

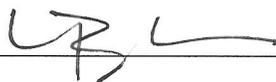
SHIPS, LOGS, AND VOYAGES:

MARIA GRAHAM NAVIGATES THE JOURNEY OF H.M.S. *BLONDE*

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INTRODUCTION

In the Age of Exploration (1400-1800), there were only two ways that women journeyed to the South Pacific—as figureheads, carved onto the prows of ships, or by reading published accounts. Men created the historic literary record of the age. Although early voyages were a man’s domain, the writings of women travelers such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1767) and Isabella Bird (1875) gradually emerged to map new dimensions in the history of the world. Recent studies in women’s travel writing have focused on domesticity—a woman writer’s access and awareness of traditionally gender-coded topics such as family and femininity, subjects heretofore ignored or misrepresented in the journals of men. However, these studies have not often addressed the question, how did contemporary women travel writers react to these misrepresentations? Furthermore, were their responses similarly confined to the domestic? *Ships, Logs, and Voyages* analyzes the narrative techniques of one writer, unique in British history, who not only traversed *terra incognita*, but also navigated a course into the exclusive narratives of men’s voyages to create just such a dialectic. She was Maria Graham.¹

In 1826, John Murray commissioned Graham to ghostwrite the official record of a voyage to the Sandwich Islands (Hawai‘i).² The King and Queen of Hawai‘i made an historic first visit to Britain in 1823, but both unexpectedly contracted measles and died in London. The British government charged Royal Naval Captain Lord George Anson Byron (the poet

¹ Maria Dundas, later Maria Graham, and after 1827, Lady Maria Callcott.

² While the term “ghostwriter” was not coined until the late 1920s, ghost writing is a profession which dates as far back 411 B.C. See: W. Norwood Brigance, “Ghostwriting before Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Radio,” *Communication Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (1956): 10.

Byron's cousin and heir) with conveying the bodies back to their South Pacific kingdom for burial. Upon the return of Byron and his ship H.M.S. *Blonde* to England in March of 1826, the ship's chaplain, Richard Bloxam, intended to publish his journal of the voyage. However, shortly after his arrival in England, Bloxam's professional duties called him away from England and he left his manuscript with London publisher John Murray II. Murray published the most well known literature of the Romantic period; his authors included Jane Austen, Lord Byron, and Sir Walter Scott among many others. A self-taught and talented linguist, in addition to writing her own travelogues Graham read, reviewed, edited, and translated manuscripts for Murray. Friends since the 1810s, Graham and Murray corresponded on a weekly basis.³ Most recently, Murray had published her second set of travel journals, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile*.⁴ Knowing of her interest and experience in travel writing and possibly recalling her acquaintance with the ship's artist, Robert Dampier, Murray hired Graham to create a cohesive narrative documenting this historic visit to Hawai'i and furnished her with Chaplain Bloxam's journal as well as some notes of the officers and other passengers.

Striving for accuracy, Graham not only used those materials, she also conducted meticulous research to complete the book. Working with materials in the British Museum and the library of Sir Joseph Banks, examining Dampier's drawings and journal, even interviewing the crew of H.M.S. *Blonde*, she re-wrote, edited, and annotated the account. Murray published a *Voyage of HMS Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, In the Years 1824-1825*

³ See: MS 40185 and MS 40186, John Murray Archive, The National Library of Scotland.

⁴ Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there, during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown; and John Murray, 1824). Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, during the Year 1822; and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil, in 1823* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown; and John Murray, 1824). Hereafter: *Brazil* and *Chile* respectively.

in December 1826 under Captain Byron's name.⁵ Maria Graham is acknowledged nowhere in the text. Historians and ethnographers have cited the facts of H.M.S *Blonde*'s voyage—from the account of the events to the descriptions of native garments—in order to understand the legacy of the British in Hawai'i, but to date no one has studied the creation of this book.⁶ Graham's 1937 biographer Rosamund Gotch briefly mentions public response to the book as does Regina Akel, Graham's literary biographer (2009), but neither sheds any light on Graham's work on this publication.

Graham's unusual position as ghostwriter for the "official" account of *Blonde*'s voyage provides a unique opportunity to examine the manner in which a woman travel writer interpreted and choose to re-present the information her male contemporaries reported as fact. By the end of the twentieth century, three additional accounts of this voyage had been published.⁷ Two resident missionaries on the islands also included accounts of the H.M.S. *Blonde*'s visit within their own travel volumes.⁸ The National Library of Australia now holds Richard Bloxam's handwritten journal while the Huntington Library possesses a copy of Captain Byron's ship's log. When combined with Graham's letters to John Murray, held at the Murray Archive in the National Library of Scotland, these materials offer scholars the opportunity to explore in detail how Graham shaped this voyage narrative. Juxtaposing

⁵ Maria Graham, *Voyage of the H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the years 1824-1825 under Captain the Right Honorable Lord George Byron* (Albemarle-Street: John Murray, 1826). Hereafter: *Voyage of HMS Blonde* or *Blonde*.

⁶ See Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "L'Aigle and HMS Blonde, The Use of History in the Study of Ethnography," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978).

⁷ James Macrae, *With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825*. (Honolulu: Petroglyph, 1922); Andrew Bloxham, *Diary of Andrew Bloxham, Naturalist of the Blonde* (Honolulu: B.P. Bishop Museum, 1925); Robert Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands on HMS Blonde* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1971).

⁸ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of those Islands* (Hartford: H. Huntington, 1847); Charles S. Stewart, *Journal of a residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years, 1823, 1824, and 1825 including remarks on the manners and customs of the inhabitants* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i for Friends of the Library of Hawai'i, 1970).

Graham's narrative style in *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde* against those of her primary sources, Bloxam's and Dampier's journals, reveals that she was absorbed by the critical role women played in the cultural conversion taking place in Hawai'i during the early nineteenth-century. However, in order to appeal to a wider audience, Graham was compelled to write her narrative in a style that did not venture far from predominant colonial tropes of her era. Despite this constraint, her rewriting of the voyage synthesizes a disparate chain of events and perspectives into a narrative record that responds to the colonial male fixation on indigenous bodies by redirecting the British gaze to the material opportunities those bodies represented. But in doing so, Graham also locates indigenous female agency within the hierarchy of changes taking place on the islands at the time of H.M.S. *Blonde*'s visit.

1. CONTEXTUALIZING THE WRITER

Graham's career as a published author spanned thirty years, 1812-1842. She began as a traveler, sailing to India with her father, Captain George Dundas. She published her first book, *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812), at the age of twenty-seven. Graham went on to write several other books chronicling her life experiences and observations in Italy, Chile, and Brazil. She wrote the first English biography of French painter Nicholas Poussin.⁹ Throughout her career, she read manuscripts on travel, art, and history for John Murray. She submitted her opinions to Murray with each manuscript. They were invariably frank and sometimes quite succinct. "The 1st I distrust – the 2nd laugh at – the 3rd I like very much – the 4th I feel an interest in," she wrote once when returning four travel manuscripts to Murray.¹⁰ Beyond travel narratives, Graham wrote histories of Spain and France, books on art and architecture, and pamphlets on multiple topics. She authored *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835), which became a standard children's history reader, selling over 80,000 copies during the nineteenth century.¹¹ Her writing is clear, concise, and engaging, yet vastly understudied in the United States. Given the dearth of women's travel accounts prior to the Victorian era, Maria Graham's work holds a wealth of overlooked information.

Barred from receiving a formal higher education, women writers such as Graham were at a distinct disadvantage when trying to enter public debate. However, her own

⁹ Maria Graham, *Memoirs of the life of Nicholas Poussin* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown; Edinburgh: A. Constable &, 1820).

¹⁰ Graham to Murray, MS 40185. Letter No. 69 dated 24 September 1826.

¹¹ Rosemary Mitchell, "Callcott, Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4399> (accessed December 9, 2009).

education was progressive for the time—unconstrained access to any topic that caught her interest. Graham later appreciated this freedom as she related in an autobiographical sketch, “my natural curiosity, my governess’s pleasant method of instruction, and the free use, young that I was, she allowed me of her books, had enabled me to make such progress in knowledge and information as placed me considerably before most children of my own age.”¹² In late adolescence, she moved to her uncle’s home in Edinburgh, Scotland; this gave her unusual access to the scientists and philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment. “In my uncle’s house, I met most of the eminent men who then filled the Professors’ chairs,” wrote Graham. “Dugald Stewart, Playfair, Leslie, and Dr. Hope were all old acquaintances or school fellows of my uncle, and somehow, though I was totally ignorant of the world and its ways, my desultory reading at Miss Bright’s had given me habits of thinking upon a variety of subjects, and had so far roused my curiosity, that I seized with avidity every opportunity of acquiring fresh knowledge, however foreign the subject might appear to my ordinary habits.”¹³

Graham was a voracious reader and her various travels allowed her to see and sometimes experience different cultures first-hand. As a teenager, her drawing master, William Delamotte, had her read the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Edmund Burke.¹⁴ Her compositions, both written and artistic, abound with influences from Reynolds’s

¹² Rosamund Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott, the Creator of “Little Arthur”* (London: John Murray, 1937), 32. Towards the end of her life, Graham dictated a portion of her autobiography to Caroline Fox. Gotch includes this material in her biography of Graham.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 74-75. Per Gotch they were: Dugald Stewart (Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh), John Playfair (Professor of Mathematics and later Natural Philosophy), Sir John Leslie (who followed Playfair as chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy), Dr. Thomas Hope (Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh), and Thomas Brown (Moral Philosopher)

¹⁴ Mitchell, “Callcott,” *Oxford DNB*. Delamotte (1775-1863) was a British painter and engraver. He was appointed drawing master at the Royal Military College (Sandhurst) in 1803 and taught there for 40 years. See: Patrick Conner and Carolyn Bloore, “Delamotte,” *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T021926pg> (accessed March 25, 2010).

Discourses on Art and Burke's theories on the sublime.¹⁵ As she traveled, she did not neglect her studies. On her journey to India, she read Frossiart's *Chronicles*, the works of Tacitus, and Stewards' *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.¹⁶ While on the voyage, she learned Arabic, studied Persian and met her husband to be, Lieutenant Thomas Graham.¹⁷ Her India journal from this trip is innately enthusiastic and even progressive. In one instance she writes, "I have just seen what I thought I should never have met with on this side of Thibet, namely, an *alive god*, called Deo of Chimchore, who is nothing less than Ganesa himself, incarnate in the person of a boy of twelve years old, the eighth of his family honoured as the vehicle of this deity's appearance on earth."¹⁸ After the Grahams' marriage and Thomas' promotion to captain, they continued traveling throughout India and she became absorbed in all aspects of Indian culture. With Captain Graham, she also traveled Italy where they met the artist Charles Eastlake, who drew the Grahams into a circle of artists that included John Turner and John Jackson.¹⁹

In between her travels, she continued to work for John Murray. If he did not send her a sufficient number of manuscripts to read in a given week, she always brought it to his attention, as she did in a letter of February 1821: "I am really hungry for a new book." Later that year she and Captain Graham sailed to the Canary Islands and on to Brazil, where she learned Portuguese. After Captain Graham's unexpected death on the subsequent voyage to

¹⁵ Graham was a proficient artist. Her landscape illustrations appear in both her Chilean and Brazilian journals.

¹⁶ Mitchell, "Callcott," *Oxford DNB*.

¹⁷ Regina Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography* (Amhurst: Cambria Press, 2009), 27. Akel quotes from Graham's private India diary: "I was fortunate enough to find some assistance in my Persian studies from Mr. Tyler, whose acquaintance with the vulgar Arabic is a considerable advantage with regard to the pronunciation, and his knowledge of the Italian, Spanish, and French is of the greatest use."

¹⁸ Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh: A. Constable &, 1813), 70. Entry is dated 19 December 1809 entry.

¹⁹ Mitchell, "Callcott," *Oxford DNB*.

Chile, she chose to stay in Valparaiso where, despite her grief, she explored the country and its culture. When she returned to Brazil, Graham was introduced into the Brazilian court and later offered a position as governess to the princess. Graham accepted the position and returned briefly to England before assuming the post. Although her time as governess did not last past the first month, Graham maintained a friendship and correspondence with the Empress Maria Leopoldina for a number of years after her return to England in 1824.²⁰ After she established her residence in London, Graham worked so closely with John Murray's publishing house that she became intimately acquainted with Murray's personal library. She wrote to him in late May 1826, "Can you find me...the anthology that used to stand between the window & the fire place in Albemarle Street I'll take great care of it & return it 'to the day.'" ²¹

During her stay in Rio de Janeiro in 1823, Graham formed an acquaintance with Robert Dampier, who would become H.M.S. *Blonde*'s artist and draftsman. According to Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, she met Dampier through his brother-in-law, Mr. William May. In August of 1823, Dampier escorted Graham on a nine-day tour of the countryside around Rio and nearby Santa Cruz. Dampier was twenty-three years old and a resident in Rio since 1818. Graham wrote of this excursion in her Brazilian journal and commented on Mr. Dampier: "I confess I was very glad to be relieved of absolute charge of myself, and not a little pleased to have the society of a well-bred, intelligent young man,

²⁰ See Maria Callcott and Leopoldina, *Correspondência entre Maria Graham e a imperatriz dona Leopoldina e cartas anexas* (Editora Itatiaia: Belo Horizonte, 1997). Graham sent a copy of the *Blonde* to the Empress in 1827 (Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter No. 94)

²¹ Graham to Murray, MS 40185. Letter No. 56.

whose taste for the picturesque beauties of nature agrees with my own.”²² Although they shared a companionable trip, she concedes:

I think that if there is one decided point in which fellow-travellers agree, however different in age, temper, or disposition, there may always be peace and pleasant conversation, more especially, if, as in our case, they travel on horseback. A difference of opinion is so easily evaded by a reference to one’s horse, which may always go too fast or too slow, or exercise one’s tongue or one’s whip without any offence to one’s two-legged companion—We were well tried to-day.²³

Shortly thereafter, Graham departed to England. Their paths would converge again in 1826 after H.M.S. *Blonde* returned to England.

Dampier’s influence over Graham’s work on the *Blonde* is somewhat unclear. He visited Graham regularly in 1826 during the writing of the *Blonde* and she certainly held him in high esteem. She thanks him in the *Blonde*’s preface: “The drawings, from which the engravings were made, are by Mr. Dampier, to whom the Editor is greatly indebted for the use of his sensible and agreeable journal.”²⁴ Dampier had joined the crew of H.M.S. *Blonde* at Rio de Janeiro sometime around November 27, 1824. Apparently, Dampier had no agreement in place with either Captain Byron (and by extension the Admiralty) or with John Murray’s publishing house to publish his drawings of the voyage. Nor did he or Chaplain Bloxam make any mention of a prior agreement in their journals. Little is known about Richard Bloxam, ship’s chaplain, who intended to write final version of the *Blonde*’s narrative, or what inspired him to keep a journal.²⁵ He was a nephew of the artist Sir Thomas

²² Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, During the Year 1822; and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 274.

²³ Graham, *Brazil*, 274.

²⁴ Graham, *Blonde*, vi.

²⁵ It is entirely possible there is correspondence between Murray and Bloxam in the John Murray Archive.

Lawrence.²⁶ It appears Bloxam had little to do with the *Blonde* after returning to England. The difficulties presented by Bloxam's absence were a topic of another letter from Graham to Murray later in May 1826. "You seemed, I know, to feel kindly that it was hard upon him [Dampier] to have been induced to give his time & attention for the purposes of one [Bloxam] who then went and left the whole as an ostrich leaves his egg in the sun, to be hatched by another."²⁷

Graham was quite concerned about Dampier. In an undated letter of May 1826, Graham wrote to Murray, "When you had got all the prints collected you would see what you would give him for the loan of the drawings which he had originally furnished for Mr Bloxam on the understanding that he was to share in what Mr. B's book might produce." Ultimately, Graham assisted Dampier in negotiating a fee from Murray and in the same letter she continues, "Now though Mr. Dampier has worried me considerably about the book & seems to think me accountable in part for his not having published his own journal separately. Yet I can't help feeling [obscured] that he should get something & if I could manage it I would rather transfer by any possible means into his hands part of what you have given me for my part of the work." Murray agreed to pay Dampier £30, but did not take it out of Graham's £100 fee as she had suggested. Although Dampier's illustrations for the book

²⁶ Graham to Murray, MS 40185, Letter No. 94 date January 1827. "Sir Thos Lawrence, (Bloxam's Uncle) is very anxious to see The work.—I met him the Other evening, when he mentioned It very pleasantly." Per Christie's of London: "Further family papers dating from 1806-90 are in the Warwickshire Record Office (CR 1001), while others remain with the family." "Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A. (1769-1830) | Double portrait of Richard Rowland Bloxam (1797-1877) and Andrew Bloxam (1801-1878), half-length, in profile, on the eve of their departure for the Sandwich Islands [Hawai'i] in 1823."

http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5077408 (accessed March 29, 2010).

²⁷ Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter No. 48 dated May 1826.

were a frequent topic in Graham's letters to John Murray, she never discusses Dampier's journal.

The details of how Murray selected Graham as ghostwriter of the *Blonde's* narrative remain vague. The existing correspondence between Graham and John Murray between 1824 and 1826 is sparse. Graham first references the commission in a letter to Murray in early May, 1826: "Pray if you wish me to be of use send me the beginning or notice for a beginning on the Sandwich."²⁸ Graham does not seem to have become acquainted with Captain Byron until after accepting the job. She did correspond with Byron in June 1826. Again, she writes to Murray, "I have this moment received from Lord Byron an excellent plan of the Great Volcano—with all the particulars necessary to correct the very disjointed statements the journals contain."²⁹

With such a daunting task ahead of her, why did Graham take the commission? Travel literature was immensely popular at the time, and as Gary Kelly observes, the travel genre provided women writers an immediate opportunity to assert their opinions on a multiplicity of topics in the previously inaccessible forum of print.³⁰ Graham's travel journals are evidence that her informal education served her well. The depth of information in her published journals is remarkable in that she routinely touched on science, history, art, politics, and religions with a high degree of familiarity, no matter the locale. "There is no class of life in which literary knowledge and taste can be of disadvantage to a woman. They

²⁸ Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter No. 48 dated May 1826.

²⁹ Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter No. 63 undated.

³⁰ Gary Kelly, *Women, Writing, and Revolution, 1790-1827* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, 1993).

render her independent of what are termed the pleasures of the world.”³¹ In fact, in Graham’s philosophy of equality nothing separated men and women but education. She wrote in her autobiographical sketch:

Loving literature as I did, I considered the great difference between men and women was that of education....[on entering Society] I shocked the prejudices of many, and alarmed the caution of more, by the ease with which I conversed with men and women alike.³²

With the publication of her first journal on India, Graham gained entry to the world of public debate. While her first book was generally well received, she found her gender immediately impeded critical reception—“A book by a young lady, who probably went to India like most young ladies, to secure a husband instead of information.”³³ Fourteen years and several successful publications later Graham accepted the opportunity to ghostwrite the voyage of H.M.S. *Blonde*. As she did with her own travelogues, she divided the book into two sections. The first portion Graham wrote in its entirety and it comprised what might have been the first comprehensive short history of Hawai‘i up to the death of King Riho Riho in London.³⁴ The second half, styled as a journal, Graham based on the diaries of Dampier and Bloxam, tracking the journey from England to Hawai‘i and back again. In both portions of the *Blonde*, a politically sophisticated Graham seized the opportunity to anonymously express her private philosophies through her re-presentations of the men and women encountered on H.M.S. *Blonde*’s voyage.

³¹ Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 33.

³² Gotch, 85.

³³ Gotch, 142. Quoted from the *Quarterly Review*, December 1812, Vol. VII, 406.

³⁴ Riho Riho also known as LihoLiho and Kamehameha II.

2. MAPPING THE POLITICAL AND DYNASTIC SITUATION OF HAWAI‘I IN THE 1820S

By the 1820s, indigenous Polynesians were no longer the sole inhabitants of Hawai‘i. Voyagers from France, Russia, America, Spain, and other European countries stopped regularly at this Pacific kingdom. Although “discovered” by Britain, no nation officially claimed Hawai‘i as a colonial territory. Those sailors who chose to stay behind were few in number and co-existed in relative peace with the Hawaiians. Although at first these interlopers had a negligible impact (aside from the gift of disease) on Hawaiian culture, the Hawaiians gradually adopted the terms if not the hierarchy of a modern European government.

During the period of Cook’s visit (1778-1779), Hawai‘i was divided into four kingdoms.³⁵ The first Hawaiian chief recognized as “King” over all the islands was Kamehameha I (1782-1819). Upon his death, his son Riho Riho (Kamehameha II) inherited the throne. His rule, however, was not absolute. One of his father’s wives, Queen Ka’ahumanu and another chief, Kalanimoku also ruled as regents on his behalf. This practice of group rule was not unusual, Ka’ahumanu and Kalanimoku had also served as regents for King Kamehameha I. Beyond the two regents, the highest-ranking priest and priestess also held the king in check. At the time of the succession, they were Hewahewa and Riho Riho’s mother, Keōpūolani. The political strength of these priests was derived not only from their bloodlines of descent, but also from their power as religious leaders to designate activities, material items, places, and foods as “tabu” or forbidden. Some restrictions were permanent

³⁵ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1947), 30.

while others were temporary. These tabus essentially controlled all Hawaiians, even the ruling class of high chiefs.

