Examining ‘The Eye of the Earth’

The Pan-Pacific Idea & The British Dominions,

c. 1910-1940

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Abstract

This thesis examines the emergence and influence of the 'Pan-Pacific' idea from the 1910s-1940s. It makes the case that to a diverse demographic globally, it proved a compelling regional geo-paradigm; the institutions it inspired, significant inter-imperial spaces for representatives from the former British Dominions to consider their society's place in the world and the region's globality.

Situated at the intersection of 'British' and 'Pacific' World historiographies, the thesis is organised as a multi-thematic intellectual history, demonstrating the capacious appeal and ideological multiformity of the Pan-Pacific in educational, ethnological, leftist, commercial and geopolitical contexts respectively. Chapter 1 explores the intellectual roots of the Pan-Pacific, examining the institutional archives and private papers of figures associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations and Pan-Pacific Union. It argues that a 'Honolulu nexus' in inter-imperial affairs emerged, influencing a greater appraisal of the Dominions' own interests, including a form of 'rooted regionalism', largely neglected in the extant literature. Chapter 2 examines how the Pan-Pacific proved a conduit for the examination of race relations through the ethnological research programme of Honolulu's Bishop Museum and its investigations into the 'Polynesian Question' (the then disputed origins of the peoples of Oceania). Chapter 3 examines the attractions of the 'political left' to the Pan-

Pacific, exploring the affiliation of trade unions in the Dominions to the Comintern-backed *Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat*. Chapter 4 explores how the Pan-Pacific idea boosted a regional commercial imaginary, whilst shedding light on the emergence of the Dominions' own nascent regional trade representation in the form of regional 'Honorary Agents'. The final chapter considers the emergence of trans-Pacific aviation and its influence upon conceptions of Dominion defence from sites spread across a Pan-Pacific cartography – from the atolls of the Phoenix Islands to the Kermadecs, spaces which found renewed significance in the 'Air Age'.

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A renowned professor of historical anthropology remarked at the opening of the Pacific History Association conference in 2018 that we all owe a great debt to "stray conversations" which can often subconsciously inform the direction our research ultimately takes. Many of these were at the Faculty of History at the University of Oxford which has been a wonderfully stimulating place to be based. My fellow 'globalists', Dr Harriet Mercer, Dr Olivia Durand, Dr Cal Kelly, Dr Michael Yeo, Dr Matthew Woolgar, Dr Eiko Honda, Hohee Cho, Evan Matsuyama, Marco de Jong and Harrie Aldrich are wonderful colleagues, excellent thinkers and better friends. At the Department of Geography, I was able to talk atolls and the Indo-Pacific with Dr Liam Saddington. The collegial environment of the Transnational and Global History Seminar (TGHS) of which I have been fortunate to act as a Secretary and Convenor over the course of my studies serves an invaluable purpose for budding global historians. Dr Simon Stubbings, Dr Greg Hynes, Dr Riccardo Liberatore and Dr Benjamin Mountford have served the seminar exceptionally well over many years and I have been fortunate to work with them. It has also been a great priviledge to act as an Editor-at Large for the Toynbee Prize Foundation Blog during the course of

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Note on Translations, Usage and Conventions

Most materials used in this thesis appear in the English language but I have translated a small number of sources and secondary literature from the original German, French, Russian, Mandarin and Māori independently (unless specifically cited otherwise). The author can however take no credit for translations of Japanese or Hawaiian language materials used in this thesis. Appropriate credit for translations is noted in corresponding footnotes.

I have endeavoured throughout to render the names of people, places and phenomena which originate in non-European languages as they have most often themselves been cited in contemporary published materials. For example, using the Wade-Giles transliteration of the name of the Chinese intellectual, "Hu Shih", rather than using the pinyin transliteration, "Hú Shì"; using "Tokyo" rather than the transliteration, "tōkyō" and Kalidas Nag, rather than the romanisation of the Bangla, "Kālidāsa Nāga"

Where applicable, I have attempted to consistently use the macron to indicate a lengthened vowel to aid correct pronunciation (or to imply correct meaning). This is relevant in rendering of some Sāmoan, Māori and Japanese terms. With Hawaiian language terms, I use the glottal stop, *'okina*, as in "Hawai'i", rather than "Hawaii" for similar purposes.

In some cases, actors and places were known by two names. Peter Buck or Te Rangi Hīroa, the Māori medical officer, politician and ethnologist is one such example. In this case, the name used depended on context and audience (following Buck himself) and I use the name as was signed-off in letters or listed as the author published articles.

A further illustrative example is the challenge posed by the current capital city of China, the name of which officially changed numerous times during the period of study from Beijing (most often romanised as "Peking" [1912-1928]), Beiping (romanised as Peiping) [1928-1937], Beijing/Peking [1937-1945]. Again, I use whichever term is used in the contemporary material being consulted.

A final disclaimer. Throughout the work, some terms (and images/cartoons) which carry discriminatory weight in contemporary settings are utilised. This is perhaps most evident in Chapter 2, "The Racial Crossroads of the World", where topics relating to race, civilisation and cultural difference are discussed. I am firmly of the view that despite the ethical issues some scholars have posed through the reproduction of historical terminology, we can ourselves discriminate. Put simply, the reproduction of his terminology does not imply endorsement, but allows for its fullest examination and therefore should not be omitted.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AHS	*Australian Historical Studies*
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANZ	Archives New Zealand | Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand
BLO	Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford
BMA	Bishop Museum Archives
CIB	Commonwealth Investigation Branch
CO	Colonial Office
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
DO	Dominion Office
FO	Foreign Office
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
HA	*History Australia*
HIA	Hoover Institute Archives, Stanford University
IHR	*International Historical Review*
IPR	Institute of Pacific Relations
JGH	*Journal of Global History*
JPH	*Journal of Pacific History*
JWH	*Journal of World History*
LRC	Labour Representational Committee (New Zealand)
NAA	National Archives Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NLNZ	National Library of New Zealand
NZCP	Communist Party of New Zealand

PPTUS	Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat
PPU	Pan Pacific Union
PPW	*Pan Pacific Worker*
PPWA	Pan Pacific Women's Association
PSA	Pacific Science Association
PSC	Pacific Science Congress
RILU	Red International of Labor Unions (also known as Profintem)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew Gardens
WEA	Worker's Educational Association
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission / Western Pacific Archives

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Introduction

The "Pageant of the Pacific"

On 18 February 1939, 150,000 people streamed across the newly-opened San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridge onto 'Treasure Island', a square mile in the Yerba Buena shoals – for a time, the largest man-made island in the world – and the site of the 'Golden Gate International Exposition' (Fig. 2).[1] Upon arrival, attendees were promised a "Pageant of the Pacific". At the heart of the grounds stood 'Pacifica' an eighty-foot statue imagined as a Californian analogue to the Statue of Liberty overlooking a "court of the seven seas" with the Pacific the grandest of all.[2] "Pacifica", according to the exposition's guide, could be imagined as a new mode of design utilising "motifs from the eastern and western shores of the Pacific" to produce a modernist hybrid, referencing past, present and future.[3]

[1] William Gilmore, 'An Inside Forecast of San Francisco's World's Fair', *Liberty*, 16 October 1937, p. 41. On the Exposition, see Andrew M. Shanken's, *Into the Void Pacific* (Berkeley, 2014).
[2] Lisa Rubens, 'The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair', PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley (2004), p. 74.
[3] *Official Guide Book* (San Francisco, 1939), p. 75.

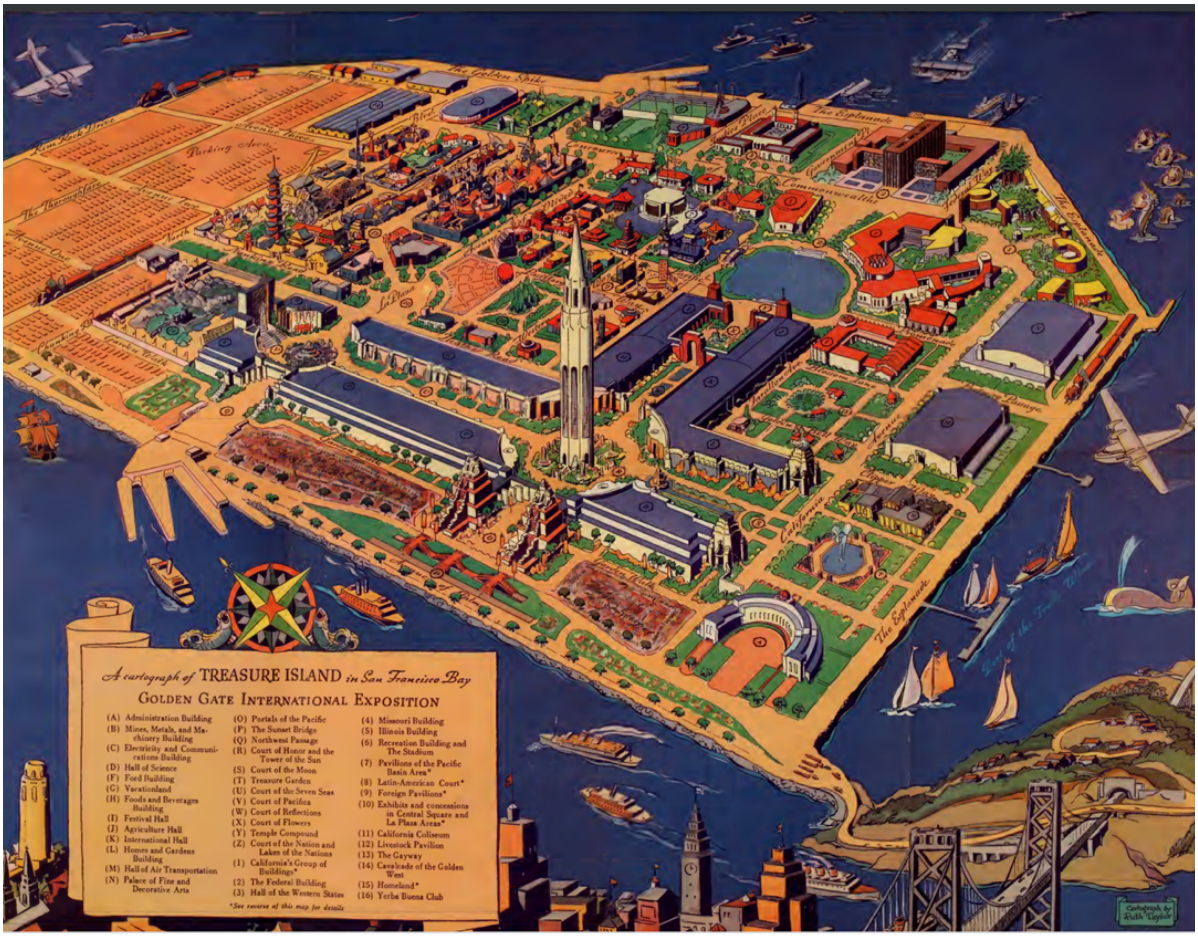


Figure 2 – 'Treasure Island, Official Guide Book, *Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay* (San Francisco, 1939).

'Pacific House' meanwhile contained a vast fountain designed by Antonio Sotomayor in its atrium, a cartographic depiction of the geology of the Pacific in terracotta (Fig. 3).[4]

[4] Carolyn Anspacher, 'Pacific House Popular', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 February 1939, in Ray Lyman Wilbur Papers [hereafter Wilbur Papers], Box 32, Hoover Institute Archives [hereafter HIA].



Figure 3 – Antonio Sotomayor's fountain in 'Pacific House', clipping from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 February 1939, Wilbur Papers, Box 32, HIA.

It was also home to a series of murals by the Mexican painter, Miguel Covarrubias, collectively described as the 'Pageant of the Pacific' – six "characteristic and representative" depictions of phenomena set against a regional cartographic template. Covarrubias depicted a vast 'terraqueous' sub-global region, both continental *and* oceanic which included the Indian sub-continent and the Americas. A "vast interconnected system" which included the majority of the earth's oceanic space and population.[5]

[5] Alison Bashford, 'Terraqueous Histories', *The Historical Journal*, 60/1 (2017), pp. 1-20. On the 'sub-global' as spatial category, see James Belich & John Darwin et al. (eds.) *The Prospect of Global History*

'The Peoples of the Pacific' (Fig. 4) attempted a regional division of mankind, mapping Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian cultural areas.[6]



Figure 4 – Miguel Covarrubias, 'Peoples of the Pacific', plate 1, one of six mural-maps in Pacific House, a themed building for the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939, Los Angeles Public Gallery, https://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/blog (10 September 2020).

The 'Economy of the Pacific' (Fig. 5) depicted regional land utilisation and the balance between natural and man-made development – a theme continued in the 'Fauna and

(Oxford, 2016), p. 4. "Interconnected system" is Antony Adler's term, see *Neptune's Laboratory* (Cambridge, MA, 2019), p. 89.

[6] Christian Lemoy, *Across the Pacific* (Boca Raton, 2011), p. ix.

Flora of the Pacific', a bountiful, kaleidoscopic depiction of natural resources. The 'Means of Native Transport in the Pacific' (Fig. 6) completed the series placing past, present and future mobilities into a single mural with Pan American's new 'China Clipper' superimposed, with technological modernity compared with Polynesia's seafaring canoes.[7] 'Treasure Island' had in fact been built explicitly with aviation in mind. Four years prior, the 'China Clipper' had taken to the skies from San Francisco Bay, refuelling on American territory each step of its journey, and following the exhibit, 'Treasure Island' was intended to become a seaplane base.[8]

[7] Paul S. Wingert, 'Review: Pageant of the Pacific by Miguel Covarrubias', *American Anthropologist*, 45/2 (1943), pp. 286-287; Nancy Lutkehaus, 'Miguel Covarrubias and the Pageant of the Pacific: The Golden Gate International Exposition and the Idea of the Transpacific, 1939–1940', in Janet Hoskins & Viet Thanh Nguyen (eds.) *Transpacific Studies* (Honolulu, 2014), pp. 109-133.
[8] Gilmore, 'An Inside Forecast of San Francisco's World's Fair', p. 41. The 'China Clipper' route included Hawai'i, Midway, Wake, Guam, Manila and Hong Kong.



Figure 5 – Miguel Covarrubias, 'Economy of the Pacific', plate 4, one of six mural-maps in Pacific House, a themed building for the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939, Los Angeles Public Gallery, https://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/blogs/lapl/page (10 September 2020).



Figure 6 – Miguel Covarrubias, 'Native Means of Transportation in the Pacific Area', plate 6, one of six mural-maps in Pacific House, theme building for the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939, *Los Angeles Public Gallery*, https://www.lapl.org/collections (10 September 2020).

Whilst these sculptures, fountains and murals are of artistic interest, collectively, the 'Pageant' proves a compelling launchpad to consider this thesis' key questions, with its works representative of a deeper discursive logic: the idea of the 'Pan-Pacific'.[9]

Organisationally, the 'Pageant' drew upon a coalition of individuals and organisations inspired by the idea. 'Pacific House' was part-sponsored by the American Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), an organisation founded in Honolulu in 1925, later becoming the most well-funded and influential regional research organisation. Five months into the exposition, The Sixth Pacific Science Congress, first emerging as part of the activities of Honolulu's Pan-Pacific Union (PPU) convened at Berkeley where the former Director of Bishop Museum, Herbert Gregory, acted as Chairman.[10] These institutions had played significant roles in shaping the Pan-Pacific idea over the previous two decades and the published writings and private papers of individuals connected to them – alongside their own institutional collections – form the archival foundations of the thesis.

Many of the central ideological ingredients of the Pan-Pacific were carved in stone and painted on walls upon Treasure Island. This Pan-Pacific was *paradigmatic*, defining a way of imagining an emergent world where 'Eastern' and 'Western' civilisations would

[9] I capitalise the term 'Pan Pacific' throughout, corresponding to its contemporaneous usage.
[10] Roy Elwood Clausen, 'The Sixth Pacific Science Congress', *Science*, 90/2342 (1939), pp. 449-456 .

meet, mingle and be remoulded. It was therefore partly an aspirant regionalism.[11] It was also *promotional* and underpinned by a capitalist imaginary, looking to the speculative riches of the Pacific and its 'Eastern markets' for business. It was also *platitudinal*. As Charles Hartley Grattan, Professor of History at the University of Texas would proclaim by the end of the 1920s, it had "become a platitude to say that in the future the Pacific will be a principal arena of international politics."[12] Opening the exposition via radio address, President Franklin Roosevelt evoked all three modes:

"The unity of the Pacific nations is America's concern and responsibility…Washington is remote from the Pacific. San Francisco stands at the doorway to the sea that roars upon the shores of all these nations…may this, America's World's Fair on the Pacific …truly serve all nations…"[13]

Yet Roosevelt's speech also invites us to ponder how the Pan-Pacific idea was interpreted beyond San Franciscan shores. As the exposition opened, final touches were also being made to New York's 'World Fair', "The World of Tomorrow". Was the Atlantic in fact the true future orientation of the United States?[14] Did the Pan-Pacific simply animate the imperial link between America's Pacific coast and its Pacific empire, centred upon Hawai'i, with little purchase elsewhere on the continent? What of its international influence?

[11] For further exploration of this theme, see Warwick Anderson, Miranda Johnson & Barbara Brookes (eds.) *Pacific Futures: Past and Present* (Honolulu, 2018).
[12] C. Hartley Grattan, 'Australia and the Pacific', *Foreign Affairs*, 7/1 (1928), p. 144.
[13] Reprinted in *Official Guide*, p. 14.
[14] Gilmore, 'Inside Forecast', p. 41.

Juxton Barton who had recently finished a second term as Britain's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific decried the President's claims, interpreting them as a threat to Britain's own interests in correspondence with Malcolm Macdonald, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.[15] How far therefore was the Pan-Pacific exclusively American in formation and uptake? Or was a broader coalition involved in its making and shaping?

These are questions of global intellectual history and this thesis explores what the Pan-Pacific reveals about the character and influence of pan movements and regional concepts and their relation to national, imperial and global movements in the first half of the twentieth century. One could examine the question from numerous national or imperial perspectives, but this thesis focuses upon its purchase in the former British Dominions – principally Australia and New Zealand, whilst shedding anecdotal light on its influence in Canadian and Indian contexts, seeking to capture how the Pan-Pacific was interpreted across 'British Worlds'.

It acts partly as an additive history to histories of the Pan-Pacific which emphasise US-Japanese dynamics in nascent region-making and to a growing literature that explores Dominion roles and perspectives in transnational, inter-imperial or regional frames.

[15] Juxton Barton to Malcolm Macdonald, 21 June 1939, CO 323/1637/32, The National Archives (hereafter TNA).

As William Livingstone and W.M. Roger Louis once reflected, the Dominions were dealing in the first half of the twentieth century with a complex of issues: "dwindling British power" (or a recalibration of it); "rising American influence" and "nationalism in a variety of forms" (both internally and globally)".[16] These salient themes are explored through a Pan-Pacific prism, but three factors are added: the significance of an "Asian Awakening" or the expansion of Japanese commercial and strategic ambitions, coupled with the transformation of China; the significance of the Dominions' own 'international' character and imperial obligations, such as those of New Zealand and Australia respectively through the Mandates system in Western Sāmoa and New Guinea and; the influence of regionalism.

[16] William S. Livingston & Wm Roger Louis (eds.), *Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands since the First World War* (Canberra, 1979), p. xii.

The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis explores the globality of the Pacific by analysing the origins, maturation and influence of the Pan-Pacific idea from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth century, with a focus upon the 1920s and 30s when a variety of publications and organisations began to draw more explicitly upon this geo-paradigm. It places the Dominions at the heart of this history, examining the extent to which the Pan-Pacific proved a compelling intellectual template and the institutions it inspired, significant inter-imperial spaces from which to re-think the place, role and future of the Dominions within the British Empire, the region and the world.

The study of the Pan-Pacific requires, as Fiona Paisley claims, "a substantial deterritorialization of thinking and approach".[17] I seek therefore to weave together a series of historiographies (and spatialities) often separated by the Pacific's waves, drawing upon research conducted in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and the United States (including Hawai'i). Situated at the intersection of 'British' and 'Pacific World' historiographies, it explores the history of the Dominions from the outside in, examining the diffuse appeal of the Pan-Pacific and the ideological multiformity which defined it in the first half of the twentieth century. Organised as a multi-thematic intellectual history, the Pan-Pacific idea is explored in five thematic contexts respectively: educational, ethnological, leftist, commercial and geopolitical. In doing so,

[17] Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2009), p. 5.

it makes a novel intervention into histories of the Pan-Pacific by examining a variety of institutions bearing its name and shaping its ideological contours, side-by-side, incorporating "conflicting and [sometimes] contested narratives of the international", in a Pacific context.[18]

The thesis mirrors the period in which Pan-Pacific matured into a widely-utilised term in international political discourse (from 1910s until its relative decline in the 1940s). It also aligns with the period of the 'Third British Empire', or a Dominion Age (1910-1950).[19] A distinctive phenomenon of the period was also the transformation and enlargement of 'international society' in the wake of the First World War.[20] Yet few studies have sustained their attention upon the Pacific as an inter-imperial space with its own organisational capacity and dynamism.[21] Whilst there are national, international and imperial histories of the Pan-Pacific meanwhile, I follow Stephen Tufnell and Tomoko Akami in advocating the term 'inter-imperialism' to characterise its dynamics.[22]

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[18] To illustrate, Paisley's *Glamour* explores the Pan-Pacific through the Pan Pacific Women's Association. Akami examines it through another Honolulu-based organisation, the IPR, *Internationalizing the Pacific* (London, 2001). Paul F. Hooper's *Elusive Destiny* (Honolulu, 1980) explores institutions side-by-side but doesn't reflect upon their significance beyond Hawai'i; See Glenda Sluga & Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 12.

[19] John Darwin, 'A Third British Empire? The Dominion Idea in Imperial Politics' in Judith Brown & Wm Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume: IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 64–87.

[20] A good overview is Erez Manela, 'International Society as a Historical Subject', *Diplomatic History*, 44/2 (2020), pp. 184–209.

[21] Consider Adam Tooze's recent work which – perhaps because of explorations of "government machinery" – does not reflect on the Pan-Pacific, T*he Deluge* (London, 2015), p. 23

[22] Stephen Tufnell, 'Anglo-American Inter-Imperialism: US Expansion and the British World, c.1865–1914', *Britain and the World*, 7/2 (2014), pp. 174–195; Tomoko Akami, 'The Open Ocean for Inter-imperial Collaboration: Scientists' Networks Across and in the Pacific Ocean in the 1920s', in Yuan Shu, Otto Heim & Kendall Johnson (eds.), *Oceanic Archives, Indigenous Epistemologies, and Transpacific American Studies* (Hong Kong, 2019), pp. 149-170; Matthew Hilton & Rana Mitter, 'Introduction', *Past & Present*, 281/18, (2013), pp. 7-28. The terms 'international' and 'transnational' can draw us to

Although the Pan Pacific possessed a historicity and temporality in its own right, it also represented a dynamic spatiality.[23] Taking Covarrubias' murals as a reference, this is a sub-global history which sits uneasily within many present area studies paradigms which separate continental Asia from an Oceanic Pacific for instance – a problematic historiographical tendency to which I shall shortly turn.

Part 1 of the thesis is entitled 'Thinking Pacific'.[24] It explores the "ideological liminality" of the Pan-Pacific across three thematic chapters, anchored in organisational case studies.[25] Chapter 1 examines the significance of the Pan-Pacific as an 'organisational space' through two Honolulu-based international organisations, the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) and the Pan-Pacific Union (PPU), an umbrella organisation from which the Pan-Pacific Women's Association (PPWA) and Pacific Science Association (PSA) also emerged. It explores the role played by individuals in the Dominions in the making and shaping of these organisations and profiles John Bell Condliffe, a New Zealander who was the first Research Secretary of the IPR. The second half of the chapter explores the role played by individuals such as Nellie Coad and T.B Maurais, two schoolteachers who sought to reform the intellectual culture of the Dominions from the classroom through the prism of Pacific study, providing an example of what I describe

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phenomena, dynamics and actors but can be equally "categorically and analytically imprecise". See Tamson Pietsch, 'Afterword: What was Britain? Where is its history?', *History Australia,* 13/1 (2016), p. 155.

[23] I draw on Kate Fullagar's claim that the "Antipodes, like Atlantic world [are] as much a time as a place". Kate Fullagar (ed.), T*he Atlantic World in the Antipodes* (Newcastle, 2012), p. xiv.

[24] Gerald Segal's term from *Rethinking the Pacific* (Oxford, 1990), p. 87.

[25] "Ideological liminality" is Philippa Hetherington & Glenda Sluga's term, 'Liberal and Illiberal Internationalisms', *Journal of World History (hereafter JWH)*, 31/1 (2020), 1-9.

as 'rooted regionalism'.[26] It represents an attempt to examine the circulation of ideas which 'domesticated' and how they sometimes refracted (informing the development of the Pan-Pacific movement itself).[27] As an intellectual history, it is less a study therefore of canonical figures than of what Michael Freeden calls "clusters", of "particular ideas, opinions and values held by identifiable groups", "nested within and shaped by imaginaries".[28] I also consider the extent to which Tony Ballantyne's recent claim "that the Pacific was conjured not just in the islands, nor…produced only in imperial centres...but fashioned in sub-imperial commercial centers such as Sydney and Auckland... conjured in distant Jalandhar…and on the docks of Melaka" is accurate.[29]

Chapter 2, examines reciprocity between contemporary racial ideology and the Pan-Pacific. It investigates the research programme of Honolulu's Bishop Museum through the papers of Herbert Gregory, its Director in the 1920s, and his successor, the Māori anthropologist Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck). It explores how a variety of intellectual trajectories informed conceptualisations of civilisation, race and culture at a distinct

[26] On 'organisational spaces', see Marie Sandell, 'Regional versus International: Women's Activism and Organisational Spaces in the Inter-war Period', *The International History Review (hereafter IHR)*, 33/4 (2011), pp. 607-625.
[27] On the 'domestication' of ideas, David Armitage, 'The International Turn in Intellectual History', in Darrin M. McMahon and Samuel Moyn (eds.) *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History* (New York, 2014), p. 243.
[28] Michael Freeden, "Ideology, Political Theory and Political Philosophy," in Gerald Gaus & Chandran Kukathas (eds.) *Handbook of Political Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2004), p. 6; Duncan Bell, 'Ideologies of Empire', in Michael Freeden & Marc Stears (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (Oxford, 2013), p. 539. On the prospects of a 'global intellectual history', see Andrew Sartori & Samuel Moyn (eds.), *Global Intellectual History* (New York, 2013). A searing critique is Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Global Intellectual History Beyond Hegel and Marx', *History & Theory*, 54 (2015), pp. 126-137.
[29] Tony Ballantyne, 'Imperial Futures and India's Pacifics: Space, Temporality, and the Textures of Empire', in *Pacific Futures,* p. 174.

racial 'crossroads', as Hawai'i became an emblematic site for its racial diversity (and purported harmony). The chapter profiles the interest of the Bengali intellectual, Kalidas Nag in this 'Honolulu nexus', linking notions of an emergent Pacific civilisation to studies of a 'Greater India'. Positing eight approaches to race relations which can be read through an examination of the Pan-Pacific idea, I locate increased challenges to assimilatory and amalgamatory policies, with a trend to emphasising indigenous revival and association amongst a number of influential Dominion anthropologists, such as Buck, despite exclusionary immigration policies and racial supremacist notions continuing to reflect majority opinion throughout Dominion societies.

Chapter 3 explores the attractions of the 'political left' to the Pan-Pacific and considers the role played by trans-Tasman trade unionists in the making of the Comintern-backed, Shanghai-based Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS). It examines the papers of William Paisley Earsman, the first Secretary of the Australian Communist Party and copies of the *Pan-Pacific Worker (*the official organ of the PPTUS in Australia) revealing the deliberately oppositional character of the PPTUS to alternative Pan-Pacific organisations (principally the IPR), a factor neglected in the extant literature. It also examines responses from the mainstream Labour movement to organise according to a similar regional template and reflects upon reasons why the movement was unable to build widespread appeal.

Part II is entitled "A 'Recolonial' Reckoning". Drawing upon James Belich's notion of 'recolonisation', it asks the extent to which the Pan-Pacific encouraged reflections upon the two themes which underscored the significance of the imperial connection more than any other: commerce and defence.[30]

Chapter 4 explores the relationship between the Pan-Pacific and a regional commercial imaginary through an analysis of three commercial journals, *The Trans-Pacific* and *Pan-Pacific Progress* and *The Pan-Pacific.* The Dominion stake is examined through an exploration of its nascent regional trade representation. A study of S. Hutchinson, New Zealand's 'Honorary Agent' in Shanghai in the 1930s demonstrates an increased attempt to diversify Dominion export markets, despite the overwhelming importance overall of the British market which was equally reaffirmed during the period.

Chapter 5 weaves the themes of technological transformation, commercial development, and imperial defence through an exploration of the emergence of trans-Pacific aviation in the 1920s and 1930s. It reflects upon the shifting character of Dominion regional defence with the emergence of aviation, emphasising an enduring siege mentality which was increasingly counterposed by a growing sense of regional responsibility. Methodologically, it offers a novel reflection of how we may explore a global theme from a coral atoll, through an examination of the transformation of Canton

[30] Belich posits 'recolonisation' in *Paradise Reforged* (Honolulu, 2001), building it into his comparative study of settler societies in *Replenishing the Earth* (Oxford, 2009), p. 9.

Island (in present-day Kiribati) which became a refuelling stop on the first commercial San Francisco-Auckland trans-Pacific route – a site for which a Condominium (with joint British and American occupancy) was agreed in 1939. Further reflection of New Zealand's development of Raoul Island in the Kermadecs reveals the significant transformation of spaces – spread across a Pan-Pacific cartography – transformed to deliver aviation infrastructure on the eve of the Second World War.

The remainder of this introduction contextualises four keywords which act as the central historical and historiographical considerations of the thesis: an exploration of the characteristics of *pan movements* (of which the Pan-Pacific was just one example amidst a global panoply); a contextualisation of the idea of the region and *regionalism* as an analytical and aspirational space in world affairs; a discussion of how the regional dynamics of pan movements informed in the development of the *Pacific* as a distinctive space of political geography and historical subject and; lastly, I contextualise the place and significance of the *Dominions* as a touchstone for exploring the dynamics of the twentieth century 'British World' and its inter-relation to the Pan-Pacific, through a phenomenon described as the 'settler Pacific paradox'.

The Pan-Pacific in a Panoply of Pan Movements

In 1906, Archibald Colquhoun, a former agent of Hongkong and Shanghai Bank penned a piece for *The North American Review* about "the latest and most virulent political disease" sweeping the world. "Pan-mania" he reflected, had appeared in a plurality of guises. "Capable of many variations and inconsistencies", its one "distinguishing symptom…[was] a tendency to megalomania and an arbitrary use of the word 'pan'".[31] There was, he concluded, "no group of human interests, no sphere of activity…which may not be arbitrarily lumped together and labelled 'pan' something or other".[32] For Colquhoun, pan movements were reactionary, irrational politics posing a threat to the stability of empire. Reflecting an official mistrust, Colquhoun also captured their ubiquity as they reached considerable prominence in the political vocabulary of global politics, described by Cemil Aydin as symptomatic of "the geopoliticization of globalization".[33]

Finding common threads between disparate pan movements has caused a scholarly headache since their emergence.[34] Joseph Lockey, who spent years deciphering the contours of Pan-Americanism, conveyed their chameleonic nature: "one calls it an advocacy, another an idea, another a sentiment…others an aspiration, a tendency, or a

[31] Archibald R. Colquhoun, 'Pan-Mania.', *The North American Review*, 183/602, (1906), p. 852.
[32] Ibid.
[33] A comparative overview is Cemil Aydin, 'Pan-Nationalism of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Asian, and Pan-African Thought' in John Breuilly (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 672-693.
[34] John O'Loughlin & Herman van der Wusten, 'Political Geography of Panregions', *The Geographical Review*, 80/1 (1990), pp. 1-20; Musab Younis, 'United by blood': race and transnationalism during the Belle Époque', *Nations and Nationalism*, 23/3 (2017), pp. 484-504.

doctrine".[35] Louis Snyder describes them in a comparative study as "politico-cultural movements seeking to enhance and promote the solidarity of peoples bound together by common or kindred language, cultural similarities, the same historical traditions, and/or geographical proximity."[36] They are dynamic political formulations – both spatially and ideologically – which could be inspired and guided by ideas, ideals or interests (and often a combination of all three).

Whilst some pan movements found expression through international organisations, this was no universal model. Pan-Asianism may have provided an alternative universalism to Western imperial modernity, but it was ideologically capacious, never defined through a single organisation alone, making anticolonialism and the domination of one Asian nation by another possible within the same ideology.[37]

Hannah Arendt would reflect that it was the instrumentalisation of pan movements through an ethnic conceptualisation of the "folk community" for continental expansionism that they were most pervasive (and lethal), using Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism as examples.[38] Yet whilst they could clearly serve national interests, it did not always follow that pan ideologies were a vehicle for nationalism. Not all pan

[35] Joseph B. Lockey, 'Pan Americanism and Imperialism', *The American Journal of International Law*, 32/2 (1938), p. 233.
[36] Louis Leo Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport, 1984), p. 5.
[37] Takeshi Haruki, 'Pan-Asia in the making', PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1936; Christopher W.A. Szpilman & Sven Saaler, 'Pan-Asianism as an Ideal of Asian Identity and Solidarity, 1850-present', *Asia-Pacific Journal*, 9/17 (2011), p. 25.
[38] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1951] (London, 2017), pp. 290-348.

movements were 'macro nationalisms' but could prove correlates to nationalisms, regionalisms or imperialisms, eliding or aligning with their own expansionist or exclusionary logics and sometimes possessing their own dynamics. As Faridah Zaman explains in her examination of pan-Islamism, the movement "implied a religious solidarity that transcended linguistic or ethnic difference, and did not accord easily, if at all, with burgeoning ideas of nationality".[39]

Pan ideology was sometimes an unsuccessful vehicle of national expression. A prospective 'Pan-Britannic' movement conceived by Richard Coombes and the 'Pan-Britannic' festival he organised in Australia from the 1890s had a cultural and commercial intent, but never became a mainstream political project.[40] In the United States, Sinclair Kennedy's advocation of a federation of English-speaking peoples, evoked in his 1914 publication, *The Pan-Angles* was well known in international political circles, but pan-Anglo, or pan-Britannic sentiments found stronger expression through the notion of 'Greater Britain' (a formulation to which I shall shortly turn), largely eschewing the 'pan' prefix.[41]

A final tendency which emerges through comparison is their relationality. The founder of the Pan-European movement for instance, Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi deemed

[39] Faridah Zaman, 'The Future of Islam, 1672-1924', *Modern Intellectual History,* 16/3 (2019), pp. 961-985 (quote on p. 966).
[40] John Astley Cooper, 'Americans and the Pan-Britannic Movement', *The Nineteenth Century* (September 1895), pp. 426-441.
[41] Sinclair Kennedy, *The Pan-Angles* (New York, 1915).

the Pan American Union to be "the political model for Pan-Europe's development", demonstrating that pan movements could be conversant and inspired by alternatives. They could also be deliberately oppositional.[42] Amotz Giladi finds 'Pan-Latinism' to be a defensive pan-ideology, oriented against a continental Pan-Germanism or the notion of a Pan-Anglo-Saxonism.[43]

In summary, a typology of pan movements would include the following components: they are affinity-seeking and do so along geographical, ethnic, religious or spiritual grounds; they articulate interests and issues, but do not always inspire institutions as vehicles for their agenda; they often possess ideological flexibility in which ends are infrequently defined, whilst the geographies they describe are dynamic and rarely fixed. Lastly, they are relational – often designed to ideologically emulate or to prove a counterweight to alternative pan formulations. Bearing these points in mind, what follows is an exploration into how the Pan-Pacific fits within a broader global typology of contemporaneous pan movements.

[42] Benjamin J. Thorpe, 'The time and space of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe, 1923-1939.' PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2018, p. 131.
[43] Amotz Giladi, 'Futurism and Pan-Latin Ideology: A Contradictory Appropriation', *International Yearbook of Futurism Studies* (2018), pp. 3-28.

Historical Regionalism

Over twenty years ago, a forum in *The American Historical Review* claimed the "regionalist idea" warranted closer scrutiny from historians.[44] As the late Michael O'Brien elegantly put it, regionalism is itself "a vague and flexible term, but its commodiousness runs deep".[45] He also posited an excellent description: the region is "an attempt at a rational geographic subdivision, divided by peoples, cultures or ecologies. It can be within national borders (and often is) but it can also be a subdivision of the globe for economic, cultural or governmental purposes (sometimes of all three)", acting as a rational unit of governance.[46] Until the early twentieth century however, regionalism did not become synonymous with its definition as a distinctive political or strategic domain in international politics.[47]

The best guides to the regional idea in recent years have been found in international relations departments, where a wealth of illustrative definitions and terminology have emerged. From Joseph Nye's abstraction of the region as "a group of states linked together by both a geographical relationship and a degree of mutual

[44] 'Bringing Regionalism Back to History', *The American Historical Review [hereafter AHR]*, 104/4 (1999), p. 1156.
[45] Michael O'Brien, 'On Observing the Quicksand', *AHR*, 104/4 (1999), p. 1204.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid; Andrew Hurrell, 'Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective', in Louise Fawcett & Andrew Hurrell (eds.) *Regionalism in World Politics* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 37-73. For diverse disciplinary approaches to regionalism, see Robert Burnett Hall, 'The Geographic Region: A Résumé', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 25/3 (1935), p. 122.
[47] A.E. Heath, 'International Politics and the Concept of World Sections', *The International Journal of Ethics*, XXIX/2 (1919), p. 125-6.

interdependence", to Louise Fawcett's conception of "soft" and "hard" regionalisms; the former promoting a *sense* of regional awareness or community, the latter using inter-state arrangements and organizations to promote region-making.[48] Peter Katzenstein's "porous regional orders" and Amitav Acharya's "regional worlds" meanwhile convey the idea that regions only appear comparatively in relation to other political formations.[49] Andrew Hurrell's evocation of "cognitive regionalism" meanwhile evokes the notion that region-making may be guided by natural factors or through ideological construction.[50]

Despite these insights little work on regionalism "adopts a sustained historical perspective… except in an introductory and incomplete way".[51] There is a tendency meanwhile for regional histories to begin post-1945. A recent article on the dynamics of Pacific regionalism for instance begins with the emergence of the South Pacific Forum in 1971 (a precursor to the Pacific Islands Forum).[52] "Old" regionalism, as one author recently put it, begins in the 1950s.[53] Both 'soft' and 'hard' regionalism in the

[48] Joseph Nye, *International Regionalism* (Boston, 1968), p. vii; Louise Fawcett, 'Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of Regionalism', *International Affairs,* 80/3 (2004), p. 433.
[49] Peter J. Katzenstein, *A World of Regions* (Ithaca, 2005); Amitav Acharya, 'Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds: A New Agenda for International Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, 58/4 (2014), pp. 647–659.
[50] Andrew Hurrell, 'Explaining the resurgence of regionalism in world politics', *Review of International Studies*, 21/4 (1995), pp. 352-3.
[51] Louise Fawcett, 'The History and Concept of Regionalism', *European Society of International Law Conference Paper Series*, 4 (2012), pp. 1-18.
[52] Tim Bryar & Anna Naupa, 'The Shifting Tides of Pacific Regionalism', *The Round Table,* 106/2 (2017), pp. 155-164.
[53] Fredrick Söderbaum, 'Old, New, and Comparative Regionalism: The History and Scholarly Development of the Field' in Tanja A. Börzel & Thomas Risse (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 16-39.

Pacific has a much deeper history however of which the Pan Pacific idea acted as an important stimulus and ideological vehicle which this thesis shall seek to demonstrate.

The Polysemy and Problem of the Pacific

Grappling with the Pan-Pacific means diving into a complex of shifting historiographical currents. The first concerns the definition and the perspective from which one studies a particular global space.[54] There's a tension between the Pacific, defined as an *area* and a *region*; a space of physical geography with a distinct hydrography, geology and climatology and as a product of human activity and framing.[55] The interplay between these dynamics often enables the rationalisation of a region through "co-crafting" as Ryan Tucker Jones calls it in the case of the Pacific.[56]

These tensions aren't new. "If we want to get at the spirit of the Pacific Ocean problem", the American diplomat Charles H. Sherrill claimed in 1920, "we must study its psychological factors. This means we must reach beyond physical out into mental geography".[57] Ultimately, the 'Pacific' is a space that has been reimagined and reframed many times over, "from an ancient Polynesian and early modern Magellanic space of transit, to an Enlightenment theatre of sensual paradise, to a strategic grid of labour movements and military island-hopping to more recent conceptions of a capitalist

[54] David A. Chang, 'Looking at the Pacific from the Pacific', *Amerasia Journal*, 42/3 (2016), p. 23. An excellent examination of spatiality is Courtney J. Campbell, 'Space, Place and Scale: Human Geography and Spatial History in Past and Present', *Past & Present*, 239/1 (2018), pp. 23–45.
[55] Arif Dirlik (ed.) *What is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Oxford, 1998), p. 9
[56] Ryan Tucker Jones, 'Running into Whales: The History of the North Pacific from below the Waves', *AHR*, 118/2 (2013), pp. 349–377.
[57] Charles H. Sherrill, *Have We a Far Eastern Policy?* (New York, 1920), p. 22.

basin, the key to a Pacific Century…".[58] These framings are far from anodyne abstractions.

In his investigations into the Pacific region idea, Arif Dirlik concluded the space was a "EuroAmerican invention...formed by forces that originated outside the region".[59] Indeed, the Pacific and its regional sub-divisions bear the marks of a longue durée of European influence. "Australasia" was coined by the eighteenth-century French writer, Charles de Brosses, whilst the tripartite subdivisions of "Micronesia", "Melanesia" and "Polynesia" corresponded to Jules Dumont D'Urville's attempt at an objective racial and cultural taxonomy to distinguish island groups and their peoples.[60] These extraneous imprints have prevailed.

[58] Matt Matsuda, 'The Pacific', *AHR*, 111/3 (2006), p. 759. A useful overview is Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought: An Anthology* (Honolulu, 2006).
[59] Dirlik, *What is in a Rim?* p. 5.
[60] Bronwen Douglas, 'Terra Australis to Oceania: Racial Geography in the 'Fifth Part of the World', *The Journal of Pacific History* (hereafter *JPH)*, 45/2 (2010), pp. 179-210. On the Polynesia/Melanesia divide, see Nicholas Thomas et al., 'The Force of Ethnology: Origins and Significance of the Melanesia/Polynesia Division [and Comments and Replies]', *Current Anthropology*, 30/1 (1989), pp. 27-41.

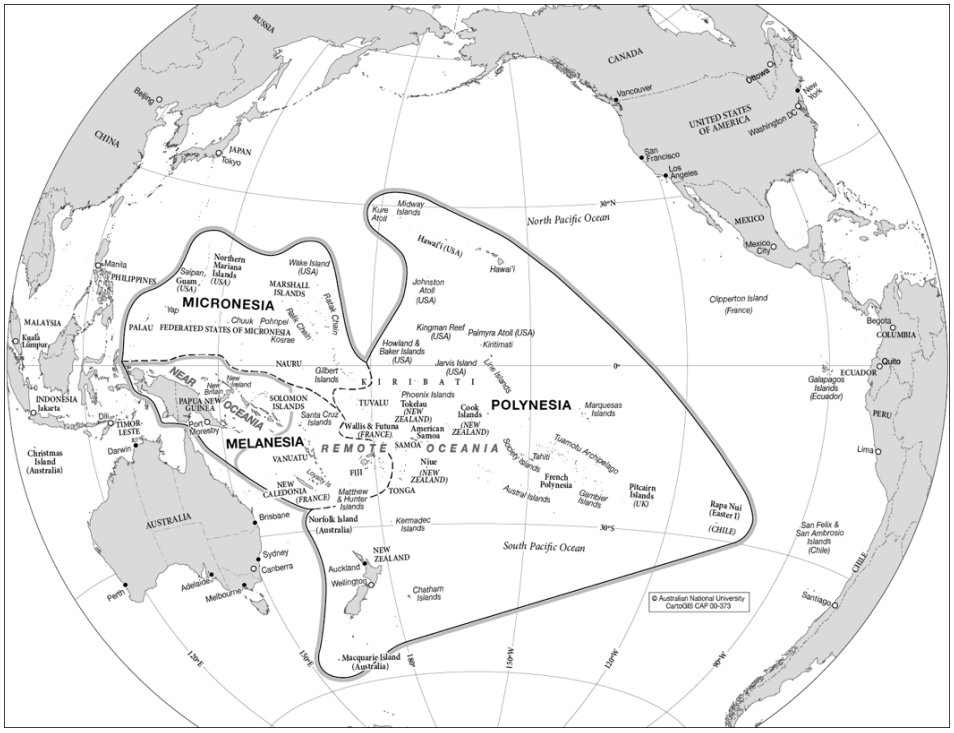


Figure 7 – 'Oceania Sub-Divisions', Australian National University, School of Asia & The Pacific, http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/system/files_force/maps/bitmap/standard/2017/05/00-373_Pacific_BW_regions_line.png (12 September 2020)

Ultimately, the Pacific is really a 'composite region' and a composite of seas, encompassing 'narrow seas', such as the Tasman, the narrower Torres Strait, the Coral Sea and the South China Sea.[61] It is a sub-global, macro-region which includes a vast array of littorals and microregions within it.[62]

[61] Walter M. Kollmorgen, 'Crucial Deficiencies of Regionalism', *The American Economic Review*, 35/2 (1945), p. 382; On 'narrow seas', see Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, *Oceanic Histories,* p. 17.
[62] Jeppe Mulich, 'Microregionalism and intercolonial relations: the case of the Danish West Indies, 1730-1830', *JGH,* 8/1 (2013), pp. 72-94.

The 'Pacific' is meanwhile an intellectual space "where different fields…coexist but rarely… interact": "an assemblage of regionally defined academic turfs for experts in Area Studies…entering with their own baggage"[63] These divisions remain apparent in the region's most prominent journals. The *Pacific Historical Review* (1932-present) focuses upon a nationally-framed American Pacific; *The Contemporary Pacific* (1989-present) focuses upon Oceania. The *Journal of Pacific History* (1965-present) focuses upon the South Pacific with connections between the Southeast Asia, East Asia and North America infrequently (albeit increasingly) explored.[64] In Latin American Studies the 'Pacific' remains code for the Galleon trade or contestation between Chile, Bolivia and Peru in the late nineteenth century for oceanic access, yet Latin America has only partially been integrated into most histories of the Pacific, despite a growing number of scholars now addressing this imbalance through the prism of oceanic, transnational and 'Pacific Worlds' approaches.[65]

The Temporality of Pacific History

One of those scholars, Edward Melillo, also suggests however that "only since the beginning of the twenty-first century have they…[treated] the Pacific as a coherent unit

[63] Eiichiro Azuma, 'Is There the Pacific?', *Amerasia Journal*, 42/3 (2016), p. 9 & 10-11.
[64] A recent corrective is Paul D'Arcy, 'The Philippines as a Pacific Nation: A Brief History of Interaction between Filipinos and Pacific Islanders', *JPH* (2018), pp. 1-23.
[65] Evelyn Hu-Dehart, 'Latin America in Asia-Pacific Perspective', in Dirlik (ed.) *What is in a Rim?*, pp. 251-282; Edward D. Melillo, 'Chile and the Pacific World', in William Beezley (ed.) *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Latin American History* (New York, 2016), pp. 1-22.

of analysis equivalent to its Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Indian Ocean counterparts."[66] This view of the Pacific as historiographical late-comer, building upon the work of Atlantic and Mediterranean historiographical traditions echoes the notion of the Pacific as being a final oceanic realm to be brought into the reach of a world system.[67] Whilst useful precedents have been set in other oceanic contexts, the Pacific represents an original (yet neglected) model of oceanic history.[68]

As Braudel was positing links between historicity, temporality and geography in the Mediterranean, these dynamics encapsulated the Pan-Pacific idea in the same era.[69] One reason for a tendency to ignore the early twentieth century historiography of the Pacific is its contemporary characterisation as Eurocentric, imperial and detached from an authentic oceanic past. This thesis instead concurs with Alison Bashford's recent suggestion that historic literature should be regarded as "period pieces and still-useful secondary scholarship".[70] Notable examples include the New Zealander Guy H. Scholefield's, *The Pacific, its past and future (1919)* and *The Pacific Ocean in History,* compiled to celebrate the Panama-California Exposition in 1915, a series of historical reflections which invoked the notion of a new age emergent with the opening of the

[66] Ibid., p. 14.
[67] Blank, 'The Pacific', 275.
[68] Bashford, 'The Pacific Ocean', in *Oceanic Histories,* p. 63. On the Atlantic precedent, see Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (London, 2007), pp. 10-12.
[69] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip I*I, trans. Sian Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972).
[70] Klaus Mehnert, "Pacific History", *The XXth Century*, 1/3 (1941), p. 227; Bashford, 'The Pacific Ocean', in *Oceanic Histories*, p. 63.

Panama Canal.[71] These 'period pieces' reflected the dynamic spatiality of the Pan-Pacific at the time, linking regions often occluded from the histories of the Pacific today, including Latin America.[72] The *Pacific Historical Review* sought from the outset for instance to "explore the history of the entire basin of the Pacific".[73]

Prefixing the Pacific

There are "histories of the Pacific, histories in the Pacific, and histories across the Pacific". [74] These three dynamics have defined the principal trajectories of historical studies of the Pacific in the past twenty years. The first, the study of "Pacific World/s" is most closely related to world or global histories. The second, "Pacific History" or "Pacific Studies" (although their methodologies and approach don't necessarily correspond), centre histories of the Pacific Islands and their populations. The third is the emergence of "Transpacific" histories, an emergent inter-disciplinary subject.[75]

Scholarly literature concerning a 'Pacific World' emerged in the 1940s but has only matured historiographically in recent years, influenced by the growth of global,

[71] Guy H. Scholefield, *The Pacific, its past and future, and the policy of the great powers from the eighteenth century* (London, 1919); H. Morse Stephens (ed.), *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York, 1917).
[72] Roland Dennis Hussey, 'Pacific History in Spanish American Historical Reviews', 1932-1934', *Pacific Historical Review (hereafter PHR)*, 4/1 (1935), pp. 69-86.
[73] Dan E. Clark, 'Manifest Destiny and the Pacific', *PHR,* 1/1 (1932), p. 1.
[74] Paul Kramer, 'A Complex of Seas: Passages Between Pacific Histories', *The Asia-Pacific Journal,* 15/24 (2017), p. 2.
[75] Jordan Sand, Eiichiro Azuma, et al., 'Pacific Empires Working Group Forum', *Amerasia Journal*, 42/3 (2016), pp. 1-41.

environmental and oceanic histories.[76] The strongest expression of its development is the seventeen volume (and counting) series, *The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500-1900*. Looking at 'Pacific Worlds' has enabled historians to explore the region from a variety of spatial scales.[77] David Igler finds great utility in its exploration of the "interplay between global, oceanic and local".[78] Responding to the new types of spatial interactions occur across oceanic spaces, David Armitage (working in the context of Atlantic history) has sought to prefix the ocean in a variety of conceptually interesting ways, prospecting "circum", "trans" and "cis" models (and later, responding to a variety of critiques, "infra", "sub" and "extra" Atlantics) each which attempt to capture historical dynamics beneath, between and beyond Atlantic Worlds.[79]

Studies of the Pacific have not been immune to this preponderance of prefixing. "Transpacific" studies have sought to re-consider East Asian and North American trans-oceanic links, testing the traditional boundaries of national histories.[80] Kornel Chang finds its revisionism useful in disrupting "the Atlantic-orientation of American history".[81]

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[76] Recent explorations have profited from a growth in studies of oceanic history. The best comparative overview is Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, *Oceanic Histories*.
[77] On historical scale, see *Past & Present*, 14 (2019). In particular, Jan de Vries, 'Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano', *Past & Present*, 14 (2019), pp. 23-36.
[78] David Igler, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (Oxford, 2013), p. 11; Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the opening of the Pacific world: a global ecological history* (Cambridge, 2013).
[79] David Armitage, 'Three Concepts of Atlantic History', in David Armitage & Michael Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 11-27 and Armitage, 'The Atlantic Ocean', in Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, *Oceanic,* pp. 85-110.
[80] Erin Suzuki, 'Transpacific', in Rachel C. Lee (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Asian American and Pacific Islander Literature* (London, 2014), pp. 352-364. A recent example is Lon Kurashige (ed.), *Pacific America: Histories of Transoceanic Crossings* (Honolulu, 2017).
[81] Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands* (Oakland, 2012), p. 3; Jason Chang, 'Toward a Hemispheric Asian American History' in David K. Yoo & Eiichiro Azuma (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 31-46.

Marilyn Lake has explored 'Transpacific exchange' as constitutive to the co-development of the United States and Australia as settler colonial societies, whilst Frances Steel finds utility in exploring the 'Transpacific' through "networks and exchanges that linked people and places across the Pacific", through steamer travel between Sydney and San Francisco.[82] Yet despite the seeming utility of these approaches, challenges remain. A first is metaphorical.

David Chang claims that a 'Pacific Worlds' approach "might mean leaping over the history, islands, and people of the Pacific" in pursuit of trans-oceanic linkages and connections.[83] There is meanwhile:

"…a real risk that…"Pacific world" history will sacrifice an understanding of the Pacific in a rush to make a big splash in world history…If we jump straight from old-style imperial history to new-style Pacific World history…we take on the view from nowhere. We adopt a view from 10,000 feet…a kind of high world history…a cartoonish and colonialist image of the past".[84]

Preferring instead the study of "borderlands", Chang echoes the concerns of many proponents of Pacific Studies who worry that "oceanic pasts might get lost amidst Pacific Worlds."[85] A second critique corresponds to this concern: island erasure.

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[82] Marilyn Lake, *Progressive New World: How Settler Colonialism and Transpacific Exchange Shaped American Reform* (London, 2019); Frances Steel, 'Re-routing Empire? Steam-Age Circulations and the Making of an Anglo Pacific, c. 1850-90', *Australian Historical Studies (hereafter AHS)*, 46/3 (2015), p. 358.
[83] David A. Chang, 'Looking at the Pacific from the Pacific', *Amerasia Journal*, 42/3 (2016), p. 24.
[84] Ibid, 24 & 26.
[85] David A. Chang, 'Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces', *The Journal of American History*, 98/2 (2011), pp. 384–403 (quote p. 400). 'Borderlands' histories emerged as a historiographical challenge to the frontier thesis by Herbert E. Bolton in the 1910s, Pekka Hämäläinen & Samuel Truett, 'On Borderlands', *The Journal of American History*, 98/2 (2011), 338-361; David Hanlon, 'Losing Oceania to the Pacific and the World', *The Contemporary Pacific,* 29/2 (2017), p. 286.

Pacific historians and region-based scholars have long reflected their frustration at "Rimspeak".[86] That is, discussion of the Pacific taking place from its continental edges, with Oceania a collection of incidental islands. The most renowned articulation of this tension was made in the early 1990s by the Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa, who reflected that Oceania could "fall off the map" or disappear into the "black hole of a gigantic pan-Pacific doughnut".[87] In response, Hau'ofa proffered an oceanic community in which Pacific Islanders possessed a historic regionalism, greater than the sum of their national parts, most famously captured in his essay, 'Our Sea of Islands'.[88]

From the outset, "Pacific History" had emerged as an attempt to rebuke world historicism, to turn to a "segment of past human experience of which he can become the master".[89] This project is incomplete however. Damon Salesa reflects that amidst the preponderance of studies of "White" and "Yellow" Pacific Worlds, "each…in some way or another diminishes or erases the indigeneity evident in the frame of Native Seas" … "there was and remains a Brown Pacific: an indigenous ocean in which people lived".[90]

[86] Bruce Cumings, 'Rimspeak; or the Discourse of the "Pacific Rim" in Dirlik (ed.) *What is in a Rim?*, pp. 53-72.
[87] Epeli Hau'ofa, 'The Ocean in Us', in Epeli Hau'ofa, *Selected Works* (Honolulu, 2009), p. 42.
[88] Epeli Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6/1 (1994), pp. 147–161
[89] J.W. Davidson, 'Problems of Pacific History', *JPH*, 1/1 (1966), p. 11.
[90] Damon Salesa, 'Native Seas and Native Seaways', in Frances Steel (ed.) *New Zealand and the Sea: Historical Perspectives* (Wellington, 2018), pp. 50-67.

It is the global approach in particular which has been long-regarded as a challenge to a Pacific-based epistemology and a regional, oceanic paradigm.[91] This de-territorialised, "view from nowhere" (as David Chang calls it) leads some scholars to emphasise positionality as the key determinant of authenticity and authority in the scholarly debate, producing a "tension between objectivity and intersubjectivity…and between essentialist identity and hybridity" – debates which have come to define many area studies departments across the academy today.[92] One response is the growing number of connective approaches, such as that of Gregory Rosenthal and Kealani Cook who have examined 'indigenous Pacific Worlds', producing some of the discipline's most interesting recent work as a result.[93]

The Pretence of Panopticism

There is little doubt – as Colin Newbury reflected almost six decades ago – that "Pacific history is very difficult to write" and could be said to "contain too many disparities for its history to be written into a single narrative".[94] Kealani Cook reflects a similar concern:

[91] Subramani, 'The Oceanic Imaginary', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13/1 (2001), pp. 149-162. See the 'Dialogue' section of this edition which includes Vilsoni Hereniko, 'David and Goliath: A Response to "The Oceanic Imaginary"', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13/1 (2001), pp. 163-168.
[92] Miranda Johnson, 'Toward a Genealogy of the Researcher as Subject in Post/Decolonial Pacific Histories', *History and Theory*, 59/3 (2020), pp. 421-429 (quote, p. 421). Johnson concludes that "double-vision" was a consequence of colonialism, using the example of Āpirana Ngata to whom I return in Chapter 2 (p. 426).
[93] Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (Oakland, 2018) & Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (Cambridge, 2018).
[94] C. W. Newbury, 'Book Review: Britain in the Pacific Islands by W. P. Morrell', *The Geographical Journal*, 127/1 (1961), pp. 89-92.

the "Pacific is simply too broad".[95] There exists therefore a discursive and methodological problem at the heart of the study of the Pan-Pacific, whose dynamic spatial terrains stretch beyond what most scholars would consider the 'Pacific' today.

This pretence of panopticism is distracting however. Whilst we can repudiate claims made by advocates of the Pan-Pacific or of Pacific Worlds which appear to proffer panopticism, "taking the Pacific seriously means understanding its contributions to the broader, global system". The "answer to Atlantic-centrism" in world politics "is not Pacific-chic", as Gerald Segal puts it.[96] An exploration of the Pan-Pacific idea is of utility not out of a reverence for globalising Pacific history, or as a means of perching over the Pacific from a "cosmic crow's nest" but of a need to take seriously a frame of analysis, paradigm, and phase of thinking about the Pacific as a composite world region.[97] The 'Pacific' remains after all an understudied topic in global intellectual history.[98] It was however – as this thesis will attempt to show – a significant space through which the 'global' was understood in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a historical and meta-geographical space of high modernity and high imperialism.[99] As such, of these historiographical trajectories, the 'Pacific Worlds' approach has reached both a maturation as a field of study and both metaphorically as well as analytically

[95] Cook, *Kahiki*, 24-26.
[96] Gerald Segal, 'Rethinking the Pacific', *Review of International Studies*, 16 (1990), pp. 275-282.
[97] Felipe Fernández-Armesto & Benjamin Sacks, 'Networks, Interactions, and Connective History', in Douglas Northrop (ed.) *A Companion to World History* (Oxford, 2012), p. 303.
[98] Martin Dusinberre, 'J.R. Seeley and Japan's Pacific Expansion', *The Historical Journal*, 64/1 (2020), p. 7.
[99] I tweak Sverker Sörlin's conception of the Arctic as defined by "high modernity rather than high imperialism", 'The Arctic Ocean' in Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, *Oceanic*, pp. 269-295.

demonstrated the potential to integrate imperial, settler colonial, oceanic and indigenous pasts within its field of study, meaning it is the most convincing approach for the study of the Pan Pacific idea.[100]

[100] An approach that also accords with Tracey Banivanua Mar's suggestion of exploring a 'Greater Pacific', 'Shadowing Imperial Networks: Indigenous Mobility and Australia's Pacific Past', *AHS*, 46/3 (2015), pp. 340-355.

The British Dominions & The Settler Pacific Paradox: Geographical Ambivalence & Regional Expansionism

As the Canadian agriculturalist J.W. Grant reflected in 1938, the Far East (and the Pacific) represent "an ideal region…to study the comparative interests of British powers, and to determine what extent they are compatible."[101] Following Grant's trail of thought, the study of the Pan-Pacific enables an examination of the intersection of British and Pacific Worlds, revealing insights for both.

Over the past two decades, a 'British Worlds' approach has proven influential, integrating the study of the former settler colonies into British imperial history – an attempt at rebalancing the study of formal (often tropical) empire and informal empire through an exploration of the globality of Britishness and the British Empire.[102] It has also encouraged the examination of the idea of a British 'world state' which animated the imperial imagination in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[103] The notion of a 'Greater Britain' found expression in political institutions, but it proved more pervasive as the idea of a community "bound by shared norms, values and purpose", "a distinct strain of...civic imperialism".[104] A conception of global Britishness, bolstered by

[101] J.W. Grant, Conflicting Interests in the Far East', *Dalhousie Review,* 18/3 (1938), p. 315.
[102] P.A. Buckner & Carl Bridge, 'Reinventing the British World', *The Round Table*, 92/368 (2003), pp. 77-88; Recent examples include John Mitcham, R*ace and Imperial Defence in the British World, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, 2016); Gary Magee & Andrew Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2010).
[103] Duncan Bell, 'Victorian visions of global order: an introduction', in Duncan Bell (ed.), V*ictorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 14.
[104] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, 2007).

migration, by personal and professional networks; through flows of information, and by shared concerns and ideals.[105]

For some, the 'British Worlds approach 'has failed to constitute a "distinctive field of study", flattening "time, space and neglect[ing] diversity".[106] There has been a tendency, Tamson Pietsch claims, to explore the British World yet have little to say to conceptualise its inter-relation with wider transnational networks.[107] Responding to these concerns, the most recent scholarship explores 'British Worlds' and has been attentive to its dynamics with other 'worlds'.[108] It is a balance between a focus upon a global Britannic identity in its manifold forms, with the necessity of not 'sealing off' a 'British World' based upon contemporary boundaries that is most conceptually appropriate.

[105] Buckner & Bridge, 'Reinventing the British World', 82.
[106] Rachel K. Bright & Andrew R. Dilley, 'After the British World', *The Historical Journal,* 60/2 (2017), pp. 547-568 and Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World', *Journal of British Studies*, 52 (2013), pp. 441-463.
[107] Ibid, 445.
[108] Jared van Duinen, 'The Borderlands of the British World', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 15/1 (2014), pp. 1-12. Examples include Benjamin Mountford, *Britain, China, & Colonial Australia* (Oxford, 2016); Cees Heere, *Empire Ascendent: The British World, Race, and the Rise of Japan, 1894-1914* (Oxford, 2020).

The Dominion Age

The concept of 'Dominions' – in a British imperial context – sprung from a Canadian precedent when the 'Dominion of Canada' was created (in 1867), but it was not until 1907 that 'Dominion status' emerged in a constitutional-political form, whereby Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Newfoundland (and later, The Union of South Africa in 1910) became what was described in The Balfour Declaration of 1926 as "autonomous Communities within the British Empire".[109] The principal notion of the Dominions was to "reject subservience" and "affirm equality with Britain" as constituent parts of a British world system.[110] It was a response to a problem articulated by Hessell Duncan-Hall: "to reconcile the 'absolute equality of nationhood' and constitutional independence, demanded by these emergent Dominions, with the maintenance of the formal unity of empire, which was equally desired by them".[111] A political solution to satisfy "New Zealanders [who] saw themselves as co-owners of the British Empire, not subjects of it" and who actively sought a deeper British engagement, rather than further autonomy alongside a Canadian community who under Wilfred Laurier for instance were exploring distinctive interests under the doctrine of "colonial autonomy".[112] It produced a legal paradox: the creation of

[109] John Darwin, 'A Third British Empire? The Dominion Idea in Imperial Politics', in Judith Brown & Wm Roger Louis (eds.) T*he Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 64-87.
[110] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830–1970* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 147.
[111] H. Duncan Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations: A Study of Its Past and Future Development* (London, 1920) p. 3.
[112] James Belich, 'How Much Did Institutions Matter? Cloning Britain in New Zealand', in Jack P. Greene (ed.), *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600-1900* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 249; Graeme

international, legal personalities for each Dominion who also remained capable of "uniting as a single juristic unit before the world".[113] Their creation produced not just a new constitutional conception but a periodisation for thinking about the British World, creating a 'Third British Empire'.[114]

Yet Dominion status proves an imprecise category, despite attempts at legal clarity. Brazil and Argentina – often regarded as part of an informal empire – might be thought of as "Adopted Dominions". A more capacious notion which leads James Belich to use the term 'Anglo World' (instead of 'British World') to suggest affinities which could transcend constitutions and institutions alone, meaning 'American Wests' could be included in his comparative study of a nineteenth century settler revolution and the development of New York and Melbourne contrasted.[115]

The United States occupies a particularly ambiguous position in conceptualisations of 'British Worlds', with the Anglo-American relationship fluctuating between the prospects of a political (or at least strategic) union to antagonism and Anglophobia.[116]

Thompson, 'Reframing Canada's Great War: Liberalism, sovereignty, and the British Empire, c. 1860s-1919', *International Journal*, 73/1 (2018), p. 89.

[113] R.K. Finlayson, 'The British Commonwealth and its Relation to Pacific Problems', Paper prepared for Fourth conference of Institute of Pacific Relations, Hanchow (Ottawa, 1931), p. 2.

[114] Darwin, 'A Third British Empire?', pp. 64-87.

[115] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, pp. 518-547.

[116] There is a vast literature on the subject. A good overview is Ritchie Ovendale, *Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1998). A.G. Hopkins' recent work is excellent on the significance of British influence on the early republic, *American Empire: A Global History* (Princeton, 2018); On Anglophobia, see Stephen Tuffnell, "Uncle Sam is to be Sacrificed": Anglophobia in Late

To the English Liberal politician, Charles Dilke, engaged on a tour of the English-speaking world in 1866, America contained "sketches of Saxondom", whilst the development of "the England of Elizabeth found, not in the Britain of Victoria, but in half the habitable globe," reflecting deep ethnic as well as political affinity between the states.[117] David Reynolds reflects upon a relationship underpinned by 'competitive cooperation', reflecting the sense that affinities remained and interests could overlap, yet economic and strategic interests could park any amorphous fellow-feeling.[118] "The sense that America was a part of the British diaspora was real, but it was also ambivalent, open to dispute by contemporaries, and it eroded over time", as Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson convincingly proclaim.[119]

British India also occupies a peculiar place in this 'Third British Empire'. Whilst a prospective Dominionhood was built into Edward Lutyens' Secretariat Building in the new capital of New Delhi with its four 'Dominion Pillars', by the end of 1929, Congress had abandoned the aspiration in preference for independence, before briefly becoming a Dominion in the post-war period as a constitutional bridge from 1947 to 1950.[120] The prospects of Dominion status went partially unfulfilled in India partially because of

Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture', *American Nineteenth Century History*, 12/1 (2011), pp. 77-99. On the 1920s-40s, see David Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937–41: A Study in Competitive Cooperation* (Chapel Hill, 1981).

[117] Charles Wentworth Dilke, 'Preface', *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel to English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*, vol. 1 (London, 1868), p. vii-viii.

[118] Reynolds, *The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance.*

[119] Magee & Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation,* p. 19.

[120] Kama Maclean, *British India, White Australia* (Sydney, 2020), p. 3.

the development of its own distinctive political culture, but also because Dominionhood would also rest – in its formative stages – upon an unwritten, yet implicit conception of Dominions as upholding a racial community which could be prefixed 'White'.[121]

The Settler Pacific Paradox

An array of British territorial interests had emerged across the Pacific by the twentieth century: a Fijian 'Crown Colony'; the Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony; influence upon a Tongan 'protectorate' and partial influence in the New Hebridean Condominium (often described as a pandemonium) – all administered under the unwieldy apparatus of the Western Pacific High Commission.[122] For these myriad spoils, it has largely been claimed that the "Pacific islands were always insignificant in official British imperialism".[123] Yet Britain's regional interests extended from the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada to significant commercial and strategic interests between Hong Kong and Singapore to treaty-port China. 'British' interests in the Pacific were therefore larger and more diverse than appears at first glance.

