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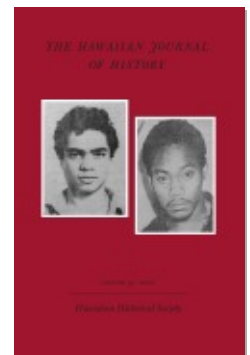
Ne Tentes aut Perfice : Early Hawaiian Diplomacy in the
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Hawaiian Journal of History, Volume 54, 2020, pp. 55-100 (Article)

Published by University of Hawai'i Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/hjh.2020.0002>



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Ne Tentēs aut Perfice:* Early Hawaiian Diplomacy in the Southwestern Pacific and the Creation of Hawai‘i’s First Royal Order

LORENZ GONSCHOR

INTRODUCTION

IN EARLY 1860, King Kamehameha IV granted royal assent to the Order of Arossi, an order “for the reward of those who have materially aided the Social and Political Advancement of any Polynesian Government or People.”¹ The monarch thereby created the first Hawaiian royal order, preceding by several years King Kamehameha V’s 1865 creation of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I, which is commonly assumed to be the first such order.² Unlike the later Hawaiian royal orders created by Kamehameha V and Kalākaua, however, the Order of Arossi—named after a place in the Solomon Islands—was not conceived of in the Hawaiian Islands but thousands of miles away in what was then the British colony of New South Wales, by a group of diplomats representing the Hawaiian Kingdom in Sydney. While none of them were of Hawaiian ancestry, and only one of them would set foot

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 54 (2020)

in Hawai'i later in his life, the creators of the Order of Arossi played an important role in connecting the Hawaiian Islands not only to the Australian colonies but also to the archipelagos of the Southwestern Pacific. Furthermore, their Sydney office formed the nexus for the spread of the Hawaiian constitution as a model for other island kingdoms to emulate, and their activities, symbolized by the Order of Arossi, also laid the groundwork for Hawai'i's pan-Oceanianist foreign policy as it would be espoused especially under the reign of King Kalākaua during the mid-1880s.

This article provides a background to the origin of this first Hawaiian Royal Order by highlighting the roles played by Hawai'i's diplomatic and consular representatives in the Southwestern Pacific in shaping Hawaiian policy towards Oceania. It will first provide some context of the development of Hawai'i's diplomatic and consular network and the individuals involved, with a specific emphasis on the Southwestern Pacific. The article then focuses on the two central figures in this regional diplomatic network, Charles St Julian and Edward Reeve, whose motivations and passions for their work differed from most other consular personnel. Having introduced the main protagonists who conceived of the Order of Arossi, our attention will then turn to the peculiar circumstances of its creation, namely a quite extraordinary story of failed British settler adventurism in the Solomon Islands upon which a Hawaiian connection was later grafted. Continuing the story of the expanding Hawaiian consular network in the Southwestern Pacific during the 1870s and 1880s, it concludes with an assessment of the network's contributions to the Hawaiian Kingdom's larger pan-Oceanian policy, including a critical evaluation of the individuals involved.

HAWAIIAN DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATION ABROAD

In the nineteenth century world order, the Hawaiian Kingdom had a unique status. In 1843 it became the first non-Western nation that received full recognition as an independent state by the Western powers.³ Subsequently, Hawai'i established equal treaty relations with almost every single Western nation. This made Hawai'i unique among non-Western nations, as the European powers had not only not colo-

nized the Islands but recognized them as one of their equals, a status they would deny all other Pacific islands, but also Japan until 1899 and China until as late as the mid-twentieth century.⁴

Secondly, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Hawaiian Islands had become a hub for the trans-Pacific trade between the Americas and Asia. As early as in 1801, French scholar Charles Pierre Claret de Fleurieu had predicted that Hawai'i would become the "caravansary of the Pacific"⁵ and by the time the kingdom started modernizing its political structure in the 1840s during Kamehameha III's rule, Honolulu had definitely become "a center, rather than a periphery, of the Pacific World."⁶ It was in the context of these expanding trade relations that the Hawaiian Kingdom established a wide range of consulates and consular agencies around the world, starting in 1850. The driving force behind those appointments was Hawai'i's first minister of foreign affairs, Scottish-born Robert Crichton Wyllie (1798-1865) appointed by Kamehameha III in 1846⁷ and retained in office by Kamehameha IV and V until his death in 1865, who could tap into a global network of mainly British friends and business associates that he had established during his time as merchant in Europe and Latin America before coming to Hawai'i in 1844.⁸ Hawai'i subsequently had a marked presence on the world stage, and by the late 1880s, the island kingdom had over a hundred diplomatic and consular agents positioned around the world.⁹

The first academic work specifically examining Hawaiian consular representation abroad was published recently by Nicholas B. Miller.¹⁰ Despite a number of technical and factual errors, Miller is correct in stating that many, if not most, of Hawaiian consular appointments were made to locally resident businessmen whose interest was primarily economic, and whose main contributions were to facilitate trade with or the recruitment of labor to Hawai'i. They had no other specific ties to Hawai'i, and often concurrently acted as consuls for other countries as well.¹¹ However, Miller also mentions another type of resident diplomatic or consular agents whose commitment to the Hawaiian Kingdom was much deeper. They had either lived in Hawai'i and became naturalized subjects there, like the long-serving Hawaiian Chargé d'Affaires in London Abraham Hoffnung,¹² or—not mentioned by Miller—they were born in Hawai'i of foreign ancestry like Hawai'i's long-term minister resident in Washington, DC, Henry

A. P. Carter,¹³ or even of ‘Ōiwi (native) ancestry like John Kapilikea Sumner who served as Hawaiian consul in Tahiti from 1881 to 1885.¹⁴

As far as the Southwestern Pacific was concerned, Hawai‘i’s initial consular representatives there certainly fit the first category. The first Hawaiian Consul-General in Sydney, Thomas Winder Campbell, received his commission in 1850 because of a friend and business associate, Scottish entrepreneur and adventurer Benjamin Boyd, who was also acquainted with Wyllie and recommended Campbell’s appointment to the Hawaiian foreign minister. Boyd was at the time passing through Honolulu on his yacht *Wanderer*,¹⁵ a fateful trip that would play a key role in the origins of the Order of Arossi, as we will see below.

Around the same time, Wyllie also had merchant John Watson Bain, with whom he had previously corresponded by mail, appointed Hawaiian consul in Auckland, New Zealand,¹⁶ and a few years later, American trader in Apia Virginius P. Chapin was commissioned as Hawaiian commercial and consular agent for Sāmoa.¹⁷ While of these earliest appointments Chapin—concurrently also commercial agent for the United States—remained in office until his departure from Sāmoa to the United States in 1856,¹⁸ and Bain—simultaneously also US consular agent—until his death in 1867,¹⁹ Campbell proved unreliable to fulfill his duties as Hawaiian consul general in Sydney, a higher ranking position that was supposed to be the nexus for Hawaiian activity in the region.²⁰

HAWAI‘I’S PASSIONATE ADVOCATES:

CHARLES ST JULIAN AND EDWARD REEVE

Campbell’s poor performance opened the doors for arguably one of the most remarkable figures in Hawaiian diplomatic history²¹ to enter the stage: A few years earlier, in 1848, a young Sydney-based newspaperman by the name of Charles St Julian had contacted James J. Jarves, the US-born editor of the Hawaiian English-language government newspaper *The Polynesian* and suggested closer commercial and political ties between the Hawaiian Islands and the Australian colonies, including the establishment of a Hawaiian consulate in Sydney, since he had repeatedly noticed stranded Hawaiian sailors in need of consular assistance.²²

During the late 1840s and early 1850s, the Australian colonies—essentially New South Wales at the time, with most other colonial outposts along the continent’s coast only in their initial settlement stages—were in a process of social change from a penal colony to a commerce-based settler colony. In the process, the commercial elite among the free settlers became increasingly assertive, with self-government being granted to New South Wales in 1856 and started to develop its own local “sub-imperial” ambitions towards the Pacific Islands.²³

It was in this context that St Julian had become interested in the insular Pacific, albeit with a somewhat different angle from that of Sydney’s merchant class. While Australia’s expanding trade was mainly with the islands of central Polynesia, and much less with the Hawaiian Islands, Hawai‘i’s position as the only island nation with an internationally recognized government, as well as its more developed capitalist economy compared to the rest of Oceania, was not lost on St Julian. After exhaustive research, he wrote a series of articles for various Sydney newspapers, later publishing them in book form as *Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia* in 1851, in which he concluded, among other things, that “[t]he Hawaiian nation may, as a whole, be fairly appealed to as affording a proof of what the Polynesian race is capable of.”²⁴

St Julian now once more contacted Honolulu and sent a copy of his book to Wyllie, initiating an intensive and constructive dialogue between the two that lasted for almost a decade, in which St Julian developed the idea that all of Polynesia should be united into a large political entity led by its most powerful state, the Hawaiian Kingdom. These ideas impressed upon Wyllie, and in 1853 Kamehameha III appointed St Julian as Hawai‘i’s Commissioner, and Political and Commercial Agent, to the independent islands of the Pacific.²⁵ Initially his position remained parallel to Campbell’s as Consul-General, but when the latter departed to Britain in 1855, St Julian took charge of the Hawaiian Consulate-General for New South Wales and Tasmania as well.²⁶ A year earlier, St Julian had appointed his associate Edward Reeve, a writer and government clerk, to be chancellor of the Hawaiian Commission to the Independent Islands in the Pacific.²⁷ Reeve remained St Julian’s most active collaborator and would eventually succeed him in office in 1872.

With the appointment of St Julian, the Hawaiian commission and consulate-general in Sydney took a new direction, from a business orientation towards one of active and increasingly visionary policy-making. For despite never having visited Hawai'i in their lifetimes, St Julian and Reeve clearly belong to the second category of Hawaiian officials abroad, whose connection to the Kingdom was deeper. Their diplomatic work for Hawai'i was driven by deep personal passion, not by business interests, and they never served as consuls for another power concurrently.



FIGURE 1. Portrait of Charles St Julian (1819–1874). St Julian is wearing the robe of the Chief Justice of the Kingdom of Fiji and the insignia of Knight's Commander of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I. Engraving published in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, January 16, 1875, based on a photograph or sketch done between 1872 and 1874. Engraver and photographer unknown.

