HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

FOR THE YEAR
1957
SIXTY-SIXTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR
1957

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED, 1958
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"the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to
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POWERS IN THE PACIFIC: TAHITI AND HAWAII, 1825-1850

By DONALD D. JOHNSON

Any prospect of international rivalry or conflict among the great powers over the islands of the central and eastern Pacific might well have appeared remote in 1825. Yet the next quarter-century was to witness a number of sharp controversies of this type and several annexations in Polynesia. In a sense these events, the arguments raised by them, and the methods utilized, both in the islands and in the world’s capitals, forecast the imperial scramble that would cover the earth with new European colonies later in the century.

No Western flag floated over any of the Polynesian islands in 1825, except for the flags of the American and British agents in Honolulu. Elsewhere native governments prevailed, southward and westward as far as the Spanish outposts in the Marianas. In Tahiti and in the Hawaiian group, however, were small but important collections of foreigners, whose presence posed new problems. Missionary representatives of the London Missionary Society had been working in the Society Islands for more than two decades, and of late years their labors had been crowned with a success which had excited the admiration of the French visitor, M. Duperrey.1 In Hawaii missionaries from the United States had already, in five years, established a considerable amount of influence among the people of the islands. In both archipelagoes foreign merchants, seamen and whalers were appearing with increasing frequency to trade, refit, or gather provisions and water. Still, up to this time few other than the missionaries had taken up permanent residence there in fixed abodes, and among those Englishmen and Americans predominated.

There appeared to be no significant demand among these foreign residents in the islands for European annexation. The missionaries, as long as they were able to carry on their work among the Polynesians without effective hindrance from outside, continued to support native rule. They even played a major role in attempting to help the chiefs make the political adjustments necessary for their governments to fit into the international system of the Western world. Such a situation, in the eyes of both British and American missionaries, seemed preferable to a control, even by their own home governments, which might interfere with their work of salvation and bring in other, undesirable influences.2

As far as merchants and whalers were concerned, the less government the better seemed to be a common attitude, at least in the early period of their activity. Their first ground of complaint against the laws which the missionaries encouraged the island chiefs to decree was the fact that those laws introduced port dues, tended to restrict the liberties of sailors ashore and, incidentally, made it more difficult to intimidate or more expensive to deal with the islanders. Establishment of a colonial regime or protectorate, it seemed, would probably be worse in all these regards.3
Only when there seemed some prospect of a regime even more restrictive than the existing ones, or one which favored interests other than those of the merchants and missionaries concerned, were these groups eventually brought to advocate government intervention from home. Such a prospect was presented by French policy between 1825 and 1850, and that policy was thrown into bold relief because it contrasted so definitely with the relative lack of French commercial or missionary activity in the area up to that time. A combination of political, commercial and religious motives, stemming chiefly from Europe, led to the adoption of an expansive French program which convulsed island communities and brought interested groups in Britain, France and the United States to speak of war.

The rise of French activity among the islands of Polynesia at this time was not an isolated development. The reigns of the Bourbon Restoration and Louis Philippe were marked by an upsurge of expansive interest on the part of the French in Asia and Latin America as well. There were several lines of motivation. One of these was the patriotic desire of Frenchmen of many schools of political persuasion to see their nation once again enjoying the prestige of a major power. Another source lay in the commercial aspirations of merchants of such cities as Bordeaux. The professional interests of officials in the Ministry of Marine and Colonies worked toward the same end. As Christian Schefer pointed out later, "There were men in Paris who had determinedly willed expansion, had tirelessly prepared for it..."

In addition to these factors was the religious motive. Though there was an admixture of both national ambition and commercial calculation in the first French moves toward Tahiti and Hawaii, it was the missionaries who provided the catalytic agents. There was that about the role of France as first daughter of the Church and champion of her embattled missionary priests which held a popular appeal that neither commerce nor strategy could provide. In the words of Dr. John F. Cady, "The French church especially demonstrated remarkable activity in the missionary field, perhaps because missions afforded for national religious enthusiasm an outlet which was temporarily denied to the country in political and diplomatic spheres."

The arrival of Fathers Bachelot, Armand and Short, of the Order of Sacred Hearts, at Honolulu in 1827 preceded any such move in the direction of either the Gambier or Society Islands. There was something of a similar pattern, however, in the combination of commercial and religious interests in each of these cases. Jean Rives, companion of Kamehameha II, provided the impetus which brought the Comete and its priests to Honolulu. The suggestions of Peter Dillon and the aid promised by Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout and a M. Mauruc paved the way for the missionaries at the Gambiers and Tahiti. In every case, moreover, these merchants, like the priests whose attention they caught, recognized the vital importance of assistance from the French government, if success were to crown their efforts. Thus Peter Dillon wrote to Henri de Solages, vicar-general and apostolic prefect of the Island of Bourbon, in 1829.

... As there exists no communication between this country [France] and the islands of the South Sea, it would be necessary that the government be concerned, by itself, to assure the success of the Mission which would be
of the greatest importance for France, under the various points of view of Religion, Politics and Commerce.

A natural corollary of this partnership of missionary, merchant and state was the usual request by the merchant involved for the grant of some sort of consular appointment for himself.

Interestingly enough, both in Honolulu and in Papeete the first Catholic missionaries found their reception aided, if not made possible, by the consular agents of the United States. At least this is true if we may rely upon the accounts of certain historians of the Catholic mission in Hawaii. Father Yzendoorn, for example, states that John Coffin Jones, commercial agent of the United States, aided the priests on their arrival in 1827 and presented them to the chief, Boki, governor of Oahu. There appears to be considerable evidence, however, that it was the British consul, Charlton, rather than Mr. Jones, who aided the Sacred Hearts representatives on their arrival.9

In Tahiti the Gallic background of Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout, United States agent, 1835 to 1838, naturally inclined him to favor the Catholic mission. This factor was supported by his dislike of the Protestant L.M.S. missionaries and particularly the missionary, merchant, later British consul, George Pritchard. Here again there is an interesting comparison. For though there was keen commercial rivalry and something less than complete personal accord between Jones and Charlton at Honolulu, their common antipathy toward the members of the Hawaiian Protestant mission frequently brought them together in at least tacit support of the French.10

It should be noted that commercial rivalry with the French was insignificant as a source of dissent among the representatives of the nations in Honolulu in the period before 1835. Of more than two hundred foreign residents there in 1827, not more than six appear to have been French, and the amount of business in their hands was very small. That the same situation was generally true at Papeete is borne out by the reports of Moerenhout, as United States representative, unless one count as French the business carried on by M. Moerenhout himself.11

Fathers Bachelot and Short remained in Honolulu from 1827 to 1831, despite repeated orders for their removal. These orders seem to have emanated principally from the regent, Kaahumanu, and they had the acknowledged approval of the Protestant missionaries. Opposing them were the British and American consuls and certain others of the foreign residents at odds with the mission group. For a time this party was supported, and the Catholic missionaries aided, by a party among the Hawaiians headed by Boki.

It may be meaningful to compare this instance of disharmony among the Hawaiian chiefs with the greater and more persistent friction which existed among the chiefs of Tahiti and the Society group. In both cases such disaffection played directly into the hands of foreigners who wished to interfere, for some reason, with the conduct of the government. In Hawaii Consuls Charlton and Jones were able to play upon the feelings of Boki to oppose the enforcement on Oahu of laws which they disliked. In Tahiti the American and later French agent, Moerenhout, by his intrigues with the chief Tati and others was able in the end to bring down the regime of the Pomares and to secure a French protectorate. In
both instances the position of the Catholic missionaries figured prominently in the dispute.  

