l'Histoire universelle)*, expands this division with a detailed examination of the nature and origins of the succession of hunters, whose vocation originates in scarcity of food sources in the vast spaces available to them; pastoralists, who then assemble around concentrations of animals; and farmers, pastoralists who find themselves in the most fertile lands. Thereafter come the development of towns, commerce, and governments and rulers of various dispositions, and warfare, followed by colony, migration, conquest, and empire (1808, 213-230).

The most influential of such stadial views of human evolution was the four-stages theory of the Scottish Enlightenment, first, and perhaps most succinctly, presented by Adam Smith, though expanded upon by Adam Ferguson and William Robertson in

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<sup>30</sup> 'Ainsi l'Histoire Universelle embrasse la considération des progrès successifs du genre-humain, et le détail des causes qui y ont contribué. Les premiers commencemens des hommes; la formation, le mélange des nations; l'origine, les révolutions des gouvernemens; les progrès des langues, de la physique, de la morale, des mœurs, des sciences et des arts; les révolutions qui ont fait succéder les Empires aux Empires, les nations aux nations, les religions aux religions; le genre-humain toujours le même dans ses bouleversemens, comme l'eau de la mer dans les tempêtes, et marchant toujours à sa perfection.'

particular. Smith's outline, preserved in students' lecture notes, was delivered in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* of 1762-1763 and 1766, though Berry suggests that the doctrine might have featured in his public lectures of 1750-1751 (Berry 1997, 93). In 1762-1763, in the context of occupation and property, Adam Smith reportedly identifies 'four distinct states which mankind pass thro:- 1<sup>st</sup>, the Age of Hunters; 2<sup>dly</sup>, the Age of Shepherds; 3<sup>dly</sup>, the Age of Agriculture; and 4<sup>thly</sup>, the Age of Commerce (1978 [1762], 14). The 1766 notes slightly amend the stages to 'hunting, pasturage, farming, and commerce', and continues:

If a number of persons were shipwrecked on a desert island their first sustenance would be from the fruits which the soil naturally produced, and the wild beasts which they could kill. As these could not at all times be sufficient, they come at last to tame some of the wild-beasts that they might always have them at hand. In process of time even these would not be sufficient, and as they saw the earth naturally produce considerable quantities of vegetables of its own accord they would think of cultivating it so that it might produce more of them.... The age of commerce naturally succeeds that of agriculture. As men could now confine themselves to one species of labour, they would naturally exchange the surplus of their own commodity for that of another of which they stood in need (1978 , 459).

Proceeding from a similar starting point, Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, developed a new direction in his *Outline of the Intellectual Progress of Mankind* (*Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*), with its nine great epochs of previous human history. Following the passage from tribal to pastoral to agricultural societies in the first two epochs, he goes on to distinguish a third period up to the invention of the written alphabet and thereafter mental progress in Greece up to the division of sciences in the time of Alexander; progress of the sciences up to their decline; decline of knowledge up to its revival in the time of the Crusades; first progress by the sciences from revival in the West to the invention of printing; thence to the period when the sciences shook off the yolk of authority; and from Descartes to the formation of the French Republic. To all this he adds a tenth epoch which lies in the future, in the progress of the human mind (1794, *table des matières*).

A believer in progress, Condorcet, however, was no believer in its inevitability. He presents the course of human history as one in which people are:

sometimes making new progress, sometimes plunging back into ignorance, sometimes maintaining themselves between these alternatives, or stopping at a certain point, sometimes disappearing from the face of the earth under the iron of conquerors, mixing in with the victors, or surviving in slavery, sometimes, indeed, receiving knowledge from a more enlightened people in order to convey it to other nations, forming an uninterrupted chain between the beginning of historical time and the century in which we live, between the first nations known to us and the present populations of Europe (1794, 11-12).<sup>31</sup>

Progress, then, occurs, but is by no means inevitable, depending as it does on the free exercise of the human mind; progress may be evolutionary, but development is not necessarily progressive; and knowledge may spread and be spread by a process of diffusion. Marvin Harris has hailed Condorcet's work, despite its ethnocentrism and other inadequacies, as 'an important landmark in the social sciences'. He finds it to be 'justifiably regarded as the Enlightenment's culminating attempt to interpret sociocultural evolution in terms of increments in the rational content of thoughts, customs, and institutions' (1968, 35). Elsewhere, he references Benedetto Croce as describing the *Esquisse* as 'the "last will and testament" of the eighteenth century'.

### *Into the Nineteenth Century*

In the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, Romanticism, with its elegiac nostalgia for lost worlds, followed the Enlightenment's alternating idealisation and denigration of the primitive. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the influence of those Stocking has called 'the Germano-Coleridgians' led to the discovery 'that human nature included other principles than those of reason' and 'that the

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<sup>31</sup> 'tantôt faisant de nouveaux progrès, tantôt se replongeant dans l'ignorance, tantôt se perpétuant au milieu de ces alternatives, ou s'arrêtant à un certain terme, tantôt disparaissant de la terre sous le fer des conquérans, se confondant avec les vainqueurs, ou subsistant dans l'esclavage, tantôt enfin, recevant des lumières d'un peuple plus éclairé, pour les transmettre à d'autres nations, formant une chaîne non interrompue entre le commencement des temps historiques et le siècle où nous vivons, entre les premières nations qui nous soient connues, et les peuples actuels de l'Europe'.

civilization of the present was in a profound sense the product of past history' (1987, 38). The spirit is vividly captured in these lines from Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'Hymn to the Earth':

Say, mysterious Earth! O say, great mother and goddess,  
Was it not well with thee then, when first thy lap was ungirdled,  
Thy lap to the genial Heaven, the day that he wooed thee and won thee!  
Fair was thy blush, the fairest and first of the blushes of morning!  
Deep was the shudder, O Earth! the throes of thy self-retention:  
Inly thou strovest to flee, and didst seek thyself at thy centre!  
Mightier far was the joy of thy sudden resilience; and forthwith  
Myriad myriads of lives teemed forth from the mighty embracement.  
Thousand-fold tribes of dwellers, impelled by thousand-fold instincts,  
Filled, as a dream, the wide waters; the rivers sang on their channels;  
Laughed on their shores the hoarse seas; the yearning ocean swelled upward;  
Young life lowed through the meadows, the woods, and the echoing mountains,  
Wandered bleating in valleys, and warbled on blossoming branches (1912  
[1834], 328-329).

In turn, encapsulating the theological reaction to materialism, journalist and historian William Cooke Taylor, early in his two-volume *The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State*, indicates his attitude to continuing human progress in this manner: 'Intimately connected with the fallacy that barbarism is the natural state of man, is the equally erroneous belief that such a condition is one of purity, virtue, and happiness. Civilization has been described as a progress; but in the opinion of some, the direction of this progress is towards physical and moral degradation' (1841, 1.31). Later, appealing to the authority of Genesis and its evidence 'that man, instead of being placed upon the earth a helpless, untutored savage, was gifted with intelligence ... and was declared to be formed for society', Taylor argues:

We have seen that no savage nation ever emerged from barbarism by its own unaided exertions; and that the natural tendency of tribes in such a condition is to grow worse instead of better. Civilization could not have been an invention, for the inventive faculty proceeds from something already known; civilization is, in some shape or other, an essential condition of society, and as we have shown that man was created for society, he must have been enabled to fulfil its conditions (1841, 2.309).

To return to the institutional focus of this section, the period of contestation between continuing Enlightenment perspectives and those of the reaction against them, was also

the period of emergence of new institutions concerned with aspects of ‘the study of man’. They included the Geographical Society and the Philological Society, both founded in 1830, and the British Association, later to become the British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831. The objectives of such organisations would also have their influence upon the formation of the Polynesian Society. The Aborigines Protection Society, formed in London in 1837 grew out of the anti-slavery campaign that had emerged as a consequence of the growth of the British Empire and out of the work of the House of Commons Committee on Aborigines established in 1835. In the words of the first annual report of the APS:

The fundamental object of the Society is declared to be ‘To assist in protecting the defenceless, and promoting the advancement of Uncivilized Tribes,’ and towards accomplishing this object the Society purposes directing its labours, first, ‘to the collection of authentic information concerning the character, habits and wants of uncivilized tribes, and especially those in or near the British Colonies;’ and, second, ‘to communicate in cheap publications, those details which may excite the interest of all classes, and thus insure the extension of correct opinions (APS 1838, 12).

The concern of the APS was originally, at least in part, salvage not just of knowledge but of peoples. This view is supported by its approving publication, as an example of ‘calling on science in aid of justice’, of a letter from physician and ethnologist and champion of diffusionism, James Cowles Prichard. In it, he applauds the society’s ‘truly admirable attempt to preserve from utter ruin and extermination, many whole tribes and families of men, who, without such interference, are doomed to be swept away from the face of the earth’ (APS 1839, 56). Equally, that scientific enterprise was beginning to overtake philanthropic is indicated when Prichard goes on to ask, ‘How many problems of the most curious and interesting kind, will have been left unsolved, if the various races of mankind become diminished in number, and when the diversified tribes of America, Australia, and many parts of Asia, shall have ceased to exist?’ (APS 1839, 57). As Jacob Gruber has written: ‘This sense of urgency, this notion of an ethnographic—indeed a scientific—mission, not to stem the tide of civilization’s

advance but to preserve that which was about to be destroyed, was a constant theme throughout the century in those researches that provided the raw materials and experiences that were the foundation of a later anthropology' (1970, 1294). In their attempts to salvage the Polynesian past, Percy Smith and the Polynesian Society would become late but enthusiastic followers of this mission.

### *Ethnologicals and Anthropologicals*

Despite an 1842 amendment of the Aboriginal Protection Society's object from 'protecting the defenceless' to 'record the history' and passage of a resolution 'to the effect that the best way to help aboriginals was to study them', the more scientifically inclined members went on, in the following year, to form the Ethnological Society of London. The basis of the new organisation was that it should be one 'whose sole object should be the promotion and diffusion of the most important and interesting branch of knowledge, that of man,—ETHNOLOGY' (Stocking 1971, 371-372). One element that certainly carried over from the Aboriginal Protection Society to the Ethnological Society was expressed in the motto on the masthead of the former's journal, *The Colonial Intelligencer, or Aborigines Friend: ab uno sanguine, or 'of one blood'* (Stocking 1971, 372; Heartfield 2011, 304). Agreed upon the 'question of original human unity', the task of the ethnologicals became, as George Stocking describes it, 'to document that unity, to fill the gap between the dispersion of the tribes of man over the earth and the first historical records of each present nation, and in doing so to tie all men together into a single ethnological family tree' using philological comparison to establish ethnological connections (1971, 372).

Prichard, a major influence in the society even after his death in 1848, exemplifies this approach in an 1847 anniversary address to the society, arguing that, 'When we learn



from history that two nations have been remotely separated from each other from a very distant age, and have never been brought into habits of intercourse, we may presume, that marks of affinity discovered in their languages can bear no other explanation than that of an original unity of descent'. This is a thought that Percy Smith would echo some 45 years later (Prichard 1848, 316; Smith 1892b, 50). A convinced diffusionist and monogenist, Prichard advocates, in the same speech, the integration of a wide variety of disciplines into ethnology in defence of those fundamental beliefs: anatomy, physiology, zoology, geography, history, archaeology, and, above all philology (1848, 304-319). It is on the basis of evidence drawn from all those fields in the 'really scientific and philosophical pursuit' of ethnological research that he can conclude 'that the farther we explore the various paths of inquiry which lie open to our researches, the greater reason do we find for believing that no insurmountable line of separation exists between the now diversified races of men; and the greater the probability, judging alone from such data as we possess, that all mankind are descended from one family (1848, 329).

In the field of comparative philology advocated by Prichard, Friedrich Max Müller, arriving in England from Germany in 1846, rapidly became the leading authority. After a flirtation with Baron Christian Bunsen's theory of 'Turanian' migrations and languages, comprising most Asian languages and also American, Malayan, Polynesian, and perhaps even Papuan and Australian, he went on to make a major contribution towards 'propagating the notion of the "Aryans" as the primitive ancestors of modern European civilized populations' (Stocking 1987, 59). The concept of an Aryan race of peoples would later be taken up by many others, including New Zealand settler-students of Polynesian origins. Müller's influence is apparent for example, in *The Aryan Maori*, published by Percy Smith's close colleague and friend Edward Tregear (1885).

Stocking observes that there is a good deal of ambiguity in much of Müller's work, in relation, for instance, to evolution and degeneration; there is little ambiguity, nonetheless, in the racist assumptions of his early approaches to the origins of the Aryans, however much denied in later life (1987, 59-61).

Racist perspectives had appeared even in the most monogenist circles of the Aborigines Protection Society and later the Ethnological Society. As Heartfield points out, however committed the former to the idea of one human race, 'the core principle of the Society, of protecting aborigines, rested on a myth, the myth of aboriginal peoples' (2011, 304). The strengthening of racist thought and analysis from the late 1840s, accompanied by growing acceptance of the idea of an 'Anglo-Saxon race' and the emergence of physical-anthropological approaches in Britain, resulted in a serious challenge to the underlying certainties of the Ethnological Society. Its fundamental conception of the essential unity of mankind and the effects upon it of environmental, and particularly climatic, variation were confronted by an assertive racism encapsulated here by the anatomist Robert Knox: 'Men are of different races palpably distinct. These races are entitled to the name of species' (1862, 591). The historical consequences are clear to Knox: 'Between the true savage and the civilized man there is, as has ever been, an antagonism not to be overcome' (1862, 598). Furthermore, 'It is not merely savage races, properly so called, which seem incapable of civilization; the Oriental races have made no progress since the time of Alexander the Great. The ultimate cause of this, no doubt, is race' (1862, 599).

The institutional consequences were the formation of a new and polygenist challenger, the Anthropological Society of London, whose first meeting was held in 1863. There followed an eight-year confrontation between the two organisations based in part on personal differences but principally on questions of disciplinary approach and race. In

his address to that first meeting, the new society's founder and president, speech therapist James Hunt, emphasises the relationship of mankind to the other mammals and the physical universe. Dismissing ethnology, and specifically the outmoded works of Prichard, as dealing merely with 'the history or science of nations or races', Hunt declares anthropology to be 'on the contrary, the science of the whole nature of Man'. It includes 'nearly the whole circle of sciences', dealing with 'the origin and development of humanity', and investigating 'the laws regulating the distribution of mankind' (1863, 2, 8). On the question of racial difference, Hunt makes his views, and something of his method, clear, at least in relation to 'the Negro', in a paper read to a meeting of his society and published in the society's first *Memoir*; where his theses are:

1. That there is as good reason for classifying the Negro as a distinct species from Europeans as there is for making the ass a distinct species from the zebra; and if, in classification, we take intelligence into consideration, there is a far greater difference between the Negro and the European than between the gorilla and the chimpanzee.
2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and the ape, than between the European and the ape.
3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European.
4. That the Negro becomes more humanised when in his natural subordination to the European than under any other circumstances.
5. That the Negro race can only be humanised and civilised by Europeans.
6. That European civilisation is not suited to the Negro's requirements or character (Hunt 1865, 51-52).

Beyond their divergences over the unity of mankind, disciplinary approaches, and the explicit racism of the anthropologicals, the two societies differed markedly in their attitudes to recently emerged Darwinism. At first it appears odd, in view of the content of his introductory address, that Hunt and the anthropologicals should be adamantly opposed to the new theory. As Stocking points out, however, that opposition was based on a rejection of natural selection as a mechanism, a view of Darwinism as 'a reassertion of the Prichardian doctrine of the unity of mankind', and adherence to 'a rather narrow and static physical anthropology'. The ethnologicals, on the other hand, despite their religious underpinnings, found much evolutionary thinking quite compatible with their emphasis on climatic and other environmental influences on

human types and with their ‘historical and diffusionist orientation’ (Stocking 1971, 378).

### *Evolutionism*

While it is Charles Darwin with whom the theory of evolution is most associated today in Anglophone thinking, two figures among the many evolutionists of the middle years of the nineteenth century made special and important contributions to the theory and, in particular, its ethnological application. The first, Herbert Spencer, published an outline of his ideas prior to and independently of Darwin, becoming, in the process, the principal architect of what became known as ‘social Darwinism’. The extent of that misnomer is highlighted by the fact that it was Spencer who anticipated Darwin’s use of the term ‘Theory of Evolution’ in his 1858 revision of an 1852 essay. He was also the first, in 1864, to publish the expression ‘survival of the fittest’, five years before Darwin first employed it in the fifth edition of *On the Origin of Species* in emulation of Spencer at Wallace’s urging ([Spencer] 1852; Spencer 1858, 389; 1864, 444-445; Darwin 1869, 91; [Wallace] 1869b, 383-384; Wallace 1916, 170-175). By way of involvement in the phrenology movement, an early sociological investigation into the foundations of social equilibrium, and evolutionary associationism, Spencer arrives at a comprehensive outline of his evolutionary principles in an 1857 article, ‘Progress: Its Law and Causes’. There, tracing the development of an organism from primary uniformity through differentiation of two parts within it followed by secondary differentiation, he argues:

This process is continuously repeated—is simultaneously going on in all parts of the growing embryo; and by endless multiplication of these differentiations there is ultimately produced that complex combination of tissues and organs constituting the adult animal or plant. This is the course of evolution followed by all organisms whatever. It is settled beyond dispute that organic progress consists in a change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous (1857, 446).

Whether or not this process is ‘displayed in the biological history of the globe, it is clearly enough displayed in the progress of the latest and most heterogeneous creature—

Man’; hence, according to Spencer, ‘the multiplication of races and the differentiation of these races from each other’ (1857, 451). The same process applies with socially embodied humanity as with individuals, ‘The change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous is displayed equally in the evolution of civilization as a whole, and in the progress of every tribe or nation; and is still going on with increasing rapidity’ (1857, 453). Furthermore, Spencer feels able to conclude:

Whether all the human races be or be not derived from one stock, philological evidence makes it clear that whole groups of races now easily distinguishable from each other, were originally one race, —that the diffusion of one race in sundry directions into different climates and conditions of existence, has simultaneously produced many modified forms of it.... While of the divergent divisions and subdivisions of the human race, many have undergone modifications of detail not constituting an advance; while in some the type may have degraded; in others it has become decidedly more heterogeneous. The civilized European departs more widely from the vertebrate archetype than does the savage. Thus, both the law and the cause of progress, which, from lack of evidence, can be but hypothetically substantiated in respect of the earlier forms of life on our globe, can be actually substantiated in respect of the latest forms (1857, 478-479).

The second figure in the mid-nineteenth-century history of the development of evolutionism was Arthur Russel Wallace, whose line dividing Oriental and Australian faunal distribution still has some currency, and upon whose Malay ethnography Percy Smith would draw to separate the Polynesians from the Malays (Smith 1904, 112-113). Whatever the limitations of his fieldwork, the ethnological thinking produced in the course of it would have major consequences. Wallace in spite of his involvement with the Anthropological Society, believes there to be ‘in fact almost as much difference between the various races of savage as of civilized peoples, and we may safely affirm that the better specimens of the former are much superior to the lower examples of the latter class’ (1869a, 373). Seeking to reconcile or even transcend both monogenists and polygenists by showing ‘how the two opposing views can be combined so as to eliminate the error and retain the truth in each’, he develops the concept that an

originally united mankind had since diverged into a variety of distinct species (Wallace 1864, clviii-clix; Stocking 1987, 101).

In the course of his fieldwork in the Malay Peninsula and modern Indonesia and Timor Leste, Wallace made two contributions to ‘the great question of the origin of species’. In quest of a mechanism by which this might have occurred, he first proposes a variety of natural selection, in which, ‘Every species has come into existence coincident both in time and space with a pre-existing closely allied species’, thus solving, as he later puts it, the when and where but not the how (1855, 196; 1905, 355). That came in February 1858, when, as he later told it, under the influence of Malthus and malaria and contemplating the effects of disease and famine on survival, ‘it suddenly flashed upon me that this self-acting process would necessarily *improve the race*, because in every generation the inferior would inevitably be killed off and the superior would remain—that is, *the fittest would survive*’ (1905, 361-362). After an exchange of letters between Wallace and Darwin, their hypotheses were jointly presented to the Linnean Society later in the same year. Stocking characterises the ensuing shift and its importance thus:

The impact of all this on ethnological speculation was profound. By changing the context in which the debate between monogenists and polygenists was carried on, it established the basis for what seemed a new monogenism, but was actually, as Wallace himself suggested, a synthesis of the two older points of view. But more than this ... it helped define a different set of anthropological issues, and thereby to establish social evolutionism as an alternative to the ethnological paradigm (1987, 101-102).

The Ethnological and Anthropological Societies experienced mixed fortunes over the decade after the split in 1863, with the ethnologicals suffering a period of comparative decline followed by structural revival and the anthropologicals, after an initial boom, underwent increasing debt and dissension. Confrontations took place over such issues as the naming of the relevant sub-section at the meetings of the British Association while a series of attempts at reconciliation failed over disagreements such as those over the

name for a new society. At the same time, some scholars participated in both groups, as in the case of Wallace, though the ascendant evolutionists, for the reasons discussed previously, adhered to the Ethnological Society (Stocking 1971, 378, 381-383). Fusion, if not total reconciliation, was achieved in 1871 with the formation of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Nonetheless, contestation within the new body continued, mainly over office-holding, and a rump London Anthropological Society limped on for a few years until full amalgamation in 1875 (Stocking 1971, 383-384). The institute's anthropological inquiry, as Stocking summarises it, 'which for decades had focused on the problem of human unity, was now refocused on the problem of the origin of human civilization' (1987, 76). Over this whole historical process, Stocking distinguishes two parallel (if slightly crude) dialectics: the institutional one in which 'the Ethnological Society (itself a kind of dialectical outgrowth of the Aborigines Protection Society) was thesis, the Anthropological Society antithesis, and the Anthropological Institute synthesis' (1987, 269-270). Similarly, he identifies 'in mid-nineteenth-century British anthropology three intellectual orientations toward a common subject matter':

The 'ethnological,' which drew upon a wide body of ethnographic data to solve the historical problem of relating all human groups to a single original root; the 'anthropological,' which, giving priority to the physical differences among men, sought to classify them into distinct types in the context of pre-Darwinian comparative anatomy; and the 'evolutionary,' which treated ethnographic and archeological data in the developmental context provided by the Darwinian revolution .... [with] post-Darwinian evolutionary anthropology as a compromise formation, synthesizing elements of the ethnological and the physical anthropological orientations (1987, 269).

Of the three great figures of this period of British classical evolutionism, John Lubbock, John Ferguson McLennan, and Edward Burnett Tylor, it was the latter who, by 1874, 'played the dominant intellectual role' in the work of the committee of the Anthropological Institute (Stocking 1987, 258). Emerging from Prichardian diffusionist ethnology by way of comparative philology and comparative mythology, Tylor, in his

early work, traces a path away from the former in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*. There he concludes, first, that ‘the facts collected seem to favour the view that the wide differences in the civilization and mental state of the various races of mankind are rather differences of development than of origin, rather of degree than of kind’; second, ‘that similar stages of development recur in different times and places’; third, that ‘the collections of facts relating to various useful arts seem to justify the opinion that, in such practical matters at least, the history of mankind has been on the whole a history of progress’; and finally, that the ‘attempt to trace back the early history of civilization tends, however remotely, towards an ultimate limit’, one ‘somewhat resembling that of the savage tribes of modern times’ (1870, 370, 371, 372, 377). This early endorsement of a developmental viewpoint and independent invention and dismissal of degenerationism amounted to a significant, but by no means total, departure from diffusionism. The resemblance between European origins and current savagery and the consequent belief that the civilised past could be discovered in the savage present, would become and remain a powerful one.

Equally potent and even longer-lived was the declaration with which Tylor opens his most important work, *Primitive Culture*: ‘Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’ (1873 [1871], 1). Making clear the nature of that ‘Culture or Civilization’ and the means of its measurement, he bluntly states that the ‘educated world of Europe and America practically settles a standard by simply placing its own nations at one end of the social series and savage tribes at the other, arranging the rest of mankind between these limits according as they correspond more closely to savage or to cultured life’ (1873 [1871], 26). Beyond his magisterial definition of culture, later questioned as to its



anthropological value, and his investigation of animism as simultaneously source and threat to the validity of all religions, Tylor's major methodological contributions were the concept of 'adhesions' and the doctrine of 'survivals'.

Adhesions emerge in a later work as a method of assessing the persistence and inter-relationships of customs (Tylor 1889, 246). Tylor advances the related concept of survivals to describe a form of 'evidence aiding us to trace the course which the civilization of the world has actually followed'. These he defines as 'processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has evolved' (1873 [1871], 16). Insignificant as the multitude of such examples may be in themselves, to Tylor 'their study is so effective for tracing the course of the historical development through which alone it is possible to understand their meaning, that it becomes a vital point of ethnographic research to gain the clearest possible insight into their nature'. Survival, along with progress, degradation, revival, and modification, is one of the 'modes of the connexion that binds together the complex network of civilization' and thereby is one key to the understanding and charting of the development of human culture (1873 [1871], 17).

Tylor's ascendancy would last, not without question, until the end of the century. He is described by one researcher as 'to some degree, it appears, the nineteenth century equivalent of a "media celebrity" (although, I suspect a highbrow version), who courted, or at least attracted, controversy' (PRM 2012). The span of that celebrity is perhaps indicated by Percy Smith, in 1911, citing an 1882 paper by Tylor in support of their shared belief in a connection between Polynesian and Scandinavian myths and, in

particular, those of Maui and Thor (Smith 1911, 37; Tylor 1882, 403, 404). Elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1871, Tylor contributed the greatest number of sections to the Anthropological Institute's first *Notes and Queries on Anthropology for the Use of Travellers and Residents of Uncivilized Lands*, published in 1874 (PRM 2012; Urry 1993, 21; Holdsworth 2006). In 1884 he became first president of the newly established 'Section H—Anthropology' of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (Sillitoe 2005, 8). His continuing influence is further indicated by his continuing domination of the 1892 and 1899 editions of *Notes and Queries* (Urry 1993, 25). As well as being recognised as a leader within the existing anthropological institutions, he became an important transitional figure in first taking the discipline into its new institutional base within the universities. First lecturing at the University of Oxford in 1882, he became in succession keeper of the University Museum in 1883 and first reader in Anthropology in the same year and professor of Anthropology from 1895 until his retirement and election as emeritus in 1910. He was knighted in 1912 (PRM 2012).

### *The Consolidation of Anthropology*

To this point I have looked mainly at the development of ethnological thought up to the later nineteenth century, with some passing attention to ethnography and other fields. Before moving on to look at the history of anthropology in New Zealand in the nineteenth century, it will be useful to consider the state of the whole field at this point. In his 1881 *Anthropology*, Tylor introduces his subject as 'the science of Man and Civilization' adding that the departments of that science are 'extremely multifarious, ranging from body to mind, from language to music, from fire-making to morals' (1881,v, vii). At the 1898 meeting of Section H, its then-president, Edward William Brabrook, is a little more precise in his address:

Anthropology is in fact a group of sciences. There is what in France is called pure anthropology or anthropology proper, but which we prefer to call physical anthropology—the science of the physical characters of man, including

anthropometry and craniology, and mainly based upon anatomy and physiology. There is comparative anthropology, which deals with the zoological position of mankind. There is prehistoric archæology, which covers a wide range of inquiry into man's early works, and has to seek the aid of the geologist and the metallurgist. There is psychology, which comprehends the whole operations of his mental facilities. There is linguistics, which traces the history of human language. There is folklore, which investigates man's traditions, customs, and beliefs. There are ethnography, which describes the races of mankind, and ethnology, which differentiates between them, both closely connected with geographical science. There is sociology, which applies the learning accumulated in all the other branches of anthropology to man's relation to his fellows, and requires the co-operation of the statistician and the economist (1898, 999).

It may be true, as Stocking suggests, that in 'the latter third of the nineteenth century, classical evolutionism may be regarded, if not as a paradigm, then as the "cynosure" of anthropological inquiry'. That does not mean that the other concepts and conceptions that have emerged in this chapter had by then become totally submerged, particularly in the world of 'professional amateurs' such as Percy Smith (Stocking 1987, 286; Thomas 1995, 6). The continuing viability of alternatives, even in the world of academic anthropology, is indicated, for example, by the resurgence of diffusionism and the beginning of 'a neo-ethnological phase' in the second decade of the new century (Stocking 1987, 287-289). Indeed, in looking back over the array of speculation that has emerged in the course of this brief and selective history, I was initially surprised at how much of it remained available to be thought at the end of the nineteenth century, the period in which the researches of Percy Smith began to appear and the Polynesian Society was founded.

Even the fundamental productions of the earliest periods persisted in some, if not all, circles: the Renaissance aspiration to freedom of thought and public expression, however much contested, remained, as did the Enlightenment binary of darkness and light. The idea of socio-cultural stages of development, with their companions of progress and degeneration, contributed to a variety of theories of climatic and other

environmental effects on, and even determination of, human types. Early concepts of social evolution and, especially, the stadial theories of the Scots remained vibrant, as reflected in the continuing language of savagery and barbarity. Diffusionism, articulated as early as the end of the eighteenth century by Condorcet, though still contested by its alternative of independent invention, persisted. It was salvage ethnography, originally advocated by Prichard, which led to the establishment of the Polynesian Society and a great number of other endeavours.

The ‘hostile opposition’ of monogenesis, whether or not biblically founded, and polygenesis, occasionally founded in Christian design, had each contributed to an early pursuit of origins, including theories such as Aryanism and the appearance of an elaborated racialism, the nineteenth century’s particular contribution (Douglas 2008a, 47-53). In the latter half of that century, contestation between the two doctrines suffered a ‘silent and unobserved death’ with consequent indifference about the terminology to which they had given rise (Darwin 1871, 228-229; Douglas 2008, 66). The century-old dispute largely terminated in Darwin’s biological evolutionism. Later, the misnamed social Darwinism effected Stocking’s quasi-paradigmatic shift and provided the ground in which Tylor’s survivals germinated, the civilized past became sought in the savage present, and the pursuit of origins intensified.

I must make clear here that I am not for a moment suggesting that there was a triumphal progression of ideas towards the end of the nineteenth century, or that it was a matter of ‘just one damned thing after another’ as Arnold Toynbee described the approach of some historians (1957, 265). The relationships among all these elements is a fascinating subject of study but it is not my concern here. My concern, as I have said, is to identify some of the reflections that remained available to be thought at the end of the nineteenth

century and the ways in which they might have been thought. I am certainly aware that many of these thoughts would be confronted, challenged, and even overthrown in the process of the growth of the academic discipline of anthropology and the results produced by the fields of endeavour outlined by Brabrook (1898, 999). That, however, is a matter to which I shall return at the end of the next chapter in the context of New Zealand and the intellectual environment of Percy Smith and his colleagues.



## *Chapter Four*

### *From Tasman to Tregear*

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In this chapter, in continuing the ‘archaeological’ work of the previous one, my focus will be on observations of, about, and within New Zealand. Together with related speculations and comparisons, they are the ones that would initially contribute to but eventually constitute part of the ethnology of the Pacific and, to some extent, contribute to the development of New Zealand anthropological perspectives. Once again, as in the previous chapter, I am not attempting a comprehensive history of these layers of observation and theoretical conjecture but assembling those currents of thought remaining or becoming available at the end of the nineteenth century. It is most important, however, in preparation for the reading of the Smith Text, to take account of the profound shift that occurred at the beginning of that century. Previously, Enlightenment usage of the term ‘race’ was a nominalist one as a collective noun. After 1800, and peaking in the middle of the century, ‘race’ also assumed its modern, categorical sense. Thereafter, its abstract sense was a received idea, manifested explicitly in anthropological discourse or, at the very least, providing its implicit rationale. Most importantly here, the idea that races were real biological entities was expressed in a continuing nineteenth-century preoccupation with original settlement and, in particular, dual settlement, and an accompanying concentration on traditions to support a variety of arguments.

#### *Early Voyagers*

The first grist to the New Zealand ethnological and anthropological mill came in the form of the logs and journals, narratives and scientific treatises of the earliest European

visitors to the country with their observations of its original discoverers and inhabitants. All this material provided, as Sorrenson has written of Polynesia in general, 'an ethnographic baseline of unprecedented significance that was to be mined time and again by later scholars' (1992. 15). Abel Janszoon Tasman, the celebrated 'discoverer' of New Zealand, was a comparatively modest contributor, with something of the circumstances of the initial encounter in December 1642, and such encounters in general, perhaps captured in this entry from the handwritten translation of his log:

Our people being about half an hour on board, the Inhabitans, who were in the two boats (Canoes) began to cry out to us with a rough strong voice. But we could not understand them the least. However we cryed again to them in place of an answer. They repeated their cries several times, but they came not nearer, than a Stones-throw. They sounded also several times an instrument, which gave a sound like a Moorish Trumpet. We ordered one of our Mariners, who knew to sound a little the trumpet, to blow it, in answer to them. The Zeehaan made one of our mates do the same.... When this was done on both sides several times, and the darkness of the evening approached; they that were in the boat left off, and sailed away (1776, 46).

Their inability to communicate, Tasman explains, 'is not strange', given that 'the Vocabulary, which the General and Council of the Indias gave us .... is the Language of Solomon's Islands' (1776, 47).<sup>32</sup> Brief descriptions of physical appearance, canoes, and clothing are followed by closer contact and even closer conflict. The killing of crew members led to a hasty Dutch departure 'as the detestable action of these Inhabitans committed this morning on the four people of the Zeehaan is a sufficient reason to look upon them as our enemies' (Tasman 1776, 49-50).

