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HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE EDITOR NOW HAS IN HAND A THOROUGH INDEX TO VOLUME I OF THE HAWAII HISTORICAL REVIEW. THIS WORK, RECENTLY COMPLETED BY ELSPETH P. STERLING, WILL SOON BE READY FOR DISTRIBUTION. PLEASE PLACE ORDERS NOW. THE PRICE, POSTPAID: FIFTY CENTS.

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THE ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KAMEHAMEHA V - A DOCUMENT

by

Richard A. Greer

Kamehameha V died unexpectedly in Honolulu on December 11, 1872--his forty-second birthday. Just the day before a meeting, called to consider the king's health, had heard a serious but not critical report from the royal physician, Dr. Ferdinand William Hutchison. In 1872, Hutchison was already a long-time Hawaii resident; he had been a member of the board of health, the privy council, and the house of nobles, and at the time of Kamehameha's death he was minister of the interior.¹ Georges Trousseau, consultant, was a French doctor recently arrived in the islands. He had subsequently a distinguished medical career in Hawaii.²

The minutes reproduced below form an unusual and interesting record, providing as they do some insight into the practice of medicine nearly a century ago.

Honolulu, Tuesday, December 10, 1872³

Illness of His Majesty

By request of Dr. Hutchison, Messrs. Charles R. Bishop and Charles C. Harris, Privy Councillors met all the members of the Cabinet, at the office of the Minister of Finance, at 1 o'clock p.m.

Dr. Hutchison explained that he had called the gentlemen together to consider the subject of His Majesty's health, about which he had some anxiety. It was known to the gentlemen, that for eight or nine years, in fact, ever since His Majesty's accession, he had had troubles which required surgical treatment. At first, these were quite frequent; but, afterwards, they occurred more rarely, and for quite an interval, he had but little trouble. Some months ago, upon the occasion of a dinner in honor of the English Bishop, recently arrived, His Majesty found himself too unwell to be present, and since that day (in July last) His Majesty has not left the precincts of the Palace. He got better. The abscess was almost healed up. Only a slight discharge recurred. Dr. H. advised a change, and advised His Majesty to go to Molokai; and, if not, then to Waikiki, as he said he preferred the beach. At all events, Dr. H. hoped he would make a move. Just afterwards, during the prevailing influenza, His Majesty took a severe cold, which made his removal less practicable. As he was getting better of the cold, he desired Dr. H. to look at what he called his wound, (the abscess on the buttock) and Dr. H. found that it had not healed as well as he had hoped. Upon opening it, he observed that matter was evidently forming. He observed this about ten or twelve days ago, and about a week ago it burst. It is now doing well. A few days ago, however, Dr. H. was alarmed by a swollen appearance and shortness of breath, which he attributed to the King's corpulence, as the effect of want of exercise. A day or two later, in consequence of what was said by attendants as well as the peculiar manner of the King's lying on one side, he insisted upon seeing what was the matter, and became satisfied of the existence of dropsy. Now the question was, what caused the dropsy? Dr. H. was inclined to attribute it to a general corpulent habit, for he made various examinations as to the condition of the heart, and other parts and found no trouble. He then gave him

strong purgatives. They acted partially at the time; but, for three days, there had been no discharges, notwithstanding the powerful physics he had administered. He also gave a diuretic, without result. He then consulted Dr. Trousseau, who agreed with him in the use of a violent purgative, and suggested that it be given once in two hours, but Dr. H. thought once in four hours, sufficiently often. Dr. Trousseau then visited the King, by request of Dr. H., and personally investigated the case. He agreed with Dr. H. that he saw no symptoms of disease, except the dropsical indications. He insisted that His Majesty required active exercise. The only unfavorable symptom noticed today was an albuminous condition of the urine, which might indicate disorder of the kidneys. Dr. H., in fine, stated that although he considered His Majesty's condition, such as to cause anxiety, he did not believe him to be in immediate danger, and did not think of anything more which could be done at once. Still he would be glad of any suggestions as to the course to be pursued.

There ensued an irregular conversation, but it appeared to be the concurrent opinion of all present, that Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Trousseau should continue to visit His Majesty, as they had done, and that Dr. H. would report the condition of His Majesty to the gentlemen from day to day. It was agreed by all that it was desirable to avoid notoriety as to His Majesty's condition, not only because some of the rumours to which it would give rise, might be reported back to the King, but because an alarm might be excited for which there was no present occasion.

The gentlemen separated, to meet at 11 o'clock tomorrow, to hear Dr. Hutchison's report, and it was requested that Dr. Trousseau might also attend.

This record of the meeting is kept in pursuance of an understanding expressed while the gentlemen were together by

Stephen H. Phillips
Atty Genl.

Note by S.H.P.

The above was reduced to writing immediately after the gentlemen in attendance separated. In view of its importance, and in accordance with what I thought the desire of my colleagues, I entered it on the Cabinet records. On the succeeding night His Majesty suffered somewhat, & between 4 & 5 o'clock a.m. on the next morning, had a severe attack from which his attendants feared he would not rise. He did rally however, and all about him were temporarily encouraged, but things took a fatal turn just after 10 a.m. in the 11th Decr. and at 20 minutes past 10, His Majesty died, as will appear by the official record on the next page.

Honolulu, Dec. 11, 1872⁴

Death of His Majesty Kamehameha V

His Majesty, Kamehameha V. departed this life, in his ordinary bed-room, within the precincts of Iolani Palace, on Wednesday, December 11, 1872. (being his birth day) at 20 minutes past ten o'clock in the forenoon.

His Majesty had just attained the age of forty two (42) years, and the immediate cause of his death was asphyxia.

The Attorney General was present at the decease of His Majesty; and the Minister of the Interior, arriving a few minutes later, assured himself of the fact of death, by a personal view of the body of His deceased Majesty....

NOTES

1. Card file, "Office Holders by Name," Archives of Hawaii.
2. Ibid.; Hawaiian Gazette, May 8, 1894.
3. Cabinet Council Minute Book, 1866-1874, pp. 327-329. Archives of Hawaii.
4. Ibid., p. 330.

LAHAINALUNA ENGRAVING

by

Larry Windley

The art of engraving in the Hawaiian Islands owes its beginning and its continuance almost entirely to one man--the Rev. Lorrin Andrews. Almost from the day he first started teaching at Lahaina in 1828 he recognized the need for a graphic addition to the meager supply of school books being printed for the Hawaiian pupils. In December of 1828 he wrote to Chamberlain, the Secular Agent for the Mission: "I want very much a set of copy plates for my schollars [sic]. How shall we get them? Can they be cut on wood? If they could, would they be copper plates?"¹ Mr. Andrews obviously knew little about the art of engraving or about how to produce illustrations for his teaching, but his determination to achieve something in this field is seen in a letter to Chamberlain in May, 1829: "I hope soon to draw some maps with the names of places changed to Hawaiian, and I think there are some schollars [sic] here who would soon be able to draw their own maps."²

After getting the first class started at Lahainaluna in 1831, he immediately renewed his efforts to produce an illustrated map. In July, 1832, he wrote to Chamberlain: "...if you have any hard wood for making wood cuts or can procure any please send me some. I shall never rest until I have a better way of making maps than drawing with a pen."³ Evidently Chamberlain was not able to supply him with the hard wood he desired, so he wrote to Mr. Ruggles on Hawaii: "Has Kapiolani any solid piece of sandalwood of considerable size to engrave wood cuts on or perhaps small maps. I am about to try if I can get some good timber."⁴

