## Notes on the History of the Hawaiian Historical Society

## Donald D. Johnson

On December 29, 1891, less than a year after the death of King Kalakaua and the accession to the throne of Queen Liliuokalani, a group of prominent Honolulu men met to discuss the founding of a historical society. The meeting was held in the board room of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, and the connection between the new society's founders and the missionary descendants was thus made clear from the start.<sup>1</sup>

Less than a month later, on January 11, 1892, an organizing meeting took place at the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association's quarters, this time with 21 or 22 members present, including the Reverend Jiro Okabe, a Japanese Christian, and F. J. Testa, a prominent Hawaiian nationalist and editor of a short-lived newspaper. Other than these two, the men present were almost all of the *haole* élite. At that meeting, interestingly enough, a visitor from Michigan presented a paper on his travels in Japan, an indication of the wider interests of the group.

Elected first president of the Society was Honolulu financier Charles R. Bishop. The librarian for both the Reading Room Association and the new historical society was Chaplain R. R. Hoes of the U.S.S. *Pensacola*, then stationed at Honolulu. The six officers of the Society constituted the board of managers, the president serving as trustee of its assets. This basic organization continued until the time of incorporation in 1924, with only minor amendment.

On January 28, 1892, 106 new members were elected, and by 1897 a total of 316 persons had been thus chosen for membership, often, it

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seems, before they had been asked or notified. An initiation fee of five dollars was charged at first, lowered to two dollars in 1904, later to one, and eventually abandoned altogether. Life memberships might then be obtained for \$25.00, and Robert Hoapili Baker and the Reverend E. Helekuni, of Haiku, were two of the first life members.

A distinguished group of corresponding members from New Zealand, Japan, Samoa, Europe, and the mainland of North America lent prestige to the young organization and occasionally contributed material to its files. For the first year or two there was considerable discussion over the admission of ladies to membership. Eventually, in 1894, Teuira Henry of Tahiti and Emma Nakuina of Hawaii were made corresponding members, and thereafter women were gradually admitted, a single fee sufficing where both husband and wife were elected. The process of election was cumbersome enough in the early years to make it clear that only the "right" people were wanted.

The Society was created in times of political change and turmoil in Hawaii, and the passions aroused by the end of the monarchy had much to do with the subsequent nature of the organization's membership and activities. Many of the early leaders were associated with the faction which overthrew the Queen, governed the Republic of Hawaii from 1894 to 1898, and brought about annexation to the United States. A number of the papers presented at meetings in the 1890s and some of the early accessions to the library reflect this association.

In the early years the Society's officers were often simultaneously leaders in the political, business, and social life of Hawaii. Banker Charles R. Bishop was the first president, and he was followed by a succession of men who combined active business or political careers with historical interests. Sanford Ballard Dole, president of the Hawaiian republic and later first governor of the Territory of Hawaii, was active from the start, and his successors in the governor's office, George R. Carter and Walter F. Frear, were both presidents of the Historical Society. Scholars such as Nathaniel B. Emerson, William D. Alexander, W. D. Westervelt and Ralph S. Kuykendall also presided over the organization and published papers in its series.

Though an identification with the *haole* elite characterized the Society in its early years, Albertine Loomis has pointed out that as its membership grew, outstripping the earlier Library and Reading Room Association, "though many on the two lists were the same, the Historical Society claimed more native Hawaiians and had a more obvious array of political diversity than the association roster."<sup>2</sup>

The first constitution of the Hawaiian Historical Society, drawn up in January, 1892, defined its objects as "the collection, study and utilization of all material illustrating the Ethnology, Archaeology and History of the Hawaiian Islands." By agreement with the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association, the Hawaiian part of that body's collection was turned over to the new society, which assumed full responsibility for its growth. In the event that the Historical Society should be dissolved, the collection was to return to the Library and Reading Room Association.