Born in England in 1819, St Julian arrived in Sydney in 1839, settled down and founded a family. Talented as a writer, as well as quick to understand law and politics, he became a leading journalist for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, writing mainly as a court reporter but also on a variety of social and political topics. Within the political spectrum of colonial New South Wales, he positioned himself as a liberal and moderate advocate of social reforms, but at the same time opposed to more radical political reform movements, such as republicanism, and ardently defended the system of constitutional monarchy against such critics.²⁸ Later, during the 1860s, St Julian became actively involved in New South Wales local politics and served in various municipal governments in the suburbs of Sydney.²⁹ While his positions as newspaperman, diplomat and local politician gave him social status, they were apparently not very remunerative, as he twice faced insolvency proceedings in 1849 and 1862.³⁰

In his diplomatic capacity, besides his everyday responsibilities of issuing passports and helping Hawaiian subjects in need of assistance,³¹ St Julian made it his personal ambition to increase the Hawaiian Kingdom's sphere of influence throughout the Pacific, disseminate knowledge about Hawai'i among the other island rulers and vice versa, and promote the Hawaiian Kingdom's constitution as a model for them to follow. It was in consequence of these initiatives that the nineteenth-century constitutions of Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa all bear strong resemblance to that of Hawai'i. The idea of bringing immigrants from the other islands of Oceania to the kingdom was also first contemplated at the time.³²

After four years in Hawaiian diplomatic service, St Julian published his second book in 1857, an *Official Report on Central Polynesia* presented to the Hawaiian Government, which contained a detailed gazetteer of all Central Polynesian islands and chiefdoms, compiled by Reeve. In the report, St Julian reiterated and refined his vision of a Polynesia modernized along Hawaiian lines and unified under Hawaiian primacy.³³ Two years later, his Hawaiian diplomatic appointment was renewed, and he received a commission as Chargé d'Affaires and Consul General from Kamehameha IV.³⁴

When Wylie passed away in 1865, the Hawaiian government became less wholehearted in its support for St Julian, and during most of the 1860s there was little communication between Honolulu

and its legation in Sydney. After Kamehameha V appointed Charles C. Harris foreign minister in 1869, however, Honolulu renewed its political support for St Julian, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to Levuka, the capital of Fiji, in 1871, his first actual voyage to any Pacific island.³⁵ Fiji had then recently formed a constitutional monarchy under King Cakobau based on the Hawaiian model, and St Julian's mission was to assess the feasibility of a possible Hawaiian protectorate over Fiji.³⁶ Nothing came of that particular project, but his impressions in Levuka made him an ardent advocate of the new Fijian government, and on his return to Sydney he published a pamphlet urging the international recognition of Fiji's sovereignty.³⁷ This endeared him to Cakobau and his advisors, who offered him an appointment as Chief Justice and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Fiji in 1872. He resigned his Hawaiian diplomatic commission and took the position that made him the second-highest official in Fiji, and he represented King Cakobau when reading the King's speeches at the opening of the Fijian legislature in the latter's absence in 1872 and 1873.³⁸ However, after a few years, due to internal instability, settler racism, and foreign power hostility, the Fijian Kingdom ended up being annexed by Great Britain in October of 1874. Soon thereafter, St Julian's visionary life ended rather tragically when he was not rehired by the incoming colonial administration and passed away on November 26, 1874 in Levuka.³⁹

St Julian's life, ideas and contribution to Hawaiian policy have been extensively documented in previous work on nineteenth century Hawaiian pan-Oceanianism, including by the present author.⁴⁰ Furthermore, a short biographical piece as well as a volume-long biography, based on an earlier doctoral dissertation, have been published on this foremost Hawaiian diplomat in Australia.⁴¹ Much less has been written about St, Julian's faithful assistant and later successor in office, Edward Reeve, besides several contemporary news articles⁴² and a relatively extensive entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, which however mentions his role as a Hawaiian diplomat only in a brief passage.⁴³ This comparative lack of interest in Reeve does not do justice to the important contributions done by this equally fascinating diplomatic official, both under St Julian's direction and independently afterwards.

Much more than the more practically inclined St Julian, Reeve was an intellectual. Born in England in 1822, he had attended Bristol Col-

lege and came to Sydney in 1840.⁴⁴ Initially working as a schoolteacher, then as a government clerk in the New South Wales immigration and Police departments, Reeve eventually found work as a reporter for the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1854.⁴⁵ It is likely that he became acquainted with fellow journalist St Julian in that context, as the latter shortly thereafter appointed Reeve chancellor of the Hawaiian commission. In that capacity, Reeve worked very hard for the Hawaiian Kingdom, as many of St Julian's dispatches are in Reeve's handwriting and he often co-signed official acts of the Hawaiian diplomatic mission.⁴⁶



FIGURE 2. Portrait of Edward Reeve (1822–1889) wearing the insignia of Knight's Commander of the Royal Order of Kalākaua. Hand colored photograph by Freeman (first name unknown), dated around 1879. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.

One of his most important contributions to the Hawaiian commission was doubtlessly the “Gazetteer of Central Polynesia” that he compiled and published as an attachment to St Julian’s 1857 *Report on Central Polynesia* mentioned above. Containing entries for hundreds of islands with a variety of statistical and historical information on each of them, the gazetteer can be regarded as one of the most detailed compilations of knowledge of the Pacific Islands available during the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁷

Reeve’s talents as a researcher, evidenced in the gazetteer as well as his classical education at Bristol College, convinced the University of Sydney to appoint him the first curator of their newly founded Museum of Antiquities—now called the Nicholson Museum and to this day the largest museum of classical antiquities in the Southern hemisphere—in 1860.⁴⁸ In this context, his passion for meticulous compilation of knowledge was once again displayed in 1870, when he published an extensive catalogue of the museum’s hundreds of ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman objects, showcasing his knowledge of the ancient Mediterranean world and of the Greek and Latin languages.⁴⁹ Already a decade earlier, reflecting on his initial career as a schoolteacher, Reeve had published a pamphlet on education.⁵⁰

Furthermore, being a true ‘renaissance man,’ Reeve was also active as a poet and playwright. Among his contributions to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and other Sydney newspapers were various works of fiction and literary criticism. One of his plays, a Shakespearean-style tragedy set in medieval Italy, was published as a book in 1851⁵¹ and publicly performed in Sydney in 1863, and the body of creative writing he produced made him famous enough to be listed in standard works on Australian literature.⁵² In 1871, he founded the New South Wales Academy of Arts to provide a forum for similarly minded individuals sensitive to the arts, a rather rare occurrence in the mostly utilitarian-oriented world of Anglo-Saxon settlers.⁵³

When St Julian resigned his Hawaiian commission to become Chief Justice of Fiji in mid-1872, Reeve succeeded him in office and was duly commissioned by King Kamehameha V.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, however, after Kamehameha V’s death in late 1872, Hawai‘i’s new foreign minister Charles Reed Bishop, serving under the new king Lunalilo, had no interest in furthering Hawaiian involvement in Oceania and refused to sanction Reeve’s succession as Hawaiian Chargé d’Affaires



FIGURE 3. The building at 163 Bourke Street in Sydney, location of the Hawaiian Consulate-General during Reeve's tenure between 1872 and 1875. Photo by the author, taken in December 2019.

to Central Polynesia, eventually closing down the legation in February of 1873, in order to “end all that Polynesia business once and for all,” as historian Jason Horn succinctly paraphrased it.⁵⁵ Reeve’s rank remained limited to being Hawaiian consul-general to the Australian colonies, over his vigorous protests.⁵⁶ In late 1874, he undertook his only documented trip to a Pacific Island, when he was present during the annexation of Fiji by Great Britain.⁵⁷

In 1875, for reasons of failing health, Reeve resigned from his journalistic and curatorial jobs in Sydney and moved to the small town of Gosford, about 30 miles to the north, where he served as police magistrate and coroner.⁵⁸ While becoming a pillar of the small rural settler community away from hectic city life,⁵⁹ he retained his position of Hawaiian Consul-general and continued regular correspondence with Honolulu, until he tendered his resignation in early 1879, following a British government decision forbidding its civil servants to serve as consuls for foreign states.⁶⁰ Nonetheless he offered to be informally at the Hawaiian government’s disposal and continued to write several letters informing Honolulu of political events in the Pacific Islands.⁶¹ In 1888, Reeve retired on a government pension and moved back to Sydney, where he briefly resumed the curatorship of the Museum of Antiquities before passing away on May 13, 1889.⁶²

CREATING A NETWORK OF HAWAIIAN CONSULATES IN AUSTRALIA AND THE ISLANDS

Being a passionate advocate of the Hawaiian Kingdom, St Julian began building a network of Hawaiian consulates in the Australian colonies and the Islands of the Southwestern Pacific right after receiving his appointment in 1853. In Sydney itself, St Julian’s office was initially staffed with fellow newspaperman Edward Wilbraham Bell as Chancellor of the Commission, but he passed away soon and was replaced with Reeve in 1854.⁶³ In 1859 the Hawaiian diplomatic mission in Sydney was further extended to include Alexander Speed Webster, a Sydney-based merchant originally from Scotland, as vice-consul.⁶⁴ As early as 1854, the network was extended outside of Sydney through the appointment of John Walden Semple, as agent of the Hawaiian Commission in Melbourne.⁶⁵ However, because of political differences with St Julian, Semple’s appointment was revoked the following

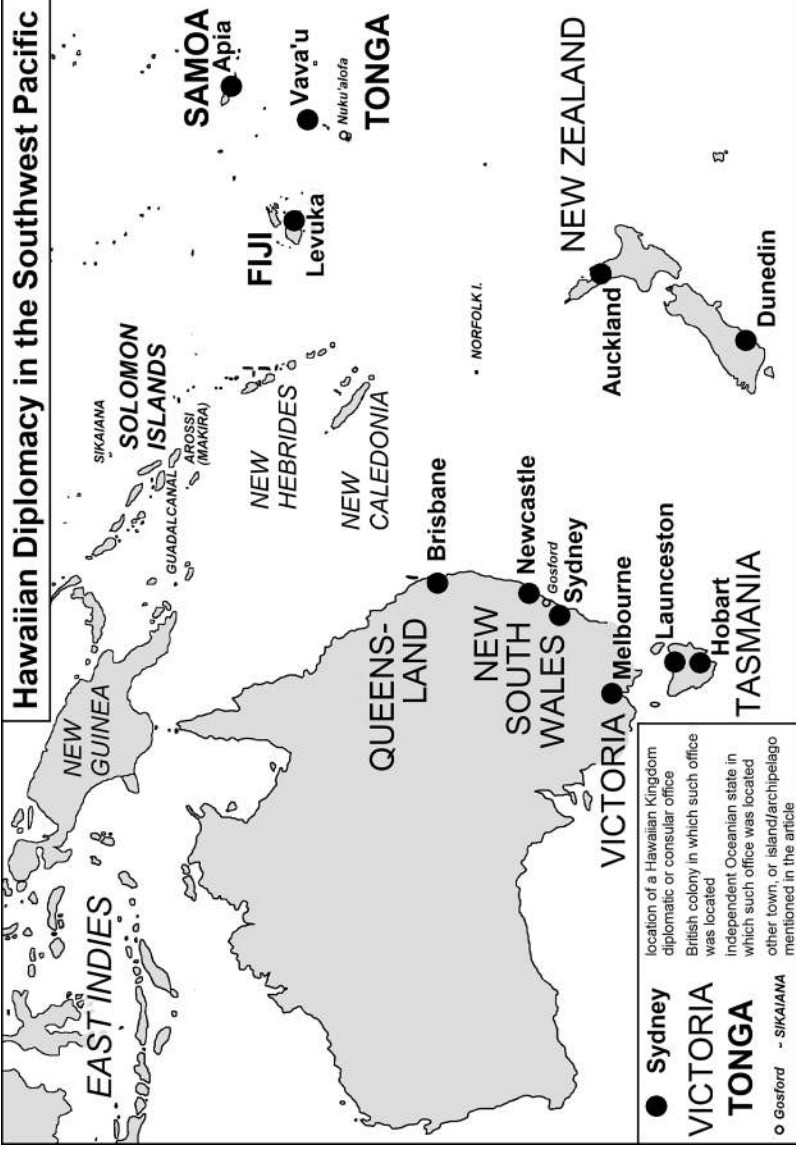


FIGURE 4. Map of the Southwestern Pacific, highlighting Hawaiian consular posts and other place names mentioned in the article. Map drawn by the author.

year.⁶⁶ The second Hawaiian consular appointment in another Australian colony was that of artist and merchant William Knight, likely an acquaintance of Reeves through his network of artists and writers, as Hawaiian consul in Hobart, Tasmania.⁶⁷ Finally, in 1859, Albert Maxwell Hutchison was appointed Hawaiian consular agent in Newcastle, a port city in New South Wales north of Sydney.⁶⁸

Throughout the 1850s, St Julian and Reeve appointed further consuls in Southwestern Oceania. The first of them was Alexander Blake, a British-born assistant to the Wesleyan missionaries in Tonga who worked at their printing press on the island of Vava'u in the northern part of the archipelago.⁶⁹ When Blake visited Sydney in 1855, St



FIGURE 5. Painting of Alexander Blake by his descendant, Gabriella Renee Blake-Iolahia, ca. 2016. Facial features reconstructed by the artist based on contemporary descriptions and features common among his descendants. No surviving photograph of Blake is known to exist. Reproduction courtesy of Gabriella Renee Blake-Iolahia.