Not only was the lack of the proper type of wood a hindrance to Mr. Andrews' endeavor to print pictures, but his own lack of skill in this art was also a constant drawback. In June of 1833 Dr. Alonzo Chapin was assigned to Lahaina, and because of his wife's bad health he moved up to Lahainaluna and agreed to help Mr. Andrews at the high school. Dr. Chapin's steady hands and his sharp surgical instruments were immediately put to work on Andrews' project. In August, 1833, Mrs. Chapin wrote to her mother: "I have lately undertaken to draw pictures for Husband to engrave, for the use of the School here. I sent you his first attempts. It was printed without a printers press, or printers ink, by merely blacking the cut, with such material as could be obtained...."⁵ On the same subject Dr. Chapin noted: "...I have...spent a good deal of time in making maps, and have just finished a set to accompany Worcester's Scripture Geography [printed at Lahainaluna in January, 1834], now translating by Mr. Thurston. They are on a large scale, and are for the high school. I am now making some cuts to accompany a work on animal history for all the schools."⁶ The animal cuts were first featured in the Ka Lama Hawaii newspaper but were later used in a Hawaiian version of Comstock's The Natural History of

Animals. Dr. Chapin goes on to say: "It is entirely new work for me and of course are not very finished...It occupies me pretty busily, half a day to make one...We need something to interest, something that will be a greater variety, or we cannot keep up the schools. I think more would be accomplished for the present good of the people by preparing a good school book than by translating the scriptures."⁷

Dr. Chapin evidently attempted to teach some of the Lahainaluna students the art of engraving and even after he left Lahaina in June, 1834, Mr. Andrews encouraged this art among his more talented students; in November, 1834, he wrote to Chamberlain: "I send you a specimen of the very first proof sheet of an engraved map. It is the first effort. Taken by a native from an English copy (the infant school map of the globe) engraved entirely by a native (Kawailepolepo) & printed by him chiefly."⁸ This first attempt was probably very much like the prints made from the original copper plates found in February, 1930, and now at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

From the beginning, Mr. Andrews got very little support in his attempts to establish the art of engraving among the Hawaiians. Some of his colleagues, having no faith in his belief that the Hawaiian could learn this rather complicated art, made the suggestion that the necessary cuts be made elsewhere, to which Mr. Andrews replied: "As to engraving, I think we can better have it done here under our own inspection than in China. That it can be done here is certain in my opinion; that it will be done here soon depends on our exertions."⁹

It seems that only Mr. Andrews was willing to make this exertion, and in 1834, 1835 and 1836 he had pupils at work on engravings whenever he could get copper. A November, 1836, report of the high school said this about engraving:

It was stated last year that some incipient efforts had been made towards engraving. These efforts have been continued. It should be remembered that both teacher & pupils have groped their way in the dark to arrive even at the commencement of the business. A set of copy slips for writing was the first effort of importance; next a map of the Hawaiian islands. For some time past a Hawaiian Atlas has been in hand & is nearly finished, containing the following maps Viz. the Globes, North America, South America, the United States, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Hawaiian islands & the Pacific. It is evident that if the business is to be carried on so as to be of any benefit to schools generally, some considerable expense must be incurred for fitting up a shop for engraving & a room for printing. Hitherto, everything has been done at the greatest disadvantage. Some means for prosecuting the business have lately been received from the Board.¹⁰

These crude attempts were a great satisfaction to Mr. Andrews, and he was very proud of the work of his boys. In November, 1837, he wrote to his brother, John: "Inside of this letter is the diploma of our High School....The engraving was made by one of our boys at the school."¹¹

The report of the high school in 1837 says: "There has been very great improvement made in cutting but a new press will be necessary as the great failure is in printing."¹² In his book, Scenes and Scenery, Mr. James J. Jarves had this to say at the close of 1837: "Their proficiency in copper engraving at the High School is really remarkable. Good maps, charts, and pictures are engraved every year, and with a considerable degree of improvement upon the last."¹³

The ability of the Hawaiians to engrave and draw maps was quickly brought to light by different writers. A beautiful example of the type of map made at Lahainaluna is one of the original ones, made in 1835 by Kalama, and now retained in the

State Survey Office (Map #1419, Case 15-4).

Commercial establishments were beginning to notice these products, and the October 6, 1838, issue of the Sandwich Island Gazette, & Journal of Commerce had this report to make:

A commodious room in the printing office is devoted to the engraving department. Three scholars are engaged in graving, devoting the same hours to this business, which the other scholars spend in labor. They are almost entirely self-taught, and, to a great extent, having made their own tools. The press was made on the ground. And thus far, they have been obliged to use common sheathing copper, instead of a material prepared expressly for the purpose.¹⁴

Despite the progress made in engraving, the missionary brothers were of little help to Mr. Andrews in this venture to teach a worthwhile occupation to the Hawaiians. He wrote to Chamberlain in September, 1839: "I am setting out for the fourth time to get an Atlas for schools. I say fourth time, for I have been sadly disappointed four times in the brethren taking away my best engravers just as they got able to do tolerable work."¹⁵

It was probably the interest shown by commercial firms and the lack of interest shown by the other members of the Mission that prompted Mr. Andrews to suggest in 1840 that the engraving department be sold out to him to be his own private project. The mission would pay for the maps, etc., needed for the schools, and other engravings would be offered for sale in Hawaii; this way Mr. Andrews hoped to continue the art without its being a financial burden to the Mission. His first attempts to produce prints for sale were noted in the June 6, 1840, issue of the Polynesian:

Several views of Hawaiian scenery have been handed us by Mr. Andrews, of the High School, Lahainaluna. They are of Lahaina, Kailua, Kaahiwaloa, and other places--executed on copper, by the scholars of that Seminary. They are said to be accurate, by judges, and certainly manifest strong native talent for the art, which more instruction and better materials to work upon, would develope [sic] into proficiency, and produce engravings which would not disgrace a boudoir in the United States.¹⁶

In the August issue it was announced that these prints were for sale by the mercantile firm of Peirce & Brewer (the forerunner of C. Brewer & Co.).

This decision of Mr. Andrews to make the engraving department his private property was to cause him many headaches and cause many of his brethren to take a firm stand against him. His greatest problem was the "common stock" way of life that the missionaries had adopted. The mission was perfectly willing to have Mr. Andrews take over the engraving department and relieve the school of a certain part of the expense, but he could not be permitted to receive any extra compensation for this under the common stock system. Mr. Chamberlain wrote to him in February, 1841:

....as you received of the mission a support equal to what your brethren received, any avails of engraving would be over and above what your brethren receive and make your support disproportionate with theirs....I am well aware that you have caused to be placed to your debit on our books the cost of the apparatus, and by so doing you have doubtless deprived yourself & your family of some comfort & enjoyment and you ought to receive from the engraving or some other source, an equivalent for your privation. I would most cheerfully award it to you; but you have no right to receive more than your brethren, because you have the engraving under your care....¹⁷

It was about this time that Mr. Andrews applied to the ABCFM for his honorable dismissal from the Mission. He gave as his reason for leaving the fact that there was no provision made for the education of his own children (he did not approve of the recently-opened Punahou School). But his secondary reason must have been his inability to operate the engraving department under the existing system.

While waiting for his dismissal from the mission, Andrews consented to continue to teach and supervise the printing office in exchange for the use of the mission house at Lahainaluna that he lived in.