Upon the basis thus formed, generous donations from local families and individuals and the purchase of two large collections of Hawaiiana from a New York firm brought rapid enlargement of its holdings within the Society's first year. At the first annual membership meeting, held in Queen Emma Hall in December, 1892, librarian Hoes quoted Professor W. D. Alexander as saying that it was already the "largest single collection in the world of books and pamphlets relating to this country." He then launched into a brief description of the collection, citing 1,860 items dealing with Hawaii and 387 more on the Pacific Ocean, a combined total of 2,247. Particularly notable were the holdings of local newspapers and other periodicals, plus documents, letters, manuscripts, and papers submitted to the Society itself.<sup>3</sup>

In 1897 a published list of the book holdings of the Society showed little numerical gain, though there had been reports of purchases and many gifts in the interval. Heavy loss had been experienced in the first year from rain damage which practically destroyed the roof of the reading room and storage space. Other works were lost then and later to defaulting borrowers, as Society policy for years allowed "responsible" members to borrow books from the library.

In 1894 the board of managers decided to seek copies of government documents for the collection, together with ephemera from local printing firms, both on a current basis. The former policy was not continued over the years, the Archives serving that function more effectively. As to the gathering of handbills, broadsides, pamphlets, etc. pouring from the few local presses, only a comparative few have survived, one fears, in the libraries of the Historical Society, the Bishop Museum, the Archives or in the hands of private collectors.

The original statement of the aims of the Society, set forth in its 1892 constitution, was sufficiently broad and general to include almost any sort of collection, discussion, study or publication concerning Hawaii

and the Pacific. Thereafter the members and/or officers repeatedly turned to reexamination of their purposes or achievements, especially in times of flagging interest and declining membership. There was some of this, for example, in the first years after the overthrow of the monarchy and again in the first decade of the 20th century. Rare and poorly attended meetings, even when outstanding papers were presented, called forth laments in annual reports of a succession of presidents or treasurers. These were accompanied at times by exhortations to more vigorous membership campaigns, but seldom, it seems, with any clear view of the inducements to be held out to prospective members.

Certainly high dues were not a barrier. They remained at one dollar a year for about two decades, then were raised to two dollars. Yet several treasurers commented on the difficulty of collecting even that much. In 1899 Treasurer Dorothea Emerson announced a firm policy of dropping from the rolls all those members three years or more in arrears. The main result was a decline in the totals reported the next year. One president attributed the decline partly to the troubled political history of those years, and certainly not many Hawaiians seem to have been inclined to join an organization dominated by members of the "Dole party."

In June, 1894, a public meeting called for the Y.M.C.A. hall to hear Justice Walter F. Frear, had to be cancelled when only a handful of people turned up. The annual membership meeting in November of that year drew fewer than thirty members and guests, and several years later a total of twenty-nine members and visitors turned out for another. Not more than one or two meetings a year were held, as a rule, and there seemed to be a tendency to keep the same people in office until they refused to serve any longer, so great was the difficulty in securing acceptable volunteers.

By 1906 membership was down to 113, the following year to 112, and only one or two small meetings brought the members together each year. Yet the library was being used, selectively, in the preparation of worthwhile publications, a few by the Society and more by members or guests through other outlets. In 1907 it cost just \$74.80 to print 500 copies of an annual report of over 55 pages, containing three papers.

In the second decade of the century membership rose by something like twenty-five percent, but general membership meetings were still few, and there was a gap in the publishing of the *Papers* series from 1908 until 1927. The most notable change in these years was the move of the Society's collections into the Library of Hawaii building. This change, coupled with others we cannot measure, brought membership by 1922

up to 203, which Librarian Edna Allyn happily reported was the highest in at least twenty years.

From 1892 to 1910 the library was housed by cooperative agreement with the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association. Chaplain R. R. Hoes was succeeded as librarian by Dr. C. T. Rodgers in the spring of 1893, but he too resigned in November, 1894, though a salary of twenty-five dollars per month had been voted for the post. Thereafter the post was taken over by Miss Mary A. Burbank, who by 1900 was serving as the Society's treasurer as well. In that year it was discovered that Miss Burbank had drawn no pay from the treasury for the preceding three years!

Occasionally, as in 1897, the board of managers mounted campaigns to encourage donations to the library, making particular note of important works known to exist but not yet acquired. Gaps in periodical series, particularly of local newspapers, were gradually filled in in this way, through donations or purchases in Honolulu or as far abroad as Europe. By 1908 Librarian Helen L. Hillebrand was authorized to sell duplicates in the collection, as approved, applying the funds thus earned to new purchases.