This compilation of interests also neglects the 'sub-imperial' interests of Australia and New Zealand. As Damon Salesa reminds us, "New Zealand was an empire as well as a

[121] Alexander E. Davis, 'India and the 'Anglosphere': A Postcolonial Genealogy', PhD diss., University of Adelaide, 2015.
[122] Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire* (Honolulu, 1968).
[123] Bronwen Douglas, 'Imperial Flotsam? The British in the Pacific Islands' in Robin Winks & Wm. Roger Louis (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. 5: Historiography* (Oxford, 1999), p. 368-369.

colony".[124] So was Australia. To examine New Zealand or Australia's empire therefore (and indeed their position in the Pacific) is to consider their role as part of the British Empire, and localities with their own expansionist tendencies, policies and intentions.[125] André Siegfried who wrote extensively upon New Zealand society at the turn of the twentieth century claimed it had developed a "private attitude to Oceania".[126] In the Australian case, Marilyn Lake argues that despite what seem small returns, "national life" itself was "animated by imperial ambition".[127] Indeed, the strategic argument for Federation emerged in a regional context in which a strengthened Australian state could "compete in the Pacific arena".[128]

In the wake of the First World War and by the mid 1920s, New Zealand's administrative overseas territories expanded to their greatest reach. Niue and Tokelau became New Zealand protectorates in 1905 and 1926 respectively whilst the Ross Dependency of Antarctica was placed under its jurisdiction in 1923.[129] Yet after 1914 and the capture of Western Sāmoa from its German administrators Belich claims, "New Zealand lost

[124] Damon Salesa, 'New Zealand's Pacific,' in Giselle Byrnes (ed.) *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Oxford, 2010), p. 149.
[125] Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: The Expansionist Era 1820 – 1920* (Melbourne, 1980); Deryck Schreuder & Stuart Ward*, Australia's Empire* (Oxford, 2010).
[126] Cited in Adrian Muckle, 'Empire in the eyes of the beholder: New Zealand in the Pacific Through French Eyes', in Katie Pickles & Katherine Coleborne (ed.), *New Zealand's Empire* (Manchester, 2016), pp. 165.
[127] Marilyn Lake, 'The Australian Dream of an Island Empire: Race, Repudiation and Resistance', *AHS*, 46/3 (2015), p. 414.
[128] Heere, *Empire Ascendant*, p. 31.
[129] Salesa, 'New Zealand's Pacific', p. 164.

enthusiasm for the Pacific". "To say that New Zealand was in the Pacific was merely a geographical expression", he concludes.[130]

The former Dominions of Australia, New Zealand and Canada all have Pacific pasts, but not ones which neatly overlap. They do share some similar characteristics however: a regional spatial ambivalence and a historiographical tendency to underplay regional interests and dynamics, emphasising instead a terrestrial nationalism.[131] From the 1880s until the 1960s, New Zealand imagined herself politically and culturally to be somewhere in the North Sea, rather than the South Pacific. James Belich calls this phenomenon 'recolonisation', a process which encompassed "a politically divided but culturally and economically united intercontinental system", a decisive re- or inter-connection with the society of origin.[132]

So strong was the sense of loyalty and dependence upon Britain, that John Bell Condliffe – the first research secretary of the IPR – would use the term 'The Mother-Complex' to describe New Zealand's unthinking devotion to Britain.[133] A sense of regionalism Neville Meaney meanwhile asserts, played little role in the evolution of a Australia identity even during the Second World War, never supplanting an over-arching Britishness.[134]

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[130] Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 237.
[131] On comparative settlerism, see Belich, *Replenishing.*
[132] Ibid, p. 9.
[133] J.B. Condliffe, *New Zealand in the Making: A Survey of Economic and Social Development* (London, 1930), pp. 421-431.
[134] Buckner & Bridge, 'Reinventing the British World', 85.

These dynamics combined prove a historical and historiographical phenomenon I call the 'Settler Pacific Paradox'. Yet a resolute Britishness in a 'recolonial' society and a regional reflexivity were not necessarily mutually exclusive.[135] I explore the notion that the Dominions acted as touchstones or "local anchors" of British power in the Pacific, seeking to further Britain's own regional interests, moulded in their own image as well as that of London.[136]

Assessing Dominion colonial governance can reveal much about their respective Pacific pasts, yet, we must look further – as Frances Steel suggests – than islands of formal control and instead at the wide variety of ways in which the Dominions were thinking about, engaging with and traversing the region.[137] Canada may appear the odd-one-out in a regional study, given she never came to possess an overseas empire, yet her regional outlook possesses similarities: a spatial ambivalence, despite regional strategic and economic interests.[138] At large, Canada's external affairs have been chronicled as Atlantic in orientation.[139] Yet Asia-Pacific interests also "graft onto

[135] An emergent literature which includes Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire* (Vancouver, 2012); Henry Johnson & Brian Moloughney (eds.) *Asia in the Making of New Zealand* (Auckland, 2006) in the New Zealand case.
[136] Archibald R. Colquhoun, *The Mastery of the Pacific* (London, 1902), p. 426-7, cited in Heere, *Empire Ascendant*, p. 24.
[137] Frances Steel, 'Fiji really is the Honolulu of the Dominion': tourism, empire and New Zealand's Pacific, ca. 1900-1935', in Pickles & Coleborne, *New Zealand's Empire*, p. 159.
[138] Albert Braz, 'Canada's Hemisphere: Canadian Culture and the Question of Continental Identity', *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 46/3 (2016), pp. 349-361.
[139] Kim Richard Nossal, 'The North Atlantic anchor: Canada and the Pacific Century', *International Journal*, 73/3 (2018), p. 376.

Canadian history" in ways that remain largely absent or significantly underplayed in the historical record.[140]

Much like Canada, when we think of British India, Pacific connections infrequently feature in its histories. If it does, our thoughts turn to its diaspora: 'girmitiyas', or indentured Indians whose families remained in the Fijian islands, or we may consider the histories of the racial exclusion of Sikhs in British Columbia. Yet the Pacific paradigm also animated Indian intellectuals in the conceptualisation of India's own place in the modern world – particularly with regard to her emergent external relations. This is a subject which remains overlooked, but which is being steadily revised by scholars exploring the antecedents of contemporary visions of the Indo-Pacific and of the origins of Indian foreign relations at large.[141]

[140] Thompson, Upper Canada's Empire, 39-70.
[141] David Scott, 'India and the Allure of the 'Indo-Pacific', *International Studies*, 49/3&4 (2012), pp. 1–24.

"The Ultimate Arena of World History": The Making of the Pacific Geo-Paradigm & The Provenance of The Pan-Pacific Idea[142]

The roots of the Pan-Pacific can be located at the heart of the ocean where a hybrid form of international thought emerged in the nineteenth century. Lorenz Gonschor calls this 'Pan-Oceanianism' which became a central tenet of King Kalākaua's leadership from the 1880s.[143] It was an expedient response from Oceania to the swift and profound transformation of the nineteenth century Pacific from the deeper trends of a longue durée of European exploration, encounter, expansionism and entanglement from the sixteenth century. It was stimulated by a demographic shift, defined by what A. Grenfell Price called twin 'settler' and 'sojourner' colonisations.[144] That is, the impact of the 'settler revolution' and the convergence of 'British Wests' whose missionaries dispersed across the island world, whilst prospectors sought out riches on land and at sea: whale oil, sandalwood, trepang; others established plantations or mined for gold, seeking labour in the process – foremost among them the indentured Indian and Chinese or Pacific Islanders who toiled on sugar and copra plantations in Fiji, Sāmoa or mined for guano on the atolls of the mid-Pacific.

The sum of these movements was the swift entry of new customs, languages, goods, biota and pathogens in the Pacific, leading to profound societal transformation and

[142] P.T. Etherton & H.H. Tiltman, *The Pacific: A Forecast* (London, 1928), p. 199.
[143] Lorenz Gonschor, *A Power in the World: The Hawaiian Kingdom in Oceania* (Honolulu, 2019).
[144] A. Grenfell Price, *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents: A Study of Moving Frontiers and Changing Landscapes, 1513–1958* (Oxford, 1963).

depopulation of its indigenous peoples.[145] Pressures upon natural commodities meanwhile heightened diplomatic and geopolitical interest, leading to a 'Scramble for Oceania'. Such was the speed and scope of these shifts, it became the consensus by the early twentieth century to proclaim that a new situation had emerged in the Pacific, which might tilt the world's economic and political centre of gravity. As the Scottish-Canadian architect, Ramsay Traquair put it, "a new situation arose, in which the Pacific was to appear as a unit, the possible seat of a civilization independent of Europe or of the Atlantic. This is the problem of the Pacific".[146]

Regional transformation stimulated the production of a genre of literature which responded to this geo-paradigm. This multi-lingual canon was characterised by a tendency to forecast in hyperbolic, apocalyptic, defensive, triumphalist and idealistic modes, whilst it linked to a set of contiguous literatures on a 'Far Eastern Question', an 'Asian Awakening', a 'Chinese question' or a 'Japanese question' – all of which related to the broader implications of expansionist European policies in East Asia amidst sub-global transformation.[147]

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[145] Belich, *Replenishing*. Excellent guides include Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders* (New Haven, 2010) and Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds* (Cambridge, 2011).
[146] Ramsey Traquair, 'The Coming Commonwealth of the Pacific', *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXVI/5 (November 1924), p. 460.
[147] Literature regarding a 'Far Eastern Question' is vast. Notable accounts include George N. Curzon's *Problems of the Far East* (London, 1894). In the American context, see Alexis Sidney Krausse, *The Far East: Its History and its Question* (London, 1900). A swathe of texts analysed the shifting geopolitics of the Pacific. In English, see C. Brunsdon Fletcher, *The Problem of the Pacific* (London, 1919); Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Restless Pacific* (New York, 1928). In French, see André Duboscq, *Le Problème du Pacifique* (Paris, 1927). Nikolai Golovin, C Nabokoff (trans.), *The Problem of the Pacific in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1922) is an account from a high-ranking Russian naval officer. Karl Haushofer, *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans* (Berlin, 1924) remains a striking geopolitical account. In South

A useful place to begin interpreting this emergent geo-paradigm is a piece syndicated in the *Times of India* in 1902:[148]

"There is a fascination in the vastness of the problem; in its importance; in the panorama of possibilities it offers." "There is China... "the plot, the essential interest of the drama, the prize of the fight." "Russia is on the Pacific; but a corner of the ocean, ... Australia has a part to play; but it must be in the Southern Pacific for the present, …England seems too far away to come into the drama in person. Canada represents her… America alone… as yet perceives the vastness and the importance of this panorama of possibilities. And there is, let it be said, a "geographical conspiracy" to give to America the very lion's share of the spoils of this fight. [149]

The emergence therefore of Japan as a regional power provided the strongest stimulus to the notion that a decidedly new situation had emerged. Inagaki Manjirō became the first intellectual to use the term 'Pacific Age' [Taiheiyō jidai] in a work entitled *Japan and the Pacific and the Japanese View of the Eastern Question (1890)* to define what he perceived as an emergent historicity and dynamic in world affairs.[150] Yet the "Pacific problem" was a compound issue, possessing a significant valency which amplified its significance in world affairs.

America, 'La cuestión del Pacífico' continued to deal with the fall-out of the War of the Pacific (1879-1884) and disagreement between Bolivia and Chile.

[148] I suspect this was the Canadian journalist Frederick Arthur McKenzie who worked for *The Daily Mail*

[149] 'Fight for the Pacific', *The Times of India*, 30 May 1902, p. 6.

[150] Inagaki Manjirō, *Japan and the Pacific and the Japanese View of the Eastern Question* (London, 1890). See useful contexualisation of the work from Pekka Korhonen, 'The Pacific Age in World History', *JWH*, 7/1 (1996), pp. 41-70 and Martin Dusinberre, 'J.R. Seeley and Japan's Pacific Expansion', *The Historical Journal*, 64/1 (2020), pp. 1-28.

Returning to that critic of pan movements, Colquhoun perceptively chronicled this transformation in his 1902 work, *The Mastery of the Pacific*, proclaiming that "the Pacific Ocean is the arena for many young powers – the young Australasia, the young America, the new Russia in the Far East, and not least, the New Japan", lamenting the relative decline of British influence.[151] "The enigma of modern politics", he reflected, was whether the complete development of the Pacific as the new world centre will come without or only after, an armed conflict in that ocean".[152] To many commentators, this was an inevitability and the management of the Pacific problem was to respond directly to an emergent strategic challenge. Others were more optimistic: "with the coming of the Industrial Age", Etherton & Tiltman reflected, "the war lords will disappear in both hemispheres, and the Golden Age will dawn for a Pacific Ocean and the cradle in which will be born the achievements of another century".[153] Discursively, it is an interplay between resignment to inevitable conflict and a resolute idealism which prove the two distinctive modes of this Pacific geo-paradigm.

In many cases, ideas do not become "institutions".[154] But if 'institutionalisation' proves a useful marker of the maturation of a concept or idea, then the Pan-Pacific possessed a variety of institutional vehicles.[155] Fig. 8 represents a partial mapping of the diversity and connections between the principal Pan-Pacific organisations of the period.

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[151] Colquhoun, *Mastery of the Pacific*, p. 347-350; On American imperialism, see Hopkins, *American Empire*. Dane A. Morrison, *True Yankees: The South Seas and the Discovery of American Identity* (Baltimore, 2014) is an excellent exploration of formative American interests in the Pacific pre-1898. On the influence of the Pacific geo-paradigm upon Chinese nationalism, Rebecca Karl, *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (Durham, 2002), p. 54.

[152] Etherton & Tiltman, *The Pacific,* p. 187.

[153] Ibid, p. 199.

[154] Paraphrasing Susan Pedersen, 'AHR Reflections: An International Regime in an Age of Empire', *AHR*, 124/5 (2019), pp. 1676-1677.

[155] Kai He & Huiyun Feng examine this process with the 'Indo Pacific' paradigm, 'The institutionalization of the Indo-Pacific', *International Affairs,* 96/1 (2020), pp. 149-168.

Representing many of the organisations studied in the thesis, the interplay between them (particularly their personnel and ideas) is of particular significance. It does not however depict the large quantities of publications and ephemera carrying its name, or which drew inspiration from it, nor does it convey the scale or influence these organisations wielded, nor their wider links.

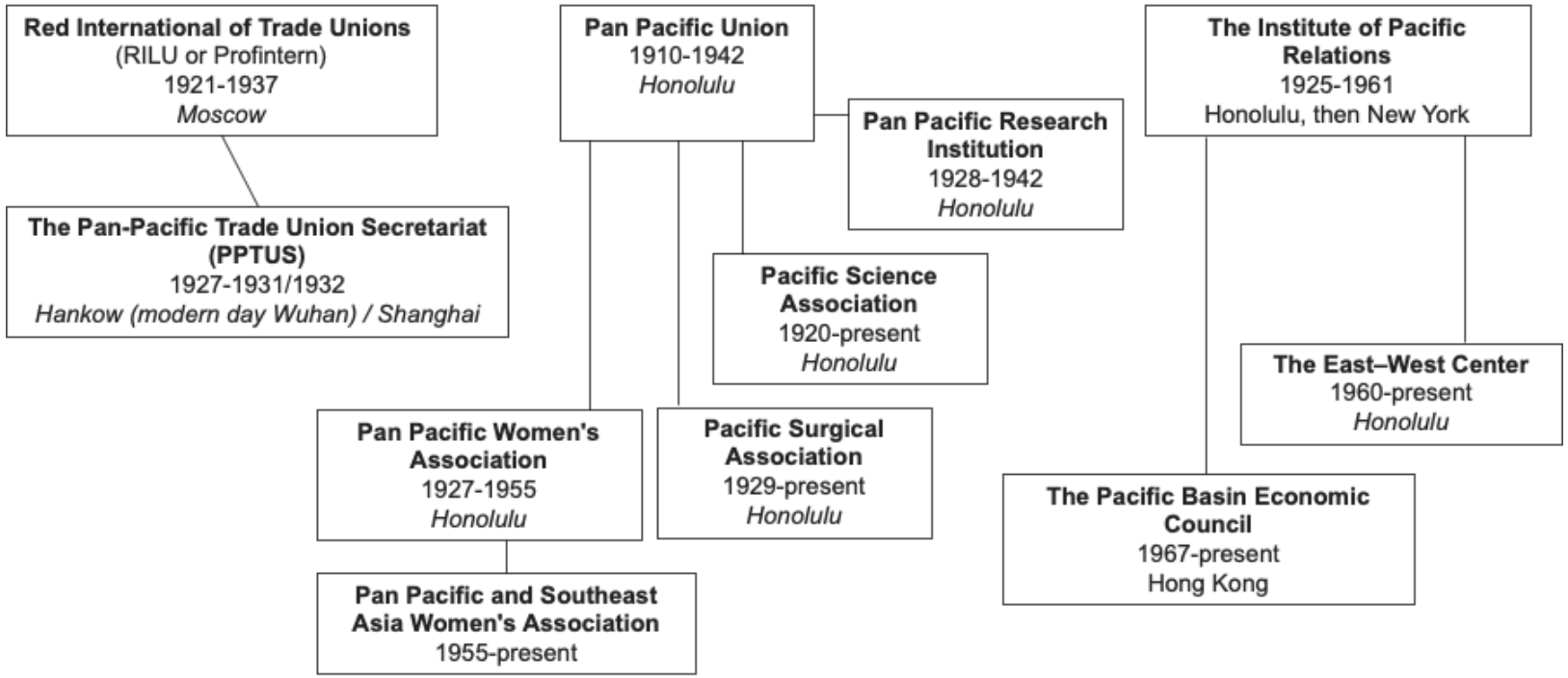


Figure 8 – 'Mapping the Pan-Pacific': a rudimentary diagram depicting the 'Pan Pacific' international organisations explored in this thesis, their connections and development after the Second World War.

Part I

"Thinking Pacific"[156]

[156] Segal, *Rethinking the Pacific*, p. 87.

I've heard of many conferences in my day,
Aloha to the first upon this spot.
All delegates are queer - I've heard men say-
But these must be the queerest of the lot…
They're flirting with my shy endemic plants,
Or hunting fierce achatinellid snails;
There's one who can the hula hula dance,
One looks for blue-green algae 'long the trails…
They argue whether Melanesian chiefs
In Mayflower-laden boats come to my home.
Pan-Pacific is a versatile old boy-
He'll talk on anything you wish,
From plankton to the ropy pa hoehoe;
From Polynesian races down to fish.

There's one who says his prayers in pure Fiji,
Another writes on "Useful Pants [sic] of Guam,"
A third just longs for sweet tranquilitee,
A fourth drives off leaf hoppers from the farm.
Anthropologist, geodesist, or such,
You've trod my lumpy as lava plain,
You've felt my liquid sunshine's gentle touch-
We kamaainas know you'll come again.

Hawaii Nei's done her trade-wind freshened best
To make your stay a dream of sheer delight-
A red-stoned, golden-lettered, spell of rest
Along your path of learning all in sight.
So here's to you, Pan-Pacific,
As you leave my fair Hawai'i-
Though your pidgin's scientific
I sure hate to say good-bye.
Aloha! Pan-Pacific!
As you sail across the blue,
From her islands beatific
Pele's best regards to you.

"H.S.W"[157]

[157] Henry S. Washington's (likely author), 'Pele to the Pan-Pacifics' (a reply from the volcano goddess Pele to her visitors) read at the Country Club, 20 August 1920, during the first Pan Pacific Science Congress, MS SC Gregory, Box 14, Folder 2 'Early Days 1920-1926', Bishop Museum Archives (hereafter BMA).

Chapter 1 – The Making and Shaping of a Honolulu Nexus: Dominion Inter-Imperialism & Rooted Regionalism

Sydney, August 1923

On 17 August 1923, the first edition of *The Pacific* was published in Sydney. Setting out its purpose, its founder Colin Barclay-Smith, claimed:

"There has not yet been evolved a journal that may be described as typically Australian … the name of the paper has been chosen not because it is geographically apt, but because it epitomises…the basic idea upon which … the paper has been built...the Pacific must be the scene of great developments of the future...and in the centre of that new world must stand Australia".[158]

For Barclay-Smith, *The Pacific* was an instructive geo-paradigm through which Australia's own destiny could be articulated. Intended as a premium fortnightly magazine, the first edition featured contributions from two Commonwealth Prime Ministers: W.M. (Billy) Hughes and the incumbent, Stanley Bruce. Hughes would claim "like a shining jewel set in a golden plaque, Australia nestles in the sun-lit waters of the Pacific...whose ripples link our destiny with the East".[159] Bruce meanwhile called for a "League or Union of the Nations of the Pacific" (a claim made two days prior in a debate

[158] Colin Barclay-Smith, 'The Editor's Page: Our Purpose and Our Hopes', *The Pacific: Australia's Illustrated Weekly,* 1/1 (17 August 1923), p. 6.
[159] W.M. Hughes, 'Australia's Heritage and Destiny: Rich Gifts and Great Responsibilities', *The Pacific*, p. 3.

in the House of Representatives).[160] "What the Pacific peoples require", he concluded, "is a knowledge and understanding of each other's problems".[161]

The Pacific captured the zeitgeist. Over the course of August 1923, the 'Second Pan Pacific Science Congress' was held in Sydney and Melbourne – the first hosted by the Pan Pacific Union outside Hawai'i.[162] It was a far larger gathering too with five-hundred and eighty individuals from sixteen countries represented.[163] "Broader in scope, more generously financed", the conference also "exerted wider appeal", claimed Herbert Gregory, the Director of Honolulu's Bishop Museum, treated by newspapers as "front page stuff".[164]

An appraisal of *The Pacific* and its contents therefore which depicted popular Pan-Pacific engagement might convince readers not just that Australia's vital interests lay in the Pacific, but that her regionalism was axiomatic.[165] This opening chapter tests that thesis, exploring the ways the 'Pacific' was interpreted as both a place and subject of inter-imperial affairs, examining the dynamic between representatives from the

[160] 'Pan Pacific Conference', House of Representatives**,** 15 August 1923**,** 9th Parliament, 2nd Session http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1923/19230815_reps_9_105/#subdebate-2-0 , p. 2768 (22 September 2020).
[161] S.M. Bruce, 'A Message from the Prime Minister', *The Pacific,* p. 1.
[162] Roy MacLeod & Philip F. Rehbock, 'Developing a Sense of the Pacific: The 1923 Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Australia', *Pacific Science*, 54/3 (2000), pp. 209-225; For an overview of the Pacific Science Association up to 1960s, see A.P. Elkin, *Pacific Science Association: Its History and Its Role in International Cooperation* (Honolulu, 1961). No recent authoritative overview exists.
[163] Philip F. Rehbock, 'Organizing Pacific Science: Local and International Origins of the Pacific Science Association' in MacLeod & Rehbock (eds.), *Nature,* p. 195.
[164] Herbert E. Gregory, 'The Pacific Science Congress', *The Scientific Monthly,* 19/3 (1924), p. 280.
[165] David Walker, *Stranded Australia: White Australia in an Asian Region* (Crawley, 2019).

Dominions and Pan-Pacific organisations, centred at a 'Honolulu nexus'. In other words, considering the significance of Honolulu as an "organisational space", spatially, symbolically and spiritually.[166] Madeleine Herren argues historical studies of Asia-Pacific regional organisation have been in short supply, so this chapter also seeks to further our understanding of how the 'international' and the 'regional' was understood in a Pacific context.[167]

Bruce's solution – that the peoples of the Pacific ought to study "each other's problems" – foreshadowed (semantically and systemically) the emergence of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), founded in Honolulu in 1925. Inspired as an "experiment in diagnosis", it sought to examine the 'problems of the Pacific' through scientific examination and collective discussion.[168] This chapter represents an attempt at understanding how engagement with organisations such as the IPR impacted the Dominions' 'intellectual culture' at large.[169] In doing so, I posit a form of *rooted regionalism* existed in the Dominions, located both within and "beyond the history of networks and organisations", among "professional settings and audiences".[170] In this instance, it enables an appraisal of whether Pan-Pacific engagement was more diffuse

[166] Sandell, 'Regional versus International', 607-625.
[167] Madeleine Herren (ed.), *Networking the International System: Global Histories of International Organizations* (London, 2014). Exceptions include Lawrence T. Woods, *Asia-Pacific Diplomacy: Non-Governmental Organizations and International Relations* (Vancouver, 1993).
[168] J.B. Condliffe, 'The Technique of Diagnosis', *Pacific Affairs*, 2/9 (1929), p. 537.
[169] Fiona Paisley, 'Being International at Home: Australian Public Opinion in the League Era', J*ournal of Australian Studies*, 43/4 (2019), pp. 429-446.
[170] Valeska Huber, Tamson Pietsch & Katharina Rietzler, 'Women's International Thought and the New Professions, 1900-1940', *Modern Intellectual History,* 18/1 (2019), 121-145.

than has been recognised hitherto, or whether the excitable prose of the first edition of *The Pacific* would be just a flash in the pan.

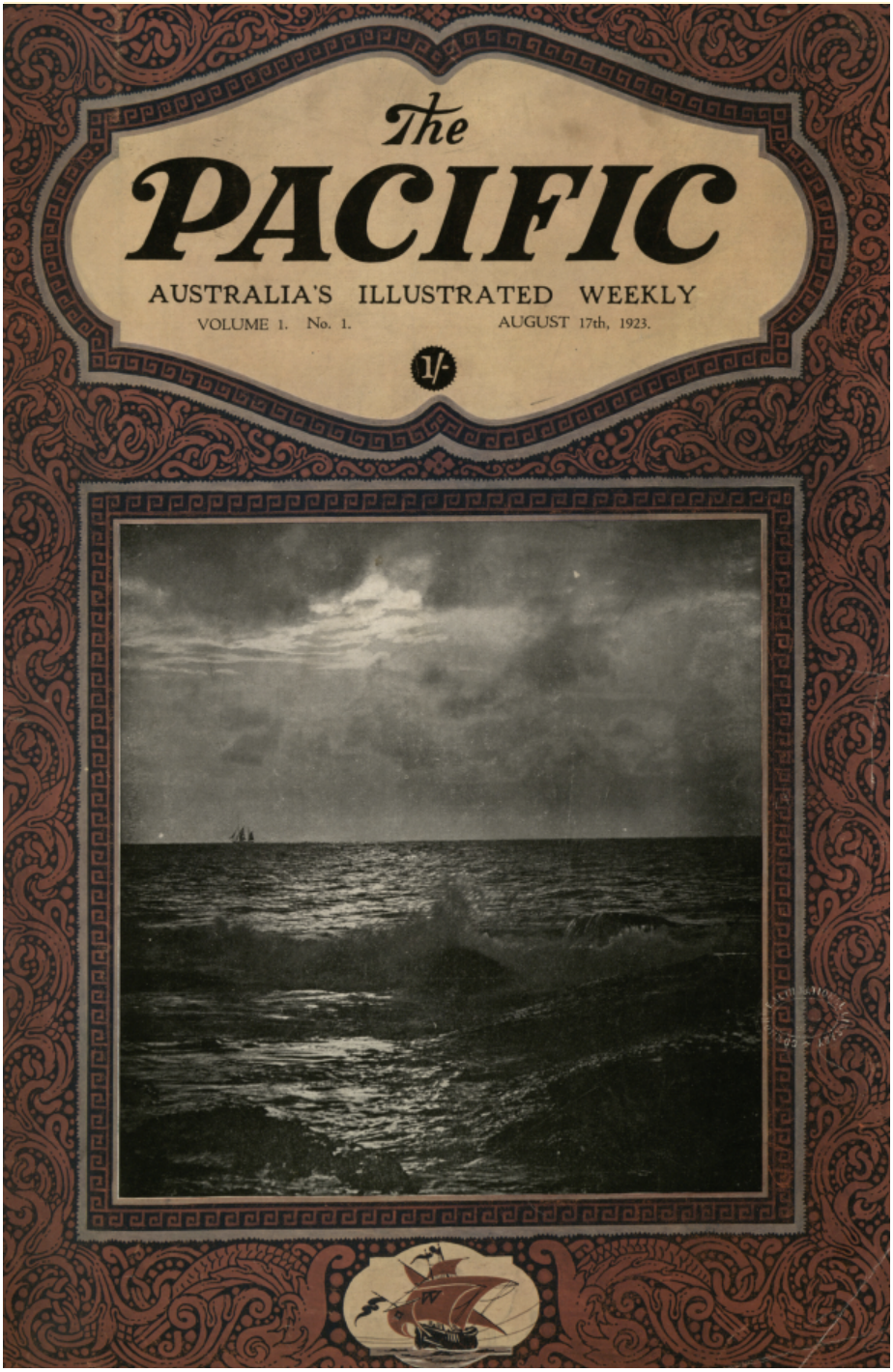


Figure 9 – Front cover, *The Pacific: Australia's Illustrated Weekly*, 1/1 (17 August 1923).

The Making of a 'Honolulu Nexus'

Inspired by the legacy of the Hawaiian Kingdom's Pan-Oceanian diplomacy and its growing commercial prospects made possible through mass liners, it was at the 'Crossroads of the Pacific' – as the islands had been dubbed since the 1890s – that the Pan-Pacific Union (PPU) was founded in 1907. The pivotal figure in its emergence was the journalist, Alexander Hume Ford. Born in South Carolina, Ford first passed through Hawai'i reporting on the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway, returning to found the Outrigger Canoe Club at Waīkikī. In the same year he settled in the Pacific, clamour to host a regional commercial conference grew and a 'Pacific Science Institution' was incorporated.[171] Hume Ford – who had taken a particular interest in the work of the Pan American Union, commenting how it was "knitting together" the Americas, recognised an opportunity to foster a similar spirit.[172] The connection between the Pan American Union and PPU proved close with the "Pan American Union act[ing] as big brother to the Pan Pacific", providing space at the Carnegie Institution in New York for its mainland operations.[173] By 1911, the PPU was publishing the *Mid Pacific Magazine*, "a real Pan-Pacific publication presenting monthly interesting facts… and articles concerning the lands in and bordering on the great ocean".[174] The establishment of "Hands Around the

[171] Plans for a commercial conference went back to at least 1906, see 'May Hold Pan Pacific Commercial Conference', *San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 December 1906, p. 12.
[172] Alexander Hume Ford, 'The Pan-Pacific Union', *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, 47 (1918) pp. 209-211.
[173] 'The Pan Pacific Union', *The Bulletin of the Pan Pacific Union*, 19 (May 1921), p. 10.
[174] Alexander Hume Ford, 'Announcement', *Mid Pacific Magazine*, 1/1 (1911), inside cover. Circulation figures from Hooper, *Elusive Destiny,* p. 102.

Pacific Club(s)" followed in 1912, including so-called '12-12-12' meetings where twelve American, Chinese and Japanese 'prominent men' gathered.[175] Imagined as a counterpoint to forecasts of impending inter-racial conflict in the Pacific, these initiatives drew explicitly upon the notion that Hawai'i was uniquely placed to foster constructive inter-racial dialogue and amity.[176]

From an early stage, the PPU found support amongst both Hawaiian and regional elites. Walter Frear, then Territorial Governor, and Frank Atherton, Chairman of the Board of Castle & Cooke, one of the 'Big Five' companies in Hawai'i, were among the first to endorse (and fund) its initiatives. Recognising his aptitude for publicity, Ford was engaged by Frear to explore how the island's tourism could be boosted.[177] Visiting Australia, Ford met Percy Hunter, head of the Migration and Settlement Committee, where Hunter claimed "the germ of the movement [Pan-Pacific] was planted … over a luncheon table in Sydney".[178] Across the Tasman, Hume Ford declared to New Zealand Club attendees that much could be done to create "a great Pacific Patriotism".[179] In this early phase, the PPU was successful in securing the tacit endorsement of the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand, positioning them as 'Honorary Presidents' of the Union (alongside the Hawaiian-schooled Sun-Yat Sen, an early Vice-President), giving the organisation a

[175] Lori Pierce, "The Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu: Ethnicity, Racial Stratification and the Discourse of Aloha", in by P. Spickard & G. R. Daniel (eds.) *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence* (Notre Dame, 2004), p. 148.
[176] See Chapter 2 of this thesis.
[177] 'The Pan Pacific Idea', *The Washington Post*, 20 August 1913, p. 4.
[178] Pan-Pacific Union: Origin in Sydney', *Cairns Post*, 10 November 1922, p. 3.
[179] Alexander Hume Ford, 'The Hands-Around-the-Pacific-Movement', *Progress*, 1 November 1914.

respectability required to invite further funding and attention.[180] Whilst Ford's Pan-Pacific was a movement in preparation prior to the First World War, the results of global conflict magnified the significance of his early endeavours. As the premier Japanese-language in Hawai'i would reflect by 1921, "for the past ten years [the PPU has been] in the stage of publicity…[was] now [entering]… the stage of action".[181] Hume Ford was emboldened and in the wake of the formation of the League sought to position the PPU as an unofficial 'Pan-Pacific League of Nations'.[182] Whilst the 'Pacific' was already a distinctive keyword in international affairs prior to the 1920s, this was the decade it became institutionally reinforced, as a clamour for instruments of international cooperation, provided a geopolitical idea with an organisational emphasis.

To Isaiah Bowman, recently returned from the Paris Peace Conference, its "effects" were so "far-reaching that we shall have henceforth a new world" with new approaches and tools to manage the new order required.[183] Internationalism has deeper roots, but the 1920s and 30s were "fertile decades in the long-range history of global governance".[184] Characteristic was the vast expansion of non-official initiatives.[185] Whilst the post-war

[180] Hooper, *Elusive Destiny,* p. 82.
[181] 'Realization of the Pan-Pacific Ideals', *The Daily Nippu Jiji*, 13 September 1921, front page.
[182] Hooper, *Elusive Destiny*, p. 94.
[183] Isaiah Bowman, *The New World: Problems in Political Geography* (New York, 1921), p. 1.
[184] Stephen Wertheim, Ludovic Tournès & Inderjeet Parmar, 'The birth of global knowledge: intellectual networks in the world crisis, 1919-1939', *International Politics*, 55 (2018), p. 728; Manela, 'International Society as Historical Subject', 184–209. Andrew Arsan, Su Lin Lewis & Anne-Isabelle Richard, 'Editorial – the roots of global civil society and the interwar moment', *JGH*, 7/2 (2012), pp. 157-165 and Benjamin Auberer, Timo Holste & Carolin Liebsch, 'Editor's Note: Situating Internationalism, 1919-1940s', *New Global Studies*, 10/3 (2016), pp. 201-216 characterise the novel tendencies of 1920s internationalism.
[185] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, 2000). 'New diplomatic history' has made strides in examining non-official actors in diplomacy, Giles Scott-Smith, 'Introduction: Private Diplomacy, Making the Citizen Visible', *New Global Studies*, 8/1 (2014), pp. 1-7.

years were interpreted as a crisis, they also produced an environment of opportunity. A crisis of Christendom was counterbalanced by efforts to reverse the "entropic effects of modernity".[186] The 1922 Peking Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation, founded by John Mott and closely associated with YMCA for instance, adopted resolutions which included belief in the fundamental equality of "all races of mankind", articulating the notion that the church had a significant role to play in bridging the East and West.[187]

As Frederick Dickinson claims however, "what receives less attention in discussions of the global consequences of World War I are developments in the Asia/Pacific region".[188] Yet to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, "it [was] impossible to think of the Pacific thrown back into the old conditions".[189] "The region", Frank Fox, the editor of the *Lone Hand,* would reflect, "will be the first to feel the quickened pulsations of new forces stirring in the world".[190] Of significance was the enlargement of Japanese regional influence, which not only included new territory on the Chinese mainland, but an archipelagic empire with Mandatory responsibilities for the former German colonies in Micronesia.[191] Whilst

[186] Elisabeth Engel, James Kennedy & Justin Reynolds, 'Editorial – the theory and practice of ecumenism: Christian global governance and the search for world order, 1900-1980', *JGH*, 13/2 (2018), p. 159.
[187] Michael G. Thompson, 'Sherwood Eddy, The Missionary Enterprise, and The Rise of Christian Internationalism in 1920s America', *Modern Intellectual History*, 12/1 (2015), p. 84.
[188] Frederick R. Dickinson, 'First World War as Global War: Japan, New Zealand, and the Dawn of an Asia/Pacific World' in Nanyan Guo, Takashi Shogimen (eds.) *Japanese Studies Down Under: History, Politics, Literature and Art* (Kyoto, 2018), p. 112. See works such as Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History* (Oxford, 2017). Hermann Hiery, *Neglected War: The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I* (Honolulu, 1995) is an indispensable account.
[189] C. Brunsdon Fletcher, *The New Pacific: British Policy and German Aims* (New York, 1917).
[190] 'The Problem of the Pacific: Australia's Entry into International Affairs', *The Lone Hand*, 16 September 1919, 5.
[191] Oliviero Frattolillo & Antony Best (eds.), *Japan and the Great War* (Basingstoke, 2015).

the Americans called for Yap to be internationalised, such was its importance as a cable crossroads, the Australian government interpreted Japanese influence stretching 2,000 miles closer to the Commonwealth as an existential strategic and commercial threat.[192]

New Zealand had meanwhile contributed more than 100,000 men (nine per cent of its population) to fight during the war, drawing upon her Pacific possessions with 500 Cook Islanders and 149 Niueans serving.[193] Reflecting similar sentiments to those which emerged in Australia, the author James Cowan claimed "a clean Pacific" had emerged; "clean-swept of the enemy flag …it is ours for the remoulding now".[194] Like Japan, Australia and New Zealand emerged from the war with new regional responsibilities via Mandates, which represented a compromise between annexation and international administration; neo-colonies with international oversight (for New Guinea and Western Sāmoa respectively, and Nauru, collectively with Britain).[195] They conferred a new international character upon the Dominions.[196] The Commonwealth's 'External Affairs' department re-opened in 1921 (having shut in 1916) to administer New Guinea; a 'Department of External Affairs' was established in New Zealand meanwhile to administer Western Sāmoa and Nauru. These new responsibilities had "not only

[192] Tze M. Loo, 'AHR Reflections: Islands for an Anxious Empire', *AHR*, 124/5 (2019), p. 1701. See Timothy P. Maga, 'Prelude to War? The United States, Japan, and the Yap Crisis, 1918–22', *Diplomatic History*, 9/3 (1985), pp. 215–231; E.L. Piesse, 'Japan and Australia', *Foreign Affairs*, 4/3 (1926), pp. 475-488.
[193] Salesa, New Zealand's Pacific' in Byrnes (ed.) *New Zealand*, p. 163.
[194] James Cowan, 'Some Pacific Problems', *The Star* [Canterbury], 27 October 1917, p. 7.
[195] Quincy Wright, 'Sovereignty of the Mandates', *American Journal of International Law*, 17/4 (1923), pp. 691-703 (on p. 691).
[196] W. J. Hudson, *Billy Hughes in Paris: The Birth of Australian Diplomacy* (Melbourne, 1978). On Nauru, see Katerina Teaiwa, 'Ruining Pacific Islands: Australia's Phosphate Imperialism', *AHS*, 46/3 (2015), pp. 374-391.

admitted them [the Dominions] to the common councils of the nations, but is their main 'root of title' to an international personality separate from Great Britain...it has significances for them as small countries", Moore would further claim.[197] British India would meanwhile become the only non-self-governing member of the League.[198] Membership of the League thereby introduced a degree of novel international autonomy and accountability and it compelled a deeper engagement with international affairs – and particularly its new regional initiatives.

Pan-Pacific Parley

The first international conference hosted by the PPU was in August 1920, with one hundred and three participants attending the 'Pan-Pacific Science Conference'.[199] A 'Pele to the Pan-Pacifics', composed by the American geologist, Henry S. Washington (reproduced as an epigraphic introduction to this chapter) celebrated the occasion, capturing its inter-disciplinary nature and Ford's eclectic programming. A 'Pan Pacific Press Conference' followed in 1921 before a 'Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference' in 1922, where a "sub-conference", on education took place.[200] A 'Pan Pacific Food

[197] William Harrison Moore, 'The Dominions of the British Commonwealth in the League of Nations', *International Affairs*, 10/3 (1931), p. 385.
[198] Joseph McQuade, Beyond an Imperial Foreign Policy? India at the League of Nations, 1919-1946', *JICH*, 48/2 (2020), pp. 263-295; Vineet Thakur, 'Liberal, Liminal and Lost: India's First Diplomats and the Narrative of Foreign Policy', *JICH*, 45/2 (2017), pp. 232-258.
[199] *Proceedings of the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference, August 2 to 20, 1920* (Honolulu, 1921); Tomoko Akami, 'Beyond Empires' Science: Inter-Imperial Pacific Science Networks in the 1920s' in Herren (ed.), *Networking the International System*, p. 112.
[200] *Proceedings of the first Pan-Pacific Scientific Conference*, p. 90.

Conservation Conference' followed in 1924 before a "Pan Pacific Education, Recreation, Rehabilitation and Reclamation" and a 'Pan-Pacific Research Institute' was formed.[201] In 1928, a first Pan Pacific Women's Conference was held and in 1929, the first Pan Pacific Surgical Conference. Ultimately, these gatherings were of varying success. The latter two produced organisations surviving to this day; the others never attracted a second. A prospected "Junior Pan-Pacific Union" never took shape, nor did a "Pan-Pacific Olympiad".[202] Prospective conferences including a "Pan Pacific Polynesian Conference", a "Pan Pacific Labor Conference" and a "Pan Pacific Aviation Conference" also failed to materialise for reasons I expand upon in the forthcoming chapters.

Whilst interest in the Pacific geo-paradigm grew through Pan-Pacific organisation, a growing number of publications and initiatives did not necessarily equate to improved analysis. Herbert Gregory, Director of Honolulu's Bishop Museum and an instrumental player in ensuring the first PPU conference was a scientific one, also bolstered links between the islands and America's elite East Coast universities. He was in regular dialogue with George Blakeslee, Professor of History at Clark University and the founder of the *Journal of Race Development* (now *Foreign Affairs*) for instance who also possessed an interest in the Pacific and was part of the American delegation to the Washington Conference in 1921. Indeed, in its first issue, Blakeslee would write

[201] Ibid, p. 99.
[202] Ibid, p. 98.

that "in foreign affairs, the most important questions to-day... center about the Pacific Ocean."[203] In their correspondence, the pair discussed periodicals available to examine the region, reaching a damning judgement: "there is no quarterly, monthly or weekly journal…I can recommend", claimed Gregory.[204] New Zealand's *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was "largely detailed ethnology". "*The Pacific" (*Barclay-Smith's initiative), *"*pretends to cover Oceana [sic] but the numbers run strongly to Australian sports and scenery". Reflecting upon some of the most popular literature on the subject, Blakeslee would claim Bancroft's *New Pacific,* was "a slip-shod, superficial, inaccurate, paste-pot volume".[205] Their irritation was felt most keenly for Hume Ford's initiatives however: "*The Mid Pacific* is impossible… cut and pasted stuff…here and there without much merit. It is a personal propagandist machine," reflected Gregory.[206]

"All in all", reflected Gregory, "the prestige [of the PPU] is not great and my correspondence and conversations with thinking men lead me to think it is growing less. The cause seems to be a discrepancy between promise and performance".[207] Gregory had grown frustrated at the quality of PPU events, reflecting that following the 'Pan Pacific Educational Conference', he "was one of the men who wanted to climb a tree". "The real result", he complained, "was that somebody from Japan told about their educational problems and somebody from New Zealand told about theirs… out of twenty-eight men

[203] George H. Blakeslee, 'Introduction', *The Journal of Race Development*, 1/1 (1910), p. 2.
[204] Gregory to Blakeslee, 10 November 1923, Gregory Papers, Box 11, Folder 1, BMA.
[205] Blakeslee to Gregory, 4 December 1923, Gregory Papers, Box 11, Folder 1, BMA.
[206] Gregory to Blakeslee, 10 November 1923, Gregory Papers, Box 11, Folder 1, BMA.
[207] Gregory to W.R. Farrington [Governor of Territory], 4 April 1922, Gregory Papers, Box 14, Folder 2, BMA.

who attended…there did not seem to be any common educational problems among them".[208] "Under the circumstances", Gregory continued, "it is difficult to meet every criticism that the inviting phrase 'Pan-Pacific'…'center of the world's future activity', 'Pacific League of Nations', have been skilfully appropriated for advertising purposes".[209] To Gregory, it was clear that Hume Ford's Pan-Pacific was a singularly promotional initiative. In the end, he was sure that the future of the PPU be best conserved "by restricting its scope...a conservative, unambitious program so carried out as to enlist universal confidence".[210]

Ford might well have sought to dedicate "his life…to achieving an entente cordiale between the various races and nations inhabiting…the Pacific Ocean and territories contiguous…," but he was also a schemer and a dreamer.[211] According to Courtney Sato, he was "temperamental, demanding and self-absorbed".[212] Hessel Duncan-Hall meanwhile, a recent graduate of Oxford and later Professor of History at Syracuse, reflected that despite being a "splendid organiser", Hume Ford "excited jealousy because he pushes…everything and claims credit for everything..."[213] Gregory's sense was that a more rigorous and respectable approach was required beyond PPU work, but Duncan-Hall autioned against abandoning its good work, claiming "we must…encourage the

[208] Gregory, 'Address at Pan-Pacific Club', BMA.
[209] Gregory to Farrington, 4 April 1922, Gregory Papers, Box 14, Folder 2, BMA.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Pan Pacific', *The China Press*, 4 February 1930, p. 16.
[212] Courtney Sato, "A Picture of Peace": Friendship in Interwar Pacific Women's Internationalism', *Qui Parle*, 27/2 (2018), 482.
[213] Diary of H. Duncan Hall, 22 June 1925, H. Duncan Hall Papers, MC5547, Series 10, Box 54, National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), p. 1.

growth of similar networks in the Pacific".[214] In the end, Hall would advocate for the progression of a new organisation, "the most promising thing of recent years in the Pacific": the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).[215]

[214] Duncan-Hall to Gregory, 15 June 1926, Gregory Papers, Box 14, File 4, BMA, p. 4.
[215] Ibid, p. 5-6.

"Problems of the Pacific"

The IPR was born of a curious fusion of impulses: trans-Pacific missiology, commercial interests, scientific curiosity and a renewed spirit of international organisation.[216] Initially intended as a conference of YMCA workers meeting under PPU auspices, the IPR "carried well" the "Pan-Pacific idea" but developed independently of Ford's initiatives and far exceeded the achievements of the PPU in quality and influence.[217]

Founded in Honolulu in 1925, the IPR was – much like the League – an "outcome and an instrument" of the post-war order.[218] Yet unlike the League, the IPR has since been "minimised as a factor" in the history of international organisation.[219] Yet by the 1930s it was the best source of information on the Pacific, laying the foundations for contemporary area studies programs, underpinned by the wide readership of its two principal periodicals: *Pacific Affairs* (1928-present) and the *Far Eastern Survey* (from 1935). It also possessed the fourth highest income of any private international

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[216] The best single-authored history of the IPR is Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*; Michael Richard Anderson, 'Pacific Dreams: The Institute of Pacific Relations and the Struggle for the Mind of Asia', Ph.D. diss, The University of Texas at Austin, 2009 is an excellent thesis on its history. Jon Thares Davidann, "Colossal Illusions": U.S-Japanese Relations in the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1919-1938', *JWH*, 12/1 (2001), pp. 155-182 identifies reasons for its failure.

[217] Saul Pollock, 'The Pan-Pacific Idea', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, 84/1 (January 1926), p. 18.

[218] Daniel Laqua, 'Transnational intellectual cooperation, the League of Nations, and the problem of order', *JGH*, 6/2 (2011), p. 246.

[219] Priscilla Roberts, 'The Institute of Pacific Relations: pan-Pacific and pan-Asian visions of international order', *International Politics*, 55/6 (2018), p. 836.

organisation by the early 1930s.[220] To Arnold Toynbee, it possessed a "saving tendency" through which one could examine the quintessential world-problem.[221] Indeed, Toynbee's first trip to Asia was to the third IPR conference at Kyoto in 1929, which "settled both the time and the direction of the journey".[222]

If the IPR had a philosophy, its mantras were to be "explorative and educational".[223] It drew inspiration from the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, whilst the 'conference method' of the Pan American Union was an important frame of reference.[224] Its unofficial nature was its greatest strength and weakness: informality encouraged frank exchange, but also meant the IPR risked becoming a 'house of talk' without the means to influence governments directly.[225] It emerged however from a sincere belief that the international instruments (and ideology) of the time were insufficient to prevent another global conflict in which the Pacific could become its epicentre. It was a distinct response to the Pacific geo-paradigm therefore and a sense that the foreign policy elites of Europe had neither the will nor the urgency to manage distinctive regional concerns. Attending the League on behalf of the IPR, John Merle Davis, the organisation's first General Secretary, would report that "officials spoke of the remoteness of the Pacific

[220] Lyman Cromwell White, *The Structure of Private International Organizations* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 89.
[221] Arnold Toynbee, 'The Problems of the Pacific', *The Spectator*, 18 January 1935, p. 89-90.
[222] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Journey to China or Things Which Are Seen* (London, 1931), p. v.
[223] Phillips Bradley, 'Private International Organizations and International Cooperation: The Institute of Pacific Relations', *Social Forces*, 17/3 (1939), p. 418.
[224] Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca, 2015), p. 73; Ray Lyman Wilbur, 'The Conference Method in International Relations', *Pacific Affairs*, 1/2 (1928), pp. 1-10.
[225] 'Is the Institute Worth While?', *News Bulletin* [Institute of Pacific Relations], February 1928, pp. 10-14.

area…they apparently felt somewhat out of touch with it as a political sphere."[226] The IPR would develop partly therefore as a counterpoint. It "should not be dominated by European psychology", its first Research Secretary, Condliffe, would reflect.[227]

In its early years, the magnetism of the IPR stemmed from multiple sources. For the Japanese delegation, it aligned with the 'cooperative diplomacy' of the Foreign Ministry.[228] Such was its importance, the Ministry provided substantial financial support to Japanese delegations. 22,000 yen were made available for the 1927 conference in Honolulu, representing more than half the budget required.[229] For David Z.T. Yui meanwhile, the leader of the Chinese YMCA and the preeminent figure in the Chinese Group, the approach of the IPR was thought to form the basis for Chinese international relations: "the foundation of mutual understanding and appreciation, sincerity and reciprocity, confidence and goodwill".[230]

Yui's findings were reflective of his close involvement with the pacifist tendencies of trans-Pacific missiology but also a deeper (and neglected) interest by Chinese intellectuals – particularly those associated with the 'New Culture' – in the Pacific geo-

[226] J. Merle Davis, 'Geneva Through Pacific Eyes', *Pacific Affairs*, 1/2 (1928), p. 13. There were however League observers, such as at Banff in 1933, 'Pacific Problems and the Banff Conference', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 21/1 (1934), pp. 58-64.
[227] Condliffe, *Problems of the Pacific 1929*, p. 4.
[228] Tomoko Akami, 'From the Center to the Periphery', p. 17.
[229] Han Jung-Sun, 'Rationalizing the Orient: The East Asia Cooperative Community" in Prewar Japan', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 60/4 (2005), p. 492.
[230] David Z.T. Yui, 'China and the Pacific World', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/1 (1930), p. 44.

paradigm.[231] The journal *Taipingyang* [The Pacific Ocean], set up in 1917 by Li Jiannong and Yang Duanliu is instructive.[232] Little in *Taipingyang* proved regionally specific, but the paradigm became a compelling reformist, modernising frame of reference.[233] The IPR proves therefore an important touchstone for understanding the 'international mind' of Republican China. Partially subsidised by Kuomintang, it proved a small but influential grouping.[234] Where Hu Shih refuted the simplistic notion that the East was determined by spirituality and West was by materialism, delegates also reflected the growing anti-imperial sentiments of their contemporaries, providing a corrective to the notion that America was anti-imperial.[235]

There were 109 participants at its first conference in Honolulu, 136 at the second (and 214 at the third (Kyoto). Most attendees were academics (40%), businessmen (15-20%), journalists (10%) and religious figures and social workers (10-15%). Twenty percent of attendees in 1925 were women.[236] In all, the IPR comprised fourteen autonomous 'national' councils. Best described as a "think-tank confederacy" (as

[231] Dominic Sachsenmaier, 'Alternative Visions of World order in the Aftermath in World War I: Global Perspectives on Chinese Approaches' in Sebastian Conrad & Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds.), *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 151-178
[232] Zhiguang Yinp, *Politics of Art: The Creation Society and the Practice of Theoretical Struggle in Revolutionary China* (London, 2014), pp. 172-174.
[233] Lu Peng, 'Pre-1949 Chinese IR: An Occluded History', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 68/2 (2014), pp. 133-155.
[234] Roberts, 'pan-Pacific and pan-Asian visions', 844. There were only 100 members of the Chinese Group by 1931, L.T. Chen, 'Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations', *The China Critic*, 18 June 1931, p. 585.
[235] Hu Shih, 'Two Wings of One Bird: A Chinese Attitude Toward Eastern and Western Civilization', (trans. Lucius Porter), *Pacific Affairs*, 1 (1928), 1; Chang Yun-yo, 'American Imperialism: A Chinese View', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/3 (1930), pp. 278-284.
[236] Charles F. Loomis, 'Light from Three Conferences', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/1 (1930), p. 127.

Priscilla Roberts describes it), they appointed representatives within quotas established by a 'Pacific Council' (governing body) to which each appointed a member.[237] American, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand groups attended the first session in 1925, before a 'British Group' was established in 1927. Between 1933-34, French, Dutch and Russian Groups were formed. Indian and Thai national groups joined during the Second World War.[238] Whilst some, such as the American journalist Herbert Adams Gibbons stressed their regional significance, no Latin American states joined the IPR prior to the Second World War. One explanation is that influential American delegations conceived Latin America through a Pan American, rather than a Pan-Pacific lens.[239]

[237] White, *Private International Organizations*, p. 143. See 'Constitution of the Institute of Pacific Relations', *News Bulletin* (October 1927), 16-19.
[238] Akami, 'From the Center', p. 14.
[239] 'Pacific Countries of South America', *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, 25 February 1930, p. 307.

Year	Location of Conference
1925	Honolulu, Territory of Hawai'i
1927	Honolulu, Territory of Hawai'i
1929	Kyoto, Imperial Japan
1931	Shanghai-Hangchow (Hangzhou), Republican China
1933	Banff, Canada
1936	Yosemite, United States
1939	Virginia Beach, United States
1942	Mont Tremblant, Canada
1945	Hot Springs, United States

Table 1 – Locations of the First Nine Conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Condliffe's Fingerprints

In its first five years, the work of the New Zealander, John Bell Condliffe, was instrumental in steering its direction in his role as Research Secretary. Born in Australia, Condliffe migrated to New Zealand in 1904 before attending Canterbury College.[240] Like many contemporaries, war defined his emergent world-view which, after being struck by shellfire at Passchendaele, he set up the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Educational Scheme with Bert Tocker, a fellow economist from Canterbury and later took up a place at Cambridge, studying under Keynes.[241] On his return to New Zealand, he bridged academia and policy, publishing monthly analyses for the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, foreshadowing his later work in the Economic Intelligence Service at the League of Nations where he coordinated the first six *World Economic Surveys*. Whilst he is best known for his years in Geneva, Condliffe's work in Honolulu from 1926-1930 was a defining period in his life.

By the early 1920s, he was sure of the emerging significance of the Pacific, and of New Zealand's place in it and with Duncan-Hall, he penned an influential pamphlet defining the significance of the 'Pacific problem'.[242] He was clear it was of "greatest importance that public opinion in the Dominions be awakened to the urgency of Pacific

[240] On the history and significance of Canterbury College, see James Hight & M.F. Candy, *A Short History of the Canterbury College* (Auckland, 1927).
[241] Roger Boshier, 'John Condliffe Confronts Captain Kirk: A New Zealand Perspective on Mandatory Adult Education during World War I', *Studies in Adult Education*, 14/1 (1982), p. 17.
[242] H. Duncan Hall & J. B Condliffe, *What of the Pacific? A Searchlight on its problems (*Sydney, 1925).

problems".[243] For Condliffe, "the real problem of the Pacific" was "the problem of controlling industrial development so that it may lead neither to war nor to revolution".[244] Looking out on a region with a "disturbance of economic equilibrium", political and economic organisation – he believed – were the only viable solutions, with the IPR an instrument in understanding and managing population pressures which he regarded the causal factor.[245] Drawing upon the language of human sociology, which was being spearheaded by scholars such as Lewis Mumford and Radhakamal Mukerjee, his understanding of regionalism was its existence in a state of economic 'balance' with population distributed with respect to resources.[246]

Arriving in Honolulu in 1926, Condliffe believed the early work of the IPR was underpinned by a "curious YMCA belief in the discussion method" with its "repetitive basis" and "little content" and was influential in shifting the organisation from one influenced by religious internationalism to one underpinned by scientific endeavour.[247] He believed (echoing Gregory) that "the problem [of Pacific investigation] is too big to be solved by sporadic and individual effort…"[248] "Little use", he would later reflect, had yet been made…of the "comparative method" which he came to strongly advocate and

[243] J.B. Condliffe, 'Relation of the British Commonwealth to Pacific Problems', *News Bulletin*, 16 October 1926, 12.
[244] J.B. Condliffe, 'The Industrial Revolution in the Far East (Concluded from Last Issue)', *Economic Record*, 3/1 (1927), p. 99.
[245] Condliffe, 'Industrial Revolution (Concluded), 83.
[246] Lewis Mumford, 'Regionalism and Irregionalism', *Sociological Review*, 19 (October 1927), pp. 277-288.
[247] Paul F. Hooper (ed.), R*emembering the Institute of Pacific Relations: The Memoirs of William L. Holland* (Tokyo, 1995), p. 433.
[248] Condliffe, 'Industrial Revolution (Concluded)', 87.

something that Elizabeth Green, the first editor of *Pacific Affairs,* would dub the "Pacific Technique".[249] Indeed, the IPR's approach would be summed up by Condliffe as "international scientific research", rather than an attempt at "patching up treaties".[250]

Soon after his arrival in Honolulu, he spent six months in China and Japan (from October 1927), visiting the United States and Canada and working with Merle Davis on an agenda for the 1929 conference in Kyoto.[251] An early example of his impetus was an attempt to coordinate studies of China's rural economy, believed to be a laboratory for civilisation at large. Influenced by the work of Carl Alsberg, an agricultural chemist based at the Stanford Food Institute whose address on the population problems of the region at the 1927 conference (according to Condliffe) lead "to a whole program of research in standards of living and land utilization", linking the study of population to the inorganic world.[252] It was an approach in which studies in China and Japan as well as in Australia, New Zealand, Korea and the Philippines were produced.[253]

In China, Condliffe coordinated the work of Nankai University, a private university (modelled on the London School of Economics) and the IPR who funded research led

[249] Condliffe, 'The Pressure of Population', p. 198; Elizabeth Green, 'The Pacific Technique: New Clinical Notes on its Evolution', *Pacific Affairs*, 1/4 (1928), pp. 12-16.
[250] 30th June 1925, Diary of the conference, Papers of John Bell Condliffe, BANC MSS CB-901, carton 36, Bancroft Library.
[251] Charles F. Loomis, 'Light from Three Conferences', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/1 (1930), pp. 126-136
[252] John B. Condliffe, 'Social Scientist Beyond the University', in Joseph S. Davis (ed.), *Carl Alsberg: Scientist at Large* (Stanford, 1948), p. 118-119.
[253] Ibid, p. 104; Carl L. Alsberg, *Land Utilization Investigations and Their Bearing on International Relations* (Honolulu, 1933).

by John Lossing Buck, the American agricultural economist and missionary (and husband to the better-known Pearl Buck). Later that year, the English historian Richard Henry Tawney arrived at Nankai.[254] Known to Condliffe having met at WEA summer schools in England in 1918, Condliffe assigned a young Bill Holland (also of Canterbury College and a future IPR Research Secretary) to be Tawney's assistant.[255] For Tawney, the Chinese village was an analogue of the pre-industrial West: "a rhetorical metaphor for evolutionary economics and a scientific proof of its validity" and his investigations resulted in *Land and Labour in China*, principally to inform the forthcoming IPR conference to be held in Shanghai in 1931.[256]

Whilst Condliffe was influential in setting the IPR's formative agenda, he also reflected more widely on whether regional organisation was optimal in examining 'world-problems'. "It might well be", he claimed, "that the reconciliation of group organisation in the Pacific area with world organisation may be among the worthiest subjects of study for the Institute of Pacific Relations".[257] Whilst Condliffe was sure the world should be treated as a single economic organism, how the Pacific related and corresponded to this global picture underscored his approach.[258]

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[254] E-Tu Zen Sun, 'The growth of the academic community 1912–1949' in John K. Fairbank & Albert Feuerwerker (eds.) *The Cambridge History of China* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 400
[255] Boshier, 'John Condliffe', p. 20.
[256] Margherita Zanasi, 'Western Utopias, Missionary Economics, and the Chinese Village', *JWH*, V24/2 (2013), p. 362. It was a topic Condliffe considered in *China to-day: Economic* (Boston, 1932); R.H. Tawney, *Land and Labour in China* (London, 1932) .
[257] J.B. Condliffe, 'Memorandum on the Relation of the British Commonwealth to Pacific Problems', *News Bulletin* [Institute of Pacific Relations], 16 October 1926, 15.
[258] See Slobodian's mapping of Condliffe as influential attendee at International Studies Conferences, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA, 2018), pp. 70-79.

Condliffe was also influential in defining the IPR's governance, proving sure that its budget should be viewed "with non-American eyes", tasking another New Zealander resident in Honolulu, Hugh Cowper Tennent, an accountant (whose wife was also better known – the artist 'Madge' Tennent), to lead its establishment of national quotas.[259]

[259] Hugh C. Tennent [Central Executive Committee of IPR] to J. Merle Davis [General Secretary], 11 April 1927, C44 699, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 27, 30/0630, Archives New Zealand (hereafter ANZ).

Dominion Inter-Imperialism

From the outset however, British officials were divided on the IPR's virtues. John Tilley, British Ambassador to Japan, found "to [his] surprise" on a visit to Honolulu that "the subject in the air was Pan-Pacific relations...something superior to its European counterpart", believing "this was myth".[260] The Australian Commissioner to the United States meanwhile, J.A.M Elder, didn't "think much of the Honolulu Institute plan"."[261] "Honolulu", the New Zealand literary scholar, ethnologist and IPR member Macmillan Brown would claim, "was badly smitten with what the Americans call 'conferencitis', a mild inoculation intended to render a community immune to the more severe 'revolutionitis'".[262]

In a report on the second conference at Honolulu meanwhile, Gerald H. Phipps, then British Consul at Honolulu would reflect upon "the sensationalism of American provincial journals…exaggerating slight difference of opinion into a "clash" between national groups", complaining meanwhile at a lack of business representation. The limited selection of Chinese delegates meanwhile also gave "an impression of unreality". "America" he thought, "was plainly over-represented".[263] Indeed, 86.35% of the IPR's

[260] Tilley to Lord Cushenden, 18 October 1928, A 981; Org 93, National Archives Australia (hereafter NAA), cited in Akami, *Internationalizing,* p. 39.
[261] Letter from Merle Davis to Wilbur, 4 April 1925, Wilbur Papers, Box 22, Folder 5, HIA.
[262] J. Macmillan Brown, *Peoples & Problems of the Pacific*, vol. 2 (London, 1927), p. 238.
[263] Gerald H. Phipps to Austen Chamberlain [Foreign Secretary], 16 September 1927, C 344 812, ANZ.

funding came from American and Hawaiian groups in 1929.[264] Canada in second place supplied just 6.2%.[265] It was a situation which has led Tomoko Akami to conclude that the "IPR's vision was distinctly American".[266]

This may have proven the 'official' British view, but it was not universally held. Lionel Curtis, founder of the Round Table movement and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA), reflected in correspondence to Lord Meston that whilst "the publications of the Institute… [were not] free of an element of propaganda", his view was that the Pacific was "a centre of world conflict" and "worthy of attention".[267] When considering the formation of a South African RIIA, James Carruthers Beattie, Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Town requested information on the character on the IPR.[268]

Daniel Gorman locates a particular kind of internationalism within the 1920s British Empire, which he dubs 'imperial internationalism' where the Dominions simultaneously pursued imperial and national positions, illustrated by the role played by High Commissioners in London and the Dominion's separate, but allied positions at the League of Nations.[269] Ultimately, the IPR proves a compelling organisation to examine this complex relationship between the individual agency of delegates, civil society, and state

[264] White, *Private International Organizations*, p. 147.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Akami, *Internationalizing,* p. 5.
[267] Ibid., p. 1.
[268] James Cotton, 'Chatham House and Africa, c. 1920-1960: The Limitations of the Curtis Vision', *South African Historical Journa*l, 68/2 (2016), p. 149.
[269] Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society* (Cambridge, 2012).

power – particularly the relationship between imperialism and internationalism in a period often represented as crisis of imperial diplomacy.[270]

A transcript of an informal discussion by members of the British delegation in Kyoto in 1929 paints a revealing picture: the Melburnian Barrister, Frederic Eggleston reflected that Dominion status was purely 'nominal' – "Australia did not desire separate representation abroad". S.K. Datta meanwhile, a YMCA grandee and an Indian representative in the delegation claimed that whilst nominally autonomous at the League, India would always vote with Britain.[271] Carol West-Watson, a nurse and educationalist from New Zealand reflected a more radical position however, claiming the Dominion had the reputation "of playing second fiddle to Britain" ...but "New Zealand was finding herself as a Pacific nation".[272]

Ultimately, the structure of the IPR enabled 'national' research groups to produce data papers and projects which represented attempts by private individuals in an unofficial capacity to reflect upon 'national' positions. Some caused tension. As Lawrence T. Woods has shown, the Department of External Affairs in Canada refused to reimburse the journalist John Nelson in exchange for the submission of a report on the first IPR conference, considering it a "meddling unofficial initiative".[273] The barrister Tristan Buesst

[270] 'The Pacific in World Politics: I', *The Living Age*, 17 September 1921, 691.
[271] 'Diplomatic Relations within the Empire', *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 9/2 (1930), pp. 202-204.
[272] Ibid., 204.
[273] Lawrence T. Woods, 'John Nelson and the Origins of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs', *International Journal*, 59/2 (2004), p. 393.

meanwhile would query, "were we not, in treading on such dangerous ground, in a measure usurping the functions of more august authorities than the "amateur diplomats" we professed to be?"[274]

Australia on a Pacific Stage

Perhaps the Australian IPRs best-known member in its formative years was Eggleston. Having served as a lawyer on Billy Hughes's staff at the Paris Peace Conference, he entered Victorian state politics before joining the IPR in 1927, coordinating the Australian Group and serving on the Pacific Council. He was also instrumental in founding a Victorian branch of the RIIA, later editing the *Austral-Asiatic Bulletin*, an influential bi-monthly review of regional affairs before becoming Head of the Australian Legation at Chungking during the Second World War.[275]

According to his biographer, Warren Osmond, such was the effect of his interest and involvement that "Pacific dreaming was Eggleston's first response to political trauma".[276] "What we need in Australia", Eggleston became sure was "the development of a Pacific

[274] Tristan Buesst, 'The Kyoto Conference', *The Australian Quarterly*, 2/5 (1930), p. 87.
[275] James Cotton, 'The Institute's seventieth volume: the journal, its origins and its engagement with foreign policy debate', *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70/5 (2016), p. 3 & 9.
[276] Warren Osmond, *Frederic Eggleston: An Intellectual in Australian Politics* (Sydney, 1985), p. 136-137, cited in Warwick Anderson, 'Liberal Intellectuals as Pacific Supercargo: White Australian Masculinity and Racial Thought on the Boarder-Lands', *AHS*, 46/3 (2015), p. 430.

sense." "We should realise that the Pacific is one of the most interesting areas of the world's surface", he continued "and that our economic future is bound up with it".[277]

A particularly instructive example of Eggleston's formative, but influential involvement was his role in the Victorian group's study of regional disarmament.[278] "The geographical factor…questions of locality and distance and time, are fundamental", he would claim.[279] Whilst his fellow Melburnian W. Harrison Moore was sure that there could be no grounds for a separate regional organisation, given "there is in the last resort a single complex of international relations".[280] Eggleston would instead make the case for a regional approach. He would proffer, "it is no longer true that naval problems are unified world problems. Locality and distance are limiting factors, and regional considerations are, all important".[281] Much like Condliffe, Eggleston was a believer in the maintenance of a dynamic equilibrium in the world community in which regional organisation would play a significant mitigating role.[282]

There was a wider political agenda to Eggleston's work, exemplified in the opening pages of the *Austral-Asiatic Bulletin*: "the duty of Australian statesmen is to study the

[277] Hannon Smith, 'Towards Diplomatic Representation', in David Goldsworthy (ed.), *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia* (Carlton South, 2001), pp. 64-65.
[278] F.W. Eggleston, 'Disarmament and the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/12 (1930), pp. 1095-1108.
[279] Ibid., 1096.
[280] W. Harrison Moore, 'The Imperial and Foreign Relations of Australia', in Cecil Hurst et al. (ed.) *Great Britain and the Dominions: Lectures on the Harris Foundation 1927* (Chicago, 1928), p. 137.
[281] Eggleston, 'Disarmament', 1097.
[282] Quincy Wright, *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace* (London, 1935), cited in Daniel Gorman, 'International Law and the International Thought of Quincy Wright, 1918-1945', *Diplomatic History*, 41/2 (2017), p. 343.

