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## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN HAWAII BEFORE 1870

by

Robert C. Schmitt and Rose C. Strombel

The recent enactment of a stricter law on divorce and remarriage brings to mind the treatment that this subject received in Island legislation before 1870. The new law prohibits remarriages for one year after a divorce decree if the couple has minor children.<sup>1</sup> Compared with earlier legislation, the 1965 law seems mild indeed.

When the American missionaries arrived in 1820, they discovered Hawaiian marriage customs to be quite informal:

...except for the people of superior rank, there was very little in the way of ceremony connected with marriage. Divorce consisted merely in quitting and either party was free to terminate the arrangement at will, but there was some sentiment against changing wives frequently....A man might have two or more wives and, at the same time, each wife might have two or more husbands.<sup>2</sup>

The first Christian marriage in the Islands took place on August 11, 1822, when Hiram Bingham officiated at the wedding of Thomas Hopu and Delia.<sup>3</sup> Hoapili, Governor of Maui, and Kalekua were married in the Christian manner in October, 1823.<sup>4</sup>

Christian marriage was soon made compulsory. Hoapili, making a tour of Maui in 1826, publicly outlawed the old form on that island.<sup>5</sup> On November 5, 1827, James Ely wrote from Kaawaloa, Kona: "The rulers of this district have declared that, in future, marriages shall not be accounted valid, unless solemnized by a minister of the Gospel. Offenders are punished by being made to work on a public road."<sup>6</sup>

This law was soon extended to all islands of the Kingdom. Kaahumanu said:

If a man and woman are agreed to live together as man and wife, and there is nothing in the way to render it illegal, then let them marry in accordance with the word of God.

But those persons who are united according to the former customs of this country, and are still living together...their union is hereby confirmed anew in the same manner as those who are married.

But from the present time all persons are prohibited from uniting together according to the former customs, it is proper to marry.<sup>7</sup>

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) discussed marriage in his "Law Against Licentiousness," proclaimed on September 21, 1829:

It is not proper that one man have two wives nor one woman two husbands, whatever man or woman shall do so is guilty by this law.

If a man or woman have cohabited they are by this law made man and wife but if later they cohabit with others it is a crime....

This is proper that the marriage of a man with a woman be perpetual, if they wish to marry, but if the union be forbidden it will not be proper to marry, let them make known their intention to the teacher and let their names be both written in the marriage certificate, so they will be observing the laws of the present time.<sup>8</sup>

Christian marriage was soon accepted by the people. On June 28, 1831, the missionaries wrote:

Five or six years ago the Christian form of marriage was unknown on the islands. Nor was there any other form that could not be sundered at

any moment by the will of the parties. The breaking of the marriage contract, such as it was, was a thing of the most common occurrence, leading to great misery and great moral pollution. Now, probably few persons who would be called respectable on the islands, residing within a days journey of any of the stations, can be found living together as heads of families, who have not been solemnly married in the Christian manner. Instances are rare when the marriage contract is grossly violated.<sup>9</sup>

The law requiring persons with more than one spouse to choose one and discard the rest did not seem to stir much protest. According to Dibble, "Less difficulty was experienced, than might have been supposed, in carrying this regulation into effect."<sup>10</sup>

Occasional misdeeds were dealt with firmly. William Richards, writing from Lahaina on April 14, 1828, was able to recall only two "violations of the marriage laws" out of the 1,500 he had solemnized in the Islands. One man who had forsaken his wife and married another was "sentenced to make 160 fathoms of road three fathoms wide. The marriage was also pronounced unlawful, and the woman, on giving satisfactory evidence that she was innocent, received liberty to marry again." Richards added: "One instance has also occurred in which a woman, having persevered in the most criminal violation of her marriage vows, was, according to law, sentenced to a year's confinement in irons. Her husband, on applying for a bill of divorcement, received it."<sup>11</sup>

Every effort was made to enforce domestic tranquility. A law approved on November 12, 1840, contained this provision:

If two married persons do not live happily together, but quarrel often and become famous for the same, and also disregard their marriage vows, they shall then be brought to trial, and being convicted of the charge as specified above, they shall both be confined in irons. They shall be confined separately, not together, and shall be confined at night only, and in the morning shall be set at liberty, to go where they please, but at night shall be confined again, and shall be confined every night until they cease quarreling.<sup>12</sup>

Laws on adultery were particularly stringent. Kauikeaouli's "Law Against Licentiousness," for example, stated:

But if he is caught again in adultery he shall pay three hogs to the husband of his paramour, and three to the Governor who shall set apart a portion for the King, if not hogs then something else of equal value.

If a woman commit adultery and her husband be displeased his case is the same as that of the wife of an adulterous husband, and the woman shall pay five dollars for the King and five dollars for the Governor, and five dollars for the wife of the man with whom she had connection; or if not money then property of equal value and her paramour shall be fined in the same manner. And if they have connection four times it shall be at the discretion of the king to take away their land.<sup>13</sup>

In an effort to combat illiteracy, the rulers of Hawaii withheld marriage licenses from persons who could not read. An 1835 ruling by Hoapili, Governor of Maui, denied licenses to the illiterate on that island.<sup>14</sup> On May 21, 1841, Kamehameha III signed an act that stated: "...nor shall a man who is unable to read and write marry a wife, nor a woman who is unable to read and write marry a husband. But this edict does not apply to those who were born previous to the reign of Liholiho."<sup>15</sup>

A later section of the same set of laws noted:

It is important that parents should have so much sincere regard to the welfare of their children as to influence them to attend to instruction. For if they are unable to read, they can neither marry husbands nor wives....

Another evil is that the officers give certificates of marriage to those who cannot read. The officers should carefully examine the law and withhold certificates from all who are ignorant of reading.<sup>16</sup>

These laws were repealed on July 10, 1850.<sup>17</sup>

The American missionaries were meanwhile formulating their own policies regarding marriage. In 1826 they resolved "...that an aggrieved party justly complaining of adultery, or wilful desertion...may, by consent of the proper authorities, be married to another..." and "...that the deserting party cannot contract a new marriage...until the deserted is known to be fairly divorced."<sup>18</sup>

In 1831 they resolved:

That the marriage of unprincipled foreigners with native females is highly to be deprecated.

That we do not consider to marry any foreigner, unless he offer satisfactory evidence that he has no wife in any other part of the world, and unless he exhibit a written certificate from the Governor, that he has permission to reside permanently on the islands, and unless he has actually been a quiet resident, engaged in some regular employment, at least one year.<sup>19</sup>

The first laws regarding divorce were proclaimed by Kaahumanu: "A man cannot cast off his wife at pleasure. A woman cannot cast off her husband at pleasure."<sup>20</sup>

Legal grounds for divorce always included adultery. Kauikeaouli's "Law Against Licentiousness" provided that:

If a man sleep with a woman and his wife be displeased and wish to be separated she may apply to the Governor who shall grant a divorce and they shall be separated. If the wife wish to leave him and marry again she may but the guilty husband shall not be at liberty to marry again until the death of his first wife.<sup>21</sup>

This law was reworded in 1835 in the following form:

And if the husband of the adulterous wife, or wife of the adulterous husband desires to be separated for life on account of disgust arising from frequent adultery and bad conduct, let a bill of divorcement be given and let them separate; but the adulterous person shall by no means marry again till the death of the party forsaken.<sup>22</sup>

