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PAPERS
OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NUMBER 16

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY
OCTOBER 15, 1929



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PROCEEDINGS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL
SOCIETY MEETING OCTOBER 15, 1929

Meeting held in the Library of Hawaii 7:45 P. M. October 15, 1929.

The meeting was called to order by the President Bishop H. B. Restarick. The secretary, Edgar Henriques being unable to attend through illness A. P. Taylor was requested to act as secretary.

Mr. Taylor read extracts from a letter from Judge F. W. Howay, honorary member, of New Westminster, B. C., Canada, relative to some matters of interest to the Society.

1. Judge Howay informed the Society that he was sending to the Archives, and for the use, also, of the Society, a negative of the ship "Discovery", Captain Cook's vessel on his last voyage, showing the ship when she was used as a convict ship. It was suggested by Judge Howay that this picture might be used in the Society's Annual Report.

2. Judge Howay informed the Society that the brig New Hazard, David Nye master, of Boston, came to the Hawaiian Islands and was here February 25-March 5, 1811; September 27-October 15, 1811; October 23-November 14, 1812; and June 29-July 19, 1813. If the Society does not know of these visits Judge Howay would be pleased to convert his notes into a paper for the next meeting of the Society. He wrote: "I am anxious to do something for you people."

Mr. Taylor suggested that Judge Howay's offer be accepted with thanks, and he be informed of this. A resolution to this effect was adopted.

3. Judge Howay stated that: "The Dixon-Meares controversy," of which he is the author, would soon be off the press. Mr. Taylor suggested that the Society order the book.

The reading of the papers of the evening was then in order. There was a good attendance at the meeting.

NOTES

The placing of bronze tablets on historic sites in the Hawaiian Islands, done directly by the Department of Public Works, through recommendations of the Hawaiian Commission, had the cooperation of the Hawaiian Historical Society. Many of the suggested sites emanated from the Historical Society. On Kauai the remarkable Menehune (or fairy) ditch was marked; also a heiau (temple). On Maui in Iao Valley, near Wailuku, the site of the famous and decisive victory of Kamehameha I, over the forces of Kalanikupule; and also the site of Queen Kaahumanu's birthplace at Hana. On the Island of Hawaii the historic and well preserved heiau of Puukoholo, near Kawaihae, Kohala, was marked, the ceremonies being in charge of the Order of Kamehameha. This was held on June 14, 1928.

Other sites proposed for marking include the mound in the Palace grounds, Honolulu, all that remains of the first royal tomb, wherein the royal dead were entombed from about 1825 until all bodies were removed on October 19, 1865, to the new Royal Mausoleum, Nuuanu Valley. Another tablet is proposed for "Iolani Barracks", near the Palace, formerly occupied by the Household Guards. The site of the old fort should be marked. It was where the new Pier 11 is now, and partly by Fort Street, and the American Factors, Ltd. It was commenced by the Russians in 1815 who were attempting to control the Hawaiian Islands. It was completed by John Young in 1816 for Kamehameha I, the first commandant being Captain George Beckley, an Englishman.

In 1802, Captain Charles Derby, of the well-known Derby family of Salem, Mass., died in Honolulu and was buried in a lot set apart for the interment of foreigners, situated at what is now near the corner of Piikoi and King Streets. When this burying ground was abandoned the tombstone at the head of the Derby grave was removed to the Kawaiahaeo churchyard. It was lately discovered to be face downward in the rear of the Mission cemetery. The President of the Historical Society was asked by Miss Ethelwyn Castle to arrange for its being placed at her expense, in a suitable place after being repaired. The committee in charge of the Mission Cemetery kindly gave per-

mission for the stone to be erected in the extreme makai, ewa corner of the lot, where this historic stone may be seen.

A rugged looking, lichen-covered rock, weighing about four tons, was selected in Kamanele Park, Manoa Valley, by A. P. Taylor, Librarian of the Archives, a Trustee of the Historical Society, on which to place a bronze tablet of Captain Cook, which was presented to the Captain Cook Sesquicentennial Commission in 1928, by Theodore Pitman, sculptor, and his mother, Mrs. Myra Hollander Pitman, of Boston. The sculptor is the son of the late Benjamin Pitman, who was the son of Benjamin Keola Pitman and the High Chiefess Kinoole, of Hilo. It was in memory of the chiefess and her father the High Chief Hoolulu, who concealed the bones of Kamehameha I, in 1819, that the tablet was presented. The stone will be placed in front of the Archives building.

On September 16, 1929, a bronze tablet was dedicated at Washington Place, the former residence of the late Queen Liliuokalani, to honor her world famous song, "Aloha Oe." The bronze tablet bore upon its face the score of the chorus, and below the words thereof appeared in Hawaiian and English. Above was shown the head of Liliuokalani in bas relief. Governor Judd, now the occupant of Washington Place, accepted the tablet on behalf of the Territory from the people of Hawaii through the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. A. P. Taylor, Librarian of the Archives bureau, who originated the idea for such a memorial, was a speaker. The tablet is set into a boulder.

THE HUI KAWAIHAU

(A paper read at the (November) meeting of the Kauai Historical Society, on November 16th, 1916), in Lihue Kauai, by Charles S. Dole and re-read October 15, 1929 at the Hawaiian Historical Society meeting by Mrs. H. B. Restarick

In the years from 1877 to 1881 the Hui Kawaihau, an organization of certain prominent Hawaiians and their friends, was one of the leading communities of the eastern side of the Island of Kauai.

They were a body of men, most of whom came from Honolulu, with their families, where many of them were high officers in the Government, who went to Kapaa under the patronage of King Kalakaua, whose reign had then lasted for several years, for the purpose of establishing an association of congenial and intelligent farmers on the fertile cane lands at Kapahi, above Kapaa, in the year 1877.

The Hui Kawaihau was originally a choral society, of fifteen members, with social rather than business aims, and was first organized by Prince Leleiohoku, the Heir Apparent to the throne, in the year 1876. [Prince Leleiohoku died in 1877].

The name "Kawaihau" (meaning "ice-water") was originally derived from the nickname of a lady residing in Honolulu at that time, a white woman, who was a friend of the King, but who did not court some of his royal favors, and in the matter of liquid refreshment would drink only pure ice-water, in preference to the fiery gin which was usually dispensed from His Majesty's sideboard. This choice of the lady was not understood by certain members of the royal court, and in derision they gave her the title "Ka Wahine o Kawaihau" ("The Lady of the Icewater") and she became commonly known by the shorter appellation of "Kawaihau."

Prince Leleiohoku died, however, in April of the following year,—1877—at Iolani Palace, and the choral society would doubtless have disbanded but that King Kalakaua decided that it might be a good opportunity to establish some of his royal

retainers,—upon whom the court life was beginning to pall, or rather, perhaps, was beginning to produce disastrous results,—in the beautiful climate and fertile lands of the district above the village of Kapaa, on the eastern coast of Kauai.

Another reason for the royal stratagem was said to be that, although many of the prospective farmers were intelligent and industrious men, there were quite a number of them who were courtiers and hangers-on at Kalakaua's palace, whom the King was glad to establish on another Island,—distant from Honolulu and the charms and temptations of court life.

So the Hui was reorganized, in the month of June, 1877, and among the twelve men who were its charter members are the well known names of King Kalakaua, Governor Dominis, the King's brother-in-law; Colonel George W. Macfarlane, one of the leaders in the court circles of that day; Captain James Makee, who had often entertained the members of the Royal family at his beautiful residence at Ulupalakua on the Island of Maui; Governor John M. Kapena of the Island of Oahu; J. S. Walker and C. H. Judd, two men prominent in the Court and Government communities of Honolulu; and Koakanu, a high chief of Koloa, on Kauai.

These twelve organizers were the ones who set in motion the wheels of business of the Hui o Kawaihau, in the year 1877, their first important official act being to sign a contract with the resident members of the Hui, thirty-two in number, for the cultivation of the lands of Kapaa, on Kauai, to sugar cane.

Of the thirty-two original resident members of the Hui there are but seven living, [1916] so far as is known, these being: Judge James H. K. Kaiwi, of Lihue, who is with us tonight, a member of this Society, and is the sole member of the Hui Kawaihau left on the Island of Kauai; Edward K. Lilikalani of Honolulu; Frank K. Archer (also known as Keliinohopono), of Pearl City, Oahu; Ekela Mahuka, of Honolulu; John Wallace of Honolulu; James Hauola Makekau of Lahaina, Maui; and the Reverend Isaac Iaea of Kaluaaha on the Island of Molokai. Besides these there are four widows of original members of the Hui,—viz: Mrs. Pipili Pakaua Polani of Waipouli; Mrs. Kaupena Uka of Hanalei; Mrs. Hana Kaiwi of Honolulu; and Mrs. Lima Naone of Honolulu.