After Kamehameha's death, changes in certain permanent tabus approved by Riho Riho and the priests changed the dynamic of the political hierarchy of Hawai'i.³⁶ These changes and the displacement of the Hawaiian religion were accelerated in 1820, when, only a few months after Riho Riho's succession, the first group of American Missionaries arrived on the islands and began the process of Christianization. As this new religion supplanted that of the Hawaiians', the political power of the Hawaiian priests dwindled. While the missionaries stepped into the void, the change in religious culture allowed the regents of Hawai'i to appropriate the political power of the priests—as the King and regents were no longer subjected to restraints on their personal freedoms. Although the new religion displaced Riho Riho's mother, Keōpūolani as priestess, her bloodlines were so respected that she maintained the rights and title of highest chieftess; thus the regents consulted with her on political decisions.

By the time Riho Riho and his wife, Kamāmalu, departed for a formal state visit to England in 1823, each island of Hawai'i had a chief recognized by the title of Governor or Governess. The upper echelons of rulers were all related to various degrees. The Hawaiian royal party visiting England included not only the King and Queen, but also the Governor of Oahu, Boki, and his wife Lillah, amongst other retainers. They arrived in England in May of 1823 and took up residence at Osbourne's Hotel in the Adelphi.³⁷ Unfortunately, in July, both Riho Riho and Kamāmalu contracted measles and died. With the death of the king,

³⁶ The tabu changes are discussed in section seven.

³⁷ Graham, *Blonde*, 58.

Governor Boki became the leader of the Hawaiian royal party. Boki met with George IV on behalf of the royalty of Hawai‘i on September 11.

British secretary of state for foreign affairs, George Canning, suggested to George IV that the bodies of the deceased King and Queen be returned to Hawai‘i for burial, and a diplomatic consul from Britain, Captain Richard Charlton, be sent along as well. Although according to Ralph Kuykendall in his book, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (1938), Charlton “was to take up his residence in the Pacific in order to foster trade between the islands and British manufacturers,” the British intention of establishing a formal alliance with Hawai‘i seems ambiguous at best.³⁸ Canning instructed Captain Byron to assist should the succession not be smooth. However, Byron’s intervention was not necessary. Upon the return of the party to the islands in 1825, Riho Riho’s brother, Kauikeaouli became king of Hawai‘i. The new king was only twelve years old, so naturally Queen Ka’ahumanu and chief Kalaimoku served again as regents.

³⁸ Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 80.

3. ESTABLISHING THE PROSPECT FROM THE *BLONDE* & NEGOTIATING AUTHORIAL IDENTITY

Not being able to get to Albemarle Street myself today I sent the MS that you may see the quantity—it is Small—the first part being my particular Concern—the second much as I could make of Bloxham. There will be an editors Advertisement or preface about a page & I have a promise of a few letters...& and now you know all that it is likely to come to...For now I have meddled so far with the work I am anxious to see it rightly done.

—*Maria Graham to John Murray*

August 22, 1826

Given the proliferation of voyage journals published in the long eighteenth century (1688-1830), Jane Austen might easily have written: “It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a *captain* in possession of a *journal* must be in want of an *editor*.”³⁹ The celebrated Captain Cook had the later-disavowed John Hawkesworth, the notorious Captain Bligh had James Burney—brother of the illustrious Fanny—and the distinguished Captain Byron had Maria Dundas Graham.⁴⁰ Although the route from sea journal to finished publication was almost as perilous as an actual sea voyage, over the course of a century voyage literature provided a lucrative commercial outlet for facts, such as they were, collected by “scientific” voyages that circumnavigated the globe. Social dictates of the period prevented women from

³⁹ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Vivien Jones (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 5. The original sentence reads: “It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.”

⁴⁰ *Account of the Voyages...in the Southern Hemisphere* (1773), *A Voyage to the South Sea in H.M.S. Bounty* (1792), *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde* (1826). Another of Cook’s anonymous editor was John Douglas. Bligh’s narrative of the *Bounty* was published twice in 1792, the first was an 88 page quarto which contained only an account of the mutiny. Of the second, Bligh wrote to Burney in July 1791 “I think you may easily bring in in the introduction of the voyage.” See: G. E. Manwaring, *My friend the admiral; the life, letters, and journals of Rear-Admiral James Burney, F.R.S., the companion of Captain Cook and friend of Charles Lamb*, (G. Routledge & Sons, 1931), 199. There is some question as to the depth of Byron’s actual involvement with the publication of the *Blonde*. Bloxam appears to have supplied the majority of the materials. While Byron was in contact with Murray and Graham, the notes in his ship’s log, which Graham may have also been given, do not press very far beyond the normal bounds of latitudes and longitudes recorded by any sea captain.

exploring unknown parts of the world, but ironically, the overwhelming social popularity of voyage literature allowed Graham to explore beyond the role of passive reader. Joining the ranks of a male-dominated profession heightened Graham's desire to establish her scientific and academic credibility within the cohort of voyage writers and editors. In *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, her choice of narrative perspective and deployment of "scientific" facts become evidence of her ambitions.

In the long eighteenth century, the market for sea journals flourished, producing more than two thousand voyage accounts for an eager audience.⁴¹ The Royal Society that had transformed sea journals into a medium for distributing scientific facts in the seventeenth-century targeted a larger readership by marketing travel literature as intelligent entertainment.⁴² This created a highly competitive industry, one in which editors and writers stole from each other out of desperation to fill demand—plagiarism, even between nations was rampant. Precisely because facts were difficult to verify, many an author was willing to embellish, sacrificing the veracity of an exploration narrative in order to satisfy readers. James Kelly notes, "Even when a voyage was so manifestly fraudulent that there could be no pretense at deception, it might still be prefaced with assertions to the contrary."⁴³ In such an aggressive climate, reputation was of central importance—to the scientific community and even to the general reading public. According to Michael McKeon, "for the travel narrator, the great task of introspection is first to disclose and activate the private virtues [of honesty,

⁴¹ Philip Edwards, *Story of the Voyage Sea-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

⁴² James Kelly, "Bordering on Fact in Early Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals," in *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Journal* (Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 2006), 165.

⁴³ Kelly, "Bordering on Fact," 170.

sincerity, integrity] in himself, and then to communicate them to the reader.”⁴⁴ After all, as Graham mentioned to her publisher during the writing of *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, “what use is it to tell truth if it looks like a fib?”⁴⁵

The first move towards authenticating the experience of the adventurer, and thus the “true” story, is in the selection of a narrative voice. Graham’s experience to this point only consisted of writing in her own voice. In her India journal, along with her Brazilian and Chilean accounts, Graham moved fluidly between her personal observations and descriptions of shared experiences. She yielded her voice to “we” but still conveyed her own insights and characteristic wit.⁴⁶ For instance, during her visit to Rio she wrote of a theft:

Meantime one of the midshipmen of our party had his sword stolen, adroitly enough, from the corner of the box, yet we perceived nobody enter; so that we conclude a gentleman in regimentals in the next box thought it would suit him, and so buckled it on to go home with.⁴⁷

Graham transforms this slight incident, which might create a base characterization of Brazilians, into a story of amused supposition. She constructs a romantically adroit “gentleman” thief whose ambivalence towards the owner of the sword is equal to that of Graham’s over the actual theft. There is no frantic search for the missing property, no chase after the thief, and no immediate crisis. The omission of any sense of urgency from the account imparts Graham’s amused and nonchalant attitude. Although she is part of the “we,” her emotions are not engaged. Graham wrote nearly the whole of her Brazilian journal as part of a group—women, of course, did not travel alone—but Graham inevitably brings her

⁴⁴ Jonathan Lamb, “Minute Particulars and the Representation of South Pacific Discovery,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 287. Michael McKeon as quoted by Lamb.

⁴⁵ Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Undated letter of late December 1826.

⁴⁶ See *India* (1812), *Brazil* (1824) *Chile* (1824).

⁴⁷ Graham, *Brazil*, 140.

presence back into the text, whether it be with a straightforward “I” or simply through her characteristically subtle humor.

The H.M.S. *Blonde*'s voyage presented a new problem. To construct the narrative Graham depended upon Chaplain Richard Bloxam's journal as a primary source. Naturally, Bloxam wrote of his journey in the first-person. While Graham had traveled along many of the same routes as the original journalist, her first-hand knowledge ended in Chile. She had no personal experience of the Pacific islands and she was quite concerned with collecting as much information as possible. A few weeks into her work on the *Blonde*, she wrote to her publisher asking for the key materials. “Make Bloxham call on Me. Make him go to Lord Byron's—in short urge them to collect all the materials in one point and the matter will soon be accomplished.”⁴⁸ A month later, she was still imploring Murray for more information. “Pray let me have all & everything of the Sandwichers—for [until] all is collected I do but work in the Dark.”⁴⁹ Since Graham had complete editorial control over this manuscript, she took it upon herself to expand her sources to include other passengers and members of H.M.S. *Blonde*'s crew. As a result, Graham chose to revise Bloxam's manuscript in a different voice, one that alluded to collaboration rather than a unique experience. Graham altered the narrative voice to first-person plural.

Whereas Graham may have intended to create a continuous narrative, one unrevised moment emerges early in the voyage. Sometime between December 24, 1824 and January 1, 1825, before attempting to round Cape Horn, the ship made port at the South American island of Santa Caterina. The *Blonde*'s narrator relates an opinion of the view:

⁴⁸ Graham to Murray, MS40185. Letter dated May 1826.

⁴⁹ Graham to Murray, MS40186. Letter dated Monday, June 1826.

According to the very favourable accounts which have been given by Kotzebue and other visitants, I expected to have been much pleased with the beauty and grandeur of the place. It did not, however, appear to me at all equal to the majestic views I had been so lately in the habit of contemplating at Rio.⁵⁰

Two nearly identical lines of text appear in the edited journal of Robert Dampier, ship's artist and draftsman.

According to the very favorable accounts which have been given of this island, by Kotesbue [Kotzebue], and other quondam visitants, I expected to be much delighted with the beauty of the place: it did not however at all strike me, as equal in any degree, to the majestic views I had been so long in the habit of contemplating at Rio.⁵¹

This moment confirms that Graham did not work solely from Bloxam's manuscript. Dampier may rightfully claim authorship of these aesthetic observations at Santa Caterina.⁵² However, the inclusion of this first-person singular view uncovers more questions about Graham's narrative intent. Graham had been to Santa Caterina, so her experience and that of the *Blonde's* adventurers overlapped in this degree.⁵³ Graham carefully edited Dampier's original journal entry in essence, streamlining it. She eliminates the words "island" and "quondam." Her reasoning? The first was redundant in its context. The second, "quondam," was very nearly archaic, and rarely used after the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ To soften Dampier's criticism of the island, Graham adds beauty to grandeur. She also alters "strike" to "appear"

⁵⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 84. Otto von Kotzebue was a German navigator in Russian naval service who visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1816. See: Otto Von Kotzebue et al., *A new voyage of discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage, undertaken in the years 1815-1818, at the expense of His Highness... Count Romanzoff, in the ship Rurick, under the command of the lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue.* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821).

⁵¹ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 3.

⁵² Dampier's journal was held privately by his descendants until 1971 when it was made available to the University of Hawai'i Press.

⁵³ Graham mentions the island several times in her Brazilian journal referring to it as "St. Catherine's."

⁵⁴ OED, quondam- adv. At one time, formerly. rare after 17th cent.

mediating an action verb into an ambiguity. Dampier negates the “grandeur of the place” as it does not compare well to the “majestic views” with which he was familiar. Because beauty is not necessary to majesty and grandeur, Graham’s addition allows the landscape a redeeming quality. Again, these are subtle changes, but they indicate she was aware of this passage and had a hand in editing it.

This small instance of Dampier’s view illustrates how the voice of first-person singular personalizes an experience with emotional reaction, authenticates the narrator as an “I” witness, and brings the reader into what appears to be an unscreened view of events colored only by the narrator’s expectations. Jonathan Lamb explains, “The first-person narrator is able to set aside troublesome distinctions between fact and fiction, history and romance, savagery and sentimentalism in favor of a strong circumstantial delivery of exotic circumstances for the benefit of a virtual witness.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, as Lamb points out, most 18th century travel narratives employed the first-person singular, conveniently rendering the role of editor/ghostwriter invisible to the reader. By the end of the seventeenth century, a first-person singular narrator was the customary narrative perspective for voyage accounts.

However, Graham purposefully narrated the *Blonde*’s voyage in plural, framing everything observed on the journey within the view of the collective “we.” The solitary views of Santa Caterina are the only observations in the book to which an identity may be firmly attached. By narrating from a group point of view, Graham effectively neutralized any first-hand observations she perceived as unreliable. In constructing a steady “we” narrative, Graham also keeps the reader at arm’s length. Maintaining the reader’s interest at this

⁵⁵ Lamb, “Minute Particulars,” 287.

distance is difficult. Even today, only a handful of narratives, be they fact or fiction, successfully engage this perspective—William Faulkner’s “A Rose for Emily” (1930) and Jeffrey Eugenides’ *The Virgin Suicides* (1993) are two examples published in the past hundred years. Why is that? In modernist and post modernist terms, “we” is a dangerous narrative device that may destabilize an audience accustomed to first and third person narration. First-person plural view infers the presence of an external third person, which is at odds with the first-person “I” witness. “We” can activate the reader’s awareness of the anonymous author/editor—as it does in the *Blonde*. The “we” of the *Blonde* at times includes Captain Byron, particularly when arriving and departing at one of the many stops along H.M.S. *Blonde*’s route. “March 17—We sailed from Callo and steered for the Gallapagos, where we intended to water and lay in a stock of terrapin or land-turtle for our voyage across the Pacific.”⁵⁶ And at other times, it distinctly does not: “Lord Byron kindly invited half a dozen of us to live with him on shore.”⁵⁷ In the *Blonde*, “we” suggests an erratic alliance between characters that occasionally includes readers. This infrequency of reader inclusion can also alienate the reader if the “shared” point of view is not aligned with characters or experiences with which the reader identifies.

While “we” does not function to bring the audience closer to the adventurer’s experience, Graham’s use of “we” is significant in terms of authorial credibility and authority. The sea voyages of Greek and Roman literature were often narrated in first-person plural—most notably, books 9-12 of Homer’s *The Odyssey* where “we” is frequently found at

⁵⁶ Graham, *Blonde*, 90.

⁵⁷ Graham, *Blonde*, 167.

the beginning and end of sea voyages.⁵⁸ “From there we sailed on, grieved at heart, glad to have escaped death, though we had lost our dear comrades,” relates Odysseus of his departure from a land of Lotus-eaters.⁵⁹ Vernon Robbins finds that “first-person plural formulaic clauses unify the sailing accounts” occurring in Odysseus’s narration.⁶⁰ Beyond *The Odyssey*, Robbins identifies the same first-person plural clauses (related to sea voyages) in the works of Virgil, Aeschylus, and Ovid.

Robbins also notes that this generic trend influenced histories of the same periods. Beginning with Classical historian Herodotus through the Hellenistic age works of Julius Caesar, Titus Flavius Josephus, and Lucius Flavius Arrianus, evidence of the “we” influence is apparent—especially in the context of battles and sea voyages.⁶¹ However, the contextual use of “we” in Herodotus’ *Histories*, in particular, implies a “we” that is collaborative, but detached from the immediate actions of the narrative. This instructive “we” includes the author and reader. For example, Herodotus writes, “Beyond this tract, we find the Scythians again in possession of the country above the Tauri and the parts bordering on the eastern sea.”⁶² The author assumes the reader has knowledge or access to information that allows the reader to reach an agreement with the author. Graham’s first person plural in the *Blonde* blends both schools of the historic “we” and subtly establishes narrative authority by relying on Classical and Hellenistic literary traditions—a move that alludes to the narrator’s

⁵⁸ Vernon K. Robbins, “By Land and By Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies, Special Studies Series* 5 (1978): 217.

⁵⁹ Homer, *The Odyssey*, Book 9 “The Cyclops,” lines 565-568.

⁶⁰ Robbins, “By Land and By Sea,” 219.

⁶¹ See: Caesar’s *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*; Josephus’ *The Life of Flavius Josephus*; Arrian’s *Anabasis Alexandri*.

⁶² Herodotus, *Histories*, Book IV.

education, ergo his masculinity and presumably elevated class.⁶³

Though Graham ostensibly drew on this classical patterning, for many British readers first-person plural often represented the “royal we.” Monarchs used this majestic plural when speaking of themselves as the embodiment of the multiple legal bodies they ruled. Therefore, “we” was evocative of nation and as well as authenticity. During this colonial voyage, the implication was quite appropriate. In fact, one of Graham’s footnotes appears to bear out this theory. Late in the *Blonde*’s narrative, she explains the term “compadre” to the reader: “The *gossip*, a relationship always more observed in Catholic countries than with us, and especially in South America.”⁶⁴ “Us”—meaning the non-Catholic British people. “We” serves as a device to consolidate national sentiment.

Perhaps Graham’s use of “we” is an indication of her desire to preserve the verity of the final publication as a compilation of multiple sources, but a wider survey of Graham’s life and previous work may also shed some light on her choice of narrative perspective—she herself did not often live in the singular. In her twenties, she accompanied her father, sister, and brother to India. By the time her India journal and subsequent *Letters on India* were published, Graham was married to Captain Graham. Her next journal, *Voyage to Brazil* was written while in the company of her husband, whose perspective she often drew into her “we” account of the voyage. Captain Graham died on the second leg of their South American journey. Thereafter in her Chilean journal, Graham entered a permanently singular narrative perspective. The *Blonde* was an opportunity to re-engage in a familiar writing style. Given

⁶³ Graham was a talented linguist and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that she read Greek—despite the fact that an education in the classics while standard fare for an English gentleman, would have been beyond the scope of an average gentlewoman’s education. Graham almost certainly would have been familiar with William Cowper’s 1791 translations of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* from the original Greek.

⁶⁴ Graham, *Blonde*, 228.

her longer experience writing while living as part of a pair or group, Graham may have simply found it easier to don a plural voice rather than adopt the voice of the H.M.S. *Blonde*'s chaplain over that of the artist. As she ruefully wrote to Murray, "Oh what trouble it is to think other people's thoughts."⁶⁵ "We" freed her to join the narrative.

Instead of relying entirely on those discordant thoughts, Graham turned to the authoritative voices of other voyage authors. In her preface Graham states, "In the first part, the Editor has consulted the voyages of Cook, Vancouver, Dickson and Portlock, Turnbull, and several other English navigators, besides the French and Russian voyages."⁶⁶ Much like a modern scholar, Graham acknowledged those who ventured before her, citing and expanding upon many of the sources she examined in preparing to write *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*. During the journey, she quotes Captain Byron's grandfather, "Foul-weather" Jack Byron, another famous circumnavigator, who described his shipwrecked experience as a young midshipman off the tip of South America, "In horrid climes, where Chiloe's tempests sweep/Tumultuous murmurs o'er the troubled sleep."⁶⁷ Such a line of poetry quoted in conjunction with the well-known Byronic seafaring heritage also summons up the specter of the lately departed George Gordon, Lord Byron. Hence, Graham plays off the prominence of Captain Byron's family name—Graham seemed to realize, even in the early nineteenth-century, any mention of public figures could help engage her audience.

⁶⁵ Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter No. 63.

⁶⁶ Graham, *Blonde*, iv.

⁶⁷ Graham, *Blonde*, 85. Most likely quoted from *The Narrative of the Honorable John Byron: (Commodore in a late expedition round the world) with an account of the great distresses suffered by himself and his companions on the coast of Patagonia from the year 1740, till their arrival in England, 1746* (1768). John Byron, *The narrative of the Honorable John Byron (Commodore in a late expedition round the world) containing an account of the great distresses suffered by himself and his companion on the coast of Patagonia, from the year 1740, till their arrival in England, 1746* (London: Baker, Lee, and Davies, 1768).

Graham's allusions to adventurers external to H.M.S. *Blonde's* voyagers demonstrate she felt no qualms about capitalizing on the power of celebrity. For example, between her citations, the actual events, and quoted dialogue of the voyage, she mentions Captain Cook's name thirty-seven times. Perhaps this is unremarkable since Cook is credited with discovery of the islands. However, Graham also references James King, lieutenant on Cook's final fateful voyage to Hawai'i, multiple times. Although others had visited the islands since Cook's last voyage, Graham drops King's name with an obvious awareness of the popularity of Cook's final narrative (which King famously continued and completed after Cook's death). By 1826, King had been dead at least forty years, yet Graham goes so far as to bring him into the present of the narrative with "Captain King says."⁶⁸ In these instances, Graham is engaging in a one-sided dialogue with King, though she alternately corrects and complements him. This dialogue implies that the narrator has an authority at or above that of King's relative celebrity. This serves to increase the reader's level of confidence in the narrator. Thus through narrative voice Graham is able to activate those key traits of "honesty, sincerity, integrity" that are so critical to successfully captivating and retaining her reader's attention.

⁶⁸ Graham, *Blonde*, 86. Also in a footnote in *Blonde* page 51.

4. DISTILLING THE FACTS—SUCH AS THEY ARE—OF NARRATIVE INTENT

Beyond quoting and citing well-known adventurers, Graham deployed minute facts in *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde* to enhance her authorial warrant. She fully annotated both her original history of the Sandwich Islands and the journal portions of book. In her study “Annotations and Authority,” Alison Martin notices that by the eighteenth century, the “footnote had acquired a status in its own right as a tool by which to demonstrate the extent of one’s learning.”⁶⁹ Martin draws her premise from Andrew Grafton’s book *The Footnote: A Curious History* in which he claims that “In the eighteenth century, the historical footnote was a high form of literary art.”⁷⁰ The abundance of footnotes in the *Blonde* affirms Graham’s status as a student of the Enlightenment and supports her scholarly ambitions of achieving equality with her male contemporaries.