The grounds for divorce were enlarged in 1840. The new law permitted a woman to apply to the Governor for permission to remarry if her husband sailed away and was not heard from for four years or longer; if he returned, however, "...the new husband must be put away." Banishment to another island for a period of four years or more made a man "legally dead" and gave his wife the opportunity to apply for permission to remarry. An attempt on the life of one partner by the other was likewise grounds for divorce; only the intended victim could remarry. Adultery was accepted as grounds only if one partner was convicted of the offense and the other was "of unblemished character."<sup>23</sup>

The divorce law was revised again by the Statute Laws of 1845-1846. Grounds were limited to adultery, although the Governor could award a legal separation for habitual ill treatment, habitual drunkenness, and non-support.<sup>24</sup> In 1853, however, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court wrote that "...the statute of 1846 has not been fully understood or acted upon, a great number of divorces having been granted for causes other than adultery; and until within the last year, if not up to the present day, the Governors have been guided by the law of 1840."<sup>25</sup>

The law was accordingly rewritten. On November 2, 1853, jurisdiction was transferred from the Governors to the Courts, and desertion or imprisonment over five years as well as adultery were accepted as legal grounds for divorce. The guilty partner still could not remarry until the death of the innocent one.<sup>26</sup> This last provision was tempered in 1859<sup>27</sup> and abolished entirely in 1866.<sup>28</sup>

Grounds were further liberalized in 1870.<sup>29</sup> Thereafter Hawaii residents faced far fewer restrictions on marriage, divorce, and remarriage.

## NOTES

1. The 1965 law (Session Laws of Hawaii, 1965, Act 52, approved May 8, 1965) is summarized in the following articles in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin: "Divorce Law Changes Approved by Senate," April 27, 1965; "Pending Bill Sparks Rush for Divorce," May 4, 1965; "48 Divorces Granted; Deadline Near," May 8, 1965; "Divorce Boom Fades in State," May 12, 1965.
2. Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 46. See also Sheldon Dibble, History of the Sandwich Islands (Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary, 1843), p. 240, and First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1853), p. 113.
3. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XIX, No. 9, September, 1823, p. 282, and Hiram Bingham, Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, 3rd edition (Canandaigua, N.Y.: H.D. Goodwin, 1855), pp. 166-167.
4. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV, No. 2, February, 1829, p. 53.
5. Ibid.
6. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXIV, No. 9, September, 1828, p. 275.
7. The First Laws of the Hawaiian Islands. Issued from Time to Time, and Compiled and Published in 1842, Chapter X, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., The Fundamental Law of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1904), p. 45. Kaahumanu was kuhina-nui of the Kingdom; she died on June 5, 1832.
8. Typed translation in files of the Archives of Hawaii. Also filed in the Archives is the original printed document, No Ka Moe Kolohe (Oahu: September 21, 1829). See also the untitled broadside (sometimes called the "Cow Proclamation") dated Oahu, October 7, 1829, also filed in the Archives. The English version of the latter is quoted in full in C.S. Stewart, A Visit to the South Seas..., Vol. II (New York: John P. Haven, 1831), p. 154.
9. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, March, 1832, p. 74.
10. Sheldon Dibble, loc. cit.
11. The Missionary Herald, Vol. XXV, No. 2, February, 1829, p. 53.
12. The First Laws..., Chapter X, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., op. cit., p. 49.
13. No Ka Moe Kolohe, op. cit. (reference 8).
14. Hiram Bingham, op. cit., pp. 474-475.
15. The First Laws..., Chapter VII, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., op. cit., pp. 41-42.
16. Ibid., Chapter LII, p. 131.
17. Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands...1850, "An Act to Amend the Existing Law of Marriage," p. 153.
18. Appendix. Extracts from the Minutes of a General Meeting Held at Kailua, Sept. 1826, p. 42.
19. Extracts from the Minutes of a General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Held at Honolulu, June 1831, p. 16.
20. First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1853), p. 113; The First Laws..., Chapter X, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., op. cit., p. 45.

21. No Ka Moe Kolohe, *op. cit.* (reference 8).
22. Laws of the Sandwich Islands, by Kauikeaouli, the King (Oahu; Mission Press, 1835), Sect. 3, p. 6. The Hawaiian version appeared a year earlier: He Olelo No Na Kanawai, O Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina... (Oahu: Mea Pai Palapala a No Misionari, 1834), pp. 8-9. See also W.F. Frear, "Hawaiian Statute Law," Thirteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1906), pp. 31-32; W.D. Westervelt, "Hawaiian Printed Laws Before the Constitution," Sixteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society and Papers for the Year Ending December 31st, 1908, pp. 48-49; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1938), pp. 136-137.
23. The First Laws...., Chapter X, in Lorrin A. Thurston, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.
24. Statute Laws...1845 and 1846, Vol. I, Chapter IV, Art. II, Sect. I, p. 62.
25. First Annual Report of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1853), p. 113.
26. Laws...1853, "An Act Relating to Divorces," pp. 58-62.
27. The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands...1859, Sect. 1334. See also Sect. 1323.
28. Laws...1866-1867, "An Act to Permit Divorced Persons to Marry Again," pp. 3-4. Approved May 24, 1866.
29. Laws...1870, Chapter XVI. Approved July 18, 1870. Chapter X of the 1870 laws (approved July 8, 1870) repealed the 1866 act (reference 28) and established a one-year waiting period. The 1866 act was later re-enacted (Laws...1874, Chapter LI, and Laws...1876, Chapter XLVIII).

## THE ROYAL SLIDE AT KEAUKOU, KONA, HAWAII

by

Lloyd Soehren

On March 20, 1964, the great holua slide above Keauhou Bay in North Kona, Hawaii, was dedicated as a Registered National Historical Landmark. Recent research into the all too scanty history of this monumental sledding track has produced several items of interest. Although most of them derive from single sources, largely secondary, which so far cannot be confirmed, they are still credible and are here summarized.

The slide itself is by far the largest existing in the islands today, if not the largest ever constructed. It is presently over 3,000 feet long but was undoubtedly much longer originally. The lower end has long since been destroyed, largely to provide building material for nearby stone fences, and the exact extent is unknown. The structure is built up as much as fifteen feet high in some places, and varies greatly in width from thirty to perhaps sixty feet over its course. Its upper end is estimated to be ninety feet wide. Save for its immense size, it is typical of built-up slides, such as those at City of Refuge National Historical Park and Puu Hinahina, South Kona. According to Malo<sup>1</sup> the surface of such slides was covered with hard packed dirt and then with a layer of grass.<sup>2</sup> Midday was said to be the best time for sliding, for the heat of the sun made the grass slippery.<sup>3</sup>

Such a tremendous structure could have been erected only by a powerful and wealthy chief. According to the Rev. A.S. Baker<sup>4</sup> it was built by Kamehameha for his son Kauikeaouli, born to Keopuolani at nearby Keauhou Bay in 1814.<sup>5</sup> At that time, Kamehameha was at the height of his power and well able to undertake such a project,

which would enhance his own prestige as well as his son's. The circumstances of Kauikeaouli's birth might well have inspired a monument of such magnitude: The apparently stillborn infant was brought to life by the priest Kapihe.

While Kamakau notes no such connection, he does refer to the slide of Kaneaka (Ka holua o Kaneaka) at Keauhou<sup>6</sup>. This is the only known reference to a name for the slide. Whether it applies to the slide itself or to a land division (perhaps an 'ili) on which it stands is uncertain. The name is not recorded in the Mahele records, nor does it appear on any of the early maps of the area.

