

Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society

No. 13

“The Archives of Hawaii”

By ROBERT C. LYDECKER,
Librarian of Public Archives,

and

“The Story of Cleopatra’s Barge”

By PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER,

also

“The Career of a Chilean Pirate and
Its Capture in 1822”

Compiled by PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.

Read before the Society June 9, 1906.



HONOLULU, T. H.,
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MINUTES OF A SPECIAL MEETING

OF THE

Hawaiian Historical Society

HELD JUNE 29, 1906.

A meeting of the Society was held in the Library room at 8 p. m., June 29, 1906, the president, Prof. W. D. Alexander, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were approved as published in the annual report.

Messrs. Ralph A. Hosmer and Wade Warren Thayer and Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Mellis were elected active members.

The Committee on Ancient Land Marks was instructed to take the necessary steps for marking the place where the first constitution was proclaimed at Lahaina.

Mr. Lydecker read a paper on the Public Archives.

Prof. Alexander read a paper on "Cleopatra's Barge."

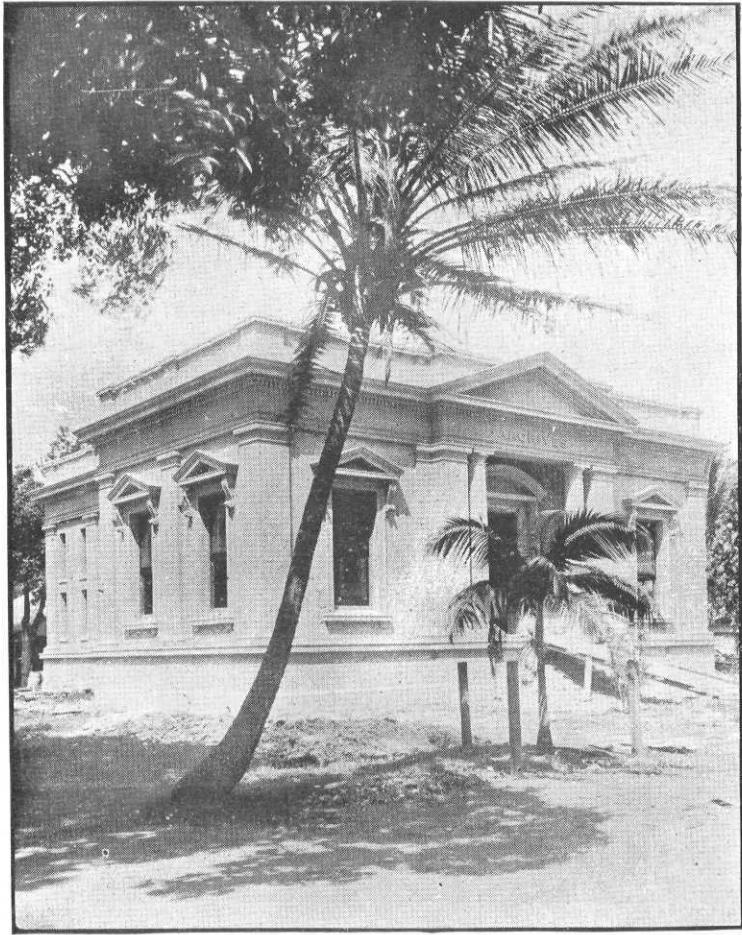
Dr. Emerson read a paper prepared by Prof. Alexander on the "Career of a Chilean Pirate in 1822."

It was voted to publish these papers.

Adjourned.

W. F. FREAR,
Recording Secretary.





THE NEW ARCHIVES BUILDING.

The Archives of Hawaii

BY ROBERT C. LYDECKER, *Librarian of Public Archives.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

When I was asked by our Corresponding Secretary, to prepare a paper on the archives and some of the documents that have come to light during the present overhauling, I anticipated, with the material at my disposal, no particular difficulty in doing so, but, when I got at it, I found a very large question mark looming up, and this same material my greatest stumbling block.

To make a choice of a few documents, from a vast number of equally valuable and interesting ones, was no easy matter, and after vainly trying to solve the problem, I picked out some of the most ancient, and took the rest as they came to hand without trying to make any particular choice, as the only way out of my difficulty.

Before entering on a brief account of a few of the more important documents that have turned up during the present examination of the Archives, and the plans of the Commission for the preservation of the latter, a few remarks on previous attempts in this direction may be of interest.

I think I am safe in saying that during Mr. Wyllie's long administration as Minister of Foreign Affairs,* the archives were well cared for. His many papers show him to have been a man of most methodical habits, one of which was the careful filing away of any paper that might be of the slightest value or interest. It is therefore a natural conclusion that he gave these valuable papers the most careful attention, but after his death they seem to have been sadly neglected, were left a prey for destructive insects, and were covered with the dust of years.

* From March 26, 1845, until his death, October 19, 1865.

The credit of first calling the attention of the Government to the condition of these documents is due to a member of this Society. Prof. W. D. Alexander, then Surveyor General of the Kingdom, in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under date of June 13, 1892, reports the deplorable condition in which he found them, and recommends that a suitable appropriation be made for their proper care. Acting on this the Minister in his report to the Legislature of that year recommends an appropriation of Six Thousand Dollars, which recommendation was concurred in by the Legislative Committee having the matter in charge, but on the final passage of the appropriation bill the item was reduced to Twenty-five Hundred Dollars.

Provision having thus been made, the arranging and classifying of the documents was assigned to the Rev. Roswell Randall Hoes, Chaplain of the U. S. S. Pensacola, then in port. Mr. Hoes seems to have devoted a good portion of his time to the work while the vessel remained here, and obtained a leave of absence to continue after the ship had left. Just how long he was engaged on it there are no records to show, and time and the subsequent removals and handling of the documents have obliterated all trace of his labors.

After Chaplain Hoes discontinued, the documents seem to have been neglected until 1895, when the work was again undertaken by our fellow-member, Dr. N. B. Emerson, who, under date of October 22, reports to the Minister of Foreign Affairs that "the bulk of the material was found stored in a room on the first floor of the Survey Building, rudely packed in rough boxes or lying in disorderly piles. Another portion was found in the tower rooms of the Judiciary Building, and another part still in the room formerly used as the Government Library." He also says, "The whole mass gave evidence in all its parts of having suffered, not only from neglect, but from ill treatment."

I gather from the Doctor's report, and other evidence of his work, that he was principally engaged in arranging a good portion of the Foreign Office documents into chronological order, placing them in camphor trunks and indexing the different packages. The work he then did I have found of great assistance at

the present time, and the documents that passed through his hands in very good shape, and, while this cannot be said of a large portion of the archives, when it is considered how little care and attention they have had for a number of years, it is surprising to find the comparatively good condition they are now in as a whole.

After Dr. Emerson ceased his work no further effort seems to have been made until Secretary Cooper caused the different Treaties to be collected together and placed in the Treasury vault for safe keeping. For want of space they were subsequently removed to a room in the attic of the Capitol Building where they were found when the Commission took charge. Mr. Cooper also had copies made of some Foreign Office correspondence that was becoming illegible. Since then nothing of importance has been done until the present work by the Commission.

The preliminary steps leading to the appointment of this Commission were as follows: Shortly after annexation Mr. W. C. Ford, of the U. S. Archive Bureau, came here to look up these documents with a view to having them transferred to Washington, but was urged on account of their value to local affairs, and especially their relation to land titles, to leave the papers in Territorial custody. He agreed to do so on the assurance that a fire-proof building would be erected to house them. Agreeably to this arrangement the Legislature of 1903 appropriated Seventy-five Thousand Dollars for such a building.

No further action was taken until the Legislature of 1905 passed an Act providing for a Board of Commissioners of Public Archives, it having been thought best to place the documents in charge of a permanent head as being the more conducive to regularity in their care than could be the case under officials who were rotating in office.

