

Notes & Queries

The Journal welcomes responses to previously published articles, statements on Hawaiian and Pacific history, and queries for information that will assist research. Opinions expressed here and elsewhere in the pages of the Journal are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Editorial Board or the Hawaiian Historical Society.

MORE ON HONOLULU'S RED LIGHT DISTRICT

Ted Chernin has requested that the following corrections be made to his article, "My Experiences in the Honolulu Red-Light District" (*HJH* 34, 2000: 203–217).

On page 204, second paragraph, last line: The name "Leon" should be corrected to "Leong."

On page 205, top paragraph, these two sentences:
"Muller, who worked in the Radio Section, stayed behind. I wanted to, also, but our boss, W. W. McIlhenny, would allow only one of us to stay, and I lost the toss of the coin."

should be replaced by:

"Muller, who worked in the Radio Section with me, wanted to leave also, but our boss W. W. McIlhenny would allow only one of us to leave. He tossed a coin for it, and I won."

On page 213, third paragraph, last two lines: The following phrase should be eliminated: ". . . so that I would be her first customer in the bull pen."

The Editors

MORE ABOUT HARRY MAITEY, FROM POLYNESIA TO PRUSSIA

In 1976, when I researched the life of the Hawaiian Harry Maitey in Berlin, the Cold War was going on and that city was divided by the infamous wall (*HJH* 11, 2000: 125–161). Many parts of Berlin where Maitey, from 1824 until 1872, could roam freely were inaccessible to me, as were significant archives and libraries. All this changed when the wall fell on November 9, 1989, when the Brandenburg Gate (fig. 1) was opened, and the reunification of Germany, with Berlin as its capital, began.

The Brandenburg Gate, built more than 200 years ago, is emblematic for Berlin—especially the quadriga, the monumental chariot on top of the gate, which is closely connected with Berlin's history. The creator of the quadriga was Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764–1850), in his time Berlin's foremost sculptor. He was also an assured graphic artist, a keen and methodical observer of nature and of cultural life, a diarist, teacher, and the director of the Prussian Academy of Arts.

In 1824, when the teenager Harry Maitey arrived in Berlin, Schadow took the measurements of the young Hawaiian's head, drew his



FIG. 1. Berlin: Brandenburg Gate
Landesarchiv Berlin/Barbara Esch-Marowski

portrait in black chalk and graphite, and identified it "Harry, Sandwich Islands, October 26, 1824." (Fig. 2)

Schadow had always been interested in the proportions of the human body—not only as a sculptor but also as an intellectual—and in his time various theories developed concerning the forms of the cranium and their relations to the human mind. Throughout his professional life, he collected data by carefully measuring and exactly drawing. Only in 1835 did he publish the results of these studies as *Physiognomies*.² They consisted of a text on the "differences in facial features and cranial forms of the peoples from all over the world" and of 29 plates of illustrations. Harry Maitey was grouped with "savage peoples from very different locations" and commented on twice in the text: "Between Mexico and China are the Sandwich Islands. From there the ship *Mentor* brought an inhabitant by the name of Harry whose portrait—front and profile—is shown on plate VII."³

Most of the persons depicted on the plates were short-term visitors to Berlin. Harry, however, stayed in the city or nearby. He always remained under the supervision of royal officials with whom Schadow had constant contact. Thus he was able to follow the young Hawai-

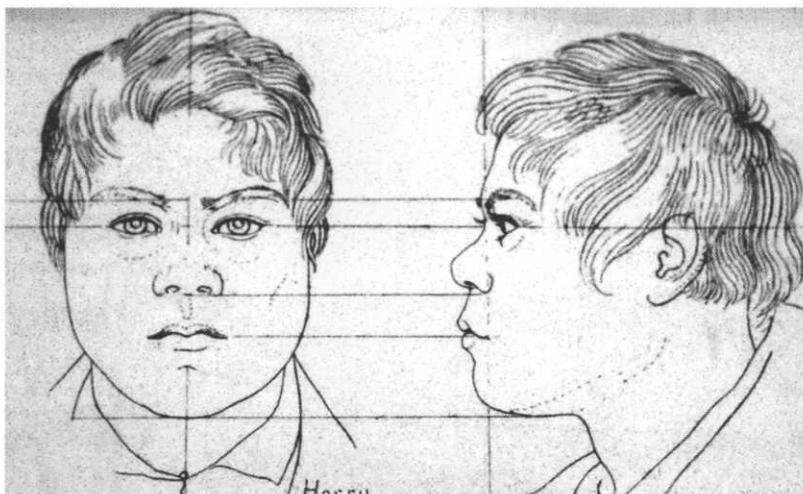


FIG. 2. Gottfried Schadow
Harry of the Sandwich Islands, October 26, 1824
Akademie der Künste Berlin

ian's development from his arrival in 1824 until the publication of his treatise in 1835.

