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OCTOBER 18, 1927



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1928

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HISTORIC KEALAKEKUA BAY

By Henry B. Restarick

There is no locality in the Hawaiian Islands which has so many associations with its early history as Kealakekua Bay and its surroundings. The two villages on its shore, Kaawaloa, and Kakua, now called Napoopoo, are mentioned in nearly all the books and journals written by explorers and traders, from the death of Captain Cook in 1779 onward, but as far as I know there has been no collection of historic data relating to this district.

The first circumstance, which I believe to be authentic, is connected with the landing of seven men at Kealakekua Bay at a period less remote in point of time, than the reputed landing of other foreigners. The Rev. William Ellis, who came to Hawaii in 1822, and remained here over two years, was soon proficient in the Hawaiian language, as he had lived in Tahiti for six years, where a variation of the Polynesian dialect is spoken.

He heard as he journeyed about the Hawaiian group, several stories of the landing of foreigners, but they varied greatly as to the place and details. One story he heard from different men, on many occasions, and all who told it agreed as to the number of men, the description of the boat in which they came, the clothes they wore, etc. Shortly before Liholiho left for England he gave Mr. Ellis a detailed account of the occurrence, which is as follows:

"In the days of Kahoukapu, King of Kaawaloa, seven foreigners arrived at Kealakekua Bay. They came in a painted boat, with an awning over the stern, but without mast or sails. They were all dressed, the color of their clothes was white or yellow, and one of them had a pahi (that is a long knife, or sword) by his side, and had a feather in his hat. The natives treated them kindly. They married native women, were made chiefs, and ultimately became very powerful in the Island of Hawaii". Liholiho had no idea whence they came.

I am inclined to believe that they may have been deserters from the Dutch ship *Hope*. This vessel in company with the *Charity*, sailed from Chili taking a north-west course until they reached 27 degrees north. When about 16 degrees north they passed an island, and seven men took the ship's pinnace and made for the land, and were not seen again. The course of the

Hope would have taken her near Hawaii, and according to the log of the pilot Will Adams, they would have been here in February, 1600. I am aware that this is only a theory, but I have seen no refutation of it which has been satisfactory to me. From the description, the men would seem to have been Europeans. In any event this is the first chronicled event connected with Kealakekua Bay.

I am not going into details in regard to the next mention of the Bay, connected with the visit of Captain Cook, that is in the school histories. After discovering the Islands in January, 1778, Cook sailed to the north-west, and on his return he anchored the *Discovery* and the *Resolution* in Kealakekua Bay, January 17, 1779. On the south end of the Bay, a landing place was found on a sandy beach, near a heiau, or, as he called it, a morai, for that was the name for places of worship in Tahiti. It is from this beach that the cattle of the Greenwell and Paris ranches are driven into the sea, then attached to boats, and taken on board the Inter-Island steamers.

The heiau was then 40 yards long and 20 broad and was some 14 feet high, surrounded by a wall and a rail fence, on which were images and skulls. The interior was flat and well paved. In the heiau were the usual houses, and the altar of sacrifice.

At the other end of the village was a hole, containing brackish water, and this may be seen today not far from the American Factor's store. There was also near the bluff a small spring of purer water. All along the Kona coast are found places where there are springs, fed by the rains which fall in certain seasons on the high lands mauka. At Honaunau, two or three miles from Napoopoo, on a recent visit I saw in the shallow water of the little cove, springs bubbling up, and on the shore were wells from which the people got their supply. Similar conditions are found elsewhere. The sites of villages on the Kona coast were determined by springs, combined with a landing place for canoes.

Cook and all who were with him were astonished at the large population of the country near the Bay. Hundreds of canoes came out to the ships. While the land on the coast was dry and barren, the country a few miles towards the mountains was cultivated by an industrious people. Most of the inhabitants lived near the sea where they could fish, going mauka to raise their crops, and further inland to get koa for their canoes, suitable wood for their utensils, and timbers for their houses. It

was from the large number of people in the coast villages, that Cook overestimated the population of the Islands.

George Gilbert, who was master's mate on the *Discovery*, wrote in his journal: "There is a town on each side of the Bay, at least eight times as big as we had seen before in the South Sea. The country here is one entire plantation as far as the eye could see from the ship, which is divided into squares by stones thrown together, or hedges of sugar cane." When I first went to Kealakekua twenty-five years ago one could see plainly the low walls which separated the patches of ground. These walls were called iwi, that is bones, which a man born there told me were like the ribs of an animal. The enclosed patches were, and are, called iwi aina, i.e. bone lands. Guava and coffee hide many of these walls now.

On the north side of the Bay was the village of Kaawaloa, where the chief of the district lived. At this period the "r" was largely used where we now use the "l," so that Cook and those who followed him spelled the name of the Bay, Karakakua. When the missionaries reduced the language to writing they spelled it Kealakekua. This is undoubtedly an abbreviation for Ke-ala-ke-akua, which means the pathway of the gods. Early navigators called the village on the south side of the Bay, Kākua, which is now Napoopoo. I consulted Joseph S. Emerson and Thomas G. Thrum about this name and they agree that Cook and the rest in spelling Kakooa (Kakua) used the long sound of "a" in the first syllable, so that they pronounced the word Kē-kua, as we do. This word means a place of worship.

No doubt the word Ke-ala-ke-kua originated from the fact that on the pathway from the Bay to Kailua, there were many heiaus. Ellis, who went over this road counted nineteen heiaus, and Thomas G. Thrum has listed forty on the same route. The Rev. John Paris writing in 1852 wrote, "The road mauka from the Bay is dotted for miles with heathen temples." So the district was well named, though it really belonged at first to a large division of land, which, though of no great width, ran from the Bay far up the mountain. Now the name is commonly applied to the section of country whose inhabitants receive their mail at the post office with the name Kealakekua.

The Bay region had long been the residence of powerful chiefs. A few miles to the south, at Honaunau, there was a large heiau where many high chiefs were buried. Some of the bones were taken out for scientific purposes, but I understand that they were later returned. At Kaawaloa in Cook's time

there were many houses. There was a tabu spring from which the chief alone could get water, and there was a water hole where the common people got their supply.

At the heiau near the landing at Napoopoo, many important things occurred. It was here on the pavement, within the walled enclosure, that Cook by the permission of the King, Kalaniopuu, set up his instruments for taking astronomical observations. As the heiau was tabu, the observers were free from molestation, and the apparatus was safe.

Here also was held the strange ceremony, which none of the witnesses, who recorded their impressions, understood. King, who wrote the last volume telling of Cook's third voyage, said that as Cook walked in procession the name Orono was frequently repeated, but what it meant they did not know, but imagined it was the name of a chief. They knew that Cook was the recipient of high honors, but knowing nothing about Rono, or as we say, Lono, they supposed that reverence was being paid to the Captain as a chief.

In this heiau also occurred the burial of a seaman named William Whatman. He was interred there at the request of King Kalaniopuu, and Cook himself read the burial service. The high priest Koa was present and before the grave was closed, cast two pigs and some fruit into the tomb. For three nights the priests chanted prayers at the grave side. It is at the southwest corner of this heiau that the Kona Civic Club intend to erect a monument with a tablet telling of the circumstance.

Going ahead of my story, I will add that it was in this heiau that the youth Opukahaia (or Obookiah) was trained as a priest. It was he who was taken by a passing ship to New England, and it was through him that interest was aroused which resulted in the sending out of missionaries to the distant Sandwich Islands. Just outside the heiau there is a simple monument to the memory of this Hawaiian.

It was at the village of Kaawaloa that the unfortunate affray occurred which resulted in the death of Captain Cook. He was trying to persuade the chief to accompany him on board, but the people became alarmed and attacked the landing party, and when Cook was at the water's edge he was hit with a club and then stabbed, falling with his face in the water. The spot has been identified and here the Cook Commission intend to place a simple tablet. The Cook monument at Kaawaloa was erected in 1878 on land deeded to the British Government by the late Princess Likelike. The cost was borne by his

fellow countrymen, and it has been cared for by the men of British cruisers which occasionally visit the Bay for that purpose.

On the hill about half a mile from the spot where he fell is a small heiau, where the flesh was taken from the bones of the great navigator.

After some delay the skull and sundry bones of Cook were handed over to Captain Clerke, one hand being identified by a scar. The remains were placed in a coffin and consigned to the waters of the Bay on Friday, February 21, 1779. Next day the two ships sailed for the north.

The fact that the ships called at Nootka Sound and there laid in a quantity of furs, was of great importance to Hawaii. The furs were sold at an immense profit in Canton, and as the news of the profit in such trade spread, adventurous seamen soon engaged in it. This within a few years led to these Islands being a place of call, and sometimes for wintering, for vessels in the trans-Pacific fur trade. Within twelve years sixteen ships, English and American, had visited Hawaii, on some of which Hawaiians took passage. The *Columbia* took Atu, a chief of Kauai, to Boston—the first Hawaiian to visit New England. This was in 1789.

Not all of these ships called at Kealakekua Bay, but in 1786 Portlock and Dixon, Englishmen, anchored there, but no landing was made. Portlock was suspicious and feared danger, especially as no chief came on board, though there was some trading from canoes. He was told that Kalaniopuu was dead and that Kamehameha was King, and Portlock was of the opinion that he did not come on board because he feared reprisals on account of the death of Cook.

In December, 1788, the *Iphigenia*, Captain Douglas, anchored in the Bay. Douglas was the first white man to land at Kealakekua since Cook's death, although several ships had been off Hawaii. Douglas had brought from Canton the chief Kaiana, this Hawaiian chief having been taken there by a ship which had called at Kauai. The Captain of the *Iphigenia* thought a good deal of Kaiana, though later navigators had reason to mistrust him. The consort of the *Iphigenia* was a schooner, named the *North West America* which had been built at Nootka, and when Kamehameha came on board and was told this, he was anxious to have a similar ship built at Kealakekua.

On December 12, the captains of the *Iphigenia* and her consort went on shore and were met by three priests, who went before them chanting, and after a ceremony lasting some ten

minutes, Douglas was seated and presented with a pig and coconuts. Later there was more chanting and two baked hogs were presented to him. As a matter of fact Douglas had about as much respect and adoration paid to him as had been rendered to Cook, but like him this party did not understand it to be worship as to a god. Moreover Douglas had been clothed in a feather cape just as Cook had been. He was very careful while in the Bay, for he was fearful that the natives might try to seize his ship.