Captain James Makee, about the time the Hui was started, obtained a concession from the King to build a sugar mill at Kapaa and establish a plantation there; which he organized and started in the year 1877. He was the first manager of the Plantation, and had agreed with Kalakaua to grind in his mill all the cane which should be grown by the Hui.

So about the middle of the year 1877 the District of Kawaihau was set apart by the King, who gave that name to the country lying between the Wailua River and Moloaa Valley, near Kilauea, the official boundaries of the District being determined the following year, when Hon. G. E. Palohau, the representative from eastern Kauai, introduced a bill in the Legislature setting aside this section for the fifth district of Kauai. The district was formed by cutting off the eastern end of Hanalei District, which until then had joined the northern boundary of Lihue District just north of the Wailua river; and the modified District of Hanalei, comprising the northern section of this Island,—the greater part of which was included under the name of Koolau, was established, with the same boundaries which now limit it.

About the first of August, 1877, the members of the Hui,—over twenty men, with about the same number of women and children, set out from Honolulu, in the steamer "Kilauea," on the voyage to their new home on Kauai. They landed at Kapua'iomalahua, at the north end of the beach at Wailua, that being the usual landing for steamers in those days, the morning after they started,—about forty in all, with all their equipment,—lumber, tools, tents, food, etc. Included in the party of emigrants were five members of the original "Organization Committee," viz: the King, and Governor Kapena; Koakanu, the high chief from Koloa; Col. Curtis P. Iaukea, Charles H. Judd of the King's Privy Council; and John K. Unauna, a high chief of Lahaina, Maui, the father of Mrs. Kaili, of Honolulu. These went in a purely official capacity to establish the settlers.

The arrival of this prospective company of amateur cane planters was regarded with a good deal of amusement by the good people of Kauai, who understood that its members were all accustomed to city life, with little or no experience in farming, and were most of them friends or proteges of the King,

whom he was sending away from Honolulu because he found that they suffered from faults which rendered them distasteful to the Court officials,—some were hard drinkers, some were spendthrifts, all of them were shiftless and improvident, and he found it too much of a burden on even his large resources to guarantee support for them all. So the Kauai residents smiled at them, and prophesied a speedy and inglorious ending of the Hui's ambitious plans for the colony at Kapahi.

The agreement, or contract, with the Makee Sugar Company, under which the members of the Hui had come to Kauai;—signed separately by each member, with the plantation, required them to plant two hundred and forty acres of cane the first year, and they were to receive, in payment for their cane, two-fifths of the returns from the sale of the sugar obtained from it.

Each planter was required to plow his own portion of the tract and to buy his own seed-cane for planting. The latter they obtained—a portion of it, from Lihue Plantation,—the neighboring plantation, ten miles to the southward, and the balance they brought from Lahaina, on the Island of Maui.

This land planted by the Hui members was the first land ever planted to cane for the Makee Sugar Company.

As soon as the expedition arrived on Kauai, steps were immediately taken to organize the Hui, and the first election of officers was held; the following being chosen,—all being from among the more level-headed citizens who had been persuaded by the King to accompany his young porteges to their new field, in order that their irresponsible youth might have some safeguards:

Manager, or Luna Nui,—John Kauai (who has just died, during the past year) who was, at the time of his election as Luna Nui, head gardener, in Honolulu, for the two young Princes of the Royal Family,—“Cupid” Kalanianaole and David Kawananakoa.

Secretary and Treasurer,—Edward K. Lilikalani,—who was also holder of the honorary title of “Keeper of the Roll” of the Hui. (He is at present living in Honolulu, where he is connected with the Tax Office).

Superintendent,—James H. K. Kaiwi,—now residing in Lihue, where he is Second District Magistrate. His position in the Hui gave him supervision over all the tools, provisions, horses and wagons, houses, laundry, etc.

Directors,—King Kalakaua and Colonel C. H. Judd (the King's Chamberlain).

John Kauai, the first Luna Nui, or Manager, was an influential man in the Hui, and was a large, fine-looking man, with great influence among the other members of the Hui. He was one of the "Aipuupuu" (family retainers) of King Kalakaua.

He was succeeded, after his term of office expired, by John Kalino, who occupied the position for only a brief period, then the Secretary and Treasurer, Edward K. Lilikalani, was elected Manager, and he held the position for nearly two years,—until late in the year 1880.

There is said to have been considerable politics, jealous bickerings, and administrative "coups"—especially among the younger members, in the choosing of the luna nuis, several of whom were retained in that responsible position for but very brief periods.

The Hui occupied the row of houses in Kapahi, now used as a plantation camp, which is about two and a half miles from the coast and is guarded in the rear by the forest clad mountain "Makaleha," over three thousand feet high. There was a large house in the middle of the row, built in the form of an octagon, which was the main hall of the Hui, and was used as the office, and also for their social gatherings,—the feasts which they sometimes gave and other entertainments. It has since been removed, by the plantation, in adapting the quarters to the requirements of a laborers' camp.

In this hall were held the many heated debates, sometimes lasting until long into the night; acrimonious discussions; and close-fought elections, which characterized the life of the Hui,—with its large number of trained city politicians, who found it hard to settle down to a quiet farming life.

After several of these quarrelsome debates there was considerable discouragement among the members. Colonel Spalding

several times advised them to sell out to the Plantation, and thus end all their troubles; but they would not consent to such a course.

Then the King came down to Kauai, several times, and, in company with Governor Kanoa, of Kauai, and Mr. George H. Dole, Manager of the Plantation, tried to smooth things over and advise the members what they should do to make their plans succeed. After these visits things would progress favorably for a while, but the improvement never lasted long, and the bitter wrangling which so often prevailed was no doubt responsible for the ultimate disruption of the Hui.

I remember well the grand "housewarming" which the Hui gave to celebrate its entry into the life of Kauai, in 1878, which was one of the notable functions of that period on Kauai. It was attended by most of the leading residents of the Island, and the King, Kalakaua, was also present, together with other notables from Honolulu; and altogether it was quite a gala occasion,—beginning with the sumptuous "luau" in the "Octagon", which was followed by a few addresses, and shorter talks by the notables present; then games of croquet and other sports, were enjoyed on the lawn outside; and the sun had set before all the fortunate guests had taken their departure, after the pleasureable afternoon.

In spite of the auspicious opening of the enterprise, however, it soon encountered dark days. Beginning with their arrival in '77, the members labored to make a success of the undertaking, for nearly four years; but its troubles were all the time increasing.

Their greatest loss seems to have been the death of Captain Makee,—after they had carried on their operations for several years. The whole plantation had by this time been transferred to Col. Z. S. Spalding, Makee's son-in-law, who obtained title to the "ahupuaa" of Kealia, a large tract of fine cane land, adjoining Kapaa; and it was not long before Spalding, who had already built a second mill at Kealia, a mile and a half from the Kapaa Mill, tore down the latter and transferred all the milling operations of the two plantations to Kealia, and, later, the two plantations were combined under the original name of the Makee Sugar Company.

Colonel Spalding lacked the kindly "Aloha" for the hui

members which Captain Makee had for them, and which caused the latter to assist them in every way possible to accomplish their ideals and ambitions; and was, on the other hand, unsympathetic and strictly business-like in his dealings with them. This changed spirit on the part of the management created consternation and discouragement in the ranks of the Hui members, and it was the beginning of the end of their ambitious attempts at "small farming,"—as it took only a year or two more to make the members realize that they were not wanted there any longer, and they gradually drifted away to other parts of the Island and Kingdom.

E. K. Lilikalani, the first secretary and treasurer of the Hui, and later Luna Nui, was also the first District Magistrate of Kawaihau, being appointed by Governor John E. Bush of the Island of Kauai in 1878, under the new law creating the district, which had just been passed by the Legislature, as I have already mentioned. Governor Bush was also one of the sponsors for, and very friendly to, the Hui organization and later was a member of it. He was one of the individuals who planted cane for the plantation, on his own account.

Lilikalani returned to Honolulu in 1880, when he was requested by King Kalakaua to take the position of Private Secretary to Her Majesty Kapiolani, the Queen.

His position as Magistrate was then filled by James H. K. Kaiwi, Esq., another prominent member of the Hui, who was one of the leaders in the newly formed District in its Church and Sunday-School work,—as he had been, previously, in the Kawaiahao and Kaumakapili churches, in Honolulu.

One of the important acts of the Hui members was to move from Wailua-kai,—from the middle of the tract where the coconut grove now grows,—the kuleana where Mrs. Puni's cottage is standing,—the church building which, slightly enlarged and altered, is still used as the Kapaa church. The stalwart Hui members, aided by the bullock teams of George Charman of Koloa and W. H. Rice of Lihue, hauled the building, over the rough roads of that time, the two and a half miles to its new location on the Kapaa flat, where it now stands.