Pacific, to formulate a national policy suited to Australia's position, to maintain friendly relations with her neighbours there, and to refuse to allow her attitude to be influenced by antagonisms elsewhere."[283] These were reflections which pre-empted and influenced Prime Minister Lyons' advocation of a regional pact of non-aggression in 1937 before R.G. Menzies' (also a Melburnian lawyer) well-known speech of 1939 which reflected a position held by Eggleston (and his fellow members of the Australian IPR for the best part of a decade): "In the Pacific", he would proclaim, "we have primary responsibilities and primary risks…the problems of the Pacific are different. What Great Britain calls the Far East is to us the near north".[284]

Locating a distinct Australian foreign policy tradition is difficult. One historiographical tendency has been to claim no such tradition occurred prior to 1960s, a view most convincingly rebuked by James Cotton who chronicles the rich and variegated approaches taken from the 1910s to 1950s.[285] A study of the Australian IPR sheds light on its pre-1945 precedents revealing a formative, yet distinctive tendency toward external affairs which were particularly attuned to regional concerns.[286]

[283] R.L. Curthoys, 'Introducing the Austral-Asiatic Bulletin', *Austral-Asiatic Bulletin*, 1/1 (1937), p. 4.
[284] 'Broadcast Speech by Mr R.G. Menzies, Prime Minister', 26 April 1939, A*ustralian Government – DFAT*, https://www.dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/Pages/volume-02/73-broadcast-speech-by-mr-rg-menzies-prime-minister (20 September 2020).
[285] The most enduring notion has been the 'dependent ally' articulated by Robert Menzies, cited in Allan Gyngell, *Fear of Abandonment: Australia in the World since 1945* (Carlton, 2017), p. 47. A secondary tradition is of the 'middle power', Carl Ungerer, 'The "Middle power" concept in Australian foreign policy', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 53/4 (2007), pp. 547-548.
[286] Alexander E. Davis, 'Making a settler colonial IR: Imagining the 'international' in early Australian International Relations', *Review of International Studies* (2020), pp. 1-19.



Figure 10 – 'Peter Buck and Friends in New Zealand' [labelled incorrectly - this was likely taken at the IPR 1927 in Honolulu], J.B. Condliffe, H.C. Tennent, J.E. Strachan and Buck (sitting), People. BM Directors, Buck, SP205610, BMA.

Rooted Regionalism

There has been a tendency for scholars of internationalism to get lost in the glamour and frenzy of conferences, a seduction predicated primarily upon the availability of institutional source materials. The true test of international ideas however rests upon their societal diffusion. In this regard, scholars have been less successful in assessing the depth and breadth of international thought.[287] Histories of Pacific regionalism are little different. Each of the various forms of Pan-Pacific organisation discussed in this thesis proved – to varying degrees – successful in articulating the benefits of their summitry, whilst it is conference ephemera you'll find resting atop archival boxes.

Jan de Vries characterises the transnational histories of figures who attended summits as the study of "unusually cosmopolitan individuals".[288] Of course, individuals can be the vectors of ideas and the events they attend significant 'convergence spaces'.[289] Yet mobile actors and the events they attend may not be the sole, nor most significant source. To explore the wider diffusion of international ideas, David Armitage adopts the idea of "domestication": ideas which take root having being introduced by a mobile elite or from cosmopolitan centres.[290] This is a useful intervention, yet metaphorically, it

[287] Kate Darian-Smith, Catriona Elder & Fiona Paisley, "Are We Internationally Minded?" Everyday Cultures of Australian Internationalism in the mid-20th Century', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 43/4 (2019), pp. 405-411.
[288] de Vries, 'Playing with Scales', 28.
[289] Jake Hodder, Introduction: Historical Geographies of Internationalism, 1900-1950', *Political Geography*, 49 (2015), pp. 1-6.
[290] Armitage, 'The International Turn', p. 243.

implies a unidirectionality: ideas are discussed and refined at the summit before diffusion and "domesticated". Instead, the final section of this chapter posits the idea of *rooted regionalism*: a character and culture of internationalism amongst those linked to wider networks through its personnel or publications, but never attending its international gatherings, despite their role in stimulating regional discussion and defining the scope of regional study, locally.

Over the course of its existence, the influence of the IPR's regionalist approach was far-reaching. Its delegates, drawn from an expanded group of public intellectuals, regularly syndicated articles for national and international publications, whilst organisational funding enabled delegates to conduct speaking tours during and upon their return from conferences.[291] In 1936, Constance Duncan, then Secretary of the Victorian branch of the Australian League of Nations Union and a fluent Japanese speaker, attended the IPR conference at Yosemite.[292] Her trip was sponsored by the Australian Broadcasting Company, an example of the ways in which broadcasting, Catherine Fisher proclaims, became a significant method by returned 'transpacific travellers' to disseminate knowledge.[293] Indeed, a duty of dissemination was felt by many. Julia Rapke, secretary of the Australian Pan-Pacific Women's Committee would claim that attendees "had the responsibility of rendering… an account of the deliberations for which they

[291] Kate Darian-Smith & James Waghorne, 'Australian Universities, Expertise and Internationalism after World War I', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 43/4 (2019), pp. 412-428.
[292] Hilary Summy, 'From Missionary to Ministerial Adviser: Constance Duncan and Australia-Japan Relations, 1922-1947', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 54/1 (2008), p. 34.
[293] Catherine Fisher, 'World citizens: Australians women's internationalist broadcasts, 1930-1939', *Women's History Review*, 28/4 (2019), p. 630.

represented the Dominion."[294] This was particularly the case in the educational profession, where the resolutions of the PPWA were reproduced in teacher's journals, whilst women teachers were encouraged to apply to represent Australia.[295]

Whilst the IPR was attended by New Zealand's political and educational elite, there is ample evidence of the ways in which the influence of the IPR could be found circulating the Dominion more widely with educationalists some of the most important sources of diffusion. Frank Milner was one of the leading educationalists of his age and perhaps the most well-known headmaster in the Dominion.[296] A student of Macmillan Brown at Canterbury College, he later became Principal of Waitaki Boys' High and President of the Federation of New Zealand Teachers. It wasn't until he was forty-five however that he made his first overseas visit as a delegate to the Pan Pacific Education Conference in 1922.[297] On his return, he emerged a strong proponent of the notion that education played a significant function in the promotion of international understanding. Nothing less, he claimed, than the attempt to "curb the extravagances of jingoism and to assert a planetary patriotism based upon service and love of country rather than upon hatred of other peoples".[298] He became convinced that "Imperial history had served New

[294] Julia Rapke, 'Getting in First on Critics of the Pan-Pacific Conference', *The Australian Women's Weekly*, 18 August 1934, p. 25.
[295] *Education: Journal of the N.S.W. Public School Teachers Federation. 11/1* (15 November 1929), p. 23.
[296] W.L. Renwick, 'Review of Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of the Man, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 18/2 (1984), p. 183; For a biography, Ian Milner & John McIndoe, *Milner of Waitaki: Portrait of the Man* (Dunedin, 1983).
[297] 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Banff Conference', C344 727, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 55, 75/0215, ANZ.
[298] Frank Milner, 'The Pacific Rotary Conference: I- Civilization and the Pacific', *The Rotarian* (February 1926), p. 18.

Zealand well", but she also had "her own civilisation" to develop.[299] Addressing the First Secondary Schools Associations' Conference in May 1922, Milner reported upon his experiences in Honolulu: "The Pacific is not incarnadined by the Old World's tradition of secular hatreds. It is fast evolving a nobler tradition of its own," reflecting a growing tendency to characterise an emergent, distinctive Pacific civilisation.[300] He also explored America's Junior High School system, making recommendations in an official report to the government, including "that the province of history be…further enlarged to…world history – with special application to Pacific peoples". He also moved that the resolutions of the Pan-Pacific Education Conference (which Gregory had summarily dismissed), be observed.[301] After attending the Banff conference of the IPR in 1933, Milner gave the Cawthron Lecture, the most influential scientific institute in New Zealand, reflecting upon "the cosmic extent of this province of human interest" (the Pacific) noting that his experiences (at Banff) were responsible for his selection of topic and lamenting the complacency of New Zealanders concerning Pacific problems.[302]

The same year Milner first returned from Hawai'i (1922), Nellie Euphemia Coad, a teacher at Wellington Girls' School caused a stir at the Secondary Schools' Teachers Conference, putting forth a motion for a Pacific-orientated curriculum for New Zealand's schools: a motion which ultimately carried.[303] Coad reached similar conclusions to

[299] 'New Zealand History', *Evening Post*, 14 May 1921, p. 6.
[300] Frank Milner, 'Education of the Future', *Press*, 22 May 1922.
[301] Frank Milner, 'Report on Junior High School Movement in the United States of America', *AJHR* Session I-II, E-11 (1921), p. 7.
[302] Milner's lecture reproduced, 'Cawthron Lecture', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 25 October 1934, p. 9.
[303] 'New Zealand History', *Evening Post*, 14 May 1921, p. 6.

Milner, namely, that "any education…that can give its students a glimpse of the racial and economic problems which underlie Pacific problems will be performing a community service of no mean order."[304] For Coad too, New Zealanders should "look at world history from [their] own particular angle".[305]

Rather than reading Coad's motion as a challenge to cultural consensus in New Zealand, we should see it as something specific to the post-war situation, where a resurgent interest in history and civics was reflected in education policy.[306] A result of Coad's thinking was *A History of the Pacific (1926),* published the same year as a companion work, *The Geography of the Pacific*. Milner reviewed the manuscript of the former (and was acknowledged by Coad in the preface), with C.J. Parr, then Minister of Education penning the foreword to a work explicitly written to meet the "requirements of that section of the new history syllabus that deals with the Pacific and its lands".[307]

[304] N.E. Coad, *The Geography of the Pacific* (Wellington, 1926), preface.
[305] N.E. Coad, *A History of the Pacific* (Wellington, 1926), preface.
[306] Roger Openshaw, 'The Highest Expression of Devotion: New Zealand Primary-Schools and Patriotic Zeal during the Early 1920s', *History of Education*, 9/4 (1980), pp. 333-344.
[307] Coad, *Pacific*, preface.



Figure 11 – 'Nellie Coad, photographed while she was a teacher at Wellington Girls' College', P. A. Lawlor Collection, PAColl-6260-1-03, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

In her chronicle – of a character long since challenged by historians – Pacific history unfolds through the exploits of Balboa, Magellan, Tasman and Cook. This was a Pacific history encompassing circum-Pacific dimensions however, including continental expansionism across Eurasia, alongside American westerly expansionism, regarded as significant in the ocean's history as the exploits of Cook in Hawai'i and Tahiti. It was thus a work of history concurrent with similar contemporary, paradigmatic works and characteristically Pan-Pacific.

Coad also brought her history up-to-date, recounting Australia and New Zealand's contemporary interests, linking the establishment of settlement to their new Mandatory obligations.[308] 'Oceania' – as a distinctive sphere of influence was marked out for New Zealand in this work, whilst Coad also included a section on non-official organisations, including the PPU, "an unofficial League of Pacific Nations" (utilising the language of Hume Ford), as well as the recently established IPR. Rather than an expression of a distinctive colonial nationalism, we might think of this as 'Better Britonism' in action: a willingness to encourage New Zealand to more actively engage in her imperial duty, even destiny in the region. Yet this was no conventional work of Pacific history; infrequently cited both at the time and since. This has less to do with a judgement upon Coad's narrative and more with intended audience. These were works never aimed at leading public intellectuals, but its citizens of the future. Calculating their reception is thus tricky. We know however that *Geography of the Pacific* was one of just two Dominion-produced and approved textbooks from the Department of Education in 1928, often inclined to approve works by established figures in British geography.[309] Coad's work had in this regard become a part of the established educational canon by the late 1920s.

Yet Coad's influence was felt further than the classroom. She spent three years as 'Chairman' of the Wellington branch of the IPR from March 1933 and earlier regularly

[308] Coad, *Pacific*, p. 132.
[309] Michael Roche, 'George Jobberns and the writing of New Zealand geography: Textbooks from the 1920s to 1940s', *New Zealand Geographer,* 67 (2011), p. 94.

lectured before the group. [310] A paper from 1930 entitled 'The New Pacific', later re-published as 'A New Era in the Antipodes', provided a contextualisation of the Dominion's stake in an emergent regional order.[311] "Gone", she claimed was the "age of adventurers, beachcombers and pirates", "succeeded by statesmen, scientists, business men and aviators", forewarning of a world "increasingly Orientalized – in short, an offshoot of Asia".[312] Coad's account thus represents one example of a particularly energetic demographic within the New Zealand Group of the IPR: proactive members of the teaching profession and contributors to the domestic (and international) debate upon regional and international questions whose dual influence remains infrequently observed in the extant literature.

[310] 'Miss Coad Resigns', *Evening Post*, 26 October 1938, p. 18.
[311] N.E. Coad, 'A New Era in the Antipodes', *Current History*, 1 June 1931, 403.
[312] Ibid.

A "Pacific Shelf" at Rangiora

James Strachan, headmaster of Rangiora High School on New Zealand's South Island was like Coad and Milner a teacher represented in its 'national' IPR group. As an amateur radio enthusiast, he had assisted his Cantabrian colleague, Condliffe, in negotiating terms of employment with Merle Davis over wireless message.[313] A reformer, he was convinced of the inadequacies of the mainstream curriculum. In a report on rural schooling, "'locality", he claimed, would be the key to education. "The London schoolboy sees life from a different angle from the schoolboy in rural Canterbury."[314] "Geographically", he claimed meanwhile, "we are a Pacific country...our neighbours are Australians, Americans, Polynesians, Chinese, Malays and Japanese…we have never appreciated that fact in our industrial organisation, our politics, or our schools. To that extent...we are irrational."[315]

Yet if Strachan was Pacific-minded through his association with the IPR, it was a fellow staff member at Rangiora who more fully demonstrated the influence of the IPR and the reach of the 'Honolulu nexus'. Thelma Besant (T.B.) Maurais had just taken a second-class degree in French phonetics from the University of Otago before she joined Strachan's staff at Rangiora in 1925 (the year the IPR was founded).[316] Over the term

[313] Amateur Radio and the Call of J.B. Condliffe', *News Bulletin* (January 1927), p. 12.
[314] 'Schools', *North Canterbury Gazette*, 23 June 1933.
[315] Ibid.
[316] 'University of Otago', *Otago Witness*, 2 November 1920, p. 17; 'Rangiora High School Board', *Press*, 25 February 1925, p. 12.

of her employment, she developed a new history course utilising IPR resources and sought to introduce the comparative method Condliffe was championing, "so that the student may learn how similar movements and problems spring from similar environmental and experiential causes". Thus, she would claim, "Maori social life, instead of seeming unique, will show significant resemblances with and differences from the social life of American Indians or of Hawaiians".[317] In the development of a senior course entitled a "History of Pacific Countries", subjects were to be tackled according to the roundtable approach of IPR meetings themselves.[318] She also drew inspiration from Edward Carter's suggestion of creating a "Pacific shelf" in school libraries, making use of the IPR member and American author, Charles Loomis's book list which included George Cressey's, *China's Geographic Foundations*, Tawney's *Land and Labour*, Arthur Halcombe's, *The Chinese Revolution* and Sophia Zen's *Symposium on Chinese Culture*.[319] "Most important of all", she would claim, "is a good map of the Pacific which should be hung permanently in the history room", citing a map designed by Rand, McNally and Company (Fig. 12).[320] In doing so, she also fulfilled a plea made by D.M. Rae, Principal of the Auckland Teacher Training College who had earlier noted that maps in New Zealand's schools were inadequate: "the Pacific", he remarked, should be shown as a whole, "so that the children might know their country's neighbours and

[317] T.B. Maurais, 'The Pacific: Its Importance to Pupils in New Zealand Schools', *North Canterbury Gazett*e, 3 January 1936, p. 5.
[318] Ibid. p. 5.
[319] Respectively, George B. Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (New York, 1933); Arthur N. Holcombe, *The Chinese Revolution: A Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power* (Cambridge, MA, 1930); Tawney, *Land and Labour;* Hengzhe Chen, *Symposium on Chinese Culture* (Shanghai, 1931).
[320] Maurais, 'The Pacific', p. 5.

recognise its nearness to the major nations of the Pacific".[321] She also sought the establishment of correspondence clubs: "the problems of the Pacific become the problems of people they know" she reflected, furthering the project of cultural internationalism the IPR was seeking to foster.[322]

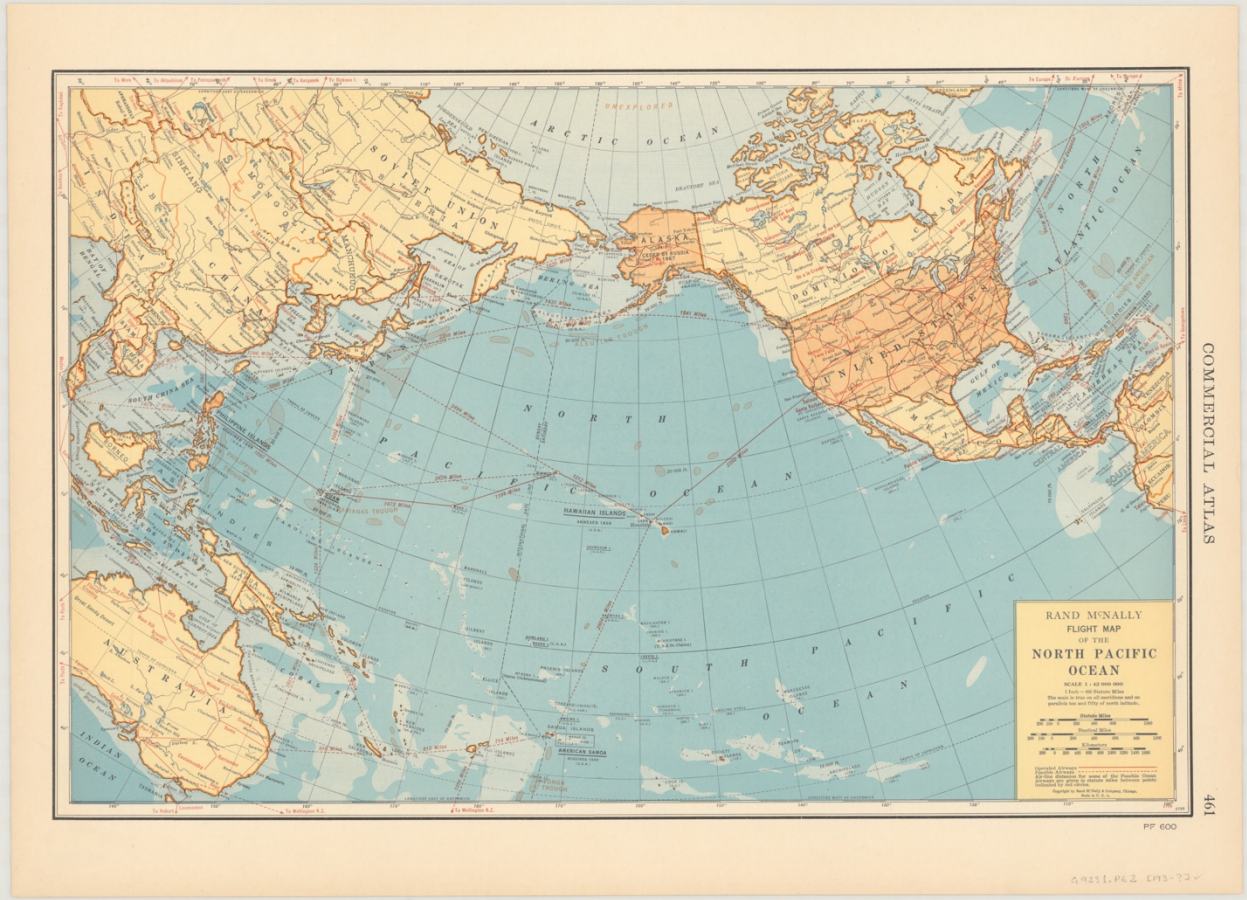


Figure 12 – 'Rand McNally flight map of the North Pacific Ocean', MAP G9231.P62 [193-?], Trove.

[321] 'Problems of the Pacific', *New Zealand Herald*, 1 November 1929, p. 12.
[322] Maurais, 'The Pacific', p. 5.

In fact, Maurais' work provides perhaps the best example in all of the Dominions of an attempt to integrate the philosophy and to disseminate the research of the IPR into the secondary curriculum. In a memorandum prepared in 1935, Carter had called for the promotion of "the general public stake in the Far East and the Pacific… to stimulate and organise scientific research into those problems of New Zealand which affect her as a Pacific power" and to produce a "Dominion-wide interchange of books, placing IPR publications in libraries".[323] Rangiora had, Carter reflected, "completely re-modelled its Modern Pacific History course on IPR lines, and has applied the IPR technique of research projects followed by Round Table discussions".[324]

Strachan would regret Maurais' departure in 1937 to Lower Hutt, reflecting that she had been largely responsible for the development of the school's curriculum, and "raised the status of the social studies to a standard which had attracted the favourable attention of educationists."[325] Again however, her audiences weren't just adolescents. Like Coad and Condliffe, she was a regular lecturer at the WEA and a regular attendee of local IPR meetings, reflecting on the underlying tension that whilst New Zealand saw herself as a part of the British Empire, rather than a Pacific country, this represented an "attitude based on looking back rather than to the future".[326] She reflected that the Far

[323] 'Memorandum by Edward Carter', C344 763, AEFZ W5727 22613, Box 91, 98/0105, ANZ, pp. 1-3.
[324] Report of the Chairman, New Zealand Delegation, Hangchow IPR 1931, C344 732, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 60, 78/0192, ANZ, p. 4.
[325] 'Commercial Course Attracts Students', *North Canterbury Gazette*, 16 March 1937, p. 4.
[326] 'Modern Affairs: A Survey of Current History', *North Canterbury Gazette*, 2 October 1936, p. 4; Pacific Relations', *Evening Post*, 18 June 1938, p. 25.

East should be termed "more appropriately, the "Near North" to New Zealand, pre-empting Menzies' proclamation two years later.[327]

Maurais therefore belongs to a group – much like Raymond Watt (a founding member of the League of Nations Union in Sydney) as someone, who Nicholas Brown claims were "not the transnational of travel, but of conscience".[328] These individuals' international sense rested less upon mobility but upon their connection to influential, mobile networks: sources of ideas and materials to which they contributed, often putting the international into practice at a local level, producing forms of rooted regionalism.

[327] Maurais, 'The Pacific', p. 5.
[328] Nicholas Brown, 'Enacting the international: R.G. Watt and the League of Nations', in Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, Angela Woollacott & (eds.) *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World* (Canberra, 2008), p. 77.

Conclusions

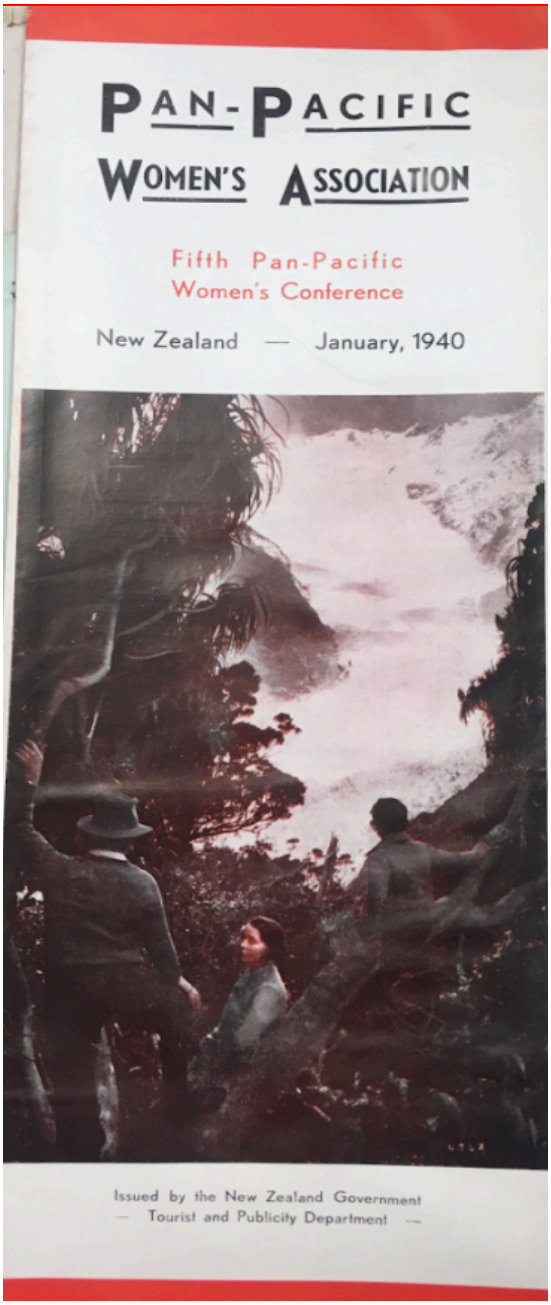


Figure 13 – Brochure for the PPWA scheduled for New Zealand, General Correspondence 1940, Box 9, Folder 11, PPU Papers, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Hamilton Library.

History has not treated the IPR kindly. On the one hand, a tendency has persisted to treat the IPR as a regional analogue to the League of Nations. For this reason, Macmillan Brown would describe it as a "feeble adumbration".[329] Decades prior to the Institute's dismantling at the height of McCarthyism, many doubted its capacity for success amidst growing regional tension. Even its most ardent supporters found its underlying pacifying mission impractical. Recalling nine years' work at the IPR in 1934, Sir Frederick Whyte felt that "nothing substantial was achieved…the embryo of a collective system for the Pacific was allowed to wither away".[330] With hindsight, attempts at an internationalism to secure peace were a failure, yet many scholars have judged the organisation by criteria it never sought to meet, misrepresenting the levers it possessed to create meaningful change.

An alternative reading would state that the IPR "stood almost alone as the protagonist of international integration in the Pacific area".[331] Whilst the 'Honolulu nexus' would decline in symbolic and practical significance over the course of the 1930s, one should dispute the contention the "Pacific community idea declined".[332] Instead, the IPR increasingly sought to frame regional "affairs…in their relation to world affairs", with Pacific organisation adapting over the course of the 1930s from its earlier pacifist,

[329] J. Macmillan Brown, *Peoples & Problems of the Pacific, vol. 2* (London, 1927), p. 238.
[330] Frederick Whyte, *A British View of Pacific Affairs* (London, 1936), p. 12.
[331] John K. Fairbank, 'William L. Holland and the IPR in Historical Perspective', *Pacific Affairs*, 52/4 (1979-1980), p. 587.
[332] Akami, 'From the Center to the Periphery', p. 30.

oceanic and local attractions.[333] Much like Condliffe, Owen Lattimore, his successor as Research Secretary at the IPR, supported the view that the IPR should "demonstrate that the Pacific is a World question, it should demonstrate its own organizational strength as well as the importance of the studies...into localities that cannot be accused of local exaggeration."[334] Lattimore instead described a shift from an oceanic emergence to a "more continental approach".[335] Despite the interests and efforts of figures such as Eggleston for instance therefore, organisation upon a regional model was thought to pose a decentralising effect, weakening the powers of the newly formed League of Nations. "Peace, would prove a world problem after all".[336]

At the same time, it was evident that the Pacific was being drawn closer and closer 'into the orbit' of Australia and New Zealand, compelling deeper interest.[337] A combination of new international obligations (Mandates) and an altered geopolitical situation (the geo-paradigm) encouraged a driven and inquisitive minority to explore international affairs with increasing vigour. The 'Pacific' in all its abstractions became an important mental map and a lens upon inter-imperial relations. For the Dominions, the IPR offered ample opportunity to study and discuss problems deemed of marginal interest hitherto. C. Hartley Grattan rather patronisingly refers to an "intelligent

[333] Edward Carter, 'Institute Notes', *Pacific Affairs*, 6/13 (1933), p. 617.
[334] Hooper, *Elusive Destiny,* p. 122.
[335] Owen Lattimore, 'Land and Sea in the Destiny of Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 9/4 (1936), p. 589.
[336] Bruno Lasker & W. L. Holland (eds.), *Problems of the Pacific* (Chicago, 1932), p. 13.
[337] C. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future of the British Empire', *Harper's Magazine* (October 1939), 492.

minority", well-informed enough to play a key role in those transformations from the 1920s to 40s.[338]

Despite the energetic emergence of the IPR, Condliffe concluded that "no real feeling of regionalism" had emerged by the 1930s.[339] Edward Carter would reflect his frustration that the IPR in New Zealand had not "taken off".[340] Walter Nash meanwhile noted its "operations…are costly", and became "doubtful whether there is sufficient public interest … to ensure all the finance necessary to ensure continuous and successful working can be obtained by voluntary subscriptions."[341] By September 1939, the IPR was being amalgamated with the local branch of the RIIA.[342] What would persist in the Dominions therefore was a "satisfied conservatism".[343] These are conclusions historians have replicated ever since. For societies where security equalled dependency upon the British Navy and the British market, the Dominions seemed to possess a duplicitous attitude toward the Pacific: an indifference at best; a siege mentality at worst. Less axiomatic, more apathetic.

[338] Grattan, 'An Australian-American Axis', p. 562.
[339] Condliffe, *New Zealand in the Making,* p. 399-400.
[340] Carter to Nash, 3 March 1936, C344 763, AEFZ W5727 22613, Box 91, 98/0050, ANZ.
[341] Walter Nash, 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Rough Draft Report (1928)', C344 699, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 27, 30/0314, ANZ.
[342] 'Memorandum on Amalgamation of IPR and IIA', C344 763, AEFZ W5727 22613, Box 91, 98/0039, ANZ.
[343] Ibid. p. 460.

This is however a view which takes for granted the notion that deeper regional engagement would have a "fissiparious effect, dissolving ties with the metropole".[344] Rather, an examination of engagement with the Honolulu nexus and rooted forms of regionalism reveals something more nuanced: a resolute imperialism and Britishness was not incommensurate with a will to engage more deeply in Pacific affairs. The "internationalism" in the Dominions' outlook was "circumscribed by the boundaries of the British empire", but it was more pluralistic than many accounts have presented.[345]

Recalling why discussions concerning the IPR hadn't flooded the public domain in New Zealand, Condliffe was clear that because its "research…proceeds quietly, attracts little public attention, it may come as a surprise quite how far-reaching the program of studies has been".[346] In the end, Pan-Pacific internationalism might be thought of as a project unfulfilled, demonstrated symbolically by the cancelled 1940 PPWA conference (due to be held for the first time in New Zealand) (Fig. 13).[347]

[344] Roberts, 'A century of international affairs', p. 9.
[345] C. Hartley Grattan, 'The Role of Australia in Pacific Politics', *The Antioch Review*, 3/1 (1943), p. 56.
[346] J.B. Condliffe (ed.), *The Study of International Affairs in the Pacific Area,* p. 1.
[347] Epstein, 'Linking a State to the World', p. 99.

Chapter 2 – The Racial Crossroads of the World? The Science and Politics of Race, Civilisation and Culture in the Pan-Pacific

Introduction

This chapter continues an examination of Hawai'i as a physical and symbolic 'crossroads' in the Pan-Pacific, and considers how programmes which explored the past, present and future of race and civilisation coalesced at a 'Honolulu nexus', defined by the work of Bishop Museum, the leading regional hub for ethnological studies in the period. Its staff meanwhile represented leading investigators into the so-called 'Polynesian Problem': the study of the disputed origins (geographically and racially) of the peoples of the Oceania.[348]

An examination of the metaphorical purchase of a 'crossroads' also has significance when thinking about the periodisation of the global intellectual history of anthropology and race. Scholars define the period 1920-40 as dichotomous: as both the apogee of scientific racism where notions of race and civilisation defined global politics. Yet the period was defined by an internationalism and anthropological practice which challenged the orthodoxies of essential human difference.[349]

[348] These explorations encompassed not only 'Polynesian' peoples, but those of Oceania at large.
[349] Such as Haddon and Huxley's denunciation of 'race' as a pseudoscientific term, Julian S. Huxley & A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems* (London, 1935), p. 262.

This chapter explores the significance of the Pan-Pacific as a regional template for investigating race, culture and civilisation, revealing the pervasiveness, but also the plurality of ways racial ideology and theory informed geo-strategy, colonial governmentality and regionalism. These approaches can be split into two distinctive modes playfully (but usefully) defined by Warwick Anderson as "racial protectionists" and "racial free traders".[350] 'Protectionists' believed in a racial division of mankind whose perceived branches were thought essentially different and ought therefore to remain separated. The first section of this chapter explores how the Pan-Pacific could be linked to notions of racial protectionism, providing justifications for exclusionary regimes and reified notions of distinctive civilisational blocs, such as an 'Anglo' or a 'White Pacific' – a racial and geographic imaginary in which anti-Asian policies were "shaped and replicated among white settler societies in the region".[351]

The second group, Anderson's "racial free traders" also believed in racial difference, but saw segregation as impractical – and in some cases – undesirable politics. Nowhere was his clearer than in Oceania, where a combination of indigenous population growth and the settlement of indentured labourers and their families from India (in Fiji), China (Sāmoa) and French Indochina (New Caledonia) provided strong evidence of increasingly mixed and hybrid populations from which distinctive multi-racial societies (and civilisation) could emerge. Dubbed an 'Orientalising Pacific', many regarded these

[350] Warwick Anderson, 'Ambiguities of Race: Science on the Reproductive Frontier of Australia and the Pacific Between the Wars', *Australian Historical Studies*, 40/2 (2009), p. 159.
[351] Erika Lee, 'The "Yellow Peril" and Asian Exclusion in the Americas', *Pacific Historical Review*, 76/4 (2007), p. 550.

demographic shifts as a threat in the Dominions, but to a smaller demographic, it proved an inevitability that ought to be accepted, even championed, proving a striking counterpoint to racial exclusionism found at the ocean's edges.

Whilst this chapter reflects upon a variety of contemporary academic and journalistic literature, the archival basis of this chapter focuses upon Bishop Museum, including the papers of Herbert Gregory (Director, 1919-1936) and his successor, the Māori anthropologist, Peter Buck (or Te Rangi Hīroa). As well as exploring their approach to examining the 'Polynesian Question', I examine how their findings diffused, influencing contemporary notions of race relations and geopolitics.

Two case studies demonstrate the effects of these endeavours. A first explores the link between Kalidas Nag, a prominent Bengali intellectual associated with the 'Greater India' movement, The University of Hawai'i and Bishop Museum. Nag's connection to Honolulu convinced him the significance the 'Polynesian Question' could play in understanding a more diffuse Indian past, but also of the contemporary need to place India in what he described an 'Indo-Pacific' domain. A second considers the emergence of 'Neo-Maoridom', or attempts by prominent Māori spiritual and political leaders to rethink and to reframe indigenous presents and futures. The intellectual life of Māori -Irish New Zealander, Te Rangi Hīroa, provides a prominent portrait of an indigenous approach to the academic discipline of anthropology, whilst his association

with Bishop enables an examination of links between Neo-Māoridom and the Pan-Pacific, both institutionally and intellectually.

Histories of anthropology have tended to occlude this nexus, abridging the significance of investigations emerging from settler-colonial contexts at large, privileging instead the canonical trajectories of 'structuralist', 'functionalist' or 'diffusionist' lines of enquiry, the three most prominent 'schools' of the age.[352] Yet Nag's enquiries provide evidence of the continuing influence of a diffusionist approach considered on the wane; Te Rangi Hīroa's anthropology complicates the notion that scholars neatly worked with a particular theoretical toolkit.

[352] Ross L. Jones & Warwick Anderson, 'Wandering anatomists and itinerant anthropologists: The Antipodean Sciences of Race in Britain Between the Wars', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 48/1 (2015), p. 15.

Race, Civilisation and Culture: Three Conceptual Clarifications

'Race', 'civilisation' and 'culture' are concepts which require clear definition. According to Te Rangi Hīroa, "races" were a "division of mankind possessing constant traits, transmissible by descent, sufficient to…[produce] a distinct human type; a permanent variety of genus Homo".[353] The idea of *race* therefore rests upon the notion that markers of difference amongst humans are indicators of one's essential character, likely origins and – in some cases – destiny.[354] Racism is the confused ideology which rests upon the belief of these perceptions of essential human variation which become "euphemised as ethnicity, identity and culture".[355] As James Belich succinctly puts it, racism is the resulting "delusion" in which "cultures…have natures combined with the ranking of those natures with one's own on top".[356]

Explorations into these seeming distinctions formed the basis of the science of man: anthropology. In sum, it was, according to Bronwen Douglas, an "inchoate mixture of religion, history, developmentalism, and raciology…synthesized and explicated by the compelling theoretical edifice of Darwinism" in which humans were regarded to be *of* nature and thus subject to natural laws which came to underpin scientific racism.[357] A

[353] 'Notes for class in Polynesian culture taught by Buck at UH (1941)', MS SC Buck Papers (hereafter Buck Papers), Box 8, Folder 7, BMA.
[354] On the origins of racism see Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac & Joseph Ziegler (eds.), *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge, 2009). For the view that an "ethnohistory of 'not-race'" existed before the 19c, Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511-1850* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 41-46.
[355] Bronwen Douglas (ed.), *Foreign Bodies* (Adelaide, 2008), p. 3.
[356] This is Belich's definition from 'Race' in Armitage & Bashford (eds.) *Pacific Histories,* p. 263
[357] Douglas, *Science, Voyages*, p. 291.

position that relied "on the characterisation of non-human bodies as their most relevant others from at least the mid nineteenth century."[358] A distinction defining the *anthro* in anthropology, a prefix allowing for the examination of what were thought 'human-like' types as well as those who were different culturally. Complicating the narrative (and producing an additional stage in racial theory) were the later, but linked explorations of hereditary characteristics and genetics, the "scientific effort to engineer changes in human populations".[359]

These trajectories in racial theory were mutually constituted by shifting definitions of civilisation – and eventually – culture. The etymology of *civilisation* shows the term was characterised and understood to be mankind's universal destination, yet over the course of the nineteenth century, civilisation was conceived as characterising the achievement of particular branches of humanity.[360] Reflecting this tendency, it was defined in the late 1920s by the Chinese intellectual Hu Shih as "the general achievement of a race in adjusting to its environment".[361] Yet as the American sociologist Edward B. Reuter would profess in 1930, whilst "civilisation is assumed to be a function of race, an expression of racial qualities", civilisation could also be regarded as the "result of the mixture of races", a position increasingly articulated by the second decade of the

[358] Tom Quick, 'The Making of a New Race in the Early Twentieth Century Imperial Imaginary', *The Historical Journal,* 63/5 (2020), pp. 1231 – 1256.
[359] Casey Walsh, 'Eugenic Acculturation: Manuel Gamio, Migration Studies, and the Anthropology of Development in Mexico, 1910-1940', *Latin American Perspectives*, 31/5 (2004), p. 125.
[360] Kumar, 'The Return of Civilization', 821-822.
[361] Shih, 'Two Wings', 1-8.

twentieth century.[362] 'Amalgamation', as Reuter defined it, could lead to "racial virility and cultural efflorescence and that purity… to decadence and sterility of culture."[363] These two dynamics defined by the same terminology thus stood by 1930 in "definite and sharp contrast", taken up by 'racial free-traders' and 'racial segregationists' alike and both were reflected in Pan-Pacific discourse, representing two distinctive ideological modes.[364]

Culture, according to Roland Dixon, then Professor of Anthropology at Harvard, "comprises the sum of all activities, customs and beliefs" of a group of peoples.[365] It is, "the form through which the life of a civilisation is expressed". [366] Culture could thereby be conceived as the destiny of a civilisation, as the two terms frequently elided. Moreover, it was in the 1920s and 30s that *culture* came increasingly to replace *nature* as the paradigm through which to define human behaviour and organization. As Kerry Howe has claimed, investigations taking place in "the Pacific islands played a significant part in this process".[367] Intellectually, this shift in anthropology was most closely associated with the 'cultural relativism' of Franz Boas, then Professor of Anthropology at Columbia, who regarded culture as a complex system in which the activities of particular

[362] E.B. Reuter, 'Civilization and the Mixture of Races', *The Scientific Monthly*, 31/5 (1930), p. 447.
[363] Ibid, p. 447.
[364] Ibid., p. 449.
[365] Roland B. Dixon, 'The Building of Cultures, *Scribner's Magazine* (1928), p. 3 cited in E.S. Craighill-Handy, 'Culture and Education: What is the Cultural Destiny of Pacific Peoples?', *Pacific Affairs*, 6/6 (1933), p. 268.
[366] Shih, 'Two Wings', 1.
[367] Kerry R. Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History: The "Knowing" of Oceania* (Honolulu, 2000), p. 54.

groups which ought to be understood on their own terms and not simply placed into hierarchical or taxonomical relation.[368]

[368] George W. Stocking, 'Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective', *American Anthropologist,* 68/4 (1966), pp. 867-882.

Envisaging A 'Pacific Civilisation': Geo-Racialism and a Regional Division of Mankind

Of the profound changes to the Pacific Maurais listed upon the blackboard at Rangiora – from the status of Russia engaged in "her social experiment", Japan's emergence from "feudalism", China's "jealously-guarded seclusion…broken down" – the most important of all, was that "the twentieth century has brought us face-to-face with the colour question."[369] This rested upon a simple characterisation: the Pacific was an abstracted world region, frontier and faultline where a monolithic 'East' could meet a monolithic 'West' and their respective destinies decided.[370] Here, the "question of race…meant colour: Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada were white; Japan was yellow".[371] "The future will almost certainly see a Pacific commonwealth", the Scottish-Canadian architect Ramsey Traquair would reflect, but "will it be a white or yellow or straw-colored, or, perhaps, piebald?"[372] "Who can venture to prophesy", he continued, "the result when the deepest philosophies of Europe and of the Orient mingle…into one Pacific culture?" Whilst Traquair was sure that the resultant 'Commonwealth of the Pacific' would be "the richest and greatest of them all", he was equally sure that "for a very long time…yellow and white must divide the Pacific".[373] The Pacific was not discussed solely as a regional concern, but as an abstracted, allegorical stage for global racial struggle.

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[369] Maurais, 'The Pacific', p. 5.
[370] Prasenjit Duara, The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism, *JWH*, 12/1 (2001), pp. 99-130.
[371] Louis, *British Strategy*, p. 2.
[372] Traquair, 'The Coming Commonwealth, 464.
[373] Ibid, 465.

This characterisation of world order coded by colour was a 'georacial' reflection, which, drawing upon Cees Heere's definition, reflected a tendency "to read global politics as a confrontation between distinct racial blocs", the default mode of thought in international politics by the twentieth century into which the Pacific uneasily sat, proving a vast, speculative and contested racial space and to many, the essential Pacific problem.[374]

Isaiah Bowman, first Director of the American Geographical Society and member of the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference claimed it was "in the Pacific the world's racial problems reach their present climax of intensity".[375] The French journalist Andre Duboscq would claim that at the heart of regional development was a racial situation in "disturbed equilibrium".[376] These were conditions from which 'international conflict' might arise "from the evolution of civilisation itself."[377] A tendency had therefore emerged in which attrition was deemed an inevitability. To safeguard against this future, the solution which prevailed most frequently were regimes of exclusion.

A 'White' and 'Orientalising' Pacific

Migration was a key dynamic in the transformation of the Pacific World, with movement stimulated by commercial opportunity, attempts at thwarting a perceived demographic

[374] Cees Heere, 'Japan and the British World, 1904-14', PhD diss., The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2016, p. 58.
[375] Bowman, *The New World*, p. 492.
[376] Andre Duboscq, 'Clashing Races in the Pacific Area', *The Living Age* (November 1928), p. 221.
[377] Ibid, p. 221.

disaster at home to further national rejuvenation.[378] An age of global mass migration was characterised by an 'Anglo divergence': English-speakers grew sixteen-fold from 1790-1930 from around twelve to two-hundred million people, driven by settler expansionism in the 'New Worlds' at the Pacific Ocean's edges.[379] It produced a new regional scenario, reduced simply (from the perspective of many in the Dominions) to this: a sense that kindred peoples possessing an Anglo-Saxon identity might stage a reunion across a Pacific world, challenged only by an 'Asian Awakening' – particularly the expansion of Japanese interests and ambitions. Responses to this tendency defined the universalist logic of separation with the issue of immigration emerging a great international issue.[380] It produced what Adam McKeown described as the "globalization of borders".[381] In fact, the normalisation of immigration restriction and of the proliferation of border controls, adopted to restrict entrants often (but not always) by race was a distinctly Pacific phenomenon in the period.[382]

Whilst ideas of racialism distinguish in order to exclude, they also possess an inclusionary capacity. For Josiah Strong, an American clergyman and author, four out of six 'Anglo-Saxon families' rimmed the Pacific Ocean, producing an "Anglo-Saxon

[378] Adam McKeown, 'Movement', in Armitage & Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, pp. 143-165.
[379] Belich, *Replenishing*, p. 4.
[380] Chester H. Rowell, 'East of the East, West of the West', *The Survey*, LIV/11 (1 September 1925), pp. 547-550; Alison Bashford, 'Immigration restriction: rethinking period and place from settler colonies to postcolonial nations', *Journal of Global History*, 9/1 (2014), p. 32.
[381] McKeown, *Melancholy Order,* p. 11.
[382] Alison Bashford, 'Pacific Borders: Quarantine and Immigration Across the Great Ocean', paper delivered at 2018 Harmsworth Conference in American History, Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, 31 May 2018.

sea".[383] There existed, claimed Nicholas Roosevelt – an American diplomat and later Vice-Governor of the Philippines – "a special community of interest between the British Dominions and the United States". "We are born of pioneers…we have inherited a common tongue and common traditions…In the Pacific we share the policy of wishing to preserve our lands for our own people".[384] What Roosevelt obscured from these commonalities was the notion of a common *racial* identity linking them. He also defined the quintessential paradox of the Anglo settler experience in the period, which was to "balance Britannic loyalty with racial anxiety".[385]

Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) promised – as the American missionary Sidney Gulick would claim, "to halt the territorial expansion of white races and to check their racial pride".[386] Some considered its results would stimulate a realignment of 'Asiatic races' against the West, adding fuel to an extant discourse of civilisational antagonism, or 'Yellow Peril', a term coined in mainland Europe and popularised by Kaiser Wilhelm II.[387] Whilst Japan was recognised as a world power in economic and military terms, its civilisational and racial parity was not accepted, with East Asian 'races' proving troublesome in racial taxonomies. The Japanese seemed to

[383] Josiah Strong, *Expansionism Under New World Conditions* (New York, 1900), p. 204-205, cited in Paul A. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910', *The Journal of American History*, 88/4 (2002), pp. 1334-1335.
[384] Nicholas Roosevelt, *The Restless Pacific* (New York, 1928), p. 280.
[385] Heere, *Empire Ascendant*, p. 149.
[386] Sidney Lewis Gulick, *The White Peril in the Far East: An Interpretation of the Significance of the Russo-Japanese War* (New York, 1905), p. 5.
[387] Frederic J. Haskin, 'Is There Anything in Yellow Peril?', *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 24 December 1905, p. 5.

"stand for the essentials of the Anglo-Saxon civilization", reflected Sidney Gulick, yet their supposedly "tropical origins" was a complicating factor. "They must be a mixed Mongoloid race", reflected the Canadian anthropologist Alexander Francis Chamberlain.[388] Blakeslee, his colleague at Clark University meanwhile, considered Koreans and Japanese to be of the same racial stock, but their political trajectories led him to characterise them as vastly different in development.[389]

These articulations of the essential difference of 'Asiatic' peoples – Chinese and Japanese alike – and the debate concerning their capacity to assimilate into settler societies had raged for decades. Whilst communities of Chinese or Japanese migrants may have been small demographically in New Zealand and Australia – never more than one or two per cent of the entire population and proportionately less in British Columbia, California or Victoria – their limited presence and *prospective* settlement continually exercised the minds of leading Dominion officials and the public imagination.[390] While some considered gradual assimilation possible, most political elites were ardently anti-Asiatic.[391] As the social reformer, William Pember Reeves noted in a *National Review* article, "industrious they are [the Chinese]…industry without certain social qualities is a doubtless virtue. A man may be industrious and yet be dirty, miserly, and a danger to

[388] Alexander Francis Chamberlain, 'The Japanese Race', *Journal of Race Development*, 3 (1912), pp. 177-187.
[389] Brian Masaru Hayashi, 'From Race to Nation: The Institute of Pacific Relations, Asian Americans, and George Blakeslee, from 1908 to 1929', *The Japanese Journal of American Studies*, 23 (2012), p. 57.
[390] Brian Moloughney & John Stenhouse, 'Drug-besotten, sin-begotten fiends of filth', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 33/1 (1999), pp. 43-64.
[391] 'The Chinese Labor Problem', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, 3/5 (November 1869), p. 408.

public health".[392] Across the Tasman, it seemed to Myra Willard – an early chronicler of the Dominion's emergent 'White Australia' policy – that Chinese immigration had "lacked as a whole that free and independent spirit of European adventurers".[393] Emergent labour unionism across the settler Pacific meanwhile would prove to be the organisational vanguard of appeals to restrict the settlement of "Oriental" labour regionally.[394]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, racial prejudice was reflected in a degree of statutory commonality across the settler Pacific, underpinned by geopolitical as much as economic motives as the Pacific coast on both sides of the ocean increasingly came to be defined as a 'racial frontier'.[395] As Alison Bashford succinctly puts it, immigration restriction proved a "'new world' response to the massive global human movements of the nineteenth century".[396] For the Dominions these approaches could be interpreted as an expression of identity. As the economist and intellectual Persia Campbell would reflect, a 'White Australia' policy became "something much more fundamental… rightly or wrongly… the…community has believed and still believes necessary for the security of its social life".[397] They could be, she further claimed, 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal':

[392] William Pember Reeves, 'The exclusion of aliens and undesirables from Australia and New Zealand,' *National Review*, 38 (December 1901), pp. 596-615 .
[393] Myra Willard, *History of the White Australia Policy* (Melbourne, 1923), p. 18; Keir Reeves & Benjamin Mountford, 'Sojourning and Settling', *AHS*, 42/1 (2011), p 117.
[394] Jonathan Hyslop, 'The Imperial Working Class Makes Itself 'White': White Labourism in Britain, Australia, and South Africa Before the First World War', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12/4 (1999), pp. 398-421.
[395] Park, 'Our Racial Frontier', pp. 192–196.
[396] Alison Bashford, 'Internationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Eugenics', in Alison Bashford & Philippa Levine (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* (Oxford, 2012), p. 158.
[397] Persia Campbell, 'Asiatic Immigration into Australia', *Economica*, 1 (1921), p. 61.

"strengthening national sentiment and weakening the imperial connection".[398] Indeed, as Avner Offer suggests, these exclusionary policies opened the "sharpest divergence yet experienced between Britain and the settler societies…forcing Australia and Canada into a foreign policy of their own".[399]

Non-Anglo Universalisms

Racial exclusion may have found strongest political and legal purchase across the Anglo Pacific, yet exclusionary ideologies and essentialist universalisms were never exclusively Anglo-prone. The discursive reach of Yellow Perillism animated commentators in Russian and Latin American contexts who came to view Japanese expansionism with similar geopolitical suspicion.[400] In 1911, the Chilean writer Francisco García Calderón, predicted that "the Japanese would invade Western America and convert the Pacific into a vast closed sea, closed to foreign ambitions...peopled by Japanese colonies".[401] Japanese intellectuals would provide their own counter-narrative. In 1916, Tokutomi Sohō articulated the notion of the regional preponderance of *hakubatsu* (or white domination) to which a Japanese Empire should seek to counter.[402] These proclamations were attractive to promoters of

[398] Ibid, p. 52.
[399] Avner Offer, *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation* (Oxford, 1989), p. 198.
[400] Lewis H. Siegelbaum, 'Another 'Yellow Peril': Chinese Migrants in the Russian Far East and the Russian Reaction before 1917', *Modern Asian Studies*, 12/2 (1978), pp. 307-330.
[401] Erika Lee, 'The Yellow Peril in the United States and Peru: A Transnational History of Japanese Exclusion, 1920s-World War II', in Camilla Fojas & P. Guevarra Jr. (eds.), *Transnational Crossroads* (Lincoln, 2012), p. 331.
[402] Sidney L. Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem: A Study of The Racial Relations of the East and the West* (New York, 1914), p. 238.

a 'Black Pacific' in America's emergent 'New Negro' movement who conceived of Japan's rise as an inspiring counterpoint to regional white supremacy.[403] In the *Negro World*, Amy Jacques Garvey, then wife of Marcus Garvey, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association would write that "the cycle of civilization is shifting" she proclaimed, "and with it the battleground of the future. The age of the Atlantic has passed, the age of the Pacific is here."[404] As Etsuko Taketani claims, Garvey belongs to a group of African American thinkers, who "positioned themselves squarely within the ideological flows of colonialist and fascist discourse in the Pacific and beyond, and were not only influenced by these discourses but engaged in and reshaped them."[405] Even those who opposed Garveyism, such as W.E.B DuBois, found it possible to maintain a pro-Japanese stance even during the Second World War precisely because of their prospective regional opposition to extant white supremacy.[406]

[403] Anna Pochmara, *The Making of the New Negro: Black Authorship, Masculinity, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 2011); Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars* (Dartmouth, 2014).
[404] Amy Jacques Garvey, 'Awakened Asia', *Negro World*, 19 March 1927, cited in Matthew Jones, 'A "Segregated" Asia? Race, the Bandung Conference, and Pan-Asianist Fears in American Thought and Policy', *Diplomatic History*, 29/5 (2005), p. 841.
[405] Etsuko Taketani, 'The Cartography of the Black Pacific: James Weldon Johnson's "Along This Way"', *American Quarterly,* 59/1 (2007), p. 82.
[406] Yuichiro Onishi, 'The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-Racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922', *The Journal of African American History*, 92/9 (2007), pp. 191-213; Seok-Won Lee, 'The paradox of racial liberation: W.E.B. DuBois and Pan-Asianism in wartime Japan, 1931-1945', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 16/4 (2015), pp. 513-530.

Euronesia Emergent?

"Half-caste". How I dislike that term, which is not only invidious but… out of place. The term used in Fiji – "persons of mixed European and native descent" – is inoffensive, but a bit cumbrous; for the blend of Europeans and islanders I would prefer "Euronesians", portmanteau and polite."[407]

Despite a preponderance of essentialist and restrictive approaches to regional relations, they were by no means universally accepted, as a combination of scholarly endeavour and constructive internationalism challenged these widely-held assumptions. For Saul Pollock, writing on the subject of the 'Pan Pacific', the idea itself could prove a tool in breaking down the flaws of racial theory: "should a mere difference of pigmentation in the stratum mucosum layer of the epidermis cause people to differ so divergently that they must remain forever divided?", he asked.[408] Whilst racial theory could be rejected on scientific grounds, it could also on spiritual and humanitarian grounds. For the theosophist Annie Besant, "the colour bar must go because the welfare of Empire demands it".[409] "Oh!" they say, 'the Pacific will be an Asiatic lake.' Why should it not be?", she claimed."[410] For Gulick meanwhile, it was his religiosity which led him to challenge prevailing discourse. The 'Yellow Peril', he claimed "is nine-tenth a hoax."[411] "Would Americans feel satisfied were Staten Island owned by France, New Jersey

[407] Diary entry 2 December 1938 ctd., Sir Harry Luke Collection, GB165-0188, Box 2 (2 vols), 2/1 Vol. 5, December 1938 ctd., Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, University of Oxford.
[408] Saul Pollock, 'The Pan-Pacific Idea', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, 84/1 (January 1926), p. 18.
[409] Annie Besant, *Wake Up, India: A Plea for Social Reform* (Krotona, 1913), p. 233.
[410] Ibid, p. 252.
[411] Frederic J. Haskin, 'Is there anything in Yellow peril?', *Sunday Advertiser*, 24 December 1905, p. 5.

seized and held by Italy, Cape Cod possessed by Germany", he proclaimed.[412] As a result, he set out what has been dubbed the 'Gulick Plan', advocating a new approach to immigration, applying impartially to all races.[413] It was an approach never applied in his lifetime.

The IPR represented a formative attempt to scientifically examine and – aspirationally – to enhance regional race relations. Condliffe for instance was sure that Pacific cooperation would enable a repudiation of Stoddard's populist thesis: "most students…will know of the widely advertised and read but …discredited works of Lothrop Stoddard, with their pseudo-scientific predictions of inevitable race war".[414] Manuel Gamio meanwhile, a former student of Boas, and the 'father of Mexican *indigenismo'* provided a commentary at the 1929 Kyoto conference on the 'Indo-Iberic Countries of the Pacific', proclaiming that their "racial hetereogeneity of (the Indo-Iberic countries) make them suitable fields for European or Asiatic immigration indiscriminately", a striking counterpoint to many prevailing accounts of the effects of Asiatic migration in the period.[415] Its summitry could also produce some remarkable effects: Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary and Treasurer of the Californian State Federation of Labor – an organisation renowned for its staunch opposition to non-white

[412] Gulick, *The White Peril*, p. 237.
[413] Ibid, pp. 281-302.
[414] Condliffe & Hall, *The Third Mediterranean in Histor*y.
[415] Alan Knight, 'Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940', in Richard Graham (ed.) *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, 1990), pp. 71–113. For his paper at the IPR, see Manuel Gamio, 'Commentaries on the Indo-Iberic Countries of the Pacific' [Paper Presented at Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations (1929)], Wilbur Papers, Box 43, HIA.

settlement – was sure that the 1924 Immigration Act wouldn't have been passed had the first IPR conference been held prior to its introduction.[416] The Canadian journalist John Nelson meanwhile who proclaimed British Columbia would prove "one of the last frontiers of the white race against the yellow and brown" was reformed having attended the first conference in 1925. [417] "Honolulu leaves many predilections and prejudices topsy-turvy in the attic of the Caucasian mind", he would claim.[418]

Indeed, the location of Hawai'i was significant. As Margery Perham put it, "what could be more attractive after glancing…at some of the racial problems of a huge half-continent… to see America's race relations in tropical miniscule".[419] Whilst the islands may have been imagined as a "replica of New England society in the North Pacific", they came to look rather different.[420] By 1920, Japanese settlement constituted more than 40% of the total population, whilst Filipinos (who were not 'Asiatic' for the purposes of immigration) became the nationality which settled in the largest numbers in the 1920s (see Fig. 14).[421] These demographic shifts raised an existential question for the islands' Anglo-minority elite, providing a fascinating case study to onlookers from further

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[416] 'A Pacific Locarno?', Appendix B, IPR 6/4/5, RIIA, p. 1.

[417] John Nelson, *The Canadian Provinces* (Toronto, 1924), p. 171, cited Lawrence T. Woods, 'John Nelson and the Origins of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs', *International Journal*, 59/2 (2004), p. 392.

[418] John Nelson, 'Forestalling a Fight in the Pacific', *Maclean's Magazine*, 1 October 1925, p. 52, cited in Woods, 'John Nelson', 394.

[419] Margery Perham, *Pacific Prelude: A Journey to Samoa and Australasia* (London, 1988), p. 65

[420] Sarah Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State: Hawai'i and the Cultural Transformation of American Empire* (Princeton, 2019), p. 12.

[421] Mabuhay Compañero, 'Filipinos, Mexicans, and Interethnic Labor Organizing in Hawai'i and California, 1920s-1940s', in Fojas & Guevarra, *Transnational Crossroads,* p. 174.

afield. For Nellie Coad, the islands seemed to "fast becoming Orientalized...in short, becoming an offshoot of Asia".[422]

[422] Coad, 'A New Era', 403.

	American Citizens	*Aliens*	*Total*
Hawaiian	20,720	---	20,720
Caucasian-Hawaiian	15,948	---	15,948
Asiatic-Hawaiian	10,036	---	10,036
Portuguese[423]	26,145	2972	29,117
Porto Rican [sic]	6781	---	6781
Spanish	1170	639	1809
Other Caucasian	37,082	420	37,502
Chinese	15,058	10252	25,310
Japanese	83,252	51348	134,600
Korean	3,500	2818	6318
Filipino	8,208	51,850	60,078
All Others	376	172	548
	228,276	**120,491**	**348,767**

Figure 14 – 'Population of Hawaii, classified by ancestry and by political status' reproduced in Romanzo Adams, 'Further Developments of Race Contacts in Hawaii', *Pacific Affairs*, 2/10 (1929), p. 634.

Looked upon as a first frontier and a test for the American mainland, Hawai'i developed a metonymic quality. For Stoddard, it was evidence that the frontier could be developed by Anglos, but "confirm[ed] the conviction that the gates must be strictly guarded".[424] Depicted as a portent in paradise, Hawai'i could be evidence of "what this country might have been – if white Australia slipped", one journalist put it.[425] For his compatriot

[423] Curiously not included amongst 'Caucasians'.
[424] Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, p. 168.
[425] Victor Courtney, 'The Peril in the Pacific and the Lesson of Honolulu', *Call and WA Sportsman* [Perth, Australia], 10 October 1919, p. 1.

Joseph Carruthers however, Hawai'i was of curiosity as a "lesson in how to blend Eastern races without lowering the standard of living".[426] For Eggleston, the settlement by Japanese and Chinese on Pacific Islands could prove an expedient solution to domestic concerns.[427] From a distance, the situation in Hawai'i could have significance for the world at large. As Stephen Roberts, then Professor of History at the University of Sydney put it, "the Pacific Islands are…dragged into the vortex of the far wider problems of the fringe countries…the lesser issues of the islands cannot be considered apart from the wider questions of world politics."[428]

Of particular intrigue were the islands' increasingly mixed populations. For Robert Park the American sociologist, Hawai'i provided clinching evidence of his 'race cycle' theory which posited four stages in the development of group relations: competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.[429] "It is", he put it, "in the mind of the marginal man where the changes and fusions of culture are going on that we can best study the processes of civilization and of progress." It was Hawai'i where Park's archetypal 'marginal man' could be found.[430] Whilst many "sought to hide or expunge hybridity", Warwick Anderson observes, others came to 'license' race mixing.[431] Ann Satterthwaite, then Secretary of the PPU responded to an article in *Pacific Islands*

[426] Sir Joseph Carruthers: Impressions Abroad', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 November 1926, p. 8.
[427] F. W. Eggleston, 'Australia's View of Pacific Problems', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/1 (1930), p. 7.
[428] Ibid., p. 388.
[429] Stanford M. Lyman, 'The Race Relations Cycle of Robert E. Park', *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 11/1 (1968), pp. 16-22.
[430] Robert E. Park, 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man', *American Journal of Sociology*, 33/6 (1928), p. 893.
[431] Anderson, 'Ambiguities of Race', 145.

Monthly which critiqued the continued use of Chinese labour in Sāmoa, heralding the achievements of "racial blending" in Hawaii.[432] "Race mixture" meanwhile, the Principal of the Kamehameha Schools (the pre-eminent school for Native Hawaiians) noted was "strikingly attractive from every point of view".[433] His successor Frank Midkiff meanwhile reflected a "new Pacific race" would prove a "composite of the best things from the many races that interact and fuse here in the mid-Pacific".[434]

[432] 'Chinese in Samoa', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 2/1 (22 August 1931), p. 8. For Satterthwaite's response, 'Do We Want a Chinese-Polynesian Population?', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 2/8 (15 March 1932), p. 20.
[433] Theodore Richards, 'The Future of the Japanese in Hawaii', *The Journal of Race Development*, 2/4 (1912), p. 406.
[434] Frank Midkiff, 'Preface', *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* [1933] (Honolulu, 1999).

Bishop Museum & 'The Polynesian Question'

This topic would prove of particular interest to the staff of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, whose buildings neighboured the Kamehameha Schools.[435] For E.S. Craighill Handy, a recent graduate of Harvard and an ethnologist on its staff, "it require[d] no scientific acumen to see that the destiny of these lands is to be peopled and developed by dusky and brunet humanity in the future as in the past".[436] He would also claim the "the present condition of all those living about and in the Pacific is one of bi-culturism…with our roots in traditional heritage and our foliage in modernism."[437] Whilst characterising the modernist present, Handy and his colleagues were more transfixed with the "traditional heritage" which defined the peoples of the Pacific.

Over Bishop's history, 1919-1940 stands out for its dynamism, both for the range and quality of its investigations (and investigators), coupled with significant investment. Bishop's transformation owes partly to an agreement with Yale University, whereby it became "essentially…a part of the university".[438] Underpinning the new arrangement was a bequest of $40,000 from the New York financier Bayard Dominick, coupled with the arrival of Herbert Gregory from the geology department at Yale who became its

[435] 'History of Bishop Museum', Gregory Papers, Box 12, Folder 2, BMA, p. 1.
[436] E.S. Craighill Handy, 'The Insular Pacific: Ethnic Fugue and Counterpoint', *Pacific Affairs*, 5/6 (1932), p. 487.
[437] E.S. Craighill-Handy, 'Culture and Education: What is the Cultural Destiny of Pacific Peoples? *Pacific Affairs*, 6/6 (1933), p. 277.
[438] 'Copy of Agreement Between Bishop Museum Trustees and Yale University', Gregory Papers, Box 12, Folder 6, BMA.

Director in 1919, the same year its staff jumped from thirteen to thirty-one.[439] The investment enabled Gregory to preside over a programme which made Bishop the "directing center for investigations" of the 'Polynesian Question', or an exploration of the disputed origins of the peoples of Polynesia – the key to determining the 'traditional heritage' Handy sought to understand.[440]

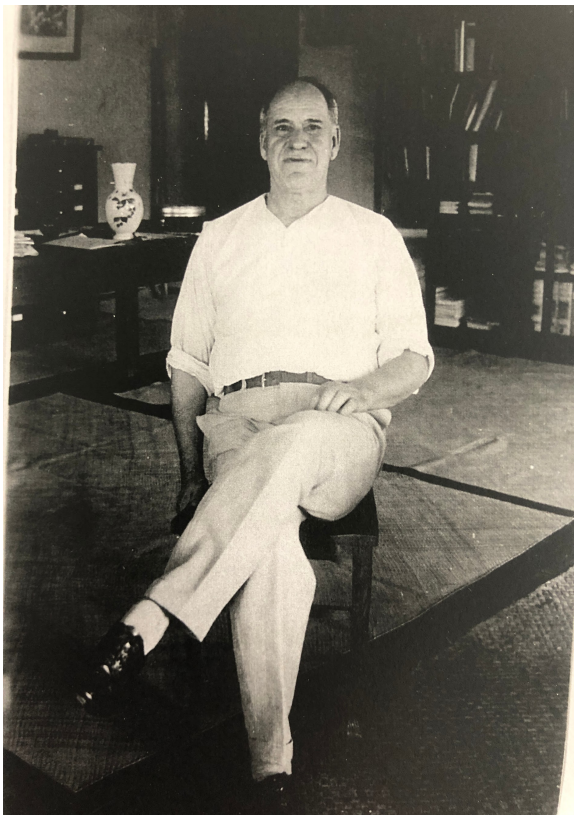


Figure 15 – Dr Herbert E. Gregory, ca. 1925, People, BC Directors. Gregory, img. 15506, BMA.

[439] 'Some Pacific Scientists I Have Known', Papers of E.H. Bryan, Box 4, Folder 5, BMA, p. 14.
[440] Park, 'The University', 699.

Rationale for a new-found enthusiasm in Pacific exploration was driven partly by the growing international significance of the Pacific. It was regarded "a vast unworked field of anthropology, botany, geographical problems...and not unlikely holds the key to the solution of problems elsewhere".[441] Gregory advocated an explicitly Pan-Pacific approach to Bishop's investigations whose findings might also possess a global resonance. Whilst William Tufts Brigham, Bishop's first Director was "an artistic naturalist of the old school, interested in everything…but not specializing in any field too deeply", Gregory advocated an entirely different approach.[442] "The task of filling in the gaps of our knowledge (of the Pacific) is too big an undertaking for any one country or any one institution however heavily endowed", he would claim.[443] "The Pacific is peculiarly a region where scientific work by the 'hit-and-miss', 'freelance' method is ineffective".[444] The problem lay partially – as the New Zealand ethnographer I.L.G Sutherland noted – in that "most of the comparative studies (of Polynesian migration) had been based upon a single class of evidence, such as language, or traditions or physical type, and none of them can be regarded as wholly satisfactory".[445] Bishop's investigations would therefore seek to represent an attempt at holistic investigation, taking linguistic, material culture, ethnology and archaeology into consideration.

[441] 'Notes on Bishop Museum', Gregory Papers, Box 14, Folder 1, BMA.
[442] 'Some Pacific Scientists I Have Known', E.H. Bryan Papers, Box 4, Folder 5, BMA, p. 5.
[443] 'Address to Pan-Pacific Luncheon, 7 April 1924', Gregory Papers, Box 14, Folder 2, p. 7.
[444] Ibid.
[445] I.L.G Sutherland, 'Maori Culture and Modern Ethnology: A Preliminary Survey, I', *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, 5/2 (1927), p. 81.

Gregory's approach was bolstered by wider Pan-Pacific organisation.[446] The resolutions of the Second Pan-Pacific Science Congress suggested a division of labour, broadly corresponding to the respective spheres of interests of the participating delegates.[447] The Congresses of 1920 and 1923 prove fascinating meeting points for the variety of anthropological approaches aired. W.J. Perry, of the University of London represented diffusionism. He was sure Māori and Hawaiians were descended from Egyptians.[448] It was a notion reflecting the continuation of a century-old tradition which placed Pacific peoples "within the grand diffusionist tradition of ethnology and Oriental philology".[449] The Australian geographer Griffith Taylor would claim Māori were akin to "West European Iberians, while other Polynesians were in a more highly evolved alpine group". [450] Roland Dixon, Franz Boas's first doctoral student at Harvard represented the alternative view, challenging classificatory styles linking race with place and colour.[451] Many scholars began to reflect the notion that Pacific peoples – and particularly Polynesians must represent a racial hybrid. The Cambridge anthropologist A.C. Haddon was sure they composed two racial elements: a "primitive Caucasian type" and an

[446] A.P. Elkin, 'Anthropology and the Peoples of the South-West Pacific: The Past, Present and Future', *Oceania*, 14/1 (1943), p. 4.
[447] A.C. Haddon, 'Anthropology at the Second Pan-Pacific Science Congress, Australia 1923', *Man*, 24 (1924), p. 16.
[448] W.J. Perry, 'The origin of Oceanic culture', Gerald Lightfoot (ed.), *Proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Science Congress, Australia 1923* (Melbourne, 1923), pp. 227-30 (quote on p. 228).
[449] Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 68
[450] Griffith Taylor, 'Migration Zones Around the Pacific', Gerald Lightfoot (ed.), *Proceedings of the Pan-Pacific Science Congress, Australia 1923* (Melbourne, 1923), pp. 251-55.
[451] R.B. Dixon, 'A New Theory of Polynesian Origins', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association*, 30 (1921), pp. 79-90.