Julian appointed him Hawaiian Consul to the “United Sovereignities of Tonga, Haabai [Ha ‘apai] and Vavau [Vava‘u],” as the Tongan Kingdom was then referred to.⁷⁰ He subsequently played an important role as an intermediary in the correspondence between St Julian and King George Tupou I of Tonga.⁷¹ In 1857, Blake’s appointment was confirmed by Kamehameha IV⁷² and he remained the first and only foreign consul in Tonga until his death in Nuku‘alofa in the early 1860s.⁷³

In Sāmoa, American trader Virginius Chapin who had been appointed Hawaiian commercial and consular agent by Wyllie in 1853, resigned his commission upon returning to the United States in late 1856, and nominated John Chauner Williams, a Tahiti-born British trader and son of London Missionary Society minister John Williams, as vice-commercial and consular agent to succeed him, while recommending his appointment as Hawaiian consul.⁷⁴ Eventually, however, another of St Julian’s close associates, Henry De Boos, was appointed as Hawaiian Consul to Sāmoa in 1859.⁷⁵ De Boos, an adventurer, former ship surgeon and trader whose brother Charles De Boos was one of St Julian’s fellow journalists at the *Sydney Morning Herald*, had earlier been appointed by St Julian and Reeve as attaché to the Hawaiian Commission and sent on a mission to Tonga and Sāmoa in order to deliver correspondence to King Tupou I and leading Samoan chiefs.⁷⁶ How long Henry De Boos maintained his consular position remains unclear as there is no further correspondence from him in the Hawaiian archives, and he is known to have returned to New South Wales where he later worked in various civil service positions.⁷⁷

Besides Tonga and Sāmoa, Fiji was the third major archipelago in the Southwestern Pacific that St Julian was interested in establishing Hawaiian diplomatic relations with— probably without anticipating in the 1850s that he would eventually live and die there himself. In 1857, he appointed another of his acquaintances, Robert Sherson Swanston as Hawaiian consul in that archipelago.⁷⁸ Swanston was a globetrotting adventurer, born in India to British colonial officials, who had spent time in North America, Sāmoa and Tasmania before settling down in Fiji in 1857, where he became one of the leading European traders.⁷⁹ His association with Hawai‘i turned out to be short-lived, however, as he resigned from the consular position in 1859 and preferred to serve an island ruler more directly when he associated him-

self with Fiji-based Tongan warlord 'Enele Ma'afu, as whose secretary and interpreter Swanston served from the 1860s onwards.⁸⁰ Eventually Swanston would play an important role in the Kingdom of Fiji in the early 1870s, once more alongside St Julian.

SETTLER ADVENTURISM IN MELANESIA IN THE NAME OF HAWAI'I: THE ORDER OF AROSSI

It was St Julian and Reeve and the members of their network of early Hawaiian consuls in the Southwestern Pacific, who created Hawai'i's first Royal Order in 1859. In order to understand its origins, however, it is necessary to go back to the year 1851 and the aforementioned voyage of Scottish entrepreneur and adventurer Benjamin Boyd from Hawai'i to Australia through the Kingsmill Islands (now Kiribati) and the Solomons aboard his yacht *Wanderer*. After having failed to make a fortune in the California gold rush, Boyd intended to establish what he called a "Papuan Republic," an independent state under his leadership somewhere in Melanesia, planning to emulate British adventurer Brooke's scheme to establish himself as the Rajah of Sarawak in Borneo in 1841 and whose story had become legend among British imperialists.⁸¹

Among the *Wanderer's* crew that consisted mainly of Australian Aborigines and Pacific Islanders was John Webster, a fellow Scotsman and brother of Alexander S. Webster. After initially living in Australia, John had settled in Hokianga in northern Aotearoa (New Zealand) where he was active in the timber industry, selling kauri wood through his brother's firm to Australia.⁸² Like Boyd, J. Webster had been lured to California by the prospects of the gold rush, and Boyd took him aboard because of his knowledge of the Māori language that he hoped would be useful in conversing with Islanders to be encountered on their way.⁸³ Talented as an artist and writer, J. Webster produced dozens of drawings and sketches of landscapes, people and objects seen during the trip, as well as an account of the voyage that was later published in Sydney.⁸⁴

In order to build his "Papuan Republic," Boyd allegedly made land-purchasing agreements with the inhabitants of two islands during the trip. On 25 August, he had Taano, high chief of the atoll of Sikaiana (Stewart Is.), a Polynesian outlier north of the Solomon Islands, and

his son Faro, sign a contract ceding the atoll to him for merchandise worth \$1,000.⁸⁵ A few weeks later, on 5 October, a similar document was allegedly signed by ten chiefs of the island of Makira (San Cristóbal) in the Solomon Islands, ceding their island to Boyd for goods worth \$2,000.⁸⁶

Sikaiana was a small society, consisting of a few hundred people with one language and a unified socio-political system,⁸⁷ and Taano appears to have been somewhat familiar with literacy as his name is written in an uneasy handwriting different from that of the contract. As a Polynesian language, Sikaianan is also closely enough related to Māori that Webster might have been able to serve as a rudimentary interpreter. Hence it may be possible that the people of Sikaiana understood the implications of the deal with Boyd, but it remains nonetheless questionable and problematic. Makira, on the other hand, is more than a thousand times larger and consisted of multiple independent communities with different languages and cultures.⁸⁸ Claiming possession of that large landmass through the signing of a

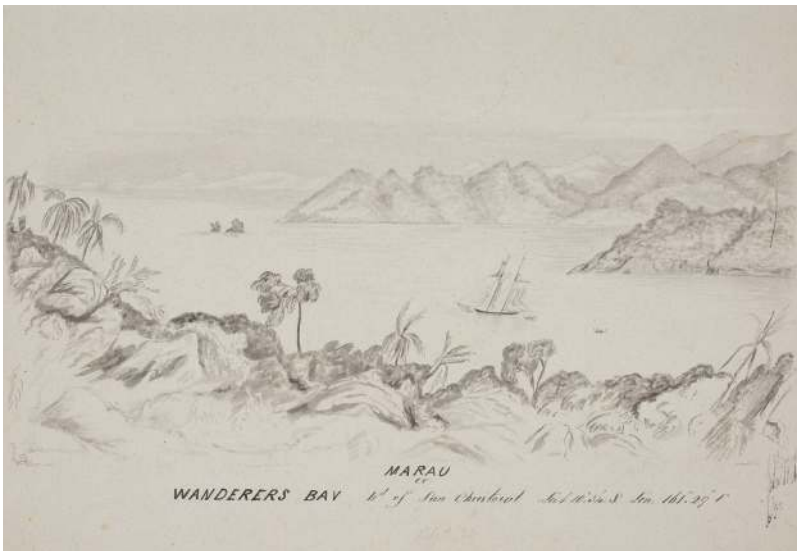


FIGURE 6. “Marau or Wanderer’s Bay, Island of San Christoval, Lat. $10^{\circ} 34' S$, Lon $161^{\circ} 29' E$,” 1851. Pencil drawing by John Webster. Auckland Museum, Auckland, New Zealand.

“cession” by a few community leaders in a few coastal villages appears no less than absurd.

Boyd, however, never came to reap whatever benefits he expected to derive from these problematic claims of land and sovereignty. At the *Wanderer’s* next stop on the island of Guadalcanal, he disappeared during a skirmish with the island’s inhabitants and was presumably killed by them.⁸⁹ As his main associate and lieutenant of the expedition, J. Webster took over the land claims for himself and subsequently claimed to be sovereign of both Sikaiana and Makira. After returning to Sydney, J. Webster contacted St Julian through his brother A. S. Webster, desiring to cede Sikaiana to the Hawaiian Kingdom, in the hope of getting himself appointed as the atoll’s governor or proprietor and thereby securing the claim under an internationally recognized government.⁹⁰ During the following years, after J. Webster had returned to Hokianga in Aotearoa, St Julian attempted to complete the annexation deal with Hawai’i. It was ultimately approved by Kamehameha IV in 1856, with a provision to conduct a plebiscite among the Sikaianans to determine their consent to the deal—a progressive idea unheard of at the time, when the right of peoples to self-determination had not been formulated yet—but ultimately never implemented.⁹¹

After his return to Hokianga, John Webster, who had previously already ceded one half of his claim over the Island of Makira to St Julian in his personal capacity,⁹² also transferred the rest of his claim over Makira to St Julian, again through his brother Alexander as an intermediary as well as Charles De Boos as St Julian’s representative. Specifically, Webster agreed to keep the title “High Chief of Makira” while St Julian would bear the title of “Lord (Muara) of Arossi,” since the people of Western Makira are known as Arossi (modern spelling Arosi with a single s). Reeve, for his part, was granted the small island of Marau off the shore of the mainland of western Makira.⁹³ Webster eventually signed all his remaining claims to Sikaiana over to St Julian as well.⁹⁴

Under this title, St Julian subsequently created a fictional state-like entity resembling a medieval fiefdom, including feudal titles and arms for his subordinates.⁹⁵ In a January 1857 letter to Wyllie informing him of having acquired all right over Sikaiana from J. Webster, St Julian signed as “Charles, Muara of Arossi and Sovereign Chief of

Sikyana [Sikaiana],” attached the seal of Arossi that he had created, containing a cross crosslet and the Latin motto “*Ne tentes aut perfice*” (Don’t try, unless you intend to accomplish it).⁹⁶ Similarly Reeve at times signed documents as “Edward Marau.”⁹⁷

It was out of this fantastic construction of a medieval fiefdoms grafted upon Melanesian communities who presumably had no clue about the entire venture, that an order for the Hawaiian Kingdom was created. The Commission in Sydney had repeatedly suggested the creation of a Hawaiian national order of merit, starting with a letter by Reeve to Wyllie written on Hawai’i’s national holiday in 1854,⁹⁸ but no immediate action into this direction was forthcoming from Honolulu. In 1858, the three pretending “Oceanic Princes” St Julian (“Sovereign Chief of Arossi and Sikyana”), Reeve (“Sovereign Chief of Marau”) and James Potts Ormiston, another of St Julian’s associates who claimed the title of “sovereign chief of Ghela,”⁹⁹ drafted a declaration that they would constitute an Australian/Oceanian chapter of two revived medieval orders of chivalry, namely of the Order of the Knights Templar as well as the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, styled “The Most Eminent and Sovereign Order of St John of Oceanie.”¹⁰⁰ Apparently this move was not further pursued, but instead it morphed into the formation of an independent order of chivalry under the sovereignty of the Hawaiian King.

