UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

PAPERS

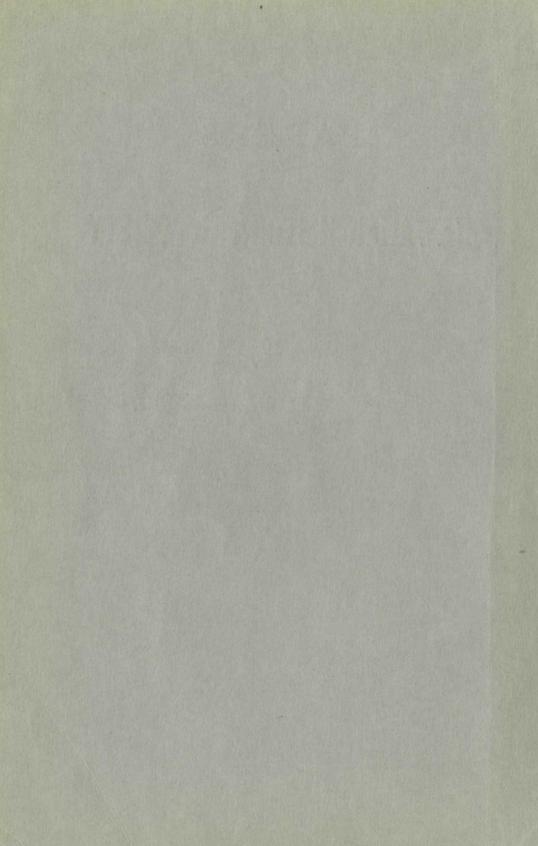
OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 17

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY SEPTEMBER 30, 1930





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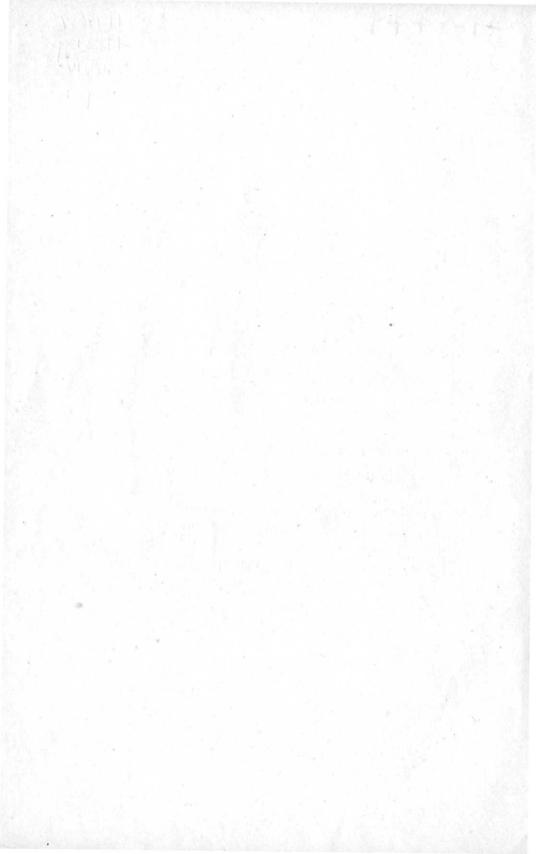


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING SEPTEMBER 30, 1930

Meeting of the Society was called for this date, at 7:30 P. M., in the Library of Hawaii, to hear several Papers which were prepared by members on varied historical phases relating to the Hawaiian Islands.

Bishop H. B. Restarick, president, in the chair; A. P. Taylor, secretary and several of the trustees, more members than usual in attendance, and many visitors present, the assembly room being filled to capacity.

Bishop Restarick announced that the names of Harold W. Bradley, of Pomona, Calif., engaged in historical research in Honolulu until recently, and Bishop S. Harrington Littell, Episcopal Bishop of the District of Hawaii, were recommended by the trustees for membership. He suggested that the vote of the members be had at this time. So taken. The gentlemen declared elected to membership.

The President read a portion of a letter to Miss Mary Low from C. P. Rooke, of England, presenting some facts about T. C. B. Rooke, who brought up Emma Rooke, later Queen Emma. He suggested that a part of it be incorporated in "Historical Notes."

The President then introduced the speakers, or readers of the Papers; as follows:

- 1. Col. Curtis P. Iaukea, his paper being "Reminiscences of the Court of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma."
- 2. Col. Thomas M. Spaulding, U.S.A., his paper being "The Adoption of the Hawaiian Alphabet."
- 3. Mrs. Emma A. D. Taylor, whose paper, "The Burial Caves of Pahukaina", was read by the secretary in her absence.
- 4. A. P. Taylor, secretary, delegated to read "Chapter Eighteen", of "The Life of Admiral Theodorus Bailey, U.S.N.", which gave details of the frustrated scheme of Annexation of

the Kingdom of Hawaii to the United States in 1854; the book, as yet unpublished being written by James Stoddard, of New York, who gave permission to utilize the paper as the Secretary desired.

The papers were interesting and brought up many phases of Hawaiian history some of which were commented on.

Dr. John Stokes, formerly of the Bishop Museum, gave some data concerning the possibility of remains of chiefs being still buried under the mound in the Palace Grounds, site of the first royal tomb until 1865.

On motion of Dr. Stokes, seconded by Mr. Iaukea, the society passed a resolution, to be transferred to the Governor of Hawaii, memorializing him to take steps to clear away the shrubbery around the mound, rehabilitate the latter and fence the same, also mark it with a bronze tablet appropriately reciting its history, etc. The Society's Historic Sites Committee, in previous reports, made the same recommendation.

The Society took cognizance of the recent bereavement in the family of Judge F. W. Howay, honorary member, whose wife died recently after a lingering illness.

No further business offering the meeting was adjourned about 9:30 P. M.

A. P. TAYLOR, Secretary.

HISTORICAL NOTES

By ALBERT P. TAYLOR Recording and Corresponding Secretary

Extracts from letters, papers, statements, etc., addressed to the Hawaiian Historical Society, the Archives of Hawaii, and other sources, concerning historical matters re the Hawaiian Islands, in 1930:

FORMER ROYAL PALACE—

Under authorization of the Legislature of Hawaii, 1929, the former royal palace of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, Honolulu, now the Executive Building of the Territorial Government, has been rehabilitated and renovated until it is almost a "new" palace. All timber joists, beams, floorings were replaced by steel and concrete; basement remodeled to serve especially as "committee rooms" for the Legislature. Throne Room, State Dining Room, now used respectively as the House of Representatives and Senate Chamber; and other apartments now used by the Governor, Secretary of Territory and Attorney-General, renovated. but strict regard paid to retention of former ornamental and color effects, so that the Throne Room today is still the Throne Room of the Monarchy. Cost of improvements about \$175,000. Governor Judd will occupy his remodelled quarters (King Kalakaua's former apartment) December 19, 1930.

PALACE GROUNDS A GARDEN SPOT-

Governor Judd has accentuated the need of a remodelling and replanting of the palace grounds. By January 1, 1931, they will present one of the most beautiful gardens in the Hawaiian Islands.

OLD ROYAL TOMB-

The Hawaiian Historical Society, at its meeting on September 30, 1930, passed a resolution to be forwarded to Governor Judd requesting that early attention be given to exposing the surface of the mound that marks the old royal tomb site in the Palace Grounds; that it be surrounded by a suitable railing and that a bronze tablet mark the site and recite its history. The Governor already had approved

plans for such a course. The royal dead were removed from the old tomb in October, 1865, when they were removed to the new Mausoleum in Nuuanu Valley. Governor Judd announced on October 17, that he had authorized the rehabilitation of the tomb and the placing of an informative bronze tablet thereon.

KAIULANI BANYAN TREE—

The beautiful banyan tree in the former private grounds of Ainahau, residence of the late Princess Likelike, sister of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, and her husband. the Hon. Archibald S. Cleghorn, and now standing on a small plot of land which was deeded to the Daughters of Hawaii, was the scene of a ceremony on October 16, 1930, when a bronze tablet was attached to the tree and unveiled under the auspices of the Daughters of Hawaii. It was the anniversary of the birthday of Princess Kaiulani, daughter of Princess Likelike, and who, in the reign of Liliuokalani, was Heir Apparent to the throne of Hawaii. She was born October 16, 1875, and died in Honolulu in April, 1899. The banyan was planted by her father and it was her favorite place for recreation. Robert Louis Stevenson, in 1889, often sat beneath it with the Princess and to her he dedicated a charming poem in which he referred to "her banyan." Earl Schenck designed the plaque. Mrs. Julie Judd Swanzy, regent, was in charge of the exercises and read an interesting sketch of the life of Princess Kaiulani.

SIR JOSEPH CARRUTHERS' BOOK-

Murray, of London, in August, 1930, published Sir Joseph Carruthers' long expected book on Capt. Cook, entitled "Captain James Cook, R. N., 150 Years After." Sir Joseph, who was Australia's envoy to the Capt. Cook Sesquicentennial in Hawaii in 1928, has long been a student of the life, career and personality of Captain Cook, and in this work endeavored to clear away what he regarded as untruths and misconceptions which proved harmful and unjust to the reputation of the great explorer.

COOK MEMORIAL COLLECTION IN HAWAII—

One outcome of the Cook Sesquicentennial celebration, is the accumulation of a collection in the Archives of Hawaii called the "Capt. Cook Memorial Collection", which now numbers several score of listed items, containing original editions of Cook's Voyages, illustrations, engravings, manuscripts, photostats (by dozens) of original logs,

journals, diaries, letters, etc., kept by officers of the ships of Cook's squadron on his last cruise, relating to the discovery of the Hawaiian group in January, 1778, and his death at Kealakekua Bay, in February, 1779. The Memorial Collection is becoming an outstanding monument to Captain Cook, and already is the foundation of calls for information and photostats for other institutions, notably the University of Michigan Library. A catalog of items will presently be published.

ARCHIVES OF HAWAII ENLARGEMENT—

Under appropriations of the Legislature of 1929, the Archives of Hawaii building has been greatly enlarged by the addition of two wings, front, (two rooms), and the extension of the vault its full length, with basement beneath. This provides, in the estimation of A. P. Taylor, Librarian of the bureau, for at least twenty years of filing space, possibly more. Standing apart in the palace grounds, the Archives Building has no hazards from fire or other ordinary causes of destruction, and is safeguarded far more than similar structures in the States. The collection of documents accumulated by the various governments from 1790 presents one of the most colorful series in the world. Accessions during the past year from public and private sources, domestic and foreign, have been extremely large.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

When the Governor, Secretary of the Territory, Attorney-General and Budget Officer move out of the Library of Hawaii building in January, 1931, and reoccupy their offices in the Executive Building, the Hawaiian Historical Society may vacate its present room in the Library building and occupy a large hall, especially planned for its own historical library and offices and small auditorium. Society has a co-operative agreement of occupancy with the Library of Hawaii. Bishop Restarick, who is not only the President of the historical society, but is president of the board of trustees of the Library, had considerable interest in the plans for the new quarters. The historical society library is probably the most valuable collection of Hawaiiana in the world, with the exception of the George R. Carter Library, now part of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Library. Miss Caroline Green is librarian of the Society.

JOSEPH S. EMERSON, DECEASED—

The Hawaiian Historical Society mourns the loss of one

of its old and honored members, Joseph S. Emerson, who was one of the three honorary members. His death this spring marks the passing of a link which will weaken the chain of historical contact with the "old Hawaii". He was not only the son of an original pioneer missionary to Hawaii, but he was an able chronicler of ancient Hawaiian customs, manners, and of the general history of the Hawaiian race. He was a frequent contributor in years past of articles about "old" and ancient Hawaii, many of which were published in the publications of the historical society. One of many sons of the missionary Emerson and his devoted wife, Joseph Emerson leaves an enviable literary record behind him. His brother, Dr. N. B. Emerson was also a contributor of articles concerning ancient Hawaii, one of which, "The Unwritten Literature of Hawaii", published as a Bulletin by the United States Government stands preeminent as an analysis of the hula, giving it a sublime background as a religious function.

JUDGE F. W. HOWAY'S SERVICE—

Judge F. W. Howay, of New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada, who was Canada's envoy to the Capt. Cook Sesquicentennial celebration, continues his researches into the history of the North American Northwest, and the relations of that area with the Sandwich Islands. contributions have been wide and extensive, and he has opened up much new material regarding the early visits of foreigners to the Hawaiian group after the discovery by Capt. Cook. "A Yankee Trader on the Northwest Coast, 1791-1795", was recently reprinted by the University of Washington Press (1930), from the Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 2, referring to the ship Jefferson. The record of the voyage to this part of the world, and from which Howay's article was prepared, was kept by Bernard Magee, her first officer. The Jefferson ran upon a reef at Kawaihae, Hawaii, on September 24, 1794. She was repaired and departed from Kealakekua Bay, on October 13, 1794, for China.

EASTER ISLAND PUZZLE—

Although newspaper accounts sometime ago stated that Elbridge R. Johnson, of Camden, N. J., planned to visit Easter Island in his new yacht, for research purposes, it is not certain that he will do this at all. In a letter, dated September 25, 1930, addressed to A. P. Taylor, Librarian, Archives' bureau, he says: "In the first place, I am not going to make a specialty of the Easter Island. I may or

may not visit the place. I have never disclosed exactly what I am after, but I may say that the race that I hope to find evidence of may not prove to be Polynesian."

NAVY OFFICERS HAWAIIANA CONTRIBUTORS—

Several old-time United States Navy officers, all ranking as admirals, have written books in the last three years, each of whom, having visited Honolulu during the reigns of King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, have devoted considerable space to reminiscences of the days when wooden warships represented the United States in Hawaiian waters. Among these writers are Rear Admiral Albert S. Barker, Admiral Hugh Rodman and Admiral Koontz. Their references to Hawaiian matters are in some instances very valuable, especially the chapters devoted by Admiral Barker to detailing incidents of the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani in 1893 and the aftermath for a year or so when the U. S. S. *Philadelphia* was on guard in Honolulu harbor. Admiral Barker reveals many incidents heretofore unpublished.

PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC HISTORICAL ARTICLES—

Historical articles concerning the Hawaiian Islands have been appearing in considerable numbers in this and last year's issues of the "Paradise of the Pacific", a monthly magazine which was established in Honolulu in 1888, the first number appearing in January that year. It is the plan of the publisher to keep the magazine replete with stories of an historical or reminiscent vein, interspersed with descriptive stories, and poems of present day slants upon life in the Hawaiian Islands. The articles have the value of authenticity and files of these in the libraries of island people should prove valuable accessories for research. The Paradise, from 1888 to date is a treasure house of historical material and the Archives' bureau has it indexed.

