TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1915

WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING JANUARY 17, 1916

HONOLULU
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC PRESS
1916
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Minutes of the Annual Meeting.

Held January 17, 1915.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the rooms of the Society at 8 p.m. Judge Dole called attention to the fact that this was the twenty-third anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and asked that it be a part of the records of the Society.

There were present sixty-five members and guests, in spite of the very stormy day and evening.

The report of the Nominating Committee was submitted, and on vote of the Society the Secretary was instructed to cast a vote for the election of the following officers:

President, Hon. S. B. Dole; First Vice-President, Hon. W. F. Frear; Second Vice-President, Prof. W. A. Bryan; Third Vice-President, Mr. J. S. Emerson; Treasurer, Mr. Bruce Cartwright, Jr.; Recording Secretary, Mr. Edgar Wood; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. W. D. Westervelt; Librarian, Miss E. I. Allyn.

For additional members of the Board of Managers: A. F. Judd, A. W. Carter, Rev. H. B. Restarick.

Trustee of Library of Hawaii: W. D. Westervelt.

Reports were presented by the Corresponding Secretary, the Librarian, the Treasurer and the Chairman of the Genealogical Committee, which were accepted and ordered printed.

The papers of the evening were then read as follows:


“Was There a Lost Son of Kamehameha I?”—Mr. T. G. Thrum.

“The Hawaiian Bow and Arrow.”—Mr. Joseph S. Emerson.
The meeting was one of unusual interest, as the papers were without exception of historic value. The story of Kaumualii, by Rev. John M. Lydgate of Kauai, was complete and full of vivid pictures of a truly great man.

The meeting adjourned at 9:45 p.m.

EDGAR WOOD,

Recording Secretary.

Art. 1. This Society shall be called the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Art. 2. This Society shall have for its object the collection, study and utilization of all material illustrating the Ethnology, Archaeology and History of the Hawaiian Islands.

Art. 3. The members of this Society shall consist of three classes:

1st. Active members, who shall be elected by a majority vote at any meeting of the Board of Managers, pay an initiation fee of one dollar and an annual membership fee of two dollars, and participate by voice and vote in the management of its affairs.

2nd. Life members, who shall be elected by a majority at any meeting of the Board of Managers, and shall have the same rights and privileges as active members, upon the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time.

3rd. Corresponding members, interested in the objects of the Society, and elected by special vote of the Society for services rendered or aid invited.

Art. 4. The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, Librarian, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and Treasurer, and a Trustee of the Library of Hawaii to be nominated by the Society, who shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and, together with three additional members of the Society, constitute the Board of Managers. Five members of the Board of Managers shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and in case of the absence or disability of any officers or other mem-
bers of the Board of Managers, the remaining members of the Board may appoint any member of the Society to perform the duties of such offices or members, or fill any other vacancy on said Board during such absence or disability.

Art. 5. The annual meeting of this Society shall be held in Honolulu at such place and time as the Board may appoint in the month of January, at which time the officers shall be chosen and annual reports presented by the Librarian, Secretaries and Treasurer.

Art. 6. Other meetings beside the annual meeting shall be appointed from time to time as occasion may require, by the Board of Managers, who shall arrange the order of exercises for each meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

Art. 7. The President shall be the Trustee of the Society to hold the property thereof for its use, and the property of the Society now held, and all future acquisitions shall be vested in him and his successors in office.

Art. 8. Four committees of five members each, including two members of the Board of Managers, shall be appointed by the President: (1) on the Library, (2) on Program and Printing, (3) on Membership, (4) on Genealogy.

The Library Committee shall be authorized to purchase books, pamphlets, newspapers and other historical material, to attend to all details relating to the management of the Library, including the framing of rules and regulations for its use, and also to have general charge of the Library Room of the Society and its contents, and provide for all necessary arrangements connected therewith, provided that no single expenditure be made by the committee exceeding the sum of one hundred dollars, without permission of the Board of Managers.

Art. 9. Papers read before this Society shall remain the property of the persons who present them. They shall not be published by the Society or placed upon its files without the written consent of such persons.
Scenes on the island of Kauai, Hawaii.
Art. 10. This Constitution may be amended by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting, written notice thereof having been given to the Secretary at least ten days previous to such meeting. The Secretary shall present the same to the Board of Managers before the meeting of the Society is held, and the Board of Managers shall report to the Society their recommendations on any proposed amendment.
Report of the Librarian.

To the Officers and Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Librarian's report for 1915 is chiefly a recital of the accessions for the year. Thirteen items were bound, twelve of which were files that had been completed. The list is as follows:

- Vocabulary of the English and Malay. (Singapore, 1862.)
- Thrum's Hawaiian Annual. (1909-1914.)
- Crossroads of the Pacific. (Vols. 2-3, 1912-March 28, 1913.)
- Friend. (Two vols., 1909-1911, 1912-1914.)
- Hawaiian Monthly. (1884.)
- Hawaii's Young People. (Three vols., 1909-1914.)
- Journal of the Polynesian Society, (Vols. XIV-XX, 1905-1911.)
- Kona Echo. (1897.)
- Paradise of the Pacific. (1888-1892.)
- Sunday Volcano. (1899-1901.)
- The Time. (1895.)
- Fauna Hawaiiensis. (Three vols.)

Mr. Westervelt has presented his "Legends of Old Honolulu," and his latest work on Hawaiian mythology, "Legends of Gods and Ghosts." Mr. W. A. Bryan presents to the Society a copy of his recent work, "The Natural History of Hawaii" (1915). Dr. N. B. Emerson's "Pele and Hiiaka" has also been received. "The Life of Henry P. Baldwin" was presented by his daughter, Mrs. J. P. Cook.

Mr. Westervelt also secured for the Society, through the Hawaiian Board, twelve copies of the Missionary Herald for the years 1855, 1860, 1861 and 1871-1879; also a miscellany of reports, pamphlets and other material. In the latter is the manuscript copy, volume I, of a private journal by Hiram
Bingham, Jr., of a voyage in the Morning Star (Captain Moore) from Boston to Micronesia, via Honolulu, during part of 1856-7.


From Mr. G. R. Carter were received 250 copies of a pamphlet entitled “Joseph Oliver Carter, the Founder of the Carter Family in Hawaii.” One copy has been sent to each member of the Society. The remaining copies are held for sale.

Among the exchange items are The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute for 1914, and the Bishop Museum publications for 1915, including the interesting and valuable handbook of the Hawaiian collections.

Four new members have been admitted since the last meeting and one withdrawn, and we have to record one death and one resignation. The membership of the Society is 132.

Respectfully submitted,

Miss E. I. Allyn,

Librarian.
Treasurer's Report.

1915
Balance from 1914 ........................................... $317.10

RECEIPTS.
Membership dues ........................................... 230.00
Sale of Reports ............................................ .25
Paid by Members for Bookbinding ................. 17.30
Interest on McBryde Bonds ......................... 100.00

$664.65

EXPENDITURES
Paid to Treasurer, Library of Hawaii ........ $117.10
Postage ..................................................... 2.00
Collector ................................................... 19.40
Publishing Annual Report ......................... 117.50
Bookbinding ............................................... 57.83
Printing .................................................... 3.00
Book Purchases ........................................... 23.15
Miscellaneous expenses of Librarian .......... 10.10

$350.08

Cash deposited in Bank of Hawaii, Ltd...... 314.57

$664.65

Amount in Savings Bank, Bishop & Co.......... $ 461.28
Two $1,000 5% McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds (now in safe keeping with the Bank of Hawaii, Ltd.) .... 2,000.00

$2,461.28

Respectfully submitted,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,
Treasurer.


A. C. O. LINNEMANN,
Cashier, M. McInerny, Ltd.
Makana peak, Haena, island of Kauai.
Corresponding Secretary’s Report.

For the Year 1915.

This will be a very concise paper, owing to the time necessary for the interesting papers of the evening.

Members of the Society have probably noticed that their annual reports are not numbered consecutively. This is because no report was printed of the second annual meeting. The printed reports of the third and fourth meetings were labeled “Third and Fourth Annual Reports,” although they were the second and third reports printed. In 1896 some one tried to make the numbers harmonize, and labeled the account of the fifth annual meeting “The Fourth Annual Report”; thus there were two “fourth” reports. The sixth annual meeting was called “The Fifth Annual Report.” This continued through to 1911, when the report was called: “The Nineteenth Annual Report, Twentieth Year.” The next year, 1912, our good helper, Professor Ballou, thought he would cut the Gordian knot once for all, so he dropped the “Twentieth Annual Report” entirely, skipped a number, and labeled the issue “The Twenty-first Annual Report.” The report for 1913 was “The Twenty-second Annual Report” and for 1914 “The Twenty-third Annual Report.” This is correct, and it will be just as well to let this rendering stand as to try to go back to a consecutive number plan, which would be inaccurate concerning the actual annual meetings reported.

It is of interest to note that in spite of the terrible war and its demands on German thought, a gentleman interested in ethnology writes from Germany asking for Mr. Thrum’s “Hawaiian Folk Tales” and two of my books on “Hawaiian Legends.”