In August 1859, the Order of Arossi, named after St Julian’s claimed fiefdom on Makira, was formally constituted, with St Julian acting as the order’s Grand Commander, John Webster and Edward Reeve as Commanders, Ormiston as Associate and Archivist of the order, and Alexander Blake, Henry De Boos, William Knight and Alexander S. Webster as officers. The motivation for the foundation of the order was that:

[...] it has become manifestly expedient that an Order of merit should be established for the reward of those who may in any way have materially aided the Social or Political advancement of any Polynesian Government or Peoples and [that] it is also most expedient and fitting that the Sovereignty of such order be vested in his [...] Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands and in his successors not only on account of his and their superior dignity and power but because the Monarchy of the Hawaiian Islands is the only Polynesian monarchy which has, as yet, obtained international and universal recognition.¹⁰¹

A short, six-paragraph constitution was printed on a broadsheet, later more elaborated by St Julian on sixty manuscript pages.¹⁰² The insignia of the order was a cross crosslet, apparently influenced by the medieval cross of Jerusalem, with the Latin motto *Ne tentes aut perfice* that St Julian had already used as a seal for his fantasy state of Arossi. As in other graded orders of merit the insignia's coloring and metal content varied according to rank. Kamehameha IV was offered the position of Sovereign of the order, to which he assented in early 1860 as related at the beginning of this article.



FIGURE 7. Insignia of Grand Commander of the Order of Arossi, worn by Charles St Julian. Golden-colored metal, blue enamel, colored ribbon. Latin inscription, "*ne tentes aut perfice*," on top. Produced ca. 1860. St Julian family papers, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.

As important as its status as the first Hawaiian royal order should be for the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom, not much was heard of the Order of Arossi afterwards. Apparently, no other appointments were made besides its eight foundational members, and within a few years the order was largely forgotten in Honolulu, as there was no further mention of it in diplomatic correspondence. The only known depiction of the insignia being worn is an image of Reeve published in the *Sydney Illustrated News* in 1871 (fig. 8). The only known surviving insignia, St Julian's as a Grand Commander, is kept as part of the St Julian family papers in the Mitchell Library in Sydney.¹⁰³ In the sense of fulfilling its motto, the Order of Arossi was thus clearly a failure. The same, however, cannot be said about the Hawaiian diplomatic network created by St Julian and Reeve, which would have a second phase of growth and activity a decade later.



FIGURE 8. Portrait of Edward Reeve wearing the insignia of Commander of the Order of Arossi. Engraving published in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, July 10, 1871, based on a photograph or sketch done between 1859 and 1871. Engraver and photographer unknown.

EXTENSION OF THE NETWORK IN THE 1870S AND 1880S

After a hiatus of very little diplomatic action in the region during the 1860s, the second active phase of Hawaiian diplomacy in the 1870s saw the network reinvigorated and further extended. After Kamehameha V and Harris gave St Julian and Reeve a new boost in 1871, Hawaiian consular positions that had lapsed were refilled. For instance, in Auckland, John W. Bain, originally appointed independently of St Julian's circle, but having occasionally communicated with Honolulu through the Sydney office in the 1850s,¹⁰⁴ had died in 1867, leaving that office vacant. In late 1870, Kamehameha V appointed merchant Andrew Wardrop to succeed Bain, with St Julian being involved in the appointment process.¹⁰⁵ Wardrop was frequently absent, however, and after his resignation, Kamehameha V appointed another local merchant, James Cruickshank, as the new consul in 1872.¹⁰⁶ Hawai'i seemed out of luck with its consuls in Auckland, as Cruickshank also left after less than a year, appointing his brother and business partner David Boosie Cruickshank as acting consul,¹⁰⁷ a position the latter exercised for several years until formally commissioned by Kalākaua after his brother James' death in 1878.¹⁰⁸ In the Australian colonies, George N. Oakley and Ernest Augustus White were appointed as vice-consuls in Melbourne and Newcastle, respectively, in 1872.¹⁰⁹ Later in the 1870s, railway financier and local politician Audley Coote became the late William Knight's successor as Hawaiian consul in Hobart in 1878.¹¹⁰

St Julian also took care in reviving the Hawaiian consulate in Fiji. In early 1871, he appointed D'Arcy Wentworth Lathrop Murray to fill the position vacated by Robert Swanston eleven years earlier.¹¹¹ Murray had been a journalist, newspaper editor and local politician in Tasmania and decided to settle in Levuka at the time. In Fiji, he continued both occupations, becoming a member of the legislature of the Fijian Kingdom, as well as an editor of the local English-language newspapers *Fiji Gazette and Central Polynesian* and *Fiji Argus*.¹¹² Shortly thereafter, his Sydney-based brother Pembroke Lathrop Murray, a literary and military figure, was appointed first as attaché and vice-consul by St Julian in 1872, and then as chancellor of the consulate-general by Reeve in 1873.¹¹³

The 1870s also saw the creation of new consular positions. In early 1871, merchant and local politician Henry Driver was appointed consul in Dunedin on the South Island of New Zealand, an important port city in which one of the main steamship companies serving the Pacific was headquartered.¹¹⁴ St Julian was involved in Driver's appointment, as he was responsible for delivering to him his consular seal.¹¹⁵ Another new consulate was opened in Brisbane, Queensland, in 1878, with H. A. Thompson serving as the first consul.¹¹⁶ In Fiji, D. W. L. Murray passed away in 1876, two years after British colonization, and subsequently another former official in the Fijian Kingdom, George Austin Woods, suggested during a visit to Honolulu to restructure the Hawaiian consular office in Fiji as one covering also Tonga and Sāmoa while himself applying for the position. It appears that his advice was not followed, as no further consular appointment for Fiji has been documented.¹¹⁷

When Reeve was forced to resign his commission as consul-general in 1879, Alexander Speed Webster, the last other surviving member of the original consular network from the 1850s, succeeded him in office.¹¹⁸ Being a businessman rather than an intellectual like Reeve, Webster's handling of Hawaiian government business was more practically-minded than visionary. Most of his extensive correspondence with Honolulu refers to day-to-day matters, and the only new appointments he made were those of other local businessmen in already established consulates in Australia.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, as one of the surviving "Arossians," he likely had some deeper interests in connections with Hawai'i, and among his correspondence with Honolulu's foreign ministry is a detailed letter explaining everything about the order of Arossi he had learnt from his brother, Reeve, and St Julian.¹²⁰

Interest for the history of St Julian's older initiatives was great in Honolulu at the time, because Webster's tenure as consul-general coincided with the first years of the intensification of Hawai'i's Pan-Oceanian policy under King Kalākaua and foreign minister Walter Murray Gibson that lasted from 1882 to 1887.¹²¹ During a business trip to Honolulu, Webster further conferred with Gibson who subsequently published an extensive article on the Order of Arossi in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.¹²² Unfortunately, however, Webster did not return to Sydney after leaving Hawai'i and resigned his commis-

sion. The consulate-general was passed on to Ernest Augustus Smith, a businessman with much less personal interest in Hawai'i who also held other consulships simultaneously.¹²³

With the resignations of Reeve in 1879 and Webster in 1884, the last members of the Order of Arossi were gone from Hawai'i's diplomatic service. In consequence, Sydney ceased to have any central role in coordinating Hawaiian diplomacy in Oceania after 1884. When in late 1886 King Kalākaua intensified his efforts into this direction and sent a Hawaiian legation consisting of 'Ōiwi diplomats John Edwin Bush and Henry French Poor and their retinue to Sāmoa, the consulate-general in Sydney was not involved.¹²⁴ However, as part of Kalākaua's and Gibson's policy to further extend Hawai'i's global diplomatic network, one more new consulate in the Australian colonies was opened in June 1887 when lawyer and politician George T. Collins was appointed Hawaiian vice consul in Launceston, the second-largest city in Tasmania.¹²⁵

SERVING THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM IN OCEANIA

The members of Hawai'i's early diplomatic network in the Southwest Pacific, and particularly those of the first generation who were members of the Order of Arossi, made important contributions to the Hawaiian Kingdom as well as to other island nations in nineteenth-century Oceania. Most well know are, of course, the results of St Julian's work: As an early visionary of a federation of independent Island kingdoms, he authored the first constitutional draft for Sāmoa in 1854, attempted to have the Hawaiian kingdom extended south of the equator by arranging for the annexation of Sikaiana, was one of the major foreign advisors of Tonga's first king George Tupou I throughout the 1850s, and in the 1870s became one of the important actors in the creation and governance of the Kingdom of Fiji under Cakobau. In that latter capacity he also assisted Cakobau's son Ratu Josefa Celua who was studying in Sydney in the early 1870s.¹²⁶ In Tonga, St Julian remains remembered for his advocacy of government reform, while his most important legacy in Fiji was his firm stance, together with Cakobau's chief secretary John B. Thurston, on preserving Fijian land rights during the annexation negotiations with the British.¹²⁷

Most histories of Tonga mention the model character of the Hawaiian constitution for that of Tonga, which George Tupou I enacted in 1875, and credit St Julian for initiating the connection between the two Polynesian kingdom that led to this institutional transfer.¹²⁸ However, St Julian can only be credited for starting the dialogue, as his life ended in 1874. It was left to Reeve to provide Tupou I's chief advisor Shirley W. Baker during a visit to Sydney with a copy of the then current Hawaiian constitution of 1864, which Baker then used as a basis for the 1875 Tongan constitution.¹²⁹ In the absence of a Hawaiian consul in Tonga after Blake's death in the early 1860s, Reeve subsequently served as an intermediary between Hawai'i and Tonga.¹³⁰ Reeve also played an important role in negotiating the 1874 postal convention between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the colony of New South Wales,¹³¹ the first and only international agreement Hawai'i made with an Australian colony.¹³²

Of importance for Hawai'i's domestic history, St Julian and Webster were also involved in recruiting Sydney architect Thomas Rowe to design Ali'iolani Hale, the intended new palace for Kamehameha V that eventually became the Hawaiian Kingdom's government building.¹³³

While little is known about Pembroke L. Murray's role in helping Reeve and Webster in the legation and consulate-general in Sydney, his brother D. W. L. Murray played a crucial role in conveying Hawaiian support to the burgeoning Fijian government of King Cakobau between 1871 and 1874. As a local newspaper editor, government printer and member of Fiji's legislative assembly, Murray provided the copy of the Hawaiian constitution that was used as a basis for Fiji's own constitution in 1871,¹³⁴ of which Murray subsequently had an English translation printed.¹³⁵ Murray's continuing loyalty to Hawai'i's pan-Oceanian political project was once more displayed in the face of imminent British takeover of Fiji in 1874, when he informed Cakobau's cabinet "that any little influence I may be supposed to possess or any assistance I can offer you at this important juncture of affairs, is entirely, as it has ever been, at your disposal,"¹³⁶ Murray also composed a detailed report showcasing deceptive British attitudes and policies, which was published in Honolulu.¹³⁷

While the mentioned high-level government relations produced most of the archival records, we should not forget the important



FIGURE 9. Portrait photograph of D'Arcy Wentworth Lathrop Murray (1828–1876), n.d. Photographer unknown. Parliament of Tasmania Members Biographical Database, Tasmanian Parliamentary Library, Australia.