SOUTH SEAS RESEARCH WORK-

The authorities of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, of which Dr. Herbert E. Gregory is director, maintains a constant pressure of research in various areas of the South Seas, and so far have had close contacts with Tahiti, Fiji, Marquesas, Tonga, Samoa and many out of the way islets which afford rare opportunities for ethnological and other studies. One aim of the institution is to trace, if possible, the origin of the Hawaiian, or in fact, the

Polynesian. Splendid work has been done in directorship of this wide program, and the institution has been happy in its selection of researches. Not only is Dr. Gregory an enthusiast in this program, but he has the able cooperation of Albert F. Judd, president of the board of trustees of the Bishop Museum, and himself an able student of South Seas affairs, his ability being especially recognized when he was chosen as legal adviser to the Congressional Samoan Commission which visited Samoa in September and October, 1930, to prepare a report as to the type of government best fitted for the residents of the islands known as American Samoa, with Pago Pago as the central seat of government. Dr. Peter H. Buck, the well-known Maori scientist, is continuing his scientific work for the Museum, related, of course, to matters in the South Seas. Bruce Cartwright, former president of the historical society, has made visits to Samoa in the interest of the institution and is regarded as an authority of Samoan affairs, as Dr. Gerrit P. Wilder of Honolulu is now regarded as an authority on matters related to the Society Group of islands.

CONCERNING DR. T. C. B. ROOKE-

Comments on the late Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, adopted father of Emma Rooke, who became Queen Emma, consort of Kamehameha IV, in 1854, are made in a letter dated recently at Monks Horton, Colchester, England, signed by C. P. Rooke, and addressed to Miss Mary Low, custodian of the old royal palace at Kailua, Hawaii, as follows:

"Steen Bille the Dane (Naval captain), who wrote an account of his stay in Hawaii (1846) which is in the Carter Library, according to H. B. Restarick, is, I fancy, wrong about Rooke; at any rate History here says he was in the Royal Navy; his brother was in the Army, rose to be Inspector-General in India, and was honorary physician to Queen Victoria. The story goes that the Hawaiian Rooke quarrelled with his father over a marriage he wished to make in England and left England for good never to return, and I don't think he wrote to any one but his brother."

AN ISLAND AUTHOR-

Miss Armine von Tempski, an island girl, born on the island of Maui, is achieving literary distinction by her books on subjects dealing with people in the Hawaiian Islands—"Hula", "Fire", "Dust", "Lava". While not historical, yet they present a background of oldtime Hawaii, that is, Hawaii farther back than the present.

PRESERVING OLD HAWAII—

Four societies in Honolulu and one on Kauai, have been engaged for many years in the effort to preserve to posterity the language, customs, manners, legends, traditions and life generally, of the people of olden Hawaii. They are the Hawaiian Historical Society, the Hawaiian Historical Commission, the Daughters of Hawaii and the Daughters and Sons of Hawaiian Warriors, all in Honolulu. The Kauai Historical Society, on Kauai; the Bishop Museum, the Mission Children's Society, the Archives of Hawaii, and to some extent the Honolulu Academy of Arts, all in Honolulu, are endeavoring to preserve from loss of the rare things of ancient Hawaii.

In the collections of letters, records, photographs, drawings, meles, traditions, legends and reminiscences, and in presenting pageantry to portray the ancient Hawaiian life and history, the societies are engaged in a work which is commendable.

BOOKS ON HAWAIIAN HISTORY-

Inquiries are constantly made at the Library of Hawaii, Archives of Hawaii and other institutions, particularly by visitors, as to what books on Hawaiian history can be recommended. Without attempting to recommend but merely to list books of a known popularity and authenticity, the following books are listed:

"A Brief History of the Hawaiian People", by W. D. Alexander; "Under Hawaiian Skies", a narrative history of Hawaii, by Albert P. Taylor; "A History of Hawaii", by the Hawaiian Historical Commission, Ralph S. Kuykendall, the author; "Hawaii, Past and Present", by W. R. Castle, Jr.; James J. Jarves' "History of Hawaii."

OFFICERS OF SOCIETY—

Officers of the Hawaiian Historical Society serving in the present year are: Henry Bond Restarick, president; W. F. Frear, vice-president; Albert P. Taylor, secretary; Samuel Wilder King, treasurer; Miss Caroline P. Green, librarian. Trustees—until 1931: W. F. Frear, A. P. Taylor, Samuel Wilder King; until 1932: R. S. Kuykendall, Col. Thos. M. Spaulding, James T. Phillips.

Trustee, Library of Hawaii, Bruce Cartwright.

DR. PETER BUCK'S BOOK ON SAMOANS—

"Samoan Material Culture" is the title of a book just off the press, published by the Bernice P. Bishop Museum,

Honolulu, 700 pages, containing an introduction and illustrations, and 14 sections devoted to an intensive study of the arts and crafts of the Samoan people. Dr. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa among the Maoris, he being of that race) is ethnologist of the Bishop Museum. This is a long expected book, and those who know Dr. Buck can be assured that every paragraph is written with due regard to facts and background and a thorough knowledge of the life and customs of the various Polynesian peoples. All aspects of the subjects are featured, including house, cooking utensils, food and kava; plaiting, with an explanation of baskets, mats, twines, cords and ropes; clothing, fine mats, bark cloth, dyes and sandals; stonework, with adzes and other materials; various types of canoes; fishing, the use of nets, angling and the catching of snakes; hunting and fowling; horticulture; games and recreation; musical instruments; weapons; religious objects and the arts of personal adornment and tatooing. This is one of the most valued of contributions to Polynesiana this year.

EARLY PLANTING METHODS OF THE HAWAIIANS—

Mrs. Rice Wichman, of Kauai, is publishing a book on the above subject, the result of long researches into the planting methods used by the Hawaiians in ancient days. The articles, published in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, have now been gathered in one volume. The author is meeting a want of long-standing.

"UNDER HAWAIIAN SKIES" IN DEMAND-

The above book, a narrative history of the Hawaiian Islands and its people, of which A. P. Taylor, librarian of the Archives of Hawaii, and secretary of the Hawaiian Historical Society, is author, and published (second edition) 1927, is in increasing demand according to the publishers, the Honolulu Advertiser Publishing Co. Calls are coming from Mainland libraries and the libraries of universities and colleges. Although seemingly a title for fiction or a novel "Under Hawaiian Skies" is entirely a history of the people and islands, but written in narrative form. The author's second book, "Historic Honolulu—Rulers of Hawaii", is published by the same firm.

BISHOP RESTARICK'S HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS—

Bishop Restarick, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, is an indefatigable writer of articles relating to ancient and modern Hawaii, particulary historical. For more than a year he has had an historical article published once a week in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, each of considerable value, for he goes off on historical detours for his material, rendering the articles of real indexible value. His book, "Hawaii from the Viewpoint of a Bishop", was a similar contribution to Hawaiiana.

LAHAINALUNA SEMINARY'S COMING CENTENARY—

In September, 1931, Lahainaluna Seminary, on Maui, will celebrate the centenary of its actual founding by the American Board of Foreign Missions, which became a literary, education and practical center for the diffusing of the Mission's activities. Its printing establishment was one of the most valuable of its activities. Material is being sought after to provide for the occasion, a complete history of the establishment and work of Lahainaluna.

HISTORIC CANNONS FROM OLD FORTS GIFTS TO GOVERNMENT—

The former Princess Kalanianaole sometime ago presented to the Archives of Hawaii two old-fashioned, muzzle loading cannons which were formerly part of the Punchbowl fort, dating back into the 1840's, and recently mounted on the sea wall of the princess's residence, "Pualeilani", at Waikiki Beach. They were presented years ago to the late Prince Kalanianaole by the Territorial Government. Governor Judd plans to have the guns mounted on either side of the driveway just within the King street gate of the Palace grounds, thus to honor Kamehameha III in whose reign they were first mounted in Honolulu. The guns are known as "Kalola", the "man-killer", and "Kalahikiola."

Another gun to be mounted in the new waterfront park opposite pier 11, is a smaller cannon, taken out of the harbor by the Hawaiian Dredging Co., and presented to the Territory by W. F. Dillingham, president of the company. This gun was formerly mounted in the old Honolulu fort which stood where Pier 11 stands and also took in what is now Fort street below Queen street. Mr. Dillingham generously offered to have the gun put in shape and to mount it when Superintendent of Public Works Bigelow decided on the site, and he will also erect with it a bronze tablet inscribed with the history of the gun and fort.

ALBERT F. JUDD HONORED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—

Albert F. Judd, president of the Board of Trustees of the Bishop Estate and the Bishop Museum, was signally honored by the federal government when he was appointed legal adviser to the Congressional Samoan Commission, of which U. S. Senator Hiram Bingham III, of Connecticut (born in Honolulu), was chairman and went to Samoa on the U. S. cruiser *Omaha*. In Samoa, Mr. Judd received honors from the chiefs in recognition of his research work done in Samoa. Mr. Judd's knowledge of Samoa and the customs of the people were of rare value to the Commission which is to propose a type of government for the natives of American Samoa. Mr. Judd's grandfather, Dr. G. P. Judd, occupied influential positions under the Monarchy of Hawaii, and his father was chief justice of the Kingdom, the Republic and the Territory.

REMINISCENCES OF THE COURT OF KAMEHAMEHA IV AND QUEEN EMMA

By CURTIS PIEHU IAUKEA*

My earliest recollections take me back to the time when Kamehameha IV, the brilliant and talented Liholiho—with his no less gifted and charming Queen, Emma Kaleleonalani, were gracing the throne of Hawaii and the Prince of Hawaii, their only son and heir, living and in the full enjoyment of health and happy childhood.

This was about the year 1860, when I was five years old and living with my adopted parents, Kaihupaa and Keliaipala, at the old royal school premises, the site of which is where the old royal barracks is now standing on Hotel Street, then known as Palace Walk, i.e. that part of Hotel extending from Richards to Punchbowl.

The school was founded in 1840, specially for the education, through the medium of the English language, of the young chiefs and Aliis of high rank, with Mr. Amos S. Cooke, (progenitor of the large and respected families of that name enjoying a leading place in Hawaii's present day social and business activities), as principal and tutor. When the school was given up in 1850, the premises were turned into a domicile for the retainers of royalty having families. The place was known as Halepoepoe, (meaning circular or round house) so-called because of the quadrangle or court forming the central portion of the building.

Between Palace Walk and the premises was the drilling ground, where the men of the guards assembled of early mornings to go through their usual drills and evolutions. It was music to my ears to hear the steady tramp of feet; the tap of the drum; the rattle of bayonets and side arms; the commands in particular, being easily understood because in Hawaiian, the only language we knew.

I might repeat a few, in the manual of arms say; Hapai Pu! (Carry Arms), Ilalo-Pu! (Order Arms), Iluna-Pu! (Shoulder

^{*} Col. C. P. Iaukea was a prominent official under King Kalakaua—clerk, private secretary, vice-chamberlain, quartermaster general, ambassador to Courts of Europe, chamberlain and commissioner of Crown Lands, a courtier to His Majesty for seventeen years.

Arms), Ike Alo-Pu! (Present Arms)—as we gazed intently on, and thrilled with the clock-like precision with which the movements were executed by the men under orders and instruction.

It was in these very grounds that I came near losing my life; and were it not for a boy companion I was with at the time of the accident, I would not be here to tell the tale. The sad part of it was, the sequence that followed, as the following anecdote will show:

Kaihupaa—uncle on my mother's side—he it was who took me from the cradle and claimed me as his Keiki (child), a common custom amongst Hawaiians, to be brought up and reared as a Kahu or retainer of royalty, as he himself had been under the Third Kamehameha.

I have but slight recollection of him, for he died when I was quite young, between the age of five and six. Of his death, however, I have the most vivid recollection, not only because of the wailing that went on unceasingly for a whole day and night, but at the appearance of Queen Emma (Consort of Kamehameha IVth the reigning sovereign) at my uncle's bedside, where he was laid out in the stillness of death; of her entering the room, and I kneeling at her knees, clinging to the skirts of her dress and begging the Queen to bring my father to life again. I will never forget the harrowing scene as long as I live.

In after years, as I grew up to manhood, my stepmother, Keliaipala, informed me of the contributory cause of my uncle's death, who lingered and suffered agony for many months, was the injury he received whilst saving me from a watery grave. It happened in this wise as she related it:

It being Kite season, I was out in the yard with a boy companion, a year older than I was, trying to fly a kite that my uncle had made for us. In the act of running backwards, as children often do to give momentum to the kite while my boy friend held up the kite, I suddenly stepped into space, and went headlong into an open well some 10 or 12 feet in depth, located near the south corner of the building where we were domiciled. Fortunately, my playmate had presence of mind enough to run into the house and give the alarm.

My uncle who happened to be in the house at the time, came running out. Seeing me struggling at the bottom of the well and about to sink, he clamered down with hands and feet part way, then jumped. In doing so one of his feet struck a submerged rock (at the bottom of the well) and well nigh broke his leg. He saved my life but suffered much, and in the end lost his own from the injury received.

The incident which ultimately caused his death, has ever been a sad memory with me whenever my uncle's name is mentioned.

It was nigh on ten years, school days over, and I had returned to the scenes of my early childhood, that I got some personal glimpses of my Uncle Kaihupaa, the more intimate side of life—how he was brought up at the Court of Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) as one of his Keiki's (boys) and grew up to become that monarch's Kahu and personal attendant, "Kanaka", as a Hawaiian would say. In other words, the King's right hand man, having to do with all that appertains to his bodily welfare and comfort; a much coveted post amongst the retainers of royalty because of the intimate and confidential duties involved, often leading to personal favors and privileges not enjoyed by others of the retinue.

Singularly enough, and within a very recent date, there came into my hands, through the courtesy of Mr. W. W. Chamberlain and Albert F. Judd, a note dated March 17th, 1845, from Kamehameha III, to Mr. Levi Chamberlain (W. W.'s grandfather) the then Superintendent of Schools of the American Board of Missions to Hawaii, requesting him to instruct two of his boys, giving their names as Kaihupaa and Pupule, the first named was my uncle and father by adoption.