The Act creating this board was approved April 3, 1905, and Dr. W. D. Alexander and Mr. Albert F. Judd were appointed commissioners April 26th, and they, with the Secretary of the Territory, who the Act specifies shall be a member, constitute the present board.

Active work began May 11th, the first thing to be undertaken being the location of the documents. In the attic of the Capitol

Building were found one hundred and thirty-two containers consisting principally of camphor trunks, in addition to which there was a large mass of loose material in a more or less disordered state. These documents are chiefly those of the Foreign Office and the archives of the different sessions of the Legislature. In the basement were found documents of the Interior Department, Chinese Bureau, Post Office and Custom House. Foreign Office documents were also found in the vaults of the Land and Tax Offices. In addition to these there are a mass of papers and books appertaining to the Boards of Health and Education stored in their respective quarters.

The Archives embrace all kinds of public documents (and some private ones of a historical nature) from the time of Kamehameha I. Other than the official papers relating to all the departments of the government are original papers of the early Hawaiian Chiefs. The Hawaiian historian, David Malo, contributes a large number of letters. The early trials and tribulations of the government are set forth in thousands of documents, and there are vast quantities of manuscripts written by that brilliant statesman and diplomat, the Honorable Robert C. Wyllie.

I cannot let the occasion pass without paying a slight tribute to this man's memory. It is to Mr. Wyllie's lasting credit that, through his painstaking care, we are indebted for a vast number of the valuable historical documents that have come down to us. Other than his state papers, there are hundreds of memoranda jotted down by him from time to time that give an insight into the passing events, and the men of his day, of the latter of which he appears to have been a keen judge. To the historian they are of the greatest value and in many cases brush the cob-webs from the face of official documents and enable one to read between the lines. No one can handle his papers without being apprised of the strong personality of the man; they bear the stamp of the thorough gentleman of the old school. No matter how bitter the controversy, and he was engaged in many a trying one, he was ever a model of dignified courtesy, and in this respect his state papers stand out in bold contrast to those of some of his adversaries. I have yet to see one in which he sways an iota from the

dignified statesman and high-minded gentleman, a remark I am sorry to say that will not apply to some of his opponents. The services he rendered the country of his adoption are too little known by the present generation, and when in the future, the State of Hawaii, however distant that event may be, is entitled to place her two statues in the Hall of Fame at Washington, in my humble opinion, beside that of Kamehameha I., the Napoleon of the Pacific, should stand one of Robert Crichton Wyllie, the statesman whose guiding hand on the helm of the newly launched Ship-of-State pointed her on a course leading to our present prosperity.

Of the large number of valuable documents that have come to light during the present examination, it is hard to specify which are the more so, and the limits of this paper will only permit the mention of a few.

The oldest document thus far discovered bears date of March 22nd, 1790, and is a letter from Capt. Simon Metcalf of the "Eleanora," at anchor off "Owhyhee," (Hawaii), addressed to S. I. Thomas, J. Piedler, Jos. Mackey and John Young. The Captain complains of his boatswain being detained on shore and states that if he is not returned to the ship, "I am possessed of sufficient power to take ample revenge, which it is your duty to make the Head Chief acquainted with."

Next in point of age is a copy of a letter left with the Chiefs of "Owhyhee" by George Vancouver, dated March 9th, 1793. Though this is a copy it was doubtless written at the same time as the original, (which I understand is in the possession of a lady of this city), for it is on similar paper, and in the same handwriting, probably that of his secretary, as an autograph letter of Vancouver's signed March 2nd, 1794. As these letters are of general recommendation of the different Chiefs he had come in contact with, and acknowledgments of the hospitable treatment he had received, copies were doubtless made to enable the Chiefs to show them to captains of visiting vessels at the different ports. In his last letter he also says, "On the 25th of February, in a grand council of the principal Chiefs of this Island, assembled on board His Britannic Majesty's vessel under my command, Tamaah Maah made the most solemn cession possible of the Island of

Owhynee to Hiss Britannic Majesty." There is also a chart that was published in London May 1st, 1798, showing the track of Vancouver's vessels, the Discovery and the armed tender Chatham, down the coast of California, or as the chart gives it "New Albion," in November and December, 1793. This was when he was approaching the Islands for his last visit in 1794.

We have the retained copy of Kamehameha's letter to George III. announcing his sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands. While this letter conveys the implied cession of the entire group, the so-called cession* at the time of Vancouver's last visit being that of the Island of Hawaii only, it is more in the phraseology than in the intent. A perusal of the letter clearly shows that the King's amanuensis was not a person of education. The following is the letter in full:

"His most Sacred Majesty George III of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland. King, Defender of the faith &c &c &c."
"Brother."

"We Kamaah Amaah King of the Sandwich Islands wishing to render every assistance to the Ships of his Most sacred Majesty's subjects who visit those (these) sea's have sent a letter by Capt Spence Ship Duke of Portland to his Majesty, since which; Timoree, King of Atooi, has delivered his Island up, and we are now in possession of the whole of the Sandwich Islands. We as subject to his Most Sacred Majesty wish to have a seal & arms sent from Britain so as their may be no molestation to our Ships or Vessels in those Sea's or any hindrance whatsoever"

"Wishing your Majisty a long, prosperous, & happy reign I am Brother."

"Sign'd

KAMAAH AMAAH."

"Wcahoo August 6th: 1810"

* There was evidently some misunderstanding in reference to this transaction. That Kamehameha rightly understood the meaning of a cession is doubtful. What he appears to have wanted was Protection, both in his dealings with Vancouver, and in his letter to George III., and he had no idea of surrendering his own sovereignty.

A letter from the Earl of Liverpool dated April 30, 1812, acknowledges the receipt of one from the King dated March 3, 1810, (this is the letter the King refers to in the above communication of August 6th, 1810), together with a feather cloak at the hands of Capt. Spence. (See Alexander's history, p. 154.) The most important part of this letter of the Earl's is the intimation, probably for the first time, of the attitude of the British Government relative to Kamehameha's cession. In this connection there is a foot-note in Mr. Wyllie's handwriting as follows: "Note by the Reviewer. The list gave the contents of two cases, Nos. 1 & 2, with presents of articles, some ornamental and others useful, but without either *Seal* or *Arms*. Perhaps the British Government omitted them thinking that they might mark the Islands as a Dependency of the British Crown, for the whole tenor of the Despatch is one of respect to the King's Independence, with an implied promise of friendly protection in case of foreign aggression."

The list of presents referred to by Mr. Wyllie has also been found. Case No. 1 contained "A Gold Laced Cocked Hat and Feathers, and a New Red Coat and Uniform." Case No. 2 had in it an assortment of various sized nails, some brads, six hammers, twelve gimlets, two augers and two highly ornamented brass speaking trumpets.

A letter from the Governor-in-Chief of New South Wales, under date of April 12th, 1816, accompanied Liverpool's letter, and gives the reason why the latter was so long delayed, it having been taken to China by a vessel that was expected to touch here, but which returned to New South Wales without doing so. The Governor states that by order of the Prince Regent, he will shortly begin building a vessel to be presented to the King when completed. This is the vessel that had been promised the King by Vancouver, which promise the King reminds George III. of in his letter of March 3, 1810. The vessel arrived here April 16, 1822, but Kamehameha I. having died May 8, 1819, never saw it. It was named Prince Regent and on May 1, 1822, was presented to Liholiho by Captain Kent on behalf of the British Government.

The King, however, did not possess it very long as it was wrecked on the east side of Oahu a few months later.

There is a document signed by the King (His Mark) and Captain Hipaulito Bouchard of the ship *Argentina*, authorizing the King to take charge of any Prize Ships that might be brought to the Islands by vessels of "The United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata," signed on board the *Argentina*, in the Bay of "Rehina," September 11, 1818. Also the King's declaration in relation to the "Buenos Ayres Patriot Ship *Santa Rosa*," that had been taken from her former officers and brought to the Islands by the mutineers, bearing date of September 4, 1818. The original commission issued to Captain Bouchard by the Buenos Ayres Congress, authorizing him to seize this vessel, is among this lot of papers. It bears a number of signatures, the flourishes to some of which are works of art.