Nearly every page of the *Blonde*’s history contains a note, citation, clarification, expansion, or proof in the paratext, while every third or fourth journal page includes at least a few lines of annotation by Graham. As Grafton remarks, “Text persuades, the notes prove.”⁷¹ Yet Graham’s notes do not follow an easily discernable pattern. Many times, a note simply points the reader to further reading such as, “See Vancouver.”⁷² At others, the notes may begin within the text as aesthetic descriptions—“This helmet is shaped like that of the ancient Greeks; it is framed of wicker-work and covered in beautiful red feathers”—and descend into empirically dense footnotes containing the common and Latin names, precise size, and

⁶⁹ Alison E. Martin, “Annotation and Authority: Georg Forster’s Footnotes to the *Nachrichten von den Pelew-Inseln* (1789),” *Translation and Literature* 12, no. 2 (2006): 177-201.

⁷⁰ Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1.

⁷¹ Grafton, *Footnote*, 15.

⁷² Graham, *Blonde*, 142.

nesting habits of the birds who donated said feathers.⁷³ In other notes, though, Graham discards scientific objectivity and digresses into rhetorical arguments that in some cases clarify, but in others challenge the “facts” she has recorded in the narrative.

Are footnotes significant when for the most part they have “escaped the scrutiny of literary critics”?⁷⁴ Captain Cook’s editor, John Hawkesworth, noted, “it is from little circumstances that the relation of great events derives its power over the mind.”⁷⁵ Graham uses a framework of minutiae within her footnotes to establish her own, if anonymous, authority as a writer of history. Not being a voyage of discovery, in essence, H.M.S. *Blonde*’s journey was in itself a minute particular within the larger history of Britain. For this reason, it is especially important to consider the information that Graham introduces paratextually. Jonathan Lamb has theorized that when the narrator fixates on controlling reader experience with intense minutiae, the particulars that creep into a text may unwittingly reveal information about the narrator.⁷⁶ That is to say, the minutiae of a narrative can function as a structural filter that tempers the power of exotic “new” experiences between the first-person narrator and the reader, but simultaneously brings into sharp focus other truths the narrator wishes to obscure. The inclusion of minute facts, where they are perhaps unnecessary, signals the author’s intent to manipulate reader response.

For the most part, her footnotes supplement the text with scientific expertise. Graham’s primary source journals were too insufficient to turn the book into a fount of scientific knowledge that would guarantee a large readership. She comments on this want in

⁷³ Graham, *Blonde*, 7.

⁷⁴ Peter W. Cosgrove, “Undermining the Text: Edward Gibbon, Alexander Pope, and the Anti-Authenticating Footnote,” in *Annotation and Its Texts*, by Stephen A. Barney (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 130.

⁷⁵ Lamb, “Minute Particulars” 289. Hawkesworth as quoted by Lamb.

⁷⁶ Lamb, “Minute Particulars,” 283.

an undated letter to John Murray, writing, “I am quite pleased at my last three days work— i.e. the quality for there is not a great deal to show—Cook’s voyages after all are the finest things next to Robinson Crusoe.”⁷⁷

The inadequacy of her sources put Graham at odds with her ambitions. Graham took great pains to scrutinize the information included in the book. Even the “plates” or illustrations for the book were a frequent topic of her letters to John Murray. On May 12, 1826, she writes, “I am very sorry I couldn’t send you Mr. Dampier’s drawings, 1st because they are not all here—several interesting ones being absent by his leave, 2nd because they are to be considered this day by at least one man of science.”⁷⁸ Indeed, Graham unearthed enough information to expand Bloxam’s journal and populate her historical sketch of the islands to reach a book length just over two hundred-fifty pages. Graham apologizes for the shortcoming of scientific knowledge in the book’s preface. “For the few notices concerning natural history which the work contains, it is chiefly indebted to the zealous attention of Mr. A. Bloxam, brother to the chaplain of H.M.S. *Blonde*, who, if not a learned naturalist, deserves the praise of a diligent and sensible collector.”⁷⁹ In fact, Andrew Bloxam had no experience—only recently graduated from Oxford he gained the post by virtue of his brother’s position—as Graham insinuates.⁸⁰ According to the preface, it was also “to be regretted that the practiced collector of botanical specimens who went in the *Blonde* to the Sandwich Islands should not have furnished any account of the plants, useful or curious, which he collected for the Horticultural Society, or that some of the very enlightened

⁷⁷ Graham to Murray, MS 40186.

⁷⁸ Emphasis is Graham’s.

⁷⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, v.

⁸⁰ B.D. Jackson and Giles Hudson, “Andrew Bloxam,” Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2706?docPos=1> (accessed March 10, 2010).

members of that Society should not have done so.”⁸¹ In recognizing and responding to the faults of the voyagers as “scholars” whose duty it was to share the information they gathered, Graham positions herself—the anonymous editor—as the primary and reliable authority within the narrative.

While the *Blonde*’s first-person plural narration tempers the first-hand experience, the footnotes fail to disguise Graham’s dissatisfaction with Bloxam’s and Dampier’s journals. Footnotes in which she contradicts the text proper hint at her exasperation. For instance the *Blonde*’s narrator reports, “we unexpectedly saw broken water and low land at a distance, and at first supposed it to be Starbuck’s Island, though differing from the latitude laid down for that place.”⁸² Graham counters in the paratext: “This, as it will appear, was a mistake. The discoverer of the real Starbuck’s Island was Starbuck, who conveyed the king of the Sandwich Islands to England.”⁸³ The *Blonde*’s narrator plainly acknowledges that the identity of the island could only be supposed, hinting that this might be a new discovery. By the third page of this July 29 journal entry, the island is christened as “Malden’s Island” and the “real” Starbuck’s Island is in sight. Although Graham’s intent is to provide accurate information and the entry perhaps seemed misleading to her, the footnote is ill-timed and redundant, as the correction appears shortly thereafter in the text. The note evokes confusion and tends to negate the narrative arc of discovery in the journal entry it supplements. In his essay, “Undermining the Text,” Peter Cosgrove points out, a footnote such as this “has a disenchanting effect on the reader; it distracts us from the story, it dispels the illusion.”⁸⁴ As

⁸¹ Graham, *Blonde*, v.

⁸² Graham, *Blonde*, 204

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Cosgrove, “Undermining the Text,” 148.

a result, he continues, this type of footnote maintains a “double existence”—“It stands outside the text to impart information, but it enters the text to interfere with its narrative function.”⁸⁵ Thus, Graham’s decision to deploy footnotes, especially those containing minutiae shifts, from a simple presentation of empirical facts into an imprecise editorial tool for eliciting or subduing reader response to the narrative.

The text of the *Blonde* did not solely activate Graham’s footnotes. For example, one of Graham’s footnotes responds directly to external sources with which the public was familiar. A year prior to H.M.S. *Blonde*’s return to England, *The Times* ran excerpts from Gilbert F. Mathison’s 1825 travel volume, *Narrative of a Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1821 and 1822*. The excerpt deals with Mathison’s characterization of the late Hawaiian king Riho Riho.⁸⁶ The news editor introduced the extract with the following advice to readers:

We would advise all those who felt nearly inconsolable for the loss of the amiable pair, with whose adventures and untimely fate we were then made so familiar, to read the following account of them in their own dominions. They will rejoice, no doubt, that neither his Majesty’s polygamy, nor the character of his four wives, nor his love of gin, was known when he died in the Adelphi, in consequence of a surfeit of pork-sausages.⁸⁷

The paper includes a seven-paragraph excerpt detailing Mathison’s impressions of Riho Riho’s Hawaiian court:

⁸⁵ Cosgrove, “Undermining the Text,” 148.

⁸⁶ King Riho Riho was also known as LihoLiho and Kamehameha II.

⁸⁷ *Times* (London), 9 July 1825. The *Times* had allied itself on the side of Princess Caroline, wife of George IV, in the dispute over her queenship, thus the decision to include Mathison’s disparaging account of Riho Riho’s court in the *Times* may have been meant to allude to King George’s own indolence. The editor of the *Times* in 1825 was Thomas Barnes, friend of Henry Brougham, Caroline’s legal counsel. Gordon Phillips, “Barnes, Thomas (1785–1841),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1474> (accessed April 8, 2010).

*The royal beast lay sprawling on the grown in a state of total drunkenness and insensibility. On one side of his head was extended an enormous sow, which every now and then gave a grunt, as if in sympathy with its master; and upon the other side sat his Queen an immense woman, like him, almost in a state of primitive nudity, who seemed to be endeavoring...to assuage his beastly transports.*⁸⁸

Mathison's recollection continues in a similarly disparaging manner. In the following example, Graham frames her defense of the late king's character in the history portion of the *Blonde* in a footnote, where she addresses Riho Riho's "vices":

Love of wine and gallantry. But Riho Riho was kind, merciful, and generous; anxious to promote the good of his people, willing to listen to Karaimoku and the older chiefs, but rather refractory with the missionaries, except in learning to read and write.⁸⁹

Graham makes use of euphemisms, tactfully reducing Mathison's depictions of sins from beastly evils to simple weaknesses. Instead, while defending the late king of Hawai'i, Graham slyly draws the reader's attention to the discord between the American missionaries and the native chiefs. She marks the chief/missionary relationship as "refractory" rather than "rebellious" avoiding extremely negative paternalizing undertones. Yet Graham impresses upon the reader the idea that the relationship is perhaps as imperfect as Riho Riho.

Incidentally, Graham may have had personal reasons for needing to refute Mathison's claims. Aside from Mathison's experience in Peru, he and Graham were writing on the same countries. These two authors were likely in direct competition for readers. This circumstance points to Graham's desire to subdue the reader's preconceptions of Riho Riho and by extension discredit her rival—and she does so through misdirection. The correct reader

⁸⁸ *Times* (London), 9 July 1825.

⁸⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 154.

response to her footnote would not only accept Graham's defense of Riho Riho, but in turn fasten their attention upon the quietly discordant question of missionary influence over the Hawaiians beyond religion and "learning to read and write."

Besides expressing personal views in her Hawaiian history, Graham relates extreme events and cultural practices to current events and people around the globe. Consider this extensive footnote where the narrator/editor intervenes at, as Peter Cosgrove terms it, "a moment when our sensibilities are most aroused."⁹⁰ The note is triggered by a reference to a sacred Hawaiian chief who, legend told, put to death those persons of a "lower order" should they look upon him between sunrise and sunset.⁹¹

The veiling of the face from respect, or not looking on a superior, giving the idea that he is too resplendent to look on and live, is neither uncommon nor an unnatural idea. There is an example of it in the book of Job, and in other sacred writings. In Denham's late travels in Africa, we find that all courtiers...sit with their backs to the king, as if it were impertinent to observe his motions; and if the newest gossip from Paraguay be founded in truth, Dr. Franza, the actual despot, orders all natives on pain of their lives, to keep within when he appears in the streets, as strictly as if the Lady Godiva herself were riding.⁹²

As in the "vices" note, Graham seeks to offset unfavorable characterizations of the islanders. She builds her defense of the chief into a ladder of examples that readers of any class would easily grasp. Each rung adds complexity, a basis in the Old Testament, a corresponding exemplar from a celebrity, and a political specimen at the top. She begins the note with a calm, almost nonchalant voice "neither uncommon nor unnatural" and backs her argument

⁹⁰ Cosgrove, "Undermining the Text" 117.

⁹¹ Bloxam writes, "This predecessor of Tammehameha was so tabu, i.e. considered so sacred a character, that if any kamaka accidentally beheld him by day he was immediately put to death." Bloxam, MS4522, 139.

⁹² Graham, *Blonde*, 30-31.

with proof from the highest of precedents, from “the book of Job.” Graham invokes Christianity and shifts over to another worshiped entity, a national hero and one of the most famous British explorers of 1826, Dixon Denham.⁹³ Graham engages the “we” in this discovery—“In Denham’s late travels in Africa, we find”—however, this is an instructional “we.” In this footnote, Graham is the teacher and the reader is the student. She leaves no opportunity for the pupil to challenge the narrator’s argument. Notably, Graham evades attending to the question of extreme punishments in her examples.

In the last sentence of her footnote, Graham engages binary opposites, “gossip” and “truth” while crafting a political example. She directs the reader away from the Hawaiian chief and to a South American dictator, one whose national policy of isolationism was perhaps the least objectionable of his political practices. While half a world away, the reference to Paraguayan dictator José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, encodes evidence of Graham’s intent to establish her political expertise. The Spanish colony of Paraguay was so far removed from its metropol, that Napoleon Bonaparte’s capture of Ferdinand VII of Spain in 1808 severely damaged the relationship. Already heavily taxed by the metropol, Paraguay revolted and declared its independence from Spain in 1811 and Argentina by 1813. The Paraguayan government appointed Francia leader, but in 1816, Francia assumed the role of dictator for life—thereafter known by the moniker “El Supremo.”⁹⁴ Much like the French Revolution, Francia’s dictatorship destroyed the power of the upper classes and focused on empowering common citizens.

⁹³ Graham read Denham’s manuscript *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*. Graham to Murray, MS 40186. Letter dated 18 May 1826: “I have almost done with Major Denham & am quite charmed with him.”

⁹⁴ Charles A. Washburn, *The History of Paraguay*, vol. II (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1871), 81.

The *Times* regularly reported Francia's activities in Paraguay, often denouncing his detainment of a number of British and French subjects in Paraguay. Detainees included Amie Bonpland, a French doctor, botanist, and travel companion of naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt.⁹⁵ In July 1825 and April 1826, the *Times* reported updates on Bonpland's detention. In fact, Graham drew her "gossip" directly from one such report, which appeared in the *Times* on April 5, 1826:

As to Francia, he is said to resemble no other potentate of whom we have heard but the veiled prophet of Khorassan. When he goes out of his house, the people are ordered on pain of death to return to theirs, and on no account to look out. But, saving this unwillingness to be seen, he appears to be tolerable well qualified to govern a half savage community.⁹⁶

She discloses her extraction of material from this article to John Murray:

My dear Sir,

I don't know what you will say to the enclosed scraps – or whether they are the sort of extracts you want. I understood you that all the political part you had –& that it was only literary & miscellaneous articles that I had anything to do with—if these are right, I will go on. The little notice about Bonpland you see is only founded on a phrase in the two of the papers⁹⁷

In this fine example of passive-aggressive publisher manipulation, Graham is cognizant that she might be overstepping her bounds as "editor." Since the note on Francia appears in the *Blonde*'s narrative, it seems Murray had no objections to Graham's "political parts."

The original passage in the *Blonde* which triggered Graham's footnote alludes to the Hawaiian chief's sovereignty: "It appears that this man treated his subjects tyrannically."⁹⁸

⁹⁵ "Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) was a nature researcher and explorer, universal genius and cosmopolitan, scientist and patron." per the Humboldt Foundation. Graham cited Humboldt frequently in her Brazilian and Chilean journals.

⁹⁶ *Times* (London), 5 April 1826.

⁹⁷ Graham to Murray. MS 40185. Letter No. 53 dated 18 May 1826.

⁹⁸ Graham, *Blonde*, 30.

The addition of a well-known dictator in her footnote elevates the Hawaiian chief from savage to autocrat. Thus, Graham contrasts the legend of a Hawaiian tyrant against a real dictator familiar to her audience—one whom they had read about for years. She leads the reader to conclude the despot Francia was perhaps more threatening than the Hawaiian chief. The chief is less of an “Other” than Francia. After all, the Hawaiians had chosen to be guided by the British, whereas Francia demolished all communication and ties between Paraguay and Europe. Hence, Francia becomes the true savage by Graham’s design. Graham successfully mediates the historical representation of the sacred chief so that his rule, like so many others in the world, is questionable but extrinsic to the “uncivilized” nation he controlled.

This multi-step narrative dance between opposites also exhibits Graham’s desire to enliven the text with fear, humor, and sex. The inclusion of Francia plays upon a national anxiety regarding revolution. In 1826, the French Revolution was still fresh in the minds of the British. Yet, Graham tied her view of Francia as “ultimate other” to the provocative medieval legend of Lady Godiva. Her behavioral analogy between Francia and Lady Godiva adds an element of humor to her footnote. “Dr. Franza, the actual despot, orders all natives on pain of their lives, to keep within when he appears in the streets, as strictly as if the Lady Godiva herself were riding.”⁹⁹ Thus, Francia’s tyrannical behavior becomes ludicrous—for a fully clothed, powerful male leader to demand the same treatment as Godiva implies an inherent vulnerability.

While the legend of Godiva would not reach its literary heyday until the Victorians

⁹⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 31.

began their romance with medievalism, in Graham's time it was already quite popular. Daniel Donoghue notes in his literary study of Lady Godiva that anxieties surrounding sexuality, fashion, and social control in the late seventeenth century were all factors in the legend's rising popularity. "Once an erotic identity was established for her, Lady Godiva was poised for wider circulation."¹⁰⁰ Donoghue finds that identity is rooted in the collective gaze of the "Peeping Tom." Reenactments took place regularly, beginning as early as 1678.¹⁰¹ By the early nineteenth-century, "the crowds were said to exceed 50,000."¹⁰² Reports on these processions were included in the *Times*. The June 2, 1826 edition notes, "this procession passed as usual through most of the streets in Coventry, which, unlike the original procession, were crowded to excess, and Peeping Toms were there seen in thousands."¹⁰³

By introducing Godiva into her footnote, Graham lures the reader into regarding Francia and by extension, the Hawaiian chief, as spectacles—the reader becomes a voyeur, privy to their weaknesses. Yet at the same time, the spectacle of Godiva's nudity corresponds to the nudity of the indigenous Hawaiians. In Godiva's case, female nudity is so acceptable to the Europeans that it is flaunted and celebrated. In contrast, the nudity of island women is uncivilized. Graham plays with the similarities between British and Polynesian cultures to reveal the hypocritical aspects of "civilized" social restraints on women. Graham's use of Godiva may also anticipate Lady Godiva's future role as a symbol of female power in the Victorian Era. What began as a footnote negating an unflattering or disturbing description of a Hawaiian chief ends up adding a slightly subversive and feminist undertone to the narrative

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Donoghue, *Lady Godiva: A Literary History of the Legend*. (Blackwell Pub, 2008), 65.

¹⁰¹ Donoghue, *Lady Godiva*, 47.

¹⁰² Donoghue, *Lady Godiva*, 67.

¹⁰³ *Times* (London), 2 June 1826.

of the *Blonde*.

How do all these little particulars add up to a definitive narrative intent? On the whole, her notes are informative because their profusion and content reveals Graham's preoccupation with authorship. The footnotes alternately enlighten the reader and intrude into the narrative. The latter type highlights Graham's desire to act as mediator between her primary sources and the reader's external sources, but still assert her own opinions. The notes also allow the "editor" to actively manipulate reader response—without entirely challenging the veracity of the narrative. By delving into the narrative proper, it becomes plain that footnotes were just one of the editorial tools Graham used to elicit or subdue reader response.

5. ARBITRATING DIFFERENCE

And as my heroes and heroines are all independent personages, I cannot, like a novel writer, compel them to figure in my pages to please me, but they govern themselves; and that, where to write a journal is only a kind of substitute for reading the new books of the day, which I should assuredly do at home, is perhaps as well: the uncertainty of the end keeps up the interest.

—Maria Graham, November 12, 1822

Journal of a Residence in Chile

Maria Graham's Chilean journal makes obvious her acute awareness of the responsibilities to which a voyage author is bound and presents the dilemma travel writers often faced in creating balanced descriptions of people with whom they came into contact. Graham points out she had complete artistic control over the settings she presented. She viewed her journal as "something like a picture gallery; where you have historical pieces, and portraits, and landscapes, and still life, and flowers side by side."¹⁰⁴ Unlike details of setting and scenery, people were not subjects for artistic interpretation. Graham felt compelled to faithfully describe people as they appeared to her and not as she would wish them to appear.

The journals that Graham used to construct the *Blonde's* narrative record not only what men observed, but also reflect their personal opinions of the indigenous peoples. Although neither were particularly well-traveled men, both characterized the islanders in Orientalist terms: the island men were indolent and lazy, the women either exotically attractive or altogether disgusting. These portrayals marginalized indigenous people and the European (white male) remained the primary focus of any encounter. While these men were not alone in allowing established prejudices to influence their writing, these influences made

¹⁰⁴ Graham, *Chile*, 299.

their records derogatory and even hostile, particularly in Dampier's case. In re-writing the *Blonde*, Graham went to great lengths to neutralize, if not altogether avoid, negative stereotypes of indigenous people encountered on the voyage.

Graham's aim to circumvent the perspectives of these men is apparent throughout the historical section of the *Blonde*. Her evenhanded edits extend to both genders of indigenous Hawaiians. For instance, Graham relates the history of a violent succession triggered by the kidnapping of a king's wife. The incident turned brother against brother in war, yet Graham includes an in-text disclaimer to the reader:

The end of his reign was marked by one of those wild romantic incidents that poetry and tradition have taught us are common in all nations, in those early stages of society that precede civilization.¹⁰⁵

This editorial commentary diffuses violence and renders it acceptable by placing the Hawaiian coup in a European context, thereby achieving a measure of homogeneity between cultures.

