

Paul-Émile Botta, Visitor to Hawai'i in 1828

Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.

A translation of Paul-Émile Botta's "*Observations sur les habitants des îles Sandwich*," *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques*, t. 52 (October–December 1831), 129–148, after comparison with the version included with Carlo Botta's translation of A. Duhaut-Cilly's *Voyage, Viaggio intorno al Globo, principalmente alla California ed alle isole, Sandwich negli anni 1826, 1827, 1828 e 1829 . . .* (Turin: Fontana, 1841), pp. 339–359, with an introduction and notes by the translator Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Among the early voyages to Hawai'i, one providing several first-hand impressions, is that of the French ship, *Le Héros*, under the command of Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, which arrived in Honolulu on September 17, 1828 and departed some two months later on November 15, 1828.¹

The *Héros*, a three-masted ship of 362 tons, with 32 men on board, left the port of Le Havre on April 9, 1826, circumnavigated the globe, and re-entered that port on July 19, 1829.²

An account in French of the voyage from the diary of a ship's officer, Edmond Le Netrel, was published in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, in Paris in 1830.³ An English translation by Blanche Collet Wagner was published in 1951.

Observations on the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands (or Hawai'i), of California, and regarding marine and bird life, as well as a French-Hawaiian word list, by the ship's naturalist-surgeon,

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Paul-Émile Botta, were published in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* in Paris in 1831. They were put into Italian by his father, the historian Carlo Botta (1766–1837), and four years after the translator's death were published with his version of the ship's captain's account of the voyage. The original account in French appeared in two volumes in 1834 and 1835; Botta's Italian version appeared in 1841.⁴

Parts of Duhaut-Cilly's account are available in English, the California section by Charles Franklin Carter appearing in 1929, the Hawaiian section by Alfons Korn in 1983. Botta's observations on California were published in an English translation based on examination of both French and Italian texts in 1952.⁵

The Bancroft Library possesses a manuscript journal in French made by Paul-Émile Botta for the voyage, of some 200 pages. Part is similar to the material of the published observations, but sections of scientific interest on bird-skins, mollusks, articulated mammals, and ornithological species are unpublished.⁶

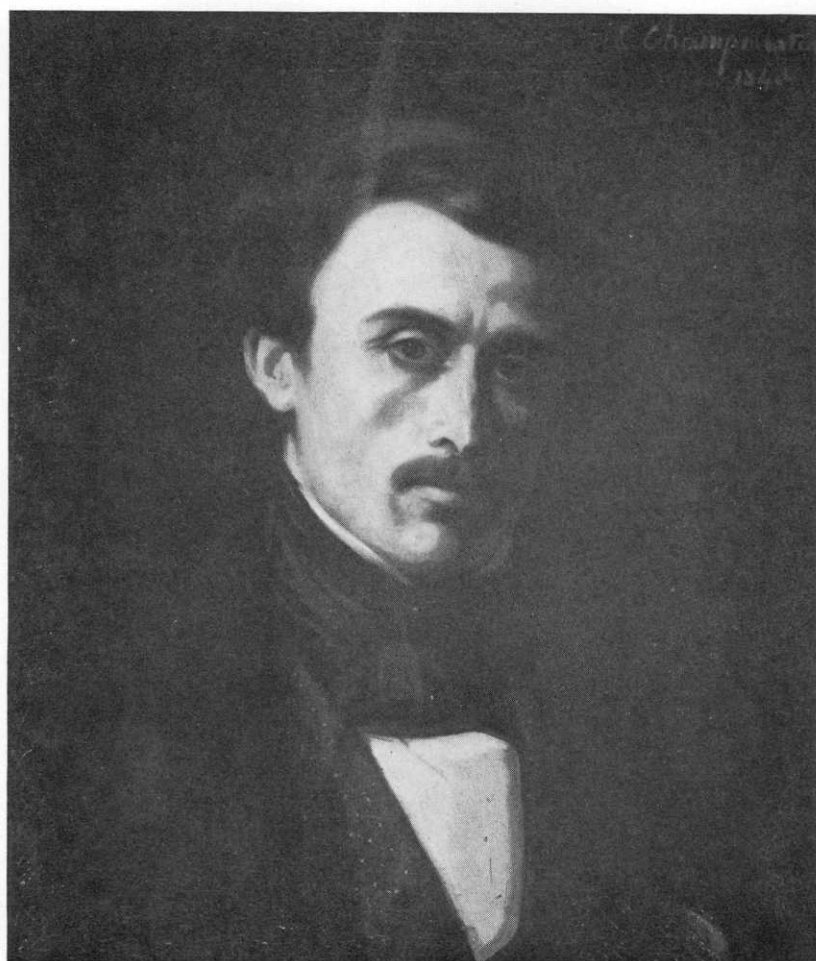
The Bibliothèques de la Marine de France possess, too, a manuscript by Albert Bourdas, brother-in-law of Captain Duhaut-Cilly, also aboard the *Héros*, entitled *Quelques mots de la langue des habitants des îles de Sandwich* (*Oréro o na Canaca o ke aina o Hawaïi*) of 22 pages. This unpublished French-Hawaiian word list is similar but not identical to Botta's lists. There are differences in spelling as well as in words included, and Spanish, rather than French or Latin, is used in the citation of words relating to matters which French readers might find indecent.⁷

Professor Samuel H. Elbert has paid tribute to Botta's list as "the last and largest list collected before the adoption of the 1829 orthography."⁸

It seems highly desirable to make available in English Botta's observations on Hawai'i. Less information than readers might like exists about Captain Duhaut-Cilly and the ship's officer Le Netrel, not to mention Bourdas, the captain's brother-in-law, but luckily there is a relative abundance of information about Paul-Émile Botta, who later distinguished himself as an archaeologist. This is not to say that there are not gaps in our knowledge about Botta, of whom we read:

G. J. Gadd, a former member of the British Museum's Department of Assyriology, summed up Botta's character as that of an able, brave, and resourceful scholar whose outstanding and most attractive quality was generosity. Gadd put it beautifully: 'It is a pity we do not know more about him.'⁹

FIG. 1. Paul-Émile Botta.



The chief source for information relating to Botta's trip around the world as well as for personal details as to his life is the account by his friend, Charles Levavasseur.¹⁰ We have followed this as our guide, together with the brief accounts of his life which are given in standard encyclopedias and dictionaries of biography.¹¹ Certain parts of his life have been written about, such as his friendships with Disraeli and Layard, in a variety of sources, to which specific reference will be made, as appropriate.

Paul-Émile Botta was born to Carlo Botta, an eminent historian and educator, and Antoinette de Vierville of Chambéry, in Turin on December 6, 1802. His mother died when he was still a child; his father was active in public life at the time when many Italians had hopes for their country's unified independence; he served in Piedmont as a member of the legislative body. During this time he worked on a history of the independence of the United States of America, a congenial theme. In 1815 he became naturalized as a Frenchman, and between 1817 and 1822 served as Rector of the Rouen Academy, where he entered his son, Paul-Émile, as a student. There Paul-Émile became a fast friend of Charles Levavasseur. Perhaps because of the early loss of his mother, Botta had a marked timidity towards women, despite a personable appearance and his abilities as an agreeable conversationalist.

On one occasion, when he was living with his father in Rouen on the third floor of a building, he realized that he had begun to descend the stairs when the two daughters of a downstairs neighbor were on the stairway below him and that he was in sight. He decided to mount the banister and slide down it to the bottom, from where he went to hide under a shrub in the garden outside. This display of timidity had the effect of frightening the young neighbors, too, until they were told by Levavasseur the reason for Botta's unusual action.