In a communication to the King dated "October 1826" (the day of the month not stated), Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, commanding the U. S. Sloop-of-War *Peacock*, announces his arrival and desire to present a message from the President of the United States and to lay certain propositions before the King in Council. This visit of Captain Jones led to the signing of the first formal treaty* made by the Islands with a foreign power. Unfortunately

* In the fifth annual report of this Society (p. 22), there is a paper entitled, "Capt. Hypolite Bouchard and His Treaty with Kamehameha I.," which the writer states "was the *First Treaty* entered into by King Kamehameha with an independent foreign power." For the purpose of historical accuracy, and the avoidance of conflicting statements, it is necessary to make a few corrective remarks in reference to this paper. On page 27, of the pamphlet containing the above mentioned report, the last paragraph begins as follows: "After Bouchard's return to Hawaii, (? Oahu, presumably from Kauai and Maui.—See *Early Northern Pacific Voyages*, Peter Corney, pp. 120, 121), a formal treaty was made between the King and the Government of the Argentine Republic, on the 20th of August, 1820." This date is clearly wrong, and is probably a typographical error. Bouchard left the Islands, never to return, October 20th, 1818, (Peter Corney, p. 121), and Kamehameha died in 1819. None of the early writers that I have been able to consult, mention such a treaty, and the nearest approach to anything resembling one, that has been found among the papers left here by Capt. Bouchard, and now in the archives, is the document mentioned in the

the original of this treaty has not as yet been found. All subsequent ones down to that of annexation we have, and it is hoped that this one will ultimately turn up. Traces of it have been found, such as the envelope that had contained it, and a memorandum made by Dr. Judd in 1846 stating that it had, with a number of others he mentions, been delivered to Mr. Ricord, who was to return the documents in ten days. It will be most unfortunate should we not succeed in finding it, for the copy retained by the United States is also lost, having been burned in a fire in the Navy Department building at Washington.

We also have a copy of a letter of the then Commodore Jones written in 1855 to the Secretary of the U. S. Navy. This letter is in the nature of a reply to criticisms made by Mr. Wyllie in a report to the Legislature, and incidentally the Commodore states in detail what took place between the British Consul, Captain Richard Charlton, and himself at the Council of Chiefs held December 22nd, 1826, to negotiate the treaty above mentioned, when Charlton denied the right of the Chiefs to make treaties, claiming that the Islanders were subjects of Great Britain. Of this incident Jones says: "At the close of an appropriate prayer by one of the missionaries the Ministry occupied a few minutes in consultation, when the Prime Minister, Kalaimoku (Billy Pitt), pronounced the Council ready for business, whereupon His B. Majesty's Consul General, Captain Richard Charlton, rose and made *protest* against all further proceedings in the premises, declaring the Islanders to be mere tenants at will, subjects of Great Britain, without power to treat with any other State or Prince, and that if they entered into treaty stipulations with the United States, Great Britain would soon assert her right by taking pos-

body of this paper, that authorizes the King to take charge of any prize ships that might be brought here by vessels of The United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. This may, or may not, be the document the writer, since deceased, refers to. That Capt. Bouchard was authorized to make treaties is in itself doubtful. There are papers in the archives authorizing all of his actions while here, but there are none giving him power to make treaties, and it is extremely doubtful that he had such power. That the first treaty was made with the United States, during Capt. Jones' visit in 1826, there is no doubt.

session of the Islands, a right which his King and Country had never relinquished.* Not altogether unprepared for this move, I asked Captain Charlton what was the nature or character of the Commission he bore from the King. "*Consul General† to the Sandwich Islands, with full power to appoint Vice Consuls for the Society and other groups at discretion,*" was his reply. What are the duties or functions of a Consul General was my next question; the answer was in accordance with the acknowledged international understanding of the office. I then asked Captain Charlton if it was customary for a Prince or Potentate to send Consuls, Consuls General or Commercial Agents to any part or place within his own dominions? No sophistry could ward off the catastrophe; the Consul General was dumbfounded, while the true Sovereigns of the Islands looked on with intense anxiety for the interpretation of the pass between the representatives of the two great nations, England and America. When informed of all that had been said by the antagonist representatives, Pitt, the Prime Minister, although far gone with dropsy, which closed his valuable life a few days afterwards, raised upon his couch and gave utterance to his feelings in substance, *thus*: "Is it so?" "Are *America* and *England equal?*" "We never understood so before." "We knew that England was our friend, and that Captain Charlton was here to protect us, but we did not know that Mr. Jones, the American Consul, was the representative of America; we thought he was here for trade only" &c. &c.*

* This statement was either woeful ignorance or deliberate bluff on Charlton's part. At an audience at Windsor Castle, September 11, 1824, George IV. himself told Boki and other Chiefs, that he would protect the Islands from foreign aggression, but that they must manage their internal affairs themselves, refusing absolutely to have any thing to do with these matters. Testimony to this effect by Kekuanaoa, who was present at this audience, is on file in the archives.

† The Commodore's memory is at fault here. Charlton's title was that of Consul only.

* Until the Peacock's visit to the Society Islands in 1826, the inhabitants supposed the United States to be a Colony of Great Britain, upon a par with New South Wales, &c., &c.—Footnote to Commodore Jones' letter. This, to some extent, seems to have been the opinion here also.

Among the important documents found are three journals of the Rev. Mr. Richards, one of the early missionaries who, with the consent of the American Board of Foreign Missions, put aside his missionary work in 1838, at the solicitation of the King, to become the adviser of the Government.

One of these journals contains copies of some of the documents that figured in the secret mission of Mr. Farnham† in 1840. Every thing connected with this mission was suppressed at the time, and this journal, as far as is now known, is all we have that throws any light on it. A few extracts will be of interest.

First in order are Mr. Farnham's credentials to the United States, Great Britain and France; then follows a long letter of instructions. Farnham is told to proceed to Washington first and find out the disposition of the United States Government to his entire mission, the main object of which is to make treaties with the several powers to which he is accredited, with the particular end in view of securing the perpetuation of the Kamehameha Dynasty. In France he is to work for the annulment of existing treaties with that government, which are described as "dishonorable treaties." The removal of the French Consul at Honolulu, who had never been recognized as such by the Hawaiian Government, and the return of the Twenty Thousand Dollars‡ taken from Honolulu by the French Man-of-War *Artemise*, he is to bring about if possible.

Next is a letter to Benj. F. Butler, who is asked to look after Farnham and to act as the medium of communication between the Envoy and the Hawaiian authorities, also as its financial agent. Butler, the King says, has been recommended to him by Mr. Richards, as a man of high standing, and one who feels a deep interest in the Hawaiian Islands. This was evidently not the first

† "As early as March 17, 1840, Mr. T. J. Farnham, an American lawyer from Oregon, was commissioned as minister to the governments of Great Britain, France and the United States, but nothing came of it."—Alexander's Brief History, pp. 235-6.

‡ This money was restored, in the original cases and with seals unbroken, by Rear-Admiral Hamelin, of the French frigate "*Virginie*," March 23, 1846.—Alexander's Brief History, p. 261.

communication that had passed between the King and Butler for the former says: "Will you now listen to us again, for we are about to ask of you a great favor. We are in straightened circumstances as you will doubtless hear." The King then details his troubles at length and asks Butler to render what assistance he can. Letters of credit are to be sent him and he is instructed to pay Farnham a salary of Sixty-four Hundred Dollars a year, with an additional Thousand should the Envoy's expenses warrant it. He is requested to examine Farnham's commissions, and if they are not in proper form to fill out others, which the King has signed in blank and sends for that purpose. The original commissions were evidently in proper shape as the blank ones were returned and are now in the archives. Butler is also instructed to maintain the utmost secrecy and to mention the matter to no one but Farnham.