Letters from our good friend Hon. S. Percy Smith, President of the Polynesian Society of New Zealand, show his continued interest in the work being done by students here. He
devoted considerable space in the journal published by the Society to Dr. Emerson's "Pele and Hiiaka" and my "Legends of Old Honolulu," both published during the past year, showing the appreciation of Polynesian scholars for any work done along this line of study.

W. D. WESTERVELT,
Corresponding Secretary.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: As Chairman of the Genealogical Committee, I take pleasure in presenting the following report:

At the suggestion of our committee, Mr. George R. Carter prepared an article on Joseph Oliver Carter and his descendants in Hawaii. Mr. Carter had five hundred copies of his paper printed, at his own expense, and has donated two hundred and fifty copies to the Historical Society. I have requested the Secretary to mail a copy to all active members in good standing. The remaining copies can be purchased from the Librarian. With this excellent paper before you it would not be a hard matter for any one to write a similar article dealing with his own family. Any articles of this nature will be gratefully received and very much appreciated by the Genealogical Committee.

I also take pleasure in reporting that our committee has received a Genealogy of the Wilder Family in Hawaii, which will be published in due course.

Your committee feels that all genealogical papers should be printed in pamphlet form, and not incorporated in the Annual Report of the Society, or, if incorporated in the Annual Report, then also printed in pamphlet form. A great many people do not care to have genealogical articles lost among reports and other papers forming the Annual Report, but would like to have them bound separately. Your committee recommends that the Wilder Genealogy appear in pamphlet form and be No. 2 of the Genealogical Series of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Respectfully,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,
Chairman Genealogical Committee.
Dr. N. B. Emerson.

Dr. N. B. Emerson was a charter member of this Society, and also of the Polynesian Society of New Zealand. He has contributed valuable papers from time to time and aided the Society very materially with his counsel and labor. He was an excellent Hawaiian scholar and translator. He interpreted the thought rather than the literal words, and he did this with rare skill. He published three books—"The Unwritten Literature of Hawaii," "Pele and Hiiaka" and a translation—besides many papers like the important one on "Long Voyages of the Early Hawaiians." These papers will some time probably be put together in a valuable volume. In all his writings the explanations and references are of great value to students. This is especially true of his translation of David Malo's book on "Hawaiian Antiquities."

He was a son of Rev. John S. Emerson, who came to the Islands as a missionary of the American Board in 1832. He was born July 1, 1839, at Waialua, on the Island of Oahu, where his father lived in the center of his field of labor, which covered nearly half the Island. His early education was received at Oahu College, whence he went to Williams College, where he graduated in 1865. Before graduating he served two years in the Union Army during the Civil War. He received wounds at Fredricksburg and Chancellorsville. At Gettysburg an exploding shell tore off the back of his cap, leaving him unjured.

After graduation he took a medical course at Harvard and at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, receiving his degree of M. D. in 1869. He practiced in New York until 1878, when he came to the Hawaiian Islands to become inspector of lepers and leper stations, and thus was one of the pioneers in this work.

Dr. Emerson held many important positions during his useful life. His activity continued to the day of his death. He
laid down his life when returning from an Alaskan trip which he had taken with his son. The cause of his sudden death was paralysis, occasioned by cerebral hemorrhage. His death will be a great loss felt by all students of ethnology the world over. W. D. W.
A Hookupu.

An Incident of the Conquest of Oahu by Kamehameha I.

BY SANFORD B. DOLE.

It was less than a week after the decisive battle of Nuuanu, when a royal Hookupu was proclaimed in honor of the conqueror, Kamehameha. (A Hookupu is the presentation at a given time of gifts by all the people to a chief.) During the preceding fortnight Kamehameha had appeared off Waikiki in his fleet of war canoes. A few days had been impatiently spent in waiting for Kaiana to join him with the rest of the army, but the latter had treacherously deserted and united his forces with those of Kalanikupule, King of Oahu. Upon learning of this, Kamehameha had promptly marched against the enemy in Nuuanu Valley and had fought the battle which permanently affected the destinies of the Hawaiian Islands. The enemy bravely contested the battle to the last, and on the very edge of the appalling precipice of the Pali, with Lanihuli’s fair summit smiling down upon them from toward the setting sun, and Konahuanui, grim and stern, with its stormy, cloudswept cliffs standing guard on the other hand, the sweet homeland of Koolau beneath and behind them, with their thatched huts in sight and the blue sea beyond, where but the other day they rode in sportive rivalry the untamed surf steeds of the great ocean, they gave their lives in heroic combat to the lost cause, many of them being hurled headlong over the precipice to the jagged rocks hundreds of feet below.

During the inactivity of Kamehameha’s troops before the battle, Hakuole, one of his officers, a young chief and a fighter of renown, had met Leilehua, a Waikiki girl, the daughter of a chief of considerable rank. Leilehua was beautiful, with a lithe and tropical grace, and Hakuole, with his torrid nature, had impetuously fallen in love with her at sight, and nightly hovering about her house told his love through the strident
notes of the Ukeke, in the musical dialect understood by all Hawaiian lovers. His devotion, however, brought him no response by night or recognition by day, though the friends of Leilehua began to notice in her a carefully disguised interest in the movements of the young warrior chief.

At length the army was on the march again and Hakuole had to do his part in the battle of Nuuanu, through which he passed without serious injury. The Hookupu was a grand affair. The Oahu people saw that Kamehameha was master of the situation and that submission to the terrible conqueror, upon whose whim now depended their lives and property, was the politic course; the whole population thronged to the Hookupu at the appointed day, every one bringing some gift, which was laid down before the King until the pile grew beyond all precedent.

At the height of the coming and going, an old man was seen approaching, leading a girl by the hand as his gift. The present was an Ehu (Hawaiian blonde), about seventeen years old, tall and slender, with a fair, transparent skin and hair of a tawney hue that showed here and there a shimmer of gold, which fell over her shoulders to her knees in crisp, heavy masses. She had soft, hazel-brown eyes, and was dressed in a skirt of yellow kapa, marked in black with zigzag design, reaching from her waist to her knees; on her head she wore a wreath of yellow oo feathers, and at her wrists bracelets of shells, while on her breast rested an ivory Niho Palaoa, suspended from her neck by the mystic three hundred braids of human hair. A moment she stood there alone in the midst of the great concourse of people, her eyes downcast and wet with tears, and the warm blood mantling her face and bosom, and then, dropping to her knees, she hid her face in her hands.

It was Leilehua. Her hard-hearted old father had hoped to retrieve his fortune by this conspicuous devotion to his new master. Hakuole was in a most tumultuous state of mind over the situation, and, acting entirely on the impulse of the moment, deserted his position as one of the King's personal
attendants, walked rapidly around to where the damsel was
crouched in her forlorn and pathetic attitude, and taking her
by the hand assisted her to rise and led her away. This daring
act of interference and familiarity with a woman sacred to the
great Kamehameha was commented on with grave concern by
the people present. The King was much irritated, but after
a few moments' thought, divining somewhat of the true state
of affairs, he sent for the offender, who appeared before him
in a state of deep dejection.

"It seems you are tired of being a soldier," said the King.
Hakuole groveled still lower, but shook his head in vigorous
denial of so humiliating a charge. "And you prefer the society
of women to that of your comrades in arms." Then, address-
ing an officer, he said: "Bring this tribute girl here." Leile-
hua was led into the august presence, whereupon Hakuole fur-
tively raised his head and looked around, and seeing Leilehua,
recovered something of his natural manner. Kamehameha then
said: "Listen! This is your punishment: You are suspended
from your official rank for thirteen moons. Take this girl and
retire to her father's estates, which I give to her children for-
ever. Go!"

The King allowed the radiant Leilehua to kiss his hand, and
then the happy couple crept backward out of the royal presence
in the most approved style, in a tumult of feeling that can better
be imagined than described.
One of the Garden Island's fascinating falls.
Ka-umu-alii, The Last King of Kauai.

BY JOHN M. LYDGATE.

Most of the high chiefs of Maui, at the opening of the nineteenth century, trace back to Ke-kau-like, King of Maui in the early decades of the eighteenth century. He was followed by Kameha-meha-nui, who died shortly after, and who was succeeded by his brother Kahekili, a man of large ambitions, great force and much ability, who aimed to build up an extended kingdom for himself at whatever cost. And he would doubtless have succeeded had he not met his match in the equal endowments and superior advantages of Kameha-meha of Hawaii. The contest was long and severe, and the victory would have remained with Kahekili had it not been for the baleful assistance rendered by Kameha-meha’s foreign gunners.

In this long contest Kahekili was ably assisted by his younger brother Kaeo, or Kaeo-kulani as he is sometimes called, who developed so much ability and executive force that Kahekili treated him as an associate and equal in all his later enterprises. It was doubtless in one of these enterprises of conquest that Kaeo came to Kauai, and found it more effective, as well as more congenial, to make a marital rather than a martial conquest of Kamaka-he-lei, the leading chiefess of the Island of Kauai. This peaceful conquest made him virtual, if not real, King of the island. It seems, however, to have been an honor or a responsibility which rested rather lightly on him, since he was seldom there, being engaged elsewhere with his brother Kahekili in their wars of conquest. However that may be, Kamaka-he-lei became his wife for such time as he remained on Kauai, and Kaumualii was born of the union about 1778.