The Hui members all worked hard with their plantation,—cultivating, irrigating, and weeding the sugar cane under their supervision, and attending as well as they were able to the

different branches of its culture. They were all new to the business of growing cane,—being mostly city men from Honolulu,—all clerks and office men, etc., and the plowing, harrowing, and hoeing the “auwaha” (furrows) was a novelty to them which would have discouraged planters of much larger experience than they had had. But it was in the days of their youth, they were very hopeful, and for the first few years they went at their labors with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of the set-backs they had.

But after they had,—as Lilikalani expressed it, in my interview with him, in Honolulu,—“hoomanawanui’d” for three years, and maintained an ambitious and hopeful attitude for that length of time, the fourth year arrived, and found them with the discouragements still piling up for them.

The first crop was quite successful, netting the Hui over \$17,000 clear, from which was deducted the expense paid by the King for the Hui’s transportation to Kauai, and the preliminary operations there,—about \$5000, which left enough to pay the members nearly \$500 apiece, after paying the expenses.

In the second year, however, over a third of the Hui’s sugar cane, about a hundred acres, was burned up and destroyed, leaving less than two hundred acres to be harvested.

But they went at it again, with the ratoon crop, and made a desperate attempt to succeed with that, only to find that, after it reached the Mill, their profits were nearly all used up in the milling and marketing of the crop, and there was only Five or Six Thousand Dollars for them, after paying the Plantation its share.

Then they all,—to use the characteristic expressions of Lilikalani, went into the “poho” (mire) and were “nui loa pilikia” (in a great deal of trouble).

By 1881, four years after the favorable opening of the Hui’s plantation efforts, the members, disheartened and discouraged, had all drifted away, their property and leasehold rights, etc., passing into the hands of Colonel Spalding, the successor of Captain Makee as the head and principal owner of the Makee Sugar Company, and the Hui Kawaihau of Kauai had passed into history.

INTRIGUES, CONSPIRACIES AND ACCOMPLISH-
MENTS IN THE ERA OF KAMEHAMEHA IV AND V
AND ROBERT CRICHTON WYLLIE

Paper read by Albert Pierce Taylor, Librarian, Archives of Hawaii,
before the Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, October 15, 1929

Conspiracy, intrigue, double-crossing, hate, praise, and the usual disasters that enmesh high-minded men who attain exalted positions in Government service, were all experienced by that master genius of diplomacy, Robert Crichton Wyllie, the Scotchman who came to Hawaii in 1844 as a member of the staff of the British consul-general, William Miller, and within a year had been selected by Kamehameha III to fill the newly created post of Minister of Foreign Relations of the little, isolated Kingdom of Hawaii, which was endeavoring to learn what position in the galaxy of nations would be accorded it by the Powers.

Fate seemed to have guided the movements of Wyllie that, in the post accorded him by the Government of Great Britain, he should have been directed to accompany Consul-General Miller to the Hawaiian Islands. Throughout Hawaii's maintainance of a monarchical form of government for ninety-eight years, unbiased history must list Wyllie as standing head and shoulders above all others as a master mind in shaping the Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom that it might take and retain its seat in the family of nations. When it is understood that within five years after taking the helm of the Hawaiian ship of state he had negotiated treaties with Denmark, England, France and the United States whereby Hawaii's status as an independent state was absolutely assured, the genius of Wyllie's statesmanship may be better understood.

There was a triumvirate of officials in that decade of 1840 which entitles each to a niche in the island hall of Fame—Wyllie, Judd and Ricord—the second the stalwart, aggressive head of the Treasury Board, the last named the legal adviser who shaped up Hawaii's judiciary department. The retirement of Ricord and his departure from the Islands before the decade ended,

opened up the opportunity for another genius to take his place—William L. Lee, a talented young lawyer, who organized the courts of justice, became chief justice, and so conducted the highest tribunal that it soon acquired universal confidence and respect and instead of being a source of weakness, became the strongest pillar of the Government.

Strangely enough, aside from Wyllie whose definite destination after he was appointed a member of Consul-General Miller's clerical staff, was Honolulu, Ricord and Lee were enroute from the United States to Oregon, when they were persuaded to stop over in Honolulu. It was a decision which proved highly fortunate for Hawaii, for only in the year 1840 had a Constitution been accorded the people by the progressive sovereign, Kamehameha III. Born in 1813, at Keaouhou, Hawaii, Kauikeaouli, (afterwards Kamehameha III), came into the world while Hawaii was still a feudal state ruled by the iron hand of Kamehameha the Great, his father.

The old ruling line of the Kamehamehas—there were five bearing that grand title—while frequently possessing grave faults of character, had the wisdom to choose as their advisers the ablest and most public spirited of the European and American residents in the Islands. From these were chosen the chief members of their Ministry and the Justices of the Supreme Court, but one native having served in the latter capacity from the adoption of the first Constitution in 1840.

But we are speaking now, principally of Robert Crichton Wyllie, who served as Minister of Foreign Relations from 1845 until his death in 1865, serving under Kamehameha III, Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V. We are referring to the Scotch subject of Queen Victoria who not only gave up his allegiance to that sovereign, but became a naturalized Hawaiian subject, and gave every iota of his talents and loyalty to his adopted country and his island sovereigns. We are referring to the former wealthy man of business in England, Mexico and Peru who brought his fortune to Hawaii and used it generously when the Hawaiian treasury was low, or empty; whose loans to the rulers when their purses were pinched, or to the Government to carry on the negotiations of its envoys abroad, were often frequently long delayed in payment, or never paid at all; we are referring to the states-

man whose splendid education in the field of diplomacy and whose amazing knowledge of the classics and the highest forms of literature made him a forceful contender when his talents were arrayed against those of personages or officials representing other nations; and, finally, we are referring to the talented literary man whose diction and English were almost flawless, whose diplomatic and personal letters were examples of the highest order of letter-writing, but whose chirography can only be characterized as the worst. Wylle's letters are referred to by those who have had occasion to use them or attempted to read them as "Wyllie's hieroglyphics", scrawls that were then, and still are, almost undecipherable.

And yet the Archives of Hawaii today are based almost entirely upon the vast, voluminous collections of letters and documents prepared and stored away by Wylle which he so carefully "backed" and segregated into their various departments—a correspondence that covered practically every channel of the Government's activities—a correspondence and series of documents and printed reports that may be styled the "Government History of the Hawaiian Kingdom." Fortunate it was for those who came after him that Wylle was so punctilious, so thorough, so careful, that every scrap of paper that came to him or emanated from him, or originated in any other department of the Government, was preserved and backed and sorted into its proper repository, the whole, at his death, forming a voluminous portion of the Government records. After the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, when it seemed desirable to change the helter-skelter system of storing government letters, documents, records, etc., into a coordinated, recording and filing system, it was ascertained that the sheaves of correspondence as prepared by Wylle, added to by his successors and gathered from the attic and basement of the old royal palace, from under counters in the tax office, the vaults of the treasury and from various isolated public buildings, were in such chronological and departmental condition that archivists had the major part of their task done for them.

Had it not been for Wylle's methods the effort to assemble, segregate and index the government records would have been an almost hopeless task. Historians and researchers today, delving into Hawaii's past as revealed in the vast accumulation of

government material stored in the Archives of Hawaii building, can well render unto Robert Crichton Wyllie unlimited thanks and praise.

Manley Hopkins, who represented Hawaii in London for years during the Wyllie administration, made this estimate of him in his work, "Hawaii: The Past, Present and Future of the Island Kingdom", second edition, 1869:

"The telegram which brought the news of his death of October 19th, 1865, made it possible to speak in the present history of the powers and character of a man whose devotion to the land of his adoption was as remarkable as it was disinterested. During his lifetime, references to his labours or to his idiosyncracies would have seemed the language of flattery or of unfriendly criticism; but now it is the decent act of his survivors to linger a short space beside his grave, to recount his somewhat eventful career, and to trace in bas-relief upon the marble of his tomb a sketch of the man."

When it is understood that Kamehameha V and the chiefs ordered the casket containing the mortal remains of Wyllie to be accorded a place in the new Royal Mausoleum, adjacent to those of the sovereigns and chiefs of the land, one can realize the high place the Scotchman, the foreigner, was held in the estimation of those whom he so loyally served.