services the Hawaiian consuls provided to their country on a more day-to-day level and more often than not creating no written records, namely helping Hawaiian sailors on ships calling in port cities or working there. In the nineteenth century, thousands of Pacific Islanders worked on Western ships, and many if not most of them came from the Hawaiian Islands.¹³⁸ Many Hawaiians also worked overseas in various parts of the Pacific Rim.¹³⁹ On occasion however, helping them became more complex, involving other governments for instance, and did generate a paper trail in the archives. One such example was when on his way home to Sydney from Fiji in November 1874, Reeve stopped on Norfolk Island where he was approached by Henry Pilikani, a Hawaiian sailor who had been ill-treated by a ship captain and taken refuge on the island. In his capacity as Hawaiian consul-general, Reeve wrote to Fletcher Christian Nobbs, chief magistrate of the small self-governing British colony (i.e. the equivalent of

premier in larger colonies), advising him to grant Pilikani protection and refuse requests by the captain to take him back aboard his ship.¹⁴⁰

The last important service provided to the Hawaiian Kingdom by one of its consuls in the Southwestern Pacific was during the fateful month of January 1893. The Consul in Auckland, D. B. Cruickshank, was certainly much less personally committed to Hawai'i than his aforementioned colleagues, as he was concurrently also consul for France and Chile,¹⁴¹ and later had no qualms swearing allegiance to the Dole regime after the overthrow of the Hawaiian government.¹⁴² Yet he did Queen Lili'uokalani a crucial service by receiving her protest against the US role in the overthrow by steamer and delivering it to the authorities in Auckland so that it could be fed into British telegraphic cable system and arrived within a few hours in England and the United States in order to balance the one-sided propaganda spread by the Queen's enemies.¹⁴³

CONCLUSION: AN ENDURING LEGACY OF HAWAIIAN DIPLOMACY

The foundation of Hawai'i's first order upon dubious land claims in Melanesia remained a marginal eccentricity of the founding circle of Hawai'i's representatives in the Southwestern Pacific that was by far overshadowed by the many more tangible services they provided to the Hawaiian Kingdom. In due course, the most prominent of them were rewarded for those services by Hawai'i's monarchs by being conferred other, subsequently established, Hawaiian royal orders. In 1872, Charles St Julian was appointed Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kamehameha by Kamehameha V,¹⁴⁴ and Edward Reeve was made a Knight's Commander of the Royal Order of Kalākaua in 1878.¹⁴⁵ Kalākaua also conferred the rank of Knight's Commander of the Order of Kamehameha upon Alexander S. Webster in 1883.¹⁴⁶ In 1887, Audley Coote in Tasmania received Knight's Commander of the Royal Order of Kalākaua.¹⁴⁷ Finally, Queen Lili'uokalani made Ernest O. Smith a Commander of the Royal Order of the Crown of Hawai'i in 1892.¹⁴⁸

Even if doubts can be raised about the commitment to Hawai'i of many individuals in its consular service, for St Julian and Reeve at least it seems beyond doubt, and no ulterior motives for them to accept their diplomatic positions are evident. In contrast to many of his pre-

decessors and successors who were primarily businessmen, St Julian went through insolvency twice, so he certainly did not gain financially from his Hawaiian position. Reeve seemed to have somewhat more of financial stability, as he was a government employee in his capacity as museum curator and later police magistrate, but there is also no evidence that he ever benefited in any way financially from his Hawaiian appointments.

Reeve's deep passion and patriotism for Hawai'i was also evident during the difficult reign of Lunalilo and Charles R. Bishop's tenure in the Hawaiian foreign office. Faced with a sudden lack of support from Honolulu, Reeve made it clear that he understood his loyalty to be to the Hawaiian nation and its ideals, and that he would not merely be a recipient of orders from superiors if they contradicted those ideals. Bishop's closure of the Hawaiian Legation to Southern Polynesia deeply offended Reeve, who called it a "suicidal" move for Hawai'i. Since his pleas to Bishop went unheard, he unsuccessfully attempted to transfer his pan-Oceanian commitment to Tonga, and discussed with the Tongan King's chief advisor Shirley Baker about restructuring his Sydney office as a Tongan, rather than Hawaiian legation or even moving to Tonga to become a co-advisor to King Tupou.¹⁴⁹

After support for his pan-Pacific activism was renewed under King Kalākaua but he was forced to resign because of a change in British government policy, Reeve emphasized to Foreign Minister John Mākini Kapena that he was resigning his commission most reluctantly and only because he needed his employment as a police magistrate to support his family.¹⁵⁰ Even afterwards, he communicated with Kapena "privately" to share what was going on in the Pacific region. It also appears that he continued to receive visitors from Hawai'i all the way to his remote residence in Gosford, as a late 20th century archaeological excavation unearthed an 1883 Hawaiian silver coin in that area that is quite far away from the busy port of Sydney.¹⁵¹ Reeve's appreciation of his Hawaiian appointments was evident even in his will, in which he listed the insignia of the Royal Order of Kalākaua and his Hawaiian commission and exequatur as his most important possessions to be inherited by his descendants, before his family heirlooms brought from England.¹⁵²

The most lasting legacy of Hawai'i's early consular network, perhaps, was left in Tonga, both institutionally and personally. The Ton-

gan constitution of 1875—a long-term consequence of St Julian’s correspondence with Tupou I in the 1850s and a more immediate consequence of consultations between Reeve and Shirley Baker in 1873—is still in existence today in amended form, making Tonga the only island state where a derivative of the nineteenth-century Hawaiian political system still operates.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Hawai’i’s consul Alexander Blake, who played an important role as an intermediary between St Julian and Tupou I, left an important family heritage in Tonga: Among his many descendants there today are none less than the current king Tupou VI and his predecessor, the late George Tupou V, who are both great-great-great-grandsons of Blake.¹⁵⁴

While many of these legacies and achievements of Hawai’i’s consular network in the Southwest Pacific are certainly worth celebrating, there are also problematic aspects in the behavior of the people involved that deserve a more critical evolution. The obvious concern for Oceanian people that was displayed by St Julian and Reeve on many occasions was mixed with aspects of more typical white settler adventurism on others. While being agents and supporters of the anti-imperialist pan-Oceanian coalition building by the Hawaiian Kingdom, St Julian, Reeve and their circle were uncritically participating in British settler colonialism and the displacement of aboriginal people in Australia. Whereas I have found no statement by Reeve on Australian Aborigines at all—but I would interpret that silence as consent to the overall policy of both the British imperial and the colonial New South Wales governments—St Julian either wrote or at least approved of a problematic passage in an 1853 book on the resources of New South Wales that he co-published with a certain Edward K. Silvester. That passage in the book’s introduction stated that “as in other quarters of the globe, the wild aboriginal inhabitants give way before the civilized races of the world” while the book otherwise treats Aborigines as part of the natural rather than cultural landscape of the colony.¹⁵⁵ Contrary to common assumptions however, recent research has shown that Aborigines remained indeed a visible part of society in the Sydney area during the entire 19th century.¹⁵⁶

More actively involved in colonization and displacement of indigenous people, John Webster—whose association with his brother and St Julian’s circle in Sydney enabled the formation of the Order of Arossi in the first place—participated first in frontier violence against

Aborigines in Australia and then in the colonization of the Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa people of Hokianga in Aotearoa, where he firmly sided with pro-British factions during the New Zealand wars of resistance of the 1840s and 1860s.¹⁵⁷ And of course, the “Arossi” scheme itself derived from the ruthless settler-adventurism in the Solomons of Ben Boyd, who at the time was already infamous for his exploitation of Melanesian laborers in Australia in the late 1840s.¹⁵⁸

This seemingly contradictory attitude of people like St Julian and Reeve exemplifies the prevailing behavior of many Europeans at the time: There was a difference in attitudes towards the lighter-skinned Polynesians (including, to some extent, Micronesians as well as Fijians, despite their darker physical features) who were seen as “noble savages” and closer to Europeans, on one hand, and the darker skinned Melanesians and Aboriginal Australians, seen as more primitive and less human “ignoble savages” on the other.¹⁵⁹ Hence, proudly serving the Hawaiian, Tongan and Fijian Kingdoms and being genuinely concerned with the welfare of those kingdoms’ native inhabitants while simultaneously ignoring the displacement of Aborigines in Australia and uncritically inheriting an absurd settler-adventurer land claim on Makira in the Solomons from Ben Boyd apparently posed no problems for either St Julian or Reeve.¹⁶⁰

Secondly, it is striking that not only all the mentioned officeholders, but also virtually all persons mentioned in their correspondence were men. This contrasted with the continuing important role of women in the Hawaiian Kingdom, where for instance Kamehameha IV’s widow Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālani ran against Kalākaua when a successor to Lunalilo was elected in 1874, or where Emma Metcalf Nakuina served as curatrix of the Hawaiian National Museum during the 1880s.¹⁶¹ British settler society in Australia, on the other hand, was much more pronouncedly patriarchal, which was reflected in the attitudes of the Hawaiian diplomats. Their wives, for instance, are rarely mentioned at all. The only exception appears to be Blake, whose wife Matelita Fusilango‘ia Tangulu came from a chiefly family, and played an important role independently of him, given that Tongan society was also less patriarchal than its British counterpart.¹⁶² Worth mentioning is also a small gesture by Reeve, unusually progressive for his time, to make his wife Catherine the executrix of his will, crossing out the male-gendered formula “executor” in the pre-printed form.¹⁶³

Lastly, it must be regretted that the correspondence, visions and actions of the members of Hawai‘i’s consular network in the Southwestern Pacific were out of touch with the mainstream of Hawaiian society, which was overwhelmingly ‘Ōiwi and Hawaiian-language speaking at the time. The entire network was an English-only operation, and it appears that no Hawaiian translations of any of St Julian’s or Reeve’s materials were ever produced, nor that any of the articles referred to in Honolulu’s then rather marginal, low circulation, English-language press were mirrored in the much more widely read Hawaiian-language press. The only exception seems to be a small notice mentioning St Julian’s honorary membership in the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.¹⁶⁴ I have not seen any other mention of his name in Hawaiian-language newspapers.

However, this might be partly based on a technical selection bias. The English-language Hawaiian press during the Kingdom is for the most part fully digitized through Optical Character Recognition and thus fully searchable,¹⁶⁵ whereas the Hawaiian-language newspapers have only partially been made word searchable and most of the digital database consists of photographic scans only.¹⁶⁶ Browsing all Hawaiian-language newspapers from the 1850s to the 1880s for reference to Hawaiian diplomacy in the Southwestern Pacific would be a monumental task, beyond my capacities during the research for this article, but an important undertaking for further research in the future.

Noticeable however, is that Reeve later did learn some Hawaiian words, occasionally adding “Ke ku [sic] Akua e malama [i] ke alii”¹⁶⁷ or “E ola ka Moi Kalakaua e[sic] ke Akua Mana Loa”¹⁶⁸ or simply “Aloha”¹⁶⁹ to his dispatches—a feature exceedingly rare among the overwhelmingly English-only consular correspondence in the Hawaiian archives.

Nonetheless, despite all the shortcomings and problematic aspects, the pioneer role of St Julian and Reeve and their network needs to be appreciated, as it laid some of the intellectual and institutional groundwork for the wider pan-Oceanian project that King Kalākaua and his circle of supporters such as John Mākini Kapena, Walter Murray Gibson, Robert Hoapili Baker, Joseph Sykes Webb, John Edward Bush and Henry French Poor, to name a few of its most important agents, would start implementing in the 1880s, including a direct personal continuity in the person of A. S. Webster. The late Fijian

scholar Tracey Banivanua-Mar certainly appreciated the role played by the Hawaiian Kingdom and its diplomatic agents like St Julian in fostering pan-Oceanian awareness and resistance against Western colonialism during the nineteenth century and thereby contributing to the intellectual history of decolonization in the Pacific in the *longue durée*.¹⁷⁰ The motto *Ne tentes aut perfice*, if inappropriate for the fantastic order, was indeed well-chosen for the Hawaiian consular network in Oceania.