Another name associated with the slide is that of the hill at which it commences. This hill is called Pu'u-o-Kaomi-la'o (Hill-with-compressed-sugar-cane-leaves), perhaps descriptive of the covering of the slide, by Henry Kekahuna.<sup>7</sup> Kaomi was the name of the successor to John Papa Ii as administrator of Kauikeaouli's household.<sup>8</sup> Whether there is any relationship between the name of the person and the name of the hill is unknown. As in the case of the name Kaneaka for the slide, no confirmation has yet been found for Kekahuna's statement, although it is fully credible.

Kekahuna has also recorded that formerly there was a kind of watch-tower ('i-maka, from 'ike-ka-maka) near He'eia Bay from which signals were given for the simultaneous beginning of sled riding and surf riding contests. At He'eia is the surf called Ka-ulu (the growth, or the inspiration) commemorated in the song, "He'eia", composed for Kalakaua. Both sports were enjoyed by the ali'i, and such an arrangement would appeal to their love of competitive sports. Too, a sled ride was commonly followed by a ride on the surf.<sup>9</sup>

The credibility of this story is augmented by contrasting it with a commonly-heard statement that the great slide terminated at Keauhou Bay, and that the contestants rode their sleds into the water. Such a claim is manifestly absurd for several reasons. First, the slide itself, although the terminus has been destroyed, is clearly directed toward He'eia Bay, not toward Keauhou Bay. This can be seen on aerial photographs and also on the United States Geological Survey topographic map.<sup>10</sup> Second, the object of the sled riding was to make the greatest distance. Were all contestants to terminate their ride, after sailing over the cliff at the head of Keauhou Bay, in a great splash, no one would outdistance another, and therefore no one would win over another. The common practice of placing bets on the outcome of the contest would also be rendered fruitless. Third, the chiefs of Hawaii were not otters.

Such a fable might conceivably have arisen from faded memories or the garbling of tradition handed down over the generations since Keauhou was a royal abode. That it is only a fable has been demonstrated above, I hope conclusively.

## NOTES

1. David Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities (Honolulu: 1951), p. 224.
2. See also Abraham Fornander, Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore, Vol. VI, No. 1 (Honolulu: 1919), p. 198 and S.M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu: 1961), p. 243.
3. Fornander, p. 198 and Kamakau, p. 243.
4. Rev. A.S. Baker, "How to Spend a Day in Kona," Paradise of the Pacific, July, 1921, p. 23.
5. Kamakau, p. 260.
6. Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a, December 28, 1868. In Kamakau, p. 242, ka holua o Kaneaka is translated "the slide at Kaneaka".
7. Unpublished notes in the Bishop Museum.

8. John Papa Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History (Honolulu: 1959), p. 147.
9. Mary K. Pukui, personal communication, April 16, 1964.
10. Kealakekua quadrangle, 1960 edition.

## KAHUNA LAPA'AU

by

Larry Kimura

In the annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for 1944, Dr. Nils P. Larsen in his article, "Medical Art in Ancient Hawaii," wrote: "Hawaiians were taught by foreign teachers to look with horror on much of Hawaiian culture. Few people will ever believe that there could be anything intelligent in the old heathen culture. How can we develop more tolerance?"<sup>1</sup> An aspect of Hawaiian culture treated abusively today is Kahunaism. Most people are ignorant of the importance of the Kahuna to ancient Hawaiians. The word Kahuna is often--but incorrectly--associated with trickery, mental suggestion, and black magic. But a Kahuna was an expert in his field, a professional.<sup>2</sup> Did he pray people to death? Did he heal the sick? In either case he played a central role in Hawaiian society.<sup>3</sup>

The most highly respected Kahuna was the Kahuna Lapa'au, a medical priest with a pharmacopoeia of hundreds of prescriptions made up from herbs.<sup>4</sup> Science today is investigating his ancient skills. It may be that some of the herbs he employed have modern applications, as do many plants used in antiquity.<sup>5</sup>

I know through experience that the ancient skills of the Kahuna Lapa'au can be applied effectively today. I broke my left arm just below the elbow when I fell from a horse. X-rays showed that the two broken ends of the bone threatened to pierce my flesh. After anesthesia I found myself lying on a bed with a cast all the way up my arm. The cast remained there for some five months. When it was removed, the doctors discovered that the bones had set unevenly, causing an unnatural curve in my arm. I then visited a well-known Hawaiian physician, or Kahuna Lapa'au. He diagnosed the trouble by just touching and feeling the fractured area. Placing my arm in what seemed to be a wrestler's hold, he broke the fracture again and reset the bones. Next, a herbaceous poultice was applied to the area and bandaged; then my arm was put in a sling. Throughout this whole procedure I felt very little pain. I visited the Kahuna once a week for six weeks to have the poultice changed. On the sixth visit he told me that my bones had healed correctly, and his treatment was over. Today my forearm looks as natural as before the fracture; this was made possible without the aid of X-rays and other modern medical techniques.

Before designating a child for training as a Kahuna Lapa'au, Hawaiian parents carefully studied the youngster's behavior. If a child showed great sympathy in any situation of distress, whether in comforting a crying baby or trying to soothe his parents when they seemed upset, he was regarded as having the "healing spirit". Then perhaps the parents would send their child to the best Kahuna Lapa'au of their community. If after a couple of weeks the Kahuna also felt that the youngster had the right spirit to become a healer, he would so inform the parents. The child would then live with the Kahuna and learn about medicinal plants and how to prepare them.<sup>6</sup> The symptoms of each disease, the methods of treatment, and the results to expect were carefully taught. The island where each disease originated was also taught, e.g., it had appeared at this particular place on Niihau, and such were the sacrifices and prayers to offer when addressing the gods. Appropriate clothing had to be



worn when treating the disease, and the proper remedy learned and applied. Also, the names of the gods of healing, from remote times, were to be memorized.<sup>7</sup> Ma'i Ola (life bringer) was the special god of the medical profession. Kahunas also prayed to female deities: Kauka Ho'ola Ma'i (healer) and Ka Pu Alaka'i (leading force). Another god was Kamiki, or swift one. One finds different names of the many deities on each island.<sup>8</sup> After the Hawaiian medical student had become--in his tutor's opinion--a qualified Kahuna Lapa'au, the young doctor was sent out to practice on his own.<sup>9</sup>

Treatment of a patient began with a diagnosis of his ailment. The chief method of diagnosis was exploring the symptoms by touch. The Kahuna usually started with the digestive tract, because before the arrival of foreign diseases many of the native disorders affected this region. Another method consisted of merely looking at the patient. We still have doctors who have this uncanny eye and who need neither the help of a careful examination, nor X-rays, nor laboratory reports to make a diagnosis.<sup>10</sup> If the ailment involved in any way the digestive organs, certain foods were then forbidden, as the Kahuna saw fit, and after the patient had agreed to this restriction and any others, the Kahuna applied his treatment.

The process of treating a patient was always accompanied by certain prayers and sacrifices to the proper deities. If the cause of the disorder could not be found by physical examination, the Kahuna turned to divination in search of a possible supernatural cause. Doctors today would probably assign a psychological cause and give the patient sugar pills, but among the Kahuna Lapa'au, prayers to the gods and an analogy of the patient revealed the problem. Then the Kahuna would give his client psychological advice. This whole act of divination on the part of the Kahuna was just as effective as sugar pills are today.<sup>11</sup>

Remedies were given with some relation to five. The Kahuna might prescribe a remedy to be taken five times a day, or once a day for five days, and so on. The use of the number five is probably the result of keen observation, since star fish have markings of five, many flowers have five petals, and the number five is significant in other forms of nature. It seemed logical that if the gods used five in nature, then man should.<sup>12</sup> The position of the body was also important, especially when drinking a cure which affected the digestive system. Five basic positions were assumed in the following order each time the patient took his remedy: Lying on the stomach, lying on the left side, lying on the right side, lying on the back, and standing upright.<sup>13</sup>

The skills of the ancient Kahuna Lapa'au were effective, and many of their medicinal applications still make sense.<sup>14</sup> Doctors Larsen and Tahbra, who have done extensive research on ancient Hawaiian medicine, would agree that what little Hawaiian medicine is used today produces successful results.