"Indonesian element of the Mongoloid type".[452] These discussions would meanwhile occur as Bronisław Malinowski was finalising *Argonauts of the Western Pacific (1922),* widely regarded as a manifesto of functionalism, offering a radical new take on the role anthropology should play, namely, to "grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world", in which subjects were posited as rational actors, "no more likely to be bamboozled by superstition than the average European".[453] Into this complex of varied theses and approaches, the staff of Bishop Museum sought to solve the 'Polynesian Question' once and for all.

The first settlement of the Pacific Islands has endured as one of the great geographical mysteries of mankind – principally because of the perceived similarity between peoples.[454] Over the centuries, a wide variety of theories, resting upon a plurality of evidence bases have emerged to determine how these islands were settled.[455] What the cumulative archaeological and linguistic evidence shows is that 60,000 years ago when early humans were exploring the limits of the continental world, they were able to traverse the narrow sea passages (on what were likely makeshift rafts) from the South Asian landmass known as Sunda to another landmass to the east, Sahul (comprising Australia, Tasmania and New Guinea today) before their geological separation. The

[452] A.C. Haddon, 'Migrations of peoples in the Southwest Pacific', in Proceedings of the 2nd Pan-Pacific Science Association Congress (Australia) 1923 vol. 1, pp. 220-224. See also L.R. Sullivan, The Racial Diversity of the Polynesian Peoples', *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* 32 (1923), pp. 79-84.
[453] Adam Kuper, 'Foreword' in Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts in the Western Pacific* [1922] (London, 2014), p. xii.
[454] Chang, 'Looking at the Pacific', p. 25.
[455] Christina Thompson, *Sea People: The Puzzle of Polynesia* (London, 2019).

earliest human movement into what Roger C. Green has described as 'Near Oceania' (New Guinea and Western Melanesia) commenced forty thousand years ago with human migrations from Sahul to the present-day Solomon Islands (Fig. 16). Four-to-five thousand years ago, a second group of peoples expanded eastward from coastal China and Taiwan (identified linguistically as Austronesian peoples) into Southeast Asia, leading to the emergence of the Lapita cultural complex in 'Near Oceania'.[456] A 'Lapita expansion' into 'Remote Oceania' (the rest of Melanesia and Polynesia) commenced about 1200 B.C, leading to the eventual settlement Rapa Nui, or Easter Island, the Hawaiian Islands and Aotearoa in roughly 1250 AD, completing the settlement of the so-called "Polynesian Triangle".[457] Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian peoples had by the first millennium AD therefore crossed and settled the Pacific and Indian Oceans. At the time the Viking Leif Erikson was reaching Newfoundland, Polynesian navigators had settled the Pacific.

[456] Jiao Tianlong (ed.), *Lost Maritime Cultures: China and the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2007).
[457] Patrick V. Kirch, 'Peopling of the Pacific: A Holistic Anthropological Perspective', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 39 (2010), pp. 131-148.

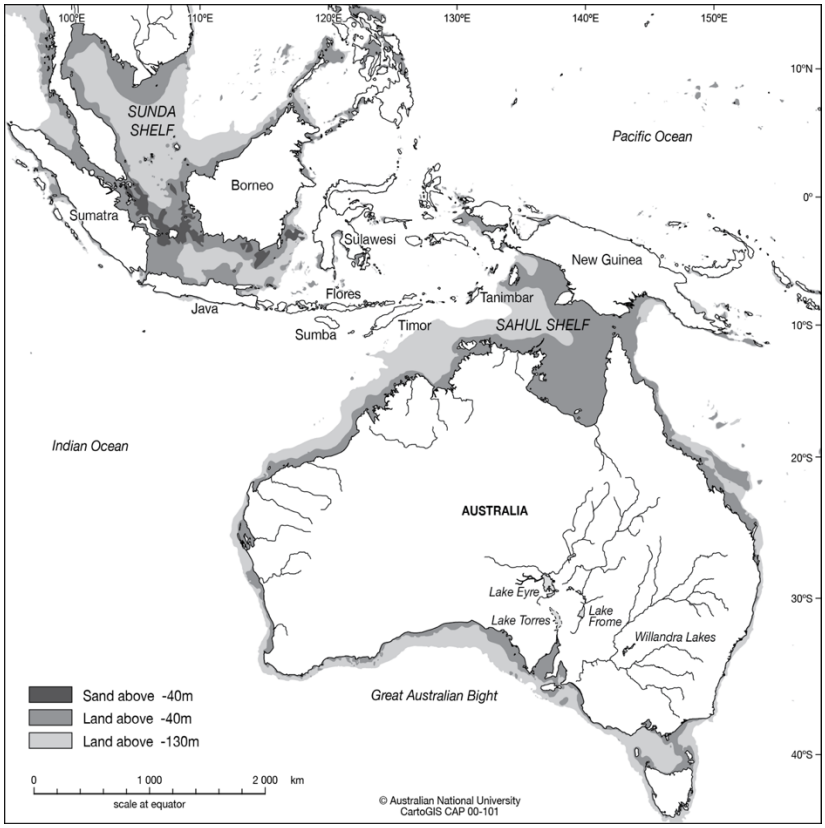


Figure 16 – 'Sunda and Sahul Shelf', CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University, http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/sunda-and-sahul-shelf (10 September 2020)

In the 1920s however, no consensus on these origins had been reached as scholars tried to situate Pacific peoples within a great taxonomy of mankind through a speculative comparativism. Perceived resemblances between Native Americans and Polynesians led some scholars to advocate the Americas to be the source of migration.[458] Gregory refuted this position entirely. "The remoteness of its connection with the Americas is an outstanding geographic feature", he claimed.[459]

[458] Charles Reginald Enock, *The Secret of the Pacific* (London, 1912).
[459] Clipping,"An Ocean Packed with Islands", Gregory Papers, Box 11, Folder 3, BMA.

Gregory's new impetus was also based upon a flawed, yet widely held assumption: "the races of the Pacific are disappearing and if you want to write their story, you must do it in this generation, or you will never write it."[460] The solution was an endorsement of salvage anthropology.[461] To some extent, the fatalist thesis was correct. The Native Hawaiian population had for instance declined from around 400,000 upon Cook's arrival to just 40,000 by the 1890s.[462] Yet how that depopulation had occurred was less accurately determined, linked not only to the introduction of disease, but to "changed ways of life and thought, a psychological inertia or despair as well as physical weakness", as Roberts proclaimed.[463]

Such supposed denigration led some to dispute the maritime achievement of Pacific peoples entirely. According to Toynbee, the Polynesians had "degenerated into incarnations of the Lotus-Eaters and the Doasyoulikes: losing their grip upon the ocean and resigning themselves to be marooned".[464] For Macmillan Brown, at the time New Zealand's foremost authority on the 'Polynesian Question' (despite coming to Pacific investigations late in life upon his retirement from Canterbury College in 1895) the solution to the 'riddle of the Pacific' lay in a lost continent and a vanished empire.[465]

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[460] Gregory, 'Address at Pan-Pacific Club Luncheon'.
[461] W.H.R Rivers (ed.), *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* (Cambridge, 1922).
[462] Tom Smith, 'History "Unwritten Literature", and U.S. Colonialism in Hawai'i, 1898-1915', *Diplomatic History*, 43/5 (2019), p. 825. On depopulation see Seth Archer, *Sharks Upon the Land: Colonialism, Indigenous Health, and Culture in Hawai'i, 1778-1855* (Cambridge, 2018).
[463] Roberts, *Population*, p. 65.
[464] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*: *An Abridgement of Volumes I-VI* (Oxford, 1988), p. 165.
[465] John Macmillan Brown, *The Memoirs of John Macmillan Brown* (Christchurch, 1974). There is little on Brown's interests in the Pacific here despite a long bibliography of writings on the subject, including *The Riddle of the Pacific* (London, 1924).

Brown was no stranger to thinking through islands as sites of peculiar fantasy, even writing a pair of island-based novels, entitled *Riallaro* and *Limanora* under the pseudonym Godfrey Sweven. In his search for the "true Vikings of the Pacific", he puzzled why "these greatest of oceanic sailors have left no oceanic seamanship behind".[466] Brown did however reflect one prevailing consensus: a sense that Melanesians, Micronesians and Polynesians were distinct, with the latter the most advanced race. "Melanesians", Clifford Gates would claim were "physically Negroid, Micronesians of Malay stock, whilst the Polynesians represent a branch of the Caucasian race…"[467] Blending speculative geology and ethnology, he claimed "the blond element in Polynesia...absolutely conflicts with Negroid ancestry", meaning there was "sufficient in the physique of the Polynesians to point to Western Europe as their origin and home".[468]

[466] Godfrey Sweven [pseud.], *Riallaro, the archipelago of exiles* (London, 1901) & *Limanora the island of progress* (London, 1903); J. Macmillan Brown, *Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, vol. 1 (London, 1927), p. 286-287.
[467] Clifford E. Gates, 'The Polynesians: Caucasians of the Pacific', *The Scientific Monthly*, 15/3 (1922), p. 262.
[468] Brown, *Peoples & Problems, vol. 2*, p. 78.

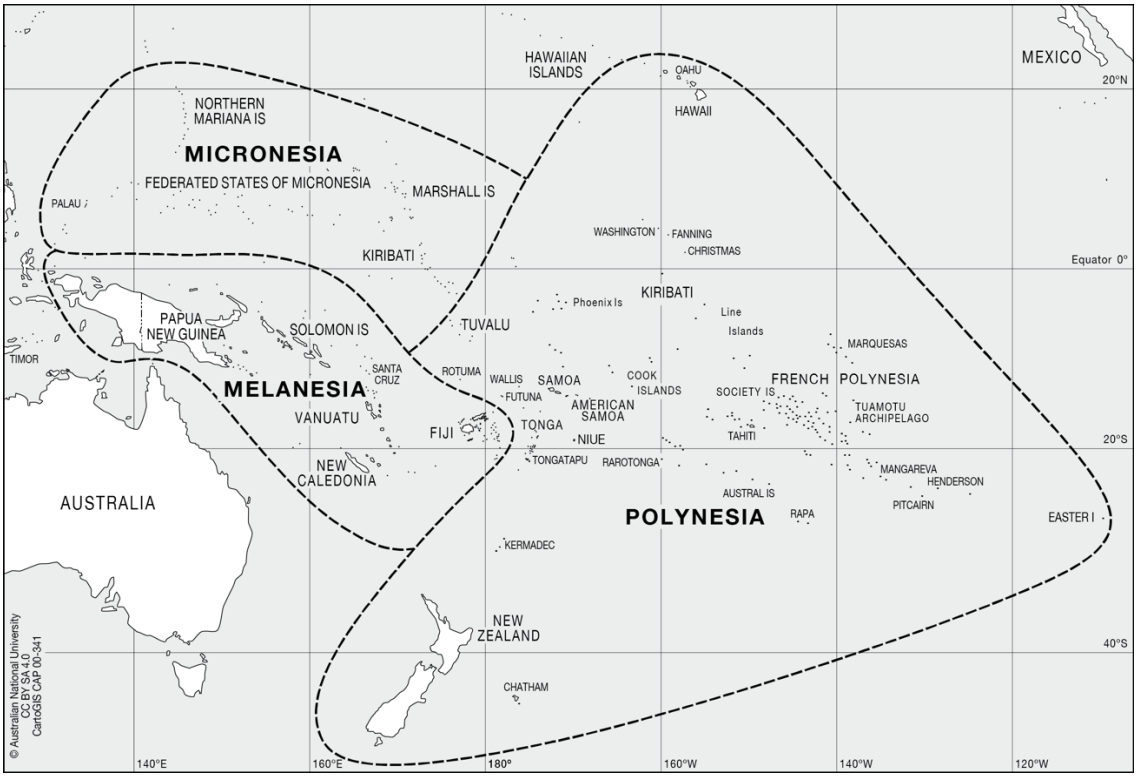


Figure 17 – 'The three culture areas of the Pacific - Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia', CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University, https://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/micronesia-melanesia-polynesia# (12 September 2021).

Yet, as J.C Furnas would claim, "the boundaries of these divisions merge dismayingly. It is more tidiness than ethnic clarity that draws the line between the Micronesian Gilberts and Polynesian Ellices".[469] It led scholars to explore evidence of cultural revivalism in 'outliers', spaces where original cultures were thought to have been left in-tact.[470] Harry Shapiro conducted studies on Ontong Java, north of the present-day Solomon Islands,

[469] J.C. Furnas, *Anatomy of Paradise: Hawaii and the Islands of the South Seas* (London, 1950), p. 33. See Douglas, 'Terra Australis to Oceania', pp. 179-210.
[470] Willowdean C. Handy, 'Renaissance in Indo-China: A French Experiment in Reviving Cambodian Art', *Pacific Affairs*, 2/2 (1929), pp. 71-72.

considering whether its population was Polynesian.[471] Once the 'outliers' of Ontong Java and Tikopia had been explored, Rennell Island and Bellona emerged centres of attention, with the work of Bishop essentially as a directing institution.[472]

[471] H. L. Shaprio, 'Are the Ontong Javanese Polynesian?', *Oceania*, 3/4 (1933), p. 375.
[472] Ernest Beaglehole, 'Polynesian Anthropology Today', *American Anthropologist*, 39/2 (1937), p. 217.

Outliers: "Greater India" & The Pan-Pacific

In the intellectual history of anthropology, the emergent functionalism of the 1920s is often regarded as the point the diffusionist tendencies of the Indological tradition began to wane.[473] The Pan Pacific organisation of Bishop Museum would prove a useful vehicle however for a recalibration of the diffusionist tradition, as Indology remained a pervasive touchstone in Pacific ethnology into the mid-twentieth century, contiguous with the notion of a cultural revivalism amongst the cultures of Asia and the Pacific, depicted by some as an 'Asiatic Renaissance'.[474]

On 22 June 1937, Dr. Kalidas Nag delivered the Annual Commencement address at the University of Hawai'i where he had been spending a year as Visiting Professor at the newly-established Oriental Institute.[475] Quoting the university's motto: *Maluna a'e o na lahui a pau ke ola ke kanaka [Above all nations is humanity],* Nag reflected on the Pan-Pacific from its spiritual and institutional home, ruminating on the "birth of a new civilization" due to "the mingling of east and west".[476] He went on to praise the PPU (where he had been made an Honorary Trustee) and the IPR for efforts in promoting greater "mutual understanding".[477] Nag addressed a convinced audience and the contents of his speech weren't remarkable, yet what stands out was his attempt to

[473] Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race*, p. 80.
[474] Pablo Ariel Blitstein, 'A Global History of the Multiple Renaissances', *The Historical Journal* (2020).
[475] 'Correspondence Kalidas Nag', Gregg M. Sinclair Papers, 1961.001, Oriental Institute Box 1, Hamilton Library.
[476] Kalidas Nag, '"Above All Nations Is Humanity" Maluna a'e o na lahui a pau ke ola ke kanaka', *University of Hawaii Bulletin*, 16/8 (1937), pp. 3-14.
[477] Ibid, 10.

frame an emergent Pacific civilisation from an Indian perspective, later more fully expressed in *India in the Pacific World (1941).* That work proves largely a guide to the 'cultural treasures' in the region; a "what's where" of objects that might reveal traces of Indian cultural diffusion.[478] But it wasn't just a catalogue, also shining a light on a particular Indian – or Bengali-centric understanding of the Pacific and its globality.[479]

A versatile intellectual, Nag was "perhaps the most accomplished representative of Bengali internationalism".[480] A founding member and Secretary of the 'Greater India Society', in 1922, he delivered a paper entitled 'Greater India: A Study in Indian Internationalism' in Lugano, later republished in the first issue of the *Journal of the Greater India Society* in 1926.[481] It defined the themes encouraging a number of scholars to investigate the spread of ancient Indian culture. In this particular worldview, the 'culture colonies' of Southeast Asia were webs of primordial kinship, linking the wider region to the Indian subcontinent.[482] This was the historical backdrop to the idea of a 'Greater India', an "important cognitive lens that constructed collective memory and

[478] Kalidas Nag, *India and the Pacific World* (Calcutta, 1941), vxi.
[479] Bar recent work by Fiona Paisley and Tony Ballantyne, Indian influence in the Pan-Pacific has been inadequately examined: Ballantyne, 'Imperial Futures and India's Pacifics', *Pacific Futures*, pp. 157-174 and Jane Haggis, Clare Midgley, Margaret Allen and Fiona Paisley (eds.) *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire: Interfaith, Cross-Cultural and Transnational Networks, 1860-1950* (London, 2017), pp. 85-105.
[480] Mario Prayer, 'Creative India and the World: Bengali Nationalism and Italy in the Interwar Period', Sugata Bose & Kris Manjapra (eds.) *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones: South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (London, 2010), p. 245.
[481] Chinmoy Guha, *Bridging East and West: Rabindranath Tagore and Romain Rolland Correspondence (1919–1940)* (Oxford, 2018), p. 56.
[482] R.C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian colonies in the Far East* (Lahore, 1927).

India's sense of self in the twentieth century".[483] Yet examinations into the contours of 'Greater India' often halt at the coastlines of Southeast Asia.

In 1928 at the Indian Science Congress, Nag was due to present a paper entitled the "Indian Culture of Indonesia". There he met Handy who had recently conducted ethnographic study in the Marquesas Islands, concluding the islands (and Polynesia at large) must have been subject to two waves of migration. In an article published in *Man in India*, Handy made the case for a diffusionist theory of Polynesian origins in which the Pacific was settled first by peoples demonstrating Indian Brahmanical culture and the second, a dynastic Indo-Malaysian culture.[484] Handy located phenomena such as rites for the firstborn, ancestral cult formation, phallic symbolism, and dualistic evolutionary cosmology – all as possibly deriving from Brahmanism – as markers of cultural transfer.[485]

Handy's trip to India was hugely influential upon the direction of his own studies and it marked the beginning of an attempt to directly link the work of Bengali scholars to Hawai'i. It had, he claimed in correspondence with his colleague Kenneth Emory, opened up "the Asiatic vistas which I find so interesting and illuminating".[486] As he excitedly proclaimed, "in the isolated islands of the Polynesian fringe of Farther India

[483] Jayashree Vivekandan, 'Indianisation or indigenisation? Greater India and the politics of cultural diffusionism', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics,* 56/1 (2018), p. 3.
[484] E.S Craighill Handy, *Polynesian Religio*n (Honolulu, 1927), p. 317.
[485] Nag, *India and the Pacific*, p. 52.
[486] Handy to Emory, 24 March 1931, Emory Papers, Group 9, Box 3, Folder 7, BMA.

there may have survived, there may still survive, ancient Indian lore and customs that have become hopelessly obscured or lost in India proper and colonial India".[487] Upon his return, he was sure that "the museum [Bishop] ought to make to this important question of maritime contacts and ancient seafaring…a compilation…in collaboration with… Buck, myself, others, for Polynesia as a whole".[488]

Referencing the Greater India Society directly – of whom he was a guest – Handy was sure that Indians should be defined as "Asiatic kinsmen" in which "Aryan Hindus, the creators of Indian civilization are sprung from the same stock as we of the West."[489] Lamenting the limited knowledge of Indian culture in American institutions, he sought to foster deeper ties to examine what he termed the 'Asiatic Renaissance'.[490] An immediate outcome was the award of a scholarship to the Bengali ethnologist, Panchanan Mitra to study Indian connections to the Pacific at Bishop Museum.[491] Mitra, who was a student of Clark Wissler at Yale, is the missing link in many histories of Pacific anthropology in the 1920s and 30s; the first academically-trained Indian anthropologist to tackle the problem of Pacific cultural origins.[492]

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[487] E.S Craighill Handy, 'Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania', *Man in India*, 8/1 (1928), p. 5.
[488] Handy to Emory, 2 January 1930, Emory Papers, Group 9, Box 3, Folder 7, BMA.
[489] E.S. Craighill-Handy, 'The Renaissance of East Indian Culture', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/4 (1930), pp. 362-363.
[490] Motosada Zumoto, 'Japan and the Pan-Asiatic Movement', *News Bulletin* (February 1927), 8-15.
[491] Nag, *India and the Pacific*, p. 47.
[492] Attempts to explore the South Asian origins of the Polynesian peoples wasn't new, corresponding to a thesis sustained for one-hundred years. See for instance, S. Percy Smith, Ha*waiki: The Original Home of the Maori, with a Sketch of Polynesian History* (Christchurch, 1904), pp. 64-65.

During his investigations, the connections between India and the Pacific – both linguistic and material – seemed striking. The Aryan Indian computation of the days of the lunar month was replicated in Polynesian societies. The Sanskrit names Rāka for 'full moon' and Kuhū as 'new moon' had almost exact counterparts in Polynesian languages.[493] Wicker-work seemed – Mitra thought – to bear close similarities to Indian examples, proving "chattai-like".[494] "Tanged adze [cutting tools for woodworking] might be traced right back to Madras".[495] The Hula of Hawaii, the Siva Siva of Sāmoa also impressed Mitra "with their variety and affinities with different dances especially in rural Bengal associated with masks".[496] Reflecting on the scope of the project by the end of 1933, Mitra proclaimed that "our Indo-Pacific comparisons yield on three distinct strata: one basic Proto-Australoid and Pre-Dravidian, the second intermediate Dravidian with cross-cousin marriage and the third Proto-Aryan or Indo-Polynesian (as Dr Handy would call it) stretching from India to the Pacific".[497] The premature death of Mitra in 1936 offers a compelling counter-factual; an unfinished project, entitled 'India and Polynesia' (or Indo-Polynesian Memories) which leaves us with a world of questions into his further investigations.[498] Mitra would not be the last scholar from the Indian sub-continent to

[493] Panchanan Mitra, 'A Vedic Night of the Moon from Polynesia', *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, 1/30 (July 1934).
[494] Panchanan Mitra, 'II. Cultural Affinities Between India and Polynesia', *Man in India*, 11/3+4 (1931), p. 229.
[495] Panchanan Mitra, 'IIf. Cultural Affinities Between India and Polynesia', *Man in India*, 12/1 (Jan-March 1932), p. 32.
[496] Ibid, 37.
[497] Panchanan Mitra, 'Social Stratification in Early India and the Pacific', *The Calcutta Review* (November 1933), 154.
[498] Te Rangi Hiroa, *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology* (Honolulu, 1945), p. 47. Mitra published other works including *A History of American Anthropology* (Calcutta, 1933) and the best-known, *Prehistoric India, its place in the world's cultures* (Calcutta, 1927). Title of work cited in 'Obituary: Dr. Panchanan Mitra', *Nature*, Vol. 138, No. 760 (31 October 1936), p. 750.

speculate on similar questions however. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, also of the University of Calcutta later explored the notion Austric languages might link Greater India with the Polynesian islands.[499]

These investigations by Mitra however convinced Nag that it was clear "The Pacific was a grand depository of cultural treasures and a vast reservoir of historical traditions", tied to the Indian sub-continent.[500] As he excitedly concluded "if, as comparative study proceeds, it becomes evident that Polynesia has preserved elements of pure Vedic culture, we shall have an unbroken series of accretions of Indian derivation including Vedic, Brahminic and Budhistic".[501] Reflecting upon the extent of Pacific investigations, he was sure that "to form the general idea of Pacific culture one must necessarily go beyond the limits of Polynesia."[502] In short, reflecting on the globality of a spatially dynamic oceanic region was essential.

Linking an ancient Indian past to the present, Nag may well have thought that "The Pacific Ocean (was) since our early school days…made to appear too far away to have any relations with India and too vague and too vast for seeking human relationship", but he was sure that this had profoundly changed by the 1930s.[503] The Indian world of the

[499] Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 'India and Polynesia: Austric Bases of Indian Civilisation and Thought', *Bhārata-Kaumadi – Studies in Indology*, pt. 1 (Allahabad, 1945), 193-208.
[500] Nag, *India and the Pacific*, viiii; Kalidas Nag, 'Cultural Migrations in Oceania', *Calcutta Review* (July 1939), 37-52.
[501] Handy, 'Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania', 3.
[502] Nag, *India and the Pacific,* p. 53.
[503] Ibid., p. viiii.

twentieth century, Nag claimed, lay in an "Indo-Pacific domain" which he described the "true historical setting and geographical background of Greater India".[504]

Whilst we can reject the intellectual basis of Handy, Mitra and Nag's conclusions for their vision of Polynesian culture as fixed in time, with island societies repositories of a diffused cultural past, these investigations should convince us to expand our investigations into the saliency of a 'Greater India' beyond Southeast Asia, into Oceania.[505] "While the story of Polynesian culture is a mere appendix to Indian history", as Handy himself had concluded, "it may be found, like appendices to some books, to contain information of prime importance to the main subject." [506]

[504] Ibid., p. 282. Based on A.H Keane, *Man – Past and Present* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 18.
[505] Nag expanded his investigations in *Discovery of Asia* (New Delhi, 1958), pp. 257-274.
[506] E.S Craighill Handy, 'Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania', *Man in India*, 8/1 (1928), p. 5.

'Neo-Maoridom' & Indigenous Passages in the Pan Pacific

One of the more insidious interpretations of the Pacific past conjured by our forebears was the notion its indigenous peoples possessed a history either unworthy of recollection (at least until European discovery) or fundamentally untrustworthy (given an absence of written testimony), coupled with the lingering belief that demographic decline would mean the future presence of 'native' culture would be short-lived. As such, both the past and future could be denied.

One consequence was that indigenous peoples would almost exclusively be the investigated, rather than investigators of Pacific pasts in settler society's seats of learning. The summitry of the Pan-Pacific meanwhile had an exceptionally limited indigenous presence. Whilst there were attendees, such as Kipeni Su'apa'ia, the Superintendent of Public Instruction at Pago Pago who to the Pan-Pacific Education Conference, indigenous attendees largely occluded the Pan Pacific organisations detailed in this thesis.[507] Tellingly, a proposed "Pan-Pacific Polynesian Conference", mooted by Joseph Carruthers as a "conference of representatives of the Polynesian Races" in 1925 to coincide with the one-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Cook's landing in the Hawaiian Islands through the auspices of the PPU was never hosted. [508]

[507] K. Su'a, 'Education in American Samoa', *First Pan Pacific Conference on Education, Rehabilitation, Reclamation and Recreation, vol. 1* (Washington, 1927), pp. 42-47.
[508] Bruce Cartwright to Alexander Hume Ford, 18 August 1925, in 'Proposed Polynesian Conference', Box 2, Folder 32, PPU Papers, Hamilton Library; Patricia O'Brien, 'Bridging the Pacific: Ta'isi O.F. Nelson, Australia and the Sāmoan Mau', *History Australia*, 14/1 (2017), pp. 13-31.

Beyond Pan-Pacific summitry however, indigenous tradition and organisation could span similar regional templates. A spiritual and "cosmogonic heritage linked the many islands of Polynesia to a shared past", fostering a deeper indigenous Pan-Pacific by nature, if not by name.[509] *Whakapapa* [or genealogy in Māori] was a critical intellectual stimulant to investigations in the Dominion, combining religiosity and popular ethnological investigation.[510] Early attempts to chronicle these pasts appeared in the short-lived *Maori Record* (1904-1907) whilst clergymen and spiritual leaders, such as Rēweti Kōhere published articles such as 'Kei hea Hawaiki' [the location of Hawaiki], examining the possible locations of *Hawaiki*.[511] Mormonism (alongside Anglicanism) provided an "unusually rich, compatible resource for sharpening and reclaiming [Māori] identity", with translations of the Book of Mormon detailing the 'Israelite' origins of the Māori, buttressing the diffusionist deduction.[512] These spiritual connections possessed contemporary (as well as historical) Pan-Pacific dimensions in their own right as believers travelled to regional centres of the faith. In Honolulu, Māori meetings with their Mormon Hawaiian hosts were dubbed the meeting of "two branches of one race".[513]

Whilst there were attempts to embed emerging ethnographic knowledge into a Māori worldview, a number of prominent indigenous scholars' work within the discipline of

[509] Tom Smith, 'Islanders, Protestant Missionaries, and Traditions Regarding the Past in Nineteenth Century Polynesia', *The Historical Journal*, 60/1 (2017), p. 78.
[510] 'Investigation into the Past of Maoris.', *Maori Record: A Journal Devoted to The Advancement of The Maori People*, 7 November 1904, p. 2.
[511] 'Editor's Comment', *Maori Record*, 1 July 1906, p. 1; 'Kei Hea Hawaiki', *Kopara*, 30 October 1920, p. 3.
[512] Grant Underwood, 'Mormonism, the Maori and Cultural Authenticity', *JPH*, 35/2 (2000), pp. 133-146
[513] 'When Maori Meets Maori', *Auckland Star*, 10 August 1920, p. 4.

anthropology were instrumental to its shifting contours, both domestically and regionally, impacting contemporary public policy. Shifting knowledge of Māori heritage in particular produced forms of indigenous revivalism, regarded as contiguous with modernity, proving a key component in the swing from assumptions of racial amalgamation, to acculturation and association.[514]

"Printed Errors and Unqualified Observers": Authenticity & Anguish in Te Rangi Hīroa's Anthropology

Perhaps the most significant of these scholars was Te Rangi Hīroa (or Peter Buck), a doctor, politician and anthropological scholar intimately connected to the institutional Pan-Pacific. Having attended the Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Melbourne in 1923 where he first met Gregory, he attended gatherings of the IPR as a member of the New Zealand delegation and in the 1930s was Chairman of its Hawaiian Branch.[515]

Buck is best known for *Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938), later called *Vikings of the Pacific* (1959), an authoritative, yet popular work of anthropology which examined the 'Polynesian Question'. It was the culmination of twenty-five years of study which had taken Buck from Niue and the Cook Islands, where he spent parliamentary recesses as

[514] Daniel Borrow & Barbara Brookes, 'The Politics of Knowledge: Anthropology and Māori Modernity in Mid-Twentieth Century New Zealand', *History and Anthropology,* 24/4 (2013), pp. 453-471; Conal McCarthy, "Empirical Anthropologists Advocating Cultural Adjustments": The Anthropological Governance of Āpirana Ngata and the Native Affairs Department', *History and Anthropology*, 25/2 (2014), pp. 280-295.
[515] 'Address to Ngati Poneke', Buck Papers, Box 1, Folder 5, p. 8, BMA.

a Medical Officer, before a move to Honolulu where he became regarded as one of the foremost anthropologists of his age, unrivalled as an authority on the material culture of Oceania once attached to Bishop Museum.

For Buck, a fascination with the 'Polynesian Question' was personal and professional.[516] The contemporaneous popularity of Robert Park's 'marginal man' theory not only characterised the predicament of indigenous culture in settler society, but influenced Buck because it defined his own identity.[517] Buck's mother was from Ngati Awa in the Bay of Plenty; his father was of Irish descent. Schooled at Te Aute, an elite Anglican boarding school for Māori boys where he was a contemporary of Āpirana Turupa Ngata, it was an education which gave him (according to Condliffe who penned his biography), "a burning ambition to ameliorate the condition of the Maori people" at a time when a fatalism defined public discourse.[518] To many, the only prescription would be gradual assimilation (also termed amalgamation) into the dominant *Pākehā* culture through which historical and authentic Māori culture and customs would eventually be lost, yet Buck and Ngata saw things differently.[519]

[516] Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Maori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis, 2009), pp. 12-20.
[517] Park, 'Human migration and the marginal man'.
[518] J.B. Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa: The Life of Sir Peter Buck* (Christchurch, 1971), p. 65. On the culture of Te Aute and the Young Maori Party, Jane Carey, 'A walk for our race': colonial modernity, Indigenous mobility and the origins of the Young Maori Party', *History Australia*, 15/3 (2018), pp. 1-15.

[519] Alan Lester, 'Settler colonialism, George Grey and the politics of ethnography', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 34/3 (2016), pp. 492–507.

The programme of the Young Māori Party (which grew out of the Te Aute Students Association) and of which they were prominent members, defined this approach.[520] "The ideal of these thinkers", Felix Keesing would reflect, "is to reinterpret this evolving culture and any culture-forms they may revive, so as to express a new vision". This was an attempt at forming a 'Neo- Māoridom' – a restitution of Māori within settler society, combining cultural revivalism and historical revisionism.[521] It spurred Buck to become an Officer in the 'Māori Batallion' in the First World War – an attempt to demonstrate their worth as full and equal citizens of New Zealand, yet to have a distinctive presence on their own terms.[522] Buck (like Ngata) reached the conclusion, that "the history, tradition and culture of the Māori race had been recorded and preserved by Pakehas", yet "here were we, all men possessing the gift of Māori blood, and the knowledge and understanding of the inner feelings that go with it" in an articulation of indigenous authenticity.[523]

It was only after leaving Te Aute, following studies at the University of Otago and entering public service (in Maui Pomare's Maori Hygiene Division of the Department of Health) that Buck became "a serious student of Maori", doing so from a place and at a time there was no teaching of Māori language or anthropology. Starting with an

[520] Conal McCarthy, "Empirical Anthropologists". 280-295 (citation, p. 281); Barbara Brookes, '"Return of the Native": Two Routes Back for a "Dying Race"', in Warwick Anderson, Johnson & Brookes (eds.) *Pacific Futures*, pp. 207-223.
[521] Felix M. Keesing, *The Changing Maori* (New Plymouth, 1928), p. 169.
[522] Alison Fletcher, 'Recruitment and Service of Maori Soldiers in World War One', *Itinerario*, 38/3 (2014), pp. 59-78.
[523] 'Address to Ngati Poneke', Buck Papers, Box 1, Folder 5, BMA, p. 4.

investigation of Māori somatology, he turned his attention to the Pacific and to its material cultures as markers of cultural consistency and difference.[524]

In Honolulu, Buck found an ideal location to explore these phenomena: "the place becomes of living interest because of the dead things in Bishop Museum".[525] His first fieldwork for Bishop was in 1927 on Tutuila and Aunu'u in American Sāmoa, where he developed his painstaking approach to the examination of local material culture.[526] "Each locality must be studied as a distinct entity and the serious error avoided of assuming that the social organisation of any one locality is characteristic of the whole Polynesian area", he would claim.[527] In this respect, he aligned with Gregory, yet he also found his impatient approach to Polynesian investigations an irritation: "Gregory probably wants the Museum to churn out material in print as an advertisement to the outside world".[528] Gregory's Pan-Pacific approach – to his mind –ran the risk of conducting "superficial work due to endeavouring to cover a huge area in a limited time". "I am afraid that Gregory does not try to understand the difficulties in the inter-island communication...it has always seemed to me as if he wanted to do the whole of Polynesia during his term of office".[529]

[524] Te Rangi Hiroa, 'The Coming of the Maori', Cawthron Lectures, vol. ii (Nelson, 1925), pp. 17-57.
[525] Sorrenson (ed.), *Na to Hoa Aroha, Vol. 1*, p. 56.
[526] Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Pacific* (Chicago, 1972 [1938]), p. 293.
[527] 'Cook Islands Society', Buck Papers, Box 4, Folder 1, BMA.
[528] Buck to Emory, 26 February 1929, Emory Papers, Group 9, Box 2, BMA, p. 1.
[529] Ibid.

Buck cuts a unique figure in 1920s and 30s anthropology with "little interest in labels or in the abstract discussion of theories that rested on second-hand generalisations".[530] Whilst he drew upon the Indological tradition of the Polynesian Society, claiming that the "Aborigines…belonged to Dravidian stock...their nearest relatives are the Veddas of Ceylon", he was also critical of the hyper-diffusionist tendencies of many contemporaries: "I fully expect to get into trouble with some of the older ethnologists who base their theories on the evolution of culture from the printed errors of unqualified observers", he would claim.[531]

He reflected irritation at how advocates of functionalism seemed to pay "little attention to material culture and technology. Most importance appears to be attached to the intimate details of the technique of coitus and its various postures than to the technical detail involved in the construction of a canoe and the methods of making it move," he would jest.[532] He also sceptical of the oral testimonies previous generations of scholars had relied upon.[533] Whilst "traditional stories with accompanying genealogies give some idea of the order in time in which historical events took place", "long genealogies are unreliable after they pass beyond the settlement of the islands in which the genealogies have been recorded."[534] He was therefore sceptical of what I.L.G Sutherland called "the

[530] Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 204.
[531] M.P.K Sorrenson (ed.), *Na to Hoa Aroha, from Your Dear Friend: the correspondence of Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, Vol. 1* (1925-1929), p. 133.
[532] Sorrenson (ed.), *Na to Hoa Aroha, Vol. 1*, p. 127.
[533] Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Pacific* (Chicago, 1972 [1938]), p. 9.
[534] Peter H. Buck, 'Polynesian migrations' in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* [1933] (Honolulu, 1999), p. 19.

mytho-poetic faculty" or the "romanticising tendency" of Māori folklore. [535] On the other hand, he continued to find somatological evidence – or the study of the variations between human bodies convincing.[536] "It is evident", Buck claimed, "that the master mariners of the Pacific must be Europoid for they are not characterised by the wooly hair, black skins, and thin lower legs of the Negroids nor by the flat face, short stature, and drooping inner eyefold of the Mongoloids".[537]

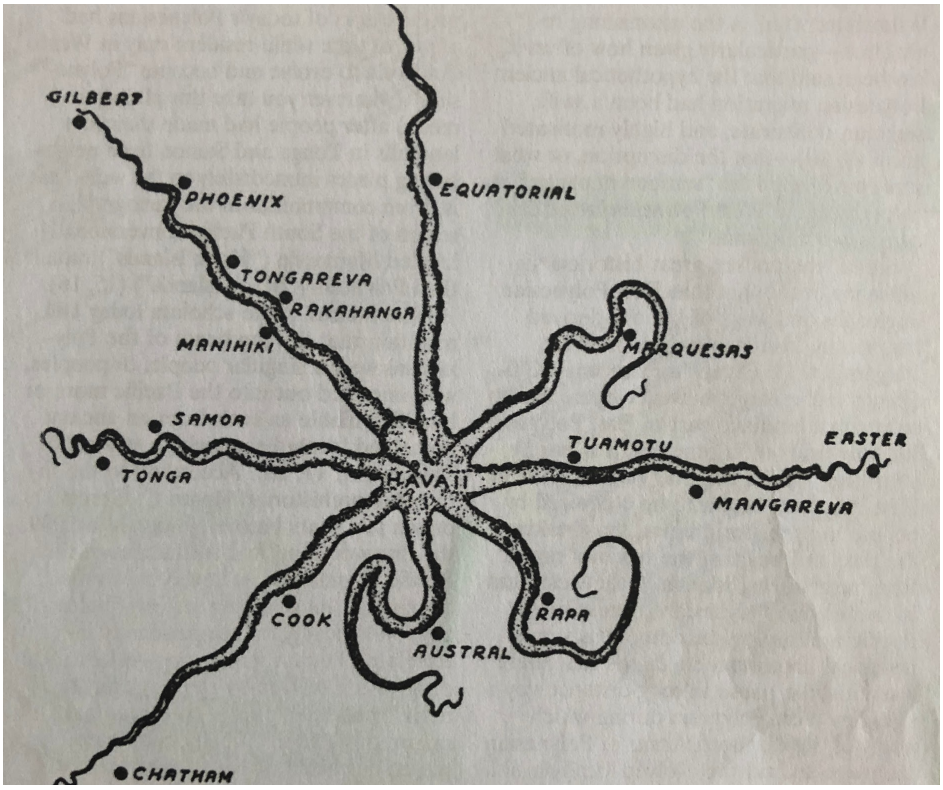


Figure 18 – Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York, 1972), p. 88, which we might describe as his 'octopus thesis'.

[535] Sutherland, 'The Study of the Maori Mind', 143.
[536] John Allen, 'Te Rangi Hiroa's physical anthropology', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 103/1 (1994), pp. 11–27.
[537] Buck, *Vikings of the Pacific*, p. 17.

Buck's synthesis of waves of migration crystallised by the late 1920s into his well-known 'octopus thesis': Polynesian peoples were of Caucasian origin and when mixed with peoples "of the Mongoloid stock" they became "super-Vikings of the Pacific". [538] It proved in fact a re-working of a term used previously by Macmillan Brown, but whom Buck had come to refer to as the "greatest problem in the Pacific".[539] Echoing many of his contemporaries in Hawai'i, he was sure that miscegenation would be the stepping stone to the evolution of a future type of New Zealander in which we hope the "best features of the Maori race will be perpetuated forever".[540]

This was no Pan-Pacific affinity however and Buck proves a telling example of the "ambivalent kinship" between Māori and Pacific Islanders pervading his judgement.[541] He did not concur with the idea Sāmoans were of a higher type than the Hawaiian or the Maori, refuting the claim they were "the purest and most aristocratic branch of the Polynesians", as had been expounded by General Richardson during his tenure as Administrator of the Western Sāmoan Mandate:[542]

"There is…no scientific basis for the statement…the Samoans are the purest type of Polynesian. [hand-written section] such a statement founded on diplomacy rather than fact. It is not only unfair to the other branches of the Polynesians but may do harm by adding to an already ~~magnified~~ [Buck redacted this in his notes] self-esteem …an additional obstacle to the Samoans adapting their culture to necessary adjustments for their own benefit".[543]

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[538] Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific*, p. 17.
[539] Sorrenson (ed.), *Na to Hoa Aroha, Vol. 1*, p. 77.
[540] Peter Buck, 'Maori Somatology: Racial Averages', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 31 (1922-23), cited in Anderson, 'Ambiguities of Race', 144.
[541] Teresia Teaiwa & Sean Mallon, 'Ambivalent Kinships? Pacific People in New Zealand', in James H. Liu & Tim McCreanor et al. (eds.) *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations* (Wellington, 2006), pp. 207-229.
[542] Buck to Ngata, 25 August 1931, in Sorrenson, (ed.) *Na to Hoa Aroha, vol. I,* p. 209.
[543] 'Cook Islands Society', Buck Papers, Box 4, Folder 1, BMA.

Indeed, from 1927, Buck's letters to Ngata reveal an "astonishing array of criticisms of many aspects of Samoan culture".[544] Ultimately it was a combination of a pride in his own Māori ancestry and irritation at the unfolding political situation in Sāmoa (particularly the impact such events were having upon Ngata himself) that proved the source of frustration.[545] A case of contemporary politics colliding with ethnographic exploration.



Figure 19 – 'Samoa, Dr. and Mrs. Buck. Natives with Carrying Pole', B.M 14334, Bk. 61, Part II - Misc Ethnographic Photographs- Samoa, p. 118, BMA.

[544] Helen M. Leach, 'Sir Peter Buck and the Samoans', *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology*, 15 (1993), p. 60.
[545] Ibid, p. 63.



Figure 20 – W. Revell Reynolds, 'Sir Peter Buck | Te Rangi Hiroa', undated, alb. 1992.012 (loose in box) found in Buck Papers, Group 2, Box 3, Folder 1, BMA.

Buck's approach however was characteristic of a shift in approach to indigenous cultures whereby *assimilation*, or *amalgamation* which was regarded as the desired solution by most settler elites increasingly gave way to advocacy for *acculturation* and *association*. *Acculturation* was less about 'Europeanisation' but of absorbing influences. As Felix Keesing would proclaim, "the Maori can never become Pakeha, and a mere veneer laid on by law, curriculum, dogma, and habit is doubtly [sic] wasteful, as not only is its development highly dangerous, but also it suppresses valuable latent potentialities within the race, capable of greatly enriching the national spirit of New Zealand."[546] In 1933 at the Kamehameha Schools, a series of speeches delivered by many of the permanent staff members of Bishop, including Handy, Buck and Emory later published as *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* exemplified the approach. Handy called upon his audience to "remember the dignity of [their] race", whilst Buck evangelised the achievement of the Polynesian peoples.[547]

[546] Felix M. Keesing, *The Changing Maori* (New Plymouth, 1928), p. 163.
[547] E.S.C. Handy, 'Race' in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* [1933] (Honolulu, 1999), p. 16-17.

Conclusions

As Hawai'i emerged a focal point for the study of contemporary race relations and for the examination of the 'Polynesian Question', investigations revealed fundamental tensions between essentialist and an emergent 'multicultural' approach to race relations. Responding to the idea a new civilisation was emerging through the migration and mixing of the peoples in a 'New Pacific', a wide variety of tendencies were reflected in Pan-Pacific thought to manage its effects.

Eight approaches to race relations can be identified. They included attempts to exclude or to segregate distinctive racial groups; calls for, or expectations of confrontation between groups; attempts to manage increasingly hybrid populations through 'assimilation', 'amalgamation' or 'adjustment'– approaches which recognised that racial groups would necessarily mix, but which privileged the demographically or politically majoritarian culture as desired cultural destination; lastly, attempts at cooperation and understanding between racial groups (which often still upheld exclusionary practices), through 'acculturation', 'association' or 'accommodation' which recognised and respected minority (often indigenous) culture and racial identities and sought to boost, revive or remake them. "For even the best-intentioned social theorists and colonial administrators" however, this "difference" largely meant "inferiority".[548]

[548] Paraphrasing Michael Adas, 'Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology', *JWH*, 15/1 (2004), p. 33.

Buck however embodied the incoherence of the race relations of the age. He may have relinquished "the comfortable position on the veranda" as Malinowski and the functionalists would advocate, but "he clung to the notion of Caucasian heritage".[549] Despite his attempts, he died "a subject of the Queen", "having been refused American citizenship by a bureaucrat who regarded his Maori blood as Asian."[550] As Buck himself would lament to the journalist, Eric Ramsden, "the U.S needs to change its views with regard to race. Either an individual is good enough personally or he is not...". His connections to Hawai'i's elite could not shift the dial: "I told Joe Farrington [then Hawaii's Republican delegate to Congress] that the Polynesians should be drawn out of the category of Asiatics..."[551] Polynesians at large therefore, would prove "conditionally Caucasian".[552]

[549] Malinowski quoted in Adam Kuper, 'Foreword', Bronisław Malinowski, *Argonauts in the Western Pacific* [1922] (London, 2014), p. xiii; Sorrenson, 'Polynesian Corpuscles', 12.
[550] Condliffe, *Te Rangi Hiroa*, p. 20.
[551] Buck to Ramsden, 4 September 1946, Buck Papers, Box 2, Folder 4, BMA, p.1.
[552] Maile Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania* (Durham, 2019), p. 67.

Chapter 3 – "Workers of the Pacific, Unite"? The Political Left, Organised Labour and the Influence of the Pan-Pacific Idea

"The Fiasco of Sydney"

On 10 August 1926, an unexpected guest took to the stage at Sydney's Old Trades Hall (Fig. 21). First, he defined his audience's common (and familiar) enemy: "international capital", before turning to a more novel subject. From this "small beginning", was the "first attempt to bring together the Labor Movement of the Pacific Border Lands", he claimed, concluding his speech with an adaption of the slogan: "workers and oppressed peoples of the Pacific, unite!"[553] These were the words of "Comrade Rubanoff", or Modest Rubinstein of the Central European Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions (RILU), an organisation established by the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919. 'Rubanoff' was invited by the New South Wales Labor Council and delivered his speech at a "Preliminary Pacific Conference", an addition to the programme of the Third All-Australian Trade Union Congress whose aim was "to bring mutual understanding and…cooperation between [the workers of the Pacific]".[554] "Mutual understanding" was defined as the principal aim of the IPR and had been written into its

[553] 'Report of the Third All-Australian Trade Union Congress', 7 August 1926, 'Pan Pacific Conference (Communist Party) - Michael Rubanoff, A8911, National Archives Australia (hereafter NAA), p. 19 & 26.
[554] Ibid, p. 20.

constitution just twelve months prior, yet this Sydney delegation would seek a rather different form of Pacific organisation, despite deploying a similar rhetorical repertoire.



Figure 21 – The Trades Hall, Goulborn Street in Sydney, Author's own collection

Emil Voigt, who lead the Labor Council's Research Bureau – a group known colloquially as the 'Trades Hall Reds' – rose to applaud, suggesting the movement might even break down the "White Australia complex".[555] Having anticipated the gathering, agents

[555] Ibid., p. 20. On the Australia's left's objections to a 'White Australia', see Jon Piccini & Evan Smith, 'The "White Australia" Policy Must Go', in Evan Smith et al. (eds.) *The Far Left in Australia Since 1945* (London, 2018), pp. 77-96.

of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch (CIB), then a part of the Attorney General's Department, were also attendance, having intercepted correspondence between Leo Heller, Chief of the Eastern Department (of RILU) and John Smith 'Jock' Garden, perhaps the most well-known 'Trade Hall Red' and Secretary of the Labor Council.[556] "RILU is the real mainspring of the project", the CIB was sure, citing a promise uncovered to finance conference delegates from the Dutch East Indies.[557]

'B', a CIB agent penned a damning review of the affair. "The mountain indeed conceived but it brought forth a mouse"…"only the Russians came to it - and they were the wire pullers!" This event, "B" concluded, was the "Fiasco of Sydney". Indeed, only one resolution was passed, confirming the unity of the trade union movement – a poor return given its rhetorical promise.[558] It was clearly a disappointment to its instigators too. Garden bemoaned the fact he "received one reply from the All-China Federation at Canton...all our correspondence to the British East Indies being returned." Representatives from the All-India Trade Union Congress relayed interest, but did not commit to attending.[559] The leader of the Japanese Federation of Labor meanwhile, Bunji Suzuki, refused an invitation on account of the 'White Australia' policy.[560]

[556] Leo Heller [Chief of the Eastern Department of the RILU] to Communist Party of Indonesia at Batavia, 9 March 1926, A8911, 161, NAA .
[557] Letter from the Director of the Investigation Branch, Melbourne to D.A. Macklehan [Inspector, Brisbane], 7 July 1926, A8911, 161, NAA .
[558] Extract from Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), No. 44, 18 November 1926, A8911, 161, NAA, p. 1.
[559] 'Report', 7 August 1926, A8911, NAA, p. 11.
[560] Ibid.

Garden was convinced of his mission however: "it is recognised by all that the Pacific will be the future cockpit of the world…creating a grave danger to the Working-Class movement in the Pacific".[561] Reflecting upon the domestic situation, he felt an urgency to the task of creating a counterpoint to mainstream unionism which was "parochial in [its] views and activities". Pan-Pacific organisation would "no doubt break down that position and assist our work with the Soviet Union", he believed.[562] Indeed, RILU officials anticipated Garden may spearhead the movement, to which they could lend support, but having seen the challenges of the Sydney gathering, operations were oriented to Shanghai, whilst the first Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat (PPTUS) conference was held in Hankow (present day Wuhan) in 1927. [563]

The chapter follows the period of the Third International (or Comintern), from its foundation in 1919 until its dissolution in 1943.[564] It first explores the antecedents to the first PPTUS conference, exploring the significance of Dominion efforts to stimulate a Pan-Pacific movement which represented the interests of the political Left in the early 1920s, drawing upon the papers of W.P. Earsman, the Communist Party of Australia's first General Secretary before engaging in a close reading of the PPTUS's Australia-based published organ, the *Pan-Pacific Worker* to examine the ways in which

[561] 'The Future Cockpit of the World', *The Australian Worker* [Sydney] 28 July 1926, p. 15.
[562] Garden to George Hardy, 6 July 1926, A8911, 161, NAA. Garden also invited delegates from Mexico, Java and India.
[563] Frank Farrell, *International Socialism and Australian Labour: The Left in Australia* (Sydney, 1981), pp. 126-143.
[564] Joachim C. Häberlen, 'Between global aspirations and local realities: the global dimensions of interwar communism', *JGH*, 7/3 (2017), pp. 415-437.

Comintern-allied Pan-Pacific politics were interpreted in a Dominion context. The chapter concludes by considering how the PPTUS inspired a variety of responses across the political Left – particularly from mainstream Labo(u)r parties.[565]

Historiography which considers leftist internationalism in its socialist, syndicalist or communist contexts often privileges the study of national communisms, despite the growth of studies which examine its global influence.[566] The fusion of leftist internationalisms (particularly Communism) with Pan-Asianism has proven a fruitful area of study in recent years, yet its Pan-Pacific context has been largely overlooked. At large, the "Pacific" has proven a blind-spot as an organising concept in histories of global labour movements.[567] Whilst the significance of trans-Pacific dynamics have become increasingly understood through recent work on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) for instance, an emphasis on the trans-Tasman dimension in this historiography is a crucial contextualisation, to the extent, I suggest, these dynamics be analysed as an Australasian phenomenon.[568] Lastly, the chapter provides a

[565] Note spellings of Australian *Labor* Party (ALP) and New Zealand *Labour* Party (NZLP).
[566] Stuart Macintyre, 'Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia', *Labour History*, 67 (November 1994), p. 128; Two examples are Carolien Stolte, 'Bringing Asia to the World: Indian Trade Unionism and the Long Road Towards the Asiatic Labour Congress, 1919-37', *JGH*, 7/2 (2012), pp. 257-278 & Carolien Stolte & Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Imagining Asia in India: Nationalism and Internationalism (ca. 1905-1940), *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 54/1 (2012), pp. 65-92.
[567] Manjapra, 'Communist Internationalism', p. 164. The outstanding account is Josephine Fowler, *Japanese and Chinese Immigrant Activists: Organizing in American and International Communist Movements, 1919-1933* (New Brunswick, 2007).
[568] Oleksa Drachewych, 'The Communist Transnational? Transnational studies and the history of the Comintern', *History Compass*, 7/2 (2019), pp. 1-12. For a comparative exploration of the British Dominions and the Communist International, Oleksa Drachewych, *The Communist International, Anti-Imperialism and Racial Equality in the British Dominions* (Abingdon, 2019). Anna Belugorova, *The Nanyang Revolution: The Comintern and Chinese Networks in Southeast Asia, 1890–1957* (Cambridge, 2019) & Tatiana Linkhoeva, *Revolution Goes East: Imperial Japan and Soviet Communism* (Ithaca, 2020)

contribution to explorations of the "mutual dependence of liberal and illiberal internationalisms" and how in an ideologically capacious Pan-Pacific, oppositional internationalisms could "co-produce one another".[569]

are excellent examples of trans-imperial and trans-regional approaches; Francis Shor, 'Left Labor Agitators in the Pacific Rim of the Early Twentieth Century', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 67 (2005), pp. 148-163.

[569] Hetherington & Sluga, 'Liberal and Illiberal Internationalisms', 1-2.

The Making of a Pan-Pacific Labour Movement

The inter-relation of four factors stimulated Pan-Pacific engagement on the political Left: the rise and success of syndicalism in the trade union movement – particularly the influence of the IWW's revolutionary transnational organisation; the attractions of Leninist internationalism and the organisational pull of the Comintern; a surge in post-war pacifism and an intrigue in the Pacific as geo-paradigm.

In New Zealand and Australia, "socialism", political labour and the trade union movement emerged in the form of "public ownership and intervention", rather than an early adoption of Marxist principles, a characterisation of Dominion politics which pervades the historical memory.[570] By the beginning of the twentieth century however, a more radical and diverse set of approaches to industrial struggle influenced the trade union movement. The blend of socialists, anarchists and radical unionists who comprised the IWW – often termed 'Wobblies' in shorthand – who had formed in Chicago in 1905 were particularly influential in opposing existing organised labour. Its approach was radical, challenging the gradualism of political change through the ballot box, but through arbitration and revolution. Through the chaos, 'One Big Union' could be created with workers organised by profession and skill, a structure depicted in circular charts (Fig. 22). The IWW soon possessed a global reach, inspiring the Indian diaspora

[570] Keith Sinclair, 'The Changing Perspective on New Zealand History', in. Livingston & Louis (eds.), *Australia, New Zealand*, p. 33.

on the Pacific coast of North America behind the anti-colonial Ghadar Movement whilst it also influenced revolutionaries as diverse as Sun Yat-sen to Emiliano Zapata.[571]



Figure 22 – 'One Big Union', diagram contained in Paul Scharrenberg Papers, BANC MSS C-B 906, carton 2, 'I.W.W.' Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

[571] Ali Raza, 'Provincializing the International: Communist Print Worlds in Colonial India', *History Workshop Journal*, 89 (2020), 140–153. On the construction of Ghadar movement as deviant, see Gajendra Singh, 'Jodh Singh, The Ghadar Movement and the Anti-Colonial Deviant in the Anglo-American Imagination', *Past & Present*, 245/1 (2019), pp. 187–219. For a characterisation of the movement as a feature of 'Revolutionary Pacifics', see Ballantyne, 'Imperial Futures and India's Pacifics' Anderson, Johnson & Brookes (eds.) *Pacific Futures*, pp. 165-167.

In Australia, the IWW's reputation grew through members such as Benjamin King, a Canadian-born, New Zealand sojourning member of the 'Sydney Twelve', charged with plotting to burn down Sydney during World War One. [572] In New Zealand, the IWW were seen as more radical than the 'Red Feds' who were infamous for instigating the Waihi Strike of 1912 and the Waterfront Struggle of 1913, in which 'Massey's Cossacks' were dispatched to the streets of Wellington to quell the unrest.[573] These developments were part of what Tim Harper has characterised (in an Asian context) as an 'Age of Strikes'.[574] The potential for radical change amidst and following global war was on the agenda, but the means of rebellion and what exactly was to be delivered was up for debate by both "pen and sword".[575]

Whilst much of the labour movement in the Dominions remained "obdurately committed to established methods of political reform and industrial arbitration", an impatient few found the industrial militancy and the syndicalist project of the One Big Union highly attractive.[576] As P.J. O'Farrell has claimed, "the international outlook of Australian labour was not awoken by the Russian revolution, but the conditions of World War".[577] With 35

[572] P. J. Rushton, 'The Trial of the Sydney Twelve: The Original Charge', *Labour History*, 25 (1973), pp. 53–57.
[573] Erik Olssen, *The Red Feds: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and the New Zealand Federation of Labour, 1908-14* (Oxford, 1988).
[574] Hope Campbell, *Massey's Cossacks: The Farmers and the 1913 Strike* (Auckland, 1977); Tim Harper, 'Singapore, 1915, and the Birth of the Asian Underground', *MAS,* 47/6 (2013), 1782-1811.
[575] Ta Chen, 'Fundamentals of the Chinese Labor Movement', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 152 (1930), p. 196.
[576] Stuart Macintyre, 'Dealing with Moscow: The Comintern and the Early History of the Communist Party of Australia', *Labour History*, 67 (November 1994), p. 129.
[577] P. J O'Farrell, 'The Russian Revolution and the Labour Movements of Australia and New Zealand, 1917–1922', *International Review of Social Histor*y, 8/2 (1963), p. 181.

percent of the workforce represented in unions (15 percent in New Zealand) by the start of the war, the Australian labour movement was "singularly open to radical influences".[578] Bitter political conflict over conscription in 1916 ravaged the Labor Party, which lost control of the Federal and the New South Wales State governments it had gained in 1910.[579] By the war's end, "the Australian far left was in buoyant mood" and it was amidst this context that the 'Trade Hall Reds' came to prominence in Sydney.[580]

Jock Garden's own biography acts as a synchronous example of the opportunism and possibilities which emerged in the period. Born in Lossiemouth, Scotland, Garden had emigrated to Australia in 1906, working as a sailmaker before becoming a church minister in Victoria. It was at the Labor Council in Sydney where he made his name however. He became sympathetic to the IWW and acted as editor of its organ, *One Big Union* in 1919.[581] It was at this time he first met William Paisley Earsman, with whom he formed the N.S.W. Labor College.[582] Earsman had been born in Edinburgh and had lived in New Zealand before moving to Sydney in 1919. He was a founding member of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and was its first General Secretary. Working closely with figures such as Garden, they would significantly influence the 'Pacific mind' of Australia's radical political Left.

[578] Ibid., p. 177.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Piccini & Smith, 'The "White Australia" Policy Must Go', p. 84-85.
[581] A.R. Hoyle, *Jock Garden: The Red Parson* (Canberra, 1993).
[582] 'The Earsman Report', *Australian Left Review* (October - November 1970), pp. 2-18.

Earsman's Pacific

"Australia had three striking features", Earsman he would write: "[first] its political experiments, second, its trade unions, and third, its position in the Pacific".[583] All three features marked her out as ripe for political transformation and were worthy of attention from revolutionaries in Moscow and beyond. Post-war, Australia was faced with a choice he claimed: "to become an appendage of British empire or [to become] an independent economic actor".[584] He also observed a growing attention to which America seemed to be paying Australia – "will this flirtation turn into a political marriage?", he questioned.[585] As became the communist consensus, he was sure a capitalist struggle between Britain and America would play out in the years to come.[586] Amidst the perils seemingly on the horizon, he was sure that only with a "strengthening of the working-class ties of the workers in the Pacific countries a better position will evolve."[587] He proclaimed:

"The future is very promising. The party along with the trade unions realise the acuteness of the capitalist struggle in the Far East, and this is of great importance to Australia...[588]

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[583] 'Australia', Papers of W.P Earsman, Box 1, Folder 4, Coll-82, University of Edinburgh Special Collections (hereafter UOESC). On its political experiments, Patricia Grimshaw claims the absence of an entrenched Conservative class enabled sympathy for radical democratic proposals, such as women's suffrage, Patricia Grimshaw, 'Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women's Suffrage in the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Hawai'i, 1888-1902, *Pacific Historical Review*, 69/4 (2000), pp. 553-572.
[584] 'Australia in the Pacific', Papers of W.P Earsman, Box 1, Folder 4, Coll-82, UOESC
[585] Ibid, p. 241.
[586] Earsman, 'The Pacific in World Politics', 240.
[587] Ibid., 234.
[588] W.P. Earsman, 'Australia: Past and Present [1922]', Document 23: RGASPI 495–94–128 in David W. Lovell & Kevin Windle, *Our Unswerving Loyalty: A documentary survey of relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940* (Canberra, 2008), pp. 143-147.

For Earsman, the solution to the Pacific problem was a regional, working-class solidarity. Earsman's Pan-Pacific was spatially expansive, including North and South America with China "the battleground of capitalist development".[589] At the All-Australian Trade Union Congress in Melbourne in 1921, his worldview was endorsed. A closer relationship should, delegates agreed, be established between all workers' organisations in all countries in the Pacific, as they agreed to call a Pan-Pacific Congress in 1925.[590] Conveying the news a year later in Moscow, Earsman was purportedly subject to a "volley of questions" from Trotsky about union activism in Australia, heartened by his tacit support for this prospective Pan-Pacific gathering. "That would be a real idea" Trotsky was purported to have claimed.[591]

It is difficult to discern precisely the influence Earsman and the Australian delegation may have had at the Comintern (Fig. 23), but this episode and the significance of Earsman's characterisations of the Pacific reveal that delegates did play a role in defining (or at least boosting) Moscow's view on international questions.[592] In a report delivered to the ACP's Central Committee in 1921, Earsman reflected that his work in Moscow would "place Australia on the revolutionary map". The potential of the Pacific

[589] 'The Problem of the Pacific', Earsman Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, Coll-82, UOESC; 'Labor Party Congress', *The Age* [Melbourne], 27 June 1921, p. 8.
[590] 'Labor Party Congress', *The Age* [Melbourne], 27 June 1921, p. 8.
[591] 'Report to the Central Executive of the Communist Party', Earsman Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Coll-82, UOESC; 'Trotsky and Australia', Earsman Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Coll-82, EOESC, p. 3. According to the 'Earsman Report', Lenin warned of the difficulties of the Pacific conference; Trotsky was more supportive.
[592] Joachim C. Häberlen, 'Between global aspirations and local realities: the global dimensions of interwar communism', *JGH*, 7/3 (2017), pp. 415-437.

as a space of revolutionary activity and cooperation urged by Earsman was therefore an integral part of an Australian pitch to Moscow.



Figure 23 – Image of the Australian Delegation in the 'Illustrated Supplement' of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Supplement in, *Pravda*, No. 3 (1922), p. 6. On the far left of the image is W.P Earsman, next to him is 'Jock' Garden, standing is Tom Walsh and on the far right is J. Howie, clipping from Earsman Papers, Box 3, misc items, Coll-82, UOESC.

Earsman's vision – concurrent with the Pacific geo-paradigm at large – had an anticipatory element and it was in-step with direction of the Comintern's internationalism which sought an "interconnected analysis of the class struggle" on a global stage,

directed by the Bolsheviks.[593] Lenin was the most significant intellectual guide to its programme in its early years, refuting Kautsky's 'ultra-imperialism' with its fusing of free trade, peace and industrial capitalism which had driven the direction of the 'Second International'.[594] Lenin instead saw anti-capitalism and anti-colonialism as "two sides of the same coin", advocating a United Front, a concession which required "bourgeois movements" to unite with the working class, giving the international movement a "flexibility" which would appeal "to a diverse constellation of socialists, communists, trade unionists, civil liberties reformers, pacifists".[595] The shift was opportunistic. By the late 1920s, 80 percent of the world's organised labour was found in Europe, 2.3 percent was found in Australasia and just 1.7 percent in Asia. Leninist internationalism must thus be viewed as an attempt at extending the appeal and the reach of a Communist variety of trade union affiliation to under-represented regions.[596]

The 'Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Eastern Question' drafted at the Fourth Congress in April 1922 put these ideas into writing, claiming that "the international proletariat does not harbour any racial

[593] Tooze, *The Deluge*, p. 416.
[594] Karl Kautsky, 'Ultra-imperialism', *Die Neue Zeit* (September 1914), *Marxists.org*, https://www.marxists.org/archive/kautsky/1914/09/ultra-imp.htm (17 February 2020); Marc-William Palen, 'Marx and Manchester: The Evolution of the Socialist Internationalist Free-Trade Tradition, c. 1846-1946', *IHR*, 43/2 (2020), p. 6. For Lenin's well-known refutation, see Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (London, 2010 [1917]).
[595] Michele L. Louro, *Comrades Against Imperialism: Nehru, India and Interwar Internationalism* (Cambridge, 2018), p. 49 & 22. For the deeper intellectual history of anti-colonialism, see Gregory Claeys, 'The 'left' and the critique of empire, c. 1865-1900', in Bell (ed.), *Victorian Visions of Global Order*, pp. 239-266.
[596] Michael Scheler, 'The World's Trade Unions Today', *Current History*, 35/3 (1931), p. 397.

prejudice".[597] Resolutions were also carried which made specific reference to the struggle in the Pacific:

"The task of the communist parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Pacific is to conduct vigorous propaganda to make the danger clear to the masses, to call on them to struggle actively for national liberation, and to orient themselves towards Soviet Russia…To carry out these steps the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat in the countries of the Pacific must convene a conference to work out the correct tactics and to devise the appropriate organizational forms for the real unification of the proletariat of all races in the Pacific."[598]

An anti-racist tenor had in fact been growing since the end of the First World War in parts of the labour movement, reflected also in the Dominions. When the New Zealand Workers' Union held its annual conference in July 1921, the question of "coloured workers" was discussed. A motion from Owen McKee claimed "all workers irrespective of colour, caste or creed be admitted", whilst the merits of South Pacific Islanders as militant unionists was raised."[599]

To many observers, the World War was interpreted as a significant turning point. Many Australians delighted at the disposition of Germany's Pacific colonies, enabling the

[597] 'The 'Resolution of the ECCI on the Eastern question' in Jane Degras (ed.), The Communist International, 1919-1943: Documents Selected And Edited By Jane Degras, vol. 1 - 1919-1922, *Marxists.org*, https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/documents/volume1-1919-1922.pdf (15 July 2020), p. 326. On the significance of this shift, Minkah Makalani, 'Internationalizing the Third International: The African Blood Brotherhood, Asian Radicals and Race, 1919-1922', *The Journal of African American History,* 96/2 (2011), 151-178.

[598] 'VII - The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Countries of the Pacific', in Degras (ed.), The Communist International, p. 391-392.

[599] 'Otago and Southland Industrial District', *Maoriland Worker*, 2 August 1922, p. 7. An excellent study of the emergence of New Zealand labour's consciousness and engagement with South Pacific labour is Nicholas Hoare, 'Anticolonialism and the politics of friendship in New Zealand's Pacific', *History Australia*, 15/3 (2018), pp. 540-558.

creation of a "natural roof" for Australia, strategically.[600] Many on the Left however proclaimed their "contempt for the audacious lie that the Australian people insist upon retaining the possessions".[601] Linking the new situation in the Pacific to shifting demands in the 'Age of Strikes', the *Papuan Courier* reflected that "the tide of Labour unrest…sweeping over the world is destined to affect native as well as white labour." As Sophie Loy-Wilson has neatly put it, a "rising tide of colour" seemed to be colliding "with a rising tide of labour".[602]

As both world-problem and regional framework, the Pacific had great explanatory qualities for the crisis in political economy. Setting out his platform for the Scottish Workers' Republican Party before the 1923 General Election, John Maclean, who was perhaps the defining figure of the 'Red Clydeside' era, would proclaim:

"So far as the Far East markets… are concerned, last year I tried to impress on you the importance of a trade conference of all countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean called by the United States of America. This conference was to lay the basis of American supremacy in the Far East markets. The struggle for that supremacy is about to begin."[603]

[600] 'Pacific Problems for Pan-Pacific Conference', *Labor Call* [Melbourne], 20 January 1927, p. 6.
[601] 'The Pacific and Socialists', *Telegraph* [Brisbane], 5 April 1918, p. 6.
[602] Ibid., 80.
[603] John MacLean, Election Manifesto 1923: Parliamentary Election Gorbals Division Candidature of John MacLean M.A.', *Marxists.org*, https://www.marxists.org/archive/maclean/works/1923-man.htm (20 June 2020).