When Botta took stock of himself, he decided that since his father was without material wealth, and in a Western society he would have to associate a good deal with women, perhaps a life in the Orient would be more suitable for him. He also felt that a warmer climate than that of Normandy would suit him. A career in medicine and a knowledge of Arabic presented themselves as goals toward this ambition. In Rouen he studied Arabic on his own and had pre-medical studies under Drs. Esprit Blanche and Cléophas Flaubert; the latter was the father of the famous French novelist, Gustave Flaubert, whom Botta was to meet in Jerusalem years later. Another of his teachers there was Marie-Nicolas Bouillet, author of the

Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie, an inspiring and eloquent speaker. Bouillet had a warm regard for Botta and may have stimulated the young man's interest in matters of history and geography.

In 1822, Carlo Botta lost his post at the Academy of Rouen, and with Paul-Émile went to Paris, where the son pursued studies under the guidance of the famous naturalist, Henri-Marie Duerotay de Blainville.

In 1826 came the time of the preparation for the round the world voyage of a great ship, *Le Héros*, fitted by a brother of the famous banker Jacques Laffitte, whose name was Martin Laffitte. It would have a crew of 30 men made up of an elite company. Its command was given to Captain Duhaut-Cilly. On board regulations required that there be a surgeon, and through the influence of M. de Blainville, Botta, though not yet a full-fledged doctor, was appointed to that post. He was also charged with the duties of naturalist aboard, with the mission of collecting examples.

This was a remarkable opportunity for Botta, with a hundred francs per month, food, warm climates to visit, a long trip, a chance to further his taste for natural history, and a chance to avoid the presence of women! Botta won the hearts of the crew members by his ability to play the cello and accompany their dances on sea during their voyage, thereby mitigating depression and homesickness. Supposedly his music was the only medicine dispensed by Botta to the crew members on the voyage, all of whom returned hale and sound to Le Havre, their home port.

The *Héros* left Le Havre on April 8, 1826 and went to such ports as Rio de Janeiro and Callao, before reaching ports in Mexico and California where the ship spent considerable time. Botta wrote interesting letters to Levavasseur on the trip, but these letters were unfortunately destroyed; they described aspects of the trip, particularly with regard to his interest in plants, birds, insects, and nature as viewed by him.

From California, the ship set sail for the Sandwich Islands, which were still inhabited chiefly by the Hawaiians. Here Botta also wrote of the natural phenomena of the islands.

After leaving the Hawaiian Islands, the *Héros* reached Canton on December 27, 1828. There Botta was asked to perform a difficult operation on an English sailor, which he did with great success. Botta preferred gathering plants or playing the cello to the practice of medicine, and it might have been better had he not risked losing

good health by contracting the habit of smoking opium while in China.

In late July, 1829, the *Héros* returned to Le Havre.

Levavas seur says that Botta was responsible for the fact that silk hats became fashionable in France after a hatter took note of one made in China worn by Botta after his return to Europe. Botta greeted his father after the long absence, gave his collections to the Museum, and took up again his anatomy lessons from M. de Blainville. On January 5, 1830 he defended his thesis for the doctor's degree.

The next year he set sail for the Levant in order to continue in an appropriate environment his study of Arabic and at the same time satisfy his bent for natural history. It was at this time that, in Cairo, he became friendly with Benjamin Disraeli. In July of 1831, he was helpful to Disraeli when the latter's friend, William George Meredith, Jr., died of smallpox.¹² In his "mutilated diary," Disraeli wrote of the impression made on him by Botta:

... the man from whom I have gained most in conversation is Botta ... whom I knew in Egypt, travelling as a physician in the Syrian dress—the most philosophic mind that I ever came in contact with. Hour after hour has glided away, while, *chibouque* in mouth, we have disserted together upon our divan, in a country where there are no journals and no books. ... Botta was wont to say that they formed also an era in his intellectual life.¹³

A character in Disraeli's novel, *Contarini Fleming*, seems to be based with fair exactitude on Botta: the French traveller Marigny. When Fleming first sees him in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, his "attention was attracted by one who, from his sumptuous dress, imposing demeanour, self-satisfied air, and the coolness with which, in a Christian temple, he waved in his hand a rosary of Mecca," he thinks he must be a Muslim.¹⁴ He turns out to be "a sceptic and an absolute materialist, yet ... influenced by noble views, for he had devoted his life to science, and was now, at his own charge, about to penetrate into the interior of Africa by Sennaar."¹⁵ He speaks, too, of "those metaphysical discussions ... in which Marigny delighted."¹⁶

One notes again the interest in exotic dress and customs that Botta's interest in the Orient was compatible with; Botta as a doctor was to enter the army of the Pasha of Egypt, and would spend two years in the Sennaar, from where he wrote a letter to Disraeli, characterized as "an entertaining but unprintable description of the sexual customs of the Arabs," and another dwelling "on the pleasures of smoking opium."¹⁷

Later Botta witnessed the Pasha's war against the Abyssinians, in the course of which men, women, and children were captured to be sold as slaves. One of these children, who might otherwise have been operated upon in order to render service in the harem, was bought by Botta, who taught him French and took him with him on his return to France. Unfortunately the young man could not adapt himself to the climate and could not survive the change.

During this travel, Botta had continued his work as naturalist-collector for the Museum, and as a result was given the mission in 1836 of exploring the Red Sea area, including the area of Yemen. This trip led to a publication, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen, entrepris en 1837 pour le Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Paris*, in 1841, republished in 1880, with a notice of Botta's life by Charles Levavas seur. Poor health caused him to return to France, and there Botta proposed to the Museum another trip as naturalist-collector, this time to the Persian Gulf.

At about this time, Botta, through the influence of a friend, the painter Charles-Émile de Champmartin, made the acquaintance of a well-known miniaturist, Mme Lizinka Amada (or Aimée) Zoé Rué, de Mirbel, whose husband, the botanist Charles François de Mirbel, had been given some plants precious for his collection by Botta. Champmartin's portraits of Botta and of Mme de Mirbel bear witness to his friendship with them.¹⁸ Mme de Mirbel had heard of Botta from Champmartin, and her curiosity was aroused by what she heard of his travels and his timidity. Botta acceded to Champmartin's request that he meet her. Mme de Mirbel, whose *salon* was well known in Parisian social circles, was able to put Botta at ease and discussed his future with him. She pointed out that his work as naturalist-collector for the Museum was not likely to be permanent, and that a person like him with a knowledge of Arabic could be very useful in the consular service of France, thereby satisfying his taste for natural history, the quest for ancient monuments, old traditions, and at the same time paying France a useful service. She promised him her support and that of her husband and their friends if he made a request to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressing to him his claims for a consular post. Botta was convinced by her arguments and in gratitude promised to follow the advice she had given him.

A factor in deciding that Mosul (on the Tigris River in what is at present northern Iraq in the ancient Mesopotamian region) should be a suitable post for Botta was the publication of Claudius James Rich's memoir on Babylon, in 1836, which inspired the interest of

Julius Mohl, of the French Asiatic Society, in the promise for archeological finds of excavations in the region near Mosul.¹⁹ Tradition had it that ancient Nineveh, seat of the ancient Assyrian empire, was buried where Mosul had been built. This tradition was particularly strong among the city's Christians. Mohl apparently had put pressure on the Foreign Service to appoint Botta to that location, and Botta reached this post as consul on May 25, 1842.