From 1909 the Society's officers began considering a new arrangement by which its library holdings would be stored with the Territorial Library of Hawaii. They joined in an appeal to Andrew Carnegie for aid in building a library structure close to the palace. Before that building could be erected, however, a temporary move was found necessary, and storage space in the basement of the Alexander Young Hotel was found, with a reading room on the floor above. Cost of the move was \$71.50, and rental for the space, \$15 per month. That was in 1910.

In the following year an agreement with the Library of Hawaii was reached, and trustees of that organization became ex-officio members of the Historical Society's board of managers. At the same time Society officials were given a voice in the planning of the new building and its own storage and reading room space in it. In January, 1913, Albert F. Judd presided over the first membership meeting in the newly completed rooms, Mr. Westervelt presenting a paper on "The First Hawaiian Historical Society," a Lahainaluna effort of the early 1840s. At that meeting the members voted to subsidize the Library Association by some \$116.00 "and that the income from the bonds and the interest on the money in the savings bank be paid to the Library Association from time to time"—an informal fiscal policy to say the least.

In 1924 President Bruce Cartwright advanced a new and grandiose conception of the Society's aims and possibilities. On January 7, 1924, in advance of the annual meeting, he addressed an open letter to the members, in lieu of a presidential address. In it he said, in part,

Our Society has a great destiny to fulfil [sic]. We should become the recognized source and store-house of all historical data pertaining to Hawaii nei, Polynesia and the great Pacific area. This is a big undertaking. We are the logical ones to undertake it. In order to begin this big and valuable work we must be properly organized.

From there Cartwright launched into a recommendation that the Society be incorporated. He pointed to the sizeable library accumulated over a period of thirty-odd years, plus the Society's own valuable publications. Then he proposed publication of a historical magazine, the marking of historic sites throughout the islands, and compilation of an "Annals of Hawaii," a "detailed history of Hawaii covering every field of historical interest completely."

On May 22, 1924, the Hawaiian Historical Society was incorporated. The avowed objects of the organization were "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area, and for such other purposes as pertain thereto. . . ." These other purposes included, specifically, compiling catalogues and indexes; securing and preserving all material and documents pertaining to genealogies and biographies of Hawaii; investigation and recommendation for permanent marking and preservation of localities of historical interest in Hawaii, and the collection and preservation of stories and traditions relating to the same; the preparation and distribution of papers, magazines, and books relating to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia, and the Pacific area; and generally the "cultivation among the citizens of Hawaii of an interest in and a knowledge of the history, folklore and customs of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area." From that high tide of ambition an ebb was inevitable.

At the annual meeting of the Society in February, 1925, a resolution was adopted declaring that "the valuable collection of books and pamphlets of the Hawaiian Historical Society is now of little use to students and the public, because of the financial inability of the Society, with its present income to provide a librarian. . . ." The resolution called for the president to set up a committee to raise an endowment fund of fifty thousand dollars "the income from which to be used for the purposes of the Society." Bruce Cartwright was still president, and he was urging, among other things, "the consolidation under one roof of all Hawaiian Historical Libraries in Honolulu, thus making our Society

the recognized source of all data relating to Hawaiian History." The new president, Bishop Restarick, signed a fund-raising letter for "The Committee." For whatever reason the move was not a success, and by 1929 President Restarick was talking about moving the Society's Library to the Bishop Museum. Then the depression definitely put an end to expansion plans, bringing with it a decline in total membership, and in income.

Through the 1930s the Society was once again merely surviving. President Ethel Damon in one annual report regretted that there had been no general membership meeting between the two annual meetings and expressed the hope that the next election would bring in more active people. Her predecessor in office, Rev. Henry P. Judd, and Bishop Restarick before him, had voiced similar concerns, but membership figures lagged, and it proved impossible for either the Territory or the Society to staff the library room adequately on the funds available. This was increasingly important, for the '30s saw some notable research and publication activity in which the collection was used, climaxed by the first volume of Ralph Kuykendall's *Hawaiian Kingdom*, in 1938.

In 1940 Kuykendall himself became president, and new initiative in defining the Society's goals and stimulating memberships and activity might have been expected. He had proposed a number of changes in the preceding years, and his interest continued strong, but the outbreak of war and even the unsettled conditions which preceded it in Honolulu seemed to put a damper on Historical Society activities.