On taking a walk about the village he saw coconut trees which had been pierced by shot from the *Discovery*, in the disturbances which had taken place after Cook's death. On December 14, the schooner lost an anchor, and Kamehameha sent off six divers to try to recover it. Douglas asserts that four of the divers remained under the water for four minutes, and one of them for five. The sixth man not coming up, others dived after him and when he was brought to the surface he was found to be bleeding copiously from the mouth and nose. He had been under, so it is stated, for the astonishing time of seven minutes and a half.

On December 19, the *Iphigenia* lost an anchor, and in this case the cable had evidently been cut. Word was sent to Kamehameha that unless the anchor was recovered the town would be knocked down by shot. Divers were at once sent out, a rope was attached to the anchor, and it was hauled on board. When about to sail, Kaiana, who wished to remain on Hawaii, was sent on shore with many presents of cloth, tools, bars of iron, and so on.

Next year, 1789, Douglas returned to Kealakekua, but learned of a plan to kill him and seize his ship. Kaiana was mixed up in this, and tried to throw the blame on Kamehameha, but Douglas found out the truth, and on sailing he gave the king a letter stating that ship's masters could trust him as a friend.

The *Eleanora*, an American ship, from which John Young was left ashore at Kailua in 1790, did not come to Kealakekua, but when the *Hope* of Boston, Captain Ingraham, entered the Bay in 1791, he learned that the *Lady Washington*, Captain Kendrick, had been there before him. This being the case, the *Washington* was the first American ship to anchor in the Bay. James Boyd, the mate, and Parson Howel, the clerk, may have left the *Washington* at this time, for they seem to have been well established when Vancouver found them here a few years later. If they left the ship in December, 1793, when the *Wash-*

ington was here again, they had very soon acquired the confidence of the chiefs when Vancouver wrote six weeks later.

Ingraham was handed a letter from Kendrick, and another from the Spaniard, Quimper, who had been in the Bay a short time before. Both these letters told Ingraham of plots to seize their ships, which had been frustrated by Kamehameha. Kai-ana was in these plots, and to avoid trouble the King had banished him from the district.

The Spaniard, Quimper, was on the *Princess Royal*, a ship seized from the British at Nootka Sound. When the Spanish authorities at Nootka learned from traders about these Islands, they sent Quimper to see whether a settlement could be established here, so that ships could get supplies on their voyages from Mexico to Manila. He reported favorably, but the expense was deemed too great. This evidently shows that Cook's discovery gave the Spanish their first knowledge of Hawaii, for they had been searching for a place of call for many years. Quimper wrote that sixteen ships had visited the Islands since the death of Cook.

In March, 1792, Vancouver, who had been with Cook, arrived in the Bay, but remained only a few days. Kamehameha handed Vancouver a letter from Quimper, recommending the King as friendly and reliable. The navigator recognized the King as a chief he had seen in 1779, and found him much improved in appearance.

In February, 1793, Vancouver returned from the Northwest Coast and again anchored at Kealakekua, and was the recipient of many presents, including cloaks and helmets. The King requested him to prevent his men from entering the heiau in the village, and to forbid them from wandering into the country, and then he would guarantee protection to him and the crews. It was at this time that Young and Davis were constantly on the two ships, and told Vancouver of the capture of the *Fair American*, and how the King regretted the transaction, and of his continued kindness to them.

Vancouver found the water here too brackish, and the King sent a fleet of canoes to different places on the coast, and these brought back a good supply, for which payment was made by pieces of iron. It was at this time that sheep and cattle were given to the King as well as orange trees and useful seeds, by the kindly explorer. The idea was that these would be useful for the natives, and provide for the provisioning of ships.

In January, 1794, Vancouver made his last visit to the Bay. He found anchored there the *Lady Washington*. This vessel was a snow, which is a ship rigged like a brig, except that it has a trisail close abaft the mainmast. He now mentions James Boyd as being in the service of the King. He describes him as an "industrious and ingenious man," who was about to try to build a ship for Kamehameha. He, with Young and Davis, had some knowledge of carpentry, but they asked Vancouver to lend them ships' carpenters to help them. A quantity of wood had been collected by Boyd, which seems to show that he had been on shore more than six weeks, which was the time the *Washington* had been in the Bay this trip. The keel was soon laid of the *Britannia*, which was twenty-nine feet long, and was the first modern vessel to be built in the Hawaiian Islands.

In summing up his opinion of the Hawaiians as he had seen them during his visits, Vancouver wrote: "Our reception by these unlettered people, called savages, was such as is seldom equalled in civilized nations, in contrast with the inhospitality shown us in Monterey and San Francisco." It was through the kindly offices of Vancouver, that the King became reconciled to Kaahumanu, on board the *Discovery*, in the Bay.

Just before he sailed a most important ceremony took place. A cession of the Island of Hawaii had been frequently discussed with the king, who favored it because he was fearful that some visiting vessels might do great injury. Some visitors had refused to pay for provisions which they had bought. In trade they had given powdered charcoal for gunpowder. A council of chiefs was held and the question fully discussed, the king answering any objections made. Consent having been obtained, an elaborate ceremony took place on shore, at the conclusion of which the British flag was hoisted and a salute was fired from the ships. Vancouver took possession of Hawaii in the name of His Britannic Majesty, and a copper plate was put on the royal residence bearing the following inscription:

On the 25th of February, 1794, *Tamaahmaah*, king of Owhyhee, in council with the principal chiefs of the island, assembled on board his Britannic Majesty's sloop *Discovery* in Karakakooa bay, and in the presence of George Vancouver, commander of the said sloop; Lieutenant Peter Puget, commander of his said Majesty's tender the *Chatham*; and the other officers of the Dis-

covery; after due consideration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to his Britannic Majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of Great Britain.

Vancouver wrote, "Whether this addition to the empire will ever be of any importance of Great Britain, or whether the surrender of the island will ever be attended with any additional happiness to its people, time alone must determine." While the British Government never accepted the cession, yet it was acknowledged by others as will be seen.

From 1794 onward ships which called at Hawaii usually went to Kawaihae or to Kailua, to which latter place the king had removed and where he lived for some time.

In 1802 Turnbull came to Kealahakua and there saw a good deal of John Young, who acted for the king in treating with foreigners. Like all other navigators, Turnbull speaks in the highest terms of Young. He says that under Young and Davis, there had been built for the king some twenty vessels ranging from 20 to 70 tons burden. Young told him that after Cook's death the natives feared retaliation, and that was the reason the chiefs did not visit ships until Vancouver came.

In June, 1804, Lisiansky reached the Bay and engaged in trade. He visited the heiau at Napoopoo, and found it in a dilapidated condition. He saw coconut trees bearing marks of shot. The king was not there. Few ships seem to have called at Kealahakua after the king changed his residence. Besides this Honolulu had become a favorite port of call.

In 1815 while the king was at Kailua, the *Forrester*, a British brig, anchored there, with its crew in a state of mutiny. Kamehameha went on board, with some of his family, and promised the captain assistance. He ran the ship to Kealahakua Bay, where water was brought in calabashes from the mountains. Here a man ran away and when he was brought back he was minus his clothes. Trouble ensued which ended in a free for all fight. The captain ordered the boatswain put in irons, the man drew a knife and swore he would kill any one who came near him. The captain shot the mutineer, whereupon the crew declared they would hang the captain, on which he sprang into a canoe, and when he landed the king protected him. The supercargo took command of the ship, and getting some natives as sailors, he sailed for California, leaving five men on shore. Shortly after His Britannic Majesty's ship, the *Cherub*, came to anchor, flying the American colors, and when four of

the men went on board they were detained. Jennings, the captain, had remained on shore, and was taken off by the *Isaac Todd*, which had sixteen Hawaiians among its crew.

In 1816 Kotzebue, a Russian, arrived at Kealahou, and the Hawaiians at first thought that the visit boded no good. However, John Young went on board and the navigator assured him that he was only an explorer and had no evil intention. Young on his part said that the king had 400 men armed with muskets, and was ready to repel any enemy.

On June 15, he landed at Kaawaloa, and wrote, "On the very spot on which that truly great man [Cook], lost his life." He said that Kaawaloa had five heiaus. Young, who acted as his guide, introduced him to an old lady, who was the sister of the chief of the place. She was blind, and tried to take his hand and kiss it, but out of consideration for her rank he would not permit her to do this. She told him that she greatly lamented the death of Cook. On his return to his ship he found some American sailors, who had come off from shore, where they were living. When he left he filled Young's canoe with biscuit, porter, brandy, and wine, as an appreciation of his civilities.

In reviewing the condition of the islands, he expressed the hope that, as they were under British protection, care would be taken that a strong man succeeded Kamehameha, in whom everyone had confidence. This shows the opinion prevailing at that time in regard to the protectorate. Ebenezer Townsend, the American who was here in 1798, mentions the cession to England, and that Kamehameha always asked after King George when a vessel came in. He said that Kamehameha had an exalted opinion of the English because they had been there in the king's ships and had brought him presents. Freycinet, the Frenchman, when visiting the Islands in 1819, mentions the English protectorate. Baranoff, governor of the Russian American Fur Company, in 1816, when he heard of Dr. Scheffer's agreement with the King of Kauai as to the erection of factories on that island, refused to ratify the agreements made, because, "according to report, the Sandwich Islands were under the protection of England," adding that Scheffer had deviated from the instructions given him.

As soon as the whaling industry commenced about 1820, a few ships called at Kealahou, but not as many as at Kawaihae, where John Young had gone to live. Many also went to Kailua, which was quite a large town. Here the first missionaries

landed in 1820, and when in 1822, the Rev. William Ellis went there he counted 600 houses, and estimated that the population was at least 3000 souls.

Kapiolani, the high chiefess, lived at Kaawaloa, and at her request a mission was started there. Mr. James Ely was sent to the village in 1824, and Kapiolani built for him a house and a place of worship 60 by 30 feet in size. This was the first mission house in South Kona.

It was from Kaawaloa that Kapiolani, in 1824, started on her famous journey to the crater Kilauea. The year before this, the Rev. Mr. Ellis, in company with Messrs. Bingham, Thurston, and Goodrich, had visited Kaawaloa, and Mr. Thurston preached to large congregations. Ellis wrote at length about the death of Cook, and interviewed many witnesses of the sad event. He wrote, "They all agree in the main facts with the account published by Captain King, his successor," and many wept when telling the story of his death.

It is instructive and illuminating to read what Ellis said, and then turn to what Bingham wrote. It is hard to understand the reason for the attempt of Bingham to malign the character of Cook. He blames Cook for allowing the natives to prostrate themselves before him when he landed. He must have known that Hawaiians did the same thing when their chiefs passed along. While all navigators wrote of Cook with the highest respect, Bingham and other missionaries tried to belittle the man, and assumed that he knew all about Lono, and the meaning of the ceremonies in which he took part as he was directed. Under their tutelage the Hawaiians began to have a distorted view of this great man.