APPENDIX

HAWAIIAN KINGDOM DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

Sydney, New South Wales

- Thomas Winder Campbell, Consul-General, 1850–1855
 Charles St Julian, Commissioner to the Independent States and Tribes of Polynesia, 1853–1859; Chargé d’Affaires to the Independent States and Tribes in Polynesia South of the Equator, 1859–1872; acting Consul-General 1855–1860; Consul-General 1860–1872
 Edward Wilbraham Bell, Chancellor of the Commission to the Independent States and Tribes of Polynesia, 1854
 Edward Reeve, Chancellor of the Commission to the Independent States and Tribes of Polynesia, 1854–1859; Secretary of the Legation to Southern Polynesia, 1859–1873; Consul-General 1872–1879
 Alexander Speed Webster, vice-consul 1859–1872; Acting Consul, 1872; Consul 1872–1879; Consul-General 1879–1885
 Pembroke Lathrop Murray, attaché to the Legation to Southern Polynesia, 1872–1873; vice-consul 1872–1873; Chancellor of the Consulate-General, 1873–?
 Ernest Octavius Smith, acting consul 1884; consul general, 1885–1893

Melbourne, Victoria

- John Walden Semple, agent of the commission, 1854–1855
 George N. Oakley, vice-consul, 1872–1873; consul 1873–1893

Hobart, Tasmania

William Knight, consul, 1859–1877
 Audley Coote, consul, 1878–1893

Newcastle, New South Wales

Albert Maxwell Hutchison, consular agent, 1859–
 Ernest August White, vice-consul, 1872–1879; consul 1879–1880
 Alexander Brown, acting consul, 1880–1881, consul 1881
 Charles Frederick Stokes, vice-consul, 1881–1891
 W. H. Moulton, vice-consul, 1892–1893

Brisbane, Queensland

H. A. Thompson, consul, 1879–1885
 Alexander Brand Webster, consul, 1885–1893

Launceston, Tasmania

George Collins, vice-consul, 1887–1893

Auckland, New Zealand

John Watson Bain, consul, 1850–1867
 Andrew Wardrop, consul, 1870–1872
 James Cruickshank, consul, 1872–1873
 David Boosie Cruickshank, acting consul 1873–1878, consul
 1878–1893

Dunedin, New Zealand

Henry Driver, consul 1870–1893

Apia, Sāmoa

Virginus P. Chapin, Consular and Commercial Agent, 1853–1856
 Henry De Boos, visiting attaché to the Commission, 1854;
 Consul, 1859–?
 John C. Williams, Vice Consular and Commercial Agent,
 1856–1859
 John E. Bush, Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary and
 High Commissioner, 1886–1887
 Henry Poor, Secretary of the Legation, 1886–1887

Henry Poor, Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary
and High Commissioner, 1887
H. J. Moors, Commercial Agent, 1887–?

Vava'u/Nuku'alofa, Tonga

Henry De Boos, visiting attaché to the Commission, 1854
Alexander Blake, consul 1855–ca. 1862

Levuka, Fiji

Robert Sherson Swanston, Consul, 1857–1859
Charles St Julian, Special Commissioner, 1871
D'Arcy Wentworth Lathrop Murray, Consul, 1871–1876

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the staff of the Hawai'i State Archives in Honolulu, of the Mitchell Library–State Library of New South Wales in Sydney, and of the New South Wales State Archives and Records in Kingswood for their help in locating relevant archival materials; Ingrid Grace of the City of Waverley Public Library, New South Wales, for sharing information on Charles St Julian; Gwen Dundon and other volunteers of the Brisbane Water Historical Society in Gosford, New South Wales, for help in tracing the later years of Edward Reeve's life; Kat Lobendahn in Honolulu and Gabriella Renee Blake-'Ilolahia in Nuku'alofa for discussions about their common ancestor, Hawaiian Consul in Tonga Alexander Blake; and Tarcisius Kabutaulaka of the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i for discussions of Boyd's impact on the Solomon Islands.

NOTES

* Latin for "Don't try, unless you intend to accomplish it;" the motto of the Order of Arossi.

¹ Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Crichton Wyllie to Hawaiian Commissioner to the Independent States and Tribes of Polynesia, Charles St Julian, April 23, 1860, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH; 'Constitution of the Order of Arossi,' undated printed broadsheet, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

² More than a decade before Kamehameha IV's assent to the Order of Arossi, in

- July of 1848, an even earlier Royal Hawaiian order, the Order of the Crown and Cross, had been formally established by Kamehameha III in Privy Council, but that order was never conferred upon anyone and it remains unclear whether insignia for it were ever made. See Albert Pierce Taylor, "Intrigues, Conspiracies and Accomplishments in the Era of Kamehameha IV and V and Robert C. Wyllie," *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, no. 16 (1929): 28; Gordon Medcalf, *Hawaiian Royal Orders: Insignia, Classes, Regulations and Members* (Honolulu: Oceania Coin Company, 1963), 4.
- ³ D. Keanu Sai, *Ua Mau ke Ea, Sovereignty Endures: An Overview of the Political and Legal History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Pū'ā Foundation, 2011), 10; Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 16, 138.
- ⁴ On the unequal treaty relations with non-Western countries, see for instance, Turan Kayaoğlu, *Legal Imperialism: Sovereignty and Extraterritoriality in Japan, the Ottoman Empire and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- ⁵ Joyce E. Chaplin, "The Pacific Before Empire, c.1500–1800," *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 69.
- ⁶ P. Christiaan Klieger, *Kamehameha III: He Mo'olelo no ka Mo'i Lokomaika'i, King of the Hawaiian Islands, 1824–1854* (San Francisco: Green Arrow Press, 2015), 352 n15.
- ⁷ Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'i: Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i no Kawai-keaouli keiki ho'oilina a Kamehameha a me ke aupuni āna i noho mō'i ai* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2001), 247.
- ⁸ Albert Pierce Taylor, "Intrigues, Conspiracies and Accomplishments in the Era of Kamehameha IV and V and Robert C. Wyllie," *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 16 (1929): 16–32.
- ⁹ "Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of Hawaii Abroad," June 1, 1887, printed broadsheet, Miscellaneous Foreign 1890, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰ Nicholas B Miller, "Trading Sovereignty and Labour: The Consular Network of Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *The International History Review* (published online, April 30, 2019).
- ¹¹ Miller, "Trading Sovereignty and Labour." E.g. the ultimate officeholder in the Hawaiian Kingdom's consulate in Sydney, Ernest Octavius Smith, who was primarily a merchant employed by a British company, and who was simultaneously also consul of Peru and Portugal. See *Sands' Sydney & Suburban Directory for 1893* (Sydney: Sands, 1893), 980.
- ¹² Miller, "Trading Sovereignty and Labour," 6.
- ¹³ G.R. Carter, *Joseph Oliver Carter: The Founder of the Carter Family in Hawaii, with a Brief Genealogy* (Honolulu: Genealogical Committee of the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1915)
- ¹⁴ Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Tahiti, 1881–1886, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁵ Commission by Kamehameha III of Thomas Winder Campbell as Hawaiian Consul General for the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, April 12, 1850, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH; Notice of

- Exequatur from Queen Victoria published in *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, January 21, 1852, 3.; for the background of the appointment see Marion Diamond, *The Sea Horse and the Wanderer: Ben Boyd in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), 188, 193.
- ¹⁶ Commission by Kamehameha III of John Watson Bain as Hawaiian Consul for the colony of New Zealand, April 10, 1850, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, 1850–1851; FO & Ex, AH.; Notice of Exequatur from Queen Victoria, *Wellington Independent*, October 18, 1851.
- ¹⁷ Certification by Robert C. Wyllie of Kamehameha III's appointment of Virginus P. Chapin as Hawaiian Commercial and Consular agent for the Navigator Islands [Sāmoa], May 2, 1853, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Navigator Islands, 1853–1855, FO & Ex, AH.; R. P. Gilson, *Samoa 1830–1900: The Politics of a Multi-Cultural Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 194.
- ¹⁸ Gilson, *Samoa 1830–1900*, 196, 243.
- ¹⁹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, December 17, 1867.
- ²⁰ Marion Diamond, *Creative Meddler: The Life and Fantasies of Charles St Julian* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1990), 37, 42.
- ²¹ One of the biographers of another important Hawaiian government official active later in the nineteenth century calls St Julian "one of the most important men in Hawaiian history." Cited from Paul Bailey, *Hawaii's Royal Prime Minister: The Life and Times of Walter Murray Gibson* (New York: Hastings House, 1980), 197.
- ²² St Julian to Jarves, April 29, 1848, Chronological Files, April 29–30, 1848, FO & Ex, AH. Cited in Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 36–37.
- ²³ Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era, 1820–1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980).; Tracey Banivanua-Mar, *Decolonisation and the Pacific: Indigenous Globalisation and the End of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 31.
- ²⁴ Charles St Julian, *Notes on the Latent Resources of Polynesia* (Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1851), 65.
- ²⁵ Robert C. Wyllie's Instructions and Certification of Appointment by King Kamehameha III of Charles St Julian as Commissioner, Political and Commercial Agent to the Kings, Chiefs and Rulers of the Islands in the Pacific not under the Protection or Sovereignty of any European Government, August 4, 1853, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ²⁶ Notice by Thomas Winder Campbell, Hawaiian Consul-General, *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 22, 1855, 5; Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 47.
- ²⁷ Oath of Office by Edward Reeve as Chancellor of the Hawaiian Commission to the Independent Islands of the Pacific, June 28, 1854, enclosed in dispatch No. 15 St Julian to Wyllie, August 7, 1854, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH. Reeve replaced St Julian's original choice for the position, fellow newspaperman, Edward Wilbraham Bell, who had died shortly after his appointment in early 1854. See Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 47–48.
- ²⁸ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 1–31.