The 1941 annual report was delayed, almost not published, but then moderate activity was resumed. A few trustee meetings were held and even a token annual meeting, without papers, in February of 1942. By the next year it had been decided to print a truncated report for 1941, and a shortened annual meeting discussed and approved publication of a set of documentary source materials in Hawaii's history, continuing an established tradition. Membership was in a holding pattern, the two-dollar annual fee bringing in only \$448.00 in 1942. But disbursements totaled a mere \$90.19!

By 1943 President Kuykendall, serving his last term, suggested that it was time to start post-war planning. High on the list was a new settlement with the Library of Hawaii for better handling of the Society's collection which had been housed there since 1912. Both the Society's members and library officials were dissatisfied with the definition of duties and responsibilities as they stood by the end of the

war. This theme would be repeated in the following years until the decision was made to join the Mission Children's Historical Society in the erection of new quarters for the library collections of both organizations.

At war's end Kuykendall's suggestion for a reconsideration of the aims and activities of the Society was actively taken up under James Tice Phillips, Garner Anthony and Samuel Wilder King, who followed the noted historian in the office of president. Dues were raised, efforts were made to improve service to the Society's collection in the Library of Hawaii (even a proposed request to the legislature for funds for this purpose), and a vigorous membership campaign seemed to show promise of better things to come. The annual meeting of February 26, 1946, heard possibly the most intensive discussion of the Society's history and prospects ever conducted before the general membership. Member Gregg M. Sinclair, then president of the University of Hawaii, and Colonel Edwin H. Bryan led the discussion with carefully prepared remarks. Many of the views expressed had become familiar over the years, but aside from the library move no major mandate for change seemed to emerge.

Milton Cades presided over the Society during the transition to the new building in 1950, and it was then his duty to urge on the members a larger and wider participation in the Society's support. Sharing in the maintenance of the new structure and providing at least part-time library staffing demanded larger budgets, and only dues increases and a more vigorous membership campaign, he suggested, could achieve that. In the end, however, it was the generosity of private donors, including the Castle, McInerny and other foundations that carried a major part of the financial burden. Willowdean Handy took over management of the new library quarters for the magnificent salary of \$100 a month for twenty hours of work per week.

The Hawaiian Historical Society had taken an interest in the growth of local historical groups on the other islands for many years. The Kauai Historical Society served as a branch of that in Honolulu from 1927 to 1955, when differences over services, dues, and circulation of annual reports led the Garden Island group to withdraw. Inquiries from Maui and Hawaii about branch affiliation came some forty years apart but did not reach fruition, though a number of joint memberships existed. No real function for branches was ever worked out.

The move to the new building on the mission houses property in 1950 did not bring the expansion in membership or revenues that the trustees had hoped. From a high of 320 members, excluding Kauai, in 1947, totals fell to fewer than 250 in the mid-1950s. Then the figures rose in the early 1960s to nearly six hundred as of December 31, 1965. A campaign to increase the number of life members, pushed by J. C. Earle, with the support of President Harold W. Kent, played an important part in this. And then, too, the Society certainly shared in the general growth that all Hawaii was experiencing in those hectic years just after statehood.

President Kent was sufficiently encouraged to recommend that the Society at last begin planning to hire a full-time trained librarian. This step was taken in 1962–3, after the resignation of Mrs. Handy, and for the next decade several able but hard-pressed women filled the office until the coming of Barbara E. Dunn, who has served since that time. Increasing responsibilities have led to a change in the duties and the title for the important position, which is now called Librarian and Executive Secretary.

What to do with the library had been a matter of concern and controversy from the earliest years. Members Hoes and Cartwright, at an interval of some thirty years, had argued for a large, comprehensive collection covering the entire Pacific. But no program of aggressive acquisition had ever been financed or staffed. Years later a library committee carefully examined the question of scope, decided that Hawaii alone was about all the field that could be covered, and apparently authorized the sale or distribution of holdings outside that limit.