Robert Crichton Wyllie was born at Hazelbank, in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1798. He completed his education at the college in Glasgow by qualifying himself for the surgical profession, and received a diploma before he was twenty. He made voyages as a surgeon on various ships; was wrecked three times. He visited the Australian colonies and applied himself to sheep farming. Somewhat later he visited South America, and then the southern states of the United States; and next found his way to Chile where he became a partner in the successful firm of Begg, Wyllie & Company. He rode about that republic girded with pistol belts to collect moneys due his firm, and acquired a perfect familiarity with the Spanish language which was of service to him later as Minister of Foreign Relations in Hawaii. He accumulated a fortune. He was adventurous and made a voyage across the Atlantic to India in a small yacht, the

Daule. He then took up residence in Mazatlan, Mexico. He became identified later as director in a bank in London. In Mayfair, where he resided, he was recalled by friends as a well-dressed man, of animated, yet tedious conversation, but above all, possessed of a remarkably retentive memory. But his venture brought pecuniary loss and he again went to America, and there fell in with General Miller, whom he had known previously in Valparaiso, and whose career in the Chilian war of independence had been remarkable and brilliant. Miller, appointed British consul-general to the Hawaiian Islands, persuaded the brilliant Scotchman to accept a clerical secretaryship under him and accompany him to Hawaii.

They arrived at Honolulu in the British warship *Hazard* in March, 1844. General Miller, called to Tahiti on official business, entrusted the consular office to Wyllie. In the year of Miller's absence Wyllie compiled his famous "Notes on Hawaii" which were published week by week in *The Friend*, at Honolulu. Today, these "Notes" form the basis of almost every research made into conditions in Hawaii in the decade of the 1840's and in prior years. These were dedicated to His Majesty, Kamehameha III. Attracted by Wyllie's devotion to the affairs of Hawaii, Kamehameha III offered him the post of Minister of Foreign Relations, which was accepted on March 24, 1845, in which post he continued until his death in 1865.

Wyllie had no illusions about his mid-Pacific official position. To him it was an avenue for the use of his exceptional talents. He gave up everything for his position and his sovereign, his dominant aim being to place Hawaii upon a plane of independence, and keep it from becoming a political pawn in the ministries of England, France and the United States. He was eminently successful.

He compelled the respect of the Powers not only for the Kingdom, but for its sovereigns. The ruler of Hawaii, after Wyllie's diplomatic efforts, was not regarded by the Powers as one such as might be found as a feudal chief in the South Sea Islands, a burlesque of a king, a savage wearing the castoff silk hats and swallow-tail coats of Civilization. The Powers learned that the ruler of Hawaii was haughty, intelligent, educated, versed in all the etiquette of a civilized royal court, thoroughly acquainted

with the channels of diplomatic usage and treaty-making prerogatives, his own person and conduct as sovereign, modeled upon those of a European ruler, his own royal court conservative, yet brilliant, the men and women surrounding the throne accomplished in all the ways of civilization.

The reign of Kamehameha IV is styled by many of the kamaainas of Hawaii, by the few still living who knew it from 1854 to 1863, as the "Lavendar-Scented Era of Hawaii." It was the elegant regime, with the cultured, educated young monarch and his accomplished, beautiful queen, Emma, the official and social heads. It was an era of culture, of high-grade schooling, the era when the royal and chiefly pupils of Rev. and Mrs. Amos Cooke's School of Chiefs had completed their education there and the young princes, Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha, afterwards Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, respectively, had had a year of finishing touches in England and France. Queen Emma, a pupil in the same school, had had the additional tutoring of her foster father Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, an English physician of rare educational accomplishments which he transferred in part to Emma, who became Queen Emma in 1856.

It was during this reign that Hawaii emerged from its disquieting position as a pawn of the Powers. It will be remembered that in 1843 Lord George Paulet seized the Islands on behalf of England and that they were restored by Admiral Thomas in the same year; that a Treaty made by France in 1846 was disregarded in 1849 when Admiral De Tromelin with a French squadron seized the fort and city under a pretext of a serious grievance and exacted arbitrary promises from the king, Kamehameha III; that in 1850 a satisfactory treaty was ratified between Hawaii and the United States on which occasion Daniel Webster metaphorically pointed his finger at the Powers and told them to keep their hands off which they did, although France shilly-shallied for a few years until 1857 when Napoleon III finally cut the Gordian knot, sent letters of a conciliatory nature to Kamehameha IV and followed them with a large and handsome set of silverware for the royal table, a set which is now in use by the Governor of Hawaii at "Washington Place," the gubernatorial mansion. It will be remembered

that during this decade of 1850 England had several able and cultured prime ministers, and during the Civil War in America, William Seward, the federal Secretary of State appeared upon the diplomatic horizon of Hawaii in a literary way.

In that decade and also that of 1860 Hawaii was launched upon a period of elegancies when education was a paramount factor; when the palace was the scene of brilliant receptions and balls; and when music of a high type was the hobby of the royal circle and other circles in Honolulu; when the missionaries were devoting their educational talents toward a wider dissemination of the classics; and when Greek and Latin were freely quoted by those educated in New England colleges, and the papers read at the meetings of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society were remarkable examples of how ordinary topics should be surrounded by a sea of literary effulgencies and quotations from the classics, which, today, apparently have scant place in similar types of papers.

In all this era Wyllie stood head and shoulders among them all. He was a bachelor all his life. He expressed the elegancies of a cultured upbringing in English colleges. He was tall, reddish-haired, with a massive head and lofty forehead. His was an awkward frame; he was lean, but outwardly expressed the grace of a Chesterfield. He was Beau Brummellesque despite the fact that his clothes hung about him ungracefully. He was a master of gracefully-turned phrases. He had a genius for handling diplomatic correspondence, the recording of the preliminary *pour parlers*, the resulting definite acts, the inclusion of the many enclosures accompanying diplomatic papers, and the rare faculty of retaining in his state papers political history not only of Hawaii but of other contemporary nations and those of the ancient world. It is to all these that the Archives of Hawaii are today largely indebted for the rare records now on file.

Of his chirography not so much in praise can be said. They were and are truly hieroglyphics, almost undecipherable, causing straining of thinking until the Rosetta stone, so to speak, is discovered, when the secret of his scrawls is revealed. But behind those scrawls and trails of well-preserved ink is a background of beautiful diction, perfect grammar, complete rounded, fulsome, explained sentences.

Wyllie wrote by day and by night. When not so engaged at the Foreign Office down town, he was scribbling at his private residence in Nuuanu Valley, on Nuuanu Avenue, which he called "Rosebank", that name still being carried on a bronze plate upon one of the old Chinese stone gate posts at the entrance to the grounds. He dated such correspondence as from "Rosebank." It was there he invited foreign diplomats to meet with him, and at tea he opened up their political discussions, their *pour parlers*, which sometimes continued for days, until finally the place in their discussions was reached when it could be said that, away from the tea cups, and in the stiff atmosphere of his executive office, the representatives of foreign countries could begin their official correspondence on the subject as though they had not been discussing it for days, or even for weeks.

It was at his office and also at "Rosebank" that he met diplomatic and naval visitors to the kingdom; travelers, celebrities, painters, musicians, archeologists, scientists. It was at both places that he prepared his voluminous reports to the legislatures; wrote with such inspiring words to the Kings, or Queen Emma, always beginning his letters to the former, "Sire", and never once forgetting that he was addressing a King, and that he was a King's Minister.

It was Wyllie, who, in the reign of Kamehameha III decided that now that Hawaii had a Constitution and provisions for appointment of cabinet officials, it was necessary to draw up a code of official etiquette for the King, for the state's officials, for the King's palace, and for the sovereign's attendance at the opening and closing of the Legislature and his contacts with his subjects and foreigners, thereby raising an official and much-needed barrier against those visiting shipmasters and residents, even, who were inclined to walk from the wharf to the palace and slap His Majesty upon the back and ask or even demand this or that. The new code of etiquette and its provisions for precedence in rank for state occasions, required shipmasters and others to deal with the harbormaster, or the Collector of Customs, or the Ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs respectively.

In time, Mr. Wyllie decided that while the King and certain of the chiefs occasionally wore gorgeous uniforms of European

cut, cabinet ministers should likewise be provided with appropriate uniforms. The *Sandwich Island News*, a newspaper published in the late 1840's, whose policy was to oppose the government officials, lampooned and ridiculed Ministers regularly, but more particularly flayed them in a series of articles styled the "Tongabattoo Letters", in which every form of ridicule was visited especially upon Wyllie and Judd. "Tongabattoo" was a mythical kingdom, but in reality, meant Hawaii. The mythical ministers of "Tongabattoo", were, in reality, Wyllie, Judd et al. The uniforms were often ironically referred to. An article would read—"The Minister of Foreign Relations, upon the lapel of whose uniform coat, were three crowns, etc., etc., rose and said," etc. It was always thus when the Minister of Foreign Relations was referred to, it was always followed by a reference to the three crowns. It was an era of bitter newspaper invective.