In June of 1842, a kindred spirit, Austen Henry Layard, later to be eminent as a British archaeologist, spent a few days in Mosul with Botta, whom he encouraged. A firm and lasting friendship developed:

H. J. Ross, British merchant of Mosul . . . wrote of Botta: 'He is quite a Frenchman. . . . We are great friends in spite of his violent denunciations of England which entirely depend on how much opium he has taken.' Botta . . . was the son of Carlo Botta, a well-known Italian historian . . . Layard had read the elder Botta's books, and had often discussed them with his Italian patriot friends.

The opium habit, which Paul Émile had acquired in China, was apt to make him moody and depressed . . . Layard . . . was induced to try a pipeful for the sake of experience. He experienced . . . only nausea and a bad headache. . . . Between smokes, the Frenchman was a delightful companion, open-minded and generous.²⁰

After some disappointing preliminary digging at Kuyunjik, Botta went to neighboring Khorsabad in March of 1843, where he made his spectacular discovery of sculptures and cuneiform inscriptions. He reported his success to Mohl, whose early report gives evidence of the great impact of the discovery:

It was reserved for a member of your society, M. Botta, to lift a corner of that veil with which time has covered the history of Mesopotamia. Last year he wrote to you that he had found at Khorsabad, at about five leagues' distance from Nineveh, the ruins of a building covered with sculptures and inscriptions. The excavations which he has carried on since have only added to the importance of his discoveries.²¹

An English translation of a letter from Botta to Levavas seur, his friend then a member of the Chamber of Deputies in France, throws light on his personality and some of the problems he met:

Mosul, June 11, 1843

My dear friend:

The interests of France occupy you to such an extent that you no longer think of me. I haven't heard from you in ages. But it seems that you are not the only one to forget me, for I have not received a letter from any of my friends in three months. Why is that? I cannot make head or tail of it. I would be uneasy about you, had I not read your name in the *Debates*.

Did Madame receive all right my request for a monst rance? I am dying to find out, though I know she is too good and too pious to refuse me. Frankly that would distress me. Tell her, please, to think of us and then let her do whatever her heart tells her. Our priests will receive her gift with gratitude, and I shall myself be very deeply touched that she should be willing to grant my request.

My successes in antiquities will be a great surprise to the learned world. I have unearthed a whole monument where there is a large amount of cuneiform writing and bas-reliefs. It contains a complete story. If this writing can be read, how many interesting things it can teach us. I am persevering, but am being ruined. There is a village built over this monument, and to uncover it one must buy and demolish homes. They do not cost very much, it is true, between ten and twelve francs for one, but the diggers cost more, at least 100 sous per day (in all), which is more than I can afford, and I am asking government help. While the decision which may take a long time is being made, you should help me. It is a question of France's honor, for the English are quite ready to take my place if I stop, and it would be too bad to leave to them the most important discovery that has been made in a long time. I have not the time to give you details about my monument, but if you prefer to find out what it is, ask M. Mohl, 52, rue de Grenelle-Saint-Germain, to pass by your house and show you my drawings and descriptions. I shall let him know. M. Mohl is very learned, very witty, and you will enjoy his conversation. For me it has been a delight. He should publish everything I send him, and of course I'll give you a copy. There is nobody in France who knows the Indies as does M. Mohl, and I am sure you will be pleased and profit from meeting him.

Farewell, my dear friend, be happy, write me more often and believe me to be most sincerely yours,

P. E. Botta

In response to the consul's request for financial and artistic help, the French Government sent Botta a designer, Eugène-Napoléon Flandin, who in a trip to Persia had displayed a talent in the reproduction of ancient monuments, as well as a small subsidy.

Botta, isolated, uneasy, and feeling that he was almost friendless there, was very happy when Flandin arrived on May 4, 1844. They got along together famously and set about their task with courage and enthusiasm, restoring impressions respected by the centuries that could not be transported. They sketched the bas-reliefs which could not be detached from the walls, copying the accompanying inscriptions, neglecting nothing to transmit the thought, the writings, the work of ancient Assyrian civilization. Part of these were transported to be displayed in the galleries of the Louvre; unfortunately, even of those which were in condition to be transported, some were lost in the Tigris River after having been placed on rafts for the trip.

After their return to France, Botta and Flandin collaborated in a magnificent, luxurious, government-sponsored publication, that of *Monument de Ninive, découvert et décrit par M. P. E. Botta, mesuré et dessiné par M. E. Flandin*, issued in instalments ending in 1850. The one flaw in this publication was that it was extremely expensive, so that students who might profit from it most found it impossible to purchase. It remains a high point, however, in the career of Botta, as well as of Flandin.

The administrators of the Louvre also arranged to have the portrait of Botta, done by his friend Champmartin, placed in the galleries

where the Assyrian monuments discovered by him are displayed. This set a precedent for the British Museum, when Layard, Botta's friend and successor in the archaeological quest for Nineveh, was to be similarly honored in later years.

Quite generously, Botta kept Layard, who was in Constantinople at the time, abreast of progress in the Mosul area, permitting to him access to sketches, copies, and reports forwarded to Paris via Constantinople. When Layard passed through Paris after Botta's finds had been placed on exhibit in the Louvre, Botta was most helpful to him, arranging for him to speak before French scientists. Botta seems to have been free of petty rivalry, a good friend.

Mohl published Botta's letters to him on the Khorsabad find in 1845; an English translation of these appeared in London in 1850. Botta worked hard on the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, and published his *Mémoire sur l'écriture cunéiforme assyrienne* in 1848.

An assessment of his achievement in interpreting the inscriptions has been made:

He drew up a table of the Assyrian signs most frequently used, with several variants of each; and this list was undoubtedly of value, for, as Rawlinson said, it brought the signs into some 'manageable compass.' Moreover, he seems to have partly anticipated Hincks's discovery that the Assyrians used a syllabary. . . . He was able to divide the words with tolerable correctness . . . and he certainly identified the determinative for 'land' or 'country' and assigned the correct value (*Shar*) to the first syllable of the name of Sargon. The latter fact enabled Longperrier to identify the king who built the palace at Khorsabad . . . both men were on the right track.²²

Botta certainly merits the acclaim given to him at this time as a pioneer among the French students of Assyriology.

He had been away from the field for several years and was eager to return to the Orient to take up his consular career anew. M. Alphonse-Marie-Louis de Lamartine, Minister of Foreign Affairs, named Botta in April of 1848 consul in Jerusalem. This was a crucial moment; the significance of the new assignment has been commented on:

Whether by design or chance, Paul-Émile Botta was suddenly transferred from Mosul to Jerusalem in 1848 and burdened with the responsibility of defending the rights of the French nation and the Catholic Church in the Holy Land. Consul Botta's duties would now involve mainly the fate of the modern inhabitants and the traditional sites, but his appointment at Jerusalem clearly symbolized the growing French interest in Biblical archaeology as well. Before long he would have the honor of welcoming an official French archaeological expedition to the Holy Land, an expedition led by . . . Louis-Félicien Caignart de Saulcy . . . [who] arrived in Jerusalem on December 23, 1850 . . . warmly welcomed by Consul Botta.²³

Students of French literature will be interested in references made to Botta on the occasion of Gustave Flaubert's trip to Palestine in August of 1850.²⁴ Flaubert, whose father had been Botta's teacher in Rouen, speaks of Botta as a "man in ruins, a man of ruins, in the city of ruins." He gave Flaubert the impression of denying everything and hating everything except the dead. An interesting sidelight is that Botta was learning to play the piano. Flaubert gives the feeling that he felt Botta was at loose ends, that he had not concentrated on any specific interest, but had tried his hand at a variety of professions: doctor, naturalist, archeologist, and consul.