It was in July, 1825, that Lord Byron on the *Blonde* visited Kealakekua. We have several accounts of this. Besides that written from the notes of the chaplain, we have the journal of his brother, Andrew Bloxam, and James Macrae, who were of the party. In Andrew Bloxam's diary there is a rough map of the Bay, with a mark where Cook was killed. This agrees with the map by William A. Wall. Bloxam wrote that Cook's memory was still revered, and the very spot where he fell was pointed out. On July 15, Lord Byron with Bloxam and two others, went up the hill to the place where the flesh was taken from the bones of Captain Cook. Bloxam wrote:

"We ascended a very steep and rugged cliff, and found at the top the wall of an old morai [heiau]; on a large slab of lava about ten feet before the entrance, the body was dissected, the

flesh was taken into the morai to be burnt and the bones distributed among the chiefs. The walls of the morai consist of large stones and blocks of lava about a yard in thickness and five feet high. It is about sixteen or eighteen feet square. In the center of this Lord Byron, Mr. Ball, Davis and I laid the first four stones of a pyramid to form the base of a monument to his memory. A large post was fixed in the middle of this, and on the top was nailed a brass plate, with the following words engraved upon it:

"To the memory of Captain James Cook, R. N.,
who discovered these islands in the year of our Lord
1778. This humble monument was erected by his fel-
low countrymen in the year of our Lord 1825."

A sketch of this monument appears in Bloxam's journal. The place was made tabu by Naihe, the husband of Kapiolani, who promised to take care of it and to whitewash the wall, so that it would be a good landmark for any vessel wishing to enter the Bay.

It is interesting to know that the original post and plate, which is of copper, not brass, are still in place. A few years ago L. W. de Vis Norton and Robert Wallace visited the spot and found the post some degrees from being upright. In order to set it straight they took it out of its socket, and found it very heavy. They placed it in its original position, and could read the inscription, though it was dulled by the weather. They say that if it were polished it would be as plain as it was at first. Mr. Norton gives it as his opinion that the post was a capstan bar, and this is the opinion also of William F. Wilson, who has seen it and had it photographed. Mr. Norton also took a picture of it. These two gentlemen say that it does not seem to be of any native wood. In August, 1927, M. L. Horace Reynolds went to the place and says it is still in good order. It is remarkable that this rude marker should have remained in a state of fair preservation, one hundred and two years since it was first erected.

Macrae wrote in his journal, which was published by William F. Wilson, that in 1825, Kaawaloa consisted of a few straggling houses under coconut trees. He was guilty of taking some articles from a burial cave, a thing which many have done since. It is to the credit of Lord Byron, that he made Macrae put the things back, one of which was a rod made in part of human bones, perhaps the staff of a kahili.

Those who have visited Napoopoo know that there are many burial caves in the cliff between Napoopoo and Kaawaloa. The old story is that when a chief was buried the body was let down by a rope, and a living man was lowered with the corpse that he might stow it away. Then the rope was pulled up, leaving the living with the dead. If this is true it is my opinion that the man, who was alive, would either dive off into the water below, or climb down somehow.

In 1829 the U. S. S. *Vincennes* anchored in the Bay. The chaplain was the Rev. C. S. Stewart, who had come to Hawaii in 1823 as a missionary, but had resigned after two years of service, and had received an appointment in the navy. In his book on Hawaii, he gives an interesting account of his visit to Kapiolani, who still lived at Kaawaloa. She provided the officers of the *Vincennes* with an excellent repast, which included good wine.

Mr. Ely left Kaawaloa in 1828, and Samuel Ruggles was sent there. He remained until 1831, when Cochran Forbes succeeded him. He removed the mission to Kepulu, which is now a part of Napoopoo. Under the direction of Kapiolani a house was built there, and a church which was 130 by 64 feet, of stone and adobe.

In 1842 Commodore Wilkes inspected the district of Kealahukua. The place had evidently gone down, for he says that only two or three whalers called there in a year. A number of foreigners who had left ships were living mauka, where the soil was good. He found evidences of a former large population, and two miles from the landing, sweet potatoes, melons, and pineapples were grown. He noted that the influence of Kapiolani was always for good, and that to encourage the growing of cane she had erected a small mill at Napoopoo.

At Kaawaloa he was shown the spot where Cook fell, within a few yards of which was the stump of a coconut tree, the top of which had been cut off and carried to England by H. B. M. ship *Imogene*, and is now in Greenwich Hospital, connected with which is a naval museum. On the stump, of which he gives a drawing, there was a copper plate, on which was the inscription:



Near this spot fell
Captain James Cook, R. N.,
the renowned circumnavigator
Who discovered these Islands
A. D. 1778
His Majesty's Ship
Imogene
October 17, 1837.

There was also a sheet of copper put on the stump by the *Sparrowhawk*, September 13, 1839, and a copper cap on the stump. The inscription on this sheet was, "In order to preserve this monument to the memory of Cook." There was another inscription which read, "Give this a coat of tar." Wilkes thought these to be undignified, and not fitting the place and the circumstances connected with it.

He said that many of the natives had gone off on whalers. The district, including Kailua, had about 9,000 inhabitants, and there were 23 schools, 22 of which had native teachers.

In 1852 the Rev. John Paris, who had been at Waiohinu for ten years, was assigned to the Kealakekua district. He wrote that the name Kaawaloa was used, by the Hawaiians, more often than Kealakekua. Kaawaloa means the long landing place, and this bay does afford more landing space than others on the Kona coast. Paris saw the stump of the coconut tree which by that time (1852) had many copper plates on it, placed there by various British vessels. In 1886 he wrote of this stump, "It has lately been acquired by the British Government and taken to England." In 1902 when at Napoopoo, a Mr. Leslie, who then lived there, showed me a copper plate which had an inscription on it, which I neglected to copy. He said that he had found a native mending his canoe with it, and had given him a piece of zinc for it. When at Kaawaloa recently, a native, 70 years old, showed me where the coconut stump had been, it agreed with Wall's map.

To go back. When Mr. Paris arrived at the place which we call Napoopoo, but which he never so called, he spent the night with a Captain Cummings. He found the mission premises in ruins, and next morning went mauka to Kuapehu, where Messrs. Forbes and Ruggles had houses, which they used as a health station. They were in bad condition, but he took up his

abode in the best one. It was near the house which Kapiolani built for a residence in the thirties. He improved the house and lived there until he died in 1892, being then 83 years old.

In 1857, the *Friend* had an article on Kealakekua. The business with shipping had evidently improved since the time of Wilkes, for it says that the Bay is frequently visited by whalers and ships of war. There were a hundred houses in the village. Captain Cummings had a tank which held 1,600 barrels and was in a position to supply ships with good water. Vegetables, fruit, beef, and pork were to be obtained in abundance, and many vessels called there. A pilot went out if a signal was made for one. Four miles mauka a large number of foreigners were living. The descendants of some of these still live there. The Hawaiians once so numerous, have died out, or gone elsewhere, so that they are now comparatively few in number. The population of the country around the Bay is largely Japanese, with a sprinkling of Portuguese, Chinese, and Koreans. The villages on the Bay, once so populous, are now very small. Kaawaloa, long the residence of great chiefs with spacious dwellings, now consists of a few poor dwellings. Napoopoo once crowded with the canoes of the thousands who fished there and farmed mauka, now largely owes its continuance to the fact that it is a shipping place for cattle and coffee, and the landing place of freight for the district.

Occasionally a British cruiser comes to see that the Cook monument is cared for. Sometimes the sailors from ships, and other visitors enter such burial caves as they can approach, and despoil them of their contents. Julian Yates told me that he had collected bones which had been thrown out of the caves, and took more out of the lower caves, and placing such as he could gather in a large cave, he had closed the opening with stones and cemented it over.

It is with a feeling of sadness that one goes over the district so replete with the evidences of the people who once lived, toiled, loved, and worshipped, in this pathway of the gods. It is true that coffee plantations occupy the lands where once grew taro, that the country has still its delightful climate, and that the social life has many charms, but the Hawaiians are few. Children crowd the schools, but they are Orientals. It has all changed. Civilization has done its worst, or its best, according to the view which one takes of the whole situation. The glory of the splendid chiefs has gone, the romance of Kealakekua has

departed, and the wonderful handiwork of the people adorns some distant museum, or is rotting in burial caves which have not felt the hands of the despoiler.

What Byron wrote of the Isles of Greece, may be said of the lands of Kealakekua:

“Eternal summer gilds them yet,
But all except their sun has set.”

LIHOLIHO: A REVISED ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER

By Albert Pierce Taylor

Liholiho, son of Kamehameha the Great, and Keopuolani, the tabu princess who was taken captive by Kamehameha after the death of her father, Kiwalao, in a sanguinary battle with Kamehameha's forces, and wedded to her captor, has had a meed of praise grudgingly accorded him, but generally he has been the target of criticisms ranging from being a dissolute prince to a weak king, and yet, an impartial review of his brief life and kingly career, leavened with a just analysis of the times in which he lived and his lack of opportunity for any outstanding individuality during the reign of his illustrious father, must surely result in an entire revision of his character, and credit him with some notable achievements.

Liholiho, born two years after the decisive battle of Nuuanu, or in 1797, the son of a princess who was regarded as sacred, was reared during long years of peace. He was raised apart from military camps and fierce battles; when there was even no need for being alert, either for offense or defense. He was raised in the lap of luxury. He had no command of troops, nor was ever assigned as governor of an island, or a district. He was never dispatched on a diplomatic mission.

Kamehameha I reached the peak of his military greatness in 1795. He has been styled the Napoleon of the Pacific. He ruled wisely and benevolently until his death in 1819, and may be ranked somewhat with Washington. Like Napoleon, he raised to greatness those about him who may have been of obscure birth, but possessing intellectual or executive ability, such as Kalanimoku, who fought against him, was conquered, and then raised to the post of prime minister.

Kamehameha ruled as a feudal lord. He maintained until his death the ancient religion with which was woven the strong fabric of the dread tabu system, violations of which brought death in terrible forms. He was acquainted with Christianity, just as he was with civilized man's types of vessels and sails; guns and munitions; customs and costumes; money and goods for barter; flags as symbols of national independence, and port dues as a means for maintenance of government. But while he adopted all but the first as material aids in his rulership and

the physical development of his kingdom, he did not adopt Christianity, believing, undoubtedly, that with his type of subjects, the ancient religion and tabu system would hold his empire together in peace.