Ultimately the first priests were expelled from Hawaii by order of the island authorities, but before this action could be carried out, in 1831, the seed of the new faith had been planted among the local people. No such opportunity was granted to Fathers Caret and Laval in Tahiti, for they were expelled within a month of their arrival. The Tahitians had the Hawaiian example before them, as did the British missionaries. There was, however, to be a different sequel to the Tahitian section, and that difference seems to have been attributable to European rather than Pacific factors.

When Father Bachelot reported his dismissal from Hawaii to his superiors in Paris, the fact was noted and published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. No action by the French government, however, was forthcoming at the time in support of the missionaries as Catholics or as Frenchmen. The July Revolution of 1830 had represented a political change by no means favorable, at first, to the clerical cause. When Louis Philippe first ascended the throne, a strong pro-clerical policy was unthinkable. Five years later, however, the situation was changing. The merchants, ministers and missionaries who had urged upon the Bourbons an expansionist policy in the Pacific, by 1836 were able to influence the Orleanist monarchy as well. When, in that year, to the news of missionary repulse at Tahiti was added a new report of similar nature from Hawaii, the French authorities decided to act in a decisive manner.

They were, for once, in a position to do so. In 1836 and 1837, five important French expeditions, each with a mixture of scientific, commercial and political purposes in view, were in the Pacific. *La Bonite*, Captain Vaillant, *Venus*, Captain Du Petit-Thouars, *Artemise*, under Laplace, *Astrolabe* and *Zele*, under Dumont d'Urville, and *Heroine*, under Cécille were all in the Pacific or destined for it in this period. Whatever their original instructions, before their various missions were completed, every one of these expeditions became involved in efforts to raise the prestige of France among the peoples of the Pacific. In consequence, each in its own way created certain frictions with both the native peoples of those lands and with the foreigners resident among them. The reports of the commanders of the expeditions, moreover, without exception stressed the weakness of France in the Pacific in contrast to the thriving commercial and/or political strength of Britain and the United States. Of them all it was the astute Laplace who most accurately assessed the situation, but the policies which he was soon ordered to support were not those which he first judged best calculated to serve France's interests.

Captain Laplace reported, in 1839, that the Hawaiian Islands seemed destined to fall within the orbit of that nation which came to dominate the Pacific Coast of North America. That nation, he judged, was likely to be the United States. The best policy for France, therefore, would be to extend her support to Kamehameha III and his government, to the end of keeping the islands open to French ships and French trade. Support of Catholic missionaries he regarded as an important adjunct to this policy. As for Tahiti and the islands of the South Pacific, Laplace judged that a program of annexation would not serve French interests best. Instead he urged a policy of encouraging the independence of the native
governments as a means of protecting French access to island bases and thus frustrating any expansionist aims of her better-established rivals. The preponderance of Anglo-American commerce appeared to him to argue against the advisability of French colonial annexations.\textsuperscript{15}

There were those in positions of power in Paris who did not agree with the able Captain. Only outright control of certain islands, they felt, would give France adequate guarantees of bases essential to the development of a Pacific commerce and strategy. In this policy they were prepared to ignore the question whether such bases could or could not be defended in the event of conflict with Great Britain.

The expansionist spirit which came to prevail in Paris in the closing years of the 1830's was by no means matched in London and Washington. The British government, indeed, was exasperating Britons interested in New Zealand and other Pacific islands by its lack of concern for the acquisition of new possessions. Only under considerable pressure did Her Majesty's government finally go to the length of asserting sovereign control over New Zealand in 1840. Among the other island groups the policy of occasional visits by patrolling men-of-war seemed, for the time, adequate to protect the interests of British subjects. Though Richard Charlton had been made British consul at Honolulu in 1825, it was not until 1837, after several urgent requests, that the Foreign Office finally appointed George Pritchard the first British consul at Papeete.\textsuperscript{16}

The growth of British concern over affairs among the islands, resulting in some increase in the frequency of naval patrols, was in response to American activity as well as French. As early as the voyage of Commodore Thomas ap-Catesby Jones, in 1826–27, British residents, consuls and naval commanders had expressed concern over American actions. In Honolulu Consul Charlton had attempted to block the negotiation of a treaty between Commodore (then Captain) Jones and the chiefs,\textsuperscript{17} and in Tahiti the L.M.S. representatives wrote home for counsel on a similar occasion. How much the latter action had to do with the request of five-year-old Pomare III for British protection in that same year can only be surmised. Ten years later the activities of the Pacific squadron of the United States Navy and the appointment of American consuls for Papeete and Sydney raised new fears of an aggressive United States policy in the South Pacific.\textsuperscript{18}

In a sense the British were more concerned over American activity than they were over the French, for the Americans had proved themselves formidable commercial rivals. They had more ships among the islands than did the British themselves, while the number of French traders and whalers remained small. The combination of American commercial and missionary interest in Hawaii was most imposing, and despite official encouragement the French had no such established interest among the islands to warn of ambitious designs.

If such fears tormented Sydney merchants and British officers stationed in the Pacific, they were not shared in London. Officials there were better informed as to the state of things in the United States. So far from any annexationist plans being matured there, the whaling and commercial interests combined were only successful in 1836, after more than ten years of persistent agitation, in obtaining sanction and appropriations for an official United States exploring expedition. Even then naval politics and other obstructions were to hold it up for two years.
During the long agitation of this question more than one official had echoed the sentiments of the man who complained that money would be better spent on exploring the western parts of the United States than in measuring the distant waters of the Pacific. The fact was that there was no ambition at this time in Washington for territorial aggrandizement among the Pacific Islands. And this attitude was matched by official views in London when the French embarked upon their aggressive designs in 1837.

In 1836 and 1837 the French Captains Vaillant and Du Petit-Thouars touched at Honolulu. There both found British officers engaged in negotiating agreements with the Hawaiians designed to protect British subjects and their property rights in the island kingdom. Though the French officers had no authorization to enter into treaties, both improved the occasion by entering into agreements designed to afford French subjects the same rights as those of citizens of the nation most favored. Du Petit-Thouars also appointed Jules Dudoit as provisional French consular agent at Honolulu, sub specie rati.

With regard to the Catholic missionaries at Hawaii, Captain Vaillant reported to Paris the expulsion of Fathers Bachelot and Short. His report was prepared from information provided by Father Walsh, an Irish member of the same order, more recently arrived at Honolulu. In 1837 Du Petit-Thouars became involved in the dispute attending the return of Fathers Bachelot and Short aboard the celebrated Clementine. In neither case did the French officer feel justified in demanding that the priests be admitted to the Hawaiian realm with guaranteed freedom to preach. For his moderation in this regard, Captain Du Petit-Thouars was roundly condemned by Bishop Rouchouze, primate of the Eastern Pacific. From his seat in the Gambiers the bishop urged a stronger policy upon Paris.

For the moment it might have appeared that the British were more aggressive in pressing the interests of their subjects in the Pacific than were the French. If that had been true, the reports of Captain Vaillant and his passenger, Consul Adolphe Barrot, and that of M. Moerenhout, United States agent, from Tahiti, coupled with those of French naval officers, brought a change of policy. To Paris it appeared clearer than ever that the British and Americans were entrenching themselves among the Pacific Islands to the exclusion of the French and were misrepresenting the power and prestige of France in the bargain. In June and July, 1837, therefore, new instructions were issued to the French naval commanders in the Pacific.

Returning from Honolulu to his base of operations at Valparaiso, Captain Du Petit-Thouars received his new orders from the Ministry in March or April, 1838. They were strongly worded. The Captain (and similar instructions had been sent to Laplace and Dumont d’Urville) was ordered to “exact from Queen Pomare a resounding reparation” for the injuries to the French at Tahiti. It was alleged that these injuries had resulted from measures prompted by “the jealous spite which the English Methodist missionaries profess toward the French.” If, added the instructions to Laplace, Du Petit-Thouars had not yet reached Tahiti before he did, he was to “exact at any price reparations for the insult given to France in the persons of our fellow citizens and not to leave the island until he had left a durable impression of the grandeur and power of our nation.”