When working with historical anecdotes supplied by Bloxam, Graham often prefaced her retelling within a frame of reference familiar to Europeans rather than dwelling on the relative "savagery" of the Islanders. Although her exact source for this account of civil war is unknown, she may have drawn some information from an ambiguous entry in Captain Cook's journal, which reads, "Amongst the former, were some fish-hooks, made of the bones of our old friend Terreeoboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon

¹⁰⁵ Graham, *Blonde*, 5.

the island of Woahoo.”¹⁰⁶ However, Graham chose to punctuate this story of succession in a suitably dramatic manner, one that diverges from Bloxam’s telling. He ends the story with a turn of the cheek:

The vanquished Kaiamamao was banished to Kouoo at the back of Owyhee and his life spared on the condition that he never again appeared on this side of the island.¹⁰⁷

Whereas Graham’s version reads:

The pride of Kaiamamao could not endure defeat, and he slew himself, as it appears, on the field of battle.¹⁰⁸

Graham trades surrender for suicide. Her clause “as it appears” marks a trademark moment of equivocation for Graham. Regina Akel notes that when Graham is unwilling to absolutely denounce certain acts, she softens her accusations with “I think” or “I am told.”¹⁰⁹ In this instance, Graham uses the phrase “as it appears” as an escape not for herself, but for her presumably Christian readers. Thus, they can enjoy the vicarious thrill of the forbidden, yet refrain from passing judgment on the Hawaiian usurper since the actual fact remains unconfirmed.

Within the journal portion of the *Blonde*, little differences between Graham’s final text and the men’s journals emerge whenever women appear in a scene. The following excerpt, as written by Graham, describes the first indigenous visitors to come aboard H.M.S. *Blonde* upon reaching the islands:

¹⁰⁶ James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in his Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.*, vol. III (Dublin: H. Chamberlaine and 26 others, 1784), 96.

¹⁰⁷ Bloxam, MS 4522, 139.

¹⁰⁸ Graham, *Blonde*, 5-6. This story does not appear in Ellis, so it is uncertain where Graham obtained her facts.

¹⁰⁹ Regina Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography* (Amhurst: Cambria Press, 2009), 33. Graham only uses “we think” once in the *Blonde*, and “we are told” never at all.

Here we were visited by a number of canoes, and the intelligence having reached the shore, that Boki and his friends were on board, we were visited by a petty chief and his wife.¹¹⁰

From the outset, Graham alters the circumstances recorded by Bloxam and Dampier. She endows the indigenous community with a certain level of organization and thus civilization, by stating that the “intelligence arrived” rather than Dampier’s “Boki sent on shore” wherein someone on the ship initiated the visit. The couple coming aboard begins in Bloxam as “an under chief attended by his wife, who was Boki’s nurse” and in Dampier as “one of the inferior chiefs, and his wife, the daughter of Boki’s nurse.”¹¹¹ Already there are discrepancies between what each man records. These inconsistencies give Graham no choice but to revise. The visiting pair becomes “a petty chief and his wife, the latter of whom was Boki’s sister.”¹¹² It is unclear how Graham discerned the latter’s relationship with Boki. Perhaps Graham felt it important to stress closer ties between this woman and Boki due to the woman’s later interaction with Boki’s wife.¹¹³ In fact, Graham had previously bridged the distance between the reader and the Hawaiians by referring to Boki’s wife as Liliah, dropping the formal appellation “Madame Boki” which both Dampier and Bloxam persist in using.

Once the visitors are aboard, Graham declines to describe the visiting chief. In her Chilean and Brazilian journals, she was equally reticent about men. She very rarely describes non-European males individually and when she does, she usually avoids physical

¹¹⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 101.

¹¹¹ Bloxam, MS 4522, 7. Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 33.

¹¹² Graham, *Blonde*, 101.

¹¹³ In all likelihood, Graham was correct in her assessment of this relationship. Due to consanguinity in high-ranking marriages, Hawaiians chiefs were related to a very close degree. Culturally, “Hawaiian women were ‘sisters’ rather than ‘wives.’” Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 5.

characterizations. In this case; however, the omission likely stems from the men's disparaging remarks. Bloxam describes the chief as "indifferent and weakly formed." Dampier concurs describing him as "insignificant looking." The chief's wife, on the other hand, completely captivates both men. In the course of their narratives, the wife arrives partially nude, descends out of the scene, changes to European attire, and reappears to symbolically hand off her native clothing to a convenient attendant. Bloxam writes of the chief's wife:

His Lady was a remarkably fine portly looking dame she came on board with only a cloth partly wrapped around her.¹¹⁴

Dampier's description is identical. Graham restricts Bloxam and Dampier's enthusiasms over the chief's wife simply representing her as "a large handsome woman." In doing so, Graham eliminates those physical elements of the chief's wife that might distract the reader from the cultural transaction about to occur.

To the woman's dress, Graham devotes her own attention. Graham's editing of the original text ironically follows the narrative arc of the men's journal entries as she re-dresses the chief's wife, eliminating the provocative elements of the men's description. "Only a cloth" denotes nudity. "Partly wrapped around her" creates a sense of almost slovenly deliberateness—if the cloth is not fully wrapped, then it is in some way loose and wanton. Graham redresses the woman "in the native light Tappa dress." In doing so, she eliminates the clothing's interplay with the body. The woman does not "wear" the revised attire; she is merely "in" it. Using text from both journals, Graham constructs a description of woman's welcome of Captain Byron and her subsequent departure from the scene:

¹¹⁴ Bloxam, MS 4522, 9.

[The chief's wife] stepped across the quarter-deck with a stately but unembarrassed air, and taking a chaplet of flowers from her own brows, placed it on Lord Byron's head as a sign of welcome, and then went below to visit Lillah.¹¹⁵

The chief's wife reappears on deck wearing a European dress—cultural change has occurred.

Again, without supplementary material, Graham can only follow the men's original narratives, but she seems to transform the change of attire into an act of friendship. Graham completes the scene writing that when the chief's wife,

Again appeared, she was clothed in a gown given her by her friend, and her scanty Tappa wrapper was delivered to an attendant.¹¹⁶

The men's original journal entries neglect to describe any activities going on above deck while the chief's wife re-dresses. Instead, the speed of her change occurs as a direct response to the men's awe at her initial appearance.

Coincidentally, the above deck/below settings in the scene parallels those of Daniel Defoe's upstairs/downstairs settings in *The Complete English Tradesman* (1724), binary oppositions which Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace notes in her book, *Consuming Subjects*, as representing shop/home respectively.¹¹⁷ The downstairs (below deck) functions as the shop. It is a place of control, physical and emotional mastery—generally coded as masculine whereas upstairs (above deck) is the home, the center of emotion.¹¹⁸ The men of the H.M.S. *Blonde* send the chief's wife—with her chaotic indigenous appearance—below deck and she reemerges wearing a visual symbol of their control over her, European clothing. In this

¹¹⁵ Graham, *Blonde*, 102.

¹¹⁶ Graham, *Blonde*, 102

¹¹⁷ Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 83-84.

¹¹⁸ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 85.

transaction, the men actually assert their control over both realms. They stock and transport the wares of the shop, dictating the availability of the clothing and they only allow the woman back into the “home” when her purchases are in place, thus guaranteeing order.

When the chief’s wife reappears, both Dampier and Bloxam conclude her new attire is a result of Lilia’s (Boki’s wife) deliberate intervention. They both describe the chief’s wife as reappearing “closely wrapped up in a Gown.”¹¹⁹ The woman does not wear the gown, she appears “closely wrapped”; a word choice that denotes the men’s belated but “correct” reaction of disgust to her earlier nudity—the half-nude woman should be embarrassed and hastily covered. The men assume Lilia gave the chief’s wife “peculiar directions respecting her negligent attire.”¹²⁰ The men find fault with this indigenous woman and Graham strips out all the men’s assumptions in the scene, relaying her criticism of their attitudes.

Graham’s revisions focus on the transactional nature of the scene. This notion of an exchange of feminine fashions inspires Graham to invade the text and apprise her readers that the islanders were primed to take part, albeit a little late, in the eighteenth-century “consumer revolution.”¹²¹ She writes:

Were the visit of the Sandwich Island chiefs to England to produce nothing more than the desire of clothing, the benefit to the people would be great. Besides all the decencies, and the virtues that spring from the decencies of life, the additional incitement to industry which the desire of clothing affords is of incalculable value in a state of incipient civilization; and for the ladies, as

“Every want that stimulates the breast
Becomes a source of pleasure when redrest,”

¹¹⁹ Bloxam and Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 33

¹²⁰ Bloxam, MS 4522, 7. Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 33. The text of both journals read identically in this instance.

¹²¹ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 10.

we doubt not that their happiness will receive a large increase when gowns and petticoats, caps and bonnets, scarfs and reticules, become the permanent fashions at Oahu, and a weekly assortment of millinery shall find its way to Ahido, Karakakua, Lahaina, or Tauii.¹²²

In advancing her argument, Graham mobilizes the Christian rhetoric of “decencies and virtues” and properly attaches them to the wearing of clothing, which as Susanne Küchler and Graeme Were remark, “led missionaries to perceive Pacific Islanders’ willingness to adopt clothing as a sign of religious conversion.”¹²³ Graham shrewdly shifts her rhetoric into an economic argument of pounds and pence. Graham raises the stakes of “incipient civilization” by claiming clothing will lead to an “incitement to industry” for the Hawaiians. Not only will clothing improve the moral economy of the islands, it adds an “incalculable value” that the reader can rightly interpret as monetary.

Yet, into this excess of capitalistic opportunity, Graham injects a couplet from Oliver Goldsmith’s “The Traveller or a Prospect of Society,” including the last two lines of the stanza.¹²⁴ She quotes: “*Every want that stimulates the breast, Becomes a source of pleasure when redrest.*” Graham, much like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, brings the situation to the interests of the “ladies,” so that as Sandra Sherman suggests of Montagu, “the feminine interest and that of the [emerging] nation can be juxtaposed, analyzed—measured against a standard cost and benefits.”¹²⁵ Perhaps Graham is still moving to reduce the difference between indigenous and British women. However, John Hayman concludes that this

¹²² Graham, *Blonde*, 102-103.

¹²³ Susanne Küchler and Graeme Were, “Clothing and Innovation: A Pacific Perspective,” *Anthropology Today* 19, no. 2 (2003): 3.

¹²⁴ Goldsmith, “The Traveller,” 1765. II. 210-214. The full stanza reads: “Their wants but few, their wishes all confin’d./Yet let them only share the praises due,/If few their wants, their pleasures are but few; Every want that stimulates the breast, Becomes a source of pleasure when redrest.”

¹²⁵ Sandra Sherman, “Instructing the “Empire of Beauty”: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Politics of Female Rationality,” *South Atlantic Modern Language Association* 60, no. 4 (November 1995): 6.

particular cinquain of Goldsmith's reflects the attainment of "modest happiness and moral balance temperance, which demonstrates the Johnsonian balance of achievement and limitation."¹²⁶ When combined with Graham's overly enthusiastic closing, this theory of moderation causes her narrative to take on a satiric aspect.

Her conclusion anticipates the second consumer revolution, which by 1820, "began to take shape in the form of urban shopping centers, arcades, and department stores."¹²⁷ Even as Graham was writing the *Blonde*—shopping and moderation had already begun to take on mutually exclusive definitions—and Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century, "The female appetite for goods...was perceived as a sinister force threatening male control and endangering patriarchal order."¹²⁸ Graham tempts this appetite by continuing the narrative with an energetic catalog of need:

[and for the ladies] we doubt not that their happiness will receive a large increase when gowns and petticoats, caps and bonnets, scarfs and reticules, become the permanent fashions at Oahu, and a weekly assortment of millinery shall find its way to Ahido, Karakakua, Lahaina, or Tauii.

Graham's closing sentence follows a formula similar to Montagu's *The Nonsense of Common Sense I*: "I do not question but they will make as glorious a Campaign as ever they did in their lives, and have as many Conquests to boast of, as when they shin'd in silks and Laces."¹²⁹ However, unlike Montagu, Graham distances "the ladies" from the sexual implications, "Conquests" made whilst wearing "silks and Laces." Instead, Graham's

¹²⁶ John G. Hayman, "Notations on National Characters in the Eighteenth Century," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (November 1971): 11.

¹²⁷ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 11.

¹²⁸ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects*, 5.

¹²⁹ Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Nonsense of Common-Sense, 1737-1738. Ed. with an introd. and notes by Robert Halsband.*, ed. Robert Halsband (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1947), 11.

polysyndetic list of apparel builds this merchant call to arms into a crescendo that works its way outwards from the fundamentals worn close to the female body. The need for gowns and petticoats next moves to the head for protective caps and aesthetic bonnets; then proceeds to the ornamental scarfs and finishes with the ever important reticules, with which the Hawaiian women will tote the “incalculable value” produced by their “industry” from shop to shop. Graham emphasizes the need for “permanent” fashions—implying a storefront at Oahu—which itself will need a regular “weekly” assortment of goods. Graham then multiplies that need by four with an enumerative list of districts where women will also clamor for goods. All of these devices create a strong sense of commercial urgency.

Kowaleski-Wallace asserts that in the eighteenth century, men viewed female consumption as “a kind of depletion that ‘eats up’ everything in its path, laying waste to what men would otherwise preserve.”¹³⁰ She continues, “It becomes symbolically emasculating when it demands the sacrifice of male resources.”¹³¹ Then by excluding indigenous men from the clothing economy—shielding their need from the reader—Graham demands no consumptive sacrifice from the men. Although this shield has the potential to emasculate, Graham’s complete focus on women as primary consumers indicates this was likely unintentional, or at least an unconscious end.

The question of European clothing for Hawaiian men is conspicuously absent from Graham’s narrative. Beverly Lemire writes, “More than almost any other item, clothing acted as material manifestation of an amalgam of expectations and assumptions....The personal and

¹³⁰ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects* 3.

¹³¹ Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects* 3.

political coalesced in dress.”¹³² In various entries, both Dampier and Bloxam report the indigenous men needed proper attire, and as Dampier remarks, one element of this need is especially significant:

They were all armed with Muskets but the appearance of their costume was highly ridiculous: they were all clothed in English dresses of various date, size, and manufacture, and many lacking in that essential part of a soldier’s accoutrements, a pair of Trousers.¹³³

However, Graham omits this observation from the narrative and blithely ignores a second obvious market for clothing. This again signifies Graham’s unwillingness to draw attention to indigenous male characters. This inclination appears deliberate, for Graham wrote in her Brazilian journal:

I think it neither honest nor womanly to take the protection of the laws and the feelings of a foreign country, and record the foibles of its inhabitants so as to give others the opportunity of laughing at them. We know well enough the weak parts of human nature...And were it in my power, I had rather persuade the Brazilians that they have every virtue under heaven, than make them so familiar with the least of their failings, as to lose the same of it.¹³⁴

In making her argument for fashion in the *Blonde*, Graham invariably assigns stronger economic agency to the island women above that of the indigenous men. If, as Harriet Guest stresses, in her book, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation*, “it was commonplace of enlightenment social theory that the position of women is the index to the degree of civilisation achieved in any society,” then in the *Blonde*, Graham is scrutinizing the

¹³² Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660-1800* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 34.

¹³³ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 41.

¹³⁴ Graham, *Brazil*, 227.

emerging terms of that “index.”¹³⁵ Her accentuation of women’s need for clothing, and thus civilizing, sanctions Britain’s interest in the islands. While at the same time, the satirical elements found in this scene and Graham’s commentary criticize the necessity of using economics as a justification for women’s agency. What began as Graham’s negotiation between biased portrayals of indigenous men and women by British men, becomes a catalyst for Graham to explore the role of gender in Hawaiian cultural practices at the time of H.M.S. *Blonde*’s visit.

¹³⁵ Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation Captain Cook, William Hodges and the Return to the Pacific* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 35.

6. LOCATING AN ANTAGONIST

While Graham reserved neutral terms for describing the indigenous men and women of the islands in her re-presentations of *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, it appears the resident American Protestant missionaries provoked Graham's undisguised animosity. This is uncharacteristic of Graham's earlier writings, where her acerbity is limited to the examples of English society she encountered when abroad. As she writes in Rio de Janeiro in 1821, "As to the English, what can I say? They are very like all one sees at home, in their rank of life; and the ladies, very good persons doubtless, would require Miss Austen's pen to make them interesting."¹³⁶ Even so, no personal criticisms of clerics analogous to those of the *Blonde* exist in Graham's earlier books.

When she does write critically of European religions abroad, very personal experiences trigger her indignation, especially where she sees injustices perpetrated in the name of "God," as she recounts in this 1822 entry in her Chilean account:

I have been grieved since I came back from Melipilla by the state of a beautiful and amiable girl, which has arisen from a misunderstood spirit of devotion....Maria's mind, of a high and lofty nature is peculiarly susceptible of religious impressions....To punish herself for an attachment not favored by her house...at her parents' bidding she had given up its object, resolved to go for ten days to Casa de Exercisio.

She has returned as it were to earth,—on it, but not of it. The sight of her friends throws her into fits of hysterical weeping; and only prostrate before the altar, and repeating the Masses of her house of woe, does she seem soothed or calmed. Such are the effects of the house of exercise.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Graham, *Brazil*, 166.

¹³⁷ Graham, *Chile*, 271.

This criticism of religion correlates with her views on women and education. In this case Graham sees a young woman, with whom she had been closely acquainted, forcibly manipulated away from her “high and lofty nature” and turned instead into a hysteric. Graham attributes much of the blame to the girl’s mother who, “though a clever woman, is a bigot”—i.e. intelligent but uneducated.¹³⁸ Graham implies that the lack of rationality is attributable to the woman’s involvement in the Church.

In circumstances where Graham is less emotionally absorbed, she often realizes that her comments border on disparaging and she self-corrects, taking a more respectful stance. In doing so, Graham preserves the veracity of her original observations, as in these lines from her 1823 Brazilian journal:

I am not sure whether a cloister or a prison, commanding a fine view, be preferable to one without....However, I do suppose some may be, and some have been, happy in a cloister. I cannot envy them; I would fain not despise them.¹³⁹

In the *Blonde*, Graham’s writing style alters dramatically, as she unapologetically criticizes the American missionaries on the islands. In fact, before any missionary appears in the course of the *Blonde*’s narrative, Graham introduces her opinions in a footnote about Reverend Hiram Bingham, a resident American Protestant missionary.¹⁴⁰ Bingham arrived in

¹³⁸ Graham, *Chile*, 270.

¹³⁹ Graham, *Brazil*, 301.

¹⁴⁰ Gary Pranger’s review of Char Miller’s book of Bingham’s selected writings indicates that Bingham “epitomized the kind of missionary critics loved to hate...a puritanically belligerent missionary” who became, as Miller puts it a “caricature of himself.” In fact, Pranger notes that Bingham served as a model for the character of Reverend Abner Hale in James Michener’s *Hawai’i*. Although Bingham did learn the Hawaiian language during his residency, he adopted a paternalistic attitude towards the Hawaiians which clashed with other residents, as Graham observes in the *Blonde*, and eventually even with other missionaries “who were either attuned to the easy-going ‘new methods’ revivalism or to the more benign social concerns of Hawaiians.” Gary K. Pranger, “Miller, Char, ‘Selected Writings of Hiram Bingham, 1814-1860, Missionary to the Hawaiian Islands: to Raise the Lord’s Banner’ (Book Review),” *Church History* 60, no. 1 (March 1991): pg. 135.

Hawai‘i from the United States with the first group of missionaries in 1820. Her commentary on Bingham reflects the remnants of the British eighteenth century “popular hostility towards deviant religious groups.”¹⁴¹

This man is, we have no doubt, truly zealous in the cause of religion; but we cannot forbear to remark, that he has in a manner thrust himself into all the political affairs of the island, and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes, director of consciences, comptroller of amusements, &c. an interference that some may regard as political, and tending to establish an American interest in the islands, and others, as produced by circumstances which Mr. Bingham has not the prudence to avoid.¹⁴²

The sheer number of offices included in Graham’s list emphasizes the possibility of impropriety and the urgent need for correction. Her charge that Bingham “thrust himself into all the political affairs of the island, and acts as secretary of state, as governor of the young princes,” appears quite valid based on Bingham’s letters. For example, upon their arrival in Oahu, the “official” note welcoming H.M.S. *Blonde* to the island was sent under the signature of Bingham, on behalf of the regents and Boki, Governor of Oahu and the chief who had actually traveled with H.M.S. *Blonde* from England. Graham includes this letter in its entirety below her footnote. In it, Bingham is properly formal but his words are overly condescending towards the British, indicating a sort of benevolent colonialism—where the indigenous people are “protected” by the missionaries while under their subjugation. He writes, “That if it may be agreeable to yourself, you will be pleased to favour them with your presence on shore to-morrow, as the present day is a day of great sympathy among the chiefs and people.” He writes as though Byron had not just traveled thousands of miles to conduct

¹⁴¹Michael F. Snape, “Anti-Methodism in Eighteenth-Century England: The Pendle Forest Riots of 1748,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49, no. 2 (April 1998): 257.