In 1929, as noted, Bishop Restarick had suggested combining the Society's collection with that of the Bishop Museum. In 1944 Ralph Kuykendall proposed housing all Honolulu's historical collections, with improved research facilities, in one central building. And in 1951 a Star-Bulletin writer sugested a division of library functions among the University of Hawaii, the Territorial Archives, and the Bishop Museum. He did not try to set guidelines for the distribution of fields among them.<sup>4</sup>

The Historical Society was both competing and cooperating with the Library of Hawaii, Bishop Museum, University of Hawaii, the Archives and other public and private organizations or individuals in pursuing its aims. It frequently appeared to members of each of these groups that a certain amount of jealousy and waste motion was the result, with overlapping of collections, meetings, memberships, and the like. By the

1950s and 1960s these questions, in addition to the rising costs of maintaining a library, led to some of the most drastic proposals yet made, and once again the whole future of the Society was under reconsideration.

Under pressure for more space from the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, President Edward Joesting and Trustee Agnes Conrad formally considered selling the Historical Society's library to the State Library system and devoting the funds thus acquired to an expanded program of publications and activities. In an open letter to the membership with the trustees' approval, Joesting wrote, in part,

For many years the Society library has created some serious problems for us. We do not have the funds to acquire the publications to make the library a full-fledged Hawaii collection (Our library is principally a collection of early voyages.) We do not have the space which we would need to expand our collection. A very great sum of money would be needed to accomplish these two things.

Then, after discussing additional problems, he made the proposal that sale of the library be considered.

Though a number of members signified by letter, by call, or by speaking up at a subsequent meeting that they favored the sale, there was sufficient opposition to at least delay action. Member John Plews circularized the members with a suggestion that sale would not give the Society enough money to finance a worthwhile publication and activities program. Others suggested that membership morale might be adversely affected and that the Society might lose much of the cohesion that it had. In this situation the trustees delayed action, quite deliberately, and eventually the proposal was allowed to die. It appears likely, however, viewed from this date, that the whole discussion may have strengthened the members' concern for the Society's future, if not altering its organization or functions.

Perhaps the Society's main claim to fame lies in its record of publication. During the first year three public meetings were held to hear papers prepared by local scholars, and all three were subsequently published, starting with W. D. Alexander's "The Relations between the Hawaiian Islands and Spanish America in Early Times." This study and others by Joseph S. Emerson and Judge Sanford B. Dole began one of the proudest and best known functions of the organization. Following these 1892 *Papers*, the series continued at highly irregular intervals down to 1940, when the 21st and last to date appeared. Their quality was widely recognized, and for these and the many other papers published in the

Annual Reports series international exchanges were set up, beginning with the Polynesian Society, of New Zealand, the Stockholm National Museum and other centers of scholarship.

Not every paper heard by the members was published, and some never read at general membership meetings were. A few previously presented to other organizations, notably the Kauai Historical Society or the Honolulu Social Science Association, were also given audience. In 1906, in fact, the board of managers considered publishing a number, if not all, of the past papers of the Social Science Association. Other early publication proposals included Howard M. Ballou's "complete up-to-date Hawaiian bibliography" (if the Library of Congress didn't do it), a complete "recording of oral traditions," a new Hawaiian dictionary, and a thorough, accurate chronology of events in Hawaii's history. In later years officers or members suggested a host of publication possibilities, from the collected papers of Abraham Fornander through genealogies of leading families (three of which were published) to complete collections of government or business documents.

The Society avoided commitment to the publication of book-length works in its first half-century, even when these were written by members and constituted major contributions to Hawaii's historical literature. Member Nathaniel B. Emerson's *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, for example, was proudly mentioned in the president's annual report and received the Society's blessing. But whatever financial aid its members may have provided for such publications was given privately. The organization simply was not set up to handle the costs and services needed for major books. Even shorter papers, including source documents, one of the Society's greatest interests, often had to be set aside for lack of funds to publish them. Judge A. S. Hartwell, on one occasion, offered four drafts of Queen Liliuokalani's abdication message to the Society, but these could not be printed under the existing circumstances.

In the 1960s publication of a regular annual journal was finally undertaken, after Richard A. Greer, a member, had shown the way. From 1962 to 1968 Greer, with the cooperation of the Kamehameha Schools, put out a quarterly *Hawaii Historical Review*, in mimeographed form. Then he proposed that the Society take over the job and generously offered to serve as editor. In 1967 the *Hawaiian Journal of History* commenced publication and the *Annual Reports* were reduced to lists of officers and members and reports of the year's activities. The first ten volumes of the Journal have recently been indexed by Lela Goodell, another devoted member and sometime officer of the Society.<sup>5</sup>

In 1982 we add to this series the 90th Annual Report and the 16th Hawaiian Journal of History. In recent years the Society, with the aid of generous bequests from Ethel Damon, the Winne family of Honolulu, and others, has published, sponsored, or subsidized a number of notable books in the history of Hawaii or the Pacific, some of them representing translations or republications of old journals, diaries, letters, and the like. Making the sources of Hawaii's history more readily available has always been an interest of the library and publications committees. The overwhelming bulk of material published by the Society has dealt with the 18th and 19th Centuries or with Polynesian archaeology and literature.