The letter in the King's own handwriting and in the Hawaiian dialect, read as follows:

"E Kamalani— "Aloha Oe

"Ke hai aku nei au ia oe he wahi manao no'u mauwahi keiki Ua makemake laua e ao oe ia laua i kekahi mea a laua i makemake ai ua ike no ka oe ia laua ina e hiki ia oe ke ao aku ia laua oluolu loa wau ia mea makemake loa wau eike laua ia mea. Aloha olua me kau wahine.

Me ka mahalo,

KAMEHAMEHA III

Eia ko laua inoa Kaihupaa Pupule Malaki 17, 1845.

Translated, reads:

Mr. Chamberlain,

Greeting:

"I am informing you of a wish regarding two boys of mine. They would like to have you instruct them in something they want to learn. You know them, and if you can teach them, I shall be pleased. I am anxious that they get the information desired. Regards to you and your wife.

"With respect,

KAMEHAMEHA III"

"Here are their names: Kaihupaa Pupule"

The homes and residences of some of the more prominent chiefs of the land closely related to the reigning family seemed to have formed a barrier as it were about the Palace. For on the same side of Palace Walk with us, taking in all of Miller Street and up to the Haalelea premises (now University Club property) was "Haimoeipo", the home of Queen Kalama and Consort of the Third Kamehameha. The entrance to the Palace opposite was named after her "Hakaleleponi Puka"—that being the appellation by which she was more familiarly and better known.

At the corner of Richards and Palace Walk was "Kinau Hale", the premises extending makai to the Richards Street gate. This was the home of the Chiefess and Kama-Alii-Wahine Kinau, mother of the reigning sovereign Kamehameha IV, and

his elder brother Prince Lot Kapuaiwa (Kamehameha V). The house stood about where the Bungalow was, built in Kalakaua's time. The Chamberlain's office during Kamehameha Vth's time, was at Kinau Hale, and was so used until Kalakaua came to the throne in 1874. The Richards Street entrance was called "Kinau Puka" or Gate after Kinau.

A magnificent avenue of Tamarind trees in full growth and bearing lined the driveway leading to Kinau Hale. Some one had a dream and foresooth, the trees had to go. A pity.

At the west corner of the grounds bounded by King and Richards, is where Kamehameha Vth was brought up as a child and resided for many years. Halimaile was the name of the land of which the home and premises formed a part, the section extending into Richards Street and block beyond.

Diagonally across, about where the Archives Building is standing, a little more mauka if anything, on the land of Pohukaina, stood the home of Prince Lunalilo, afterwards King in succession to Kamehameha V.

He of the gay and jubilant spirit that made the welkin ring and set us all agog with his pranks and capers with the basedrum, which he would arm himself with, drum stick in each hand, then go careering up and down the long corridor, the drum swaying from side to side as he gave it a lick, singing England's political hymn "Rule Britannia, Britannia Rules the Waves", in a tone even louder than the drum.

It was certainly great fun and we all enjoyed it. Not worth the telling perhaps, but, one of those human incidents that helped to make life happy. A good fellow he was, liked by everybody, and enjoyed the popular epithets of "Prince Bill" and "The People's King". In turn, he showed his love for the people by giving the bulk of his landed property for the erection and founding of a Home for the poor and needy Hawaiians, known as the "Lunalilo Home" and which has been in existence ever since.

To complete the picture encircling the Palace of the Iolanis, and perhaps the most interesting from a historical point of view, is the old royal tomb which contained the remains of many of the ancient Chiefs and Sovereigns of Hawaii, and which figured in the troublous days of 1842 and 1843 as the "Abode

of Death" (according to Jarvis), where Dr. Judd found refuge and an asylum for the safe keeping of important government archives.

Nestling in the midst of this wealth of regal homes and environment, stood the home and Palace of the Iolanis, with its spacious grounds running clear through from street to street. From "Hakaleleponi Puka" at Palace Walk at the North, where the lesser lights and more humble of their subjects found entrance without hindrance; to that regal gate of Kauikeaouli named after Kamehameha III, opening out on King Street, where only royalty and privileged class could come and go.

Of the more vivid and enduring of my boyhood impressions, I recall the days when, as a bare footed urchin of five and six, I used to romp around the Palace Grounds, dancing attendance on royalty in the role of page and valet to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Hawaii—Ka Haku-o-Hawaii, as he was more familiarly known amongst royalty and Hawaiians, then, well on in his fourth year and in the full enjoyment of health and happy childhood.

Up and down the broad driveways of Iolani Palace we would go; the Prince sitting pretty in his little barouche or baby carriage, drawn by a stalwart groom in livery; with two or three personal Kahus and retainers in attendance, taking turns at the Kahili, (emblem of royalty) ever present and never missing when the Prince was in the grounds taking his recreation; whilst I, his embryo page and valet, played the part of a footman, and as the cavalcade came to a rest, run up and execute a heels-over-head turn, for the edification of his serene highness; landing on my head as often as not, much to my personal discomfort and embarrassment.

Happy days those were. Occasions I looked forward to with the greatest of pleasure and anticipation, ever alert for the call that would take me fleet-footed to Ihikapukalani, where dwelt the Mother Queen and her idolized son, to take up anew the recreations and diversions of the day before. Little dreaming that the day was not far distant when the nation would be called to mourn the "early fading of its brightest hope."

"Ihikapukalani" (heavenly splendour and sacred to the chief, for that is what the name spells) was a one-storied frame building that stood at the east corner of the old Palace; the nigh end or that portion nearest the Palace being occupied by the Queen as her private apartments, and the rest of the building for dining room, butlery and culinary departments. A wide verandah ran the whole length of the building some 75 or 80 feet long, screened in by Venetian blinds. Many a meal have we (the juvenile members of the retinue) enjoyed there with the Queen before proceeding to Church, on Sunday mornings.

All was going on merrily when one day, sad to relate, the Prince was taken suddenly ill. Silence pervaded the whole place, anxiety on every face and countenance; for it soon leaked out that the Prince's illness had taken a turn for the worse. The seriousness of which might best be told in his father's own words announced to the Legislature, then awaiting Prorogation, through a Royal Commission consisting of the King's father, M. Kekuanaoa, Governor of the Island of Oahu; and the Chief Justice, Honorable Elisha H. Allen; His Majesty the King being too overcome and weighed down with grief to attend the ceremony in person.

The Message read:

"Nobles and Representatives:

"In taking leave of you as I announce the prorogation of the Legislature, it is my painful duty to inform you of the dangerous illness of our Son, the Prince of Hawaii. He is the Son of the Nation, and the hearts of the people, we doubt not, will be touched as our own. We trust in a Merciful God to restore him if, in His Wisdom it is best, and to sustain Us in this, Our hour of trial."

Four days later the Sun of the Kamehamehas had set.

Of the sorrowing and mournful scenes that followed the Prince of Hawaii's illness and death, a full and detail account may be found in the "Polynesian" of August 30, 1862, a few passages from which I have embodied as an appendix.

Of my own recollections, however, I can well recall the wailings which seemed to come from all quarters when the Prince's death was announced; the continuous throngs of people that came and went; of accompanying my stepmother with the rest of the retinue to the Throne Room, and of being lifted up bodily by some strong arm to give me a glimpse of him, who, only a few

days before I was frolicking with, as he lay there peacefully and in his last sleep.

Scarcely had the bitterness of parting passed with "her last and only Son", when the bereaved Mother Queen, in words full of pathos and feeling, gave expression to her deep sense of gratitude in a letter to her Majesty Queen Victoria for graciously condescending to be God-Mother to the Prince of Hawaii.

The missive, a personal one, ran as follows:

"Palace of Honolulu, 10th September 1862.

"Madam:

"As a wife and fond mother, my heart overflows with gratitude to your Majesty, for the honour which you have been so graciously pleased to render to the King, my husband, and to our Only Son, in Condescending to become his Sponsor, at his baptism.

"It was the cherished ambition of the King and myself, ever since the birth of our child, to obtain for him the enviable honour conferred on him by Your Majesty, and that he should bear the name of Albert.

"But, alas! Your Majesty's spiritual relations to my beloved child has been of short duration, for it pleased almighty God, in his inscrutable Providence, to call him away from this world, on the 27th day of August, only a few days after his baptism.

"While our hearts are melted by this deep bereavement, his father and I find comfort in the thought that the departed has gone to Heaven, to mingle with the blessed while as your Godson, and under a name dear to Your Majesty, his memory will ever be cherished by us and by our People.

"The splendid gift which Your Majesty has been pleased to send in token of regard to the Prince of Hawaii, will be preserved as a precious relic, to be venerated by the latest member of our Dynasty.

"With that depth of feeling which is fully known to the heart of none but a mother, I pray Your Majesty to accept my thanks for your Royal benevolence, thoughts and mind, and may God grant you His Grace, through life, and at the last a Crown of Immortal Glory.

Your Good and Grateful Friend,

(s) EMMA."

Her Majesty, Queen Victoria."

APPENDIX

From Honolulu newspapers (1862)

"It is with feelings of unutterable sorrow that we record the sad event, that has spread grief in every heart and gloom over the land—the demise of his Royal Highness, Albert Edward Kauikeaouli Leiopapa a Kamehameha, Prince of Hawaii, the only child of their Majesties Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, on the 27th inst., at 8 o'clock in the morning, from inflammation of the brain, after a sickness of nine days.

"Born on the 20th of May, 1858, his Royal Highness had attained 4 years, 3 months and 7 days at his death. Lovely in his appearance, with delicately formed features and bright, intelligent, meditative eyes, he early developed those amiable qualities of the mind which made him the idolized love of his parents, the hope of the nation. Obedient to his parents, courteous to strangers, kind to inferiors, with an observant eye, a retentive memory and a genial disposition, his whole being seemed to diffuse a sunshine of inexpressible sweetness over the Palace and over the land.

"There is anguish in the Palace, there is sorrow in the land. While Royal hearts are mourning for the young, the gifted and the lovely, their only child, the nation mourns for him and them. It mourns the early fading of its brightest hope; it mourns for those to whom that child was all.

"From our inmost heart, and we but speak the sentiment of an entire people, we condole with the Royal parents in this their hour of trial and bereavement."

"On Tuesday evening, the 19th inst., the Prince was attacked by the disease to which he finally succumbed. The best medical treatment in the country was promptly procured. Besides the King's own Physician, Dr. McKibbin, he was attended by Doctors C. F. Guillou, R. W. Wood, S. P. Ford, R. McKibbin, Jr., and C. K. Ord of H. B. M. ship *Charybdis*, who lavished every means that skill and knowledge could suggest. When the Prince's sickness and its dangerous character became known, the greatest solicitude, we may say dejection, over spread the community and the bulletins of his health, issued three times a day,

were eagerly scanned by thousands in hopes of learning a favorable change. But alas! human art and the tenderest love proved unavailing; he rapidly sank under the progress of the malady. On Saturday last he was baptised according to the English Episcopal liturgy, his sponsors being her Majesty Oueen Victoria of England, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Lot Kamehameha, the first represented by Mrs. Synge, the lady of the British Commissioner and Consul General, and the second by Mr. Synge. On Wednesday morning last, at 8 o'clock precisely, the Prince quietly expired, and the minute guns from the Palace told the sad tale of the nation's loss, but told also that an earthly crown had been exchanged for an angel wreath of immortal fragrance. The deep sound of the tolling bells went heavily to the heart of the sorrowing multitude; halfmasted flags over shipping and town signalled the departure of one whom none ne'er looked upon but to love; public and business places were closed; men spoke in whispers, and the streets were deserted, from a spontaneous feeling of grief for the lost one and of delicate respect for the august mourners.

"On Thursday morning the Prince was laid in state in the large reception room of the Palace, and all were permitted to take one last look at that beloved face now cold in death; and from 9 A. M. till noon one continuous stream of people, of every class and condition in life, passed through the Palace and around the catafalque on which the remains of the Prince reposed. The prince was tastefully dressed, and preserved even in death that look of ineffable sweetness and calm repose which characterised his countenance in life. On small tables around stood vases filled with the most fragrant and beautiful flowers, and at the head on a separate table stood the gift of his august Godmother Queen Victoria—a large silver vase of the most consummate workmanship, with most exquisite chasings and tracery.

"At 8½ A. M. the Official, Diplomatic and Counsular corps, and the Captain and officers of H. B. M. ship *Termagant*, paid their respects to the remains of the august deceased. The Engine Company No. 4, of which the Prince had been an Honorary Member, the Volunteer Artillery corps, and other associated bodies visited the Palace, and the town remained with flags at halfmast throughout the day. Captain Hall, of the

British frigate *Termagant*, with a delicate attention and expression of sympathy, which cannot fail of being appreciated by his own Sovereign, dressed his ship in mourning, an honor only paid, we believe to the Sovereign or a member of the Royal Family in England.

"We learn that the funeral of H. R. H. the late Prince of Hawaii will take place on Sunday forenoon, September 7, at the Palace.

"A voice upon the prairies,
A cry of woman's woe,
That mingleth with the autumn blast
All fitfully and low;
It is a mother's wailing:
Hath earth another tone
Like that with which a mother mourns
Her lost, her only one?"

THE ADOPTION OF THE HAWAIIAN ALPHABET

By THOMAS MARSHALL SPAULDING

Even in these enlightened days it is said that a stranger occasionally arrives in Hawaii expecting to be dependent on an interpreter when he ventures beyond the doors of his hotel, and marvelling that he seldom hears any language spoken but English, or something distantly akin to it. Perhaps he goes away with the idea that Hawaiian, if not quite dead, is at any rate a dying language. Fortunately, his second thought is as incorrect as his first. It hardly needs to be argued that an ancient language, once national but now secondary, should be preserved, and Hawaiian seems in no more danger of disappearing than does Welsh, whose situation is quite similar. And the possibility of its sinking to a mere corrupt and vulgar patois is eliminated by the introduction of courses in the high schools and more especially the university, where Hawaiian is taught as a living and literary language.