Mr. Andrews attempted to keep his engraving department going through all this disturbance, but hard luck and poor financial support were his constant companions. "I have not been able to try the ink because my presses are all broken & I have no means of mending them. The presses & fund failed together....But to speak plainly, the business seems to drag. There is little or no call for engravings...."¹⁸ Despite all the disappointments he kept the engraving going and eventually put out his Atlas and sold it to many of the Brethren. He of course had depended on doing the engraving for the high school and was very disappointed with the High School Committee, led by Mr. Emerson, when they decided not to accept his bid for the high school engraving business (which he considered very low), but rather to send to the mainland for a new engraving outfit and do their own engraving. Not all the teachers at Lahainaluna agreed with this decision, and Mr. Clark had this to say on the subject:

I do not know what will be the fate of the plan proposed....The Directors will, at least, have the satisfaction of feeling that they have done the best they could to supply our schools with maps. It will be with those, who overthrow this plan (the plan for Andrews to do the engraving), to devise a better, or bear the responsibility of the school's not being furnished.¹⁹

Without the school's support, Mr. Andrews still kept the engraving going. He wrote in March, 1844:

But to cut this matter short, I am willing to do any way that is right. I was provoked when I understood how Br Emerson had managed the business. I expect, partly for my own amusement, & partly for the accommodation of foreigners to keep up a small establishment of engraving; even if the mission should not wish any of my engravings. If I had the means I would open a book or rather stationary [*sic*] store at Lahaina not expecting a profit of much amount but for the accommodation of natives...²⁰

There is no evidence to show that engraving was ever done again at Lahainaluna after Mr. Andrews moved to Lahainawaena in 1841, with one exception. Mr. Andrews had printed a series of Hawaiian money to be used by the students at Lahainaluna. In the Lahainaluna Faculty Records it was noted for January 8, 1844: "In view of the fact that our money has been counterfeited by Kahiona & George (?) - Mr. Andrews engraver Voted to call in all our paper money & destroy it - & seek some other device by which to pay the Scholars. Voted to Expell Kahiona for counterfeiting - & to send off George from Lahainaluna."²¹

In 1844 Mr. Andrews continued his engraving while serving as Seamen's Chaplain for Lahaina, but in August or September of 1845 he was chosen as a judge of the court of Honolulu by the governor, to act in cases involving foreigners. For this job he had to move to Honolulu, and this separated him from the engravers he had taught at Lahaina. His work as judge demanded so much of his time that he finally had to give up his lifetime struggle to promote engraving in the Hawaiian Islands. His son, Mr. Robert Andrews, says that he finally pounded up the plates he had preserved so carefully, to be sold as scrap copper.

Following is a list of known prints of Lahainaluna engravings, and their present locations. This list is by no means complete; it is only a starting point for additional research. Numbers given are for documentation and do not indicate the order in which the engravings were printed.

LAHAINALUNA ENGRAVINGS AT THE ACADEMY OF ARTS - HONOLULU

Sketches

LE-1.	Female figure draped (Greek).....	Pikao
LE-2.	Heads of man and child.....	Pikao
LE-3.	Sketch of dissection of a deer.....	-----
LE-4.	The appearance of the three hills formed by the late eruption on the coast at Nanawale bearing East by North one mile distant, July 9th, 1840.....	-----
LE-5.	Drawings of cup, sugar bowl, and other dishes.....	-----
LE-6.	Sketch of Holden, Massachusetts.....	Bailey and Kapeau
LE-7.	Female Seminary, Wailuku.....1840.....	Bailey and Kapeau
LE-8.	Oahu Charity School.....	Kepohoni
LE-9.	Female Seminary, Wailuku.....	S.P. Kalama
LE-10.	House, garden, and street#.....	Kalama
LE-11.	Sketches to illustrate taxidermy.....	Pikao
LE-12.	Mounted skeleton of bird and mammal.....	Pikao
LE-13.	Butterfly and butterfly net.....	-----
LE-14.	Geometrical figures.....	S.P. Kalama
LE-15.	House with mountains in rear.....	-----
LE-16.	House with mountains in rear.....	-----
LE-17.	Missionary Seminary, Lahainaluna.....	Momona
LE-18.	Maui from the anchorage at Lahaina.....	Kalama
LE-19.	Maui as seen from Nunulu, Hawaii, 35 miles distant.....	Nuuuanu
LE-20.	Hawaiian costume.....	Momona and Bailey
LE-21.	Alphabet in script.....	-----
LE-22.	View of a stream of lava as it entered the sea at Nanawale, East part of Hawaii, June, 1840.....November, 1840.....	Kalechano and Nuuanu
LE-23.	Geometrical figures.....	S.P. Kalama
LE-24.	Meetinghouse and school house at Kaneohe.....	Nuuuanu and Bailey
LE-25.	Lahainaluna.....	Bailey and Kepohoni
LE-26.	Mission houses, Honolulu.....1837.....	Wheeler and Kalama
LE-27.	Kamehameha I (portrait).....	Kepohoni
LE-28.	Diploma of the Lahainaluna Seminary.....	-----
LE-29.	Genealogical tables, Biblical (from Adam to the Messiah).....	-----
LE-30.	" " " " " " " "	-----
LE-31.	" " " " " " " "	-----
LE-32.	" " " " " " " "	-----

- LE-33. Lahaina as seen from Lahainaluna.....
 LE-34. View of the country back of Kailua.....Miss Thurston
 LE-35. View of the Bay of Kaawaloa.....Miss Thurston and Kepohoni
 LE-36. Bread-fruit tree, banana tree, and bamboo tree.....Bailey and Kepohoni
 LE-37. Fish.....
 LE-38. The night-blooming cereus.....Kepohoni and Mrs. P.P. Andrews
 LE-39. Geometrical figures.....Simona P. Kalama
 LE-40. Honolulu as seen from the foot of Puowaina Punch-bowl
 hill.....1837.....E. Bailey and Kalama
 LE-41. View of Kailua, Hawaii.....Miss Thurston and Kepohoni
 LE-42. Buildings at foot of steep hills, Iao Valley, and Wailuku, Maui.....
 LE-43. Hilo, Hawaii (in 1835).....Bailey and Kepohoni
 LE-44. Hana, Maui.....
 LE-45. Grave of Mr. McDonald.....

*HA note: Detail of Lahainaluna (unlabeled) - LE-10.

Maps

- LEM-1. Africa.....1836.....Kamai
 LEM-2. Africa.....Kepohoni
 LEM-3. Africa and Asia.....
 LEM-4. North America.....Kepohoni
 LEM-5. South America.....
 LEM-6. South America.....1836.....Wahineiki
 LEM-7. South America and Europe.....
 LEM-8. United States of America.....Kepohoni
 LEM-9. United States of America.....1836.....Kepohoni
 LEM-10. Atlas (of 5 plates with 8 maps).....Kepohoni
 LEM-11. Christmas Island.....1837.....Capt. Benson and Kalama
 LEM-12. Canaan and Judea.....L. Kepohoni
 LEM-13. Journey of the Israelites in the Wilderness and Canaan.....Pikao
 LEM-14. The earth as known to the Ancients.....Pikao
 LEM-15. Europe.....Kepohoni
 LEM-16. Hawaiian Islands.....
 LEM-17. Hawaiian Islands.....1836.....Kalama
 LEM-18. Hawaiian Islands.....1837.....Kalama
 LEM-19. Hawaiian Islands.....1843.....
 LEM-20. Kauai and Niihau.....
 LEM-21. Hawaii.....
 LEM-22. Jerusalem, Palestine, and St. Paul's Journeys.....Kunui
 LEM-23. Comparative height of mountains.....
 LEM-24. Ocean Island.....Kepohoni
 LEM-25. North and South Pacific Ocean.....
 LEM-26. World—Eastern and Western Hemispheres.....1836.....Kalama
 LEM-27. World—Eastern and Western Hemispheres.....1839.....Kalama and Kepohoni
 LEM-28a. Temperance map...../English/.....C. Wiltberger, Jr. and L. Andrews
 LEM-28b. Temperance map...../Hawaiian/.....C. Wiltberger, Jr. and L. Andrews

ENGRAVING PRINTS AT BISHOP MUSEUM

Sketches

- LE-46. Kamamalu (portrait).....
 LE-47. Old Chamberlain house*.....
 LE-48. Diamond Hill as seen from Honolulu.....Momona
 LE-49. View of Waimea, Hawaii.....Momona and Bailey
 LE-50. View of Kaluaaha, Molokai.....
 LE-51. Lahainaluna paper money, 6 values, from .03¢ to \$1.00, inclusive.....
 LE-52. Punctuation marks (illustrated and explained in Hawaiian).....

Maps.

- LEM-29. Hawaiian Islands.....1839.....Kepohoni
 LEM-30. World--Eastern and Western Hemispheres.....1834.....
 LEM-31. South America.....Makalena
 LEM-32. Asia.....1837.....
 LEM-33. Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ.....

