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No. 1.



## THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS AND SPANISH AMERICA IN EARLY TIMES.

[Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, January 28, 1892.]

THE whole Pacific Ocean belonged to Spain by a double title, viz., by the right of discovery, and by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. Certainly the Spaniards had a long start of other nations in its exploration. In 1513, only 21 years after the discovery of the New World by Columbus, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa beheld the Pacific Ocean from a peak in Darien, and afterwards wading into the sea, took possession of it "and all its appurtenances" in the name of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Seven years later, Ferdinand de Magalhães (or Magellan), a Portuguese navigator in the service of the King of Spain, sailed through the straits named after him, and crossed the Pacific Ocean, discovering the Ladrone and Philippine Islands, which became Spanish possessions. This new route to the Indies was claimed by Spain as her exclusive property.

In addition to this Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, granted to Spain the property and dominion of all places either already discovered, or that should be discovered, west of a meridian line drawn from the North to the South Pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.<sup>a</sup> Pope Martin V. had already, in 1432, granted to Portugal the same exclusive privilege in respect to all countries beyond Cape Bojador to the eastward.<sup>b</sup>

The line of demarcation was moved 270 leagues further west in 1494, by mutual agreement, in order to give Portugal a title to Brazil.<sup>c</sup> This famous Bull of Demarcation did not, however, prevent the explorers of the two nations from coming into collision on the other side of the globe, where they contended for the possession of the Moluccas or Spice Islands.

In the latter part of the next century Spanish expeditions from Peru discovered the Solomon Islands in 1567 and the Marquesas

<sup>a</sup> For text of this Bull see Navarrete, vol. 2, p. 34, et seq.

<sup>b</sup> Castañeda, Hist. 1553.

<sup>c</sup> Navarrete, vol. 2, p. 147, et seq.

in 1595. But what is of more interest to us, is the fact that Her-  
nando Cortez, immediately after his conquest of Mexico, fitted out  
an expedition on the western coast to reinforce his countrymen at the  
Moluccas. The little squadron, consisting of three small vessels,  
carrying 110 men, and commanded by Don Alvarado de Saavedra,  
sailed from Zacatula, Mexico, Oct. 31, 1527. The narrative of the  
voyage is preserved in Herrera's work,<sup>d</sup> and also in Burney's "Discov-  
eries in the South Seas,"<sup>e</sup> both of which are in this Library. When  
the squadron was about a thousand leagues from port it was scat-  
tered by a tempest. The two smaller vessels were never heard from  
again, but Saavedra pursued the voyage alone in the *Florida* to the  
Moluccas, touching at the Ladrone Islands on his way.

Now a well known Hawaiian tradition relates that in the reign  
of Keliokaloa, son of Umi, a foreign vessel was wrecked at Keei,  
South Kona, Hawaii. According to the tradition, only the captain  
and his sister reached the shore in safety. From their kneeling on  
the beach and remaining a long time in that posture, the place was  
called Kulou, as it is unto this day. The natives received them  
kindly and placed food before them. These strangers intermarried  
with the Hawaiians, and were the progenitors of certain well known  
families of chiefs, as for instance, that of Kaikioewa, former Gov-  
ernor of Kauai.

If we reckon by generations, allowing thirty years on an average  
to each generation, we find that Keliokaloa was probably born about  
A.D. 1500, and was reigning at this very time. This coincidence  
was first pointed out by Mr. H. A. Peirce, in a paper read before the  
California Academy of Sciences in 1880, and was afterwards fully  
worked out by Hon. A. Fornander. As the latter has shown, Saave-  
dra's squadron, at the time of the storm, was probably within 200  
miles to the south-west of the Hawaiian Islands. The time was  
probably near the end of November, and the storm a regular *kona*  
from the south-west, which would drive a vessel directly to the west-  
ern coast of Hawaii. No white people, except the Spaniards, were  
cruising in the Pacific Ocean at that early period, and there seems  
to be little room for doubt that the foreign vessel which was wrecked  
on the Kona coast about this time was one of Saavedra's missing  
ships. No trace of Spanish influence, however, on the ancient Ha-  
waiian arts, religion or language has been proved to exist. The

<sup>d</sup> Herrera, decada 3, libro 1, cap 6.    <sup>e</sup> Burney's Discoveries, vol. 1, p. 148.