The number of worthy articles and books offered for publication continues to exceed the Society's ability to handle, with its limited staff and budgets. New avenues are still being explored by the trustees, including a possible resumption of the Papers series for medium-length works or the securing of pre-publication subscriptions to meet the costs.

Over the years the question of seeking government support has appeared repeatedly in the face of chronic shortages of funds to do all the things that members have felt the Society should be doing. Yet the idea of government funding, with all the strings usually attached, has not found favor with the membership. When President Samuel Wilder King, in 1947, suggested asking the legislature for a grant of \$5,000 to carry out much needed repairs to some of the old and fragile books and documents in the library, he met opposition on the floor of the annual meeting. Three decades later, in the midst of a vast expansion of government grants from all levels, the trustees were still highly skeptical of proposals involving such aid, and only a very few, aimed at assisting publication of historical sources, were entered into.

From the beginning, on the other hand, the Society's officers had involved themselves on many occasions in both positive and negative appeals to public officials concerning history-related subjects: commemorations, preservation of historic sites or documents, etc. When a Territorial planning agency proposed, in the late 1930s, to tear down Aliiolani Hale, the judiciary building, in order to put up a really "modern" structure, President Walter F. Frear spoke in magisterial and effective tones against the project. In the 1970s, on the other hand, the Society was urging legislative support for the Bishop Museum, a State Foundation on History and the Humanities and other positive programs.

Individual members have taken an active part in public affairs all through the years. Public officials, on the other hand, have often been members of the Society, held office in it, and presented papers at its meetings. That kind of association, however, has been less prominent in recent years than in the Society's founding period. In 1980, for example, neither the governor, the mayor of Honolulu, nor any appreciable number of legislators, state or local, were members. The business community is somewhat better represented, and a number of leading firms have taken out corporate membership. Still, the quiet power in the community that could be claimed for the Hawaiian Historical Society as late as the 1930s has been diluted by the rapid growth of Hawaii's population and the diversification of its interests. The Society has not grown apace with the community, and other groups, such as the Historic Hawaii Foundation and various ethnic history societies, have taken up some of the work that it might have hoped to perform.

In its ninetieth year the Society has more than 850 members, holds at least four general membership meetings each year, still maintains a useful research library, and carries on an expanded program of historical publication. In its work the organization still cooperates and competes with other institutions and shares members and even officers with them. Preferring to keep their private status, the trustees have still shunned government subsidies and have used only a handful of grants in support of specific research or publication projects. A small endowment, generous gifts, membership dues, and returns from the sale of publications form the bulk of the Society's support today.

Facing the challenge of rising costs, expanding opportunities for publication, research and membership activities, the pressure upon its resources and facilities is again becoming acute. Taking pride in the Society's record of distinguished memberships, aid to research in the history of Hawaii and the Pacific, and publications of historical studies and source documents, the goals set ninety years ago still guide us.

## NOTES:

¹ These notes are based on the Society's Annual Reports, the minutes of the board of managers (later board of trustees), and upon preserved remnants of correspondence with the presidents and librarians. All these resources are found in the library of the Society. Footnotes have largely been dispensed with in view of the limited range of sources and the ease of reference to them by dates indicated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Albertine Loomis, *The Best of Friends* (Honolulu: Press Pacifica, for Friends of the Library of Hawaii, 1979), p. 25.

- <sup>3</sup> Hawaiian Historical Society, First Annual Report, 1892, p. 9. This statement was frequently quoted, without question, in later years.
- 4 Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 5 May 1951.
- <sup>5</sup> Charles H. Hunter, Index, Publications of the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1892–1967 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1968); Richard A. Greer, ed., Hawaii Historical Review, Selected Readings (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1969); Lela Goodell, Index to the Hawaiian Journal of History, 1967–1976 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1980).