What Mr. Farnham did is still to be revealed. That he did not go to Europe is conclusively proven from the fact that he received but Eighteen Hundred Dollars for whatever services he claimed to have rendered. In a receipt dated September 27th, 1844, he acknowledges One Thousand Dollars, and a former payment of Eight Hundred, protesting that these amounts were not just remuneration.*

* Since the above was written, a letter from Mr. Farnham to Mr. Richards, dated New York, June 17th, 1841, has come to light. In this letter Mr. Farnham complains bitterly of the inaction of Butler, who, he says, is too indolent and too much engrossed in politics to give the necessary attention to the important business entrusted to him by the Hawaiian Government. Butler had sent him his commissions, but had not furnished him with the necessary funds to enable him to proceed on his mission, which, he states, should be entered on at once. Butler seems to have had trouble in negotiating the drafts sent him, but according to Farnham, he had not exerted himself to any great extent. The failure to obtain funds, Farnham says, is the only reason he had not proceeded to Europe months before. Unless other documents turn up to throw a different light on this matter, the failure of Farnham to carry out his instructions, may be accounted for by his lack of funds, though why this should have been so it is hard to understand.

This letter also conveys the impression that Farnham was from Illinois, and not from Oregon, as it has heretofore been supposed. All the testimonials he furnished Butler are from officials and citizens of the former State, a large part of them being his "old neighbors" in the County of Farwell.

The demands made by the French Commissioner, M. Perrin, in 1851, which were the identical demands that had been made by M. Dillon in 1849, finally resulted in the issuing on March 10th, 1851, of a proclamation placing the Islands provisionally under the protection of the United States. This action resulted in a considerable modification of the French Commissioner's demands, and the whole trouble brought forth a letter from Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, on the policy of the United States towards the Islands. The following extract is taken from the copy furnished the Hawaiian Government. Writing to U. S. Commissioner Luther Severance, under heading, "Department of State, Washington, July 14, 1851," the Secretary, after acknowledging the receipt of several confidential communication from Mr. Severance, says:

"They relate to a subject of great importance, not only to the Hawaiian Government and its citizens, but also to the United States.

"The Government of the United States was the first to acknowledge the national existence of the Hawaiian Government, and treat with it, as an independent State. Its example was soon followed by several of the Governments of Europe; and the United States, true to its treaty obligations, has in no case interfered with the Hawaiian Government, for the purpose of opposing the course of its own independent conduct, or of dictating to it any particular line of policy. In acknowledging the independence of the Islands, and of the Government established over them, it was not seeking to promote any peculiar object of its own. What it did, and all that it did, was done openly, in the face of day, in entire good faith, and known to all Nations. It declared its real purpose to be, to favor the establishment of a Government at a very important point in the Pacific Ocean, which should be able to maintain such relations with the rest of the world, as are maintained between civilized States.

"From this purpose it has never swerved for a single moment; nor is it inclined, without the pressure of some necessity, to depart from it now, when events have occurred, giving to the Islands and

to their intercourse with the United States a new aspect and increased importance.

"This Government still desires to see the nationality of the Hawaiian Government maintained, its independent administration of public affairs respected, and its prosperity increased.

"But while thus indisposed to exercise any sinister influence itself, over the councils of Hawaii, or to overawe the proceedings of its Government by the menace or the actual application of superior military force, it expects to see other powerful nations act in the same spirit. It is therefore with unfeigned regret, that the President has read the correspondence, and become acquainted with the circumstances, occurring between the Hawaiian Government and M. Perrin, the Commissioner of France at Honolulu.

"It is too plain to be denied or doubted, that demands were made upon the Hawaiian Government, by the French Commissioner, wholly inconsistent with its character as an independent State: demands which, if submitted to in this case, would be sure to be followed by other demands, equally derogatory, not only from the same quarter, but probably also, from other States; and this could only end, in rendering the Islands and their Government, a prey to the stronger commercial nations of the world.

"It cannot be expected that the Government of the United States could look on a course of things, leading to such a result, with indifference.

"The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States, than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States; and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the Government of the United States will pursue in regard to them. The annunciation of this policy will not surprise the Governments of Europe, nor be thought to be unreasonable by the nations of the civilized world; and that policy is, that while the Government of the United States, itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those Islands taken possession of by either of the Great commercial powers of Europe; nor can it consent that demands manifestly un-

just and derogatory, and inconsistent with a bona fide independence, shall be enforced against that Government.

"The substance of what is here said, has already been intimated with sufficient explicitness, to the Government of France; and we have the assurance of Mr. Sartiges, Minister of the Republic of France, near the United States, that, that Government has no purpose whatever of taking possession of the Islands, or of acting towards them in any hostile or aggressive spirit.

A copy of this letter will be placed in the hands of the French Minister here; another copy will be transmitted to Paris; and another copy, you will please communicate to M. Perrin, the French Commissioner, upon the appearance of any disposition on his part, or on the part of any French Naval Commander in the Pacific Ocean to proceed to hostilities against the Government of Hawaii, for the purpose of enforcing the demands which have been made upon it, on the part of France.

"The Navy Department will receive instructions to place, and to keep, the Naval armament of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, in such a state of strength and preparation, as shall be requisite for the preservation of the honor and dignity of the United States, and the safety of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands.

"I have the honor to be

"Very respectfully

"Your Obedient Servant

"(Signed) DANIEL WEBSTER."

The Archives of the British Commission of 1843, are intact, and there are numerous letters from Admiral Thomas to Mr. Wyllie, and a few from Lord George Paulet. The latter seems to have experienced a change of heart since the trouble he created here in 1843. In all of his letters he expresses the most friendly sentiments for the Royal Family and the Islands. Writing under date of June 20, 1849, he states the deep interest he takes "in every thing connected with those beautiful islands," and continuing said: "I hope you will convey to His Majesty and the Royal Family

every expression of esteem and regard from one who always had their interests at heart, though they were made to believe otherwise by my enemies." In another letter written November 29, 1850, he says the conversations between Admiral Thomas and himself often turn to the islands. Doubtless these conversations he speaks of had considerable to do with his change of feeling. He appears to have been a weak man whose faults were more those of the head than of the heart.

There are a number of books containing the autographs of visitors to the Palace from 1854 to 1892. These books contain the names of many distinguished persons who visited Hawaii during this period. The names of the officers of the ill-fated U. S. Man-of-War *Levant* were inscribed just before she departed on what was to be her last voyage. When the Provisional Government was established, the keeping of these books ceased, and has not been resumed, though it is hoped it will be. Hawaii has many distinguished visitors as the years roll by, and a record of them is very interesting.

We have several letters of Kalaimoku written in 1824. These letters were sent to Dr. Judd in 1844, by Kekauonohi, undoubtedly for use in the case of the Charlton Land Claim, for in a letter of transmittal Kekauonohi says: "This is the pattern (or copy) to compare with the writing to the Consul, in order to show its genuineness, for this is the genuine writing of Paalua. If it is not like this, then it is perhaps a forgery."

That Charlton's claim was fraudulent, there is little doubt.

But time will not permit of my dwelling at length on these interesting relics of past generations, and I will simply mention a few of the more important documents that have come to light without comment.

Hoapili writes in 1824, giving an account of the attack on the Fort at Waimea, Kauai, August 8th, and of his battle with, and victory over the rebels at Hanapepe, August 18th, of that year, which battle put an end to the rebellion.

Sundry old laws have been found, including the first printed ones. These refer to harbor and quarantine regulations, and were probably those drawn up by Lord Byron of the Blonde, when

that vessel came here with the bodies of Kamehameha II. and his Queen. They bear date of June 2nd, 1825.

We have the bill of sale of the ship Albatross, sold by John Ebbet to Kamehameha I. Dated October 16, 1816.