Soon after Cook's discovery of these islands in 1778, foreign diseases killed thousands of Hawaiians. The population dropped from an estimated 300,000 in 1778 to 134,750 in 1823, just forty-five years later. In 1900 the Hawaiian population was down to 28,718.<sup>15</sup> The medical lore of ancient Hawaii proved to be an insufficient defense against the onslaught of alien diseases. And Western medicine for Western diseases came to the islands slowly. In 1820 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the islands their first nine missionary doctors. Gradually foreign doctors dominated Hawaii's medical field.<sup>16</sup>

The ancient medical skills and knowledge of the Kahuna Lapa'au are now dead. They cannot be revived, but deserve a kinder fate than oblivion.

#### NOTES

1. The Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the

- Year 1944 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Printing Co., Ltd., 1946), p. 28.
2. Francis John Halford, 9 Doctors and God (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1954), pp. 3-11.
  3. D.J. Whitney, "Kahuna Tales from Hawaii," Paradise of the Pacific, May, 1930, pp. 4-9.
  4. Clarice B. Taylor, Hawaiian Almanac (Honolulu: Tongg Publishing Co., Ltd., 1960), p. 47.
  5. "Kahuna Medicine," The Hawaii Tribune Herald, April 4, 1965, sec. 2, p. 6.
  6. Nils P. Larsen, "Ancient Medical Lore of Hawaii," Paradise of the Pacific, 1961 Holiday Annual, pp. 22-24.
  7. John Papa Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959), pp. 46-48.
  8. Halford, p. 6.
  9. Larsen, "Ancient Medical Lore," pp. 73, 74.
  10. Edwin H. Bryan, Ancient Hawaiian Life (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1938), p. 57.
  11. Ibid., p. 58.
  12. Larsen, "Medical Art," pp. 30-44.
  13. Person who wishes to remain anonymous, interviewed by Larry Kimura at Waimea, Hawaii, at 1:00 p.m., April 28, 1965.
  14. Larsen, "Medical Art," pp. 40-44.
  15. Halford, p. 271.
  16. Ibid., p. 295.

## LAHAINALUNA PRINTING

by

Larry Windley

The idea of printing in the Hawaiian Islands was evidently conceived even before the missionaries left Boston, for in the first missionary company was a printer, Mr. Elisha Loomis, and a press. "The first printing press at the Hawaiian Islands was imported by the American missionaries, and landed from the brig Thaddeus, at Honolulu, in April, 1820. It was not unlike the first used by Benjamin Franklin, and was set up in a thatched house standing a few fathoms from the old mission frame house, but was not put in operation until the afternoon of January 7, 1822."<sup>1</sup> "The sheet printed was the first 8 pages of a Hawaiian spelling book. The number of copies was 500."<sup>2</sup> From 1822 to 1834 all the printing for the Hawaiian Islands was done in Honolulu. From 1822 to 1827, under the supervision of Mr. Loomis, the printing office, with its badly worn press and limited type, confined itself to printing elementary lessons in Hawaiian, decrees of the King and chiefs, and small jobs for various ship captains and merchants. The eleventh item printed by the Honolulu press, according to Mr. Howard M. Ballou, was "...a handbill prepared by Captains Clasby and Paddock for those masters and officers of ships who were ready to agree to prohibit females from visiting their ships for the purpose of prostitution. It was signed by the masters and officers of four whaling ships lying at Lahaina, viz., the Hydaspes, the Thames, the Enterprise, and the Aurora."<sup>3</sup>

In January, 1827, Mr. Loomis left the Hawaiian Islands because of bad health and also in order that he might publish some of the translated Bible in America, as the small press in Honolulu could not do the heavy printing. The supervision of the

printing press was left to Mr. Bingham and the various Hawaiians that Mr. Loomis had taught. In March, 1828, Mr. Stephen Shepard, who had volunteered his services as a printer, arrived with the third company of missionaries and brought with him from Boston the second press with additional type and supplies.

We have set up the press brought out by the Parthian, & have worked of /sic/ one form of twelves upon it. We find it to be an old press, but does passible /sic/ work. It is of a small size, and of insufficient power, although much superior to the old one--We have two presses, such as they are, & should be able to use 600 or 700 Reams of paper a year...<sup>4</sup>

The second press was shortly found to be inadequate, due to an increasing demand for the palapala (writing of any kind). This sudden increase was brought about by the steady persistence of the missionaries in teaching the Hawaiians to read their own language, the eagerness of the natives to learn to read, and the establishment of books as a form of currency by the missionaries. The latter was brought about by a regulation made at the General Meeting of 1828, whereby the missionaries were permitted to sell books for cash or to barter them for services from the natives. Previously to this the missionaries had had only cloth as a means of barter to entice the Hawaiians to work for them.

Therefore, no sooner had the second press been set up and put into operation than a third was requested by the Hawaiian missionaries. At the time of this request Mr. Shepard said, "If the Committee decide to send an iron press for the printing of the Scriptures, one of the presses now here might be sent windward."<sup>5</sup> With the arrival of the Wells printing press in 1832 (the two previous ones were Ramage presses of different sizes), the printing of books and more complicated matter was done in greater abundance.

It was probably this heavy printing demand that did not allow the contemplated move of a press to an outside island right away.

The High School at Lahainaluna had been established and the demands for printed material for this school made it very evident that the new printing office should be located at Lahainaluna. The directors of the High School made the following recommendation in 1833:

The Directors recommend that the principal devote special attention to the subject of preparing studies, availing himself of the aid of his best pupils both in arranging and communicating them, & that the missionaries, who are able, wherever they are stationed, hold themselves in readiness at the request of the Principal to assist in preparing books, tracts, maps, drawing & other means of improvement for the benefit of the school, and that on the arrival of another press for the Mission one of the Ramage Presses now at the office be sent to the High School and put in working order with a small font of type which may be the most conveniently spared sufficient at least for one form to facilitate the preparation of studies, books, tracts, handbills, cards, diagrams &c. particularly for striking off proofs, schedules, &c. for the immediate use of the classes, it being understood that copies of such productions as are likely to be more generally useful shall be sent up to the printing committee of the mission to be printed at discretion for the benefit of select, station & other schools in the islands.<sup>6</sup>

The students of Lahainaluna were at first selected from among those who had shown the most promise in the lower schools, and the primary purpose of teaching them was that they in turn might go out and teach others. After teaching during the first three years at Lahainaluna, Mr. Andrews, the Principal and founder, had this to say in regard to the lack of school books: "It is the opinion of the principal

that four months out of ten have been lost to the scholars for want of books. For want of books the scholars cannot study out of school, and if the school hours be lengthened the principal has no time for the preparation of proper studies of the school, much less to prepare books."<sup>7</sup>

In August of 1833 a building was started to house the press due to arrive from Honolulu. "In December, the press had arrived with types paper &c though the building for the office was not finished nor my own home nor study."<sup>8</sup> "About the middle of January a native printer arrived from Oahu & commenced unpacking the type & putting them in the cases though the office was not yet finished. About the 22 of Jan. the office was finished & on the 23 the press was set up."<sup>9</sup>

The first book put to press was a translation of Worcester's Scripture Geography....On the third of February the first sheet of the Geography was worked off. We soon found our press to be a poor one. Our types also were of two kinds mixed together some longer than others & which did not know until the experiment taught us. By separating however we made better work afterwards. Several of the scholars expressed a desire to work in the office which they were allowed to do after they had made themselves printing sticks, for we had but one iron one in the office for several months, and even now we have not a supply. For the first six weeks or two months we did all our press work even the News paper without a frisket.