In a foretaste of what would become a major incentive for voyaging, Tasman had received instructions 'to attend to, and to pursue' 'the nature of the lands, what fruits and livestock be there, what sort of structure of houses, the form and appearance of the inhabitants, their clothing, weapons, customs, manners, food, livelihood, religion,

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<sup>32</sup> The 'Vocabulary' was probably from those collected by the Dutch mariner Jacob Le Maire in the early seventeenth century. In fact, rather than recording 'the Language of Solomon's Islands', they are mostly western Polynesian (Kern 1948, 216-237).



government, war, and other notable things' (Sharp 1968, 35, 36). Thereafter, in the spirit of Enlightenment as well as Empire, detailed ethnographic observation, and even ethnological conjecture, became a pursuit not just of scientifically minded gentlemen but also of the agents of Adam Smith, as Bernard Smith has described James Cook (1992, 208). Cook's instructions on his second voyage, for instance, include observation of 'the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives or Inhabitants' as well as cultivating 'Friendship and Alliance with them' (Beaglehole 1969, clxvii). On the first and second voyages, Cook, Joseph Banks, the Forsters, and the other journalists had engaged in that close ethnographic observation that continues to be both celebrated and productive. It is a matter for regret, though, that we do not have access to Tupaia's own observations and conclusions in addition to the chart and the drawings for which he is renowned.<sup>33</sup>

Beyond quotidian observation and the comprehensive summaries that Cook and Banks prepared at the time of departure from New Zealand, however, are the beginnings of ethnological inquiry and the search for origins. Cook observes of Māori, for example, that: 'They have the same notions of the Creation of the World Mankind &c as the People of the South Sea Islands have, indeed many of there Notions and Customs are the very same, but nothing is so great a proff of they all having had one Source as their Language which differs but in a very few words the one from the other' (Beaglehole 1968, 286). Cook adds:

What is meant by the South Sea Islands are those Islands we our selves touch'd at, but I gave it that title because we have a[l]ways been told that the same

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<sup>33</sup> Tupaia (or Tupaea) was a Raiatean navigator and scholar/priest who joined the *Endeavour* in 1769 as guide and interpreter. Forster recounts the episode of the map: 'This man when on board the Endeavour, gave an account of his navigations and mentioned the names of more than eighty isles which he knew, together with their size and situation, the greater part of which he had visited, and having soon perceived the meaning and use of charts, he gave directions for making one according to his account, and always pointed to the part of the heavens, where each isle was situated, mentioning at the same time that it was either larger or smaller than Taheitee, and likewise whether it was high or low, whether it was peopled or not, adding now and then some curious accounts relative to some of them' (Forster 1778, 511).

Language is Universally spoke by all the Islanders and this is a sufficient proff that both they and the New Zealanders have had one Origin or Source but where this is, even time perhaps may never discover. It certainly is neither to the Southward nor Eastward for I cannot preswaid my self that ever they came from America and as to a Southern Continent I do not believe any such thing exists unless in a high Latitude' (Beaglehole 1968, 288).

Banks, in his *Journal*, records an 'Old Man' saying 'that he beleivd his ancestors ... came originaly from *Heawye* (the place from whence Tupia and the Islanders also derive their origin) which lay to the Northward where were many lands' (Beaglehole 1962, 462-463). Hawkesworth, in his version of the Cook voyages, expands on this:

Having now given the best account in my power of the customs and opinions of the inhabitants of New Zealand, ... I shall only remark, that the similitude between these particulars here and in the South Sea islands is a very strong proof that the inhabitants have the same origin; and that the common ancestors of both, were natives of the same country. They have both a tradition that their ancestors, at a very remote period of time, came from another country; and, according to the tradition of both, that the name of that country was HEAWIJE; but the similitude of the language seems to put the matter altogether out of doubt (Hawkesworth 1773, 69-70).

Sorrenson comments on this, 'Thus Cook and Banks had initiated three methods of inquiry that were to be used with increasing confidence in later years: a comparison of customs and culture, comparative philology, and the examination of oral tradition' (1979, 12). Beyond the voyage itself, Banks was able to influence the German naturalist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, to label, on the basis of Banks's observations, the 'Malay race', including the Polynesians, alongside his division of mankind into 'Caucasian', 'Mongolian', 'Ethiopian', and 'American' races (Blumenbach 1795, 319-321; 1797, 61-62).

Johann Reinhold Forster, naturalist on the second Cook voyage, devotes more than half of his *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World* to 'Remarks on the Human Species', an extended ethnographic and ethnological discussion, based largely on environmental impacts, of the populations of the Pacific (1778). Sections include: 'On the Varieties of the Human Species, relative to Colour, Size, Form, Habit, and

natural Turn of Mind in the Natives of the South Sea Isles'; 'On the Causes of Difference in the Races of Men in the South Seas; their Origin and Migration'; and 'Various Progress which the Nations we saw have made from the Savage State towards Civilization' (1778, iii, 227, 252, 285). Forster distinguishes 'two great varieties of people in the South Seas':

the one more fair, well limbed, athletic, of a fine size, and a kind benevolent temper; the other, blacker, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body more slender and low, and their temper, if possible more brisk, though somewhat mistrustful. The first race inhabits O-Taheitee, and the Society Isles, the Marquesas, the Friendly Isles, Easter-Island, and New Zealand. The second race peoples New-Caledonia, Tanna, and the New Hebrides, especially Mallicollo (1778, 228).

These 'two different tribes', he thinks probable, 'may be descended from two different races of men' and so preserve their differences despite 'living in the same climate', the two tribes having come 'originally from the Indian Asiatic isles, on which we have pointed out two races of inhabitants' (1778, 276, 284). As well as making the distinction that would eventually become that between racially based Melanesia and an apparently geographically based Polynesia, Forster adopts a number of other concepts and conceptions to become long-standing in the history of Pacific researches:

That the first and aboriginal inhabitants of the south-sea isles, were of the tribe of the Papuas and people of New-Guinea, and its neighbourhood, and such as we found at Mallicollo, Tanna, and the New-Hebrides, and therefore were like men-eaters. It is probable, that either by accident, or on purpose, the ancient Malays of the Peninsula, of Malacca, gradually spread among the isles of the Indian seas; first over Borneo, then to the Philippines; from whence they extended over the Ladrone islands, the New-Carolines, and Pescadores; and lastly, they removed to the Friendly-islands, the Society-islands, the Marquesas and Easter-island, to the Eastward; and to New-Zeeland to the Southward (1778, 358).

While employing such terms as 'varieties' and 'tribes' alongside 'races', Forster takes up the theme of dual settlement that had been explored by earlier voyagers and researchers such as Spain's Pedro Fernández de Quirós and France's Charles de Brosses in the context of the Philippines (Quirós 1904, 38; [Brosses] 1756, Vol. 2, 376-378; Douglas 2008b, 103-106). Here is an early Pacific example of the trope of

comparatively static dark indigenes, conceived as the original settlers, widely voyaging pale invaders, supposedly their conquerors, and the presumed displacement of the former by the latter. This figure would animate inquirers throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, with traces to remain in popular discourse into the twenty-first.

As to the specifics of New Zealand, Forster writes:

‘that the more civilized Malay tribes, mixed with the aboriginals, and the harshness of the climate, the roughness of the wild woody country, together with its great extent, contributed to preserve cannibalism, and to form a coalition of customs, wherein many points of civilization were totally lost, though the language was taken from the new-comers, and preserved blended with some words of the aboriginal tribe’ (1778, 360).

Of the early French voyagers, Jean-François-Marie de Surville and his first officer, Guillaume Labbé, whose ship, the *Saint Jean-Baptiste*, and Cook’s *Endeavour* probably came unknowingly within 30 miles of each other off the New Zealand coast in 1769, confine themselves to some modest ethnographic observations of New Zealand (Dunmore 1981, 42). Three years later, however, Julien-Marie Crozet, who took command after the death of Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne in the Bay of Islands, is more expansive and take a different view of human differentiation. Of the New Zealanders he observes, in a translation by H Ling Roth:

I remarked with astonishment that amongst the savages who boarded the vessel in the early days there were three kinds of men, of which those who appeared to be the true aborigines were yellowish-white and the biggest of them all, their mean height five foot nine to ten inches, and their hair black, glossy and straight; others were more swarthy and not quite so tall, their hair slightly frizzled [? curled]; finally there were true negroes with woolly heads, not so tall as the others but generally broader in the chest (Crozet 1891 [1783], 28).<sup>34</sup>

Later, Crozet reinforces his analysis with examples and conjectures that the ‘blacks’ might have been transferred from New Holland [Australia] by ‘various occurrences in

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<sup>34</sup> ‘Je remarquai avec étonnement parmi les sauvages qui vinrent à bord du vaisseau dès les premiers jours, trois espèces d’hommes, dont les uns, qui paroissent les vrais indigènes, sont d’un blanc tirant sur le jaune: ceux-ci font les plus grands, & leur taille ordinaire est de cinq pieds neuf à dix pouces; leur cheveux noirs sont lisses & plats: des hommes plus basanés & un peu moins grands, les cheveux un peu crépus: enfin de véritables Nègres à têtes cotonnées, & moins grands que les autres, mais en général plus larges de poitrine’.

navigation' (Crozet 1783, 138; 1891 [1783], 67).<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, as Sorrenson points out, the translator, Roth, 'corrects' Crozet, remarking in a note that, 'These observations are very correct. There are two distinct races among the Maories, the black or Papuan, and the yellow or the Malayo-Polynesian (Sorrenson 1992, 15; Crozet 1891 [1783], 28). Here in exemplary form, in the translator's anachronistically categorical use of the term 'race', is the great shift to which I referred early in this chapter, with eighteenth-century nominalist 'kinds of men' overlaid by the nineteenth-century, categorical 'two distinct races' (Douglas 2014, 12-13).<sup>36</sup>

Ling's 'correction' may well stem from the observations of a later French voyager, Dumont d'Urville. He specifically contradicts Crozet in relation to the inhabitants of New Zealand and takes up the trope of dual settlement by black aborigines and their displacement by later white conquerors in a more racialised sense: 'Far from sharing Crozet's opinion regarding the origin of these two races, I believe, on the contrary, that the race of darker individuals is that of the true *aborigines* ... of the country, those, at least, who first arrived. The whites are of the race of conquerors and arrived much later in these lands' (1830, 388).<sup>37</sup>

Dumont d'Urville expands on this view on the canvas of the whole Pacific in his memoir *Islands of the Great Ocean* (*Sur les îles du Grand-Océan*) originally published in 1832 and included, only apparently anachronistically, in the much-delayed publication of the second volume of the history of his voyage dated 1830 (1830, 611-630). In those works appears the orientation, outlined in my Prologue and to which I

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<sup>35</sup> '[d]ivers événements de navigations'.

<sup>36</sup> 'espèces d'hommes'.

<sup>37</sup> 'Loin de partager l'opinion de Crozet touchant l'origine de ces deux races, je crois au contraire que la race des individus plus foncés en couleur est celle des véritables aborigènes ... du pays, de ceux au moins qui y ont paru les premiers. Les blancs sont de la race des conquérans, et sont arrivés beaucoup plus tard dans ces contrées'.

shall return in Chapter Eight, which would consolidate the sharp divide between black Melanesians and yellow Polynesians. Having sub-divided the fairer people into two divisions, he goes on to define a widespread Oceania. He partitions it first into the racial Melanesia and the geographical, but no less racialised, Polynesia and Micronesia, those categories that haunt but also inform Pacific studies to this day, and finally Malaysia (1832, 5-10). Of those seemingly backward members of the first sub-division of the first division, the New Zealanders, he observes:

The harshness of the climate, the lack of vegetable resources, even the extent of their landholdings must have contributed to checking the progress of the New Zealanders towards civilisation; but all this gives rise to the idea that as soon as they seriously attend to it they will develop more rapidly than all the other peoples of Polynesia (1832, 8).<sup>38</sup>

### *Early Travellers*

Between these transient voyagers and the missionaries who would come to take up residence, a series of travellers spent periods of varying durations in New Zealand and were able to record their observations on a broader canvas. The first such account, a slim volume by John Savage on his 1805 visit, has fairly been described by Booth as ‘a brief and rather superficial account’ with its ‘quota of misinformation’ (Savage 1807; Booth 1949, 11). The same can by no means be said of John Liddiard Nicholas, a businessman who accompanied English mission leader Samuel Marsden on his first visit to New Zealand in 1814. His two-volume account of his ten-week visit contains a wealth of ethnographic detail, including a well-informed discussion of ‘*taboo*’ (tapu) and its role in Māori society (1817, 308-311). Nicholas dismisses the idea of African or Egyptian origins, though Booth has accused him of seeming ‘to have started the line of speculation’ about Semitic origins by suggesting some familiarity with the biblical

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<sup>38</sup> ‘*L’âpreté du climat, la pénurie de ressources alimentaires dans le règne végétal, l’étendue même de leur sol ont dû contribuer à retarder les progrès des Nouveaux-Zélandais vers la civilisation ; mais tout donne lieu de penser qu’aussitôt qu’ils s’en occuperont sérieusement ils prendront un essor plus rapide que tous les autres peuples de la Polynésie*’.

creation story (Nicholas, 1817, 271, 286; Booth 1949, 13). On the other hand, Nicholas does find it unquestionable that ‘the New Zealanders are of the same race with the people of the tropical isles’ (1817, 267). They are a people who:

Appear to me to be descended from a once powerful people, who, formerly speaking the same general language, migrated from the continent of Asia, and settled in the Indian Archipelago. Here gradually degenerating into barbarism, from a high state of civilization, the consequence most probably of their seclusion from the continent, they spread themselves, I should suppose, in distinct tribes over the adjacent islands, while the spirit of enterprise led them in successive migrations to those of the southern ocean, where they ultimately passed to the last stage of moral degradation (1817, 271, 266-267).

Richard Cruise was an army captain who spent ten months in New Zealand in 1820 on a ship collecting a load of spars, having first transported convicts to New South Wales.

The ship’s company was joined on the voyage by the missionary Samuel Marsden, then principal chaplain to that colony, and nine Māori of varied ranks and ages. In addition, in New Zealand, ‘a constant intercourse took place between the people of the ship and the natives’ and ‘distant excursions were made ... into the interior and along the coast’ (1823, 1-2, 4-6, 302-303). As a result, his observations on many aspects of Māori life, ‘noted down while fresh in his memory, and generally on the same day’, are unusually vivid, making it a pity that he appears disinclined to engage in broader reflection beyond some summary ‘Remarks’ (1823, iii, 277-305). On the other hand, the narrative of nine months’ residence by English travel artist Augustus Earle in 1827 is superficial and often patronising where it is not insulting, whatever the value of his watercolours and drawings. The arch tone is set early in the piece when he recounts that a ‘throng of savages ... gave us “a dance of welcome,” standing on one spot, and stamping so furiously, that I really feared they would have stove in the decks, which our lady passengers were obliged to leave, as when the dance began, each man proceeded to strip himself naked, a custom indispensable among themselves’ (1832, 11).

Joel Samuel Polack became a successful businessman during his first, seven-year period of residence in New Zealand and published a very substantial two-volume account of his 'travels and adventures', including a wealth of ethnographic detail, marred only by an occasional excess in, for example, his description of cannibalism (1838 2, 1-18). He also engaged in some speculation on the origins of the New Zealanders, rejecting South America as a possibility as well as Australia, given the 'brutally abject condition of the New Hollander'. He does, however, mention Crozet's supposition that their variations in colour may be attributed to 'an admixture with the people of New Holland' (1838 1, 354-355, 359). He finds instead that their relationship with 'the innumerable tribes inhabiting the many islands of the vast Pacific is past all doubt and, calling on the investigations of recent travellers, asserts their descent from 'the colonies originally emigrating from Asia', the Malays. Nonetheless, he also finds that the 'account of the deluge is preserved' by them, among other traditions, along with 'concurrent practices of the Chaldean ancestors of Abraham' which 'are practised with the greatest exactitude by the modern New Zealanders' (1838 1, 355-366, 358). Perhaps most interestingly, he concedes the possibility of different origin accounts for the people of different regions of the country (1838 1, 359-360).

German geologist and naturalist Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach, in his own more scientifically oriented two-volume account of a sojourn in the country, acknowledges a variety of canoe arrivals. He also discovers a tradition which he 'found to be universal in New Zealand ... that they came from the eastward, and not from the westward, as was asserted to sustain the theory of their uninterrupted migrations from Asia' (1843 2, 85-87, 98). Taking account of the fact that 'the true Polynesian race is separated from Asia by the Austral negroes and the Malayans', but 'by no means anxious to broach a new



theory', he nonetheless continues, on the basis of tradition, language, and geographical distribution:

That, if they actually came from the Malayan peninsula, or from Java or Borneo, this emigration must have taken place in very primitive times, when the mother tongue of the Malayan and Polynesian languages had not yet undergone any alteration; that they cannot have gradually made their way through the chain of islands which stretches from Java to the Viti islands, as in that case we should find many of these islands inhabited by the Polynesian race, and not by the Austral negro (1843 2, 98).

'On the other hand', argues Dieffenbach, the New Zealanders' 'fine and regular cast of countenance' and 'the Jewish expression of their features' as well as light colour and customs, 'remind us greatly of that primitive Asiatico-African civilization which attained its greatest height under the empires of the Phenicians Syrians, and Carthaginians, and confirm the relation of the Polynesians in a closer degree to nations whose birth-place is Asia, but from whom they are now separated by black tribes' (1843 2, 98-99).

### *Early Residents*

The transition to fully resident observation within New Zealand commenced with the arrival of the early missionaries and their associates. The first mission workers, who accompanied Marsden to New Zealand in 1814, William Hall, Thomas Kendall, and John King, left journals and other records of their discoveries. Kendall, who traced Māori origins to Egypt and, famously, 'almost completely turned from a Christian to a Heathen', applied himself to philology and produced the first grammar and vocabulary of the Māori language (Binney 1968, 132-133, 99; Kendall and Lee 1820). Amateur philology would develop into full-scale lexicography with the work of the missionary brothers Henry and William Williams and the appearance of the first Māori-English dictionary, compiled by the latter (1844). Many of the journals and other records are rich in ethnographic detail, not always filtered through a mission lens, including those of Richard Taylor and William Colenso, to whose early Hawaiki and other researches I

shall return (Taylor 1855; Colenso 1865). In general, though, ethnological considerations are confined within a biblical or theological framework.

Marsden, who established the first Church Missionary Society base, was attracted to ‘this very interesting people’, the New Zealanders, whose minds ‘appeared like a rich soil that had never been cultivated, and only wanted the proper means of improvement to render them fit to rank with civilized nations’ (Elder 1932, 60). Confessing himself, in his second journal, ‘still in the dark’ with respect to Māori origins, Marsden, drawing on a variety of biblical comparisons and on a common pursuit of trade, sparked a persistent interest in the possibility that they were Semitic. He writes, ‘I am inclined to think that they have sprung from some dispersed Jews, at some period or other, from their religious superstitions and customs, and have by some means got into the island from Asia’ (Elder 1932, 219).

Richard Taylor, tracing origin by language in addition to his exhaustive ethnography, sees a distinct resemblance between the New Zealanders and the inhabitants of the Society Islands and Hawai’i but, most perfectly, with those of Easter Island, which he considered ‘the abode of the progenitors of the Polynesian race before it had lost some of its original knowledge of the arts’ (1855, 189). While accepting a diversity of migrations by the New Zealanders, he also seeks Semitic origins and concludes by ‘venturing to hint’, that resemblances ‘may enable us to discover in the widely-spread Polynesian race, a remnant of the long-lost tribes of Israel’ (1855, 8, 190). Taylor tracks the progress of their course from Babylonian captivity and the sack of Jerusalem:

Whilst some, perhaps those from Babylon, remained in India, as the black Jews state they have done, some would pass on thence and people the Indian Isles, as the Malays. From the Caspian, many may have followed the caravans across Central Asia, Thibet, and Tartary, until they reached the Eastern Coast, and thence, from island to island, this race, doomed to wander, may have done so,

either intentionally or otherwise, as ships are constantly picking up large canoes, which have drifted away from their island homes (1855, 191-192).

Further advancing the Indian connection in the same work, Taylor suggests that the ‘affinity between the Maori and Sanscrit is much greater’ than with Malay, ‘as well as their customs’ (1855, 184).

In a second, expanded edition of *Te Ika a Maui*, Taylor revisits an old theme in articulating a detailed argument for prior settlement of New Zealand by an ‘ancient black race’ of Melanesians, traces of which could be detected in Māori (1870, 12-26, 16). Elsewhere in the same edition, he acknowledges that ‘India presents many points of agreement with Polynesia’ and, citing numerous similarities between Hindus and Māori, concludes that there exist ‘remarkable coincidences between races situated so wide apart, and indicate an ancient connection between them’ (Taylor 1870, 48, 49-53).

Accepting that ‘India must be viewed as one of the grand paths traversed by the earliest migrations on their way to the Pacific’, Taylor equally cautions against allowing ‘several resemblances to the Hebrews [to] be allowed to pass unnoticed’ (1870, 53).

Elsewhere again, he modifies the lost-tribe connection with an elaborate theory of settlement by races descended from the sons of Noah, those of Ham being the original dark settlers of New Zealand, those of Shem, the Semitic Polynesians, and those of Japhet, the Europeans who later stocked America and followed the earlier two into the Pacific: ‘thus at this moment, the sons of Ham, Shem, and Japhet are meeting together in the remote islands of the sea’ (1870, 82; Clayworth 2001, 24).

### *Early Institutions*

By this time, the institutional framework supporting ethnological endeavour in New Zealand had largely been assembled. The very first move was the founding in 1841 of the Literary and Scientific Institute of Nelson on board ship while a party of settlers was

still at sea (Fleming 1987, 8). The first attempt at the establishment of a national body was made in 1851 when the New Zealand Society was formed with Governor Sir George Grey, also a philologist and collector of traditions, as president. Its objects included ‘the development of the physical character of the New Zealand group, its natural history, resources and capabilities, the collection of materials illustrating the history, language, customs, poetry, and traditions of the Maori, publication of papers on these subjects, and establishment of corresponding societies in other centres’ (Fleming 1987, 7). This combination of natural sciences and ethnology would continue within the learned societies until the creation of the Polynesian Society. The content of the publications that later appeared support the view, however, that ethnology and, to a lesser extent, archaeology were the junior partners (Sorrenson 1992, 17, 18; Thomas 1995, 45).

The New Zealand Society operated intermittently until 1853, was revived in 1858 with Grey again president, collapsed by 1863, again revived in 1867, and, in the following year, became the Wellington Philosophical Society. In 1867, the New Zealand Institute, later to be the Royal Society of New Zealand, was formed by statute and the society, along with similar bodies in Auckland, Canterbury, Hawkes Bay, Westland, and later Otago, became incorporated. The institute began publishing its *Transactions and Proceedings*, in which many later members of the Polynesian Society first published, in 1869, and the first museums came into existence in the same decade (Fleming 1987, 7-8, 16, 17; Sorrenson 1992, 17-18; Thomas 1995, 9-12). The Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science was formed in 1888 and Smith and others also published in its *Reports* (Fleming 1987, 36).

Historian Peter Clayworth has observed that the learned societies and the new publications ‘provided a forum for opinion and debate on the topics that concerned the “philosophically minded” settlers’ (2001, 45). To this can be added intense contestation, particularly and initially over the question of the extinction of the moa, the flightless *Dinornis*, with its implications for the history of early settlement. The controversy had its origins in the identification by Polack in 1834 of fossil and oral evidence that ‘very large birds had existed, but the scarcity of animal food, as well as the easy method of entrapping them, had caused their extermination’ (Polack 1838 1, 303; Anderson 1989, 1; Berentson 2012, 35-36). In 1838, William Colenso and William Williams, apparently unaware of Polack’s ‘discovery’, heard the word ‘moa’ applied to a creature that ‘resembled a huge domestic rooster, but had the face of a man, and it lived on air in a cave on Whakapunake Mountain where it was guarded by a pair of giant tuatara [ancient reptiles]’. None of their informants, however, claimed to have seen it. A further expedition in the following year by Williams and Richard Taylor obtained a bone too water-rolled to be usefully identified, but different accounts of it sparked the first controversy over who had been the ‘discoverer’ of the moa (Anderson 1989, 11; Berentson 2012, 37-38).

Whatever the truth of that, more substantial dispute followed Taylor’s finding a valley full of moa bones in 1843 and continued, in one form or another, in swamps and caves, mainly around the consumption, date of extinction, and types of tools involved, well into the 1890s (Anderson 1989, 97-106; Berentson 2012, 76-77). The other important elements of the dispute, and those fought out in the pages of the *Transactions and Proceedings*, concerned the date of settlement and the identity of the ‘moa-hunters’. In particular, there was disagreement as to whether or not they were a race of pre-Māori settlers, and involved a majority of leaders of the scholarly community from the late

1860s well into the 1880s (Anderson 1989, 100-106; Clayworth 2001, 48-50; Berentson 2012, 154-157, 164-167). This debate would arise again, in a different form, in the early twentieth century, largely prompted by the Māori researches of Percy Smith and his colleagues, but here is not the place for that discussion.

### *First Settlement and Origins*

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, two aspects of the nineteenth-century researches are important here: first, theories of settlement and, in particular, dual settlement, and, second, the role of traditions in supporting them. The issues involved are exemplified in two articles that appeared in the first issue of the *Transactions and Proceedings*, one by Colenso and the other by Edward Shortland, who had been a police magistrate and sub-protector of aborigines in the North and South Islands of New Zealand in the early 1840s (Anderson 2012).

Shortland bases his brief contribution on traditions of the New Zealanders that ‘date back to times long anterior to the first arrival of their ancestors in these Islands’, traditions of first colonisation that ‘are to be found among all the Tribes, more or less perfect and circumstantial’ (1868, 1, 2). He identifies their point of origin, Hawaiki, as likely to be either Hawai’i or Savai’i in Samoa (1868, 9). Within the country, he identifies ‘six primary divisions’ which ‘have been traced to the crews of different canoes which found their way to the shores of New Zealand’, gives separate brief histories of the canoes and the tribes, and remarks on a ‘remarkable uniformity’ in the genealogies of their chiefs, which, ‘being undesigned, is the best proof we can have of their correctness’ (1868, 8, 2-8, 7). Partially reviving an old theme, Shortland accepts that the present inhabitants ‘are evidently, to a certain extent, a mixed race containing two elements, one of which may be called pure Indian, the other being the Papuan’, he

nonetheless rejects any idea of prior settlement, the mixing having occurred in the ‘Indian Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula’ (1868, 10, 11):

To account for this mixture some persons have suggested that a Papuan race was found in possession of the country by the ancestors of the New Zealanders when they first arrived, and that the mixed breed has sprung from alliances between the two races. It has even been stated that the Papuan element belongs more especially to slaves, who are supposed to have sprung principally from the subdued and degraded race. Such statements, however, have no trustworthy foundation; for the crisp hair prevails equally among the *rangatira*, or gentleman class, and among slaves. Besides, the traditions of the New Zealanders speak of the country as being uninhabited on the arrival of their canoes from *Hawaiki*; and in the other Islands of Polynesia there exist similar indications of a mixed race (1868, 11).

Colenso’s contribution was a much more substantial one, discussing ‘the Maori Races’ in terms of their physiology (individual and social), psychology, philology, and palaeontology (origin and antiquity), modern history (foreign and domestic), and the future and contradicting Shortland on all major points. On the value of traditions as evidence he writes, ‘Very little can be gathered from their own traditions worthy of any credit; save that, (a.) some arrived hither in canoes; and (b.) that those arrivals were successive’, and even those conclusions he finds tenuous (1868, 51). As to *Hawaiki*, he repudiates a former belief in *Hawai’i* as its location and rejects Samoa outright. Instead, he proposes, thereby foreshadowing a later line of argument, that *Hawaiki* may be seen ‘more as a figurative or allegorical myth than anything really historical’, and questions the importance of that location in view of the larger question of ‘Whence came their ancestors’ (1868, 51-53).

On that question, Colenso rejects the possibility of Malay origins on a variety of grounds and observes that ‘the race is *one*’ and ‘may be a fixed variety of the genus *homo*’, and that ‘the Polynesian variety (*stirps*) of the genus *homo*, may be an earlier one than the Caucasian or European; and from its creation peculiar to its own (now) insular region’ (1868, 60, 61). While concluding that Polynesian origins ‘is a problem

that is yet to be solved', he expresses the belief 'that IT WILL BE SOLVED', having advanced a variety of evidence in support of an origin in 'Central America' (1868, 62, 61). That evidence includes the cultivation of the South American kumara; the existence of a tradition of a large migration from Mexico and Central America; the ease and short duration of canoe travel thence; the resemblance of the 'New Zealand dialect' to those of the islands closest to America; similarities in carving, fire-starting, and food preparation (1868, 61). Finally, on the question of original settlement, Colenso denies that 'the present New Zealanders' were autochthons. He suggests that there had been such on the grounds, once again, of traditions, including 'fear of "wild men" in the interior', having discovered existing inhabitants upon arrival, and the presence of a 'truly aboriginal' remnant on the neighbouring Chatham Islands. If there were such people, which he finds very probable, 'they have been destroyed, or become amalgamated with the present race' (1868, 51).

### *Aryanism*

Traditions and philology would increase in importance in New Zealand scholarship over the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. In the view of many contemporaries, they reached their peak in popular form in Edward Tregear's *The Aryan Maori*, published in 1885, and, in a more scholarly format, in the 1891 publication of his *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*. The span of the latter, dedicated to Müller, is indicated in Tregear's description of his work as attempting 'to organize and show in a concise manner the existing related forms common to New Zealand and the Polynesian Islands' (1891, vi, ix). Tregear's philological work, in the words of his biographer, Kerry Howe, 'received instant acclamation', with praise from almost all of the major scholars in New Zealand and from Müller and Tylor in Britain, as well as Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa (1991, 72-73). It is the content of the former publication, however, that will pick up and supplement the major themes of this chapter.



The beginnings of conjecture about a variety of Aryan relationships date back to Sir William Jones's discovery of the connections among Indo-European languages and, in particular, those between Sanskrit and Greek and Latin. They were advanced by the researches of Müller, to which reference was made in the previous chapter. In New Zealand, the concept of Aryan origins for the Polynesians and, specifically, Māori was already beginning to supplant the missionaries' and others' Semitic origins in the middle of the century, as can be seen in Taylor's Indian comparisons and Shortland's 'pure Indian' elements cited above (Taylor 1855, 184; 1870, 48; Shortland 1868, 10; Ballantyne 2002, 62-68; 2012, 33-35). Tregear's small book has been the subject of discussion by a number of scholars, mainly in the context of New Zealand settler consciousness and national identity, a discussion summarised, critiqued, and extended domestically and internationally by Tony Ballantyne (Belgrave 1979, 39-47; Sorrenson 1979, 19-22; Howe 1988, 67-81; Belich 1997, 16-18; Ballantyne 2002, 74-77; 2012, 27-36). It is, however, the text itself and its contribution to the Polynesian ethnology of its time that I want to pursue here.

Tregear's excitement over the discoveries made possible by the 'new world' of philology is palpable on the very first page of *The Aryan Maori*:

To learn that many nations, separated by distance, by ages of strife and bloodshed, by differing religious creeds, and by ancient customs, yet had a common source of birth, that their forefathers spoke the same tongue, and sat in one council-hall, was as delightful to the man of pure intellect, as it was valuable to the student of history. New fields of thought, endless paths of inquiry, opened before the feet of the worker, bringing reward at every mental step, and promising always new delights beyond. Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology are the two youngest and fairest daughters of Knowledge (1885, 1).

There follows a potted history of 'the peoples of the civilized world' produced by the 'researches of these twin sisters', including their division into three linguistic families:

the monosyllabic, such as Chinese, the agglutinated Turanian or nomadic of the Tartars and Lapps, and the inflected of the Semites and Aryans (1885, 1-2). Identifying the birthplace and home of the Aryan people in ‘the wide plains to the east of the Caspian Sea’, where Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are located today, Tregear traces their subsequent migrations. First, Europe was settled when, with the passage of years, ‘either their pastoral lands became too narrow for the great increase of population, or, else, that wonderful spirit of enterprise and colonization which has always distinguished their race, prompted them to migrate in vast numbers from their native soil’ (1885, 2). Second, back in the Asian ‘fountain-head’, another wave ‘swept towards the south’ through India and Persia and on until they split into two groups speaking Sanskrit and Zend respectively, and displacing the original Naga inhabitants of Hindustan (1885, 3-4).

With this sketch as a foundation, Tregear declares that he will ‘proceed to state certain facts’ which he is sure will convince the most credulous about the Māori as well as the rest of ‘the light-coloured branch of the Polynesian islanders’ (1885, 5). In an outpouring of racial pride based on superficially scholarly fantasy, the gentlemanly Tregear asserts, ‘Positively’:

1. That the Maori is an Aryan.
2. That his language and traditions prove him to be the descendant of a pastoral people, afterwards warlike and migratory.
3. That his language has preserved, in an almost inconceivable purity, the speech of his Aryan forefathers, and compared with which the Greek and Latin tongues are mere corruptions.
4. That this language has embalmed the memory of animals, implements, &c., the actual sight of which has been lost to the Maori for centuries. Probably,
  1. That he left India about four thousand years ago.
  2. That he has been in New Zealand almost as long as that time (1885, 5-6).

Tregear begins his evidence with a catalogue of 82 Sanskrit words, sometimes adding Indo-European cognates, whose presence in Māori he demonstrates with comprehensive

word lists. One example should suffice to give the flavour of the exercise: Sanskrit '*Manas*, he finds in Māori '*Mano*' (the heart), '*Maunoa*' (a pet, fondling), '*Amene*' (desire), and finally '*Mana*', which he defines as 'a Divine emanation' (1885, 16). To this he adds, 'This last is a very important word; some of the best Maori scholars have been unable to define it exactly, but it is, in its original meaning, mind, intelligence. It was afterwards, in India, used as "the subtle force of the creative power of Brahma;" thence it dropped down to the meaning of magic. The Maoris have kept its real sense better' (1885, 16-17). There follows a chapter on animals and customs, in which Tregear finds, among a number of other examples, the Sanskrit *gau* (cow), and the 'embalmed' memory of it, in a wide variety of Māori words, including *kahurangi*, defined as 'unsettled ("sky-cow," moving about like clouds)' (1885, 38, 30-31).

A chapter of mythological exemplars with traces of memories of serpents, crocodiles, dragons, and, more prosaically, cats, is followed by another on the timing of migrations in which Polynesians are sharply differentiated from Papuans, comparisons are made across Polynesia, and the paths of the migrations are traced (1885, 62-66, 81-82, 86). Tregear concludes, in that regard, that 'the flood of Arya in India pushed outward through the Eastern seas in three great pulsations or tidal waves': first, the Māori 'flowed past the islands of the Archipelago, turned by New Caledonia, and, favoured by some temporary wind from the north or north-west, reached New Zealand'; the second 'went further outwards-north-east to Hawaii, south-east to Tonga and Tahiti', passing not long after the Māori; the third, the Malays, were 'the last of the overflow across the sea-if they had to cross the sea' (1885, 86).