There were bitter controversies with the French Commissioner concerning France's demands over the ad valorem on wines imported from France. There were plots filibusters originating in California, attempting, or planning to usurp the government, or even to have it annexed to the United States. There was the direct effort of American residents to have the kingdom converted into a state or territory of the United States. There was even the King's formal drawing up of a cession of the Kingdom to the United States because of France's belligerent attitude toward Hawaii, drawn up, of course, by Wyllie.

There was a conspiracy to place Princess Victoria Kamamalu upon the throne in place of her brothers, something not generally known these days.

There was the ridicule piled high upon Wyllie for his efforts to establish a modern-type of peerage in Hawaii, with Lady Jane Franklin, of England, a visitor in Hawaii in 1862, as one of the first beneficiaries, with the title of baroness to be conferred by Kamehameha IV; there was his plan opposed by the democratic American residents to establish royal orders and decorations, which finally was adopted when the order of Kamehameha I was instituted, and later, in 1875, the royal Order of Kalakaua I.

Wyllie, in his twenty years of devoted service to his sovereigns, seemed impervious to ridicule, lampoon, even studied

insult. His sloping shoulders did not droop below their customary angle because of public opinion. Outwardly, he was serene, Chesterfieldian, affable. Inwardly, he may have chafed and grieved over the opposition, but at no moment did he lag in his public efforts to keep the little Ship of State sailing on an even keel and maintain its high place among the Powers. Wyllie, above all other men in Hawaii, succeeded in compelling the Powers to maintain an attitude of "hands off", leaving the kingdom in the list of independent nations.

Thus, in education, diplomacy, religious development and in social accomplishments, Hawaii, in its "lavendar age" rose, among all the archipelagos of Oceania, to superior heights, and excelled, in such accomplishments, portions of outside and continental nations.

Wyllie, with pen in hand almost day and night, scribbling away upon his diplomatic correspondence, preparing speeches for officials, writing breezy little notes to visitors, giving advice with equally versatility on godfatherism and agriculture, wrote everything in a lofty manner, and yet his literary efforts were not beyond the intelligence of the average fellow man. His letters and reports appeared constantly (at a resultant heavy expense to the Government), in the newspapers of the day, the *Polynesian*, *The Friend*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, the *Hawaiian Gazette*, the native press, and in the reports of societies, such as the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society. Little wonder that he, and also Chief Justice William L. Lee, and many missionaries, such as Richard Armstrong, William Richards, S. N. Castle and many others, elevated the English language to such heights. The young princes, Alexander and Lot, as they were before Alexander came to the throne as Kamehameha IV, wrote with care and with surprisingly fine diction. Their letters, a large number of which are on file in the Archives of Hawaii, are excellent examples of cultivated diction. Above all they are splendid examples of the fine art of handwriting. The Princes may have had equals in penmanship but were not excelled. It is a pleasure to read their letters not only because of the delightful handwriting, but, additionally, to the excellent thought and diction expressed in practically all sentences.

Many researchers have expressed the opinion that while the

Hawaiian rulers were outwardly gorgeous in their uniforms and conformed properly to the usages of etiquette, they were inexperienced in handling the English language, and, therefore, their speeches voiced personally at the opening of legislative sessions and read from the throne, were prepared by their ministers, and more particularly by Mr. Wyllie. In the reign of Kamehameha III this may have been possible on occasions, but not entirely in the reigns of Kamehameha IV and V and of Lunalilo, or even of Kalakaua, although Walter Murray Gibson, that astute Mormon diplomat who rose from the status of elder to that of Prime Minister of Hawaii under Kalakaua is often credited with the actual authorship of most of Kalakaua's more important messages.

To show that Kamehameha IV was a thinking sovereign is best judged from the following brief messages addressed by him to Wyllie:

"My dear Sir,

"May I ask you to send me the Articles of Organization, presented by Judge Robertson on behalf of the 1st Hawaiian Guard. You will recollect that I returned it the other day at our last Cabinet meeting.

"Yours very truly,

"LIHOLIHO."

"Palace,

"3rd March." [1862]

"My Dear Wyllie,

"Considering Mr. Perrin's [French Commissioner] approaching end, I have my doubts as to the propriety of giving an evening entertainment on Tuesday evening next. In connection also with the fact that Mr. Pryne will not be here on that day I could leave out Mr. and Mrs. Dryer [U. S. Commissioner], and have Mr. and Mrs. Hackfeld in return for their very handsome party, at my proposed dinner.

"There is this however, I have never asked Mr. and Mrs. Dryer, and this is my first dinner party.

"I should like your views on these points.

"Yours very truly,

"LIHOLIHO."

"Saturday

"March 29th."

"My Dear Wyllie,

"I am terribly in want of the Minister of Finance's Precis for I am at a dead lock. Could you not make up a sort of precis for that department. I know if Mr. Gregg [Minister of Finance] was well, I could get one from him, but in lieu of that, I must get some one else to accommodate me for I want to finish my speech to present to the Cabinet tomorrow."

"Yours,

"LIHOLIHO."

"29th April, 1862."

"My Dear Sir,

"Palace, 29th April, 1862.

"Can you send me up copies of the different speeches that have been addressed to the Legislature from time to time. I should like to have them before me, while preparing my speech for the coming session of the Legislature.

"Yours very truly,

"LIHOLIHO."

Mr. Wyllie, on February 13th, 1862, addressed the King with reference to the long-considered proposal for the establishment of a peerage in Hawaii that might serve to provide His Majesty with the presentation of rewards for merit or for services rendered to his Kingdom. It is in this letter that Wyllie not only gives his ideas for such a peerage, but takes a fling at editorial criticisms leveled at him on this account, but particularly on account of the use of Lady Jane Franklin's name in connection with a proposed bestowal of "baroness" upon her by Kamehameha IV, and further reveals some past history connected with the 1854 annexation scheme, which he says was a scheme to replace Kamehameha IV on the throne by his sister. But his letter also affords opportunity to observe his diction. He wrote:

"Rosebank, 13th February, 1862.

"Sire,

"I have sought out and found M. Vidal's letter of 10th July last, suggesting the creation by Your Majesty, of an ORDER and adding a device.

"For a high order of Nobility, for instance, it appears to me, in far better taste than the device sent out from London by Manley Hopkins.

- “But if you will permit me to give an opinion, there is nothing incompatible in your adoption of both.
- “Vidal’s device would answer for those whom it might please Your Majesty to create Nobles, under any name you might prefer. Manley Hopkins’ device would well answer, for an inferior order of merit, such as they have in France, which order was conferred upon that good friend of the Hawaiian sovereignty, admiral Steen Anderson Bille [of Denmark].
- “But further allow me to add, that it would not be inconsistent with Royal usages, for Your Majesty, to give effect to the Order of the Crown and Cross, which was regularly established by your predecessor, as you will see by the Minutes of the [Privy] Council of July, 1848.
- “The Order of Ferdinand and Isabella, and of Charles III’d, are conferred to this day by the Kings and Queens of Spain.
- “The Order of the late King of the *Crown and Cross* would be an appropriate decoration for those whose chief services to the Kingdom were rendered during the late Reign, such as for example the lineal descendent of Mrs. Tanny, of the late Mrs. Richards, of John Ricord, and for Judd, who, whatever may be said did render important services to the Kingdom in the years of its early organization.
- “If I rightly understood the late King, his hesitation to carry out his Order of the *Crown and Cross*, arose from the fear of ridicule by the Americans, who then predominated and still dominate in this Kingdom.
- “But of ridicule by the Americans now there is little fear, for the most enlightened of these, North and South, are now inclining to the political faith that Constitutional Monarchy is better than Republicanism after all.
- “Even Whitney [H. M. editor] seems to have come around to that belief. From what you said to me, after dinner, I looked at his paper of this day. So far as attributing to me ‘faithful services to the Hawaiian sovereigns’, he has hit upon the feeling of duty which I have always endeavored, at least to act up to. I believe not one letter exists addressed by me to the late King or to yourself or to the Queen, that is not addressed with the same respect, as if I had addressed the Queen of England; and the whole of my official and private correspondence will prove how zealously I have labored to create and keep up, every where abroad, the respect for the Hawaiian Sovereign which

I myself entertained, and must ever retain; and to place Him on a footing of perfect equality of right with all other Sovereigns.

“But where Whitney says that *I have served the Hawaiian Sovereign more faithfully than the Hawaiian people*, he forgets to ask himself, what would the Hawaiian people be, without their own Hawaiian Sovereign? Can any one deny that they would be in the position of a *decapitated trunk*, useless, lifeless and fit only for the grave.