The office, though exceedingly beneficial to the school, brought with it a host of cares that lay heavily upon me. Though I had worked considerable in a printing office at different times in former years, yet I never supposed that I understood the business. I never served an apprenticeship I had never even made up a form. I had worked only as a compositor & press man. Hence I felt very awkward for I soon discovered that our Hawaiian printer knew much more of the business in detail than I did, I found it good exercise however to work the press which I did for several hours twice a week at least.<sup>10</sup>

NOTE: Following is a rough list of the works printed at Lahainaluna from 1834 to 1846. Months of specialized research would be required to make it complete and accurate. It is meant to serve as a working list and as a basis for further research. Numbers given are for documentation and do not necessarily denote the order in which they were printed.

L.1 Worcester's Scripture Geography. He hoikehonua no ka palapala hemolele, he mea ia e akaka'i ke ano o na wahi i haia mai ai ma ka olelo a ke Akua. January, 1834. 99pp. 16mo. 200 copies. Trans. by Thurston. /A geography of the Bible, giving explanations concerning the places which are mentioned in the Word of God./

L.2 Bible Class Book by Abbott & Fisk, Vol. I. He mau haawina no ka palapala hemolele. 1834. 100pp. 16mo. 200 copies. Trans. by L. Andrews. /Lessons on Holy Writ./

L.3 Ka Lama Hawaii. 1834 (February 14 to September 26; December 5 to December 26; weekly). Each 4pp. Woodcuts. Quarto. 200 copies. Edited by Andrews. Bound as a book in January, 1835--100pp. /The Hawaiian Luminary./

On the fourteenth of February we published the first Hawaiian Newspaper ever printed at the Sandwich Islands. Of the style in which it was got up I say nothing as we had but one sort of type & those had once been so much worn out as to be thrown aside, as had also our press. We called the paper, Ka Lama Hawaii, that is, the Hawaiian Luminary.

Its object was, first, to give the scholars of the High School the idea of a Newspaper--to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical. Secondly, to communicate to

them ideas on many subjects directly & indirectly, such as we should not put into sermons nor into books written formally for the nation. Thirdly, it was designed as a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose. The last page has been almost exclusively devoted to their use. Previously to this they had commenced writing composition as a regular exercise in school. The paper has thus far been exceedingly interesting to the scholars. They have read it with avidity & such parts as were designed for that purpose have been recited as other school books. The cuts were engraved on wood as also the title by Dr. Chapin. It was designed merely for the school & has not been extensively circulated beyond it.<sup>11</sup>

Later Andrews wrote:

The Lama Hawaii was continued for the most part regularly from July 25th to December 25th making eleven numbers [in addition to fourteen already printed.]<sup>7</sup> It was then with reluctance on the part of the Principal and the scholars discontinued. The circumstances of the school however, and the want of means in the office, rendering such a step necessary, were, the great & increasing want of books, the preparation and printing of which required all the time & means that could be devoted to it. The want of means consisted in the fewness of types in the office; far too few for conducting a weekly periodical together with the printing of necessary books.<sup>12</sup>

The list of works printed continues:

L.4 Constitution of Marine Temperance Society, and other handbills. 1834. 4pp. 200 copies.

L.5 Geometry. Ke anahonua. Oia ka mea e ike ai. Ke kumu o ke ana aina a me ka holo moku. He mea ia e pono ai ke kulanui. 1834. 122pp. 45pp. woodcuts, copper plates. 8vo. 1500 copies. By L. Andrews. /Geometry. Teaching the principles of surveying and of navigation. Useful for the High School./ The first 48 and then the first 64 pages were bound and issued prior to the completion of the whole work. Half pages are inserted opposite pages 67 and 75. A preliminary edition of 200 copies of the first form of 8 pages was printed prior to the annual meeting in June, 1834.

L.6 Natural History of Animals (translated from Comstock). He moolelo no na holoholona wawae eha. He olelo ia e hookaka'i i ke ano o na holoholona eha wawae, a me ko lakou wahi noho ai, a me ka lakou hana ana. Ua pai pu ia na kii o na holoholona a pau i hoakakaia o ke kii kekahi mea e akaka loa ai ke ano. 1834. 192pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. Translated by Richards. /A History of the Quadrupeds. An essay on quadrupeds, their dwelling places and their habits. The pictures of all the animals spoken of, are printed with the text; a picture is of much assistance to explain the meaning./

L.7 Index to Holy Writ. He kuhikuhi no ka palapala hemolele; he mea ia e pono ai na haumana o na kula Sabati. 1834. 6lpp. 8vo. 200 copies. /Index to Holy Writ. Useful for Pupils of the Sunday School./

L.8 Huliano (Union Questions), Vol. I. O ka huliano, he olelo niele no ia e hoakaka ai ke ano o ka palapala hemolele. He mea ia e pono ai na kula Sabati. Buke i No ke moolelo no Iesu a me kana mau hana mana. 1835. 156pp. 16mo. 1200 copies. Translated by Dibble. /Searching into the meaning. Questions explaining the meaning of Holy Writ. Useful for Sunday Schools. Vol. I. The Story of Jesus and His Miracles./

L.9 Ikemua (First Reading Book for Children). O ka ikemua, he palapala ia e ao aku ai i na kamalii i ka heluhelu ana a me ke ano no hoi o na olelo a lakou e heluhelu ai. 1835. 12mo. 48pp. 1000 copies. Translated by Dibble; cuts

engraved by Dr. Chapin. First lessons, teaching the children reading and the meaning also of the words read.

L.10 Nehemia. O ka palapala a Nehemia. 1835. 31pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. Translated by Dibble. The Book of Nehemiah.

L.11 Mooolelo Ekalesia (Church History). Ka mooolelo no ka ekalesia o Iesu Kristo. Ko lakou Haku e ola'i; mai ka wa o ko Iesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou, i ka makahiki o ka Haku. 1835. 95pp. 12mo. 500 copies. By J.S. Green. History of the church of Jesus Christ. Our Savior's deliverance. From the birth of Jesus down to the present year of our Lord 1835.

L.12 No ka La Sabati (On the Sabbath). No ka la Sabati. Ua hanaia ka Sabati no ke kanaka. Na Iesu Kristo. 1835. 12pp. 12mo. 500 copies. By J.S. Green. On the Sabbath. The Sabbath was made for man by Jesus Christ.

L.13 Haiao (Sermons 1-8). 1835. 64pp. 500 copies.

L.14 Hoikeholoholona (History of Animals). He hoikeholoholona na na kamalii. 1835. 84pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. By Dibble. Stories about animals for children.

L.15 Scripture Geography. O ka hoikehonua, no ka palapala hemolele. 1835. 84pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. By Dibble. Geography of the Holy Scriptures.

L.16 Laws of the High School (in Hawaiian & English). 1835. 24pp. 12mo. 400 copies.

L.17 Esther. Ka mooolelo no Esetera. 1835. 16pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. Translated by Richards. The history of Esther.