Botta took part in negotiations in June of 1851 between Louis Napoleon of France and the Sublime Porte; he kept France alerted of the attempts of Russia to encourage the ascendancy of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem and the decline there of the Roman Catholic Church along with French prestige. The success of French arms in the Crimean War pleased Botta. Though named consul general (a promotion) at Baghdad on May 24, 1852, he remained in Jerusalem, being appointed consul general there on April 23, 1853. Some three years later, he was appointed consul general in Tripoli.

This assignment to Tripoli has apparently caused a myth to be created about the final years of Botta's career. No source that relates it mentions the significant years of consular service in Jerusalem. A readable account may be quoted here:

Botta, the supreme gentleman, would be caught up in the French Revolution of 1848, the abdication of the King, and the founding of the Second Republic. Although Botta had been planning to return to Mosul and reopen his Khorsabad excavations, he was shipped in disgrace to a minor post in Syria and died many years later in obscurity.²⁵

In any case, the Jerusalem years appear to have been relatively happy ones for Botta. He had the practice of presenting to guests at his home there an ebony and mother-of-pearl crucifix to recall their stay there. Levavasseur attributes to the need for older members of the consular service to be replaced by younger ones and to be reassigned, sometimes at a higher rank, this transfer from Jerusalem to Tripoli.

Botta spent some thirteen years in Tripoli, and with him lived two friends, the dragoman and the chancellor of the consulate general. Their friendship was such that when they learned of Botta's last illness, they asked for leave to be able to go to France to be with him at his death. His garden in Tripoli had two or three trees transplanted from France. The climate, the advance of years, perhaps the

smoking of opium had an adverse effect on Botta's health and he sought retirement in 1868, which was effective February 8, 1869.

Botta found both Rouen and Paris much changed since the earlier days, and his readjustment was a depressing and difficult process. He retired to the village of Achères, a short distance from Saint-Germain, not far from Paris. The cold and humid climate there did not help his health; Levavasseur says that when he visited him there, he knew that Botta's last days were on him. Botta was apparently saddened to think that there was no parish priest in Achères; an elderly priest, over 80 years in age, made a trip of several miles on foot each Sunday to say mass there. The priest was a man who had traveled and gone to far missions, and Botta enjoyed the Sunday visits. He died, after a lingering illness, in Achères on March 29, 1870.

His funeral was attended by chiefs of the consular corps, former plenipotentiaries, and many learned men.

Certain facets of Botta's character seem particularly strong: his interest in science (particularly natural history), love of travel, enthusiasm for the exotic, lack of prudishness, talent for languages, ability to make strong friendships, restlessness, interest in publishing results of his travel and study, fondness for music, timidity with regard to women. Some of these characteristics can be readily seen in his account of the Hawai'i of 1828.

In his account we see an emphasis given to music and the dance, to language, to natural history, which is less characteristic of the accounts of the ship's captain and officer. Some features of observation not present to the same degree in the other accounts are the references to the absence of theft on the part of the Hawaiians, tattooing, and eating and drinking habits.

In some cases, the parallel accounts by Duhaut-Cilly, Le Netrel, and Botta coincide; sometimes there are differences which point up the possibility of error. For example, Botta has four, rather than three, Catholic missionaries in Honolulu in 1828, therein differing from the captain of the ship. Checking against other sources makes it clear that in this case it was Botta who was mistaken; he may have thought that one of the lay brothers was a priest.

Reading the three accounts gives a rather full picture of Honolulu of that era—the Hawaiian men and women, their character, appearance, clothing, ornaments, cooking, homes, streets, the taro industry, fishing, the canoes, dance and music, swimming, surfing, the language, prostitution, feudal rule, the whalers, Protestants and Catholics, and

portraits of such luminaries as the young king, the regent Boki, and queen Ka'ahumanu.

Because of his later fame and the admiration he had for the people he met in Hawai'i, Botta is a particularly attractive witness. Inasmuch as he had a positive feeling toward the Islands and their people, it seems likely that Hawaiians whom he met sensed the warmth of his personality and perhaps shared with Disraeli an admiration for him.

Knowledge of Botta's life and personality permits a reader to evaluate his statements with an awareness of his special interests. What he has to say about language, music, natural history, and exotic customs may be worthy of respect. Perhaps, one may hope, study of Botta's longer manuscript will one day make clearer the extent and value of his knowledge of Hawaiian flora and fauna. In any case, a reader may be reminded of the interest of the word list for Hawaiian, and of the observations made on the sea for natural history.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge help given to the translator. The late Janet E. Bell, for many years in charge of the Hawaiian collection of University of Hawaii libraries, first called his attention to Botta's account of Hawaii's people and language. Members of the Pacific Translation Committee encouraged and guided him. The Ministère de la Culture of France sent him a copy of Botta's portrait, made from a painting by Champmartin in 1840. The staff of the library of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle wrote to the translator on Botta as naturalist and collector. Orientation for French and Italian sources was given by William W. Davenport, director of the Northwood Institute Europe, St. Martin, France, Lucienne Seguin of Paris, and Gaetano Massa of Rome, the translator's former teacher in Italian. Alfons Korn shared information gathered in the course of his work on Captain Duhaut-Cilly's account of the voyage. The translation was especially rewarding because it carried on the interest in translating into English materials of interest for students of Hawai'i that was displayed by his mother, Mildred M. (née Hunt) Knowlton. He also gratefully acknowledges the stimulus of his friendship with the *kama'aina* family of Stephen C. and Miriam Kaleponi (née Simeona) Ventura, who prove that the friendship encountered by young Botta in the Sandwich Islands in 1828 is matched by that found by the translator in their Kāne-'ohe home in 1984.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INHABITANTS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

The natives of the Sandwich Islands are for the most part large and well built. Among them are often found men who, in figure and proportion, recall the most beautiful statues of antiquity. They vary a great deal in color. Sometimes it is a very dark brown, almost black, but at other times, to the contrary, it is a rather light brown, almost yellow. Their faces are pleasing, especially because of the expression of goodness and joviality always displayed on them.

Their foreheads are high, square, often broader at the top than below, curving forward.

Their eyes are rather large, black, and extremely vivacious. Their mouths are large; the shape of their lips is so characteristic that it would permit me to distinguish a Sandwich islander from all other men on earth. The upper lip, instead of being arched in the form of a bow like that of Europeans, has a square appearance. The line marking it rises straight up from the commissure, and then becomes horizontal, making a right angle curve. It is, moreover, extremely close to the nose, which is ordinarily flat and broad. The hair is black and rather long; usually waving, never straight, and rarely curly. There are some who like to redden it by means of lime. In young men the beard is sparse, but some old men wear long and very full beards. Women have builds similar to those of the men, except for the differences caused by the greater delicacy of their sex. They often have amiable faces, but rarely could be considered beautiful. They are pleasing particularly for their perfect figures. Their backs are extremely graceful, and the breasts, contrary to what is observed in our countries, retain their firmness and marvelous roundness up to a mature age. They are marriageable at a very early age, and as is well known, they offer themselves to prostitution from childhood on. Children born from them with a mixture of European blood have a very light yellow complexion, often tending toward a rose color. This is not, according to the best of my knowledge, seen among children born from a mixture of black and European bloods.