After a short chapter on the possible existence of an esoteric language, and a pæan to the beauty of 'the true Maori' and other Polynesians, Tregear concludes on a note of

pride and self-congratulation. This is followed by a flamboyant celebration of the history of the Aryans, culminating in the moment when ‘the two vast horns of the Great Migration have touched again; and men whose fathers were brothers on the other side of those gulfs of distance and of time meet each other, when the Aryan of the West greets the Aryan of the Eastern Seas’ (1885, 104-105). In an appendix, he re-emphasises a main result of his research: ‘The Maoris did not “come from India,” they came *through* India’ (1885, 106).

The reaction to the publication of *The Aryan Maori* was mixed but, for the most part favourable, or even enthusiastic. This was the result of the influence of ‘the new paradigm’, described by Ballantyne as being ‘never hegemonic, but rather was one among many theories of Māori history that framed the development of Māori culture against the backdrop of Asia’ (2012, 35-36). Admittedly, A S Atkinson, ‘the noted lawyer and colonial grandee’ in Ballantyne’s description, published a ruthless, cruel, and very funny parody and critique, which features the name of the New Zealand ground parrot kakapo as a remnant of the saying ‘a cock-and-a-bull story’; to this, Tregear published a hurt and defensive response (Ballantyne 2012, 27; Atkinson 1887, 560-561; Tregear 1888). There was also a certain amount of hostile newspaper criticism, on both methodological and racist grounds, but these ‘did not prevent Tregear from gaining many enthusiastic reviews, in both New Zealand and Britain’. He also received support from a number of British scholars, including Max Müller and embarked on a ‘programme of extensive publication in Britain from 1888 to 1890 [which] placed Tregear firmly at the heart of colonial science’ (Ballantyne 2002, 75; 2012, 27; Howe 1991, 53-54).

I have devoted a good deal of space to Tregear for three reasons apart from the fact that I became very attached to him in the course of this work. The first is the last point of the previous paragraph that Tregear was, indeed, firmly at the heart of colonial science. The second is that he was at this time and later so close to Smith and his other colleagues and so involved in the imminent foundation and the early years of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal*. The third is that his work was near the peak of the wave of interest in and obsession with Polynesian origins that would crest with the publication of Smith's various works on Hawaiki and, particularly, the versions of 1898-1899 and 1904. I should also emphasise here that Tregear's was by no means the only approach available and the complex of views previously expressed remained, for the most part, viable and accessible. As became apparent at the end of the previous chapter, a variety of currents and concepts in ethnological and related thought were alive and contending for influence in the British intellectual world at the end of the nineteenth century. The Aryan connection was, nonetheless, also powerful at that time and even into the twentieth century.

### *Turn of the Century*

All of the elements of the history of observation and conjecture summarised at the end of Chapter Three appear or are implicit in these records of New Zealand or based on New Zealand experiences. The contrast of light and dark, white and black, appears in the stages of development attributed to Malays, Polynesians, Papuans, and others, as it does in the racialised categories of Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. Climatic and other environmental influences are seen to contribute to specifically stadial situations and potentials and to racial characters. They also contribute to speculation over the progress and degeneration of Pacific peoples and the mystery of how the Polynesians passed over or around the 'negroes' and Malays between homeland and destination. The construction of the unity and superiority of the Polynesians appears from almost the

earliest of these observations, as do conjecture about their origins, the notion of a Hawaiki homeland, and the probability that their ancestors 'were natives of the same country' (Hawkesworth 1773, 70). Those ancestors may be Semitic, Aryan, or possibly Malay, and that country may lie in Egypt, Babylon, Africa, or, more probably, India; and dates of arrival and the possibility of pre-Māori settlement remain matters for speculation.

Caroline Thomas identifies three stages in New Zealand's progress from 'professional amateurs' to 'colonial academics': 1860 to 1890 the scientific stage; 1890 to 1918 the ethnological stage; and 1918 to 1920, with the appointment of H D Skinner to a lectureship at Otago University, the proto-academic stage (1995, 5-7). John Booth describes the period as 'the close of the era of the enthusiastic amateur, and the beginning of the modern period of scientific research, which can perhaps be dated from 1920' (1949, 113). Ernest Beaglehole, I think, more accurately captures both the spirit and the evolutionary preoccupations of the end of the nineteenth century:

Again one notes in the work of some of these authors [Shortland, Taylor, Gudgeon, Smith, Tregear, Best, and others] an almost obsessive preoccupation with the problem of origins and history—the origin of this custom or that, or even the origins of the Maori or Polynesian people as a whole. It is true that the problem of origins bulked large in the intellectual outlook of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Evolution was hot news and evolution in social studies meant but one thing: the mapping out of stages of progress and the determination of origins. For the New Zealand anthropologist of this period little attention was paid to stages of development except to note the position of the Maori on the social-evolutionary scale and to make an occasional explanation of some custom in terms of a survival from a previous stage or from a people in another part of the world. But the problem of the origins of the Polynesian people was more tempting (1938, 155).

In relation to Aryanism and the emerging ethnographic perspective, structural-functionalism, Tony Ballantyne writes:

The *coup de grâce* to the diffusionist tradition was delivered by the professionalization of anthropology and the rise of a new materialist tradition of anthropological analysis. This paradigm shift is embodied by Raymond Firth's work on economic relationships and his study of kinship patterns.... Where

Tregear, Smith and Best constructed a genealogy of Polynesian culture and 'excavated' the remnants of Asian practices, Firth foregrounded the material frameworks of indigenous culture and emphasized the importance of internal structures and dynamics. The *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* made it clear that the work of anthropology was unravelling the local development of culture, rather than identifying its distant roots in ancient homelands (2002, 79-80).

It is possible, in the present day, to wonder if a little of the perspective of the old scholars taken in association with those of the new might not have mitigated the presentism and ahistoricism that became a feature of at least some of the new practice.

Elsewhere at the turn of the nineteenth century, in the Torres Strait, the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition led by Alfred Cort Haddon was converting a natural scientist and ethnologist, physicians and a psychologist, a linguist and a former archaeologist and photographer into professional anthropologists (Herle and Rouse 1998, 1; Kuklick 1996, 611-613). The manner of that conversion is indicated in the suggestion that, 'While Haddon accepted the general principles of nineteenth-century evolutionism, much of his research was concerned with ethnological issues located in specific ethnographic regions' (Urry 1998, 202). In Central Australia, the zoologist W Baldwin Spencer and post and telegraph station master Francis J Gillen were conducting ethnographic fieldwork and publishing the results (Urry 1993, 44-45).

Among the Tuhoe in the Urewera, Elsdon Best himself, with the guidance of his colleague, Tutakangahau, was engaging in something very like participant observation (Craig 1964, 123-125; Holman 2010, 284). Indeed, Percy Smith would dabble in a little ethnographic observation, as will emerge in Chapter Five. Above all, the multiplicity of specialisations outlined by Brabrook in his 1898 presidential address and set out in the last chapter, were rapidly creating a new world in which direct observation and material evidence would supplant comparative speculation and the pursuit of origins (1898, 999).

As professional anthropology was preparing to replace amateur ethnology, linguistics to replace philology, and archaeology to replace traditions and genealogies, Percy Smith's era was the last time that vast speculative projects such as his could be conceived within the mainstream of scholarly thought.



At the centre of everything Percy Smith came to think about the Pacific, Polynesia, and the Polynesians, was their reputed homeland and point of origin, Hawaiki, and its existence, its nature, and, above all, its location. Fascination with it, however, was not confined to New Zealand scholars. As is clear from this survey, English, German, and French theorists also fell under its spell, arriving at a variety of conjectures and explanations, variously relating to the available evidence and sometimes luxuriating in its absence. It is the history of the idea and imagining of this homeland, up to the time of Smith, which I want to trace in this interlude. In a second one I shall further trace its surprisingly long life from the time of Smith to the present day. I must make clear that it is not the Hawaiki of Māori and other Eastern Polynesian history and tradition that I am tracing here. That is the Hawaiki that makes its appearance only in passing references in New Zealand governor and premier George Grey's foundational collection, *Polynesian Mythology*, a book much-cited by metropolitan ethnologists (1885 [1855], 76, 83, 84, 138). This is, rather, the Hawaiki constructed by the predecessors of Smith, one example of the genre which Keith Sorrenson has described, in the New Zealand context, as 'Pakeha Myths and Legends' (1979). It is the Hawaiki that has appeared occasionally in the previous chapter and the one that came to preoccupy Smith in the late nineteenth century and on into the twentieth.

This Hawaiki has its genesis in the records of the first Cook voyage and in the encounter related in the previous chapter with the old Māori man who believed that his ancestors came originally from Heawye or Heawije. The account of that brief encounter is embedded in a number of observations by Cook and Banks about the nature and origins of the Polynesians, observations marked by a clarity and prescience not always

manifest in later speculation. They include the idea that the Polynesians in the islands they had visited were one people, with one language and with common ancestors in the one country; that they entered the Pacific neither from America nor from a Southern Continent; and that they had one single point of origin that ‘even time perhaps may never discover’ (Beaglehole 1962, 462-463; Hawkesworth 1773, 3, 69-70; Beaglehole 1968, 288). Thereafter, the two Hawaiki would diverge, at least until elements of Smith’s Hawaiki came to enter the whakapapa (genealogies) of some Māori iwi in New Zealand.

As Sorrenson observes, ‘Cook and other explorers of his time were not much concerned with locating this place; nor were missionaries and other visitors before about 1840’ (1979, 35). That was soon to change and would even intensify later in the century with interest in origins increasing with the ascendancy of evolutionism. Even before that development, however, the possible location of Hawaiki became the focus of attention. Horatio Hale, philologist on the United States Exploring Expedition led by Charles Wilkes from 1838 to 1842 was regarded by Smith as an authority on the ‘Polynesian Sojourn in Fiji’ (Smith 1894, 145). In the course of the Wilkes expedition, Hale discovers Hawaiki in the form ‘*Avaiki*’ in Aitutaki, Rarotonga, and Mangareva in the Hervey, now Cook, Islands, where it was described as ‘a region beneath’, and in New Zealand, where Hawaiki was spoken of ‘as lying to the east’ (1846, 119-112, 136, 139, 146-147). He associates the name with ‘*Havaiki*’ in the Marquesas, ‘*Hawai*’i’ in the then Sandwich Islands, now Hawai’i, and ‘*Savai*’i’ in the then Navigator Islands, now Samoa, which he concludes was, on the basis of his investigations, ‘the source of population to the other groups of Polynesia’ (1846, 119-120). Furthermore, he proposes that Hawaiki, in its various forms, would be found to be, ‘so to speak, the key-word, which unlocks the mystery of the Polynesian migrations’ (1846, 121).

Identifying Hawaiki with Hawai'i on orthographic grounds, Methodist mission leader Thomas Buddle finds the Māori tradition of ancestral origin in Hawaiki 'curious' on the grounds 'of the difficulty of making so long a voyage in native canoes'. In what would become a widely accepted identification, he much prefers the alternative of Savai'i in Samoa, since its comparative proximity to New Zealand means that 'the voyage thence to these islands would present no very formidable undertaking' (1851, 7). Military surgeon and medical scientist Arthur S Thomson also detects ancestral origins in Hawaiki, adding that, 'Allusion is also made by the natives, in their traditions on this subject, to a distant and larger Hawaiki, and a nearer or smaller Hawaiki' (1859, 57). 'European inquirers,' he continues, 'have differed in opinion as to the situation of this country, because there are several islands in the Pacific Ocean to which the term Hawaiki bears a strong resemblance' (1859, 57-58). After rejecting Rarotonga as a possible Hawaiki 'because the inhabitants of Rarotonga state that their ancestors also came from Awaiki', Thomson agrees with Buddle: 'A careful examination into this interesting question has led me to infer that the New Zealanders' Hawaiki is the Savii of the Navigators' Islands; a conclusion supported by a considerable amount of evidence' (1859, 58). Upon further consideration of that evidence he 'inferred that the ancestors of the New Zealanders migrated from the Navigators' Islands [Samoa] through Rarotonga, because the latter island is still denominated the road to Hawaiki, and is described as lying on this side of it' (1859, 59).

French anthropologist Armand de Quatrefages, having reviewed a variety of mainly Māori traditions on the subject of Hawaiki, arrives at a conclusion and several questions:

Given what we have just seen, not to recognise that the Maoris are originally foreign to New Zealand and that they arrived there as settlers from a country

called Hawaiki would be to deny the evidence. But what is the mother-country of the New Zealanders? Is it an island? Is it a continent? Has she established only that colony where we've just found its memory still so lively? Or rather, like Tyre and Carthage, has she sent her sons in all directions, and is it to her that we must attribute the distribution of all the sister peoples of that which has just related its primitive history? (1864, 886).<sup>39</sup>

Such, he writes, were the questions Horatio Hale answered on his voyage around the world before arriving finally at the truth by dint of his own studies (1864, 886).

Drawing on those studies and evidence from Tupaia's chart, referred to in Chapter Four, Quatrefages concludes with Hale that Hawaiki was Savai'i, or at least the Samoan archipelago, 'the point from which departed the first emigrants later scattered throughout the South Seas' (1864, 887).<sup>40</sup>

German geologist and explorer Ferdinand von Hochstetter canvasses much of the same material but strikes out in a new direction, being drawn to a totally different set of conclusions based on a 'very able treatise' published by one Carl Christian Gerhard Schirren, *The Migration Legends of the New Zealanders and the Maui Myth* (*Die Wandersagen der Neuseeländer und der Maui mythos*) (Hochstetter 1867, 207; Schirren 1856). Accepting Schirren's rejection of any search for historical truth in traditions, Hochstetter summarises the argument:

Hawaiki etymologically means lying beneath. According to Schirren, it is not originally the name of an island, and has not a geographical, but a mythical signification. It denotes the lower regions, the realms of the dead. In this sense, according to the Polynesians, Hawaiki is the beginning and the end, the place whence their fathers came, and to which the souls of the departed return. But if thus the pretended home is stripped of its claims to reality, the migration legends will also prove to be not facts, but fables. Just as Maui, the God of the lower regions, and at the same time the first man, lord of water, air and sky, raised the

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<sup>39</sup> 'Après ce que nous venons de voir, ne pas reconnaître que les Maoris sont originellement étrangers à la Nouvelle-Zélande et qu'ils sont arrivés comme colons d'une terre appelée Hawaiki, ce serait nier l'évidence. Mais quelle est cette mère-patrie des Néo-Zélandais ? Est-ce une île ? est-ce un continent ? N'a-t-elle fondé que cette colonie où nous venons de trouver son souvenir encore si vivant ? ou bien, comme Tyr et Carthage, a-t-elle envoyé ses fils en tout sens, et est-ce à elle qu'il faut attribuer la dissémination de toutes les peuplades sœurs de celle qui vient de nous raconter son histoire primitive ?'

<sup>40</sup> 'le point d'où étaient sortis les premiers émigrans répandus plus tard dans toute la Mer du Sud.'

earth out of Hawaiki, so also all the first immigrants hailed from Hawaiki (1867, 207).

As appeared in the previous chapter, Edward Shortland adheres to either Hawai'i or Savai'i as the location of Hawaiki, while William Colenso also eventually rejects both in favour of a 'figurative or allegorical' explanation (Shortland 1868, 9; Colenso 1868, 52-53). 'Such' he declares, 'is wholly in keeping with all their other traditionary myths, and with the genius of the race; and also with the common legends of all nations. Viewing it thus, Hawaiki, or Hawaii, will no longer mean any particular (if any) island; and may prove to be a portion of a still more ancient myth than that of the fishing up of the Northern Island of New Zealand by Maui' (1868, 53).

The 'mythical' or 'allegorical' accounts of Schirren, Hochstetter, and Colenso were of little interest to Smith. Consequently, they were overwhelmed by the force of his influence, only to re-emerge in the 1980s, described as 'a new approach', in one of two great rival accounts of the nature of Hawaiki, to which I shall return in my Second Hawaiki Interlude (Orbell 1991).

The missionary William Wyatt Gill largely confined himself to the recording of traditions in his *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* but does offer there a topographical explanation of the Mangaian Hawaiki:

The proper name for Hades is Avaiki; in Tahitian, Hawai'i; in New Zealand, Hawaiki. Many other expressions occur in their ancient songs and myths, but they are to be regarded as designations for places or territories in Avaiki, the vast hollow over which the island is supposed to be placed. As the dead were usually thrown down the deepest chasms, it was not unnatural for their friends to imagine the earth to be hollow, and the entrance to this vast nether-world to be down one of these pits. No one can wonder at this who knows that the outer portion of Mangaia is a honeycomb, the rock being pierced in every direction with winding caves and frightful chasms (1876, 152).

In his 'Preface' to the same work, Müller, whose Aryan researches were discussed in Chapter Three, notes the seeming resemblance between the Mangaian Avaiki and the

Brahman and Buddhist Avîki. Noting, however, the cognates with initial ‘H’ or ‘S’, he observes ‘that the similarity between the Sanskrit and Polynesian words vanishes very quickly’ and warns against too facile identifications, a warning often ignored in the quest for Hawaiki (1876, xiv).

Smith regarded the Swedish-born journalist, judge, and ethnologist of Hawai’i, Abraham Fornander, as a most important authority on the history of the Polynesians and referenced him throughout the editions of *Hawaiki* and elsewhere (Smith 1898b, 213). Neglecting Müller’s warning and concentrating on the ‘Hawa-’ element as a common Polynesian name for ‘an ancient place of residence’, Fornander identifies it with ‘Jawa’, today Java, and particularly the eastern part of it (1878, 6-8). Tracing the name, which he believes was bestowed on the island by Kalinga emigrants from India, from the second century AD to the fourteenth, from Ptolemy to Marco Polo, and through Borneo and Seram Island in Maluku, he concludes:

For the origin of the name, and its expansion in the Asiatic Archipelago, and thence into Polynesia, we must look beyond the Kalinga invasion, beyond India, to that nation and race whose colonies and commerce pervaded the ancient world in pre-historic times—the Cushite Arabians; and among them we find as a proto-nom the celebrated *Saba* or *Zaba*, in Southern Arabia, a seat of Cushite empire and commercial emporium “from the earliest times,” according to Diodorus Siculus and Agathercides (1878, 8).

While Smith felt that Fornander might have ‘gone too far’ in ‘tracing the race back to the ancient Cushite civilization of Saba of old’, he nonetheless found his ‘general lines ... in the main correct’ and, whatever differences of detail may occur, ‘his theory as a whole will probably always hold good’ (1898b, 213). In the case of Pierre Adolphe Lesson, however, Smith would ‘scarce allow him to have a comprehensive understanding of the traditions’ and judged his theory without foundation. Lesson, a botanist and surgeon with Dumont d’Urville on the first voyage of the *Astrolabe*, in face

of the general belief conceived the idea that the North Island of New Zealand, Aotearoa, was settled from the Middle Island, now the South Island, rather than the reverse.

Following the logic of this inversion, Lesson further concludes that the whole Māori Polynesian migration had followed this pattern and that ‘we have no doubt that, rather than being found in Samoa, Hawaiki was located in Middle Island (1882, 403).<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, he believes that the voyagers had misunderstood the word and that there was no such country and, indeed, reaching the ultimate philological explanation, that ‘there is no island of this name, and the word Hawaiki is no more than a collective expression made up of several distinct words, each one having a particular meaning’ (1882, 435-436).<sup>42</sup>

There remains for Lesson the question of the original inhabitants of the Hawaiki in the South Island of New Zealand, and whence they came before migrating across the Pacific. His answer is that, all things considered, ‘not only can we accept a multiplicity of centres of origin or creation, but also the specific autochthony of the inhabitants of Hawaiki’ (1882, 473, 492).<sup>43</sup> The Polynesians originated in the South Island.

The last word, or the last before the time of Percy Smith, appropriately belongs to Edward Tregear. On the question of Hawaiki, he recognises the common alternatives of Hawai’i and Savai’i but notes that: ‘When we get to Hawaii we find the natives say *they* came from Hawaii; at Samoa they say *they* came from Savaii; &c’ (1885, 82). Tregear looks elsewhere: the real Hawaiki of the Polynesians is ‘the world which sunk behind

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<sup>41</sup> ‘nous n’en doutons pas, qu’au lieu de se trouver dans les Samoa, l’Hawahiki était situé sur l’Ile-du-Milieu’.

<sup>42</sup> ‘il n’y a point d’île de ce nom, et le mot Hawahiki n’est qu’une expression collective, composée de plusieurs mots distincts ayant chacun une signification particulière’.

<sup>43</sup> ‘il nous est permis non seulement d’admettre la multiplicité des foyers d’origine ou de création, mais encore l’autochthonie particulière des habitants de l’Hawahiki’

them at the stern of their canoes—dim with distance, but once a real existence’ (1885, 82-83). Here is the Hawaiki that Smith would go on to seek in amateur ethnographies, in word lists, in traditions, in genealogies, and in the Pacific Ocean itself.



## *Chapter Five* *Percy Smith's Pacific*

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In the two preceding chapters and interlude I have presented a sketch of the ethnological currents, approaches, and theories available to a scholar like Smith in the latter years of the nineteenth century, possible elements in the *épistémè* of the time. In this chapter I am returning to that point in my earlier biographical chapter dealing with the founding of the Polynesian Society and Smith's earliest publications on the island Pacific. There I outlined the beginnings of his involvement with the Pacific, initially and always primarily in relation to Polynesian origins but, at least for some time, resulting in a body of material relating directly to the islands of the Pacific. In this chapter, I shall trace the process of Smith's engagement with the Pacific in both scholarly and physical terms, the result of which was the works from which I have constituted my Smith Text. In addition, I shall take advantage of that framework to present those of Smith's representations that relate to the Pacific in general before going on, in Chapter Six, to present those relating specifically to the Polynesians. This chapter, then, will survey Smith's material on the island Pacific published shortly before and up to two decades after the formation of the Polynesian Society in 1892. It will include his early ethnological writings, his discussions of the role of Fiji in the course of migration, and 'races' and 'peoples' against which Smith set the Māori and the Polynesians: Aryans, Malays, Melanesians, Papuans, Negritos, and Manahune. I shall then turn to Smith's later, partly ethnographic, output resulting from his 1897 voyages to the Pacific and his later residency on Niue and the implications of all those experiences for his work as a whole.

As I observed in Chapter Two, Smith's stated purpose in campaigning for the formation of the Polynesian Society, and the establishment of its *Journal*, was salvage pure and simple. As would soon become evident, the underlying purpose, at least in relation to the island Pacific, was the pursuit of 'the whence of the Maori': a continuation of the search for Hawaiki that I discussed in the preceding Interlude. In the course of his own quest for the supposed homeland, Smith produced a substantial body of material in three different registers: the genealogical/historical, which was a constant and lay at the very heart of the project; the ethnological, to which he regularly returned and which sought support for the former; and the ethnographic, which was occasional and, as will emerge, almost incidental to the primary cause. There is also a small amount of philological and folkloric material, mostly associated with those other interests. It is principally the ethnological and the ethnographic that interest me here, though I shall return to the genealogical and historical material from time to time.

I take justification for my usage of the terms ethnology and ethnography in this context and at this time from the Brabrook presidential address to the 1898 meeting of section H of the British Association for the Advancement of Science cited towards the end of Chapter Three. There, Braybrook crisply defines ethnography as that 'which describes the races of mankind' while ethnology 'differentiates between them' (1898, 999). Furthermore, the elements of comparison and generalisation inherent in ethnological practice emerge in Smith's constant comparisons, implicit or, often, explicit to (New Zealand) 'Maori' and 'Polynesians' in considering other Pacific peoples in his ethnological writing. This orientation appears, for example, in his earliest ethnological article, on Tongarewa (today Tongareva or Penrhyn), published in 1890 in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, where he declared that his 'part in these notes has simply been to show the relation the customs and language of

the people have to those of the Maori' (1890, 85). My commentary on this article and its immediate successors will concentrate on Smith's own remarks on the work of other authors and will not, with some exceptions, not engage with the material he cites.

### *Early Ethnology*

The raw material for 'Tongarewa, or Penrhyn Island, and its People' was 'gathered from various sources, but principally from a work by Mr. E. H. Lamont'. That work was Lamont's 1867 *Wild Life amongst the Pacific Islanders* (to which Smith refers in a footnote), based on his having been 'wrecked there, and lived amongst the people as one of themselves for over eight months' (1890, 85). The virtue of Lamont's work in Smith's eyes is that he 'had opportunities of observing the people in their original savage state' (1890, 85). As I have already observed, Smith sees his own task as one of comparison with New Zealand Māori and he does find 'that the people are very nearly allied to our Maoris in their customs and language—much more so, indeed, than the inhabitants of many islands nearer to New Zealand in point of distance' (1890, 85). In support of this contention, in the course of a continuous narrative Smith establishes numerous identities between the two peoples, including sitting cross-legged, producing fire by friction, counting by pairs, holding a shell scraper, rubbing noses in greeting, and causing a loud report by bringing hollowed hands on to the surface of the sea to frighten porpoises ashore (1890, 93). In addition, they have in common the haka, tangi, and a form of welcoming chant as well as taking short runs up and down during oratory, making parting farewells, loving fighting, fashioning spears, making bags, garments, and sunshades, cooking in an earth oven, and taking a light meal at noon and a more substantial one just before sunset (1890, 95-98). Finally, Smith appends a list of 150 words in common, with minor variations, between the two languages (1890, 100-103).

Emphasising the cultural and linguistic here rather than the physical, and reasoning on those bases that the two peoples must, therefore, be of ‘one and the same race’, Smith concludes:

And this fact is further borne out by the traditionary account of their origin given below, in which it is stated that they came from Rarotonga, from whence also came some portions at least of the Maoris on finally leaving their Pacific home. It is not intended to enter into this question here, further than to state that the more it is studied in all its bearings, the more certain is the conclusion that Rarotonga, and perhaps the neighbouring islands, were the homes of some of our Maoris, from whence they came here to New Zealand, though they were well acquainted with most of the islands forming the Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and Tahitian groups as well (1890, 85-86).

In this one short article appear elements of the various strands of the genealogical/historical, the ethnological, and, in relation to New Zealand Māori, the ethnographic. There is also Smith’s deep-seated but occasionally inconsistent conceptualisation of Māori maintaining a unitary identity as they passed through the islands and peoples of the Pacific on their journey to New Zealand. This idea of separation in proximity will reappear in his discussion of Futuna and underlies much of Smith’s understanding of the patterns of Polynesian migration.

In 1891, as well as a brief note discussing bird nomenclature in Mangareva and its implications for migration patterns, Smith published his first major article on Polynesian migrations, ‘Notes on the Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians, Part 1’ (1891a; 1891b). His argument is based on an understanding that ‘it is obvious that a full acquaintance with the state of geographical knowledge of the Polynesians will involve that of their origin, and at the same time throw light on their migrations from island to island’ (1891b, 280). Eschewing conjecture over ultimate origins at this stage, Smith records a general consensus ‘that the race came from the Eastern Archipelago’ and the probability ‘that the people migrated from the Eastern Archipelago in more than one party, or *heke*—to use an expressive Maori term—and at periods separated by

several generations the one from the other, and that they came to the islands where we now find them by different routes, which here and there crossed, or for a time were identical' (1891b, 282).

Smith goes on to develop the theme of the *heke*, the migration or, in the context of New Zealand, the fleet:

Even in the after-intercourse that took place between the first and subsequent *hekes*, when meeting on some of the islands in their voyages ... in the process of time each particular *heke* would retain in its own traditions the names originating with it. There is no doubt that some of the *hekes* made lengthened stoppages on such of the islands as suited them for the time, until from various reasons they would be driven further afield. Such reasons, amongst others, would be war, famine, the increase of population, or, perhaps, as much as anything, the love of exploration which has evidently been a characteristic of the Polynesians from the earliest times. Thus, in the process of time the whole Pacific became peopled, the migrations going on from the earliest times (1891b, 282).

Smith sets out the likely paths taken by the various 'hekes': to the north and south of New Guinea, with some remaining in the south-east; down the chain of islands of the Solomons and neighbouring groups, staying only briefly because of existing occupation by 'the Melanesian race'; to a longer stay in Fiji and on to Samoa and Tonga, whence 'they explored the surrounding seas to the east and the south-east, discovering fresh lands, on which they settled, and from which, again, other expeditions in various directions from time to time departed on further exploring voyages'; and possibly on to South America (1891b, 288). During 'the golden age of their knowledge of navigation and seamanship', Marquesans and Hawaiians occasionally voyaged to and fro between their home islands and there was frequent contact among the Sandwich Islands (Hawai'i), Tahiti, Samoa, and the other groups (1891b, 288-290).

Smith relates that, after Karika from Manu'a in Samoa fell in with Tangiia, a chief expelled from Tahiti, their 'two *hekes* settled down together in Rarotonga' whence, a

few generations later, these same people went on in a great migration to New Zealand, returning, according to circumstantial evidence, from time to time to their own Hawaiki, Raiatea in the Society Islands, seeking, for example, supplies of kumara (1891b, 290-292). Smith concludes that the Polynesians knew the Pacific from the Solomons to Easter Island (Rapanui) and from Hawai'i to the Chathams (1891b, 214). He also finds that New Zealand Māori 'had an extensive knowledge of the Pacific islands, inasmuch as it included Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, Rarotonga, and possibly the Marquesas, and some lands in the Indian Archipelago', as well as Hawai'i (1891b, 307).

In the following years, Smith published six further articles on the island Pacific, mostly of an ethnological character, though his genealogical and historical interests continued to emerge from time to time. These articles range from the very slight to the quite substantial and cover various aspects of Tahiti, Futuna, Uea (today Uvea or Wallis Island), Fiji, and the Ellice Islands (today Tuvalu) (1892a, 1892b, 1892c, 1893, 1894, 1897). At the lighter end appear an invitation for corrections to the text of 'The Tahitian "Hymn of Creation"', originally published by diplomat and ethnologist Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout, and a discussion of 'The First Inhabitants of the Ellice Group', based on notes from a Samoan informant (1892a, 1897).<sup>44</sup>

'Futuna; or, Horne Island and its People. Western Pacific', based on three recently published French works, is intended by Smith to 'abstract from them such parts as bear on the habits, customs, and belief of this branch of the Polynesian race'. This is because the island possesses 'an interest to the student of Polynesian matters, as it is situated close to the dividing-line between the pure Polynesians and the Melanesians, being, in

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<sup>44</sup> Keith Chambers, Anne Chambers, and Doug Munro (1978) have cast well-documented doubt on the validity of the information Smith received in Keith S Chambers, Anne Chambers, & Doug Munro. 1978. Sapolu. S. Percy Smith and a Tale from Nanumea. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 87(1): 29-40.

fact, only 160 miles north-east of Vanua Levu, of the Fiji Group' (1892b, 33)<sup>45</sup>. It is divided into sections bearing on different ethnological aspects from the three source works: The People, Tatooing (*Ta-tatau*), Circumcision (*Kulanga*), Cannibalism, Infanticide, Marriage (*Fakamau*), Death and Burial, Belief in a Future State, The Tapu, War and Peace, Declaration of War, Smearing with Blood, Making of Peace, The Gods of Futuna, Offerings to the Gods, Rain-making, Fête in Honour of the Gods, Sacred Stones, Twirling the Coconut, Offerings, and Some Natural Productions of Futuna. The latter is accompanied by a list of the local names of trees and plants with equivalent names from other islands. Smith claims that this kind of comparison is 'a subject worthy of enquiry and study, for by its means many of the migrations of the Polynesians might be traced' (1892b, 50):

If we find branches of the race living at opposite ends of the Pacific who have common names for plants identical, or even resembling one another, the inference is certain that those two branches of the race must at some time have known a plant from which both derived the name, *and it follows that they must have inhabited the same place at some time or other* (1892b, 50) (my emphasis).

Again there appears the same concept of separation in proximity that emerges in his discussion of Tongarewa.

Smith drew on one of the three works from his Futuna article for his study of 'Uea; or, Wallis Island and its People. Western Pacific'. Its information was 'only to be gleaned by the way, and in illustration of the work he [Père Mangeret] had in hand—namely, the conversion of the natives' (1892c, 107). This considerably shorter piece broadly follows the approach of its immediate predecessor, covering The People, Government, Religion of the People, the Priests, and The Tapu, though without the earlier concentration on botanical philology. Smith does interpolate, however, his own brief genealogical and historical discussion of the original discovery and settlement of the island. This includes

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<sup>45</sup> The three works were Nicholet 1890; Mangeret 1894; Grézel 1878 (1892b, 33).

his observation that '[w]e are in the habit of saying that such and such an island was discovered by such and such an eminent navigator of one of the European nations, quite ignoring the fact that all inhabited islands must have been discovered by navigators of the native races often many generations before the Europeans had first entered the Pacific' (1892c, 108).

Smith's next two articles are principally devoted to genealogical matters. 'The Genealogy of the Pomare Family of Tahiti, from the Papers of the Rev. J.M. Orsmond' is an attempt to provide a chronological analysis of the historical basis of a Tahitian genealogy and its associations with Hawai'i, Rarotonga, and New Zealand. In his conclusion, however, Smith explains the foundation of his interest in such genealogies: 'One object I have had in writing this paper was, to show the reliability of the Polynesian traditions as preserved by different branches of the race, which have had no communication with one another for over 20 generations, and who consequently could not have learnt these particulars from one another at a subsequent date' (1893, 42). 'The Polynesian Sojourn in Fiji', another genealogical and historical exploration, was prompted by Horatio Hale's original observation of 'the lengthened stay the Polynesian race made in the Fiji Group in the course of its progressive migrations from Malaysia to the Islands of the Pacific' and subsequent contributions by Fornander, de Quatrefages, Lesson, and others (1894, 145). In a footnote, Smith explains that 'Malaysia is here used as a convenient one indicative of the *route* the Polynesians followed on their way to the Pacific. It must not be taken as implying any connection between that people and the Malays' (1894, 145). Again he emphasises 'the reliability of Polynesian traditions as retained by different branches, even though they have been separated for 23 or 24 generations' (1894, 149). And he summarises the bases of Hale's argument as follows:

The main factors relied on by Hale were the striking differences in physical aspect between the Fijians and their brethren, the Melanesians of the western



islands, showing incontestably a cross between the former and a superior race, such as the Polynesians; the large number of purely Polynesian words incorporated in the Fijian language; similarity in many of their customs; the evident Polynesian origin of many of the place-names in the Fijian Group, especially those of the eastern part, and some other features these two races have in common, but which the Melanesians have not (1894, 145).