“My political creed is this—Whosoever loves and desires the preservation of the Hawaiian people, will love, respect and support the honor and good name of the Hawaiian King.

“I believe Whitney to be loyal to the Throne, at heart, and therefore I cannot interpret his words, above quoted, *by supposing his meaning to be that when I resisted the overthrow of the Hawaiian Sovereign, and the conspiracy in favor of the Princess Victoria [sister of Kamehameha IV and Prince Lot Kamehameha] in 1854, I faithfully served the Sovereign but not the Hawaiian people, whose interests must have been to be annexed to the United States.*

“Judd, Castle, Lt. Reynolds, Marshall, even Bishop, and others whose names will occur to you, without my mentioning them, were of that opinion, and scrupled not to express it, in writing.

“But even Gregg [U. S. Minister then] agreed with me, the belief as regards your native subjects, Annexation was virtually annihilation; and so far as regards my own conscience and belief, there never was a time when I was more *faithful to the true interests of the Hawaiian people than in 1853 and 1854*; and in justice, I must add there never was a time when I had so much reason to be grateful for the cordial support of the late General Miller, of Mr. Perrine, of the Hon’ble. Edward Everett, of Sir John Bowring and other statesmen of honor and influence whose counsel in moments, so critical to the Hawaiian sovereigns and People, I sought and obtained.

“Consul-General Miller was ordered by the Earl of Clarendon, on the 26th January, 1855, to pass to me the official letter (of which I enclose a copy) in which his lordship was pleased to make known to me that the *British Government had ‘Observes with satisfaction the patriotic conduct and wise policy which Mr. Wyllie had pursued’*,—under the circumstances that I have above

adverted to. With such testimony (and I have many others from men of high place and rank) I can afford to allow Mr. Whitney and others to fire at me as long as they please.

"I live here (and I mean to do so, as long as I am considered useful) without acknowledging any other masters than God and the King, seeking only their approval and that of my own conscience.

"Pray excuse this 'Confession of Faith', by
 "Your Majesty's
 "devoted & faithful servant
 (signed) "R. C. Wyllie."

Throughout his long public career in Hawaii Wyllie often expressed himself thus, repeating his loyalty to his island king. He was the Richelieu, the Wolsey, of Hawaii, but, unlike Wolsey, he had no need to bewail a fall from high official position—

"If I had served my God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs," as the dying prelate expressed himself to Sir Henry Kingston, and referring, of course, to Henry VIII.

It was Wyllie, the Foreign Minister, who, however, prepared for the royal signature of Queen Emma, Consort of Kamehameha IV, the autograph letter addressed to Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, in March, 1862, a letter of condolence because of the death of the Prince Consort, Victoria's husband, a letter couched in the most beautiful and well chosen words and phrases. It reads:

"Madam:

"Having grown up from childhood hearing nothing but praises of Your Majesty and of our late Royal Consort, I cannot, in justice to my own feelings of respect to you and to his memory, abstain from offering to you, and in my own hand, my heartfelt condolence on the heavy bereavement which it has pleased God to inflict upon Your Majesty, in the loss of Your Royal Consort, at so early an age, and in the full career of his beneficence.

"I pray Your Majesty to accept my condolence, and the assurance of my earnest prayers to God that He may give health and strength to bear up under such a grievous dispensation of His inscrutable Providence.

“Justly admiring, as I have always done the talents and character of Your late Consort; and with a mother’s love for my only son, my highest wish is that he, the Heir Apparent to my husband’s crown, should grow up to man’s estate, trained to the virtues of Your deceased Consort, and my highest ambition would be, if Your Majesty would graciously permit, that the Young Prince should receive the name of Albert, at the Baptismal Font.

“May the Almighty from His Throne in Heaven, shower down His greatest blessings upon Your Majesty, Your children and Your people.

“Your affectionate Sister

“EMMA.”

But within a few months the hopes of Kamehameha IV., Queen Emma and the nation were crushed, for the frail little Prince of Hawaii, passed away, even as the silver goblet, the gift of Queen Victoria, was arriving from England, the vessel anchoring in the harbor of Honolulu just before the Prince’s death. But the goblet was hurried out of the cargo hold of the ship, sent ashore, and was used at the hurriedly arranged baptismal ceremony.

It remains only to present here the final letter written by Wyllie, in October, 1865, only a short time before his death, penned in his scrawly, illegible hand, as he lay upon an improvised couch in “Rosebank”, merely blankets placed upon the floor, for he was unable to lie upon a bed, and could not turn except for the assistance of a nurse. But in his last moments his thoughts were of his King and his adopted country. In deep pain, yet he found words to express his dying devotion to his sovereign, the youth he had known in 1844, the king who now sat upon the throne of Hawaii—Lot, Kamehameha V.

His last letter to Kamehameha V, in his own and almost illegible, handwriting, is dated “Rosebank”, 19 August, 1865. His final letter, apparently dictated to his secretary, William Jarrett, and written out by that able functionary in his familiarly florid handwriting, is dated “Rosebank”, 12th September, 1865, or five weeks before his death. This last letter reveals a mind rising above physical suffering, a mind clingingly intent upon affairs of state. Wyllie said:

“Sire—

“I have the great pleasure to receive this morning Your Majesty’s very kind letter of 10th inst.

“I am exceedingly obliged to you for your advice.

“I can assure you I am following strictly, and have much benefitted by the advice given by your physician, Dr. Hutchinson. Under his advice I have taken..... with great regularity and with the effect of getting rid of the fever that consumes me. Under his advice, also, I have at this moment an open blister on my stomach which has also produced a good effect.

“All the excruciating pains from which I suffer are now confined to the left knee; but upon that knee I cannot stand for one moment.

“Therefore, I am laying down in native fashion, propt up by cushions in my large drawing room unable to rise or lay down without a servant on each side. I am most carefully and excellently nursed, but I fear the removal of the inflamed knee joint will require more time than I could wish.

“I am glad to hear that Your Majesty will be here in ten or twelve days and that you will grant an audience for the presentation of the Mexican Order of Guadaloupe. If well I ought to present it—but in my absence Monsr. Desnoyes will present it in handsome style.

“I hope to see Dr. Hutchinson very soon.

“I am, etc,

“Sire,

“Your Majesty’s

“Most dutiful and devoted Serv’t,

“R. C. WYLLIE.”

On October 19, 1865, the day the new Royal Mausoleum was completed in Nuuanu Valley, a structure which Wyllie had projected as a stately abode for the royal dead of Hawaii, the great statesman of the Pacific Ocean died, and into that royal tomb his casket was placed amid the august dead of the great Kamehameha dynasty, honored as almost no other foreigner, save the estimable John Young, had been honored by the Hawaiian people.

DAVID DOUGLAS—BOTANIST

By Margaret Kirby Morgan

Before reading the life of David Douglas I should like to mention a few references to the Douglas Fir which come to hand in current reading matter: the Saturday Evening Post in a West Coast lumber advertisement speaks in high terms of Durable Douglas Fir; a western correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor tells how the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs is sponsoring the plan of preserving the Douglas Fir and other giant trees, along the Sunset Highway and of setting aside a park of 80 acres devoted to their growth; in a magazine section of a newspaper appears an article on the running down of daring mail bag robbers, citing a case where a pair of overalls was discovered evidently belonging to a logger, with chips and bits of Douglas Fir needles found in the pocket; the Daily Colonist, Victoria, B. C. refers to a suggested amendment relative to the export of Douglas Fir to Australia. From the magazine, the Pacific Northwest, I quote these interesting data; "One-fourth of the standing timber in the United States is Douglas Fir. Trees of this species frequently are found with diameters in excess of ten feet and heights over 300 feet. The Douglas Fir region covers about 28,000,000 acres in Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, and contains approximately 643 billion board feet of this species."

The Douglas Fir is shipped to the Mikado's Kingdom in the form of "Japanese Squares", 38 inches square and 40 feet long.

In 1928, the Territory of Hawaii imported 80,000,000 board feet of Douglas Fir, with a Pacific Coast value of \$1,840,000, the Island value being \$2,640,000.

David Douglas, the famous botanist, was born in the "clachan" of Scone, Perthshire, in 1799. "Clachan", my good Scotch friends tell me, means a wee village. It was here in the old church at Scone, the ancient capital of Scotland, that Charles II was crowned in 1651.

David's father was a stonemason, a well-informed and

respected member of the community. David was the second child of a family of six, three sons and three daughters, and this son must have been somewhat of a puzzle to him, for to David Douglas, from the merest lad, the confines of a classroom were almost intolerable—the call of the open was forever dinning in his ears, the call of the great out-of-doors. How faithfully he was to answer that call, enduring dangers and hardships almost beyond belief!