Directly referencing the PPU's Commercial Conference held in 1922, Maclean foresaw clinching evidence of an Anglo-American capitalist tension which disrupted the regional balance of power, reflected also by Earsman in equal measure.

That same year, the Christchurch Labour Representative Committee (LRC) was calling for a common Australasian foreign policy and for a 'Pan-Pacific Labour Conference' to "counter the war-like preparations of Governments".[604] In the Autumn of 1925 meanwhile, *The Communist: A Journal for the Theory and Practice of Marxism,* the monthly journal of the Communist Party of Australia edited by Guido Baracchi in Melbourne published a special issue dedicated to evaluating the Pacific dimension of class revolution.[605]

With Earsman in Russia, it was Garden who became the most energetic figure calling for Pan-Pacific labour gathering in the Dominion.[606] Now a prominent figure on the Left despite the tumultuous and disappointing nature of the Communists' electoral performances and small membership, Garden maintained close links to the ALP.[607] It was his political pragmatism, ideological flexibility – perhaps even confusion – which allowed this "rather exotic kind of political mounteback" (as Jack Lang once dubbed him) to operate both within and outside the mainstream of the political Left in the

[604] Pan-Pacific Labour Conference', *Maoriland Worker*, 22 August 1923, p. 5.
[605] *The Communist: A Journal for the Theory and Practice of Marxism*, No. 8 (September-October 1925).
[606] By November 1927, Earsman was banned from returning to Australia, Maurice Blackburn to E.P Earsman, 6 March 1928, Earsman Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, Coll-82, UOESC.
[607] Bede Nairn, *The Big Fella: Jack Lang and the Australian Labor Party 1891-1949* (Melbourne, 1987).

period.[608] Garden would increasingly articulate the key themes at the heart of the Pan-Pacific project: multi-racial solidarity, pacifism and anti-imperialism underpinned by a regional consciousness. Thirteen months later, he was welcoming Comrade Rubanoff to Sydney for a Pacific conference on Australian soil. A flawed and poorly attended event, it however proved a compelling precursor to the making of PPTUS, an organisation established in 1927 in China, allied to the Comintern, funded by Moscow, with personnel and resources stretching across the region.

[608] Ibid, p. 68.

Hankow, May 1927

On 20 May 1927, a parade of tens of thousands of workers greeted delegates at Hankow, the host city of the first PPTUS conference which met under the protection and endorsement of the Guomindang, in the months before its split with the Communists.[609] The PPTUS met at a time its attendees were convinced global communism was in the ascendency. Milly Bennett, a journalist and editor of the Chung-Mei News Agency captured the mood: "an audacious… baffling nobility haunted the halls of the PPTUS. A billion human beings whose skin was not white, more than half the world's backward population, were making their demands heard".[610]

There, the PPTUS confirmed its dual platform: "to promote a joint struggle against the dangers of war between the Pacific powers" and to "safeguard a Chinese revolution". For Chinese trade unionists, the event fulfilled their own dual aim of "mobilising the Western Proletariat to come to the aid of the Chinese workers".[611] Amidst concerns over prospective conflict in the Pacific, the development of the Chinese Revolution, as PPTUS attendee Li Li-san (representing the All-China Labor Federation conveyed), meant there was a "necessity of organizing effective aid to that [Chinese]

[609] Communique by Sou Chow Ching (self-styled) on the rationale for the Canton conference of 1927 following the All-China Labour Federation. 'Pan-Pacific Labour Conference, 1927', Trades Union Congress, first deposit, predominantly 1920-1960, 900- 939: International, International Societies and Conferences, MSS.292/909/3, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick (hereafter MRC).
[610] Milly Bennett, *On Her Own: Journalistic Adventures from San Francisco to the Chinese Revolution, 1917-1927* (London, 2015), p. 255.
[611] Excerpt from a report by Li Li-san (representing the All-China Labor Federation), 'Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress, Bulletin of Proceedings, No. 2, 21 May 1927, pp. 9-10 in 'An Affiliated Communist Organisation', Xenia Joukoff Eudin Papers, Box 31, Folder 8, HIA.

revolution...and all the problems that arise with… the Industrialization of the Pacific". That would prove, he believed, "one of the best weapons in the struggle against world imperialism".[612] Solomon Lozovsky, the head of RILU, was clear that "the struggle for the Pacific Ocean [was] the struggle for world domination".[613] The Pacific therefore possessed a globality in the revolutionary imaginary.

Over the course of a week, reports on political and labour conditions in Indonesia, Japan, the United States and China were heard, presided over by the PPTUS' first General Secretary, the American communist, Earl Browder. The Philippine Congresso Obrero and Nanyang General Labour Union affiliated, whilst New Zealand's Alliance of Labour adopted a resolution to send delegates to future gatherings.[614] Attempts were also made to extend invitations to South American unions. In the wake of the conference, representatives from Peru, Columbia, Mexico and Ecuador all requested affiliation.[615] Whilst the mainstream British trade union movement rejected any association, the National Minority Movement, established in 1924 by the Communist Party of Great Britain and headed by Tom Mann and George Hardy, were heavily

[612] Ibid. See also Letter from 'Sou Chow Ching' or Su Chao-jen [Head of Preparatory Bureau of PPTUS] to V.S.T.P Java, 12 March 1927 (enclosure), Letter from Josiah Crosby [Consul General at Batavia] to Austen Chamberlain [Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs], 2 May 1927, 'Pan Pacific Conference (Communists) - Canton, May 1 1927, A8911, NAA.
[613] Extract entitled 'The Conference of Pacific Ocean Trade Unions', *Pravda* [Moscow], No. 190, 20 August 1929, Extract from a Letter from R.G. Casey [Office of the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia, London] to S.M Bruce [Prime Minister of the Commonwealth], 10 October 1929, 'Pan Pacific Conference - Trades Union Secretariat', A8911, 163, NAA, p. 2.
[614] 'New Zealand and the PPTUS', *Pan-Pacific Worker*, 2/1 (15 January 1929), S19, Noel Butlin Archives, Australian National University, p. 5-6.
[615] 'Pan Pacific Conference Results', *Labor Unity* (July 1928), 24-25.

involved.[616] Mann gave an address to the meeting, reflecting on what he had seen: "a real world-wide international trade union movement".[617] Many delegates simply could not reach the conference however, such as Indian delegates D.R. Thengdi and S.V. Ghate; just one Japanese delegate attended.[618] Mexican and Australian delegates arrived too late. Garden himself couldn't attend as the Australian government had refused to grant passports to its delegates.[619]

In 1929, a second PPTUS conference held at Vladivostok (with a 'second session' at Shanghai) was smaller still. Just five Filipinos, three Indonesians and four representatives of the Nanyang movement attended.[620] Three Australian delegates were chosen including Fred Roels (a member of the ALP Central Executive), Fred Walsh and P.G. Hannett, whose diary details their detention by Japanese authorities meaning they arrived too late to witness proceedings.[621] Despite this, in a speech by Lozovsky reproduced in *Izvestiia* (a popular news source in intellectual circles in Soviet Russia) gloated that "all of Australia's professional movement" had been brought into

[616] Tom Buchanan, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925-1976* (Oxford, 2012), p. 31.
[617] Thomas Mann, *What I Saw in China* (London, 1927), p. 31; 'Visit to China, via USSR. 1927', Papers of Tom Mann, MSS.334/8/2-3, MRC.
[618] British Consul General at Hankow to Cecil Clementi [Governor of Hong Kong], 20 May 1927, Papers of Cecil Clementi, MSS. Ind. Ocn 352/8/5, f.46, Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.
[619] 'Transcription of Remarks by J.S Garden before the Kuo Ming Tang, Sydney 31/2/1927, 'Pan Pacific Conference (Communists) - Canton, May 1 1927, A8911, NAA, p. 2.
[620] R.B. Smith, 'The Foundation of the Indochinese Communist Party, 1929-1930', *MAS*, 32/4 (1998), p. 774.
[621] P.G. Hannett, A Diary from Russia (1929), N62 (diary), Noel Butlin Archives, Australian National University, pp. 5-14. Fred Roels signed on behalf of Australian delegates.

line. To his eyes.[622] A front-page piece in *Pravda* ran a similar story, claiming that the Australian link was clinching evidence that the Pan-Pacific movement could bite and grip where imperial capitalism seemingly ruled the roost.[623]

Emboldened, the PPTUS sought to extend its network. By 1929, the New Zealand Communist Party (NZCP) had not affiliated, but Apletin of the All-Russia Council of Trade Unions would write to its secretary, Fintan Walsh, encouraging their affiliation, proclaiming the potential to affiliate with fourteen million other trade unionists.[624] New Zealand's political Left never engaged as closely as her Australian counterparts, echoing a wider trend of resistance to more radical influences.[625] The NZCP had itself had considered an appendage of the CPA until 1928, and its membership desired to see an understanding between political and industrial Labour rather than to foster conflict. Many communists (ideologically) were also members of the Labour Party in New Zealand.[626]

Whilst the movement in New Zealand hadn't scaled at pace, Australian influence in the PPTUS continued to be felt in a variety of influential contexts. Where delegates could

[622] 'Speech by Comrade Lozovsky to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee', *Izvestiia*, No. 286 (1927), p. 2, *Izvestiia Digital Archive* (DA-IZV), East View Information Services.
[623] Итоги II тихоокеанской конференции профсоюзов. [Results of the Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference], *Pravda*, No.194, 24 August 1929, p. 1.
[624] M. Apletin [All Russia Council of Trade Unions] to Fintan Walsh, 2 April 1929, Conrad Irving Bollinger Papers, MS-Papers-2151-143, NLNZ.
[625] P. J O'Farrell, 'The Russian Revolution and the Labour Movements of Australia and New Zealand, 1917–1922', *International Review of Social Histor*y, 8/2 (1963), 197.
[626] Kerry Taylor, '"Jack McDonald": A Canadian Revolutionary in New Zealand', *Labour / Le Travail*, 32 (1993), p. 263.

not reach the PPTUS, agents attempted to reach them instead. An exceptional case is that of Jack Ryan, member of the Labor Research Bureau who journeyed to India as a "fraternal delegate" of the PPTUS to the Workers' and Peasants' Conference in 1928.[627] Kama Maclean has recently chronicled the significance of 'Shanghai Jack's' visit, whose mission was to attempt to extend PPTUS tentacles deeper into the Indian trade union movement.[628]

Prior to his visit, Garden corresponded with Dhoondi Raj Thengdi of the All-India Trade Union Congress, expressing solidarity for Indian anti-imperialism: "advanced sections of the Australian working class are in full sympathy with your splendid struggle against British Imperialism".[629] Garden also clarified that he perceived India as integral to the Pacific struggle. "The fact that India does not border on the Pacific is an argument worthy only of our common class enemy who used every conceivable lie and technicality to perpetuate the oppression of hundreds of millions of your countrymen", he would claim.[630]

Reading the Pan-Pacific Worker[631]

[627] 'Is He Communist?', *Daily Standard* [Brisbane] 26 January 1928, p. 1. For the term "fraternal delegate", see 'Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress', L/PJ/12/404 Records of the Public and Judicial Department, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, India Office Records, British Library, London.
[628] Kama Maclean, 'Comrade Ryan, International Trade Unionism and White Australia: Global Communism, Trade Unionism and Empire in Interwar India', *JICH*, 47/6 (2019), pp. 1125-1152.
[629] J.S. Garden to Dhoondi Raj Thengdi [Vice Chairman of the All-India Trade Union Congress], 13 June 1928, 'Pan Pacific Conference - Trades Union Secretariat', A8911, 163, NAA, p. 2.
[630] Ibid, p. 5.
[631] *Pan-Pacific Worker* (hereafter *PPW)* consulted from collection S19, Noel Butlin Archives, Australian National University.

The PPTUS produced a variety of publications, including the *Far-Eastern Bulletin* (Shanghai) and *Pan Pacific Monthly* (San Francisco).[632] In April 1928, an Australian edition, the *Pan Pacific Worker* (*PPW*) began publishing twice a month with Jock Garden listed as its editor, published under auspices of the ACTU's 'Pan-Pacific Relations Committee'.[633] The bulk of the editorial work was in fact carried out by Jack Ryan, whilst G. Sydor Stöler, a nephew of RILU General Secretary Solomon Lozovsky – who was present in Australia from 1928 to 1929 – was also instrumental in its establishment.[634] The *PPW* provides a compelling portrait of the ideology and intent of the PPTUS and its particular framing from a Dominion perspective. Its cast of writers included some of the period's most well-known Communists, such as Jane (Jean) Devanny, a New Zealand-born, Sydney-based writer, best-known for her 1926 work, *The Butcher Shop*, which was banned in New Zealand and Australia.[635] It reflected on domestic issues which Hector Ross decried as the ongoing "capitalist offensive", discounting the "Mounteback outfit" (the ALP) which could not be trusted.[636] R.F. Griffin meanwhile reflected the inadequacies of the union movement in New Zealand. "Only six percent of the workers were organised", he complained.[637] Like the majority of its

[632] 'Publications of the PPTUS', *Pan-Pacific Worker*, 2/13 (2 December 1929), p. 9.
[633] 'Why a Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat?', *PPW*, 1/1 (2 April 1928), p. 3-5. The *PPW* became a monthly journal in 1929.
[634] Barbara Winter, *The Most Dangerous Man in Australia?* (Brisbane, 2010), p. 154.
[635] Jean Devanny, 'The Role of the W.I.R [Workers' Industrial Relief] in Australia', *PPW*, 4/1 1 (5 January 1931), p. 13-14.
[636] Hector Ross, 'The Urgent Need for a P.P.T.U. Congress in Australia', *PPW*, 3/10 (1 October 1930), pp. 291-293.
[637] R.F. Griffin, 'The Trade Union Movement in New Zealand', *PPW*, 3/2 (1 February 1930), pp. 53-55.

authors, Griffin went on to stress the position of New Zealand and Australia in relation to the emergence and potency of crises in India and China. He assumed (like Earsman and others) an "Anglo-American war" was brewing. "The Indian, the Chinese and the New Zealand worker must recognise their common interest…the mistake must not be made of regarding New Zealand as a bobtail on the Australian kite", he proclaimed.[638]

Given articles were reprinted across all the various PPTUS organs, its themes and contents stretched across a broad Pan-Pacific canvas.[639] Regionally, its key themes included reflections on the imminent danger of the working class in a seemingly inevitable imperialist war.[640] Propaganda pieces sought to demonstrate the growth and strength of national movements which allied themselves to the PPTUS, most notably from Japan and the Philippines, whilst there was a focus on attempts to engage Latin American unions to the cause.[641]

Much like the phenomenon of 'Asiatic' migration to the Pacific Rim and the exclusionist response it produced, the interwoven issues of expansionism and annexation in the

[638] R.F. Griffin, 'New Zealand: Position of Workers and the Trade Unions', *PPW*, 2/1 (15 January 1929), p. 7-9.
[639] It was considered necessary to leverage publications in Chinese, Japanese and Korean "as soon as possible" – this never fully materialised. 'Publications of the PPTUS', PPW*,* 2/13 (2 December 1929), p. 9.
[640] S. Carpenter, 'The Danger of a New Imperialist War', *Pan Pacific Worker*, 1/1 (2 April 1928), p. 23-25. S. Carpenter's real identity wasn't known publicly. 'Mysterious Delegate', *Western Argus* [Kalgoorlie, WA], 3 September 1929, p. 11.
[641] T. Tanaka, 'As the worker sees the Pacific: Japan - from the Workers Viewpoint', *PPW,* 1/4 (15 May 1928), p. 14-15; C. Evangelista, 'Labor Movement in the Philippines', *PPW*, 2/7 (1 June 1929), p. 14-17 & Tim Ryan, 'The Revolutionary Upsurge in the Philippines', *PPW,* Vol. 4, No. 1 (5 January 1931), p. 11-12. On Latin America, 'The Pan Pacific TU Secretariat and Latin America', *PPW*, 1/10 (1 September 1928), p. 7-8.

Oceania had proven a policy largely supported by the Australian labour movement in its earlier years.[642] King O'Malley of the ALP, who spent much of the first two decades of the twentieth century in the House of Representatives, was sure that an Australian Monroe Doctrine should be established – a role "sacredly vested in the Australian people".[643] The PPW advanced an entirely oppositional view, furthering its ardent critique of imperialism, focussed upon Australia's Pacific role. A series of articles by J.F. Owen reflected on conditions in the New Guinean Mandate, claiming that the "exploitation of the Chinese is very effectively carried out" and celebrating the word-of-mouth strike among 3,000 of Rabaul's workers over pay in 1929.[644] These writings dovetailed with the approach of New Zealand Communist Party, who at their Third Annual Congress paid particular attention to the 'Samoa Question', calling for its "complete independence" in the wake of the Mau movement.[645] Aligned with the Comintern as it developed its 'Theses' on the National Question in 1928, there was an increasing focus upon indigenous rights issues, particularly the plight of Aboriginal Australia.[646] It wasn't until 1939 however that the CPA presented a more comprehensive plan in its 'New Deal for Aborigines' which included a foreword by

[642] Roger C. Thompson, 'The Labor Party and Australian Imperialism in the Pacific, 1901-1919', *Labour History*, No. 23 (1972), 27.
[643] Ibid., 28.
[644] J.F. Owen, 'Labor and Laborers in New Guinea', *PPW*, 4/11 (7 November 1931), pp. 7-9; J.F. Owen, 'New Guinea's First Strike', *PPW*, 4/10 (1 October 1931), pp. 6-8.
[645] 'Communists Back Samoans', *Workers' Weekly*, 25 January 1929, p. 4; 'Hands off Samoa', Papers of Gerald John Griffin, Papers relating to left-wing politics, 86-043-3/02, NLNZ.
[646] Bob Boughton, 'The Communist Party of Australia's Involvement in the Struggle for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples' Rights 1920-1970, in Raymond Markey (ed.) *Labour and Community: Historical Essays* (Wollongong, 2001), p. 263; Robert Toupein, 'Exploitation of Aboriginals in Northern Australia', *PPW*, 2/9 (1 August 1929), p. 12-13.

Katharine Susannah Prichard, whose renowned novel *Coonardoo* had chronicled exploitative conditions on pastoral stations in North-western Australia.[647]

Like Leninism vs Wilsonianism, which constituted a sort of sibling rivalry played out on a global stage, framing the League Against Imperialism as a rhetorical and institutional counterweight to the League of Nations, a striking feature of the PPTUS and *PPW* was their evident opposition to the politics, methods and activities of the IPR. It presented itself as an ideological alternative but used the same map, concurring on geography and identifying similar problems, but posing strikingly different solutions.[648] For Lozovsky, reflecting in his official account of the second PPTUS conference, he was sure that "the International Labour Organisation and the Institute of Pacific Relations were nothing more nor less than international agencies than this or that particular imperialist power or group of powers".[649] For S. Carpenter, the work of the IPR was not a shade on what the PPTUS would seek to accomplish, yet a study of the "Honolulu Farce" would prove worthwhile "insofar as it revealed the bankruptcy of the Pacifist show" and of the "pseudo-pacifist crowd".[650] Reflecting upon his attempt at hosting a PPTUS conference in Australia in 1928, Garden raised the hypocrisy of Australian Prime Minister Bruce's affiliation with the PPU, of which he was an Honorary Executive, claiming that for the

[647] Australian Communist Party, *New Deal for Aborigines* (Sydney, 1939).
[648] On international counterweights, see Joseph McQuade, Beyond an Imperial Foreign Policy? India at the League of Nations, 1919-1946', *JICH*, 48/2 (2020), p. 76.
[649] A Losovsky, 'The Second Pan-Pacific Trade Union Conference', *The Red International of Labour Unions*, 1/8-9 (October 1929), 319-324, MSS.15X/1/246/6, Maitland Sara Hallinan Collection, MRC, p. 320.
[650] S. Carpenter, 'Honolulu Institute of Pacific Relations ii', *PPW,* 1/5 (1 June 1928), p. 15.

unionists alone association with the "Asiatics would be disallowed".[651] Reflecting the Comintern's wider opposition to liberal internationalism, Daniil Novomirsky, writing in the Soviet journal, *World Economics and Politics,* deemed the IPR to be the "creation of a sort of League of Nations of the Pacific Ocean under the United States of American protectorate".[652] It seemed by the second conference at Honolulu in 1927 that "not a trace was Left of Quaker hypocrisy".[653]

Critiquing the conference's 'voices of labour', Malcolm Macdonald, son of Ramsay, that "agent of British imperialism", had "parrot-like…repeated the concepts of Japanese economic development".[654] Ire was poured upon Paul Scharrenberg (of the Californian Federation of Labor) "who repeated the stupid idea that American labour did not need a political party", whilst it contested Bunji Suzuki's claims (of the Japanese Federation of Labour) about the great growth of Japanese labour: "not a word was spoken about the 400,000 unemployed, low wages or the role of women in mining". Before concluding that they were "social fascists"…"all of them".[655] Jock Garden meanwhile noted inconsistency that whilst Hannett, Roels and Walsh were not permitted to land in Japan,

[651] 'Pan Pacific Conference', *The Age (Melbourne),* 10 November 1928, p. 21.
[652] Daniil I. Novomirsky, 'The Institute of Pacific Relations and The Policy of the Imperialists', *World Economics and Politics*, No. 2 (February 1930), reprinted in 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Misc Papers (1933), C344 732, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 60, 78/0158, p. 4.
[653] Ibid, p. 10.
[654] Ibid.
[655] Ibid, p. 53; John Manley, 'Moscow Rules? 'Red' Unionism and 'Class Against Class' in Britain, Canada and the United States, 1928-1935', *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 56 (2005), 14.

those attending the IPR conference had been waved through and signifying an intention to control the attendance of labour delegates in the future.[656]

Ironically, the IPR did itself include Communist members, notably Frank Vanderbildt Field of the American Council, but it was never committed to a leftist version of internationalism.[657] It did however provide a forum for colonial critique of the Japanese administration in Korea and the South Seas Mandate as well as of the New Zealand mandate in Western Sāmoa.[658]

[656] 'Bosses' Pan-Pacific Congress', *The Workers' Weekly* [Sydney], 15 November 1929, p. 2.
[657] Akami, *Internationalizing*, p. 11.
[658] Ibid, p. 12-13.

Banning the Pan-Pacific Worker

Whilst the *PPW* and all other PPTUS-affiliated publications were proscribed in British India (alongside the *Hindustan Ghadar* and *Sunday Worker* for instance) as they were in the Federated Malay States under the Seditious Publications Enactment, these were not uniform measures across the British Empire.[659] In New Zealand, the *PPW* caused officials a headache.[660] Letters between E.D. Good, Comptroller of Customs, and Guy Hardy Scholefield, who was then Chairman of the Advisory Committee of Literature at the Library of the New Zealand General Assembly (and an IPR member), weighed up whether the publication contravened legal conventions.[661] The Commissioner of Police had already referred it to the Solicitor General, who considered that a ban might ultimately do harm, reflecting that there were however grounds to prosecute for its advocation of lawlessness pursuant to Article 2 of the War Regulations Continuance Act (1920). "This I think", reflected Charles Wilson, Chairman of the Advisory Board of Literature, "is the only occasion when the decision of the Board has not been unanimous".[662] He considered the tone of the publication seditious and was "strongly in favour of it being prohibited in this colony".[663] On the other hand, the New Zealand

[659] On the bans in India, see Ali Raza, 'Provincializing the International: Communist Print Worlds in Colonial India', *History Workshop Journal* (2020), p. 8; on Malaya, see 'Untitled', *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 18 November 1927, p. 15.
[660] 'Subversive Literature - The Pan Pacific Worker Magazine,' C 343 152, C1 162, 36/959/131-140 ANZ.
[661] E.D. Good [Comptroller of Customs] to Guy Hardy Scholefield [Chairman of the Advisory Committee of Literature at the Library, New Zealand General Assembly], 11 April 1931, 'Subversive Literature - The Pan Pacific Worker Magazine, C 343 152, C1 162, 36/959/131-140, ANZ.
[662] Charles Wilson [Chairman of the Advisory Board on Literature] to Geo. Craig [Comptroller of Customs], 20 March 1931, C 343 152, C1 162, 36/959/131-140, ANZ.
[663] Wilson to Craig, 13 March 1931, C 343 152, C1 162, 36/959/131-140, ANZ.

Book Depot was sure that although the *Pan-Pacific Worker* "constitute(s) an attack on our present methods of government... we cannot find it unlawful".[664] In 1929, the Commonwealth Investigation Branch in Australia requested all copies of the first volume of the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* but did not attempt to ban the publication, a decision they later regretted.[665] Three years later officials reflected they had been too slow in stemming the spread of the publication.[666]

[664] H.C South [New Zealand Book Depot] to Charles Wilson [Chairman of the Advisory Board on Literature], 19 March 1931, C 343 152, C1 162, 36/959/131-140, Archives New Zealand.
[665] H.E. Jones [Director of the Investigation Branch, Attorney General's Department, Canberra] to John McLaren [Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, Canberra], 29 February 1929, A8911, 162, May 1st 1927, NAA.
[666] J.E. Fenton [Postmaster General, Melbourne] to J. G. Latham [Commonwealth Attorney General], 20 January 1932, A467, SF7/59, NAA.

Breaking-Up the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

It is no exaggeration, as Heather Streets-Salter has claimed, to say that British, French and Dutch colonial authorities were convinced international Communism presented one of the greatest dangers to the stability of colonial rule in the 1920s and 30s. The "Communist menace", became part of what we might call a Long Red Scare.[667] In April 1920, a memorandum prepared by C.C Denham of the Government of India summarised the spread and influence of Bolshevism in the Far East, finding that the ideology had found a receptive audience in China, its theories "a panacea… [which] enthusiastically preach the doctrine of race equality and the principle of self-determination". In particular, "we must be on our guard against a combination of Bolshevism and pan-Asiaticism [sic]". Denham recommended "some sort of anti-Bolshevik Bureau" be formed to keep up with its manifestations and reflected particular concern about a 'Pacific Ocean Society' in Japan which was "displaying Bolshevist tendencies".[668] In short, the appeal to civilizational and racial affiliation combined with communism seemed a deadly cocktail.

In the wake of the Hong Kong's seamen's strike of January and March 1922, anxiety amongst British officials of Bolshevist elements at work in the country were considerably

[667] Heather Streets-Salter, 'The Noulens Affair in East and Southeast Asia', *The Journal of American-East Asian Relation*s, 21/4 (2014), p. 395.
[668] C.C Denham, 'Memorandum respecting Bolshevism in the Far East', 7 April 1920, IOR/L/PS/11/183, P 8706/1920.

amplified.[669] The situation steadily deteriorated after a 'Pacific Transport Workers' Conference', was held in Canton in June 1924, with strikes throughout 1925-26 cripping Hong Kong's economy. Trade fell by 50%, whilst half a million residents left for Guangdong.[670] Whilst British policy had been to remain resolutely aloof from internal struggles, authorities were increasingly unable to maintain the policy amidst a deteriorating situation.[671] Following the May Thirtieth movement –"a wide social phenomenon, which took its name from an organised demonstration against the ending of a strike over working conditions in a Japanese-owned factory in the International Settlement of Shanghai" – officials began to weigh up a number of apocalyptic scenarios in China from the "total abandonment of our interests" to the "concentration of nationals to Shanghai, Tientsin and Canton …there to await developments indefinitely".[672] The 1926 General Strike in Britain also led to the sharpening of minds regarding China.[673] Evidence in London that the Russians had engaged and actively promoted the General Strike meant that, according to William Tyrell (then Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office) Britain was "virtually at war with Russia".[674]

[669] Robert Bickers, *Out of China: How the Chinese Ended the Era of Western Domination* (London, 2017), pp. 51-53. On the 'Chinese revolution' and British policy, see W.R. Louis, *British Strategy*, pp. 109-139.
[670] Robert Horrocks, 'The Guangzhou-Hongkong strike, 1925-1926: Hong Kong Workers in an Anti-Imperialist Movement', PhD diss., University of Leeds, 1994.
[671] Louis, *British Strategy,* p. 11.
[672] Miles Lampson [HM Minister to Peking] to Cecil Clementi [Governor of Hong Kong], 7 April 1927, Papers of Cecil Clementi, MSS. Ind. Ocn 352/8/1, f. 8, Special Collections of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.
[673] Ariane Knüsel, 'British Conservatives, the Red Menace and Antiforeign Agitation in China, 1924-1927', *Cultural History*, 2/1 (2013), p. 76.
[674] Best, ''We Are Virtually at War', 210.

Once talk of the PPTUS began circulating in 1927, officials may well have considered they were dealing with the twin fears of Communism and pan-Asianism Denham had identified in 1920. Cecil Clementi, the new Governor of Hong Kong asked officials whether anything was known of a 'Pan-Asiatic' conference. Owen O'Malley of the British Consul considered in response that the Foreign Office, may well have confused a purported Pan-Asiatic conference with the Pan-Pacific one (PPTUS).[675] Previously, intelligence reports of Garden's organising activities prior to the 1926 'Fiasco of Sydney' revealed attempts by the Chinese Seamen's Union to persuade the Australian Seamen's Union to dissuade British authorities from landing troops at Shanghai.[676] There were therefore demonstrable and direct attempts by PPTUS associates to intervene in British policy in China, whilst intelligence became convinced that the PPTUS was the point of entry for Bolshevik ideology in Australia – a means of "boring from within".[677]

All in all, a hyper-sensitivity over radical labour had taken root by the late 1920s, corresponding with the increase of Britain's intelligence presence with other regional powers in East Asia which reached its apogee in the Summer of 1931.[678] In June of that year, a Comintern operative using the name Joseph Ducroix was arrested in

[675] Telegram from Owen O'Malley [British Consul at Peking] to Cecil Clementi [Governor of Hong Kong], 18 May 1927, Clementi Papers, MSS. Ind. Ocn 352/8/5, f.14, BLUO.
[676] 'Pan Pacific Conference and Canton Conference', A8911, 162, 'Pan Pacific Conference - (Communists) Canton, May 1st 1927, NAA.
[677] 'Moscow in Australia', A981 COM 1, Pt. 2, NAA (p. 4).
[678] Best, ''We Are Virtually at War', 210.

Singapore. Ducroix had previously helped the renown Indian Communist M.N. Roy to smuggle Communist literature into India and had served as President of the PPTUS in Shanghai.[679] An address book found on his person led authorities to one 'Hilare Noulens', otherwise known as Paul Ruegg, and his wife Gertrude. Ruegg was a Swiss Communist and the bearer of over a dozen names, numerous passports. Most importantly, he was the liaison figure between the Executive Committee of the Comintern and its regional agent network across Asia. In the raid, 211 documents were seized along with 1,081 papers and books which indicated the accounts and running of the Shanghai branch – around $130,000 per month.[680] Ruegg and his wife were charged with funnelling money and literature to Communist agents throughout Southeast and East Asia. The capture of 'Noulens' in Shanghai was a remarkable intelligence coup for the British authorities and its consequences reverberated throughout the entire region. Retrospectively we can conclude that "the arrests broke" – for a time at least – "the whole Communist effort in the Far East (including the PPTUS).[681] Their arrest enabled a further 95 raids. 276 alleged communists were arrested and 963,601 items of Communist literature were seized.[682] 'Nguyen-ai-Quoc', later (and perhaps better) known as Ho-Chi-Minh, was detained in Hong Kong in 1930, tracked down with the help of the Sûreté Générale.[683]

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[679] Heather Streets-Salter, 'The Noulens Affair in East and Southeast Asia', *The Journal of American-East Asian Relation*s, 21/4 (2014), p. 398.
[680] 'Communism in the Far East', *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 28 August 1931, p. 12.
[681] Antony Best, ''We Are Virtually at War with Russia': Britain and the Cold War in East Asia, 1923-40', *Cold War History*, 12/2 (2012), p. 210.
[682] Streets-Salter, 'The Noulens Affair', p. 400.
[683] Dennis J. Duncanson, 'Ho-chi-Minh in Hong Kong, 1931-32', *The China Quarterly*, 57 (1974), p. 85.

A dispatch on the inner workings of the Malayan Communist Party's links to the Comintern (and to the PPTUS), sent from Imperial General Staff in London to Harold Jones, who was the Director of the Investigation Branch in Canberra, contained a diagram, mapping the flow of information from Moscow, across Europe, Eurasia to the Far East, all via Berlin and Vladivostok which emerged (Fig. 24). Intercepted letters from individuals connected to the British National Minority Movement, including between Tom Mann and Nat Watkins revealed the cast of international delegates involved in the PPTUS. Fig. 25 is a letter from Earl Browder to Tom Mann with salutations from many of the delegates who attended the PPTUS conference at Vladivostok in 1929.

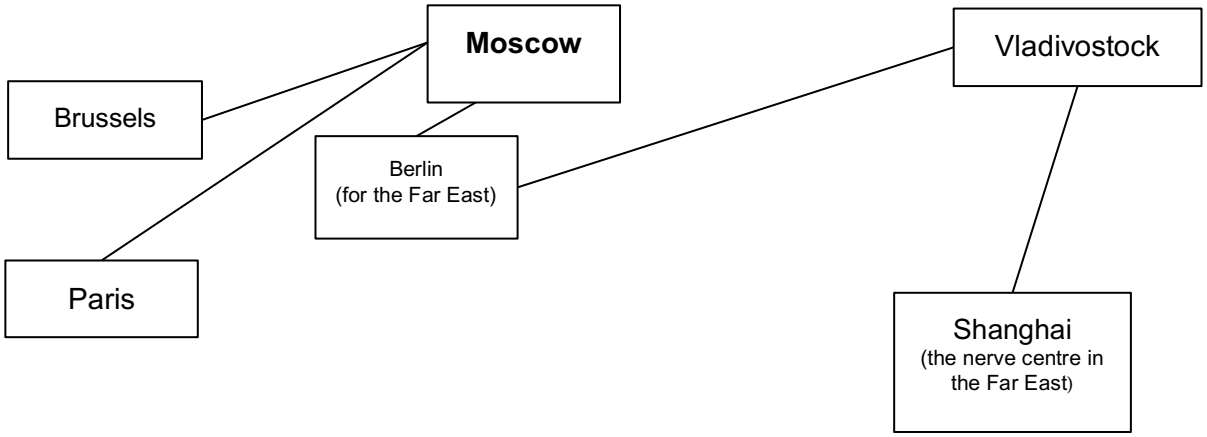


Figure 24 – Diagram showing the workings of the Eastern Bureau of the Comintern incl. European Headquarters and Chain of Information, reproduced based upon a diagram included in an Enclosure entitled 'The Malayan Communist Party and the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat', enclosed in Letter from Major W.R. Hodgson [Imperial General Staff] to Harold Jones [Director of the Investigation Branch, Attorney General's Office, Canberra], 30 November 1933,'Pan Pacific Conference - Trades Union Secretariat', A8911, 163, NAA.

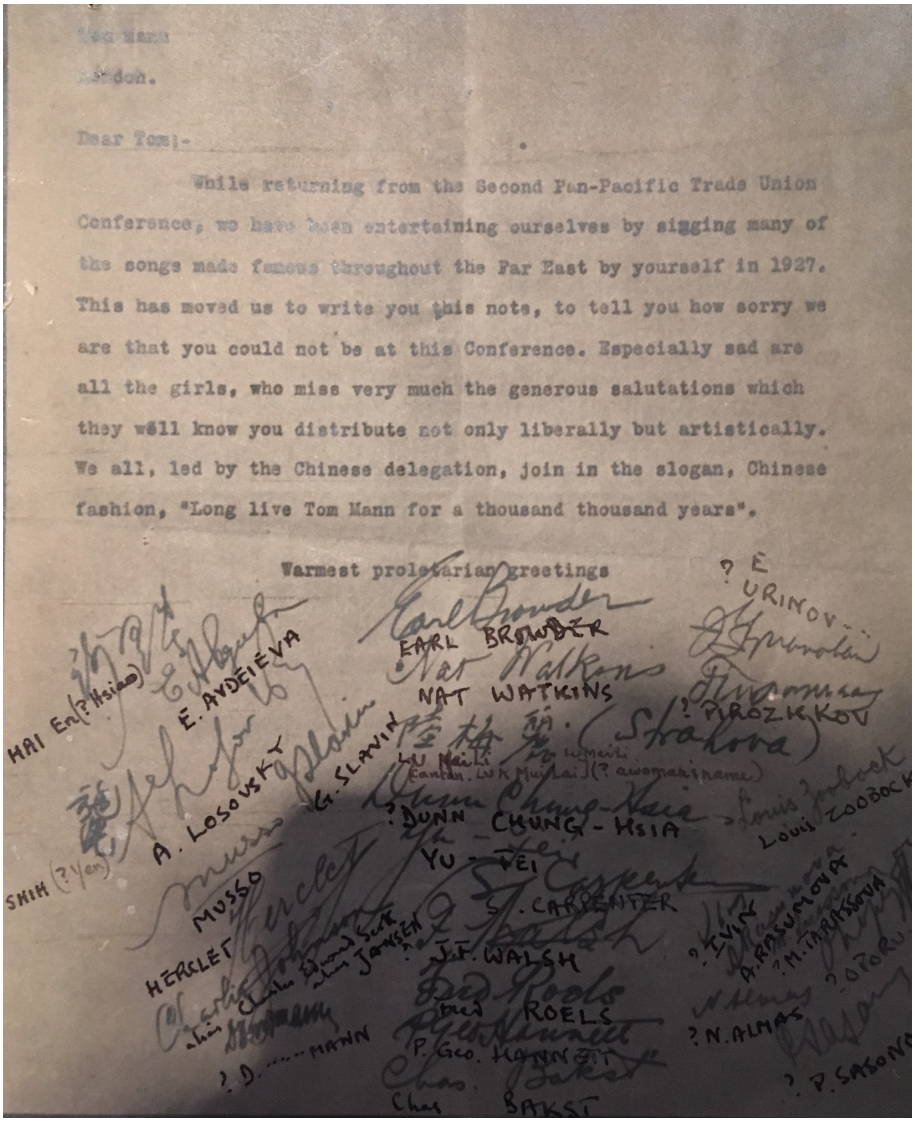


Figure 25 – Reporting intelligence gathered on 1929 conference by New Scotland Yard - linking a signed letter from Tom Mann from delegates. Contained in an enclosure from Nat Watkins of the National Minority Movement, Letter from R.G. Casey [Office of the High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia, London] to S.M Bruce [Prime Minister of the Commonwealth], 19 September 1929, 'Pan Pacific Conference - Trades Union Secretariat', A8911, 163, NAA.

One of the supreme ironies of the 'Noulens Affair' was that the anti-imperial, anti-capitalist activities of Ducroix, Ruegg and others were feasible precisely due to the inter-imperial conditions of the city. Shanghai's legal pluralism offered protection, where the

division of municipalities enabled the evasion by agents of the PPTUS for many years.[684]

The 'Noulens Affair' and its aftermath splintered the PPTUS. Whilst the American Bureau based in San Francisco continued its operations, appealing to the Latin America Anti-War Congress in Montevideo to affiliate in 1933 for instance, it never gathered delegates for conferences as it had in 1927 or 1929.[685] In Australia, Ryan and Garden continued to publish the *PPW*, but its readership tumbled to around 500, whilst its calls to release detainees, including one from Leslie King and John Steel, President and Secretary of the Australian League Against Imperialism section (which was affiliated with the PPTUS) went unheeded.[686]

The combined success of multi- and inter-imperial intelligence networks was however just one significant factor in the breaking the PPTUS. Domestically, the affiliation of trade unions to the PPTUS drew a wedge at the heart of the movement in both Australia and New Zealand. It was the notion of solidarity across racial boundaries in particular which revealed a substantial fault line.[687] A piece in the Melbourne *Sun* reflected the mainstream view: "there are men who do not wish to go to Asia or Moscow for their

[684] Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (Los Angeles, 1996).
[685] 'Pan Pacific Trade Union Congress, Bulletin of Proceedings, No. 2, 21 May 1927, pp. 9-10 - An Affiliated Communist Organisation', Xenia Joukoff Eudin Papers, Box 31, Folder 8, HIA.
[686] Leslie King & John Steel [President and Secretary of the Australian Section of the League Against Imperialism], 6 May 1932, A981, COM 4, NAA. On wider petitioning and protest against the arrests, see Frederick S. Litten, 'The Noulens Affair', *The China Quarterly*, 138 (1994), pp. 492-512.
[687] 'Labor's Pan-Pacific Burden', *The Newcastle Sun*, 16 August 1928, p. 6.

politics...and prefer that Australia should not become an appendage of that crowded and ancient continent". It concluded, "the alliance of the Chief panjandrum of the Pan-Pacific Cult and the NSW branch of the ALP must be giving good Australian labor men food for thought".[688] The Australian Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce declared that "sinister influences" were at work in the rank and file of the Labour Party, "denouncing the empire and openly advocating a policy that will lead to its dissolution and the consequent destruction of Australia as a white democracy".[689] Across the Tasman – in an open letter to the Editor of the *Evening Post* – the New Zealand Welfare League complained bitterly about what they claimed was the open advertisement of the PPTUS in the newspaper's columns, decrying that a series of seditious elements in the labour movement, including the Shag Point and Hikurangi Miner's Unions and the Wellington Seamen's Union had all affiliated by 1929.[690]

Garden himself attempted to defend his reputation, repudiating the Communist tag and claiming the compatibility of ALP membership and affiliation with the PPTUS. The accusations stuck however. John (Jack) Bailey, President of the Central Branch of the Australian Worker's Union (AWU) claimed Garden had "degenerated from a professed saviour of souls to a dealer in colored [sic] skins".[691] The AWU in fact disassociated with the Australian Labour Council as a result of its PPTUS affiliation.[692] The President of

[688] 'Labor's Pan-Pacific Burden', *Sun* [Sydney], 16 August 1928, p. 12.
[689] 'Elections in Australia', *The Times*, 16 November 1928, p. 17.
[690] 'New Zealand Position', *Evening Post*, 26 August 1929, p. 10.
[691] 'Peace Worker', *The Newcastle Sun*, 3 January 1929, p. 6.
[692] 'Australian Workers' Union', *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, 11 July 1928, p. 6.

the Melbourne Trades Hall Council (MTHC) meanwhile , H.C. Gibson, argued against the "damned impertinence for a heterogeneous mob of Asiatics with unpronounceable names to lay down a policy of the ACTU."[693] At a meeting of the ACTU in Melbourne in February 1930, Garden tabled a motion that the Council should renew its PPTUS affiliation. The motion which was debated all day.[694] By 80 votes to 75, the ACTU disassociated itself; a decision which made the front page of *The Bulletin* on 5 March (Fig. 26). In celebration, the AWU's paper *The Australian Worker* crowed that "at long last the ACTU has made up its mind to cut adrift from the Communist-controlled black, brown and brindle outfit known as the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat".[695]

[693] 'Reds' Win Means Divided Labor at Election', *The Herald* [Melbourne], 21 July 1928, p. 1.
[694] 'Australian Labor Link', *Recorder* [Port Pirie, SA], 28 February 1930, p. 1.
[695] 'Shock for Jock', *Daily Examiner* (Grafton), 28 February 1930, p. 5.

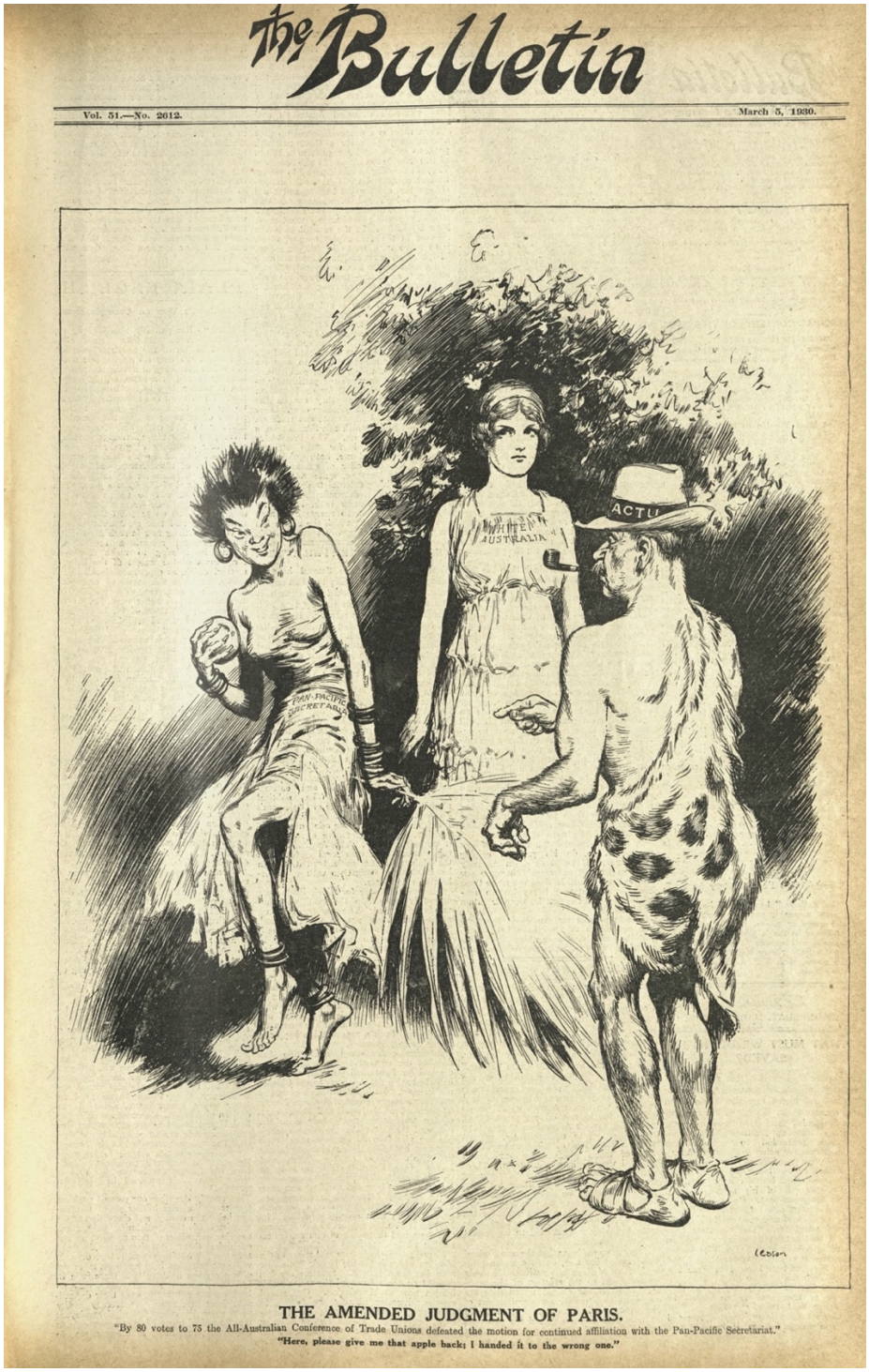


Figure 26 – 'By 80 votes to 75 the All-Australian Conference of Trade Unions defeated the motion for continued affiliation with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat', *The Bulletin*, 51/2612 (5 March 1930).

Under the combined strains of domestic intolerance both within the unions and outside, and through the success of intelligence operations which reduced the operating capacity of the PPTUS regionally, Pan-Pacific solidarity was unable to regain traction as a mainstream movement in the Dominions. Moreover, initial enthusiasm for the direction of the ACP had stalled. By the late 1920s Comintern reports had become highly critical of the ACP, with one dispatch calling it a "paper organisation".[696] Communism moreover, was a political force in flux. Conceived by Gregory Zinoviev, "social fascism" provided a new sectional fault-line, casting social democrats who had been accepted under Lenin's platform of a United Front as now threatening to the revolutionary struggle of 'class against class'.[697] Jack Ryan, a regular contributor to the *PPW* which continued to be published into 1932 (despite the disassociation of the unions) was singled out alongside Garden as such – too close to the more moderate Jack Lang and thus ineligible to edit the journal.[698] In their communications with the Comintern, the ACP revealed that rather than becoming an instrument of expanding ideology, the *PPW* had become an ideological problem because of his contributions.

Zooming out, regional politics were making the fragile PPTUS coalition increasingly untenable. Nationalists pursued alternatives to the revolutionary platforms offered by radical trade unions and communist parties. Nowhere was this more evident than in

[696] 'ECCI Report: 'The New Stages in the Tactics of the Comintern: Australia', Document 58: RGASPI 475-94-48, 495-94-60 [October 1929] in Lovell & Windle, *Our Unswerving Loyalty*, p. 289.
[697] John Manley, 'Moscow Rules? 'Red' Unionism and 'Class Against Class' in Britain, Canada and the United States, 1928-1935', *Labour/Le Travail*, 56 (Fall 2005), p. 16.
[698] 'Boosting Lang', *The Workers' Weekly* (Sydney) 24 April 1931, p. 2.

China. Where the Guomindang helped facilitate the first gathering of the PPTUS in Hankow, China was now severing its diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. As David Yui, a leading figure in the Chinese IPR put it, their "communistic nightmare" was being brought to an end.[699] The Japanese Communist Party meanwhile emphasised the priority of domestic struggle, arguing that no regional revolution would be possible without a toppling of the Imperial government at home.[700]

[699] Yui, 'China and the Pacific World', 36.
[700] Tatiana Linkhoeva, 'New Revolutionary Agenda: The Interwar Japanese Left on the "Chinese Revolution", *Cross Currents*, 24 (September 2017), 83.

'The Pan-Pacific Labour and Social International': The Organisation that Never Was

There is little doubt that Garden was depicted as the dominant personality and force behind a "Pan Pacific outfit" in Australia in the 1920s, with affiliations to the PPTUS attracting the greatest attention and scorn by the press and intelligence services alike.[701] What has largely escaped the attention of scholars however is the way in which the activities of Garden and his contemporaries and their framing of Pacific politics worked to usher the mainstream ALP to engage with the issues they raised and to attempt to reframe on their own terms.

Garnet Vere "Jerry" Portus had been closely associated with the development of the Workers' Educational Association (WEA) and was a lecturer in Economic History at the University of Sydney (as well as being a founding member of the New South Wales group of the Institute of Pacific Relations). In a piece penned for the IPR's flagship journal, *Pacific Affairs*, he reflected on whether Australian labour had an outlook on Pacific affairs.[702] Reflecting mainstream opinion, it had been "consistently unmindful of anything happening outside the shores of this [Australian] continent".[703] As his contemporary Lloyd Ross remarked, the Labor party's policy on Pacific affairs would

[701] 'Garden's Pan-Pacific Outfit.', *Daily Examiner* [Grafton, NSW] 27 August 1929, p. 4.
[702] Portus was an editor with Persia Campbell and R. C. Mills of *Studies in Australian Affairs* (Sydney, 1928), one of the IPR's first publications.
[703] G.V. Portus, 'The Australian Labour Movement and the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/10 (1930), p. 924.

prove "so nebulous that it is ascertainable by inference only".[704] What had developed however, and what concerned Portus was the "proclamation of a new creed of internationalism so startlingly at variance with the well-worn nationalism of Australian labour…that creed (referring to the PPTUS) is directly concerned with *Pacific Affairs*."[705]

In the wake of the resolutions of the All-Australia Trades Congress, Edward James "Jack" Holloway – a former Broken Hill miner and one-time attendee of Tom Mann's Economic Study Circle represented the ALP as an attendee at the International Labour Conference on the shores of Lake Geneva in October 1923. There, he raised the possibility of a Pacific labour conference with Japanese delegates, sanctioned by the major representative unions and not by radical 'Reds'.[706] Holloway's discussions in Geneva would prove however just the first attempt by a member of the ALP to organise a Pan-Pacific labour conference. John Curtin reflected that "Australia must defend its "white soul", but it must do so by treating so called Asiatics as civilized peoples…Australian Labor should build alliances with Chinese and Japanese workers even as it also determined to prevent them from migrating to Australia".[707]

[704] Ross cited in Walter Levi*, Australia's Outlook on Asia* (Sydney, 1958), p. 45. An excellent biography is Stephen Holt, *A Veritable Dynamo: Lloyd Ross and Australian Labour 1901-1987* (St Lucia, 1996).
[705] Portus, 'Australian Labour Movement', p. 926.
[706]'For Peace', *Daily Herald* (Adelaide), 23 November 1923, p. 2.
[707] Curtin, cited in Marilyn Lake, 'The ILO, Australia and the Asia-Pacific Region: New Solidarities or Internationalism in the National Interest?', in Nelson Lichtenstein & Jill M Jensen (eds.), *The ILO from Geneva to the Pacific Rim: West Meets East* (London, 2016), p. 41.

In the wake of the first conference of the IPR and just two months after the 'Fiasco of Sydney', Daniel Laurence McNamara, then on the Party's Victorian state executive, began to prospect a 'Peace on the Pacific' conference to be held in Hawai'i in November 1926.[708] Harry Holland agreed to represent the New Zealand Labour Party, whilst Hume Ford's PPU agreed to host the event under its auspices.[709] A proposal was sent to W.E.B. Du Bois, who queried whether the National Advancement Association for Coloured People (NAACP) might be represented. "No real congress of the Pacific can take place in which the Coloured people's labor is nor [sic] represented", he claimed.[710] The Honolulu conference never took place.[711] The official line was to give "sufficient time to consider fully the questions to be discussed", but it seems 'The Fiasco of Sydney' had forced their hand, with a 'Honolulu conference' a reactionary impulse.[712]

There was however a growing global sense of the value of exploring the Pan-Pacific dimensions in labour and industrialisation. Albert Thomas, the Director of the International Labour Organization (ILO), was sure that "mass of common interests in the Pacific countries necessitates framing machinery for the regular examination of Pacific problems", having attended the IPR as an observer the previous year.[713] In a piece for

[708] 'Pan-Pacific Position', *Age* (Melbourne) 23 October 1926, p. 21.
[709] 'Pan Pacific Labour Conference', *The West Australian (Perth)*, 3 July 1926, p. 12.
[710] W.E.B Du Bois to D.L. McNamara, 15 March 1926, W.E.B Du Bois Papers, MS 312, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries, p. 2.
[711] Australian Labor Party to Alexander Hume Ford, 27 September 1926, Conferences – Proposed Labor Conference', Box 2, Folder 29, PPU Papers, Special Collections, Hamilton Library,
[712] Report Extract from the Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU), no. 44, 18 November 1926, Proposed Pan Pacific Conference, Sydney (Communist Party), A8911, 161, NAA, p. 2.
[713] Elizabeth Green, 'The Pacific and the International Labour Conference', *Pacific Affairs*, 3/9 (1930), p. 845.

the *International Labour Review*, G.A. Johnson, chief of the Intelligence and Liaison Division of the ILO, reflected on the issue in greater detail:

"To [a] European…who has never crossed the Pacific, it comes as a distinct shock to realise that such questions are being seriously discussed as problems which affect a single entity, "the Pacific "…he never considers that there are problems common to Asia and America and Oceania. But the peoples of these three continents…the most striking arguments in favour of the conception of the Pacific as a single frame of reference are based on facts in the specifically industrial field". [714]

At both IPR and PPWA conferences, labour was represented, although it was always in a small minority and the 'voices of labour' present constantly pressed for larger delegations. Walter Nash, then on the Executive Committee of the New Zealand Labour Party stressed its "value…would be considerably enhanced if…representatives of labour could be appointed".[715] Muriel Heagney meanwhile attended the first PPWA conference in Honolulu as an Australian "trade union woman", reflecting on the current position and potential of 'New China's' women upon her return in an article for the *Australian Woman's Mirror*. [716] Of the small number of labour delegates, there were outliers. Bunji Suzuki, representing the Sōdōmei [Federation of Labour] which represented 300 unions had also weighed up PPTUS affiliation for the Federation,

[714] G. A. Johnston, 'Industrialisation and the Countries of the Pacific', *International Labour Review*, Vol. 21/6 (1930), pp. 782, 784, 796-797.
[715] Walter Nash, 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Rough Draft Report (1928)', C344 699, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 27, 30/0308, ANZ.
[716] Jackie Dickenson & Rosemary Francis, The Precarious Working Life of Muriel Heagney, Labour Activist', *Labour History*, 118 (2020), 17; 'Labor Conditions Around the Pacific', *Age* [Melbourne], 18 September 1928, p. 5; Muriel Heagney, 'New China's Women Their Advance Under Nationalism', The *Australian Woman's Mirror*, 5/13 (19 February 1929), p. 12.

proposing an 'Asiatic International' to counter what he perceived as an emergent 'White International'.[717]



Figure 27 – The 'Labour Group' at the IPR. Three of those members later discussed the construction of a Pan-Pacific Labour and Social Organisation, entirely separate to that proposed under the auspices of the PPTUS. From left to right, Paul Scharrenberg [California Federation of Labor], Malcolm Macdonald [Member of the British Labour Party and son of Ramsay Macdonald, Walter Nash [New Zealand Labour Party] and Bunji Suzuki [Japanese Federation of Labor]. 'A Picture Trip to Hawaii Scrapbook', Paul Scharrenberg Papers, BANC MSS C-B 906, Vol. 9, Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

Another was Sobei Mogi who had been a student of Harold Laski at the LSE. Following the production of a two-volume intellectual history of federalism, he emerged a key

[717] J.P, 'Asiatic and Pacific Ocean Labour Conferences', *The Communist International*, 19 (1929), 172-175, MSS.15X/1/53/10, Maitland Sara Hallinan Collection, MRC, p. 172-3.

interlocutor on the complexities of the Japanese trade union movement and an expert on Far Eastern affairs. In 1933, he published a work bringing these themes together entitled *Socialism on the Eastern Trial*, which explored the development of Japanese and British labour movements side-by-side, providing a summation of his thinking on the future of Japanese politics and the potential of Pacific affiliation:

"no Pacific regionalism or regional problems, through particularlism in appearances can thoroughly or finally be solved without an inter-dependence on the Western world and no continentalism can solve any definite human problem until the World offers us its abundance of natural resources, materially and scientifically for the ever-growing human population. In this respect the pragmatic conclusion for this problem is to imply the application of the planned technocratique system.[718]

Reflecting upon the challenge of bridging east and west, and Japanese expansionism, Mogi envisaged the IPR as a vehicle for his vision of internationalism and as a model for technocracy. In a section entitled 'Prospects for a Constructive Socialist Reconstruction', he claimed that "socialism cannot be carried out on the national scale", calling for "an international army and navy, an international regulator of economic affairs, international control on the movement of populations". Point 11e even called for "a new international language which will pave the road to construct the new civilisation on the new philosophy and idea". His socialist international manifesto closed advocating the abolishment of imperialism and the establishment of 'Dominion' status to regulate states toward self-government.[719]

[718] Sobei Mogi, *Socialism on the Eastern Trial* (Tokyo, 1933), p. 16-17. Mogi was drawing upon the technocracy movement which disavowed revolutionary politics and advocated technical expertise for the creation of industrial democracy.
[719] Mogi, *Socialism on the Eastern Trial*, pp. 89-111.

In 1933, Mogi was a Japanese delegate to the IPR's Banff conference, where he prospected the establishment of a 'Pan-Pacific Labour and Social International'.[720] Engaging first with Nash, the pair discussed proposals for a "journal to be published twice a year" (later changed to "as and when funds allow") with delegates to be drawn from Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Japan, China, India, Australia and New Zealand. The Soviet Union was not considered in their plans.[721] As Nash indicated, this group would "vigorously oppose Bolshevism, Communism and the more rabid forms of modern Socialism".[722] It was envisaged that Percy Bengough, then President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, Malcolm Macdonald (the son of Ramsay Macdonald), Paul Scharrenberg, Baron Harry Snell, a leading figure in the British Labour Party, along with Nash and Mogi – most of the previous representatives of labour at the IPR – would form an initial grouping. Following the conference, Mogi sent letters to the leading international trade union leaders, including William Gillies, Secretary of the British Labour Party and he used his connections as the London representative of the Japanese Seamen's Union (JSU), one of the few trade unions in Japan which by the early 1930s had connections with the British Trades Union

[720]'Pan-Pacific Labour and Socialist International, 1933-1934', Trades Union Congress, Trades Union Congress, first deposit predominantly 1920-1960, 900-939: International Federation of Trade Unions, MSS.292/916/7, MRC.
[721] 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Banff Conference', C344 727, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 55, 75/0145, NAZ; Mogi was sure including delegates from Soviet Russia (as they had been at included at Banff) would prove useful. Others did not concur. Letter from Sobei Mogi [Japanese Federation of Labour] to Walter Schevenels [General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU)], 25 September 1933; 'Creation of a Pan-Pacific Socialist International', Trades Union Congress, first deposit predominantly 1920-1960, 900-939: International Federation of Trade Unions, MSS.292/916/7, MRC, pp. 1-5.
[722] 'Pacific Socialists', *Poverty Bay Herald*, 26 August 1933, p. 7.

Congress.[723] His intention was "not to start an actual movement", but to establish "a system for the exchange of views and assistance of members of all trade unions socialist organizations in the Pacific countries."[724] Letters were sent to T'ang Leang-Li of China, who had recently become adviser to the Foreign Ministry, Shiva Rao, a Vice-President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) and Friedrich Adler of the Labour and Socialist International and Léon Jouhaux of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT).[725] In short, this new grouping was seeking to bring together the most influential voices of labour from across the world which were united in their anti-Bolshevist and anti-Comintern stance.

Mogi's plans would however be frustrated. Walter Citrine, another recipient of Mogi's advances, was clear that the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) intended to extend its activities more effectively to the Far East, raising his concern over the "confusion" which might arrive over the "denomination" of the organisation. In correspondence between Citrine (Secretary of the IFTU) and Walter Schevenels (General Secretary) they reflected their frustrations at Mogi's approach. "It is difficult to admit and recognise an organisation bearing the name 'Pan-Pacific Labour and Socialist International'…this is not in any way a title suitable for a propaganda organisation recognising on the one hand the IFTU and on the other hand the Labour

[723] Takao Matsumura, 'Anglo-Japanese Trade Union Relations Between the Wars', in G. Daniels et al. (eds.), *The History of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 265-266.
[724] Mogi Sobei to William Gillies, 26 September 1933, William Gillies Papers, WG/PPC/1-2, 'Pan Pacific Conference of Socialist International', p. 1i, People's History Museum.
[725] Mobei to Gillies, 26 September 1933, Gillies Papers, WG/PPC/1-2, People's History Museum, Labour History Archive, 1-3.

and Socialist International (LSI) as being the only bodies qualified for the world proletariat".[726] Mogi's Pan-Pacific organisation represented therefore a challenge to the IFTU's global pretensions, and became caught up in international trade union rivalry. "Nothing must be done which could imply the abandonment of world unity". "No organisation must be affiliated which is combatting us", they concluded [727]. Without their endorsement, and a deterioration of diplomacy in the Pacific, appetite to sustain a 'Pan-Pacific Labour and Socialist International' receded from view and would never mature prior to the Second World War.

[726] Citrine [President of the IFTU] to Sobei, 26 October 1933, 'Creation of a Pan-Pacific Socialist International', Trades Union Congress, first deposit predominantly 1920-1960, 900-939: International Federation of Trade Unions, MSS.292/916/7, MRC, p. 5-6.
[727] Schevenels [General Secretary of the IFTU] to Citrine [President of the IFTU], 6 December 1933, 'Creation of a Pan-Pacific Socialist International', Trades Union Congress, first deposit predominantly 1920-1960, 900-939: International Federation of Trade Unions, MSS.292/916/7, MRC, p. 5-6.

Conclusions

In 1938, word spread amongst officials in the CIB of a revival of the PPTUS across the Tasman. At the Trades Hall in Wellington, the President of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, Mr A. M'Lagan, moved a motion in support for a 'Pacific Trades Union Conference', having corresponded with Charlie Crofts of the AFTU.[728] In the end, no such conference was held. Nor was any concrete evidence of the re-emergence of the PPTUS found, but intelligence authorities were on high alert.[729] Just months prior, their suspicions of a PPTUS revival were raised when Shapurji Saklatvala (a former Member of Parliament for Battersea North, representing the Communist Party of Great Britain), applied for a visa to represent Meerut prisoners in the United States. Officials concluded that his application had "more behind it than met the eye", specifically referencing the fact that the All-India Trade Union Congress was affiliated to the PPTUS (which maintained an office in San Francisco).[730]

As war seemed to be creeping ever closer, the logic of Pan-Pacific organisation continued to appeal. Behind the CPA's campaign to "Free Australia from the bloody chess game of British Imperialism", and through their claims that Australian defences should be strengthened "independent of British imperialism", they were also sure that

[728] The New Zealand Federation of Labour was formed in 1937 from the New Zealand Alliance of Labour and the Trades and Labour Councils Federation of New Zealand. Charlie Crofts had been a delegate to the PPTUS in Vladivostok in 1929.
[729] D.R Mitchell [Inspector] to Director of CIB, 6 October 1938, 'Pan Pacific Conference - Trades Union Secretariat', A8911, 163, NAA.
[730] Vernon Fell to Ray Atherton [American Embassy], 18 February 1938, TNA KV 2/615.

"the CPA should …[become] the initiator of a great Pacific anti-imperialist bloc with the perspective of weakening British imperialism … first in opposition to the Japanese and second, in active support of the Indian people against British imperialism".[731] The PPTUS was an attempt at a "red Pan-Pacificism" which never held broad appeal in Australia, New Zealand or Canada, precisely because of its attempts to radically alter the political ideology of both the trade union movement itself and mainstream political consensus, which united around the twin platform of racial exclusion and a dutiful, sometimes deferential sense of dependence upon the British imperial tie .[732] The tensions Garden, Earsman and PPTUS advocates hoped to foster in the Dominions never fundamentally threatened the stability of Australian or New Zealand democracy, providing instead critiques of their nature and character, offering a prospective vista of working class cooperation.[733] In New Zealand, militant unionists sided with the gradualism of moderate mainstream Labour.[734] The 'colour line' which activists attempted to blur may have increasingly been challenged in the 1920s and 30s, but could not be dislodged by radical affiliation alone. Whilst the Comintern called for local parties to "subordinate their local concerns to global strategies", this proved unfeasible where activists were operating within the constraints of local and national union and party politics and imperial security regimes which largely dictated their direction of travel

[731] Unknown author, 'Report to Comintern: Proposals for the CPA' (November 1939), Document 82, RGASPI 495-14-308, pp. 350-352.
[732] 'Red Aspirations', *The Northern Herald* (Cairns), 11 July 1928, p. 16 .
[733] Pamela Radcliff, 'The Political "Left" in the Interwar Period, 1924-1939', in Nicholas Doumanis (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of European History, 1914-1945* (Oxford, 2016), p. 282.
[734] Markey, 'An Antipodean Phenomenon', p. 78.

(literally and figuratively).[735] The history of the PPTUS also reveals the ways in which the Comintern offered inconsistent support across the region.[736]

How to weigh up the historical significance of the PPTUS movement, therefore? Was it any more than "a footnote in the history of the labour movement?" as Geoff Swain once remarked in relation to the activities of the RILU at large?[737] Portus would concur, claiming its insignificance: the PPTUS "represented only four hundred persons in the east. It was a heterogenous mob of Asiatics and five white men".[738] In its fundamental goal, the PPTUS was not successful in transforming the Australian working classes' international outlook. "We have not yet realised we are a Pacific people…", Portus continued, "it will need at least a generation of education to arouse us to appreciate the importance of some sort of cooperation among the half a billion people who are massed around the shores of the Pacific. And this is an optimist's estimate."[739]

As an intellectual history however, the attractions of a Pan-Pacific platform had more purchase on the political Left than is conceded by Portus. "Radical inputs" from a small minority were influential.[740] Advocates were few, yet their claims bold enough, their voices loud and their claims coherent enough to convince elements from across the

[735] Häberlen, 'Between Global Aspirations, p. 423.
[736] C.A. Bayly, *Remaking the Modern World, 1900-2015* (Oxford, 2018), p. 266.
[737] Geoffrey Swain, 'Was the RILU Really Necessary?', *European History Quarterly*, 1 (1987), p. 73.
[738] Portus, 'The Australian Labour Movement and the Pacific', p. 931.
[739] Ibid, p. 932.
[740] Neville Kirk, *Transnational Radicalism and the Connected Lives of Tom Mann and Robert Samuel Ross* (Oxford, 2017), p. 89.

spectrum of the political Left into organising counter and supplementary organisations upon a similar cartographic template. The Pacific Dominions were never the epicentre of these movements, but they provided significant ideas and personnel to inspire, mobilise and briefly realise them. Ultimately, the formation of the PPTUS was partially the result of the Dominion advocates, such as Earsman and Garden, the financial and political will of the Comintern and the significance of the many emerging national trade unionists who found ideological significance and potential in its regional anti-racist and anti-imperial platform.

At large, this chapter reveals the ways in which the radicalism of the 1910s and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 "triggered a polarisation of right wing and left-wing versions of internationalism" creating oppositional forces in world politics as well as internationalisms.[741] 'Communist' and 'liberal' visions of internationalism weren't mutually exclusive, but rather referenced and attempted to refute one another, including on a grand, Pan-Pacific stage.

[741] Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*, p. 147.