*Wooden New England type of house - unlabeled

Anatomia he pala pai ia e hoike ai i ke ano o ko ke kanaka kino. /Anatomy: A Book
 Showing the Explanation of Man's Body. / Printed at Oahu. "The engravings were
 copied from Smiths Anatomy for School and done on Copper at the Seminary."

NOTES

1. Andrews to Chamberlain, December 16, 1828. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.
Cited hereafter as HMCS.
2. Andrews to Chamberlain, May 9, 1829. HMCS.
3. Andrews to Chamberlain, July 31, 1832. HMCS.
4. Andrews to Ruggles, January 2, 1833. HMCS.
5. Journal of Mrs. Chapin, Vol. IV, p. 56 (copy of original). HMCS.
6. J.F. Halford, M.D., 9 Doctors and God (Honolulu: 1954), pp. 144-145.
7. Ibid., p. 145.
8. Andrews to Chamberlain, November 5, 1834. HMCS.
9. Andrews to Judd, December 13, 1834. In Andrews Letter Book, p. 36. HMCS.
10. Andrews, Clark and Dibble, November 16, 1836. In Missionary Letters, Vol. IV,
p. 1298. HMCS.
11. Andrews to brother John, November 24, 1837. HMCS.
12. Report of the High School, in Schools, Lahainaluna Seminary Folder, 1837. HMCS.
13. James J. Jarves, Scenes and Scenery, 1843, p. 178. HMCS.
14. Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce, October 6, 1838.
15. Andrews to Chamberlain, September 5, 1839. HMCS.
16. Polynesian, June 6, 1840.
17. Chamberlain to Andrews, February 4, 1841. HMCS.
18. Andrews to Hall, April 4, 1841. HMCS.
19. Clark to Chamberlain, February 26, 1844. HMCS.
20. Andrews to Chamberlain, March 30, 1844. HMCS.
21. Lahainaluna Faculty Records, 1835-1877. HMCS.
22. Howard M. Ballou, "Lahainaluna Copper-Plate Engravings," 1921 (?). Copied by
B. Judd from the original typescript, 1932. HMCS.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE KALAKAUA COINAGE

by

Jacob Adler

Record Group 104 in the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C., contains a number of interesting items about the Hawaiian silver of 1883, the Kalakaua coinage. Since these items are not too well known in Hawaii, I have summarized and annotated them below.

King Kalakaua's premier, Walter Murray Gibson, seems to have been the principal person behind the scheme to have Claus Spreckels appointed agent to get the coinage done in the United States. Businessmen in Hawaii complained that the Kingdom was being flooded with silver—\$1,000,000 worth. In a famous lawsuit, Sanford Ballard Dole, Walter O. Smith, and William R. Castle tried to have it declared illegal. This failed, and the coinage circulated until annexation in 1898. It was by far the most important coinage ever undertaken by the Kingdom—and the most controversial.

For ready reference, the principal persons in the correspondence below are listed here:

Charles E. Barber, engraver at the Philadelphia Mint.
 Horatio C. Burchard, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.
 E.F. Burton, Superintendent, San Francisco Mint.
 H.A.P. Carter, Hawaiian Minister at Washington, D.C.
 James P. Kimball, Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.
 F.F. Low, Manager, Anglo-Californian Bank of San Francisco and former governor of California.

R.E. Preston, Acting Director, U.S. Bureau of the Mint.

A. Loudon Snowden, Superintendent, Philadelphia Mint.

Claus Spreckels, sugar king of California and Hawaii, agent of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

1.* Burchard to Spreckels, January 26, 1883. U.S. can do the coinage under a law of January 29, 1874. San Francisco Mint can do the work, but dies have to be made at Philadelphia Mint. Spreckels should furnish designs as soon as possible. Cost estimated at not over 1-1/2 per cent.

2. Spreckels to Burchard, March 23, 1883. Coinage to be \$1,000,000 in silver, dollars, halves, quarters, and one-eighth dollars, same weight and fineness as U.S. coins. Rough general designs enclosed [these show full face of King Kalakaua--later changed to profile].

3. Burchard to Spreckels, April 4, 1883. Requests evidence that Spreckels is the authorized agent for Hawaii. Full face of Kalakaua not suitable. Engraver wants profile.

4. Burchard to Snowden, April 10, 1883. Requesting return of designs left with Charles E. Barber, together with suggested changes.

5. Barber to Snowden, April 12, 1883. Recommends profile of king for obverse. Suggests alternative designs for reverse. Cost of 8 hubs to be \$2,000 or \$1,800, depending on design.

6. Snowden to Preston, April 17, 1883. Discussion of designs [sketches apparently included in letter, but not in file].

7. Barber to Snowden, April 20, 1883. On design and cost of 8 hubs for four coins..

*Numbers assigned by editor with author's permission.

8. Snowden to Preston, April 20, 1883. Cost of 8 hubs \$2,000, or \$1,800 for alternative design on reverse.

9. Preston to Carter, June 5, 1883. Notice received that Spreckels is agent of the Hawaiian Kingdom for the coinage. Preston wants conference with Carter.

10. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 6, 1883. Quoting cost of \$2,000 for 8 hubs.

11. Preston to Spreckels, June 6, 1883. Is dime or 1/8 dollar wanted? "Please inform me also if the inscription 'Akahi Dala' should not read 'Akahi Kala' as I understand there is no 'D' in the Hawaiian tongue."

12. Preston to Snowden, June 8, 1883. Profile photo of Kalakaua enclosed [not in file]. Copy of Spreckels' authorization from Hawaiian Finance Minister J.M. Kapena enclosed [in file]. Carter has approved designs.

13. Snowden to Preston, June 12, 1883. Designs enclosed [not in file]. Recommends engraver Barber work on own time, because Philadelphia Mint busy.

14. Barber to Snowden, June 11, 1883. Returns designs with desired changes.

15. Preston to Spreckels, June 13, 1883. Designs enclosed. "The obverse [profile of Kalakaua] will be used for all; the full coat of arms can be placed only on the dollar; the half and quarter will have the shield, and the eighth dollar a wreath and crown." [designs not in file]

16. Spreckels to Preston, June 14, 1883. Amount for each coin: \$500,000 in dollars; \$300,000 in halves [later changed to \$350,000]; \$125,000 in quarters; \$75,000 in dimes [later changed to \$25,000]. "The inscription 'Akahi Dala' is perfectly correct, it is intended to be a translation of dollar."

17. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 20, 1883. Designs for coinage should be returned as soon as possible.

18. Spreckels to Preston, June 20, 1883. Designs being returned. "They will make handsome coins."

19. Snowden to Preston, June 23, 1883. Work going forward on obverse [profile of king]. Work to begin on reverse when designs approved.

20. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, June 25, 1883. Requests approval of designs.

21. Preston to Burton, June 25, 1883. Requests cost estimate for coinage so contract can be drawn up with Spreckels.

22. Snowden to Preston, June 29, 1883. Acknowledging receipt of designs contained in Preston's 28 June.

23. C.M. Gorham, Coiner, San Francisco Mint, to Burton (n.d.). On costs for coining \$1,000,000 in silver.

24. O.D. Munson, Assayer, S.F. Mint, to Burton, July 14, 1883. On assay costs.

25. Alex Martin, Melter and Refiner, S.F. Mint, to Burton, July 16, 1883. On costs of coinage.

26. Burton to Burchard, July 17, 1883. Estimated costs for \$1,000,000 in Hawaiian silver: general, \$800; assay, \$500; melt and refine, \$4,400; labor, etc. in coining department, \$11,800. Total, \$17,500.

27. Barber to Snowden, September 4, 1883. Engraver Barber has finished hubs on own time. Estimates one pair of dies needed per 150,000 coins.

28. Snowden to Preston, September 5, 1883. Sends 2 proof-sets. Engraver's bill, \$2,000, to be paid by Spreckels. Dies to cost \$10 a pair. "The dies have more than met my expectation, and I think you will agree...are as near perfect as may be....I think Mr. Barber is to be congratulated, not only upon the rapidity with which the work has been executed but upon the character of the work itself."