Since he remained here, everybody can observe that his facial traits do not differ from ours. The broad cheek bones can also be found here. His skull is a bit narrower—which is concealed by his heavy growth of hair. The only difference is a somewhat darker skin. He does not have the aptitude for a finer cultivation of the mind.⁴

It would be interesting to know how much the last sentence of Schadow's assessment is based on his own observation, on some of the prevailing phrenological theories, or on the reports by the royal Prussian bureaucrats.

Schadow's portraits of Harry Maitey are known in three versions:

1. The original black chalk and graphite drawings of October 26, 1824. Those are located in the archives of the Art Academy in Berlin.⁵
2. A second version was ordered by Schadow according to entries in his unpublished diary/calendar of 1825: "on January 27 I went to the Academy where Mr. Rolling lithographed the Sandwich Islander drawings" and "on January 28 Mr. Rolling lithographed the Sandwich Islands man."⁶
3. Finally, for the publication of the "Physiognomies" in 1835, zinc plates were produced.⁷

While the sketch of Harry Maitey in my original article of 1977 is without date and by an unknown artist, the portraits in this addendum are well documented.

In Berlin, Maitey's memory is kept very much alive around Peacock Island and Nikolskoe's Saints Peter and Paul Church. In the city, the area where he lived from 1825 to 1830 now glows again in dignified elegance.

Submitted by Anneliese Moore

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¹ Anneliese Moore, "Harry Maitey; From Polynesia to Prussia," *HJH*, Vol. 11 (1977), 125–161.

² Gottfried Schadow, *National Physionomieen oder Beobachtungen ueber den Unterschied der Gesichtszuege und die aeussere Gestaltung des menschli-*

chen Kopfes, in *Umrissen bildlich dargestellt auf neun und zwanzig Tafeln, als Fortsetzung des Polyclet*, Berlin 1835.

³ *Ibid.* 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* 26–27.

⁵ Akademie der Kuenste Berlin, Archiv. Nr. 974.

⁶ Schreibkalender 1825, Zentral-Archiv der Staatlichen Museen Berlin.

⁷ Schadow, *National Physionomieen* 1835, Plate VII.

"ALOHA 'ĀINA" REVISITED

A previously published article by Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman (*HJH*, 33, 1999: 83–99) explored the authorship of the Hawaiian nationalist song, "Aloha 'Āina," now commonly referred to as "Kaulana Nā Pua."¹ To recall, Stillman tendered the possibility that Jose or J. S. Libornio, director of the short-lived Hawaiian National Band, was composer of the tune once attributed to the song's lyricist, Ellen Kekoao-hiwaikalani Wright Prendergast. In late 2001, while looking through the Lili‘uokalani Collection at the Bishop Museum, I discovered another unpublished manuscript of "Aloha Aina."² That a copy of this *mele* was found among Lili‘uokalani's possessions should come as little surprise: The poetic text, which protests her overthrow and pledges allegiance to her sovereignty, would no doubt have been very special to her. And as Stillman points out, J. S. Libornio was a loyal associate of the queen and Mrs. Prendergast her close friend. What is significant about the Bishop Museum manuscript, handwritten in the elaborate script of the Victorian era, is that it credits arrangement of the song to I. Libornio, further complicating the matter of musical attribution.