As it happened, Du Petit-Thouars, though delayed, was the first to reach
Tahiti, in August, 1838. As instructed, he consulted first with the United States Consul, M. Moerenhout, and then issued an ultimatum to the Queen. The demands made upon the Tahitian monarch were similar to those exacted from the Hawaiians in the preceding year, with the addition of a monetary indemnity in reparation for alleged injuries committed against Fathers Caret and Laval. Basically, the only infringement upon Tahitian sovereignty was that involved in the provision that Frenchmen must be admitted to that land, “whatever might be their profession.” They were to enjoy there all the rights of foreigners, citizens of the nation most favored. From this the French later inferred a right of French Catholic priests to preach, and it seems difficult to deny that such an inference was at least reasonable.

Before leaving Tahiti, Du Petit-Thouars presented Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout to Pomare in the new role of provisional consul of France, insisting upon his acceptance despite the protests of both the Queen and Mr. Pritchard. The latter had hoped to be rid of his obnoxious opposite and rival, since both he and the Queen had written to Washington asking Moerenhout’s dismissal as United States agent. As a matter of fact, a successor to the Belgian merchant had promptly been appointed by the Van Buren administration, though it is by no means clear that the intemperate charges of George Pritchard had been responsible for this. It was doubly galling, then, to find Moerenhout not only about to continue his residence in Papeete, but about to continue it as the representative of a Power more clearly and more strongly opposed to British interests (as Mr. Pritchard saw them there) than was the United States. From here on it would seem that the British and French representatives who resided or touched at Tahiti vied with one another in their unauthorized and intemperate actions to force the hands of home officials.

The next major episode in this drama of the Pacific came with the visits of Captain Cyrille Laplace, on l’Artemise, to Papeete and Honolulu in 1839. Since British and French officers had agreed, in 1837, that the island monarchs possessed, under international law, the right to admit foreigners to their domains or to exclude them, both the Tahitians and the Hawaiians had undertaken to make special use of that power. In both kingdoms laws were decreed by which the Christian religion, as taught by the existing missionary groups, was declared the acknowledged faith of the country, and the preaching of Catholicism was forbidden. Against these measures Laplace directed a frontal assault. Both at Papeete and at Honolulu he demanded specific recognition of the right of Catholics to practice and priests to preach their faith, as well as a measure of government aid to them, equal to that given to the Protestants. Accompanying these religious provisions in the Laplace treaties were other infringements upon the sovereignty of the island kingdoms in the form of treaty tariffs and provisions for consular approval of juries in cases involving French citizens.

In the face of these aggressive French activities, which Lieutenant Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition later condemned as high-handed and bullying, there was surprisingly little protest from the foreign communities of Papeete and Honolulu. This is, of course, always excepting the missionary groups. Wilkes and others felt that the outcome of Laplace’s visit to Honolulu, for example, might have been different, at least as regarded the commercial
treaty, if the foreign community had protested. In this matter Laplace was without instructions, and he seems to have been guided by Jules Dudoit, the local merchant, whom Du Petit-Thouars had appointed provisional consul.25

The British and American residents in the islands, however, did not see the issue as a clear-cut one of patriotic concern. The new United States Commercial Agent at Tahiti, Samuel Blackler, was coming to feel that a French influence which might loosen the grip that Mr. Pritchard and the missionaries held upon the native government would be a good thing.26 In Honolulu John C. Jones and his British counterpart, Charlton, once again appeared to be in substantial agreement in favor of a course which opposed the missionary interest. In short, local rather than national or international considerations seem generally to have swayed the members of these groups.

The missionaries, for their part, attempted to communicate with their home governments and to persuade them to protest the French actions. The Americans, in particular, resented the action of Captain Laplace in threatening to treat them as he would the Hawaiians, if hostilities should occur at Honolulu. The British mission group secured from Pomare IV at this time another appeal to Queen Victoria for British protection over the island kingdom.27

Neither Washington nor London gratified the hopes of their respective missionary petitioners. The Van Buren administration showed no desire to concern itself with protests to France or with forceful intervention in Pacific island affairs. The issues which loomed so large before Mr. Hiram Bingham and his colleagues did not appear in the same light to those in Washington. Even when a new Whig administration took office in 1841, with New England’s Daniel Webster as Secretary of State, a personal appeal by Mr. Bingham was unable to stir the United States government to action. As for the British, Lord Palmerston went so far as to express the feeling that28

the Law prohibiting any Person from teaching any Religious Doctrines different from those of the English Missionaries appears to be an intolerant and indefensible Edict; and that although perhaps the Proceeding of the French Frigate [Du Petit-Thouars] was somewhat harsh and peremptory, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that the expulsion of the French Missionaries was an unjustifiable act of violence.

Her Britannic Majesty’s government, in other words, had no intention of establishing a protectorate over Tahiti, or even of undertaking a formal intervention, to defend the London Missionary Society’s interest. Beyond that, relations were already sufficiently strained with France over various rivalries, including that just being terminated in New Zealand with British annexation.29 Neither the British nor the Americans made that identification between missionary interests and national interests which the French were making.

For a time after the completion of the two Laplace treaties matters in Tahiti and Hawaii attracted less attention on the international scene. This is not to say that the atmosphere of intrigue and dissension in those islands ceased to exist, but the focus of international interest was directed elsewhere by a shift in the direction of French activity. Lacking any definite design for annexation of either the Society or the Hawaiian group, the French had achieved virtually all that
might be expected there through the Laplace treaties. The rest would be up to the Catholic missionaries and French traders, taking advantage of the openings created for them.

There was more to be done elsewhere. In 1839 Captain Du Petit-Thouars recommended that France should acquire by annexation Pacific islands which might serve as naval bases, ports of call for French merchants and whalers, penal colonies and markets for French products. Specifically he recommended the Marquesas as the site for a penal colony and New Zealand for an agricultural center. The ports of both, he suggested, could serve as naval and commercial bases for French ships. Another proposal to the Ministry at about this time stressed the importance of securing a base strategically located with reference to the future canal at Panama.

By the time the French were able to act, however, their designs upon New Zealand had been anticipated and frustrated by British action which they were not in a position to challenge. Consequently, orders were issued to Du Petit-Thouars, now Rear Admiral, to carry out the extension of French authority over the Marquesas. It seems clear that at the time of the annexation of the Marquesas group in 1842 the French government did not envision any such action at either Tahiti or Hawaii. The events which followed, however, provide the best possible evidence of the way in which the hand of the home government might be forced by the zeal of its agents in distant posts.

Completing his official acts of taking possession of the various islands of the Marquesas group, Captain Du Petit-Thouars proceeded to Tahiti in August, 1842. There he found Consul Moerenhout in the fever of indignation which was becoming chronic with him. The Consul insisted that the terms of the earlier treaties had been violated through ill-treatment of French subjects. Reparation, he insisted, must once more be exacted; but in order to avoid an endless repetition of such incidents, it was now his suggestion that a French protectorate over the island of Tahiti be established. Forehanded as ever, Moerenhout had a petition for such a protectorate in hand, already signed by a number of the chiefs disaffected from the Pomare regime. In addition to the appeal of the consul, Admiral Du Petit-Thouars was nearly overwhelmed by complaints and counter-complaints from members of the small French community at Papeete. On one thing most of the plaintiffs seemed to agree; a French protectorate would be an improvement, if not a solution to all their problems.