"Tamooore" (Kaunualii) the vassal King of Kauai, and his son George Tamooore, sign a note in favor of J. Pigot, Agent, and John Meek, Captain of the Brig Pedler, for one hundred and ninety-one piculs of sandal wood, dated June 23, 1820. The Maui Chief, Kalaimoku, gives a note for three thousand seven hundred and sixty "pickles" of sandal wood, on December 26th, 1821, it being the purchase price of the Brig "Inori" (Ainoa).

An autograph letter of Kaahumanu seems to be addressed to Christians in the United States generally. She requests that more missionaries be sent here. There is no date to this document, and it is signed "Elizabeta Kaahumanu."

There are a number of documents in Spanish and English of Don Francisco de Paula y Marin, including his commission as a captain in the Hawaiian Army; dated December 10, 1819. This commission, the document states, "is given on account of the Merits and manifold Services of the aforesaid Don Francisco de Paula y Marin to these Islands."

A copy in native of the first history of the country, written by the students of Lahainaluna, and edited by the Rev. Sheldon Dibble, has been found. It was printed at Lahainaluna in 1838. The writers of this history, by the way, formed the first Hawaiian Historical Society.

There is a letter written in 1824, from the secretary of the London Missionary Society, thanking the authorities for their kindness to the Rev. Mr. Ellis, when he was here in 1822 and 1823. In another letter, written the same year, he expresses the condolence of the Society on the death of the King and Queen in London.

Brigham Young sends a communication on Mormon affairs in 1865.

There are a lot of manuscripts endorsed, "For a new edition of Jarvis' History of the Hawaiian Islands."

A manuscript entitled, "A Narrative of a Voyage, etc., by Rufus

Newburgh in 1835," has been found. Mr. Newburgh was evidently a man of education and well acquainted with the islands of the Pacific. His journal when printed, as it doubtless will be, will make interesting reading for the student of history.

The report of the doctors who attended the King and Queen in London during their last illness is filed away.

Finally there are hundreds of autograph letters from Royalty, Presidents and Statesmen the world over. When it came to Court and Diplomatic etiquette, little Hawaii stood on a par with St. James.

The last document I shall mention seems to need an explanation from the Department of Public Instruction. It is written in native and bears the following endorsement: "Board of Education. How to flirt with a handkerchief." As near as I can make out it is the key to a wigwag system of that feminine art.

The present work on the Archives consists of the examination and inventorying of the contents of the various containers, and in obtaining a general working knowledge of the documents, so that the final segregation and indexing can be entered upon with some degree of intelligence as to the material to be handled when the Archives building is completed.

This building, which is now being erected on the Capitol grounds, east of the Capitol itself, and facing the road which leads to the Likelike street gate, will be a decided ornament to the grounds. It will be of brick covered by cement, one story in height and in classic design, practically fire-proof in all its parts, and will consist of two sections, vault and offices. The vault, which is absolutely fire-proof, will consist of the rear section, and will open into the front section by a steel door. This vault will be 30x40 feet in size, and fitted with steel cases in which the archives will be stored. The front section will be 28x54 feet, divided into three rooms. The central room, a kind of lobby, will be 17x27 feet; across the rear of this will run a marble counter all the way, behind which the librarian will have his desk and office. From his office the only door leading into the archives vault will open. On the right hand side will be a private office and board room, 17x28 feet, and on the left hand side a room of similar size

which will be for the use of persons looking up archives and references.

The plan of the Commission is, after the documents are properly arranged, to have the archives accessible at all times when the office is open to visitors and students, but all papers must be obtained directly from the librarian, receipted for and returned to him; none can be taken from the building.

The proper classification, segregation and indexing of the great mass of material will be a work that will require some time, and until this is done the building must necessarily be closed to the public.

Not only are these documents valuable to the student and historian; their practical value to the government or the individual, as the case may be, is great. This has already been exemplified in two important cases that have come up in the short time the Commission has been in existence.

It is a matter of congratulation that the work of caring for and housing these valuable documents, tracing the history of Hawaii from the days of heathenism to the present time, is at last to be undertaken in a manner that will ensure their future preservation. It is a duty that has been too long neglected and one that the country owes to posterity.

The Story of Cleopatra's Barge.

For many of the statements in the following sketch I am indebted to an article by Winfield M. Thompson, published in the "Rudder" for January, 1904.

The famous yacht, Cleopatra's Barge, which was destined to play an interesting part in Hawaiian history, was built for Captain George Crowninshield of Salem, Mass., the first American yachtsman. Like his father and grandfather before him, he had made his fortune as a shipmaster and merchant in the China and East India trade.

The family had also fitted out three privateers during the war of 1812, one of which, the "America," was very successful.

A brother of his, Benjamin Crowninshield, was Secretary of the Navy under President Madison.

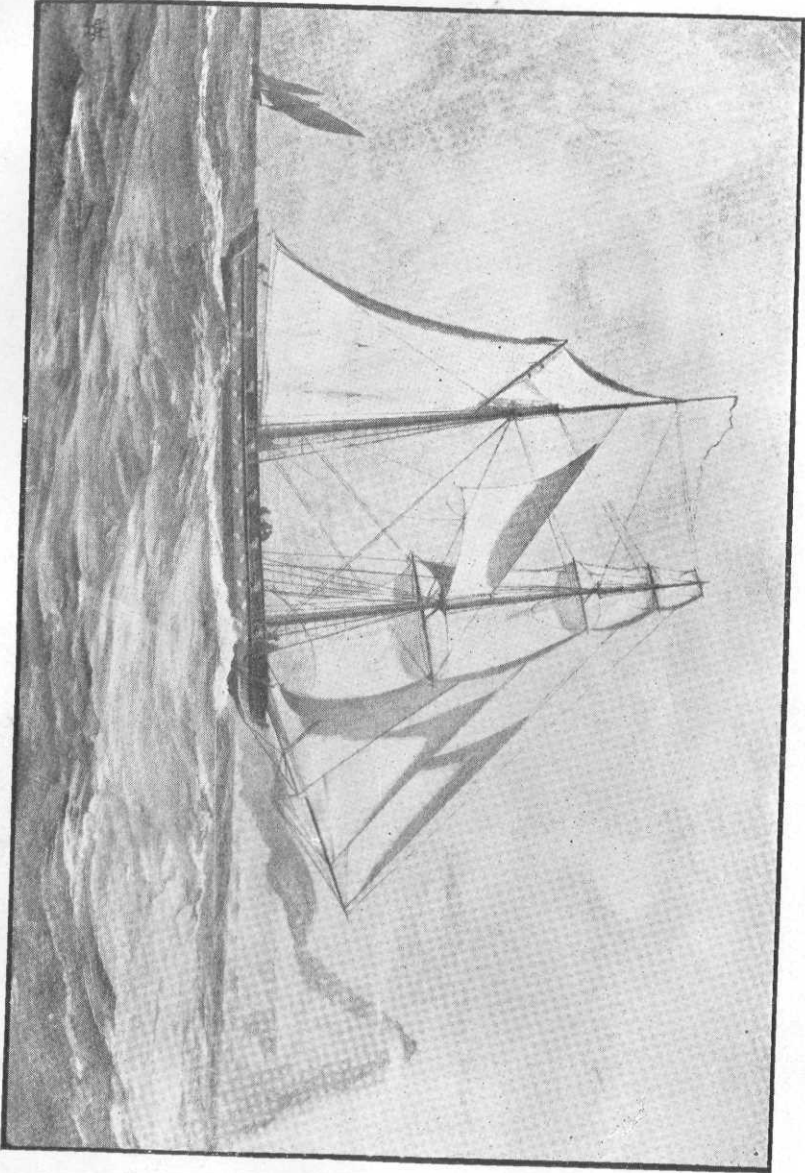
In 1815, having retired from active business, he determined to build a yacht that should be the finest example of ship-building afloat, and to make a pleasure trip in her to the Old World. To carry out his purpose, he employed Retire Becket, a famous shipwright of Salem, who had turned out many vessels noted in their time for speed.