At that time Waialua was the capital of the island and the residence of the principal chiefs, so that Kaumualii was born, tradition has it, on the sacred spot Holo-holo-ku, where it was
the ambition of every chief to be born and where alone the highest lineage could be conferred.

It is perhaps vain to speculate on the youth of the young prince and the influences by which he was surrounded, since we know absolutely nothing of his mother and those who stood nearest to him, and his father Kaeo seems scarcely to have been long enough at home to exercise much influence. Doubtless he was brought up according to the tenets and the standards of his ancestors, scarcely as yet modified or relaxed by the dawning civilization of a new era. If as a boy he knew anything at all of this civilization it was only in the most superficial aspects of unfamiliar goods, strange weapons of war and the stories of wonderful ships. I say stories of ships, for though they came not infrequently to Waimea, his home was at Wailua, whither the ships came not.

It is perhaps worthy of mention that trading vessels began to make Waimea more and more a port of call, mainly for recruiting purposes, sometimes spending weeks in friendly and baneful intercourse with the natives. And occasionally one of the crew, weary of the hardships and discipline of the sea, or enamored of the license of a lawless life ashore, deserted and cast in his lot with the natives. In addition to these, Captain Kendrick of the "Lady Washington" left three men to collect a cargo of sandalwood on Kauai against his return in the course of a couple of years. These men—Rowbottom, Williams and Coleman—lived on the most intimate terms with the natives and after their manner, almost of necessity. These men were, of course, rara aves, more or less sought after even if not respected. Doubtless some of them soon found their way to court, where they could reap the largest advantage from their prestige and enjoy the fattest and loosest kind of living. It will be well within the facts, and will not be doing any injustice to their memory, to assert that these men were, on the whole, ministers of evil rather than good. Vancouver clearly discerned their malign influence and would gladly have gathered them up and transported them to the Northwest or elsewhere, but the chiefs wouldn't hear of it. We are told that the young
We have really no definite knowledge of Kaumualii before
the advent of Vancouver in 1792. Vancouver had served under
Cook in his last ill-fated voyage, and the tragic termination of
it was fresh in his mind, so that he was looking for hostility.
He was accordingly very pleasantly surprised when he was re-
ceived with overtures of peace. But Vancouver was still very
wary, and when he saw a large grass fire on the upland back
of Waimea and could get no satisfactory explanation of it, he
was filled with anxiety lest it should portend some act of hos-
tility. As a matter of fact it was probably a simple means
of signalling the chiefs at Wailua. At any rate, they soon
appeared on the scene — Inamoo, the governor-guardian, and
the boy Prince Kaumualii. In response to the pressing invi-
tation of Vancouver to visit his ships, the governor explained
that they would be very glad to do so, but could not unless
hostages were given for their safe return. This being conceded
by Vancouver as a reasonable precaution, two of his officers re-
mained ashore while Inamoo made his visit to the ships. He
was received with such courtesy as became his high estate, and
suitable presents of a peaceable nature were given to him.
With these, however, the governor expressed his dissatisfac-
tion; he wanted firearms and ammunition. To this Vancou-
ver, replying in terms that his visitor would understand, said
that his master, King George, had imposed a strict tabu on
all munitions of war, so that they could not be disposed of on
any pretext whatever. Somewhat reluctantly Inamoo professed
himself as satisfied with this explanation, since it was evident
that he could not weaken Vancouver's determination.

On his return to the shore Ka-umu-alii made his visit to the
ships, accompanied by his royal guard of thirty men, armed
with iron daggers and carrying thirteen muskets made up into
three bundles, with calabashes containing ammunition. He im-
pressed Vancouver as being about twelve years of age; a very
attractive and intelligent lad, whose countenance showed much
affability and cheerfulness. It seemed to Vancouver that his
features showed much more resemblance to the European than any he had seen. Combined with great quickness of comprehension, there was much naive timidity and agitation. Like a lost child he clung to Vancouver with insistent anxiety. At the same time he asked many intelligent questions, none of which seemed to be prompted by any spirit of idle curiosity. With the refined instincts of an innate courtesy, he appealed to his companions, Rowbottom and Williams, who could speak Hawaiian after a fashion, at every turn for guidance as to what was fitting and proper for the occasion. In the evening Vancouver gave them an exhibition of fireworks, which was viewed with great interest and delight from the shore.

Inamoo, the governor, was evidently a hard task-master. His own advantage, no less than his duty to his master, prompted the utmost exaction of feudal tithes. "All that the people will stand" was the line of advantage—honest advantage—for him. And he was probably more or less of a grafter, seeking to feather his own nest out of his special opportunities; and since he could not well do it at the expense of his master, he must do it at the expense of his people. That he was a strong man meant also, doubtless, that he had large constructive ideas, either peaceful or warlike, for the improvement of his master's estates, all of which meant enforced service and sacrifice for the common people. The advent of ships, and the supplies required by them in large quantities, involved an additional burden, of which we hear frequent complaint, the weight of which fell on the common people, and the benefits, such as they were, accrued to the chiefs.

As a natural result of such strenuous rule, there were outcroppings of revolt. By a strange coincidence Vancouver, approaching Kauai from Oahu, on his second visit in the spring of 1793, fell in with a fleet of canoes in mid-channel, laden with prisoners and bearing news to Kaeo of a recent insurrection against his rule on Kauai. This insurrection had been quelled mainly through the aid of the renegade whites, resident among the chiefs, whose facility in the use of arms gave them a great advantage.
Instead of proceeding direct to Waimea as usual, Vancouver on this occasion made the land at Wailua, and spent two days in that vicinity, but apparently without going ashore, yet in friendly intercourse with the people, who came out in considerable numbers to trade and visit. This change of plan was doubtless due to a tardy realization of the fact that Wailua was the residence of the chiefs and the capital of the island.

While "lying off and on" here Inamoo came aboard. He is represented as aged and infirm, gaunt and scrawny, scaly and unsightly, from an intemperate use of awa, but still a man of large ambitions, the one uppermost just then being a trip to England as the guest of Vancouver. Recognizing that his days were numbered, Vancouver gave an easy assent, to take effect at some future time when he had finished his explorations in the Northwest.

The young Prince Kaumu-alii also came aboard, very much pleased with the honor thus done him of a special visit to Wailua, and very glad to renew his acquaintance with the great navigator. Vancouver found him very much improved during the interval since his last visit. He was much less shy and awkward, much more confident of himself, but withal as attractive and lovable as ever. When nightfall came and they were far to leeward of Wailua, the young prince, with some anxiety, begged to be allowed to go ashore. Vancouver immediately reassured him and complied with his request. It is worthy of note that there is no talk of hostages, as in the year before; complete confidence had been established. As a further evidence of friendly relations, two minor chiefs or konohikis, Pulu and Ku, were assigned to accompany Vancouver to assist in securing the necessary supplies at Waimea.

The next glimpse we get of Kaumu-alii is from Broughton, in 1796, and shows him in rather unhappy circumstances. Inamoo has passed off the stage and his place has been taken by Keawe, ranked by some as a governor or regent under Kaumu-alii. He was probably the governor of the western side of the island — a heady old man who did not always distinguish clearly between the rights of his master and his own.
The young and amiable Kaumu-ali'i was but a poor match for this ambitious governor and he soon fell under the influence of Keawe and finally into his hands, living with him in a state of mild captivity. From this condition, however, he was finally relieved by the death of Keawe.

About this time, early 1796, Kameha-meha was making strenuous and elaborate preparations for the invasion of Kauai, which finally culminated in a large expedition, including small vessels, guns and foreign gunners, April, 1796.

Setting sail from Waianae about midnight, they were overtaken when only about a quarter of the way across by a severe storm, which wrecked many of the canoes and so disconcerted the fleet that they put back in distress, and were prevented from renewing the attempt by the news of serious disaffection on Hawaii, which seemed to require immediate and strenuous attention.*

Following Broughton we have no recorded visit to Kauai until 1804, when Turnbull, an English merchant, arrived from Sydney, touching first at Oahu and then coming to Kauai for supplies. It was just about this time that Kameha-meha was making vast and menacing preparations for the conquest of Kauai, and the rumor of them had reached that island. Accordingly Turnbull found that the one foreboding anxiety of Kaumu-ali'i and his chiefs centered in the plans and purposes of Kameha-meha. Turnbull could not deny that Kameha-meha was certainly making elaborate preparations for the conquest of the island and that they were well advanced toward com-

*I am not unmindful of the modern contention, current in certain quarters, that this expedition was signally defeated by the Kauai natives under Kaumu-ali'i. It seems to me simply inconceivable that all history and tradition can possibly have been silent concerning this remarkable defeat, if it ever happened. It is inherently improbable, if not impossible, considering the disaffected and divided condition of Kauai at the time, split as it was between the opposing forces of Keawe and Kaumu-ali'i. Under such circumstances it is more than probable that one of these contestants would have joined forces with Kameha-meha to insure the defeat of the other; and doubtless Kameha-meha depended on this, hence his anxiety to accomplish the invasion at this time.
pletion. This threw the chiefs into such a state of anxious depression that they were unable to speak or think of anything else. And in this condition they were clamorously insistent for guns and ammunition, which, however, Turnbull consistently refused, though his sympathies went out to them in their danger.