At this time the redoubtable Pritchard was absent in England, endeavoring to convince the Foreign Office that some sort of British protection would be necessary to save British interests in Tahiti from the French. His vice-consul, Captain Charles Wilson, was not a man of the same mettle. To make matters worse for Mr. Pritchard's aspirations, the United States agent, Samuel Blacker, though personally at odds with M. Moerenhout, felt an ever greater distaste for the British missionary consul and his policies. In the current situation Blacker not only failed to interpose any objection to the French action (which would probably have been disavowed by Washington anyway), he even went so far as to uphold the French, in reports to the State Department, as acting for the best interests of all, including American merchant and whaling groups.

Queen Pomare was not in a position to refuse the French demands, particu-
larly since a number of the chiefs were openly on the French side, and some of them pleaded with her to accede to the French demands in order to avoid bloodshed. She later declared, however, that her consent to the French protectorate had been secured only under threat of violence. Du Petit-Thouars promptly announced the creation of a provisional administration, pending approval of the regime by his home government. Heading a council of three, with the title of Commissaire Royal, was Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout. "Thanks to him," declares his biographer, "France became the protectress of the Society Islands."35

Had there been any question regarding the eagerness of the Tahitians for French rule, it was removed during the closing months of 1842. At that time Pomare returned to Papeete, raised her own standard in place of that of the Protectorate, and secured the recognition of Sir Thomas Thompson, commander of H.M.S. Talbot, for her standard and authority. At a public meeting the Queen expressed her preference for British protection, if protection there must be. In the tension between British and French officers which ensued, an imminent threat of hostilities in the harbor of Papeete was narrowly averted in February, 1842.

This situation was momentarily relieved when the British warship sailed from Papeete for Valparaiso to report on the French actions. The relief was short, however, for ten days after the departure of the Talbot arrived H.M.S. Vindictive, Captain Toup Nicholas, bearing as special passenger George Pritchard. At once another round of intrigues and recriminations began. Pomare complained pitifully to Queen Victoria and to King Louis Philippe. She condemned the iniquitous French consul, and her pleas for his removal were seconded by Mr. Pritchard and Captain Toup Nicholas.

But alas poor Pomare! The destiny of Tahiti did not loom as large in London as in Papeete. Despite even the pleas of the powerful missionary groups in England, the Government had no desire to precipitate a crisis with France over that distant island. The most the Foreign Office would do at that point was to ask assurance from Paris that the freedom of British subjects in Tahiti, including the missionaries, be fully guaranteed. When such assurance was given, as it was quite promptly, any likelihood of British intervention on behalf of the Tahitians was ended. In April, 1843, King Louis Philippe accepted the Protectorate, and French control was officially sanctioned.36

Tahitian resistance to French rule continued, however, bringing the economic life of the island virtually to a standstill. Buoyed up, apparently, by the assurances of Mr. Pritchard, the partisans of Pomare continued to look hopefully for British intervention. By a magnificent effort of self-deception George Pritchard continued to hold out a hope of action by Her Majesty's Government, ignoring and suppressing such parts of his instructions as did not conform to such a view. Even some of his missionary colleagues were led to protest against his policy. As long as George Pritchard remained in Tahiti, he continued to be in some manner involved in the resistance to the French, and there was rather general relief when, in March, 1844, he was ordered from the island after having been arrested by the French and then released into the custody of British naval officers.37

In the meantime Admiral Du Petit-Thouars had been induced to proclaim the termination of the Protectorate, the deposition of Queen Pomare IV and the
reduction of Tahiti to the status of an outright French colonial possession. The alleged ground for this action was the continued opposition of the Queen's party to the operation of the Protectorate regime and the intrigues of the English party. This action was too much for Paris. In response to British pressure, as well as to his own uneasiness, M. Guizot, the head of the French Cabinet, repudiated this act of his over-zealous subordinates and restored the Queen and the Protectorate. Even this action aroused some protest from extreme nationalist groups in France. As it turned out, however, the logic of events was bound to turn the Protectorate into a French colony in time.88

The meaning of events transpiring at Tahiti was not lost on those in Hawaii. There were some, indeed, who believed that Captain Laplace, in 1839, had been disappointed at the ability of the local community to raise the indemnity fund to twenty thousand dollars, which he had demanded. Had he not received the money or acquiescence in his other demands, ran their account, the French had fully intended to take over the islands in just the manner adopted three years later at Tahiti. In neither case, be it noted, did the French commander have instructions to take such action, but once he had acted in Tahiti the support of the Ministry of Marine and a segment of opinion in Paris made it all but impossible to disavow the action without results fatal to the government which undertook such a disavowal.

Similar fears were rife again in Hawaii in 1842, when Captain Mallet of the Embuscade was sent to Honolulu by Du Petit-Thouars. In that case the French commander was induced to depart without pressing new demands upon the Hawaiian monarch. Yet there were rumors that stronger action had been intended and was only averted by the discovery, by the French, that Kamehameha III had already sent commissions to the Powers.89 Professor Kuykendall has demonstrated the relationship between such fears and the despatch of the missions seeking recognition by the Powers of Hawaiian independence.90

It is worth conjecture whether or not the sending of such missions by the Hawaiian government illustrates a subtle difference between the state of political maturity reached by the Hawaiians under their missionary guides and that of the Tahitians under theirs. No such Tahitian mission seems to have been contemplated, even if feasible, at this time. Whether this resulted from factors inherent in the societies of the two Polynesian peoples themselves, from differences in the character of their leaders, or from the attitudes of the foreigners by whom each group was chiefly influenced, would be as difficult to judge as to document. In transferring the scene of their negotiations to the major capitals of the Western world, however, the Hawaiian delegates gained an advantage which Ponare, faced by French gunboats, thousands of miles from the scene of international publicity and intrigues, did not enjoy.

The story of the negotiations which resulted in formal recognition of the Hawaiian monarchy by Britain, France and the United States has been ably recounted by several writers.41 Three major points only concern us here. First, the progress of events at Honolulu up to and during 1843 offers a significant parallel to that at Papeete in the preceding year. Second, the determination of Hawaii's fate at this critical time was influenced to a marked degree by knowledge of the
Tahitian example. Third, the terms upon which the continued independence of the Hawaiian government was agreed to by the powers were decided in London, Paris and Washington, and they thus provide a better indication of the Powers' views concerning the Pacific than they do of conditions in the islands.

With regard to the similarity of events in Tahiti and Honolulu, we may begin with the rumors of impending action by the Powers. M. Moerenhout and certain others of the French party at Tahiti had persistently alleged the imminence of British plans to annex that island as an excuse for immediate French action. This fitted perfectly into the belief, often advanced over the preceding years, that the British missionaries were merely advance agents for British commerce and colonial rule. In the same manner British and American representatives in Honolulu, including members of both the merchant and missionary communities, warned each other and friends at home of the imminence of French annexation projects.

The action of Captain Lord George Paulet of H.M.S. Carysfort in seizing control of the Hawaiian Islands, with the advice of Acting Consul Alexander Simpson, also has its Tahitian precedent. There the respective roles were taken by Captain Du Petit-Thouars and Consul Jacques-Antoine Moerenhout. It is a remarkable fact that for many years among the Pacific islands naval officers of various nations were led to act, at times in the most extraordinary manner, by the partisan reports of local conditions provided them by consuls and other resident citizens of their own nationalities. Isolated from regular communication with their metropolitan centers, placed in positions of power among peoples unsophisticated in Western ways, and thrown into all-too-intimate contact with other members of the small foreign communities, these people came to see the world through the eyes of village gossip and to exaggerate both their own importance and the significance of local events in the concerns of the Powers they represented. In consequence, the home governments received such an abundance, and such a variety, of reports on some island matters that it was frequently impossible to secure anything like an accurate view of conditions there.