Part II

The 'Recolonial' Reckoning

Chapter 4 – 'A Supreme Opportunity of Boundless Magnitude'? The Rhetoric and Reality of Pan-Pacific Commerce

The Mediterranean, the sea of yesterday has passed into history
The Atlantic, the sea of the afternoon is prosperous under the sunset gold
The Pacific, the sea of today, is stirring new life under the morning sun
The great new cities on America's Pacific slope, looking out onto the sea of today, are dreaming of commerce and wealth…
Dreaming will never fill ships with cargo, create markets for Pacific coast industries or gather to the cities their share of commerce and wealth
It is high time for bold enterprise is the pursuit of Pacific Commerce and cooperation, through creative developments, with the awakened and receptive peoples of the Orient

Paul Page Whitham, 'The Sea of Today', *Pan Pacific Progress*, 6/2 (February 1927), p. 34.

Few port planners are known for their poetic flair, but it was with a sense of destiny at his fingertips that Paul Page Whitham felt compelled to commit commercial prophecy to verse, defining the significance of a vast regional market for the new cities of the 'Pacific Northwest'. At first glance, 'The Sea of Today' is frivolous booster poetry. Considered more judiciously, Whitham's words in the newly-established *Pan-Pacific Progress* invites a deeper series of questions about the inter-relation between pan-movements, settler societies and regional commerce; of market imaginaries, investments and the logic of capitalism. This chapter examines these themes and considers how they influenced notions of imperial and regional commerce in the Dominions.

Having spent decades as a civil engineer employed by the Department of Commerce, Whitham saw first-hand the significance of infrastructural development for civic prosperity.[742] Born in Illinois, but resident in Seattle for much of his life, he witnessed the transformation of the city's fortunes. Exports to the 'Far Eastern' markets of China and Japan for instance grew from $40 million in 1916 to $168 million by 1919.[743] China – Whitham believed – would be a particularly significant market, containing the basis of "good credit", "inhabited by a conservative, hardy, industrial people in a mood to develop along modern lines".[744] Whitham is just one of the many boosters who had conceived the notion of the Pacific as an emergent market. For decades 'China hands' had forecast the riches which awaited investors if only they took a plunge in (and across) the Pacific, yet the notion was recurrent, and boosted following the First World War. Following a three-month study of 'Oriental markets' in 1922, a report of the *Executive Committee of the San Francisco Commercial Relationship Delegation* drew similar conclusions: Pacific markets represented a "supreme opportunity – one of boundless magnitude".[745]

This chapter explores the notion of the Pacific as a commercial space which has been consistently represented as a "supreme opportunity" for the economic prosperity of

[742] For a biography of Whitham, see *De Luxe Supplement to the History of Seattle* (Seattle, 1916), pp. 529-532; Dorothy B. Fujita Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1941* (Oakland, 2003).
[743] Figures listed in Chang, *Pacific Connections*, p. 184.
[744] 'A Man with A Vision', *Riverside Daily Press*, 27 December 1920, p. 4.
[745] 'American Opportunities in the Far East', *Nation's Business* (March 1922), p. 54.

states lining both the ocean's edge and the world at large.[746] Following an overview of the establishment of Pacific commerciality, I explore the market's depiction in 'Pan-Pacific' commercial journals. Both *The Trans-Pacific* and *Pan-Pacific Progress* represent commercial ephemera largely overlooked by economic and cultural historians of the Asia-Pacific. Their re-examination reveals the diverse cast of 'commercial actors' grappling with the prospects (and problems) of trade in a vast, complex region; and represents a useful case study in decoupling economic fiction and reality.[747]

To examine a Pacific market as a single unit is to engage in historiographic funambulism, where *historic* reality and *historiographic* scepticism are placed in uneasy balance. As Kaoru Sugihara notes in a bibliographical essay, "there is no comprehensive volume on the economic history of the Pacific since 1800".[748] It is the case that most economic histories of the Pacific are geographically selective and necessarily partial – including this chapter – yet there also exists a body of literature which *proclaimed* treatment of the Pacific as a single, semi-global market, whose context and contribution has been treated only in passing by historians.[749] Taking their claims seriously will add to a body of literature in studies of the history of capitalism which is challenging the idea that economic, or material factors must necessarily prove

[746] Ravi Arvind Palat, 'Pacific Century: Myth or Reality?', *Theory & Society*, 25/3 (1996), pp. 303-347.
[747] The term 'commercial actors' is used to encompass the array of individuals with interests and a stake in regional commerce.
[748] Kaoru Sugihara, 'The Economy since 1800', in Armitage & Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, p. 347.
[749] Lionel Frost, 'The Economic History of the Pacific', in J.R. McNeill, & Kenneth Pomeranz (eds.) *The Cambridge World History, vol. VII: Production, Destruction, and Connection, 1750-Present* (Cambridge), pp. 611-631.

counter to cultural considerations.[750] On the contrary, economic activity in the Pacific represents an attempt to map the material and the mental "hand-in-hand".[751]

This chapter also examines whether the Pan-Pacific enticed Dominion commercial actors, offering new insights into the economic histories of the respective Dominions and of histories of Asia-Pacific economic integration, whose focus remains skewed toward North American-East Asian exchange.[752] An examination of what I term 'semi-official' trade representation, or in New Zealand's case, 'Honorary Agents' of the Department of Industry and Commerce – a group seemingly neglected outright in the historical literature – is deemed useful in exploring the character of Dominion commerce (both inter- and extra-imperial), as intermediaries and interlocutors between government departments and non-state actors whose stake remains only partially written.

[750] Nan Enstad, 'The "Sonorous Summons" of the New History of Capitalism, Or, What Are We Talking About When We Talk About Economy?', *Modern American History*, 2 (2019), pp. 83-95; See Thompson & Magee, *Empire and Globalization:* p. 15, 61-63 for encouragement in exploring the cultural dimensions of economic history in a 'British World' context.
[751] Kenneth Lipartito, 'Reassembling the Economic: New Departures in Historical Materialism', *AHR,* 121/1 1 (2016), pp. 101–139.
[752] The outstanding collection remains Dennis O. Flynn, Lionel Frost & A.J.H. Latham (eds.), *Pacific Centuries* (London, 1999). A useful overview is Colin Newbury, 'Mammon in Paradise', *JICH*, 26/2 (1998), pp. 196-212.

"A Great Ocean, Teeming with Every Valuable Article of Exchange": The Market Imaginary of the Pacific

The Pacific has long been reified as a space of commercial opportunity. As early as the sixteenth century when Spanish galleons crossed the ocean, linking the land-masses of South America and Southeast Asia, the 'Magellan Exchange' or the movement of bodies, biota – and crucially – silver, swiftly equalled or exceeded that which crossed the Atlantic or Eurasian landmass, creating a nascent inter-dependence, bolstering an existing market imaginary predicated on a 'lure of the East' in European commercial mythology.[753]

Increasingly, traders fulfilled a demand (and a taste) for Pacific products, such as sandalwood on the shorelines of East Asia – an essential component in the notion of China as an empire which globalised "by attraction" and the "Canton trade" which served as a tantalising "template for Pacific-orientated wealth creation over the following centuries".[754] The foundation of settler colonies in Australasia was partly predicated upon the magnetism of this Canton-oriented market.[755] For Alexander Maconochie, first secretary of the *Royal Geographical Society*, it offered Britain a tantalising opportunity. From his desk in Edinburgh, he penned *A Summary View of the Statistics*

[753] John R. McNeil, 'Islands in the Rim: ecology and history in and around the Pacific, 1521-1996', in O. Flynn, Frost and Latham, *Pacific Centuries*, pp. 70-85; Luke Clossey, 'Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific', *JGH*, 1/1 (2006), pp. 41-58.
[754] Belich, Darwin et al., *Prospect*, Introduction; Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific 1830-1865* (Melbourne, 1967); Bashford, 'The Pacific Ocean', in Armitage, Bashford & Sivasundaram, *Oceanic*, p. 75.
[755] John Young, *Australia's Pacific Frontier* (Melbourne, 1967).

and Existing Commerce of the Principal Shores of the Pacific Ocean (1818), to "fix public attention upon the Pacific, that immense gap in our commercial relations, whose shores extend to every habitable latitude in our globe, and teem with every valuable article of exchange", advocating the establishment of a 'free port' in one of those islands, inspired by the development of Singapore.[756] His vision was part geo-strategic, providing a bulwark to India against potentially ambitious (and newly independent) South American states and to counter Russian expansionism to the north, but it was also geo-economic. Deprecating "singular apathy and indifference owing to…inadequate knowledge...of the Great Ocean", Maconochie's explorations of the market's 'principal shores' were Pan-Pacific in nature at this stage even, if not by name.[757]

Maconochie never achieved his aim of establishing that centre of commerce in the Pacific, yet the commercial prospects of the region, presented in a semi-global perspective, drove increasing numbers to its shores. In their eastward expansion, a commercial impulse drove Russians who were "more interested in furs than souls".[758] The Bonin Islands (also known as the Ogasawara Islands) six-hundred miles south of Tokyo were settled for the advantages they might afford British trade in an 'Eastern market'.[759] The so-called Pacific provinces in North America were settled for the

[756] Alexander M'Konochie, *A Summary View of the Statistics and Existing Commerce of the Principal Shores of the Pacific Ocean* (London, 1818), p. ix.
[757] Ibid., p. ix-x.
[758] Valerie Ann Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom* (Ithaca, 2006), pp. 117-148.
[759] Robert S.G. Fletcher, 'The China of Tomorrow: Japan and the Limits of Victorian Expansion', *JICH*, 47/5 (2019), pp. 851-883.

presence and riches of "blubber gold" with Native Hawaiian and Native American labour and knowledge essential to its sustenance and success.[760] Nantucket whalers meanwhile soon rushed to the island world around the Cape of Good Horn, leaving a documentary and a toponymic legacy in the Central Pacific which persists to this day.[761]

The establishment of extra-territorial privileges in China's treaty ports, coupled with the rhetorical 'opening' of Japan further stimulated the notion of the Pacific as a dynamic commercial arena.[762] When William H. Seward's (then Senator for New York) famously evoked "commerce" to be "the great agent" of American westward expansionism, he did so at a time of great regional economic transformation in which a shift from a "China-centred to a Western-centred demand in trade" was taking place. [763] Greater demands for agricultural development led to guano (nitrate) mining across the Pacific from the coasts of Latin America to the atolls of the mid-Pacific.[764] 'Hard' commodities transformed societies, migration patterns and commercial relations, with European and Cantonese labour rushing to California and Victoria for gold, refining a number of

[760] Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*; Igler, *The Great Ocean*, pp. 17-42.
[761] Igler, *The Great Ocean,* pp. 99-128.
[762] Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China* (London, 2011); Richard E. Welch, Jr., 'Caleb Cushing's Chinese Mission and the Treaty of Wanghia: A Review', *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 58/4 (1957), pp. 328-357. Tyler Dennett stresses commonality between American and British approaches, *Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with reference to China, Japan, and Korea in the 19th Century* (New York, 1922). For a refutation, see Macabe Keliher, 'Anglo-American Rivalry and the Origins of U.S China Policy', *Diplomatic History*, 31/2 (2007), pp. 227-257.
[763] William H. Seward, '*Commerce in the Pacific Ocean', A Speech in the Senate of the United States, 29 July 1852* (Washington D.C., 1852), p. 13; Robert Hellyer, 'The West, the East, and the insular middle: trading systems, demand, and labour in the integration of the Pacific, 1750–1875', *JGH*, 8/3 (2013), pp. 391-413.
[764] Cushman, *Guano.*

diasporic Pacifics in turn.[765] Despite the emergence of anti-Asiatic sentiment which reverberated across Anglo settler communities, the paradox of Pacific commerciality was that the proliferation of restrictive measures never worked "to slow the pursuit of Asian markets" or to dampen this commercial imaginary.[766]

Commodities bolstered imaginaries, as did infrastructural projects; technological expressions of development to serve a market. Railroad building was central to the 'booms' underpinning the settlement of America's Pacific Northwest and the Canadian 'north', with companies such as The Canadian Pacific marketing their routes with this imaginary in mind (Fig. 28) [767]

[765] Benjamin Mountford & Stephen Tuffnell (eds.), *A Global History of Gold Rushes* (Berkeley, 2018). On a 'Cantonese Pacific', Henry Yu, "Unbound Space: Migration, Aspiration, and the Making of Time in the Cantonese Pacific," in Anderson, Johnson & Brookes, *Pacific Futures*, pp. 178-206.
[766] Chang, *Pacific Connections,* p. 179-180.
[767] Belich, *Replenishing*, p. 396; A. Graebner, *Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion* (New York, 1955).



Figure 28 – The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *The New Highway to the Orient* (Montreal, 1896).

In the Canadian context, the "errant enthusiasm of continental expansion", driven by boosters such as Sydney Fisher, then Minister of Agriculture, led to the characterisation of Pacific markets as a particularly Canadian commercial destiny.[768] That spirit would

[768] Robert Joseph Gowen, 'Canada and the Myth of the Japan Market, 1896-1911', *PHR*, 39/1 (1970), p. 64.

lead to peculiar results, such as the development of Prince Rupert as the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway on account of being 400 miles closer to Japan than Vancouver – an alternative terminus.[769] Enthusiasm for Pacific trade also stimulated endeavours to establish an isthmian canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific, celebrated at the Panama–Pacific International Exposition in 1915, at which the historicity of the Pacific was re-interpreted with infrastructural development and markets in mind.[770] In reality, the isthmus fostered greater Pan American trade, allowing Pacific agents and manufacturers to transport their goods with greater ease and speed to the Atlantic.[771] In comparison with Suez, tonnage in 1933 reached 23,514 (tonnage in 1,000 net tonnes) , whilst Panama lagged behind with 18,148. (A 500 percent increase compared to the year it opened however).[772] Whilst the canal served to alter the shipping patterns of some of the region's major companies –with Pitcairn Island for example added to New Zealand Shipping Company schedules – rather than creating new linkages for the islands at the heart of the ocean, it increasingly made the Pacific a "realm of transit".[773]

[769] Ibid., 71; Thompson, 'Upper Canada's Empire, 39-70. On Canada's economic development in North Pacific context, see Barry M. Gough, *Britain, Canada and the North Pacific: Maritime Enterprise and Dominion, 1778-1914* (Burlington, 2004); John D. Meehan, *Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai: Canada's Early Relations with China, 1858-1952* (Vancouver, 2011), pp. 38-60.
[770] Stephens & Bolton (eds.) *The Pacific Ocean in History*; Steel, 'Re-routing Empire?, 362.
[771] Noel Maurer and Carlos Yu. 'What T. R. Took: The Economic Impact of the Panama Canal, 1903–1937', *The Journal of Economic History,* 68/3 (2008), pp. 86–721.
[772] 1933 figures from Gregory Bienstock, *The Struggle for the Pacific* (New York, 1937), pp. 24-25. See also 'Two Great Canals', *Evening Star*, 18 September 1922, p. 3 and Carol Y. Mason & Adagrace Rowlands, 'Panama Canal Traffic', *Economic Geography*, 14/4 (1938), pp. 325-337.
[773] Herbert Ford, *Pitcairn Island as a Port of Call: A Record, 1790-2010*, 2d ed. (Jefferson NC, 2012), p. 3; Frances Steel, "Time is on Our Side": Shipping and the Coming of Flight in the Pacific', in Anderson, Johnson & Brookes (eds.) *Pacific Futures,* p. 107. See also Steel's work on the 'thin' traffic of people and goods between Sydney, Panama and San Francisco (compared to the North Pacific), Steel, 'Re-routing Empire?', p. 361.

Dominion interests in Pacific markets fit this overall pattern with regular enthusiasm tempered by limited material returns.[774] In a letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, E.W. O'Sullivan saw Sydney fit "for the high destiny of centre of trade and commerce of the Pacific world," but in reality realised only small volumes of regional trade.[775] By 1900 in New Zealand, goods from the Pacific accounted for only £434,413 of New Zealand's total import trade (of a total £10,646,096).[776] The value of her possessions in the Pacific would prove in the 1920s "more a white elephant than a white hope" due to the decline in the price of primary products (copra above all).[777]

Yet, the development of the Pacific market and the endurance of the 'lure of the East' was never defined exclusively by an "Anglo" settler dynamism alone. A vast increase in intra-Asian trade, stimulated by Japanese strategic and commercial expansion, amplified the conception of the Pacific as a region of growth.[778] By 1905, China was the largest importer of Japanese goods, replacing America.[779] Japanese shipping companies meanwhile expanded their commercial activity to the extent Japan became

[774] Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific*; more recently, the work of Patricia O'Brien is of note, 'Remaking Australia's Colonial Culture? White Australia and its Papuan Frontier, 1901-1940', *AHS*, 40/1 (2009), pp. 96-112; Angus Ross, *New Zealand's Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1964). More recently, Damon Salesa, 'A Pacific Destiny: New Zealand's overseas Empire, 1840-1945', in Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Mahina-Tuai & Damon Salesa (eds.), *Tangata O Le Moana: New Zealand and The People of The Pacific* (Wellington, 2012), pp. 97-122.
[775] E.W. O'Sullivan, 'Letter to the Editor', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1908, p. 10 cited in Katrina Gulliver, 'Finding the Pacific World, *JWH*, 22/1 (2011), p. 88.
[776] Ross, *New Zealand's Record*, p. 3; Percy S. Allen, *The Pacific Islands: New Zealand's Commercial Interests* (Auckland, 1908).
[777] Harriet Moore & Marian Cannon, 'Pacific Mandates – Asset or Liability', *Far Eastern Survey*, 5/5 (1936), p. 46.
[778] Kaoru Sugihara (ed.), *Japan, China, and the Growth of the International Economy, 1850–1949* (Oxford, 2005).
[779] Man-Houng Lin, 'Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Pacific, 1895-1945', *MAS*, Vol. 44, No. 5 (2010), pp. 1053-1080.

the third largest shipping nation in the world by 1918.[780] By the 1920s, Japanese diplomats were proclaiming they were "knocking upon the doors of the world".[781] The 'South Seas Trade Conference' (1926) hosted by Japan is a case in point – a response, according to K.K Kawakami, to immigration restriction and the preponderance of borders.[782] It marked an official commitment to the Pacific market, reflecting new attempts to transform the economic prospects of her Micronesian mandate.[783] Imperialism was a critical factor. According to Ayuso-Díaz & Tena-Junguito, Japanese exports in 1938 would have been a third smaller had she possessed no colonial possessions.[784]

The sum of these developments provided a sense that a paradigm shift had occurred. The advancement of regional communications and intensifying economic expansionism in tandem lead to a discursive shift, where economic imaginaries fused to form a conceptual regionalism of which the 'Pan-Pacific' proved a compelling iteration.[785]

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[780] Ibid. p. 1060.
[781] Klaus Schlichtmann, *Japan in the World: Shidehara Kijuro, Pacifism, and the Abolition of War*, vol ii (Lanham, 2009), p. 31.
[782] K.K. Kawakami, 'Japan Looks Across the Pacific', *The Contemporary Review*, 1 January 1927, p. 47
[783] Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan*, p. 139.
[784] Alejandro Ayuso-Díaz & Antonio Tena-Junguito, 'Trade in the shadow of power: Japanese industrial exports in the interwar years', *The Economic History Review* (2020), 1-29. See also useful overview of Japanese commercial activities in Latin America, Catherine Porter, 'Japan's "Penetration of Latin America", *Far Eastern Survey*, 4/10 (1935), pp. 73-78. The decline of British 'informal empire in Latin America, owed partially to the increase in Japanese steamers, Ben Markham, 'The Challenge to 'Informal' Empire: Argentina, Chile and British Policy-Makers in the Immediate Aftermath of the First World War', *JICH*, 45/3 (2017), pp. 449-474.
[785] Alexander Woodside, 'The Asia Pacific Idea as a Mobilization Myth', in Dirlik (ed.) *What is in a Rim?*, pp. 37-52.

Regional Commercial Journals & The Pan-Pacific Idea

A fertile medium to explore the thematic and spatial terrains of Pan-Pacific commerce is through a close examination of trade journals and commercial magazines bearing its name. As Robert Louis Burgess reflected, the Pan-Pacific "Idea [was] not merely a device for entertaining the intellect. Like any good idea…it has roots in the earth. It is very definitely linked up with the Foreign Trade Idea".[786]

The Trans-Pacific was an international weekly journal launched in 1919 by the American journalist, B.W. Fleisher and published under the auspices of the *Japan Advertiser*, the leading English-language newspaper in Japan. Intended to report upon the commercial status of the Far East at large – principally for travelling business leaders – it was published in Japanese, Chinese and English for its first eight years, but in English exclusively afterwards. Its contributors included renowned political figures and journalists, whilst the region's leading shipping companies and banks made use of its advertising space, foregrounding the salient cartography of a shrinking and inter-dependent Pacific in the process (Fig. 29). Its primary focus was to encourage investment (both capital and attention) in the Pacific, taking a holistic approach to the task, encouraging language training, study, travel and investment collectively to develop produce reciprocal and peaceful benefit.[787] For stakeholders such as Julean Arnold, the

[786] Robert Louis Burgess, 'The Pan-Pacific Idea', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, 83/12 (December 1925), p. 440.
[787] Julean Arnold, 'Training Americans to Know Asia', *The Trans-Pacific*, 1/1 (September 1919), pp. 2-6.

American commercial attaché at Peking, *The Trans-Pacific* was philosophically aligned to his brief, proving an antidote to the market's great drawback: a "dearth of Asiatic news in journals". If America was to become 'Pacific-minded' as he wished, *The Trans-Pacific* would be essential in its shifting fortunes.[788]



Figure 29 – 'Advertisements: Imperial Government Railways', *The Trans-Pacific*, 1/1 (September 1919), p. 95.

Bertram Lenox Simpson (better known by his pen-name 'Putnam Weale'), the British journalist and former member of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service was also a regular columnist, reflecting the view of fellow 'China hands' of the "limitless potential" of

[788] Julean Arnold, 'America Must Become Pacific Minded', Julean Arnold Papers, Box 1, Speeches and Writings, HIA, p. 1.

the market, whilst George Sokolsky, the *New York Times*' Far Eastern expert attempted to educate his compatriots of the character of Far Eastern business.[789] The majority of contributors were American, but Japanese columnists, such as Takuro Tamaru, the physicist and Professor of Tokyo University advocated the Romanization of Japanese to stimulate greater regional inter-dependence.[790] *The Trans-Pacific* might be thought therefore as attempting an educational and a translational service. Each version provided a section on weights and measures for those who didn't know their "catties" from their "shaku"'s.[791] It was therefore a source of commercial information and of 'cultural internationalism'.[792] As one of America's foremost missionaries in Japan would proclaim, "no narrow view should be taken of the word commerce... the first meaning is of a commerce of commodities… but there exists also a "great commerce of ideas" which went hand-in-hand.[793]

On the ocean's opposite shores, *Pan Pacific Progress (PPP)* represented another attempt at an informational publication for a political and business elite, but its editorial tone was more markedly ideological; an attempt at galvanising Pacific Coast opinion around the foreign trade idea. Founded in 1916 by Henry Chandler, publisher of the *Los*

[789] Putnam Weale's, 'Limitless Opportunities in China', *The Trans-Pacific*, 1/1 (September 1919), pp. 25-28; George Sokolsky, 'How Business is Conducted in China', *The Trans-Pacific*, 2/2 (February 1920), pp. 53-4. Sokolsky is best-known for his account of the Manchurian Crisis, *The Tinder Box of Asia* (London, 1933).
[790] Takuro Tamaru, 'The Language Problem in Commerce', *The Trans-Pacific*, 2/3 (March 1920), p. 81.
[791] 'Weights and Measures of the Far East', T*he Trans-Pacific*, 1/3 (November 1919), pp. 67-68.
[792] Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism.*
[793] Ernest W. Clement, 'Commerce Depends on Communications', T*he Trans-Pacific*, 1/3 (November 1919), p. 12.

Angeles Times, *PPP* was the official organ of the Pacific Chamber of Commerce, a body which united Chambers of Commerce along the Pacific coast of North and South America. By the mid 1920s, it had paid subscribers in fifty-nine countries and was available on fifty passenger steamers crossing the Pacific, trans-continental American flights and on major train routes across both North America and East Asia including the South Manchuria Railway and The Manila Railroad.[794] *PPP* was clear in its motives, evoking California as a spearhead of westerly economic expansion. Pan-Americanism, the journal's founder, Chandler considered, could be pushed out to sea. [795] Chandler had intellectual and commercial interests in the project as an investor in The International Pacific Highway which sought to link Mexico City and Los Angeles, conceived as a means of achieving "Mexican modernity and Pacific fraternity".[796] The 'Pan-Pacific' in this case fit a capitalist impulse and logic of infrastructural development in the American West, aligning with Emily Rosenberg's notion of a "promotional state" in action.[797]

[794] Publication 'Pan Pacific Progress [Tentative File]', A981 ORG 105, NAA.
[795] Walter Young, 'American Materials and Methods in South Manchuria, *Pan Pacific Progress (hereafter PPP)*, 6/2 (Feb 1927), pp. 40-41.
[796] Jessica Kim, 'Destiny of the West: The International Pacific Highway and the Pacific Borderlands, 1929–1957', *Western Historical Quarterly*, 46/3 (2015), pp. 311–333.
[797] Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream* (New York, 1982).

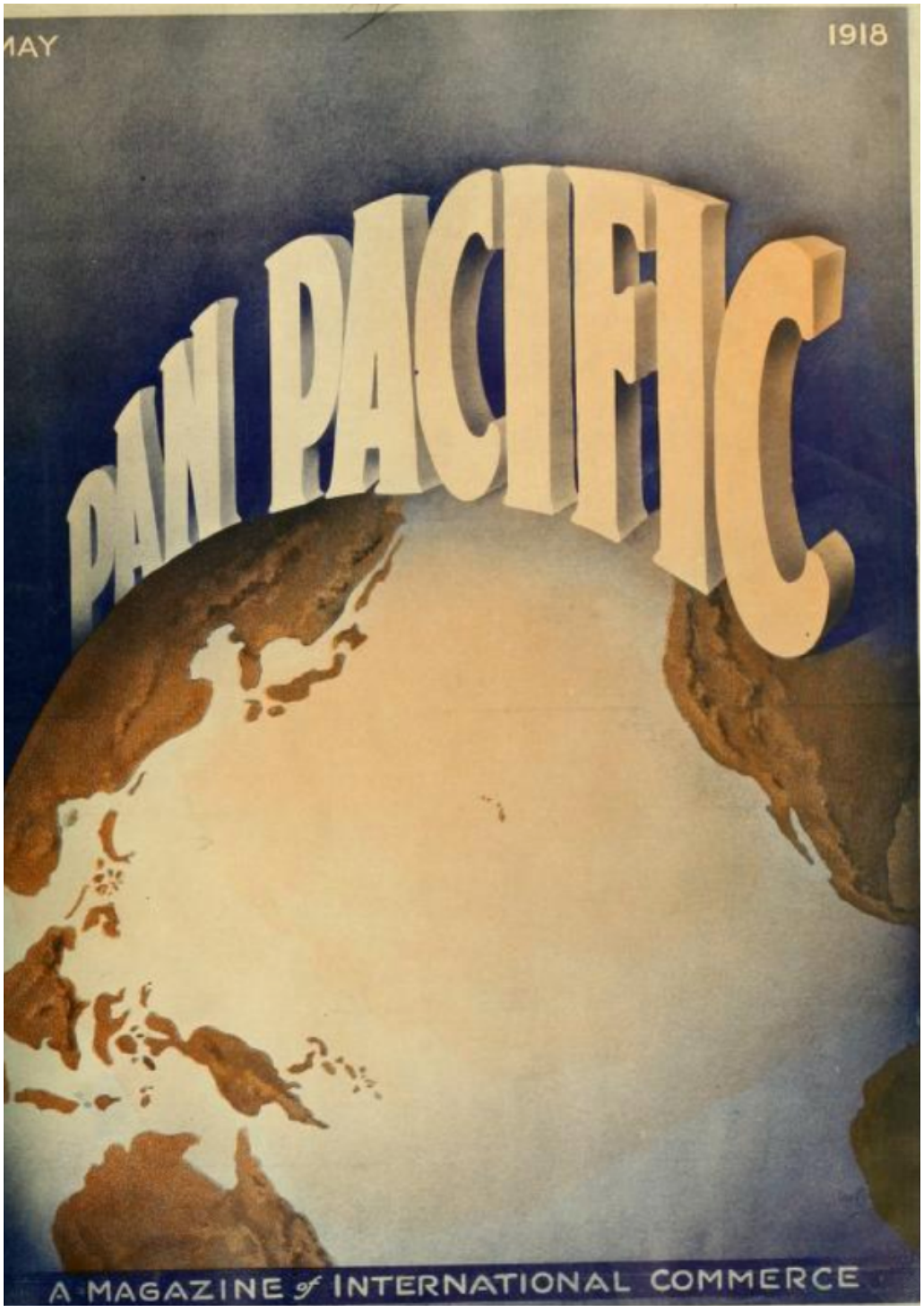


Figure 30 – Front cover of *The Pan Pacific: A Magazine of International Commerce* (May 1918 edition).

Representing a similar sentiment was *The Pan-Pacific: A Magazine of International Commerce (*Fig. 30), edited by John H. Gerrie, whose correspondents were drawn from across the region including W.H. Clarke in Australia, Valabdhas Runchordas in India and George Mellen in Honolulu (who would later edit *Mid Pacific Magazine*). Its editorial line – similarly to both *The Trans-Pacific* and *PPP* was that regional development would prove particularly lucrative, as it boosted the claim the world's economic gravity was shifting toward the Pacific in the wake of war:

"The great war [sic] may be paid for easiest and quickest and surest by the creation of New Wealth, the whetting of NEW APPETITES, the development of NEW TRADE. Riches untold lie buried, appetites unnumbered remain untickled, trade incalculable awaits attraction in the vast, potential, PAN PACIFIC WORLD! Here the Great War MUST BE PAID FOR! [original emphasis]" [798]

Or so proclaimed its excitable editorial staff, reflecting the idealism of the age in advocating a "League of Nations Around the Pacific" and encouraging the development of a "Pan-Pacific Peace Platform" (Figs. 30 & 31), underpinned by the notion of a "capitalist peace" America would guarantee.[799] Pan-Pacific commerce, it considered, "might arrest the conflict between the East and West…brought nearer every day by the inexorable logic of progressive industrialism".[800] On the front page of its February 1921

[798] 'Pan Pacific Commerce', *Pan Pacific: A Magazine of International Commerce (hereafter Pan Pacific)* (January 1919), p. 99.
[799] Ibid., p. 99. Erik Gartzke, 'The Capitalist Peace', *American Journal of Political Science,* 51/1 (2007), pp. 166-91.
[800] Saul Pollock, 'The Pan-Pacific Page', *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, 84/3 (March 1926), p. 82.

edition, editorial staff reflected that "foreign trade" would be a "world panacea" and an "antidote to Bolshevism".[801]

[801] Taken from the front page of *Pan Pacific* (February 1921), p. 149.



Figure 31 – Packer, 'The Awakening of the Giant', *Pan Pacific: A Magazine of International Commerce* (May 1918), p. 5.

The "lure of the East" may well have been "an old fever in the blood of the West", yet it was precisely this old idea in a new age which these boosters sought to rebrand.[802] They even dated the start of this 'new age': May 1920, a date which corresponded with the San Francisco Foreign Trade Convention (Fig. 32).[803] Hume Ford meanwhile recognised this captive audience, using the pages of *PPP and Pan Pacific* to boost his own projects.[804]



Figure 32 – 'Pan Pacific at Foreign Trade Convention', *Pan Pacific: A Magazine of International Commerce* (July 1920), p. 149.

[802] Grover Clark, 'Changing Markets', in Joseph Barnes (ed.) *Empire in the East* (London, 1934), p. 120.
[803] The Great Opportunity and Thereafter Test of the Pacific Coast', *Pan Pacific* (March 1920), p. 193-194.
[804] Alexander Hume Ford, 'Honolulu Ready to Welcome World', *Pan Pacific* (December 1918), p. 65.

Whilst *The Trans-Pacific*, *PPP and Pan Pacific* were written and staffed by Americans with a largely American readership, its subject matter and spatial terrains were far broader.[805] Almost every edition of *The Trans-Pacific* contained articles about the economies of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands (beyond Hawai'i), advocating capital investment and detailing emerging infrastructure projects.[806] One piece boldly claimed that American investors should "GET INTO AUSTRALIA RIGHT NOW!!"[807] "Australasia and the Islands of the South Pacific Ocean", he continued, "were fields of untold reciprocal trade opportunity."[808] Such proclamations were reflected by many in the Dominions as a threat to their own interests – particularly in the trade of the Pacific Islands themselves. Guy H. Scholefield for example reflected on the threat of America to New Zealand's interests in Tongan copra.[809] John Dafoe of the Winnipeg Free Press and a member of the Canadian IPR was however sure that in this enterprise, America and Canada were of the "same intellectual Commonwealth and will be friendly trade rivals".[810] The opportunities of the Pacific were large enough for both American and Dominion stakes the magazine concluded.[811]

[805] Australia also developed a magazine culture which treated the Pacific as a commercial sphere of opportunity. The most well-known is *Pacific Islands Monthly* founded in 1930; *The Pacific: Australia's Illustrated Weekly,* edited by Colin Barclay-Smith is lesser known and was less successful.
[806] H. H Rayward, 'The Economic Position of New Zealand', T*he Trans-Pacific*, 1/3 (November 1919), pp. 31-34; L.V. Armati, 'Australian Made Goods for Australians, T*he Trans-Pacific*, 1/3 (November 1919), pp. 19-22. Armati was a writer on the staff of the *Sydney Sun* and was a regular columnist.
[807] John H. Saunders, 'GET INTO AUSTRALIA RIGHT NOW!! A Field for Foreign Trade of Unparalleled Proportions', *Pan Pacific* (October 1918), p. 14.
[808] John H. Saunders, 'To Link Up Australasia', *Pan Pacific* (January 1919), p. 141 & 150.
[809] Guy H. Scholefield, 'The New Pacific', *Scribner's Magazine*, LXX (July-December 1921), p. 304.
[810] John F. Dafoe, 'Two Nations that are Kindred', *Pan Pacific* (October 1919), p. 223-224.
[811] 'Pacific Markets Big Enough for Canada and United States', *Pan Pacific* (October 1919), p. 228-229.

The Dominions were therefore – rhetorically at least – drawn voluntarily and involuntarily into a vortex of Pan-Pacific boosterism. In 1930, the office of *PPP* contacted the Australian Premier, James Scullin requesting financial support from the government in return for a special issue on the Dominion. Similar approaches were made to New Zealand.[812] Both governments were sceptical, rebuffing approaches. Illustrative were responses to the establishment of a Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference in Hawaii in 1922. Whilst Denison Miller, Managing Director of *the Australian Commonwealth Bank* was a keen advocate, H.T.B Drew of the Department of Internal Affairs was sure "the publicity value will be small in relation to the cost."[813] Reflecting that "publicity will rather be in the nature of 'boosting' America in the Pacific...there is…a suggestion… a movement to draw the trade of the British Pacific Dominions away from Britain to America".[814] A veiled American expansionism was thus once more the detraction.

Ultimately, W.F. Kennedy, representing the Otago Expansion League attended the conference, delivering a paper entitled the 'Pan Pacific Problems of My Country' and relaying the conference's resolutions which included a suggestion from F.C.T O'Hara

[812] Miss E. Dunlop [Secretary, Pan Pacific Progress] to James Scullin [Prime Minister of Australia], 31 July 1930, Publication 'Pan Pacific Progress [Tentative File]', A981 ORG 105, NAA.
[813] 'Pacific Bankers Conference Planned', *The Canton Times*, 31 January 1919, p. 8. The earlier 'Hands around the Pacific' movement brought an Australian delegation to Hawai'i in 1918 including the first Governor of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, Denison Miller and Sir Robert Garran, 'Hands Around the Pacific', *The Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*, 7 September 1918, p. 3. Miller later proposed a 'Pan Pacific Bankers' Conference', Pacific Bankers' Conference Planned', *The Canton Times*, 31 January 1919, p. 8.
[814] Letter from H.T. B. Drew [Publicity Officer, Department of Internal Affairs] to J. Hislop [Under-Secretary to the Department of Internal Affairs], 21 July 1922, Pan Pacific Union Commercial Conference, Honolulu 1922, C 582 236, 501/2/4, ANZ.

(Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Canada) that a 'Pan Pacific Economic Commission' be established.[815] Talks also produced the idea of a Honolulu-based 'Pacific Commercial College'.[816] Neither were established. Clamour to develop a 'Pan-Pacific Information Bureau' by delegates – also mooted in the resolutions – was shunned. Such a body would "present difficulties which are almost insurmountable", claimed Drew. After all, from the government's perspective, "commercial information was confidential and for the use of governments… individuals were unlikely to have an understanding of the trade prospects of the entire region", meaning "representation would be worse than none at all".[817]

Weighing up the political significance of summits can be tricky, with attendees often boosters themselves. Yet the Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference's proceedings offer an insight into some of the bolder market imaginaries of the time. One delegate resolved that such was the potential of the Pacific, the capital of the British Empire might be moved to Sydney to manage the shift.[818] Writing in the *Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union* meanwhile, the Vice-President of Tiffany and Company, George Kunz

[815] W.F. Kennedy, 'The Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference at Honolulu', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 December 1922, p. 6. On the resolutions of the conference, Hume Ford to W.F. Massey [Prime Minister of New Zealand], 21 November 1922, Pan Pacific Union Commercial Conference, Honolulu 1922, C 582 236, 501/2/4, ANZ.
[816] 'Hands Around the Pacific', *The Shoalhaven News and South Coast Districts Advertiser*, 7 September 1918, p. 3; See Letters from Hume Ford to Garner Curran [Editor of Pan Pacific Progress], Box 2, Folder 16 Conferences 1922 Commercial Conference, PPU Papers; 'The Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference At Honolulu', *Otago Daily Times*, 23 December 1922, p. 6; 'Pacific Bankers' Conference Planned', *The Canton Times*, 31 January 1919, pg. 8.
[817] H.T. B. Drew to Hume Ford, 6 February 1923, Pan Pacific Union Commercial Conference, Honolulu 1922, C 582 236, 501/2/4, ANZ.
[818] Atherton & Tiltman, *The Pacific: A Forecast*, p. 148.

noted that precisely the fact that the government of Australia was keen to make her bank notes "worth par in every Pacific land and with New Zealand bankers urging decimal currency", he advocated further integration through 'Pan-Pacific coinage', with the dollar as its base unit.[819] This vision seemed to many both monetarily and politically far-fetched – if not outright unpalatable to Dominion governments who believed in monetary union with London.[820] For all the extravagant musings, cold water was regularly poured on the unrelenting optimism which manifested in the pieces of journals such as *Pan-Pacific Progress*. Irving Bush for instance, former president of the New York Chamber of Commerce (and an attendee at the Pan-Pacific Commercial Conference) reflected that this 'Pan Idea' was simply "nationalism, carried over the boundaries" and that "pan-common sense" would be the only cult worth joining".[821]

Yet the combination of platitudinal forecasting combined with swift industrialisation in the Far East and the transformation of island communities encouraged a serious, learned approach to the study of the Pacific as a unified economic space.[822] According to Wilfred Hinton, registrar of the University of Hong Kong and a British delegate to the IPR's second conference at Honolulu in 1927, found it "convenient…to consider India,

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[819] George Frederick Kunz, 'Pan-Pacific Uniformity of Coinage', *The Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union*, 8 (June 1920), p. 9.
[820] 'A Pan-Pacific Currency', *The North China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, 5 June 1920, p. 569.
[821] Irving T. Bush, '"Pan" Common Sense', *PPP*, 6/7 (1927), p. 189.
[822] Key examples include C.F. Remer, *Foreign Investments in China* (New York, 1933); Tawney, *Land and Labour*; Joseph Barnes (ed.), *Empire in the East* (London, 1934); Frederick Vanderbilt Field, *An Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area* (New York, 1934); G.E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West* (London, 1935)**;** Philip G. Wright, *Trade and Trade Barriers in the Pacific* (London, 1935) and *An Economic Survey of the Pacific Area* (New York, 1942)..

China and Japan and the East Indies as one economic region, entered at the Western end by the filaments of Western trade, and at the Eastern by those of American trade, and having a much slighter connection with the Australian and New Zealand, South African and South American regions."[823] Refuting the "vague notion of a Pan-Asiatic political movement which finds little response in Japan", the IPR's Pan-Pacific conception would be defined by a new trading region from India to Japan.[824] It was a panoptic approach which delivered collaborative works, such as the *Economic Handbook of the Pacific Area*.[825]

Learned studies of the region recognised the problem of a disconnect between the opportunity which the Pan-Pacific Idea evoked and material obstacles which lay in the way. Illustrative of this tension are the results of American commercial activities in China, chronicled in an IPR study by C.F. Remer: of investments in the Pacific by 1930 which amounted to $1,455,438 (thousands of dollars), $444,639 were based in Japan, $419,294 in Australia and New Zealand and just $196,824 in China, representing limited market penetration despite the great value boosters like Witham, Arnold, Hume Ford and others saw in the market.[826] Reasons for this are varied, but the heterogeneity of market conditions is one significant factor. Silver and copper were still "circulating

[823] *Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference* (Chicago, 1927), p. 386.
[824] Condliffe, 'The Pressure of Population', p. 196.
[825] J.B Condliffe, 'The Value of International Trade', *Economica*, 5/18 (1938), p. 126.
[826] Sydney Greenbie & Marjorie Greenbie, *Gold of Ophir: The China Trade in the Making of America* (New York, 1937); Frederick V. Field, 'Battle of the Bankers' in Joseph Barnes (ed.) *Empire in the East* (London, 1934), p. 152. The increasing interest corresponded with foreign investments. Charles Remer, made significant investigations, estimating American holdings to be $42,000,000.00 by 1915, *Foreign Investments in China* (New York, 1933), p. 264-265. John Pratt, Adviser on Far Eastern Affairs at the Foreign Office welcomed Remer's study for "satisfactorily clarifying many obscure issues", cited Louis, *British Strategy*, p. 8.

independently of each other, without any fixed ratio between them".[827] Only in 1935 did China adopt the gold standard.[828] The sum of these factors led to a substantial disconnect between a great amplification of the Pacific market's potential and its structural, material shortcomings.

[827] L. L. T'ang (Thung Liang Lee), 'The Problem of Chinese Currency', *Economica*, 8 (1923), pp. 118-119.
[828] Dr G. Vissering, President of the *Central Bank of Java* (appointed Monetary Adviser to the Chinese government) recommended the maintenance of two standards in 1916. On the issue of money and exchange in the Chinese case, see the work of D.K Lieu and Chung Min-chen of the Bureau of Economic Information - both were also associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, D. K. Lieu, 'China and the Silver Question', *Pacific Affairs*, 7/3 (1934), pp. 333-335.

The Emergence of Dominion Trade Representation and 'Market Diplomacy' in the Pacific

Echoing similar developments in the staffing of External Relations departments, the Dominions had limited overseas trade representation by the early 1920s. Canada, the most independent-minded was the first to establish 'trade scouts'.[829] John Short Larke was appointed as a Commissioner for Trade at Sydney in 1895 following an up-swell in imperial enthusiasm following the completion of the 'All-Red Cable'.[830] At the turn of the twentieth century, Australians began to prospect trade representation – albeit at the state, rather than the federal level. James McInnes Sinclair was commissioned by the Victorian Department of Agriculture to report on wheat production in the United States, Canada and Argentina and later spent time as Victorian trade commissioner in Singapore.[831] In practice however, Sinclair's remit included much of the Far East: Burma, India, Indo-China, Java, the Malay States, the Philippines and Siam.[832] New Zealand also took an interest with John Graham Gow appointed as a roving representative in 1901. The results of Gow's 'Far Eastern tour' of 1902 were underwhelming however. Those markets "reflected limited export opportunities", he reflected. "It would be a pure waste of time and money for our exporters to try this

[829] F.C.T. O'Hara, 'Canada's Trade Scouts', *Maclean's Magazine*, 15 May 1920, 9-10 + 54-57.
[830] Robert W. D. Boyce, 'Imperial Dreams and National Realities: Britain, Canada and the Struggle for a Pacific Telegraph Cable, 1879-1902', *The English Historical Review*, 115/460 (2000), pp. 39-70.
[831] Boris Schedvin, *Emissaries of Trade: A History of the Australian Trade Commissioner Service* (Barton, 2008), p. 3; James McInnes Sinclair, *Report by Mr. James M. Sinclair on wheat production in the United States, Canada, and the Argentine Republic* (Melbourne, 1895).
[832] For details 'Trade with the East', *The Argus [Melbourne]*, 13 May 1908, p. 4.

market", deprecating the fact that that the colony's restrictive immigration policies had reduced export opportunities.[833] Eight years later in 1910, Gow completed a tour of the South Pacific producing different conclusions: the "time was now most opportune to make a major bid for the major portion of the trade of Tahiti" he proclaimed, fearing it might be cornered by the Americans (or Germans) with the on-going development of the isthmus at Panama.[834] On landing at Rarotonga, the seat of government for the Cook Islands Overseas Territory, the prospects for exports – particularly of fruit – were large he concluded, but a lack of labour and infrastructure proved the largest obstacle.[835]

Amidst the backdrop of economic downturn in the years following the First World War, the representation debate re-emerged with Australia appointing its first trade commissioner in the United States in 1918. In 1921, Edward Selby (E.S.) Little, was appointed in China with offices at Shanghai and Hong Kong before his termination in 1923 with concerns raised about the expense of his office.[836] *The Sun (Sydney)* in fact alleged Little had abused his expenses, noting his "useless representation", had "derived no benefits whatever".[837] In 1922, Egbert Thomas Sheaf was appointed at

[833] Gow quoted in Tim Beal & Yuanfei Kang, *China, New Zealand, and the Complexities of Globalization: Asymmetry, Complementarity, and Competition* (New York, 2017), p. 83; 'The Exhibition', *New Zealand Times*, 4 July 1906, p. 7.
[834] Report by Trade Representative (J.G. Gow) on Visit to Pacific Islands, C919 125, AG., C&T. 1910/384, ANZ, p. 17.
[835] Ibid, p. 28. Gow spent just one day at Raratonga.
[836] 'E.S. Little, formerly Australian Trade Commissioner in China', A432, 1929/733, NAA. On Little, see M. Epstein (ed.), *The Statesman's Year-Book* (London, 1923), p. 364.
[837] 'Abolished Office', *The Sun* (Sydney) 11 Aug 1923, p. 1; 'Australia and China', *Singleton Argus*, 21 April 1921, p. 2.

Singapore, having spent twelve years as the Kodak Company's representative in 'The East' but his position was also terminated by March 1925.[838]

If it however seemed the case that the Dominions were unprepared and unable to capitalise upon these growing markets, some of the strongest promotional proponents would still make the case in their own back yard. In New Zealand, Hume Ford would attempt to attract delegates to the Pan Pacific Food Conservation Conference in 1923, proclaiming on a tour of the Dominion that her "great food market is north of her", claiming that "large storage plants had been erected in China and Japan. Every shipment arriving in Honolulu with New Zealand shipment brings butter in cold storage to be transferred again toward the Orient", prospecting a shifting Chinese diet as offering opportunities to exporters.[839] The debate did in fact re-emerge in New Zealand with Hume Ford's proclamations only serving to intrigue. William Downie Stewart, MP for Dunedin West and future Finance Minister reflected upon the so-called 'Eastern Trade', which was "in the air". In pursuing it however, the Dominion was "taking the right line" reflecting the oft repeated maxim that if left, others would grasp the opportunity instead.[840] His reflections produced a noticeable party-political rift however, with the Leader of the Liberal Party (and Opposition at the time) Thomas Wilford slapping down Downie Stewart's (then Minister of Customs) intentions, claiming:

[838] James Cotton, 'E.T. Sheaf, Australian 'Trade Commissioner in the East', 1922–25', *History Australia*, 15/2 (2018), pp. 271-288.
[839] 'Trade with the East', *Ashburton Guardian*, 6 September 1923, p. 5.
[840] 'Trade with the East', *Ashburton Guardian*, 5 February 1924, p. 4.

"It would pay to have a commercial agent in the East, and if the butter people, milk people, and woollen people could see what I have seen they would…take care that no time elapsed before this move was made. You now propose, without having blazed the trail, to exploit the East. So far there has been no combined movement whatever of the producers above-mentioned definitely to fix markets or even to make arrangements for the sale and distribution of our produce. When it arrives in the East no agents have been appointed for the distribution of the same, no "go-downs" have been produced...I ask you to pause before such a project as you have launched will be allowed to go any further, for clearly your action is putting the cart before the horse."[841]

Reflecting limited public and political will and the need for a cautious approach, the government engaged in a compromise, deciding to appoint 'Honorary Agents' to prospect opportunities. Although a job specification was never formalised, the duties of these 'Honorary Agents' were to develop and expand local industries and overseas markets, provide shipping for important export cargoes and to organise commercial intelligence. They were expected to act as the key commercial liaison for those looking to export to and from the Dominion, dispensing up-to-date information through bulletins, detailing the nature of competition, best-selling methods, specifying products of particular demand. They were to provide information regarding freight, customs and port duties to enable New Zealand firms to quote prices for delivery overseas.[842] Crucially, each appointment would incur no liability to the government. Indeed, when the Suva-based copra trading company Brown & Joske requested the 'Honorary' tag be removed upon their invitation to become agents in Fiji, the government were steadfast, claiming any suggestion the posts carried an 'official' dimension were false.[843] They were

[841] 'Trade with the East', *Ashburton Guardian,* 7 March 1924, p. 2.
[842] 'Industries and Commerce', *Otago Daily Times*, 7 May 1930, p. 23.
[843] G.C. Clinkard [Secretary, Department of Trades and Commerce] to Robert Masters [Minister, Department of Trades and Commerce], 19 October 1932, Trade – South Pacific – Fiji, C 342 828, 122/14, ANZ.

"nothing in the way of diplomatic representatives".[844] This was a hands-off approach to trade policy, but one which attempted to emulate that of a trade commissioner by nature if not by name.

Honorary Agents were almost without exception wealthy expatriate businessmen, keen to bolster both their own economic ambitions but also keen to stimulate export markets. As far as the New Zealand government was concerned, in times of economic prudence, this was trade representation on the cheap and its success (and failure) lay upon the impetus of individuals. By way of example, the accountant, Hugh Cowper Tennent was appointed as an 'Honorary Agent' for Honolulu in 1924 where he pressed the case for the potential of the market, claiming the superiority of New Zealand butter and frozen meats.[845] Leonard A.L. Moore became 'Honorary Agent' in Tientsin [Tianjin] from 1930, a city he had been resident in for eleven years at the time, serving as chairman of the *Peking and Tientsin Times*.[846] It proved the case that no unified approach or formal policy toward these new 'Honorary Agents' was reached. Mark Cohen, MP for Dunedin and recently returned from the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference in Honolulu decried the lack of independent representation, but it was clear that New Zealand had neither

[844] Brown & Joske controlled ten per cent of the market in Fiji. The largest producer was Jang Hing Loong, originally from China, Clinkard to L.C. Miller [Manager of Ross & Glendining (Dunedin-based wholesalers)], 8 December 1932, Trade – South Pacific – Fiji, C 342 828, 122/14, ANZ.
[845] H.C Tennent to J.W. Collins [Secretary, Department of Industries and Commerce], 23 October 1926, C 347 506, 2/29/9, ANZ.
[846] New Zealand in the East', *Stratford Evening Post*, 22 October 1930, p. 5.

the capacity in overseas trade (or personnel) required for sustained official trade representation abroad.[847]

Despite this, Pacific markets would prove of growing interest. The first independent trade agreement signed by New Zealand was in fact made with Japan in 1928. "It was no accident" according to Condliffe, that "a new economic grouping is being formed, a Pacific grouping in which New Zealand cannot help being involved."[848] Whilst an exchange of notes didn't break significant ground, it brought together for the first time "one of the British Dominions in the South Pacific with a leading Asiatic power in legal intercourse".[849] Exports to Japan meanwhile grew considerably over the 1920s (Fig. 33), whilst the government claimed a special grant would be made to delegates to the IPR conference in 1929 at Kyoto who could provide further information on trade prospects.[850]

[847] 'Board of Trade', *Evening Post*, 24 August 1923, p. 8.
[848] Condliffe, *New Zealand in the Making*, p. 432.
[849] Ibid, p. 19.
[850] Interview – Sir James Allen [Minister of Industries and Commerce], Walter Nash and Joseph Ward [Prime Minister of New Zealand], 11 July 1929, C 342 780, 107/2/12, ANZ. p. 3. A similar picture emerged in Australia: F. C. Benham, 'Australia's Trade in the Pacific', *Pacific Affairs*, 2/1 (1929), pp. 1-7. Benham was an avid free-trader and rallied against the protectionist, quasi-official 'Brigden Report'.

Year	Exports to Japan	Imports from Japan
	£	£
1914	59,508	232,364
1924	330,736	496,835
1927	251,547	591, 963
1928 (10 months)	581,668	497,381

Figure 33 – New Zealand Imports and Exports to Japan, 1914-1928, Source: Guy H. Scholefield, 'Japan and New Zealand: An Interesting Trade Agreement', *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1929), 129.

Exports	*1926*	*1927*	*1928*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*
Wool, (thousand lbs.)	2719	2733	7893	6344	2496	6,163
Butter (cwt.)	1886	2844	1740	2206	1695	712
Sheepskins	/	99,733	8472	21,338	/	45,344
Total Value	**£162,832**	**£251,547**	**£657,915**	**£428,577**	**£154,741**	**£267,899**

Imports	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Silk, etc. piece goods	323,720	377,832	368,160	377,624	302,785
Timber	58,247	47,625	48,951	60,986	61,084
Chinaware	10,269	7,093	5,658	8,450	9,061
Fancy Goods and Toys	19,836	15,572	16,795	16,570	17,338
Apparel	94,513	97,802	78,943	73,782	61,664
Drapery	4,854	2454	3672	4,446	3408
Cotton Piece Goods etc.	64,007	61,347	51,606	58,066	56,364
Total Value	**582,352**	**591,963**	**576,495**	**625,714**	**565,264**
Total Balance	**419,520**	**340,416**	**81,420**	**197,137**	**410,523**

Figure 34 – 'New Zealand's trade with Japan, 1926-30', Source: J.E. Strachan 'Trade with the East: A Survey of Market Conditions and Possibilities', issued by Canterbury Progress League (September 1933), 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Misc Papers (1933), ANZ C344 732, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 60, 78/0193, p. 11.

The Great Depression marked a watershed in the economic history of the world. Downturn led to a decline in primary produce exports, producing an increasingly volatile market for 'staples'.[851] Britain's economic position in the Pacific seemed perilous. A report of the Trade Mission to the Far East, financed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce unanimously reflected that if decline in her exports remained, the result would be bankruptcy.[852] Reflections by economic historians concerning responses to economic crisis in the Dominions have coalesced around themes including imperial protectionism and monetary autonomy, with policy measures introduced by a small group of economists including Douglas Copland particularly influential.[853] In the New Zealand case, Greasley & Oxley locate a 'Copland effect', whereby devaluation of the local currency against pound sterling in 1933 helped redistribute income to the farm sector.[854] This proved part of a larger differentiation of New Zealand's financial affairs from Australia, leading to the establishment of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand in 1934, which was considered to have doubled monetary supply by the late 1930s.[855] The 'Brigden Report' (of which Copland was also an author) inquired into the economic impact of Australia's tariff, concluding that protectionism proved an effective means of

[851] Gema Aparicio & Vicente Pinilla, 'International trade in wheat and other cereals and the collapse of the first wave of globalization, 1900-38', *JGH*, 14/1 (2019), p. 61.
[852] 'Trade in the Far East', *Ashburton Guardian*, 9 May 1931, p. 5.
[853] Yves Rees, 'From Socialists to Technocrats: The Depoliticisation of Australian Economics', *AHS*, 50/4 (2019), pp. 463-482.
[854] David Greasley & Les Oxley, 'Regime shift and fast recovery on the periphery: New Zealand in the 1930s', *Economic History Review*, 55/4 (2002), p. 698. Students of James Hight including Belshaw and Condliffe were advocates of this view, A. M. Endres, 'J.B. Condliffe and the early Canterbury tradition in economics', *New Zealand Economic Papers*, 25/2 (1991), pp. 171-197.
[855] Greasley & Oxley, 'Regime shift', p. 719.

securing stronger economic growth.[856] Monetarism and protectionism therefore represent the two most significant factors in Australasian economic recovery in the 1930s, yet attempts to diversify the export market remains an underappreciated factor in the literature.

Aside from the High Commissioner's office in London, New Zealand's trade representation comprised two full-time official Trade and Tourist Commissioners stationed in Australia and Canada respectively, and a scattering of 'honorary agents' by 1930.[857] In 1932 however, Robert McKeen, Labour MP for Wellington South noted in a speech to the House of Representatives that a report produced by the economist Horace Belshaw, following his visit to the Kyoto conference of the IPR in 1929, had revealed significant prospects for New Zealand in Japan. Despite not being published in New Zealand, McKeen reported that the report had found a receptive audience in Australia, even proving responsible, he claimed, for the activity of Australian businessmen and the government in furthering trade relations with the Far East.[858]

[856] For the Brigden Report, see 'A Plan for Economic Adjustment', A Memorandum prepared by D.B. Copland, L.F. Giblin and E.C. Dyason, 18 September 1930, reprinted in Douglas Copland, *Australia in the World Crisis (*New York, 1934), p. 37.
[857] Eighteenth Annual Report of The Department of Industries and Commerce (Wellington, 1935), *AJHR*, p. 13. Canada had thirty-one senior commissioners by 1930.
[858] New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 28 October 1932, Vol. 233, p. 947-8, NZ Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) collection https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.32106019929527&view=1up&seq=984, *Haithi Trust* (20 June 2019); Letter from G.W. Clinkard [Secretary, Departments of Industries and Commerce] to G.H. Scholefield, 24 June 1931, C 342 780, 107/2/12, ANZ. Belshaw's report was entitled, *Report on Prospects of Extending New Zealand's Trade with Japan, China and Hongkong* (Wellington, 1930).

Following McKeen's speech, clamour for a shift in official opinion toward the 'Eastern market' began to grow. A year later, the headmaster of Rangiora, J.E. Strachan who acted as leader of the New Zealand delegation to the 1931 Shanghai IPR conference reflected this sentiment, claiming that constricting markets could be solved by expanding exports. "The East", he mused, "offers possibilities well worthy of consideration" and an "almost unlimited market within 10-15 days of New Zealand", conveying the susceptibility of New Zealand of having "practically a single market" (Fig. 34).[859]

At a conference of the *Farmers' Union* at Whanganui, Hugh Morrison of Wairarapa claimed such was the value placed by the Australians on the 'Eastern Market' that John Latham, Minister for External Affairs for the newly formed United Australia Party was to be dispatched to Japan to examine greater trade potential, whilst advocating surplus produce be sent to these markets as advertising.[860] A letter from L.C. Miller, Manager of Ross & Glendining, reflected meanwhile that "if New Zealand is to do any good in the South Sea Islands it requires men resident in the islands who will make a very active interest of New Zealand affairs".[861] A shift in emphasis occurred during October 1932 at the opening of the Conference of the Manufacturers' Federation, where the Minister of

[859] J.E. Strachan, 'Trade with the East: A Survey of Market Conditions and Possibilities', issued by Canterbury Progress League (September 1933), 'Institute of Pacific Relations: Misc Papers (1933), C344 732, AEFZ W5727 22617, Box 60, 78/0193, pp. 1-2.
[860] 'Farmers' Union', *Ashburton Guardian*, 25 May 1934, p. 6. By 1934 Japan was Australia's second largest trading partner (second only to Britain) which led to the establishment of the Trade Commissioner Act (1933) and Latham's 'Eastern Mission'.
[861] Miller to Clinkard, 5 December 1932, C 342 828, 122/14, ANZ.

Industries and Commerce, Robert Masters, made clear the time had come for New Zealand to branch out in the same manner as Australia.[862] Otherwise, he claimed, New Zealand would be "placed in the position of putting a greater volume of products into a country (Britain) that was already overloaded, with the inevitable result of forcing down prices given the demonstrable vulnerability in the movements of international prices of butter, meat and wool, her three staple exports".[863] "Unfortunately," said Masters, "New Zealand does not seem to have appreciated the demand which undoubtedly exists for goods which we can produce". The extent to which New Zealand was being left behind in the 'Eastern markets' is made apparent by figures which show imports into Hong Kong and China. Imports of butter into Hong Kong in 1931 totalled £42,270. Of this amount, £36,670 was represented by Australian produce, just £2,619 from New Zealand. The total value of Australian exports to Hong Kong was £840,000, compared with £14,165 for New Zealand. Masters continued, "it will be seen that in these two places alone there is a substantial demand for commodities which we can supply...but New Zealand's proportion of the trade is lamentably small."[864]

[862] 'Need for New Markets', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 October 1932, p. 11.
[863] C. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future of the British Empire', *Harper's Magazine* (October 1939), 494.
[864] 'Trade with Far East', *Stratford Evening Post*, 2 August 1932, p. 5.

"Our Dominion Goods Can Be Sold Anywhere in the East": Mr. S. Hutchinson, New Zealand's 'Honorary Agent' in Shanghai

Illustrative of the advancement of representation following McKeen's proclamation was the establishment of an Honorary Agent at Shanghai, Mr. S. Hutchinson, whose correspondence with the Department of Trade and Commerce offers an intimate portrait of the opportunities and challenges of trade in one major Pacific market as well as revealing the intriguing role played by these agents operating at the interface of private enterprise and state interests, engaging in what we might call 'market diplomacy'.[865]

Hutchinson had lived in China for ten years prior to his appointment in 1933 and had acted as a local agent for businesses including Amalgamated Dairies of Auckland, Davis Gelatine of Christchurch and Simpson Brothers, self-rising flour exporters from Brisbane (a business owned by expatriate New Zealanders). [866] In his new role, Hutchinson explained the nature of the Chinese market to his compatriots: "anyone who went to China with the idea that he would be able to work up a business connection in a month would make an enormous mistake". [867] Despite this, Hutchinson saw numerous opportunities, speculating on a range of opportunities through his interlocutors. Hearing sheep were in demand in Manchuria and Korea, Hutchinson made the trip north,

[865] Huub Ruël, 'Multinational Corporations as Diplomatic Actors: An Exploration of the Concept of Business Diplomacy, *Diplomatica*, 2/1 (2020), pp. 1-12.
[866] 'Shopping Customs in Shanghai', *Manawatu Times*, 22 October 1935, p. 2.
[867] Letter from S Hutchinson [Honorary Agent in Shanghai] to Robert Masters [Minister of Industries and Commerce], 15 February 1934, C324 839 116/9/11, Part 1, Trade - China - New Zealand Representatives in Tientsin and Shanghai (Honorary Agent), ANZ.

claiming New Zealand was best-placed to make the most of the opportunity, reflecting the caveat, "I do not wish to broadcast my information without some assurance of recompense" which too reflected an issue at the heart of the honorary agent service: funding (or a lack of it).[868]

Speaking at the Auckland Chamber of Commerce, Hutchison reported back on that trip in Northeast China and Korea, claiming that although the trip was hurriedly planned, he was able to secure satisfactory orders at Dairen (present-day Dalian). "Business is quite possible with Dairen, as there is a shipping service from Auckland to Kobe, and thence by shipment to Dairen".[869]

For all the opportunity before him, Hutchinson's correspondence reveals a plethora of challenges. Writing in frustration to the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, he claimed, "we have suffered too long from the term 'Australasia'. We must preserve our individuality, and now that Australia has a trade commissioner and an assistant, no time must be lost in having our own office where enquiries can come direct".[870] He reflected a positive however, "Australia," he proclaimed, "is a competitor, but we sell New Zealand butter in China, all of it packed in New Zealand, and it bears the stamp of the country of origin. It also bears the caption, 'Packed in New Zealand,' whereas most of the Australian butter that comes to Shanghai is always packed in Shanghai by individual

[868] Hutchinson to Masters, 9 October 1934, p. 2, C324 839 116/9/11, ANZ.
[869] 'Eastern Trade', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 December 1934, p. 15.
[870] 'New Zealand Trade in China', *Press*, 19 March 1936, p. 14.

importers who put their own brands on. In this way the identity of the country of origin is lost." Another difficulty in Shanghai, reflected Hutchinson, "is in connection with exchange". "We are all on silver, and silver currency today is up and down. One day silver may be at a certain rate early in the morning and by the afternoon the rate has gone up considerably, and as the Customs duty is based on silver we find a variation of as much as 10 per cent in the landed cost of goods in twenty-four hours, solely on account of the rapid rise in silver".[871]

A loud advocate of the expansion of New Zealand's 'Eastern trade', he was sure that "our Dominions goods could be sold anywhere in the East".[872] But he also expressed frustration at the difficulties of shipping produce to the Far East from both an intra-Asian and a wider regional perspective.[873] Chinese merchants were anxious to use Japanese steamers, yet the arrangement of shipping perishable goods proved troublesome because Japanese companies were unwilling to recognise the guarantee of Chinese banks. [874] The challenge of Japanese shipping companies and the leading American line, Matson, and their governmental subsidies meanwhile caused a headache for British and Dominion governments alike, whose goal was to "maintain the prestige of the British shipping in the Pacific".[875] The Canadian Railway Company for instance

[871] 'Life in Shanghai', *Evening Post*, 24 October 1935, p. 10.
[872] Hutchinson to Masters, 15 October 1934, p. 2, C324 839 116/9/11, ANZ.
[873] 'Eastern Trade', *Auckland Star*, 14 December 1934, p. 14; Steven Loveridge, 'The 'Other' on the Other Side of the Ditch? The Conception of New Zealand's Disassociation from Australia', *JICH*, 44/1 (2016), pp. 70-94.
[874] New Zealand and China', *Press*, 26 September 1935, p. 16.
[875] In 1931, Matson instituted a stop at Auckland on its San Francisco to Sydney run, Janet K. Howie, 'The United States and the British Pacific Dominions', *Far Eastern Survey*, 9/24 (1940), p. 279. Draft Statement by Sir Edward Beatty [President of the Canadian Pacific Railway] and Lord Craigmyle, 19 July 1938, on the 35th Report of Imperial Shipping Committee reflected an attempt to "maintain the prestige of

reported significant losses in the early 1930s, but New Zealanders felt particularly aggrieved. The Union Steamship Company was most adversely affected, owing to the "attractions of American liners" with losses running the steamer *Monowai* totalling over £68,000 in 1935.[876] Deprecating the state of affairs in *The Saturday Review*, one anonymous 'Pakeha', penned a particularly abrasive piece, seeking to influence British opinion: "services built up by British capital will go out of business" and "nothing could be more unfair". "America's Pacific policy was driving the British out. When it came to Empire and British shipping it was proclaimed, "Westminster was holding (Dominion interests) back". "Wake up, you lotus eaters", the anonymous columnist concluded.[877] To that end, New Zealand passed the Protection of British Shipping Act (1936) to exclude American ships from the Tasman run.[878]

The sum of these problems was reflected in governmental opinion: although there was a "large prospective market" in China, the "instability of the government, banditry, bad communications, floods, low average earnings...it is well-nigh on impossible to extend trade on a population basis". New Zealand exports to China in fact showed a heavy decline in the years 1932-35. Total exports in 1932 were £15,412, down to £7718 in

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the British shipping in the Pacific", namely an increase in subsidy. Intelligence – Elsewhere in Pacific – New Zealand trade with Japan, C 353 272, 8/11/5, ANZ.

[876] N.S. Falla [Managing Director of the Union Steamship Company], Memorandum on British Shipping Between Canada, United States, New Zealand and Australia, 9 December 1935, Intelligence – Elsewhere in Pacific – New Zealand trade with Japan, C 353 272, 8/11/5, ANZ.

[877] Pakeha, 'Blow to Dominion Shipping', *The Saturday Review*, 28 September 1935, p. 251. On responses to the shipping crisis, see Halford Mackinder, *British Shipping in the Orient: Commonwealth Shipping Committee* (London, 1939).

[878] See Protection of British Shipping Act 1936 (1 EDW VIII 1936 No 43), *New Zealand Legal Information Institute,* http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/hist_act/pobsa19361ev1936n43434/ (15 June 2020).

1935. Moreover, Australia and the United States would prove competitors for New Zealand's core export produce: milk, cream, butter above all. To add insult to injury, a series of lawsuits were being levelled against companies such as Newmilks of whom Hutchinson was attempting to represent and who marketed New Zealand produce as a superior item (Fig. 35). The Commissioner of Public Health in Shanghai reflected inaccuracies between advertisements which depicted New Zealand and its higher standard of dairy produce and a local reality: in the "strict sense, New Zealand 'fresh' milk could not be produced in Shanghai, even under the conditions of 'modern' transport", reflected the Commissioner's ruling.[879]

[879] Cécile Armand, «Placing the history of advertising »une histoire spatiale de la publicité à Shanghai (1905-1949)', PhD thesis l'Université de Lyon, 2017, pp. 776-777.



Figure 35 – 'Exemplar Newmilk advertising brochures', distributed by Hutchinson, C342 839 116/9/11, Part 2, Trade - China - New Zealand Representatives in Tientsin and Shanghai (Honorary Agent), ANZ.