Natural born naturalist he was, roaming hither and thither for specimens of animal and plant life, listening eagerly to tales told by travelers; reveling in the exploits of Robinson Crusoe. His own journal later on must have had its inspiration from his boyish perusals of that unique autobiography.

At ten or eleven years of age he was actively engaged in the first rudiments of gardening, and all were impressed who watched him grow in knowledge, aided by a most retentive memory. Meeting with botanists who traveled in the Highlands, listening to their recounting of their excursions, no doubt sowed the seed which was to blossom into an immortal name of David Douglas.

He soon outgrew the boundaries of home haunts, and as time went on a splendid botanical library was at his disposal, and unusual opportunities offered themselves in well-known garden spots.

He applied himself with such diligence in the theory and practice of his work as shown by his admission to the Botanical Garden at Glasgow.

Lectures on the subject he loved and to which he was to give his very life, and botanical trips to the Highlands and to Islands of Scotland, further paved the way for him to be recognized as singularly fitted as a botanical collector of the Royal Horticultural Society.

In 1823 when he was 24 years of age he went to London to receive his instructions concerning his trip to China, but word being received of possible trouble between that country and Great Britain, he was sent to the United States on a short botanical trip to the Atlantic Coast. It was a very successful undertaking and the Society found itself richer in forest and fruit trees and in various plants.

In 1824 he made a second trip aided by the famous Hudson's Bay Company, when he took passage on their brig, the "William and Ann." We can imagine his pleasure when it touched at points of call, giving him chances of botanizing along the way, and especially at Rio, where the orchids received their share of his worship. Then to the Pacific Coast he came, to the Columbian region—to the vast, unexplored solitudes—where his memory lives like the evergreens.

He worked with such excessive zeal, so intensely. There was so much to do, such obstacles to face—and underneath it all, this almost feverish anxiety to accomplish the utmost in the shortest possible space of time. Could he have felt the urge of such a brief span that was to be his to do it?

We are thrilled at his courage, touched by his modesty, touched by his patience and fortitude in the losses of his treasures, in the midst of discomforts and dangers, heart-rending as they often were. His noble bearing and character coupled with his keen interest in plant and animal life gave him heroic power over situations that demanded the tact and diplomacy of a Daniel Boone in his dealings with the Indians. In his journal he speaks of his "miseries", and in the same breath a piece of humor floats through. On one occasion, much as he would have liked the shelter of an Indian lodge, he had to refuse the invitation of the chief—to quote his own words: "by reason of the immense number of fleas and the great inconvenience suffered thereby, I preferred to put up at my own camp on the shore of the river."

It was in a forest primeval that Douglas walked among "the murmuring pines and the hemlocks." Bancroft writes of him: "This devotee of birds and plants wandered among the forests of America, his pack upon his back, a gun across his shoulders and a shaggy terrier at his heels. How pure must have been his pleasure, how thrilling even the pain that prompted such a life."

In an Indian tobacco pouch he found the seeds of a particularly large species of pine, and upon drawing a picture of a cone he was directed towards the mountains some miles distant. Desiring to procure some cones which grow at the very top of these magnificent trees he fired his gun, bringing down a cone,

and at the same time bringing upon himself the presence of "eight hostile Indians, painted with red earth, and armed with bows and arrows, bone-tipped spears and flint knives." No one will deny that it required nerve to maintain and hold an attitude of coolness under such overwhelming conditions.

We are told he would set out, rifle in hand, in quest of a bear, through the thickest of the forest recesses, with just his little dog for company, yet the sight of a bullock loose in a field would fill him with unnumbered fears. Indeed, he confessed it was his only fear. Could this have been an inborn foreboding of his own tragic passing?

Covering 7000 miles by way of primitive travel by land and water, as a pioneer botanical explorer, was no mean accomplishment, when it entailed collecting and caring for plants and seeds in event of later shipment to London, writing painstaking notes of everything as instructed by the Royal Horticultural Society, living on reduced rations, such as roots, an Indian diet, and wearing clothes battered and torn by the elements and rough travel.

How indefatigable he was, with his days filled with set purposes of accomplishment, and then at night by the aid of a wax taper or his "Columbian candle", as he was pleased to call his pitchwood torch, was written down in simple fascinating words all the various interesting doings and observations.

As a reward to a friendly Indian, Douglas bored a hole through the only remaining shilling which he had brought from London, and by means of a copper wire hung it from the perforated septum of the man's nose. This was done with due ceremony, with Douglas acting as King George's chief, and it proved a bond of loyal friendship in times of need with the natives.

He writes of an Indian burial spot, all belongings of the dead being deposited near the graves, the favorite horse having been despatched by bow and arrow, the skin with hoofs and skull suspended above the owner's remains. Small bundles hung from trees, whether food for the departed or gifts to the gods, he could not learn as the people were averse to speaking of those who had gone to the great hunting grounds.

On one occasion his supply of tobacco used mainly for friendly

barter had vanished. He perched himself on a rock and harangued the numerous company in their own tongue, in picturesque fiery fashion. This did not, however, produce the coveted article, but the intrepid "grass man" spent an unmolested night in the Indian encampment.

We can picture him, tired and worn, without even water to drink, sand blowing into his eyes, with the added glare of the sun to face, causing them to be inflamed, that it was impossible for him to see an object 12 yards distant; at another turn, wearied, fleeing from fleas and further prevented from the luxury of sleep, by a plague of ants, large and black, and small and red; and yet again at night, when a herd of huge mountain rats devoured his seeds and ate through bundles of his dried plants, and, even carried off his soap brush and razor!

He writes of incessant rains, of being drenched through to the skin, and drying his clothes by the fire; of the thunder and the lightning, when his poor horses sought protection from him by coming to his side and neighing.

His bill-of-fare was varied at times, including fresh salmon, venison, boiled horse flesh, buffalo tongue and roasted ground rat!

Small wonder he prized his letters from the homeland, "as if repeated readings could extract an additional or a different sense from them"; and again, "I had them, I am sure, all by heart." Meeting with Dr. Coulter from the Republic of Mexico is described by him as a "terrible pleasure"—"one with whom I can talk of plants."

His journal marks him as a many-sided naturalist. His beloved collections of seeds and plants he carried in a bear's skin strapped to his back. He had seen horses slip and the fate of things they carried—tin boxes crushed and bent, and his shirt through friction, "reduced to surgeon's lint." He was much interested in mountain sheep, bears and deer, and left at several places minute directions for preserving skins of animals he wished to add to his list. On one occasion he shipped 2 pairs of Rock Grouse, a pair of Curlews, and a small female Pheasant, along with bundles of plants. In a canoe his collection of insects was swept away by a surge in a rapid, but he had safeguarded his plants and seeds.

In the Vancouver Daily Province we read that Kootenay Lake, in British Columbia, was the pioneer lode mining centre. No miner or prospector can claim the honor of its discovery. That was left for David Douglas who had come in botanical research work. He observed beneath the surface of clear water a vein carrying a shoot of iron ore, and made a report of this interesting discovery. That vein and iron shoot may still be seen, and it is described as a wonderful sight.

His tribute to the region of the Grand Rapids, a day's boat journey from Fort Vancouver, shows his love of the forest stretch that will forever sing his name and his fame in the glory of the Douglas fir. "Here the scenery is grand beyond description. The high mountains are covered with pines of several kinds, some of great magnitude, with their lofty, wide-spreading branches loaded with snow, while a rainbow stretches over the vapor formed by the agitated waters, which rush with furious speed over the shattered rocks and through the deep channel of the stream, producing a melancholy though pleasing echo through the still and woody valley, where the vivid green of the Pine contrasts agreeably with the reflection of the snow."

We see this intrepid traveler, starting on a trip with his party which was to take him across the mountains, wading through marshy ground, plunging knee-deep at times; then putting on bear's paws (snow shoes) where the snow stood a few feet deep, going through all the trying experiences of a beginner; then fording a river where it was unsafe to let one's feet leave the bottom; then moving on where mosses and lichens met his gaze, and up and beyond to the home of perpetual ice. Douglas loved his mountains, and felt the exhilaration of reverence in the grandeur of his surroundings.

With Sir John Franklin he had the delightful experience of traveling in birch bark canoes on the Athabasca and Lake Winnipeg. Later at Red River settlement he was entertained for a month by Governor Donald MacKenzie.

In March 1827, before leaving for his overland trip, he was presented by officials of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, with a suit of bright red Royal Stewart tartan replacing his worn-out garments. If the war-painted Indians had startled him in the silence of the wood, this Highland garb certainly was a return surprise to many he met on the journey.