Who were the Libornios? We know little beyond the information already provided by Stillman. An initial search of the Hawai‘i State Archives and Bishop Museum yielded no biographical data on I. Libornio and raised only intrigue concerning Jose.³ In the absence of detailed personal records for either individual, we may still surmise something about the Libornios' relationship from their music. The back cover of the 1895 "Aloha Aina" sheet music copyrighted by J. S. Libornio also identifies him as the composer of "Maui Girl Waltz," a song for which I. Libornio held an arrangement copyright.⁴ This confirms the distinction between composition and arrangement

upheld by U.S. copyright law, and indicates the latter musician's familiarity with the work of the band director.⁵ The Bishop Museum manuscript is also clearly marked as an arrangement. Why, then, would it raise any questions about musical authorship? It would do so because a comparison of Jose's 1895 published composition with I. Libornio's undated and unpublished arrangement reveals so few discrepancies. Both are in the same key (D major), but greater significance lies in the arrangement of parts. I. provides harmonized voice parts as an alternative to the single melody line offered by the sheet music. I.'s harmonizations, however, are almost identical to the right-hand piano accompaniment of J.S.'s composition. Likewise, brief broken chord figures in the right hand of both piano accompaniments happen in most of the same places, with same or similar voicings. There is even a match between certain text treatments (e.g., "aina" capitalized in the fourth verse, but not in the last). The complete lack of information on I. Libornio and the marked correspondence between the published and unpublished versions offer the possibility that Jose wrote under more than one name (though we might reasonably ask why) and adjusted his own composition either before or after publication. The simpler left-hand accompaniment pattern of I.'s arrangement may, for example, have been written to accommodate the desires of a particular pianist. And the vocal harmonizations written immediately above the text in the same arrangement could have facilitated part-singing by members of the Royal Hawaiian Military Band⁶ or the Hawaiian National Band.

If we presume that I. and J.S. Libornio are *not* the same person, the musical equivalencies may be explained as the product of a mutually creative relationship, though we might also imagine something less reciprocal. Certainly their contributions to the realm of publication were not equal: I. Libornio appears to have published less and to have arranged material composed by J.S. Libornio, but not the other way around. To the extent that I. Libornio was known to be an arranger of another J.S. Libornio composition, the manuscript adds credence to Stillman's thesis.

It is also important to note that if Mrs. Prendergast was the composer of the melody of "Aloha 'Āina," she is not acknowledged as such on the Bishop Museum manuscript. However, neither is J.S. Libor-

nio. The absence of the lyricist's name is in keeping with the American practice of privileging music over text. Given the importance of oral tradition, however, the identity of the composer(s) of both text and music may have been common knowledge to local audiences or to the manuscript's recipient. Hence, the arranger or copyist may have deemed formal recognition unnecessary. It is also worth noting that as an unpublished document, the arrangement was not subject to legal scrutiny. Indeed, the manuscript pushes us to ponder some finer points of U.S. copyright law. Despite the extraordinarily slight differences between the two Libornio creations, one was clearly considered an arrangement. It is not clear whether I. Libornio would have been able to secure a copyright for something that so closely resembled the originally published sheet music, if indeed that was ever the intent.

While the discovery of the Bishop Museum manuscript casts no doubt on Mrs. Prendergast's authorship of the text of "Aloha 'Āina," neither does it confirm or deny Jose Libornio's role as musical creator. It does, however, offer a new set of possibilities and raises further questions about practices of musical collaboration and attribution within Hawai'i at the end of the 19th century.⁷

Submitted by C. K. Szego

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¹ Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "'Aloha Aina': New Perspectives on 'Kaulana Nā Pua,'" *HJH* 33 (1999) 83–99.

² The spelling of "Aloha Aina" reflects the original document, which does not indicate vowel length and omits the 'okina; MS MC Liliuokalani, Box 6.5, Bishop Museum.

³ A Joseph Libornio is named in court papers, and the apparent same individual, J. Libornio, is identified in the December 1891 records of the Privy Council of State. Libornio evidently stabbed a gentleman of Chinese ancestry out of romantic jealousy. During the legal process that ensued, Libornio required a Spanish interpreter, though documents also reveal that he spoke Hawaiian to his victim. He was found guilty of assault and battery with a weapon, sentenced to one year of hard labor, and fined one dollar. The Privy Council papers document a petition for the offender's pardon and restoration of civil rights, which were ultimately denied. The only evidence that might suggest a link to conductor/composer/arranger Jose Libornio is the location of the assault weapon—in a music box under a piano—found by

police in the assailant's upstairs room. It is wise to remember, however, that the offender could easily have been a male relative of the composer or no relation at all.