Spanish helmet of that period was round like an iron pot, and quite unlike the Hawaiian feather helmet, which resembles the ancient Grecian casque in shape.<sup>f</sup> Feather helmets were also worn by Tahitian chiefs, although less artistic than those of the Hawaiians. The Hawaiian word *pono* (right), has been supposed by some to be derived from the Spanish *bueno*, but it is a New Zealand word, meaning straight, or true, in that dialect. *Poto* is also a New Zealand word, meaning short.

Again in 1542, Don Ruy Lopez de Villalobos with Juan Gaetano as pilot, sailed from Navidad, near Acapulco in Mexico, for the Philippine Islands, the emperor, Charles V., having sold his claim to the Spice Islands to Portugal in 1529 for 350,000 ducats.

The narrative of the voyage states that 30 days sail from the coast of Mexico, between 9° and 11° North latitude, he discovered a group of islands fringed with coral, and abounding with cocoanut trees, inhabited by savages, nearly naked, wearing mats, which he named "Islas del Rey." It is now generally admitted that these were part of the Caroline Islands or possibly of the Marshall Islands, but not the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>g</sup>

After many disasters a remnant of his men, after twice endeavoring in vain to sail back to Mexico, found their way to Europe from the Moluccas in Portuguese vessels in 1547. Among these may have been Gaetano. It was not till 1565 that the first successful voyage was made from the Philippine Islands to the American coast by Padre Urdaneta, by first sailing north as far as the 36th degree of latitude, and there taking the westerly winds.<sup>h</sup> In a few years after this, regular annual trips began to be made between the Philippine Islands and Mexico.

In 1578 Sir Francis Drake discovered Cape Horn, and entered this ocean, which was then claimed as a Spanish lake. When he arrived in England after his circumnavigation of the globe, the Spanish ambassador, not only demanded restitution of the plunder which he had taken, but denied the right of the English to sail in the Pa-

<sup>f</sup> Capt. Cook's people found three pieces of iron at Kauai, viz., a piece of iron hoop about two inches long fitted into a wooden handle; another tool, supposed to have been made out of the point of a broad-sword, and what appeared to be the bolt of some ship timbers. See Cook's Voyages, vol. 2, chap. 12, and vol. 3, chap. 5, p. 96.

<sup>g</sup> Burney's Discoveries, vol. 1, pp. 227-243.

<sup>h</sup> Burney's Discoveries, vol. 1, p. 270.

cific Ocean at all, to which claim Queen Elizabeth made a defiant reply.<sup>i</sup>

During the next century the spirit of maritime discovery and of individual enterprise among the Spaniards seemed to have died out, for after the voyages of Mendana and Quiros in 1595 and 1606 to the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, we read of no more exploring expeditions by them. During the 17th century, the Pacific Ocean remained almost unknown, except for the discoveries of the Dutch explorer, Tasman. The Spaniards were very careful to conceal all their discoveries in this part of the world.

In June 1743, the British ship of war *Centurion*, under Lord Anson, after a bloody engagement, captured the annual Spanish galleon from Acapulco, near the Philippine Islands, on her way to Manila. A manuscript chart was found on board containing all the discoveries that had been made in the navigation between Mexico and the Philippine Islands. In this chart a group of Islands is laid down in the same latitude as the Hawaiian Islands, but about 17 degrees too far east, or nearly one third of the distance from here to Acapulco. The southernmost and largest island was named La Mesa (the table), which seems to point to Hawaii with its high table land. North of it were La Desgraciada (the unfortunate), perhaps Maui, and three smaller islands called "Los Monjes" (the monks), which were probably Kahoolawe, Lanai and Molokai. This chart was published in the narrative of Lord Anson's voyage in 1749, which is in our library.