The “exiled King,” Kaumu-ali‘i, as Turnbull styles him, struck him as being infinitely superior to Kameha-meha as a man.

The young King complained bitterly of the false reports steadily circulated to his disadvantage by renegade white men and of the trouble they made. He represented himself as a consistent friend of the English, whom he was always ready to serve. He produced certificates of good conduct from the various vessels which had recently touched at the island. He had acquired a limited knowledge of the English language, had adopted the name of King George himself, and had bestowed those of the various members of the royal family on his children, getting badly mixed in the operation. In recognition of this singular devotion he again begged for arms and ammunition with which to stand off his arch enemy, Kameha-meha. Again Turnbull is constrained to refuse, but with an emphatic condemnation of the folly of the early voyagers in distributing the firearms which have brought things to such a pass, since Kameha-meha’s undeserved preponderance is to be attributed solely to his superior martial equipment.

By this time there had grown up quite a band of foreign beachcombers attached to the chiefs and ready to share their lot, whatever it might be. Deeply impressed with the fear of Kameha-meha’s invasion, they had set to work and built a small vessel, as a last resort in case of an unfortunate issue in the struggle. In this vessel they were hoping to find an asylum in some distant corner of the broad Pacific, where they might dwell in peace. For this purpose, however, they were poorly outfitted, since they lacked the appliances of navigation (save only a compass) as well, probably as the skill to use them.
Kaumu-alii informed Turnbull that he had sent a special envoy to Tahiti to select and secure from the King there a wife suitable to his dignity and station, and it was now high time for his return. Turnbull in reply admitted that he had met such a man in Tahiti; that he had engaged passage to Kauai, and had come aboard just before the time of sailing with the evident intent of making the voyage, but at the last moment had secretly jumped overboard and made his way to the shore. The charms of Tahiti had evidently been too much for him.

If they did not bring the royal bride with them from Tahiti, they did bring a Tahitian couple—the lady in particular proving very attractive. She did much to vary the monotony of ship life by giving impromptu exhibitions in Tahitian dancing—doubtless of the hula type—which were very popular. These were offset at Waimea by Hawaiian dances of the same nature, and these again by a sailor's hornpipe to the accompaniment of the violin.

A southerly coming up, they were blown off and were two days "lying off and on." The King, who was always aboard, was very much concerned for fear he might never tread his native soil again. On their safe return, however, the King tried a simple ruse to test the loyalty of his subjects. Keeping himself in hiding, he passed round the word that he had been betrayed and delivered over to Kameha-meha. When ultimately his people began to believe the story they were overcome with consternation and grief, which was just beginning to find some adequate expression when the King appeared and turned their grief to joy.

As a last favor the King begged for the necessary stores for the outfit of his little vessel for its precarious and uncertain voyage, and Turnbull hadn't the heart to turn him down. It is interesting at this point to recall the fact that Kameha-meha's threatened invasion never came to time, being defeated in 1805 by a most disastrous scourge of plague—probably cholera—which prostrated Kameha-meha and decimated the population of the islands.
Makaweli valley, Kauai, "The Garden Island."
Kaumu-alii never had occasion to resort to his daring expedient, and a few years later made his peace with Kameha-meha and received the confirmation of his kingdom.

The renewed failure to accomplish the successful invasion of Kauai, indicating perhaps to the mind of Kameha-meha a measure of fatuity, finally prompted him to adopt a different policy, viz., that of peaceful conquest. He sent Kihei as a special ambassador to Kauai to confer with Kaumu-alii and make tentative soundings as to some practicable relation of allegiance on the part of the latter. Kihei, however, became so enamored of the generous treatment he received that he forgot to return. His mission, however, was evidently not wholly without effect, for Kaumu-alii on his part sent his special agent, Wahine, to Oahu, who was in return treated most royally, with gifts of canoes and feather cloaks, and then dismissed with the emphatic injunction: "Go back to your royal master and tell him to come and visit us in person." Kaumu-alii received the message with persistent hesitation. To meet him in person on Oahu meant to place himself entirely in the power of his traditional enemy—a very doubtful expedient.

Again he sent another ambassador, more important than the last, one Pakiko, his beloved friend, with eleven double and nine single canoes, laden with the treasures of Kauai and Nihihau. This expedition unfortunately came to grief in a storm; the canoes were swamped and wrecked and most of the party drowned, one single canoe only finally fetching up on Nihihau, barely able to keep afloat. Still Kameha-meha was not satisfied, and still insisted that Kaumu-alii should come in person. Finally Kaumu-alii sent his cousin Kama-halo-lani, and his wife Namahana, and some other chiefs. They, in turn, were treated most royally by Kameha-meha, and returned with the advice, "You must go to Oahu to meet the King yourself." Finally Kaumu-alii replied, "I will go to Oahu and meet him face to face!"

This resolution, however, he might never have redeemed, had it not been for the intervention of Captain Jonathan
Windship, a well-known sandalwood trader, who persuaded Kaumu-alii to make the venture, gave him and his party free passage in his vessel, and left his mate on Kauai as a hostage for his safe return. This very practical assurance of friendship and confidence finally overcame the fears of the hesitant King, so that he finally set sail under the care of Captain Windship, together with his wife and his noblest aliis.

Arriving at Oahu, they anchored outside the bar, and Kameha-meha being apprized of their arrival, greeted them with a military salute, and then went off in state to receive them, accompanied by his leading aliis, dressed in helmets and feather cloaks, so that the sea was as gorgeous as a rainbow. Kameha-meha was in a single canoe, and as he and his party neared the vessel Kumu-alii and his party, also in royal robes, topped by the Vancouver scarlet cloak, drew up on the deck to receive them. As Kameha-meha came up over the side Kaumu-alii grasped his hand, saying: "Here I am! Is it face up or face down?" Kameha-meha was silent for a moment, then said: "There is no death." Kaumu-alii replied, indicating his party: "Here is my tribute in coming to this conference. The government of Kauai, the chiefs and the common people, high and low, mauka and makai, we are all yours." Kameha-meha replied: "I am not going to take away your authority nor any part of your lands; go home and retain your power. But this is my wish, that my chiefs may visit your island and that you will receive them graciously."

After some further expressions of mutual good will, Kaumu-alii concluded: "Now we have met the matter is settled; let me go home." But Kameha-meha replied: "No, no; let us go ashore. There are food and drink and good things in plenty. We'd better go ashore!" Accordingly they went ashore, Kumu-alii and his aliis and his wife Kai-haa-ku-loii. It was as Kameha-meha had said. There was a grand hookupu and much feasting.

During these festivities a certain kahuna, Ka-umi-umi by name, came to Kameha-meha and suggested the destruction of the Kauai King. "The jewel has come into your hands—don't
let it go!” But Kameha-meha replied: “This is not a time of open war, when a prince can be slain like a robber!”

Isaac Davis, learning that there were designs against Kaumualii’s life and that his enemies were plotting to kill him at a drinking bout that they were going to have at Wai-kaha-lulu, warned him of his danger, and he, in conjunction with other haoles who liked the Kauai King, constrained him to hurry back home before some evil should befall him, for which service it is said Isaac Davis paid the price of a premature death not long after.

THE RUSSIAN EPISODE.

The growing activities of the Russians in Alaska, under the enterprising management of Baranoff, emphasized the need for some suitable recruiting station in warmer latitudes, where foodstuffs and other supplies might be secured. The Hawaiian Islands had already established a reputation among mariners for this purpose, so Baranoff naturally turned to them in his need. As early as 1809 he sent the “Neva” to the Islands on what was doubtless a reconnoitering voyage. A few years later, in 1814, he sent the “Ahahualpa”—renamed the “Bering”—still in charge of her American master, to the Islands to secure provisions and supplies. During her stay she was wrecked at Waimea and her cargo pillaged by the natives. Kaumu-alii resolutely declined to make restitution, on the ground that everything thrown on the coast belonged to him.

About this time one Dr. Scheffer, a German of education and address, arrived at Sitka and commended himself to Baranoff as the very man to conduct the delicate and momentous enterprises which the governor had in mind. How much of the plans as Scheffer worked them out were Baranoff’s and how much his own ambitious extension of them, we cannot know. In due time Scheffer appeared on Kauai, where he is reported to have commended himself to the good will and confidence of Kaumualii by curing him of dropsy and his beloved wife of fever.

The outcome of the friendly relations, we are told, was a treaty by the terms of which the “Bering” cargo should be
returned or paid for, an exclusive monopoly of the sandalwood trade granted, an exclusive right to build factories throughout Kaumu-alii’s dominions assured, and a permanent protectorate over his little kingdom established. In return the Russians were to furnish an army of five hundred men and a small navy, properly equipped—all at the expense of the King—for the avowed purpose of the conquest of Kameha-meha’s territory.

Scheffer set to work immediately to carry out the compact, expending over $150,000 in the purchase of two American vessels as the foundation of a navy, erecting a fort and factory, laying out gardens and fields, and otherwise giving evidence of his serious intent.