- ⁴ Copyright for I. Libornio's arrangement of "Maui Girl" was secured in 1892 by W. E. Reynolds in Hawai'i and the U.S.A., and again in 1897 by Wall, Nichols Co. of Honolulu. The only composition (as opposed to arrangement) found to date that is attributed to I. Libornio is "Leonora Gavotte," a solo piano piece published and copyrighted in 1892, also by Wall, Nichols Co.
- ⁵ The distinction between composition and arrangement is upheld by other J. S. Libornio publications. For example, if the phrase "by J. S. Libornio" is read literally, "Amistad (Pasodoble)" was copyrighted as a composition by Armstrong & Bacon in 1896. "Sweet-heart of the Long Ago" by J. Gordon Temple was copyrighted as a J. S. Libornio arrangement by E.W. Armstrong in the same year.
- ⁶ Stillman, "Aloha Aina" 86.
- ⁷ Least plausible is a scenario of misattribution: i.e., the music copyist indicating I. Libornio where J. Libornio was intended.

RESPONSE TO LYDIA BLACK'S BOOK REVIEW

In the last edition of the *Journal*, (*HJH*, vol. 37, 2003, 223–225), Lydia Black, *emerita* professor of anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, published an unfavorable review of my recent book *Hawai'i's Russian Adventure: A New Look at Old History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), in which she did not recognize a single significant contribution the book makes towards better understanding a 19th century encounter between the people of Kaua'i and representatives of the Russian-American Company. The main focus of the book is a fort on Kaua'i that Hawaiians built starting in 1816. They called it by more than one Hawaiian name, and their main Russian-American Company ally, Georg Anton Schäffer, called it "Fort Elisabeth." Black appears to consider several main points of the book as "thin 'discoveries,'" including such crucial new information as the facts that Kaumuali'i, paramount chief of Kaua'i, had broken his 1810 alliance with Kamehameha *before* the arrival of Schäffer in 1816 (pp. 99–107); that Hawaiians did not build the fort in Waimea *for* the Russians (as Black continues to contend), but for themselves; that the fort carried ritual symbolism similar to heiau; and, that Kaumuali'i had the structure built on sacred ground as a part of his residential com-

plex. She goes on to state that “there is little of adventure, or Russian, in the use the Hawaiians made of the original structure after Schäffer’s ignominious departure.” While I agree with her that the “Russian” aspects of this site have been overstated by previous historians (this is one of the main points of the book), her statement devalues, for example, one of the most important 19th century battles in the Hawaiian Islands, in 1824, that began at the fort (pp. 146–156). Her review also stands in stark contrast to the four other reviews I am aware of in the journals *Choice*, *The Contemporary Pacific*, *Historical Archaeology*, and *Oceania*.¹

Black makes a noble but unnecessary attempt to defend the scholarship of two historians that I critique, Richard A. Pierce and Nikolai Bolkhovitinov. Although Black does not mention it, I offer praise to these historians for their contributions to Russian-American Company studies (see pp. 5, 20, 40–41), but I balance this praise with explicit examples and direct quotations where Bolkhovitinov and Pierce and other named historians chose to emphasize Russian agency and history and underemphasize Hawaiian agency and history (pp. 33–43). As a consequence of these critiques, Black claims that I single out Pierce and Bolkhovitinov as “Western chauvinists,” an inflammatory term that I did not use and that I find most inappropriate. I recognize that constructing history is a process with inherent bias, and I certainly do not wish to condemn either man as being particularly chauvinistic. While Black states that she “is not competent to judge the author’s presentation of purely Hawaiian political history,” she somehow feels comfortable stating that Pierce and Bolkhovitinov “show excellent grasp of the internal Hawaiian politics of the time . . .”.

Black also accuses me of “political correctness” and introducing “many errors not only of interpretation but also of fact.” These are damning statements for any historical work, and given the vague nature of her declarations, they are difficult to defend. My sole recourse is to consider the only three distinct instances of supposed errors that she identifies, and that she proclaims she “chose at random.” Any author who has attempted to summarize hundreds of published sources spanning such diverse areas of specialty as Russian history, Hawaiian history, the Pacific fur-trade, archaeology, and

sociocultural anthropology, knows how difficult it is to keep errors of fact from creeping into a text, and I dreaded, as I read the review, some significant demonstration of such error. The three issues that she raised, however, were hardly egregious misrepresentations on my part, and demonstrate errors of fact and interpretation on her part. Although Black's intention in presenting these so-called errors seems to have been to discredit the entire book, I thank her for these specific comments, because they clarify the trivial nature of her discontent.