An official letter from the Spanish Hydrographical Department, dated Madrid, February 21, 1865, [which was published in the *Friend* of October, 1873, and also in Fornander's History], states that an ancient manuscript chart was found in the archives of that office, in which this group is laid down as in the chart of the Spanish galleon, with the name "Islas de Mesa," and a note declaring that they were discovered and named by Juan Gaetano in 1555. Unfortunately no record of that voyage has been found, but it is possible that it may yet be found in some private or public collection.

In the *Theatrum Orbis*, of Ortelius, an atlas published in Antwerp in 1570, a group of islands with nearly the same names as those in the chart of the galleon, is said by James Burney (vol. 1, p. 382), to be laid down between  $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  and  $20^{\circ}$  North latitude, but only  $35^{\circ}$  east of the Philippine Islands, or  $50^{\circ}$  degrees too far west.

<sup>i</sup> Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Book II.

These islands did not lie in the regular track of the Spanish galleons, for on leaving Acapulco in March they steered south-westerly so as to pass considerably to the south of them, and then ran along the parallel of  $13^{\circ}$  or  $14^{\circ}$  to Guam in the Ladrone Islands. On their return voyage from Manila, leaving in July, they sailed northwards till they reached thirty odd degrees of north latitude, and then ran before the westerly winds till they approached the American coast. When about  $100^{\circ}$  east of Manila they generally met with a kind of floating sea-weed, called *porra*, upon which the *Te Deum* was chanted, and the galleon's prow turned to the southward.<sup>j</sup>

The error in the longitude of La Mesa of 1000 miles is not so surprising when we consider that chronometers were not yet dreamed of, and that Spanish navigators depended entirely on *dead reckoning* for longitude, and when we take into account the effect of the equatorial current, which runs from east to west. Thus La Perouse coming from California found that the error in his dead reckoning, caused by this current, when he arrived off Hawaii amounted to  $5^{\circ}$  to the east; and Vancouver, coming from the south, remarks that his dead reckoning, from the same cause, placed Hawaii  $3^{\circ} 40'$  too far east.

The latitude could be roughly ascertained from the sun or Pole Star by the astrolabe or the cross-staff, within a degree. Hadley's quadrant was not invented till 1730. The use of the log for measuring a ship's velocity was not known before 1607, and did not become general for many years after. A sand-glass and a practiced eye constituted the only apparatus of Columbus or Gaetano.<sup>k</sup> The Spaniards were among the poorest navigators of the time. For example, after discovering the Solomon Islands, they could not find them again, and they were lost for 150 years. The water supply of the Spanish galleons was not kept in casks, but in large earthen jars, part of which were often hung up all around the shrouds and stays. As it was impossible in this way to carry a sufficient supply of water for a six months voyage with 400 or 500 people on board, they always took to sea a great number of mats. Whenever it rained, these mats were spread out obliquely, so that all the water which fell on them drained off into long split bamboos, which in turn conducted it into jars. The mortality on board ships on long voyages

<sup>j</sup> Anson's Voyage, chap. 10.

<sup>k</sup> See Justin Winsor's Christopher Columbus.

at that period was fearful, the scurvy frequently carrying off half of a crew.<sup>1</sup>

To return to our subject: While it is very unlikely that Capt. Cook had not seen the chart of the galleon captured by Lord Anson, it does not seem to have had anything to do with his discovery of these Islands. Sailing, as he did, due north from Bolabola for Alaska, he does not seem to have been looking for any islands, and the first sight of Oahu took him by surprise.

The position of the La Mesa Islands, as laid down on the Spanish chart, was a thousand miles to the east of Hawaii, and Cook's successors at first retained both groups on their charts as may be seen in the atlas accompanying the first editions of "Cook's Voyages."

Seven years later two of his officers, Portlock and Dixon, on their way to the North-west coast, as their crews were suffering from scurvy, headed their ships for the supposed position of La Mesa, sailed over it, and ran down the parallel till they arrived at Hawaii. A few days later, La Perouse, after searching in vain for La Mesa, did the same, and became convinced of its identity with Hawaii. Capt. Cook's discovery, therefore, appears to have been purely accidental, and quite independent of that supposed to have been made by Juan Gaetano 234 years before.