L.18 Sermons. 1835. 80pp. 12mo. 500 copies.

L.19 Ka Hoikehonua a me Palapala aina. 1835. 216pp. By L. Andrews. Geography and Atlas.

L.20 Directions for writing. Ke Kakaulima he mea ia e pono ai na kula. 1835. 4 pp. 12mo. 500 copies. Permanship, a publication for the good of the schools.

L.21 Scripture Questions. 1836. 64pp. 16mo. 1200 copies.

L.22 II Chronicles. Oihanaalii II. 1836. 72pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. Translated by Green.

L.23 Ecclesiastes & Solomon's Song. Kekahuna. Ka mele a Solomona. 1836. 28pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. Translated by Green.

L.24 Proverbs. Na olelo akamai a Solomona. 1836. 64pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. By L. Andrews.

L.25 A vocabulary of words in the Hawaiian language. 1836. 132pp. 8vo. 1000 copies. By L. Andrews.

L.26 Isaiah and part of Jeremiah. Ka wanana a Isaia. Ka wanana a Yerima. 1836-1838. 228 pp. 12mo. 1000 copies. By Richards.

L.27 Constitution of Maternal Association. 1835-1836. 4pp. 12mo. 50 copies.

L.28 Sermons. 1836. 144pp. 12mo. 500 copies.

L.29 Palapala Aina. 1836. 9pp. 8vo. 3d. ed. By L. Andrews. Atlas of colored maps.

L.30 Shipping List. 1835-1836. 1p. 4to. 400 copies.

L.31 Circular of Shipmasters. 1835-1836. 1p. 4to. 100 copies.

L.32 He papainoa no na Kahu, a me na Kumu, a me na haumana o ke Kulanui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1836. 4pp. Names of the trustees, teachers and scholars of the High School of Hawaii in Lahainaluna, Maui.

The minutes of the general meetings for 1835 noted that "...a second hand Ramage Press was received and set up in July last [1834] by Mr. Rogers."<sup>13</sup> It is not clear to the writer of this paper whether this press was one of the two original Ramage presses or a newly acquired one. In June of 1835 there was still a Ramage press at Honolulu used as a proof press.

All the printing before June of 1835 was done under the direction of the teacher at Lahainaluna (who knew little about how to operate the press) and a Hawaiian printer trained in Honolulu.

"At the General Meeting in June, 1835, Mr. E.H. Rogers was located at Lahainaluna to take charge of the printing office..."<sup>14</sup> With the arrival of a full-time printer and the expansion of the printing and engraving work, it became evident that the temporary building that the presses were in was much too small, and in July Mr. E. Clark wrote to Chamberlain, "If we can do anything more this year after putting up the school house, we shall probably begin upon a printing office."<sup>15</sup>

Due to the great amount of building being done at Lahainaluna and Lahaina, the printing office did not get started for some eighteen months. At the General Meeting of the missionaries in June of 1836 it was decided: "4. That the Printing Office at Lahainaluna be regarded as a new establishment of the mission; and that its expenses be placed to the printing department of the mission. 5. That in printing works of general interest at that press, the editions be so large as to supply, in some measure, the immediate wants of the several stations."<sup>16</sup> It would seem by this that a printing establishment at least comparable to that in Honolulu was to be set up at Lahainaluna. More type and another press were received. "In regards to the Super royal press written for by the Gen. Glover, I would say, that upon farther consideration and consultation with Mr. Rogers, who received one last spring..."<sup>17</sup> To house this more elaborate printing establishment, the "Hale Pai" printing office was started in January, 1837.

"A building for engraving, printing &c which we are just commencing will cost a considerable sum. We must have more buildings also for our school before long if we continue to take boys...Our building expenses will stand high this year even without the office."<sup>18</sup> The brethren at Honolulu seemed to think that the Honolulu printing office was elaborate enough and that a second printing establishment was not called for, to which Mr. Clark replied:

We feel somewhat embarrassed by your letter, & the report which Mr. Burnham brings from Oahu. If all the brethren on Oahu were united in the opinion that it is not best to go on with the office &c, we ought perhaps to stop until we can get the voice of the mission again expressed in view of present circumstances. This I have proposed, but there are difficulties in the way. The work is commenced & all things are ready to go on with the work.

With regard to the plan of the house, I am fully satisfied that it is a judicious & economical plan considering the business to be carried on in the house. I understood Mr. Andrews request at the Gen. Meeting, to be for permanent accommodations for carrying on engraving, & from the vote of the mission, I supposed they were so far satisfied with the experiment as to think it expedient to carry on the business permently [sic] just as much as we do our printing. If the mission have now altered their opinion, we, of course, must alter our plans. But how shall we know? It seems from Mr. Burnham's statement that some, if not all, of the brethren on Oahu have altered their minds. But it seems to me they have done it with a very partial knowledge of the subject. I have not the least suspicion that the Board or the Mission will think it best to give up the business of engraving when the subject is fairly presented before them. If the business is to be carried on, we must have rooms to do it in. I am satisfied the plan we fixed upon is the best we can adopt for a permanent arrangement, or for successfully carrying on the business. You estimate the expense I think too high. The whole building can not, I think, cost over \$2000. In that case

not more than \$500 should be charged to the engraving as the expenses of the building will not be increased more than that amount by the addition of the rooms for engraving.

Besides Mr. Rogers said when the plan was made out, that he should probably want the whole building for printing & binding in a few years, & he has proposed once or twice to have it enlarged ever since the walls were commenced. He has only 36 feet by 18 in which to carry on the type setting & press work, & the same room below for the folding, binding & storing paper &c. This is little room enough, if we do no more work than we have done for a year or two past. But however well satisfied we may be with regard to going on with the office &c, we should not wish to do it in opposition to the voice of the mission. The office &c is not for ourselves, but for the mission....

Mr. Clark writes on about adhering to rule of economy, then continues: ...Mr. Burnham says you thought the lumber &c for the office should come out of the grant to the High School. I suppose that is settled by the resolution of the mission recorded on page 7th of the last minutes [sic]. It is the printing committee here that consult & direct about building the office, & not the High School Committee. But enough on this subject.<sup>19</sup>

The building went on. Clark to Chamberlain, March 24, 1837: "Our other buildings covered with ti leaf do well. We hope to save most of the ti leaf for the printing office so that there will not be very much waste."<sup>20</sup>

In a list of the expenses of Lahainaluna, ending May 1, 1837, the following was noted: "Building for printing office & bindery up to May 1, 1837 \$1,200."<sup>21</sup> In that same month "...the committee of superintendence of the High School would present the following recommendations in reference to future operations of the school, ...4. That \$1,000 be laid out, if necessary, in completing the printing office, bindery &c."<sup>22</sup>

In June of 1837 a circular arrived from Boston, telling of the financial recession in the United States and how the Mission must retrench and spend only about half the amount they had budgeted for the coming year. "The walls of an office for printing, binding and engraving, were also being put up when the circular arrived. The circular put a stop to the work of building, and very much crippled the operations of the seminary."<sup>23</sup>

This circular left the director of the high school in a quandary as to what to do. "...Shall we stop short with the printing office &c &c? It is now nearly covered, the glass is set, the floors are plained [sic] ready to lay down & the inside work is got out, doors made &c. You must tell us whether you will pay any bills from this time onward for that work.