Thereafter, Smith's approaches to the material available to him traversed a path towards quite formally structured ethnology and on to genealogically and historically based inquiry into the passage of the Polynesians across the Pacific and the relationships among their various 'branches'. In a second paper on the geographical knowledge of the Polynesians published in 1898, Smith augments his earlier survey of their knowledge of 'the Southern Ocean', producing further evidence for Māori voyaging back to Tahiti from New Zealand. This evidence, he claims, 'shows pretty clearly that both Maoris and Tahitians were mutually acquainted with their respective countries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, if not long before, and that communication was not infrequent in those days' (1898d, 801, 808-809). Smith discusses at some length the chart of the Pacific said to have been drawn by the Raiatean Tupaia on Cook's first voyage and the list of island names compiled from it by Johann Reinhold Forster. He argues from it 'that the Tahitians, like many others of the Polynesian race, had a very extensive knowledge of the Pacific', ranging 4,000 miles from Hawai'i to New Zealand and 4,500 miles from Mangareva to the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) (1898d, 816). On this evidence he places the Polynesians far ahead of any nation of antiquity in the art of navigation (1898d, 816). Henceforth, Smith's focus shifted from constant comparison with New Zealand Māori to the relationship of the Polynesians to those against whom he contrasts them.

### *Into the Pacific*

In 1897 Smith took leave to undertake two voyages of almost six months' duration to the eastern and central Pacific respectively. During these voyages, and even after his

later ethnographic turn, it was this work of comparison and ranking that sustained Smith's ethnological interest and output and formed one element of the major publications that resulted from them. Returning to the question of Fiji and the relationships among its inhabitants, he argues that it had been inhabited by two separate groups: 'true Fijians', Melanesians, who entered Fiji after it had been populated by the so-called 'Tonga-Fijians', 'half-caste Polynesians' who went on to become the ancestors of the 'Maoris, Rarotongans, and to a lesser degree, the Tahitians and Paumotu people' (1899, 3-4, 115; 1899, 5; 1904, 23; 1898a, 151).

Hale's 'striking differences' and Polynesian influence also provide Smith with evidence for the separate existence of the 'Tonga-Fijians' (1894, 145). The Tonga-Fijians went on to settle all the Fiji groups as well as the coasts of Samoa, whence they visited not the cannibal Melanesian Fijians but the remnants of their own people, who had stayed on in Fiji; when the Melanesians predominated in Fiji, the visits ceased (1899, 5; 1899, 20-21; 1903, 4; 1899, 11, 138-40):

I take this epoch to be the commencement of that at which, according to Samoan story, the so-called Tongans and Fijians commenced to occupy the coasts of Savāi'i and Upōlu [in Samoa], but who were in reality the Maori-Rarotonga branch of the race—who, in alliance with their Tonga relatives, for a long time inhabited parts of Samoa. It is said that the Tongans occupied the south side of Savāi'i, whilst the Fijians resided on the north; and it must have been the same in Upōlu (1899, 6).

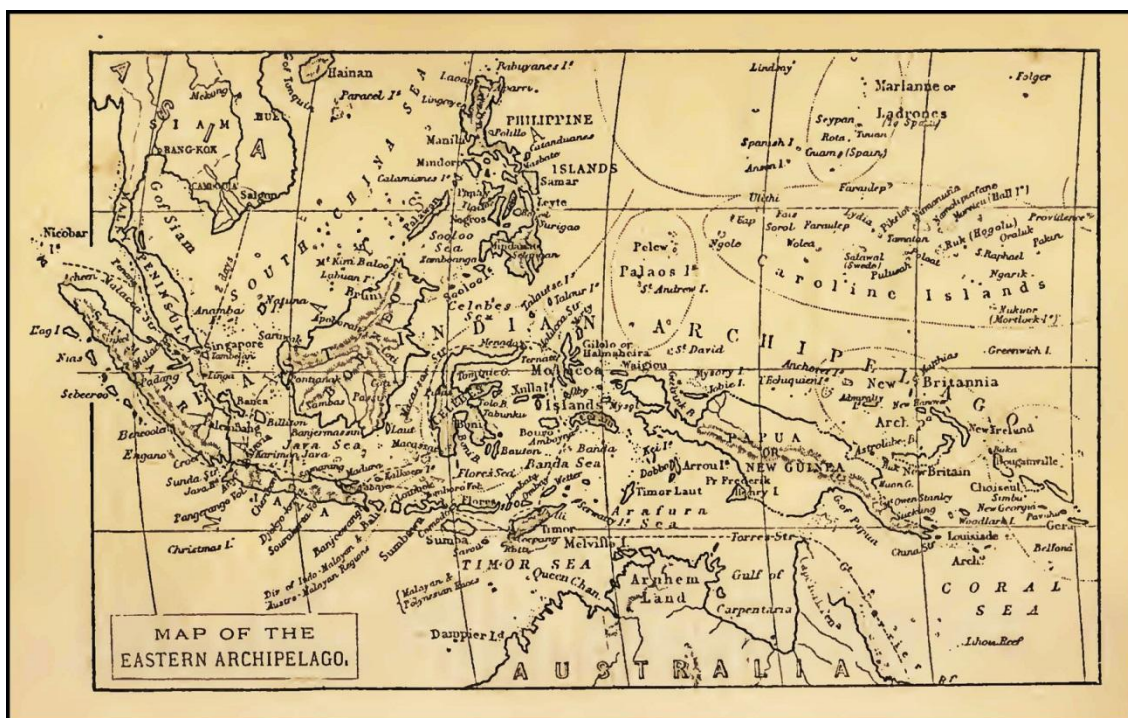
Furthermore, according to Smith, 'it was probably at the time of this spreading of the people from Fiji to Samoa and Tonga, and when they were in alliance in their occupation of these groups, that they visited other islands to the west', and he quotes Fornander in support to the effect 'that in olden times joint and singular expeditions of Fijians and Tongans frequently invaded New Caledonia and conquered tracts of land for themselves, and that the higher aristocracy and subordinate chiefs of today claim descent from the leaders of those predatory parties' (1899, 6.)

On the one hand, Smith argues, the absence of a ‘Melanesian intermixture’ in the Samoans of today proves that they visited only their own kin in Fiji, while, on the other hand, the eventual modification of the ‘Melanesian Fijians’ (as is evident in the Lau group!) was the result of a period when they mixed in marriage with the earlier Polynesians (1899, 5; 1899, 21). Smith supposes that this must have been the result of conquest and the capture of Polynesian women as ‘the racial dislike of the Polynesians for black people would prevent a large number of free connections’ (1899, 21).

Despite the burden of the implicit and explicit racialism of the day, it is possible, nonetheless, to appreciate Smith’s attempt to come to terms with the liminal nature of Fiji with only the limited resources of the day upon which to draw. His narrative of contact and contestation there implicitly challenges some aspects of the sharpness of the Melanesian/Polynesian divide. The racial divide, however, is clear in his characterisations of Melanesians *per se*: contrasting the ‘nearly black and small people’ with ‘the magnificent proportions of the average Samoan’ (1898a, 161) Among a number of racist characterisations, he describes the Polynesians as ‘a race of a much higher standard’; ascribes the origins of cannibalism to Melanesians; notes the lack of positive statements to be ‘found in reference to the black Melanesian race’ in Polynesian traditions; and refers to the ‘taint’ of Melanesian blood Polynesians have as a result of their sojourn in Fiji (1898b, 216; 1899, 21-22; 1902c, 164; 1903, 4).

For Smith, Melanesians, Papuans, and Negritos are a largely undifferentiated group, probably originating in India, preceding the Polynesians into Indonesia and the western Pacific, but following them into Fiji. He thinks it unlikely that they had introduced rice into Indonesia since it is reasonable to assume that the Polynesians, ‘a race of a much

higher standard', were more likely to have done so. Papuans were subsequently expelled, enslaved, and taken as crew and wives by the Polynesians, the latter, apparently, despite the earlier assertion of a Polynesian aversion to black skin (1898b, 216; 1904, 104). Manahune, 'a race living in the remote past' in Hawai'i and Tahiti but not in New Zealand, were lighter-coloured Melanesians or Papuans, but too dark to be New Zealand's Patupaiarehe. Manahune, for Smith, were either the first migration into the Pacific or a race with which the Polynesians came into contact in Indonesia, and were later conquered and enslaved by them and performed prodigies of work, always at night (1898b, 216; 1898a, 168-169).



Map of the Eastern Archipelago ([Adams] 1880, x).

Smith is adamant that the Malays, who eventually all but replace the Polynesians in Indonesia and might have driven them out, are not related in any way to the Polynesians (1898a, 158; 1899, 2). 'No doubt,' however, he writes, 'there was a time when the two races were in contact, and the Malays learnt from the Polynesians some words of their language, together with some of their customs. On the other hand, it is very probable

that part of the Polynesian race never left the Archipelago, and that the Polynesian influences on the Malay language and customs might have been derived from those who remained' (1899, 2). Returning to the question later in the same work, he adds, 'These warlike, stalwart, capable, dignified Polynesian navigators and poets, with their love of a joke withal, have no connection with the morose Malay' (1899, 46).<sup>46</sup>

Smith is concerned to differentiate clearly between Melanesians and Polynesians, to rank them to the disadvantage of the Melanesians, and to account for the presence of a 'Melanesian intermixture' in Polynesians other than Samoans (1904, 120). He is clearly familiar with the discourse of earlier decades on Papuans, Negritos, and Malays and, in fact, specifically cites 'Earle's Papuans', in reference to George Windsor Earl's 1853 *The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago. Papuans* (1898b, 216). Smith is not, however, particularly concerned about relationships or differentiations among them, as he is with Polynesian 'branches', but rather with differentiation, indeed separation, between the two racial groups, except for short periods of proximity. Above all, he is anxious not just to differentiate between but to separate the Malays and the Polynesians, except for a minor linguistic influence of Polynesian upon Malay (1898b, 215).

### *Ethnographic Turn*

I turn now to the significant shift in Smith's writing on the Pacific that occurred during his Pacific voyages at the same time as he was assembling this material. In introducing the results of his voyaging, he explains that the number of questions and issues raised by the first six years of publication of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 'seemed to render enquiry on the spot desirable by some one having a fair knowledge of what had

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<sup>46</sup> This 'morose Malay' may well be a reference to Alfred Russel Wallace's comparison of Polynesian and Malay dispositions in a review of Quatrefages's 'Les Polynésiens et leurs migrations' in which he characterises of the Malay as 'slow and morose' and of the Polynesian as 'active and joyous' (1867, 163).

already been accumulated' (1898a, 137). In particular, since 'nothing certain had been settled as to the immediate whence of the Maori people', it seemed that 'the attempt to clear up this and other questions once for all was worth making', especially in view of the imminent demise of the Polynesian race (1898a, 137-138).

In the course of his travels, Smith spent about four weeks in each of Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Samoa, six in Hawai'i, and a few days in Tonga (1898a, 138-139; 1916, 131-136). His informants included the usual assortment of mission people, traders, and administrators (often from within the membership of the Polynesian Society). Thanks to his command of New Zealand Māori, however, and an apparent ability to adapt to the other related languages, he was able to engage in close conversation with a number of leading figures in local communities, at least in eastern Polynesia, as well as in close observation of local practices. Smith is able to claim that he picked up Rarotongan 'fairly' in a fortnight and Tahitian in three weeks and could have acquired Hawaiian in a month. Even in the case of Samoan, which he regards as the most remote from Māori, he claims in his 1916 *Reminiscences* that he could 'at last' make himself understood by the people (1898a, 141; 1916, 134). The result of his voyaging was that, as well as continuing to make ethnological comparisons based on a combination of existing sources and his new observations, Smith also embarked on a new field of ethnographic writing; it is this material, taking up almost the whole of the first published part of 'Hawaiki', that I shall now discuss.<sup>47</sup> First, though, it is worth noting that Smith's application to the longer opportunities for close observation enjoyed during his voyages is suggested by his explanation that he does not feel competent to write of Tonga and the Tongans: 'for, though I visited the principal islands of the group—Vavau, Haapai,

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<sup>47</sup> This material appeared as 'Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori' in three parts in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1898 and 1899 and identically in *Hawaiki: The Original Home of the Maori* in 1898 (1898a, 1898b, 1899, 1898c).

and Tongatapu—our stay at each place was too short to allow me to do more than observe that the people in outward appearance seem to take a mid-position between Samoans and Maoris’. He then adds that the Tongans ‘appear to be of a somewhat stiff and haughty disposition, much of which would probably wear off on a longer acquaintance’ (1898a, 171).

By way of introduction to his discussion of individual peoples in the first published part of ‘Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori’, Smith summarises his observations as follows:

Fifty people might be taken at random, each, from New Zealand, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Hawaii and Easter Island (some of the latter people I saw in Tahiti) and if mixed together in a crowd, no one could distinguish the country from which they came, by their physical appearance. The Hawaiians are perhaps more like the Maoris than the others, whilst the Tahitians are slightly—very slightly—lighter in color, and the Samoans rather more differentiated than other sections to the casual observer (1898a, 140-141).

As to language, it is ‘practically one all over, but with many dialects’ (1898a, 141).

Smith devotes almost half, some 13 of 27 pages, to Samoa, far more than to any other group, and his observations, while somewhat unordered, are often quite detailed.

Subjects covered in his ethnographic notes, in the order in which they first appear, include language change and intonation and regret at the spread of the *tautala leaga* (the ‘bad’ language characterised by the ‘k’ in place of the ‘t’ as well as other shifts); the *fono* (meeting of *matai*) and its oratorical style; and seating during the ‘ava (the kava ceremony), though the whole ceremony ‘would take too long to describe ... here’ (1898a, 149). He also described Samoan life outside Apia; whale-boat travel; chiefly language and *fa’alupenga* (networks of chiefly titles); *tulafale* orator chiefs); *taupou* (village maidens, as it is usually glossed), at some length; *manaia* (the leading young man of the village), very briefly; and the *ta tatau* (the tattoo) (1898a, 141-161).

Several short examples must suffice here to illustrate the style of Smith's ethnographic observations:

In speaking in their meetings (possibly at other times also) the Samoans use a peculiarity of tone, not noticed elsewhere. The last word or two of a sentence is pronounced in a tone several notes higher than the rest of the sentence. It has a peculiar effect. I attended a *Fono* or council, held at Aleipata, a series of villages at the east end of Upōlu, where lives Tupuola, a son of the exiled Mataafa, who is said to pride himself on attention to ancient etiquette. The 18 or 20 chiefs who sat round the large oval house, in addressing the meeting, did so sitting, and barely raised their voices above a whisper. It is extremely bad form to talk loudly in the presence of chiefs in Samoa. How would our Maori orators feel disconcerted at such a rule! All of these gentlemen—for their manners entitled them to be so called—were engaged all through the meeting in some work, usually the braiding or twisting of sinnet (*afa*) for string, ropes, &c (1898a, 160).

As to Smith's overall impression of the Samoans, he writes:

Besides having (at one time) the most beautiful dialect of Polynesia, the people themselves are physically the finest of their race. The men have superb figures with a great amount of dignity and manner. The women are good looking, but not so much so perhaps as the Tahitians. They seem differentiated from the rest of the race, particularly by their extreme attention to etiquette, precedence, &c. They are also distinguished by what may be called their ignorance of their ancient history—so different to the Maoris, Hawaiians, Raro-tongans, &c. To them, the beginning of all things was in Samoa; they have no tradition of their having come from any other land, and so far as I have seen, their genealogies only go back for about thirty generations (1898a, 149-150).

Turning to the question of why he devotes so much attention to Samoa, Smith explains:

In the above notes on the Samoans, I have gone more fully into the matter than in the case of other branches of the race I visited, with the view of showing how much they differ from the Maoris. My object in so doing has been to put another nail in the coffin of the theory so long maintained—that the Samoans are the immediate fore-fathers of the Maori. They are nothing of the kind. Whilst there has been communication between the two branches of the race in the remote past, it was very often more like that of alien races than as brothers; and this the Rarotongan history will tend to elucidate. With their own farewell, we may now leave them for a time: *Tofa soifua!* (1898a, 162).

Smith spends the balance of the first part on some mildly ethnographic observations on Tahiti, on Hawai'i, and, briefly, on Tonga, some comparative reflections on Polynesia and the Polynesians, and a short discussion of Rarotongan housing and roading (1898a, 137-148, 162-177). In stark contrast to the Samoa material, Rarotonga, the centre of Smith's attention in the second and third parts, appears in only a couple of pages of the



first part of 'Hawaiki', that containing Smith's more ethnographic material. The only paragraph that may really be seen as such is this one:

The dwellings of the people differ much in each group. In Rarotonga the style of house introduced by the Missionaries is now nearly universal. They are built of solid coral and white-washed with coral lime (*ngaika*), of the same shape as our cottages. The effect may be imagined when, as is almost invariable, these gleaming white houses are surrounded and overshadowed by the brilliantly green foliage of the bread-fruit, bananas, *utu*, and coco-nut trees (1898a, 144).

Beyond that, his personal observations are confined to a brief 1903 article with a description and sketch map of 'Arai-Te Tonga, The Ancient Marae at Rarotonga' (1903b, 218-220). Neither is there in Smith's letters to his wife during his time in Rarotonga anything to suggest any degree of ethnographic activity (Smith 1912, 20-40).

The question of why so little ethnographic material on Rarotonga appeared in print after a month's stay is one to which I shall return later in this chapter. Rarotonga, as I have said, would instead predominate in the second and third parts of 'Hawaiki', and in a completely different register, as indicated by the sub-sub title of the series: 'Being an Introduction to Rarotonga History'. The second part covers 'Identification of Place Names in Maori Traditions', 'The Rarotongan Account of the Maori Migration', 'Genealogical Connections', 'Polynesian History, According to the Rarotongan Records', and conjectures on a variety of Hawaikis (1898b). In the first of those sections, Smith makes the comment that, 'It is needless to point out how frequently the name Rarotonga occurs in Maori History, especially in the old chants, but there is nothing in them that indicates any lengthened sojourn in that island', and he refers to 'the Maori occupation of Eastern Polynesia' (1898b, 192, 193). The third part deals with the Polynesian 'Arrival in Fiji', 'The Polynesians as Navigators', 'Occurrences in the Fiji, Samoa and Haapai Groups', the Maori 'Sojourn in Eastern Polynesia', 'The Settlement of Rarotonga', and 'Rarotonga Genealogies' (1899, 1-48).

Smith was, however, to have a further opportunity for ethnographic observation when he spent almost four months in Niue in 1901 as New Zealand's government resident agent. The result of this sojourn was a short article on the dialect of Niue and four extensive parts of an article with the title, 'Niuē Island, and its People'. The first three parts are a mixture of ethnology and ethnography, with the former predominating, and much of the fourth part deals with history and traditions, including the period of and after the arrival of James Cook (1901b, 1902a, 1902b, 1902c, 1903a). The material in this article is much more intensive, extensive, and ordered than that on Samoa.



**On Niue Island, 1901. Mr. S. Percy Smith is seated on the right. Colonel Gudgeon (N.Z. Resident Commissioner in the Cook Islands) addressing the people; the Rev. F. E. Lawes, Missionary (with the umbrella) interpreting (Cowan 1935, 24)**

It is worth quoting at some length from Smith's introduction to the Niue article to give some sense of the manner in which he went about his inquiries:

The position I occupied during my visit, as Government Resident, put me in a favourable position to obtain information from the natives, but although possessing a fair knowledge of several of the dialects of the great Polynesian

language, that of Niuē is so divergent from the others that it took me some time to acquire a sufficient knowledge of it to enter freely into communication with the natives. Hence the sketchy nature of many of the notes I have preserved. I am very greatly indebted to my friend the Rev. F. E. Lawes for a large amount of matter contained in the notes to follow; but for his knowledge of the language and the people, I should have acquired but little matter relating to their customs. So soon as I could speak freely to the chiefs in their own language and they found that I was interested in their history, &c., I began to find that there was a great deal of interesting information to be obtained, but my early departure prevented my availing myself fully of this (1902a, 80).

Among the Niuean informants was Pulekula, a local teacher, whose collection of traditions in Niuean, together with Smith's translation, follows the fourth part in the *Journal*. Another significant resource was an unsourced paper written by Fata-a-iki, 'King' of Niue, 1888 to 1896.

Having sketched Niue's geography and physical settlement, Smith again, as in his Futuna article, devotes a good deal of attention to the flora of the island and the naming of its plants and adds a similar section on the fauna, with detailed passages on the birds, fish, shellfish, lizards, and insects in the first of his four parts (1902a). Once again he sees these names, in the absence of traditions (to which I shall return) 'when compared with those in other islands, as affording the surest way to discover the origin of the people' (1902a, 81).

As to those people, Smith finds it 'abundantly evident that [they] speak a dialect of the Polynesian language' and are 'at first sight ... a branch of the Polynesian race', so much so 'that at a cursory glance they might be taken for Maoris, Tahitians, Rarotongans, Hawaiians or other members of the race' (1902b, 163). Closer acquaintance, however, reveals to him personal characteristics that differentiate them from those branches and persuade him that they bear the greatest affinity with 'the Moriori of the Chatham Islands, especially in the case of the men', while also resembling 'the Ure-wera tribe of Maoris' (1902b, 163). Furthermore, Smith concludes that, while 'every branch of the

Polynesian race has a slight admixture of Melanesian or Papuan blood in it .... this shows more than usually strong in the Niuē people', with, of the two named types present on the island, those in the south being 'the more Melanesian of the two' (1902b, 163-164). This Melanesian admixture he ascribes to their ancestors' probable sojourn in Fiji, 'which was the headquarters of the Polynesian race for many centuries' (1902b, 164). Smith is careful, however, to explain that:

It is due in a larger measure to this sojourn in Fiji that Polynesians have a taint of Melanesian blood in them, and the statements of certain writers to the effect that a prior race—Melanesian, Papuan, Negretto, or what not—was found in many of the islands of Eastern and Southern Polynesia now occupied by Polynesians, is to my mind a mistake, and results from ignoring the history of the race. To most of those who have studied the Polynesians and their history amongst the people themselves, the idea of a prior occupation by a different race in the above locality seems quite unwarranted. The few traditions the Polynesians have of a people prior to them are mere localized recollections of their contact with these strange peoples in times long antecedent to their occupation of their present homes (1902b, 164).

In the body of his second part, origins disposed of, Smith turns, in an interweaving of ethnology and ethnography, the comparative and the descriptive, to a discussion of the people and the nature of their two divisions. He also records information on personal relationships, rank and government, the history of the 'kings' of the island, and chieftainship and the place of the 'lower orders' (1902b, 164-178). The third part follows a similar pattern, its section on religion drawing heavily on Fata-a-iki's paper but also recording Smith's attendance at a customary assembly:

I witnessed an ancient custom in which the present King Togia took part and acted in what may be called the chief priest's office; this was on the occasion of my first meeting the people in assembly at Tuapa, where some 700 or 800 were present, a brief description of which may be of interest in the above connection. As we drove up to the settlement we were met by some elderly women gaily decked out in wreaths and garlands of ferns and flowers, who advanced before us to the King's house, dancing with a slow circular movement with much waving of the arms—much like a Maori pohiri, but with infinitely less noise. After being seated, the old King gathered around him in a small circle some 8 or 10 old men, the chiefs of the place. The King generally stood within the circle, but sometimes with the others, and he recited in a monotonous tone the long song, or incantation following, the chiefs joining in at certain parts. Every now and then all heads bowed down towards the centre of the circle (1902c, 198).

Smith's attention is diverted at that point from the ceremony itself to the cosmological 'incantation following' and another recorded chant (1902c, 198-201). F E Lawes of the London Missionary Society, as well as 'the chiefs of Alofi and other places', provided much of the material for the following sections on manners and customs; marriage; other customs, including the absence of cannibalism and tattooing, speech-making, and song and dance, the latter supplemented by a brief observation of his own ceremonial welcome to Tuapa (1902c, 210-211). Subsequent sections on war and weapons, clothing and ornaments, canoes and fishing, housing utensils and tools, amusements, astronomy, foods and diseases follow the same pattern of ethnological inquiry complemented by personal observation (1902c, 209-218).

From the very outset, Smith had lamented the lack of historical and genealogical knowledge among the Niueans. Like the Samoans, 'the Niuē people differ very much from most branches of the race, in that they have few historical traditions, and, what is really very strange in a branch of the Polynesian race, no genealogies of consequence, and hence there is lacking the means of fixing chronologically the events which will be described' (1902b, 81). He returns to this theme at the very beginning of his fourth part on 'History and Traditions': 'We now come to the somewhat difficult question of the whence of the Niuē people—difficult, that is, because of the lack of precise traditions among the people themselves' (1903a, 1). After a section on probable origins based largely on Rarotongan traditions, together with some thwarted attempts at genealogical connections with other Pacific peoples and the recounting of a couple of stories from earlier times, the balance of the fourth part is devoted to the period of the visits of James Cook, John Williams, and a variety of missionaries, culminating in British protection and New Zealand annexation (1903a, 1-21).

The first three parts of 'Hawaiki' had been published unchanged in book form in 1898. That was followed by a second edition in 1904, 'largely re-written, and the whole re-arranged in such a manner as to form a sketch of the History of the Polynesian race .... treated from the point of view of the Traditions, and mainly from those of Rarotonga' (1904, Preface). In particular, the whole of the ethnological and ethnographic content of the first *Journal* part is omitted and replaced by genealogical calculation, traditional speculation, and historical conjecture. This includes the probable Indian origins of the Polynesians, the existence of a 'Gangetic-Polynesian race', and the possibility of Aryan and Semitic influence on Polynesian language and customs (1904, 72-73).

Thereafter, Smith's interest in the island Pacific seems to have waned, with only a book review and seven, mostly brief, articles appearing in the next decade and a half, three of them of a folkloric nature establishing 'Aryan and Polynesian Points of Contact' (1910a, 1911a, 1911c). A third edition of *Hawaiki* was published in 1910, with some additional material supplementing the new content of the second. This includes an observation, in accordance with Blumenbach's categories but against his placement of the Polynesians, that the Polynesians 'are generally acknowledged now to be a branch of the Caucasian race' (1910b, 101, 104). In a 1919 article, Smith places both Aryans and Polynesians together in 'the Caucasian family of the human race' but does not carry this into the fourth edition of *Hawaiki* in 1921 (1919, 20). In the same article, he enters into some conjecture about the point at which the two races might have separated 'if the Polynesians belong to the Aryan people' (1919, 21).

Smith would rarely return to the ethnographic researches that had so absorbed him, and which he had conducted so assiduously in Samoa and, to a lesser degree, Niue.

Interestingly, however, he would revisit the subject of Samoa in 1920 in a special supplement to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* prompted by the fact ‘that Samoa has now become an outlying part of New Zealand under the Imperial Mandate’ (1920, 1). There, in material reproduced from his 1897 voyage letters to his wife, which he describes as his ‘journal’, he sets out detailed observations on the kava ceremony, those that would have taken ‘too long to describe’ in 1898, and an account of his circumnavigation of ‘Upolu (1898a, 149; 1920, 1). He justifies publication two decades on in the case of the former by the opportunity he had ‘of witnessing the function and its ceremonies in full force in Samoa’ and in general by the fact that ‘many of the customs of the Samoans were to be noticed in their old form, and as these will probably disappear soon, it is well they be recorded even if only in a cursory manner’ (1920, 1).

Two major conceptions underlie Smith’s perceptions of the Pacific and each presents an obstacle to the success of his pursuit of Hawaiki. The first, of course, is a deep-seated racialism, absolutely characteristic of his time and environment, to which I shall return in Chapter Seven. In this is the principal source of his inability to make any connection, beyond brief physical proximity, between Melanesians and Polynesians or with, for example, Malays. Only in Fiji, and partly prompted by misunderstanding of the history of Tongan settlement of the Lau islands, does he come anywhere near some sense of connection. Yet, even there, the need to protect his Polynesians from contamination by the Melanesians closes off one path to Hawaiki.

The second conception has its source in that racialism but is a little more complicated, residing in the tension between the Polynesian ‘race’ and its various ‘branches’. While Smith had a clear, if shifting, sense of a general Polynesian identity, the continuities implied in that are challenged by his belief in an essential differentiation of the

‘branches’. On the one hand, it is the Polynesians who entered the Pacific; on the other, for the most part the branches appear in Smith’s writing to enter the region discrete and fully formed and proceed to voyage and settle separately across the Pacific. Only occasionally do they come into contact, become modified to some degree by their different environments, but retain words and concepts from earlier times and, on the whole, maintain their original character. Again, I shall return to this subject in Chapter Seven.

The most extreme example of this, of course, is in the case of Samoa, where Smith justifies his ethnographic concentration on the Samoans as intended to differentiate them from Māori: ‘Whilst there has been communication between the two branches of the race in the remote past, it was very often more like that of alien races than as brothers’ (1898a, 162). As I have already observed, one of the most striking aspects of Smith’s vision of the original settlement of the Pacific is the way in which its various Polynesian branches, for the most part, appear to enter the Ocean already formed and make their already formed way across it to their eventual homes. This vision is prompted and sustained, at least for a short time, by his application of his great construction, the heke, to the peopling of the Pacific. It is fascinating to me that Smith’s distortion of multiple arrivals into a single great fleet in the case of New Zealand is transformed into multiple arrivals by discrete heke in the case of the Pacific. Smith’s Polynesians are related but distinct, separate even in proximity; they do not become as they traverse the great ocean, they simply are.

Smith’s early ethnological writings on Polynesia and Polynesians, as well as those to follow on Fijians, Melanesians, Papuans and others, are all oriented on those peoples’ relationships with Māori and with Māori origins and history. This material, then, relates



closely to the genealogical and historical sources which were so close to Smith's heart and which were underpinned, contextualised, and even extended by his ethnological inquiries. In a sense, these peoples exist for Smith only to explicate the whence of the Māori and the location of Hawaiki. The ethnographic work, however, particularly in Samoa and Niue, was completely dissociated from these interests and, it would appear, took place only in the absence of genealogical and historical traditions.

Smith's insistence on this absence warrants further examination. Even in that section of the first part of 'Hawaiki' in which he laments the absence of tradition, Smith remarks that 'by careful enquiry I think I obtained support to my theory that the ancient heroes of Maori history—Hema, Tawhaki, Wahieroa, and Rata—lived in Samoa'. In support, he cites two 'traditions' of Samoan origins provided by his Samoan informant Sapolu (1898a, 151-154). Furthermore, the fourth of his Niue articles was followed by a lengthy piece written in Niuean, with English translation, by his informant Pulekula on 'The Traditions of Niue-Fekai (1903, 22-31).

It would seem that what Smith saw as an absence of 'tradition' was an unsurprising absence of specifically Eastern Polynesian tradition. Smith's certainty that the Samoans and the New Zealand Māori resembled 'alien races' closed off one possible path to his sought-after Hawaiki (1898a, 162). The Samoans, with their lack of tradition and apparent absence of genealogies of any length, are completely different from the Eastern Polynesians. This difference is further emphasised by their seeming ignorance of origin and arrival and belief that everything began in Samoa (1898a, 149-150). The Niueans differ similarly from the eastern branches with little knowledge of their own history and a 'strange' absence of 'genealogies of consequence' (1902a, 81). Rarotonga,

on the other hand, yielded a wealth of genealogies and historical traditions, leaving neither time nor place for ethnography.

Having surveyed here the process of Smith's engagement, and later disengagement, with the island Pacific, the representations produced in the course of the former, and the relationship between his ethnology and ethnography, in the next chapter I shall turn to his representations of the Polynesians themselves and, in particular, of their passage across that ocean.

## *Chapter Six*

### *Percy Smith's Polynesians*

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As I have explained in an earlier chapter, my intention here is to present the Smith Text, Smith's own representations, as accurately as possible within the categories I have derived from the Text itself. There is something of a chronological pattern to the various sections but there is also some variation from that in order to follow certain themes within them. In terms of content, apart from indicating that chronology, I reserve any commentary for the following chapter in order to allow Smith's voice to be clearly heard and the Smith of the Text to appear as sharply as possible. In the same interest, I make frequent use of direct quotation from the Text. Inevitably that results in a certain amount of repetition within this chapter and across to the previous one but I believe that is necessary to ensure accurate representation of different themes and categories that appear within a single body of Text. Unsurprisingly, my starting point is Origins.

#### *Origins*

In the nine articles written by Smith in the period before his 1897 voyages, pursuit of the origins of peoples, while underlying virtually all his ethnological researches, makes only occasional specific appearances, for the most part dealing with immediate origins and those within eastern Polynesia. So for him the Tongarewans' 'traditional' origin, like that of some of the New Zealand Māori, is in Rarotonga via Rakahanga and Manihiki (1890, 85-87, 103); the Rarotongans come from Tahiti and other Society Islands as well as Samoa (1890, 90); the Pomare family of Tahiti (as well as other Māori) from Raiatea (1893, 25); and the inhabitants of the Ellice Group (Tuvalu), according to a Samoan informant, from Samoa (1897, 209). Smith's occasional references to more remote origins for the whole Polynesian race, and some of its

branches, place them in the 'Eastern [sometimes East Indian] Archipelago' (1891b, 281-282, 288, 292, 298; 1892b, 35, 52).

Other traces of origins appear in Smith's researches into botany and philology, at their most fruitful in combined investigations, as well as geography. What can be discerned of the original geographical knowledge of the Polynesians is 'intimately connected with the origins of the people'. For example, Mr Joshua Rutland's 'very valuable and interesting memoir on the cultivated plants of Polynesia' is 'a most able contribution to the "whence of the Polynesians"' and the same work suggests to Smith that by procuring 'the names of trees, plants, animals and birds of the East Indian Archipelago in the language of the most ancient races there, considerable light would be thrown on the whence of the Polynesians' (1891b, 281; 1892b, 50, 52). Originality in another sense and in another form, and one at the very heart of the early Polynesian Society project, also appears in the early articles: Smith especially appreciates the 'valuable contribution to the study of the race' made by those in a position to observe 'the people in their original savage state' before their originality could be diminished by the arrival of 'the pearl-fisher, the slaver, or the seeker after *bêche de mer*' (1892b, 34; 1890, 85).