The development of the Hawaiian language in the early part of the nineteenth century should make an interesting study for philologists. Usually a living language can accommodate itself gradually to new conditions, growing and changing steadily and insensibly. But to the Hawaiian people a whole world of new things and new ideas was suddenly opened, and their language had suddenly to find means of expression. For the life they had previously lived, their language had been a notably rich one; now it was desperately poor. They set to work to enlarge their vocabulary by every convenient means. The most obvious, of course, was to adopt English words directly into the language, with only such changes as would make them pronounceable by a Hawaiian tongue. So we have puke for "book", leka for "letter", palau for "plough", pepa for "paper", hipa for "sheep", kula for "school". Not quite so obvious, but understandable with any knowledge of the limitations of the Hawaiian alphabet, are kawele for "towel", laiki for "rice", keneka for "cent", kala for "dollar". (We also have *ai-kala* or kala-for-the-neck, i.e., "collar.") At least one hitherto unknown animal was allowed to name itself, and "duck" became kaka. As to the word for "cat", there are various theories; that which one would like to believe is that popoki is a contraction of the familiar "poor pussy." Kakolika explains itself; and kalawina for "Protestant" is a complete historical document in pocket size, testifying as to the form in which Protestantism first approached these islands. Episcopalians were not thus provided for, and when Bishop Staley arrived the cumbrous expression ho'omana pihopa was devised, which may be put into still more cumbrous English as "bishop's form of worship." The compounding of words was another resource; thus halepule or "house of prayer" for "church", and makai-nui or "big policeman" for "sheriff." For this purpose luna, meaning "overseer" or "boss" or "executive", is very useful. A lunakanawai or "law-overseer" is a judge, and a luna anela is an archangel.

But this paper is not concerned with the words themselves, but rather with the manner in which they are set down on paper. Before the language was reduced to writing, English-speaking persons spelled Hawaiian proper names phonetically to the best of their ability, and weird enough these names look to us now. When the language acquired an alphabet and definite rules of pronunciation for its letters, these English attempts, bristling with ee and oo and ah, were discarded. Of course most Hawaiian names were unknown outside of these islands, so that a change in their spelling caused no difficulty. But a few place-names had become more or less familiar elsewhere, and these lingered on under their old forms a little longer. The Board of Missions in Boston even raised the question whether the old spelling should not be permanently retained for names that had acquired some degree of recognition, such as Owhyhee and Woahoo (Hawaii and Oahu). In a letter dated November 12, 1824, Hiram Bingham combats this suggestion. His arguments are sound, but more effective than argument, perhaps, is his query as to how the advocate of English spelling would like to read Chillee, Leemah. Queeto, Bordo and St. Lewy. Anyway, we hear no more of Owhyhee and Woahoo.

The printers had their troubles from the first. They had to represent the sound of Hawaiian words in some way or other, without waiting for the alphabet to be standardized, and some of the commonest of Hawaiian sounds are relatively rare in English. The printers were constantly clamoring, for example,

for more k's; we find five hundred extra asked for when a new font of type is received. A glance at the dictionary shows that about one-fifth of the words in the Hawaiian language begin with k, so the perplexities of the printers may easily be understood. Such difficulties commonly occur when printing is attempted in one language with type made for another. When Henry S. Sheldon of Honolulu started a newspaper in California after its annexation, he found only Spanish fonts, with no w's. He had to substitute vv until he could get the missing letter from Honolulu. Something similar happened here when the French seized the Honolulu fort in 1849: Dr. N. B. Emerson, who was a boy at the time, remembered seeing "de Tromelin's proclamation, printed in the Hawaiian language, in which vv did duty for w, and t took the place of k, all of which peculiarities aroused the schoolboy's scorn and indignation."

Before printing could be begun, which took place in 1822, reduction of the language to writing was of course necessary, and this involved establishment of an alphabet. The final result of the missionaries' labors is well enough known by everyone in Hawaii, but of the processes by which they arrived at the result not much has ever been written. Many of the reports made by the missionaries to the American Board in Boston were printed at the time in the *Missionary Herald*, but very little about the alphabet is to be found in these published papers. The Board evidently thought that the subject was not of general interest. So the principal source of information is the mass of unpublished correspondence which may be studied in Boston and in Honolulu. In this the evolution of the alphabet may be traced.

The twelve-letter alphabet with which we are familiar was not adopted in the beginning, once for all, as the common supposition is. It was only in 1826, when printing had been in progress more than four years, that the alphabet finally crystallized into its present form. Until that time nearly all the English letters were in use. The first spelling-book, struck off within a few days of the beginning of printing, lists seventeen regular letters, and states that four others,—f, g, s and y,—are also used in spelling foreign words. This leaves only five letters out,—c, j, q, x and z. The consonants had the same value as in English. To the vowels was given what the missionaries called the

"continental sound." As to this they felt some hesitation, which appears in their letters, but the decision was the only reasonable one; if they had tried to use the vowels as in English the sounds could not have been definitely indicated without the lavish use of doubled letters or other awkward expedients.

The trouble with this system was that there exist in the Hawaiian language several sounds each of which may be pretty well represented by either of two consonants; how should words containing these sounds be spelled? Where one foreign listener heard an l, another set down the sound as r; so also of k and t, v and w. A letter of Artemas Bishop, dated September 30, 1824, explains the situation at length. In his own experience he had found the sounds in question to be clearly l, k and w, for his station was at Kailua, on the island of Hawaii, and he notes the interesting point that these pronunciations prevailed on the windward islands, shading off toward the leeward, so that the kapa of Hawaii became tapa on Kauai. There is room for speculation here. Did the local differences in pronunciation arise here in the Hawaiian group, being more marked in Kauai because of its distance from the other islands? Or had the sources of early immigration anything to do with it?

Most of the missionaries, Mr. Bishop says, shared his preferences. Mr. Ellis, however, favored r, t and v, for these were the sounds in the language of Tahiti, where he had previously lived. Mr. Bingham agreed with Mr. Ellis, and the numerous reports which he had written to America had gone far toward making his spelling recognized as standard.

There is a good discussion of these difficulties, in retrospect, in a letter of William Richards, written at Lahaina, May 20, 1828, in the course of which he relates an experiment he once made.—
"A large circle of natives were present. I selected a word where in the last syllable I most frequently hear a sound approach to the sound of d. I turned to one of the company and said is the word dido? He said yes. I asked again, is the word dilo? He answered as before yes. I proceeded and said, is it diro? The answer was yes. Did you say the word was lido? Answer, yes. Is the word lilo? Answer, yes. Is the word rilo? Answer, yes. I next inquired of the

next one in the circle who answered in the same way. Thus I went round the circle, not one of which perceived but that I asked the same question nine times. I give this as a correct specimen of what would occur respecting all the interchangeable letters. In another instance I asked a native to pronounce this word himself. Among the seven listeners there were four opinions as to the answer given. Three thought he pronounced the word lilo; two thought he said lido; one thought he said liro and one thought he said rilo. All however were of opinion that the sound was rather a medium one and not the full sound of the English letters. The same differences of opinion exist respecting all the interchangeable letters except k and t. The sound of these letters is nearly as distinct in native articulation, as with us. But still they are both rarely or never sounded by the same individual and no native knows the difference in the two sounds."

The spelling-book published in October, 1825, prints twelve letters in large type, and relegates r, t and v, as well as b and d, to the supplementary list, along with g, s and s. It will be noted that f and g, which occurred in the former list for use in foreign words, have been dropped, and that g is added, being needed for Biblical proper names.

This was not a final settlement, however, for a committee consisting of Hiram Bingham, C. S. Stewart and Levi Chamberlain then had the matter under consideration, and its preliminary report was not received until February 14, 1826. This report did little more than state the difficulties attendant upon the existing system or lack of system. It refers to the variety of ways in which many words can be and are written, citing, among others, Kealakekua, which it says can be spelled in sixteen different ways. An unknown mathematical member of the committee contributes the statement that "every word in the language, in which letters occur that are used interchangeably, may by permutation be written nearly as many different ways as the square of the whole numbers of interchangeable letters in the word." The report concludes: "The Committee have endeavored to state some of the inconveniences of the present method of irregular spelling, and to represent some of the difficulties which seem to stand in the way of an uniformity. These propositions and considerations are respectfully submitted."

It was decided that the fate of each doubtful letter should be settled by vote. Eleven missionaries were consulted, two of whom, however, declined to vote, one of them being indifferent and one favoring retention of all the letters. By the unanimous vote of the remaining nine, b, d and v were dropped, t went out on eight adverse votes, and r on six. All favored the retention of k, p and w, and all but two, of l.

The final report of the committee was presented on July 14, 1826. It was facetiously headed "Report of the committee of health on the state of the Hawaiian language," and set forth its conclusions in medico-chirurgical language, as follows:—"B and D are expelled by a lukewarm emetic of a pretty unanimous K is deemed of sufficient capacity to perform its own functions and that of its counterpart T. L though two pills have been given to expell it is to remain to do its own office and that of its yoke fellow R. R though closely connected with the vitals is expelled by five or six votes or expellants, though nearly the same quantity of preservatives have been applied. T though claiming rights as a native member has suffered amputation by the knife and saw of the majority. V a contiguous member and claiming similar rights, has suffered the same fate, and a gentle [illegible] has been applied to dry the wounds of both. remaining members A, E, I, O, U, H, K, L, M, N, P and W are all likely to live and do well so long as the present college of physicians have the sole direction of its life and health." The report is signed by Hiram Bingham and Levi Chamberlain.

Such skittishness on the part of the learned brethren is totally unexpected, but one is rather pleased to discover that they could frisk sometimes, however ponderously. The adoption of their findings definitely settled the Hawaiian alphabet as we have it now, and it seems pretty well adapted to its use. Convention has established the v pronunciation in some words, but no addition has been made to the alphabet and the letter is still written as w. Most of us both say and write taro and tapa, instead of kalo and kapa, but these words have been naturalized in the English language; in their current forms they are no longer Hawaiian, but English. The alphabet of 1826 has stood the test of time.

THE BURIAL CAVES OF PAHUKAINA

By EMMA A. D. TAYLOR

Among the geneological papers of the late Queen Liliuokalani which were deposited in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, are two brief manuscripts written in the Hawaiian language which relate the story of the Chief Pahukaina, of the island of Hawaii, who went to the island of Kauai, visited, also, the island of Oahu, and selected on this island the remarkable cave of Kanehoalani, in Kualoa, as his tomb, and without a doubt this cave was a part of his royal heritage.

Egypt had its King Tutankammen who created the marvellous tomb to be his sepulcher and which he caused to be filled with rare treasures of Egypt's art and husbandry.

Hawaii had its Chief Pahukaina who selected the mysterious cave of Kanehoalani at Ka Lae O Ka Oio as his sepulcher, and which he, like Tutankammen, caused to be filled with the rare treasures of Hawaii's art and husbandry, and of authority of chieftainship.

But, unlike the tomb of the Egyptian monarch, that of the Hawaiian chieftain has never been discovered.

But, there in Koolau is the cave of Pahukaina. In Honolulu there is the site of the former royal tomb on the grounds of Pohukaina. It leads to the query as to the relationship between the site of Pahukaina's burial cave at Kualoa, and the more modern tomb of Pohukaina, in the royal palace grounds in Honolulu.

As to the names of the Chief Pahukaina and the grounds, Pohukaina, they are, in my belief, one and the same, being subjected to the changes that occur in the spelling of names, and in this instance the vowel "a" has been changed to the vowel "o".

There are Hawaiians today who claim that there are remains of chieftains still entombed in Pohukaina, in Honolulu, because they were the "younger brethren", a significant phrase with reference to lines of lineage in Hawaii, the "younger brethren" of the royal lines, and that they are still entombed at Pohukaina because they had no place in the newer Mausoleum in Nuuanu

Valley, they claim, to which the remains of royal dead were transferred in 1865.

Others again claim that it is the tomb, only, of the "younger brethren". That claim is incorrect, in my belief. Kamehameha II, eldest son of Kamehameha I as a ruler, was buried there. Kekauluohi, the mother of King Lunalilo belonged to the "senior line", for her father, Kaleimamahu was the older brother of Kamehameha I; and Kekauluohi was the older half-sister of the premier, Kinau, they having the same mother, Kaheiheimalie, sister of Queen Kaahumanu, favorite wife of Kamehameha I, their fathers being the two brothers—Kaleimamahu and Paiea, Kamehameha I.

Is it not reasonable to believe that the mound-tomb in the Palace grounds, should be called "Pohukaina", as being the receptacle of the noblest blood in all Hawaii, therefore, a "Cave of Wealth", like Pahukaina's, in Kualoa, with its rich array of ahu-ulas, kahilis and implements as well as the blue blood in the chief's veins?

Also, for the reason, all the royal persons laid within the royal tomb in the Palace grounds were issues from the Niau Pio's (The Arching Cocoanut), for the Hawaiians like the Egyptians, had their Ptolemaic unions—to keep the royal lines noble and pure.

Kekauluohi owned the grounds of Pohukaina, upon which was erected the first modern royal tomb, and all the grounds of Pohukaina, which became included in the royal palace enclosure. The Archives' building stands on the site of the old chiefly residence, lands that may have been a heritage of Kekauluohi from the great chief Pahukaina.

All the more reason why the site of the old royal tomb should be held in veneration, and that the historic mound should be cleared and exposed to public view, surrounded by an imposing guard fence, and an appropriate tablet set up to tell passersby its profound royal history.

Now, as to the two brief Hawaiian manuscripts in the Bishop Museum. I give the Hawaiian versions herewith, and attach thereto, also, literal translations in English, of these papers. While alike, in general, there are different versions as to the place of death of the chieftain Pahukaina. One states that he

died at Mahiki, Hawaii; the other, by inference, that he died on Kauai.

But it is agreed that he set aside the cave on Oahu to be his tomb, that he filled it with kahilis, ahu-ulas, a canoe and that it was provided with a pond of water, had certain things growing in it. He also commanded his people that after his death he should be taken to this cave and buried and the people who entombed his body or bones, were to carry away with them, taking back to Kauai, many of the treasures that they found within the cave.

The cave Kanehoalani, is on the great estate of the Judd family at Kualoa, island of Oahu, in the district of Koolau, and is near a part of Ka Lae o Ka Oio, far up in the mountains, but the general location is in view of those passing by the coast. It is at the point of land called "Ka Lae O Ka Oio", which means, literally, "The Forehead of the Oio", or "Point of the Oio", as "Le Ahi" means the "Forehead of the Ahi."

LITERAL TRANSLATION FROM MANUSCRIPT No. 1

"One of the stories pertaining to Pahukaina is; that Pahukaina became angry with the chieftains of Hawaii; for that reason he left that island and went to Kauai, where he lived. At his death he directed the Chiefs of Kauai to conceal forever his bones in the cave of Kanehoalani at Ka Lae o Ka Oio. After his death his bones were taken there to that place, and placed therein. The people who entered the cave found within, ahu-ulas, a mahiole (helmet), kahilis, kapas, a canoe and all the different implements of husbandry—this wealth and that wealth. A royal feather standard was there; a fish pond was there; kukui torches and many others things; a fish pond was in there; and taro and other things were growing—everything that would provide for living. These people gathered up these things, and after they had concealed the bones of Pahukaina, they returned with some of these things to Kauai. It is no doubt that there are still on Kauai heirs to the bones of Pahukaina and of the things they took to Should any one desire to search the spring of Ka Ahuula, they should use the eye (maka) (point of entrance) to enter by. They should use powder to blow up with, and work your way in, creeping through there, until you can get to the path to get there, for the reason there is no known clue to the opening of the cave from Ka-Ahuula there. At time torches have been seen through the water."