"I am glad for one to have the Board tell us what we may do & what we may not do. Then the responsibility of not doing comes upon them & not upon us..."<sup>24</sup>

On August 30, 1837, a special meeting was held in the Seamen's Reading Room in Lahaina of the missionaries of the windward islands, and it was agreed, "...that the sum of \$100 be appropriated to finishing the printing office at Lahainaluna so far as to be occupied."<sup>25</sup>

The building was eventually finished in 1837, and the printing went on.

The list of works printed continues:

L.33 Geographical Questions (1st ed.). He wahi mau niele no ka palapala honua. 1837. 44pp. 12mo. 100 copies. By L. Andrews. /A certain collection of questions on geography./

L.34 Geographical Questions (2nd ed.). 1837. 44pp. 12mo. 1000 copies.



- L.35 Kumu kahiki. Ke kumu kahiki oia ka mea e ao ai i na hua a me ka hookui a me ka heluhelu ana i ka olelo Beritania. 1837. 36pp. 12mo. 500 copies. By L. Andrews. /The foreign primer designed to teach the letters and the spelling and the reading of the English language./
- L.36 Hawaiian English Grammar. He piliiolelo no ka olelo Beretania. 1837. 40pp. 8mo. 300 copies. By L. Andrews. /A grammar for the English language./
- L.37 For The Monthly Concert. /1836-1837./ 16pp. 12mo. 400 copies.
- L.38 Duty of the present generation to preach the gospel to the heathen. /1836-1837./ 12pp. 12mo. 400 copies.
- L.39 Christians guilty of the blood of the Heathen. /1836-1837./ 12pp. 12mo. 400 copies.
- L.40 I have a message from God to thee. /1836-1837./ 12pp. 12mo. 400 copies.
- L.41 Disobedience to the Savior's last command. /1836-1837./ 36pp. 12mo. 500 copies.
- L.42 Shipping List. /1836-1837./ 500 copies.
- L.43 Church covenant (in Hawaiian). 1837. 4pp. 12mo. 30 copies.
- L.44 Drawing. Palapala kakau kii. 1837. 36pp. 12mo. 100 copies. By L. Andrews.
- L.45 Biblical Chronology and History. O ka hoikemanawa a me ke kuhikuhi no ka moolelo hemolele. 1837. 216pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. By Dibble. /Chronology and index to Sacred History./
- L.46 Astronomy. O ke aohoku; oia ka mea e akaka'i ke ano a ka la a me ka honua, a me na hoku. 1837. 12pp. 12mo. 2000 copies. By E.W. Clark. /Astronomy: that is, an explanation of the nature of the sun, the earth and the stars./
- L.47 The Little Philosopher (by Abbott). O ke akeakamai no na kamalii. Oia ka mea i hoike mai i ke ano o na mea i ike makaia. 1837. 39pp. 12mo. 2000 copies. By E.W. Clark. /Philosophy for children. A thing which shows the meaning of common knowledge./
- L.48 Maps of Sacred Geography (2nd ed.). 1837. 6pp. By L. Andrews.
- L.49 He wahi manao kumu no na mea nui maloko o ka ke Akua Olelo. Na Davida Malo. 1837. 32pp. 32mo. 2000 copies. By David Malo. /Some instructions about the great things in the Word of God./
- L.50 Church covenant for Mr. Hitchcock. 1837. 16pp. 32mo. 200 copies.
- L.51 He papainoa no na kahu a me na kumu, a me na haumana o ke kulenui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1837. 4pp. 200 copies. /Names of the masters, teachers and scholars of the High School of Hawaii in Lahainaluna, Maui./
- L.52 Ke kanawai no ka hoole ana i ka Pope. December 18, 1837. 6pp. (Hawaiian and English; signed by Kamehameha III). /An ordinance rejecting the Catholic religion./
- L.53 Catalogue of Female Seminary. 1837. 100 copies.
- L.54 Algebra (by Colburn). He hoailona Helu. 1838. 44pp. 8mo. 500 copies. By Bishop.
- L.55 Matemateka. 1838. 168pp. 8mo. 1000 copies. By Clark, Armstrong, and Alexander. /Mathematics, embracing geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, surveying and navigation./
- L.56 Geography of the Bible (2nd ed.). O ka hoikehonua no ka palapala hemolele. 1838. 63pp. 12mo. 2000 copies. By Dibble.
- L.57 Hawaiian History. Ka moolelo Hawaii. I kakauia e kakahi mau haumana o ke kulenui, a i hooponoponoia e kekahi kumu o ia kula. 1838. 116pp. 12mo. 1500 copies. Revised by Dibble. /Hawaiian history. Written by certain of the pupils of the high school. Revised by a teacher of the school./

L.58 Church Covenant for Molokai. 1838-1839. 16pp. 32mo. 300 copies.

L.59 Tract on Experimental Religion. He mau ninau no ka poe e noonoo anaia lakou iho. 1838. 11pp. 12mo. 3000 copies. Some questions for people who meditate in themselves.

L.60 O ka hailoaa o ka hope o ka helunaau. No na kumu wale no keia palapala. 1838. 87pp. 32mo. Key to the Supplement of Mental Arithmetic. Designed for Teachers only.

L.61 O ke kuhikuhi no ka moolelo hemolele. 1838. 204pp. 12mo. Instruction concerning Sacred History.

L.62 O ke kumu kahakaha: oia ka mea e hoike ai i ke kaha kii ana. He mea ia e pono ai ke kulanui. 1838. 36pp. 12 plates. 12mo. 500 copies. By Andrews. The Master Engraver: showing how to draw pictures. Useful for the High School.

L.63 Harbor Laws (in Hawaiian). 1838. 4pp. 350 copies.

L.64 Gallaudets Mother's Primer (in English). 1838. 250 copies.

L.65 Instructions to Missionaries to Sandwich Islands. 1838. 250 copies.

L.66 Bible Class Book, Abbott & Fisk. Vol. II. He kuhikuhi no ka palapala hemolele no na mea e pono ai ke kanaka ke hana. Buke 2. 1839. 12mo. 35pp. 500 copies. Translated by Whitney? Directions of Holy Scripture concerning the right deeds of man.

L.67 Ka palapala honua no ka poepoe. Kalama Kepohoni i kakau. 1839. 11 5/8 x 19. The map of the globe, drawn by Kalama Kepohoni.

L.68 Questions on Geography. 1839. 14pp. 1000 copies.

L.69 Bible Class Book, Abbott & Fisk. Vol. III. He kuhikuhi no ka palapala hemolele; no na mea e pono ai ke kanaka ke hana. Buke 3. 1840. 40pp. 12mo. 100 copies. Translated by Whitney? Directions of Holy Scripture concerning the right deeds of man. 300 copies.

L.70 Circular of female seminary, Wailuku. 1840. 3pp. 4mo. Copper plate.

L.71 He mau palapala aina, a me na niele e pili ana. Ke poeroe. Hawaii. Ainamoana. Amerika akau. Amerika huipuaia. Amerika hema. Europa. Asia. Aferika. 1840. 14pp. 10 maps—copperplate engraving, hand-colored. 1000 copies. By Andrews. Maps and questions concerning the same. The sphere: Hawaii, ocean lands, North America, the U.S. America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa.

L.72 He mau palapala aina a me na niele no ka poikehonua no na kamalii. 1840. 16pp. 8 maps. 1000 copies. By Andrews. Maps engraved by Kapeau. Certain maps and geographical questions for children.

L.73 Sermon preached at Lahainaluna October 18th, 1839, on the death of Mr. Charles McDonald. 1840. 31pp. 8vo. By L. Andrews.

L.74 He ninau no ka palapala honua. 1840. 12pp. 13maps. 4vo. 1000 copies. By Andrews. Questions on the map.