When the news of these high-handed measures reached Baranoff he promptly disavowed them as exceeding instructions, and was supported by the Board of Directors, who authorized him to recall Scheffer immediately from the Islands. To close the matter amicably the Russian Tsar is reported to have sent Kaumu-alii a gold medal with a ribbon of the Order of St. Anne, with the inscription “To Tomari; chief of the Sandwich Islands, in recognition of his friendship to the Russians,” and in addition a cutlass beautifully mounted and a scarlet cloak with golden tassels and lace, none of which, however, seems to have reached Kaumu-alii.

In the meantime Scheffer, not being in a position to wholly make good, was more or less discredited. Other traders appeared on the scene and bought for ready cash the sandalwood, taro, salt, cocoanuts, etc., that had been contracted to the Russians, but which they were not in a position to pay for. These traders naturally used their influence with Kameha-meha against any such exclusive monopoly, which under the circumstances was in any case an infringement of royal prerogatives. Finally Kameha-meha sent a special messenger with imperative orders to expel Scheffer from the island. The promised army and navy not having materialized, there was nothing for Kaumu-alii to do but to disown the whole transaction and creep back to the cover of his allegiance with all possible speed. The
Curious "blow hole" on Kauai's coast.
Russians were vigorously, not to say offensively, driven from the island, and Scheffer himself escaped death as if by a miracle. At the mouth of the cannon they were forced to put to sea without food, without necessary clothing, and without means of resistance. In the unseaworthy ship "Kodiak," water-logged and sinking, and pumping continuously to keep her afloat, they made their way to Honolulu, where, of course, they found no favor and where they could purchase a grudging asylum only by the surrender of their guns, one of which may still be seen in the Bishop Museum. Scheffer finally escaped to Canton and the rest were conveyed to the Northwest Coast.

This, to be sure, is the Russian account, and it differs somewhat from the traditional American report, but it is the account of principals in the transaction, conversant with the facts, at least as reported by Scheffer, and bears the evidence of being trustworthy. It is, of course, possible that Scheffer, especially in the matter of the compact, may have drawn on his imagination for much larger concessions than he ever got, or he may have imposed on Kaumu-alii and secured his consent to something that he didn't understand. Yet the admitted facts seem to indicate a substantial confirmation of the scheme. The purchase of the vessels, the building of a fort at Hanalei and another at Waimea, the surrender of the Hanalei Valley and some other valuable pieces of land, the reported negotiations for a lease of the whole island to the Russians—these things are smoke that predicate fire. They presuppose complicity on the part of Kaumu-alii with the plans and purposes of Scheffer.

The facts of this story being substantially correct, what shall we say of Kaumu-alii's share in it? We remember that he was no longer an independent chieftain nor an ally, but a vassal of Kameha-meha, bound to him by imposed bonds of allegiance which he could not honorably ignore, and any such compact as this with Scheffer was of a treasonable nature, even though it should not go nearly as far as indicated in the Scheffer report of it.

And if this report be substantially correct, there can be no question as to the treasonable nature of the alliance, since the
sole object and purpose of so one-sided a contract was to secure means and assistance to break away from his vassalage to Kameha-meha. And this need not surprise us. It would be unreasonable to hold an untutored savage, even though an uncommonly fine one, up to our standards of political honor. And even our standards are not always above criticism when critical matters of self-interest are involved.

Kaumu-alii was the vassal of Kameha-meha, not because of any voluntary obligation of sympathy or co-operation, but because of stern necessity. He was too weak at the time to resist him; there was nothing else to do. But now, when conditions were more favorable and there was a good chance of recovering his lost position, the only questions which worried Kaumu-alii were those of feasibility.

The Spanish pirates came into relation with Kaumu-alii through the escape to Kauai of several of the mutineers of the “Santa Rosa.” When Captain Bouchard of the “Argentina” demanded them at the hands of the Hawaiians, four of these refugees were delivered up, but the first officer, one Griffiths, was not forthcoming. It was understood that he was confined in the Waimea fort, but when the fort prison was forced open he had fled, presumably with the connivance of Kaumu-alii, who desired to protect him. Bouchard demanded of Kaumu-alii the recapture and delivery of the culprit, backing up his demand with a threat of prompt bombardment. Kaumu-alii replied that for every shot from the vessels he would reply with twenty-four from his battery. But when he found that Bouchard was in earnest, he “weakened” and secured and delivered up Griffiths, who was promptly set up against the wall of the fort and shot, his body being buried on the beach close at hand. Many hundreds of the natives witnessed the execution with awe-stricken interest.

It may perhaps be well to pause a moment before the advent of the missionaries and inquire as to what kind of a man Kaumu-alii was.

Physically he was a particularly fine specimen of manhood, tall, straight, well proportioned, with that stately yet courte-
ous dignity in which the better-class Hawaiian is facile princesps. Kaahumanu, whose station and experience might well make her a connoisseur, was very proud of him as one of the very first among men—a statuesque figure, very neat and trim in his simple dress. His features were fine, and his appearance more like that of a haole than a straight Hawaiian.

Intellectually he was evidently more than ordinarily intelligent. He was quick to recognize the significance of the new order of things being ushered in by the foreign civilization, and stood ready at every turn to profit by it. He was one of the very few who had attained to some practical knowledge of the English language before the advent of the missionaries, so that we find him talking with them in their own language and even writing to them a fairly good though colloquial letter.

Naturally his receptive disposition exposed him to great temptation in dealing with the beachcombers, adventurers and blacklegs of those primitive days. The superior enlightenment of these men and their facility in the arts of civilization gave them a prestige and an influence which their characters, in many cases at least, were far from warranting. The result was that the material prestige of this new and rather raw civilization carried with it a sort of moral prestige which gave sanction, if not entire approval, to evils and excesses that the nobler type of savage mind, such as that of Kaumu-alii, must condemn. And this contact with civilization was distinctly detrimental to Kaumu-alii.

When the missionaries arrived they found him almost hopelessly addicted to the use of intoxicants, yet under their salutary influence he immediately forsook his evil ways, and we find him declaring in picturesque, if somewhat extravagant language, that if $4,000 was offered him on condition that he should drink a bottle of gin, he would indignantly refuse it as a bad bargain.

It may not be out of place to introduce here the naive story of Kaumu-alii’s diamond order.

There was a more or less regular commerce between the Islands and the Orient by means of the sandalwood traders
who took this valuable commodity to China and brought back the various goods of civilization. One of these traders (perhaps it was Captain Windship) who was on terms of intimate friendship with Kaumu-alii, was in the habit of filling orders for his Majesty in the Orient. On one particular occasion, as he was preparing to sail, he came to the King for his usual order. Kaumu-alii gave him about the customary list for dry goods, hardware, furniture, weapons, munitions, etc., and then in conclusion said: “I understand that other Kings have jewels of great beauty and value, and I have none at all. What are these jewels?” “Well,” returned the Captain, “there are various kinds of jewels. I believe diamonds are considered the top-notch thing in the line of jewels.” “Well, then, I wish you would bring me back a diamond from China.” “I don’t know much about diamonds,” returned the Captain, “but I will do the best I can for you. How big a diamond would you like?” “Well,” returned the King, “say one as big as a cocoanut!”

Advent of the Missionaries.

About 1805 Kaumu-alii had sent his son George, when a lad of nine years, to America to be educated, entrusting him to one of the sea captains who frequently visited Kauai, placing in the hands of the latter the necessary funds for the proper care and education of the lad on his arrival in New England. Unfortunately the Captain died shortly after his arrival home and these funds were swallowed up in the wreck of his estate. The boy George, thrown on his own resources and the charity of chance friends, wandered about from place to place, and finally enlisted in the American Navy. On his discharge at the close of the war of 1812, he was discovered at the navy yard at Charlestown, Mass., identified as the son of Kaumu-alii and removed to Cornwall for education in company with other Hawaiian youth. On the embarkation of the first missionary party for the Islands he accompanied them as an independent passenger, and when the missionaries arrived at the Islands it was a first duty, as well as a promising privilege, to restore George to his royal father. Accordingly, with as
little delay as possible, Messrs. Whitney and Ruggles of the missionary party, accompanied by George Kaumu-alii, or George Hume-hume, as he was more familiarly known, set sail for Kauai with Captain Blanchard. Arriving at Waimea, they were received by Kaumu-alii with every evidence of satisfaction and gratitude, sentiments which found expression in a most cordial reception of the missionaries and a bountiful largess of supplies for the vessel, consisting of fifty large hogs and a generous supply of yams, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, etc. In addition he imposed on Captain Blanchard, by way of passage money, a gift of sandalwood to the value of $1,000.

To his long-lost son, whom he had not seen for fifteen years, he gave the Waimea Valley and conferred on him rank second only to his own.

He was so anxious to retain the missionaries that he offered to give them valuable lands and build dwelling houses, schools and churches for them. He promised to have the people learn to keep the Sabbath and pray and do whatever the missionaries required. So anxious were the King and Queen to have the missionaries remain, and so fearful that they might not, that they could not sleep, we are told, and so anxious were they to learn to read, or perhaps to seem so, that while they could not surrender their favorite recreation, they might be seen, standing in the river up to their waists in water, book in hand, repeating the lesson.

Whitney and Ruggles made an exploration of the island and then went back to Honolulu to report. Meantime Kaumu-alii continued his entreaties for their return, entreaties so evidently genuine that the mission yielded, and Messrs. Whitney and Ruggles and their families sailed in the “Levant,” Captain Cary, and arrived at Waimea July 25, 1820. They were met in the bay by the King and Queen, who expressed great satisfaction by the oft-repeated exclamations of “Nui-nui-maikai!”