Liholiho had no military training. He was but 22 when his father died. He had been trained especially in the laws of the tabus and was held out to the people as one who was sacred, and to whom allegiance should and must be given when Kamehameha I laid off the glittering yellow feather cloak of his imperial rule.

Liholiho was the crown prince, adored as such, regarded as the future King. He lived in the years when white men were coming into the islands. Some were good, strong, sturdy—real men—but many were dissolute, accustomed to hard service on sea and land, and indulging as was the habit of the times, in strong liquor, and, after rounding Cape Horn, forgetting civilized laws.

To them, aboriginal races were regarded as prime victims of their lust and greed—and a bottle of rum was too often the means of advancing the desires.

Kamehameha I was not alien to liquor and neither was his son. Neither were some of the most representative men of America, our lawmakers, jurists, writers, diplomats, and even our presidents, for the latter were as human as their fellowmen.

Kamehameha I is lauded and praised in a fulsome manner. Yet he was a polygamist, as was his son. His wives were often of close relationship, as were those of his son. Some of Kamehameha's wives had "acting husbands," as for instance, the great Hoapili. It was the standard of the Hawaiian race, and not an individual trait. Their standards, to them, were high, and even if today measured by civilized methods, could only be considered *unmoral*, and *not immoral*.

Liholiho was the son, on his mother's side, of an illustrious line. She was born in 1778, at Pahoehe, district of Wailuku, on the northeast side of Maui. Her name was the equivalent, in English, of "The Gathering of the Clouds of Heaven." The family from which she descended by her father, had governed the island of Hawaii for many generations. The family from which she descended by her mother, had long governed Maui, and for a time had governed Lanai, Molokai, and Oahu.

Her father's name was Kauikeaouli, alias Kiwalao, as we know him better. He was King of Hawaii, following Cook's death, and, in 1782, that of King Kalaniopuu. The wife of

Kalaniopuu and grandmother of Keopuolani, was Kalola, daughter of the King of Maui. It was she who threw her arms around the king's neck as Captain Cook was persuading him to go aboard the *Resolution* that fateful 14th of February, 1779. A few moments later occurred the tragedy when England's great navigator lay dead on the shores of Kealakekua Bay. When but 12 years of age she became Kamehameha's captive. In 1791 she became his queen. Of high lineage, then, was Liholiho, who was Keopuolani's second son.

The person of Keopuolani had ever been counted particularly sacred. At certain seasons no persons must see her. In early life she never walked abroad except at evening, and all who saw her at that hour prostrated themselves to the earth. Being held in such reverence, it was a greater sacrifice in her to renounce the old system, than in those who were less venerated. Providence seemed already to be preparing her mind for the Christian religion.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand how Liholiho lived in a time devoted to what we style as a heathen, or pagan, religion.

Yet he has been accused of having retarded the Christian religion, despite the fact that in November, 1823, he departed for England to secure a promise that Protestant ministers would be sent to Hawaii, as promised to his father by Vancouver, a promise Kamehameha never forgot. Keopuolani was baptised late in 1823, although she had aided Christianity before. Kaa-humanu, favorite wife of Kamehameha the Great, made a public profession of her new faith in 1825. Liholiho is said to have been reading the New Testament within a few months after the missionaries arrived in 1820. Why was the word "retarded" ever used in connection with him?

Here is the estimate of Liholiho by Rev. Wm. Ellis, the English missionary, who visited Hawaii twice within five years after the New England missionaries arrived, and who came the second time by invitation to aid the Americans in learning the Hawaiian language and to become more closely acquainted with the Hawaiians. He says:

"The late king of the Sandwich Islands was the son of Tamehameha, former king, and Keopuolani, daughter of Kauikeouli, and Kekuiapoiwa. He was born in the eastern part of Hawaii, in the year 1795 or 1796. The name by which he was generally known was Rihoriho, which was only a contraction of Kalaninuihoriho, literally, "the heavens great black"—from Ka

Lani, the heavens, nui, great, and rihoriho, applied to anything burnt to blackness. On public occasions, he was sometimes called Tamehameha, after his father, though names are not always hereditary. Besides these, he had a variety of other names, the most common of which was Iolani. The word lani, heaven or sky, formed a component part in the name of most chiefs of distinction.

"The early habits of Rihoriho," comments Ellis, "did not warrant any great expectations. His natural disposition was frank, and humane. The natives always spoke of him as good natured, except when he was under the influence of ardent spirits; his manners were perfectly free, at the same time dignified, and always agreeable to those who were about him. His mind was naturally inquisitive. The questions he usually presented to foreigners were by no means trifling; and his memory was retentive.

"His general knowledge of the world was much greater than could have been expected. I have heard him entertain a party of chiefs for hours together, with accounts of different parts of the earth, describing the extensive lakes, the mountains, and mines of North and South America; the elephants and inhabitants of India; the houses, manufactures, etc. of England, with no small accuracy, considering he had never seen them.

"He had a great thirst for knowledge, and was diligent in his studies. I recollect his remarking one day, when he opened his writing desk, that he expected more advantage from that desk, than from a fine brig belonging to him, lying at anchor opposite the house in which we were sitting. Mr. Bingham and myself were his daily teachers, and have often been surprised at his unwearied perseverance. I have sat beside him at his desk sometimes from nine or ten o'clock in the morning, till nearly sunset, during which his pen has not been out of his hand more than three-quarters of an hour, while he was at dinner.

"We do not know that Christianity exerted any decisive influence on his heart. He was willing to receive the missionaries on their first arrival—availed himself of their knowledge to increase his own,—and, during the latter years of his life, was decidedly favourable to their object; declared his conviction of the truth of Christianity; attended public worship himself on the Sabbath, and recommended the same to his people.

"His moral character was *not* marked by that cruelty, rapacity, and insensibility to the sufferings of the people, which frequently

distinguish the arbitrary chiefs of uncivilized nations. He appears in general to have been kind; and, in several places on our tour, the mothers showed us their children, and told us, that when Rihoriho passed that way, he had kissed them,—a condescension they seemed to think much of, and which they will probably remember to the end of their days. But though generous in his disposition, he was addicted to intoxication; whether from natural inclination, or the influence and example of others, is not now to be determined; frequently, to my own knowledge, it has been entirely from the latter. Had he in early life been privileged to associate with individuals whose conduct and principles were favourable to virtue and religion, there is every reason to suppose his moral character, with respect at least to this vice, would have been as irreproachable as his mental habits were commendable. But, alas for him! it was quite the reverse.

“Though not distinguished by the ardour and strength of character so conspicuous in his father, he possessed both decision and enterprise: the abolition of the national idolatry was a striking instance of the former; and his voyage to England, of the latter.

“The motives by which he was induced to undertake that long and hazardous voyage were highly commendable. They were,—a desire to see, for himself, countries of which he had heard such various and interesting accounts—a wish to have a personal interview with his majesty the King of Great Britain, or the chief members of the British government, for the purpose of confirming the cession of the Sandwich Islands, and placing himself and his dominions under British protection.

“It was also his intention to make himself acquainted with the tenor and forms of administering justice in the courts of law—the principles of commerce—and other subjects which seemed important to the welfare of the islands.

“Although the melancholy death of the king and of his queen prevented the accomplishment of these objects so fully as might have been wished, yet no unfriendly feeling is likely to be entertained by the people, as to the cause of it. The account the survivors will convey to their countrymen, of the generous reception they met—the hospitable manner in which they were entertained, while they lived—the high respect paid to their remains, and other tokens of friendship, will not only prevent suspicion, but combine to confirm that attachment and confidence which they have so long felt towards England.”

Sheldon Dibble, one of the missionaries who came to the Islands in 1831, was one of the most brilliant and voluminous of the early missionary writers in recording the history of the Islands and the mission movement. Dibble, who was a master of English, recorded well, but his youth, his religious zeal, his apparently high, cold, hard standards of morality appear to me to have been biased against the standards of the Hawaiians. He was from a cold, temperate zone. The Hawaiians, from a warm almost tropical zone. They had emerged from the isolation of centuries, directly out of the stone age into the world of civilization, one of the supremest tests for any race, and yet within thirty years, are commanded to lead lives that parallel those of the Caucasian race, or the American people who came from New England, which was then regarded as the center of religious Puritanical standards. It was a test of standards that should not have been so deeply drawn upon to form part of a history of the Hawaiian people.

Dibble wrote in a white, ascetic vein. He preferred to deal with a hell that was redolent of brimstone. To him the Hawaiians were always "steeped in sin and darkness", and he used metaphorical sentences to a large extent. Therefore, Dibble was harsh in his estimate of Hawaiians. However, we must not forget that these young men went out under strict orders from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and their every act was outlined for them. They must bring a heathen people out of its so-called darkness into the white, refulgent light of Christianity. They were puritanically temperate. The Ten Commandments were laws not to be broken, and every one else must live as they. Not to live as they did was to be styled un-Christian, heathen, and subjected to terms of criticism that, today, cause us to smile. But that was the order of the day—unfortunately.

Kamehameha II fell into this category of criticism, because he may have imbibed liquors, and lived, otherwise, in a manner to which he had been accustomed all his life, even under his remarkable father, who maintained the heathen practices even to his dying hours, but probably for the sake of policy and holding his empire together and to keep it in peace. Yet Kamehameha I is lauded as the most remarkable sovereign of all rulers of Hawaii; the greatest of all Hawaiians; a genius whose life should be comparable to those of great men of ancient and modern history. Dibble, on page 165 of his history, speaking of Liholiho's return from his daring canoe expedition to Kauai,

when Kaumualii, King of Kauai, surrendered his island to Liholiho thereby bringing all the islands under one central government, said:

"Liholiho, on his return from Kauai, continued his course of dissipation. He gave himself up to his pleasures and his passions.

"To obtain rum, gaudy dress and other gratification for himself, wives and favorites, he heedlessly involved the nation in a debt from which it has never been relieved. He practiced great extortions upon his people, particularly in collecting sandal wood to pay his debts. The people, men, women and children, were obliged to live in the mountains for months in succession without anything like comfortable shelter, with but little clothing and exposed to a climate rainy and cold. In this exposed situation many of the poor people died, as the numerous graves at the places of their encampment clearly indicate.

"Notwithstanding this reckless and dissipated character, he paid an external respect to the missionaries. He attended school for a short time, and made some efforts at reading. When reproved for his vices, he showed no resentment. The missionaries used every means to reform him, even taking from him the supplies of rum that he had purchased as a parent would from a dissipated son. Once a missionary visited him, and, after much entreaty, Liholiho made the following promise: "Elima o'u makahiki i koe, alaila huli au i kanaka maikai," (five years more, and then I will become a good man.) Alas, little did he think that a much shorter space than that would find him at the bar of God. This expression of his is on the lips of all the people as a warning against procrastination.