¹⁴²Graham, *Blonde*, 111.

the royal bodies home. Furthermore, Graham was in possession of at least one of Boki's letters—thus as far as she knew he was certainly capable of writing. Therefore, nothing short of interference by the missionary could have prevented Boki from writing the invitation of his own accord. Graham discusses Boki's writing:

Boki, who had kept a journal during his residence in England, made very full notes of what passed....Since his return to his native land, he writes, that he has read these notes so often to the different chiefs that he has become very hoarse. We regret much that a copy of this journal was not procured while Boki was on board of the *Blonde*.¹⁴³

Graham's source for her knowledge of Boki's writing remains unclear. American reviewers of the *Blonde* claimed that any letters purportedly written by Boki, and especially those cited by Graham, were fraudulent.¹⁴⁴ Gavan Daws, author of a biographical sketch of Boki published in the *Journal of Polynesian Society* in 1966, states Boki left no written records "except a few ill-formed signatures at the foot of documents composed and penned by others."¹⁴⁵ Based on the dearth of evidence, he assumes that Boki did not write. However, Daws goes on to remark that the people who recorded Boki's doings were white men, which brings their own biases into question.

Although unknown circumstances may have compelled Bingham to write the letter to Byron, both Dampier and Bloxam support Graham's claims against the American missionaries. Nonetheless, neither couched their apprehensions in overtly political terms. They do exhibit serious concern as they documented their observations of the resident

¹⁴³ Graham, *Blonde*, 74.

¹⁴⁴ See: "Stewart's Visit to the South Seas." *The Eclectic Review* VI, 3rd (1831): 537-50.; "South Sea Islands." *The American Quarterly Review* XX (1836): 12-13; and "American Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands." *The North American Review* XXVI, New Series (January 1828): 59-111.

¹⁴⁵ Gavan Daws, "The High Chief Boki," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no. 1 (1966): 83.

missionaries. Dampier was more suspicious than accusatory:

There are two American Missionaries in this Island, who are I think considering the infant state of civilization, almost too particular in their religious intercourse with the inhabitants.¹⁴⁶

At the same time, even Bloxam was less circumspect than usual:

The Missionaries have contrived to gain great ascendancy over the minds of the unenlightened inhabitants of these Isles and have at once converted them from the most gross idolatry or rather from no religion to the almost monastical rigidity of the Christian religion without ever regarding the intermediate stepping stones for industry and morality.¹⁴⁷

To both men's minds, the control the missionaries took over the religious and inherently social aspects of the islander's lives was objectionable. Graham takes these objections and criticizes Bingham's ineptness on all levels. Of the voyagers' first meeting with him she writes, "The American Missionary, Mr. Bingham, who loses no opportunity of mingling in every business, proposed prayers, and accordingly said what may be called a long dull grace to the entertainment."¹⁴⁸

Upon encountering this sentence, a scandalized editor at *The North American Review* issued a myriad of rebuttals.

The paragraph was written, probably, either by a midshipman, who stood in so remote a part of the hall as not to know what took place, or who received the account by hearsay altogether; or by a correspondent at the islands, who is laboring to find proofs of Mr Bingham's interference with politics; or by the editor in London, who, seeing it mentioned in the journal, that Mr Bingham offered a prayer, may have inferred, that he proposed it himself. We are

¹⁴⁶ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 37.

¹⁴⁷ Bloxam, MS 4255, 21 May 1825.

¹⁴⁸ Graham, *Blonde*, 117

inclined to think, that the midshipmen must share the authorship of this precious *morceau* among themselves.¹⁴⁹

In other words, Graham's edits to Bloxam's journal must be something less than truthful. In actuality, she based this particular passage on Dampier's observations, which read:

One of these, a Mr. Bingham, the most methodistical looking gentleman, I ever beheld, placed himself near Karaimoku. On a sudden, he whispered something into the Minister's ear and immediately after said aloud, that it was Karaimoku's wish, that we should all join in prayer. Having therefore closed his eyes, and stretched forth his hands, he commenced an extemporaneous oration in English which he bungled through in a canting, slovenly manner.¹⁵⁰

Dampier's objections to Bingham's performance resemble those described by Jonathan Swift in his *A Tale of a Tub* (1704) and his sermon, "On Sleeping in Church." In *Tub*, Swift describes "the art of canting" as consisting of "skillfully adapting the voice to whatever words the spirit delivers, that each may strike the ears of the audience, with its most significant cadence."¹⁵¹ In his sermon, Swift details the sleeper's objections to a preacher: "his manner, his delivery, his voice, are disagreeable; his style and expression are flat and slow, sometimes improper and absurd; the matter is heavy, trivial, and insipid, sometimes despicable and perfectly ridiculous."¹⁵² Graham's account of Bingham's "long dull grace" is harsh, but fairly impersonal because she omits the physical components of Bingham's performance. She eliminates "whispered," which implies furtiveness and secrecy. She deletes Bingham's closed eyes and extended hands, both of which add a decidedly comical element

¹⁴⁹ "American Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands," *The North American Review* XXVI, New Series (January 1828): 81.

¹⁵⁰ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 37.

¹⁵¹ Jonathan Swift, *The Works of the Rev. Jonathan Swift* (London: J. Nichols, 1803), 20.

¹⁵² Jonathan Swift and Walter Scott, *The works of Jonathan Swift, containing additional letters, tracts, and poems not hitherto published; with notes, and a life of the author* (Edinburgh: A. Constable and, 1824), 21.

to the description. Had she included any physical actions, perhaps the *North American Review* editor would have conceded that Bingham had actually been observed, in person, and by an adult no less.

A week later, Bloxam's Saturday, May 21st journal entry exemplifies the missionary Bingham's role, as Graham puts it, as "director of consciences" and "comptroller of amusements." Bloxam writes:

This evening the Native Chiefs were heralded with the spectacle of the Phantasmagoria which was very innocently on the part of the performers the cause of a Misunderstanding. When all was prepared the Missionary resident at Oahu persuaded Karaimoku and Kaahumanu that it was too near the Sabbath to amuse themselves in so profane a manner—and they succeeded in preventing the young king and his little sister from attending but not without a flood of tears from each. Karaimoku however and old Kaahumanu's curiosity overcame all their religious scruples and they were much amused.¹⁵³

Graham begins her retelling of the "Misunderstanding" with a slightly exculpatory phrase, "We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see" however, she continues quite severely:

But we fear also that some of the love of power has mingled with the zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission. We had striking proof of their power the other night.¹⁵⁴

She articulates that the missionary's interference is political and not merely religious. Her representation implies that the missionaries are misguided and she uses the word "proof" to

¹⁵³ Bloxam, MS 4522, 21 May 1825. OED: phantasmagoria 1. a. An exhibition of optical illusions produced chiefly by the use of a magic lantern, first exhibited in London in 1802 (now hist.); any optical exhibition, esp. one in which preternatural phenomena are represented using artificial light; an apparatus for creating such illusions.

¹⁵⁴ Graham, *Blonde*, 147.

demonstrate she will build a strong case questioning their motivations. Although seemingly occupied with her own indignation, Graham injects a dash of humor in her retelling. “As it was a public show, every body was expected to be there; and if Messrs. Bingham and friends were not expressly invited, it was probably because it was supposed they would come if they did not imagine the amusement of too worldly a nature.” Graham sarcastically terms the phantasmagoria perhaps too mundane or “worldly” for the missionaries, when it was actually an exhibition meant to invoke *otherworldly* illusions.

To support her case, Graham introduces testimony from witnesses. The fact the missionaries chose to forbid the show moments before it was to begin only heightens Graham’s disbelief. She continues explaining that the missionaries “had certainly due notice of it; for that very morning one of the party had a long conversation with one of the officers on the subject.”¹⁵⁵ She resorts to inserting emotional language and punctuation to convey her mistrust of the missionaries. “How were we astonished, therefore, when all things being prepared, the company assembled, and among the rest, the little king and princess, notice was given, that on so near an approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment!” Thus, Graham interprets the sequence of events as a demonstrable assertion of American missionary authority over the young king and even the experienced regents of the islands.

Graham validates her claims by speculating that those within the missionary ranks knew they were in the wrong—because they had fabricated a feeble excuse. One such conciliatory missionary was Mr. Stewart, a resident absent from the event. She writes, “The intemperate indecency of this conduct of the part of the mission seems to have occurred to

¹⁵⁵Graham, *Blonde*, 148.

some of the more reasonable among themselves.”¹⁵⁶ In a reversal of roles between the indigenous people and the civilizing missionaries, Graham ironically deems the latter intemperate and indecent, a charge often levied at pre-colonial societies by Europeans everywhere. Stewart attempted to explain the root of the “misunderstanding” to Chaplain Bloxam. The blame, unsurprisingly, was set to rest squarely on the shoulders of native missionaries. As Stewart explains in Graham’s text, these native missionaries:

Had been brought up in one of the United States, where the Jewish method of reckoning time is observed, and the day begins and ends at noon; hence the Sunday, the first day of the week, begins at noon on Saturday the seventh day; and these teachers, having adopted this computation of time, have established Saturday meetings and exercises accordingly.¹⁵⁷

Much like her objections to the Chilean Casa de Exercisio, Graham voices her objection to Bingham’s interference in the entertainment directly in the text:

This is very well so far as it goes; but Mr. Bingham, the head of the mission, uses on all other occasions the Christian measure of time, and he does not appear to be a person quietly to let two youths intrude with new ordinances on his cure.¹⁵⁸

Inevitably, Bingham writes a formal letter of defense to Byron, the text of which Graham finds “so curious” that she relegates a copy to a footnote as additional evidence. While his justification is much the same as Stewart’s, in closing the letter Bingham writes:

I have taken the liberty to make this explanation, in order to show you that we would studiously avoid any interference in any of your intercourse with the chiefs; and while I can assure you I entertain a high sense of the honour and

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Graham, *Blonde*, 149.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

the kindness which you and your honoured king, and highly-favoured country, have done this nation.¹⁵⁹

Graham finds his reasoning and assurances unconvincing. Clearly, the curiosity of Bingham's letter lies in the fact that the missionary doth protest too much. On the preceding page, Graham footnoted an update on the situation. "We have learned, by the arrival of persons who visited the Islands after us, that the almost open assumption of power by the mission had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs. The impaired state of Karaimoku's health...seemed to have opened to the mission the hope of reigning in the name of the little king."¹⁶⁰ Thus after the fact, the footnote vindicates Graham's accusations.

From the phantasmagoria incident onwards, the missionaries appear throughout the narrative but Graham, having made her case, refrains from citing additional grievances, though they were readily available in Bloxam's journal. Rather than pressing on further with her accusations, she revokes Bingham's personal identity from the rest of the text and instead only refers to him as an unnamed "missionary." She does not do the same to those missionaries who have behaved in a manner she deems "reasonable" such as Mr. Stewart. In her vilification of the American missionaries, Graham's personal philosophies on justice and morality rise to the forefront in the text. Though British interests in the islands were secured, in as much as they were desired, Graham's characterization of the missionaries lays a disquieting foundation that anticipates future U.S. involvement in the Sandwich Islands.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 150.

¹⁶⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 149.

¹⁶¹ Given the great distance between the Hawaiian Islands and Britain, the British government appears ambivalent on the point of forcing a British occupation or government on the Hawaiians. Tate mentions that by 1842, British secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Aberdeen "did 'not think it advantageous or politic, to see to establish a paramount influence for Great Britain in those Islands, at the expense of that enjoyed by other

As King George IV declared to Boki during his interview at the British court in 1823, “I will attend to the evils from without. The evils within your Kingdom it is not for me to regard; they are with yourselves. Return and say to the King, to Kaahumanu and to Kalaimoku, I will watch over your country, I will not take possession of it for mine, but I will watch over it, lest evils should come from others to the Kingdom.”¹⁶²

This charge is reflected in Captain Byron’s interview with the Hawaiian chiefs who asked him:

If the King of England had any objection to the settling of the American mission in the islands, and instruction of the people. His Lordship said that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing of a code of laws for the people, and to this he decidedly objected.¹⁶³

And Graham details Bingham’s response:

Mr. Bingham, on behalf of the mission, stated, that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the nation; being expressly prohibited by their commission, and their public and private instructions from their patrons, from any such interference.¹⁶⁴

Graham lived to see the deceptiveness of their words, when in 1839 the French government dispatched forces to the islands to rescue Catholic missionaries persecuted, allegedly tortured, and then ejected from the islands by the Hawaiian government under the influence those same American missionaries.¹⁶⁵

Graham formulates a legal argument against the missionaries and presents it to her

powers.’ ” Merze Tate, “Great Britain and the Sovereignty of Hawai‘i,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 31, no. 4 (November 1962): 328.

¹⁶² Tate, “Great Britain and the Sovereignty of Hawai‘i,” 328.

¹⁶³ Graham, *Blonde*, 155.

¹⁶⁴ Graham, *Blonde*, 155.

¹⁶⁵ See: Reginald Yzendoorn, *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1927).

reader. Her basis for criticism is apparently founded on the anti-dissenter rhetoric of the mid-eighteenth century. She heightens Dampier's and Bloxam's concerns about the missionaries who are "too particular" and monastically "rigid." She employs the missionaries' interference in the phantasmagoria incident as the perfect exemplar of Dampier's and Bloxam's apprehensions. Michael Snape has noted in his study of anti-Methodism protests in the eighteenth century that Methodism was blamed for the disruption of community harmony.¹⁶⁶ Bingham's ban on the entertaining phantasmagoria and his dictate restricting the young King and princess from attending exemplifies his role "comptroller of amusements." Thus, by highlighting his interference between the King and the regents, Graham implies that Bingham is disrupting the community.

Graham's focus on the missionaries' behavior also responds to Britain's ambiguous relationship with the islands. Although it is not her aim, Graham's intervention in the narrative appears to marginalize general Hawaiian autonomy—Ka'ahumanu and Karaimoku the two regents, did attend the phantasmagoria, but their actions fall by the wayside in the wake of Graham's argument. By scrutinizing the missionaries' actions and words, and alluding to their subversion of Hawaiian authority throughout the narrative, Graham creates, as she did with Francia, an "Other" other—an antagonist for the narrative. Hence, her defamation of the American missionaries becomes another facet in her quest to formulate an alliance, in this case, a nationalistic one, with British readers. History reflects that voyage literature, particularly British, was often a vehicle for unifying nationalistic sentiments. If by Graham's time this function was not overtly recognized, it does appear that Graham is

¹⁶⁶ Snape, *Anti-Methodism*, 262.

responding to and deliberately heightening tensions between Americans and British in
Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde.

7. DEPICTING EXTRAORDINARY “OTHER” WOMEN

I have often thought a collection of faithful journals might furnish better food to a moral philosopher for his speculations, than all the formal disquisitions that ever were written....A copied journal is less characteristic: it may be equally true, it may give a better, because a more rational and careful account of countries visited; and the copying it, may awaken associations and lead the writer to other views,--to descant with other feelings on the same occurrences. And though there be no intentional variation, some shades of character will be kept under by fear, some suppressed, it may be through modesty, and there are feelings for others which will blot out many more: yet the journal is true; true to nature, true to facts, and true to a better feeling than often dictates the momentary lines of spleen or suffering. This truth I solemnly engage myself to preserve. I cannot give, and I trust no one will demand more. ¹⁶⁷

—Maria Graham, 31 May 1822

Journal of a Residence in Chile

Despite Graham’s claims to truthfulness, Regina Akel, Graham’s literary biographer, asserts that Graham “appears markedly hostile to the women she meets in her travels.”¹⁶⁸ Akel theorizes that Graham’s attitudes towards women were fostered by the ill reception that Graham experienced as an adolescent at the hands of other females, including family members. Akel finds that for Graham, “the sight of women less fortunate than herself provokes animosity in her, not pity.”¹⁶⁹ Akel claims that this reaction can be read throughout the body of Graham’s work. Based on this theory, Akel posits “Her animosity surfaces in the manner in which she belittles them for their lack of beauty in some cases, for their poor intellectual capacities in others, or for what she believes is sexual deprivation in some, or

¹⁶⁷ Graham, *Chile*, 146.

¹⁶⁸ Akel, *Maria Graham*, xiv.

¹⁶⁹ Akel, *Maria Graham*, 28

sexual excesses in others.”¹⁷⁰ However, Akel did not examine Graham’s work on the *Blonde*.

Graham’s reconstruction of the *Blonde*’s voyage does not support Akel’s theory. Although women do not figure prominently in the narrative since it mainly concerns the mission of an all male crew, women do make brief appearances throughout the voyage. At these times, the differences between Graham’s final text and that of her primary source journals are quite apparent. Graham painstakingly revises the narrative to represent the indigenous islanders, particularly the women, in a commendatory manner.

In the *Blonde*, Graham devotes her attentions to a few central female characters who appear to exhibit key aspects of Graham’s own feminine ideal—intelligence, courage, and determination. In his study of Graham’s *India* journal, Nigel Leask notes “the perceived degree of civic virtue, a progression of ‘British’ value, enabled moral calibrations of other peoples.” In *India*, Leask finds these values manifest for Graham as independence, frugality, and industry.¹⁷¹ Examples of these ideal figures can also be located in Graham’s Brazilian and Chilean journals. Her admiration for women of strong character exists outside their level of relative civilization. Characters such as these, she writes, “show...on the skirts of the Andes, as in the valleys of Europe; and to histories of revolution, when every passion and affection is called into action...they are the materials out of which tragedy and romance are built.”¹⁷² Of the criteria Akel uses to discern Graham’s animosity towards women, intelligence, beauty, and sexuality—characteristics Graham presumably measured against British upper middle-class expectations—it is actually bravery that plays a critical role in all

¹⁷⁰ Akel, *Maria Graham*, xiv

¹⁷¹ Nigel Leask, “Maria Graham: The Oriental Traveller as Female Moralist,” in *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840 ‘from an antique land’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 211.

¹⁷² Graham, *Chile*, 324-325.

Graham's narratives. In her December 2, 1822 entry in Chile, Graham relates the story of Juana Maria Pola of Santa Fé de Bogotá:

[She] was a woman whose husband, brothers, and sons were deeply engaged in the patriot cause. When Santa Fé was taken from royalists...Juana Maria found her son among the troops, who were awaiting the rest. "What do you here?" said she.—"I expect each moment to fight for *La Patria*."—"Kneel down then, and take a mother's blessing. We women will go on and receive the first fire, and over our bodies you shall march and take yonder cannon, and save your country." She blessed her son, and rushed on with the foremost, and the day was theirs. From that day, she held a captain's pay and rank. But the royalists retook Santa Fé, and Juana Maria Pola was one of their first victims: she was led to the market-place and shot.¹⁷³

The structure of Graham's retelling emphasizes the female sacrifice for family. She positions the direct quote from Pola so the character explicitly states the nature of that sacrifice. While the notion of a woman holding the rank of captain could be exploited as an entertaining spectacle for European readers, Graham deliberately understates the significance of the captaincy by structuring the sentence so that Pola is not formally enlisted or promoted, but introduces the notion in informal terms, "From that day." The wording neatly implies that the award was so inevitable it needed no formal sanction. In ending, the story is thematically united and Pola's character validated by her payment of the ultimate sacrifice. Graham emphasizes the importance of that final payment by invoking Pola's full name in the final sentence. Although Pola's gender makes the story unique, Graham attaches none of Akel's three criteria to Pola. The account is uncritical, indicating that Graham regarded this character with respect.

Graham, however, did not interact directly with Pola, thus Akel might counter that

¹⁷³ Graham, *Chile*, 325.

Graham's narrative response was not activated by "the sight of women less fortunate than herself." Graham did meet and talk with a similarly unique woman in Rio de Janeiro in late August, 1823. She wrote a three-page account of her visit with Dona Maria de Jesus in which she included the complex story of de Jesus' enlistment into the army's infantry. To counterbalance that daring story, Graham structures it between a beginning that includes her personal observations of de Jesus' clothing and an ending that frankly assesses de Jesus' character:

To-day I received a visit from Dona Maria de Jesus, the young woman who has lately distinguished herself in the war of the Reconcave. Her dress is that of a soldier of one of the Emperor's battalions, with the addition of a tartan kilt, which she told me she had adopted from a picture representing a highlander, as the most feminine military dress. What would the Gordons and MacDonaldis say to this? The "garb of old Gaul," chosen as a womanish attire!¹⁷⁴

She is illiterate, but clever. Her understanding is quick, and her perceptions keen. I think, with education she might have been a remarkable person. She is not particularly masculine in her appearance, and her manners are gentle and cheerful. She has not contracted any thing coarse or vulgar in her camp life, and I believe that no imputation has ever been substantiated against her modesty. One thing is certain, that her sex never was known until her father applied to her commanding officer to seek her. There is nothing very peculiar in her manners at table, excepting that she eats farinha with her eggs at breakfast and her fish at dinner, instead of bread, and smokes a segar after each meal; but she is very temperate.¹⁷⁵

The page containing the description of de Jesus' attire faces a full-length drawing of de Jesus in full-dress regimentals. The image page appears prior to the story of de Jesus' enlistment. Graham exploits the spectacle with her oxymoronic description of "feminine military dress"

¹⁷⁴ Graham, *Brazil*, 292.

¹⁷⁵ Graham, *Brazil*, 294. OED: Farinha is a flour derived from the cassava plant. So, de Jesus was likely eating a type of local bread.

juxtaposing it against the actual image of de Jesus—which at first glance is not markedly female. Graham contradicts the image with her characterizations of de Jesus’ personality. She constructs a series of litotes “not particularly masculine...not contracted anything coarse...no imputation has ever,” and “nothing very peculiar,” forming a series of understatements that make positive assertions about de Jesus’ femininity. She manipulates the narrative structure, reassuring the reader because she anticipates the British reluctance to accept a female who does not dress or work in a typically female manner. By closing on the phrase “she is very temperate,” Graham emphasizes that de Jesus is not a threat. It is possible to immediately read Graham’s admiration of de Jesus; she is “clever,” “quick,” and “perceptive.” Though Graham did not find de Jesus “remarkable,” she attributes this shortfall to circumstance—lack of education—rather than a fault of personality.