L.75 He papainoa no na kahu, a me na kumu a me na haumana a ke kulanui o Hawaii nei, ma Lahainaluna i Maui. 1840. 4pp. 200 copies. A catalogue of trustees, teachers and pupils of the High School of Hawaii, at Lahainaluna, on Maui.

L.76 He papainoa no na kahu, a me na kumu a me na haumana o ke kula kaikamahine, ma Wailuku i Maui. 1840. 200 copies. 4pp? A catalogue of the trustees, teachers and pupils of the Girls' School at Wailuku on Maui.

L.77 Natural theology by T.H. Gallaudet. Hoike Akua. He palapala ia i hoike ana ma na mea i nanaia aia no he Akua, he mana loa kona a me ka ike kupanaha. 1840. 178pp. 13 copper plates. 500 copies. Translated by Dibble. Theology. A book showing from the creatures that there is a God, that He is almighty, and omniscient.

L.78 Kanawai hookapu i ka aihue. Kanawai hookapu i ka wawahi hale. September 10, 1840. 3pp. 200 copies. Law forbidding stealing. Law forbidding burglary.

- L.79 Laws about pasturing cattle at Maui. November 6, 1840. Broadside.  
100 copies.
- L.80 Laws regulating meeting of chiefs. 1840. 1p. 50 copies.
- L.81 Ka Lama Hawaii. January, 1841. 2 nos. 8pp. 500 copies.
- L.82 Catalogue of the Seminary. 1841. 300 copies.
- L.83 Moral Philosophy by Wayland. 1841. 12mo. 215pp. Translated by  
Armstrong.
- L.84 He mau haawina no ka olelo Beretania. 1841. 40pp. 200 copies. By L.  
Andrews. Lessons in the English language.
- L.85 Ka mooolelo no ka ekalesia o Iesu Kristo. Ko kakou haku e ola'i; mai ka  
wa o ko Iesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou i ka makahiki  
o ka haku 1841. 1841. 340pp. 2nd ed. 12mo. 2000 copies. By J.S. Green.  
History of the Church of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, from the time of his  
birth till the times we live in, in the year of Our Lord 1841.
- L.86 Keith's Study of the Globes. O ka huipoepoe he mea ia e ao ai i kekahi  
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- L.112 History of the Sandwich Islands--Dibble. 1843. 451pp. 12mo. 600 copies.
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- L.114 Na haawina mua o ka hoailona helu, a me ka anahonua, ka anahuinakolu, ka ana aina, a me kumu holohomoku. 1843. 160pp. 1000 copies. /First lessons in algebra, and geometry, trigonometry, surveying and navigation./ Note: Algebra translated from Bailey by A. Bishop.
- L.115 Notices of the Life, Character and Labors of the late Bartimeus L. Puaaiki, by J.S. Green. 1844.
- L.116 Ka papainoa o na kahu a me ka kumu, a me na haumana, o ke kulanui ma Lahainaluna. August, 1844. 4pp. /Catalogue of the trustees, teachers and pupils of the high school of Lahainaluna./
- L.117 Dictionary. He hoakakaolelo no na huaolelo Beritania i mea kokua i na kanaka Hawaii e ao ana ia olelo. 1845. 184pp. 8vo. 600 copies. /A dictionary of English words; something to assist the Hawaiians in learning that language./
- L.118 Ka hoailona helu. 1846. 158pp. Translated by Bishop. /Algebra by Bailey./

In 1843 the first paper money engraved in the Hawaiian Islands was printed at Lahainaluna. It was printed for the use of the High School and had hardly been circulated before it was counterfeited by two students at Lahainaluna who were caught and expelled from school. The design was changed and made more complicated and less susceptible to counterfeiting by Mr. Bailey, and in 1844, \$200 were printed for the Wailuku Seminary and \$450 for Lahainaluna (black printed for Lahainaluna and orange-red for Wailuku).

Denominations were:	3¢	3 keneta	
	6½¢	1/16 dollar	hapaumi
	12½¢	1/8 "	hapawalu
	25¢	1/4 "	hapaha
	50¢	1/2 "	hapalua
	\$1.00	1 "	hookahi dala

The money was printed on small, heavy paper squares measuring 1 3/8 x 1 1/16" in size.

In 1844, Mr. Andrews left Lahainaluna and the printing and engraving declined until these activities finally ceased in 1846. The report of the General Meeting, 1846 (Report of Lahainaluna Instructors) noted that "...Our press has stood still, most of the time since our last general meeting, having been employed to do little more than finish the English-Hawaiian Dictionary (compiled by Rev. Andrews). During this period a Lithographic press has come to hand--presented to the seminary by Mr. A.J. Stansbury of Washington City."

They recommended that all printing and binding be done at Honolulu. The Mission authorized the removal of the press at Lahainaluna in 1846. This was the end of printing until 1870, when another lithographic press was received by the instructors at the school in order to print several illustrations of natural philosophy; this work was completed that year.

## NOTES

1. Hawaiian Club Papers, October, 1868, p. 38.
2. S. Dibble, History of the Sandwich Islands (Lahainaluna, 1843), p. 179.
3. Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 14, p. 17.
4. Shepard to Everts, December 5, 1828. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Cited hereafter as HMCS.
5. Shepard to Everts, June 5, 1828. HMCS.
6. Report of the Directors of the High School, 1833, p. 9. In HMCS file, Schools--Lahainaluna Seminary, June, 1833.
7. Ibid., p. 6.
8. Andrews to Anderson, October 1, 1834, in Missionary Letters, Vol. 6, p. 1868. HMCS.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 1869.
11. Ibid.
12. Andrews, Report of the High School for the Year Ending in May 30th, 1835 (November 24, 1835), in Missionary Letters, Vol. 6, p. 1878.
13. Minutes of General Meetings, 1835, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.
14. S. Dibble, op. cit., p. 311.
15. Clark to Chamberlain, July 31, 1835. HMCS.
16. Minutes of the General Meetings, 1836, Vol. I, p. 7.
17. Hall to Anderson, October 6, 1836. HMCS.
18. Clark to Chamberlain, January 23, 1837. HMCS.
19. Clark to Chamberlain, February 18, 1837. HMCS.
20. Clark to Chamberlain, March 24, 1837. HMCS.
21. Expense of Lahainaluna for 4 Years Ending May 1st, 1837. In HMCS file, Lahainaluna Seminary.
22. Minutes of the General Meeting, 1837, Vol. I, p. 15.
23. S. Dibble, op. cit., p. 313.
24. Clark to Chamberlain, August 5, 1837. HMCS.
25. Minutes of a Meeting of Members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Lahaina, August 30, 1837, in Minutes of General Meeting, Vol. I.

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR THE ISLAND OF MAUI: Mrs. Raymond R. Lyons, Makawao, Maui.

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Mrs. E.G. Greer, Apt. 32, Bishop Museum Grounds, Honolulu, Hawaii 96817.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE:

Mr. Robert C. Schmitt, statistician with the Hawaii State Department of Planning and Economic Development, is a frequent and valued contributor. He is joined in this issue by Rose C. Strombel, an employee of the Hawaii State Department of Transportation.

Mr. Lloyd Soehren is Assistant in Anthropology at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Mr. Larry Kimura, now a student at the University of Hawaii, Hilo Campus, appears for the second time in the HHR.

Mr. Larry Windley is a researcher and writer for the Lahaina Restoration Foundation. "Lahainaluna Printing" appears with the Foundation's permission.

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