"Christianity was retarded by his reckless career and the nation on the verge of utter ruin, when God, Who so remarkably prepared the way for the introduction of the gospel, appeared again in His wonder-working providence and wrought relief."

We know that Christianity was not retarded during this brief period. It was progressing slowly but steadily. Did the missionaries expect an entire nation to become Christian converts once the Bible was shown, and its blessed contents explained to the people?

Unknowingly, when they were sailing in the *Thaddeus* for Hawaii, the nation had removed one of the greatest barriers—its ancient religion. Had that not been accomplished by Liholi-

liho and the royal family, it is open to suggestion that the cause of Christianity might have been retarded many years.

Again, the missionaries were unacquainted with the Hawaiian language, and it was not until January 7, 1822, that the first sheets of a printed Hawaiian language were struck from the little Ramage press brought from Boston in 1820. Two years had elapsed to that time, and yet we know that Liholiho, by substitution, was learning the English language and the Christian religion.

Remember, that in November, 1823—less than three years after the missionaries arrived—Liholiho left his kingdom for England, where he died in the summer of 1824.

Why should Kamehameha II be charged with a retarded development of Christianity, etc. in Hawaii? Kamehameha the Great did not have so many harassing elements to contend with as Liholiho. A monument should be erected to Liholiho for the important part he played in the establishment of religion, education, first modern commercial and port regulations during the short period between March, 1820, and November, 1823.

James Jackson Jarves, who wrote a history of the Hawaiian Islands, published in the 1840's, after a residence of about 10 years in the Islands, and who, like nearly all recorders of Hawaii's history, committed errors concerning certain incidents, refers to Liholiho's ascendancy to rulership, in cooperation with Kaahumanu, according to the dying request of Kamehameha the Great, as follows:

"By the death of Kamehameha, the key-stone, which had continued firmly to unite the rites of heathenism with the policy of government, was removed, and the fabric gave evidence of speedy ruin. The scepticism which pervaded all ranks became manifest; none had a more hearty desire to be rid of the absurd restraints of their pagan ceremonies than the new king, Liholiho. The foreigners, whom he had gathered in his train, had succeeded in infusing their infidelity into his mind, without giving him any correct principles for the foundation of a new belief. In his love of sensual gratification, disregard of customs and traditions sanctioned by usage immemorial, desire yet fear of change, and ignorance of the means of accomplishment, he embodied the general spirit of his nation. The utter worthlessness of their old system and consequent evils were apparent to all, and its downfall ardently desired.

"The young prince Kauikeaouli, induced by his mother, and countenanced by his brother, broke the taboo by eating with

Keopuolani. Liholiho perceiving no evil to ensue, remarked, 'It is well to renounce taboos and for husbands and wives to eat and dwell together, there will be less unfaithfulness and fraud.'

"Liholiho remained ten days at Kohala, while the body of his father was being dissected. He then returned to Kailua with his retinue. The kingdom was transferred to him by Kaahumanu, with the injunction of Kamehameha, that if he should not conduct himself worthily, the supreme power should devolve upon her. She also proclaimed it as the will of the late king, that he should share the administration with her, to which he assented.

"Skeptical as to the religion of his youth, yet wavering between old and new desires, he was undecided as to his course. On the one hand the priests exerted themselves to restore his credulity, while Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku influenced him to a more liberal policy. The latter for a while prevailed, and Keopuolani urged him again to eat in violation of the taboo, setting the example herself. Liholiho, still wavering, temporarily returned to heathen rites and assisted at a sacred festival, indulging with his train, in revelry and drunkenness. He also consecrated a heiau to his god at Honokohau."

Liholiho's first actual contact with the Christian religion was made before a catholic altar on board the French warship *l'Uranie*, commanded by Captain Freycinet, in August, 1819, or only three months after the death of Kamehameha I, and nearly a year before the Evangelical faith was brought to these shores by the New England missionaries. Kalanimoku, the chief, and principal adviser of Kamehameha I, (as he was also for Kamehameha II), and his brother Boki, were baptised, the king being present.

In November, through arrangements made by Kaahumanu, Kamehameha II decided to break not only the tabus, but crush the ancient religion. He went to Kailua from Kawaihae, and deliberately took a place at the feast prepared for the women. Sitting with them, according to Jarves and others, he is said to have indulged freely not only of the viands, but ate without restraint. The joyful shout arose: "The tabu is broken! The tabu is broken!"

Orders were issued to demolish the heiaus (temples), and destroy the idols; temples, images, sacred property, and the relics of ages, were consumed in the flames, Hewahewa, the high priest, having a prominent role in this historic phase. Says Jarves:

"The character of the people at this period was peculiar. Superstition had been stripped of many of its terrors, and the general standard of morality had increased. Perhaps it is more correct to say that a knowledge rather than a practice of purer precepts existed. The most repulsive trait was the universal licentiousness; not greater than existed a century before, but was made a shameless traffic. Although the majority of the idols were destroyed, yet some were secretly preserved and worshipped. Centuries of spiritual degradation were not to be removed by the excitement of a day, or the edict of a ruler. Its interested advocates prepared for a fierce struggle. Availing themselves of their influence, they aroused the fears of multitudes; defection arose in the court, and some of its prominent members deserted Liholiho and joined Kekuokalani, a nephew of Kamehameha, who next in priestly rank to Hewahewa, had been incited to erect the standard of revolt with the promise of the crown if successful. The priests, fearing for their occupation and influence, urged him to the struggle by quoting a common proverb among them, 'A religious chief shall possess a kingdom, but wicked chiefs shall always be poor.' Said they, 'of all the wicked deeds of wicked kings in past ages for which they lost their kingdoms, none was equal to this of Liholiho.' Those who feared innovation and desired 'to resist and turn back the tide of free eating which was threatening to deluge the land,' and those who were dissatisfied with the existing government, gathered about him, and he soon became popular, as the defender of their ancient faith, and the protector of the oppressed. His mother endeavored to induce him to return to loyalty, but urged on by his partisans, who had committed themselves too far to retract, he turned a deaf ear to her entreaties."

Jarves states that when the missionaries arrived on March 30, 1820, and a request was made to land, they were obliged, by old custom, to remain on board for two weeks until Kamehameha II gave his consent to their landing. They were allowed to remain a year. He was merely doing what his father would have done, for Kamehameha I allowed no foreigner to build a house for himself in which to dwell. The king was friendly, although Jarves says he was influenced by low foreigners who foresaw that as learning increased their importance and occupations would cease.

But in the first known instance where insult was offered by one of his subjects toward one of the missionary women, Liholiho promptly determined to crush such a spirit of depravity,

and would have had the offender executed, but for the intervention of Rev. Mr. Thurston.

Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue, the Russian explorer, in his book, *Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas*, visiting the Hawaiian Islands in 1816, his work being published in London in 1821, said of his meeting with Liholiho, at Kailua, island of Hawaii, on the 24th of November, 1816, after his conference with Kamehameha the Great and a visit with Queen Kaahumanu and others of the monarch's establishment:

"Having left the ladies, we visited the king's son. Cook told me, that this prince, as the successor, had already entered upon his father's duties, consisting of the discharge of some of the most considerable Taboos, the first of which is that no one is allowed to see the prince in the daytime, a crime punishable with death. Tammeamea has done this from political motives, to prevent a revolution after his death; for, as soon as the son has accomplished the first of the royal Taboos, he becomes sacred, is connected with the priesthood, and no one will venture to dispute the throne with him.

"The prince, who is to enter upon the duties of his father, is named, *Lio-Lio*, i. e., dog of all dogs, and such a beast I actually found this one.

"We entered a small house, where *Lio-Lio*, a long, stout, naked figure, lay stretched upon the ground on his belly, and only lifted up his head idly to look at his guests; near him sat some soldiers with muskets, who guarded the monster; a young, good-looking islander drove away the flies from him with a red bunch of feathers, and I should rather have taken him for the prince than the other.

"It is a pity that Tammeamea, who has gained immortal fame by his wise government, and laid the foundation of the civilization of his people, should not have a successor who could continue his government zealously and reasonably. It would be a great advantage for navigation, if the Sandwich Islands were raised to an equal degree of civilization with Europe; and the English, who have taken the islands under their protection, should take care that, after Tammeamea's death, a sensible man succeed him, and no revolution take place. At last the dog of all dogs raised himself, idly gaping at us in a stupid, unmeaning manner. My embroidered uniform seemed to please him, and he spoke frequently about it with his naked chamberlains. I could not learn his age, as no account is kept of it; it seemed

to me to be about twenty-two years. I thought that his unwieldy bulk proceeded from his habit of constantly lying down."

It was during this same visit on November 24, 1816, that Choris, the artist aboard the *Rurick*, drew the now famous portrait of Kamehameha.

Manley Hopkins, in his *The Sandwich Islands*, states that "The royal family by Keopuolani," (who was the grand-daughter of King Kalaniopuu of Hawaii) consisted of Liholiho, born in 1797, who was "invested in 1809 with royal honors, in order to establish the succession to him." This was the king who died in London in 1824.

What a contrast of Liholiho (or Kamehameha II) is given by Lucy Goodale Thurston, a zealous, deeply religious, courageous young New England woman, who became the bride of Rev. Asa Thurston that she might be one of that first missionary band bound for the then Sandwich Islands. She was the first white woman to set foot on the island of Hawaii in 1820. She saw much of the young king. She was very puritanical, a zealot, yet almost anywhere in her book, *The Life of Lucy G. Thurston*, a book entitled to a niche in the hall of fame, speaks in the kindest manner of Liholiho, finding much in the handsome prince to praise, not to criticize. She says, in various parts of her book:

"To learn the state of the Islands and the residence of the king, the captain sent a boat on shore with an officer, attended by Hopu and Honolii. Nearly three anxious hours we waited their return. Every minute seemed to whet our eagerness for news. Then, as Mr. James Hunnewell hastily came over the side of the vessel, we gathered closely around him. Quickly, with agitated lips he said:

"'Kamehameha is dead;—his son Liholiho is King;—the kapus are abolished;—the images are burned;—the temples are destroyed. There has been war. Now there is peace.'

"After the death of Kamehameha, Liholiho, the young king, and Hewahewa, the last idolatrous high priest, cautiously approached a dangerous subject.

"Priest.—'What do you think of the kapus?'

"King.—'Do you think it well to break them?'

"Priest.—'That lies with you.'