For Smith, the original homeland of New Zealand Māori tradition is a multi-sited Hawaiki which he variously identifies with Savai'i in Samoa, or Raiatea (otherwise known as Havaii) in the Society Islands, or 'brought by the Polynesians from the Eastern Archipelago' (1890, 89-90; 1891b, 286, 292-293, 297, 303; 1893, 33). This Hawaiki is 'identified with various groups of islands', its name 'found in most of the groups of the Pacific, either as the name of one of the islands, or as that of a place from which they trace their common origin in the far-distant past'. It is both 'widely expanded' and a 'mystical land' (1890, 89-90; 1891b, 292-293, 303; 1893, 33).

Origins, again in a variety of forms, in presence and in absence, figure more frequently and in greater depth in the first two parts of the three parts of 'Hawaiki: The Whence of the Maori' published by Smith in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* after his 1897 voyages and reproduced in book form (1898a; 1898b; 1899; 1898c). In the first part, Samoans' ignorance of their own history explains their ignorance of the origin of an old temple (1898a, 151). It is important to him that the Solomon Islands' origin of a canoe design brought to Samoa by early white settlers be recorded 'for fear some one hereafter may suppose them to be of Samoan origin' (1898a, 158). And, according to Smith, the Samoans, over all, are 'distinguished by what may be called their ignorance of their ancient history .... To them, the beginning of all things was in Samoa; they have no tradition of their having come from any other land' (1898a, 149-150). To Smith's Samoans, 'Savāi'i, their own island, is the only Hawaiki' (1898a, 150).

Another and dual sense of Hawaiki dominates the second part of the same article:

Of all the names in Polynesian traditions, that of Hawaiki, in some one of its forms, is the most important. It was the father land from whence the race sprung, where their gods lived, and to which the spirits of the dead returned after death. And this name has been carried by the people in their migrations, and applied over and over again to their new homes, so that we have in the Pacific at this time certainly seven places so called, if not more (1898b, 185).

Furthermore, in the Rarotongan tradition, Smith finds a former Hawaiki 'outside the Pacific, and probably in Indonesia, or even further West' which 'was the country in which Polynesian mankind originated from the primordial mud, earth, or slime—in other words, the ancient home of the race' (1898b, 186). On the question of how far west the original Hawaiki is to be found, he rejects a theory of Cushite origins, such as that of Fornander, being 'inclined not to go so far to the west, nor so far back in time, to seek an origin for the [Polynesian] race' (1898b, 213; Fornander 1878, 8). Later, Smith engages in some speculation about the meaning of Egyptian, Semitic, and even South

American influence on Polynesian language and customs but does not seek origins in those directions (1899, 46).

There follows Smith's first tentative attempt to trace Polynesian origins to India (1898b, 214-218). This he bases on the existence in Rarotongan history and prayer of an entity, Atia-te-varinga-nui, or Atia, which is known as Avaiki (the Rarotongan cognate of Hawaiki) and is also, as Smith is inclined to think, India (1898b 214, 217, 215). His sustained supporting argument calls on a variety of philological and botanical forms of evidence for the existence of dual meanings for the word '*vari*', in a number of non-Polynesian as well as Polynesian languages, as both 'mud' and 'rice' and the 'legitimate conclusion that rice is a very ancient food in India' (1898b, 214-215). Consequently, and after considering a variety of other possible locations for Atia, Smith is 'forced to the belief' that the original Rarotongan Atia-te-varinga-nui, meaning 'Great Atia-covered-with-rice' is, again, India' (1898b, 215, 218). And, furthermore:

As *vari* has then the double meaning of both rice and mud, it will be interesting to try and ascertain which is the older meaning of the two. As mud must have existed before rice was used, the second meaning is probably the more modern, and the Polynesians, on their first discovery of the rice, applied to it the name of the mud in which it grew. If this is true, it follows that the Polynesians were the originators of this wide spread name of *vari* and its variants, and further, that they gave it this name when living in India (1898b, 215).

Indeed, Smith goes on to state, 'I claim for the Polynesians that they are the original owners of the name for rice, and that they cultivated it in India before the irruption of the Aryans into that country' (1898b, 216).

While accepting the identification of 'ancient Atia' with India, Smith finds it 'quite clear that it was known also as Avaiki and Avaiki-Atia; and, as in the case of Avaiki, they have probably applied that of Atia to some second country, or used it as a general term for Indonesia' (1898b, 217). Wherever it is located, Smith concludes that in

Atia/Avaiki originated ‘the different kinds of *takuruas*, feasts and games ... to dignify the land’; musical instruments and dances; ‘the *karioi*, or houses of amusement, singing and dancing, besides many other things and customs’. There were first instituted the ‘sacred feasts to the gods’ and ‘in Atia also originated the great wars which caused the people to spread to all parts’ (1898b, 218).

As just discussed, in the ‘re-written’ 1904 second edition of *Hawaiki*, Smith aimed ‘to sketch the History of the Polynesian race’ from the perspective of ‘Traditions’, particularly those of Rarotonga, ‘a written copy of which was secured by the author in Rarotonga in 1897’ (1904, Preface). Early in that work, Smith briefly raises another aspect of Polynesian originality: ‘It is somewhat difficult at this time to say what the original type of the true Polynesian was; but it is probable that the handsome, tall, oval-faced, high browed, lithe, active, light brown, black straight-haired, black or very dark-brown-eyed, cheerful, dignified individual so frequently met with, is the nearest to the true original Polynesian’ (1904, 14-15).

After a discussion of early genealogies and chronologies and traditional place-names, however, Smith returns to the earlier theme and announces boldly in a chapter heading ‘THE POLYNESIANS ORIGINATED IN INDIA’ (1904, 64). Citing support from ‘authors who have had a sufficient knowlege of the race and their traditions to be able to form an opinion on the subject’, including Ellis, Fornander, Fenton, Wyatt Gill, Tregear, and others, he asserts that, taking into account the breadth of Polynesian traditions, ‘these all point to the west as the direction by which they entered the Pacific’ (1904, 64-65). Somewhat softening his earlier certainty, Smith goes on to say, ‘Whether the race can be traced further back than Indonesia with any degree of certainty, is a

moot point; but the writer is of opinion that it is a fair deduction from the traditions, that they can be traced as far back as India' (1904, 65).

In support of Indian origins, Smith quotes at length from ethnologist J R Logan's thesis 'that the Polynesians formed part of the very ancient "Gangetic Race," which had been in India from remote antiquity'. Before doing so, however, he suggests it is possible, 'if we compare the Mythology of the Polynesians with those of the most ancient mythologies of the old world, that there are sufficient points of similarity to hazard the conjecture that the race is the remnant of one of the most ancient races of the world, who have retained in its primitive forms, much of the beliefs that gave origin to the mythology of Assyria. He concludes, however, that this is too large a subject to enter on here' (1904, 65).

As I outlined in Chapter Five, in 1901, between the first two editions of *Hawaiki*, Smith's residency in Niue produced a short piece on the local dialect and a four-part article, 'Niuē Island, and its People' (1901b; 1902a; 1902b; 1902c; 1903a). The first three parts of the longer article were taken up with geographical, demographic, biological, familial, political, religious, and other ethnographic observations. It is not until the fourth part that he turns to 'the somewhat difficult question of the whence of the Niuē people—difficult, that is, because of the lack of precise traditions amongst the people themselves' (1903a, 1). Consequently, Smith is able, after sketching a general Polynesian migration history from the sixth century reliant on the completeness of the Rarotongan traditions, only to trace the occupation of Niue back to some point in the eighth to thirteenth centuries. This occurred 'probably after the commencement of the great voyages which led to a knowledge of most of the islands in Central and Eastern Polynesia' (1903a, 3).



After the second edition of *Hawaiki* appeared, the island Pacific and new material on origins figured infrequently in Smith's writings. In a 1905 article intended to preserve existing knowledge of Polynesian mannerisms and personal habits against what he saw as irrevocable loss, he revisits an earlier theme in observing that 'by bringing into one view the peculiarities of personal habits of the Polynesians much may be learned as to the origin of the people themselves, for if we find the same habits common to other peoples it is a legitimate deduction that their forefathers had at some time—if not a common ancestry—certainly an intimate connection' (1905, 453).

In 1910, in an article exploring possible Aryan and Polynesian points of contact, and in the third edition of *Hawaiki*, Smith again shows some hesitancy in advancing the theory of Indian origins for the Polynesians. In the Preface to the third edition he admits that: 'The writer is fully aware that his theory as to the origin of the Polynesian race from India as expressed in this work is weak, through want of access to works on early India' (1910b, Preface). He does, however, observe in this volume that the Polynesians are now acknowledged to be Caucasians (1910b, 104). At the same time, he advances the argument, at first a little tentatively, that there was a period of significant contact between Polynesians and Aryans: 'If the Indian theory of a Polynesian origin is correct ... the connection with the Aryan people should show in some of the Folk-lore of the Polynesians. It is probable that this can be shown in several instances, wherein the main points of the contact are clear, whilst details must necessarily vary' (1910a, 84).

Smith makes clear that the suggestion of contact 'is not intended to infer that the Polynesians are Aryans, but rather that the two races were once near neighbours,

probably intermarried, and mutually affected one another's lives, literature, and beliefs' (1910a, 85). This established, he expands on the implications of such contact:

As has been said above, we must not expect the exact details of the stories to be the same; but if the ruling ideas that govern them can be shown to be identical, the assumption is that they have a like origin. And if so, it then becomes incumbent on those who deduce a different origin for the Polynesians to show whence the latter derived their truly Aryan ideas—nay more, whence came Aryan words in their language, and whence some of their Aryan customs? It would be a very bold prediction to make, and yet an exhaustive study may yet prove, that the Polynesian forms of these myths are the originals, and the Aryan versions only copies altered by the environment of those who have handed them down. And further, it may yet come about that the language in which these primitive Polynesian myths are still expressed may turn out to be older even than that of the Rig-Veda. But the time for pronouncing on either of these questions is not yet (1910a, 85).

Only at the very end of his life would he admit of any closer connection. In 1919, in the last of his articles on Aryan and Polynesian points of contact, he repeats his earlier observation that the Polynesians 'belong to the 'Caucasian family of the human race' and adds, 'as do the Aryan people of India'. Furthermore, with some qualification he appears finally, but only partially, to modify a lifelong belief: 'If the Polynesians belong to the Aryan people, they must have separated off from them in very early times ... after the Aryans came into contact with the dark Bharata people' (1919, 20-21).

### *Departures*

From the beginning, origins figure large in Smith's accounts of departures in the sense that such accounts centre upon the origins of, the reasons for, departures: 'there appears to have been some cause at work tending to a general dispersion of the people; but what this cause was we have not the means of knowing, beyond the traditionary accounts which assign wars as the origin of the movement.' (1890, 89). The 'traditionary accounts', however, were to prove more fruitful than had first appeared to Smith.

War remains a primary cause of departures for him, but is soon joined by other reasons for expulsion: misdeeds, famine, population pressures, land disputes, personal quarrels, struggles for supremacy, jealousy, amorous adventures, and sacrilege (1890, 87; 1891b, 282, 290, 295; 1893, 40; 1897, 209; 1898b, 190-191; 1899, 33). While acknowledging the possibility of accidental voyaging, Smith's initial emphasis is on expulsion, driving out:

Many of the discoveries were no doubt made involuntarily, such as in cases where canoes have been blown out of their courses, or driven off the land whilst fishing, &c.; but all the greater discoveries were made by expeditions fitted out for exploring purposes, generally with a view to finding new lands on which to settle, and in which the people carried with them animals and plants to acclimatise in their new homes. The causes of these expeditions were, in general, wars, quarrels about land, supremacy, or over-population, in which the defeated or weaker party left their old homes to find new ones in places of safety from their enemies. Their traditions make frequent mention of these causes, and some give quite minute particulars respecting them (1891b, 295).

Over time, and particularly after his 1897 voyages, Smith introduces a new orientation on departure, first suggested in his description of those following in the wake of the early Polynesian discoverers of New Zealand. These were people who 'came fully prepared to occupy a new country, and brought their wives, families, attendants, and several plants which they acclimatised here,... besides dogs, and, as some traditions say, certain birds and plants which are known to be natives of the country' (1891b, 291).<sup>48</sup> Smith expands on this vision in the first part of *Hawaiki*:

To the east, at twenty-three miles away, is Huahine, another beautiful island, and along the coast of Raiatea may be seen the mouth of the bay in which is situated Taputapu-atea, the famous *marae* at Opoa, more famous than any other in the Pacific, and connected with the history of the Polynesians from very ancient times. As I sat on this hill admiring the lovely view, my thoughts went back to the middle of the fourteenth century, and imagination pictured a large double canoe with its daring commander, its stalwart crew, its priests, its living freight of women and children, with their sea stores, parting for ever from their ancestral home, with tears and farewells, bound on a voyage across what was to them an unknown ocean, in search of a home wherein peace might be found—bound for a land a month's voyage distant, and which they only knew by description of voyagers who had been there before them (1898a, 174-175).

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<sup>48</sup> Smith appears to be saying that these birds and plants brought to the country come to be regarded as natives of it.

These are Smith's 'skilful and daring navigators' who, long before Europeans had ventured out of sight of land, were 'boldly pushing out into the great unknown ocean in their frail canoes, actuated by the same love of adventure and discovery that characterises our own race' until they had 'explored the Antarctic seas, and traversed the Pacific Ocean from end to end' (1899, 11). By the second edition of *Hawaiki*, their pattern of movement has become one in which '[a] party of migrants arrives at some island, settles there for a time, gives the place a name, then moves onward, actuated by the growing desire of discovery—the desire to know what lies before them—and departing, leaves no sign that can be interpreted into a name by those who follow' (1904, 78).

By now, the weak and defeated have become full-blown adventurers with a vast ocean of islands to explore and settle:

The love of adventure, of moving about from place to place, which is so characteristic of the race even in these days has always been a feature in their lives. More often than not they made these adventurous voyages with the definite object of establishing new colonies in which to settle, taking with them their *Lares* and *Penates*, their domestic animals, seeds, plants, and families.... In passing onward by way of New Guinea, the Solomans, and New Hebrides to the Fiji group, the idea must have forced itself into the minds of the people, that the whole Eastern world was covered with islands, and that they had only to move onward into the unknown to find more lands on which to settle. Actuated by this ruling idea, they undertook long voyages in the assured belief of finding land (1904, 131).

### *Voyages*

From his earliest writings on the island Pacific, Smith accentuated the voyaging and navigational skills and activities of the Polynesians, 'these old sea-rovers, or, as a friend of mine terms them, the "Vikings of the Pacific"' (1890, 90). An early passage warrants quoting at some length, as it encapsulates many of the aspects of voyaging that would

recur throughout these writings, including the extent of the voyages, the nature of the canoes, the difficulties of provisioning, and the challenges of navigation:

To those who have not given much consideration to the question it would almost seem impossible that the Polynesians should have been able to make such extensive voyages as they evidently were in the habit of doing. But the double canoe, or *amatiatia*, which was commonly used, was a craft capable of withstanding very rough weather, and with a considerable capacity of stowage for provisions. The number of voyages of over a thousand miles in length, now on record, are so numerous and so well authenticated that there is no room left for doubt as to the sea-going qualities of their canoes. Want of water would be one of the great difficulties they would have to contend with on these extended voyages; but with a large supply of cocoanuts they would be able to overcome this difficulty and traverse a considerable breadth of ocean. I believe there was a time in the history of the race when they constantly traversed the central parts of the Pacific Ocean, guiding themselves by the regular roll of the waves driven before the trade-winds in the day-time, and by the stars at night (1890, 89).

Reflecting on his understanding that the Polynesians' geographical knowledge of the Pacific extended from the Chatham Islands to Hawai'i, from the Solomons to Easter Island, Smith still 'cannot but wonder that a people apparently in so early a stage of advancement, and without the aid of other instruments to guide them than their own acute senses, should have been able to make such lengthened voyages, or that they could find the same islands twice after voyages extending over days and sometimes weeks' (1891b, 294). In the great voyages of the people who would settle Rarotonga and New Zealand:

They—in the words of the history—'visited every place on earth,' and they became 'a people accomplished in navigating vessels'. Of course we must read 'every place on earth' as the world known to the Polynesians of that age, which ... embraced a very large portion of the Pacific.... The statement is made that when a canoe rotted, others were built, so it would seem that the voyages extended over very many years' (1899, 8).

Smith later accuses those sceptical of Polynesian voyaging powers of neglecting 'to explain how it is that certain plants and animals, found in the possession of the Polynesians when the first intercourse with Europeans took place within the last two or three hundred years, came to be naturalised in the places they were, and are, found'. In

Smith's opinion it is 'quite clear they are not native; and the instrumentality of man is the only scientific way of accounting for their presence' (1904, 138).

Those voyages, however, are outshone in Smith's eyes by those undertaken around 650 AD by one Ui-te-rangiora, 'a man worthy of taking his place amongst many of our own most fearless navigators of ages long subsequent to the seventh century' (1899, 10). In a passage from a native history, he recounts, in his own translation, such wonders encountered by him as:

The rocks that grow out of the sea, in the space beyond Rapa; the monstrous seas; the female that dwells in those mountainous waves, whose tresses wave about in the waters and on the surface of the sea; and the frozen sea of *pia*, with the deceitful animal of that sea who dives to great depths—a foggy, misty, and dark place not seen by the sun. Other things are like rocks, whose summits pierce the skies, they are completely bare and without any vegetation on them (1899, 10).

Smith explains that the bare rocks are icebergs, the tresses bull-kelp, the 'deceitful animal' walrus, sea-lion, or sea-elephant, and *pia*, the word for arrowroot, 'which when scraped is exactly like snow, to which this simple people compared it as the only or best simile known to them' (1899, 11). He concludes:

Who, after this, will deny to the Polynesians the honour that is their due as skilful and daring navigators! Here we find them boldly pushing out into the great unknown ocean in their frail canoes, actuated by the same love of adventure and discovery that characterises our own race. Long before our ancestors had learnt to venture out of sight of land, these bold sailors had explored the Antarctic seas, and traversed the Pacific Ocean from end to end. Considering the means at their command—their lightly-built canoes (sewn together with sinnet), the difficulty of provisioning the crew, the absence of any instruments to guide them—I feel justified in claiming for these bold navigators as high a place in the honour-roll as many of our own distinguished Arctic or Antarctic explorers (1899, 11).

Indeed, Smith claims in a later passage in the same article, 'to voyagers who have penetrated the Antarctic seas, a voyage from the extreme east of Polynesia to South America would present no difficulty' (1899, 47).

Those skills, however, Smith believed, varied from people to people and over time and would eventually decline. The Tongans, for example, were said by Smith to be ‘probably second only to the Rarotongans’ in voyaging; ‘the Tahitians retained their powers of navigation much longer than some other branches of the Polynesian race’; and Māori and Hawaiians ‘had certainly ceased to make long voyages for some twenty generations’. Samoans similarly undertook long voyages many generations before the nineteenth century and the ‘Tongans, Marquesans, and some others apparently still made extensive voyages down to the coming of the white man’ (1898a, 171; 1898d, 815). Smith suggests that the reasons for the eventual decline of voyaging include, in the case of Fiji and its neighbours as well as Indonesia, ‘the growing importance of the Melanesian element in the Fijian Group’. After the settlement of Rarotonga and New Zealand, the settlers having found new outlets for their energies, ‘the boldest navigators of the race having found fresh lands on which to settle, there no longer remained the strong inducement to keep up communication with Hawaii that had previously existed—they no longer required the Hawaiian lands on which to settle, and so the voyages ceased’ (1899, 11; 45).

In former times, Smith reminds the reader in an earlier article, the Polynesians ‘had a class of canoe ... which was immensely superior to those of the present day, and capable of containing a large number of people and abundant provisions. The great double canoe, with its platform extending from vessel to vessel, on which was erected a house, was also suitable for performing long voyages’ (1891b, 285). Indeed, he adds, ‘the canoe in which *Karika*, of Rarotonga, made his several voyages of discovery is said to have had two masts, and to have been able to carry a hundred and seventy men—the favourite number for a war-party or other expedition—and it must have been a vessel of

fair seagoing qualities if,... he made eight different voyages between Samoa, Rarotonga, and other islands' (1891b, 285).

Recognising the difficulty of provisioning these voyages, especially in regard to water, and the obstacle this presents to the theory of extended voyaging, Smith nonetheless argues:

But the Polynesians were acquainted with many methods of preserving provisions; and the cocoanut itself would prove an invaluable article of sea-stores on these occasions, inasmuch as it contains both meat and drink. Water was stored in large calabashes, or in specially-made *kumetes*, or wooden bowls, by which means considerable quantities could be carried. Excellent fishermen as all Polynesians are, the sea itself would provide considerable stores on these expeditions, and serve to eke out those the people brought with them from their homes' (1891b, 287).

Expanding on this some years later, Smith adds that 'bread fruit, when in the form of *masi*, which was a kind of cooked paste, would keep, under favorable conditions for more than a year'. He adds that the lack of water was overcome by chewing on the leaves of a certain herb or plant, no longer known, that enabled voyagers, to some extent, to 'drink salt water with some kind of impunity and thus assuage thirst'.

Furthermore, while the length of voyages meant that supplies would sometimes run short, preserved *kumara* kept well and 'the fern root, made into cakes, or in the state of root, would also furnish a food capable of lasting a long time without perishing' (1904, 136).

Smith was in no doubt as to the navigational skills of the Polynesians; even in the later 'days of decadence of the people's knowledge of navigation', numerous traditional records of earlier times mean that 'we are forced to the conclusion that they were actually in advance of some nations calling themselves civilised, in their ability to traverse large extents of the ocean, and not only that, but to find their way about with a degree of certainty quite unexpected'. That advance includes 'their ability to find their



way about over the ocean without the aid of compass or log, guiding themselves by the sun, the moon, or the stars—for all the principal ones of which they had a name—or in cloudy weather directing their course by the regular roll of the waves before the trade-wind’ (1891b, 286). In fact, Smith would later report that some Polynesians had charts in the form of ‘strings stretched on a frame, with little pieces of wood on them, to indicate islands, and on which were shown also, the direction of currents and the regular roll of the waves before the Trade-wind’ (1904, 137).

While astronomy plays an important part in Smith’s evaluation of the Polynesians’ navigational skills, other factors make their contribution to successful voyaging, including the short distances between small islands on the various routes to provide navigational links as well as rest and replenishment of provisions (1891b, 289; 1899, 10). In fact, Smith asserts that it was this factor, in the shape of the numerous islands of the Eastern Archipelago, that lay at the very origin of the powers of navigation that ‘would induce a great extension of their voyages, and generate a seafaring life, through which alone were they able at later periods to traverse the great Pacific from end to end’:

In the Archipelago, where most of the islands are forest-clad to the water’s edge to this day, the water was the principal highway, and this necessitated constant use of canoes; whilst the location of the various branches of the people on different islands with considerable spaces of sea between, would induce the building of a larger class of vessels. It certainly seems from the very nature of the surroundings that Indonesia was the school in which the Polynesians learnt to become expert navigators (1904, 99).

Atolls, however, numerous in the central Pacific, are a different matter and demand a different approach:

The people generally voyaged in fleets for mutual help and company, and when they expected to make the land at some of these tiny and low islands the fleet spread out in the form of a crescent, the chief’s canoe in the centre, to distances of about five miles apart on each side, so as to extend their view—whichever crew saw the land first, signalled their neighbours, who passed the signal on, and

so on, till the whole fleet were enabled to steer for the expected land' (1904, 138).

The profusion of islands and the powers of collective vision would be complemented, in Smith's earlier view, by the Polynesians' sensory powers: 'Like all savage peoples, their perceptions of the signs of nature, whether on the land, the sea, or in the air, were far keener than those of civilised beings. The neighbourhood of land would become to them a certainty long before our duller senses would ever have suspected its existence. The flight of birds, the drift of wood, the fragrance of the land, were all signs full of meaning, and telling their own tale to them, whilst we should not have perceived them' (1891b, 294-295).

A similar concern with comparison of the powers and abilities of Polynesians and 'civilised beings' recurs regularly, usually to the advantage of the former. In one place Smith argues:

I have given sufficient examples to show that the Polynesians were a maritime people even before the nations of Europe had passed the stage of mere coasting voyages. They had pretty well explored all the Pacific before Columbus discovered America, and had made voyages quite as adventurous as his, and were possessed of vessels perhaps better able to cope with the dangers of the sea than the old Spanish caravels. It is not at all improbable that they anticipated Columbus in the discovery of America, as they almost certainly did Cook in the discovery of the east coast of Australia... (1891b, 293-294).

Elsewhere, Smith comments on the tendency to ascribe discovery of islands to European navigators, 'quite ignoring the fact that all inhabited islands must have been discovered by navigators of the native races often many generations before the Europeans had first entered the Pacific' (1892c, 108). Again, and in spite of the foundations of Polynesians' navigational skills in some degree of island-hopping, Smith celebrates their eventual triumphant progress in this way:

When we come to consider that the whole of this vast space of ocean was in former times traversed by various branches of the Polynesian race, and that they had no leading coast lines to follow, but must have steered boldly out into the ocean with but a small extent of land as an objective, after weeks of sail, we

cannot but acknowledge that, as bold navigators, the Polynesians were far before any nation of antiquity in this art. Before such feats as theirs, the navigation of the Phœnicians, Arabs, Chinese, and others, sink into insignificance (1898d, 816).

### *Discoveries*

Europeans enter Smith's Pacific picture in the context of discoveries. A variety of discoveries and a varying typology of discovery appear throughout his Pacific writings, with some ambiguity as to the relationship between Polynesian and European discovery and among discoveries in general. Tongarewa, according to Smith, was discovered, and 'first made known to Europeans' by Lieutenant Watts 'on his way from Tahiti to China' in one of the expeditions of 'discovery and exploration of the numerous groups of the Pacific ... sent out by various European nations at the end of the last [eighteenth] and the beginning of the present [nineteenth] century' (1890, 86; 1891b, 280-281). An important consequence of such European discoveries, Smith writes, was that 'native traditions had become open to suspicion of being mixed up with a later knowledge of places, acquired from the explorers themselves, or from the visits of the islanders to other lands on board European vessels' (1891b, 281).

The nature of European discovery is quite straightforward and usually associated with naming. For example, Smith records that Captain Wallis's eponymous island 'was first made known to the civilised world' as a result of his 1767 voyage around the world (1892c, 108). A local reaction against James Cook's attempt to land on the occasion of his 1774 discovery of Niue resulted in its 'most modern name' of Savage Island (1902a, 82). Similarly, it was the great size of the fleet of canoes that came out to meet and inspect Bougainville on his discovery of the Samoan islands in 1786 that led him to name them the Navigator group (1898a, 156). And, while it is known that Cook visited

Hawai'i in 1778, recent researches reveal to Smith that 'a Spanish navigator, Juan Gaetano, really discovered the group in the year 1555' (1904, 170-171).

Against this straightforward catalogue and as noted previously, Smith relishes the Polynesians' anticipation of the discoveries of the Americas and Australia (1891b, 293-294). In the cases of Wallis's and Cook's discoveries, Smith goes further in modifying the record in favour of the Polynesians. In the case of Wallis he explains that:

We are in the habit of saying that such and such an island was discovered by such and such an eminent navigator of one of the European nations, quite ignoring the fact that all inhabited islands must have been discovered by navigators of the native races often many generations before the Europeans had first entered the Pacific. This, of course, was the case with Uea; but who its first discoverer was we do not know (1892c, 108).

And, in a footnote to Cook's discovery of Niue, Smith adds, 'That is—discovered it, so far as Europeans are concerned. Of course, the Polynesians had discovered and occupied it ages before Captain Cook' (1902a, 82). Ambiguity returns, however, with his statement that, given the Polynesians' navigational abilities, 'it is not at all beyond the bounds either of possibility or of probability that these daring voyagers saw the west coast of America centuries before Columbus or Cabot discovered the eastern shores of the two continents' (1911d, 266).

Naming and discovery go together in the Polynesian as well as the European context and present for Smith 'a cause of confusion which it is rarely possible to overcome' (1891b, 282). That confusion stems from his understanding that the Polynesians, on leaving the Eastern Archipelago, 'came to the islands where we now find them by different routes, which here and there crossed, or for a time were identical. It thus becomes apparent that the names given by the first arrivals to places which they discovered on the route would be unknown to those who followed, and so separate and distinct names would be given to places already known' (1891b, 282). Some

motivations suggested by Smith for the voyaging that led to discovery and naming have appeared previously in other contexts in this chapter; here, it is discovery itself that provides the impulse for voyaging:

From Fiji ... from Samoa, and from Tonga, they explored the surrounding seas to the east and south-east, discovering fresh lands, on which they settled, and from which, again, other expeditions in various directions from time to time departed on further exploring voyages. The course of their voyages having been so far constantly tending towards the east, and the continued discovery of new lands as they progressed in that direction, naturally led them onward in the hopes of making fresh discoveries (1891b, 288).

Smith spells out the Polynesian impulse to discover more fully and more lyrically in a later passage that again takes up the question of naming and the confusion it sows:

As these expeditions passed onwards towards the sunrise and discovered fresh lands—dwelling there for more or less lengthy periods—they would give names to these new lands which are retained in the traditions of each particular branch of the race, but which may be quite unknown to other branches. A party of migrants arrives at some island, settles there for a time, gives the place a name, then moves onward, actuated by the growing desire of discovery—the desire to know what lies before them, —and departing, leaves no sign that can be interpreted into a name by those who follow. Other parties again follow somewhat different routes, giving different names to their discoveries; or they follow in the wake of the first-comers, but not knowing the names already given, apply fresh ones, which alone are retained to *their* records—to the exclusion of those given by the first discoverers (1904, 77-78).

Smith's latter phrase, 'first discoverers', suggests a hierarchy of discoverers and discoveries. A number of them appear simple and straightforward, truly the work of 'first discoverers': Rapanui was discovered by '*Tukuiho* and the people of Rapa Island' (1891b, 289); the Marquesas group 'was discovered and settled early in the history of the migrations' (1891b, 289-290); Rarotonga by Karika, who, according to tradition, 'found the island, and took possession of it' (1891b, 290, 291); and Funafuti and other neighbouring islands by Folasa, the islands being uninhabited when he discovered them (1897, 209-210); even so isolated a spot as Norfolk Island 'was first discovered by these old sea-kings' (1891b, 294).

In the case of the coast of America, Smith offers a layering of discovery and a distinction between levels thereof: the Polynesians, in ancient times, probably had a knowledge of it (1890, 90); evidence is lacking as to whether they ever reached it (1891b, 288, 289); as set out previously, he finds it probable that they anticipated Columbus in the discovery of America and it is possible or even probable ‘that these daring voyagers saw the west coast of America’ (1891b, 293; 1911d, 266); it is left to Columbus or Cabot later to discover the continent (1911d, 266).

In the case of Niue, however, Smith suggests that it was the subject of a series of discoveries. Huanaki, who gave the island its earliest name, was ‘one of its earliest discoverers’ while it is probable that its ‘original discoverers came from the groups to the west’ (1902a, 81). A later name was bestowed on it because ‘one of the original discoverers helped the other’ (1902a, 92). There is some blurring here of discovery, migration, and settlement but Smith finds it probable that the Motu people, rather than the Tafiti, constituted the original migration and became the first occupants of the island (1903a, 1, 3).

### *Migrations*

Smith based most of his account of the progress of the Polynesians through the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific on what he referred to as the different and differing ‘logs’ or ‘log-books’ of the migrations. These were the traditional histories that survived in a variety of forms and ‘taken altogether ... give a good deal of information as to the stages of the different migrations’ (1904, 89). Smith attributes the variations in the logs to the process of migration and separation over a multiplicity of islands and finds the consistency he seeks only when ‘the later migrations found people of their own race in occupation of settled homes’ (1904, 78).

Smith establishes what would emerge and remain as the principal objects of his interest in the process of Polynesian migration in his 1891 article on Polynesian geographical knowledge: these were size and composition, sequence, routes, and the consequences of migration (1891b, 282). Revisiting the subject of the composition of the migrations in the first version of his *Hawaiki* publications, in a passage referred to in an earlier chapter, Smith goes into a little more detail:

There are no indications in any of the Polynesian traditions that very large numbers migrated together, or at one time. The inference is, on the contrary, that the parties were small; and the probability is, that whatever may have been the cause of migrations, that such causes would act slowly, and intermittently [sic], inducing small parties to move on together, not in a fleet, like the great migration to New Zealand' (1898b, 210-211).

The generally small size of the migrating parties explain for Smith the multiplicity and confusion of island names to which previous reference has been made (1898b, 211).

Each of these parties carried with it its own tribal priests, gods, leaders, and chiefs, as well as plants. Only in the case of common danger would several tribes join together to make up a larger party, with each constituent tribe retaining its own structure and characteristics (1898b, 210; 1904, 77). In addition, Smith writes, the migrations may have included Manahune, possibly encountered by the Polynesians in Indonesia 'and some of whom they brought with them in their migrations as slaves', and Melanesians, also enslaved and taken as crew and wives (1898a, 169; 1898b, 216; 1904, 104).