- ²⁹ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 85–119.
- ³⁰ Insolvency Proceedings, No. 1862 and No. 6001, New South Wales State Archives & Records.
- ³¹ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 42.
- ³² “Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations,” *P*, June 9, 1855, 1.
- ³³ Charles St Julian, *Official Report on Central Polynesia: With A Gazetteer of Central Polynesia by Edward Reeve* (Sydney: John Fairfax and Sons, 1857).
- ³⁴ Commission by Kamehameha IV of Charles St Julian as Chargé d’Affaires and Consul-General to the Kings and Ruling Chiefs of the Independent States and Tribes, in Polynesia South of the Equator, May 20, 1859, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Commission by Kamehameha IV of Charles St Julian as Consul General to the British Colonies in Australia, August 28, 1860, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ³⁵ Commission by Kamehameha V of Charles St Julian as Special Commissioner to the Fiji Islands, May 1871, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Fiji, FO & Ex, AH.
- ³⁶ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 129–38; John Spurway, “Manuscript XXXI: Hawaiian Imperialism? A Nineteenth-Century Pacific Fantasy,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 52, no. 1 (2017): 96–108.
- ³⁷ Charles St Julian, *The International Status of Fiji and the Political Rights, Liabilities, Duties and Privileges of British Subjects, and Other Foreigners Residing in the Fijian Archipelago* (Sydney: F. Cunninghame & Co., 1872).
- ³⁸ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 140–41; David Routledge, *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in Early Fiji* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1985), 170, 179.
- ³⁹ Obituaries were published in both Sydney and in Honolulu’s English-language press: “Charles St. Julian, K.C.K., late Chief Justice of Fiji,” *Illustrated Sydney News*, Saturday January 16, 1875, 4, 10; “The late Charles St. Julian,” *PCA*, January 23, 1875, 2. I have not found an obituary in any Hawaiian-language newspaper.
- ⁴⁰ Jason Horn, “Primacy of the Pacific under the Hawaiian Kingdom” (master’s thesis, University of Hawai’i, 1951).; Merze Tate, “Hawaii’s Early Interest in Polynesia,” *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 7, no. 2 (November 1961): 232–244.; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. 3: The Kalkaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1967), 305–308.; Paul F. Hooper, *Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1980), 30–43.; Lorenz Gonschor, “Ka Hoku O Osiania: Promoting the Hawaiian Kingdom as a Model of Political Transformation in Nineteenth Century Oceania,” Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun (eds.), *Agents of Transculturation: Border-Crossers, Mediators, Go-Betweens* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013), 157–186.; Lorenz Gonschor, *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2019).
- ⁴¹ Marion Nothing, “Charles St Julian: Alternative Diplomacy in Polynesia,” *More Pacific Islands Portraits*, Deryck Scarr, ed., (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979): 19–33.; Marion Diamond, “Charles St Julian, 1818–1874: the biography of a colonial visionary” (PhD diss, University of Queensland 1981); Diamond, *Creative Meddler*.

- ⁴² E.g. "Mr. E. Reeve, Founder of the N. S. W. Academy of Art," *Illustrated Sydney News*, July 10, 1871, 3.
- ⁴³ Rosilyn Baxter, "Reeve, Edward (1822–1889)." *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1976), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/reeve-edward-4462/text7275> [accessed October 15, 2019].
- ⁴⁴ Baxter, "Reeve, Edward."
- ⁴⁵ James Prior, "Man of Many Talents," *The Sun* (Sydney), November 12, 1979.
- ⁴⁶ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 49.
- ⁴⁷ Edward Reeve, "A Gazetteer of Central Polynesia," Charles St Julian, *Official Report on Central Polynesia*, 31–65.
- ⁴⁸ "Our History: Sydney University Museums–Nicholson museum," <https://sydney.edu.au/museum/about-us/our-history.html> [accessed December 31, 2019].
- ⁴⁹ Edward Reeve, *Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Sydney Compiled by the Curator* (Sydney: F. Cunninghame & Co., 1870).
- ⁵⁰ Edward Reeve, *Education in New South Wales: Its present state and future prospects* (Sydney, 1851).
- ⁵¹ Edward Reeve, *Raymond, Lord of Milan: A Tragedy of the 13th Century* (Sydney: Hawksley & Cunninghame, 1851).
- ⁵² E.g. William E. Wilde et al., *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 643.
- ⁵³ "Mr. E. Reeve, Founder of the N. S. W. Academy of Art," *Illustrated Sydney News*, July 10, 1871, 3.
- ⁵⁴ Commission by Kamehameha V of Edward Reeve as Consul General for the British Colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia and their dependencies, August 1872, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, 1872–1880, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁵⁵ Horn, "Primacy of the Pacific," 41.
- ⁵⁶ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 5, 1873, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁵⁷ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, December 31, 1874, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁵⁸ Baxter, "Reeve, Edward."
- ⁵⁹ See various articles in the local newspaper *Maitland Mercury*, e.g. August 12, 1876, 10; December 5, 1876; February 3, 1877, 3; July 16, 1881, 8.
- ⁶⁰ Reeve to John M. Kapena, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, January 17, 1879, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁶¹ Reeve to Kapena, February 4, 1879, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁶² Baxter, "Reeve, Edward."
- ⁶³ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 47–48, 94.
- ⁶⁴ Oath of Office of Alexander Speed Webster as Hawaiian vice-consul to the colony of New South Wales, June 30, 1859, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH; notice of appointment in *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 13 1859, 3.

- ⁶⁵ Appointment of John Warden Semple as agent of the Hawaiian Commission to the Independent Islands of the Pacific in the colony of Victoria, September 25, 1854; Declaration of acceptance by John Warden Semple, November 14, 1854; both in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁶⁶ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 97–98.
- ⁶⁷ Appointment by Charles St Julian of J. William Knight as Hawaiian consul to the colony of Tasmania, March 5, 1858; Oath of Office of J. William Knight as Hawaiian consul to the colony of Tasmania, March 17, 1859, both in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Hobart, FO & Ex, AH. For a biographical synopsis, see “Knight, William (1809–1877)”, National Library of Australia website, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/people/1487673?c=people> [accessed January 2, 2020].
- ⁶⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 13, 1859, 3.
- ⁶⁹ A biography of Blake was recently compiled and published in Tonga by a descendant. See Gabriella Renee Blake-‘Ilohahia, *Alexander Blake* (Privately published, Nuku‘alofa, 2016).
- ⁷⁰ Oath of Office of Alexander Blake as Hawaiian consul to the United Sovereignities of Tonga, Haabai and Vavau, December 29, 1855; appointment notice in *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 31, 1855. Both enclosed in St Julian to Wyllie, April 7, 1856, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁷¹ For example, St Julian mentions in his 1857 published report that Blake provided him with a translation of the Tongan Law Code, see St Julian, *Official Report*, 71.
- ⁷² Notice in *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 19, 1875, 2, cited in Blake-‘Ilohahia, *Alexander Blake*, 15; Impression of Blake’s seal of office, St Julian to Wyllie, April 25, 1857, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁷³ Blake’s exact death date and burial place are apparently unknown, but there is a will dated May 6, 1862 witnessed by the British consul in Fiji, William T. Pritchard. Cited in Blake-‘Ilohahia, *Alexander Blake*, 33–34.
- ⁷⁴ Chapin to Wyllie, November 28, 1856, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Navigator Islands, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁷⁵ St Julian to Wyllie, June 29, 1859, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.; Affidavit by James C. [illegible name], US consul in Apia, certifying Henry De Boos’ oath of office as Hawaiian Consul to the Samoan Islands, January 20, 1859, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Navigator Islands, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁷⁶ Notice of appointment in the Sydney newspaper, *Empire*, October 17, 1854, 1. See also Gilson, *Samoa 1830–1900*, 194, 195; Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 59, 63, 67.
- ⁷⁷ Obituary, *Sydney Morning Herald*, July 21, 1908, 6.
- ⁷⁸ Oath of office of Robert Sherson Swanston as Hawaiian Consul to Fiji, April 27, 1858, enclosed in St Julian to Wyllie, June 5, 1858, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ⁷⁹ Robyn Anne Pettigrew, “The Career of Robert Sherson Swanston in the Fiji Islands” (master’s thesis, University of Adelaide, 1974).
- ⁸⁰ John Spurway, *Ma‘afu, prince of Tonga, chief of Fiji: The life and times of Fiji’s first Tui Lau* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2015), 244, 251.

- ⁸¹ Diamond, *The Seahorse and the Wanderer*, 192. On Brooke, see Steve Runciman, *The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).
- ⁸² Jennifer Ashton, *At the Margins of Empire: John Webster and Hokianga, 1841–1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015).
- ⁸³ Diamond, *The Seahorse and the Wanderer*, 190.
- ⁸⁴ John Webster, *The Last Cruise of ‘The Wanderer’* (Sydney: F. Cunninghame, 1863). Most of Webster’s artwork is in the Auckland Museum and can be viewed online at <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/collections-online/search?k=john+webster> [accessed May 6, 2020].
- ⁸⁵ Sales contract from Taano and Faro of Sikaiana to Benjamin Boyd, September 1, 1851, labeled A, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁸⁶ Sales contract from Hihonpoura, Hariki, Barapooro, Lisitado, Arbi, Mari, Ari-puru, Waraki, Keri Myo and Hara of Makira to Benjamin Boyd, September 1, 1851, labeled A, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Except for the first one, none of the named individuals signed their names, only “X” marks. It is remarkable that Makira island, which is more than a thousand times larger in land surface than Sikaiana, was claimed to be purchased for mere double the price of the latter.
- ⁸⁷ William W. Donner, “Changing Concepts of Chief and Hierarchy on a Polynesian Outlier,” *Pacific Studies* 31, no. 2 (June 2008): 1–24.
- ⁸⁸ For a recent ethnography of the Arossi people in Eastern Makira, after whom the land claims and the ensuing royal order were named, see Michael W. Scott, *The Severed Snake: Matrilineages, Making Place, and a Melanesian Christianity in Southeast Solomon Islands* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007).
- ⁸⁹ As an interesting anecdote, it should be mentioned that there are persons named Ben Boyd on Guadalcanal today, likely an expression of a locally established practice to remember and preserve historical events through naming; Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, personal communication, November 27, 2019.
- ⁹⁰ Articles of Convention between John Webster and Charles St Julian, February 10, 1855, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁹¹ The negotiations over Sikaiana are documented in various correspondence between Wyllie and St Julian during the 1850s, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH and have been summarized and analyzed in an article in *PCA*, May 6, 1884; Horn, “Primacy of the Pacific,” 24–32; Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 52–55; Ashton, *At the Margins of Empire*, 91–94; and Gonschor, *A Power in the World*, 56–57.
- ⁹² Cession of the Western half of San Cristobal from John Webster to Charles St Julian, September 27, 1853, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁹³ Articles of Cession between John Webster and Charles St Julian, August 1, 1856, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁹⁴ Articles of Cession between John Webster and Charles Lord of Arossi, October 29, 1856, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁹⁵ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 80–81. Ironically, one and a half century after St Julian’s and Reeve’s odd and fantastic moves to graft a type of medieval knight-

hood and heraldry onto the Arossi chiefdoms on Makira, British anthropologist Michael Scott compared historical traditions of Arossi with early medieval English history writing, repeating the pattern of a Westerner analogizing Arossi with medieval Europe. See Michael W. Scott, "The Matter of Makira: Colonialism, Competition and the Production of Gendered Peoples in Contemporary Solomon Islands and Medieval Britain," *History and Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (March 2012): 115–148.

⁹⁶ Charles, Muara of Arossi and Sovereign Chief of Sikyana to Wyllie, January 15, 1857, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.

⁹⁷ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 80.

⁹⁸ Reeve to Wyllie, November 28, 1854, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.

⁹⁹ Not much is known about this man, the only one of St Julian's circle of associates without any documented Hawaiian consular appointment. Casual internet searches reveal an insolvency in 1864 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, October 24, 1864, 5.), followed by an appointment as police clerk in Sydney in 1865 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, August 23, 1865, 5.) and later a position of magistrate and registrar at Port Macquarie (New South Wales. *Blue Book for the Year 1871. Compiled from Official Returns in the Government Registrar's Office* (Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1872), xxii.). According to Judith A Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of A Pacific Archipelago, 1800–1978* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), 364., a ship named *Star of the Sea* captained by a certain Ormiston was trading twice between the Solomons and Sydney in 1872. At both trips, Ormiston imported to Sydney five tons of coconut oil, forty tons of copra, as well as various amounts of dried sea cucumber, tortoise shell and sulfur. No indication is given on where exactly in the Solomons he landed, even though the mention of sulfur implies he must have visited one of the few active volcanic islands in the archipelago. In 1873, a captain Ormiston left Sydney for the "South Sea Islands" with the schooner *Lucy* (*Empire*, April 11, 1873). It is thus unclear whether Ormiston's supposed possession of "Ghela" refers to a place name on Makira, which might have been granted to Ormiston by St Julian as a fiefdom within his "Arossian" state, or to the Island north of Guadalcanal spelled Nggela today (located in proximity to the active volcanic island of Savo), over which there was no documented claim by Boyd but that Ormiston may have claimed through a separate venture.