29. Preston to Snowden, September 7, 1883. Acknowledging 2 proof-sets. These to be sent to Spreckels together with engraver's bill [sets included dollar, half,

quarter, and one-eighth dollar, not the dime. J.A.7

30. Preston to Snowden, September 7, 1883. Wants 2 proof-sets for Washington office. Philadelphia Mint authorized to strike off sets for own cabinet.

31. Preston to Burton, September 7, 1883. Requests that contract with Spreckels be prepared.

32. Preston to Spreckels, September 8, 1883. Two proof-sets have been sent to Spreckels, engraver's bill \$2,000 enclosed. Burton instructed to draw up contract with Spreckels. "I am highly gratified at the manner in which the Engraver has prepared these dies. While the design is elaborate, it is well brought out in all its details, and the coins in appearance are equal to those of any nation in the world."

33. Snowden to Preston, September 8, 1883. Requests prescribed weights of coins.

34. Preston to Low, September 13, 1883. Acknowledges Low's September 6, that Spreckels has asked Low to supply silver for coinage. Working dies will soon be sent to San Francisco Mint.

35. Burton to Burchard, September 22, 1883. Contract between U.S. and Spreckels to be drawn up on his return from Hawaiian Islands.

36. Burchard to Spreckels, September 26, 1883. Acknowledges payment of \$2,000 for four pairs of hubs, \$200 for 10 sets of dies.

37. Burchard to Snowden, October 23, 1883. Instructs Snowden to send 20 pairs of dies (5 sets for each of four coins) to Superintendent, San Francisco Mint.

38. Burchard to Burton, October 23, 1883. No coins to be struck until contract with Spreckels approved. After use, dies not to be delivered to anyone without authority of Hawaiian Minister to U.S. [Carter].

39. Barber to Snowden, October 24, 1883. Dies have been sent to San Francisco Mint: obverse 5, reverse 5, for dollar, half, quarter, and eighth dollar [total, 40 pieces].

40. Telegram, Burchard to Spreckels, October 25, 1883. Dies sent but cannot be used until contract approved.

41. Burton to Burchard, October 29, 1883. Encloses signed contract between U.S. and Spreckels. The U.S. "in consideration of the sum of Seventeen thousand five hundred dollars in gold coin...agrees to and with [Spreckels] to furnish copper for alloy and coin with dies...from silver bullion to be furnished by [Spreckels] certain silver coins" amounting to \$1,000,000.

42. Burchard to Spreckels, November 14, 1883. San Francisco Mint has been authorized to go ahead with coinage.

43. Low (for Spreckels) to Burchard, December 3, 1883. Hawaiian government now wants dime instead of 1/8 dollar, so all coins will be same weight, fineness, and denomination as U.S. coins.

44. Burchard to Carter, December 10, 1883. Asks conference with Carter on Hawaiian government's desire for dimes instead of 1/8 dollar.

45. Telegram, Burchard to Low, December 12, 1883. Dies for dime to be furnished upon official notice of change from Hawaiian government.

46. Burchard to Snowden, December 12, 1883. Go ahead on dies for dime, pending official notice from Hawaiian government.

47. Preston to Low, December 21, 1883. Acknowledging Low's December 14, enclosing authority for change from 1/8 dollar to dime. Philadelphia Mint has been instructed to ship dies for dime as soon as possible.

48. Burchard to Snowden, January 8, 1884. Notify when dies for dime ready. Hold for further instructions.

49. Barber to Snowden, January 26, 1884. Hubs are finished for making dies for dime.

50. Burchard to Spreckels, January 29, 1884. Encloses engraver's bill for \$500 for hubs, and for inspection two pieces struck from the dies.
51. Burchard to Snowden, February 18, 1884. Transmits Spreckels' draft for \$500. Hold dies for dime until official notice of change received from Hawaiian government.
52. Burchard to Spreckels, February 21, 1884. Dies for dime being sent to San Francisco Mint.
53. Burchard to Burton, February 26, 1884. Five pairs of dies for dime have been sent. Requests return of dies for 1/8 dollar.
54. Burchard to Spreckels, February 26, 1884. Bills Spreckels \$50 for five pairs of working dies for dime.
55. Burchard to Low, March 7, 1884. Answering Low's letter of February 27 about re-coining miscellaneous silver coins into Hawaiian coins. Says formal request must be made by accredited representative of Hawaiian government. Nothing came of this. Only the authorized total of \$1,000,000 was coined.7
56. Burchard to Low, March 7, 1884. Low has asked reduction in dimes from \$75,000 to \$25,000 and increase in halves from \$300,000 to \$350,000. Change must be requested by Spreckels as authorized agent of Hawaiian government.
57. Low to Burchard, March 15, 1884. Tells him that Spreckels has written note to increase halves by \$50,000 and reduce dimes by same amount.
58. Burchard to Spreckels, March 22, 1884. Acknowledges Spreckels' request to increase halves and reduce dimes. Final total was: \$500,000 in dollars; \$350,000 in halves; \$125,000 in quarters; \$25,000 in dimes. Overall total, \$1,000,000.7
59. Telegram, Preston to Spreckels, April 19, 1884. Time for completion of coinage has been extended to June 29, 1884. Actually completed about June 1, 1884. J.A.7
60. Burton to Burchard, June 2, 1884. Coinage finished. Dies being forwarded to U.S. Bureau of the Mint, Washington, D.C.: 5 each, obverse and reverse, dollar, half dollar, quarter, and dime (40 pieces).
61. Kimball to Carter, May 21, 1888. Invites him to witness defacing of dies in accord with instructions from Hawaiian government.
62. Kimball to Carter, May 23, 1888. Defaced dies have been delivered to Carter for disposition. The dies are in the Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu. J.A.7

THE POPULATION OF NORTHERN KAUAI IN 1847

by

Robert C. Schmitt

The census of population conducted in northern Kauai during the spring of 1847 occupies a unique and important place in the demographic history of Hawaii. Despite its significance, however, it remains, more than a century later, unpublished and virtually unknown.

The chief shortcoming in 19th century Hawaiian demographic statistics was their lack of adequate detail on age by sex. The 1850 enumeration, the first relatively complete count covering all islands of the Kingdom, presented data for only four broad age groups. The following census, taken in 1853, showed statistics for only two groups, "under 20" and "over 20". As late as 1896, the Hawaiian Census

was using unwieldy 15-year class intervals for the population over 15. It was not until publication of 1900 U.S. Census tabulations for Hawaii that reasonably detailed statistics on age became available for the Islands.¹ This lack of adequate data on age seriously handicaps demographic analysis of Hawaii in the 19th century.

The only exception occurs in the little-known 1847 census of Northern Kauai. This enumeration—represented only by a 12½ by 16-inch handwritten table filed in the Archives of Hawaii²—reported population by sex for nine age groups, for each of twenty-three land divisions in Hanalei and Kawaihau Districts. It thus provides our only detailed knowledge of the population structure of Hawaii more than a century ago.

Findings of this census are summarized in the accompanying tables. The first presents population totals for each of the "lands" (ahupuaa) listed in the handwritten tabulation. Table 2 reports age by sex for the district as a whole.

Admittedly, several aspects of these tables are not entirely clear. A number of land divisions are not mentioned—Honopu (west of Kalalau), Pohakuao, Hanakoa, Hanakapiai (east of Kalalau), Namahana (east of Kalihiwai), Kaakaanui (west of Moloaa), Aliomanu (north of Anahola), and Kamalomaloo (north of Kealia). Their omission may have been caused either by lack of human settlement or failure to recognize them as distinct ahupuaa. Conversely, data are shown for two divisions (Hoomaikawaa and Kumukumu) now included in Kealia ahupuaa.³ Class intervals for age run "from 5 to 10", "from 10 to 20", "from 20 to 30", etc., thus creating a question as to the treatment of persons of exact age 10, 20 or 30.