TRANSLATION OF MANUSCRIPT No. 2

"Kualoa is where Pahukaina lived; he died in Mahiki, Hawaii.

"But it was from there that his bones were brought to the cave of Kanehoalani. It is said the cave is at the Point of the Oio, but no one has seen it. At the time Kamehameha III went to Koolau by way of Kualoa, he commenced to make inquiries about it. He searched for the noted cave but could not find it, but the people there told him to search for it through a spring that was called the Spring of the Ahu-ula, for the reason that an ahu-ula had once been found floating on the surface of the water there. They led the way there and searched for it, but could not find any way to the cave."

The spring of the Ahu-ula, I may say in explanation of the above, where the ahu-ula was found floating, is at Kualoa, on the Judd estate, on the side of the island facing towards Mokolii island, and far distant from the site of the cave of Kanehoalani. It is surmised by the Hawaiians that the ahu-ula floated from the pond in the cave of Kanehoalani through an underground water passage and into the spring of or well of Ka-Ahuula.

I have been informed by Mrs. Mary Padigan, who has a splendid knowledge of the points of land on Oahu, that up on Ka Lae o Ka Oio there is a spring of water called the Spring of Pauhukaina.

KA MOOLELO O PAHUKAINA— HAWAIIAN MANUSCRIPT No. 1

O ke kahi Moolelo no ua o Pahu Kaina i naauaawa o Pohukaina i na Alii o Hawaii—Nolaila ua haalele ia a hele i Kauai. I ka noho ana i kauai a make Kauoha kela i na'lii o kauai—e hunakela loa i kona mau iwi i loko o ke ana o Kanehoalani. I ka make ana o Pahukaina hoihoi ia Ku'la na iwi i loko o laila. O ka poe i hele aku iloko o ua ana nei ua hoi me ka waiwai. I ko lakou nei komo ana 'ku iloko o ka lua—e waiho ana ke Ahuula, ke Mahi ole ke Kapa ka waa a me 'ke ano o kela wai wai me keia wai wai E ku ana ke kahili no ihoiho Kukui a me na mea a pau. He loko ia ko loko—ke mahina ai a me na mea a pau, e lako ai ka noho anei.

Ua ohi ua poe nei i ka waiwai. Mahope iho o ko lakou huna kele ana i na iwi o Pahukaina a hoe aku i Kauai.

Aia no paha i Kauai kahi i noho ai o na hooilina o na iwi o Pahukaina Ke manao nae e huli o Kapuna—wai—okaahuula no ka maka e huli ai. E hoopahu i ke pauola a e hookolo aku mai laila aku i ka hele ana o ke ala a hiki i ke ana. No ka mea aohe kumu o ka lua ana o ka Ahuula Malaila. I ke kahi manawa he ike ia ka a mai o ke kukui.

KA MOOLELO O PAHUKAINA— HAWAIIAN MANUSCRIPT No. 2

O Kualoa ko Pahukaina wahi i noho ai a make i Mahiki i Hawaii.

Mai liala no nae ka hoi hoi ia ana a na iwi a ke auao Kanehoalani. Ua olelo ia aia keia ana maka laeoio aka aole mea i ike.

I ka wa i hele ai o K. III i koolau ma Kualoa ua hoomaka oia e ninau—a huli no hoi ia ua ana nei. Aole nae i loaa ua ha hai nae lakou i ka huli ana ma ke kahi pana wai ua kapaia ka inoa o ua puna wai nei o Ka Puna wai o kaahuula. No ka loaa ana o ka Ahuula e lana anei i ua punawai nei. Ua hookele lakou malaila aole nae i loaa.

⁽Copied from one of Her Majesty Liliuokalani's Genealogical Books at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, by Emma A. D. Taylor.)

ANNEXATION SCHEME OF 1854 THAT FAILED

By FRANCIS R. STODDARD*

Continued pressure by France of demands against the government of the Kingdom of Hawaii in the reign of Kamehameha III, internal factional dissessions in the kingdom, retarded prosperity, rumors of filibustering expeditions to sail from San Francisco for Honolulu to capture the islands and create a Republic, and many other matters more or less irritating, finally resulted in a petition to Kamehameha III by a group of residents, asking him to take steps to bring about the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. Serious consideration was given the proposal by the king's ministers and in February 1854, Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, took up the matter officially with Hon. D. L. Gregg, United States Commissioner to ascertain upon what terms annexation could be brought about and to negotiate a treaty for that purpose. This was to be subject to the approval of the king, and the heir-apparent, Prince Alexander Liholiho. Because of possible revolution within the kingdom and filibustering expeditions from the outside, the King desired to have such a treaty in hand in an emergency that might arise.

United States warships were in Hawaiian waters and their commanders received instructions to await a call for action, if necessary. American, British and French warships were in the harbor. When a rumor that a filibustering expedition was to arrive in November, the commanders of the warships were requested to "stand by" and the

commanders promised their aid.

On December 15, 1854, Kamehameha III died, to be succeeded by Prince Alexander as Kamehameha IV. The latter declined to continue the negotiations, desiring to become the active sovereign, and the annexation matter

became null and void.

By permission of Francis R. Stoddard, of New York City, author of "The Life of Admiral Theodorus Bailey, USN.", which has been unpublished, the Eighteenth Chapter thereof, dealing with Admiral Bailey's connection with the annexation movement of 1854 is graphically told, largely made up of letters, official and private, from Admiral Bailey, who was then on board the U. S. man-of-war *St. Mary's*.

This "Eighteenth Chapter" was read at the Hawaiian Historical Society meeting of 30 September, 1930, by A. P. Taylor, secretary of the society. * * *

^{* &}quot;Chapter Eighteen, Life of Admiral Bailey, USN."

"CHAPTER EIGHTEEN"

TRYING TO ANNEX THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The causes of Bailey's visit to the Hawaiian Islands constitute unwritten history. Nowhere have I found recorded in any public print a description of the attempts to bring about the annexation of the Islands to the United States, during the year 1854. Bailey in the *St. Mary's* arrived at Honolulu August 27th of that year. His visit was due to the fact that King Kamehameha 3rd, whose full name was Kauikeouli Kaleopapa Kuakamanolani Mahinalani Kalaninuiwaiakua Keaweawealaokalani, had asked the United States to annex his country. This King had been born in the year 1814 and succeeded to the throne when 11 years of age. He was a ruler with advanced ideas and gave a constitution to the Islands. As his two children had died, he adopted as his son and heir, Alexander Liholiho.

On the day that the St. Mary's arrived at Honolulu, Bailey wrote a letter to the Honorable D. S. Gregg, U. S. Commissioner, stating that in conformity with his instructions he would be happy to cooperate in any measure upon which they might mutually agree, pertaining to the object which required the presence of a man-of-war at the Islands, which was a guarded way of referring to the proposed annexation. The next day Bailey went on shore and called on, among others, H. R. H. Prince Alexander. On August 31st, Bailey moved into a house on shore which he had hired, which was relaxation from a long confinement on shipboard. About this time, he wrote to his brother as follows:

"U. S. Ship St. Mary's
Honolulu
Sandwich Islands.
September 5th, 1854.

My dear Brother:

I arrived with the St. Mary's under my command at these Islands on the 27th August, and am acting on important service in connection with the U. S. Commissioner Mr. Gregg.

The papers no doubt will give you a clue to the political events that are transpiring here, and from that you can infer

the object of my visit. I hope before I leave to be in part instrumental in adding another Star to the Constellation of the Union—but this is in confidence.

These are most charming Islands producing sugar, cotton, coffee, etc. as well as all the Tropical fruits, and this town is destined to be the Havanah of the Pacific. ***

The Article which you mention as having appeared in the papers purporting to describe the death of a man in the St. Mary's on her way home, cannot have reference to the St. Mary's this cruise, but may have reference to her passage home last cruise when Capt. Magruder commanded her; no death has occured on board under the circumstances there related.

I received letters in Callao from Anna and Walter Jones. The matter appears to have been arranged between them and I gave my consent. ***

I am under many obligations for the hospitality and kind attention to Anna last winter. My love to Eliza, Mary and Jimmy, and believe me truly

Your brother,

T. Bailey."

On September 6th with his officers, Bailey went by appointment to be presented to his majesty the King. They were received by the Prime Minister, who expressed the regrets of the King that illness prevented him from meeting the American officers. On October 26th, the King visited the St. Mary's and the officers gave in his honor a grand ball which was very largely attended. Bailey wrote to his brother as follows:

"U. S. Ship St. Mary's Honolulu, Nov. 10th, 1854.

My dear Brother:

The steam Frigate Mississippi sails this morning for San Francisco, and will be the bearer of this. We are still waiting for the arrival of the Crown Prince to consummate Annexation so far as our Commissioner and this Government are concerned. Her departure will leave in Port, besides the large Whaling fleet, the U. S. Ships St. Mary's, Portsmouth, Store Ship Southampton and British Frigate Trincomalee and French Frigate Artamese.

The Portsmouth will sail for the Atlantic about the 20th of this month and the Southampton in a few days, leaving the St. Mary's here. *** Yesterday we had an entertain-

ment on board the *Mississippi* at which the King and Queen were to have been present, but when the hour came the King was so unwell that his Cabinet Ministers thought it prudent to leave him behind. The foreign diplomats, Consuls, High Chiefs, Cabinet Ministers, Governor and Captains of Men-of-War as well as resident ladies and gentlemen were present and partook of a handsome collation, etc.

I shall probably be detained here for the protection of our interests in these waters for some months.

Please write to me, directing your letters to San Francisco, care of G. B. Post & Co. I am waiting to hear that Anna is married, to send her my congratulations.

Give my love to sister Eliza, Mary and Jimmy, also Lorry, and believe me truly,

Your brother,

T. Bailey.

N. P. Bailey Esq., New York."

The health of the King was very poor. The last public document under the King's hand was a proclamation dated December 8th, 1854, in which he decried an alleged attempt to overthrow the government and annex the country. On December 15th, 1854, the King died and on that same day Prince Alexander was proclaimed King under the name of Kamehameha 4th. On the day of the King's death, the *St. Mary's* fired 41 guns and carried the Hawaiian flag at half mast. The next day the ship fired 21 guns in honor of the new King. On December 24th, Bailey wrote to the Secretary of the Navy a report containing the following:

"Everything was looking as favorable as possible towards the successful negotiation of a treaty between this Government and the Honorable Mr. Gregg when the sudden and unexpected death of the King Kamehameha III put an end to all proceedings. He expired on the 15th instant at twelve o'clock and within an hour thereafter, his death was announced by proclamation to the people, and the nephew of the deceased, Alexander Liholiho declared King under the title of Kamehameha IV. In accordance with the constitution of the country the late King had long previously nominated Alexander as his successor and the nomination had been confirmed by the parliament—The death of the late King and the accession of Alexander has produced little

excitement, and altho the new King does not possess the personal esteem and affection of his subjects that was enjoyed by his predecessor, still there has been no outward manifestation of dislike or disapproval of his succession to the throne—The Ministry of the late King immediately tendered their Portfolios, but were requested by the King to retain them for the present. Any change in the ministry cannot be but for the worse and it is confidently hoped that none will take place—The funeral ceremonies are to take place on the 30th instant and the 'inauguration' of the new King will probably be on the 8th of January-The resources of the Government not allowing of the lavish expenditure usually attendant upon the coronation of Kings the government have wisely determined to approach as nearly as possible the ceremonies to the Republican Simplicity of the inauguration of our own Presidents and have also adopted the name of Inauguration. Until after these ceremonies the question of annexation is a mere subject of conjecture—If the present Ministry remain in office, I do not see how with the favorable views that I believe that they entertain on the subject of annexation that the cause is very much prejudiced by the death of Kamehameha III."

On New Year's day 1885, Bailey called at the Palace and saw the Queen and Prince Lot sitting by the corpse of the deceased sovereign. At that time Bailey also made a call upon the Princess Victoria. On January 8th, he gave up his cottage and moved back to his ship. On January 10th with his officers, he attended the funeral of the King, and marines from the St. Mary's fired volleys over the tomb. On the next day he attended at the church and saw the new King take his oath of office and also heard the reading of the late King's Will. After the new King had taken the oath, he addressed the people in a speech in which he stated that all foreigners were welcome except those who were trying to overthrow the government and those were most unwelcome. That day the Hawaiian foreign minister sent a letter to Bailey in which he stated that the King had commanded him to thank Bailey, specially in his name, for his attendance at the funeral of his late Majesty along with his gallant officers and brave marines. On January 16th by special invitation of the King, Bailey was received at the Palace with foreign representatives and officers of ships of war.

The proclamation of the dead King, made on December 8th

and the speech of the new King seemed at first glance to be aimed at the United States. Bailey did not like the situation that had arisen and wrote to Mr. Gregg as follows:

"U. S. Ship St. Mary's Honolulu, January 25th, 1855.

Hon. David L. Gregg, Commissioner of the United States at the Hawaiian Islands.

Sir:

On the 13th of November last you addressed a letter to Captain Dornin of the "Portsmouth", enclosing a communication addressed to you by the Department of Foreign Relations of the Hawaiian Government in reference to certain reports that parties were about to arrive here from San Francisco with the supposed design of disturbing the public peace and tranquility and asking the cooperation of the United States Naval forces, (then here) in protecting persons and property.

Captain Dornin, with the knowledge that negotiations were then pending between yourself as Representative of the United States, and the Hawaiian Government for the purchase and annexation of the Islands to the United States, in order to prevent the possibility of the allegation, that a powerful government was negotiating with a comparatively feeble one, for the sale of the Sovereignty of the latter, under dread of momentary attack from the Citizens of the former—at once consented to assist in protecting public and private property from such attacks and in the maintenance of public order.

Captain Dornin sailed for Tahiti on the third of December the negotiations alluded to still pending.

On the 8th of December a proclamation was issued by Kamehameha III, which put upon Captain Dornin's reply a very different construction from that which was intended.

This misconstruction did not escape my attention, but knowing that your negotiations had then every prospect of a favorable termination, I refrained from protesting or remonstrating from a desire not to embarrass your proceedings.