Does Graham equate someone less than “remarkable” with someone “less fortunate” than herself? Akel’s term of measurement for Graham’s prejudices, “women less fortunate than herself” is vague and could apply to any number of standards—social class or rank, wealth, education, nationality, and degree of civilization (including manners). Graham encountered many women in her travels that she might have considered beneath herself in these categories. Yet, the disparities between herself and other women did not prompt Graham characterize women in an antagonistic manner. In her Chilean and Brazilian journals, she admired two women of inferior rank, fortune, and education; instead, she judged them on the merits of their bravery and intelligence. In *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde* Graham identifies three women mentioned directly or indirectly in the men’s journals, whose actions she also found courageous. These women were indigenous Hawaiians, Keōpūolani,

Ka'ahumanu, and Kapi'olani, the three highest-ranking women on the islands.¹⁷⁶ Graham carefully arbitrates the men's accounts of these women and instead of allowing the women's physical otherness to influence her portrayals, Graham relies upon the women's actions, as chronicled by the men, to help build impartial and perhaps more authentic characterizations.

Bloxam and Dampier identify five indigenous Hawaiian women by name in their journals, only three of whom were adults, while one had spent several months in England.¹⁷⁷ Thus, Graham's choice to highlight three Hawaiian women of high rank does not immediately validate Akel's suppositions solely the basis of class. Though they were chieftesses, from a European point of view Graham would have every reason to regard these pre-colonial women as "less fortunate" than herself. However, she does not portray them with pity or hostility. Jocelyn Linnekin suggests in her 1990 book, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence*, that Hawaiian women played a crucial role in social and political organizations on the islands, particularly in determining chiefly rank.¹⁷⁸ Graham reads Bloxam's and Dampier's account of events on the islands and recognizes the power these women held. This was not just power over domestic life; it was as Linnekin puts it, "women's control over people."¹⁷⁹

In her historical sketch of Hawai'i, Graham relates a change of Hawaiian culture that occurred in 1819 that permanently altered the balance of power between men and women of the islands. Graham writes, "The breaking of the tabu, by which women were prohibited

¹⁷⁶ Keōpūolani, Ka'ahumanu, and Kapi'olani are the modern ethnographic spellings, but here they are quoted in the text in their varying forms per the varying journal sources.

¹⁷⁷ These women were: Keōpūolani, Ka'ahumanu, and Kapi'olani, Madame Lillah Boki (already Europeanized), and the eight year-old Princess Naheinaheina.

¹⁷⁸ Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*, 6.

¹⁷⁹ Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*, 37.

from eating with the men, or tasting of certain kinds of foods, has been represented as a mere frolic of the young king.”¹⁸⁰ In Hawaiian historiography, the ending of tabu, also known as kapu, is often linked with Hawaiian conversion to Christianity and their ultimate rejection of “idolatry.” Several historians hold that European visitors to the islands, going as far back as Cook’s initial contact, triggered the beginning of the end of this tabu. For during such visits, the tabus were relaxed and native women visited aboard ships, where they ate in the company of European men.¹⁸¹ Others claim the “kapu abolition merely continued the suspension of tabus after [King] Kamehameha’s death.”¹⁸² In 1826, Graham attributed the impetus behind the change to women, primarily the chieftess Keōpūolani.¹⁸³

Graham introduces Keōpūolani and the idea of female authority on the islands before explaining the tabu. “It was, however, necessary to obtain the sanction of Keōpūolani the king’s mother, who by birth enjoyed higher a higher rank among the chiefs than even her son.”¹⁸⁴ Keōpūolani derived her power from her status as highest chief—above even male chiefs—primarily because “women exercised autonomy in their own and their daughters’ marriage choices.”¹⁸⁵ Since matriarchal lines determined rank of men and women, Linnekin asserts that those choices suggest “the transmission of female power.”¹⁸⁶ That same power paradoxically protected high-ranking women from punishment of death when breaking tabu against eating with men.¹⁸⁷ Linnekin and other historians agree that the final event abolishing

¹⁸⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 46. Graham is possibly referring to Gilbert Mathison’s 1825 travelogue.

¹⁸¹ Marshall David Sahlins, *Islands of history* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 8.

¹⁸² Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*, 79. Kamehameha I was Riho Riho’s father.

¹⁸³ Keōpūolani was also wife of Kamehameha I and mother of both Riho Riho and his successor, the “young king” Kiaukiauli.

¹⁸⁴ Graham, *Blonde*, 45.

¹⁸⁵ Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*, 68.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*, 71.

this tabu was due in part to “female chiefs pursuing their own personal and political interests.”¹⁸⁸ Graham recognizes and explains the conflict:

The women of the Sandwich Islands, though acknowledged as chiefs, and admitted to council, had still the degrading mark of inferiority in their separate meals and prohibited sorts of food. To raise them to a better state was doubtless a strong motive with the young king, who revered his mother, and was passionately attached to his young wife; but he also desired to get rid, as soon and as much as possible, of every part of the system of tabu, which he wisely considered highly inimical to the progress of civilization.¹⁸⁹

Graham did not have access to the genealogical information available to modern historians that delineates the source of the political power Linnekin finds the Hawaiian women held. Yet despite that fact, Graham asserts her editorial authority and challenges historical accounts of women’s role in this cultural change. Her interpretation of this event responds to the fact that the final event had “been strangely misrepresented by at least one English traveler.”¹⁹⁰ Bloxam’s journal includes accounts of the history, traditions, and superstitions of the islands, but neither he nor Dampier mention this particular event. In fact, no other contemporary sources report of women’s role in the abolition of the tabu, thus it is uncertain how Graham came by her information.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, Graham’s inclusion of Riho Riho’s wife (Kamāmalu) and his mother (Keōpūolani) as “strong motives” can be read euphemistically, indicating that Graham credited women with the abolition. Rounding out the account, Graham characterizes Keōpūolani as “a woman of strong sense, the highest birth, and extremely beloved account by all classes of people.”¹⁹² Though not mentioned by name

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 46.

¹⁹⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 46. The unnamed English traveler is likely Mathison.

¹⁹¹ Both Ellis and Mathison attribute the change entirely to Riho Riho.

¹⁹² Graham, *Blonde*, 52.

in Graham's account of this incident, modern historians credit a third woman as a driving force behind the end of this tabu.¹⁹³ She may have been Ka'ahumanu, a chieftess who also served as regent during Riho Riho's absence, and did so for the new king.

Ka'ahumanu appears regularly throughout Bloxam's journal while Dampier's observations of her are limited to the few hours during which she sat for a portrait. To Bloxam she was "Queen, ex-Queen, Old Queen, Queen mother" or "Kahumanu." Dampier, despite the brevity of his interaction with Ka'ahumanu, referred to her as "the old Lady, the old Queen Kahumanu, Old Dame," and "Old Queen," using "old Lady" most frequently. Graham aligns closer to Bloxam, referring to her simply as "Kahumanu" or "queen" "queen mother Kahumanu." Even with a fact as simple as proper name, Graham must negotiate past the men's textual responses to the woman's rank and power.

There are two instances in which Bloxam comments on Ka'ahumanu's behavior and disposition. The male regent, Karaimoku, underwent surgery and Bloxam writes:

At this time nothing could shew the affection of Ka'ahumanu or her attachment to him more than by supporting his head with tears streaming down her cheeks which she is not generally in the habit of shedding and kissing him on the forehead.¹⁹⁴

Graham's revision conveys a respect of Ka'ahumanu that coherently emphasizes the singularity of Ka'ahumanu's response:

Though not in the habit of displaying much tenderness of nature, the tears were streaming down her face, while she supported his head and repeatedly kissed his forehead.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Graham's theory of Keōpūolani's involvement as well as that of Ka'ahumanu is validated by Hawaiian King David Kalakaua in his book, *The Legends and Myths of Hawai'i* (1888). Born in 1836, Kalakaua was close enough in age to the 1819 event to have gathered his account from first-hand witnesses.

¹⁹⁴ Bloxam, MS 4255. Entry dated 23 May 1825.

¹⁹⁵ Graham, *Blonde*, 140.

Graham divides Ka'ahumanu's physical actions from her description of Ka'ahumanu's stoic temperament into two separate clauses that create a strong contrast. This detachment amplifies Ka'ahumanu's emotional response. The amplification helps humanize Ka'ahumanu's natural self-possession and limits the transgressive aspects of her role as regent, which people (men) such as Dampier found alienating.

Bloxam's second characterization of Ka'ahumanu borders on apologetic. Having witnessed Ka'ahumanu's tears, Bloxam appears ready to make allowances for the queen's behavior. Dampier was set to make portraits of the royal family, yet he apparently failed to follow protocol and paint Ka'ahumanu first. Bloxam records his view of her reaction:

Ka'ahumanu who kept a most dignified silence...had been sitting for her picture during the morning and restraint to which her haughty disposition could scarcely bow. Particularly as the young king and his sister had been previously painted. This it was I believe that had offended her highness to such a degree.¹⁹⁶

Bloxam views Ka'ahumanu's behavior as a result of a singular event—Dampier's mistake, but he still characterizes Ka'ahumanu as “haughty” and unbending. Ka'ahumanu's rank directly influences Bloxam's narrative causing him to choose his words diplomatically. Bloxam's account is mild compared to Dampier, who writes of the incident:

In the outset I gave high offence to the haughty spirit of mighty Kahumanu ...the old Lady stalked into the room fully dressed, demanding that I should leave off the one I had already commenced in order to practice upon her lowering countenance.¹⁹⁷

Dampier's description of the encounter runs on for several paragraphs, where he finally

¹⁹⁶ Bloxam, MS 4255. Entry dated 16 May 1825.

¹⁹⁷ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 43.

records his opinion, namely that this encounter revealed the queen's general disposition:

It must be known that this Old Dame is the most proud, unbending Lady in the whole Island. As the widow of the great Tamehaeha, she possesses unbounded authority and respect, not any of which is she inclined to lay aside on any occasion whatever...I do not at all admire the character of this royal personage, she appears haughty, proud & vindictive, and formerly her power was marked with acts of a most sanguinary nature. Of late years the missionaries have effected a great deal in subduing & restraining this impetuous spirit. As it was, she was no favorite with any of us, indeed, she scarcely deign'd to notice any but Lord Byron; even he was sometimes treated with coldness and disdain.¹⁹⁸

Graham mitigates these two disparate views of Ka'ahumanu carefully. Mindful that Ka'ahumanu was the regent, Graham tempers Dampier's criticisms, and writes:

The great Kahumanu, whose temper is violent, although she is a person of keen shrewd understanding, is very indignant that the little king and princess should be painted before her, and is not very well pleased at the frown she sees reflected from her own portrait; however, on the whole she is very kind to us, and unites with our old shipmates in showing us every possible attention.¹⁹⁹

Graham makes clear that violence and intelligence are not mutually exclusive. She reduces the men's characterizations of Ka'ahumanu "proud," "haughty," and "unbending" to "indignant," which implies a temporary state of emotion as opposed to those permanent negative characteristics. Graham also explains what aroused Ka'ahumanu's ire, the breach of protocol and dissatisfaction with Dampier's execution of her portrait. The words Graham uses to describe Ka'ahumanu's unhappiness create an ironic syntactical similarity to the situation, "not very well pleased at the frown she sees." Graham composes an image of Ka'ahumanu frowning at her own frown, humanizing Ka'ahumanu's reaction.

¹⁹⁸ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 52.

¹⁹⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 130-31.

Graham also derives an appreciation of Ka'ahumanu's intelligence from the chieftess' actions as witnessed by Bloxam. Byron's ship's log supports the chaplain's journal in accounting for Ka'ahumanu's actions. Ka'ahumanu provided Captain Byron with lodgings ashore, kept him apprised of anything of interest occurring on the island, supported his political mission, arranged for the Captain to receive any provisions he and his crew required, including a supply of ten hogs, and even named a bay after Byron. All this activity denotes a certain political acumen beyond general hospitality and Graham acknowledges it as such through this positive characterization of a queen who is "keen," "kind," and attentive.

Later in the narrative, Graham further distances her characterization of Ka'ahumanu from Dampier's charges: "No longer giving way to the violent passions which disgraced her youth, this queen is now distinguished by the Hawaiians as the GOOD KAHUMANU. She is one of the most zealous among the new Christians....This change will doubtless have a favorable effect on the people. As a proof of her kindness to us, she had given us for a purveyor a man who speaks a little English, and who has adopted the title of Sir Joseph Banks."²⁰⁰ Graham mediates the incongruity of Ka'ahumanu's sudden transformation with a much-appreciated gift. This almost immediate recompense implies the Hawaiians are indebted to the British, and not to the American missionaries. The gifting prevents the reader from dwelling on the question of Ka'ahumanu's "violent passions."

Kapi'olani is the third woman who emerges in Graham's narrative and she was, like Keōpūolani, a figure representative of Hawaiian history rather than one encountered personally by H.M.S. *Blonde*'s crew. To demonstrate her faith in Christianity, Kapi'olani

²⁰⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 167-68.

ventured into the volcano, Kīlauea, which Hawaiians regarded as the sacred home of the deity Peli. Kapi'olani expected to disprove the existence of the god by simply surviving the descent. Ironically, this chieftess' adventure in 1824 may have inspired the *Blonde's* voyagers to journey to the same volcano on the island of Hawai'i. According to both Bloxam and Dampier, Captain Byron planned the forty-mile walking expedition. Dampier writes, "Lord Byron had now an undertaking in contemplation; that was of paying a visit to the celebrated Peley volcano. As the fulfillment of this exploit was attended by the most terrible difficulties, I cannot forebear giving a minute description of so arduous an undertaking."²⁰¹ After three days journey over sharp and rugged terrain, Bloxam and Dampier along with the rest of the expedition arrived at Kīlauea. Before descending into the volcano, both men pause in their narratives to relate the story of Kapi'olani and her journey into the volcano. This interpolation functions as a challenge for both men, allowing them the opportunity to build the reader's anticipation. In this instance, Graham follows suit and locates the story of Kapi'olani prior to the voyagers' descent. The narrative arc implies her adventure inspired theirs and Graham states it plainly when she writes: "Early in the morning of the 29th, we prepared to follow the path of Kapiolani."²⁰²

The passage in *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde* concerning Kapi'olani's descent is significant because Graham's narrative style becomes elaborate and sublime. Graham sets up her characterization of Kapi'olani within the framework of the setting. "The hut in which we [Dampier et al] passed the night had witnessed one of the greatest acts of moral courage, which has perhaps ever been performed; and the actor was a woman, and, as we are pleased

²⁰¹ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 57.

²⁰² Graham, *Blonde*, 188.

to call her, a savage.”²⁰³ Graham’s scornful jibe about savages is a direct retort to Bloxam’s telling of the “legend,” which he deigns to be a lesson in the “power Faith in Christianity can have over even the mind of a Savage.” However, Graham phrases her sarcasm in a manner that recalls a passage from Joshua Reynolds’s *Discourses*, which she read under the tutelage of her drawing master. In “The Seventh Discourse,” Reynolds describes the meeting between a fashionable European, beardless, bewigged, and powdered and a Cherokee Indian in full war paint:

Whoever of these two despises the other for this attention to the fashion of his country, whichever first feels himself provoked to laugh, is the barbarian.²⁰⁴

Like Reynolds, Graham—with the ironic phrase “as we are pleased to call her, a savage”—criticizes the European failure to recognize the similarities inherent in all cultures of humanity, simply because of superficial differences—in Kapi’olani’s case a difference of gender and nationality.

Graham shapes and expands the telling of this short adventure, into a story of woman struggling against fantastic Nature, the result of which vindicates Kapi’olani’s bravery. In Kapi’olani, Graham creates an exotic, but humanized and romantic figure. Graham describes Kapi’olani’s exact identity by name and rank, “Kapiolani, the wife of Nahi, a female chief of the highest rank.” In contrast, Bloxam, who had not mentioned Kapi’olani in any prior entry, centers his story on the novel idea that a vindication of Christianity was necessary; the woman’s actions are insignificant. His tale begins:

²⁰³ Graham, *Blonde*, 186-87

²⁰⁴ Joshua Reynolds and Helen Zimmern, *Reynold’s Discourses*, ed. Ernest Rhys (London: W. Scott, 1887), 123.

When Christianity had been just introduced into these Islands, Kapiolani (the wife of Naihe the orator who resides at close to the spot where our great Circumnavigator lost his life) determined to pay a visit to this remarkable volcano.²⁰⁵

The parenthetical shadow of Cook obscures Kapi'olani in Bloxam's sentence construction. Graham, on the other hand, chooses not to capitalize on Cook's tenuous relation to Kapi'olani's circumstance. Graham had such confidence in the character of the woman that she completely omits Bloxam's reference to Cook. Instead, Graham continues with a summary of Kapi'olani's purpose:

[She] had recently embraced Christianity; and desirous of propagating it, and of undeceiving the natives as to their false gods, she resolved to climb the mountain, descend into the crater, and, by thus braving the volcanic deities in their very homes, convince the inhabitants of the Island that God is God alone, and that the false subordinate deities existed only in the fancies of their weak adorers.²⁰⁶

While Graham acknowledges Kapi'olani, her description implies that the resident missionaries were unable to "propagate" Christianity on the islands. The birth of Christianity required female authority to aid in conception. The delivery necessitated Kapi'olani's resolution, physical and emotional bravery, and ultimately her ability to persuade. Graham wrote in her Chilean journal, "the want of civilization sends women back to their natural means of persuasion, gentleness and caresses; and if a little cunning mingles with them, it is the protection nature has given the weak against the strong."²⁰⁷ In essence, the elements of Kapi'olani's femininity authorized her intervention into the process of Christianization.

Graham structures the narrative so that physical obstructions to the journey do not

²⁰⁵ Bloxam, MS 4255, 110.

²⁰⁶ Graham, *Blonde*, 187.

²⁰⁷ Graham, *Chile*, 153. 6 June 1822.

remain in the margins. Kapi'olani faces both human and natural obstacles—impediments that are recurring elements of contemporary survival literature. Within this trope, particularly in the Americas, as Mary Louise Pratt notes, the woman warrior often emerges as a construct of European writers.²⁰⁸ Such tales of women conquering nature are “thoroughly compelling...as they often seem to be wherever women protagonists appear in the lore of the colonial frontier.”²⁰⁹ In this predominantly male narrative, Graham creates a Polynesian heroine. To do so, though, required more information than her primary sources provided. The details Bloxam supplies in the retelling are minimal, indicating only that “midshipmen” from an unmentioned ship accompanied Kapi'olani. Perhaps Bloxam confused his own adventure with Kapi'olani's—no other historical account mentions a ship or its crew or officers in the context of Kapi'olani's journey. In lieu of a detailed account from either Bloxam or Dampier, Graham apparently borrows some facts from William Ellis' *A Narrative of an 1823 Tour through Hawai'i*, which was published in 1826, a month after H.M.S. *Blonde* arrived back in England.

According to a letter from Graham to John Murray, she met with Ellis, an English missionary, on June 27, 1826. “Yesterday, the honorable Ellis was with me & I have learned a good deal from him.”²¹⁰ While Ellis was not in Hawai'i in 1824 and he does not cite a source for the information he reports, he does indicate that missionaries and Kapi'olani's attendants witnessed the event. Graham, with information perhaps gleaned from her interview with Ellis, continues, “Thus determined, and accompanied by a missionary, she,

²⁰⁸ Mary L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes : Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturization* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 23.

²⁰⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 21.

²¹⁰ Graham to Murray, MS 40186, No. 63.

with part of her family, and a number of followers, both of her own vassals and those of other chiefs, ascended Peli.”²¹¹ Once Kapi’olani is suitably attended, Graham juxtaposes Kapi’olani’s determination against that of her non-Christian companions and yokes it to the harsh landscape to create a grim scene:

At the edge of the first precipice that bounds the sunken plain, many of her followers and companions lost courage and turned back: at the second, the rest earnestly entreated her to desist from her dangerous enterprise, and forbear to tempt the powerful gods of the fires.²¹²

As Kapi’olani is on the cusp of sparking great change, Graham places her physically on the edge of the volcano. This position breaks the will of many of her followers. The second sheer drop sparks verbal entreaties from her remaining companions. Graham emphasizes the strength of Kapi’olani’s resistance by increasing the physical and spiritual threats—the journey is “dangerous,” Kapi’olani is “tempting,” and the threat of fire is multiplied by the number of “gods.” To further impress these threats on the reader, Graham returns to H.M.S. *Blonde*’s adventurers for a moment, placing them in the hut Kapi’olani had built the day of her journey:

But she proceeded; and on the very verge of the crater, caused the hut we were now sheltered in to be constructed for herself and people.²¹³

Graham highlights Kapi’olani’s selflessness corroborating her need to protect her people spiritually with the action of protecting them physically via a shelter. Graham accentuates that Kapi’olani undertakes both for the good of the people.

In the next instant, those people she protects pose more of a threat to Kapi’olani’s

²¹¹ Per Ellis, the name of the deity inhabiting the volcano was “Peli” or “Pele.”