Other problems are even more serious:

1. How accurate are these age statistics? Romanzo Adams, the pioneer sociologist and leading authority on early Hawaiian demography, wrote that "the age data are not to be relied upon in the earlier censuses."⁴ The detail shown in the 1847 count may thus be illusory and misleading.

2. Was Northern Kauai representative of the Kingdom as a whole, or did it differ sufficiently from other districts to be useless as a model of population structure?

3. Can any confidence be placed in the birth and death statistics compiled as part of the population count? The Minister of Public Instruction, commenting on the incompleteness of the 1847 census on most islands, noted: "The returns of births and deaths are generally most defective..."⁵ For Northern Kauai, the 1847 count indicated a 7.4 per cent increase over the 1846 census of the same area, yet reported a natural decrease of 1.5 per cent. Did this apparent discrepancy stem from underenumeration in 1846, double-counting in 1847, underregistration of births, overstatement of deaths, or in-migration?

4. The 1847 data seem most useful if Northern Kauai is treated as a "closed population" in which age and sex composition are not influenced by in- or out-migration; yet such an assumption may be unrealistic. Newspapers of the period report heavy influxes of Neighbor Island residents (particularly young women) into Honolulu. One article stated: "Other parts of the islands are almost entirely drained of females from ten to twenty years of age."⁶

The 1847 census, the first taken in Hawaii under the auspices of the Department of Public Instruction, was planned with considerable care. Mindful of the failure of earlier counts entrusted to the tax officers, the Minister of Public Instruction printed detailed (and surprisingly sophisticated) instructions for the enumerators.⁷ Field work was to begin on January 4, 1847 (the Northern Kauai tabulation is dated "Spring of 1847"). In spite of these preparations, only Kau, Lanai, Niihau, and parts of Maui, Oahu and Kauai were satisfactorily canvassed.⁸

Age statistics were confined to Kauai.

The questions raised in the foregoing paragraphs must invariably limit the conclusiveness of any analysis based on the 1847 census. Even so, such an analysis offers considerable insight into 19th century Hawaiian population structure.

Coverage of the census extended from Kalalau on the west to Kealia on the east. It thus embraced all of the ancient districts of Na Pali, Halelea and Koolau and part of Puna. Boundaries of these districts were shifted in 1859, 1878, 1880, 1886 and 1887. At present this area includes all of Hanalei Judicial District and about half of Kawaihau.⁹

One of the most striking features of the 1847 census is the high average age indicated for the population. The median was 33.2 years for males, 33.0 years for females, and 33.1 for both sexes combined. Among closed populations, such high medians are commonly found only where birth rates have remained at exceptionally low levels for many years.

A second noteworthy feature is the relatively high sex ratio, approximately 109 males per 100 females. The ratio is especially high under 10 years of age and past 60, but falls below 100 for ages 10 to 20 and 30 to 40. This pattern differs strikingly from the normal, in which male births outnumber female births by five per cent or so, producing a slight surplus of males that eventually disappears as a result of higher male death rates throughout the life span. Major deviations from this typical pattern may be attributed to female infanticide, warfare, abnormally high maternal mortality, or differential migration.

(It should be noted that an even higher sex ratio—123.1—was found in the 1846 census of the same area, "as taken by Mr. Bothell". The earlier count classified the population as "men", "women", "boys" and "girls". Between 1846 and 1847, males increased 1.4 per cent, while females increased 14.7 per cent.¹⁰

Birth rates indicated by the 1847 count were extremely low. The crude rate was only 14.5 per 1,000 population, less than one-third the rate usually found in primitive, rural societies with limited knowledge of contraceptive techniques. The Northern Kauai rate is particularly surprising in view of the relatively high proportion of females (about 46 per cent) in the childbearing ages of 15 to 44. Births per 1,000 women in this age span numbered 66. Children under 5 per 1,000 women 15 to 44 numbered about 476, likewise an indication of very low fertility. Although under-registration may have been a significant factor in this low birth rate, the age and sex distribution of the population generally corroborates its low level. Continence, contraception, abortion and sterility are possible explanations. The latter might well have resulted from the high incidence of syphilis in Hawaii following the first white contacts.

Death rates were high but not unusually so for an underdeveloped, rural area of the period. Deaths numbered 79, for a crude rate of 29.3 per 1,000 population. Inasmuch as there were only 39 births during this period, natural decrease was 40, or 1.5 per cent. (Both birth and death rates computed above were based on vital events reported for 1846 and the population enumerated in early 1847.)

The census compiled data on blind and deaf persons as well as on total population. The blind numbered 17, or 0.6 per cent of the population; deaf persons numbered 9, or 0.3 per cent.

Several broad conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis:

1. The population of Northern Kauai—and probably most of the Kingdom—contained many persons in their forties and older, but relatively few under 20. The much broader age groupings used in the 1850 census tend to confirm this impression. The low proportion of younger persons probably resulted from a prolonged period of low fertility and high infant mortality.

2. Males greatly outnumbered females. Although maternal mortality and differential migration were unquestionably contributing causes, female infanticide may well have been the most important factor. According to Adams, infanticide was quite common from 1819 to 1825 and 1832 to 1836.¹¹

3. Birth rates were extremely low, probably because of sterility resulting from syphilitic infection among many Hawaiians.

4. Death rates were moderately high. According to Adams, the years from 1836 to 1848 provided a period of relative social and demographic stability.¹² A series of epidemics drove mortality rates to appalling levels in 1848-1849 and again in 1853.¹³

5. The population was small and widely dispersed through areas now unpopulated. An example is Kalalau, now uninhabited, but with 190 residents in 1847.

NOTES

1. For a bibliography of these censuses, see the Hawaii Department of Planning and Research, The Censuses of Hawaii, 1500-1960, Research Report 25, July 11, 1962, pp. 4-6.
2. "Census of Kauai, District No. 3, from Kalalau to Kealia, as taken Spring of 1847."
3. Names of the modern ahupuaa were taken from U.S. Geological Survey maps. The same land divisions are shown on State tax maps, except for omission of one of the two areas (the western one) named "Papaa".
4. Romanzo Adams, untitled and undated typescript in the files of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii, p. 106 (and again on p. 451).
5. "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction," The Polynesian, May 22, 1847, p. 1.
6. Editorial in The Polynesian, January 10, 1846. Also see the letter from "A Friend to the Native" in the issue of January 24, 1846 and the article in the issue of January 9, 1847.
7. Circular printed in Hawaiian (December 1, 1846) and typewritten English translation, both in Archives of Hawaii file, "Census - 1846".
8. See reference 5.
9. Robert D. King, "Districts in the Hawaiian Islands," in John Wesley Coulter, comp., A Gazetteer of the Territory of Hawaii, University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 11 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1935), pp. 214-230, especially pp. 216-218.
10. The 1846 census was cited on the same handwritten table as the 1847 census (reference 2).
11. Romanzo Adams, op. cit., p. 129.
12. Ibid., p. 121.
13. Ibid., pp. 115, 122-124, and 459. See also The Friend, November 15, 1849 and "Hawaiian Epidemics," Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1897, pp. 95-101, especially p. 97.

Table 1. POPULATION OF NORTHERN KAUAI, BY AHUPUAA: SPRING 1847

Ahupuaa*	Population
Total.....	2,698
Kalalau.....	190
Haena.....	162
Wainiha.....	154
Lumahai.....	123
Waikoko.....	5
Waipa.....	66
Waioli.....	159
Hanalei.....	637
Kalihikai.....	87
Kalihiwai.....	78
Kilauea and Kahili.....	240
Waiakalua.....	43
Papaa.....	22
Pilaa.....	51
Waipake.....	60
Lepeuli.....	23
Molooa.....	104
Papaa.....	23
Anahola.....	280
Hoomaikawaa.....	32
Kumukumu.....	21
Kealia.....	143

*Listed from west to east. Two different areas are named "Papaa". See text and footnote 3 for further comment.