With regard to character it may be confidently stated that the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands either have previously been much slandered or else have changed to an astonishing degree from what they were. Nowadays their hearts are full of goodness and friendliness, and the islands, far from being, as formerly, dreaded by navigators forced by necessity to stop there, are at present a port of call where approximately four hundred ships each year come to

replenish their supplies. There everybody meets the greatest security and a European can walk unarmed and unaccompanied anywhere in the Sandwich Islands without meeting other than simple people, always ready to bestow a friendly greeting to whoever approaches them. Perhaps in bygone days the novelty and usefulness of objects brought by Europeans excited their greed, and like children not yet possessing the idea of good and evil, they used every possible means to secure possession of what tempted them. But nowadays the products of our industry have lost in their eyes the attraction of novelty. They have, moreover, learned to know what property means; therefore, they no longer seek to steal, or to murder unfortunate Europeans in order to rob from them. During a stay of two and a half months on Wahou [O'ahu] we constantly had a great number of them on board, and from the lowest class of the people for the most part, without having to complain of the slightest act of theft.

I made only a short stay on the single island of Wahou so that I cannot give a very exact description of the customs of the Sandwich islanders. The men are completely naked except for a type of belt of which one portion passes between their thighs, called by them *maro*.²⁶ They have, like the natives of the Marquesas islands, a custom of knotting about the end of the prepuce a piece of reed, when they are not wearing the *maro*; this is the last bit of clothing that they are accustomed to take off.

The women, at least those seen in Ovaroura [Honolulu], ordinarily wear a cloth skirt and a garment made of a fabric of the islands covering their thighs. Yet I saw some of them indoors having as their sole clothing a belt of leaves. This is the attire of the common people; the chiefs, however, as well as their women, at present dress in European fashion, some indeed with a studied affectation. Tattooing is now but little practiced, and its art is being lost; among the old people only are there found individuals with good tattoos. Most of the men now content themselves by tattooing on their arms a design of animals or fanciful creatures. Women generally design a ring on the lower part of one of their legs, from which stems a sort of chain of more or less complicated design, leading up to the genital parts. All Sandwich islanders, men as well as women, make for themselves ornaments for the head or neck usually in the best taste and extremely becoming out of flowers of different plants or from bird feathers.

The Sandwich islanders, at least the common people, eat chiefly vegetables. Their principal food is taro, root of a type of arum which when raw is very bitter and even poisonous, but when cooked has an

excellent flavor, superior to that of the potato. They eat it either cooked in their underground ovens or pounded into a paste, often half fermented, which they call *poi*, and which is the basis of their meals.²⁷ Potatoes, carrots, and fish, which they eat raw most of the time, or else pounded with water and salt, are, after taro, their commonest foods. Dogs, pigs, chickens, cattle, more and more expensive by the day, are scarcely eaten except by the prosperous or the chiefs. Everyone knows their way of cooking food in pits filled with red-hot stones. Meat, and especially fish, cooked in this manner is much to be preferred to what we cook. The fish especially is of an exquisite taste, and scarcely loses its natural colors.

Their manner of eating is somewhat barbaric and revolting to us, because of the avidity displayed. Each one eats from the dish, tearing to pieces the meat with his fingers, then moistening one or two fingers in a jar full of *poi*, bringing them to his mouth, and cleaning them with unusual skill. Their customary drink is only water. The chiefs themselves do not drink wine at their meals, and very few islanders are to be seen giving themselves up to drunkenness. They still, however, make use of the infusion of *ava* to get intoxicated.²⁸ But this custom is disappearing. They also prepare a type of brandy with the root of a plant very common in the island, which they call *lahi*.²⁹ The root is thick, fibrous, though rather tender and of a very sweet and sugary flavor when cooked. The brandy made of it through fermentation is very strong. This root is called *ti*.³⁰ The breadfruit tree is rare in Wahou, although I have been told it is very common on the other islands. On Wahou, therefore, its fruit forms but a small part of the usual diet of the people. Banana trees are abundant, but of a quality inferior to those whose fruit I have eaten in either Brazil or Peru. Perhaps this is the result of defective cultivation.

The islanders' homes are small houses made with a light scaffolding covered over by dry grasses. They are formed with a roof, the sides rising obliquely almost from the ground. They usually have two doors, set in accordance with the direction of the most frequent winds, providing for coolness inside. The floor is formed by a layer of dry rushes covered over by a rather large number of mats. The floor usually serves as table and as bed, some chiefs' homes excepted; the latter are sometimes furnished most elegantly in European style. These very simple houses are cool and inexpensive and islanders as well as some Europeans prefer them to houses built of stone or wood, as some quite pretty ones transported from America are.

In Ouaroura [Honolulu], Wahou's principal port, the houses are

grouped in a rather large number to form a town of about 8,000 inhabitants. To avoid big fires which would be very dangerous, given the nature of the houses, they are all separated one from another, surrounded by a trellis and often by a small garden or some trees, which gives the town a very attractive appearance. The streets are clean, but during the summer the dust is very inconvenient because of the north winds which usually blow with violence, causing it to rise in thick clouds. In this growing town, established in a place the inhabitants of which ten years ago were completely uncivilized, are found all the conveniences of European towns. There are cafes, hotels, billiard-rooms, etc., and a foreigner easily can find there every requirement for a pleasant life. The chief occupation of the islanders is the cultivation of taro, which requires much toil and care. This plant grows well only in marshy terrain, and even in mud; therefore, all the upper valleys and terrain at the foot of the mountains are divided into small plots covered with water and separated by narrow embankments, which are the only paths. Taro is planted in rows or in regular quincunxes in little ponds, into which the natives are often obliged to dive, either to harvest the roots, or to pull out the reeds and other grasses which might hinder their growth. The water is brought there by means of little irrigation canals, made with great care, and which divide infinitely, passing from one taro field to another, so that a small stream can irrigate a great number of fields placed in terraces one above another on a hill slope. All this cultivation gives an impressive notion of the industriousness of these people.

Fishing is, next to taro, the principal resource of the Sandwich islanders; they now use European hooks. In order to catch great sea fish such as the bonitos or the dorados, however, they join them to bits of polished mother-of-pearl with bristles at one end, which, in the water, gives the appearance of a small fish, with sufficient exactness for the big fish to be deceived by them. Their nets are very well made and they have some, I have been told, that are large and are the common property of several villages. In addition they possess the art of catching fish by putting them asleep with a legume called by them *aouohou*.³¹ They crush it, making out of it a paste which they place, by diving, in the holes between the rocks. The fish, apparently, eat of it, become intoxicated, and when the islanders see them at bottom, lying on their sides, they dive in order to get them. The fish caught in this manner has no poisonous quality. One fact worthy of note is that the Sandwich islanders are accustomed to catching sea fish when very tiny which they put in calabashes full of ocean water,

to which they add from time to time a little fresh water so as to accustom the fish gradually to live in the latter; then they place them in their taro fields where they become very large and better than if they had remained in the ocean.³² The fish thus raised is a type of mullet.

The dug-out canoes used by the islanders have the bottom made from a hollowed out tree, pointed at the two ends; it is raised by two boards joined to the two ends tapering; they are provided with a balance, formed by a piece of wood parallel to the dug-out canoe and sustained by two cross-bars. The paddles have rounded blades. When they desire, they add a mast and a trapezoidal sail to the canoes. At present they no longer use double dug-out canoes, because of the slight degree of stability and the difficulty in maneuvering. The largest dug-out canoes that I have seen were perhaps between twenty and thirty feet in length. The bottom is usually painted black and the boards raising it have only the natural color of the wood. These dug-out canoes are for the most part remarkable for the perfection of the craftsmanship, and must cost the islanders much time and effort. They are not built on Wahoo and all come from Ovaïhi [Hawai'i], where large trees are much commoner. In general, this latter island is the one where all the products of Sandwich island industry such as dug-out canoes, fabrics, feather cloaks (of which the use is being lost), etc., are manufactured; therefore, I cannot say how they are made.