Smith's views on the sequences and routes of the Polynesian migrations, formed on the basis of evidence from the 1897 voyages, and particularly of the entry into the Pacific from the Eastern Archipelago, varied slightly over time while retaining a broad, overall consistency. At one point, he proposes that the Manahune, rather than encountered and enslaved in Indonesia, might perhaps have constituted 'the first migration into the Pacific' (1898a, 169). Elsewhere, and with rather more conviction, he declares it probable that the Samoans and the Tongans were part of the first migration into the

Pacific. His grounds for this are their lack of ‘direct traditions’ of their own migration, the fact that they had been in their islands ‘so long that they have forgotten their early history’, and their apparent belief ‘in their being autocthonous [sic], created in the Samoan Islands’ (1899, 1; 1904, 82). Again, with some conviction, he expresses little doubt that ‘the ancestors of Maori and Rarotongans’, wrongly identified by others as Fijians or Samoans, were a second and distinct migration (1898a, 156-157). Thereafter, Smith’s picture of the order of migrations becomes less clear, in part because of uncertainties in the conjectures of others and in the identification of the original ‘Maori-Rarotongans’ in the oral record. In the third part of the original *Journal* publication of ‘Hawaiki’, this lack of clarity translates into an apparent conflict between the movements of the body of Polynesians as a whole and those of its constituent elements, an issue alluded to in the previous chapter.

So, one tradition has ‘the people’, that is, the Polynesians, arriving at a particular time in eastern Fiji. This, however, was not the time of their first arrival in the Fiji group as a whole (1899, 3). The study of a variety of traditions appears to Smith to indicate that, at this same time, ‘the people’ had already reached Tonga, communicated with Samoa and possibly established small colonies there, coming into contact, in the process, with ‘the original migration of Samoans’ (1899, 3). The absence of ‘true Fijians (or Melanesians) in Fiji at that time’ leads Smith to the conclusion that such wars as occurred there ‘appear to have been with their own [Polynesian] race—that is, with some of the other tribal organisations who probably arrived in the group from Indonesia at nearly the same period’ (1899, 3-4). It is only at this point that the names of the groups whose migrations would settle Eastern Polynesia begin to appear (1899, 4). Furthermore, while lack of knowledge of Tongan history inhibits any certainty, what little is available seems to indicate to Smith ‘that this must have been about the time of the colonization



of Tonga-tapu, and that it was this Maori-Rarotongan people who were found in possession when a later migration from Samoa took place' (1899, 4). What is certain to him, however, is that two generations or so later 'the Maori-Rarotongan branch of the race was living in Tonga-tapu, Vavau and Haapai' (1899, 4).

The pattern of routes of the migrations remains broadly consistent throughout Smith's writings, beginning with the Polynesian exodus from India in about 450 BC making its way down through the Eastern Archipelago, in particular the 'numerous islands' of Indonesia and occupying Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes, and Ceram (1910b, 86-87; 1891b, 290; 1898b, 215-216; 1904, 77; 1921a, 21). Smith is originally uncertain about the date of the Polynesians' departure from Indonesia, except that, 'so far as the Hawaiian and Rarotongan branches ... are concerned, they left between the first and fifth centuries'; later he would set the date at 'about A.D. 65' (1899, 2; 1921a, 21). He can, however, trace the main outline of the route followed: 'The course taken by the original and different *hekes* from the Eastern Archipelago would bring them, some by the north, some also, doubtless, by the south, of New Guinea (on the south-east end of which some of them remain to this day), to the chain of islands forming the Solomon and other groups in that neighbourhood'. The migrations would then go on from there 'through Fiji, Tonga, and probably Samoa' (1891b, 288, 290). Smith does emphasise the possibility of a diversity of routes and migrations: 'No doubt there were many migrations, which, as has been indicated, did not always follow the same route, and it is quite possible that some of them came south about of New Guinea, and the Motu and cognate tribes of that country may be derelicts left there as the migrations passed on. But evidence of this is wanting' (1910b, 155).

Elsewhere, in the third of the original 'Hawaiki' articles, Smith sets out the route in more detail, beginning with that followed from Indonesia to Fiji:

Starting from Avaiki-te-varinga, which is probably Java, the route followed by the migrations would be *viâ* the Celebes, Ceram and Gilolo to the north shores of New Guinea. Finding this country already occupied by the Papuans, they would coast along to the south-east end, where it would seem a very early migration settled, which is now represented by the Motu and cognate tribes. This same route was probably followed by the ancestors of the Rarotongans, until they branched off past New Britain and the Solomon Islands on their way to Fiji, probably leaving a colony at Hikiana, or Steward's Island, off the coast of the Solomons, where the people speak a dialect of Maori or Rarotongan, and are Polynesians (1899, 2).

Thereafter, drawing on the Rarotongan traditional histories, Smith follows the migrations spreading out from Fiji to Eastern Polynesia, many of the Tongan islands, and, possibly, Samoa (1899, 4).

Much later, Smith would return to a unified discussion of sequence and composition, and also of routes, in the 1921 fourth edition of *Hawaiki*, basing his conclusions on further, closely detailed, examination of the 'log-books' of the Polynesians. There he identifies 'at least three distinct migrations [that] have taken place into the Pacific from Indonesia, if not from India' (1921b, 88). The first of Smith's migrations consists of 'Samoans, Tongans, and probably the many islanders occupying the outlying islands along the coasts of the Solomon and New Hebrides groups from Le-ua-niua (or Ontong Java), Futuna, Uvea and Niuë islands, to possibly New Zealand'. The second migration is of 'the so-called Tongafiti branch of the race, including Rarotongans, Tahitian, Paumotu, Marquesas, Mangareva (or Gambier) and most of the Maoris of New Zealand'. The third comprises the 'East Coast Maoris of New Zealand and many, if not all, the Hawaiians' (1921b, 88). Of the composition of the first migration, Smith adds the possibility 'that the original inhabitants of New Zealand ... may be classed with those of the first migration now occupying the off islands of the Melanesian groups, and

those of Futuna, Uvea, Niuē, Rotumā, and a few other islands in the western Pacific’ (1921b, 88-89).

As to the routes followed by the three migrations, that of the first, those whose ‘ancestral home in the far west’ is Puluotu, is obscured by another of Smith’s recourses to the Samoans’ lack of traditions and his lack of information as to those of Tonga (1921b, 91-92). Of the second, or Tongafiti, migration, Smith brings to bear a wealth of evidence from the ‘log-books’ of the New Zealand Māori, Tahitians, Rarotongans, and Marquesans to chart a course probably commencing in India and leaving Indonesia to appear again in the area around Fiji, presumably having skirted New Guinea, the Solomons and New Hebrides, and possibly Rotuma (1921b, 92-98). From Fiji, Smith has them travelling on to Samoa, Tonga, Raiatea, and, by implication, other points in Eastern Polynesia (1921b, 97-101). In response to a theory advanced by William Churchill of a route through Micronesia rather than Melanesia, Smith responds: ‘That the “Tonga-fiti” migration following in the footsteps of the first migration, along the easiest route which provided landfalls every few days, on finding these convenient resting places already occupied by their own race, passed on to the south-east without a lengthened stay, to find other homes for themselves’ (1921b, 101).

Smith’s outline in the fourth edition of *Hawaiki* of the third or ‘Takitimu’ migration, ‘so named after the canoe that brought the descendants of this migration to New Zealand in the fourteenth century’. This is substantially new and largely based on ‘the teaching of Te Matorohanga, one of the learned priests of the East Coast Maori College’, a source who would be discredited by a number of scholars, particularly after Smith’s death (1921b, 102; Preface). According to Smith, this appears to have been ‘a separate migration into the Pacific from Indonesia’ and ‘a somewhat later migration from those

parts, while probably forming part of the second, or Tonga-fiti migration, during its early stages' and occupying 'a much longer time on the way' (1921b, 102). From a probable beginning in India, from which it might have been expelled by the Babylonians of biblical Chaldea, the people of the third migration, Smith supposes, 'would naturally follow to the south-east. along the coasts of Burma and Siam, until they reached the Malacca Straits, through which they probably passed, landing and settling for some time on Sumatra' (1921b, 104, 111). Leaving Sumatra, and separating at this stage from the second migration, the third sails north-east to Borneo, where its Polynesians, according to Smith, fought, intermarried, and shared some customs with its 'aborigines' (1921b, 122-124). Thereafter, he has them eventually travelling through eastern Indonesia and Micronesia to Hawaii and thence to Tahiti and surrounds, Rarotonga, and New Zealand via Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga (1921b, 124-135).

Variety and confusion in the naming of islands by the Polynesians has appeared in other contexts in previous sections of this chapter. In this context, one of the important consequences of migrations for Smith is that the older and perhaps original names of islands are carried away by emigrants from them while later immigrants to the same islands bestow new names upon them (1891b, 283; 1894, 146; 1898b, 211; 1904, 77-78). In the course of time, the emigrants go on to bestow those original names on islands onto which they travel and even carry with them names of plants from their island of origin to be 'applied to the plants most resembling the vegetation of their older home' (1904, 53, 77-78; 1892b, 35). Furthermore, Smith has the migrants transporting much more than names and plants: 'When such races separate by migration, branching off from the parent stock, the migrants carry with them the customs of their fore-fathers to far-distant lands, and impress upon their offspring the habits, the ideas, the feelings,

and the speech of their ancestors' (1905, 453). Indeed, he sees this same spirit manifested in a custom associated with the building of temples in the new lands:

It is now well known that in Tahiti and the adjacent groups it was an ancient custom when a new *marae*, or temple, was built to lay a foundation stone brought from some old and well-known *marae*, generally from the celebrated one of Taputapu-atea at Ra'iatea Island. This was done, it is said, to form a connecting link with the most ancient *marae* in the Eastern Pacific, and to secure to the new *marae* some of the *māna*, or prestige, of the ancient one.... The main idea appears to have been in either case to ensure to the new sites a part of the sacredness and prestige of the original ones. It is not likely that this was a new custom peculiar to Tahiti and its neighbouring groups, but rather a very ancient one brought with the people from the original Fatherland (1911c, 170).

Against this conservative impulse, however, Smith sets the consequences of a transition from racially to tribally based organisation in the course of migration (1898b, 210, 211). The transition results from the changed nature of the territory of travel: 'In the various migrations of the people from the west, when they once reached Indonesia, they would occupy different islands for longer or shorter periods, and gradually the tribe, rather than the race, became all important' (1898b, 210). This transition results in a multiplicity of customs and languages as well as names of islands:

In trying to locate the many places mentioned in these accounts, we shall succeed only with some of them, for this reason principally: the tribal organisation amongst the Polynesians appears to be of very ancient date, and this was much emphasized when the people occupied Indonesia, from the fact of different branches having been separated from the others for generations in the numerous islands of that Archipelago. Even supposing the race to have been one in speech, customs, beliefs, etc., at the time it left the Father-land, progress through, and settlement on, the islands of the Archipelago in places separated by many miles of ocean, must have tended through local environment and lapse of time, to have caused a more or less tribal arrangement of the people. It thus came about that when the time arrived for them to move on into the Pacific, each tribe under its own chiefs and priests formed separate *hekes* or migrations, carrying with them the ideas, modified customs, beliefs and speech, which they had acquired in their temporary homes (1904, 77).

Smith sees the process continuing on into the Pacific: 'With division of the people into tribes (which there are reasons for thinking is a very ancient institution), migrations to different parts, and the final separation of some branches from the other, innovations and local coloring have gradually been introduced' (1904, 20).

These variations are exacerbated by another consequence of migration and warfare:

‘That a tribal organisation has existed from very remote times, each tribe having its own priests who recorded their own tribal history fully, but who had only a general knowledge of that of other tribes.... Intertribal wars seem to have been common from the earliest times, and as the priests usually took a prominent part in the fighting, much of the tribal history would perish with them if any sweeping defeat overtook the tribe’ (1898b, 210). Alternatively, as in the case of the Rarotongans, Smith ascribes their garbling of an ancient belief to the fact that they ‘could not have brought away with them in their migration any of the particular class of priesthood to whom was entrusted those particular mysteries’ (1898b, 211).

### *Sojourns*

For the most part Smith applies the expression ‘sojourn’ to a very limited number of places in which the Polynesians had stayed over in the course of their migrations. In the only two of examples in which he uses the term in a general sense, it refers to unspecified points in their progress. In one case, referring to the problem previously encountered of keeping track of changing place-names, he writes: ‘We experience a difficulty in recognising the names of places where the people sojourned at different times, on their long migration from the west’ (1898b, 210). In another, he refers to the use of the name Hawaiki ‘in a very general sense, as referring to the remote lands where they sojourned on their migrations’ (1898b, 217). In yet another case, the word is used in a negative sense and, in one other, Smith asserts that the influence he supposes of the Aryans’ Sanskrit upon the language of the Polynesians can only be accounted for by a ‘lengthy sojourn of the two peoples in close proximity with a constant communication and probable intermarriage ...’ (1898b, 192; 1904, 74). Apart from those limited examples, Smith’s application of the word is confined to Indonesia, Fiji, and Eastern

Polynesia with by far the greatest number of examples relating to Fiji. This limited application is supported by the Index to the 1910 third edition of *Hawaiki* in which the entry under 'Sojourn' is confined to those three locations (1910b, 300). Elsewhere, the usage is confined to such cases as the 1894 article, 'The Polynesian Sojourn in Fiji', and the section 'Arrival at and Sojourn in Fiji' in the third and fourth editions of *Hawaiki* and two sections appearing in the second, third, and fourth editions, 'Sojourn in Indonesia' and 'Sojourn in Eastern Polynesia' (1894; 1904, 158; 1904, 98, 165; 1910b, 134, 222; 1921b, 145, 221).

Of the sojourn in Indonesia, Smith relates that:

It is impossible to tell from the information given in the traditions how long the Polynesians remained in Indonesia before pressure urged them onward to the Pacific, nor what the cause of the movement was beyond the mention of wars and other troubles, which may be inferred from other things rather than from any definite statement, except in the Marquesan Chants, which expressly refer to the wars, murders, famine, &c., and also show that some of them were taken into captivity (1904, 98).

As well as providing the location for the Polynesians' first school of canoe-building, voyaging, and navigation, Indonesia, as well as memories of it, should, in Smith's view, survive in the traditions of the Polynesians:

If, then, the people lived in Indonesia some three or perhaps four centuries as the traditions seem to indicate, it is to be expected that some of its peculiar features, as contrasted with the later homes of the people, ought to be preserved in tradition: such, for instance, as some of the animals there found,—animals that often test the powers of man to overcome, and of which there is nothing similar in Polynesia. I think in the following notes abstracted from the traditions, we may see a reference to some of the wild animals of Indonesia (1904, 99).

Indeed, he is able to find traces of snakes, tigers and other felines, alligators, and orang-utans and other 'monkeys' in the traditions, as well as 'the black or very dark brown Negritto races of Indonesia, called Papuans' (1904, 100-102). Smith also surmises that one particular Tangaroa would 'have been one of the adventurers and voyagers of the Indonesia sojourn' (1904, 105).

The many passages in which Smith deals with the sojourn in Fiji include repeated references to its long duration, including the suggestion ‘that a period of about 23 generations was occupied by these people in their stay at Fiji and Samoa before they moved on to Rarotonga, though, no doubt—as the Tahitian traditions seem to show—other families of Polynesians had migrated to Raiatea, Tahiti and other islands prior to this’ (1894, 145, 146; 1902b, 168; 1904, 104). Other results of the sojourn include the Polynesian contribution to the superiority of the true, Melanesian, Fijians over the other Melanesians in the west; the significant amount of Polynesian in Fijian place-names and the Fijian language; similarities in the customs of the two groups; and the ‘taint of Melanesian blood’ in the Polynesians (1894, 145; 1892c, 118 n3; 1902b, 163-164; 1904, 104). The similarities in nature between the stay in Fiji and that in Eastern Polynesia are emphasised by Smith in one of his puzzlings over place-names: ‘In Maori this is Tuturu-o-Whiti, a name, I feel convinced, they applied to Fiji, meaning the original or true Whiti (Fiji) in contradistinction to Tawhiti (Tahiti), the second place of their sojourn in the Central Pacific’ (1899, 22 n 21).

As to the nature of that sojourn in Eastern Polynesia, Smith says only that, around 950 AD, ‘the Rarotonga history first mentions a permanent residence of any of these Maori-Rarotongans in Tahiti, not that this was their first occupation of the island, but rather of that particular branch of the race shown on the genealogies’ (1899, 24). Otherwise, Smith’s account of the sojourn is largely confined to the adventures in expedition, war, and conquest of the warrior Onokura and some lesser figures in Tahiti, the Marquesas, and surrounding areas (1899, 24-28). In summary of the deeds of one Onokura, and of the period itself, he writes:

The above is an extremely abbreviated account of the doings of Onokura. No doubt it relates a nautical warlike expedition from Tahiti to the Marquesas,



undertaken by these Rarotongan and Tahitian ancestors. It is interesting as showing the intercourse that took place in those times between distant groups, and the extent to which the ever warlike Polynesian carried his arms. We must remember that ... it was during Onokura's life-time (or in 1150) that communication was again established with Hawaii, after a seclusion of 500 years (1899, 27).

As opposed to the characterisation of the sojourn in Eastern Polynesia, Smith goes on in the various editions of *Hawaiki* to discuss 'The Settlement of Rarotonga' and had previously explained that, 'It is needless to point out how frequently the name Rarotonga occurs in Maori History, especially in the old chants, but there is nothing in them that indicates any lengthened sojourn in that island' (1904, 172; 1910b, 231; 1921b, 231; 1898b, 192).

### *Settlements*

As became clear in the section of this chapter on departures, Smith believed that, despite the occasional involuntary discovery, settlement was the aim of the most important of the voyages across the Pacific: 'All the greater discoveries were made by expeditions fitted out for exploring purposes, generally with a view of finding new lands on which to settle, and in which the people carried with them animals and plants to acclimatise in their new homes' (1891b, 295). He gives a little more detail in his description of the provisions carried by those preparing to depart from the eastern Pacific for the settlement of New Zealand: 'these people were following in the wake of voyagers who had already discovered the country, and who had given them the direction in which to sail. They came fully prepared to occupy a new country, and brought their wives, families, attendants, and several plants which they acclimatised here, ... besides dogs, and, as some traditions say, certain birds and plants which are known to be natives of the country' (1891b, 291).

Smith's description of the earliest Polynesian settlements, in the course of a 1911 review of Churchill's *Polynesian Wanderings*, occurs in relation to the Polynesian outliers, the 'range of off-islands east of the Solomons' (1911d, 269). He concludes, along with Churchill, that they were 'settled by Polynesians on their route to the south, and not by stray parties blown from the islands to the east, which are, and appear always to have been, occupied by Polynesians', and sees in this 'proof of the coastal route adopted along the Solomons, New Hebrides, etc., by the Proto-Samoans' (1911d, 269). This, however, is at some variance with his much earlier belief that the voyages of the Polynesians 'must have extended occasionally to the westward of the Fiji group, and probably to New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, where, indeed, a colony of them has been found.... It is known that one of the Loyalty Islands is at present inhabited by Polynesians who arrived there five or six generations ago in one of their own canoes, and that there are also colonies of them in some of the other Melanesian islands to the north' (1891b, 294).

Similarly, in the earlier writings, before his Pacific voyages and researches, Smith believes that, while 'migrations from island to island have gone on almost uninterruptedly up to within quite recent times', 'it would appear from the many traditions we possess that there was a period [the 14th and 15th centuries] in which, from some cause or other, a very great activity took place, resulting in many of the principal groups becoming settled, or having fresh accessions to their numbers from without, or in which mutual and frequent visits took place' (1891b, 283).

Later, however, Smith would refer to an earlier period of intensive settlement resulting from conflict during the sojourn in Fiji:

The period extending from the sixth to the thirteenth century was one of unrest and trouble. Tribe fought against tribe in the headquarters of the race in Fiji, and

many expeditions started from there to discover homes in other parts of the Pacific, finding no peace at home. About the early part of this period Hawaii and Tahiti were first settled, and somewhere about the middle of the ninth century New Zealand received its first settlers, the same people in all probability that furnished the inhabitants of the Chatham Islands—the Morioris—but not at so early a date as the ninth century (1903a, 3).

He adds that he assumes that it was in the same period ‘that Niuē received its first inhabitants’ (1903a, 3).

Of further settlements beyond these, Smith experiences a good deal of uncertainty:

Of the other islands of the Pacific which were first settled at this time [650 to 850], we have so little information as to their histories that nothing can be stated with certainty. It is probable that Easter Island was colonised about this period, and that the Marquesas received accessions to the population, if they were not for the first time then occupied, which I think is most probable. We have seen from a former page that at forty generations ago (or in 850) the Tahitian groups had people living on them, and most likely they were colonised at about the period of Ui-te-Rangiora’s voyages, or in 650 (1899, 10).

Drawing on the ‘Native History’, acquired on his Pacific voyages, Smith paints a picture of the nature of settlement in its early days in Rarotonga, a picture at odds with the aspirations of the voyagers who had sought to leave conflict behind them in Fiji. A group of people from Iva in the Marquesas had migrated to Rarotonga ‘and settled down there’. Soon, one Apopo and his people also settled on the island but ‘did not live long in peace, for Apopo desired the island for himself’. Widespread warfare breaks out and Apopo is eventually captured and killed (1899, 29). Smith summarises a succession of further settlements and attempted and resisted settlements (1899, 29-30). Eventually, he relates, the voyager Tangiia makes his way to the island and, ‘like a good and true Polynesian, he at once proceeds to build a *marae* for his gods at Te Miromiro, close to the present church there’ (1899, 36):

Next follows a long history of the building of various *maraes* and *koutu*, in honour of various gods, to each of which he appointed guardians, whose names are given, many of which are borne by the *mataiapos*, or chiefs of the island, at this day. Most of these *maraes* are said to have been named after others in Avaiki (probably the eastern group) and other places, whilst others were named

after incidents in his eventful life. The *maraes* are so numerous that it must have taken a very long time to build them all. Considering that they had also to build houses, plant food, &c., it seems probably that some few years were thus occupied (1899, 36).

Smith continues: ‘They had not been settled very long in Rarotonga before a fleet was seen in the offing, which turned out to be the “relentless pursuer” Tu-tapu, still following up his old enemy Tangiia’ (1899, 37). And another period of warfare ensues.

Eventually, however, Smith suggests that settlement provides new incentives for even the most restless, such as his suggested reason for the discontinuation of the voyaging he believed had previously linked the southern and eastern islands with Hawai’i. He explains that ‘it seems to me that new outlets having been found for their energies, and the boldest navigators of the race having found fresh lands on which to settle, there no longer remained the strong inducement to keep up communication with Hawaii that had previously existed—they no longer required the Hawaiian lands on which to settle, and so the voyages ceased’ (1899, 45).

## *Chapter Seven*

### *Reading Percy Smith*

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In the two previous chapters I have been most concerned to allow the voice of Percy Smith, the Smith of the Text, to be heard as clearly and freely as possible with minimal intervention by me as author beyond some context and basic narrative structure. At the same time, I must acknowledge the fact that I am responsible for the selection, ordering, elisions, repetitions, and headings in the way it is presented. At this point I re-appear in the open, as it were, as a reader of the Text as represented in those chapters. I do so because I want to avoid any suggestion that this reading is the only authoritative or inevitable reading of the Smith Text. I claim only that it is a valid reading based on one reasonable and accurate representation of the Text that I have assembled. In the course of that reading, and in the conclusion of the chapter, I shall also comment on the implications of my reading and the consequences for an understanding of the thinking Smith brought to and derived from his work on the Pacific, Polynesia, and Polynesians. As well as exploring the various elements of his representations, I shall conclude by evaluating the place and importance of origins in his work and, in particular, the function within it of Hawaiki and the quest for Hawaiki.

After I had outlined my approach in Chapter One, I encountered a recent thesis in which the author undertook a reading of the works of Dutch-born New Zealand photographer Ans Westra (McDonald 2012). Lawrence McDonald, in his explanation of his approach and method, so effectively encapsulated my own intention that I reproduce his words here: ‘Reading here is understood as a complex process of textual interrogation, which cannot be reduced to the mechanical generation of knowledge by means of the

procrustean imposition of a priori theories or models' (2012, 2). Also drawing on the work of Roland Barthes, he continues: 'The interpretive movement involved in the kind of reading referred to here is captured in Roland Barthes's phrase "from work to text", which describes the process whereby the reader produces (writes) a text of her own as a result of an encounter (reading) with a particular work. The reading generated thus emerges within an intermediate space' (2012, 2). It is much in this spirit that I embark upon this reading.

In the interests of accuracy and accountability, and in order to represent the Smith Text in all its complexity and richness, I have repeated portions of it in and across the two previous chapters where different aspects of a single quotation throw different light on particular subjects within the Text. In those chapters I have also tried to adhere as closely as possible to the Text, in part by introducing significant sections of closely referenced direct quotation and close paraphrase. In the spirit of the kind of reading set out above, in this chapter I shall rely on the detailed evidence of those chapters to engage in a comparatively free-ranging presentation of my reading, with only direct quotations referenced. As has already emerged, there is a good deal of ambiguity and confusion within the representations in the Smith Text; in this chapter I am not concerned with reconciling, exposing, or correcting them but in identifying what they themselves, as well as the more consistent statements and descriptions, can contribute to an understanding of Smith's intellectual endeavour.

A common response by New Zealanders, Māori and Pākehā, to learning that I am working on Percy Smith has been, 'Well, I hope you are going to prove that he was a racist!'. The fact of Smith's racialism may be, for many people, the most important thing about him; for me, given the time and place in which he lived and worked, it is the

least interesting. Not that one need be irredeemably presentist to find many aspects of Smith's Text unpalatable, at the very least, or abhorrent, nor that many of those aspects underlie some of the tropes of present-day racism. It is rather that, as has emerged in Chapters Three and Four, racialism was in the very air that Smith breathed and was deeply seated in ethnological thought, scholarship, and affect throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In that sense, there is nothing remarkable about Smith's racialism: it is characteristic, though not inevitable, in his time and environment. Despite my wish to concentrate on presenting and reading the Smith Text in as unfiltered form as possible, it is because of this aspect of Smith's writing that I have provided some context to his racist assumptions in the form of my Prologue.

For those reasons and because, as the common response to my subject indicates, there is a broad, if not fully informed, consensus regarding Smith's racialism in New Zealand today, I was initially unwilling to make it the starting point or focus of my reading of the Text. Race, however, so pervades and saturates it that there finally seems no other possible starting point. If there is, as I claim, nothing particularly remarkable about Smith's racial perspectives in general, there is certainly some interest in the specific ideas about race, particularly in relation to Polynesians, that appear in the Text. There, the language of racialism is complex and layered and not always stable. In discussing Smith's various usages, my reading is informed by the work of Bronwen Douglas, to which I referred in Chapter Four, on the development of the idea of race and of racialism itself in representations of Oceania. Tracing the development of the term in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, she distinguishes between its earlier specific and nominalist application, a 'sense not necessarily racist', to the later categorical one, 'a taxon in a classification imposed a priori on actual groupings' (2011, 7-9; 2014, 12-13). I have found that distinction very helpful here in fully understanding, reading,

and discussing the racial and related representations in the Smith Text, in which the word 'race' itself is, with rare exception, an expression of the abstract and categorical usage characteristic of the nineteenth century.

Smith's 'Races', at least in the case of the Polynesians, divide into 'Branches', hermetic entities which emerge mainly after entry into the Pacific. Branches maintain their individual identities in their passage across the great ocean as they occasionally coincide, cohabit, exchange words, and adapt to environments, while otherwise remaining, except in the case of Fiji, essentially unchanged. Within the Text, Smith applies Branch in a nominalist sense, descriptive of a specific and discrete group, a comparative but not necessarily racialist usage. The terms 'People' and 'Peoples' are more ambiguous, the first applying to both Races and Branches, the second generally to Branches. I shall include both within the principal terms, Race and Branch, in my analysis. Somewhere between Races and Branches appear 'Migrations', a term I find as abstract, constructed, and categorical as Race but with something of the appearance of Branch and allowing for some interchange between the two. Existing only in the abstract, never attaching to a particular Branch, 'Tribes' appear in the context of migration and almost entirely in the first set of 'Hawaiki' articles and the first two editions of *Hawaiki*. Also ambiguous, though in a different sense, are 'Hekes', migrations, certainly fleets of canoes but also, seemingly, divisions or manifestations of Branches, People, Peoples, or Tribes. In the interests of clarity, I shall continue to capitalise these terms when using them in these senses in this chapter.

### *Races*

Throughout the Text, Race is for Smith an abstract category serving primarily to create and maintain a rigid separation of the Polynesians from those with whom they come



into contact, alongside whom they may temporarily reside, and with whom they may even intermarry. He spells this out clearly in his conjectures about the possible relationship between the Polynesians and the Aryan Race in their possible joint occupation of India. However hesitant he may be in finally settling for Indian origins, Smith is clear, at least until his very last days, that, were they indeed neighbours, or even if they intermarried, they remained, nonetheless, two separate Races with nothing more in common than points of contact. This rejection of an Aryan origin for the Polynesians is particularly surprising to me given the prevalent contemporary belief and the advocacy of his friend and colleague Edward Tregear. Indeed, far from accepting such origins, and despite some linguistic influences from Sanskrit, he goes on to surmise that the ideas held in common between the two Races might have originated with the Polynesians, or at least a Gangetic-Polynesian Race, in a language older than that of the Aryans. Earlier, he has already claimed that the Polynesians had preceded the Aryans into India and, furthermore, were the first to name and cultivate rice in that land. Whatever the detail, until just before his death Smith remains adamant that the Polynesians are a separate Race from the Aryans with a necessarily separate origin.

There is some ambiguity in Smith's references to the Malay Race, the referent straddling, spanning, and sometimes combining the categorical and the nominalist; the first, manifested in the morose Malay, in contrast to the Polynesians, the second in relation to the occupation, usually joint occupation, of territory. In terms of the relationship between the two Races, however, Smith has no doubt that there was contact but dismisses any possibility of connection between them. Indeed, in support of that separation and in opposition to the contemporary notion of displacement, in which superior invaders dominate or drive out inferior originals, he has the Malays follow the Polynesians into Malaysia and eventually supplant them. Clearly familiar with the work

of George Windsor Earl, and in accord with his views on the distinct identity of the Papuan Race, he nonetheless rejects the existence of the Race from which Earl distinguishes them, his 'Malayu-Polynesians' (1850, 66-74). Even the fact that, as Smith has it, the Malays had picked up some Polynesian words is proof of contact over connection. The importance of the Malay Race for Smith, it seems to me, is that it is not Polynesian and that the Polynesians are not Malay, a fact that requires a Polynesian origin earlier than the time of their encounter with the Malays. Similarly with the evanescent Manahune, whatever their provenance and whether or not they were first entrants into the Pacific, Smith has them a Race with which the Polynesians engaged in no more than contact and exploitation.

On the one hand, Melanesians, Papuans, and Negritos mostly appear in the Smith Text as a single undifferentiated Race, with few specific characteristics, the several appellations seemingly interchangeable. Unlike the Malays, who might have driven most of the Polynesians out of Indonesia, they appear as a People subject and inferior to the latter, contributing only a 'taint' to the blood of most Polynesians in the course of contact. On the other hand, in the case of Fiji, Smith is compelled to ascribe specific characteristics to the true, and initially unitary, Melanesians of the west in order sharply to differentiate them from the Polynesians before allowing for intermarriage between the two and consequent modification of each. The attribution of specific characteristics to the Melanesians in this case and context alone reflects his need, in the first place at least, to separate the two Races, especially in the proximity provided by dual occupation of Fiji. Smith supports his case, and in the process the superiority of the Polynesians, by reference to the striking differences reported by Horatio Hale and by ascription to the unmodified Melanesians of the qualities of blackness, lack of stature, and inclination to cannibalism, a practice that was sometimes carried with the taint.

As with the Malays, my reading is that the importance of the Melanesian Race for Smith is that it is not Polynesian and the Polynesians are not Melanesian, a requirement confirmed by the fact that proximity, and even closer contact, results only in a taint, the word itself a marker of the superiority of the Polynesians over the Melanesians and the racialism of the distinction.



**Racial types from the second edition of *Hawaiki*: ‘A Samoan, Polynesian type’; ‘A Fijian, Polynesian-Melanesian type’; ‘A Solomon Islander, Melanesian type’ (Smith 1904, 14, 107, 17).**

### *Fiji*

The case of the lengthened stay of the Polynesians in Fiji is worth examining in more detail here. In Smith’s chronology, it was the Polynesians, after moving on past islands already populated by Papuans or Melanesians, who were the first to enter Fiji, before the true Melanesians, and who passed on initially to settle in Samoa. As with the Malays, and again in support of separation and in direct inversion of the standard displacement trope of the time, in which primitive originals were supplanted by superior invaders and settlers, it is the Polynesians who are displaced by the Melanesians. It is not clear to me from the Text when at least some of these Polynesians became ‘half-caste’. Sometimes it appears they were already so before arrival in Fiji, despite the Polynesian purity of those who would first settle Samoa; sometimes racial mixing

appears to have occurred in Fiji itself. Whatever the case, in Smith's view both true Fijians and Polynesians were eventually modified by intermarriage. The true Fijians occupied Fiji as far as the Lau islands, there exhibiting their Polynesian element. The Polynesians, Smith's 'Tonga-Fijians', went on to occupy the coasts of Samoa for a time (whence they would visit their own back in Fiji), populate the rest of western Polynesia, frequently invade New Caledonia, and ultimately settle the whole of the east, sometimes appearing there in the form of his 'Maori-Rarotonga branch of the race' (1899, 6).

It is clear that Fiji plays a pivotal role in Smith's narrative of the migrations of the Polynesians. Indeed, Fiji continues to entice Pacific scholars by its seemingly liminal nature and juxtaposition of Melanesian and Polynesian elements, and its place as the location at which unfolds the deeply racist interplay of the superiority of Polynesia and the Polynesians and the inferiority of Melanesia and the Melanesians.<sup>49</sup> For Smith, however, it provides an even more potent location for the birth of Polynesian diversity. Hitherto, encountering Papuans or Melanesians in the passage from Indonesia and the Eastern Archipelago, the Polynesians, on the whole, simply passed on, possibly acquiring no more than a 'taint' on the way. In Smith's Fiji, however, the relationship unfolded otherwise: while the Polynesians, the first settlers, made it 'the headquarters of the Polynesian race for many centuries', the entry and growing importance of the true Melanesians also made it the one location of sustained cohabitation and even mingling of the two races (1902b, 164). In this regard Fiji provides Smith with the opportunity to account for that Polynesian 'taint' of Melanesian blood while concealing the possibility of any closer or more direct link between the two, hence the displacement inversion that has the Polynesians moving on. As I see it, the importance of Fiji for him is that it was

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<sup>49</sup> For example, the recent paper by David V Burley, 'Fijian Polygenesis and the Melanesian/Polynesian Divide', comments by Geoffrey Clark, Ethan E Cochrane, Julie S Field, Paul Geraghty, Sharyn Jones, Patrick V Kirch, Yvonne Marshall, Patrick D Nunn, Peter J Sheppard, Matthew Spriggs, John Edward Terrell and Mark L Golitko, and reply by Burley (Burley et al. 2013, 436-462).

the point at which the Polynesians left the Melanesians behind, apart from an occasional incursion, and the starting point for the great migration across Polynesia. Before Fiji there were Polynesians; after Fiji there emerged Migrations and Branches of the Polynesian Race, commencing with the Samoans, who escaped in the same state of purity they brought to Fiji. Fiji was not just the headquarters of the Polynesian Race for a time, it was the birthplace of the Migrations and, eventually, Branches that would settle Polynesia.