Table 2. AGE AND SEX, FOR NORTHERN KAUAI: SPRING 1847

Age in Years	Population			Percent Distribution			Males per 100 Females
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	
All ages	2,698	1,406	1,292	100.0	100.0	100.0	108.8
Under 5	283	157	126	10.5	11.2	9.8	124.6
5 to 10	262	146	116	9.7	10.4	9.0	125.9
10 to 20	310	153	157	11.5	10.9	12.2	97.5
20 to 30	354	182	172	13.1	12.9	13.3	105.8
30 to 40	452	202	250	16.8	14.4	19.3	80.8
40 to 50	427	240	187	15.8	17.1	14.5	128.3
50 to 60	335	171	164	12.4	12.2	12.7	104.3
60 to 70	184	100	84	6.8	7.1	6.5	129.2
Over 70	91	55	36	3.4	3.9	2.8	
Median age	33.1	33.2	33.0

WILLIAM MILLER AND HIS OPPOSITION TO THE TREATY OF 1854*

by

Dixie Lee Born

[Editor's note: In 1852 and 1853 the question of annexing Hawaii to the U.S. was brought to the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives. Hawaii reacted with interested discussion, which became serious following a devastating smallpox epidemic and resulting political agitation in the summer of 1853. During 1854 an annexation movement developed strength, negotiations began, and a treaty of annexation was drafted. Complex maneuvers ensued. But the annexation cause was faltering when Kamehameha III died on December 15, 1854. His death doomed any chance that annexation might have had.]

One of the most vigorous protests against annexation was delivered by William Miller, Consul-General for Great Britain. He was not the sole cause of the annexation scheme's eventual failure, nor even the most significant one, but he did play an important part. In his role of opponent to the proposed treaty he represented the position of France and Britain, for it was to their advantage that the Islands not fall into the hands of the United States.

Miller seems to have had a rebuttal or an alternative to every possible reason for annexation. Some have referred to his protests as "tirades" or "harassments".¹ Obviously, his statements and actions appealed to the emotions and fears of his listeners. Most expressive of Miller's opposition was the speech which he gave before the king and privy council on September 18, 1854. This concentrated his views, aired at different times during the year, on the matter at hand.

More than once in 1854 the king and some of his chiefs indicated that they wanted to know Miller's feelings about the idea of annexation then being encouraged by so many Americans. The consul responded; at times he pointed out what would happen if Hawaii were annexed and, these being poor alternatives, he suggested ways in which Hawaii could improve herself without coming under the wings of a foreign power.²

In January, Miller had warned the king that by consenting to annexation he was, in fact

...placing his Power and his Sovereignty, as well as the Islands, at the Will, not of his Native Subjects, but of individuals who appear to be, now, more anxious for their own Worldly interests than for the well being of his Kingdom.³

He maintained that as long as the king, Prince Liholiho and the chiefs remained faithful to themselves and did not sign away the independence of Hawaii, they would be able to depend upon the support of "...the Naval Forces, in the Pacific, not only of Great Britain, but also...no doubt...of all other Maritime Nations having Treaties with the Hawaiian Government, against unjustifiable aggression."⁴

The most effective way to keep the independence of the Islands Miller summarized thus: Introduce simplicity into the courts and modify some of the existing laws--in particular the one regarding moe kolohe (adultery), for it was unequally enforced and "...beyond all calculation demoralizing to the Natives and Police

*This is part of a paper produced by Mrs. Born in May, 1964, for Dr. C.H. Hunter's course in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii.

Officers as well as vexatious and unendurably unjust to Foreign Seamen and others."⁵ There should be strict accountability in all government departments, especially in the public treasury. Receipts and expenditures should be published monthly. In addition, there should be abolition of all favoritism in the sale and management of the crown lands, imposition of a moderate land tax, and dismissal of some of the "useless" officers. A suggestion with special appeal was that if the ports were declared free ports, their population would, before too long, increase "...to a Million of People..." and rank with some of the existing sovereign European states.⁶ One of the Hawaiians' greatest worries was their ever-decreasing numbers.

As for the French menace that had continued to plague Hawaii since 1848, Miller assured the king that

...if any application had been made by Your Majesty and Chiefs for British Protection, the British Flag would instantly have gone up; just as it will now, if Your Majesty and the chiefs ask for it, to resist the aggression of any Foreign Power. But, I have never received any such application; and both in 1849 and 1851 I assured Your Majesty that you had nothing to fear from France, notwithstanding the acts of some of her officers....I expect the frigates Amphitrite and Artemise in a few days and in about three weeks, the two admirals.⁷

Not only here, but clearly throughout his presentation to the king in September, Miller defended Great Britain, expressing his distaste at the United States' secret negotiations and denunciations of Miller's home government:

...I can not understand how the United States Government, in view of the solemn assurances they have made [referring to the declaration by the U.S. that it would not allow any of its citizens or officers to use measures to induce annexation], could authorize their Commissioner here to make any secret Treaty, contradictory to those assurances.⁸

Miller had made a point of reminding the group of the "generous and disinterested" course pursued by the British government toward the Islands and that independence had been advocated since the time of Cook and Vancouver.⁹ He supported this by calling to attention a reply made by the king on July 31, 1850. As for himself, Miller said that he shared the British view and that he had "...no power to enter into any secret negotiation; the course of My Government is open, straightforward and honest. It has been eminently so, to Your Majesty and predecessors throughout all times; and England is your oldest friend."¹⁰

But this love had gone unrequited. Miller alluded to the publication ...in the native language, edited by the secretary of the Minister of Public Instruction [of] the grossest lies, libels and calumnies...against the British Government, and against myself. Had the Editor not been a government officer, I would have thought nothing of them for under a Free Press, an Independent Editor has a right to criticise public men and public measures; but the Editor referred to, though nominally discharged, was always about the Government offices and was assisted in his Editorials and communications, full of lies and libels, by the Secretary of another of Your Majesty's Ministers. For these reasons, I sent extracts to the British Government. I have the more reason to complain of such attacks that the official organ of Your Majesty's Government is hostile to British Interests, entirely under the influence of the American party and that no contradiction of such lies, libels and calumnies could be made through that organ....¹¹

In rebuttal, Miller asserted:

...I beg to assure you that there exists no Government more honourable than the British; the Ministers of the Queen of England are all men of rank and integrity; and their official subordinates have to act courteously truly and honourably else they would lose their character and their standing in Society.¹²

Miller had been made aware, in letters from San Francisco, of the attempt on the part of certain Americans and others there, to circulate terrifying accounts of filibusters, in order to alarm the king. In his protests he tried to convince Kamehameha III that there was no truth in any of it, and that the reports were mere efforts to frighten the Islands into annexation.¹³ Miller pointed out that two frigates were on watch and ready for action should the need arise. And a man from California, accused fore-agent of the filibusters, had come to Miller with assurances that certain rumors were untrue. Said the consul to the king: "I can assure you that Your Majesty is in no danger....There is no person safer in the Kingdom... without a single soldier or a single gun...not a Foreigner who would touch a hair of Your Majesty's head."¹⁴

Miller reiterated his willingness to protect the Islands should Kamehameha be really alarmed, but he continued to protest alienating the kingdom "...without necessity and without consulting the Representatives of other Foreign States..."¹⁵ which wished well to the king and his people. He furthermore reminded the crown that the constitution did not permit alienation of sovereignty unless under clearly stated circumstances not then obtaining. He referred to the 36th article, which alluded to the kingdom as if it were the king's property, but also spoke of the chiefs and people, presumably never intending that they should be disposed of as if they were private property.¹⁶

Another fact called to attention was that the number of non-American foreigners living in Hawaii equaled the total of Americans. And many among the latter opposed annexation of the Islands to the United States.¹⁷