¹⁰⁰ Draft document, unsigned and dated only by year 1858, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

¹⁰¹ Foundational acts of the order of Arossi, August 29 and 30, 1859, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

¹⁰² Constitution of the Order of Arossi, St Julian Family Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

¹⁰³ Presumably, the insignia awarded to the other seven members of the order were passed down to their descendants and may be in private collections today, if they survived.

- ¹⁰⁴ St Julian to Wyllie, July 29, 1859, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰⁵ Andrew Wardrop to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, acknowledging receipt of appointment, January 7, 1871, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, FO & Ex, AH. St Julian to Harris, May 31 and August 1, 1871, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰⁶ Commission by Kamehameha V of James Cruickshank as Consul to the City of Auckland and environs, colony of New Zealand, June 21, 1872, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰⁷ D.B. Cruickshank to Bishop, December 22, 1873, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰⁸ D. B. Cruickshank to Kapena, acknowledging receipt of commission from Kalākaua, August 20, 1878, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁰⁹ Oakley to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 1, 1872, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Melbourne, FO & Ex, AH. White to Harris, April 8, 1873, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Newcastle, Australia, FO & Ex, AH. While Oakley remained in charge of the Melbourne consulate until the 1890s, there was a rapid succession of consuls in Newcastle, see appendix.
- ¹¹⁰ Commission by Kalākaua of Audley Coote as Hawaiian Consul for Tasmania, July 12, 1878, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Hobart, FO & Ex, AH; for a short bio see Sally O'Neill, "Coote, Audley (1839–1915)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/coote-audley-3256/text4929> [accessed January 2, 2020].
- ¹¹¹ St Julian to Harris, May 3, 1871, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹¹² Scott and Barbara Bennett, *Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament, 1851–1960* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), 122.
- ¹¹³ Appointment of Pembroke Lathrop Murray as attaché to the Hawaiian Legation to the Independent States and Tribes of Southern Polynesia, February 12, 1872; Appointment of the same as Hawaiian vice-consul to the City and Port of Sydney, May 2, 1872; Appointment of the same as chancellor of the Hawaiian Consulate General to the Australian colonies, March 24, 1873, all in Pembroke Lathrop Murray Papers, vol. 5, Mitchell Library, Sydney; for a short biography see Chris Clark, "Murray, Pembroke Lathrop (1846–1929)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murray-pembroke-lathrop-7712/text13507> [accessed January 2, 2020].
- ¹¹⁴ Frances Steel, *Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 1–12.
- ¹¹⁵ St Julian to Harris, May 31, 1871, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH; Henry Driver to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 4, 1871, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Dunedin, FO & Ex, AH.

- ¹¹⁶ H. A. Thompson to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, September 19, 1876, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Brisbane, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹¹⁷ G. A. Woods to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, December 14, 1876, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Fiji, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹¹⁸ Webster to Kapena, March 27, 1879, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH, notice of appointment in *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, August 30, 1879, 343.
- ¹¹⁹ E.g. he appointed Charles Frederick Stokes to succeed Alexander Brown as vice-consul in Newcastle in 1881 (*Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, Saturday, January 7, 1882, 39) and Alexander Brand Webster to succeed Thompson as consul in Brisbane in 1885; when recommending the latter's appointment to the Hawaiian government, consul-general Alexander Speed Webster specified that despite being namesakes they were not relatives, see Webster to Gibson, May 21, 1884, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH. Notice of Exequatur by Queen Victoria to Alexander Brand Webster, *Brisbane Courier*, June 7, 1886, 5.
- ¹²⁰ A.S. Webster to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs Walter Murray Gibson, March 27, 1884, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹²¹ For a detailed discussion of that period, see Gonschor, *A Power in the World*, 88–111.
- ¹²² 'The Order of Arossi,' *PCA*, May 6, 1884.
- ¹²³ Smith to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, December 31, 1884 and March 26, 1885, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹²⁴ On this important diplomatic mission, which is beyond the scope of this article, see Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 95–159. and Gonschor, *A Power in the World*, 94–106, 135–138.
- ¹²⁵ Collins to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, September 17, 1887. For a short biography, see John O'Hara, "Collins, George Thomas (1839–1926)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/collins-george-thomas-5736/text9709> [accessed January 2, 2020].
- ¹²⁶ Banivanua-Mar, *Decolonisation and the Pacific: Indigenous Globalisation and the Ends of the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) 38–39.
- ¹²⁷ Paul Van der Grijp, "The Making of a Modern Chiefdom State: The Case of Tonga," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149, no. 4 (1993), 662; Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 149–151.
- ¹²⁸ Sione Lātūkefu, *King George Tupou I of Tonga* (Nuku'alofa: Tonga Traditions Committee, 1975), 30–32.
- ¹²⁹ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 5, 1873, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.; Sione Lātūkefu, *Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822–1875* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1974), 201–202.

- ¹³⁰ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 9, 1874, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹³¹ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs William L. Green, April 9, April 10, May 9 and June 4, 1874, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹³² “Postal Convention between the Colonial Government of New South Wales and the Hawaiian Kingdom,” *Treaties and Conventions Concluded between the Hawaiian Kingdom and other Powers since 1825* (Honolulu: Elele Book, Card and Job Print, 1887), 119–121.
- ¹³³ Rowe to Webster, January 19, 1872, in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Sydney, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹³⁴ Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 136.
- ¹³⁵ *The Constitution Act of the Kingdom of Fiji* (Levuka: D.W.L. Murray, Government Printer, 1871).
- ¹³⁶ Hawaiian Consul D.W.L. Murray to Fijian Premier and Minister of Lands and Works G. A. Woods, March 10, 1874, file 11-38½/1874, Chief Secretary’s Office, Naval and Consular Correspondence, National Archives of Fiji, Suva.
- ¹³⁷ ‘Fijian Politics,’ *HG*, June 3, 1874, 4.
- ¹³⁸ David Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (London: Routledge 1997).
- ¹³⁹ Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).
- ¹⁴⁰ Reeve to F.C. Nobbs, November 23, 1874, enclosed in Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, November 23, 1874, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH. Nobbs was a direct descendant of Tahitian chiefess Mauatua and Fletcher Christian, the leader of the well-known 1789 mutiny on the British ship *Bounty*, whose descendants lived from 1790 on Pitcairn island, then from 1856 on Norfolk Island. See Raymond Nobbs, *Norfolk Island and its Third Settlement, The First Hundred Years: The Pitcairn Era, 1856–1956, and the Melanesian Mission, 1866–1920* (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 2006).
- ¹⁴¹ See his obituary “Sudden Death of Mr. D. B. Cruickshank,” *New Zealand Herald*, May 17, 1895, 1.
- ¹⁴² Cruickshank to Francis P. Hastings, February 23, 1893; Cruickshank to Francis Hatch, November 2, 1894, both in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Auckland, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁴³ Stephen Dando-Collins, *Taking Hawaii: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Overthrew the Queen of Hawaii in 1893, with a Bluff* (New York: E-Reads, 2012), 164–165, 221–222.
- ¹⁴⁴ St Julian to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 2, 1872, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.; see also Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 141.
- ¹⁴⁵ Appointment by Kalākāua of Edward Reeve to be Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalākāua, December 31, 1878, accompanied by letter by Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs John M. Kapena to Edward Reeve, December 28, 1878, in Edward Reeve Papers, Mitchell Library, Sydney; Medcalf, *Hawaiian Royal Orders*, 19.

- ¹⁴⁶ Medcalf, *Hawaiian Royal Orders*, 11.
- ¹⁴⁷ O'Neill, "Coote, Audley"; Medcalf, *Hawaiian Royal Orders*, 21.
- ¹⁴⁸ Medcalf, *Hawaiian Royal Orders*, 38.
- ¹⁴⁹ Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 5, 1873 and February 8, 1874, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁵⁰ Reeve to Kapena, January 17, 1879, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁵¹ Personal communication with Gwen Dundon of the Gosford-based Brisbane Water Historical Society, December 22, 2019.
- ¹⁵² Probate case of Edward Reeve, No. 1808, New South Wales State Archives and Records. Marion Diamond is incorrect in stating that the Order of Arossi and other claims related to Boyd's 1851 adventure were mentioned in Reeve's will, which is not the case. See Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 80.
- ¹⁵³ Seniloli Kimbu 'Inoke, *Legacy of Tonga's Constitution, 1875–2015* (Suva: University of the South Pacific Press, 2018).
- ¹⁵⁴ Blake-'Ilohahia, *Alexander Blake*, 7.
- ¹⁵⁵ Charles St Julian and Edward K. Silvester, *The Productions, Industry and Resources of New South Wales* (Sydney: J. Moore, 1853), 7, 15–18. Silvester was a member of the council of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of New South Wales. See *Sands and Kenny's Commercial and General Sydney Directory for 1858–9* (Sydney: Sands and Kenny, 1858), 297. In the early 1840s he had also been a member of a literary circle that included Edward Reeve, see Diamond, *Creative Meddler*, 29. I have found no other information of Silvester's background and his relationship with St Julian or other members of the Hawaiian consular network.
- ¹⁵⁶ Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney* (Sydney: New South Publishing, University of New South Wales Press, 2017).
- ¹⁵⁷ Ashton, *At the Margins of Empire*.
- ¹⁵⁸ Diamond, *The Seahorse and the Wanderer; Banivanua-Mar, Decolonisation and the Pacific*, 32–33.
- ¹⁵⁹ Serge Tcherkezoff, "A Long and Unfortunate Voyage Toward the 'Invention' of the Melanesia-Polynesia Distinction, 1595–1832," *Journal of Pacific History* 38, no. 2 (2003), 175–196.; Maile Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019).
- ¹⁶⁰ Reeve for instance paternalistically referred to the "savages" on the island of Marau off the coast of Makira while claiming to be lord of the island due to Boyd's claims, see Reeve to Kapena, August 21, 1880, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁶¹ Stacy L. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 105.
- ¹⁶² Blake-'Ilohahia, *Alexander Blake*, 5.
- ¹⁶³ Probate case of Edward Reeve, No. 1808, New South Wales State Archives & Records.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Oct 28, 1857, 2.

- ¹⁶⁵ The digitized English-language Hawaiian papers are subsumed within a larger digitization project of US newspapers by the Library of Congress in Washington, DC that includes press media of foreign countries in areas later claimed by the United States, see <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.
- ¹⁶⁶ The digitized Hawaiian-language newspapers are available at <http://www.nupepa.org> and at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' Papakilo database, <https://www.papakilodatabase.com/>.
- ¹⁶⁷ Reeve to Charles R. Bishop, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 5, 1873, Reeve to Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, November 25, 1874, both in Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁶⁸ Reeve to Bishop, March 12, 1874, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁶⁹ Reeve to Henry A. Pierce, Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, July 30, 1878, Hawaiian Officials Abroad: Australia, FO & Ex, AH.
- ¹⁷⁰ Banivanua-Mar, *Decolonisation and the Pacific*, 38, 69–70.