Since then Kamehameha III has died, and a new King has succeeded to the throne, who does not agree with his predecessor and has thought proper to discontinue all negotiation for annexation.

Those reasons therefore which induced Captain Dornin

to consent to grant the assistance asked for, no longer exist, and I must now protest against the construction sought to be put upon Captain Dornin's promise. It would appear from the Proclamation that England, France and the United States had agreed to a joint protectorate of the late King—Such an agreement would be directly opposed to the policy that has ever been maintained by the United States, would be in direct violation of the course adopted in refusing to unite with England and France in securing the possession of Cuba to Spain, and might involve us in the same entangling perplexities that surround the so-called British Protectorate of the Musquite King.

It is not the policy of the United States nor is it the sentiment of her government or people, that her naval forces are to be employed in upholding tottering governments.

If such were the case, abundant opportunity for such Quixotic attempts has long been afforded us by the South American Governments.

I must request therefore that you will communicate to the authority—that if—the Proclamation issued by the late King on the 8th of December last was based upon the idea that the Naval Forces of the United States would at all times unite with those of England and France in protecting the King or Chief Magistrate of these Islands—it was founded upon an utter misconception of facts—for neither Captain Dornin nor myself would assent to any such doctrine.

The force under my command is solely designed for the protection of the commerce, the persons and the property of American Citizens.

I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant

T. Bailey, Commander."

The next day Mr. Gregg answered Bailey by letter as follows:

"Legation of the United States Honolulu, Jan. 26, 1855.

Sir:

I had the honor to receive your letter of yesterday relative to the proclamation of the late King Kamehameha III, issued on the 8th of December last.

I quite agree with you as to the motives which dictated Capt. Dornin's letter proffering assistance to the Hawaiian government on the 13th of November.

An emergency threatening the security of property and the existence of public order in the Kingdom was apprehended—whether wisely or not it is not for me to determine. Application for assistance was made to the United States, and Capt. Dornin promptly offered the aid of the forces under his command in case of necessity—You are well aware of the reasons, and state them correctly which led to the course pursued by Capt. Dornin and myself. The protection of American property was regarded as a paramount object:—the desire to remove all appearance of duress or coercion in the negotiations for annexation then pending at the express instance and solicitation of the Hawaiian Government, also had an important bearing in influencing our determination.

The Hawaiian authorities well understood that the proffer of the aid of the United States Naval forces was *Special*, referring to a particular case, and not prospective for the purpose of maintaining the reigning dynasty of the Kingdom. This, my own correspondence with the Minister of Foreign Relations indicated, and this was the plain import of Capt. Dornin's letter. No other construction was possible in fairness,—none other I am convinced, can be adopted without dishonesty.

The Proclamation of Dec. 8th in formal terms accepted the offer of the United States made on the 13th and 14th of the preceding month. This was after all apprehensions of danger had passed away. There was, I admit, something singular in the terms of the proclamation—something to justify the construction that the United States, France and England had concurred in a scheme of permanent protection to the Hawaiian dynasty.

But I cannot for a moment suppose that the advisers of his Hawaiian Majesty—were incapable of comprehending the plain and obvious import and extent of the benevolent designs made known to them by Capt. Dornin and myself. Still less can I believe that they were capable of seeking a dishonorable pretent for breaking off negotiations, which as they must then have been conscious, were always distasteful to the crown Prince, and the high Chiefs of the Kingdom, although I am aware that on the same day the proclamation was issued, it was solemnly determined that a political connection with the United States was no longer to be contemplated!

Two of the Hawaiian Ministers are Americans by birth and of course, comprehend fully that a straight forward, honest and open policy is always most acceptable to the United States. One of them received office with the

express understanding that his first and controlling motive would always be the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the American Republic. I cannot accuse him of indirectness or of so much devotion to office as to overcome his professed principles, nor can I entertain the supposition that his colleague, always characterized by zeal for the toleration and the equality of American institutions, would descend to duplicity and prevarication for the sake of preserving the dignity of a Minister of the crown, and four thousand a year.

The Minister of Foreign Relations is honorable, high minded, and benevolent,—above trickery even to please his superiors if they desired it, and unsuspected of the slightest disposition to deviate from the path of rectitude. I have always found him fair, open and candid—the very reverse of that embodiment of Knavery which until within a few years past, has in Europe been considered essential to the character of a skillful diplomatist.

Thus it has been, that I did not and do not now imagine that the proclamation of Dec. 8, 1854 was intended to be anything more than a civil and decent acknowledgement for the services which had been tendered to support the cause of order at a period when disaster were supposed to be impending. Its terms have been and still may be considered to bear a different signification, and therefore it is well to protest against any deductions therefrom varying from the obvious intentions designed to be expressed by Capt. Dornin as to the employment of the Naval forces of the United States. I have already, in view of the extraordinary language of the Proclamation, indicated to the Minister of Foreign Relations in official dispatches, my understanding of the true and plain intention of Capt. Dornin's letter and of my own cotemporary communications on the same subject with the purpose of making a record to rebut all presumptions which might hereafter be brought to be raised from any violent construction of their language.

I have given your letter the direction requested by you, as will be seen from the enclosed copy of a dispatch to the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations. It will lead I have no doubt, to such an explanation of the terms of the Proclamation as may remove the prevalent understanding which it has conveyed, that the United States, France and Great Britain have formed an alliance for the purpose of perpetuating the present dynasty of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Such an alliance, I do not believe will ever be entertained by our Government, however strong may be its disposition to favor the independence and interests of these Islands.

It is not, and never will be American policy to look to the fate of dynasties—The welfare of the people of all countries is with us a consideration far higher than the preservation of the race of Kings, or hereditary rulers of any name.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant
David L. Gregg.

To Capt. T. Bailey Commanding U. S. S. St. Mary's, Harbor of Honolulu."

On January 26th the Minister of foreign relations by command of the King invited Bailey and his officers to be present on the 21st anniversary of the King's birth which event was to take place February 9th, but Bailey declined the invitation. The St. Mary's was nearly out of provisions and on January 28th, he sailed for the United States to obtain fresh supplies.

On February 6th he addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Navy containing the following:

"On the 23rd of January, the Minister of Foreign Relations announced to Mr. Gregg that the King had commanded all negotiations for the purpose of annexation to cease.

The young King is evidently desirous of tasting for a time at least the sweets of sovereign power, and for the present, I imagine entertains not the most and distant idea of annexation."

On February 7th, Bailey wrote to his daughter as follows:

"U. S. Ship 'St. Mary's', At Sea, February 7th, 1855.

My dear daughter Annie:

Since my letter of congratulations, I have been so busy on official and other matters that I could hardly attend to private correspondence. You will read in the papers that the treaty of annexation was broken off in consequence of the death of the King Kamehameha III. His successor who is young wants to taste the sweets of power for a time. I dined with the present King, then Crown Prince, and his brother the week before the old King's death—and they were to have attended a dejeuner fourchette which I had

been invited to on board the St. Mary's, when they were put in mourning by that event.

The week before I left I attended a dejeuner dansant on board the British Frigate 'Trincomalee'; the day following I gave a dinner on board to the English, French and American diplomatic representatives at this Court and to the English and French Naval Commanders in port, and on the following day (Sunday) Capt. La Count Le Grandierre commanding the French Frigate 'Euradice' gave us a sumptuous dinner on board his ship.

Having thus reciprocated attentions and good feeling, the three ships left port on the same day for different destinations. Before leaving (as you will probably hear), I made an energetic protest against a deceptive Proclamation issued by the King to the effect that a Tripartite arrangement had been entered into by the representatives of United States, England and France to protect his independent sovereignty. I repudiated the idea of such protectorate in the most positive terms."

On February 10th Bailey arrived at San Francisco. Sometime after his arrival, Bailey received a personal letter from Commissioner Gregg, in which the latter stated: "Annexation is postponed, not altogether killed off. The question is due to recur in a few months." This letter was accompanied by the following letters:

"Legation of the United States Honolulu, Feb. 10, 1855.

Sir:

In connection with the enclosures of my letter of the 26th ultimo, I have now the honor to communicate copies of two dispatches, one from Mr. Wyllie, and the other to him in acknowledgment, which I hope will be the conclusion of all correspondence on the subject.

There has been no real misapprehension on the part of the Hawaiian Government as to the precise import of the offers of assistance on the 13th and 14th of November last. The Proclamation of December 8, 1854, was nevertheless, I am convinced designed to convey the impression abroad, of a continued tripartite protection, with a view of deterring parties in California supposed to have *fillibustering* intentions, from engaging in schemes of hostility against the Islands. From unofficial sources, I have learned beyond question, that this was the intention.

The authorship of the Proclamation is between Judge Lee and Liholiho, and I suspect it originated with the latter. Mr. Wyllie prepared a very different draft, which did not meet the approval of the privy council. The document actually issued was deemed objectionable by him, but he was overruled.

It has been well to bring about an explanation so as to avoid all cause of misunderstanding hereafter.

The New King is managing affairs so as to secure a good degree of popularity. There is among American residents, a disposition to support him strongly as long as his policy continues fair and liberal. Whatever disaffection there may be is confined within narrow limits and is not likely to be manifested until some better occasion exists than at present. There is in fact no just reason to complain of the domestic administration of the Government, and it would be hard to justify revolutionary attempts in the eyes of the world.

Very respectfully your obedient servant, David L. Gregg.

Capt. T. Bailey, Commanding U. S. Ship St. Mary's, San Francisco."

The dispatch from Mr. Wyllie, accompanying the above letter, is as follows:

"Department of Foreign Relations City of Honolulu 30th January, 1855.

Sir:

Having this day had the honor to lay your dispatch No. 42, of the 26th inst. with the copy it encloses of an official communication to you of the 25th from Captain Bailey of the United States Ship St. Mary's, before the King, and His Cabinet, I am instructed to reply to your inquiry, as for the late King's Proclamation of the 8th December 1854, is to be understood as assuming as existing guaranty of protection from the United States, that the King's government neither have assumed nor do assume any guaranty of protection beyond what you yourself offered in your dispatches of the 13th, 14th, 16th and 23rd November last, fairly construed by your own government, or beyond what a sense of duty and a regard to the lives and properties of American Citizens may induce them at all times to grant in accordance with the well known policy of the United

States, often repeated in the President's Proclamations from the incursions of fillibusters abusing the American name and flag.

I am further instructed to say that the reason why the said Proclamation is still kept published in the Polynesian is that if fillibusters should arrive from any quarter, they may know the important fact that in case they should commit any violence, they will be repressed not only by the forces of this Government but by those of more powerful nations.

And I am instructed also to assure you that the King's policy is one of the utmost respect to the U. States Government, officers and people, and to avoid carefully, any occasion of misapprehension either of your dispatches or of anything else that can either prejudice the substance of the most entire good faith and of the most perfect concord with the United States Government, or that can have even the semblance of doing so.

For myself, I venture to express the hope that nothing now or hereafter may arise between you and me as the mandatories of our respective governments, to interrupt however momentarily, that perfect mutual respect, harmony, and good will with which not only our official correspondence, but our personal intercourse has heretofore been conducted, and in conclusion to repeat the assurance of the high respect and consideration with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant R. C. Wyllie.

To The Hon. David L. Gregg, U. States Commissioner etc. etc."

The second dispatch, which was an acknowledgment of the last one, and which accompanied Mr. Gregg's letter to Bailey, is as follows:

"Legation of the United States Honolulu Feb. 6, 1855.

Sir:

It has afforded me great pleasure to be assured by your dispatch of the 30th ultimo, that I was right in supposing that the Hawaiian Government understood my dispatches, and that of Capt. Dornin in November last, only in the plain and obvious sense which their terms imported of

pledging assistance for the protection of life and property, and the preservation of public order, in the special emergency then apprehended, and that the language of the Proclamation of Dec. 8, 1854 was not designed to have a construction implying any offer of protection or support on the part of the United States beyond what was thus expressed.

And I avail myself of this new opportunity to renew the assurance of the distinguished consideration and high personal respect with which I have the honor to be

Your obedient servant

David L. Gregg.

His Excellency R. C. Wyllie Minister of Foreign Relations."

KAUAI ARCHEOLOGY

By WENDELL C. BENNETT
Read before the Kauai Historical Society, May 20, 1929

For the year June 1928 to June 1929, I was commissioned by the Bishop Museum of Honolulu to make an archeological survey of the island of Kauai, T. H. It was my purpose to locate and describe the remains of all Hawaiian structures, to describe the artefacts of Kauai, and to review the literature relating to Kauai. As a result Kauai has been the basis of my whole outlook. All my comparisons within and without the Hawaiian Islands have been directed towards Kauai.

Kauai as an archeological field is very interesting. geographical position in relation to the other islands in the Hawaiian group, gave it an isolation which enabled it to develop a local culture. Kauai was politically independent, never being ruled by an outsider until the beginning of the 19th century when it was ceded to Kamehameha I. As a result of this geographical and political isolation. Kauai not only has the great Hawaiian culture represented, but has the best chance of preserving traits of any previous culture that might have gone before it. Geologically Kauai being the oldest island of the group has given it richer soil, deeper valleys and better all around watering. Since the early times many geographical changes may have taken place. Captain Cook was so deceived by the backwash of the Waimea River to call it a pond of unknown source. The forests of Kokee, especially around Puu Ka Pele have been mutilated by fire. Plantations have turned whole streams into irrigation ditches. The true significance of these changes is of course only conjectural.

Kauai is geographically divided into a number of sections; such as the precipitous Napali region; the Waimea canyon; the Hanapepe valley; the mountain ridge between Koloa and Lihue, etc. Today the most impressive one is the Napali region, but the early travelers refer to the journey from Hanalei to Haena as equally hazardous, and the "Gap" was an easy place to

defend. During times of war there were numerous localities that might be made impregnable, but during peace time the intercommunication was sufficient to prevent the development of local cultures.

Even the Napali region was not sufficiently isolated to develop unique culture features. The trails along that coast, though hazardous enough today, were of little concern to the old Hawaiian. Even the famous ladder, overhanging the water, that led from Nualolo flats to the upper valley was considered a good route in the old days; and Gorham Gilman notes the lack of concern of the Hawaiians in contrast to his terror when he tried to climb this ladder in 1845. The notches cut for foot holes along this same trail show great wear. The canoe journey along the coast was thought little of. Even swimming around the places where the palis impede foot travel was scarcely considered a feat. Incidentally the actual distance along the Napali coast that is impassable by a land route is remarkably short. course in rough weather both swimming and canoeing would be barred, but what was a matter of two or three weeks detention to the Hawaiian. Other famous trails were from Kokee to Milolii, Nualolo, Kalalau. The trail across the mountains from Waimea to Wainiha was sufficiently used to warrant the building of a pathway across the Alakai swamps.