### *Races and Branches*

On occasion Smith suggests the possibility of earlier western origins for the Branches but it is really in the Pacific and at the time of departure from Fiji that these Branches, unique to the Polynesians and sometimes concealed within their Migrations, emerge as specific entities. For the most part, and other than in the context of Migrations, the terminology of Branches, Peoples in one of its senses, and People is consistently nominalist, referring to the occupants of particular territories and speakers of a common language. There are Marquesans, Hawaiians, Samoans, Tahitians, Paumotu People, Rarotongans, Tongans, and Niue People, the latter divided into Motu and Tafiti, sub-branches of uncertain nature within a nominalist entity but reflecting different proportions of Melanesian blood. The distinction between Race and Branch is perhaps reinforced by the distinction Smith makes, in a parallel to the process that occurred in Fiji, between the fact that ‘the race came from the Eastern Archipelago’ but that ‘the people migrated from the Eastern Archipelago’ (1891b, 282). In the first place, still resident in the archipelago, the Polynesians constitute a Race; in migration, and within the Pacific Ocean, the term ‘people’ is suggestive of the later shift to Branches, the differentiated and unchanging entities that would principally carry the Race in its Migrations throughout the Pacific.

## *Migrations*

Smith's Migrations are three entities appearing at first sight to have something of the character of specific Branches but which are, in fact, as abstract and categorical as Races. With some variation in nomenclature, they figure most prominently in the Text after departure from Fiji in the forms of the Samoans in migration, the Tonga-Fijians or Tonga-fiti, and the Maori-Rarotongans. Each of these is or includes an element which elsewhere, in location, is applied in a nominalist sense; their character, however, on closer examination, is quite different from the nominalist entities listed above and discussed below. Suspended between Race and Branch, they transcend, while simultaneously deploying, specific identity in carrying forward the migrations of the Polynesians in a complex, continuing interplay between the categorical and the nominalist.

The ancestral homeland of Smith's migrating Samoans is not Hawaiki but Puluotu. Already Samoan upon departure from Fiji, and possibly from even further west, they are the original settlers of Samoa and, possibly, Tonga and the Polynesian outliers and unique among Polynesians for their racial purity. As the first Migration from Fiji, departing before the occurrence of intermarriage with the true Fijians, they avoided, according to Smith, the Melanesian taint carried, to varying degrees, by the succeeding Branches of the Polynesian Race in their passage to the east.

Smith's narrative is open to the possibility that it was the Melanesian taint that carried the other Branches forward while the purest Polynesians rested in autochthonous illusion, bereft of origin, tradition, and arrival. Absence of the taint also explains, in the specific Samoans of Smith's own day, their differentiation from the other Branches of the race, their status as the 'physically the finest of their race', and the impossibility of

their being the ancestors of the Melanesian-tainted Māori (1898a, 149). Furthermore, the dual character, abstract and specific, of Smith's Samoans emerges in the very language of their differentiation from Māori and, presumably, his Maori-Rarotongans: such communication as had occurred in the past between 'the two branches of the race' resembled that of 'alien races' rather than brothers (1898a, 162).

The exact identity of the Migration of the half-caste Tonga-Fijians, later Tongafiti, and their relationship with the Maori-Rarotongans is less clear cut. On the one hand, Smith traces their probable origin to India; on the other, as noted above, he is not entirely clear whether they are already Tonga-Fijians upon departure from India, become half-caste after encountering Papuans or Melanesians on the passage to Fiji, or only become so, or become more so, after arrival there. Smith is convinced that they are either the original settlers of Fiji or at least precede the true Fijians, Melanesians from the west. Whether already half-caste or not, it is there that acquisition of the Melanesian taint is confirmed by intermarriage. Smith then has the Tonga-Fijians traversing the Eastern Archipelago and skirting, or perhaps visiting, the northern islands of Melanesia before settling the whole of Fiji. Following in the wake of the first migration, and taking advantage of the close proximity of islands, some groups go on to occupy the coasts of Upolu and Savai'i in Samoa, voyaging from time to time, before the complete domination of the true Fijians, to visit those who had remained behind in Fiji and to raid the Melanesian islands to the west. Thereafter, the Tonga-Fijians or Tongafiti voyage on to constitute the major migration to Eastern Polynesia.

The Maori-Rarotongans appear as a 'second and distinct migration' only in Smith's earliest Hawaiki publications where they briefly replace the 'wrongly identified ... Fijians or Samoans' or 'so-called Tongans and Fijians' in possession of Tonga when a

later, unidentified Migration from Samoa takes place (1898a, 156-157; 1899, 6). The short-lived Maori-Rarotongan Migration might have been, I think, his early, failed attempt to establish a more direct Migration to Eastern Polynesia. Certainly, in the fourth edition of *Hawaiki*, Smith introduces a third, later, and slower Migration which might or might not have formed, in its earliest days part of the second, Tongan-Fijian Migration, going on to settle Hawai'i and the East Coast of New Zealand. In the same volume, Smith takes the first, Samoan, Migration beyond Tonga and the outliers as far as New Zealand by way of Futuna, Uvea, Rotuma, and Niue. In the case of Niue, he seems to be contradicting an earlier assertion that Melanesian or Papuan blood 'shows more than usually strong in the Niuē people' (1902b, 163).

### *Branches*

Smith's treatment of the actual Branches takes two forms: the one addressing their general nature, the other employing specific characteristics for the purpose of comparison and a certain degree of ranking, particularly as to appearance. Just as the Race retains for Smith its Polynesian essence from origin to destination, so do individual Branches largely retain their original and specific identities in the course of migration. Branches are already substantially formed, sometimes in Fiji, sometimes, perhaps, in the Eastern Archipelago or even earlier. Influenced to some degree by environment and contact they remain essentially unchanging, despite the taint, throughout their passage. In seeking the patterns of their migrations, Smith calls on philology to deduce that widely separated Branches sharing the same plant name once cohabited; that individual Branches cease communication with each other for more than 20 generations; that separate Branches preserve reliable traditions from the times when they associated; and that different Branches acquire different proportions of Melanesian blood in Fiji or before. In all these cases, Smith assumes that Branches come into



contact with each other already in the form in which they would appear as the people of their islands of final settlement. Certainly it is Polynesians who enter the Pacific, or even the Eastern Archipelago, but they do so as Samoans, Tongans, Tahitians, Hawaiians, or Māori.

Specific Branches figure most often in comparative framings. Members of individual Branches are indistinguishable in a crowd and Niueans, for example, may cursorily be taken for eastern Polynesians such as Tahitians. Closer, if brief, examination on his Pacific voyages and residency, however, reveals to Smith the Melanesian influence on the Niueans and that, outwardly, Tongans appear to lie between Samoans and Māori, Hawaiians most closely resemble the latter, while Tahitians are very slightly lighter in colour than either. Additionally, Smith engages in some comparison of the development, retention, and loss of voyaging skills, together with a hint of inevitable decline, and notes the existence in Branches of distinct dialects of the one Polynesian language.

In all this, and despite the appearance of colour in comparison, there is really very little suggestion of different stages of advancement among the Branches. Races, particularly in the case of Polynesians and Melanesians, may exhibit or exemplify lower and higher stages of development. Branches emerge on a much more even footing, with only the issue of the taint, carried over from the stadial differentiation of Races, to distinguish among them. Beyond this, and except for the special case of the Samoans and Niueans, Smith pays only superficial attention to the specific characteristics of individual Branches. While Branches may have some intrinsic interest for the visiting student of Polynesia, and their ways may even give pleasure, their real value is as repositories of traces of the Polynesians and their Migrations. Hence Smith's lack of recorded interest

in Rarotongan actuality, which dissolves upon contact with the exploration and collection of genealogical records. The Samoan Branch, however, despite its want of traditions, offers something even more valuable and something I find central and essential to Smith's conception of the Polynesians.

### *The Samoan Branch*

In Chapter Five I discussed the reasons for Smith's ethnographic concentration on the Samoans and Niueans and the relationships among genealogy, ethnology, and ethnography that produced and eventually supplanted that material. I shall leave aside any further discussion of the Niueans at this point, particularly in view of his seeming change of view about their possible provenance and their Melanesian element. The Samoan example, however, throws considerable light on one important aspect of his thinking on Race, Migration, and Branch in relation to the Polynesians and illuminates the interplay between the actual and observable Samoan Branch and the abstract and ideal Samoan Migration.

I have already identified a connection within Smith's scheme of things between the racial purity of the Samoan Migration and the elevated status Smith accorded the Samoan Branch, the actual Samoans he observed in 1897. Those physically superb, courteous, gentlemanly, beautifully spoken, dignified people, supreme Polynesians, despite a symptom of decline in the deterioration of the language, can only be the product and outcome of that purity. It is very clear from the Text that Smith became quite enamoured of the Samoans but they also served a particular and important purpose in his researches into the origins and nature of the Polynesians. He is emphatic that the Samoans (as is also the case with the Niueans) have no traditions and no knowledge of their true origins; this despite his awareness of the Samoans' belief in Pulotu as their ancestral home. The absence to which Smith refers, however, is an unsurprising absence

of eastern Polynesian traditions. Savai'i, for example, may very well be an eastern Polynesian Hawaiki but it cannot, by virtue of its very location, be a Samoan Hawaiki, unless to add unwelcome credence to the Samoan's own belief in autochthony.

Furthermore, this absence of tradition as to origin may be an obstacle in one sense but it does leave it open to Smith to provide an origin for them, which he does in the form of the Samoan Migration with its essential purity.

That is not the limit of the Samoans' contribution. As well as providing that manifestation of Polynesian purity in Smith's own time, they provide evidence of a Polynesian purity without taint that must have existed at some time before arrival in Fiji for it to be able to be carried on to Samoa. And that, in turn, can confirm for Smith both a Polynesian origin further west than Fiji and an original Polynesian purity that may become tainted but cannot be completely obliterated. In this sense, the Samoans have a place as important as that of Fiji in the development of Smith's construction of the patterns of migration of the Polynesian Race. All this achieved, well may he bid them a fond farewell, *Tofa soifua!*, on his departure from Samoa, while I find in his 1920 return to the subject evidence of some continuing fondness and fascination (1920).

### *Tribes and Hekes*

The two remaining terms, Tribes and Hekes, appear only in the context of migration and, like Branches, relate only to the Polynesians and seem to me to derive more from Smith's New Zealand experiences and researches than from any broader considerations. Certainly, neither is applied to any specific or identifiable group outside that context. Both appear in the earliest stages of Smith's theorising of migrations and may simply be his resort to a familiar field in the initial stages of his thinking about some aspects of Races, Migrations, and Branches in relation to the Polynesians in general.

The exact nature of the Tribes is unclear. On the one hand, they appear as quite small groups that join to make up a larger party, apparently a Heke; on the other, Smith's usage of the term Tribe suggests that it might have been a categorical alternative to Branch in the service of the development of a theory, especially in references to a transition from Race to Tribe. If this is so, his usage may offer some indication of at least his early understanding of the manner and period in which Branches came to be: in one case, Tribes are of ancient origin in a remote time; in another, they are, like modifications to the Polynesians as a result of environmental differences, a product of the separation imposed by initial experience of islands in the Eastern Archipelago. In either case, they suggest an inclination on Smith's part to see the formation of Branches, or something very like them, in the period before arrival in Fiji.

Smith's use of the term Heke, other than in the context of the settlement of New Zealand by his Great Fleet, is largely confined to the early article on the geographical knowledge of the Polynesians (1891b). Its provenance is indicated by his description of it as 'an expressive Maori term' and its limited value within Smith's scheme of things by its limited application. Within its limits it appears to represent a Branch or part of a Branch or, even better, a Tribe in motion, a migration but not a Migration.

### *The Polynesians*

Smith's Polynesians originate as a Race, traverse ocean and islands in Migrations, and settle as Branches. In the primordial mud of their ancient home, it is Polynesian mankind, one of the most ancient Races, that emerges, speaking a language that may be older than Sanskrit. This is specifically Polynesian mankind, not mankind in general. In that same mud, the Polynesians discover and cultivate rice, name it for the mud in which it grows, and carry it as far as Indonesia, where they discard it before moving on. The ancient homeland, then, is further west than Indonesia but not as far west as Africa;

it is, with as much certainty as the resources and methods of the time allow, in India.

There, the Polynesians are later joined by a separate Race, the Aryans, who presumably originated elsewhere before irrupting into India, or the Polynesians' portion thereof.

After a period of significant contact, and for unknown reasons (though war is always a possibility), the Polynesians depart India, taking, in addition to rice, some Aryan words and customs and perhaps the original forms of the Aryan's myths.

Among the islands and seas of the Eastern Archipelago, these Polynesians have the opportunity to learn the basic skills of canoe-building, sailing, and navigation. Here, as in India, they are converged upon and eventually supplanted by a distinct Race, the Malays, departing with no more than a few words of their language. Eventually, skirting islands already populated by Papuans and perhaps, occasionally, briefly, in some cases becoming more intimately involved with them, they reach and occupy Fiji. Again, and this time after a lengthy sojourn, Smith's Polynesians are followed and supplanted by another Race, the Melanesians, but not before, with one solitary exception, acquiring from them a taint they would carry to the furthest reaches of the Pacific. The vast maritime enterprise of the Polynesians is launched in a succession of defeats and expulsions resulting from population, food, and land pressures or personal, amorous, or religious failings.

Eventually, however, in a dramatic turn from displacement to desire, it is no longer defeat and expulsion that lead to voyaging but the love of adventure, the growing desire for discovery, and the aim of finding new lands to colonise. Technologies originally developed in the Eastern Archipelago and perfected in the vast expanses of the Pacific equip the Polynesians for ever-expanding voyages of discovery. Migrations follow exploration and in expeditions equipped, provisioned, and crewed for both voyaging

and settlement, the Polynesians, evidently masculine at least in this regard, bring wives as well as dogs, birds, and plants to their new homes. They also carry the traditions, customs, and place-names of the Race to a succession and variety of islands, passing them on to their children in the new and far-off lands. In the process, and under the influence of separation and different local environments, the already existing Branches of the Race within the Migrations experience a limited degree of innovation and variation and the development of a certain local colouring. In time, the processes of remembering, modifying, and forgetting the past result in a range and variety of traditions and origins, their effacement, or, later, their contamination by European voyagers or in journeys to other lands expedited by European ships.

Constant movement appears to me to be the natural or proper state of Smith's Polynesians, an exterior motion that over-rides any sense of interior motion, any sense of significant change in their character or identity in their passage across the Pacific. They are at their most Polynesian in motion; stasis, whether in sojourn or settlement, is perilous, always to be associated with the threat of conflict or of contamination or of confusion as to true origins or of decline. Among his painstaking assemblies of evidence and supporting argument, sometimes oddly prescient (the Americas), sometimes wildly erroneous (Australia and Antarctica), Smith really comes alive when his Polynesians are in motion. His vision and accounts of the Polynesians in movement are exceptionally vivid. I can't help feeling, however ahistorically, that it is a shame that he couldn't conceive of the movement within the Polynesians, the process of becoming that took place as they voyaged across and back and forth in the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean from Sumatra to Rapanui. No 'islands in a sea' this Pacific of Smith's, but truly 'a sea of islands' long before that phrase became a byword (Hau'ofa 1993). A sea, of course, denied the Melanesians by Smith.

The dangers of stasis are particularly apparent in aspects of Smith's deployment of the term 'sojourn', one which, apart from a few general usages, is characterised not by brevity (in fact, these sojourns are of considerable duration), but by temporary stasis, contact, and the need to move on to avoid its dangers. The three sojourns take place in Indonesia (the Eastern Archipelago), Fiji, and Eastern Polynesia, in each case a suspension of the Polynesians' onward movement. India, of course, is not really a sojourn but an origin, though Smith does use the term in passing in reference to Hawaiki and to India in the context of Aryan influence on the Polynesian language. That sojourn, if it is such, terminates in displacement and departure, as do those in Indonesia and Fiji, thus obviating the threat of absorption or enslavement by an alien Race or descent into a hybrid one. As it is, the bulk of the Polynesians are lucky to leave Fiji with only a taint. The case of Eastern Polynesia is similar: it is significant that the Rarotongans 'settle' in Rarotonga, which is where they belong, while the Māori merely sojourn there before moving on to their destiny in New Zealand.

Even in the early days of settlement, the Polynesians' love of adventure and movement persists in their constant travel around the central Pacific and eastern Polynesia, visiting each other across vast distances and sometimes coming into conflict over land access and rights. As time passes, however, they settle down as the Branches they always were or were always to be, no longer needing to voyage in search of land and finding a new focus for their energies in the outlets provided by the work of colonisation. With settlement, however, and the end of voyaging, comes a certain degree of decline and degeneration. By Smith's day, Māori and Hawaiians have not voyaged for some 500 years, Samoans since long before the nineteenth century, and Tongans, Marquesans, and some others not since the arrival of Europeans. The Tahitians, however, have kept at

least their navigational skills longer than the other Branches. Smith confirms that the Polynesians built canoes ‘immensely superior to those of the present day’ and has no doubt of the Polynesians’ original maritime skills despite the current ‘days of decadence of the people’s knowledge of navigation’ (1891b, 285, 286). It appears that, whatever the outcomes of settlement and even if the Branches may undergo decline, the Polynesians themselves do not.

What is to be made of these Polynesians of Smith’s? This ancient, handsome, dignified, perceptive, curious, skilful, bold, adventure-loving Race, of men for the most part, who sailed half across the world and conquered the Pacific Ocean from end to end? What is this Race that bore its essential Polynesian identity alongside and beyond Aryans, Malays, Papuans, and Melanesians, acquiring no more than a taint until it encountered Europeans? What is it about this Race that evokes Smith’s heart-felt and, to me, deeply moving imaginary word-pictures, worthy of Homer’s *Odyssey* or Virgil’s *Æneid* or even Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*? Who are these daring commanders and stalwart crews ‘boldly pushing out into the great unknown ocean in their frail canoes’, driven by ‘the growing desire of discovery’ to the far-distant islands of Hawai’i, to the coasts of the Americas, and to the Dantesque horrors of Antarctica’s monstrous and frozen seas and mountainous waves (1899, 11; 1904, 78)? These are surely not savages, despite Smith’s occasional, casual, and early application of the term to them. Even bearing the taint that only serves to emphasise their essential purity and superiority, and despite their non-Aryan origin, they resemble nothing so much as Edward Tregear’s Aryan Race of an earlier chapter, Polynesians and Europeans united in blood and desire, ‘always finding fresh and varied scenes of action’ in ‘seeking new homes beneath strange stars’ (1885, 105). Perhaps it is this similarity that leads to an eventual, heavily qualified acknowledgement of the possibility of a closer connection between Polynesians and



Aryans. What is clear is that Smith exalts and exults in his Polynesians, elevating them above all of the Races I have so far discussed.

*‘Our own race’*

Appearing infrequently in the open but underlying all this discussion of Races and other associated entities is ‘our own race’ (1899, 11). The English? The British? The Europeans? The Aryans? The Pākehā? The exact identity of this Race is as much to be assumed as, for the most part, is its presence, but it must include Columbus and Cook, the Spanish, and Arctic and Antarctic explorers. It is the Race against which others, implicitly or explicitly, are to be compared, assessed, and measured. In the early writings, in their direct comparisons of other Polynesians with Māori, there is equally an unstated (because not needing to be stated) but already assumed underlying comparison with Pākehā. They, not the Māori, provide the standard alongside which to compare the ‘original savage state’ of the Tongarewans (1890, 85). It is not to the Polynesians that the Malay seems morose and it is not just to the Polynesians that the Melanesians are supposed to be distasteful.

Elsewhere, in a contrast of culture and nature with civilisation, it is the Race against which the Polynesians almost measure up or, occasionally and briefly, excel. Not only are the Polynesians far ahead of any nation of antiquity in the art of navigation, they are quite as adventurous as Columbus, traversing the Pacific from end to end and anticipating his ‘discovery’ of America, their discoveries justifying for them a place alongside the most distinguished of European explorers of the Arctic or Antarctic. Though the source of their superior senses and perceptions of nature is attributed at one point to their state of savagery, their navigational skills and performance still put them ‘in advance of some nations calling themselves civilised’ (1891b, 286). Indeed, driven by the same love of adventure and discovery that characterises ‘our own race’, the

Polynesians were long venturing out into the ocean and out of sight of the land. There, when the nations of Europe were still confined to their coasts, the Polynesians discovered and named islands generations before those nations entered the Pacific to ‘discover’ and rename them in their turn.

It is also the Race that can assemble, detect, trace, salvage, and make sense of the Polynesians, by whom, out of the disorder of log-books and traditions and tales and myths, the passage of the Polynesians from origin to destination can be traced. That destination, of course, is also associated with the Race: it is the impending and inevitable extinction that is facing the Polynesians as the result of the impact of a more advanced Race. It is the ultimate displacement, the destination that provided the impetus for the formation of the Polynesian Society and for the work undertaken by Smith. I suspect that Smith found a certain almost-unblemished perfection in tracking the entire trajectory of the Polynesians from origin in the Indian mud to inevitable extinction in the islands of the Pacific. Smith’s Polynesians, whatever the current and imminent state and fate of the Branches, will last forever, a perfect Pākehā imaginary. Branches may decline but, for the Pākehā, these Polynesians are forever. And the touchstone and guarantee of the validity and authenticity of Smith’s imaginary lies in Hawaiki, the elusive ancestral homeland.

### *Smith’s Hawaiki*

The likely location of the original Hawaiki of the New Zealand Māori remains uncertain in Smith’s earliest writings. It is perhaps Savai’i (odd in view of his conviction that New Zealand was not settled from Samoa), Raiatea in the Society Islands, or even somewhere in the Eastern Archipelago. It is a name that has been carried from remote lands and from island to island from earliest times, the name, if not the concept of it as the place of common origin, being found in islands right across the Pacific. Eventually

convinced that, as a place of origin, it must lie outside the Pacific, ‘probably in Indonesia or even further West’, he settles for a time on Java (1898b, 186). Finally, drawing on the traditions and genealogies he finds in Rarotonga, and in a complex argument juggling Atia and Avaiki as ancient names for India, he inclines to the view that India is where it probably lay.

Wherever Hawaiki was located, Smith is clear that it was ‘the fatherland from which the race sprung, where their gods lived, and to which the spirits of the dead returned after death’ (1898b, 185). I find it very odd, then, that he shows so little inclination to pursue the concept of the parallel, western Polynesian, concept of Puluotu, and very interesting that he continued to pursue the clearly eastern Polynesian homeland of Hawaiki well to the west, even as far as India. Certainly, in another example of his adherence to an unchanging nature for the Polynesians, however westerly the Hawaiki homeland, it is there that the forms of the feasts and games, musical instruments and dances, singing and dancing, religious institutions, and customs, including warfare, of the present-day Branches first emerge.

Hawaiki, then, is where the Polynesians become Polynesians, where they could, with certainty, be fully and purely Polynesian with a Polynesian character that would only be extinguished upon the death of the Race in the Pacific. I am sure that Smith, in one sense, passionately wanted to know the location of the original Hawaiki. In another, however, the mystery of that location provides benefits for his Polynesians, in particular, protection from the other Races they would go on to encounter. His assertion for most of his lifetime of their separation from the Aryans, contrary to the ethnological currents of the day, would remain simply a matter of assertion. The existence of an ancient and remote Hawaiki, far to the west and before they encounter Races other than

the Aryans, guarantees that the Polynesians are really not Malays and, above all, are really not Melanesians. My understanding of Smith's Hawaiki as the original homeland of the Polynesians is that it was his assurance of the distinct and independent original identity and purity of the Polynesians, a purity still just surviving, perhaps a little attenuated, in the Samoans of his day, and elements of which he was just in time to salvage.

In the Interlude that follows, I shall trace the course taken by the concept of Hawaiki from Smith's time and writings to recent days. In the next chapter, I shall consider Smith's framing of the Pacific and the Polynesians in the light of the intellectual perspectives of his and former times and draw some conclusions about the nature of his project and its underpinnings.

Percy Smith's contemporaries continued to seek Hawaiki and the location of the Polynesian homeland, particularly after publication of the 1904 second edition of *Hawaiki*. One of the first was a book described by its Royal Asiatic Society reviewer as 'entirely devoid of scientific method'. In it, Daniel Macdonald, a Presbyterian missionary formerly of Efate in modern Vanuatu, bases his argument entirely on a supposed connection between the language of that island and the Semitic tongue (Blagden 1908, 895). Without referring specifically to Hawaiki, and reverting to a much older line of argument, Macdonald concludes 'that Arabia is the motherland of the Island family of languages', that they are, therefore, Semitic, and that 'primitive Oceanic must be regarded ... as a sister to the Arabic, Himyaritic, Ethiopic, Assyrian, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic' (1907, 94).

William Churchill, former US consul-general for Samoa and Tonga responded with his massive and massively researched *The Polynesian Wanderings*, describing Macdonald's work as 'eagerly welcomed' as to its Efate vocabulary and 'as warmly reprobated' as to its philological speculation and Semitic conclusion (1911, 1). An admirer of Smith, whose review of his book forms part of my Text, and his companion on a circumnavigation of Upolu in 1897, Churchill nonetheless concludes, after a survey of existing scholarship, that he cannot follow him back to India. Much as he wishes to be able to take his stand with 'that rich scholarship' which has been 'most lucidly and most compellingly set forth in Percy Smith's "Hawaiki"', for his own part, 'In Java I halt, and Java may be in itself a Hawaiki' (1911, 184).

Churchill's comments on the quest for Hawaiki are even more telling: mocking

Macdonald's methodology and his Arabian homeland, his comments could apply to

many other seekers, not least Tregear:

Myself, I have fancied that from the inner content of many of the elemental words of the language I might reconstruct a vision of the geophysics of the earliest home, ancestral Hawaiki in the great sea of Kiwa. It was a pleasant speculation; almost I could see the old home. In casting about for a terrain which would in some sort correspond to this artificial cloude cuckooland I was led to pitch upon the Hadramaut [a region in South Arabia], close to Dr. Macdonald's seat of origin. I have found pleasure, better yet it has been given me to find enduring profit in great joy, sweeping concentric circles of study upon the languages that ring about the Hadramaut in Arabia and across the straits in Africa. Yet nowhere have I found so much as a single word upon which I might rely in confirmation (1911, 184).

Churchill concludes: 'Out yonder beyond my sight, out yonder over the unended sea and the sun going down, out and away whither my eyes tire with the strain of unavailing seeing, somewhere lies the Hawaiki of our vain search' (1911, 184).

An Indian-born New Zealand doctor, businessman, ethnologist, and politician, Alfred K Newman experienced no such uncertainty. Aiming to build upon the work of Percy Smith, to whom he dedicated his book *Who are the Maoris?*, he certainly does so in one aspect, claiming that they were 'one people—Tangata Maori in India, in Indonesia, and in the Pacific' (1912, 301-302). Among the assertions he sets out to prove are that 'the Maoris came from Northern India'; 'that their cradle land Hawaiki was India'; and, here he departs from Smith, that they 'are an Aryan-Mongolic people but dominantly Caucasian' (1912, 5-6). So certain is he of his evidence for these assertions that he is able to locate on a map of India the location of the 'Names of Maoris and Maori Tribes in India' (1912, facing page 81). Furthermore, he maintains, on the basis of a philological argument worthy of Tregear, 'that the true meaning of the word Hawaiki is "the land lifted up by a charm out of the abyss of waters"' (1912, 32).

In 1915 and 1916, Thomas Godfrey Hammond, a Methodist minister and Māori missionary, published a series of articles on the history of the Aotea waka in a provincial New Zealand newspaper, later collected and published in book form (1924). Inclined to accept Tregear's argument for Aryan origins, he nonetheless points out that 'there is no Aryan race, but speakers of Aryan languages, and these are called Aryan people or nations' (1915, 3). Canvassing other theories of origins, he is dismissive of America and Israel, but is quite respectful of India, rejecting it only on the grounds of the Polynesians' contemporary lack of knowledge of materials, skills, and weapons that would surely have been carried away (1915, 3). Elsewhere, he suggests that 'Hawaiki stands for many islands, the names of which are more or less familiar as the former home of one or other of the various migrations' (1916, 2). Finally, somewhat in agreement with Churchill, he expresses bewilderment at the 'manifold opinions' on the meaning and location of Hawaiki and cautions, wisely: 'No wonder the European only ankle deep in this sea of ancient lore should be conscious of his limitations in the study of such a subject as Hawaiki, upon which the best informed Maoris speak with chastened humility' (1916, 2).

Elsdon Best was troubled by little such humility when, in the year after Smith's death, he published a survey of existing material on the origin of the Polynesians together with some commentary from his own point of view (1923). Of the difficulties of the quest itself, he writes: 'we know that to the Maori, more so than to us, is it truly the hidden homeland.... He speaks of that homeland as Hawaiki .... But it is the neolithic Maori who speaks, the scriptless barbarian of the stone age who knew not permanent records' (1923, 11). He adds that the name has been applied to many islands, 'that Hawaiki is often confused with the spirit world itself', and that it is 'also employed as a word to denote the unknown' (1923, 12). Remarking that the thoughts of the Polynesian 'ever

turn to the motherland of the mist laden past', he concludes: 'On no map made by human hand can he point out that homeland, but, when he greets with song, and tears, and ceremonial dance, the heliacal rising of the Pleiades, he knows that they still look down on the hidden land far beyond the hanging sky' (1923, 20).



**Elsdon Best and Percy Smith. Crompton-Smith, A M: Photographs of New Zealand scenes by unidentified photographers. Ref: 1/2-028237-F. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand**

Formerly professor of English and Classics at Canterbury College of the then University of New Zealand, John Macmillan Brown devoted much of his retirement to Pacific voyaging and study. His researches satisfied him that Hawaiki was a volcanic island or archipelago in the central trough of the Pacific, the source of fire for the Polynesians and a land of 'great eruptions ... culminating in a final eruption and subsidence that destroyed a large proportion of their people' (1927, 1: 48; 2: 116). On the grounds that the languages of the Pacific 'must have been bred in close intercourse' he argues that that would only have been possible 'under one government and one social system' in a Hawaiki of 'traditional great temples and palaces ... not a myth, though it has passed by



distance of time into mythology'. In sum, Hawaiki 'lay somewhere in the central Pacific and sank; it was "the little irrigated land" in contrast to the great continent that its people had originally come from' (1927, 1: 48). Furthermore, the outcome of the sinking was a great migration, not from west to east as commonly believed, but from east to west, 'out of the Pacific instead of into it, as far at least as the Southern Hemisphere is concerned' (1927, 1: 47).

The response of Polynesian polymath Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) to Brown's sunken Hawaiki is both blunt and poetic:

Tempting as it may be to weave mysteries about extinct civilizations that existed on sunken fertile lands, imagination along such lines conflicts with common sense. Geologists have found no evidence to support the theory of extensive lands that have sunk within the Polynesian triangle during the period of man's existence.... Hawaiki, the common fatherland of us all, is not sunk beneath the waters of the Pacific, but Havai'i, the mother of lands, rests serene in the center of Polynesia and will live on forever though we, her sons, may pass into oblivion (1938, 145).

The Havai'i to which he refers here is the ancient name for Raiatea in the Society Islands, which provided 'the headquarters of the Polynesian main body' in Eastern Polynesia, from which people, language, foodstuffs, animals, religion, myth, and tradition dispersed to other islands (1938, 65). While accepting 'that in remote ages the ancestors of the Polynesian people probably did live in some part of India and worked east', Buck also suggests that there is a Hawaiki, 'a traditional departing-place-of-spirits' on 'almost every island from Samoa to Easter, from Havai'i to New Zealand' (1938, 25, 19-20). 'Such an indefinite idea of a land of origin', he nonetheless acknowledges, 'does not satisfy those of another culture who have studied us' (1938, 20).

Writing less than a decade later, in *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology*, Buck makes no mention of India and declares more prosaically: 'Hawaiki, as one of the

names of the homeland, has been carried along and applied to different islands in memory of the past, but the original Hawaiki lies buried under the accretions of time' (1945, 12). Not sunken, but buried. As to Samoan origins, Buck relates an anecdote of a kava ceremony at which he responded to a *matai*'s speech of welcome by referring to his theory of Polynesian origins in Asia. In seeming confirmation of Smith's belief that the Samoans had no traditions, the *matai* replied by saying, to general approval: 'We thank you for your interesting speech. The Polynesians may have come from Asia, but the Samoans, no. We originated in Samoa' (1938, 286). As will appear in Chapter Eight, the *matai* would yet, in a way, be proved right.

Historian Andrew Sharp's deliberations on the subject of the location of Hawaiki are closely associated with his argument for a theory of accidental voyaging and settlement. Noting the demarcation line between Burutu (Pulotu) in the west and Hawaiki in the east, he argues that the location of Savai'i just to the west of the dividing line makes a reasonable case for it 'as a symbol of dispersal from the west'. Reinforcing this argument with the support of Tupaia's identification of an island, plausibly Savai'i on the basis of its location on his famous chart, as 'the "father of all islands"', Sharp concludes that the prevalence of this name for the homeland in Eastern Polynesia 'was no doubt the result of many involuntary journeys across the vital gap from Western to Eastern Polynesia' (1956, 76). Basing his argument on the theory of accidental voyaging he adopted in the face of major scholarly consensus before and after this publication, he concludes that what he sees as the mistaken belief of others in purposeful and return voyaging has prevented scholars from imagining a homeland within Polynesia itself. Hence the search for it in the Eastern Archipelago or Asia (1956, 76-77). In a later publication, and following the same line of argument, Sharp concludes: 'The tradition of Hawaiki was not devoid of historical truth. All the peoples

who came from Western Polynesia to Eastern Polynesia ... brought with them their memories of Hawaiki, their former Western Polynesian homeland' (1963, 80).