The work was commenced in the spring of 1816, and the yacht was launched October 21st, of the same year, with her masts in place and fully rigged, in the presence of an immense concourse of people. Her fame had been heralded far and wide, but it was not till December 6th that she was ready for inspection by the thousands who were anxious to go on board.

The first day that she was on view, 1900 women and 900 men are said to have gone on board, and for many days an average of 900 visitors a day inspected the vessel.

Her registered tonnage was 191½ tons; she was 83 feet long on the water line, 23 feet beam and 11½ feet deep. In rig, she was an hermaphrodite brig, i. e. fore-and-aft rigged on the main, with square rig forward, and carried a large outfit of all the

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CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.



different kinds of "kites" that could be carried on a vessel of her rig.

Her main cabin measured 19x20 feet, and was panelled in mahogany inlaid with bird's-eye maple and other fancy woods.

The furniture was mahogany, upholstered in red velvet, decorated with gold lace.

There were two large sofas with gilt-bronze ornaments, a chandelier, a sideboard, two large mirrors, etc., and an elaborate service of silver and china.

She had five staterooms off the cabin, while the forecastle had had accommodations for ten men and three boys. The total cost of Cleopatra's Barge was said to be \$50,000, a large sum for those early days.

On January 15th, 1817, Captain Crowninshield took his yacht out for a trial trip, sailing from Salem to Gloucester, and returning the next day.

After his return, the weather having turned cold, the yacht was frozen in at her dock, and many people drove over the ice in sleighs to visit her.

On the 30th of March, 1817, she left Salem for the Mediterranean, under the command of Captain Ben. Crowninshield, a veteran of Bunker Hill, who was a cousin of the owner, Captain George. The captain's son, Benj. Crowninshield, Jr., called "Philosopher Ben," kept a full record of the voyage, illustrating it with water-color drawings, which have been preserved. We have only time to give a brief sketch of the voyage.

They first visited the Azores, arriving at Fayal, April 24, where great numbers of the inhabitants came on board, and a ball was given at the American Consul's house in honor of Cleopatra's Barge. Then they proceeded to Funchal, Madeira, where the yacht was visited by thousands of people. The log stated, "About 1500 persons came off to see the vessel, a large proportion of them ladies, who were nearly all seasick, after being on board a few minutes."

From Madeira they sailed for Gibraltar, where they found the American frigate United States, Captain Shaw, as well as

several Dutch and Austrian men-of-war, whose officers were entertained on board of the yacht.

Next they visited Malaga, Cartagena and Port Mahone, having a close race with the frigate *United States*, for two days and nights, in which the yacht came out slightly ahead.

She was twice chased by Moorish pirates, but outsailed them.

Their experiences at the various Mediterranean ports were very similar, but their reception at Barcelona capped the climax. The crowds of visitors became so great that the yacht was hauled out into the stream to avoid them, but even then she was followed by hundreds of boats. "No less than 8,000 people visited her in one day at this port." Philosopher Ben writes: "We rise at 5 o'clock and dress before strangers. We take our breakfast standing, and then crowd among the visitors. This condition of things continues till night, and we go to rest between 12 and 1 o'clock."

At Marseilles *Cleopatra's Barge* was repainted throughout, refurnished and decorated regardless of expense. Three musicians were hired to remain on the yacht as long as she was in the Mediterranean. Their next port of call was Toulon, where the French naval officers were much interested in the yacht, and became very friendly to Captain Crowninshield and his officers.

At Genoa they had many visitors of distinction, among them Baron von Zach, a distinguished German astronomer, who published in French at Genoa, in 1820, an account of his visit. He was delighted to learn that young Ben Crowninshield was a neighbor and pupil of Dr. Bowditch, the eminent mathematician, and proceeded to catechise him. When he expressed surprise at the statement that the ship's longitude was obtained by lunar observations, "Philosopher Ben" replied: "Why, our cook can do that." The cook, a negro, was found in the galley, and asked: "By what method he calculated longitude by lunar distances." He said, "It's all one to me. I use the methods of Maskelyne Lyons, Witchel and Bowditch, but on the whole I prefer Dunthorne's—I am more used to it, and can work it quicker." The cook had a bloody chicken and a knife in his hands. These he was ordered to lay down, while he was put through an examination by the astronomer. He answered all questions put to him,

and showed his private log-book, with his day's works in navigation for the voyage.

From Genoa they continued their voyage to Leghorn, and the Isle of Elba.

As Captain Crowninshield was a great admirer of Napoleon, he entertained many of the ex-Emperor's adherents at the three ports he visited, and secured a number of souvenirs of him, which are still preserved as heirlooms by his family. From Elba he sailed to Civita Vecchia, and travelled thence to the Eternal City. There he had interviews with the mother of Napoleon, his sister, the beautiful Princess Pauline, and Prince Lucien Bonaparte.

On leaving Civita Vecchia for America, they received on board as passengers two followers of Napoleon, the captain of the vessel in which he escaped from Elba, and a surgeon of his staff. This circumstance led to the yacht's being chased by one of four small French war vessels stationed off the port, which they easily outsailed.

They finally arrived at Salem October 3rd, 1817, and the yacht was laid up.

The owner, Captain George Crowninshield, while planning another voyage, died suddenly on the 26th of November, 1817.

In settling the estate, the yacht was sold at auction. She made one voyage to Rio Janeiro, after which she was sold again, and run as a packet between Boston and Charleston, S. C.

In 1820, in fulfillment of a previous agreement with Kamehameha, she sailed from Salem or Boston on June 18th, 1820, and arrived at Lahaina, Maui, on November 6th, of the same year. Her log after her arrival at Kailua, Hawaii, has been copied for the society by Mr. Silvanus Tingley, and is as follows:

PART OF THE LOG OF CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

Sunday, Nov. 5th, 1820. At 12 off Tiruah (Kailua) Bay; several of the Natives came alongside with sugar cane, potatoes, &c. Distance off shore, 4 miles.

Monday, Nov. 6th, 1820. Pleasant weather. At sun's setting

bore up for the island of Mowee, run down the shore and at a. m. anchored off the Brick house (at Lahaina landing), bearing N. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in 16 fathoms.

Tuesday, Nov. 7th, 1820. Pleasant weather. Received the visit of the King and his attendants, the vessel's decks full of natives.

Wednesday, Nov. 8th, 1820. Pleasant weather and fresh breezes all this 24 hours. Weighed the best bower anchor, and carried it further out, all ready for sea.

Thursday, Nov. 9th, 1820. Fresh breezes and pleasant. At 8 p. m. weighed anchor and proceeded to the island of Warhoo (Oahu), anchored in the roads in 11 fathoms.

Saturday, Nov. 11th, 1820. Fresh breezes. Still laying in Warhoo roads, received the visit of the Governor (Boki).

Sunday, Nov. 12th, 1820. Received on board a large boat for the King, and a number of passengers. At 2 p. m. got under way and proceeded towards the island of Mowee.

Monday, Nov. 13th, 1820. At 1 a. m. anchored in Mowee roads. At day light found we were to leeward, got under way and got the Brig up to her anchorage. Anchored (in) 15 fathoms (off) Brick House. The King and suite came on board to dinner; fired 5 guns as a salute to his majesty.

Thursday, Nov. 16th, 1820. The king and family came on board examined the vessel and cargo and purchased the Brig—payable in Sandal-wood in 1820 and 1821.

Friday, Nov. 17th, 1820. Got under way in company with the Brig Neo (Niu), the king and family being on board, and sailed off into the offing. Sun's setting, wore ship and run into the Bay.

Saturday, Nov. 18th, 1820. At daylight made sail and worked up into the Bay, and anchored in 12 fathoms. At 12 the breeze sparring up got under way and proceeded towards Mowee roads, at sun's setting anchored in 14 fathoms.