The recreation of the islanders consists only of lascivious dances, and I have always seen them performed by women and never by men. Their songs are also for the most part very obscene. The tunes have, properly speaking, no melody, for they are made of only one or two notes. To hear them sung, one would believe that they are rather being chanted. I have not seen any musical instrument except a small drum made out of coconut. Often they roll pieces of leaves in order to make small pipes like those made by peasant children in Europe and with which they accompany their songs. Sometimes, too, several of them arrange themselves in a circle, taking some ends of split reeds, rapidly passed from hand to hand, striking them one against another, with a variety of gestures and following a type of rhythm producing a rather pleasant effect. They are called *pou ili*.³³

But their favorite pleasure is swimming. Men, women, and children all know how to swim and they are all constantly in the water. It seems as if it is for them a necessity rather than an amusement. Nothing is more interesting than to see them devoting themselves to

the exercise they call *hénalou*, that is, mounting the waves.³⁴ In the places where the coral reef surrounding the island and stretching far out causes the water to have a depth of only between seven and eight feet, the sea rolls its waves in a frightening manner, sometimes for a distance of over a mile, until they come to break at the shore. In these places the Sandwich islanders place themselves on their stomachs on a board oval in shape, elongated, somewhat convex on each side. They then swim with their hands and feet, passing over or under the waves constantly rolling over the reef, going out to sea where they wait for a wave which they think will inevitably reach the shore. Then they place themselves in front of it, letting themselves be carried thus with incredible speed, without losing their balance, continually pushed forward by the wave the summit of which, towering above, seems destined to engulf them. This exercise which has always seemed terrifying to me is just a game for them.

Formerly they had another exercise similar to our Russian hills.³⁵ They hollowed out narrow trenches which they covered with reeds, and putting themselves on a sled they let themselves descend so to speak for a distance of four or five hundred feet, to the plain, where the force of the impact caused them to proceed for more than three-fourths of a mile. I have not been a witness of this sport which was forbidden a short time ago.

The language of the Sandwich islanders is sweet and harmonious, because of the great number of vowels and few consonants found in it. It is, moreover, because of its simplicity, very easy to learn. The vowels are a, e, i, o, and u. The consonants are f, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, and v. But the number of consonants should be reduced, for the inhabitants use some of them indifferently for others; thus r and l, k and t, p and f, are letters which seem for them to have the same sound. One may say without difference in meaning *maïtai* or *maïkai*, 'good,' *taro* or *calo*, 'taro,' *pouroupourou* or *fouloufoulou*, 'cotton.' The v is very often pronounced as ou; one may say *ouavai* or *ouaouai*, 'foot.'³⁶ The h is generally very soft. Some individuals, however, pronounce it more harshly, almost like the *jota* of the Spaniard. The language seems poor, but is being added to every day by the introduction of English words, which the islanders deform so as to render them almost beyond recognition; and what is odd is that this does not seem to be owing to difficulty in pronunciation since most of them easily learn to speak English. It is rather for the sake of adapting the words to the genius of their language. Many of the Sandwich words are formed

by repetition of the same syllable, like *aniani*, 'mirror,' *lélé*, 'fly,' *pourripourri*, 'lie'; no word, I believe, ends in a consonant.³⁷

Several words are formed metaphorically so to speak, that is, in order to express an idea they combine two words which, in their connection, recall that idea. Thus it is that to say 'blind' they say *macapo*, a word composed of *maca*, 'eye,' and *po*, 'night.' 'Deaf' is expressed as *coulipéppeaiao*, a word compounded of *couli*, 'silence,' and *péppeaiao*, 'ear.' Other words are more simply composed, like *ouroumanou*, 'feather,' formed from *ourou*, 'hair,' and *manou*, 'bird,' *péppeaiopipi*, 'horn,' compounded of *péppeiao*, 'ear,' and *pipi*, 'cattle,' as if the horns were always of cattle.³⁸

I am not versed enough in the language to speak of its grammar which, moreover, is, as I believe, very simple; the same word can be at one and the same time a verb, a substantive, and an adjective. There are, however, articles, prepositions, and conjunctions. There is also a plural formed by adding the word *poi* to a substantive. *Kanaka* means 'man'; *poi kanaka*, 'men.'³⁹

This language is, with the exception of a few modifications, the same in all the islands of the great Ocean, and a Sandwich islander can understand and be understood in the Marquesas or the Friendly islands, as at home.⁴⁰ That is doubtless a very amazing fact, but I have been able to verify it myself in the course of my trip, having had an opportunity to speak to Tahitians and (New) Zealanders.⁴¹ I have been told, however, that there is in the Sandwich Islands and even on Wahou a language completely different from the usual one, and which is not understood by the bulk of the inhabitants. Perhaps it is a type of sacred language, but I know nothing of it, and have been unable to ascertain anything definite about it.

In addition it must be observed that the language spoken in Ouaroura is only a corruption of the Sandwich language. Those who live in that town, through constant dealings with foreigners, not only adopt some of their words but even get used to hearing them and to speaking like them. For that reason I have very often had the experience when going a mere five miles from the town that the islanders to whom I spoke understood me with great difficulty and that I had even a harder time to understand them although on the same island I might be able to have an almost fluent conversation with the townspeople.

The customs of the Sandwich islanders are at present as they were formerly, extremely lascivious. Prostitution there is as general as in Cook's time. No sooner were we in the harbor than the ship was beset

by bands of women coming either in dug-out canoes or else swimming and the health of the personnel was not long in feeling their effects.

Since Tammeamea [Kamehameha] the Bonaparte of the Sandwich Islands succeeded through the dominance of his genius in uniting under his rule all the islands, the government has been completely feudal; that is, there is a king on whom depend various chiefs who possess either whole islands or portions of them where the inhabitants are vassals.⁴² This results in slavery and poverty for the lower classes. Tammeamea, chief of the dynasty, was succeeded by his son Oriorio [Liholiho] who came to England a few years ago and died there with his wife.⁴³

The present king is Tammeamea's second son, named Taoteaoli [Kauikeaouli].⁴⁴ He is a young man between sixteen and seventeen years of age, with completely Sandwichian features and character. He is far from lacking in ability; his face is, to the contrary, very lively and extremely intelligent, and when he wishes (which occurs too infrequently) he can adopt manners corresponding to the rank he holds; he speaks, reads, and writes English well, but always seems to prefer the society and manners of his compatriots to those of Europeans. He does not yet exercise his authority, and is obliged to remain under the guardianship of Chief Bouqui (Boki), regent of the islands and governor of Wahoo, who accompanied Oriorio to England.⁴⁵

But the most influential person in the islands, the one who really rules them, is old Queen Taamanou [Ka'ahumanu], one of Tammeamea's wives.⁴⁶ She is a woman who after having been a veritable Messalina is trying in her old age to atone for her former errors through fanaticism and bigotry inspired in her by the missionaries.⁴⁷ Such is the present government of the islands, but it is far from being stable. The chiefs formerly sovereign in their districts suffer with difficulty the yoke imposed on them by Tameamea and it is probable that the young king whose life has already had attempts made on it will have numerous problems to surmount in order to preserve his inheritance.