David Simmons, the trenchant critic of Percy Smith and his theories in a monumental study of Māori tribal tradition, had little time for the location or nature of Hawaiki outside the New Zealand myth and folklore largely created by the object of his critique and scorn. Nonetheless, as a result of his own 'rigorous application of the criteria for authenticity', though not necessarily for historical truth, and his qualification that the traditions with which he is dealing are those of the nineteenth century, not those of the original ancestors, Simmons cautiously concludes that the Hawaiki of those traditions 'is not outside New Zealand'. He adds that, at least in some cases, it is in Northland (1976, 315, 320-321). Māori Studies academic Margaret Orbell generally applauds Simmons's critique of Smith but equally accuses him of retaining 'Smith's basic approach' by assuming that 'such traditions relate to historical figures, considering that the historian can disregard their "fabulous aspects"' (1991 [1985], 64). With regard to Hawaiki itself, her own conclusion is that the name 'can be traced back some 2,000 years to the name of Savai'i, the land the explorers left behind them when they migrated into Eastern Polynesia. But all else is myth' (1991 [1985], 19). Historian James Belich, in turn, takes both to task for seeming 'to fall into two equal but opposite traps: an excessive tendency to see myth as history, and an excessive tendency to see myth as mystery' (1996, 25). He himself suggests that 'the Society Islands were probably an (but perhaps not *the*) immediate Maori Hawaiki; an intermediate Hawaiki was probably Tonga/Samoa; and the ultimate Hawaiki in any meaningful sense looks likely to have been the Bismarcks [the Bismarck Archipelago to the northeast of Papua New Guinea]' (1996, 19).

In an investigation sparked off by the possibility that Tongan *Hauai* 'i may be closer to the proto-form of Hawaiki than is Hawaiian *Hawai* 'i, linguist Melenaite Taumoeofolau embarked on a project with surprising results (1996, 385). It is impossible to do justice to the complexity of her linguistic argument here but one of her conclusions is that the name Hawaiki was not originally the name of an island or an archipelago and did not originate in Savai'i; rather, 'it originated in Tonga where it was the title of the highest-ranking ancestors—those who eventually became perceived as gods in the mythologies. They were the \**hau* 'aiki, initially known and recognised in the Nuclear Polynesian area as Tongan aristocrats under the name \**sau* 'aiki'. In the course of time, migration, and settlement, Taumoeofolau argues, the original name of the land from which they came 'became forgotten and, via mythology, the title itself replaced the name of the land' (1996, 395). Far from this being a process 'of the \**hau* 'aiki sweeping across the Pacific, conquering and colonising as they went', she suggests 'that some awareness of the \**hau* 'aiki has always been present in the folk memory of Polynesians', emerging variously in mythologies as ancestors or ancestral lands (1996, 405). As to the latter, she observes, 'the notion of a discrete homeland is no longer fashionable among archaeologists, who prefer to think of the "homeland" as a region rather than a single island group' (1996, 398).

That is certainly the approach taken up by archaeologists and anthropologists Patrick Kirch and Roger Green in their book *Hawaiki, Ancestral Polynesia* (2001). Undaunted by this history of conjecture, speculation and research, they ask themselves, 'was there ever in reality such a "Hawaiki," or does it exist only in the shadowy realms of cosmogonic myth?'. Their emphatic reply is that 'archaeologists, after a half-century of intensive pursuit of the question of Polynesian origins, would answer affirmatively', agreeing that it existed in 'the archipelagos of Tonga and Samoa ... in the first

millennium BC' (2001, 1). They support and expand that argument in a massive and complex exercise in historical anthropology, 'underpinned throughout by an evolutionary paradigm', and employing a triangulation method informed by 'the subdisciplines of historical linguistics, archaeology, comparative ethnology, and biological anthropology in assembling a phylogenetic model (2001, 9, 283, 42, 278). In the naming of homelands, they find Puloth the more ancient, used by those who settled Western Polynesia to refer to Fiji, '*their* immediate homeland and place of the ancestors' (2001, 96). In the case of the name of Hawaiki and its career, they conclude that:

to the immediate descendants of the Ancestral Polynesians who began expanding out of the Samoa-Tonga homeland region, [Hawaiki] indexed that homeland, again the abode of the ancestors. *Thus the origin of Hawaiki marks the end of the Ancestral Polynesian period.* The name would be carried by Polynesian voyagers throughout virtually the whole of Eastern Polynesia, where it was variously given to islands or places (e.g., Hawai'i, 'Avaiki), and where it would figure in local religious ideology as the ancestral homeland, and abode of the spirits of the dead. We thus use the word in much the same sense that we infer the [Eastern Polynesia settler] speakers to have done, as the name of the ancestral homeland in which a distinctively Polynesian culture arose (2011, 96-97).

Whatever relationship these speculations and researches may bear to the Hawaiki of the Eastern Polynesians, they do not reveal the location of Smith's Hawaiki or the origin of Smith's Polynesians. I shall return to this subject in the conclusion of the next chapter.



## *Chapter Eight* *Origins and Destinations*

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In Chapters Three and Four, and to some extent in the First Hawaiki Interlude, I have traced a variety of intellectual currents that emerged or existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in and around what would become known as ethnology and later, at least in the English-speaking world, anthropology. Whether paradigmatic, recursive, or simply lingering survivals from an earlier time, many of these currents remained available in the epistemological field, Foucault's *épistémè*, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Percy Smith began his great project. Some make their appearance in the course of that project. The spirit of the Enlightenment and of its Renaissance precursors still underpinned European and colonial thought despite the reactions of the early nineteenth century. The earlier binary opposition of black and white had been elaborated in the stadial theories of the eighteenth century mapping the trajectory of savagery, barbarism, and civilisation, and these categories remained in use. The Romantic reaction to the Enlightenment, while no longer dominant in any of the arts except music, survived in the form of elegiac nostalgia for a golden age and continuing interest in the poetry and painting of its time.

Monogenism and polygenism might largely have been synthesised and side-stepped by evolutionism, as Stocking suggests. Elements, however, persisted in the environmental determinism of the first, carried over from early stadial theory and climate theory generally, and the inherent racialism of the second (1987, 101-102). Stadial theory recurred, in turn, in evolutionism's stages of development and in the concept of displacement or extinction of the inferior by the superior. Classical evolutionism might

have been ‘the “cynosure” of anthropological inquiry’, as Stocking has it, and the comparative method at its peak, but there were other sparkling objects to catch the eye of the professional-amateur scholar (1987, 286). The old Prichardian diffusionism, for instance, with its inevitable burden of decline and degeneration, lingered on before reviving full-blown in the first half of the twentieth century. Both diffusionism and evolutionism focused attention on origins but towards different purposes, mapping the process of diffusion from its very beginnings in one case and, in the other, seeking the precursor to the ensuing stages of development. And involvement in the salvage project, born in the work of the Aborigines Protection Society, had become increasingly urgent.

I would not suggest for a moment that any of these configurations were hermetic in themselves or rigidly followed to the exclusion of all others, but my reading of the Smith Text contains an unusual synthesis of sometimes disparate elements. Conceived in the spirit of the Enlightenment and on the eve of Modernism’s rejection of many of its elements, it displays none of the uncertainties, questionings, or transformations that would erupt generally during the career of Smith’s project. Equally certainly, there are passages suffused with Romanticism’s elegiac nostalgia, a cast of mind that may, in another sense, underpin the whole project and a subject to which I shall return. The opposition of black and white and the superiority of those of paler skin is certainly present in racial differentiation, particularly of Polynesians and Melanesians. It appears inverted in the extension into displacement of the superior by the explicitly or implicitly inferior, whether Aryan, Malay, or Melanesian. Stadialism, with its levels of development, is apparent at least in the presence of its language in references to savagery and is seemingly assumed in racial differentiation. On the whole, however, stadialism has little presence in the discussion of Branches of the Race, unless in the vitiated form of comparisons of appearances and proportions of Melanesian blood.



There is at least a trace of polygenism detectable in the belief of a discrete origin for the Polynesians and their stark separation from other Races, surely unexpected in an Anglican who would go on to be an office-holder in the church and at odds with its central tenet of the unity of the human race. At the same time, it is also at odds with classical evolutionism's assumption 'that all men share a single psychic nature' (Stocking 1987, 170).

Smith's researches share with evolutionism a concern with the identification of origins but thereafter largely depart from its framework. His representation of both Race and Branches as unchanging over time and distance is at odds with the evolutionist's comparative pursuit of stages of development from inferior to superior and from simple to complex. Certainly a comparative method lies at the heart of Smith's search for connections and disconnections, travels and sojourns among the Branches, but it much more resembles the method of comparative philology and comparative mythology characteristic of diffusionism than that of evolutionism. Similarly, such development as Smith sees occurring in the passage across the Pacific is more akin to the environmental and climatic determinism of the Ethnological Society than the result of any inherent motion towards complexity. In an earlier chapter I quoted Ernest Beaglehole on the subject of the 'almost obsessive preoccupation with the problem of origins and history' of Smith and his colleagues. There he observes that 'evolution was hot news and evolution in social studies meant but one thing: the mapping out of stages of progress and the determination of origins. For the New Zealand anthropologist of this period little attention was paid to stages of development' (1938, 155).

I suggest that, in Smith's case, the determination of origins had become all-consuming and replaced the mapping of evolutionary stages with a track back through the

genealogies and 'log-books' of the Migrations. In these were to be found the traces of stages of diffusionist progress, from the traditions of the Branches to the great goal of the origin of the Polynesians. It is, however, a curious and truncated form of diffusionism in which Smith engages, lacking some elements essential to the paradigm and including others contrary to it. There is, for instance, no trace of the transfer of higher cultural or material forms in the dispersal of Races and Branches. Contact brings exchange rather than advancement and, eventually, displacement rather than enrichment. Furthermore, the development of the canoe-building, sailing, and voyaging skills in the Eastern Archipelago is not the result of contact with and transfer from its peoples but of independent invention as a result of its particular environment. Nor does Smith give any indication of subsequent transfer of those skills to the people of the archipelago; the Polynesians took and kept their skills and knowledge with them and continued to advance them out of their own experience of the open ocean. Just as evolutionary development was vitiated by the compulsion to determine origins, so was diffusionist transfer subsumed by Smith's need to sustain the purity and integrity of the Polynesians throughout their long passage.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, Smith's diffusionism is lacking its inevitable outcome in decline and degeneration. There are suggestions of such decline in canoe-building and voyaging skills and deterioration in the spoken language of the Samoans but they are slight and apply only to the Branches in settlement. Even there, any sense of decline and degeneration is attenuated or negated by the transformation of the skills and energies involved in voyaging in search of land to those required to meet the challenges of the colonisation of the new lands. In any case, the Polynesians were to be spared the indignity of degeneration. In a demonstration of the difference between the salvage discourse of decline and that of extinction, the intruding Europeans, far from

bringing and inculcating a higher culture to ensure regeneration of the Race, were to bring only imminent extinction and destruction of what remained of the old knowledge and customs and Race. All of which Percy Smith was just in time to salvage:

It seemed therefore to the writer that the attempt to clear up this and other questions once for all was worth making. Time was pressing—the old men of the Polynesian race from whom their history could be obtained were fast passing away—civilisation was fast extinguishing what little remained of ancient lore—the people themselves were dying out before the incoming white man—and, to all appearances, there would soon be nothing left but regrets over lost opportunities (1898a, 137-138).

Before moving on to examine the salvage project in itself, I want to discuss its pretext, that imminent extinction, and particularly in Smith's New Zealand context.<sup>50</sup> While a minority of scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century believed that Māori had already been dying out, most were of the view that extinction was being caused by the arrival of Europeans (Stenhouse 1996, 124-125). It is certainly true that Māori population numbers declined heavily in the period 1840 to 1878 and more slowly in 1878 to 1891. In 1891 to 1901, however, a slow increase appeared and demographer Ian Pool observes that 'the evidence ... does suggest that 1891 was indeed the dividing line between decline and the start of the recuperation' and that 'the end of the "Passing of the Maori"', was already assured by the quinquennium 1891-6' (1991, 75). Pool also asserts that, 'From 1901, the demographic security of the Maori was certain, and since then intercensal rates of increase have always been positive' (1991, 60, 61). Historian Dorothy Shineberg characterises belief in the dying race as one of ideology rather than reason and identifies three underpinning perspectives: social Darwinism, the idea of the noble savage, and the critique of colonisation. 'In short', she writes, 'the natives were too weak, too good, or too ill-treated to survive according to each one's ideology' (1983, 42).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> This discussion of Māori population and the 'dying race' includes material from earlier work of mine on Smith's colleague, Walter Edward Gudgeon (Whimp 2008a, 25-26).

<sup>51</sup> '*En bref, les indigènes étaient trop faible, ou trop bons, ou trop abusés pour survivre selon l'idéologie de chacun.*'

Contextualising the term ‘Maoriland’, a common sobriquet for New Zealand in the nineteenth century and early twentieth and especially after much of the land had ceased to be Māori, literary scholars Jane Stafford and Mark Williams observe:

As the term suggests, the central feature of Maoriland was the use of Maori sources to provide the descendants of the settlers with a history peculiar to themselves. While drawing on the conventions of romanticism, this material is also filtered through colonial ethnology to give it an air of authenticity and of ownership. Maoriland writing is able to be both fantastic and encyclopaedic, to simultaneously invent and record. The habit of appropriation occurs in a period when Maori are conveniently figured as a ‘dying race’ (2006, 10-11).

Similarly, historian and Smith scholar Giselle Byrnes writes of Smith, Edward Tregear, and Elsdon Best that they were ‘self-conscious intellectuals’ whose ‘works on Maori belonged to a “discourse of intellectuals”, that extended far beyond New Zealand shores’ (1990, 2). One part of this discourse was ‘the single image of the dying savage’ a fusion of both noble and ignoble savage (1990, 27). And, underlying that, Byrnes suggests, is ‘a lament for an idealised past’ evoked by the title of Best’s celebrated book, *The Maori as He Was*: ‘As the most significant expression of the dying savage image, “the Maori as He Was” also revealed a distaste for the “Maori as he is”’. There existed a vast gulf between the idealised Maori of the past, and the perception of contemporary Maori’ (1990, 28, 30).

This, then, was an important part of the New Zealand intellectual context, the *épistémè*, within which Percy Smith began his Pacific researches in the late nineteenth century. Certainly there is also something, as Stafford and Williams suggest, of the Romanticism of the early years of that century. I have previously compared some of Smith’s more evocative passages to classical poets but there is also another element in those passages, the elegiac nostalgia of the romantic period apparent in Coleridge’s address to the Earth

from Chapter Four, ‘Was it not well with thee then, when first thy lap was ungirdled’.

And perhaps even more so in relation to Smith’s Polynesians:

Myriad myriads of lives teemed forth from the mighty embracement.  
Thousand-fold tribes of dwellers, impelled by thousand-fold instincts,  
Filled, as a dream, the wide waters; the rivers sang on their channels;  
Laughed on their shores the hoarse seas; the yearning ocean swelled upward  
(1912 [1834], 328-329).

At this juncture I want to pause briefly to consider the amalgam of elements that constitute the framework of the Smith Text and the reasons behind its particular formation. I should observe here that I think it is very clear that that framework was assembled in the decade and a half spanning the turn of the twentieth century. Not only was it very much a product of 1890s New Zealand, it would also remain significantly unmodified during the remainder of Smith’s lifetime and in the later editions of *Hawaiki*. It soon became clear, for example, that New Zealand Māori were no longer a dying race: the Māori population grew from 39,834 in 1896 to 43,112 in 1901 and 47,701 in 1906 (Statistics 2013). Smith’s project, nonetheless, remained true until his death to its original formulation in the last decade of the nineteenth century when the dying race remained at least a statistical possibility. That is not to suggest that Smith did not eventually become aware of a resurgence in the Māori population; it is rather to observe that the essential character and driving force of his quest remained unchanged, even in the face of any such evidence.

In the 1890s, classical evolutionism was in its prime and yet it plays so little part in Smith’s narrative. It was not that every scholar at that time was a complete evolutionist or a complete diffusionist, a monogenist or a polygenist, a product of the Enlightenment or of Romanticism. Smith’s assembly, however, resembles much more a miscellaneous collation of disparate elements drawn from a variety of sources for the purpose of discovering Hawaiki and the place of origin of the Polynesians. There is a bit of

diffusionist movement here and some independent invention there; a trace of stadialism in the classification of races and polygenism in the separation of races; the comparative method confronts an array of unchanging Branches, and so on. In the conclusion to Chapter Two I suggested that Smith, united in mutual uninterest with the great evolutionists of the metropole, went on to establish his own metropole, based on the Polynesian Society and its *Journal*, at the centre of a great international network of Polynesianists. I suggest that something very similar occurred in the disciplinary field, with Smith taking advantage of whatever elements enabled him to prosecute his great project of tracing the Polynesians from origin to destination. At the heart of that project was a colonial salvage ethnology propelled by belief in his subjects' impending extinction reinforced by the cultural passing of 'the Maori as He Was'.

Anthropologist Jacob Gruber summarises the emergence of the salvage project in this way: 'During the nineteenth century people began to sense the urgency of collection for the sake of preserving data whose extinction was feared. In this awareness the tradition of salvage begins and from this derives its force' (1970, 1290). The earliest stages of the promotion of salvage as an ethnological project have already appeared in Chapter Four in the context of the Aborigines Protection Society and James Cowles Prichard's role in it. The principal objects of the society include 'the collection of authentic information concerning the character, habits and wants of uncivilized tribes, and especially those in or near the British Colonies' (APS 1838, 12). Prichard more fully specifies the salvage element of that work in applauding the society's 'truly admirable attempt to preserve from utter ruin and extermination, many whole tribes and families of men, who, without such interference, are doomed to be swept away from the face of the earth' (APS 1839, 56). Furthermore, he spells out his precise scholarly concern in lamenting the number of

‘problems of the most curious and interesting kind’ that would remain unsolved in the face of extinction (APS 1839, 57).

Beyond extinction, a sense of loss, and scholarly curiosity, critiques of modern exercises in salvage anthropology have revealed other tendencies within the salvage project. In the course of a 1980s discussion, ‘Beyond the “Salvage” Paradigm’, interdisciplinary scholar James Clifford described ‘the salvage paradigm’ as ‘reflecting a desire to rescue “authenticity” out of destructive historical change’ and characterised that authenticity as ‘produced’ or ‘constructed’ (Clifford 1987, 121, 122). In the same discussion, anthropologist Virginia Dominguez asked, ‘Salvaging what and for whom?’ and replied: ‘When we assert the need to salvage, rescue, save, preserve a series of objects or forms, we announce our fear of its destruction, our inability to trust others to take appropriate action and our sense of entitlement over the fate of the objects’ (1987, 131). Both Clifford’s authenticity and Dominguez’s implied ownership have previously appeared here in Stafford’s and Williams’s discussion of Maoriland as it figured in the discourse of the late nineteenth century.

In an essay on ‘Imperialist Nostalgia’, anthropologist Renato Rosaldo referred to its ‘elegiac mode’ and pointed out that the various ‘agents of colonialism’ from whom anthropologists tend to dissociate themselves ‘often display nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was “traditionally” (that is, when they first encountered it)’ (1993, 68, 69). In a reference that could easily apply to Smith the surveyor, he identifies ‘the peculiarity of their yearning’ as the fact that the ‘agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed’. This he describes as ‘a particular kind of nostalgia, often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed’ (1993, 69). Of course, as both the Coleridge poem and

the Smith Text demonstrate, such nostalgia does not have to be for one's own past or even a past that actually existed. What is more, it can, as suggested above, be for a past that provides 'the descendants of the settlers with a history peculiar to themselves' (Stafford and Williams 2006, 11).

Even more stringent criticism of the salvage paradigm appears in a critique of the work of Marius Barbeau in a history of Canadian anthropology, of which he was one of the founders. The author, Andrew Nurse, suggests that 'salvage methods constructed a canon of authenticity determined by anthropologists, often with little reference to the views of the people actually under study'. He continues: 'Salvage research methods were designed to filter modern adaptations from culture in order to discover a supposedly "authentic" culture that had existed in the past' and he adds that, in this way, salvage research 'confirmed its own unquestioned assumption that authentic aboriginal cultures were cultures of the past, not the present' (2006, 63). Even more tellingly in the case of Smith, he adds:

The development of salvage ethnography in Canada worked not simply to sustain the ideology of the 'vanishing race' but also shifted the basis of cultural authority from informants (or communities) to experts whose conclusions seemed predicated on a rigorous method and extensive research. In this way, salvage ethnography became part of a process of cultural disempowerment that allocated to white intellectuals the authority to determine what was and was not an authentic part of Aboriginal (or folk) culture (2006, 63).

Surely, with minimal change, this accounts for Smith's comparative lack of interest in the Branches of the present as a possible source of origins and reliance on the traditions of a very small number of elite Māori and *Maori* experts on the past. It appears that the land-based Branches had little to offer Smith in his pursuit of the voyaging Polynesians.

Authenticity and nostalgia were certainly components in Smith's salvage work but both arose directly from his conviction of the imminent extinction of the Polynesians. It was



the certainty of their destination that made the search for an origin so vital and it was the ideological character and erroneousness of that certainty that led, in large part, to the misdirection of the search and its pursuit in the Race rather than the Branches. The Branches were, almost by definition, inauthentic, if not degenerated, manifestations of the Race. Their only possible contribution to its origin lay in their traditions, logbooks, and genealogies, not in their actuality, where so much of our existing understanding was revealed by the modern research methods that were emerging elsewhere in Smith's own time. Therein lies the outcome suggested by Nurse, the construction of 'a canon of authenticity determined ... with little reference to the views of the people actually under study'. The 'modern adaptations' of the Branches could only obscure the 'supposedly "authentic" culture that had existed in the past' (2006, 63). That is not to suggest that Smith's researches would have taken a different course had the new research methods become prematurely available to him at the time that his course was set. While he often articulated his quest as one for the whence of the Māori, his interest in the island Pacific outside New Zealand was part of an ethnological search for the origin of the Race, not an ethnographic survey of any possible contribution by the Branches. I can't help wondering what the outcome might have been if he had inquired into Puloa in Samoa and Burutu in Fiji and any relationship that these might have had with Hawaiki.

There is something of the search for authenticity as well as an element of nostalgia in what has seemed to me to be a need to maintain the purity, the essential integrity of the Polynesians alongside the other Races they might have encountered. That, in turn, demanded a trajectory, a pristine trajectory (apart from the question of the taint that, after all, serves only to confirm their original and essential integrity) from origin to destination. The destination, extinction, had been determined beyond doubt; most of the rest of the trajectory, at least from the Eastern Archipelago, having been sketched out

quite accurately; now all that remained to be secured was an unspoiled and authentic origin. That is the reason it had to be located beyond, in time or place, any of the other Races with which the Polynesians came into contact.

In my Prologue, I have outlined in three moments the process of the adoption of the terms Polynesia and Polynesians. The term Polynesia was conceived by Charles de Brosses in the middle of the eighteenth century and extended from place to people to include Polynesians by Conrad Malte-Brun around the turn of the century. Polynesia and Polynesians were consolidated in Dumont d'Urville's fourfold racial classification and had entered general usage by the end of the nineteenth century (Douglas 2009, 10-13). In an important sense, it is in this process that the origin of Percy Smith's Polynesians is to be found. Smith's Polynesia and Smith's Polynesians originated in the racial division of Oceania, as did his Melanesians. As, indeed, did the terms as we use them today. In the meantime, of course, the Austronesian speakers who had entered the Pacific 4,000 years earlier got on with the business of being and continuing to become Chamorro, ni-Vanuatu, Kanak, Fijian, Tongan, Samoan, I-Kiribati, Tahitian, Hawaiian, and all the others they had become in residence on the islands of the Pacific. In this way at least, Peter Buck's *matai* from the Second Hawaiki Interlude was right: the Samoans became Samoan in Samoa. At other times, nonetheless, often in engagement with would-be neo-colonisers, international bureaucracies, and external institutions, Pacific people could also become, for their own purposes, Micronesian, Melanesian, and Polynesian.

This project began as an exercise in intellectual history based on a particular approach to reading a body of works as a Text and a historical figure, the author of the works, as a character in that Text. One result is that it has also become a history of the creation of

an imaginary, a Pākehā and *Palagi* imaginary of the Pacific, Polynesia, and Polynesians that persists to this day. Perhaps that imaginary too has been taken up, to varying degrees and at different times, by some of the other people of the Pacific. In the Afterword that follows this chapter, I shall set out one microcosmic example of the ways in which the imaginary and the reality play out in present-day Aotearoa New Zealand.



In 2013 at Wellington's Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, I am walking towards the entrance of the long-term exhibition, *Tangata o le Moana*, usually translated as People of the Sea but perhaps more accurately, if less euphoniously, as People of the Ocean. The exhibition's sub-title is, The story of Pacific people in New Zealand. On my left there is a massive aluminium sculpture suspended above a canoe. The sculpture is *Matakimoana, Eye of the Ocean*, by Tongan-born artist Filipe Tohi. The label tells me that Filipe was inspired by *tufunga lavalava*, the Tongan art of line and space intersection often seen in the intricate lashing of joins in houses, *vaka* (canoes), and fish hooks. The canoe, about nine metres in length, is *Tauhunu* from Manihiki in the northern Cook Islands, one of only three such *vaka* that survive in museums. The label tells me that its outrigger has been removed, possibly to allow its use as part of a double canoe. With its outrigger, it would mostly have been paddled, but it could also have been sailed, mainly inside the lagoon. The label says that canoe building continued on Manihiki until recently, but modern *vaka* do not match *Tauhunu* for quality of workmanship. The canoe was sent to the 1906-1907 New Zealand International Exhibition of Arts and Industries by New Zealand's Cook Islands resident commissioner, Smith's colleague Walter Edward Gudgeon.

A little further on to my right is quite a large model of a double canoe, said to be based on the voyaging *waka* of Kupe, Percy Smith's discoverer of New Zealand. It has two sails and a house mounted across the two hulls. Behind it is a small dark room with people seated on benches watching a 'Pepper's Ghost' hologram-like display, *Journey to a New Land*, the foundation for which is the model canoe. In the course of the display

there will appear a young, modern-day girl narrator, Moana, the name meaning ‘ocean’, two other women and five men. There is a moving light on the hull indicating waves, sound effects of ocean, and a musical background soundtrack with some lyrics. The composer, Gareth Farr, tells me that ‘it became clear that we would need a karanga/karakia [call/incantation] for the seafarers to call to the gods and bless their journey. Immediately the problem arose of exactly what language it should be in, as this dramatisation was set centuries before modern Māori language existed’. After consultations with kaumatua (elders), it was ‘decided that “inventing” a pre-Māori language would be fraught with difficulty, and it was suggested that Tahitian would perhaps be the closest living language that we could use’ (Farr 2014). The suggestion was taken up.

A slightly spectral Moana appears and explains that this is a voyaging canoe and that her grandfather told her that ‘about a thousand years ago, our ancestors sailed across the Pacific to Aotearoa New Zealand in vaka’. She adds that he said ‘it was real dangerous ... but they were awesome sailors’ (Te Papa [2007], 1-2). The ‘stage directions’ from the script specify:

The KAIHAUTU [leader] stretches out his arm indicating the stars. The TILLER-MAN materialises at the tiller ... acknowledges the KAIHAUTU. The KAIHAUTU sweeps his arm in a big arc over his head, indicating the direction in which they need to travel—the stars follow the arc of his hand until they fade before the bow of the vaka.... The TILLER-MAN hauls on the tiller, adjusting their course until the KAIHAUTU holds up his hand to indicate that the course is now correct. He stands firmly on the deck, arms folded, looking in the direction in which they are sailing (Te Papa [2007], 2).

The voyage continues. After many incidents, Moana declares that her grandfather ‘says that my ancestors believed that atua, gods, looked after them and their vaka. They took statues of atua and stuff onboard, to protect them and help them out while they sailed’. Birds can be heard in the distance, land is sighted, and Moana shouts, ‘Some of them made it, though, otherwise I wouldn’t be here!’. Celebrations break out and Moana asks,

‘Imagine what it must have been like ... seeing land again ... seeing Aotearoa, land of the long white cloud’. The other voyagers fade and Moana adds, ‘It’s amazing for me thinking about that—that their arrival was the beginning of my story’, and she too fades from the screen (Te Papa [2007], 5). This is the world of Smith’s ethnological and genealogical/historical construction, the voyaging Polynesians, writ large and new and beckoning the passing museum-goer. As so often, it reminds me of my attempts in the 1970s and 1980s to romanticise or exoticise Polynesian factory workers, my infatuation with Samoa and Samoans, or my reluctantly warm response to some of Smith’s more florid passages. Some of us at least are still Smithing the Pacific, if in new and slightly different ways.

Moving on into the exhibition itself, however, I enter another world, the world of Smith’s brief ethnographic encounters, of the people of the land. Here are Smith’s Branches or, rather, the divers progeny of the Austronesian-speakers who entered the Pacific all those centuries ago, now at the end of their final voyage to their own islands or, here, on to the islands of Aotearoa New Zealand. Like Smith’s Branches, however, they tend to lose their lustre for many New Zealanders, except when on a tropical holiday, when they become static, land-based, in their own islands or, especially, in those of Aotearoa New Zealand. These, after all, are of the same people as those who became the subjects of ‘dawn raids’ in the 1970s. They stayed too long, or too close, or when no longer needed by industry; they are Melani Anae’s overstayers (2012). That was a time when it was possible simultaneously, like Percy Smith, to romanticise the Polynesians while disdaining the actual people of the Branches, the modern Austronesian-speakers. And those thoughts take me back to the starting point of this thesis, to those overstayers who first excited my interest in the Pacific, and to those dawn raids which set in motion the process of which this thesis is in part a result.





These are the works that constitute my Smith Text. Not all are cited in the body of my thesis. Those that are, and other Smith documents, are included in the References.

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**1891**

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**1892**

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**1893**

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**1894**

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**1897**

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**1898**

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**1901**

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**1902**

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**1904**

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**1905**

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**1910**

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**1911**

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**1920**

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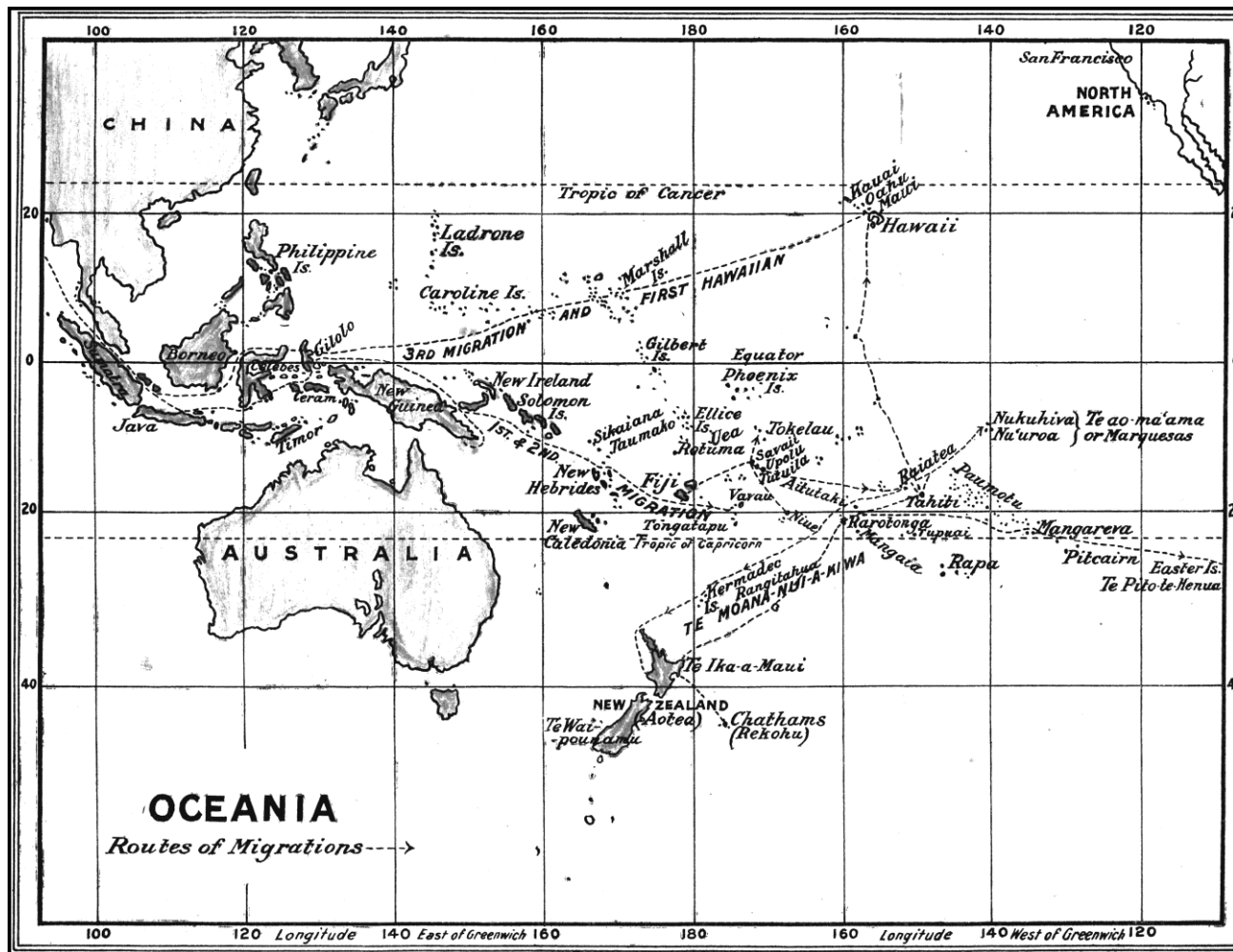
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