"King.—'It is as you say.'

"And in this way, endeavoring to penetrate each other's sentiments, they were led to the expression of their own thoughts."

"April 6th, the king and family dined with us by invitation. They came off in a double canoe with waving kahilis and twenty

rowers, ten on each side, and with a large retinue of attendants. The king was introduced to the first white women, and they to the first king, that each had ever seen.

"His dress on the occasion was a girdle, a green silk scarf put on under the left arm, brought up and knotted over the right shoulder, a chain of gold around his neck and over his chest, and a wreath of yellow feathers upon his head.

"We honored the king, but we loved the cultivated manhood of Kalanimoku. He was the only individual Hawaiian that appeared before us with a full civilized dress.

"The king appeared with complacency, and retired with that friendly aloha that left behind him the quiet hope that he would be gracious."

"Three days after landing, king Liholiho gave us a large circular table of Chinese workmanship, having six drawers, which became a very eligible dining table."

"After an absence of some months, the king returned, and called at our dwelling to hear the two young men, his favorites, read. He was delighted with their improvement, and shook Mr. Thurston most cordially by the hand—pressed it between both his own—then kissed it."

"There was a clique of foreigners whose interest and influence it was to have the reign of darkness continue, and who opposed the missionaries with all their power. They would have induced the king to give a very different turn to affairs. They had a withering influence on his downward habits. But respecting the missionaries, the king thought with manly independence. He said: 'Those men will talk, and talk, and talk; but they know nothing of what they are talking about.'"

"Again the king made us a call, dressed for once like a gentleman, with ruffled shirt, silk vest, pantaloons and coat. How he moved among his subjects with all the nobility of a king! He was in one of his very best moods. Everything we did was good in the superlative degree. He examined the house and cellar and was delighted. He wished the good people of America to send him a house three stories high; one story in which to worship Jehovah, as by and by, in five years, he was going to pray.

"He wished to have the missionaries learn all the Hawaiian sounds,—he would assist them, and then books and prayers in the native language could be printed. He criticised the pronunciation of some dozen words. He wished to know how far his favorite young men under Mr. Thurston had proceeded in

their spelling books and Testaments. When he was shown, and had looked at their writing books, he three times expressed how very sorry he was that he had left off learning; felt vexed with himself for so doing. He was ashamed to begin a second time, and many people had told him that they should think he would be. In giving his aloha, his parting address was: 'Don't pray for rain to-day, because we are going to have a grand dance.'"

"The king made us a call, and mentioned his early intention of visiting in person England and America."

Listen to this epic of a pioneering venture:

"A Hawaiian lad, brought by a sea-captain to New Haven, told the idolatry of his countrymen, and besought some to hasten thither with the good news of God. Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, and five laymen, with their wives, heard this boy's touching appeal, and in answer girded themselves for their grand venture of faith. Foreign missions were not then popular. The chilly October day, when the sails of the *Thaddeus* were unfurled, typified the coldness of the Christian heart toward the heathen world. But these pioneers were born heroes. Thurston, by his physical strength and courage, had won, years before, at Yale College, the much prized staff of 'bully'. With a moral courage and strength more sublime, he and his companions kissed their brides, and led them from the hymeneal altar to dwell in mid-ocean amid savage islanders. Our hearts beat quick as we recall the heroism of those young men and women putting America behind them to win a nation for Christ. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent them out. For the results of their work the Lord be praised!"

How different from every paragraph which Mrs. Thurston wrote of Kamehameha II, are the words penned and spoken by Rev. F. S. Rising, published in the *American Missionary Register*, New York, October, 1868, reprinted in her book. Mrs. Thurston voiced thoughts of Kamehameha that were kindly, tolerant, and in praise. Mr. Rising, who, possibly may not have visited Hawaii, was prone to write in that tone of superiority assumed too often by those who refer to the natives in distant, isolated lands who are undergoing the process of proselytism in the evolution from so-called paganism into Christianity. His article was written in praise of the devoted and outstanding Christian labors of Rev. Asa Thurston, in Hawaii, whose death had just been reported. In one part he said:

"Then Kailua was, at the time of Thurston's landing, the residence of the king. He was a profligate, and the royal city was the fountain of the kingdom's pollution."

In personal habits Kamehameha I must be considered moderate, say most writers, but he and his subjects acquired a fondness for rum which had been introduced by foreigners as an article of trade. The king drank it, but not intemperately, but we must remember he was then an old man along in the second decade of the 19th century, if we are to decide that he was born in 1736, and not later.

Beechey, the English naval officer, who visited Hawaii in the 1820's, gives this estimate of Kamehameha the Great:

"His biographer will do him an injustice if he does not rank him, however limited his sphere, and limited his means, among those great men who, like our Alfred, and Peter the Great of Russia, have rescued their countries from barbarism, and who are justly esteemed the benefactors of mankind."

Thus is Kamehameha II brought sharply by historians into an unmerited contrast with his father, one of the most remarkable men of the Hawaiian race.

When Liholiho succeeded his father he was but 22 years of age. Think of his green years, brought on to face problems which even his father had not been required to deal with. It may be quite true that in character he was very unlike his father. "His disposition was frank and humane, indolent and pleasure-loving" says Hopkins.

In his father's time there was no call, no room, for original energy or action; and also there would be no competition of wills where the result of a struggle was certain beforehand. The Prince possessed dignified and agreeable manners, an inquiring mind and a retentive memory; but even Hopkins says that he lived a "dissipated existence" and "was intemperate."

But, when, after he had given permission for the missionaries not only to land upon and live in Hawaii, and to educate the people, Kamehameha, himself, according to Hopkins, "was very sensible of the importance of gaining knowledge. He applied himself so diligently, that by July he could read intelligibly." Also, we read that the king "retained that noble courage which distinguished his race." In a short time Liholiho was able to write legibly. The Archives of Hawaii files contain several letters penned by this young man, usually signed "Iolani".

It was during the early part of Liholiho's reign that the King of England fulfilled Vancouver's promise of the gift of a

vessel to Kamehameha I. It was a six-gun schooner, named the "Prince Regent". Liholiho acknowledged the gift, wrote the British King of the death of Kamehameha the Great, and begged the English ruler to place the Islands under his protection, and added that "we wish the Protestant religion of your majesty's dominions to be practiced here."

This is the first evidence of "restlessness" attributed to Liholiho, who in November departed for England to convey both statements, in person, to the British King.

The motive that caused Liholiho to go to England is variously ascribed by different writers. Dibble says that he "imbibed the notion of visiting Great Britain", but "what were distinctly his motives in going is not known", and he adds that "it is most probable that he had no distinct motives but went rather from a state of restlessness", and that "he was naturally roaming in his disposition and ready for any new enterprise. But the hand of God was in the movement". What the latter sentence means is not altogether clear, and is not further referred to.

We know then that if he had a "roaming disposition", it was confined to his own kingdom, and what ruler does not visit the outermost parts of his kingdom. Then Kamehameha III, Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, Lunalilo, Kalakaua, and Liliuokalani, stand accused of the same crime, for they visited, and revisited all portions of their kingdom. And likewise we find Napoleon, Emperor Wilhelm, Victoria, Edward VII, Prince of Wales, Roosevelt, tinged with the same suspicious desire to see things, other peoples and other institutions.

Today, Honolulu is visited by scions of foreign royalty, en route to or from distant countries where they may have carried on certain investigations for their personal benefit, or for their countries. The Duke of Edinburgh visited Hawaii in 1869; the Prince of Wales in 1920, or a century after Hawaii's king visited Great Britain.

If it was just "restlessness" and "roaming", then these qualities permitted Liholiho to visit Kauai in a canoe, and single-handed, secure the complete submission of the king of that Island and make the Hawaiian monarchy complete.

It was Kamehameha II who granted the missionaries the permit to land on Hawaiian soil for a year, and it was he who extended that permission to make it permanent. It was his influence, as well as that of Kaahumanu (but you must remember she was opposed to the missionaries for the first three years) which

paved the way for the solid foundation created in Hawaii for religion, education, laws, and contact.

What, may I ask, may have been the fate of these Islands, had not the "restlessness" of Opukahaia and other young Hawaiians, carried them away from the Islands to New England, where, in later years, Opukahaia's plea to a benevolent man to send Christianity among the Hawaiian people, fell upon receptive ears?

They "roamed", and their "restlessness", which landed them upon New England, was fruitful beyond measure, for a meeting in the shadow of a haystack, destined to be called "The Haystack Meeting", resulted in five young men consecrating their lives to establishing missions in foreign, "heathen" lands, and eventually, in 1819, in the sailing of the tiny brig *Thaddeus* from Boston for Hawaii, bearing the first band of courageous, consecrated, self-denying young missionaries—the answer to Opukahaia's plea.

And so Kamehameha II was "restless". Are we to condemn him for the virtue which we praise in others?

Rev. Hiram Bingham I, of that original band of 1820 missionaries, who took up his duties on Oahu, as Mr. Thurston had on Hawaii, may have viewed Kamehameha as of a "roaming" disposition, and "restlessness", both indicative of a desire to see foreign lands, and, or, a thirst for knowledge, could not have foreseen a day when his grandson, Hiram Bingham III, now a member of the U. S. Senate, from Connecticut, went to a wharf in Honolulu and attempted to stow away, to see foreign lands, or that same grandson, grown to young manhood, penetrating the highest and most isolated peaks of the Andes, searching for and discovering mysterious Inca cities that had long been lost to civilization. Both were sons of Hawaii, both young, yet each attained a right to praise for achievements though their deeds were recorded almost a century apart.

Now let us look at the interpretations of Liholiho's name, misinterpretations rather, for these seem to have been the cause of much of the wrong impression concerning this young ruler. Kotzebue writes of visiting him of an afternoon, walking in upon his seclusion, apparently, without proper reason, finding the prince taking his ease and siesta, and aroused, by visitors walking in upon him (imagine any one walking in upon us while we take a nap and being aroused), that he was then lying prone upon his stomach and he looked up quizzingly. Kotzebue got only part of his name, minus the aspirate "h", and recorded

his name thus: "Lio-lio", saying it was "dog-dog", therefore, he was a big, portly "beast", and "dog of all dogs".

Kotzebue was in error. "Ilio" means dog, not "lio", which originally was applied by the Hawaiians to most any animal introduced but especially referred to horse.

"Liho-liho" means entirely a different thing. Literally it means something that is glowing, shining, and in the case of this youth, son of a tabu princess and the mightiest man of all Hawaii, the shining issue, reflecting glory of the heavens, for otherwise he was familiarly called "Iolani".