²¹² Graham, *Blonde*, 187.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

mission than the volcano. Graham asserts Kapi'olani is under verbal attack. "Here she was assailed anew by their entreaties to return home."²¹⁴ Their aggression is directed at Kapi'olani's authority, rank and responsibility as chieftess when she receives "their assurances, that if she persisted in violating the houses of the *goddess*, she would draw on herself, and those with her, certain destruction."²¹⁵ Bloxam recounts Kapi'olani's reply, "I will go [said she] if Peli causes my death—then go on still & pay your adoration to him—but if I return from it unhurt—then you must worship Him who made Peli."²¹⁶ The information Graham gleaned from Ellis allows Graham to solve another problem in the Bloxam/Dampier accounts. Both men describe Peli as male. Dampier jokingly refers to the god as "mister." "I think...it would take some persuasion to induce them again to trust their persons in the abode of as fierce a God as Mr. Paley."²¹⁷ Ellis, on the other hand, related several myths and legends of volcanoes in his narrative and in every instance, the deity was female.

Graham revises Bloxam's statement into one that eliminates the question of the deity's gender and centers on the self-sacrificing elements of Kapi'olani's nature:

Her answer was noble: 'I will descend into the crater,' said she; 'and if I do not return safe, then continue to worship Peli: but if I come back unhurt you must learn to adore the God who created Peli.'²¹⁸

Here, Graham, subtly multiples the meaning of "noble," alluding to Kapi'olani's sacrifice, and plays upon the sentimentalist trope of the "noble savage." She understates the danger, substituting safe return for "death." Graham also reverses Bloxam's use of

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Graham, *Blonde*, 187.

²¹⁶ Bloxam, MS 4522.

²¹⁷ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 62.

²¹⁸ Graham, *Blonde*, 188.

adoration/worship. In Graham's retelling, she assigns "worship" to Peli and "adore" to the Christian god. Graham fully contrasts the levels of threat each god poses, "not return safe/worship" and "unhurt/adore." Since adoration is an extension of worship that implies affection, Graham allows Kapi'olani's words to intimate that the relationship between God and natives will be mutually benevolent.

The party composed of only the faithful and led by Kapi'olani presses on in Graham's account:

She accordingly went down the steep and difficult side of the crater, accompanied by a missionary, and by some whom love or duty induced to follow her.²¹⁹

Here, Graham alludes to Kapi'olani's role as shepherd—even the missionary will follow her into death—which is, of course, remarkable in itself. The threat was real. In 1790, thirty-four years before Kapi'olani's descent, a violent and explosive eruption of Kīlauea occurred, killing as many as eighty islanders in an event that lived on in Hawaiian history, and was certainly fresh in the minds of Kapi'olani's generation.²²⁰ During his 1823 journey, Ellis noted, "the whole of the time we had been traveling...we had perceived a number of columns of smoke and vapour rising at a considerable distance" as they approached Kīlauea.²²¹ In 1825, any resident of the island would have been aware the volcano was active and dangerous.²²²

²¹⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 189.

²²⁰ "Explosive Eruptions at Kilauea Volcano, Hawai'i? Fact Sheet 132-98," U.S. Geological Survey Publications Warehouse, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/fs132-98/> (accessed March 29, 2010). Though not mentioned in any of these voyage journals, the footprints of those killed were preserved in the ash at the volcano and are still visible today.

²²¹ Ellis, *Narrative of an 1823 Tour*, 205.

²²² In fact, Dampier writes that the night after their visit, "Our party were all awakened by the convulsive exertions of the pent of God. The earth upon which we slept trembled with the violence of his throes, & in a

According to Graham, heedless of the perils, when Kapi'olani "Arrived at the bottom, she pushed a stick into the liquid lava, and stirred the ashes of the burning lake. The charm of superstition was at that moment broken." Graham understates the danger, creating an almost domestic scene where "liquid" is "stirred." However, Graham then contrasts this image of deceptive tranquility against the reader's anticipation of danger—to emphasize Kapi'olani's triumph. Graham's prose culminates in overwrought and gothic imagery,

Those who had expected to see the goddess, armed with flame and sulphurous smoke burst forth and destroy the daring heroine who thus braved her in her very sanctuary.²²³

Graham represents the volcano as danger personified "armed with flame and sulphurous smoke." This device may have effectively assisted the European and Christian reader in understanding—however unlikely it was that the goddess existed—that the volcano itself was unpredictable and powerful. Graham also uses the volcano as a symbolic device, one that draws a parallel between the volcano and the female characters—who are powerful yet restrained. Whereas Bloxam adopts a moralizing tone to end his retelling of Kapi'olani's journey, "[an] example to the less instructed fellow Beings with power Faith in Christianity can have over even the mind of a Savage," Graham, instead of overwhelming the reader with loud protestations of Kapi'olani's bravery, contrasts the romantic histrionics with understatement that focuses on eyewitness reaction:

short time a new crater burst forth with a horrid noise immediately beneath our feet. Streams of burning lava flowed in every direction, accompanied with ejections of red hot ashes, & continual eructations of vast flames of fire. It was some time ere we could again compose ourselves to sleep." Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 63. Graham mentions the horror of the scene, "The volcano caused what Defoe calls "a terrible light in the air." Graham, *Blonde*, 185. Quoted from Daniel Defoe's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1810).

²²³ Graham, *Blonde*, 187.

[They were] awe-struck when they saw the fire remain innocuous, and the flames roll harmless, as though none were present.²²⁴

Graham's conclusion of the account leaves little doubt she wishes the reader to reflect upon Kapi'olani's action:

They acknowledged the greatness of the God of Kapiolani; and from that time few indeed have been the offerings, and little the reverence offered to the fires of Peli.²²⁵

The word choice in this final sentence, "acknowledged the greatness of the God of Kapiolani," signifies Graham's idealization of Kapi'olani.

The overall characterizations of these three Hawaiian women reflect Graham's intent to present positive and in some moments, idealistic, depictions of indigenous women. Although they were "less fortunate than herself," her descriptions navigate around the cultural disparities which would likely distract European readers. Her revision of the men's observations of indigenous women offers the reader insight into Graham's ideology of femininity. Perhaps Graham's portrayal of women of high rank reflect a certain romanticizing of the independence Hawaiian women had achieved, but when her edits are contrasted against those of the Bloxam and Dampier, it seems apparent that the men often regarded indigenous women as "a portent of danger, in the uncertain path" of colonialism.²²⁶

²²⁴ Graham, *Blonde*,

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ Margaret Jolly, "Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 19, no. 2 (2007): 520.

8. SYNTHESIZING SIX JOURNALS AND A FUNERAL

Unlike many previous voyages to the Pacific, H.M.S. *Blonde*'s journey was not one of scientific discovery. Rather than collecting, the crew's mission was transmitting both tangible and abstract items: the bodies of the sovereigns and the wish of British monarch, George IV, that Captain Byron work with the Hawaiian chiefs to ensure a smooth succession in accordance with "the established Laws and Customs of that People."²²⁷ A few days after the funeral, Byron conducted an interview with the regents, queens, and chiefs of Hawai'i formalizing those "Laws." Although nearly every soul involved with H.M.S. *Blonde*'s voyage kept a journal, log, or diary—the botanist, the naturalist, the artist, the captain, the chaplain, and even the resident American missionaries—all of these primary participants were so immersed in the immediate concerns of their professional observations and personal prejudices that they recorded this historic transition as two separate events. Graham recognizes this polarization and revises the text, explicitly creating narrative awareness of the transition that was taking place in Polynesian culture. While doing so, she clings to existing colonial tropes, demonstrating that the narrator was fully bound to then-current social conventions. Yet in those same moments, certain female elements undercut or emphasize the powerful role of native women in Europeanization. This chapter examines the particulars of the royal funeral as recorded by several male witnesses and juxtaposes them against

²²⁷ Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai'i, *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai'i for the two years ending December 31, 1924.*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1925), 34. Extract from Secret Instructions, Dated Sept. 14, 1824, given to Lord Byron (F.O. 58/3). Per the report, Byron was also charged to "endeavor to cultivate a good Understanding with the Government, in whatever native Hands it may be, and to secure, by kind Offices and friendly Intercourse, a future and lasting Protection for the Persons and Property of the Subjects of the United Kingdom."

Graham's third-hand historical synthesis of the event.

Captain Byron records the facts of the day in the log of H.M.S. *Blonde*:

11th Many 1825

4 [a.m.] Light winds and fine
 Received fresh beef and Vegetables. hoisted the barge out

8 [a.m.] S O D W – Mustered by divisions.
 Employed making preparations for landing the Bodies of the
 deceased King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands.

Noon: moderate and fine

Bearing and Distance: at single anchor Woahoo

PM Towed the Bodies on shore in the Launch attended by the
 Captain, Officers, Seamen & Marines, fired 26 Minute Guns
 after the Boats had left the ship and hoisted the colours half
 mast, formed on landing and marched in Procession to the
 Place of Internment the Band in attendance.

4:30 the boats returned

6 [p.m.] Sunset Moderate and fine. Up Boats.²²⁸

While all six accounts concur with Byron's log—a funeral did take place on May 11—the funeral procession and ceremony take on different significance for each man.

The youngest journalist, Andrew Bloxam ship's naturalist, declares the funeral occurred on "A fine and beautiful day."²²⁹ He recounts a number of details, such as the coffins, which were "large and handsomely covered with crimson velvet and a profusion of gilt nails with various gilt devices. A large copper plate was on each."²³⁰ Yet, he includes no personal opinions of the proceedings in his account. As he walked with the procession bearing the bodies of the Hawaiian king and queen, the naturalist noted, "The road by which we proceeded was tabooed, so that not a single native was near us, except their own

²²⁸ Byron, MS HM 64956.

²²⁹ A Bloxam, *Diary of Andrew Bloxam*, 36.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

soldiers.”²³¹ After the ceremony, in the context of this distance he characterizes the indigenous residents as unaffected by the day’s proceedings. “We then returned to the ship, and the taboo having been taken from the road, it was crowded with immense number of natives, who were much amused with our band, which played several lively tunes.”²³² Aside from this single observation, Andrew Bloxam dispassionately records the event in a manner that aligned with his scientific profession.

The other scientist on board was James Macrae, “a young Scotsman, trained as a plant collector and horticulturalist.”²³³ The Royal Horticultural Society armed Macrae with plants to “help the natives” and dispatched him to Hawai‘i.²³⁴ Macrae was concerned with botanical exchanges rather than cultural. On May 7, he writes:

Being tired of waiting any longer at this mock formality, I slipped away unperceived, to look for plants, but being missed by Lord Byron, I was sent for to return, and...[the regent] kindly granted me full liberty to collect what plants I wanted. Lord Byron, however, requested me not to begin collecting until the funeral was over.²³⁵

The funeral was four days away and evidence of Macrae’s impatience is apparent in his account of the funeral. He jumps straight into the action with no prefacing about scene or setting, “The coffins were lowered over the ship’s side into the launch.”²³⁶ Macrae’s account is similar to Andrew Bloxam’s in the level of detail he records. However, he observes one inconsistency:

²³¹ A Bloxam, *Diary of Andrew Bloxam*, 37.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Macrae, *With Lord Byron*, 1.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Macrae, *With Lord Byron*, 16.

²³⁶ Ibid.

The whole ceremony was conducted with solemnity from the time of leaving the Blonde to the finish. One mistake, however, had been made. No invitation had been given to the few respectable American residents in the place; why is best known to those who had the conducting of the funeral, for they were left to form a small body themselves on one side, away from the procession. It could not have been the wish of the chiefs, for they were seen often on their way to leave their places and join the Americans, especially Boki.²³⁷

Macrae scrutinizes the funeral procession and concludes that the event is not a specimen representative of Hawaiian culture. The “mistake” and the reason for it “best known to those who had the conducting of the funeral” is a criticism of the American missionaries who organized the event. Macrae’s observation centers on the division of people attending the funeral—he notes the unexpected disconnect between the “respectable American residents” and the American missionaries. He also observes, “No inferior class of natives were admitted nor had been allowed to join in the procession.”²³⁸ While not particularly aware of the historic implications of the event, Macrae detected the underlying conflict between different factions of non-indigenous peoples on the islands.

The attitude of the American missionaries is one of mastery. Bingham writes, “[the] chiefs of Hawaii having been sent for came to Honolulu,” implying he issued the edict. Both men record the most minute details of the funeral and procession, but it is their concluding remarks which are striking.²³⁹ Bingham writes:

What a lesson to the nation! How impressively did divine wisdom show the vanity of the mirth and wine, the pomp and pride, the distinction and power of which these departed ones, for a brief period, could once boast; and how strikingly did the hand of God stamp transitoriness on things earthly, even the most coveted and valued, in order to call the attention of the thoughtless sons

²³⁷ Macrae, *With Lord Byron*, 22.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 267.

and daughters of Hawaii more strongly to the things that are heavenly! How forcibly did he say to the nation, “Put not your trust in princes, but in the living God.”²⁴⁰

Bingham eulogizes Riho Riho as vain, pompous, prideful, and thoughtless. He includes no moment of empathy for the Hawaiians. In fact, despite his role as missionary, Bingham is not concerned with Riho Riho’s ascent into Heaven; instead, he uses Riho Riho’s premature death as a vehicle to convey a religious threat. Bingham alters Psalm 146 Verse 3, “Put not your trust in princes, *nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help*” to “Put not your trust in princes, *but in the living God.*”²⁴¹ This deliberate misquotation augments Bingham’s moralizing tone. Moreover, by quoting “but in the living God” Bingham discards the fallibility of all “son[s] of men.” Thus by omission, Bingham protects his own authority on the islands.

On the other hand, missionary Stewart appears dazzled by the earthly accoutrements of the funeral. He describes the splendor:

The scene was by far the most striking incident of the day. The sable drapery of the room, the full mourning of the majority, interspersed and relieved by the rich and glittering uniforms of the officers, the handsome half-mourning dresses and white plumes...a variety of other becoming and appropriate dresses, the melancholy tones of instruments, and the solemn truths of the chant in the chamber of the dead, combined to make it a truly interesting and affecting moment.²⁴²

The cloth, clothing, and spectacle capture Stewart’s attention—and that spectacle centers around European fashions: “sable,” “rich,” “glittering,” “handsome half mourning dresses,” and “white plumes.” For Stewart, the physical celebration of the funeral appears more

²⁴⁰ Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 267.

²⁴¹ *King James Bible*. Emphasis added.

²⁴² Stewart, *Journal of a residence*, 351.

important than the spiritual aspects. He contrasts the visual spectacle with the sounds he hears and mentions the “melancholy tones” and “the chant in the chamber of the dead.” His words create a disjointed scene, where the spectacle does not match the nature of the occasion. He continues in this manner after the funeral, where he descends into further moralizing, writing: “To these dark monarchs of this western archipelago, in the gloomy mansion of their repose,” and creates a setting that focuses the gothic—the “dark” and the “gloomy.”²⁴³ In actuality, the “mansion” was a Hawaiian regent’s home, a thatched hut converted for the occasion.²⁴⁴ As Chloë Colchester notes, this type of imagining is typical of classical European Orientalism.²⁴⁵ Although not European, Stewart is constructing a fantasy setting for his readers that is “situated apart from” his own.²⁴⁶ He has full awareness of the disparity between his description and the reality but chooses to obscure the latter for a sentimental emphasis.

After the ceremony, Stewart continues with an anaphoric succession of sorrows in which he embeds criticism of Riho Riho and his queen:

I gave one more tear;

one more tear, in remembrance of the better characteristics, which not unfrequently, shone through their follies and their sins;

one more tear for the attachment I had felt, and the prayers I had offered, for them;

²⁴³ Stewart, *Journal of a residence*, 351.

²⁴⁴ Macrae calls it a “hut,” Andrew Bloxam terms it a “house,” Bingham describes it as a “thatched house,” Dampier also terms it a “house,” and Richard Bloxam calls it a “residence.”

²⁴⁵ Chloë Colchester, *Clothing the Pacific* (New York: Berg, 2003), 5.

²⁴⁶ Colchester, *Clothing the Pacific*, 5.

one more tear for the early disappointment of the hopes I had entertained, that they would return to their rude subjects, from the bright regions of Christendom, only “to point to heaven, and lead the way.”²⁴⁷

In all probability, Stewart intended to emphasize the emotion of the occasion, but instead this repetition only heightens the reader’s awareness of Stewart’s self-absorption. He weakly endorses the king and queen’s “better characteristics” with “not unfrequently” and minimizes the monarchs’ respectable behavior by using two negatives. Stewart exchanges one indirect criticism for another, thus Riho Riho becomes responsible for Stewart’s disappointments:

I shudder to think, that, so imperfectly instructed,
so partially reclaimed, and, as it is to be feared,
so little prepared, they have been launched into eternity, and have stood before
their God.²⁴⁸

Stewart accentuates his distress at Riho Riho’s ineligibility as a Christian by adding physical manifestations of the horror, “shudder” and “feared,” to his account. To augment that distress he lapses into another anaphoric series: “so imperfectly...so partially...so little prepared.” All these terms imply general unworthiness.

Perhaps Stewart was shedding his “one more tear” on Chaplain Bloxam’s shoulder, because Bloxam’s manuscript journal reads almost identically:²⁴⁹

To these tawny Monarchs of the Western wave (archipelago) in the gloomy
mansion of their repose

²⁴⁷ Stewart, *Journal of a residence*, 351.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Neither the American missionaries nor Bloxam transcribed the words spoken at the funeral service. According to Bingham’s journal, “A few passages from the burial service were read by the chaplain in English, and a short address made in Hawaiian by a missionary [Bingham himself].” Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 266.

I could not help shedding a secret tear—

a tear for the early disappointment of the hopes that had been entertained that they might have been spared to return to their rude subjects from the bright regions of Christendom

not only to introduce the sweet charities of social and civilized life—but “to point the road to Heaven and lead the way”

— Peace to their SOULS! Untimely launched into eternity they have stood before their GOD.²⁵⁰

The differences between Bloxam and Stewart’s journal entries are subtle yet still significant. Bloxam expresses his distress, “I could not help shedding a secret tear,” but shifts into a third person voice. Where Stewart wrote of “hopes I had entertained,” Bloxam attributes these “hopes *that* had been entertained,” to the group or community.²⁵¹ He also acknowledges Riho Riho’s leadership role “to introduce the sweet charities of social and civilized life.” Bloxam implies this leadership would have had an impact of the lives of their subjects. Bloxam’s final comment expresses his Christian concern for the souls of Riho Riho and his queen. “Peace to their SOULS!” Unlike Stewart, he does not judge Riho Riho nor express his opinion of Riho Riho’s acceptability to the Christian god.

Dampier literally takes a different view of events. Macrae notes that Dampier “had been stationed at an early hour where he could best make a drawing of the funeral procession.”²⁵² Although the funeral provided Dampier with an uncommon artistic subject, his journal entry is not a picturesque composition. He observes and records the level of

²⁵⁰ Bloxam, MS 4522.

²⁵¹ Emphasis added.

²⁵² Macrae, *With Lord Byron*, 23.

discomfort his friends experience during the funeral. Some discomfort was physical and others he describes as physical but also having a psychological meaning:

I could scarcely suppress a smile in viewing the enviable situation of some of my Friends, who, in addition to the quantity of dust and heat which constantly assailed them, had also the consoling obligation of supporting the immense inactive bodies of some of the Queens, who, unaccustomed to walk so far, complained grievously of this excessive exertion by the way of gratifying the manes of Riho Riho.²⁵³

Dampier's words reflect his antipathy towards the queens and this theme recurs in his other interactions with them. In fact, he places one queen's autocratic tendencies into conversation with her physical demeanor to justify his distaste.²⁵⁴ However, in this processional scene, the weight of the queens becomes a literal manifestation of "The White Man's Burden."²⁵⁵ Dampier's friends, who are obligated to help transport the queens, suffer the obligation. Nevertheless, Dampier understood that the spectacle of the event was of historic proportions.

In closing, he writes:

Thus ended this important ceremony: no sandwich Prince has ever, or perhaps ever will again enjoy such magnificent sepulchral rites, & the event will no doubt form a grand era in Sandwich history, whenever any Native historians shall spring up to celebrate it.²⁵⁶

As he attempts to summarize the importance of the event, Dampier transfers the obligation, his personal burden of understanding this event, to "Native historians." His words "whenever any...shall spring up" are skeptical. Dampier relegates the odds of such an occurrence entirely to chance. He discounts the possibility that native historians already exist. While

²⁵³ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 42.

²⁵⁴ See Dampier's interactions with Queen Ka'ahumanu in section seven.

²⁵⁵ Perhaps Dampier anticipated Rudyard Kipling's 1899 poem.

²⁵⁶ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, 42.

Dampier's ignorance may be excused due to the short duration of his visit at this point in the narrative, his words support Harriet Guest's suggestion that adventurers of the period thought indigenous peoples to be limited, by a number of differences, from being able to understand "general ideas and just conceptions."²⁵⁷ In other words, to Dampier's mind they were incapable of combining events into an historic record.

Pauline King Joerger, editor of Dampier's journal, credits his account as indicating "the impact of Western and Pacific cultures upon one another."²⁵⁸ She explains, "The force of change can be seen in Dampier's depiction of the funeral procession...in which Polynesian and Western rituals were combined in a new pattern, neither traditionally Hawaiian nor contemporarily European."²⁵⁹ This claim is valid, in that, Dampier accurately *depicts* the funeral procession as it unfolds; but there is no evidence of self-realization in his account. While Dampier records many of the details and alludes to the historical importance of the funeral proceedings, his thoughts on the event never coalesce into any moment of comprehension that the funeral was a pivotal event in Hawaiian history with far-reaching consequences. In contrast, Maria Graham's passages on the funeral fully explore the cultural and historical significance of the proceedings. Graham states as much when prefacing her account of the funeral, which she deems, "An event so singular in the history of the world as this is, will deserve every detail which can be given."²⁶⁰

Where the chronicles of these men were lacking, Maria Graham, a year later and thousands of miles away, finds the opportunity in the funeral scene to create a structured

²⁵⁷ Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation*, 40-41.