During the latter part of the last century the Spanish monopoly of the Pacific Ocean was infringed upon, much to the displeasure of the court of Madrid. Both English and American ships actively engaged in the fur trade along the North-west coast, which the Spanish authorities denounced as illegal, but could not prevent. Their colonial governors received orders to capture, if possible, any of these poachers that should put into their harbors. For instance, the Commandante of San Francisco was ordered by force or fraud to seize the *Columbia*, the first ship that carried the American flag around Cape Horn.<sup>m</sup> In 1789 two Spanish ships of war were sent to Nootka Sound, which seized several English fur traders, one of which, the sloop *Princess Royal*, visited these islands under the Spanish flag in March, 1791. These outrages nearly led to war between Spain and England, and in 1790 a treaty was made by which Spain acknowledged "an equal right for English subjects with Spaniards to carry

<sup>1</sup> Anson's Voyage, chap. 10.

<sup>m</sup> Bancroft's Hist. of Pacific States, vol. 13, p. 445.



on all branches of commerce in those waters," and promised to restore the buildings and lands at Nootka Sound.<sup>11</sup>

From this time on there was an increasing intercourse between these islands and Spanish America, carried on chiefly in English or American ships. As long, however, as those countries remained under the rule of Spain, all foreign trade was contraband and dangerous. No foreigners could legally trade there or even enter their ports without a special license, and even intercolonial commerce was reduced to a minimum.<sup>12</sup> Thus in the last century, but one or two ships a year were allowed to trade between Peru and Mexico, and the same between Mexico and the Philippine Islands.

Even in later times trade was carried on with difficulty, by sharing the profits with the local officials. Honolulu became an entrepot for cargoes of goods from Boston and Canton, which were intended to be smuggled into Mexico and California in exchange for hides, furs and coin. The export of breeding animals from California was forbidden. Every few years vessels were seized or fired upon for some violation of these absurd and intolerable restrictions. For example, Capt. Cleveland was fired upon in San Diego in 1803, the *Mercury*, Capt. Ayres, confiscated in 1813, the *Pedler* seized in 1814, the *Lydia* in 1816, and in the same year the *Albatross* had to sail for Honolulu in haste, leaving Capt. Smith in duress. Capt. Sumner of the *Waverly* had a similar experience, and Capt. Bradshaw of the *Franklin* had a battle with the fort at San Diego in 1828. In Capt. Alexander Adams' journal, kept when in the brig *Forester*, occurs the following passage under date of Dec. 20, 1815. "Anchored in San Luis Bay near Pt. Conception (California). Saw several Spaniards on shore driving some cattle towards us. As we had previously engaged some we sent the boat, and to our great chagrin found it was merely a decoy, as directly the boat landed twelve soldiers rode towards them, and had they not been very active in launching the boat, they would all have been taken prisoners; but fortunately they got safe on board."

But after 1830 a more liberal policy began to prevail, and foreigners were treated with less hostility and suspicion. The idea of colonizing these islands or of converting the inhabitants seems never to have occurred to the Spaniards, which shows how much changed

<sup>11</sup> See Meare's and Vancouver's Voyages.

<sup>12</sup> Bancroft's Hist. Pacific States, vol. 6, pp. 628, 632.

<sup>13</sup> Bancroft's Hist. Pacific States, vol. 14, passim.

they were from their forefathers of the 16th century. Still Spanish influence left sensible traces of itself at the Islands, though slight and superficial in comparison with that emanating from a certain Puritan town on the other side of the continent.

The first cattle were brought here from Santa Barbara in 1794 by Vancouver, and the first horses from Cape St. Lucas by Capt. Cleveland in June, 1803. Hence the native breeds of horses and cattle are descended from the California mustangs and long-horned cattle respectively, which in turn were descended from the stock brought over from Spain by the conquerors of Mexico.

It is worthy of mention here that the first mosquitoes were unintentionally introduced at Lahaina by the ship *Wellington* from San Blas in 1826, an importation which we could well have dispensed with.