Whilst Hutchinson continued to make the case for Chinese market expansion, his advances were viewed with caution in Wellington, who adopted a conservative approach, reflecting the possibility that commissioners might one day be appointed.[880] Cecil G. Davis who became an Honorary Agent in Tientsin (present-day Tianjin), in 1934, pressed the case further during the war years, stressing the urgency of the opportunity China's war allies may have in post-war reconstruction.[881] Despite his efforts, it was only in the 1950s that the Dominion committed to expand its trade representation as official policy.[882]

Correspondence in the 1930s told of a trade policy being formulated but not yet implemented.[883] According to Michael Savage, then Leader of the Labour Party, "so long as New Zealanders could not become purchasers of Eastern products, developing a significant trade would be difficult…as our income remained stationary, Eastern trade could not be made complimentary to Dominion or British trade".[884] The approach was understandable for economic reasons and the fact 'Honorary Agents' had a dual mandate, to continue their own lines of work alongside 'honorary' duties. At times the approach turned sour. W.E. James, honorary agent for Vancouver was thought to be

[880] Memorandum for Dan Sullivan [Minister of Industries and Commerce], 3 June 1936, C342 839 116/9/11, ANZ; Letter from Secretary of the Department of Industries and Commerce to Sullivan, 7 December 1936, C 342 837, 116/1, ANZ. It should be noted that the basis for the information contained in the letter was drawn from H.J. Lichtenstein's article 'New Zealand's Trade with China', *Commerce Journal* (November 1936), pp. 4-9 research for which was carried out for the Auckland Branch of the IPR.
[881] C.G Davis to Alistair McIntosh [Department of External Affairs], 20 August 1943, C 342 839 116/9/11, Part 3, ANZ.
[882] 'Memorandum from the Ministry of External Affairs', 21 May 1954, C 342 758 101/9/10, ANZ.
[883] Sullivan to Hutchinson, 15 December 1937, C342 839 116/9/11 Part 2, ANZ.
[884] 'Trade with East', *Ashburton Guardian*, 30 May 1934, p. 7.

using the government's name to leverage his affairs, leading to the termination of his position.[885] Meanwhile, the informality of the position meant that the New Zealand government could not induce agents to commit to the role uniformly. In the case of Hugh Tennent, New Zealand's agent in Honolulu, the "volume of trade work recorded since his appointment in 1924 was "not great". Between 1931 and 1950 in fact, Tennent was resident in New Zealand.[886]

[885] James P. Stevenson to E.W.J. Bowden [District Officer, Department of Industries and Commerce], 22 August 1933, C 342 903, 195/9/11, ANZ; Termination of W.A. James' Honorary Agent Memorandum from Secretary for Department of Industry and Commerce, 22 September 1936, C 342 903, 195/9/11, ANZ.
[886] Note for File: H C Tennent, C 347 506, 2/29/9, ANZ.

Conclusions

The economic history of the 1920s and 1930s is often depicted as a tale of two halves, punctuated by a long depression following the crash of 1929 and the steady erosion of liberal free trade principles toward autarky and protectionism. This chapter has examined whether this historical straitjacket fits onto a Pacific mannequin, probing whether Dominion dynamics in the region provide supporting or contradictory evidence. In an age of "belligerent economics", the Pacific remained a contested and complex area for commercial activity, reflected in inconsistent, ambivalent Dominion engagements with its markets, punctuated by recurrent bouts of enthusiasm in its prospects.[887]

This chapter has made the case for expanding our investigations of the nature of Pacific trade and its interpretations, by encouraging another look at a Pan-Pacific discourse which acted as significant booster literature for it. Drawing Dominion intellectuals, bankers and business figures within its remit, this was a period in which the Pacific was taken increasingly seriously as an export market for the Dominions, despite representing a small fraction of their overall balance of trade (Fig. 36).

In the economic sphere, reflections upon the Pan-Pacific reveal a disconnect between rhetoric and reality. Pan-Pacific visions of regional trade were prospective vistas, rather

[887] J.B. Condliffe, *War and Depression* (New York, 1935), p. 28.

than toiled plains. We can critique the notion of the 'Pan-Pacific' as synonymous with the false promise of continual economic growth and a promotional nature in which the prospect of the regional market was substantially inflated. Yet value in the Pacific was found in its scale. This was a vast world to imagine a market – a notion which emerged long before it could become a material reality. This tendency proves a central component in the history of the Pacific and the global history of capitalism at large. After all, economies "are imagined as much as are communities or nations".[888]

In each Dominion, economic integration and deeper connection with so-called 'Eastern' markets in particular were only partially realised in official trade policy. A glance at New Zealand's trade with Pacific countries throughout the period makes this position clear. Statistics can never reveal the full nature of an economic relationship, but here the numbers are telling: Britain represented a market almost one hundred times the size of Japan or China throughout the period 1920-1940. If we add up exports to all Pacific markets in 1933, they represented just 10 per cent of exports, destined to the British market. United States wasn't a great customer for Dominion markets either, nor were the southern Dominions of great significance to American exporters. By the late 1930s, American exports to Australia made up of only 2% of total exports from the United States. For New Zealand, the figure was 0.5%.[889] Under these circumstances, it is perhaps significant to conclude that it is remarkable that the *idea* of the Pacific market

[888] John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money [1936]* (Ware, 2017), pp. 127-140.
[889] Janet K. Howie, 'The United States and the British Pacific Dominions', *Far Eastern Survey*, 9/24 (1940), p. 279.

remained such an enduring and enthralling prospect for those in the Dominion, despite the deep structural orientation of the market which precluded its maturation. Instead, the nexus of Pacific trade shifted from the island world - China to a "new nucleus", centred on Japan with intra-Asian dimensions.[890]

Following the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa in 1931, it seemed that preference and protectionism would rule the roost, fervently supported by the Dominions.[891] We can interpret for example Australia's new tariff schedule, reflected in the 'trade diversion' measures of 1936 as an example of imperial preference and anti-Japanese politics in action.[892] While in 1935 Japan had bought 26.4 per cent of Australia's wool exports, the United Kingdom bought 34.9. Japan meanwhile demanded 90 percent of Australia's artificial silk trade and agitated for no restriction in her cotton goods market from which she already bought nearly 45 per cent.[893] It was clear however that this was a policy reversed with the Pacific in mind. Such were the extent of Japanese exports to the Dominion that imperial preference was challenged. The aggressive nature of the Japanese export market purportedly sowed the seeds for a new tariff regime, but those of a Pacific-minded outlook interpreted events differently.[894] Japan was a good customer, selling to Australia only half what she bought. A great

[890] G.E. Hubbard, *Eastern Industrialization and its Effect on the West* (Oxford, 1935), p. xvii.
[891] Tim Rooth, *British Protectionism and the International Economy: Overseas Commercial Policy in the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1992); C.B. Schedvin, *Australia and the Great Depression: A Study of Economic Development and Policy in the 1920s and 1930s* (Sydney, 1970).
[892] Noel F. Hall, '"Trade Diversion" – An Australian Interlude', *Economica*, 5/17 (1938), p. 1.
[893] Curthoys, 'Australia in the Changing East', 751.
[894] Tadao Yamakawa, 'The Yosemite Conference and Japan', *Pacific Affairs*, 9/4 (1936), pp. 515-523.

trade imbalance from her perspective, yet it was against Japan that the diversion was principally applied.[895] Letting in 'Asiatic' goods – it might be considered – was tantamount to letting in 'Asiatic' peoples, thus contravening the White Australia policy, so the analysis went. To a small minority however, "it was the Pacific that helped Australia recover from the Depression as quickly as it did."[896] 'Trade diversion' was sentimentally minded, but it was also a "lesson that Japan had become a vital factor in Australia's economy and that other Asian nations might be vital".[897] Overall, we witness subtle shifts toward economic diversification, particularly in export markets, despite an "imperial piety" prevailing.[898]

The case of New Zealand's 'Honorary Agents', their conversations, activities and limitations reveal an overarching tension toward foreign trade in the Dominions between those primary producers, academics and their associates who favoured an expansion and diversification of the export market and a growing manufacturing sector and much of the printed media and political elite, whilst not entirely against a diversification, reflected an intransigence on the issue.[899] The latter may have won the day in most accounts, but this chapter presents evidence of the contrary view, revealing a sense that the Dominions of New Zealand and Australia attempted to find their "'modus vivendi

[895] Hall, '"Trade Diversion", 2. On trade diversion and intra-imperial friction, Felicity Barnes, 'Lancashire's 'War' with Australia: Rethinking Anglo-Australian Trade and the Cultural Economy of Empire, 1934-36', *JICH*, 46/4 (2018), pp. 707-730.
[896] Werner Levi, *American-Australian Relations* (Minneapolis, 1947), p. 48.
[897] Walter Levi, *Australia's Outlook on Asia* (Sydney, 1958), p. 51.
[898] Thompson & Magee, *Empire and Globalization:* p. 171; Jim McAloon, 'Unsettling Recolonization: Labourism, Keynesianism and Australasia from the 1890s to the 1950s', *Thesis Eleven*, 92 (2008), p. 63.
[899] C. Hartley Grattan, 'An Australian-American Axis', *Harper's Magazine*, 180 (May 1940), p. 565.

with the nations bordering the Pacific, especially Japan and the United States", albeit to little avail.[900] The chapter has also sought to add weight to the notion that semi-official representation might play a role in shifting official opinion, as 'brokers of foreign relations'.[901] An increasing number came to view the opportunities proclaimed through evidence from the Pan-Pacific economic imaginary with greater sincerity as the realisation grew that the Imperial market, as John Darwin presciently puts it, "could not be the saviour of the British export economy".[902]

[900] Curthoys, 'Australia in the Changing East', 752.
[901] Christoph Nitschke, "Jay Cooke and the 'Brokers of Foreign Relations' before the Panic of 1873", paper delivered at Third New Diplomatic History Conference, Roosevelt Institute, 25 October 2018
[902] Darwin, *The Empire Project*, p. 437.

Year	Total (In Million Pounds)		U.S.A.		Australia		China		Japan		Netherlands Indies		British India		United Kingdom	
	Export	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*	*Export*	*Import*
1913	23	22	912	2538	2316	2682	//	//	//	232	//	//	//	502	18130	11258
1920	46	62	7456	11751	2352	8625	35	260	5	1523	//	//	//	941	34354	28555
1921	45	43	2702	8167	2070	5460	1	150	18	603	//	//	41	608	38717	20833
1922	43	35	2673	5379	2208	3294	5	130	211	505	//	742	182	442	36154	18296
1923	46	43	3531	6957	2642	3654	12	120	229	560	//	1128	336	743	37325	22532
1924	53	49	3278	7789	2509	5651	23	120	334	497	//	1063	498	741	42038	23204
1925	55	52	4350	8885	2502	5249	7	120	232	694	8	630	197	913	44073	25573
1926	45	50	3818	10001	3054	4625	7	120	163	582	17	795	83	862	35102	22827
1927	48	45	2681	8079	3666	3869	2535	110	252	592	2314	887	146379	760	36878	21464
1928	56	45	4260	8204	3403	3499	36	130	658	576	19	988	386	782	40510	21289
1929	56	49	3653	9320	2338	3259	36	130	429	626	13	1171	407	767	40957	22560
1930	45	43	2117	7573	1562	3309	18	111	155	565	10	839	59	638	36015	20334
1931	35	25	921	3885	1169	2438	15	82	268	305	5	922	53	392	30941	12193
1932	37	23	940	3267	1445	2691	55	77	337	435	5	794	34	355	32449	11496
1933	41	21	1189	2383	1393	2675	55	58	354	541	5	799	34	462	35572	10840

Figure 36 – 'New Zealand – Trade with Pacific Countries (values in thousand pounds), 1913-1933, reproduced from Philip G. Wright, *Trade and Trade Barriers in the Pacific* (London, 1935), p. 5.

Chapter 5 – Pan-Pacific Geopolitics in the 'Air Age': The View from the Dominions

Introduction

This final chapter weaves together the connecting issues of geopolitics, geo-racialism, technological transformation and commercial opportunity through the emergence of aviation in the Pacific. It tests the notion that aviation proved a significant factor in the strategic re-evaluation of the Pacific, proving a potent stimulus to Pan-Pacific thought. Metaphorically, we might think of aviation as encouraging the application of a fresh layer upon a Pacific palimpsest, echoing the similar re-drawing of mental (and physical) maps, encouraged by the steamship and telegraph in the previous century.[903]

The airplane, George Renner mused, had the potential to create a "new geography of the world" and with it, an "air-mindedness" for a 'new' age was required.[904] Ultimately, the needs of aviation infrastructure: landing sites and airstrips; meteorological and radio stations required for weather forecasting and the transmission of messages lead to the superimposition of spaces, hitherto comparatively neglected or long abandoned by imperial powers, providing a rationale and proxy for broader regional engagements and

[903] I acknowledge James Belich's suggestion of the palimpsest metaphor.
[904] George Renner, 'Air Age Geography', *Harper's Magazine*, 187 (June 1943), pp. 38-41. The earliest reference to 'Air Age' is Harry Grahame-White, 'The Dawn of the Air Age', *Living Age*, 1 July 1917, p. 459.

expansionism to deliver the requirements of flight and to contain new and emergent threats. For the Dominions, whose identities were interwoven with notions of distance and isolation from both kith and kin and enemies alike, these developments could challenge a consensus in imperial defence, refining the Dominions' sense of place on the global map. Integrating governmental archival material from Australia, New Zealand, the United States and the United Kingdom and a variety of published material, this chapter examines imperial defence and regional geopolitics with a 'view from the Dominions' so as to consider how an 'air question' grafted onto broader geopolitical concerns.

To demonstrate the inter-relation of the Pan-Pacific idea, geopolitics and the superimposition of perceptibly new spaces in the Pacific, stimulated by flight, focus is zoomed from the sub-global to the coral atolls of the central Pacific – and one in particular, Canton Island.[905] Located in present-day Kiribati, British and American governments agreed joint sovereignty, or a Condominium status for the atoll in 1939 following diplomatic disagreement at an intersecting frontier of empire, illustrating the shifting dynamics of the Anglo-American strategic relationship by the late 1930s and foregrounding the role of the Dominions in its development. The chapter concludes with an examination of the role of New Zealand amidst these shifting currents, making the case that by the late 1930s, the Dominion had developed an archipelagic perspective of

[905] On 'small spaces', see Drayton & Motadel's 'Discussion: The Futures of Global History', *JGH*, 13/1 (2018), pp. 1-21. On the prospect of island spaces as trans-local histories, see Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds*, p. 5.

defence in the Pacific – stimulated by the 'air question'. An exploration of the significance of the establishment of a radio station at Raoul Island in the Kermadec group (a New Zealand outlying island) provides a second locality from which to demonstrate this shifting Pan Pacific focus with increased attention cast upon the reefs, atolls and islands of the Pacific for the purposes of aviation.

Pacific Imperialisms and Defence in the 'Air Age'

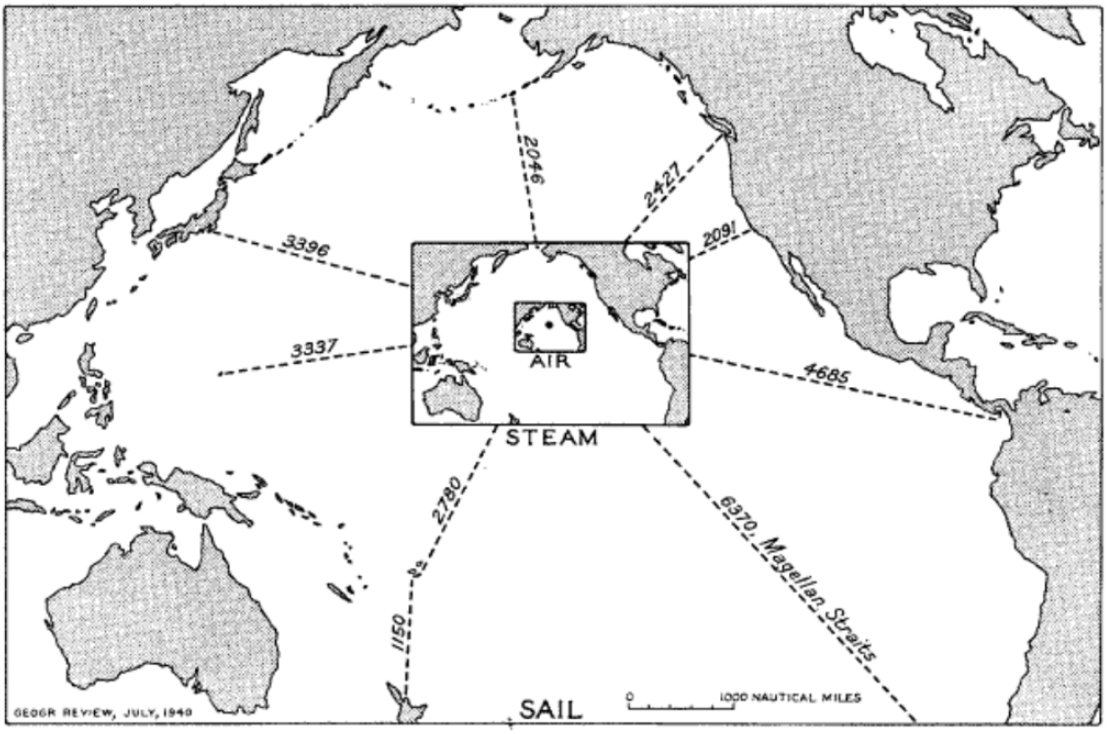


Figure 37 – 'The shrinking Pacific', in Stephen B. Jones & Klaus Mehnert, 'Hawaii and the Pacific: A Survey of Political Geography', *Geographical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (1940), 359.

For a vast space, the sense that aviation might 'shrink' the Pacific proved a potent imaginary (Fig. 37), afflicting economics, culture and geopolitics. In Australia with its vast, flat zones, the possibilities of flight were amalgamated into projections of modernity. Before long, this was the most 'air-minded nation on earth'.[906] The return of Charles Kingsford-Smith and his crew following the trail-blazing trans-Pacific crossing of the 'Southern Cross' drew a crowd of 300,000 people to Mascot Aerodrome in Sydney

[906] 'A Virile Australian Airman', *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser* [NSW], 10 December 1937, p. 4.

in June 1928 – almost five percent of the entire Dominion population at the time.[907] In the Dominion's New Guinean Mandate meanwhile, flight enabled access to the remote valleys and highlands above Wau, instigating a Gold Rush in the mid 1920s which lasted until the outbreak of war.[908] As American GIs spread out across the Pacific during that war, the sight of aircraft proved one stimulus to the re-emergence of the 'John Frum' movement, a 'cargo cult' on Tanna Island which had perplexed (and troubled) British officials for decades, with followers rejecting Christian and imperial authority, advocating a return to local custom through the reverence of the deified figure of John Frum, represented as a Western (possibly American figure) and eventually building landing strips and aircraft models to encourage his return.[909]

Geo-strategically however, aviation's potential was considered most significant. As early as 1911, *The Lone Hand* was encouraging the need for an 'aerial fleet' as a first line of defence. For the cost of a dreadnought, an entire aerial fleet could be developed, so argued George Taylor.[910] Reflecting broader divisions amongst intellectuals on the significance of the Pacific as a space in the global geopolitical imaginary, strategists were equally undecided on the offensive capability of planes.[911] Homer Lea, whose

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[907] Frank Clune, *Hands Across the Pacific* (Sydney, 1951), p. 5.
[908] Bill Gammage, *The Sky Travellers* (Melbourne, 1998).
[909] 'John Frum' cargo cult is based upon Tanna (present-day Vanuatu), 'Janna Island, New Hebrides: Unrest in, due to Jonfrum Movement', WPHC F 10/24, Vol. 1 - doc 25a.
[910] George A. Taylor, 'An Aerial Fleet for Australia', *The Lone Hand*, 8/45 (2 January 1911), pp.181-186.
[911] Compare Mackinder's 'Heartland' thesis in 'The Geographical Pivot of History', *The Geographical Journal*, 23/4, (1904), pp. 421-437 and Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (New York, 1890). Mackinder did later proclaim the significance of the "Great Ocean" (Pacific, Indian, and South Atlantic) in Mackinder, 'The Round World and the Winning of the Peace', *Foreign Affairs*, 21/4 (1943), pp. 595-605.

works *Valor of Ignorance and Day of the Saxon* prophesied war between America and Japan (almost two decades before Hector Bywater) was convinced that the plane's utility in war was a delusion.[912] Planes were thus "not so much a new weapon, as a new form of transportation" with a strategic utility.[913] For all the apparent novelty of the 'Air Age', its emergence was dominated by maritime knowledge and power. The bulk of equipment, provisions and personnel required to establish aviation infrastructure throughout the Pacific were brought by sea, not sky. Culturally, aviation was constituted upon a maritime model: airplane staff bore the names of their shipping counterparts (captains, pilots), whilst economically, the business model of aviation was predicated upon the transport of mail with subsidy required to keep aviation initiatives above ground, echoing the emergence of steamers. Militarily, it was the ship in combination with the plane through the emergence of carrier technology that made aircraft a potent weapon in the Pacific.[914] The airplane therefore hovered on the horizon whilst the strength of navies continued to dominate the geopolitical debate.

In the British context, debates about air and naval power in the Pacific were integral to the issue of 'imperial defence'. For a British administration presiding over a global

[912] Homer Lea, 'The Aeroplane in War: Some Observations on a Military Delusion', *Harper's Weekly*, 20 August 1910, 8-9. Homer Lea's *Valor of Ignorance* (New York, 1909) prophesied a hypothetical Japanese invasion of California and the Philippines. For Bywater's well-known strategic forecast, see *The Great Pacific War* (London, 1925).
[913] Leo Amery, *The Forward View* (London, 1935), p. 294-5 quoted in Katherine C. Epstein, 'Imperial Airs: Leo Amery, Air Power and Empire, 1873-1945', *JICH*, 38/4 (2010), p. 583.
[914] The Japanese demonstrated this technology during the First World War, see Jonathan Parkinson, 'HIJMS Wakamiya and the Early Development of Japanese Naval Air Power', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 99/3 (2013), pp. 312-322.

empire, 'imperial overstretch' was a strategic issue.[915] Imperial defence – officials in London concluded – would be determined by their strength in the North Sea where primary risks lay. To be "supreme in the decisive theatre, not strong in a subsidiary theatre" was their policy.[916] The allocation of resources echoed the trend: in November 1907, Britain's 'home' fleets claimed forty-four of the countries' battleships. None were serving in the Pacific.[917] This imbalance stimulated considerable anguish in Australia and New Zealand who felt defence questions in a Pacific context. Their wish was for Britain to be supreme in the decisive theatre *and* strong in the subsidiary theatre (the Pacific) thus guaranteeing their defence. Insecurity centred around a perceived Japanese threat (racial, economic and strategic) and a regional expansionism following the defeat of the Russian Empire in 1905 increasingly projected its own 'Pacific destiny' onto their southerly seas (*Nan'yō)*.[918] Mandates in Micronesia emboldened the claim. Particularly alarming to the Dominions was their settlement. Over 20,000 Japanese had settled in Micronesia by 1930 from under one-hundred in 1914, with the Pacific regarded as a life-line from demographic disaster at home.[919] The activities of Japanese immigration companies meanwhile were reported from Panama, Colombia

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[915] Frederic Eggleston & Edward Grigg, 'Naval Policy and the Pacific Question', *Round Table*, 4/25 (1914), pp. 391-462.
[916] Fisher to Churchill, quoted in Christopher Bell, 'Sentiment vs. Strategy: British Naval Policy, Imperial Defence, and the Development of Dominion Navies, 1911-14', *The International History Review*, 37/2 (2015), p. 5.
[917] Philip Murphy, 'Britain as a Global Power in the Twentieth Century', in Andrew Thompson (ed.) *Britain's Experience of Empire in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2011), p. 7. On the North Sea strategy, see David G. Morgan-Owen, *The Fear of Invasion* (Oxford, 2017). For the broader picture, Christopher M. Bell, *The Royal Navy, Seapower and Strategy between the Wars* (London, 2000), pp. 59-98.
[918] Peattie, *Nan'yō.*
[919] J. Charles Schencking, 'The Imperial Japanese navy and the Constructed Consciousness of a South Seas Destiny, 1872-1921', *Modern Asian Studies*, 33/4 (1999), p. 793.

and Chile, unnerving American officials.[920] Moreover, both British and American intelligence found Japanese designs upon their Pacific Mandates obscure. A report by Captain B. P. Dicker of the British Indian Army noted that although there was no evidence (in 1926) of fortification building (which would contravene the terms of the Mandate), "the atmosphere of secrecy, the frequent visits of survey vessels and Japanese man-of-war...all point to these islands being prepared as a base for submarines, seaplanes or other light aircraft".[921]

A lack of intelligence was however a defining feature of the period, increasing imperial anxiety. As much as 90 percent – Douglas Ford suggests – was revealed from published sources.[922] This included a heavy leaning upon popular published forecasts, such as that of Lea, Bywater and a curious mixture of invasion novella, such as Hales's *Little Blue Pigeon*, contemporary travel narratives, such as Willard Price's *Rip Tide in the Southern Seas* and alarmist pamphleteering, such as George Marks' *Pacific Peril*.[923] The prospect of Japanese aerial capabilities played into this narrative also, with air bases in Micronesia thought to leave the potential for an attack on Australia.[924] Many

[920] Willis E. Snowbarger, 'Pearl Harbor in Pacific Strategy, 1898-1908', *The Historian*, 19/4 (1957) p. 372.
[921] 'Report by Captain B. P Dicker on the Japanese Mandated Islands in the Western Pacific', IOR P596/1927, L/PS/11/275, p. 457.
[922] Douglas Ford, 'US Naval Intelligence and the Imperial Japanese Fleet During the Washington Treaty Era, c. 1922-36', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 93/3 (2007), pgs. 281 & 284.
[923] David Walker, 'Shooting Mabel: Warrior Masculinity and Asian Invasion', *History Australia*, 2/3 (2005), pp. 89.1-89.11, such as A.G Hales' *Little Blue Pigeon* (London, 1904). Willard Price's travel narratives revealed insights into Japanese conceptualisations of the South Seas. See *Rip Tide in the Southern Seas* (London, 1936).
[924] W. Jefferson Davis's *Japan: The Air Menace of the Pacific* (Boston, 1927). A contemporary assessment is Mark R. Peattie, *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941* (Annapolis, 2001).

were sure the Japanese had invasion plans for the Dominions, yet no concrete evidence was uncovered prior to the Second World War. Henry Frei found no evidence at all of an official Japanese invasion of Australia but James Belich uncovered invasion plans for New Zealand in the notebooks of the Japanese agriculturalist, Isamu Kawase who had trained at Massey Agricultural College.[925]

The threat of Japan, identified as a common enemy amongst Anglo settlers lining the ocean's rim, helped rekindle the debate concerning the relationship between Britain and America. Since the late nineteenth century, the 'Far Eastern Question' had been interpreted as one in which their collective energies would ensure peace and prosperity and where their interests might align (Fig. 38). Yet America too had its own pretensions for the Pacific – a space regarded as integral to the defence of their "empire of liberty", but also the theatre American forces were deemed most likely to face armed conflict.[926] *War Plan Orange*, developed by the American Navy in 1907 placed Manila at a defensive frontier, with Hawaii acting as a sub-metropole.[927] The context of the emergence of aviation in the region needs to be scrutinised against the backdrop of a shifting imperial situation. The Tydings-McDuffie Act (1934) which mandated decolonisation in the Philippines, encouraged a strategic re-think.[928] The *Naval Expansion Act* of 1938 in particular represented the culmination of thinking in the period,

[925] Henry P. Frei, *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia: From the Sixteenth Century to World War II* (Honolulu, 1991); Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 282.
[926] For an overview, Gibson, *Yankees in Paradise.*
[927] Edward Miller, *War Plan Orange* (Annapolis, 1991).
[928] Jenifer Van Vleck, *Empire of the Air* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 94.

advocating the creation of a chain of bases across the Pacific, with the strategic importance of Guam a notable feature.[929]

Amidst this dynamic imperial manoeuvring, the Dominions appeared to possess a "chronic lack of self-reliance" with their defensive guarantor located on the other side of the globe.[930] It was this acute dilemma which encouraged a closer consideration of the Dominions' regional sense of place and an increasingly pro-active engagement in questions of imperial defence, stimulated by the air question.[931] Whilst 'The Four-Power Treaty' based upon discussions at the Washington Conference sought to maintain a defensive status quo, ushering the termination of the Japanese Alliance, freezing fortification building and limiting capital ship development, unease in the Dominions prevailed.[932] Reactions and discussion concerning the 'Singapore Project', envisaged as a guarantee of British imperial interests in the Indo-Pacific (east of Suez) and a primary deterrence for the Dominions post-Japanese alliance is illustrative. Stanley Bruce would proclaim at the Imperial Conference of 1923 that "while I am not quite as clear as I should like to be as to how the protection of Singapore is to be assured… I am clear…that apparently it can be done".[933] Britain however refused to countenance the suggestion that this was an unworkable policy until the late 1930s. Dominion responses to the air question thus emerged within the matrix of American and Japanese regional

[929] John Gunther, 'Our Pacific Frontier', *Foreign Affairs*, 18/4 (1940), p. 597.
[930] John McCarthy, *Australia and Imperial Defence, 1918-39* (Brisbane, 1976), p. 148.
[931] The strongest advocates are Meaney, *The Search for Security* and Thompson, *Australian Imperialism.*
[932] Michael Fry, 'The Pacific Dominions', 60-101.
[933] Bruce quoted in Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 23.

dynamism and British defensive overstretch. These factors were stamped all over the emergence of aviation, compelling Dominion officials to spearhead regional defence questions with a greater interest and intensity than at any time hitherto.



Figure 38 – Udo Keppler "—And Peace Shall Rule" Puck, 3 May 1899, *Library of Congress*, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012647419/ (15 March 2019).

'A Nudist Among Atolls' – The Emergence of Trans-Pacific Aviation and the Transformation of Canton Island

Whilst conducting a tour of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in 1940, Harry Luke, then High Commissioner for the Western Pacific made a visit to Canton Island, an atoll nestled roughly halfway between Auckland and Honolulu where a Condominium between the United States and Britain was agreed the previous year.[934] Luke wasn't particularly enamoured, noting that this was "a nudist among atolls", reflecting upon the island's natural detractions: a lack of fresh water, vegetation and infrastructure.[935] Yet Canton Island proves both exceptional and illustrative of broader regional changes over the course of the 1930s, demonstrating also their Pan-Pacific nature. In the 'Age of Steam', expansionist states in the Pacific found Canton Island unworthy of sustained attention. The prospect however of trans-Pacific aviation transformed perceptions of the commercial and strategic potential of the atolls of the central Pacific – contested spaces at an intersection of imperial frontiers, where Japanese, American and British (particularly Australian and New Zealand interests) as well as those islanders under their dominion crossed.[936]

[934] When the Canton-Enderbury Agreement was signed, Britain was involved in two other condominia: Anglo-Egyptian agreement over present-day Sudan and the British-French New Hebrides. Canton Island refers to a coral atoll situated in the present-day Republic of Kiribati, known today by Kanton Island or Abariringa. I use Canton Island, as the most widely-used term at the time. Mary Island, Mary Balcout Island and Swallow Island were alternative names.
[935] Harry Luke, *From a South Seas Diary* (London, 1945), p. 219.
[936] Armitage & Bashford (eds.), *Pacific Histories*; Igler, *The Great Ocean.*

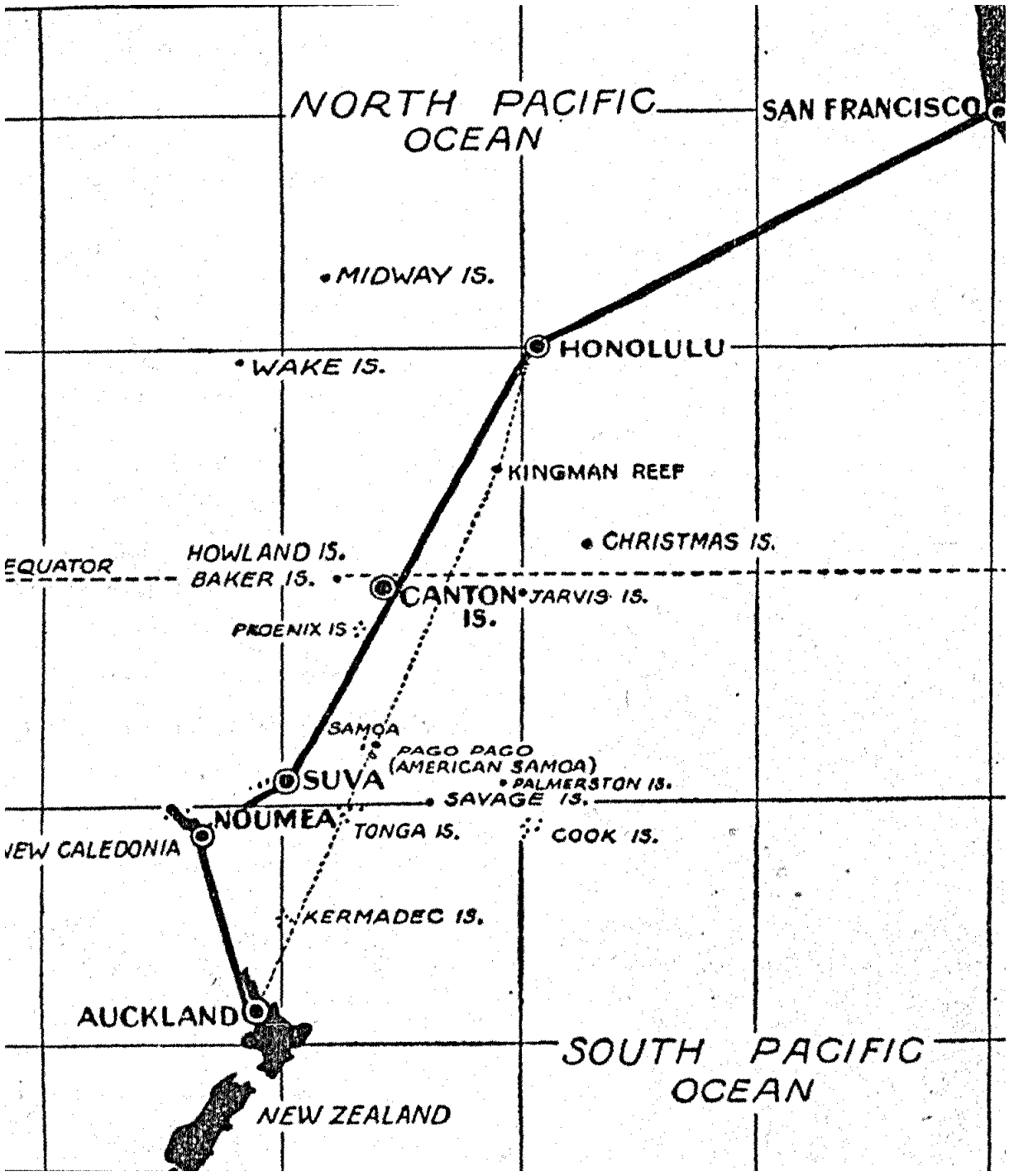


Figure 39 – 'The proposed new Pan American Airways route to Auckland, via Honolulu, Canton Island, Suva and Noumea', *New Zealand Herald*, 13 July 1939, p. 16.

Despite taking a back-seat to the Atlantic in the emergence of trans-oceanic aviation, the development of air services in the United States where private enterprise and the military shared the burden to create the world's "densest domestic air industry" subsidised by the postal service, it wasn't long before its most ambitious company (Pan American) began prospecting routes to the Far East. With landing rights refused in Russia and Japan, American aviators were compelled to cross the vast Pacific Ocean.[937] Whilst the range of aircraft remained limited (the Sikorsky S-42 and largest flying boat of the time possessed a range of roughly 950km), trans-oceanic crossings relied upon 'stepping stones' or island bases in order to safely complete the crossing. Isaiah Bowman foresaw the importance of islands in the emerging 'air question' as early as 1921, claiming that "islands have gained in importance because of the use of airplanes and hydroplanes in modern warfare. The innumerable islets and protected inland waterways that abound in the Pacific furnish ideal hiding places for submarines".[938] America's island possessions were imperative therefore. As the *China Clipper* charted the first trans-Pacific route to China, reducing the journey to the Far East from twenty-two to six days, it touched down on American soil at every stage of the journey: Hawai'i, Wake, Midway and Guam before reaching Hong Kong, the gateway to the Chinese mainland.[939] A swift and remarkable achievement, underpinned by a

[937] Steven Topik & Allen Wells, 'Commodity Chains in A Global Economy', in Emily S. Rosenberg (ed.) *A World Connecting, 1870-1945* (London, 2012), p. 659.
[938] Bowman, *The New World*, p. 524-525.
[939] On air base building at Wake, Midway and Guam, William Stephen Grooch, *Skyway to Asia* (New York, 1936) which chronicles the 'North Haven' expedition to build them.

strategic impulse with the American Navy anticipating the use of personnel and facilities to develop and supplement their own operations.[940]

Pan American soon turned its attention to the South Pacific and Australasia where engagement with British authorities was required. In March 1937, Pan American surveyed a route to Auckland, stopping at Kingman Reef and Pago Pago in American Sāmoa (Fig. 40). Canton Island ultimately emerged late as chosen air-hub of the mid-Pacific. Kingman Reef, initially envisaged as the optimal site, offered limited possibilities for building-work at only twenty metres wide, barely rising above sea-level. Pago Pago's harbour meanwhile, whilst excellent for shipping was unsuitable for flying boats. In the search for re-fuelling points, island topography was key. Islands needed a harbour large enough to permit seaplane moorings, whilst take-offs but couldn't be too exposed to sea currents. Floating tankers were mooted as a solution, but attention was ultimately fixed upon the coral atolls of the Phoenix Islands, characterised as 'Orphans of the Sea'. [941]

Information regarding these largely 'unknown' islands were entertained by some of the Pan-Pacific's most committed boosters. The *Pan Pacific Union* attempted to host an international conference on trans-Pacific aviation, inviting stakeholders from business and governments across the region, but the official nature of aviation development

[940] Noel, F. Busch, 'Juan Trippe: Pan American's Young Chief Helps Run a Branch of U.S. Defense', *Life Magazine*, 20 October 1941, 111-112.
[941] Beaumont suggested utilising floating tankers, 'Air Transport', 469. For the term 'orphans of the sea' in reference to mid-Pacific islands, see William Atherton Du Puy, 'Our New Islands', *Current History*, 45/5 (1937), p. 60.

thwarted their efforts.[942] L.W. De Vis-Norton, then Secretary of the Hawaiian Volcano Research Association, requested information from New South Wales premier, Joseph Carruthers who had attended PPU events in previous years, requesting maps and information 'down to Invercargill'.[943]

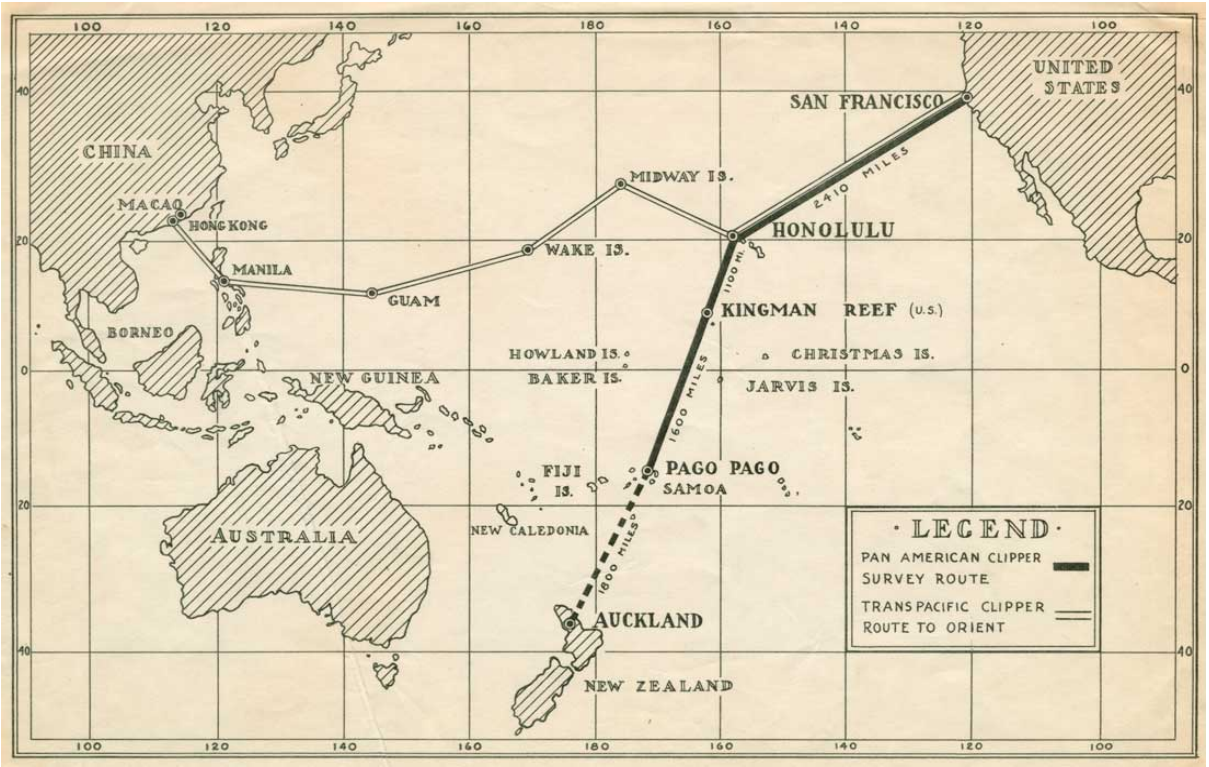


Figure 40 – 'Pan American Airways Pacific route system map, 1936', *San Francisco International Airport Museum*, accessed online via https://www.flysfo.com/museum/exhibitions/3084/detail?num=0 (15 January 2018).

[942] 'Conferences Proposed Aviation Conference', 7 November 1936, Papers of the Pan-Pacific Union, Box 2, Folder 33, UHM. Letters sent to William T. Miller, Amelia Earhart, Imperial Airways chiefs, Japanese and South American delegates. British government of the Straits Settlement refused the invitation. The Premier of Queensland were invited in error, given it was the Commonwealth Government who would ultimately decide on such questions.
[943] Letter from L. W De Vis-Norton to Joseph Carruthers, 17 November 1924, A458 K314/4, NAA.

These American requests were ultimately interpreted amongst British – and indeed Dominion officials – as a nuisance to their own interests and understood in an explicitly Pan-Pacific context as a call for American expansionism.[944] Disagreement over Canton Island came to represent a "line fence down the center of the Pacific", reflecting Anglo-American relations in the 1930s at large, which were "cold rather than cordial".[945] A letter exchanged between C. J. Galpin, Director of Overseas Civil Aviation and R. V. Vernon of the Colonial Office helps us understand how relations were framed in London: namely, as a "counter to one another".[946]

Britain too had great air-minded ambition having founded Imperial Airways – the government's "chosen instrument" for the operation of airline services throughout the Empire.[947] Yet British authorities were also well aware that they possessed no aircraft to match the range of Pan American's flying boats and were fearful of an American monopoly over Pacific services.[948] Their aim was an 'all red' route, operated by a British airline, or at least, a Dominion operator but their plans were thwarted by the American refusal to allow foreign carriers to land at Hawai'i. Given the range of aircraft, landing rights and reciprocity were critical to the development of any trans-Pacific route which

[944] F. L. W. Wood, 'Political and External Affairs', in T*he Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945* (Wellington, 1958), p. 74.
[945] Robert Falconer, 'America's External Political Interests', *Conference on Canadian-American Affairs, held at the St Lawrence University* (Boston, 1940), p. 117; Th. 7.
[946] Letter from C. J. Galpin to R. V. Vernon, 'Long distance flights to the Pacific Islands', 4 January 1937, TNA CO 323/1402/2.
[947] Robert McCormack, 'Airlines and Empires: Great Britain and the 'Scramble for Africa', 1919-1939', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 10/1 (1976), p. 99.
[948] Higham, *Britain's Air Routes.*

sought to reach North America from Australasia. British officials attempted to skirt around Hawaii, suggesting alternative routes which touched British soil exclusively – such as one proposed by Galpin which passed through Fiji, Apia in Sāmoa, Hull Island and Christmas Island but there was agreement that securing landing rights at Hawai'i was the principal aim in any negotiation.[949]

As Roosevelt transferred Jarvis, Baker and Howland Island to the Department of the Interior – territories which Britain had regarded as part of the Phoenix Group (under the jurisdiction of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands) it was even suggested that sending a warship to deal with increasing perceived American intrusion might be appropriate.[950] Claims to these islands were at best uncertain, requiring a combination of discovery, formal claim, and demonstrable occupation. With no sustained occupation of many of the islands of the mid-Pacific, Roosevelt utilised findings from the *Wilkes Expedition* (1838-42), from which formative surveys of the Pacific had been made, to lay claim to Howland, Baker, Washington and Palmyra, utilising Behm's characterisation of an *Amerikanische Polynesien* (an article published in 1859) for the purposes of defining claims to a distinctly 'American Polynesia'.[951] Roosevelt also ordered a search of records at Nantucket and other points along the Atlantic seaboard for documentary

[949] Galpin to Vernon, 4 January 1937, TNA CO 323/1402/2.
[950] Memo, 6 May 1938, TNA FO 371/21515, A3650/16/45.
[951] E. Behm, "Das Amerikanische Polynesien und die politischen Verhältnisse in den übrigen Theilen des Grossen Oceans im J. 1859," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen,* 5 (1859), 173-194, *Hathi Trust*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$c161278;view=1up;seq=7 (15 February 2018).

proof of a distinctly American presence in this part of the Pacific.[952] A similar picture emerged on the British side: the American government refused to recognise the opportunistically announced Order in Council which proclaimed the Phoenix Group to be a part of the Gilbert and Ellice island colony, leading to a scramble in Whitehall to justify their claims. In a report prepared by the New Zealand government and signed by three of Britain's highest ranking military officials, Chatfield, Deverell and Ellington, the conclusion was reached that the British government should "establish sovereignty over any of the Pacific Islands offering facilities for fuelling bases or landing grounds".[953] Old Admiralty charts were drawn down, and fragmentary information concerning the histories of the many, small islands of the mid-Pacific were pieced together.[954] Both sides were agreed however: discovery "never constituted a sufficient basis for a claim to terra nullis".[955] Demonstrable settlement was required.

Between 1935 and 1942, one-hundred and thirty-four young Hawaiian men were recruited by the American government to 'colonise' uninhabited islands in equatorial Pacific. The Hui Panalā'au, or 'Society of Colonists' – as the group has come to retrospectively be known – were selected precisely because they embodied an

[952] Young, 'America's Islets', 214. A study by Charles Townsend, Director of the *New York Aquarium* synthesised the findings from logbooks of 1665 voyages by American whaling vessels from 1761 until 1920, noting the positions of vessels on the day they caught whales.
[953] 'Islands: Strategic importance of Pacific Islands', 10 June 1937, p. 2, TNA CO 323/1514/1 .
[954] C.H. Fone, 'Pacific Islands: Claims to certain', TNA DO 35/181/4.
[955] Beatrice Orent & Pauline Reinsch, 'Sovereignty over Islands in the Pacific', *The American Journal of International Law*, 35/3 (1941), pp. 443-461. On the question and comparison of *de facto (actual control)* and *de jure (legal right)*, Friedrich August Freiherr Von Der Heydte, 'Discovery, Symbolic Annexation and Virtual Effectiveness in International Law', *American Journal of International Law*, 29/3 (1935), pp. 448-471.

idealised Polynesian masculinity, capable of subsisting on hot, dry, barren and remote coral atolls of the mid-Pacific, making them the "right type of personnel" for the task. This can be viewed equally as an attempt at making Neo-Hawaiians; trustworthy, loyal American patriots by training, Hawaiian by blood. [956] British authorities also proved adept at mobilising their Pacific populations for the colonisation of the mid-Pacific. Responding to burgeoning populations in the Gilbert Islands, strategic interests and population politics intertwined, with Harry Maude, then District Officer of the Gilbert Islands pressed into considering the re-settlement of islanders on uninhabited atolls across the Phoenix Islands.[957] McKean and Phoenix were designated bird sanctuaries in 1938 serving a similar purpose, justified on conservation grounds. Newly established district officers, such as J.W. Jones on Hull Island were tasked meanwhile with logging American activities and feeding information back to the Western Pacific High Commission.[958]

These developments resulted in an impetus to completely re-chart the region. H.M.S Achilles was diverted from the New Zealand Station toward the mid-Pacific, tasked with carrying out a covert survey of American activity at Kingman Reef and reporting on air

[956] Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, 'Engaging Hawaiians in the Expansion of the US Empire', *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 7/3 (2004), p. 211.
[957] 'Surveys - Pacific Islands - Phoenix Group', memorandum 38, p. 2 concerns utility of re-population scheme in the Phoenix Islands for strategic purposes. Gardener Island also emerged as a candidate. WPHC 4/III F.F 4/3 Vol. 1 - 'Air Services in Pacific Islands'. For Maude's account of the scheme, see H.E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 315-342.
[958] 'Survey, Hydrographic and Air, by USA Expedition of Islands in Central Pacific', doc 79, p. 4. Telegram 8, WPHC S.F 4/6/1 Vol. 3.; Letter from A.B Acheson to Harry Luke, 23 October 1939, 'Hull Island, Phoenix Islands: Administration of and reports upon', doc 40, considered the potential of an 'invasion' of Hull Island from America who had declared sovereignty over 23 other Pacific Islands in the vicinity, WPHC 9/II F10/22. See also 'Diaries of the Administrative Officer of Canton Island', WPHC F/10/30/3.

suitability, landing possibilities, anchorage, supplies, communications.[959] The aim was to identify the criteria by which bases should be selected: namely, on existing British trade routes, that had a government station, meteorological capabilities and high land– few possessed the desired elements.[960] H.M.S Leith meanwhile was tasked with visiting McKean, Birnie, and Enderbury Islands, whilst H.M.S. Wellington visited Starbuck, Malden, Flint, Caroline and Nukonono.[961] The reach of these surveys and their recommendations were widespread and engaged multiple government departments.[962] They concluded however that no really suitable island fit for aviation purposes existed. Hull had a good lagoon, but no suitable access. Canton was better, although not ideal. Indeed, "the whole twenty-mile perimeter of glaring stony waste, broiling under a tropical sun there are at present eleven coconut palms and a few stunted bushes".[963] The Navy were however compelled to carry out more detailed surveys of the air potential of all Pacific Islands. Woods-Humphery of Imperial Airways was particularly adamant on the point, fearing that the development in air transport

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[959] 'Aerial Survey of Kingman Reef by H.M.S Achilles', 24 August 1936, TNA DO 35/181 6649/56, and 'Survey by H.M.S Achilles', 25 May 1936, TNA DO 36/81 6649/37; 'Report on Pacific Islands visited by H.M.S Leith, Achilles and Wellington', document 7a, WPHC 4/6/4. It passed through Auckland, the Kermadecs, Tonga, Samoa, Cook Islands, the Lines and Fanning before returning through Fiji.

[960] Memorandum by R.H. Garvey, 'Outlines of Pacific Air routes', document 7a - report on Pacific Islands visited by H.M.S Leith, Achilles and Wellington, WPHC 4/6/4.

[961] Survey of Certain Islands in Western Pacific: Visit of H.M.S Leith to the Phoenix Islands', 29 October 1936, TNA DO 35/181 6649/64; 'Survey of Certain Pacific Islands: Reports of H.M.S Wellington', 4 December 1936, TNA DO 35/181 6649/69.

[962] 'Islands in the Western Pacific: Survey by H.M.S Achilles', 21 July 1936, p. 10, TNA DO 36/81 6649/45 which details a meeting between the Admiralty, Air Ministry, Colonial, Foreign and Dominion Offices.

Letter from J.W. Forsyth to Colonial Office, 10 August 1936, TNA DO 35/181 6649/58, 'Pacific Islands: Elizabeth and Middleton Reefs' - requested the securing of Elizabeth and Middleton Reefs (half way between Norfolk Island and Sydney).

[963] Report of the Commanding officer Oliver Bevir of H.M.S Leith, 'Survey of Certain Islands in Western Pacific', 22 October 1936, TNA DO 35/181 6649/62.

would create similar issues to that of shipping, whose very existence seemed threatened by the competition of the Matson Line, primed by US government subsidies.[964] The extent of these surveys and their conclusions were far reaching, taking a genuine Pan-Pacific dimension. In Australia, there emerged the consideration of using the tiny Elizabeth and Middleton Reefs, four-hundred kilometres east of Brisbane as sea plane stops.[965]

[964] Megaw, 'The Scramble for the Pacific', 462.
[965] J. E. Stephenson to the Office of the Admiralty, 'Trans-Pacific air routes using Elizabeth and Middleton Reefs', 23 October 1936, TNA CO 323/1402/2.



Figure 41 – Illustration by James L. Carroll, (member of the Equatorial Islands Colonization Project) at Palmyra Atoll, Illustrated Scrapbooks, James L. Carroll KSB 1936, 2003-4 1-5, Kamehameha Schools Archive.

In June 1937, scientific endeavour proved once again to be a proxy for expansionism, as a joint National Geographic-American Navy expedition set sail for Canton to report upon a total eclipse of the sun.[966] A team of scientists from New Zealand also landed on Canton to witness the eclipse and to record findings, with the two groups establishing

[966] The accounts of the survey cruise of Dr Dena Coman suggest the pretence of natural science for annexation, 'Airway Survey in Pacific', *Press (Canterbury)*, 19 September 1935.

separate camps. The American group left a large concrete monument embedded with two American flags at Canton, ostensibly as a claim, much to the frustration of the group from New Zealand, Mr C. B. Mitchie leader of the expedition supposedly rebuking the "merely commemorative" establishment of a commemorative plinth – insignificant for the purposes of establishing a genuine claim of sovereignty.[967] Anglo-American confrontation at Canton in the Summer of 1938 is partly myth. One story goes that the British purportedly fired a shot across the bow of the American vessel that had carried scientists of the solar expedition, with the Americans retaliating in turn before both captains wired their respective governments to establish proper diplomatic channels (Fig. 42).[968] Melbourne's *Age* carried a piece debunking the myth that as the Americans planted two flags upon the atoll, the Brits planted three beside them, leveraging their claim. Mitchell's account reads rather differently, with "pie-eating contests, three-legged races, boxing bouts" taking place. In fact, Mitchell and Mitchie had met in 1930 at Niuafoo (Niuafo'ou) in the Tongan Islands to observe another eclipse.[969]

Comedy aside, the incident proved a prolonged and serious discussion that went to the highest levels of government in both London and Washington.[970] Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden deflected questions from Labour backbenchers over the incident,

[967] 'Canton Island', *The Age*, 13 August 1937, p. 11. For an official account of the expedition, see C. B. Michie, 'Report of the New Zealand Total Solar Eclipse Expedition to Canton Island – 8 June 1937', *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, 99 (1938), pp. 132-135.
[968] Events detailed in 'Canton Island', *Examiner (Launceton)*, 10 July 1937, p. 8 & Otto Degener & Edwin Gillaspy, 'Canton Island', *Atoll Research Bulletin*, 41, August 15 (1955), p. 10.
[969] Indeed, Mitchie and F. Gawith of the New Zealand group had met S.A. Mitchell at 'Tin Can Island', or Niuafoo in the Tongan Islands for the 1930 eclipse, S.A. Mitchell, 'The Total Eclipse Observed on Canton Island', *Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, 50/293 (February 1938), 23-30.
[970] John Williams, 'Please Join Us in a Cold Beer', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, VIII/9 (1938), p. 5.

deprecating "that there had been an unpleasant incident".[971] It wasn't until the possibility of joint Anglo-American occupancy was muted that a constructive and practicable solution was to be found with a Condominium the best solution.[972]



Figure 42 – 'American and New Zealand scientists outside N.Z. mess tent', PH-ALB-431, Album 431, p.6, n.1, Geoffrey Armstrong Buddle Papers, Auckland War Memorial Museum (27 May 2019).

Negotiation over Canton Island was in some regards a watershed. The agreement of a condominium over Canton and nearby Enderbury represented a collaborative solution and a convenient legal device to settle a territorial dispute proving an influential

[971] Eden cited in 'Britain Claims Canton Island', *The Daily News [Perth]*, 20 July 1937, p. 5.
[972] Megaw, 'The Scramble', 468.

model.[973] Indeed, the Chinese intellectual, Hu Shih remarked that Roosevelt likely had agreement over Canton & Enderbury in mind when it came to considering an expedient solution to the future of Manchuria at the Yalta Conference of 1944.[974] Ultimately, the immediate construction of an airbase at Canton was more important than sovereignty over the island and who possessed the most significant right to title.[975] Agreement over Canton might be described as a case of Anglo-American 'inter-imperialism' in action.[976] This also adds weight to the view that a wartime strategic alliance was not simply a personal one between Churchill-Roosevelt but the logical conclusion of years of informal, coordinated, conscious, parallel, strategic collaboration aimed at maintaining the balance of power in the Pacific.[977] The decisive factor in the agreement of a condominium was to keep a militarising Japanese out. Indeed, by this stage, Japanese aviation had proceeded at pace in the region. The first air service flying between Yokohama, Saipan and Palau had opened in 1935.[978] A piece in the P*acific Islands Monthly* (representing Australian opinion), reflected that it seemed "only a matter of months before they extended their services through New Guinea and to Australia if Australia does not get there first".[979]

[973] Orent & Reinsch, 'Sovereignty over Islands', 443-461.
[974] Hu Shih, 'China in Stalin's Grand Strategy', *Foreign Affair*s, 29/1 (1950), p. 39.
[975] Young, 'America's Islets', 216.
[976] Tufnell, 'Anglo-American Inter-Imperialism'.
[977] Greg Kennedy, 'Filling the Void', 836-859.
[978] David C Evans & Mark R Peattie, *Kaigun: strategy, tactics, and technology in the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1887–1941* (Annapolis, Maryland, 1997).
[979] 'Aeroplanes in North Pacific', *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 21 May 1935, p. 28.

As American dynamism reveals, trans-Pacific aviation was an issue where the British (and Dominions) were playing catch-up, with divergences in opinion on value (financial and strategic) of such a service stunting unified action. The Canadians foresaw the possibilities of a trans-Pacific route, but one which passed Alaska and the Aleutians to the Far East, not across the vast ocean.[980] In Australia, there were advocates of a Brisbane to Noumea route to connect to the new Pan American service, but Australian attitudes toward the question were intransigent.[981] In public, the Australian government was neither involved nor interested in the Canton dispute, yet behind the scenes were keenly involved on the issue, recognising the bargain chip their own landing sites represented in the demand for reciprocity with Hawai'i, advocating Pan American to engage official diplomatic channels.[982] New Zealand's role meanwhile provides compelling evidence of a committed strategy toward trans-Pacific aviation and regional defence.

[980] Memorandum, J.A. Wilson [Controller of Civil Aviation, Canada], Trans-Pacific Air route: proposals by Canada, 9 November 1933, p. 14, TNA DO 35/236/2, Part 1, A.
[981] Letter from W. Morgan Smith to R.G. Menzies, 20 August 1940, NAA A2937/162 .
[982] 'Phoenix Islands: Australia's Position', *Daily Mercury* [Mackay], 14 March 1938, p. 4. A letter from Robert G. Menzies to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 8 October 1937, made it clear that Canton should come under the British flag, NAA A2937/162. Telegraph from Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Michael Savage, 28 June 1939, 'Aerial Services Pan-Pacific - Part II', NAA A461 I314/1/4 Part 2.

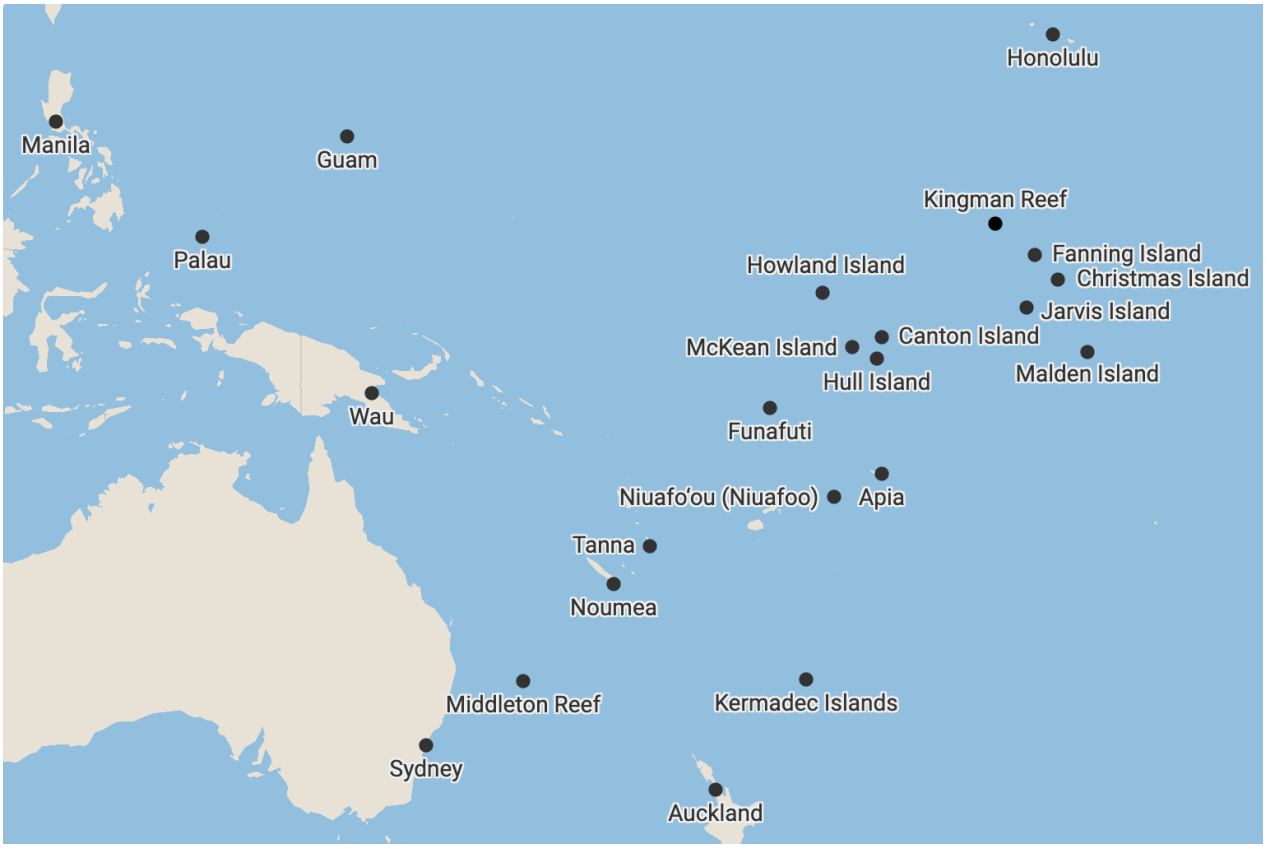


Figure 43 – 'Islands of Trans-Pacific Aviation' – a depiction of many of the locations referenced in this chapter. Each territory has been given the name most commonly used during the period.

Dominion Hemispherism

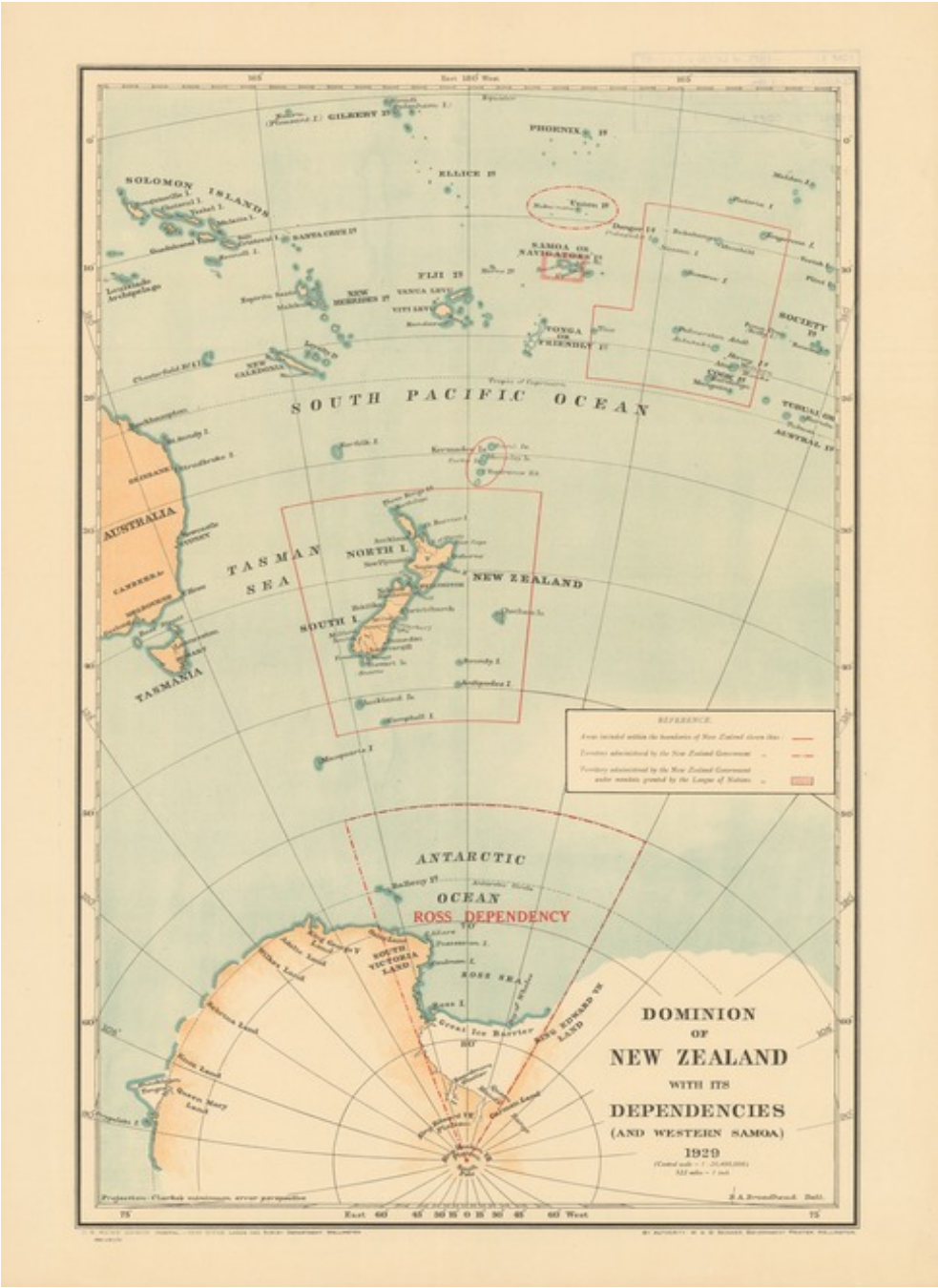


Figure 44 – B.A. Broadhead, 'Dominion of New Zealand with its dependencies (and Western Samoa (1929), Department of Lands and Survey, NZMS 20, *NLNZ.*

The landing of New Zealand scientists at Canton in 1938 to observe the solar eclipse was just one significant event in a series of wider engagements by New Zealand's military officials and scientists across the Pacific as the Dominion took up the task of spearheading British aviation interests in the Pacific. Literature concerning a distinct New Zealand geopolitical tradition is in short supply, yet this chapter attempts to address this imbalance, adding weight to the case that by the late 1930s, New Zealand reinforced its own geopolitical vision of the Pacific to the point it constituted official policy. This was an archipelagic vision insofar as it focussed its attention upon the atolls, reefs and islands which lay between the Dominion and the region's leading powers – Pan-Pacific in nature, such was the extent and reach of official consideration of these spaces in this period.[983] Territorially, the Dominion of New Zealand and its obligations stretched far beyond Aotearoa – at least as far as the Tokelau group and Fanning Island, the location of both a cable station linking the Dominions of Australasia and Canada on an 'All Red' cable.[984] A hemispheric, sub-global view of the formal reach of the Dominion is therefore a spatial context that needs to be taken seriously in this period (Fig. 44). Of the accounts of New Zealand's defence policy which do exist dealing with this period, most explain the Dominion's reliance upon British naval strength, but evidence during the course of Michael Savage's premiership (1936-9), demonstrates an increasingly independent regional strategic outlook, few take the issue

[983] Two analyses are Peter Mayell, 'Beyond the 'Outer Crescent': The Mackinder Century in New Zealand Geopolitics', *The Geographical Journal*, 170/4 (2004), pp. 368-376 & Simon Dalby, 'The 'Kiwi disease': Geopolitical Discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the South Pacific', *Political Geography*, 12/5 (1993), pp. 437-456.