They had public worship on Sunday, which was attended by the King and Queen and their retinue, at the conclusion of which the King expressed his approval. “I like your way of worship very much. My old way was pupuka. I will come
every Sabbath, and by and bye we will build a big church and be like people in America.” He inquired with a good deal of interest concerning the feasibility of securing ship carpenters, smiths, armorers, powder-makers, etc., who doubtless seemed to him even more important than missionaries.

The following letter purports to have been written by the Queen, Debora Kapule, as the date indicates, within a few days of their arrival to the mother of Mrs. Ruggles:

“July 28, 1820.

“Dear Friend:—I am glad your daughter came here. I shall be her mother now, and she shall be my daughter. I be good to her: give her tapa, give her plenty to eat. By and by she speak Hawaiian, then she teach me how to read and write and sew, and talk of great Akua, which the good people in America love. I begin spell little; read come very hard like stone. You very good send your daughter long way to teach the heathens. I am very glad I can write you a short letter and tell you I be good to your daughter.

“I send you my aloha and tell you I am your friend.

“CHARLOTTE TAPULE,
“Queen of Atooi.”

The simple explanation of this letter is that it was the handiwork of George Humehume, whose sense of propriety it expresses rather than that of the said Charlotte Kapule.

True to his promise, Kaumu-alii rendered every possible assistance to the missionaries in establishing them in Waimea, where a commodious mission house was built for them, 54x24 feet, with floor, doors and glass windows. There were five bed rooms, and two larger, which served as dining room, school room, church, etc. It stood near the water’s edge, a few rods east of the mouth of the river. On one side it was enclosed by the King’s dwelling house and by a heavy semi-circular wall ten feet high, and on the other side by the sea. In front was a small gallery, and back of the wall, which enclosed nearly an acre of ground, stood the fort, on the high bank of the river, commanding the village of Waimea.
LIHO-LIHO’S VISIT.

In July of the following year, 1821, Liho-liho made his daring and foolhardy visit to Kauai, to make the personal acquaintance of Kaumu-alii and receive the confirmation of his allegiance, concerning which he was a little anxious. He and his party were received with all due deference by Kaumu-alii, who went out to meet him in the bay, took him ashore and domiciled him in a comfortable house, well furnished with Niihau mats and every Hawaiian convenience. Kaumu-alii immediately sent back word to Oahu of the safe arrival of Liho-liho, and Liliha, Boki’s wife, made the venturesome trip to Kauai, in a single canoe with only four men, landing a few days later at Hanapepe.

July 24, 1821, there was a royal conference at the palace,—papa-ena-ena. When the mutual fears of the two monarchs were set at rest, Kaumu-alii said: “King Liho-liho, hear! While your father, Kameha-meha lived I acknowledged him to be my King. He is now dead; you are his rightful successor, and you are my King. I have plenty of muskets and ammunition and many subjects at my command: these, with the vessels I have bought, with my fort and its guns, and with my islands, are yours. All are yours. Do with them as you please, and make anyone governor that you like.”

A deep silence followed this avowal, and all awaited anxiously the reply of the King. In a few moments, with a generous smile, he replied: “Kaumu-alii, I have not come to take your island from you. I am not going to put any governor over it; keep it yourself. Take care of it as you have done; and do with your vessels and all your possessions as you please.”

A shout of joyful approbation signalized this happy denouement, and in token of these newly established friendly relations Ke-kai-haa-ku-lou, the favorite wife of Kaumu-alii was taken over by Liho-liho and added to his already generous harem. This, we are told, greatly displeased Kaahumanu.

We may well question whether this was anything more than a dramatic bit of play-acting on the part of Liho-liho, arranged
for the deliberate purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of his royal host, to allay his suspicions until Liho-liho could reverse the relations and put himself in the strong position rather than the weak one. And we may imagine the satisfaction with which he recognized the fatuity of his rival in so dangerous a game. At any rate, Liho-liho’s action was strikingly at variance with his profession, when, after having been entertained for several weeks by Kaumu-alii with great kindness and hospitality, Liho-liho, invited him, on the arrival of his flagship, the Cleopatra’s Barge, to go on board for an hour or two, and as soon as they were well seated in the cabin secretly gave orders to weigh anchor and bear away for Oahu, thus making a captive of his royal guest. On his arrival on Oahu he was compelled by his royal captor, in order to veil the irregularity of the proceeding, to marry the imperious dowager Kaahumanu, who at the same time took over as a similar marital asset his son, Ke-lii-aho-nui. Whatever Kaahumanu may have been in later years, she was at this time neither a desirable helpmate nor a considerate master for any man. If in time she developed a certain amount of consideration, and even affection, for her royal consort, it was no thanks to Liho-liho, nor any part of his plan.

Immediately following the aforesaid conference the two Kings and the royal party were given a special invitation to visit the newly established mission, which they graciously proceeded to do. When they arrived they were naturally very much interested in all that they saw, especially the domestic arrangements. The beds in particular awakened a great interest, and they begged to be allowed the special favor of trying them, which being granted, each lordly royal visitor stretched himself at length in such comfortable repose that it was with difficulty they could be prevailed upon to arise and go farther. In the school room they were shown the simple appliances of education, and Kaumu-alii, who could read English a little, read with some difficulty and much delight the card, “Thou God seest me.”
DEATH OF KAUMU-ALII.

Both Stewart and Ellis were intimate friends of Kaumu-alii, and they give a detailed account of his death, which occurred May 26, 1824, in Honolulu, after a short illness of a fortnight. During this time Ellis and Stewart visited him daily, and the latter writes: "On Saturday evening I made one of a sad group of friends who followed him as he was borne on a sofa, through a loudly wailing multitude, from a small frame house, in which he was taken ill, to a larger new one, which had just been completed for Kaahumanu, but even then I had little thought that he would so soon be in the land of spirits. Mr. Ellis and myself were sent for early this morning (Wednesday, May 26), to attend him in his dying moments. Mr. Ellis remained about an hour; and as Kaumu-alii seemed to have revived a little after offering prayer, he returned to the mission house. A few moments only after he left the room, the King, without a struggle, breathed his last; and I had the melancholy satisfaction of smoothing his features after the hand of death had passed over them.

"The moment it was evident that he was in the very last agony, Kaahumanu ordered the door fastened and the window curtains dropped, and began preparing the corpse for exhibition to the people. A Chinese lounge, or settee, was spread with a rich mantle of green silk velvet, lined with pink satin; on this the corpse was laid, the lower extremities being wrapped in loose and heavy folds of yellow satin, while the chest and head were without covering, except a wreath of feathers placed round the head, so as to pass over and conceal the eyes. The splendid war cloak of the King, composed of red, yellow and black feathers, was spread over the arm of the settee at his head, and a large cape of the same material and colors occupied a corresponding place at his feet. The crowd without had in the meantime received some intimation of the event, and, redoubling their lamentations, were rushing from all directions towards the windows and doors, so that it was difficult to keep them closed. As soon, therefore, as the body was thus
laid out, the curtains of the windows in the room were again drawn up, and an indescribable scene of wailing ensued.

"The death of scarce any other chief could affect us so deeply and sincerely. My first interview with Kaumu-alii, the day we arrived at Oahu, inspired me with a feeling of respect that I have scarcely known for another native except our patroness at Lahaina. He always appeared more civilized, more dignified, more like a Christian than any of his fellows; and I can, with the strictest veracity, say of him that which I can hardly do of any other in the nation, that I have never heard from him a word nor witnessed in him a look or action unbecoming a prince, or, what is far more to his praise, inconsistent with the character of a professedly pious man. His high features and slightly stooping shoulders gave him a patrician and venerable look. His manners were easy and gentlemanlike, and as a "royal captive," to those acquainted with his public and private history, he was truly an interesting object."

It is interesting to note that Stewart, who was something of an artist, at the request of Kaahumanu made a sketch of the corpse as it lay in state in the full dress of a British hussar, and that Mr. Ellis also succeeded at the same time in getting an excellent profile likeness of the face.

On the following Friday, in the forenoon, there was a public funeral service preparatory to the embarkation for Lahaina, where the body was to be interred. At 10 o'clock the coffin, covered with black silk velvet and enveloped in a rich pall of the same material, was carried into the open air in front of the house in the midst of the encircling crowd. All the prominent chiefs, the members of the mission, the foreign population, together with a great concourse of natives, filled the house, the grounds and the adjoining street. Mr. Ellis conducted the service and preached from the text, "Be ye also ready." At the close of the service the corpse was taken aboard the pilot boat as the best sailer, and, accompanied by a small fleet of schooners and brigs—every available craft—filled with people, they set sail for Lahaina, where two days later, on Sunday, a similar service was held and the body was laid by the side of
Keopu-olani, mother of Liho-liho and a very intimate friend of Kaumu-alii. This mutual interment side by side had been a matter of arrangement between them.