Of Spanish settlers there were comparatively few. Don Francisco Paula y Marin, *alias* "Manini," born at Jeres in Andalusia, arrived in 1791, and remained here until his death in 1837, leaving behind him a large family. Don Marin was much trusted by Kamehameha I., acted as interpreter for him while he (Kamehameha) resided on Oahu, and attended him during his last illness. A curious old document exists in the archives, appointing Don Marin captain in the Hawaiian Army, dated December 10, 1819, and signed by Boki. The Don deserves to be remembered for his example of industry and thrift, and his success in cultivating many useful fruits and flowers such as oranges, figs, grapes, roses, etc. As early as 1809 we find him making butter, salting beef for ships, manufacturing wine, etc. He is said to have introduced the prickly pear for hedges, hence called by the natives "panini."

The loss of his journal is much to be deplored. Another old settler was one Don Juan Eliot de Castro, who was residing on the Islands in 1814, and was then for a time employed by the Russians in the fur trade on the American coast. Having been imprisoned by the Californian authorities in 1816, he was released at Capt. Kotzebue's request, and returned with him to the Islands, where he became Kamehameha's private secretary.<sup>9</sup> His subsequent career I have not been able to trace.

The story of the Spanish pirates who arrived here in 1818, has

<sup>9</sup> Kotzebue's Voyage, vol. 1, pp. 287, 292, 315; Bancroft's Hist. Pacific States, vol. 14, pp. 274, 279.

already been published in the *Friend* of March, 1891, and in my "Brief History."

The main points are as follows: During the Chilian war of independence, the crew of the *Santa Rosa*, a sloop of war from Buenos Ayres, mutinied and ran away with the vessel. After pillaging a town on the South American coast, they arrived at Kealakekua Bay with their plunder, where they sold the vessel to Kamehameha, and abandoned themselves to drunkenness and debauchery on shore. Their orgies were suddenly interrupted by the arrival of the frigate *Argentina*, Capt. Bouchard, which had been sent in pursuit of them, and promptly seized the *Santa Rosa*. Capt. Bouchard having explained to the King that these men were pirates and robbers of churches, he had them caught and delivered up to justice. Most of the church plate and ornaments were also restored. The ringleader was captured and shot on the beach at Waimea, Kauai. Capt. Bouchard afterwards sacked and burned the town of Monterey, and spread terror along the Californian coast.<sup>r</sup>

Another pirate, the *Orocanna* from Peru, visited the Islands under a false name in 1822, and was afterwards captured in the Austral Islands.<sup>s</sup>

The trade between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America steadily increased. Horses and cattle were frequently imported from California and sold at good prices. For example, in September 1828, a French ship, *Le Heros*, from San Diego, brought down 17 horses, which sold for from \$85 to \$110 apiece. Flour was imported from Chili, and superseded the mouldy article brought around the Horn:

As cattle multiplied and became an important part of the wealth of the country, Californian and Mexican *vaqueros* or cowboys were imported to manage the ranches; hence the native term *Paniolo*, a corruption of *Espagnol*. They introduced the Spanish methods of lassoing, breaking and training horses and cattle, and perhaps the barbarous method of milking cows formerly practiced here.

The Spanish saddle, stirrup and spurs, the *sombrero* or broad-brimmed hat, and the Mexican *poncho* were all familiar to the old residents. The use of *adobe* or sun-dried bricks for building purposes, which was formerly common here, was no doubt derived from Spanish America. The only currency in use consisted of Spanish

<sup>r</sup> Bancroft's Hist. Pacific States, vol. 14, chap. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Memoir of Mrs. Ellis, pp. 110 seq., and p. 116.

silver coins and gold doubloons, and it is only of late years that the *real* has been withdrawn from circulation.

On account of the lack of good schools in California, nine boys from some of the best families were sent here in 1842, to be educated at the old "Oahu Charity School," under the care of good Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Johnstone. One of these boys, Romualdo Pacheco, afterwards held the offices of State Senator and Lieutenant-Governor of the State of California after its annexation to the United States.

This event and the discovery of gold in '49 ushered in a new era in the history of these Islands, and set in motion a series of changes which have nearly obliterated the last vestiges of early Spanish influence.

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