The demands made upon Kamehameha III by Acting Consul Alexander Simpson in 1843 were quite as extreme as those pressed by M. Moerenhout, and the acquiescence in them by the other consuls also had its Tahitian parallel. But these parallels have an end. There was no equivalent to Sir George Simpson to aid Tahiti's cause at Paris. At the critical period none of the mission leaders in Hawaii seems to have acted with the reckless impetuosity of George Pritchard. Ultimately, there was no French officer to essay the part of Admiral Thomas and to restore the independence of Queen Pomare.

The influence exerted by the example of events in one island group upon subsequent developments in the other has already been noted. Treatment of the first Catholic missionaries at Hawaii influenced the actions of both Bishop Rouchouze and the London Missionary Society group in Tahiti. On the occasion of the arrival of Fathers Caret and Laval there, M. Moerenhout quoted the words of Commodore Downes of the U.S.S. Potomac to the Hawaiian chiefs as a demonstration of the policy of toleration which the Tahitians should adopt.

Naval officers of all three of the interested Powers had used the experience gained in dealing with the authorities of one island kingdom in guiding their policies toward the other. As the frequency of communication among the Pacific
islands increased, the people of one group came even to anticipate the kind of
treatment most recently meted out to the other. There is repeated evidence of
this in Honolulu in the closing years of the 1830's and after.

In view of this background, it is not surprising that the formal annexation
of the Marquesas by France and the creation of a protectorate in Tahiti should
have created a sensation in Honolulu. Conscious of this, and endeavoring to
place his own action in the best light, Lord George Paulet claimed that Kamehameha III's cession of the Hawaiian group to the British was prompted by fear of
French action a la Tahiti or outright annexation rather than by British intimida-
tion. There seems reason to believe that some of those in Honolulu regarded
the Paulet interregnum with a more resigned attitude than might otherwise have
been the case because they saw in it at least a temporary barrier to French seizure.
Such fears, of course, were augmented by news of the action of Du Petit-Thouars
in declaring Pomare IV deposed and Tahiti a French colony.

Of greater importance, in the long run, was the effect of news from Tahiti
upon the course of the negotiations being conducted by William Richards and
Timothy Haalilio at the great capitals. In Washington it seems quite clear that
Paulet's actions at Honolulu had far more effect upon the general climate of
opinion, official and unofficial, than the actions of the French at Tahiti were
likely to have. This may, perhaps, be regarded as convincing evidence that
Mr. Richards was on firm ground in suggesting the possibility of a British protec-
torate for Hawaii, as a means of moving Washington to action. In addition
to that, President Tyler and Secretary Webster had placed the United States on
record with regard to Hawaiian independence in December, 1842, and the Paulet
seizure thus appeared to be a more direct affront than any such action at Tahiti
could be.

If it does not appear that the actions of the French at Tahiti were of first im-
portance in determining the course of action taken by the United States toward
the Hawaiian mission of 1842-3, the situation in Europe was different. In a letter
of April 3, 1843, from London, as Professor Kuykendall has pointed out, Mr.
Richards remarked that the news of Admiral Du Petit-Thouars' creation of a
French protectorate reached Paris the same day that the Hawaiian commissioners
did. In his judgment the effect of this coincidence was strongly favorable to the
object of his mission. Quickly aware of British anger over the action at Tahiti,
the Guizot ministry was eager to convince the British that France did not contem-
plate similar actions elsewhere and that the rights of Englishmen at Tahiti would
be respected. In the course of this assurance, M. Guizot was quite specific as to
the absence of any intention on this part to interfere in Hawaii. He went on to
express the willingness of his government to recognize the independence of that
group. But in view of the attitude of the French nationalists and of officials in
the Ministry of Marine and Colonies, he did not dare to disavow the Tahitian
Protectorate.

With regard to Hawaii both Britain and France felt some concern over the
growing hegemony enjoyed by American interests. Aside, then, from their suspi-
cions of one another, they hoped to find some way to prevent the island kingdom
from becoming an American province, to the detriment of the interests of their
respective citizens. This attitude was reflected in efforts by the two European
governments to secure United States adherence to their mutual renunciation of territorial aspirations in Hawaii. When those efforts failed, both Guizot and Aberdeen insisted upon keeping in effect the illiberal terms of the Laplace treaty, with its limitations upon Hawaiian sovereignty in the matter of tariffs and the trials of foreigners. In part, at least, this reflected their desire for some strong means of protecting French and British interests in an area of growing American influence.  

For the rest of the period of our concern Hawaii remained independent, and Tahiti continued to be a French protectorate. Yet the agitations of the Powers over these islands did not cease altogether. Notes continued to be exchanged between London and Paris for some years over the indemnification of Mr. Pritchard for his sufferings at the hands of the French, over the promised removal of M. Moerenhout, and over the protection of the interests of the London Missionary Society. In addition to this the uncertainty as to the limits of the realm of Queen Pomare led to some friction before the signing of the de Jarnac Convention of June, 1847. Under the terms of that agreement the leeward islands of the Society group, most prominent among which were Raiatea, Borabora and Huahine, were declared independent of the French Protectorate, and the French agreed not to take possession of any of them. By the same instrument Great Britain gave definitive recognition to the Protectorate. Lord Palmerston, moreover, preferred not to prolong the controversy by disputing French claims to the Tuamotus.  

As far as the United States was concerned, the despairing accounts of consular officers recorded the decline of American shipping at Papeete. Several years of turmoil and sporadic warfare had so damaged business there that many whalers and merchant skippers learned to avoid the port. The shift northward of the principal whaling operations also served to lessen American interest in Tahiti. The one new element of American connection was the arrival of the first Mormon missionaries at Tahiti in 1844 and the Tuamotus in 1846.  

Through the remainder of the 1840's there continued to be high words at times in Honolulu between the British Consul General, General William Miller, and the Hawaiian authorities. At no time, however, was a threat to Hawaiian independence involved. The difficulties centered about British efforts to maintain the claims of their subjects and the extra territorial privileges granted them by the treaty of 1844. The Hawaiian government, for its part, struggled steadily for the removal of the limitations upon its sovereignty written into the British and French treaties.  

This struggle involved continued bickering with the contumacious individuals who generally seemed to represent France in the islands during the decade. In 1849 there was a flash of the old tone in the belligerent action of Admiral de Tromelin and Consul Dillon. But the Admiral was careful not to lower the Hawaiian flag. The treaties of recognition had done their work, and to their work had been added the effects of a new change of regime at Paris. There was no hand there in 1849 which could be forced into condoning expansion by the actions of agents in the distant Pacific.  

It was the Americans who now presented a more serious problem for Hawaii. Their representatives, now with the rank of Commissioner, outdid the French and
the British in contumacy and even, on occasion, arrogance. First George Brown and then Anthony Ten Eyck were forbidden further communication with the Hawaiian government as a result of their distasteful behavior in official relations. The influence and numbers of the American community in the islands continued to grow, and with the acquisition of Oregon and California by the United States, the Hawaiian group became more firmly bound to the economy of the Pacific Coast than before. As this development was given added impetus during the California gold rush, the Hawaiians, by 1850, felt more reason than ever to heed the warnings of Britons and Frenchmen with regard to Yankee designs on their freedom.87

The policy enunciated for his countrymen by President Tyler remained valid, however, as far as Washington was concerned, at the end of the 1840's. According to that statement the United States sought "no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian Government, but is [was] content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes [d] for its security and prosperity."88 There was still something of this spirit in the commercial treaty between the two nations signed in 1849. But the talk of California filibusters, as well as their numbers and proximity, made it clear what must be the fate of Hawaii should the Americans change their minds.