Sunday, Nov. 19th, 1820. Got under way and run farther to the southward and anchored in 14 fathoms, the Brick House bearing N. E. by N. $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

Friday, Dec. 1st, 1820. Brig Columbia arrived from Owhyhee (Hawaii).

Tuesday, Dec. 5th, 1820. Still laying waiting for the King to proceed to Warhoo (Oahu).

Friday, Dec. 15th, 1820. Mr. Reves (Jean Rives) and Captain Blanchard left the Brig and proceeded to the King's residence. At 12 meridian the boat returned, it blowing heavy drifted off the bank. Made sail and stood off at 12, anchored in 14 fathoms.

Monday, Dec. 18th, 1820. Clear and pleasant. Breezes from the Eastward. Mr. Reeves (Rives) arrived from the King's and informed us that we have liberty to proceed to Warhoo (Oahu).

Tuesday, Dec. 19th, 1820. Moderate and pleasant breezes from the Eastward; employed in hoisting the cargo on deck for inspection. Crymacoo (Kalaimoku), the prime minister, on board overhauling it. At Sun's setting finished it.

CLEOPATRA'S BARGE IN HAWAIIAN WATERS.

On the 16th of November, 1820, Liholiho, Kamehameha II. and his prime minister, Kalaimoku, purchased Cleopatra's Barge of Captain Suter, for \$90,000, to be paid for in Sandal-wood, in instalments. Her name was then changed to "Haaheo o Hawaii," "Pride of Hawaii."

During the next three years she made frequent voyages between the islands.

One of these deserves special mention in this place. I have elsewhere related how King Liholiho, either from a drunken whim or to carry out a crafty design, sailed from Honolulu, July 21st, 1821, professedly for Ewa, in an open sail-boat, and compelled his attendants to continue the voyage to Waimea, Kauai. Arriving there the next day, he threw himself, entirely helpless, into the power of King Kaumualii. That noble chieftain, instead of taking any advantage of Liholiho's defenceless condition, gave him a hospitable reception, and sent his own brig to Honolulu to make known the king's safety, and to carry his commands. In two days, the five wives of Liholiho arrived on board of Cleopatra's

Barge. The two kings then spent several weeks in a tour of the island of Kauai.

What return did Liholiho make to Kaumualii for his generous hospitality?

On their return September 16th, Kaumualii was invited on board of the Cleopatra's Barge in the evening. While the unsuspecting prince was seated in the cabin, orders were secretly given to make sail, and he was torn from his kingdom, to remain henceforth a virtual prisoner of state.

Soon after his arrival in Honolulu he was induced to marry the imperious queen dowager, Kaahumanu. "In her chains," wrote Stewart at the time, "and I am told that they are far from being silken bonds, he is still securely held."

He died May 26, 1824.

WRECK OF CLEOPATRA'S BARGE.

As the Rev. H. Bingham relates:

"Through the mismanagement of a drunken captain and crew, the beautiful Cleopatra's Barge was wrecked in the bay of Hanalei, Kauai, and lay not far from the beach dismantled and ruined." This occurred towards the end of April, 1824. Mr. Bingham's History, pp. 221-2, contains a graphic description of an attempt made to haul the brig ashore.

Three immense cables, each composed of twelve ropes of hau bark were attached to the mainmast, a few feet above the deck. "The brig lay in about 10 feet of water, and partly on her side, which was farthest from shore, and close to a reef which rose nearly half way to the surface. Over this reef they proposed to roll the vessel." After the multitude had been marshalled along the ropes and instructed as to what to do, an old *Kaukau*, chanted an ancient *mele*, addressed to Lono, used when a tree for a canoe was to be dragged from the mountains to the shore. "The multitude quietly listening some six or eight minutes, at a particular turn or passage in the song, indicating the order to march, rose together, and, as the song continued with increasing volubility and force, slowly moved forward in silence, and all

leaning from the shore strained their huge cables, tugging together to heave up the vessel.

The brig felt their power—rolled up slowly towards the shore, and there instantly stopped; but the immense team moved on unchecked, and the mainmast broke and fell with all its shrouds, being taken off by the cables drawn by unaided muscular strength. The hull instantly rolled back to its former place, and was given up as irrecoverable.

The interest of the scene was heightened by the fact that a large man by the name of Kiu, who had ascended the standing shrouds, being near the main-top when the hull began to move, was descending when the mast broke, and was seen to come down with it in its fall. Many hastened from the shore to the wreck to see the effect of their pull, and to look after Kiu. He was found swimming about on the seaward side of the wreck, where he had plunged unhurt when in imminent danger.”

W. D. ALEXANDER.

The Career of a Chilean Pirate and Its Capture in 1822.

For most of the statements in the following account I am indebted to the Memoir of Mrs. Mary Ellis by her husband, Rev. William Ellis, and to M. Moerenhout's work, entitled, "Voyages aux Isles du Grand Ocean," both of which works are now extremely rare.

In the year 1822, the "Araucano," a Chilean brig of 18 guns, the fastest sailer of Admiral Cochrane's squadron, had been despatched to the coast of Peru to provision the other vessels there.

In the absence of Capt. Simpson, the commander, who had gone ashore, some thirty men of the crew, led by one of their officers, rose in mutiny, and forced the Spanish sailors on board to leave the ship.

After plundering some places on the coast, they sailed for these islands, where they arrived under the false name of the "Providence," but finding that their real character was suspected, they went on to the Society Islands, touching first at Hualhine. There, as Mr. Ellis relates, "On the day that Mrs. Ellis landed (May 15th, 1822), a brig was observed to the westward steering for the harbor, in which she anchored about noon. The captain came on shore in the afternoon, called on Mr. Barff, informed him that his name was Patterson, that he commanded the 'Providence,' the vessel then in the harbor, and professing to be in want of provisions. As ships did not frequently touch at the island at that period, Mr. Barff offered his advice as to the best means of procuring them, and manifested that hospitality which the Missionaries were accustomed to show to their countrymen. The individual who announced himself as the captain spent many hours every day at Mr. Barff's; asked permission to read books on religious subjects, and made great professions of religion. Few of the men besides the captain came on shore; but Mr. Barff, and the natives who went on board perceiving the anarchy and

insubordination that prevailed among the crew, had their suspicions excited. After they had been there a fortnight, the Westmoreland arrived from New South Wales with Mr. and Mrs. Williams on board, who were returning to Raiatea.

The suspicions of the captain of the Westmoreland were instantly excited and the party on board the brig, perceiving this, prepared to depart. When they were getting under way, it was discovered that they were detaining by force a native female, an attendant on one of the chiefs of the island. Her husband, with about five hundred men, instantly proceeded to the ship, demanded the woman, but, being refused, seized every man, bound him hand and foot on the deck, and commenced the search of the ship till they found the female, who was confined below. Having taken her out of the ship, they liberated the men, and allowed them to proceed. During this time the ship had struck against one of the reefs near the mouth of the harbor, but received no injury. The horrid imprecations of the crew now unfolded somewhat of their true character; and they threatened, that as soon as they got clear out of the harbor they would heave-to, and fire their guns, which were double shotted, on the settlement, till they had demolished every building. The confusion which had attended the rescue of the female was great; but nothing could exceed the consternation on shore when the threat was reported. All the while the vessel was working out of the harbor, the natives were running in every direction for shelter, expecting every moment a broadside to be opened upon them. From so murderous a proceeding, He who has the hearts of all at his disposal, mercifully restrained the parties on board; and shortly after the brig had reached the open sea, the natives and the Missionaries had the satisfaction to see them steer away from the islands. It was not, however, until some time afterwards that the Missionaries were acquainted with the true character of their visitors.

Before leaving, they had stated, that they were bound to the Marquesas, but instead of proceeding thither they sailed to Tahiti, where they met Captain Henry, son of a Missionary of the same name, who commanded a small brig of 40 tons, belonging

to the queen, in which he was about to sail to the colony of New South Wales.