Douglas had earned the distinction of adding to the botanical list of his day the names of over 1000 plants. We can appreciate the value of his work when we think of seeds and cuttings of many of these that were grown and distributed through the efforts of the Royal Horticultural Society to all parts of the world. From the seeds he collected stalwart firs are growing in the gardens at Edinburgh. His dried plants can be seen at Kew, at Cambridge and in London at the British Museum.

David Douglas, upon his return to London, like Captain Cook, the famous circumnavigator, was made much of in scientific and social circles. He arrived in England in the autumn of 1827, and two years later he set out again for the Northwest Coast, hearing the call of science stronger than the plaudits of his countrymen.

Like Captain Cook he left his homeland for the third and last time, little dreaming that he, too, was to follow in the path of tragedy to the self-same Isle of Hawaii.

The third trip, his second to the Northwest, found him unable to carry on his work in the interior of Oregon on account of the Indians being engaged in tribal wars, so he finally came to California.

"In *Sixty Years in California, 1831-1889*" by William Heath Davis, we read of Douglas at Monterey, being styled Doctor, as he very skillfully set the author's broken arm. We read further of his learning and extensive scientific acquirements, of his wide travels, concluding, "he was a grand, good man."

While in California he went about the same fearless man of the open, refusing the offer of guides from the missions and from the ranches.

From Monterey he came to the Sandwich Islands, now called the Hawaiian Islands, and made much of the fact that his passage took only 19 days! From Honolulu he had the good fortune to send home his California collection of plants, the Captain consigning them to his own cabin.

Exposure amid hardships on the Northwest Coast had left its mark, and he tells how he sat and fidgeted, not being able to explore the high mountains of these Islands, rheumatism preventing him from indulging in one of his greatest delights.

After a brief sojourn he returned to the Columbian region and on to the Fraser, where he had the misfortune, on the wrecking of his canoe, to lose many of his notes. Such records would have had a great historical value today with their interesting sidelights on the Indians and the famous trading posts where he was well-known and welcome.

Late in 1833, he again visited these Islands, as they held botanical treasures with which he wished to become intimately acquainted.

He persevered in his mountain climbing and accomplished the ascent of both Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa and visited Kilauea volcano.

Indicative of his scientific knowledge the height of Mauna Kea given by Douglas as 13,851 feet shows a difference of only 25 feet as compared with that made by the Hawaiian Government Survey Department estimating it at 13,825.

He writes of Mauna Loa, "One day there, is worth one year of common existence."

After his death his brother John received the journal account of these intensely interesting undertakings, given with minute detail, with the alert mind of the botanist and mountain climber.

The Royal Society has Douglas listed with several papers in its catalogue, and among them, Volcanoes in the Sandwich Islands. In the plant life of Hawaii his name appears, the Silver Sword, being one of them, named by Hooker, his great friend.

The heavy rains and muddy travel on the Island of Hawaii, must have been somewhat of a reminder to Douglas of some of his Oregon experiences. High upon Mauna Kea, he contemplates: "Man feels himself as nothing, as if standing on the verge of another world. The death-like stillness of the place, not an animal nor an insect to be seen, far removed from the din and bustle of the world"

He collected specimens showing the character of the lava, not forgetting to increase his bundles of plants. He sat down under the Tree-fern, thinking it resembled more the Pine than the fern family. Great pleasure came to him in recognizing a fern that grew in his own country, recalling happy memories of his boyhood. One can image his difficulty in drying his plants with

everything moist from the constant rains. He commented on the provisions for his bearers—"the quantity of poi a native will consume in a week, nearly equals his own weight! a dreadful drawback on expedition."

A letter dated May 6, 1834, probably his last from Honolulu, was written to Dr. Hooker. In this letter he was looking forward to conferring with him on the mode of publishing the plants of these Islands, feeling happy over the results of his labors, with further work before him on the mountains of Hawaii. On these heights he writes of seeing wild cattle, descendants of those brought over by Captain Vancouver, little realizing that he was to fall into a cattle trap, with a captured animal in it! Could he have sensed his fast approaching death on July 12th, in his prayer in that letter to Dr. Hooker, "May God grant me a safe return to England"?

Thirty-five was young to go. In another letter he writes, "All will be reconciled"—It takes faith to say that, and David Douglas had a splendid faith.

Hotels were unknown in the Sandwich Islands in those days and the mission houses were gratefully sought by travelers. Dr. Henry M. Lyman in "Hawaiian Yesterdays", mentions that visitors were welcome in bringing a change in the every day routine of affairs, and that his parents enjoyed the friendship of gifted men and women, among them, Douglas, the botanist. He tells what a shock it was for them to learn of his terrible death, when the huntsmen came down the mountain side to their home carrying his mangled body, where only a few days before they were loath to part with so entertaining a guest.

His little dog was found watching a basket of his collections, when his loved master was beyond all earthly call.

Douglas' observations here along botanical lines were cut short by his untimely death. He would have had much to journalize as he was keenly interested, the ferns especially caught his fancy, having classified two hundred species and half that number of mosses.

After the completion of his work in these Islands the plan was for him to return to England via Siberia, thus completing a botanical survey of the globe.

In the Liverpool Mercury his brother John read of his death,

and soon afterwards came authentic confirmation from the British Consul serving here.

In *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, an Hawaiian newspaper of November 26, 1834, there is printed in English a most affecting letter, dated July 15, 1834, addressed to the British Consul at Honolulu, from two missionaries, the Rev. Joseph Goodrich and the Rev. John Diell, concerning the tragic death of David Douglas and testifying to the high regard felt by all who knew him.

On August 3, the newspaper states there was an autopsy held over his body to substantiate the proof of his accidental death, and that opinion was concurred in by all medical experts present.

There is a shadow of mystery, however, attached to the tragedy. Two members of the Wilkes U. S. Exploring Expedition, some six years after his death had this to say: "It seems somewhat singular that Mr. Douglas should have laid down his bundle and returned after passing the pits; and it is remarkable too that his servant, who had parted from him the same morning, should also have perished."

Above the gateway as we enter Kawaiahaeo Cemetery we read:

IN MEMORIAM
TO THE DEAD WHOSE ASHES LIE
IN THE UNMARKED GRAVES
OF KAWAIAHAEO CEMETERY
THIS TABLET IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED
1908

And David Douglas lies in one of the unnamed graves. The white marble monument sent from abroad came too late to mark his last resting place, for no one seemed to know just where it was.

This monument with its inscription in Latin was placed on the wall to the right of the entrance to Kawaiahaeo Church. Weather-worn, it is today, peeling off, and the lettering becoming more and more illegible. An historic landmark linking the Old with the New World—surely, it ought to be saved from oblivion!

(I have since learned that W. H. Baird of Honolulu has been able to secure a bronze tablet bearing the inscription of this monument, and it is to be placed, through permission of the Board of Trustees of Kawaiahaeo Church, below the marble monument.)

In a letter dated August 6, 1834, Richard Charlton, the British Consul at Honolulu, writes that the funeral of David Douglas was attended by officers of His Majesty's Ship Challenger, and the entire foreign community. The Consul mentions that he "caused his grave to be covered over with brick." Might this not lead to some clue of the spot of his interment?

In research work of Edwin North McClellan appearing in the Honolulu Advertiser, August 7, 1928, we read this extract from Commodore Charles Wilkes, U. S. Navy, who visited Honolulu, in 1840: "In the neighborhood of the old church, near the Mission, is the Burying Ground, which is a mere Common, and the graves are exposed to every kind of neglect. Foreigners, as well as Natives, are buried there. The only grave that was pointed out to me, was that of Douglas, the botanist, which was without any inscription whatever."

The Rev. Henry H. Parker, pastor of Kawaiahao Church, from June 1863, to January 1918, could not give the location of the grave as no records had been kept in those early days.

From a letter, dated November 18, 1928, which I received from W. G. McFarlane, clerk and inspector of the Scone Parish Council, I shall read in part:

"There stands in the kirkland of the Parish Church here a very handsome monument erected by subscription from those interested in Arboriculture throughout Europe. Graven in marble on the obverse of the Monument is a list of trees, shrubs, plants, and seeds introduced into this country by Douglas, while the front of the stone passes high encomiums on the private life of Douglas, his bravery in the face of danger, his loving care of his parents, and the benefits conferred on his countrymen by his intrepid pursuit of his task.

Douglas is little more than a name now here. The present village was removed two miles from Old Scone, and a new village New Scone, erected which has a population of 2000. The Parish Church at Old Scone was taken down, stone by stone, numbers painted on the stones, carted to its present site and re-erected the same as it stood originally. Near proximately to Perth, with which the village is connected by a five minutes bus service, has induced many people to come to live here, and it is only we old ones who can say much of the times in which Douglas lived."

David Douglas has his lasting monument in the beauty of a living tree, his name remembered in the grandeur of the monarchs of the forest.

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