Her first point involves Petr A. Tikhmenev's book *Istoricheskoe obozrenie obrazovaniia Rossiisko-Americanской Kompanii i deistviia eia do nastoiashchago vremeni*, or "Historical Survey of the Origin of the Russian-American Company and its Activities up to the Present Day," first published in Russian in two volumes (1861–1863). In my book's bibliography, I cite a 1978 translation by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly, published under a new title, *A History of the Russian-American Company*. Because the translated work was expressly derived from a Russian edition of 1888 (a fact that Black may have forgotten), I placed that date in brackets next to the date of 1978 in the citation. Black claims that I state that "Tikhmenev's book was published originally in 1888," which is simply her misinterpretation of the citation. She then implies that I was unaware of the earlier edition *even though I mention it in the text* (p. 36).

The second "error" that Black found "irritating" is my characterization of Otto von Kotzebue's vessel, the *Rurik*, as a Russian naval ship. She admits that the *Rurik* flew a navy flag, but, because chancellor Rumiantsev had funded the expedition, she tries to claim "Kotzebue acted as a private individual." Here, I cite Henry Kratz, translator and editor of *A Voyage Around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition in the Years 1815–1818 in the Brig Rurik, Captain Otto Von Kotzebue*, by Adelbert von Chamisso (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 1986, xii): "Even though Rumiantsev financed the expedition, the brig *Rurik* (more properly, *Ryurik*) was a vessel of the Russian Navy, manned by Russian naval men, carrying cannon; technically a man-of-war, it was entitled to the treatment accorded any other naval vessel when it called at foreign ports."

Finally, Black objects to my suggestion that Kamehameha used an interpreter to converse with Kotzebue (p. 35), and she correctly

points out that both Kotzebue and Kamehameha spoke English. The man I refer to, Juan Elliot de Castro, certainly carried messages between Kotzebue and Kamehameha during the encounter, but I admit it would have been more justifiable to refer to him as a messenger than an interpreter. Black goes too far, however, when she ascertains "no translator was needed." This would assume that Kamehameha and Kotzebue *chose* to speak only in English to relay complex issues, and also ignores the following quotation relating to the encounter from Chamisso's journal (*A Voyage Around the World . . .* 116–117): "Our captain [Kotzebue] had arrived. The old warrior [Kamehameha] received him with cordiality. He understood protocol very well and knew how to act magnificently, impressively, and easily. Mr. Cook, a European who possessed his confidence, and who now had returned from the American ship to which he had been sent, *served him as interpreter* [emphasis added]."

With these three petty issues presented as her only evidence, Black proceeds to suggest that I suffer from poor training and a poorly qualified dissertation committee (this book is largely based upon my dissertation research). Over the last 20 years, I have researched issues of historical anthropology using archaeology, ethnohistory, and ethnology, in Alaska, Russian Fort Ross in California, Hawai'i, and New England, among other less relevant areas. My dissertation advisors were leading scholars in the anthropology of Russian-America: (Dr. Kent Lightfoot, University of California, Berkeley); Oceania, (Dr. Patrick Kirch, University of California, Berkeley); and ethnohistory (Dr. Stephen Greenblatt, currently holding the most prestigious John Cogan University Professor of the Humanities position at Harvard University). Black's vague references to "pseudo-scientific jargon" appear aimed at the book's brief theoretical sections, derived largely from the works of Marshall Sahlins, Fernand Braudel, and Antony Giddens, three of the most internationally recognized social theorists of the 20th century. In any case, I deliberately kept jargon to a minimum in the book (see my comments in the Preface, ix).

Despite my absolute protest of Black's lack of accuracy and scholarly balance in her review of my book, I close this reply by recognizing that she has had a long and distinguished career in Russian-American Company studies and Native Alaskan research. I have read many of her publications throughout the years with much enjoy-

ment. It is a most unfortunate circumstance, and it is with deep regret, that I have been compelled to respond to her inequitable comments in this instance.

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- ¹ F. Ng, *Review of Hawai'i's Russian Adventure: A New Look at Old History*. (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 2002); *Choice*, December 2002, 40(4)524; Susan A. Lebo, Review of *Hawai'i's Russian Adventure*, in *The Contemporary Pacific*, Fall 2003, 15(2)486–489; Roger E. Kelly, Review of *Hawai'i's Russian Adventure*, in *Historical Archaeology* 2003 37(4)122–123; Leialoha Apo Perkins and Roland F. Perkins, Review of *Hawai'i's Russian Adventure*, in *Oceania* 2002 73(2) 147–148.