It is worthy of note in conclusion that among all classes and conditions of men Kaumu-alii inspired the respect and admiration of a hero, and from all classes came only words of commendation and regard. He was the idol of the common people; he was a hero among his peers, the chiefs of the realm; he was respected and admired by navigators like Vancouver and Turnbull; he was beloved by missionaries like Stewart and Ellis. Such a man—especially such a man, a savage, without the advantages of early training and the refining influences of civilization—must have been inherently a man of rare natural endowments, a born gentleman, whom not even the vicious influences of a depraved phase of civilization could corrupt. And I would like to bespeak for him the high place of the very first of Hawaiian gentlemen: the best interpretation of that lofty courtesy, dignity, kindliness and charity which is significant of the highest type of Hawaiian character.
Was There A Lost Son of Kamehameha?

BY THOMAS G. THRUM.

Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, January 17, 1916.

Among the many natives of these Islands whose curiosity and spirit of adventure rendered them easy victims of opportunities of enticement, or as stowaways, to visit foreign lands, there were but few that circumstances so favored as to furnish chapters of interest in Hawaiian history; the more notable among them being Kaiana,1 Humehume2 (or George Kaumualii), Opukahaia3 and “Jack Attoo.”4 The great majority, as revealed to us in the accounts of early voyagers and traders, are unknown to fame; few even being known by name, whereby they might be identified and their movements traced. Among the latter class is one deemed important enough to warrant inquiry and investigation for the annals of this Society.

Few people are aware of the reported departure from Hawaii, in 1801, of an alleged son of Kamehameha, from the fact, probably, that the incident is of record in but one book, entitled “A Narrative of Voyages and Travels,” by Amos Delano, a work that has long been out of print.

I must confess to a feeling of reasonable doubt that so important an event, affecting the highest interests of the land and

1 Kaiana left these Islands with Mears in September, 1787, for China, and returned here December, 1788.

2 A brief account of Humehume's foreign experience and return is given at the close of this paper.

3 Opukahaia, or Henry Obookiah (with another native lad, Thos. Hopu), left these Islands with a Captain Britnall for New York, arriving there in 1809, and died at Cornwall, Conn., where he was being educated, in 1818.

4 New England Magazine, June, 1892.
its ruler, could have occurred, as narrated, without some local knowledge having been transmitted to us through the bards, but so far my searchings have been in vain, and inquiries on the subject from well-informed Hawaiians have only elicited expressions of surprise. And yet there might have been reasons for this apparent hiatus in the life and times of Kamehameha sufficient to arouse a spirit of investigation concerning the facts in the case. Unfortunately names have been omitted which are essential not only for identification of this lost son of Kamehameha, but his right to princeship from the Hawaiian standpoint—that is, the rank of the mother.

Delano's narrative appears to have been compiled from a journal or logbook, rather from the record in sequence of the voyage; for the important incidents attending his first visit in 1801, and intimacy with Kamehameha, are not given until his return to the Islands five years later, when he narrates the taking away, by consent of the King, of his natural son for a voyage to China, and regrets having assigned the care and responsibility of him to another party rather than keeping faith and returning him to his home and people as agreed.

According to this narrative, Captain Delano, in the ship "Perseverance," sailing from Boston, touched at Hawaii, from the Gallipagos on the way to China, anchoring at Kawaihae, December 10, 1801, where, he says, "the King generally makes his home, consequently a ship is not so much troubled with the natives." He sailed again December 20th. On his subsequent visit, in September, 1806, he touched at Lahaina and then came on to Honolulu, where he learned the King was at that time. As the particulars of the transactions at Hawaii in 1801 and incidents connected therewith are brought out at this later visit, I quote his confession, somewhat condensed, with Hawaiian names corrected, as follows:

"When I was at Hawaii in the year 1801 I was upon the best terms of intimacy and friendship with the King. I observed a remarkably likely youth, of about twenty-one years of age at the time I was on shore at Kawaihae. His appearance prepossessed me very much in his favor. His behavior
was dignified; he was comely and sprightly; his body, limbs and features handsome; in his address and conversation he was governed by the strictest propriety, but his speech was accompanied with that native modesty which ever accompanies good sense. As he seemed remarkably attentive to me I was induced to inquire who he was, and was informed by George McClay that he was the natural son of the King. I was pleased with his appearance and took notice of him. On asking his name I was answered that he had taken that of Alexander Stewart, which was the name of a gentleman then residing on the island, and that he was more commonly known by the name of 'Captain Stewart.' I soon ascertained that the King did not notice him, but I was satisfied that this was owing to a political consideration. There were others on the island in a similar situation, and should the King notice any one of them more than another it naturally would create jealousy. The young man who was called 'Captain Stewart' soon made application to me, through the medium of George McClay, to take him away from the island with me. I replied that if the King had no objection I would do so, as I had made up my mind previous to my arrival to take one of their boys, as I once had a native of these islands; one of the best boys I ever saw. George observed that I could take one now, and that he would find out the King's pleasure respecting his son. I very shortly received intelligence that it was congenial to the feelings of the King for me to take one of them and that I had liberty to take any one that I pleased. It was accordingly settled that 'Captain Stewart' should go with me, and I agreed that I would take a boy also, provided I saw one that I liked. My determination being made known, I presume more than one hundred presented themselves in the course of two hours for my approbation, but I did not see one that I liked till I went into a house where the King's wives were. They questioned me who I was going to take with me and asked if I had found a boy that I liked, and being answered in the negative, one of them asked 'how I liked that one' (pointing to one standing behind her, who was employed to fan his mistress). After
inspecting him for a moment I answered that I liked him very well. She then said: ‘You shall have him,’ and told him to come to me. He lay down his fan of feathers and took his station at the back of my chair and did not leave me one minute after till I went on board.

“When we had got the ship under way, it being then nine o’clock in the evening, with the King’s son and my boy with me, I observed ‘Captain Stewart’s’ mother had taken a station in the main chains and was making great lamentation for her son. Her cries I never can forget, as they were so expressive and on a subject so tender to a mother’s feelings. She said I was going to take away her only son and child, where she should never behold him again; that she could not leave the ship without him. I called to one of the canoes that was not yet out of hearing and desired them to come alongside the ship, which they did. I told ‘Captain Stewart’ he must go on shore with his mother; that I could not carry him away and leave her thus distressed. He said he could not go back as it would be unmanly; that it would redound very much to his dishonor to have it said that he had relinquished a design of such importance for no other reason than that his mother cried about it. . . . I was perplexed to know what to do. Neither would leave the ship without my using compulsory measures. After detaining the canoe for more than an hour we succeeded by entreaties and with some presents to prevail on the mother to go on shore.

“After we had got fifteen or twenty leagues from the land I discovered that we had three more of the natives on board, who had secreted themselves in the ship without my knowledge. When I arrived in Canton my first concern for these people was to have them inoculated for the smallpox. . . . The five who were inoculated had it very favorably, but during the time they were sick I found it would be very inconvenient as well as expensive to have them with me at Canton, and I was under the necessity to keep them on board the ship at Wampoa, nine miles from the city. I had discharged several of the men on my arrival, one of which was a great favorite with ‘Stewart.’
This man had shipped himself on board an English Indiaman. He came often on board the Perseverance to see his old shipmates, and persuaded the King's son to leave me and go with him on board the ship he had joined. I think it very probable that 'Stewart' felt that he was alone and neglected, he having a generous mind and very tender feelings. On being informed of the circumstances I waited on the Captain of the Indiaman that he had gone on board of. He did not deny having knowledge of the business, but said he had been informed that I had so many of these people on board my ship that I did not care anything about their leaving me, but that if I wished it he should be immediately returned. He likewise remarked that as he had left my ship voluntarily and seemed pleased with his situation, if I would consent to let him remain on board his ship he would treat him as he was his own son and that on his arrival in England he would take care that he should be noticed in his true character. In answer to him I stated that it was contrary to my principles to take the natives of those unfrequented countries away from their homes and so far neglect my duty to them as to let them go unprovided for in a strange country; I felt far greater obligations towards the King's son whom he had got, and the boy who was still with me, than I did for the other three natives who were then on board, who had stowed away without my knowledge and against my will. After I had considered the whole subject I made up my mind to let Stewart stay with the English Captain, giving him a statement of his true character. He renewed his promise of friendship and kindness towards him, which was the last knowledge I had of the King's son more than a vague report that he was taken notice of on his arrival in England by a gentleman of consequence, who took him to his own home with an intention of giving him an education.

"The King received me very coolly on my arrival at Oahu. The women of the highest rank among them were very particular in their inquiries of me concerning the youth who had left me in China. They gave me to understand that all classes of people had built their hopes very much on him, and enter-
tained high expectations of his returning with me after acquiring some knowledge of the world whereby he might be better qualified to make them a good King. I found likewise, by information which I obtained from Isaac Davis, George McClay and a Mr. Holmes (three of the King's favorites), that great expectations were entertained in favor of the youth alluded to, and calculated very much on his being their next King. I was informed that as soon as it was known that I was to windward amongst the islands great preparations were made for my reception at Oahu, expecting I had the King's son on board, but when I arrived and they found he was not with me they appeared to show more grief than anger. This operated powerfully on my feelings. I felt the full force of my conduct in having left him at Canton, and considered myself to blame for giving my consent on any account whatever to have him separated from me until returned to his friends at his place of nativity. I was treated civilly by all, but not with that cordiality that I was at Hawaii, or should have had here had I returned the man according to their expectations.