²⁵⁸ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, viii.

²⁵⁹ Dampier, *To the Sandwich Islands*, viii.

²⁶⁰ Graham, *Blonde*, 124

narrative that begins with an historic overview:

May 11. This day the bodies of King Tamehameha the Second, and his Queen Kahamalu, were removed from His Majesty's Ship Blonde, and deposited, with Christian rites, in a house in the capital of their own native dominions, which house is to serve as their sepulchre until a proper tomb can be constructed for them.²⁶¹

Graham's description of the funeral procession agrees with all of the men's accounts save for one detail. She alters the position of the female chiefs in the procession. Bloxam records the procession in this order: Natives, Marines, Chaplain and Missionaries, Coffins, King and British consul, Princess and Byron, High Chiefs (in rank order), then:

SEVENTHLY: The inferior Female Chiefs in European dress.²⁶²

In her account, Graham combines the male and female chiefs:

VII. The chiefs, male and female, in deep mourning, according to rank, each supported by a British officer.²⁶³

By moving these women forward in the procession, Graham assigns them equality with the male chiefs. Her change perhaps reflects that the funeral procession, though coordinated by the American missionaries, was modeled in part after European, specifically British, funeral processions. The *Times* documented the funeral of Lord Horatio Nelson in January 1806 and the order of that funeral procession aligns closely with what took place in Hawai'i. After the coffin, the Prince of Wales followed, and after him, the members of the Royal Navy most closely affiliated with Nelson—his lieutenants and the admirals.²⁶⁴ For King Riho Riho and

²⁶¹ Graham, *Blonde*, 124.

²⁶² Bloxam, MS4522.

²⁶³ Graham, *Blonde*, 126.

²⁶⁴ *Times* (London) 10 January 1806

Queen Kamāmalu, those representatives would be the high-ranking chiefs (male and female) of Hawai‘i, so Graham reorders them accordingly.

At the end of Graham’s account of the funeral, she pulls together all the elements of the funeral—setting, scene, characters, costume, music, religion, and emotion—and synthesizes the overarching implications of two cultures coming together in this one moment. She activates the schema of cultural fusion with the sound of music:

The band accompanied some native singers in a funeral hymn, which the missionaries had written and taught them to sing, to the air of Pleyel's German Hymn. We could not help reflecting on the strange combination of circumstances here before us.²⁶⁵

She identifies the fast approaching loss of Polynesian culture:

Everything native-born and ancient in the Isles was passing away: the dead chiefs lay there, hidden in more splendid ceremonies than their ancestors had ever dreamed of; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, nor was one obscene memorial made to insult the soul as it left its earthly tenement; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the doctrines admitted that had put an end to sacrifice for ever, and pronounced the highest blessing on the highest purity!²⁶⁶

Her acknowledgement is unique; none of the male witnesses articulated an awareness of the historical void that opened in Hawaiian culture. However, Graham offsets the enormity of the loss on colonial terms, celebrating the change, predicting it will result in the “highest blessing” and the “highest purity”; in other words, it will be consecrated by God.

For Graham, the physical symbol of impending change is the shrouding of the dead king and queen—splendid ceremonies—and Graham contrasts those markers of civilization

²⁶⁵ Graham, *Blonde*, 124.

²⁶⁶ Graham, *Blonde*, 129.

against the savagery of sacrifice—“bloody” and “obscene.” Reversing the stance of the missionary narratives, she praises the Hawaiians for their respect of the Christian rites, and implies their behavior will lead to “happiness.” Graham modifies “native born” with “ancient” to hasten the need for change. Graham diffuses her vision to extend the textile marker of change so it encompasses the entire Hawaiian kingdom:

Where the naked savage only had been seen, the decent clothing of a cultivated people had succeeded, and its adoption, though now occasional, promises permanency at no distant period.²⁶⁷

By all accounts, the native men were not well or even entirely attired in European clothing at the funeral. Macrae describes indigenous men wearing native dress in the procession, “save a few that had on Russian military jackets.” Aside from the men from H.M.S. *Blonde* and other non-native resident males, only the new king and perhaps Boki wore European clothing. Therefore, Graham drew her examples of indigenous women who adopted European dress for the funeral from Bloxam’s description of the procession: “The inferior Female Chiefs in European dresses of black.”²⁶⁸ Over the foundational and visual representation of transformation, Graham edits in her observation of behavioral change that began with the cohort of this indigenous island leadership, “the warlike and the noble”:

Mingled with these willing disciples were the warlike and the noble of the land the most remote on the globe, teaching, by their sympathy, the charities that soften yet dignify human nature.²⁶⁹

Over this layer, she adds yet another, incorporating the silencing sound of change, “The savage yells of brutal orgies were now silenced.”²⁷⁰ Graham debases the Hawaiian

²⁶⁷ Graham, *Blonde*, 129.

²⁶⁸ Bloxam, MS 4522.

²⁶⁹ Graham, *Blonde*, 130.

ceremonial rites by deeming them “orgies”—thus secretive, extravagant and possibly even indiscriminate physical celebrations. In essence, the layers of European clothing prevent these rites and also serve to muffle the sound of difference.

Graham takes the mention of “solemn sounds” from Bloxam’s journal as well as his notation that after the funeral the band played Pleyel’s hymn and converts these two facts into an amalgamation of change. The new European music becomes metaphor analogous to that of clothing, one that Graham indicates represents and even reinforces cultural change:

As the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, uniting the instruments of Europe and the composition of a learned musician, to the simple voice of the savage, and words, not indeed harsh in themselves, framed into verse by the industry and piety of the teachers from a remote nation, came upon the ear, it was impossible not to feel a sensation approaching to awe, as the marvellous and rapid change a few years have produced was called up to the mind.²⁷¹

Colonization smothers the “simple voice of the savage” and by extension everything “native born.”

Graham’s final analysis of the funeral is complicit with what Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel define as “the dominant cultural values” of the imperialist era.²⁷² However, the scene also provided Graham with an opportunity to test, as they refer to it, “the constraints of a patriarchal society.”²⁷³ The primary position of women in the funeral scene and Graham’s interpretation of their clothing as symbols of change indicate that she identified indigenous women as not only an index of civilization but also an unrecognized agent of that change. Their agency coalesces in Graham’s synthesis of the event—a historical

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Graham, *Blonde*, 130.

²⁷² Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 6.

²⁷³ Chaudhuri and Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism*, 9.

interpretation that the men of H.M.S. *Blonde* were unable to able to reach, in light of the fact that as European men, they were responsible for “constructing the premises and methods of colonialism and for implementing those imperatives.”²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ Christin J. Mamiya, “Nineteenth-Century French Women, the Home, and the Colonial Vision: Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique Wallpaper,” *Frontiers* 28, no. 1 & 2 (2007): 9.

CONCLUSION

“Mrs. Graham calls herself the editor. We should call her the *fabricator*,” declared an editor in the *North American Review* (1828), who went on to qualify Graham’s fabrication of the *Blonde* as being in the mechanical rather than the “odious” sense.²⁷⁵ In the adventurer/editor relationship, the editor often bore the brunt of public criticism. For example, Captain Cook’s editor, John Hawkesworth, was roundly reviled for his inclusion of several scintillating anecdotes in Captain Cook’s *Voyages*; however, to Hawkesworth’s credit, his own biographer has revealed the severity with which Hawkesworth himself censored the original recorded accounts—for the public good.²⁷⁶ To reveal the truth of the account in that case would certainly have done Hawkesworth more harm than good. The American reviewers found Graham’s truths equally unpalatable. The *North American* reviewer asserts:

In the case before us, however, Mrs Graham was not satisfied with the notes of Mr Bloxam. That it would have drawn too heavily upon her powers of invention, if she had undertaken to fill the chasams in the voyage, we dare not assert. She thought it well to apply to some of the junior officers of the *Blonde* for their journals....It would be altogether unsafe to send reports forth to the world merely because they might have been entered in the private diaries of these youthful officers.²⁷⁷

However, Graham took no information at face value. She once wrote to Murray:

Believe me the people on board the *Blonde* did not behave well to the Hawaiians & I am sorry they should have amused themselves by propagating stories which had little foundation & That little proceeding from the

²⁷⁵ *North American Review*, “Sandwich Islands,” 66-67.

²⁷⁶ John Lawrence Abbott, *John Hawkesworth: eighteenth-century man of letters* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982).

²⁷⁷ *North American Review*, “Sandwich Islands,” 63-64.

difference of customs not from a Want of right feeling—However—That is a subject on which I shall at present say no more.²⁷⁸

Like Hawkesworth, Graham was subject to the pressures between author/editor and editor/audience, namely because she was a degree removed from the original authors and her identity was not published within the book. When her identity as editor was revealed, Graham faced an unusual amount of criticism for her part in creating *Voyage of the H.M.S. Blonde*. Whenever a reviewer refers to Graham by name, the criticism is resoundingly personal. Sometimes it was positive. The *Quarterly Review* (London) summarized Graham's involvement:

For the introduction, which is briefly and ably drawn up, we are indebted, as we understand to Mrs. Maria Graham, a lady not unknown to literary fame...That part of it which relates to the royal visitors...during their stay in London, is highly interesting...we are convinced the readers of her memoir may safely permit it to leave on their minds an impression highly favorable to the good sense, sound feeling, and humane disposition of those untutored, but very far from savage or barbarous, islanders.²⁷⁹

The *Monthly Review* (London) lauded Graham's historical sketch of the islands, especially that relating to King Riho Riho's visit to England. "This sketch is written with Mrs. Graham's usual simplicity and clearness."²⁸⁰

More often, the reviews were uncomplimentary—and this seems to have much to do with a perceived lack of exciting new "particulars." In a review of the *Blonde, La Belle Assemblée* editor noted the book will be "read with some interest for the affecting details,"

²⁷⁸ Graham to Murray, MS 40185, No. 56 May 1826.

²⁷⁹ "Sandwich Islanders," *The Quarterly Review* XXXV (January 1827): 420. The *Quarterly Review* was published by John Murray. This may be the article that revealed Graham's identity as editor.

²⁸⁰ "Voyage of the Blonde to the Sandwich Islands," *The Monthly Review* V (1827): 60.

however, the particulars of the voyage itself are not very important.”²⁸¹ Likewise, the *London Magazine*’s “Reviewers Reviewed” criticizes both the *Quarterly Review*’s review and the *Blonde* itself. “The ‘Blonde’ article is a meager review of a most meager performance...We are told nothing but what the newspapers told us long ago.”²⁸² The *American Quarterly* in a footnote on an article titled “South Sea Islands,” writes of the *Blonde*:

This meager and wretched volume is not the work of Lord Byron, but is made up from disjointed scraps and notes of difference individuals, and published without a responsible name; and is, it seems, the work of a Mrs. Graham, to whom, unaccountable as it may appear, the task was assigned...Her entire ignorance of the subject rendered her wholly incompetent to the task.²⁸³

As Graham’s editing of the *Blonde* demonstrates, the inclusion of facts in a travel narrative can ground the author’s claim to authority and authenticity. Precisely because deployment of facts is an imprecise editorial tool, the consequences of submerging the reader in detail can be wholly unexpected. Jonathan Lamb suggests that various generic codes of minutiae can be broken down in a linear fashion: the vindication of providence (Michel de Certeau), the enlightenment taxonomy (Michel Foucault), the sweep of history (Hayden White), the sentimentalization of the loose circumstance (Pratt and Peter Hulme), and the anthropological genealogy (Bronislaw Malinowski), concluding with the empirical, which Lamb views as the best option for travel narratives.²⁸⁴ He posits that including minutiae that fall outside these generic codes can alienate the reader. Graham’s paratextual commentary appears to do just that to her reviewers. While Graham attempts to bring the reader and narrator closer together through shared information and a shared response to the events and

²⁸¹ “Review of New Publications,” *La Belle Assemblée* V (1827): 168.

²⁸² “The Reviewers Reviewed,” *The London Magazine* VIII (1827): 23.

²⁸³ American Quarterly Review, “South Sea Islands,” 12-13.

²⁸⁴ Lamb, “Minute Particulars,” 283-287.

characters of the H.M.S. *Blonde*'s journey while loosely supporting Britain's overarching imperialist mission of the period, critical attention converges exclusively on her presence in the text. She is never an invisible ghostwriter—she never claims to be Byron; instead, her involvement in the creation of the *Blonde* is a likely example of “institutionalized” ghostwriting, which Robert Merton has explained is written by someone other than the principal author, who was presumably too busy.²⁸⁵

The flurry caused by Graham's involvement in the book lasted for nearly ten years, the last criticism appearing in America in 1836. American critics concerned themselves with defending the American missionaries while British critics cared less for the author and more for the want of scientific details—perhaps they expected the H.M.S *Blonde*'s journey to be another voyage of discovery, despite its primary directive. The only periodical which came close to detecting Graham's interest in the indigenous women was a reviewer of the *Quarterly Review*, who remarks upon Kapi'olani's adventure, exclaiming, “What a sublime subject to exercise the powers of the pencil!”²⁸⁶ But it seems likely the excitement was generated by the opportunity to sketch a furious volcano and not in the least by Graham's depiction of a woman's bravery.

As a voyage author, Graham was aware of the market pressures bearing down on the genre of travel literature in the 1820s. Her close correspondence with publisher John Murray exposes some of those concerns. Graham's response to the economic tensions of writing travel literature can be read in the narrative of the *Blonde*. Her inclusion of marketable facts and allusions to celebrity adventurers responds to the commercial aspects of any publisher's

²⁸⁵ Eugene Garfield, "Ghostwriting--The Spectrum from Character to Reviewer to Editor to Coauthor," *Current Comments, Essays of an Information Scientist* 8, no. 48 (1985): 461.

²⁸⁶ *Quarterly Review*, "Sandwich Islands," 428.

anxieties; however, these inclusions serve a dual purpose. The content of and care with which Graham assembles and deploys these narrative tools of reader manipulation expose Graham's personal desire to establish her scientific and academic credibility with her audience. On one hand, her desire is not unusual precisely because the market demanded scientific authenticity, which was beginning to run in short supply. However, as Graham uses her expertise to persuade her audience, she tries to mediate between the information she is distributing and the reader's external sources.

As mediator, Graham does not remain entirely neutral; instead, she allows her editorial voice to invade the narrative, in both the text proper and more obviously within the paratext where she asserts her personal opinions. She expresses her concerns about the information she is conveying through careful edits and additions to the information from her primary sources. The nature of many of these changes conveys criticism about the manner in which the men of the H.M.S. *Blonde* recorded information on their journey. In her other works, Graham makes it quite clear she regards the role of travel writer as one of supreme responsibility. As such, she subjects the information recorded by the men of the H.M.S. *Blonde* to intense scrutiny. Her edits and commentary appear with regularity and intensity whenever the men portray Hawaiian women. Although Graham did not venture far from colonial stereotyping when she re-wrote the *Blonde* her changes can be interpreted as less biased than those of the men. In fact, in a narrative where the protagonist is never clearly defined, she goes so far as to create an antagonist for the book, counterbalancing need to adhere to popular conceptions of colonialism with her own need to exonerate Hawaiian women from the constraints of the male narratives.

Graham's construction of repugnant American missionaries as objects of the reader's

antagonism allows her to form a national alliance with the reader, and simultaneously contrast the meddling missionaries with courageous and hospitable Hawaiian women. Her commentary around the missionaries suggests she found Britain's ambiguous relationship with Hawai'i puzzling. She solves that riddle by endeavoring to portray the islands as an attractive colonial prospect. She does this not through the conventional descriptions of pastoral landscapes awaiting enclosure, but instead appeals on a mercantilistic level—viz. women's clothing. Thus, her re-writing of the *Blonde* implies the Hawaiian kingdom is a commercial void awaiting fulfillment. Yet even in this instance, she assigns pronounced agency to the Hawaiian women by asserting that they will be the catalyst for commercialism on the islands.

Graham's re-presentation of Hawaiian women invalidates the claim that Graham was inherently biased against "less fortunate" women. In the reverse, she builds up the meager information provided by the men and strives to create a series of Hawaiian women to function as heroines within the narrative. As Graham defines these women as agents of change, she reveals the powers they held not only economically, but culturally, specifically in religious and political practices. While Graham may romanticize the relative circumstance of some aspects of this autonomy, her characterizations of these women reveal her own ideology of femininity, which is composed of intelligence, courage, and determination—three qualities that could rightly be attributed to Graham herself.

Beyond disclosing Graham's interest in the agency of women in Hawai'i, the narrative of the *Blonde* demonstrates Graham's ability to synthesize information and events into a cohesive history. That is to say, Graham's rewriting of the *Blonde* reflects that she was able to place the bits of information she received about the voyage into perspective and

formulate an overarching representation that included historic repercussions that, in this case, anticipated the loss of Polynesian culture. Graham's deft negotiations between the events of the voyage and the accounts of her primary sources signal a transition in Graham's career from that of mere travel writer, to that of woman historian, a highly elusive race in this era.

The overall aim of *Ships, Logs, and Voyages* has been to provide insight into the thoughts of a woman travel writer when her work navigated into the limited sphere of men's travel narratives. By examining Maria Graham's re-writing of the *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, it is possible to see that a contemporary female travel writer recognized men's misrepresentation of "Other" women. In correcting those renditions of women, either through narrative voice, augmentation of narrative authority, satire, contrast with male characters, or by improving historical synthesis, Graham locates the agency of indigenous Hawaiian women as it existed at the time of the H.M.S. *Blonde*'s visit. Furthermore, Graham's narrative moves these women forward, envisioning for them a future as catalysts for economic change on the islands. A variety of factors may well have influenced Graham's representational choices, but Graham's work on the *Blonde* suggests that women writers could and did purposefully reinterpret what their male contemporaries reported as fact. Perhaps waiting to be discovered among the records of other publishing houses are other "anonymous" women writers who took on challenges similar to those Graham faced when compiling the *Blonde*.

Graham's reimagining of this voyage and her methods of interpreting women's changing relationship in the context of a rising material culture raises the question of how she dealt with colonial cultures in her other books. Is Graham's manner of idealizing certain female figures self-reflective? Does Graham's focus on female clothing rather than on the

indigenous female bodies suggest that she is “judging” the women she encounters by the same measurement by which European society members of equal rank judged one another?

There is certainly much more work to be done in analyzing Graham’s writing and this project aims to interject more questions into the arena of women’s writing of the period. The letters between Graham and her publisher at the John Murray Archive indicate that at least one of his female writers (i.e. Graham) acted and wrote very independently. Was such the case with his other female writers? Was Graham’s close relationship with Murray typical of his interactions with his writers? If so, how did other publishers of the time interact with their female writers? How many other ghostwriters did Murray employ? And for what topics did he deem women suitable authors?

Even with regard to the *Blonde*, there is additional study waiting to be conducted. While the Murray Archive yielded much information about Graham’s interaction with her publisher at the time of her work on the *Blonde*, her copies of journals at Oxford’s Bodleian Library may hold other key information about the influences and pressures she was working under as she constructed the *Blonde*’s narrative.²⁸⁷ Although her original personal journals for the period have been lost due to decay, Graham’s nephew-in-law, William Horsley Callcott, transcribed extracts around 1846 and those are held by the Bodleian. Additionally, the original papers of H.M.S. *Blonde*’s voyagers may shed further insight into why the men reported the facts as they did. The Bishop Museum in Hawai‘i holds the journal and scrapbook of ship’s naturalist Andrew Bloxam. The archive record indicates this includes

²⁸⁷ See: Callcott Papers, 1768-1882. <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/1500-1900/callcott/callcott.html>

correspondence and memorabilia associated with the voyage and individuals related to the voyage.

Ultimately, Graham's unusual position as ghostwriter of a male travel narrative offers scholars a unique opportunity to re-examine women's role in the writing of history. Graham was not simply an editor. This project demonstrates that she contributed new ideas to the *Blonde* outside of the information provided by the primary journal authors. Such an action, according to Eugene Garfield, is the essence of ghostwriting and in this case it distinguishes Graham from the ranks of editors, compilers, and annotators. The genre of travel literature is often considered to lie on the border between fact and fiction and Graham's ghostwriting of the *Blonde* suggests that it will be difficult to ascertain exactly where and when a travel narrative such as this crosses that line. Does it happen as soon as a third-person takes up a pencil and begins editing in the margins? Or does "fact" become obscured before it moves from the voyager's mind and onto the page where personal prejudices and other subjective factors influence the narrative? Perhaps these questions must generally remain unanswered, but as in the case of Graham's work on the *Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde*, they can be addressed individually, author by author, journal by journal, and voyage by voyage. As Graham lamented once in a letter to Murray, "It is quite evident the reviewer has not read *me*. That, however, no *woman* need be surprised at till we have been dead fifty or a hundred years, men never find out that we are enthralled to think or speak our minds—& then the only chance we have is if we have been profligate mistresses to coarse princes—then indeed there is a chance of having our characters whitewashed & our talents admired in the *Quarterly Review*."

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