Several factors combined to decide the fate of Tahiti and Hawaii in this critical period. First, there were those developments within the process of adjustment to contact with Western civilization which had made the Hawaiian monarchy a stronger political entity than was that of Tahiti. The difference in development may in part be attributed to the differences in character between Kamehameha I and the founders of the Pomare dynasty. Despite such disaffections as remained among the Hawaiian chiefs, the unity of authority achieved by the great Kamehameha surpassed anything that the Pomares were able to develop. The Hawaiian leader, be it noted, had won his power by his own deeds and those of his fellows, while Pomare owed his title in considerable measure to missionary influence.

As far as missionary influence upon the peoples of the two island groups is concerned, there seems to be a remarkable similarity in the nature of their political teachings. In both instances the Protestant missionaries saw the desirability of maintaining the independence of the native governments, and to that end they sought to guide the chiefs along lines likely to command the respect of foreigners. In each case they incurred the wrath of both merchants and mariners in so doing. There were more merchants and more sailors in Hawaiian ports than there were at Tahiti. And yet in the hour of crisis it was Tahiti which succumbed to foreign domination.

There was no such eagerness among the American missionaries in Hawaii to seek annexation of the islands to their home country as was the case with Mr. Pritchard and some of his colleagues in Tahiti. In both instances, however, such a course was suggested as a last resort to prevent the subversion of native sovereignty by some less desirable regime. British proposals to this end in Tahiti appeared earlier and more frequently than did those of the American Board representatives; perhaps because the Americans knew how remote was the chance that the government in Washington would consider such action.
Another factor producing different results in Tahiti and Hawaii lay in the matter of geographical location. French writers, on both commercial and strategic grounds, could speak of the Marquesas and Tahiti as related to potential developments of the future, notably such as related to a projected American isthmian canal. Tahiti, moreover, could be more readily related to the growing French trade with the west coast of Spanish America than could Hawaii. The latter group, as both Du Petit-Thouars and Laplace pointed out, was chiefly involved in the trade with the Pacific Coast of North America, and several observers early reported the conviction that Hawaii must eventually be controlled by the nation which controlled that coast. That France would be that nation never seemed likely. Neither Britain nor the United States, on the other hand, felt the need, at this time, for political control of the islands in order to secure their commercial interests.

After all these factors have been considered, the major role in deciding the fate of Hawaiian and Tahitian sovereignty must be assigned to the vagaries of international politics. A combination of motives induced successive French governments to project their influence into the Pacific world. This influence, as far as it involved territorial acquisition, succeeded generally, save where it conflicted with major British or American interests. The British early warned off the French from Australia and later, almost too late, from New Zealand. Only considerably later would they advance their caveat beyond those areas. As for the Americans, first official concern over territorial matters on the Pacific was confined to the west coast of North America. The extension of that concern to include Hawaii in 1842 reflected both the growing commerce and the growing American population on the Pacific Coast. A rising trans-Pacific commerce and hopes for even greater increases in the future added force to the concern of Americans over the status of Hawaii. Once the government of France had recoiled from the possibilities of conflict involved in the proposals of her Pacific expansionists, the danger of further island-grabbing seemed to have passed, until a new aggressor should enter the field or an old one change his mind.

NOTES


Jean I. Brookes, International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-1875, (Berkeley, California, 1941) pp. 73-4; Paul Deschanel, Les Interets Francais dans le Pacifique, (Paris, 1884) p. 9.

Fairev, pp. 290-291.

Father Reginald Yzendoorn, History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands, (Honolulu, 1927) p. 34, states that Consul John Coffin Jones aided the priests, and in this he is followed by Sister Adele Marie Lemon, Hawaii, Lei of Islands. A History of Catholic Hawaii, (Honolulu, 1956) p. 30. Father Joseph Moully, Des Piroques Canaque a la Bombe Atumique . . ., (Paris, 1946) pp. 96-7, however, states that the missionaries' aide was Richard Charlton. The relations between Jones and Boki at the time, however, and the location of Charlton's residence near the high chief's seem to argue for the British consul. Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, who had been in the islands just before this, charged in a letter to the editor of The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States, VI (1835) p. 287, that "a certain English agent at Honolulu" actually sent to Europe for Catholic missionaries as a means of countering the influence of the American group.

See Jones to Josiah Marshall, May 5, 1826, original letter in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. For an illustration of the commercial discord between the two men see Jones to Captain Dixey Wildes, September 30, 1827, copy in the Bishop Museum and in HMC.


General treatments of these contests may be found in Brookes, International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-1875, Fairev, L'Expansion Francaise dans le Pacifique, 1800-1842, and in John M. Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific, 1786-1893, (Sydney, 1948). Source materials in abundance may be found in the consular despatches of the three nations chiefly involved, from various Pacific posts, in the reports of naval commanders on Pacific station and in the records of the various missionary societies.

Volume VIII (1835), pp. 16-24.

Fairev, pp. 424-438.

Fairev, p. 440; Brookes, pp. 90-91.

Charlton had appointed a vice-consul at Tahiti in 1827, a Mr. Elley, but the appointment had not been confirmed when that officer found it necessary to leave Papeete because of fear of violence to himself and family. See Ward, Chapter IX on this period. For Elley see Great Britain, Foreign Office (hereafter cited as F.O.), Pacific Islands, 58/4, Charlton to Canning, December 31, 1827. See also Jore, pp. 49, 52.

Jones to the mission leaders, January 2, 1827, in Missionary Letters, III, letter 199, HMC. See also Jones' letter to the editor of The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States, VI (1836), pp. 282-288.


Sydney and Marjorie Greenbie, Gold of Ophir, (Garden City, New York, 1925) pp. 198-208.

Brookes, pp. 81-83; Blue, pp. 64-68.

Fairev, p. 432.

Brookes does deny this. See p. 85.

Jore has given a French slant on this in his George Pritchard, l'Adversaire de la France a Tahiti: 1796-1833, (Paris, 1939) and in his Un Belge au Service de la France dans l'Ocean Pacifique, (Paris, 1944).


Harold W. Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii . . ., (Stanford University, California, 1942) pp. 311-314; Brookes, p. 88.

USCD, Tahiti, I, Blackler to Forsyth, October 31, 1840.
Letters to the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, CXXXIV, No. 46, contains a copy of the memorial sent on this occasion by the Hawaii missionaries. Appeals to the British Foreign Office were sent from Tahiti on November 8, 1838, and January 20, 1841, among others. See F.O., Pacific Islands, 58/15 and 58/16. See also Great Britain, Foreign Office, Correspondence Relating to the Proceedings of the French at Tahiti, 1825–1843 (London, 1843).

F.O., Pacific Islands, 58/15, note on a letter of Pritchard to Palmerston, November 9, 1838.


Faivre, p. 441.

Ward, p. 119. Blue, p. 62, states that Adolphe Barrot, after his visit to Honolulu on the Bonite in 1836, reported to France on the importance of the Pacific islands with reference to a future isthmian canal.


USCD, Tahiti, II, Blackler to Webster, September 10 and September 26, 1842, with enclosures. Blackler’s despatches and those of Wilson, Pritchard and Moerenhout, present a vivid and occasionally hilarious running account of this period of turmoil.

Jore, Un Belge, p. 120.

A useful account of Anglo-French relations and exchanges at this time may be found in J. R. Baldwin, “England and the French Seizure of the Society Islands,” Journal of Modern History, X (1938), pp. 212–231.

Jore, Un Belge, pp. 132–133; Great Britain, Correspondence relating to the Removal of Mr. Pritchard from Tahiti (London, 1843).

Baldwin, pp. 222–231.

USCD, Honolulu, I, William Hooper (Acting Agent) to Webster, October 10, 1842; Levi Chamberlain, Journal, Nov. 9, 1842; Laura Fish Judd, Honolulu. . . (Honolulu, 1928), pp. 90–91.