In a public oration on July 4, 1854, U.S. Commissioner David L. Gregg had attacked in unmeasured terms British institutions, especially the colonial system and the law of primogeniture.¹⁸ Miller's refutation asked the king and chiefs to consider how annexation would affect the people. Using California as his example, the Britisher inquired:

...does that state afford any evidence of Good Government? Is not the whole land full of Murderers, Thieves, Robbers and Squatters, unpunished-- to an extent unknown in any other country? The City of San Francisco alone is upwards of \$3,000,000 in debt--the taxation on property is enormous while its value is rendered null by Squatters. Yet we hear eloquent harangues about the Area of freedom, and all that sort of stuff, without saying one word of the area of Slavery, or Squatting, of Fillibusterism [*sic*], and of Lynch-law the great blots of American Institutions.¹⁹

Miller said that he would not think of bringing up such a matter had not the representative of another foreign state decried British institutions. He said that in Great Britain primogeniture was a good thing, and that it had given stability to the nation by producing a continuous line of men born to wealth and independence. These men had the time to educate themselves for high positions as statesmen. Neither clerical nor legal men in Great Britain were thought competent to frame or carry out laws. Nor were merchants among the statesmen of Great Britain, and that was the reason "...the latter were of such high character, so honourable, so pure and incorruptible."²⁰

Taxation was another topic. Should Hawaii be annexed as a state, expenses of the state would have to be taken from internal taxes, for the federal government

would receive the duties on foreign products.²¹

Miller was discussing subjects close to the concerns of the Hawaiians. Perhaps illustrating this best was the slavery question--one carrying with it much emotional, social, economic and political dynamite, not only in the United States, but throughout the world. One of Miller's strongest reasons for opposition was this very question, which he and others continued to bring up throughout 1854. He said to the king:

...Supposing that no serious obstacles existed to carrying out the Scheme of annexation, I should recommend you to consider well, if there would be a probability, or even a possibility, of these Islands becoming a Slave State, [and to bear] in mind always that the Sandwich Islands are situated to the South of 36°50' North Latitude, the Missouri Compromise Line.²²

If slavery never came to Hawaii, but if she were annexed to or became a state of the United States, delegates or representatives would be sent back to Washington, D.C. It was asked, what would be the reaction in the U.S. to the "dusky-skinned" natives? In their travels, would they go "...unannoyed and with perfect liberty through the Southern States...", or if they went through the North, where slavery did not exist, what would be their treatment aboard American steam boats and in railroad cars? They would be pointed out everywhere they went, "...and Wealth could not compensate for such degradation."²³ The king was advised to look into these questions very carefully and to determine "...if after all, Native Members [were] sent to Congress would [they] really be allowed to take their seats in the Senate and House of Representatives?"²⁴

The consul elaborated his argument. He referred to Charleston, South Carolina, saying that even British subjects going there from the West Indies who were not "quite white" were jailed at night. Despite Britain's opposition, the practice continued.²⁵

Personal touches also were added. On his way back to Europe from Peru in 1839, Miller was in the capital of Mexico; he related this experience:

...the American Resident Minister there, aware that I intended to proceed up the Mississippi and through the United States, asked me one day what I was going to do with a brave and faithful attendant, I had then with me, who had about equal portions of Spanish, Indian, and African blood in his veins, and a corresponding complexion. I answered, 'Why, take him with me, to be sure, he is an old Soldier, he is a free man, and in my service.' The Minister rejoined, 'Take my advice and do no such thing, unless you wish to see your attached Servant thrown into jail every night you remain in a Slave State. Were you to come to my town--Natches [sic] and I happened to be there at the time, whatever my Private or Official position might be, I could not help you.' I had in consequence to part with my trust worthy follower who had served me several years, and given many proofs of devotedness and bravery in moments of great peril, and I shall ever mourn his death which occurred at Guayaquil whilst he was striving to get back to his own Country.²⁶

Miller set forth yet another, but less moving, incident:

...Whilst at Washington another Foreign Resident Minister said to me, 'Some short time ago I went to Richmond, the Capital of Virginia, in my own Carriage, my Coachman being a Man of Colour. Soon after my arrival there, in the Evening, the Governor waited upon me, and very courteously expressed his extreme regret that the Laws of the State rendered it indispensably necessary that my Coachman should be sent to jail, in consequence of his being a freeman of colour and not belonging to the State.'

The Governor was so civil and displayed so much Gentlemanly feeling, that I could not do less than submit; indeed, I could have done nothing else, but I determined never again to set my foot in Virginia.²⁷

He re-emphasized the point to the king: "...Remember that in whatever part of the world slavery exists there will necessarily be kidnapping of persons who are not perfectly white; and some Fathers who will sell their own progeny."²⁸

Miller then told how he had given much of his life and blood to the freeing of "men of colour" in South America:

It fell to my lot at Lima, in 1830, to liberate several old Soldiers, men of colour, who after fighting in the Battles which gave to their country her Independence, were discharged from the Peruvian Service, but afterwards kidnapped and again cruelly plunged into Slavery. I put a stop also to many others being kidnapped. I at the time held a high Post, both military and civil, and it would appear almost incredible were I to relate to you all the difficulties I had to surmount to obtain and secure the liberty of those Veteran Soldiers.²⁹

Especially effective was his last sentence: "...I, however, look back upon my persevering and successful efforts on that occasion with as much, if not more, satisfaction than I do for any act I ever performed during a long military career in favour of Freedom."³⁰

It is clear that Miller throughout his protest sought to discuss subjects that would appeal to the feelings and desires of the Hawaiians.³¹ Did the consul really believe that Hawaii would become a victim of slavocracy? It is hard to say. The dominant motive of his opposition to the United States and the treaty of 1854 appears to have been the interest of Great Britain in keeping the Islands independent. Just as Louis Emile Perrin represented the interests of France, and Gregg those of the United States, so did Miller uphold the British position. All the great powers saw strategic, economic, and political reasons for maintaining a foothold in the Islands and for keeping them free. It was a time when they were seeking spheres of influence in the Far East and the Pacific areas, as is evidenced by the efforts of Great Britain and France throughout this period to obtain a tripartite agreement.³² Independence was the aim, at least for the time being. Hawaii was too distant, and with the limited means of communication and transportation, it would have been difficult for any of the powers to take and keep the archipelago without operating at a deficit. And yet they objected to any one of them seeking exclusive control, for this would prejudice the interests of the others.

Although Miller's hostility was not the main cause of the treaty's rejection, the consul-general did play an important and colorful role in the agitation which led to procrastination and final defeat.³³ He dwelt upon issues crucial at the time, and that were of both personal and patriotic significance to the Hawaiians.

NOTES

1. W.D. Alexander, "The Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation of 1854," Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 9, p. 11; S.K. Stevens, American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898 (Harrisburg, Pa.: Archives Publishing Co., 1945), p. 76.
2. Memorandum of December 10, 1854. F.O. 58/79, [British] Public Record Office, pp. 375-380. Microfilm, Gregg Sinclair Library, University of Hawaii, Call No. 603.
3. Memorandum to the Earl of Clarendon, January 22, 1854. On microfilm cited above.
4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Verbal Communication to the King in Presence of His Ministers and Privy Council, September 18, 1854. F.O. 58/79 (above), pp. 244-248, 433-434. A typed copy of this communication is in the Archives of Hawaii.
8. Ibid. 10. Ibid. 12. Ibid. 14. Ibid. 16. Ibid.
9. Ibid. 11. Ibid. 13. Ibid. 15. Ibid. 17. Ibid.
18. W.D. Alexander, op. cit., p. 9; Memorandum of December 10, 1854.
19. Verbal Communication of September 18, 1854.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Memorandum of December 10, 1854.
23. Memorandum of January 22, 1854.
24. Memorandum of December 10, 1854.
25. Ibid. 27. Ibid. 29. Ibid.
26. Ibid. 28. Ibid. 30. Ibid.
31. S.K. Stevens, op. cit., p. 71.
32. Ibid., pp. 46-62; R.S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), pp. 383-425.
33. S.K. Stevens, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

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