[984] 'Defence of Fanning Island' - dossier, 80d dated July 1939 outlined responsibilities for the territory and reinforced them including the organise of a platoon in preparation for war, WPHC SF 19/20 vol. 1.

of aviation seriously as a stimulus.[985] These developments correspond with those across the Tasman, where The Australian Labor Party came to advocate a significant expansion in its air force, rather than boosting funding for the naval and military defence of the coast.[986] Whilst the British government downgraded the Pacific in the hierarchy of strategic regions, with naval expenditure decreasing by some £26 million from 1934-37 in the wake of Maurice Hankey's report on defence measures, the Lyons government adopted an alternative approach.[987] Writing in the *Sydney Sun,* Air Commodore, L.E.O. Charlton wrote that whilst "imperial defence [was] synonymous with naval defence…The Labor party, however came to represent the alternative viewpoint. Australia had to make plans for self-containment".[988]

New Zealand's Archipelagic Geopolitics, 1935-42

New Zealand's attitude toward Pacific aviation reflected a long-standing private attitude toward the region, reflecting a long-standing perception of the strategic and commercial value of the Pacific Islands.[989] By the mid-1930s, the South Pacific, including the Fijian

[985] Malcolm McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy: New Zealand in the World Since 1935* (Auckland, 1993); Peter Carter, 'The Flying Minister, the War Council, and Bases: The Rise of International Commercial Aviation and US-New Zealand Relations, 1935-1945', Unpublished Master's Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington (2005); Stuart Lusk, 'The Red Route and New Zealand's Aviation Policy', unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, 1998 (I am grateful to Professor James Belich for this reference).
[986] Donald Cowie, 'The Arming of Australia and New Zealand', *Pacific Affairs*, 11/3 (1938), p. 344.
[987] Honae H. Cuffe, 'The 'Near North': Issues of Empire, Emerging Independence and Regionalism in Australian Foreign and Defence Policy, 1921-1937', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, 31 (2015), p. 68.
[988] L.E.O. Charlton, 'Air Power to Defend Australia', *Sun* [Sydney], 5 December 1937, p. 4
[989] Megaw, 'The Scramble for the Pacific', 472.

and Tongan groups were determined to be essential to their defence, with New Zealand increasingly responsible.[990] Amidst a context of Japanese expansionism, Captain S.J. Allen of the Meteorological Sub-Committee would claim in 1936 that "may it not be that our outpost-line should now be regarded as stretching from Fanning Island to the Solomon Islands?" Continuing, "when you think of the defence of England, you no longer think of the chalk cliffs of Dover, you think of the Rhine. Our frontier is there (the South Pacific)". [991] That same report by Allen determined that New Zealand government should go to the expense of developing a meteorological service for a foreign air service across the Pacific for its military value, advocating a vast expansion of New Zealand interests, advocating the immediate development of Apia and Auckland, and recognising the value of stations at Fanning Island, in the Phoenix Islands and the Kermadecs.[992] The government even moved to establish a refuelling station upon the Auckland and Campbell Islands which had not knowingly been visited for over twenty years by government officials. Linked to recent developments in Antarctic exploration, the acquisition of whale oil meant the islands had not featured significantly in New Zealand's defence plans, but the potential of aviation with its Pan-Pacific again changed the geopolitical calculus.[993]

[990] Dispatch: Arthur Richards to William Ormsby-Gore, 13 June 1938, pp. 1-2, TNA CO 323/1602/1013.
[991] S.J. Allen [Captain of NZSC], Report of the Metereological Sub-Committee: Organisation for National Defence', 20 April 1936, ANZ C473 064 PM26 1, Part 1, 'Aviation - Pan-Pacific', p. 5
[992] Ibid., p. 11.
[993], 'Defence of Pacific Islands: Auckland and Campbell Islands: Appreciation and Importance of Policy, 1938-9', ANZ C226 063 AIR 1 967 132/11/1, Part 1.

When it came to developments in the mid-Pacific – such as at Canton Island, New Zealand proved an energetic actor in mediating between British and American ambitions, representing genuine discontent at American expansionism in an area they regarded as their backyard. As American officials revealed, "taking an atoll away from New Zealand was as difficult as taking butter out of a dog's mouth" with New Zealanders proving often "sore as pups".[994] In any debate between Britain and America on the question of Pacific Islands, New Zealand was a keen interlocutor with a Pan-Pacific view. [995]

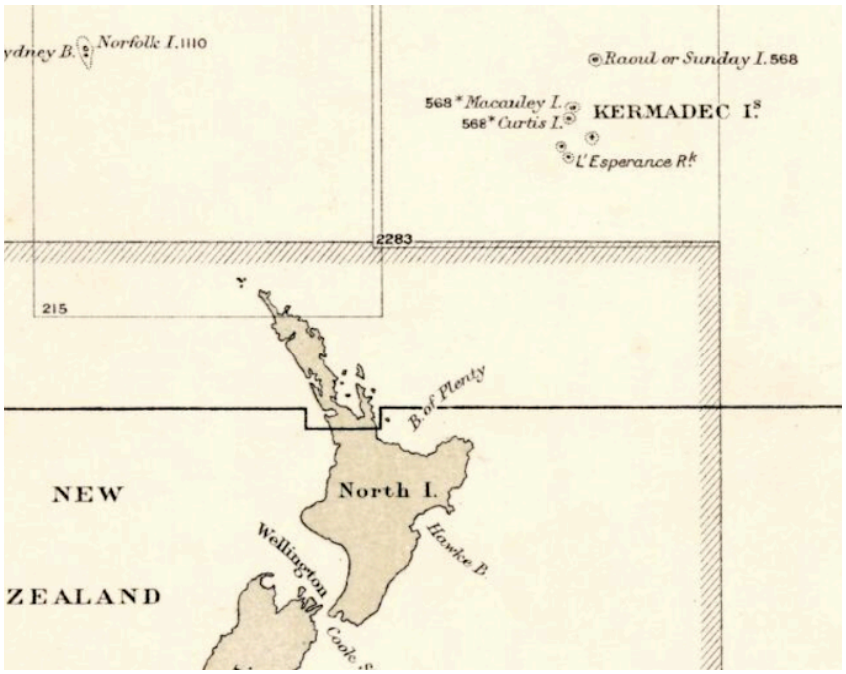


Figure 45 – Raoul Island located northernmost of the Kermadec group. Detail of 'Central Pacific Islands index to Admiralty charts', 1 January 1938, P.G. Taylor Special Map Collection, ol./26, NLA.

[994] 'Memorandum by Pierrepont Moffat' [Chief of European Affairs], 16 February 1938, in David. P. Nickles (ed.), *FRUS*, vol. XXII, Southeast Asia and the Pacific (Washington, 2017), p. 936.
[995] 'Pacific Islands- Canton Island dispute', aide-memoire from the British embassy in Washington, 8 June 1940, NAA A2937/162 (pp. 1-2).

Illustrative of New Zealand's increasing commitment to establishing the capabilities required for aviation services was its shifting attitude toward Raoul Island, the largest of the Kermadec group.[996] Located 674 miles north of Auckland, this volcanic rock casts a lonely shadow in the Dominion's history despite a series of state and private initiatives to establish commercial ventures since the group's annexation in 1887 (Fig. 45).[997]

The Savage government's reconsideration of the strategic utility of Pacific territories led to the establishment and dispatch of an official survey party to Raoul in 1937. The official survey report, published a year later, revealed the difficulties which lay before authorities if a base was to be established there: landing gear was likely to be wiped away on the coastlines, nor could stores be safely off-loaded. Boats couldn't be moored and would need dragging up the rough cliff-faces. If you eventually made it onto the island, great attention would need to be paid to the island's flora and fauna so as to establish extra protection from the elements and to provide alternative food sources amidst local scarcity. The pay-off for the challenges presented however was the potential for a valuable reporting centre – for weather in the first instance, but also for the monitoring of enemy positions and movements.[998] The report recommended a

[996] Raoul was also known as Sunday Island.
[997] Although annexed in 1887, settled many times prior – notably by the Bell family who first landed in 1878. S. Percy Smith authored what might be considered the first history of the islands following an official visit, suggesting that Raoul might prove a useful stopover for the government steamer or as a site to aid shipwrecked, stranded crews, *The Kermadec Islands: Their Capabilities and Extent* (Wellington, 1887), p. 29; P.J. Stewart, 'Annexation of the Kermadecs and New Zealand's Policy in the Pacific', *Pacific Historical Review*, 28/1 (1959), pp. 67-71.
[998] B.A. Cochrane [RAF] to Chairman of the Aeradio Committee, 14 October 1937, made clear the defensive precedent, 'Defence Works and Buildings - Pacific Island Aerodromes - Raoul Island - Radio Station, 6. January 1938 - 22 December 1938', Part 2, ANZ C920 534 W1 763 23/437.

permanent radio station be established and maintained.[999] Despite the cost and technical challenges, these factors proved no obstacle to strong strategic and scientific impulses, with Raoul proving a strong case study of the ways in which meteorology and aviation could prove mutually constitutive (and beneficial).[1000] Nor would the questionable legal status of the island get in the way of developments, as the New Zealand government moved to purchase the freehold for "the Crown… for Aeradio purposes".[1001] Strategic impulses were key, yet so was the desire to complete the first commercial air route to the Dominion. Responding to Harold Gatty's claim at the 1937 Meteorological Conference that development of the Kermadecs would be tied to the safe navigation of planes through what Pan American considered a "hurricane area" north of Auckland, the government began to engage numerous departments and scientific institutes by the late 1930s, so as to develop the island.[1002]

A similar trend can be observed in the Australian context: by 1939, twenty-eight 'metereological observers' were sent to Papua, Norfolk and Lord Howe islands, 'Aviation', *The West Australian* [Perth], 10 February 1939, p. 20 as well as 'Meteorological Station, Lord Howe Island, 1928 - 1939', Item 137512, NAA A659 1939/1/5273.

[999] T.M Wilkes, 'Aeradio Committee: Report on Kermadec Islands, 1938', 2 vols., ATL MSY 4871.

[1000] Alisdair Pinkerton & Klaus Dodds, 'Radio Geopolitics: Broadcasting, listening and the struggle for Acoustic Spaces', *Progress in Human Geography*, 33 (2009), pp. 10-27.

[1001] T.M Wilkes, 'Aeradio Committee', pp. 6-16.

[1002] Minutes of Metereological Conference: Regional conference for Southwest Pacific, 29 November 1937, contained within IAC 396 'South Pacific long-distance civil flights', ANZ AVIA 2/1984, p. 2. Information compiled by the Aeradio Committee sent to the Air Department, Dominion Museum, Post and Telegraph Offices and Internal Affairs, see 'Defence Works and Buildings - Pacific Island Aerodromes - Raoul Island - Radio Station, 6 January 1938 - 22 December 1938', ANZ C920 534 W1 763 23/437, Part 2.



Figure 46 – 'Christmas Day 1937 - Fishing Rock', img. 1554 in 'New Zealand Meteorological Office, Aeradio Committee: Report on Kermadec Islands,1938', MSY 4871, Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand National Library (Wellington).

It was clear to surveyors: Raoul would prove no landing site for aircraft, but its development was tied to the needs of aviation infrastructure.[1003] This is further evidence of New Zealand's role in "picking up Britain's obligations in the field of meteorological organisation in the South Pacific". [1004] Just six temporary residents resided at any given time on Raoul, but developments on the eve of war stimulated a swifter and deeper

[1003] Matthew Henry, 'Australasian Airspace: Meteorology, and the Practical Geopolitics of Australasian Airspace, 1935–1940' in James Beattie & Emily O'Gorman (eds.) *Climate, Science, and Colonization: Histories from Australia and New Zealand* (New York, 2014), pp. 233-249.
[1004] Maurice McGreal, *A History of Civil Aviation in New Zealand* (Auckland, 2003).

engagement with the territory's development, with increasing personnel, including contracted Niuean labour to develop the island with haste (Fig. 47).[1005] By the end of the Second War – throughout the duration of which the island was continually settled – at least twenty personnel were constantly stationed at Raoul, measuring wind and anemological data, gathering and coding weather reports and delivering monthly climatalogical returns.[1006] Before long, Raoul offered a directional Radio Service for emergent trans-Pacific air services.[1007]

[1005] Margaret Pointer, *Niue, 1774-1974* (Dunedin, 2015) pp. 241-242.
[1006] Memorandum for Government Statistician, noted that on 19 January 1950, the population by of Raoul was 17: 9 Europeans and 8 Niueans, 'Defence Works and Buildings -Pacific Islands Aerodromes - Personnel - Raoul, 1949-50', ANZ C920 532 W1761 23/432/40/6, Part 1. For monthly reports, see 'Defence Works and Buildings - Pacific Island Aerodromes - Raoul Island - Radio Station, Parts 1-15, ANZ C920 535 W1 764 23/437.
[1007] Henry, 'Assembling the Weather', 180.

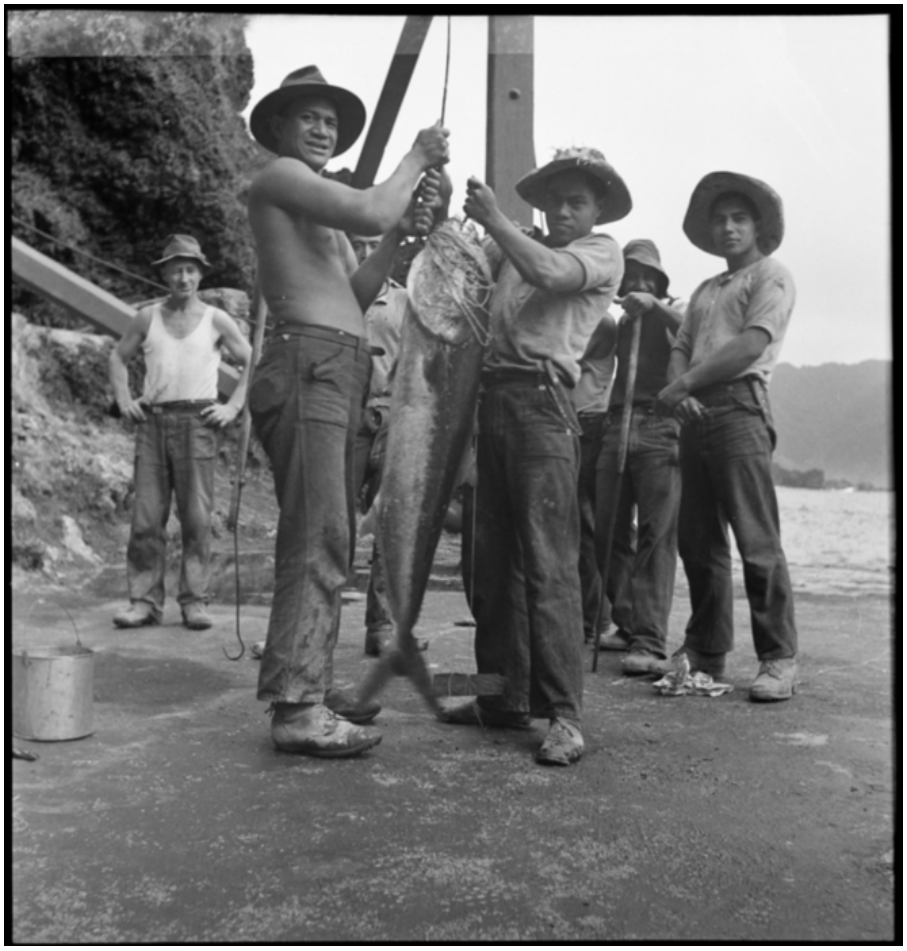


Figure 47 – 'Niuean men with a large kingfish, Boat Cove, Raoul Island, Kermadec Islands', Photographs of John Herman Sorensen, Ref: 1/4-113582-F, negative: K.89, National Library of New Zealand.

Assuming the hemispheric perspective once more, it was New Zealand that had taken the lead in surveying islands on behalf of the British government to establish the suitability of islands for seaplane usage and to (re)stake Britain's claims of sovereignty. The surveys of Dunedin, Leith, Wellington, Leander and Achilles in 1938 to 1939 were

even financed by the New Zealand government.[1008] Based upon these surveys, New Zealand's own visions for an independent trans-Pacific aviation route emerged which included Fanning and Nukunono (Tokelau).[1009] Of these considerations, E.A. Gibson even suggested that for the purposes of establishing an air route the 'British Pacific' should be considered as "one political entity".[1010] The conclusions of these surveys drove official opinion, determining that the islands of the mid-Pacific would prove an "inescapable stepping stone" for any service which attempted to cross the ocean (Fig. 48 details routes proposed by the survey across the ocean from New Zealand).[1011]

At the highest levels of government, the air-minded got a fair hearing and pressed their claims. J.E. Lee, Michael Savage's brash and radical under-secretary pursued the air question with vigour and was influential in tripling military expenditure in the late 1930s, urging a greater commitment to the Pacific both prior to and during the course of the Second World War.[1012] Walter Nash meanwhile, Savage's Minister of Finance was even dubbed "the flying minister" for his extensive travel by plane to the United States in the late 1930s, visits of which were attempts to induce American reciprocity on the

[1008] Edward Stanley Dispatch to the Government of New Zealand, 23 July 1938, TNA CO 323/1602/10.
[1009] The Tokelau group came under New Zealand's jurisdiction in 1925.
[1010] 'New Zealand Pacific Aviation Survey Expedition', November 1938 - March 1939, Interim Report by E.A. Gibson 'General Results and Activities', appendix 1 - Report to Chief of Staff concerning Alternative Alighting Areas, Suva', WHPC 22/III/8.
[1011] 'Air Services in Pacific Islands', doc 93a, pp. 1-12 - 'New Zealand Pacific Aviation Survey Expedition: General Report on Activity and Results'. Made clear that it was the dispatch of H.M.S Achilles in 1937 that provided a stimulus to greater New Zealand work, p 9, WPHC 4/III F.F 4/3 Vol. 2.
[1012] Carter, 'The Flying Minister', p. 19; Erik Olssen, *John A. Lee* (Dunedin, 1977), p. 174, 185.

aviation question.[1013] New Zealand was not alone in pursuing these Pacific questions with greater urgency from the mid 1930s amidst increased regional tension however. Canada began to finance and staff the defence of their Pacific coast with greater intensity.[1014] At the 1937 Imperial Conference, discussions regarding a Pacific Pact, driven by the Australian premier, Lyons took place, although its signing remained "a desirable (though perhaps rather remote) objective."[1015] By the late 1930s, New Zealand was insisting on the discussion of the aviation issue at the Pacific Defence Conference which made plans for the development of Fiji and defined a sense of each Dominion deciding for itself the scale of defensive preparations to be made. It also attempted to establish a British service at earliest possible date with costs for the survey route from Auckland to Suva be made equally by Britain, New Zealand and Australia.[1016] Official rhetoric thus ultimately came to match that being by some of the Dominion's Pacific-minded public intellectuals, such as Frank Milner who had advocated advances in Pacific understanding in New Zealand classrooms since the 1920s:

"We [New Zealanders] are now realizing that the Far East becomes to us the Near North. Science annihilates space daily, and our complacency is being rudely disturbed as we learn more and more of the policy and the activities of the naval expansionist school of Japan.... What counts in raiding excursions is not the mileage between Yokohama and Sydney but that between Palau and New Guinea".[1017]

[1013] "The Flying Minister", *Northern Advocate*, 17 July 1937, p. 5**;** Letter from Keith Officer to Department of External Affairs, 19 August 1937, details meeting between Walter Nash and Pan Am officials in Washington, pp. 1-4, NAA AVI 36 Part 1, A981.
[1014] Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London, 1987). On Canadian defence, John D. Meehan, *The Dominion and the Rising Sun* (Vancouver, 2004).
[1015] C.W. Orde [Foreign Office] (Secretary of the Technical Committee of the Pacific Pact) to J.L. Dodds [Japanese Ambassador], 'Report of the Technical Committee of the Pacific Pact', P.Z. 4320 1937, IOR L/P&J/12/613.
[1016] Higham, *Britain's Air Routes,* p. 305.
[1017] Frank Milner, 'British Interests in the Pacific', *Press [Christchurch]*, 16 January 1939, p. 8.

External influences upon the air question were of great significance. Air-advocates such as Bernt Balchen, the renowned Norwegian aviator knew how to cut to the heart of inter-Dominion rivalry: "It behoves New Zealand to be first in the field…otherwise Australia may be made the terminus".[1018] We might perceive this as a throw-away gesture, but when it came to aviation some of the strongest strains of an independent Dominion outlook could be induced. Illustrative of this were the events of 1941 in which plans for the establishment of an alternative Pan American route in the Pacific which cut out Auckland entirely emerged Walter Nash claimed he was prepared to forgo reciprocity to secure the link, whilst Joseph Coates made the striking claim that "New Zealand is no longer a colony. We are a Dominion, with complete autonomy, and in this case have much interest."[1019] Whilst we shouldn't read Coates's proclamation as nationalist sentiment, we should however recognise the sincerity with which New Zealand officials came to view the air question, an issue intimately tied to security, economy and identity: for aviation could bring the empire closer to home and its enemies closer to shore.

Whitehall may have acted as unperturbed by New Zealand's lack of air routes by the early 1930s (compared even to her 'most air-minded' Australian neighbour), but New Zealanders evidently were not. In what seems a strikingly independent decision in 1935, Pan American obtained a permit from the New Zealand government securing landing

[1018] 'Across the Pacific', *Evening Post*, 10 August 1934, p. 10.
[1019] H.F. Batterbee to J.E. Stephenson [High Commissioner in Wellington], 8 August 1941, enclosure 2 'Interview with Mr. T Burke' between J.G. Coates, T. Burke, Assistant Secretary of State and Mr Langstone), p. 3, TNA CO 323/1828/5.

rights at Auckland. Indeed, the entire basis for the development of a Pan American route to Australia was predicated upon this New Zealand connection. Harold Gatty, the British-Tasmanian looms large in these deliberations as Pan American representative. Gatty cannot be determined as the causal factor in the making of this decision, yet his role was influential. In the negotiations, Gatty's contentions that ten years would elapse before New Zealand could run its own trans-Pacific service and that the interim Pan American would help build such a service proved compelling at a time of palpable air-mindedness. [1020] Indeed, agreement with Pan American was reached in the same year New Zealand's local shipping giant, the *Union Steam Ship Company* founded the *Union Airways of New Zealand*, her first major airline and during the development of the *Royal New Zealand Air Force*, which was eventually established in 1937. Ultimately, a range of concessions never previously granted to any foreign company in New Zealand were granted, agreed upon on the basis that agreement was reached between a private company and the Dominion.[1021] This blurring between official and semi-official representation in trade relations and diplomacy thus also provides a critical context in the development and role of the Dominion in Pacific aviation.

[1020] 'New Zealand-Pan American Agreement', 25 November 1935, ANZ AIR 1 880 C228/476 111/2/1/ Part 1. Joseph Coates, Minister of Transport made agreement in the presence of Horace Belshaw, and Lisle Alderton on behalf of Pan American. Clause 12 defined the "faith of reciprocity" which would determine conduct (p. 4-5). Letter from Peter Fraser to Harold Gatty, 11 March 1937 spoke to the deep dissatisfaction that reciprocity had not been enforced. ANZ AIR 1 880 C228/476 111/2/1/ Part 1 'Air Services - Trans-Pacific - Policy'.

[1021] New Zealand did not insist upon formal diplomatic channels with the US, stressing a private agreement between Pan Am and NZ was made, 'Trans-Pacific Air Service: Pan American Service to New Zealand', p. 4, TNA DO 35/236/2.

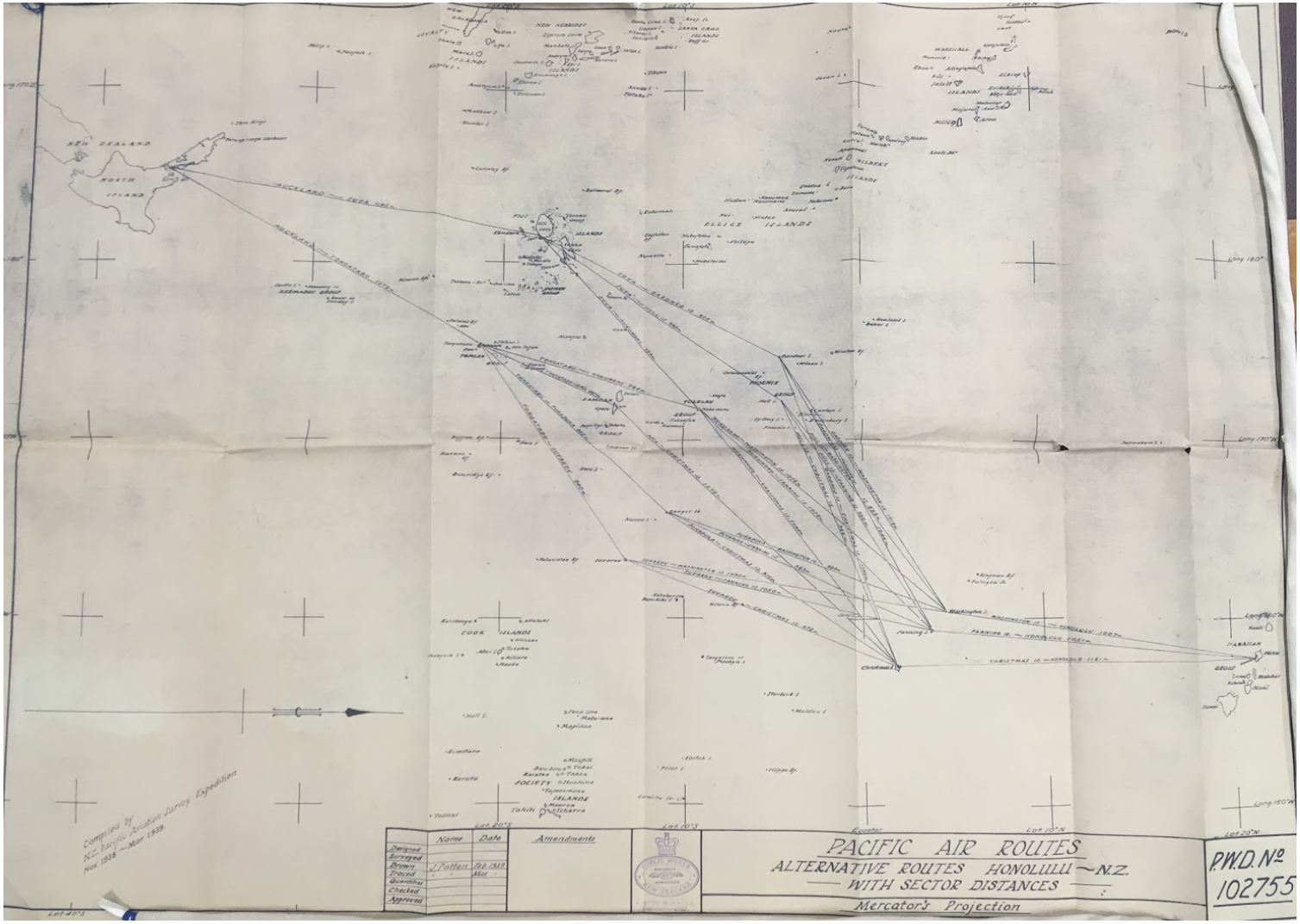


Figure 48 – 'Air Services in Pacific Islands', doc 100f, 'Prints of Island Surveys' - Pacific Air Routes', Vol. 2, WPHC 4/III F.F 4/3.

Conclusions

Just eleven years after Harry Luke's visit to Canton Island, the prolific Australian travel writer Frank Clune landed on Canton, reflecting the island had "become and probably would remain for all time, a key point in the global strategy of air traffic".[1022] It was a remarkable transformation, symbolising the dynamism of the development of trans-Pacific routes. Just three flights had departed San Francisco en-route to Auckland before Pan American's trans-Pacific service was suspended until 1946. For America, the Japanese Empire's aerial attack on Pearl Harbour, their 'day of infamy', was defined by a series of catastrophic blows to the centrepiece of their Pacific strategy which had been decades in the making. On the other side of the ocean, Japanese forces had already landed at Malaya, the first stage in their assault upon Singapore, the centrepiece of Britain's own strategy east of Suez, the guarantor of the defence of Australia and New Zealand and all her interests in the Far East, gone up in smoke.

It was to prove an 'airman's war' as personnel, aircraft and supplies, vital to the ever-moving island sites of war lead to a massive extension of aviation infrastructure to meet the demands of a war across the island world, as island-hopping emerged a key strategy and a symbolic feature of the war. Transport capacity on Canton Island increased from one seaplane flight to one-hundred and fifty per week, whilst airfields

[1022] Frank Clune, *Hands Across the Pacific* (Sydney, 1951), p. 14.

were constructed at Funafuti, Nanomea, and Nukufetau in the Ellice Island chain – an archipelagic front-line in the Pacific War as "islands became bulwarks to … defence or stepping-stones to … offenses".[1023]

These developments were indicative of an immense world-wide and inter-continental system of military airways established principally by the United States during the war years which formed the basis for the system of commercial air routes which followed in the years thereafter.[1024] They also represented a scheme of Anglo-American regional strategic cooperation which thwarted the Japanese advance, but ultimately came to bolster America's regional position. During the war years from his office in Wellington, Harry Fagg Batterbee, the newly instated British High Commissioner to New Zealand deprecated what he saw as the habit of "twisting the lion's tail". "If we play our cards well", he reflected, "we may be able to turn this to our advantage: but we must show our interest in the Pacific and our determination to maintain our position there".[1025] "What does worry me", he claimed was "the hold on aviation the Americans are getting in the Pacific. When peace comes they will have both the bases, the aircraft and the experience".[1026] It was a view which tacitly accepted American influence was in the ascendency and the Pacific Dominions had taken a lead in adapting to the new order.

[1023] Judith A. Bennett, 'Fears and Aspirations: U.S. Military Intelligence Operations in the South Pacific, 1941-45', *JPH*, 33/3 (2004), pp. 283-307.
[1024] Spoehr, 'The Marshall Islands', 451.
[1025] Harry Batterbee to Sir Gerald Campbell, 18 January 1944, Batterbee Papers, BLOU MSS N.Z.s.13, Box 6, File 2.
[1026] Letter from Harry Batterbee to Sir Gerald Campbell, 21 August 1943, Batterbee Papers, BLOU MSS N.Z.s.13, Box 6, File 2.

Ultimately, air power had forced a review of traditional notions of imperial defence.[1027] As Condliffe stressed, "the extraordinary development of air power has completely upset former conceptions of security, whether regional or collective. It has rendered isolation and neutrality illusory, especially for small peoples".[1028] The Dominions – and particularly New Zealand as this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, did not simply "bask in the shade" of the Singapore policy (Fig. 49), letting developments in the Pacific proceed as officials in Whitehall alone would define them, but proved increasingly pro-active participants reinforcing and, in some cases, challenging London's line in the pursuit of regional security. Indeed, throughout the course of the war, the islands of the Southwest Pacific were further pulled into the consciousness of New Zealand, an amplification of pre-war tendencies owing to the uncertain position of the French territories and America's new (and in some cases) renewed claims upon them during and in the wake of the Second World War.[1029]

[1027] 'Air Power and Imperial Defence', *The Round Table*, 24/95 (1934), p.500-501.
[1028] John Bell Condliffe, *Agenda for a Postwar World* (New York, 1942), p. 80.
[1029] Felix M. Keesing, 'Atoms of Empire', *Far Eastern Survey*, 10/5 (1941), p. 52.

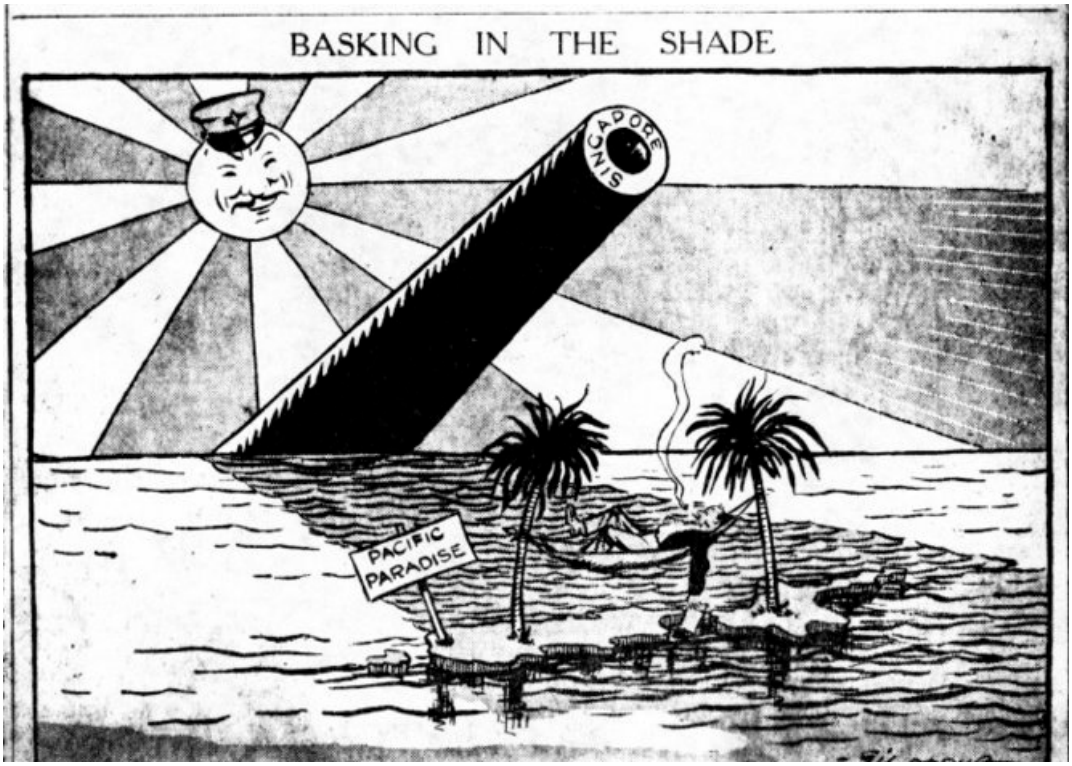


Figure 49 – John Henry Gilmour, 'Basking in the shade', *New Zealand Truth,* 16 February 1938, p.12.

Whilst the institutions of the Pan-Pacific made little headway in stimulating a united approach to the 'air question' (or to solving its differences), rather adding to a growing literature on the topic on bookshelves across the globe, developments in the Pacific did further stimulate the notion that regional approaches to defence could be best-placed to forestall future conflict.[1030] Moreover, conceptions of defence were increasingly framed against a Pan-Pacific template as sites, of limited or receding influence in the 'Age of Steam' were reconsidered and remapped against the new cartography of the 'Air Age'.

[1030] Donald Cowie, 'Towards A Regional Empire', *The Political Quarterly*, 12/2 (1941), p. 214.

A final reflection upon methodology. This chapter has sought to explore the Dominion stake in regional geopolitics, but it has also entailed a historiographical experiment into how semi-global history may be examined from a small site (or a single coral atoll in the case of Canton) – a means of questioning whether if we do "adopt a view from 10,000 feet…a kind of high world history…a cartoonish and colonialist image of the past" is the result. This author hopes the approach and content of this chapter allows that question to be answered in the negative.[1031]

[1031] Chang, 'Looking at the Pacific, 24 & 26.

Conclusions

The Atlantic is a stormy moat; and the Mediterranean,
The blue pool in the old garden,
More than five thousand years has drunk sacrifice
Of ships and blood, and shines in the sun; but here the Pacific--
Our ships, planes, wars are perfectly irrelevant.
Neither our present blood-feud with the brave dwarfs
Nor any future world-quarrel of westering
And eastering man, the bloody migrations, greed of power, clash of faiths
Is a speck of dust on the great scale-pan.
Here from this mountain shore, headland beyond stormy headland
plunging like dolphins through the blue sea-smoke
Into pale sea-look west at the hill of water: it is half the planet:
this dome, this half-globe, this bulging
Eyeball of water, arched over to Asia,
Australia and white Antarctica: those are the eyelids that never close;
this is the staring unsleeping
Eye of the earth; and what it watches is not our wars.

Robinson Jeffers, 'The Eye [1942]', in *The Double Axe, & Other Poems, Including Eleven Suppressed Poems* (New York, 1977) p. 126.

Examining The 'Eye of the Earth'

From hindsight's vantage, visitors to San Francisco's 'Pageant' were consuming a world in prospect, rather than one in preparation. The exposition proved instead "a lifeline for a project that had faltered".[1032] Whilst plans were made to turn 'Pacific House' – where Covarrubias' murals adorned the walls – into a permanent 'Museum of Pacific Cultures', 'Treasure Island' was instead turned into a naval station. On the opposite shores of the ocean, the Second Sino-Japanese War was in its second year. Shanghai and Nanjing had fallen to Imperial Japanese forces; Chongqing had become the provisional capital of Republican China.[1033] From this perspective, this 'Pageant' depicted a vision of a unified and affluent Pacific seems almost fantastical. Those who had forecast inevitable regional conflict were proven correct; those who imagined the Pan-Pacific movement would act as a discursive and institutional means of fostering regional cooperation saw that dream unravel before their eyes. First came the sober reflections – how had the many "Pacific Prophets" not foreseen these events? Homer Lea "had failed to envisage the importance of air power"; Bywater "had misjudged the time-factor by a decade". Sidney Gulick thought the idea "thoroughly laughable" that Japan might enter into a war with the United States.[1034]

[1032] Adler, *Neptune's Laboratory*, p. 79.
[1033] Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally* (New York, 2014).
[1034] Harold A. Larrabee, 'Pacific Prophets Come to Judgement', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 6/3 (1942), pp. 459-460.

Watching as the chaos unfolded to the north and as men and women were mobilised for domestic defence and offensives overseas, the opportunities which had been missed in the decades prior to build a secure regional and international order were clear to many. In August 1942, a piece in *ABC Weekly* reflected directly on the much-maligned PPTU*S:* "This trade union organisation would have been of greatest value…in the strengthening of relations with China…we could have done with the help of native peoples…and in maintaining a broad internationalist attitude at home. Twenty years ago we had this attitude...we must regain it".[1035]

In the wake of the attack of the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service upon Pearl Harbour, the renowned poet of the American West, Robinson Jeffers, conjured a metaphor to counter the folly of a world war unfurling as he wrote – a war whose American involvement he controversially opposed:[1036]

"this dome, this half-globe, this bulging Eyeball of water, arched over to Asia, Australia and white Antarctica: those are the eyelids that never close; this is the staring unsleeping Eye of the earth; and what it watches is not our wars".[1037]

Yet Jeffers also spoke to the globality of the Pacific, calling it the 'eye of the earth'. To many of his contemporaries, the Pacific persisted as an idealistic vista, an enticing metaphor in which no single person, organisation, nation, empire or ideology could

[1035] 'Trade Unions Have a World Outlook', *The ABC Weekly*, 4/32 (8 August 1942), p. 4.
[1036] James Karman, *Robinson Jeffers* (Stanford, 2015), pp. 1-8.
[1037] Robinson Jeffers, 'The Eye [1942]', in *The Double Axe, & Other Poems, Including Eleven Suppressed Poems* (New York, 1977) p. 126.

define alone. As Miranda Johnson notes, "the Pacific continues to resist...attempts to synthesize and integrate, to periodize and define in time or space".[1038] Jeffers' poem reminds us that if the Pacific does have unifying characteristics, they are non-human.[1039]

Jeffers' metaphor would be repurposed by Condliffe three decades later, who upon his death in 1981 left an unpublished work entitled 'The Eye of the Earth', a broad sweep of regional economic history written as contextual reading for the Stanford Research Institute.[1040] For Condliffe, an intellectual – perhaps even an emotional – attachment to the Pacific geo-paradigm was life-long, outlasting the short period he was Research Secretary of the IPR. The fact that Condliffe's account wasn't published until 2004 is perhaps symbolic of the minimised legacy of the Pan-Pacific movement at large.[1041]

Yet by the late nineteenth century, the Pacific had emerged a world region possessing a chimeric quality, symbolic and suggestive of a complex of contemporary issues: commercial opportunity and progress underpinning the rapid industrialisation of East and Southeast Asia; of impending geo-strategic rivalry and civilisational struggle between monolithic Easts and Wests. It produced a tantalising metaphorical stage from which to imagine twentieth century modernity, with regional issues possessing a

[1038] Miranda Johnson, 'The Declension of History' in *Pacific Future*s, p. 5.
[1039] Blank, 'The Pacific', 267.
[1040] John Bell Condliffe, The Eye of the earth; a Pacific survey, MS-Papers-7641, NLNZ.
[1041] John B. Condliffe, *The Eye of the Earth: A Pacific Survey*, Peter G. Condliffe & Michio Yamaoka (eds.) (Tokyo, 2004).

globality. The Pan-Pacific was therefore an ideological response to a conspicuous geo-paradigm and became a conceptual framework for regional inter-imperial organisation.

It possessed two distinctive modes: the first, noted by W.R. Louis was "an alarmist view which gave rise to a theory of geo-politics in the Far East that reflected growing suspicion of Japan and a ringing affirmation of the belief in the China trade".[1042] Yet it also possessed a more idealistic tendency, prospecting regional engagement – even a prospective pacifism through which conflict could be avoided. To many involved with the IPR, these two responses could prove two sides of the same coin. Its advocates, such as Condliffe, saw this worldview as a means of encouraging "mutual understanding" that rested upon a deeper understanding of divisive issues, resulting in a deliberate attempt to examine the Pacific in an inter-disciplinary fashion. Only through comparative study could solutions to manage and re-adjust to these 'problems' be found.

It was a notion which engaged a diverse, yet committed minority who authored a wide variety of publications and set up an array of organisations to explore the 'panorama of possibilities' and the plurality of 'problems' it posed. Yet goals for Pan Pacific organisation were too infrequently articulated; its thematic and spatial reach (as well as the polities it sought to investigate) too capacious, too diverse or at odds to stimulate deeper integration; its participants too infrequently able to translate Pan-Pacific ideas into Pan-Pacific policy at institutional, state or international levels. Ultimately, the Pan

[1042] Louis, *British Strategy*, p. 22.

Pacific idea remained marginal in the political sphere both in the former Dominions, the United States, Republican China, Imperial Japan and across Oceania. The sum of these developments meant that between 1920 and 1945 – as Gerald Segal has claimed – there was "nothing that could rightly be called an international order" in the region.[1043] The Pan-Pacific proves instead however an intellectually compelling organising concept and milieu with which to re-examine the Dominions' sense of place and stake in a shifting regional and global order of the first half of the twentieth century.

We still organise around Pacific regional templates, but the "pan" prefix has receded from view as it became increasingly clear during the years of the Second World War that a balance between regional organisation and global organisation was the requirement of the future. "The 'pan system', one author in New Zealand proclaimed, "has no place in a sane world bent on peace".[1044] As Condliffe put it, "the regional idea is tainted with the continentalism of Geopolitik".[1045] Still some advocated the regional model, such as the Chinese scholar S.R. Chow, who called for a chain of air bases available to an international air force of regional powers, a 'trans-Pacific defense belt", but such sentiments were rejected by some of the Pan-Pacific's most committed scholars.[1046] Elizabeth Green who had been the first editor of the *Pacific Affairs* and her husband, Handy, one of the most influential ethnologists based at Bishop Museum, pushed back against their former sensibilities. "The Pacific is not a region" they claimed

[1043] Segal, *Rethinking*, p. 66.
[1044] 'Notes On The War', *Evening Post*, 1 August 1945, p. 6.
[1045] John Bell Condliffe, *Agenda for a Postwar World* (New York, 1942), p. 77.
[1046] S.R. Chow, *Winning the Peace in the Pacific* (New York, 1944), p. 79.

in a jointly-penned article. "It is too vast, too diverse–and mostly water! Although it has been useful as a geographical-political concept in past decades of preliminary cooperative endeavour around the great ocean, the phrase in reality connotes simply a communicating medium between regions".[1047] "Professor Chow's community of association, like the Pacific concept", they concluded, "is too vast, too diverse, and too widely separated in distance…to be practical".[1048]

[1047] Elizabeth Green & Craighill Handy, 'Regionally Planning in the Far East', *Social Forces*, 23/1 (1944), p. 403.
[1048] Ibid.

The Properties of the Pan-Pacific

Emerging amidst a panoply of pan movements, this thesis has examined the emergence and historicity of the Pan Pacific idea and tested the strength and depth of its influence in the British Dominions during the first half of the twentieth century. It has attempted a cross-contextualisation of the topic by examining multiple institutions, individuals and interests side-by-side.[1049] In doing so, it has sought to address the notion that Dominion encounters and engagements with the Pan Pacific were influential rather than inconsequential, revealing insights for the significance of regionalism for the Dominion's sense of place both within the British Empire and in the world, and testing the pervasiveness of a historiographical and cultural tendency described in the introduction as the 'Settler Pacific Paradox', a distinct regional spatial ambivalence. The introduction speculated upon three of the properties which seemed to define the Pan Pacific depicted at San Francisco's 'Pageant': *paradigmatic*, *promotional* and *platitudinal*. Reflecting upon these modalities, there are further to add.

The Pan Pacific was *paradigmatic*. It sought to characterise an emergent phase of oceanic civilisation and world organisation. It was *prospective*, depicting a latent force and an aspirant regionalism which was allegorical in nature, placing the destinies of its constituent civilisations, empires and societies into conversation. The Pan Pacific was also *pervasive* – rather more so than the extant literature suggests. The wide variety of

[1049] For an advocation of 'cross-contextualisation', see Sujit Sivasundaram, *Waves Across the Ocean: A New History of Revolution and Empire* (London, 2020)

'Pan Pacific' initiatives explored in this thesis reveal the broad demographic who were stimulated by the idea by school teachers, social reformers, and by radical trade unionists to conservative barristers. This pervasiveness stemmed from its *plurality*. The historical record does not however sufficiently reflect the diffuse influence of this hybrid mode of thought. Attempts made in this thesis to address this absence represent its principal historiographical contribution.

As discussed in Part 1, the Pan Pacific idea could readily be aligned with two of the primary international trajectories of the age: liberal internationalism and communist internationalism, reflected in the IPR and PPTUS. The two organisations explicitly referenced one another, offering different ruminations upon the root of Pacific problems, sketched onto an identical cartographic template. Echoing a tendency of pan movements at large, the Pan Pacific was *connective*. It was a deliberate response to emergent nationalisms and pan ideologies – such as Pan Asianism or Pan Americanism.

The Pan Pacific was however distinctive in two respects: firstly, it drew inspiration from an oceanic sensibility, a metaphor for pluralism, hybridity and capaciousness, buttressed by the inclusion of the region's major continental powers to foster a terraqueous regional imaginary.[1050] Unity emerged around its dynamic spatiality and the urgency of its issues, yet so diverse were the actors drawn to investigate its

[1050] Bashford, 'Terraqueous Histories'.

problems and so ideologically divergent were Pan Pacific organisations in their approach, that a conceptual, ideological and political unity was never achieved with geostrategic threat, market potential and prospective affinity unconvincing or of lesser significance to alternative affinities, such as nationhood or imperial belonging. Secondly, in comparison to similar movements, a commercial impulse played a particularly significant role in animating interest in Pan Pacific organisation and its *promotional* qualities were strong. It was however also *platitudinal*. In the end, the 'China trade', so revered by some of the Pan Pacific's most committed boosters represented just 3% of the total annual foreign trade of the United States by the late 1930s.[1051] Despite considerable fanfare about the prospects of cooperation which continued throughout the period and found clearest expression in trade journals such as *Pan Pacific Progress* or Hume Ford's *Mid Pacific Magazine* these ideas were never represented mainstream opinion beyond Hawai'i itself.

[1051] Tyler Dennett, 'Alternative American Policies in the Far East', *Foreign Affairs*, 16/3 (1938), p. 390.

Pacific Dominions & Dominion Pacifics

This thesis has argued that through an examination of the Pan Pacific, we can fruitfully examine the ways in which British Worlds and Pacific Worlds overlapped and influenced one another. Whilst the loudest proponents and strongest financial backers of the Pan-Pacific were often American and the object or subject of analysis most often directed towards transformations in East Asia, The Pan-Pacific was a conceptual co-production with a vast supporting cast who in turn refined, challenged and re-made it in their own ways. In this sense, the Pacific was never simply "an extension of American colonialism, but a site where British, Australasian, and European interests" – and I would add, East Asian and Latin American interests – "played out in the project of managing and modernizing colonialism".[1052] The former Dominions have their fingerprints all over these histories, though often obscured by the bigger imprints of more dominant regional actors.

An examination of such disparate phenomena as this thesis explores can make it difficult to draw comprehensive conclusions. As Werner Levi would reflect on the nature of Australia's regional interests over half a century ago, there was "great difficulty in measuring or even knowing the distribution, weight and influence of individual or group attitudes and opinions". [1053] It is not easy, therefore, to generalise the extent to which 'thinking Pacific' animated the citizenry of the Dominions at large. More could be done

[1052] McLeod & Paisley, 'The Modernization of Colonialism', 502.
[1053] Werner Levi, *Australia's Outlook on Asia* (Sydney, 1958), preface.

to test whether the ideas examined in this thesis entered the consciousness of a still more diverse demographic, but it does represent an attempt at engaging with the wide variety of ways in which the Dominions were 'thinking Pacific' while remaining neo-Britains.

Engagement rested upon what Levi perhaps pretentiously called a small number of "advanced thinkers", few of whom possessed any illusions of the degree of independence which Australia and New Zealand could ever afford.[1054] "There may well be such a phenomenon as a Pan Pacific person haunting the corridors of regional organizations...but these people are atypical of their original society", as Segal has claimed.[1055] This was certainly the case in the 1920s and 30s. In the end, it was not a Pacific cultural identity that was produced, but rather a greater reflexivity, a greater sense of the significance of the Pacific and its issues, both globally and locally. Yet an increased and sustenance of Pacific consciousness rarely translated into Pacific policy. Evidence from Rangiora High represents a clear attempt for instance to embed a Pacific sense in students, making use of IPR materials, but these efforts were never implemented Dominion-wide before 1945.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that for a committed group of regional anthropologists, the Pan Pacific idea proved a compelling paradigm through which to organise region-wide surveys and to examine regional race relations. Approaches ranged from the endurance

[1054] Levi, *Outlook*, p. 50.
[1055] Segal, *Rethinking*, p. 90.

of exclusionary immigration regimes to attempts to reconsider colonial governance through notions of adjustment, acculturation and association which found expression through the writings of Buck, Kessing and Sutherland among others. Chapter 3 demonstrates that whilst the sum efforts of the PPTUS were limited, producing what William Lawrence dismissed in the early 1950s as "sonorous resolutions", initiative from the Dominions – particularly from within the radical New South Wales trade union movement – engaged the Comintern leadership, leveraging their own international revolutionary credentials through Pacific organisation, stimulating the organisation of the PPTUS itself. Their impetus also encouraged a domestic (and trans-Tasman) rebuttal from within the mainstream trade union and Labo(u)r movement who sought to counter its radical anti-racial regionalism, recounted in publications such as the *Pan Pacific Worker*. [1056] Whilst the PPTUS could not outlive revolution in China nor internecine conflict within the political left itself, anti-racial union solidarity, internationalism and anti-capitalism, organised upon this regional template continued to inspire sections of the Left throughout the period as a space of prospective solidarity.

The saliency and significance of these Pan-Pacific engagements from Dominion actors has been vastly underplayed in the literature. In a 'recolonial' system, a 'Pacific Turn' was never the master variable through which Dominion independence emerged or the British tie loosened, but instead there was "a…rhythm between the imperial and the regional idea".[1057] These were scenarios which could in fact "strongly reinforce each

[1056] Lawrence, 'Australia and the Comintern', 74.
[1057] John Andrews, 'Geopolitics and the Pacific', *AHS*, 2/6 (1942), p. 87.

other".[1058] As Kornel Chang has shown, "contradictory impulses" in the case of America's Pacific borderlands between "globalization and nationalization, inclusion and exclusion, mobility and immobility – worked mutually, even dialectically to forge an "American lake".[1059] In the case of the Dominions, regional reflexivity and recolonisation weren't mutually exclusive concepts, but could work to reinforce one another. There is evidence of an emergent, ambivalent autonomy in both foreign and trade relations, with the Pacific often the site of specialised interests.[1060] These Dominions had by the late 1930s already been conceptualised as "small Pacific countries" with limited, yet distinctive stakes.[1061]

Chapter 4 reveals that the Pan Pacific could prove a pervasive means of re-branding the 'Eastern trade' in the wake of World War – a tendency stemming principally from the United States, but with intermittent purchase in the Dominions too. Pacific commerce was symbolically connected to the "progress industry" of the founding phase of settler states, reflected in attempts to stimulate island economies and prospective 'Eastern markets' through an increase in semi- and official trade representation – particularly in the wake of the Great Depression and despite an increased reciprocity with Britain, stimulated by agreements at Ottawa in 1932.[1062] Although the Dominion stake in Pacific trade did increase in our period, proving a significant regional export market for

[1058] Frank Broeze, 'Australia, Asia and Pacific: The Maritime World of Robert Towns, 1843-1873', *AHS*, 24/95 (1990), p. 238.
[1059] Chang, *Pacific Connections*, p. 192.
[1060] Wm. Roger Louis & Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Decolonization', *JICH*, 22/3 (1994), pp. 462–511.
[1061] Shepherd, *Australia's Interests*, p. 182-185.
[1062] Belich, *Replenishing*, p. 414.

Australia by the mid 1930s, "dreams of a vast market for…produce in the Far East proved of slow realisation". Rhetoric rarely matched reality therefore.[1063]

Histories of the 1920-30s often feel like exercises in examining the origins of the Second World War, rather than attempts at understanding the dynamics of the period itself. For Kerry Howe, only after the Second World War did foreign policy makers begin to "reconceptualise New Zealand's strategic Pacific location" with Britain's accession to the European Economic Community in 1973.[1064] Yet the lingering historiographical sense that New Zealand was suddenly awoke from a spatial slumber from 1935 (or even in the wake of 1942) is a mischaracterisation.[1065] Conceptualisations of distinct colonial, Dominion and now national interests of regional, Pacific interests from both Australia and New Zealand are as old – at least – as British settlement itself. The Pan Pacific movement proves a useful means of re-framing its development prior to the Second World War. Chapter 6 provides evidence of New Zealand officials attempting to conceptualise and negotiate New Zealand's role in regional aviation, an issue which impinged upon commerce, geopolitics and science. Yet, even after the Second World War, distinctive regional interests were still considered minimal, periodically activated through discussion of regional pacts and through the developmental and independence aspirations of the Pacific Islands themselves.

[1063] Shepherd, *Australia's Interests*, p. 184.
[1064] Howe, 'Pacifics', 8.
[1065] Bernard K. Gordon, *New Zealand Becomes a Pacific Power* (Chicago, 1960), p. 21.

Pan Pacific Echoes

The IPR of which Condliffe would play such a committed role in its formative years would survive the reorganisation of international society in the wake of the Second World War, but succumbed to the pressures of internal American politics, convulsed by the Cold War. Yet the IPR possesses a much neglected, lingering influence through its rich record of publications and through the influence of its members. The Pacific Science Association (PSA) lives on to this day, long after the PPU from which it sprung ceased operations. The Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Women's Association (PPSEAWA) continues to hold meetings, as does the Pacific Coast Surgical Association – three organisations which have roots in the Pan Pacific movement of the 1920s, emerging from the 'Honolulu nexus'.

Whilst Gerald Segal may have concluded back in 1990 that "there [was] no important cultural, ideological, political, economic, or even military sense in which it is particularly useful to talk of the 'Pacific'", its conceptual saliency in international affairs continues.[1066] The "Pan-Pacific" may have limited purchase in the political vocabulary of the twenty first century, but the Pacific as region and as paradigm lives on, prefixed and suffixed in new ways but continuing to prove a useful template and space from which to imagine new worlds and conjure new orders.[1067] The potency of this abstraction of political geography remains deeply embedded in international discourse

[1066] Segal, *Rethinking*, p. 377.
[1067] On a recurrent 'Pacific Age', see Henry Tricks, 'The Pacific Age', *The Economist*, 15. November 2014, pp. 1-14.

in three significant ways: firstly, it continues to prove a useful instrument of cultural internationalism; second, it continues to serve as a regional template and aspirational space of economic integration and interdependency. Economic forecasters continue with each generation to envisage a coming 'Pacific Century'.[1068] Finally, the Pacific continues to act as a resonant geo-strategic space. In 2017, the Prime Minister of Sāmoa, Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi declared that shifts in global power had once more put the Pacific at the "centre of contemporary global geopolitics".[1069] International discourse is once more reflecting that it is in this region the world's two largest powers' – China and the United States' – interests overlap to the greatest extent. One multi-lateral concept, rekindled to meet the demands of this emergent order is the notion of the 'Indo-Pacific', a term utilised by Kalidas Nag in *India and the Pacific World* in 1941, who was himself drawing upon a term used at least since the mid-nineteenth century in a linguistic context. It now seeks to actively bring India and Indonesia into closer strategic dialogue with existing Australian, American and Japanese triangular cooperation.[1070] The New Zealand Government is meanwhile undergoing a 'Pacific Reset'.[1071] The Australian government continues a Pacific "Step-Up" to meet strategic and environmental challenges on its doorstep.[1072] Despite the continual presentation of

[1068] Staffan Burenstam Linder, *The Pacific Century* (Stanford, 1986).
[1069] Graeme Smith, 'Where the Blue Pacific Meets the Belt and Road', *Inside Story*, 15 March 2019, accessed via https://insidestory.org.au/where-the-blue-pacific-meets-the-belt-and-road/ (28 March 2020).
[1070] James Richardson Logan, 'Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands: Language', *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia* (1851), pp. 1-158. The best single contemporary monograph is Rory Medcalf, *Contest for the Indo-Pacific* (London, 2020).
[1071] Michael Goldsmith, 'Diplomatic Rivalries and Cultural One-Upmanship: New Zealand's Long Quest to become More Pacific than Australia', *The Round Table*, 106/2 (2017), pp. 187-196
[1072] On the Pacific 'Step-Up', see *Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade*, https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/pacific/Pages/the-pacific (20 August 2020).

the Pacific – and particularly the Pacific Islands – as a niche area of foreign and security policy, for both Australia and New Zealand, the vast majority of their most significant bi-lateral relations are found in the region. Much of the geo-strategic regional commentary in the English-language occludes the specific interests of the Pacific Islands, yet the states of Oceania have recently advanced the notion of a 'Blue Pacific', an articulation which places environmental, rather than geo-strategic regional interests at its heart.[1073]

An exploration of the relationship between the Dominions and the Pan Pacific reveals that in the present, as in the past, attempts to become a 'Pacific nation', or even to cultivate a Pacific-mindedness is an aspirational articulation. Kim Richard Nossal has recently claimed that whilst Canada often presents itself as a "Pacific nation", its leadership continues to "refuse to allocate the time and resources that would transform the aspiration to be a 'Pacific nation' into geostrategic reality".[1074] This is a tendency which lead Epeli Hau'ofa to claim that Australia and New Zealand possessed "a habit of dropping in and out of the [South Pacific] region wherever it suits their national self-interest".[1075] The legacy of the 'Settler Pacific Paradox' continues therefore to pervade the former Dominions, even if they may be becoming "more Pacific by the hour" through demography, environmental concern and strategic need.[1076]

[1073] Wesley Morgan, 'Oceans Apart? Considering the Indo-Pacific and the Blue Pacific', *Security Challenges*, 16/1 (2020), pp. 44-64.
[1074] Kim Richard Nossal, 'The North Atlantic anchor: Canada and the Pacific Century', *International Journal*, 73/3 (2018), pp. 364-365.
[1075] Hau'ofa, 'The Ocean in Us', p. 49.
[1076] Damon Salesa, *Island Time: New Zealand's Pacific Futures* (Wellington, 2017), p. 7.

What we can deduct from this longer view of Pacific regionalism is that each iteration of the Pacific as a regional concept and as a paradigm of international affairs can be fixed in time, and explored on its own terms, but is also subject to repeated regeneration. It reminds us that rather than revering the novelty of regional concepts, we have much to learn from their antecedents. In the cases of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, colonial pasts and neo-Europeanist presents have been continually re-made in tandem with regional dynamics, even if conversation of that relationship is muted in the public sphere. For Damon Salesa, the Pacific of today is manifest in its (indigenous) peoples, who increasingly populate the region's major cities: Sydney, Auckland and San Francisco, but it is also manifest in its pasts. I concur with his view that "by turning to the Pacific we can better understand New Zealand", considering further the transformation and the tension between "New Zealand's Pacific" and the contemporary "Pacific New Zealand".[1077] Likewise, we can better understand the former Dominions and British imperialism of the twentieth century at large, overlaying these British Worlds unto a similarly diverse and dynamic series of Pacific Worlds. If our newest 'Pacific prophets', who look upon this space with increasing economic excitement or geopolitical anxiety are to be believed, a more refined understanding of these dynamics, both past and present, will benefit us all.

[1077] Salesa, *Island Time,* p.8 & 17 .

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- Series 1, Box 3

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Governor General
Cabinet Office
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- Box 4, 9, 11, 12, 17-19, 23-25, 33, 40-49, 53, 57, 63, 65, 67, 74, 78, 79, 85-90, 93-97, 99, 115, 120, 137, 141, 153, 283-284 & 306-310

Part II - American Institute of Pacific Relations
- Box 105-108, 110, 122, 125, 285, 287-289

Part III - Files of Individuals
- Box 312

Part VII - Miscellaneous Files
- Box 451

Papers of Joseph Barnes, MS-0074
Series III
- Box 6-8, 11, 21 & 27

Papers of Bruno Lasker, MS-0744
- Box 1-4 - Notebooks

Papers of James T. Shotwell, Ms Coll-Shotwell
Series II
- Box 29-30, 157, 209-210-211(b)

Quincy Wright Papers, MS-1396
- Box 1 & 2

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- Boxes 1-3

Papers of John Bell Condliffe, Coll. 90015
- Box 1-7, 9-10

Papers of Stanley Kuhl Hornbeck, Coll. 67008
- Boxes 7, 23, 161, 326-327, 330

Papers of Ray Lyman Wilbur, XX392
- Box 2, 6-7, 22-33, 34, 41-42, 81

Papers of Karl Wittvogel, Coll. 66033
- Box 207
- Box 212
- Box 243

Xenia Joukoff Eudin Papers, Coll. 84026
- Box 31

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Paul Scharrenberg Papers, BANC MSSC-B 906
- Carton 2
- Carton 4
- Box 1
- Box 2

John Bell Condliffe Papers, BANC MSS C-B 901
- Carton 1
- Box 8
- Incoming correspondence
- Carton 3

Eli Sheppard Papers, BANC MSS 71-253
- Carton 2

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Aurelia Henry Reinhardt Papers

Record Group II. Office of the President Files, 1916-1943
E (1926-1928)
- Folder 30: Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council: Reinhardt invited as member Education Committee 1926-1928

F (1928-1930)
- Folder 27 Institute of Pacific Relations: correspondence, re: work of 1928-1929
- Folder 28 Institute of Pacific Relations: correspondence, re: work of 1929-1930
- Folder 29 Institute of Pacific Relations, Kyoto Conference: material sent from headquarters in New York and material returned from the Orient by Dr. Reinhardt. Programs from conference 1929

G (1930-1932)
- Folder 45 Institute of International Relations: correspondence, re: round table discussion on psychology of Oriental relations and Japanese culture 1930-1932
- Folder 46 Institute of Pacific Relations (Reinhardt member of Bay Region Group and Board of Trustees): correspondence, re: work of 1930-1931

- Folder 47 Institute of Pacific Relations (Reinhardt member of Bay Region Group and Board of Trustees): correspondence, re: work of 1930-1931

H (1932-1934) broken series

- Folder 24 Institute of Pacific Relations: correspondence 1932-1933

J (1941-1943)

- Folder 76 Pacific House: correspondence, re: activities to promote understanding between American and Pacific Countries; American and Latin American Countries 1941-1943

Record Group V. Writings of Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, 1905-1947

- Folder 7 "An Educator Looks at the Kyoto Conference," Pan Pacific Luncheon Forum (Feb. 3, 1930) Dr. Reinhardt's Assembly Speech (Feb. 19, 1930)

Record Group 3, Rosalind Keep Files (1916-1948)

- Folder 18 - Pan-Pacific Women's Association

Record Group II. Office of the President Files, 1916-1943

- B (1919-1921) - Folder 67 - Pan-Pacific Union
- C (1921-1924) - Folder 53 - Pan-Pacific Conference
- D (1924-1926) - Folder 130 - Pan-Pacific Union
- D (1924-1926) - Folder 131 - Pan-Pacific Union
- G (1930-1932) - Folder 83 - Pan-Pacific Women's Conference
- F (1928-1930) - Folder 63 - Pan-Pacific Women's Conference

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Papers of the Pan-Pacific Union, Manuscript-M00003

- Box 2 - Conferences, folders 1-34
- Box 3 - Other Programs (Pan Pacific Clubs & Research Organization)
- Box 5 – Correspondence (mostly with A. Satterthwaite)
- Box 6 – Correspondence (mostly with A. Satterthwaite)
- Box 7 – Pan Pacific Women's Association
- Box 7, Folder: 18 – Institute of Pacific Relations

Institute of Pacific Relations, Manuscript-M00004

- Series A-6 Australia
- Series A-6 14 Canada
- Series A – 7 British Group
- Series A –8-1 New Zealand Group
- Series E – Correspondence Files
- E-1a - Carl Alsberg
- E-3b - Peter Buck
- E-12b - John Condliffe
- E-20 W.L. Holland
- E-22 - Felix Keesing

- E-39 - Frank Midkiff
- E-40 H.C. Tennent
- Series H– 1 Pacific Seminar Conference, 1936 - Keesing, Loomis

Gregg M. Sinclair Papers, 1961.001
- Box 1 – Oriental Institute, Correspondence Files
- Box 3 – Oriental Institute, Programmes

Papers of Felix Keesing, A1999 03
- Box 1

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Papers of Peter Buck [Te Rangi H*īroa], MS SC Buck*
- Box 1, Folder 5 - 'Address to Ngati Poneke'
- Box 2, Folder 6 – 'Letters from Peter Buck to Eric Ramsden, 1935-51
- Box 2, Folder 9 - 'Letters'
- Box 2, Folder 11 - 'Letter from Howe to Judd re Buck, 1936'
- Box 2, Folder 13 – 'Bishop Museum Diary', 1918-1935
- Box 2, Folder 14 – 'Various Buck Notes'
- Box 2, Folder 16 – 'Bishop Museum'
- Box. 4, Folder 1 – 'Cook Island Society'
- Box 4, Folder 3 – 'Rarotonga Letters and Notes'
- Box 4, Folder 11 - 'Letter to Buck from D. Low 1934 re. Cooks'
- Box 4, Folder 14 - 'Letters - S. Savage to Buck 8/1/1934 to 1/11/1934'
- Box 8 - Folder 2 - 'The Technology of Polynesian Houses as a Key to Diffusion'
- Box 8, Folder 7 - Notes for Class in Polynesian Culture Taught at University of Hawaii by Buck in 1941'
- Box 9, Folder 1 – Field Note Book on Samoa: location, Eastern. Sept 1927, Book 1
- Box 9, Folder 4 – Samoan Tales of the Fishing Up of Land
- Box 9, Folder 6 – Some Notes on Western Samoa
- Box 9, Folder 7 - Notes on Samoa

Papers of Orme Cheatham, MS SC CHEATHAM (ORME CHEATHAM)
- Box 1, Folder 1 – Tanager Expedition Field Notebook - Wake Island

Papers of Ernest & Pearl Beaglehole, MS SC BEAGLEHOLE
- Box 5, Folder 11 - 'Voyaging'
- Box 5, Folder 12 - 'Master Ideas of Pukapukuan Culture'

Papers of Edwin H. Bryan, SC BRYAN (E.H)
- Box 4, Folder 1 – 'Roger R. Taney Field Trip, 1938 - vol. 1
- Box 4, Folder 3 – 'E.H. Bryan Curatorial Correspondence'
- Box 4, Folder 5 – 'Some Pacific Scientists I Have Known'
- Box 7, Folder 3 – '1934'
- Box 7, Folder 3 – '1935-6'

- Box 7, Folder 6 – 1938
- Box 7, Folder 7 – '1939'

Papers of Kenneth Emory, SC EMORY
- Box 1, Folder 7 - Field Notebooks: Fanning island
- Box 2 – Early Correspondence, A-B
- Box 2, Folder 1 – 'Emory Correspondence - 1934-1940s'
- Box 2, Folder 2 – 'Emory Correspondence - 1938-1940s'
- Box 2, Folder 8 - 'Bayard Dominick Expedition''
- Box 3 – Correspondence C-M
- Box 3, Folder 7 - Emory-Handy Correspondence
- Box 4 – Correspondence M-Z
- Box 4, Folder 20 - 'Tuamotu 1928-30'

Papers of Edward S. Craighill-Handy, MS SC HANDY, E.S.C
- Box 1, Folder 14 'Personal Relationships'

Papers of Alfred F. Judd Jr., MS SC JUDD
- Box 91, Folders 7-13
- Box 91, Folder 7 – Albert F. Judd Correspondence, undated 1993.208
- Box 91, Folder 8 – Correspondence, 1936-38
- Box 91, Folder 9 – Correspondence, Jan-June 1939
- Box 91, Folder 10 –Correspondence, July-Dec 1939
- Box 91, Folder 11 – Correspondence with Bishop Trust Company 1937, 1939
- Box 91, Folder 12 – Correspondence with Punahou School, 1936-38
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- Box 4 - Australia 1915-1916 field Notebooks and Correspondence [all folders]
- Box 9, Correspondence 1915-1921 and 1939-51 [all folders]
- Box 11, Correspondence 1920-29 [all folders]
- Box 12, Folder 2 – History of Bishop Museum
- Box 12, Folder 6 – Yale-Bishop Correspondence, 1920-1934
- Box 13, Folder 7 - "Pacific Pioneers"
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- Folder 10 – 'Expeditions, 1937 '
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- Scrapbooks, 2003-4

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- Box 1
- Box 3
- Box 4

Kamehameha Schools Letters
- Box 1

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- Box 76
- Box 156
- Box 160
- Box 165
- Box 171
- Box 172
- Box 226
- Box 252
- Box 273

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