It seems then that there was much more communication between all parts of Kauai, than between Kauai and the other islands. In other words Kauai may be considered as a cultural unity.

From the present remains, and allowing for the fact that most of the places occupied by villages today would have been used also in the other times, the following distribution of sites and population is noted. The river valleys were all inhabited, where there is any semblance to land that could be cultivated. The distance of occupation up the river valleys is only limited by the irrigable lands, and the remains of house sites and taro terraces indicate occupation 10 or 15 miles up such valleys as the Waimea and the Hanapepe. The country along the sea bluffs was generally inhabited, and the beaches also. The largest villages were at the mouths of the largest rivers, such as Waimea, Hanapepe, Wailua, and Hanalei. The great kula land was mostly

unoccupied. The mountain country was but sparsely inhabited.

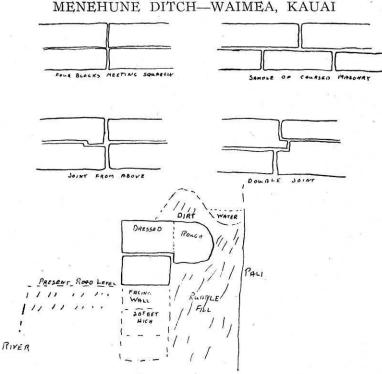
There is little distinctive about the house foundations that remain today. House sites are generally marked by (a) cleared and leveled ground; (b) outlines of stones; (c) terraces; (d) paved areas; (e) raised platforms; (f) walled enclosures; (g) combinations of a-f; (h) a few special houses with several divisions and terraces. The chief features of the house sites are fire places; paved areas of small pebbles; raised platforms within the site; steps; lanais. In Webber's drawing of a Waimea village round houses are shown as well as houses raised on poles. Neither of these is indicated by foundation ruins.

The extent of the agricultural terraces seems to indicate that the water conditions were somewhat altered, as valleys that are today watered by intermittent streams show the remains of undoubted terraces. The amount of land that could be terraced and cultivated was remarkable, and the valleys of the Napali region are tremendously impressive with their maze of stone faced terraces. Today the terraced agriculture seems predominant, but the flat lands that held the large beds, unterraced, are still used today for rice, and sometimes taro, and sugar cane.

The great engineering skill employed in irrigating is most interesting. The usual ditch was nothing more than an embanked trench. When the ditch ran along the side of a slope, the embanking was done only on the outer side, and was sometimes stone faced, much like a narrow taro bed. When it became necessary to carry the ditch across small dips and washouts, the base was built up with large stones and the ditch, of dirt with a stone facing, ran over it; always, so far as I noticed, the slope or the pali was used for the inner side of the ditch unmodified. In other words no true viaduct was noted. When the problem increased in difficulty so that it became necessary to carry the water around an out-jutting pali that approached the perpendicular, a fine piece of work like the irrigation ditch of the Koaie valley, far up the Waimea valley, resulted. This ditch carries the water along the face of the pali for several hundred feet. It is built up of rough stone in some places to a height of from 15 to 20 feet, and the facing wall is sometimes 5 feet in thickness. At the top there are flat stones that slant in and overlap on the down grade. The amount of work involved in such an

undertaking further illustrates the extent of the population, as this ditch is about 10 miles up the Waimea valley.

Finally we come to the acme of water causeways in the Menehune ditch. Here the problem was enhanced by the pali dropping sheerly into the river. Thus the ordinary wall of rough or loose stone would be quickly washed out with the first freshet. As a result of such a problem there was constructed a wall, from 15 to 20 feet high that extended for over 200 feet along the pali. The stones of this wall are carefully dressed to fit compactly together. The cut stone blocks form a smooth faced wall against the pali. Between this wall and the pali the ordinary rubble was filled in. On top of all was a dirt ditch which transported the water at the proper level. There are several joints the nature of which is shown in the inserted drawing.



Cross-Section Giving General Plan of Causeway Top Stone Shows Type of Inner Joint

The chief function of these joints is not however to hold the wall together as they are far too inconsistently placed for such a purpose. The only practical solution today seems to be that they are for the purpose of maintaining the level along the top of the wall which we know, from Vancouver's account, was used for a path way. The masonry shows true coursing in places, while in other places four stones will meet in a square corner. There is no arrangement of stones, a large and small, thick or thin being placed together. From one loose stone I gathered that the inside of the wall was not of dressed stone but was left rough for the purpose of holding together better. In all this ditch represents probably the most remarkable piece of work of its kind, not only in the Hawaiian Islands but in all of Polynesia.

The heiau, or religious structures, are the most outstanding ruins remaining. The large heiau are usually found in prominent places overlooking a village. Sometimes, however they are found in the village itself, and often they are located along the coast line. The large heiau, being the places of worship of the chiefs, would be logically centered around the chief's residence or village. Indeed this is well followed in the Wailua district, long famous as the residence place of the highest chiefs, where there are 5 large heiau. Contrarily there is but one large heiau on Niihau which probably had no prominent chiefs for any length of time.

Kauai, despite previous lists, probably had less heiau than the three largest islands. The list given by Thrum is as follows:

Hawaii......138 (Stokes has added many more)

Maui....... 39 (Walker has already over 150 new ones)

Molokai.... 24 (Maybe a few more though the island is small)

Oahu....... 96 (Probably once many more as much destruction)

Kauai......124 (A very complete list)

The Kauai list also includes sacred places and small heiau not listed on the other islands.

There seem to be many more of the small type of heiau, that is those under 50 feet in size, on Kauai than on the other islands. Of these there is the simple platform, the enclosure and the two terrace type. They are at all times hard to dis-

tinguish from house sites. The large heiau are descriptively classified in the following table:

- I Platform heiau
 - A On sloping ground
 - B Crowning a hill
 - C Of two or more low terraces
- II Enclosure heiau
 - A Rectangular
 - B With terraced and walled divisions
 - C Compound
- III Terraced heiau
 - A Two terraces
 - B Three terraces
 - C Four terraces
- IV Miscellaneous heiau
 - A Round
 - B Unclassified
 - C Community house type

The principal large heiau together with their location and type are given in the following table:

Name	Location	Type	
Polihale	Polihale	IIIC	
Hauola	Hoea	IIIA	
	Waimea		Destroyed
	Waimea Valley		
Pualu	Kapahili, Hanapepe	IA	
Kukuiolono	Kukuiolono	IIB	Destroyed
Kihouna	Poipu, Koloa	IIA	
Kaneiolouma	Poipu, Koloa	IIB	
Waiopili	Mahaulepu, Koloa	IIA	
Malae	Wailua	IIA	
Hikinaakala	Wailua	IIB	
Kukui	Wailua	IIC	
Poliahu	Wailua	IIA	
	Kihe, Kawaihau	IIIA	
Kapinao	East Waiakalua	IC	
Kauluapaoa	Haena	IC	
Kahuanui	Kalalau	IC	

	Awaawapuhi	IA	
****************	Nualolo Flats	IIIB	
	Kalalau	IVC	
Pooku	Pooku, Hanalei	IB	Destroyed

There are 3 interesting sites known as puuhonua or places of refuge. Hikinaakala at the mouth of the Wailua river; Hikinaakala at the mouth of the Waimea river and now destroyed; Kihawahine on Niihau. It is interesting to note that all of these are long, narrow rectangular enclosures (exceptionally so); and that the two remaining have similar and exceptional wall construction of parallel rows of slabs filled in between with small stones.

In comparing the Kauai heiau with those of the other Hawaiian islands, it is noticeable that Kauai lacks the great massive forms so characteristic of the later Hawaiian epoch. This is possibly due to the lack of the great chiefs in the later years. On Kauai there are also certain distinctive heiau features, such as the buttressed walls of Malae; the passage way between the walls of Kukui; an upright on a terrace in Poliahu; and the extreme narrowness of Hikinaakala (or, of the Puuhonua type). Aside from this there is as yet little distinction to be noted. The comparison to Nihoa and Neckar has already been made by Kenneth P. Emory. Aside from several heiau with platforms across one end and the upright slab on a terrace in Poliahu heiau little can be added to his comparison. The distinctive Nihoa-Neckar type is decidedly lacking.

In discussing the artefacts of Kauai many are found to fall into the ordinary Hawaiian types. At this time just the distinctive artefacts will be mentioned. The following list includes features distinctively or predominantly found on Kauai, both in customs and artefacts.

- 1. The Ring and the Slab pounders or food rubbing stones. According to John F. G. Stokes the transition from the slab to the ring form can be shown by the specimens. Of the slab form he distinguishes an elliptical and a block prototype. Of these the elliptical seems a local development while the block seems introduced in its established form.
- 2. Block grinders are found only on Kauai. Properly they should be classed with the pounder or food rubber series, but

they are a unique type. Of the eight of these now known practically five types are discernable the chief points in common being angularity, flat faces, some handle or other means of hafting, and a single curved grinding surface. The use of these pieces is unknown. It has been suggested by myself in my museum report that there was possibly a direct transition from the hafted block grinder to the hand form of the block prototype rubbers. The similarities of the two forms seem to justify this hypothesis, especially if it is added that the grips that made the hand piece practical were adapted from the elliptical form of the rubbers. These rubbers and block grinders are the most distinctive of the Kauai artefacts.

- 3. There has been some mention made of stone poi troughs and one in the Bishop Museum came from Kauai. Nothing is known about their use, but the pounding technique of the conical pounders would be eliminated for practical reasons, while the rubbing technique of the stirrup forms would be possible on a stone base.
- 4. The popular and verified accounts of women making poi on Kauai differentiates this island from the others in the group where this function was practically limited to the men.
- 5. The double grooved stone club head is found chiefly on Kauai.
- 6. Cylindrical stone mortars are more frequently found on Kauai than elsewhere.
 - 7. Polished stone knives have been found only on Kauai.
 - 8. Olona fibre boards are found most frequently on Kauai.
- 9. Certain stone ax forms; a completely polished adz; 3 curved adzes of two types; triangular and curved gouges; and most of the rare adz forms in the Museum collection, are from Kauai.
- 10. Fibre scrapers of pearl shell are dominantly found on Kauai.
- 11. In tapa making a broad tapa anvil was used; grooved malo boards gave a fine texture to the cloth; and a special design on the beater, consisting of cross-hatched grooves with pukas on the interspaces, were all chief Kauai forms.
- 12. Makaloa sedge mats with several distinct designs were Niihau and Kauai specialties.

- 13. The spotted calabashes and gourds were Niihau and Kauai arts, as was also the making of small shell leis.
- 14. The dressed stone work on the Menehune ditch is a Kauai idea, and little of the dressed stone is found elsewhere.
- 15. Two carved stone bowls with figures in high relief are from Kauai.
- 16. Two so-called oil presses are from Kalalau. These consist of large natural, water worn stones with a deep circle grooved on one side leaving a raised platform within the circle. A trough leads away from one end of the groove to a spout. The juice of anything crushed on the raised section would run into the groove, out through the trough and into a container at the end of the spout.
- 17. Captain Cook remarked on the lack of distinction among the Kauai chiefs, though his landing at Waimea instead of Wailua may account for this impression. Fornander says the chiefs were very distinguished.
- 18. Fornander notes a speech difference on Kauai, namely the t for the k and the r for the l.
- 19. Sullivan's somatology shows a slightly shorter stature and a slight distinction in cephalic index for the Kauai skulls.

Of all these distinction those most significant to be noted are the peculiar food rubbers and grinders and the Menehune cut stone, the marked angularity of which, as contrasted to the curved nature of the later Hawaiian work, notes a similarity to the Nihoa-Neckar culture which is also angular.

Those distinctions that suggest a possible difference of culture are the speech differences; the lesser chiefs; the simplicity of the temples; the lack of evidence of such great exclusiveness in temples; the women preparing food; and the skeletal difference. Most of these points are in direct contrast to the dominant Hawaiian culture.

In connection with the conclusions, several questions are raised. Why, if the Kauai pounders and grinders are a feature of an earlier culture, are they not found on the other Hawaiian islands, at least in the primitive forms? Why are they not found on Nihoa-Neckar? Why have they not been found elsewhere in Polynesia? If Nihoa and Neckar islands represent the early

Hawaiian form of culture, as Emory suggests, why are not more analogies found? The temple forms are not found. The slabs and dyke prisms are not found. The artefacts are not found.

The answers to these questions can only come with future study, and especially with careful collecting. At what time in the fields new types of the block grinders may be turned up in cultivating is not known. All this stresses the importance, especially on Kauai, of a local museum wherein the artefacts can be rightly studied and cared for.

BURIAL OF KING KEAWE

(Related to Subsequent History of Royal Tomb at Pohukaina, the possible repository today of remains of Kings and Chiefs formerly in the *Hale-o-Keawe* and *Hale-o-Liloa*)

By JOHN F. G. STOKES

Formerly Curator of Polynesian Ethnology and Curator-in-Charge of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum

In two of the several interesting papers presented during the evening* are particular references to the old royal mausoleum—generally referred to as the royal tomb—situated in what came to be the Palace grounds. It was a modern structure made in 1825 for the bodies of Kamehameha II and his queen. Subsequently to 1865, when most of its contents were removed to the new royal mausoleum in Nuuanu Valley, its walls of coral rock were razed and the site marked by the present tumulus.

According to *The Friend* [8, p. 84] of November 1865, some coffins of chiefs were left in the old tomb, namely those of Kekauluohi, Haalilio and Kaiminaauao. They were evidently removed, at some other time, because they are noted in later newspaper accounts as being elsewhere.

However the old tomb apparently was still unemptied. According to the late governor Cleghorn, [19] there were other remains which he believed to be those of old retainers of the kings. They are supposed to be still in the mound.

In following various lines of enquiry, data has been gathered suggesting that in the tumulus were left the remains of many famous kings and chiefs who were the ancestors of the rulers of these islands. Of the kings, two were of Hawaii, one of Maui and one of Kauai. The Hawaii kings were Keawe, the great-grandfather of Kamehameha I, and Kalaniopuu the friend of Captain Cook and the great-grandfather of the second and third Kamehameha. If, after a grouping and arranging of the ascertainable facts the suggestion gives place to veritable indica-

^{*}The present paper was prepared by invitation of the Secretary of the Historical Society in order to record in an expended form information brought out by discussions of the accompanying articles at the Society's Meeting, September 30, 1930.

tion, then the tumulus might appropriately be tableted as the last resting place of the famed Hawaii kings mentioned.