The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854, (Honolulu, 1938) pp. 210–212. In 1844 a letter from Queen Pomare to Kamehameha III was published in Honolulu, with a copy of a letter of protest from Pomare to Louis Philippe. The publication bore the notation, “Printed for the Hon. L. Hope.”


Brookes, pp. 78–79.

Supra., n. 39; Bradley, pp. 419–420; Kuykendall, pp. 213, 215.

Many documents relating to the Paulet intervention are to be found in the Archives of Hawaii. Kuykendall, Chapter XIII provides an excellent account. For the French Protectorate in Tahiti see Faivre, Chapter VII; Ward, Chapter XII; Caillot, pp. 170–227, and the two works by Jore cited above for general accounts with varied coloring.

USCD, Tahiti, I, Moerenhout to Pomare, December 1, 1836.

Great Britain, Correspondence Relative to the Sandwich Islands, (London? 1844?) p. 184; Bradley, p. 433.


Brookes, pp. 78–79.

Kuykendall, pp. 193–194, cites Richards’ journal on this point.


Baldwin, p. 221; Caillot, pp. 224–225.

Brookes, p. 157. See also a letter from Rear Admiral Richard Thomas to Robert Crichton Wylie, October 14, 1845; original in Archives of Hawaii.

Brookes, pp. 144, 166–167.

USCD, Tahiti, II, George R. Chapman (Acting Consul) to the Secretary of State, July 1, 1845 and January 1, 1846; also Horace Hawes to James Buchanan, Honolulu, May 3, 1848.

Brookes, p. 167.
Gerritt P. Judd to Lord Aberdeen, February 17, 1844, and subsequent correspondence in Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations (Hawaii), 1851, Appendix. See also F. O., Pacific Islands, 58/25 and 58/26.

On the de Tromelin affair see the official publication of the Hawaiian Government, Published by Authority, Official Correspondence (Honolulu? 1849?). Another interesting letter from Admiral Thomas to Mr. Wyllie, dated at Plymouth, England, December 8, 1849, expressed the Admiral's "grief and indignation" at the "violent, outrageous, dastardly and unrighteous act of the Consul of France and his Coadjutor the French Rear Admiral." Archives of Hawaii.

Kuykendall, Chapter XIX; Stevens, Chapter IV. See also the columns of the Polynesian and the Friend, Honolulu periodicals, for contemporary material. An interesting sidelight on official views in London as to American expansion may be found in Richard W. Van Alstyne, ed., "Documents: Anglo-American Relations, 1853–1857...", American Historical Review, XLII (1936-7) pp. 491–500.

Kuykendall, p. 195.
INTRODUCTORY NOTE: Through the generosity of the Trustees of the Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation the Hawaiian Historical Society has acquired over a hundred letters written to or from Joel Turrill. Turrill, who was born in Vermont in 1794, began the practice of law in Oswego, New York, in 1819. He served as a Justice of the Peace; a county judge from 1828–1833; and, as a Jacksonian Democrat, in Congress from 1833–1837. He continued active in local politics and was made United States Consul to the Sandwich Islands where he served from July 1, 1846 to March 20, 1850. He left the Islands on April 21, 1850 and died in Oswego, December 28, 1859.

In order that the members of the Society may more conveniently enjoy these intriguing documents the cream of the collection, in the form of forty-eight letters, is herewith presented. Forty-two of the forty-eight fall within the period 1850 to 1860. There are primarily personal letters to Turrill, after he left the Islands, from the men best qualified to comment on government and business in Hawaii. There are few letters from Turrill. Only four, taken from the drafts he retained, are given.

The unique value of these letters is to be found in their highly personal quality. Written under the guise, for the most part, of friendship, they are private, confidential and off the record. There are frank appraisals of local personages whose names may now appear not only in the modern city directory but often as street names as well. New light is given on the importance of William L. Lee in the Hawaiian Government. Here, too, are the foreign representatives, General William Miller for Great Britain; Messrs. Dillon and Perrin for France; E. H. Allen, who, as American Consul following Turrill, also won the confidence of the Hawaiian authorities and served the Monarchy in many important capacities from 1853–1883—the last fourteen years as Hawaiian Minister in Washington. The Charles R. Bishop letters mirror economic conditions and business practices of the day. Here are the vicissitudes of whalers and whaling, of merchants and ship chandlers, of new industries and old ones. Among others whose letters appear are Hiram Bingham, S. C. Damon, and Gerrit P. Judd.

Not printed are such things as invoices for goods shipped to Turrill and prices realized at auction for his household furnishings when he left Hawaii. Types of letters omitted include seven pertaining to Turrill’s efforts to collect a loan made to a James E. Byers; letters of introduction, and those that were purely social. Not reproduced are letters concerning the rescue of shipwrecked Americans from Christmas Island and the letters, and parts of letters, that refer to other than purely Hawaiian affairs.

Except where nonsense would result, no change has been made in spelling, capitalization or punctuation. In every case, other than punctuation, where additions were made they are indicated by the use of square brackets. Where data, such as dates and place of origin is lacking, it is supplied, where possible, also in brackets. The use of sic means, “Honest! That is the way it was in the original letter.”

C. H. H.
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<td>R. H. Gillet to Joel Turrill</td>
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<td>R. H. Gillet to Joel Turrill</td>
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<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April, 1850</td>
<td>[Honolulu]</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Artemus Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 26, 1850</td>
<td>Ewa</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>June 4, 1850</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 29, 1850</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Feb. 25, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 29, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>June 1, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Aug. 22, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Oct. 9, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Oct. 11, 1851</td>
<td>Kohala (Hawaii)</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 16, 1851</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>March 3, 1852</td>
<td>Rosebank</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>March 20, 1852</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>March 24, 1852</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 2, 1852</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>May 8, 1852</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Jan. 15, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>July 30, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Aug. 10, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>Fred L. Hanks to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Aug. 14, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Oct. 7, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>30.</td>
<td>Benjamin F. Angel to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Nov. 21, 1853</td>
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<td>31.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 17, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>32.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 22, 1853</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Jan. 20, 1854</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>35.</td>
<td>William L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Feb. 26, 1855</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>36.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 13, 1855</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>38.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 28, 1855</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>39.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to Mrs. J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 28, 1855</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>40.</td>
<td>W. L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 25, 1856</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>W. L. Lee to J. Turrill</td>
<td>May 31, 1856</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>Joel Turrill to W. L. Lee</td>
<td>July 13, 1856</td>
<td>Washington</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>Gerrit P. Judd to J. Turrill</td>
<td>April 6, 1857</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>44.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>June 26, 1857</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>45.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1857</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>46.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill</td>
<td>May 31, 1858</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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<td>47.</td>
<td>R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill</td>
<td>March 11, 1859</td>
<td>Rosebank</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Charles R. Bishop to Mrs. J. Turrill</td>
<td>Feb. 27, 1860</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
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</table>
THE TURRILL COLLECTION

1. R. H. Gillet¹ to Joel Turill [sic]  
Washington July 17, 1845

My Dear Sir, Yours of the 5th inst. came to me on the 9th & until today, I have not been able to obtain the material to answer it. There are two places at which the Consul of the Sandwich Islands has control. I have the fees for three years as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wahoo</th>
<th>Lahina [sic]</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>$736.00</td>
<td>$234.00</td>
<td>$970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>$897.00</td>
<td>$592.00</td>
<td>$1489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>$1418.75</td>
<td>$1975.00</td>
<td>$3393.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So you see how the business increases & Mr. Buchannon² [sic] says it will continue to do so. In one letter I saw from the present consul he says 50 whalers are laying in port at Wahoo. Last year he disbursed for half a year 4,000 for relief of seamen on which he got 5 percent. For last half year of 1844 (from which former statement was taken concerning fees) there were at the two places 132,000 tons of American shipping & 216 American ships & brigs &c. Value of inward cargos over $15,000,000.