Kotzebue endeavored to fit the afternoon's vision of Liho-liho, taking his indolent ease as all Hawaiians did then, for you must recall that Hawaiians formerly began their labors at 4 in the morning and finished before noon—their eight hour day—and tried to fit that indolence, apparent sluggishness, with his version of interpretation of his name—"doglike" and may, therefore have started following historians to fall into the same error.

Liholiho's end, in London, was marked by dignity, thoughtfulness of his people and kingdom, as his last letters indicate.

There were elements of greatness in Kamehameha II.

The history of these Islands by a properly qualified and impartial observer, may yet remain to be written.

The volumes of Jarves and Dibble were each valuable at the time when they appeared, but, while the first was written from a political standpoint, the opinions in which have since been largely forgotten in the lapse of years and the sequence of events, the latter was partly a translation of native traditions, and partly a history of the earlier operations of the American Mission.

Both were too close to the periods in which they wrote, their vista down through the corridors of history too narrow to give an impartial record of the vital developments of the reign of Kamehameha II, the King, too much space being accorded to the alleged personal faults of Liholiho, the crown prince.

This estimate of Liholiho, in no measure diminishes the remarkable success of the American Mission in Hawaii, or the individual achievements of the missionaries, both male and female. They were modern crusaders, but who entered upon the battle for Christ without waving banners, glittering armor, or bands, their music being the beautiful hymns of the church.

The story of the American Mission is one of the epics of the Christian faith. Their lives were beautiful examples of Christian fortitude. To me their service is one of the most inspiring

achievements in religious history. Hawaii was brought out into the effulgent light of Christianity by them; and with it civilization obtained its foothold. What Hawaii is today, is largely due to those devoted missionaries, who sowed the first seeds of sturdy, free Americanism in these Islands.

WHENCE PAAO?

By John F. G. Stokes

The influence on the culture of Hawaii attributed to the high priest Paao is so great that it seems desirable, as a background of Hawaiian history, to examine rather closely into the probable location of his home land. His story has been related with some variation¹, and with such frequency that it is not necessary to do more than refer to it. Paao is said to have been a priest, as well as a chief, navigator, and magician, who arrived in the island of Hawaii in the twelfth or thirteenth century. He found conditions which were favorable for setting up a king of his own choosing, obtained one from abroad, namely Pili Kaaiea, and installed him as king of Hawaii. The descendants of this king ruled the island of Hawaii (with but one brief interlude) until 1893, while Paao himself became the high priest of an order which he established and which continued until 1819.

The ready acceptance of the new king by the people of Hawaii has always been difficult to understand, but of course it must be remembered that traditions were preserved by the priesthood, and naturally received a partisan coloring. On this account perhaps the different versions are not very precise as to the means employed by Paao for accomplishing his purposes. One account indicates conspiracy and rebellion fomented by Paao and the exile of the reigning king. The implication throughout however is that Paao succeeded in impressing the Hawaiians with the southern Polynesian idea of the divinity of kings. The point is well illustrated in the Paao traditions of the cause attributed to the downfall of the existing dynasty, namely that the royal line of Hawaii had become *hewa*, "ceremonially unclean". The royal blood had been defiled through intermarriages with commoners.

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- (1) Alexander, W. D. History of the Hawaiian people. p. 21. New York, 1891.
 Dibble, Sheldon. History of the Sandwich Islands. p. 10, Honolulu, 1909.
 Ellis, Wm. Polynesian Researches. Vol. IV, 392, 437, 440. London, 1853.
 Emerson, N. B. Long Voyages of the Hawaiians. Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 5, p. 22.
 Fornander, A. Polynesian Race. Vol. II, pp. 22, 33 ff. London, 1880.
 Malo, D. Hawaiian Antiquities; translated by N. B. Emerson, p. 25. Special Publications Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 2.
 Thrum, Thos. G. More Hawaiian Folk Tales, pp. 46 ff. Chicago, 1923.
 Westervelt, W. D. Legend of Paao. Honolulu, 1913.
 Yzendoorn, Reginald. History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii, p. 9. Honolulu, 1927.

Hence, the pure line of descent from the gods had been sullied, and none of sufficient sanctity remained to occupy the throne.

It seems clear enough that the Paa'o traditions symbolize a new cultural element in Hawaii with ideals at variance with those existing there, or, more likely, representing a further stage in human development. We may recognize, through the Paa'o traditions, the establishment of a powerful theocracy, which succeeded some simpler form of government.

As a means of identifying the probable home lands of Paa'o and Pili I propose this evening to draw attention briefly to three groups of analogies connecting these historical characters with the Society Islands. The first concerns the alleged introductions by Paa'o, the second, the present known distribution in Polynesia of a particular form of royal investiture, and the third, the variations of a legend concerning the cause of Paa'o's departure from his home. These, together with a recognition of the traditional place names, are the limits of this paper.

Summarising the accounts by Fornander, Emerson, and Thrum, the introductions attributed directly to Paa'o are the *kapuo* (prostration before tabu chiefs), the *puloulou* (insignia of tabu), changes in method and forms of temple building, and the war god Kaili. To Paa'o's period are attributed a greater rigidity of the tabus, the introduction of human sacrifices, "the hardening and confirming of the divisions of society, the exaltation of the nobles and the increase of their prerogatives, the separation and immunity of the priestly order, and the systematic setting down, if not actual debasement, of the commoners"

In general, these are more characteristic of influence from the Society Islands than from other parts of Polynesia. In particular, the temple forms are most characteristic.

In Raiatea, sometimes termed "the sacred", the largest of the leeward islands of the Society Group, the important part of the ritual of investing a new king divinely descended, was the girding on of the sacred red-feather maro, accompanied by human sacrifice.²

Scions of the royal Raiatean family occupied the throne of Tahiti, and with them apparently also went the right to investiture with the sacred red girdle. Ellis³ was a witness to such a ceremony in Tahiti in which the high priest, after describing to the young king the sacred nature of the girdle, concluded with the words: "This, O king, is your parent," meaning, as Ellis stated,

(2) Tyermann and Bennett, Journal, Vol. I, p. 527. London, 1831.

(3) Ellis, Wm. Polynesian Researches. Vol. III, p. 180, London, 1853.

that all the king's power was derived from the gods, his ancestors. At other times the girdle was preserved in the temple, side by side with the embodiment of the great god.

So far, I have been able to trace the sacred red-feather girdle to but one other place—the island of Hawaii⁴—where it appears in the investiture of the sacred kings descended from Pili. A note left by the late King Kalakaua infers that it was used in the time of Liloa. In Westervelt's story,⁵ Paoa uses the girdle when installing Pili. In any case its use is strictly in accord with the actions and motives, not only of Paoa but of his successors in the priestly line he founded in the island of Hawaii, and the limitation in known distribution of the symbol infers that Paoa's new king was a scion of the sacred royal family of Raiatea.

One of Percy Smith's authorities⁶ records that Hiro, a king of Raiatea instituted the custom of girdle investiture. Probably it was much older.

This Hiro was apparently Hiro-te-tupua (referred to below), a high chief, priest, navigator, and hero of the Society and neighboring islands. He was an ancestor of the kings of Raiatea and Tahiti,⁷ as well as other chiefs in the Cook Islands and far off New Zealand. It seems highly probable that Paoa or Pili, either represented Hiro in Hawaii, or were of the same family.

I now draw attention to comparisons between the legendary accounts of the departures of Paoa and Hiro from their homes. In using New Zealand references, I must point out that Smith⁸ has traced the dominant Maori element to Raiatea and the west coast of Tahiti, checking them up through data obtained in the Society and Cook Islands, as well as New Zealand. Also, the chronological position of Hiro in the genealogies indicates that the incidents in the Maori version should be localized in the Society Islands.

Abbreviating Emerson's, Thrum's, and Yzendoorn's versions of the Paoa legend, it appears that Paoa's son is wrongfully accused by Lonopele (Paoa's older brother) of stealing fruit. Paoa cuts the boy open to prove his innocence, and then seeks revenge. He sets about building a large double canoe, and when the work is finished, except the attachment of the connecting beams and the platform, he orders a tabu. During the period, Lonopele's son is caught by the canoe, killed, and buried under-

(4) Stokes, J. F. G. *Notes on Polynesian Feather Work*. Special Publications of Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 7, p. 77.

(5) Westervelt, W. D. *Legend of Paoa*. p. 57. Honolulu, 1913.

(6) Smith, S. Percy. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. II, pp. 31 ff.

(7) *Op. cit.* p. 26.

(8) Smith, S. Percy. *Hawaiki*, pp. 251 ff. Auckland, 1921.

neath. Lonopele, searching for his son, pauses at the stern to observe the fine lines of the canoe, and observes the swarming of flies under the block. He removes the block and finds the body.

Paao hurries his departure, taking with him his family and a large crew. Lonopele wars against Paao by means of the elements, and in addition sends a gigantic bird after him. Paao, however, escapes harm and reaches Hawaii.

In one account⁹, the home of Paao is said to be Vavau. In another, he is said to have come from Upolu, but owned lands in Vavau.

In the New Zealand version recorded by White,¹⁰ Hiro is building a canoe, and the son of his older brother, Hua, steals the choicest morsels from the food provided for the workmen. The boy is not checked by Hua, and this arouses Hiro's anger. While the side boards are being lashed on, the boy approaches and is requested by Hiro to aid in passing the braid through the holes from the outside. Soon the boy's finger becomes caught in the loop. Hiro tells the inexperienced helper that he should have passed the loop over his head, and, when this is done, the loop is pulled taut and the child strangled. The body is buried under the chips beneath the canoe. Some days later, when searching for the child, Hua seats himself near the stern of the canoe, and his attention is directed to the situation of the body by the movements of a blow fly. Then follows a reference to a "bird of the night and of evil omen", an account of conflict in which Hua and all his people are killed, and Hiro's departure for parts unknown. In another account also by White,¹¹ Hiro is said to have departed for Vavau—meaning as White inferred that he was going to destroy himself.

If we follow this legend back to central Polynesia, we find other variants in Rarotonga¹² and Aitutaki¹³ of the Cook Islands, and in Raiatea¹⁴ and Upolu district of Tahiti¹⁵ of the Society Islands. However, they are all so similar that they may be abbreviated as one.

In this, we find Hiro born by a mother in Upolu to a father in Vavau. The victim is the wife of Hiro, who has aroused his anger. He is at work on his canoe (generally the canoe platform) and compels the wife to assist in the lashing. He

(9) Fornander. *Polynesian Race*, Vol. II, p. 34. London, 1880.