It is worthy of observation that the old royal mausoleum on the Palace grounds, while strictly modern in structure and style, containing modern coffins and name plates, protected by modern doors with iron locks and guarded by a keeper, was not entirely without precedent in pre-discovery days. The bones of members of ancient royalty were always carefully guarded, but customarily the guardians depended for protection mostly on secrecy and concealment in caves. In at least two instances there were exceptions—both on Hawaii. These royal mausolea were special buildings set apart and were regularly guarded by keepers. They had additional protection through being placed within the precincts of recognized asyla or places of refuge. Casings or coffins were used, not of wood however but of fiber as shown in the illustration and it is not improbable that identification tags of shell were attached.

The oldest Hawaiian mausoleum of which there is information was *Hale o Liloa* at Waipio. It was built probably in 1575, when it may be estimated that King Liloa died. In 1823, on Ellis' visit [6, p. 365], it contained the bones of King Liloa, the father of the famous king Umi. Probably there were the bones of others, in particular of King Lonoikamakahiki the grandson of King Umi. Ellis was not allowed to view the interior of the house, and makes the curious note that Liloa was the grandson of Umi. Obviously he misunderstood his informants, the guardians, and was being told of the presence of remains of both Liloa, the father of Umi, and of Umi's grandson Lonoikamakahiki. The last name may be comfortably shortened to Lono.

The coir fiber casings or coffins containing the bones attributed to kings Liloa and Lono are those illustrated. They are an important link in the chain of enquiry followed here.

The second mausoleum was *Hale o Keawe* at Honaunau. The house, according to tradition [7, p. 131] was erected by Kanuha to preserve the bones of his father King Keawe—surnamed "the sole king of the island." The year may be set as about 1740 basing it on generational counts back from dated natural deaths of descendants. For instance Kalaniopuu, Keawe's grandson, died in 1782, so that allowing for elapse of two



Coir-braided caskets—said to be of Kings Liloa (left) and Lonoikamakahiki. In each the braid is woven tightly around the skull; the other bones are loose in the torso form. The white pieces are mother-of-pearl. Both caskets have suffered damage.

Polynesian generations the date would be 1732. Kamehameha I, Keawe's great-grandson, died in 1819, and three generations back would set the date as 1744. The average of the two is 1738.

The remains of twenty-three chiefs were interred in *Hale o Keawe* according to a list made [2, p. 160] when the mausoleum was destroyed. Of other historical or of traditional references to such there are but four, but the chiefs mentioned are clearly identifiable:—(1) King Keawe, for whom the mausoleum was built; (2) King Kalaniopuu* (better known as Kaleiopu and the Terreeoboo of Cook's spelling) as noted in the many local histories in Hawaiian and English; (3) Nahiolea, the father of Governor Kekuanaoa [11]; (4) Kalaimamahu, the father of Kekauluohi [3, p. 426].

The list of twenty-three names was made by Rev. Chamber-lain when the bones were being encased for removal. With the aid of living [16 and 20] and written [7] genealogical authorities, and allowing for typographical errors, about half the names have been identified. It is not improbable that some of those unidentified were alternate names, which seldom find their way into the genealogies. Chamberlain's list is in the left column, and the identifications in the right:

(1) Keawe

King Keawe-i-kekahi-alii-oka-moku.

(2) Kumukoa

A chief on East Molokai; son of Keawe (No. 1) and Kanealae.

(3) Lonoikahaupu

King of Kauai; great-grandfather of King Kaumualii; fourth husband of Queen Kalanikauleleiaiwi of Hawaii and thereby greatgrandfather of the regent Kaahumanu.

^{*} Doubt might be thrown on the accepted tradition by the statement by Bloxam [4] that he was told by the keeper that the bones of Kalaniopuu and Kamehameha were elsewhere. However, the day following Bloxam's visit, McCrae [12, p. 72] was shown by the same keeper a bundle supposed to contain Kamehameha's bones and marked with an object seen by Bloxam! There was either gross misunderstanding, or the keeper was maintaining the custom of concealing identities of royal bones. It has never been believed that Kamehameha was interred in Hale o Keawe.

(4)	Hukihe	Unknown. Huki is mentioned as a chief of Honaunau.
(5)	Kakoamano	Must be Kekuamanoha of Maui, brother of King Kahekili; father of Pre- mier Kalaimoku; son-in- law of Kumukoa (No. 2); father-in-law of Kameha- meha's son Kahoanoku Kinau.
(6)	Keawe-akanuha	Undoubtedly Kanuha-a- Keawe, son of Keawe and reputed builder of Hale o Keawe.
(7)	Niula	Unknown. May be Nahiolea, father of Governor Kekuanaoa.
(8)	Kowainiulani	Unknown.
(9)	Lonaamoana	A chief of that name was contemporary with Keawe.
(10)	Lonohonuakini	There was a king of Maui of that name—the father of Kaulahea. Kaulahea was the first husband of Queen Kalanikauleleiaiwi of Hawaii.
(11)	Ahaula	Son of Keawe.
	Okanaloaikaiwilewa	Kanaloakaiwilewa, consort of Queen Keakealaniwahine and father of Keawe.
(13)	Keohokuma	Unknown.
(14)	Okua	Unknown.
(15)	Umi-oopa	Unknown.
(16)	Keawe-luaole	Unknown.
(17)	Keawe-a-ka-peleaumoku	Unknown.
(18)	Kuaialii	Unknown.

(19)	Kaaloa	May be Kaaloapii, chief of Kau; father-in-law of Haae, the son of Queen Kalanikauleleiaiwi.
(20)	Lonoakolii	Unknown.
(21)	Kaleioku	Must be error for Kaleiopuu, the commonly used name of King Kalaniopuu.
(22)	Kalaimamahu	Brother of Kamehameha; father of Kekauluohi; died about 1804.
(23)	Kaoleioku ·	Son of Kamehameha by Kanekapolei; grandfather of Mrs. Bishop; died 1816.

Quite probably some of the identifications will be challenged—particularly those of the Kauai and Maui names. Most of the names identified are of relatives through blood or marriage of Keawe or of his sister, wife and co-ruler Kalanikauleleiaiwi. All would be found so, perhaps, could they be fully identified, although of course some of the names may be only those of namesakes, remembrance of whom the traditions did not keep alive.

However, the identifications are reasonable in view of the tradition of the burial of King Kahekili of Maui—a tradition credited by Fornander [7, p. 260-1]. No one king was a greater block to the aggression of the Hawaiian warriors than was Kahekili, king of Maui and Oahu. He defeated Kalaniopuu consistently and incisively. Kamehameha shared in the bitterness of these defeats. Years later with the acquirement of firearms, success favored Kamehameha as against Kahekili who, however, died unconquered.

One would imagine that Kahekili might wish to have his bones rest in any island but Hawaii. However, the tradition is that the twins Kamanawa and Kameeiamoku, Kamehameha's chief warriors and counsellors, went to Oahu at Kahekili's death, and, with the consent of the son and heir, brought the remains to Hawaii for interment. Tradition also has it that Kamehameha

was the natural son of Kahekili, and the twins were Kahekili's half-brothers.

If then it seems reasonable in Hawaiian practice, to entrust the dead to the enemy relative, the other interments may not appear so strange. The King of Kauai (No. 3 in the list) is noted in tradition as the fourth and last husband of Hawaii's queen. Perhaps Hale o Keawe was then in existence. If so, the idea of a mausoleum was no doubt new to the Kauai king, and he may have left instructions that his son or grandson on Hawaii lay his bones away in Hale o Keawe.

So much for speculations! The fact remains that no other chiefs have been identified as bearing the names, which Bingham [3, p.426] referred to as belonging to "deified kings and princes of the Hawaiian race."

The descriptions of the remains by the visitors [4-6, 10-12] to *Hale o Keawe* are so variable that we must conclude there was a lack of uniformity in preparation of the bones. There were some apparently done up as in the illustration, and others were wrapped in tapa. The majority however were the bare bones of the limbs only—"piled up like firewood", as one native writer [11] has it. No exposed skulls were noted.

When the regent Kaahumanu (the iconoclastic widow of Kamehameha I) destroyed Hale o Keawe in 1830* the bones of the twenty-three listed were placed in two large coffins or boxes and concealed in a cave in the great cliff, called Pali Kapu o Keoua, at Kaawaloa. The missionary noting the proceedings, records [2, p. 160] that the remains of five or six chiefs from the Hale o Liloa mausoleum at Waipio were brought over and placed in the same cave. Among these were undoubtedly the bones of Liloa and Lono, further identification of which is found in the report [18] of Pomaikelani for the Hawaiian Board of Genealogies. Here we find that the remains of Liloa and Lono were recovered from the burial cave of Hoaiku, in the same Pali Kapu o Keoua. Obviously, the human remains from Hale o Keawe and those identified as of Liloa and Lono were placed together by Kaahumanu in 1830.

^{*} The date of 1830 may be established as that of the destruction of *Hale o Keawe*, which Mrs. Judd notes [10, p. 44], took place a "few months after her visit." The visit was at the end of 1829 or later [Cf. 13, pp. 179 and 313]. Thus the last official act of idol destruction was accomplished, probably, during the official tour of 1830 [Cf. 1, p. 204].

One may be sure that both mausolea on Hawaii were destroyed at this time. None could withstand the determination of Kaahumanu, and her attitude following conversion is well indicated by Bingham [3, p. 426]: "A species of superstition once existed at the Islands analogous to the grave-worship of the Chinese, and the worship of relics in other countries. This was supposed to have nearly ceased before the attempt to introduce Romanism. It was however obvious that the tendency still existed in the nation to revive that superstition. The zeal of Kaahumanu led her...to visit the Hale o Keawe at Honaunau, a cemetery associated with dark superstitions and surrounded with horrid wooden images of former generations. The regent visited the place not to mingle her adorations with her early contemporaries and predecessors to the relics of departed mortals, but for the purpose of removing the bones...and consigning them to oblivion."

The oblivion intended by Kaahumanu was, however, not permanent. In 1858, as we learn through Alexander [2, p. 160], the Hawaiian king and queen left Honolulu on the British man-of-war *Vixen* and among other points, visited Kaawaloa. The two large coffins from *Hale o Keawe* were taken on board at night and brought to Honolulu. With them undoubtedly were the bones from *Hale o Liloa*, since they were together in the cave, and we find them later on in Honolulu.

The contemporary Honolulu newspapers (two issued weekly and one by the month) made no mention of the removals, and wrote very little of the trip. Both weeklies had correspondents on the vessel (one being the editor) and both papers printed complaints of not receiving intermediate news. Evidently a censorship was being exercised on account of moving the royal remains.

The destination in Honolulu of the coffins could not have been other than the old royal tomb. Alexander [2] implies that they were deposited there. He also states that they were consigned to Governor Kekuanaoa in Honolulu. Kekuanaoa however was on board the *Vixen* according to the newspaper reference [17]—an even greater significance because being Governor of Oahu, he was also official guardian of the royal tomb. As a

matter of fact, there was no safer or more appropriate deposition of the Kaawaloa coffins in Honolulu than in the royal tomb.

The best evidence of such deposition comes from the accounts of the removals of the later royal remains from the old royal tomb to the new mausoleum in Nuuanu on the night of Oct. 30, 1865. Alexander [2] states that the Kaawaloa coffins accompanied them, but this is only partly correct.

It is very clear that none of the Kaawaloa remains except those identified as Liloa and Lono were moved from the old tomb. The lists of coffins moved were published (three newspapers in English and one in Hawaiian) and confirm one another. The Hawaiian Gazette [9] further claims, for historical record, to "give a copy (verbatim et literatim) of the inscriptions upon each of the coffins..." One coffin is inscribed with the names of Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki, and none of the other names are of people dying before 1824.

Now were this to be accepted as evidence (as it must be) that the *Hale o Liloa* relics were in the old tomb until removed in 1865, there can be no question that the *Hale o Keawe* relics were there also, and the probabilities are, are still on the site.

Thus as a reconstruction of the account, the following may be acceptable:

- (1) In 1830, the remains of the twenty-three kings and chiefs at *Hale o Keawe* were encased in two large wooden coffins and concealed in the burial cave of Hoaiku at Kaawaloa, together with the remains (in native wrappings) previously deposited in *Hale o Liloa*. The latter included those of Liloa and Lono.
- (2) In 1858, all were removed by the *Vixen* to Honolulu and placed in the old tomb. Of the kings mentioned or listed, the most distinguished by tradition were Liloa and Lono, and the remains being identifiable perhaps by external marks on the packages, the two were encased in a modern coffin and their names engraved. They were then comparable to the members of modern royalty in similar coffins, and were given a place in the torch-light procession to the new mausoleum in 1865.
- (3) As for the *Hale o Keawe* remains—either the crudity of the containers, or loss of individual identification or both brought about a decision not to further preserve them above

ground. The coffins could not have been much more than huge, rough boxes. Made in 1830, the facilities offered at Honaunau were very limited, and the rough affairs must have been in unpleasing contrast with the polished modern coffins placed with them in the old tomb. As for the contents—incomplete skeletons of twenty-three individuals jammed into two coffins and not examined for 35 years—however correct the individual identification may have been at *Hale o Keawe* in 1830, it would create an insoluble problem at Honolulu in 1865 through remoteness of place and time. Hence the *Hale o Keawe* relics could be granted no place in the new and handsome royal mausoleum, and were left to be later hidden from sight in the tumulus.

(4) It is doubtful if the information attributed to Governor Cleghorn was correct with respect to old retainers' remains being left in the old royal tomb. If the members of royalty wished their retainers placed with them in the old tomb, why were not the retainers' coffins also carried to the new mausoleum? Such was not done. As the lists of identifiable interments in the old tomb and in *Hale o Keawe* suggest, it was only the remains of higher nobility that were treated with mausolean distinction. Hence, if any human remains were left in the old tomb, we may be sure that they included the bones of the famous kings and chiefs from *Hale o Keawe*.

To conclude with my earlier suggestion—unless it is known or can be ascertained that the bones of Kings Keawe and Kalaniopuu and of the other chiefs from *Hale o Keawe* have been placed elsewhere, it would seem appropriate that the tumulus marking the site of the old tomb be designated, by inscribed monument, as the last resting-place of the noted kings and chiefs whose names have been given.

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