It will be noticed that the lack of names of the principals in this alleged transaction renders it difficult to verify or substantiate it, either at this point, or in China, or in England, where the young man is said to have gone. He could not well be recognized as an Hawaiian Prince under the name of "Captain Stewart," and by the omission of the name of the English Captain he was assigned to, the ship he commanded, or the "gentleman of consequence" in England who took him to his own home, the possibility of his identity is entirely lost.

Delano's claimed intimacy with Kamehameha could hardly have been of such extent—during his brief visit—as to warrant the King entrusting his natural son and heir for a foreign voyage of several years' absence; and from what we know of the aloha-alii spirit of the people it would be indeed strange that a highest chief should have been permitted to depart without marked demonstration, or with but a lone mother's pro-
test, as is here shown. While everything presented in the narrative may have transpired as recorded—and there is evidence of the truthful character of the writer—it is much more likely that he misunderstood the true relation of his charge to Kamehameha, and was misled through his former shipmate McClay; for the ten days’ experience at Kamehameha’s court, without knowledge of the customs and language of the race, would not qualify a stranger to judge of Hawaiian relationships. I do not overlook the statement that “they calculated very much on his being their next King,” which, whether based on fact or hope of intriguing political aspirants, is impossible now to judge.

Kamakau, with all his writings, gives no intimation of such an incident in the life of Kamehameha. The age of this son on sailing away in 1801 is given as about twenty-one years. This would have brought his birth, probably of a mother without rank, prior to Kamehameha’s succession as Moi. The native historian says: “Kamehameha’s children before he came to the throne were Pauli Kaoleioku, of Kanekapolei; Maheha Kapulikoliko and Kinau, whose mother was Peleuli, daughter of Kekelaokalani, the daughter of Kekauipo Nui and Kaukahia, the child of Lonomakahonua and Kahapoohiwi.” Delano’s charge was not the Pauli here mentioned, for he figures in the events at the landing of the cortege following the treacherous death of Keoua at Kawaihae in 1792, and again is among those who came to Honolulu in connection with the erection of the fort in 1816, and resided in the Kaumakapili district, where he is said to have died one night without apparent cause or illness.

Further search in the family history of Kamehameha furnishes some interesting points in the consideration of this subject. Kamakau states he had five wives, and names them in the following order: Kaahumanu, Kaheiheimalia Kaniu, Kahakuhaakoi, Keopuolani and Peleuli, with not a little account of the high rank of the majority of them, and the dignity and courteous treatment he showed toward them. The offspring
of Kamehameha, most of whom this historian states died before him, is given as follows:

“Pauli Kaoleioku, his first born, whose mother was Kanekapolei.

“Maheha Kapulikoliko, Kahoaku Kinau, Kaikookalani and Kiliwehi, whose mother was Peleuli Kekela.

“Kamehameha Iwi, Kamehamalu, Kahoanoku Kinau, whose mother was Kaheiheimalia Kaniu; and

“Kalani kua Liholiho, Kalani Kaiikeaouli and Harieta Nahenaena, whose mother was Kalanikaukaalaanoe Keopuolani.

“The last of Kamehameha’s children was Kapapauai, a daughter, by one of two women of rank known as his ‘wahine palama.’”

Much as we would like to be able to verify Delano’s narrative by the discovery of corroborative evidence, we are rather led to the conclusion of its being more likely a case of mistaken identity.
The Bow and Arrow in Hawaii.

BY JOSEPH S. EMERSON.

When the ancestors of the Polynesian race left their homes on the mainland of Southern Asia and began their wonderful voyages in the Pacific Ocean, they left behind them the lion, the tiger and other large game. Those who finally found their way to Hawaii brought with them the pig, the dog, the cat and probably the iole or rat, as well as the common fowl. Though he found no wild game on land, the native sportsman had ample scope for his prowess in the sea, which abounded with every kind of fish, and shark-hunting became the prime sport of king and chiefs.

Naturally there was no use for the bow and arrow against such game, and these weapons were never used by the Hawaiians in war. As a pastime for boys and for men who were not able to pursue the shark, the bow and arrow became a fit weapon for shooting the iole, a rodent larger than a mouse, yet much smaller than the rat with which we are now familiar. The little brown Polynesian iole is now supposed to be extinct on these Islands. The last specimen I heard of was caught in a trap and exhibited in Honolulu as a curiosity over twenty years ago. Before the introduction by Vancouver in 1792 of horned cattle, the iole was the largest wild animal on these Islands, and hunting it with bows and arrows was a favorite pastime for the youthful sons of high chiefs.

The bow, kakaka, was usually made from the dense and elastic wood of the ulei (Osteomeles anthyllidifolia, one of the Rosaceae), which was also fashioned into the oo, or native digger, for cultivating the ground. The string was of olona, made from the fibre of the Touchardia latifolia, a plant very greatly prized by the old Hawaiians, as it furnished the material for their superb fish lines and nets.
Kauai island's wonderful "Barking Sands."
The "pua" or tassel of the sugar cane, a plant "found at the discovery of the Islands in possession of the natives," furnished a most excellent arrow, the word "pua" being used indiscriminately for arrow, the flower or tassel of the sugar cane, or any flower in general. Pointed with a sharp piece of bone or hard wood, it became an admirable missile when shot from the bow to transfix the agile iole.

A splinter of human shin bone was esteemed as the best material to tip the arrows employed in this aristocratic sport, yet sportsmanlike ardor was not intense enough to reconcile a high-born chief to the thought of having his own anatomy treated with such indignity.

But now for our rat-hunting. A number of young chiefs, each armed with his bow and arrows, would repair to a place which was known to contain many iole; the servants surround this tract and drive the iole in large numbers to a spot made bare for the purpose, where their young masters have a fine opportunity to transfix them with their arrows as they come into the open space.

"Pikoi-ka-alala" is the name celebrated in Hawaiian mythology as the most famous and accomplished of archers. The feat which gave him distinction, and which is a favorite with the old story-tellers, is somewhat as follows: While standing with his bow and arrows on the Island of Molokai, this demi-god saw an iole on the slope of Haleakala on Maui, some score of miles distant. Drawing his bow, he took deliberate aim and shot his magic arrow, which immediately passed out of sight. Taking a canoe with his attendants, he pulled across the channel and as if by instinct came to the very spot on the side of the mountain where the iole lay, pierced through the heart.

Nearly twenty years ago, I was at a grass house occupied by a native of upwards of ninety years of age with his wife. This house was situated in a lonely place, far from the haunts of foreigners. Various utensils of a remarkably antique Hawaiian character adorned the single room which made his home. Hanging from a peg was a bow of mulberry wood, which abounded in that vicinity, and by its side an arrow, both of
which he had long used for keeping his premises clear of mice. Wishing to test his marksmanship, I set up a small chip about sixteen feet away from him, requesting him to consider it a mouse and to treat it accordingly. With his almost palsied hand he applied the arrow to the string, which he drew back and held for some moments in position, carefully sighting his object; then, at the right moment, making due allowance for the trembling of his hand, he let fly the arrow with such accuracy as to strike the center of the chip. Again I set up the chip and again he hit it with equal precision.

I persuaded him to part with these and also with some other cherished possessions, and they are all now in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu; but as I rode off with my newly acquired treasures his poor old wife began to wail at the thought of parting from the things which she had used for so many years.

Fifty years ago, one of the favorite sports of Hawaiian youth was Ke'a pua. It was played with the sugar cane arrow already mentioned, tipped with the blunt head of a nail. The player grasped the arrow near its butt and then hurled it parallel with the surface of the ground, against which it glanced like a bullet in ricochet, sometimes even making quite a flight before it again touched the ground.

The introduction of letters, in the early part of the last century, turned the attention of the people away from their old customs, and the use of the bow and arrow was forgotten, together with the other athletic games, a real loss to the physical wellbeing of the people. At the present time there remain scarce any who have a distinct idea about the old games.

For the information of those who may desire to know more about the bow and arrow used by the Hawaiians, the following particulars will be of interest. The bow made and used by Kapulupulu, the aged man referred to, was simply a rude mulberry stick, 22½ inches long and about ¾ of an inch in diameter, such as a child might have made.

A string of hau bark was hastily tied to a notch at each end of the stick. There was nothing neat or finished about it.
The shaft of the arrow was a light, slender stick, 19 inches long, rudely sharpened to a point.

The total length of the entire arrow, which was unfeathered, was 22 3/4 inches.

Besides this there is in the Bishop Museum but one other specimen of a Hawaiian bow. This was made for me in the year 1885 by an aged native after the model of those he saw in use in his boyhood. It was made of an ulei stick, 45 inches long and 9-16 of an inch in diameter, rudely bent into the form of a bow by a coarse olona string tied to the two ends. The sugar cane arrow, now lost, was tipped with a piece of kauwila wood, the same material as that of which the ancient spears were made.

In conclusion we may say that bountiful Nature furnished the ancient Hawaiians with a most beautiful arrow, requiring no art on his part to adapt it to this use, while his bow was small in size and of the crudest workmanship, in marked contrast with the work of savage tribes who used the bow as a weapon of war.

Honolulu, July 9, 1906.
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