As M. Moerenhout tells the story (I translate) :

“The pirate captain, almost immediately after his arrival, went on board of the vessel, said that he was going to New Zealand to hunt seals, offered Capt. Henry some flour in exchange for sundry articles of which he was in need; and, strange to say, succeeded for several days in averting all suspicion of his real character. It was only at the last moment that the insubordination of the crew made people suspect that the pretended seal-hunter was nothing else than a pirate.

Capt. Henry had informed him of his plan of going to Tubuai, and after having delayed his departure in the hope that his suspected companion would leave before him, he had at last to leave Tahiti, the more so because the armed vessel pretended that it would have to stay there several days longer. There was a farewell visit; they parted apparently on the best of terms; but, what was the astonishment of Capt. Henry, when, hardly eight or nine miles from port, he saw the ‘Black Brig,’ as she was called at Taluti, come out under full sail, and make straight for him, as if to give chase!

“He had no hope of escaping, while pursuing his direct route, but he found himself fortunately near enough to Eimeo to reach one of the harbors of that island before the pirates could overtake him, in spite of his superiority in sailing. The latter, seeing his prey escape, tacked ship, stood to the west, and was soon out of sight.

“Fourteen days had passed, and believing his enemy to be far away, Capt. Henry pursued his voyage to Tubuai. On arriving there a new surprise awaited him! The brig of war was lying there at anchor. Flight was in vain. He put a bold face on it, entered the harbor without hesitation, and moored not far from the brig, the commander of which immediately came on board, declaring that he was extremely glad to see him again, and that a leak had compelled him to make this port, but that he was going to leave on the morrow.

“After a short interview he went ashore, leaving the captain

in the greatest perplexity and uncertainty as to what he should do, his position being already so critical, and rendered even more so by a new incident.

"A native brought on board a letter written by one of the pirates, which told him what they were, whence they came, and their intention of taking the little vessel that very night, and concluded by advising the crew to abandon it, so as not to be victims of the plot. What should they reply and what should they do? The captain did not know.

"But Mr. Ebrill, his mate, soon decided. 'Let us not wait,' said he, 'for them to attack us and take us, but let us attack the pirate ourselves, and take it by boarding.' At first, his advice was laughed at, and was regarded a piece of Irish boasting; but he seriously explained his scheme, showed its possibility, offered to carry it out himself, and with the captain's consent, set to work at once.

"The pirate captain had gone ashore, and had been followed by a second boat. It was calculated that there remained on board hardly a dozen men, enough no doubt to repel a foreseen attack, but who might be overcome by a surprise. At nightfall Mr. Ebrill, armed with pistol and sabre, got into a small boat, which could hardly hold the eight men who accompanied him, six of whom were natives. He approached the brig in the darkness, and finally came alongside. On being challenged, "Who comes there?" he did not reply, but leaped upon the deck, put one of his pistols against the breast of the sentinel, the other to the head of the only officer on board, and called out, 'You are my prisoners!' In this situation, either from awkwardness or fear on the part of his comrades, he found himself for a few seconds alone. They arrived, however, and it was time, for already the hero had seen several men rush below to arm themselves. As much distinguished by his presence of mind as by courage, he delivered his prisoners into the hands of two natives, and with the rest of his men, seized all the outlets by which those could come up whom he had seen go below.

"'Your captain,' he cried, 'is already a prisoner on shore, and

all resistance is in vain. Surrender, and no harm will come to you.'

"After what had happened, could the pirates doubt the fact? They surrendered one by one. The prisoners were made fast. Informed at once of the success of the undertaking, Capt. Henry came himself on board of the brig with the rest of his crew, and a number of natives, and when towards midnight, the men who had been on shore undertook to come off, part of them were arrested by the natives and the rest made prisoners on arriving at the brig.

"The next day, after having taken all necessary precautions to prevent the escape of the prisoners, they engaged a number of the natives of Tubuai. They divided equally between the two vessels the weak crew of Capt. Henry; and Mr. Ebrill having taken command of the pirate, the two officers returned together to Tahiti. You may imagine the astonishment of their friends, who in spite of what they saw, could hardly believe so extraordinary an event! Unfortunately, instead of leaving immediately with his capture for Chile, where honors and rewards must have awaited him, the noble victor, by the advice of the missionaries (as is said), left the brig at Tahiti, waiting for it to be reclaimed by the Chilean Government, which was written to on the subject, but which never replied, either on account of the state of that country, or because the vessel was not considered worth the trouble.

"Some years later the natives destroyed it, and appropriated the cannons, which are yet on an islet in the center of the harbor of Papeete, on the northwest side of the island. Capt. Ebrill, far from receiving the honors and rewards to which he was entitled by one of the most brilliant exploits of which the military annals of any people have given an example, has not even been thanked for it. As for the prisoners, they were set at liberty at Tahiti, from whence soon afterwards they left in different ships and for different countries." So far M. Moerenhout.

Mr. Ellis further informs us that "soon after the departure of Capt. Henry for New South Wales, the pirates contrived to elude the vigilance of their guards, stole the boat of a ship at anchor in the bay, and escaped from the island. Four of them after-

wards found their way to Huahine. Two of them being mechanics, were employed by Mr. Barff, and one of them, who was a good carpenter, was engaged by Mrs. Ellis for several weeks in some work about the house, during which time he lodged in an outhouse, with the native boatmen and others.

After they had been some time at Huahine, it was ascertained that they had been to the Sandwich Islands; that they had met the vessel in which Mr. Ellis, with the Deputation, sailed; but they manifested great unwillingness to say whether they were safe or not. This excited much surprise, especially as the absence of Mr. Ellis had extended so many weeks beyond the time fixed by the captain for his return; but as the true character of the men was not then known in Huahine, it did not produce great alarm, although it added to Mrs. Ellis's distress on account of her husband's unaccountable delay.

About this time Captain Henry came to Huahine, and informed the chiefs and missionaries that their late visitors were pirates, that their vessel was one they had seized, and that they had been engaged in murder and plunder until they came to Huahine. Nothing could exceed the grief which this intelligence excited among the chiefs and people, and the agony of mind it occasioned Mrs. Ellis, especially when regarded in connection with the time to which the absence of the Mermaid (on which her husband expected to return from Honolulu), had already extended, and their acknowledgment of their having met the vessel. The chiefs instantly apprehended the carpenter, who was then at work for Mrs. Ellis, and sent two guards to remain in the house with her, lest he should escape, and seek to injure her. The others were also seized, their trunks examined, in which were found some gold and silver images, and other furniture of churches, which the pirates had plundered on the South American coast, and also some British epaulettes. As it did not appear likely that they could have captured a British ship-of-war on the coast, it was supposed that the epaulettes had belonged to Captain Kent, and that they had plundered and perhaps sunk the Mermaid. Some of the natives were prepared to wreak instant vengeance on those whom they supposed were the murderers of their Missionary and

friends; but from this they were dissuaded by Mr. Barff, and the more considerate among the chiefs, who had the men bound, and would have kept them so, but for the interference of the Missionary. The effect of this discovery of the desperate wickedness of those whom she had been employing, was so distressing to Mrs. Ellis, that she was obliged to leave her own residence, and seek relief in the family of Mr. and Mrs. Barff, from whom, as well as from Mr. and Mrs. Williams, she received the most grateful tokens of affection and sympathy.

On the arrival of Mr. Ellis it was learned that the pirates had been at the Sandwich Islands, that they had met the schooner which sailed with the Mermaid, but had parted company with it between Huahine and the Sandwich Islands. From the captain of the schooner the pirates had obtained a knowledge of the names of the persons on board of the other vessel, and the object of their voyage; and hence had arisen the accuracy of their report in some respects, and the vagueness and unsatisfactoriness of their statements in others, which had so greatly aggravated the distress of Mrs. Ellis and the people."

Compiled by

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