I am most sorry that a longer stay in the Sandwich islands did not place me in a position to write a complete description of their inhabitants' customs, customs being lost each day. For ten years civilization has caused in their customs such changes that they can no longer at present be called savages; it is, however, greatly to be regretted that the Europeans who settle in that country are not men of a more irreproachable character, capable through example of

causing the national customs to be changed for better ones. King Tammeamea who felt all the advantages of European industry did everything possible to get Europeans to settle in the islands so as to profit from their knowledge. But his lack of knowledge of men did not permit him to distinguish the good from the bad, and he gave them all equal welcome, so that the Sandwich islands have become the refuge of deserting sailors and escaped convicts from Botany Bay, who find complete freedom to satisfy their tastes and passions; in addition, the islands are the customary port of call of whalers, whose captains, officers, and men are truly brute beasts, who from the moment they are on shore abandon themselves with no shame to debauchery and the most dissolute drunkenness.⁴⁸

This mixture with Europeans is corrupting more and more the good and simple nature of the natives; it is a painful spectacle to see men lose their natural virtues to acquire vices which are communicated to them by those who ought to set them an example. The young king himself, not knowing the difference existing between good and evil, between a decent man and a criminal, is always surrounded by a band of deserters from every nation who flatter his passions, corrupt his heart, and insinuate themselves into his confidence in order to deceive him. It is, however, to be hoped that the Sandwich islanders will one day open their eyes, and that the continuing frauds of those charged with their interests by the chiefs will enlighten them as to what is their true profit.

Having been only on Wahoo, I speak only of this island, but on the others, especially on Ovaïhi, another scourge has been introduced in the last few years,—I mean religious fanaticism. The English and American missionaries are of a Protestant sect called Independents.⁴⁹ They are the most fanatical and austere, and consequently those least suited to a population of children as the Sandwich islanders can be called. Profiting from the ascendancy which they have succeeded in acquiring over the old queen's spirit, they have imposed the most absurd and harmful restrictions on these poor islanders. For this reason their anti-social and often barbarous conduct has made them justly and universally detested in the islands, and it is likely that on the death of the queen they will be expelled, to the great joy and, I think, for the happiness of the people, a revolution like that which I have been told has just taken place for the same reasons in the Friendly Islands.⁵⁰ If they are not expelled, religious wars will not take long to desolate these beautiful countries for four French Jesuit missionaries have just settled there.⁵¹ Up to the present they have

been very humble and peaceful, but already they are inclined to chase out the Protestant missionaries, and this, they say, cannot be done without some disorder.

Such are the observations which a stay of two months on Wahou has permitted me to make. They are most incomplete, and I greatly desire to be one day in a position to make a better study of these people, rendered so likeable by their goodness and sweetness, and whom I pity with all my heart, because of the numerous elements of destruction tending to cause their disappearance from the face of the earth.

I have seen inhabitants of the Marquesas islands, Tahitians, and New Zealanders; all are certainly of the same race of men, all present the same characteristics in their features and particularly in their mouths; the (New) Zealanders alone seemed to me to have more often an aquiline nose and to be a bit fairer.

The Sandwich Islands, like the majority of those of the Great Ocean, are, as it were, surrounded by a belt of coral defending the approach to them. There is ordinarily between land and the reef a free area where there often is a lot of water. I have noted, in addition, that wherever a stream of fresh water comes to discharge into the sea, there is always facing it an opening in the reef, which then permits ships to enter between the reef and land. It is an opening of this type which forms the excellent harbor of Wahou, and from the top of the mountains can be seen many others, always facing the valleys and consequently the streams.

On the island of Wahou, I killed a bird called *E-riri* by the natives;⁵² it stays in the wildest parts of the mountains; its call resembles that of a badly oiled crank. The inhabitants catch it alive with bird-lime made from the sap of the breadfruit tree. The *é-riri* eats fruit, flowers, and grain.

NOTES

¹ Bernice Judd, *Voyages to Hawaii before 1860*, ed. Helen Yonge Lind (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), pp. 22-23, 105, 114.

² Blanche Collet Wagner, tr. *Voyage of the Héros Around the World with Duhaut-Cilly in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 & 1829* (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1951), p. 3.

³ Edmond Le Netrel, *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques*, tome 45 (Paris, 1830), pp. 129-182.

- ⁴ Paul Émile Botta, "Observations sur les habitants des îles Sandwich" and "Observations diverses faites en mer," *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Géographiques*, tome 52 (Paris 1831), pp. 129-176; Ronald Louis Silveira de Braganza and Charlotte Oakes, ed., *The Hill Collection of Pacific Voyages* 2 vols. (San Diego: University Library, 1974 and 1982) with annotations by Jonathan Hill, I, pp. 23-24, and II, p. 353, with references to the second edition of Carlo Botta's translation published in Naples in 1842, as well as to the French edition of 1834-1835 and the Italian of 1841.
- ⁵ Charles Franklin Carter, "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-1828," *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, 8 (1929), 130-166, 214-250, 306-356; Alfons Korn, "Shadows of Destiny: A French Navigator's View of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its Government in 1828," *HJH* 17 (1983), pp. 1-39; John Francis Bricca, tr. Paolo Emilio Botta, *Observations on the Inhabitants of California, 1827-1828, Early California Travels Series*, V (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1952).
- ⁶ See the description on p. 12 of Warren R. Howell: *John Howell—Books, Catalogue 38* (San Francisco, 1968); this item I was able to see through the kindness of Dr. Paul M. Kahn, who also pointed out to me the possible interest of the friendship of Botta with Disraeli.
- ⁷ *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Bibliothèques de la Marine*, Ch. de la Roncière, no. 125 (Paris: Plon, 1907), p. 80.
- ⁸ Samuel H. Elbert, "The Hawaiian Dictionaries, Past and Future," *62nd Annual Report, HHS* (1953), p. 7.
- ⁹ Arnold C. Brackman, *The Luck of Nineveh, Archaeology's Great Adventure* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1978), p. 208.
- ¹⁰ Charles Levavasseur, "Paul-Émile Botta," in *Correspondant (nouvelle série)*, vol. 82 (1880), 745-762.
- ¹¹ E. Babelon, "Botta (Paul-Émile)," *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 1888-1889; Roman d'Amat, "Botta (Paul-Émile)," *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1951); G(iuseppe) F(urlani), "Botta, Paul-Émile," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1930 ed.; Priscilla C. Ward, "Botta, Paul Émile," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1984 ed.
- ¹² Sarah Bradford, *Disraeli* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), p. 42.
- ¹³ William Flavelle Monypenny, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield*, vol. I, 1804-1837 (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 235. The entry is dated September 1, 1833.
- ¹⁴ Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, *Contarini Fleming, A Psychological Romance*, vol. II (New York and London: M. Walter Dunne, 1904), p. 81. The novel was first published in 1831-1832.
- ¹⁵ *Disraeli, Contarini Fleming*, II, 82.
- ¹⁶ Disraeli, *Ibid.*, 82.
- ¹⁷ Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), pp. 68-69.
- ¹⁸ See Ulrich Thieme, ed. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 6 (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1912), "Champmartin (Callande de Champmartin), Charles Emile," p. 357. The portrait of Botta, in the Louvre, is reproduced in: Glyn Daniel, *A Short History of Archaeology* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), pp. 73, 222. That of Mme de Mirbel has been reproduced in E. K. Walker, tr. Max von Boehn, *Miniatures and Silhouettes* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1970), Plate XV, facing p. 71. On page 91 of the last-mentioned work, Mme de Mirbel is characterized as "the most popular miniature-painter under Charles X. and Louis Philippe."
- ¹⁹ Seton Lloyd, *Foundations in the Dust, A Story of Mesopotamian Exploration* (London, Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 103; Nora Kubie, *Road to Nineveh, The Adventures and Excavations of Sir Austen Henry Layard* (London: Cassell, 1964-1965), p. 127.