(10) White, John. *Ancient History of the Maori*. Vol. II, pp. 15 ff. Wellington, 1887.

(11) *Op. cit.* p. 7.

(12) Savage, S. *Jnl. Polynesian Society*, Vol. XXVI, p. 54.

(13) Large, J. T. *Jnl. Polynesian Society*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

(14) Henry, Teuira. *History of Tahiti*. (MS.)

catches first her fingers and then her head in the loop and, killing her, hides her body under the chips. The body is recovered by Hiro's warrior son, with whom strained relations ensue. Reconciliation follows, and the son decimates his father's enemies. Hiro then voyages to places unknown. In one of the variants, there is an episode in the Hiro story of an encounter with a bird.

The identity of the incidents in these variants leaves no question of the identity of the legend, either with Hiro or the family to which Hiro belonged. Apart from the traditions which locate Hiro as of Raiatea, we find him well localized through place references in Raiatea and the islands of the immediate vicinity,¹⁵ such as Taha'a, Borabora, Huahine, etc., all in the Society Islands. We cannot however find this Hiro in the Hawaiian Islands. How then did the legend, identified through references in New Zealand, Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Raiatea, and Tahiti as belonging to Hiro, become attached to Paoa in Hawaii? Name changes by Polynesians are common both as to persons and places, and it might seem that Hiro's final voyage, the outcome of which is unknown, was to the island of Hawaii. Westervelt's account¹⁶ lands Pili at Hilo bay, where the girdle investiture takes place. This is a suggestive coincidence, as the periods of Hiro and Paoa were approximately the same. Hilo of course is the Hawaiian form of Hiro. However, I will content myself by pointing out that the original locality of the Paoa and Hiro legends was probably the leeward islands of the Society Group—the indication also of Paoa's home. It is of special significance, in view of the remarks following, that neither the name of Hiro nor the legend were found by Gifford¹⁷ in Tonga, and I can find no reference from Samoa to either.

The identity of the places Upolu and Vavau, mentioned in the Hiro and Paoa legends, has generally been accepted as islands of those names in Samoa and Tonga. Percy Smith¹⁸ however has pointed out that Upolu was an ancient and poetic name for Taha'a, an island within the same reef as Raiatea. It is also the name of a district in Tahiti. Vavau is the older name for Borabora. Borabora and Taha'a are about twenty miles from one another while Vavau of Tonga and Upolu of Samoa are over three hundred miles apart. The proximity of the ancient Upolu and Vavau to Raiatea, in view of the other references in this

(15) Smith, S. Percy. *Jnl. Polynesian Society*, Vol. II, p. 31.

(16) Westervelt, W. D. *Legend of Paoa*, pp. 49 ff. Honolulu, 1913.

(17) Gifford, E. W. *Tongan Myths and Tales*. Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 8.

(18) Smith, S. Percy. *Hawaiki*, p. 255. Auckland, 1921.

paper, should carry conviction that the Hawaiian records were of these islands of the Society Group.

Pili, is said to have come from "Kahiki" or "Savaii", the latter in an account which originates him from Samoa. The first is the Hawaiianized form of Tahiti, and the second is the Samoanized form of Havaii. Havaii as is now known, was also the ancient name of Raiatea¹⁹.

As is well known, "Kahiki" in time came to indicate any foreign country to the Hawaiians, but in the Pao period, the Hawaiian reference was definitely Tahiti or the Society Islands. This is shown through the records²⁰ of the Hawaiian chief Olopana and his wife Luukia, who left Hawaii and went to Kahiki. New Zealand tradition²¹ notes them both as in Tahiti. Tahitian genealogy carries a chief of the name as of the same period, and the name existed up to the nineteenth century as that of a group of clans in Tahiti.

Associations of place names in Hawaiian chants of the period add further evidence. As Dibble²² shows, in the song of Leimakani, there are five place names all coming together: Kahiki, Upolu, Vavau, Helanikapuemanu, and another. Upolu and Vavau have been discussed. The fourth is probably Tapuaemanu of the Society Islands. In the song of Kawau, Kahiki, Vavau, and Upolu again occur together. In the chant of the voyager Kaulu, one stanza gives seven place names together, the first three of which are Vavau, Upolu, and Helani, the latter apparently being the Helanikapuemanu above. The stanza ends with:

"Spanned were the boundaries of Kahiki,
Kahiki was completed by Kaulu."

From this it might appear that Kahiki, to the Hawaiians of the period, meant specifically the island of Tahiti, and generally, the Society Islands, similarly to the application in later days of Hawaii to the Hawaiian group.

In closing I might briefly say that the attribution in late years of a Samoan origin to Pao and Pili was due to the probably erroneous recognition of the place names Upolu and Vavau of the Pao period. I have shown them to belong to the Society Islands, and in addition have pointed to other features common to the Society and Hawaiian Islands, but absent from Samoa. There can be no question, on the basis of present data, that Pao was a Polynesian from the Society Islands.

(19) Id.

(20) Fornander, A. *Polynesian Race*, Vol. II, p. 50. London, 1880.

(21) Smith, S. Percy. *Hawaiki*, pp. 23 ff. Auckland, 1921.

(22) Dibble, Sheldon. *History of the Sandwich Islands*, p. 412. Honolulu, 1909.

A TAPA BOOK

By Thomas W. Ellis

The coming celebration of the discovery of Hawaii by Captain James Cook, which is to be held next year, has a particular interest for everyone in Hawaii, and anything in reference to the unique history of the islands is worthy of notice.

In 1787 a book was published in London having the following title page:

A CATALOGUE
of the
DIFFERENT SPECIMENS OF CLOTH
COLLECTED IN THE THREE VOYAGES OF
CAPTAIN COOK
TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE;
with a
PARTICULAR ACCOUNT
of the
MANNER OF THE MANUFACTURING THE SAME IN
THE VARIOUS ISLANDS OF THE
SOUTH SEAS;
partly extracted from
MR. ANDERSON and REINHOLD FORSTER'S
OBSERVATIONS,
and the verbal account of some of the most knowing of the
Navigators;
with
SOME ANECDOTES THAT HAPPENED TO THEM
AMONG THE NATIVES.

Now properly arranged and printed
For ALEXANDER SHAW, No. 379, Strand, London,

MDCCLXXXVII.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

DIFFERENT SPECIMENS OF CLOTH

COLLECTED IN THE THREE VOYAGES OF

CAPTAIN COOK,

TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE;

WITH A

PARTICULAR ACCOUNT

OF THE

Manner of the Manufacturing the same in the various Islands of the
S O U T H S E A S ;

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And the verbal Account of some of the most knowing of the Navigators:

WITH

SOME ANECDOTES THAT HAPPENED TO THEM AMONG
THE NATIVES.

Now properly arranged and printed

For ALEXANDER SHAW, No. 379, STRAND, LONDON,

MDCCLXXXVII.

The dedication of the book states that "These are only select specimens for a few friends." This statement is followed by a lengthy description of the manufacture of tapa by various authorities. Following this description of tapa making the catalogue lists thirty-nine specimens, *twelve of which came from Hawaii*.

On the third fly leaf of the book there is the following notation:

"Mr. Edmond of Aberdeen bound this book. On the mat of each board Japanese leather has been used."

FATE OF THREE COPIES

Mr. Edmond	}	These all sold by Mr. Edmond to Mr. Robertson, who bought them for the Melbourne Library at an average price of per volume.
Mr. Ritter		
Dr. Longmuir		
Unearthed in Aberdeen in the course of a year.		

Mr. Edmond was a member of the firm of J. & J. P. Edmond & Spark, of Aberdeen, Scotland, which firm is still in business there, although the original members of the firm have long since passed on.

This volume later belonged to Everard im Thurn, who was Governor of the Fijis from 1903 to 1908, and died in England in 1917, at which time the book came into the market and was brought to Honolulu by Mr. D. F. Thrum, who had made a world-wide search for same for sixteen years.

In a recent German work on "Textiles," published in Leipzig, there is a chapter devoted to tapa in which the author describes and illustrates a number of specimens from a companion volume to which he had access in the Museum at Hamburg.

Of particular interest is the description of Specimen No. 18, as follows:

"The very finest of the inner coat of the mulberry; and wore by the chiefs of Otaheite. . . . Some of the seamen went ashore to bring fresh provisions on board; and not having an opportunity to return immediately, one of them wandered a little way up the country, where he saw some children at play, which to his surprise they all left, and surrounded him, making many antic gestures; at last a girl, about fourteen years of age, made

a leap at him, at the same time endeavoured to seize a few red feathers which he had stuck in his cap, which he directly took out and presented her; upon which she made off with amazing swiftness, and the rest after her; he then returned to his companions, who were preparing to go on board. It was now the cool of the evening, when she came down to the waterside, and singling him out from the rest, presented him the piece of cloth from which this was cut. A true sign of gratitude in those people."

Also of Specimen No. 34 the book says:

"From Otaheite, wore as garment by the ladies. . . . A number of the natives being on board of the Resolution, one of the chiefs took a particular liking to an old blunt iron, which lay upon one of the officer's chests, and taking hold of a boy about nine years of age, offered him in exchange, pointing to the iron. The gentleman, although he knew he could not keep the youth, yet willing to see if he would willingly stay; or if any of the rest would claim him, took the child and gave the savage the iron; upon which a woman, who appeared rather young for the mother, sprung from the other side of the ship, and with the highest emotions of grief seemed to bewail the loss of the infant; but the lieutenant, with a true British spirit, took him by the hand and presented him to her, upon which, after putting her hands twice upon her head, she unbound the roll of cloth which was round her body, and from which this specimen was cut, and having spread it before him, seized the boy, and jumping into the sea, both swam ashore, nor could he ever learn whether she was the mother, sister, or relation, and this he lamented the more, as such affection was very seldom seen among those people."

Of specimen No. 36 the catalogue states:

"From Otaheite, wore by the priests. . . . The piece of cloth from which this specimen was cut was presented the afore-said lieutenant by one of the priests of (Owyhee), who seemed to be a very intelligent person, and most readily apprehended the manner of using most of the instruments he saw on board, and could handle them with a surprising familiarity after once seeing. He seldom came on board without some present, and appeared to have a true sense of honour. And the above gentleman thinks that he would have been a far superior object to have brought to England than Omai."

The period in which this collection of tapa was made no doubt represents the golden age of tapa making, for shortly

after the discovery of the islands European cloths were introduced, which very rapidly replaced the tapa of native manufacture. We must all marvel at the wonderful skill displayed in tapa making and art in coloring and decorating same, especially when we take into account the primitive appliances at their command, the entire process being performed by the native women.

Honolulu, October 18, 1927.