- ²⁰ Kubie, *Road to Nineveh*, p. 127.
- ²¹ F. Max Muller, "Julius Mohl," reprinted from *Contemporary Review* (August 1878) in *Biographical Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), p. 234.
- ²² Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Kt., *The Rise & Progress of Assyriology* (London: Martin Hopkinson & Co., Ltd., 1925), p. 205.
- ²³ Neil Asher Silberman: *Digging for God and Country, Exploration Archeology, and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land, 1799-1977* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pp. 65-66. See also, for frequent brief references to Botta's consular service in Jerusalem, Arnold Blumberg: *A View from Jerusalem, 1849-1858; The Consular Diary of James and Elizabeth Anne Finn* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), p. 335 for page references. Blumberg mentions a trip by Botta to Constantinople in July of 1853, a critical time in the Near East.
- ²⁴ Gustave Flaubert: *Oeuvres complètes*, II (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964), pp. 607-609 and 615 from the *Voyage en Orient: Palestine, and Correspondance, Nouvelle Edition Augmentée, Deuxième Série (1847-1862)* (Paris: Louis Conard, 1926), p. 225, letter 264 dated August 10, 1850.
- ²⁵ Brackman, *The Luck of Nineveh*, p. 208; Babelon, "Botta," may be the source of various versions of the story, since Babelon states that Botta was planning to continue his excavations near Mosul when the revolution of 1848 took place, after which he was sent to Tripoli (Syria) *en disgrâce*, or "out of favor." Other accounts make clear that it was to the Tripoli in northern Africa (Libya) that Botta was transferred, and this at the rank of consul general.
- ²⁶ Cf. *malo*, "male's loincloth," Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1973), p. 215.
- ²⁷ Cf. *poi*, the Hawaiian staff of life, made from cooked taro corms, *Ibid.*, p. 310.
- ²⁸ Cf. *'awa*, the kava (*Piper methysticum*), a shrub . . . native to the Pacific islands, the root being the source of a narcotic drink of the same name . . . , *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- ²⁹ Cf. *la'i*, ti leaf (contraction of *lau kī*), *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- ³⁰ *kī*, ti, a woody plant (*Cordyline terminales*) . . . , *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- ³¹ Cf. *'auhuhu*, 'a slender, shrubby legume (*Tephrosia purpurea*) . . . used for poisoning fish . . . ' *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- ³² Cf. Margaret Titcomb, *Native Use of Fish in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1972), pp. 6-7 on ponds and taro patches as subsidiary fish ponds for *'o'* *'opu* and shrimps.
- ³³ Cf. *pū'ili*, bamboo rattles, as used for dancing, Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, p. 323.
- ³⁴ Cf. *he'e nalu*, to ride a surfboard; surfing; surf rider, *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³⁵ Cf. *hōlua*, sled, especially the ancient sled used on grassy slopes . . . , *Ibid.*, p. 74. See also, Ella L. Wiswell, tr. "Hawai'i in 1819: A Narrative Account by Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet," ed. Marion Kelly, no. 26, *Pacific Anthropological Records* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Department of Anthropology, 1978), for the "game called horoua" said to resemble "the game known in Europe by the name of 'Russian Hills'" (p. 80).
- ³⁶ *maika'i*, good; *kalo*, taro . . . ; *pulupulu*, cotton, as for quilt padding; *wāwae*, leg, foot, Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, pp. 206, 115, 327, 353.
- ³⁷ *aniani*, mirror; *lele*, to fly; *punipuni*, to lie; a lie; lying; a liar, *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 185, 328.

- ³⁸ *makapō*, blindness . . . lit., night eye; *pepeiao kuli*, a deaf ear, deafness . . . ; *hulu manu*, bird feather; *pepeiaohao*, horn of an animal; *pīpi*, beef, cattle; *pepeiao*, ear. *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 299, 84, 299, 306.
- ³⁹ Cf. *po'e*, people, persons, assemblage; group of, company of, number; *kanaka*, human being, man . . . , *Ibid.*, pp. 308, 118. See also W. D. Alexander, *A Short Synopsis of the Most Essential Points in Hawaiian Grammar* (Rutland, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1968): "Third, by the use of the plural signs, *po'e* . . . , which are probably collective nouns, and take the article or other qualifying words before them. *Poe* is used chiefly of living beings, and means a company, collection" (p. 8).
- ⁴⁰ The Tongan Islands were renamed the Friendly Islands by Captain Cook; see *Pacific Voyages, The Encyclopedia of Discovery and Exploration* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1973), p. 255. Also see Robert D. Craig and Frank P. King, ed., *Historical Dictionary of Oceania* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 102, 290. For the Marquesas, see *Pacific Voyages*, pp. 179, 189, and Craig and King, *Historical Dictionary*, pp. 172-173.
- ⁴¹ These languages are Maori for New Zealand and Tahitian. See Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), p. 71.
- ⁴² For the unification of the Hawaiian islands under Kamehameha I (1758-1819) between 1794 and 1810, see Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. I, 1778-1824 Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968), 44-51; Craig and King, *Historical Dictionary*, pp. 141-142.
- ⁴³ For Liholiho or Kamehameha II (1797-1824) see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 71-81; Craig and King, *Historical Dictionary*, pp. 142-143.
- ⁴⁴ For the early years of the reign of Kamehameha III (1814-1854), see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 117-132 and Craig and King, *Historical Dictionary*, p. 143.
- ⁴⁵ For Boki Kamauleule, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 72-75, 123-127, 129-130, etc.
- ⁴⁶ For Queen Ka'ahumanu, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, especially 133, and Craig and King, *Historical Dictionary*, pp. 117-118.
- ⁴⁷ Messalina, the third wife of the Roman Emperor Claudius, executed in 48 A.D. See William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), pp. 105-106.
- ⁴⁸ For Botany Bay, the English convict colony in Australia, where the first shipload landed in 1788, see Langer, *Encyclopedia*, p. 895.
- ⁴⁹ For the American Protestant mission sent out by the interdenominational (predominantly Presbyterian and Congregational) ABCFM, which arrived in Hawai'i in April 1820, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, pp. 100-116.
- ⁵⁰ For the victory in 1826 of Tāufa'āhau against the Tu'i Tonga, see Noel Rutherford, ed., *Friendly Islands, A History of Tonga* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 78.
- ⁵¹ For the first Catholic missionaries who arrived in Honolulu on July 7, 1827 aboard the ship *La Comète*, see Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, I, 139-142; and Robert Schoofs, SS.CC., *Pioneers of the Faith, History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii (1887-1940)*, ed. Louis Boeynaems, SS.CC., (Hawaii: Louis Boeynaems, 1978) pp. 6-11. Fay Wren Midkiff revised this edition. The first group was composed of Father Alexis Bachelot, Prefect Apostolic, Fathers Patrick Short and Abraham Armand, and lay brothers Theodore Boissier, Melchior Bondu, and Leonard Portal. Thus, there were three priests, two born in France, and one in Ireland (Fr. Short made his profession at the headquarters in Paris of the Sacred Hearts Fathers in 1821) and three French-born lay brothers.

⁵² Cf. the 'i'iwi, scarlet Hawaiian honey creeper (*Vestiaria coccinea*) . . . , Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, p. 90. Note the description of the bird's voice, "discordant 'like a rusty hinge,'" found in Robert J. Shallenberger, ed., *Hawaii's Birds* (Honolulu: Hawaii Audobon Society, 1981), p. 79. The letters r and v resemble each other in the type used in the French journal which published Botta's observations; the Hawaiian letter w is sometimes pronounced as a v.