From this statement which I took down from one of Mr. B’s clerks & which I think correct you can form an opinion of the value of the consulate now & hereafter both for bus & for commerce. You should write at once whether you will take or not. It is hard holding on to it. There are several here now who want it for the commercial facilities it affords. I know two of them. But I can keep them off until I hear from you. One of these candidates thinks it next to Havanna [sic] for making money.

I have nothing new to write. It is so hot I do not see anybody out of my office. Judge Bronson is here from Florida & will soon go north. Yours truly,

2. R. H. Gillet to Joel Turill  
Washington Sept 18, 1845

My Dear Sir, Yours came to me this morning, & I went immediately to the President [James K. Polk]. He directed me to see Mr. Bancroft & Mr. Buchannan & see if they knew of any cause, why the Congress cannot be delayed ten days. They knew of none. Hence she will be delayed ten days for you & Mr. Ten Eyck.³ The President directed me to say to you it is of vast importance to the interest of the country that you both leave at once—that difficulties have sprung up there (at the Island) between the Commissioner & the government—that the authorities have refused all communication with the Commissioner & that the government there has addressed itself direct to him & demanded Browns recall, & that he must send the Congress with dispatches—that the arrival of new Government

¹ Ransom Hooker Gillet (1800–1876) a N.Y. lawyer and Congressman (1833–1837). Register of the U.S. Treasury (1845–1847). Like Turill he was a Jacksonian Democrat from upper N.Y. state.
² James Buchanan was Polk’s Secretary of State, 1845–1849.
officers in a National Vessel known to fame, will produce a salutory effect & he hopes no consideration will induce you to fail of being at Norfolk & going out in the Congress. The attendance there of Mr. Ten Eyck is of vast importance, to him & the government. I can say to you that the Secretary of State does not disguise his dissatisfaction at the great delay of Mr T.E. which is to be regretted. I advise that both of you should be ready to go in the Congress let what come. I suspect the President has a pride in having you go in a National Vessel, & I have no doubt he expects you will make a good adviser for the Comr. tho' he has never said so to me. Were I in your & Mr. T.E.'s place, I would submit to any sacrifice in order to go in the Gov't Vessel. After delaying it for you, you can judge of the feeling that will be excited by your not going. Mr. Buchannon wrote to T.E. sometime ago to be ready & go in the Congress, but has not received a reply, though there has been an abundance of time. I shall write him at Boston, New York & Watertown. I wish you would do so. If his wife is at the latter place, & he away she should start at once & meet him in N.Y. so as to move on.

I leave here tomorrow evening to attend to some official business in New York & then shall go for my family & expect to be in Oswego by Monday Morning. I hope to meet you some where. Mr. Buchannon says your letters & papers, if sent to the State Department post paid, will be forwarded to you with Government Despatches. In great haste Yours truly,

3. Hiram Bingham to Mathew Kekuanaoa New York Feb. 2, 1846

MY SALUTATIONS to you Mathew the Governor. I introduce to you the Bearer of this Mr. Joel Turrill the American Consul who goes out to reside at Honolulu. He was my fellow student in the years 1814, 1815, & 1816, at the college, but not at the Theo. Seminary. He studied law and became a Judge, & has been appointed Consul by our President.

One object which he has in view is to encourage the intelligence, the well being, and the prosperity of your nation. I have confidence that he will seek with you the means of establishing peace between the realm of the King and America, and also the means of increasing the weal of your country. He regrets that I do not go thither. I myself regret it also. But our return is uncertain. Sincerely & respectfully, Yours,

4. R. H. Gillet to Joel Turrill Washington April 27, 1847

MY DEAR Sir, Just before the adjournment of Congress, I received your letter relating principally to affairs at your new home. The President [Polk] read that letter. I have no doubt it has had its effect. This I design to send you by the new Navy Agent, Mr. Crabb. The President feels a strong anxiety concerning affairs with you, & will do all he can to have all things right there. The war with Mexico occupies much of his time & he is well worn down with care & labor.

4 Bingham (1789-1869) was one of the two ordained ministers in the first company of missionaries to Hawaii in 1820. He left Honolulu in August, 1840, and did not return. He wrote this letter in native and in English.
6 Kekuanaoa was not of high rank among the Chiefs but was a man of exceptional ability. He was Governor of Oahu; father of Kamehameha IV and V.
6 Middlebury College, Vt.
5. J. Turrill to His Excellency James K. Polk (Private) Honolulu Aug 28th 1847

DEAR SIR, I mentioned to you in my letter having date the last of May that Ladd & Co had abandoned their proceedings before the Arbitration—That the Minister of Foreign Relations had returned to Mr. Ten Eyck the draft of the Treaty together with his objections to the same, &c &c. The case of Ladd & Co may now be considered as virtually at an end. It can hereafter create little or no excitement in this community. The Minister & Commissioner have disagreed as to the terms of the Treaty and the proposed Treaty together with the objections to the same has been returned I understand to the Secretary of State at Washington. I have heretofore expressed my opinion in relation to a Treaty with this Government and experience confirms me in that opinion.

I think it would be decidedly wrong to ask more than was demanded by France and England. We should deal more liberally with this people than did those Powers, leaving the Courts untouched, the tenure of real estate & the discharge of seamen should also in my judgment be left entirely to the operation of local laws. We have now a stronger hold upon the people and Government than can possibly be obtained by the most skillful diplomacy; then why fritter away the power we now have by an attempt at treaty legislation?

I know not what representations may have been made to you in relation to matters here, but whatever they may be, I can assure you that the U.S. has no reason to complain of the position of affairs, so far at least as the policy, views, & acts of the Government are concerned for in no other country except the U.S. are the interests of American citizens more cared for or better protected. With the people and Government American influence is in the ascendant so much so as to excite the jealousy of England.

Commodore Stockton took a correct view of things, and much good resulted from his visit to this place.

Commodore Biddle threw himself into the arms of those engaged in assailing the King & his Government. From them he received his impressions & his course created hopes & expectations which confirmed their opposition & excited them to renewed exertions.

He was induced among other things to advise Mr Ten Eyck to engage counsel against the King in the existing case of Ladd & Co when it must have been apparent to the most careless observer that by so doing he would sacrifice his influence with the Government by being himself immediately in collision with the King & his Ministers.

But notwithstanding the evils resulting from this course proposed by the Commissioner & Commodore Biddle, things have been constantly improving and I think they are in every important particular in a much better state than they were a year ago.

Soon after taking charge of my office I directed my efforts to the removal of port charges on vessels engaged in the whale fisheries, and as you will see by the

7 Turrill had known Polk while both were Congressmen.
8 Wm Ladd & Co's sugar plantation at Koloa, Kauai, was bought up by the Haw'n Govt. at a sheriff's sale in 1845. The controversy divided the community and reappeared as late as the present century. Ten Eyck acted as counsel for Ladd & Co. in the arbitration.
papers which I send these efforts have been crowned with complete success, this is now a free port for vessels, thus employed. This change in the local regulations will save to each whale ship entering this Port upon an average $53.

The U.S.S. Cyane—Capt Du Pont has been here about 4 weeks, & will probably remain a week longer. His appearance at this Port when the whaling fleet was beginning to come in has been of great service. And the intelligent, impartial straight forward course taken by the Commander will do much toward quieting matters here. Capt D. as you will recollect, came out in the Congress. As an officer & Gentleman he stands deservedly high. Should the Mexican war terminate soon, he may be in Washington within a year. He would give you much interesting information in relation to these Islands.

Since landing in the Islands I have sent various letters to the U.S. some of them more than fourteen months since. Yet I have not rec’d an answer to any one of them. If we had a steamer running from Panama to these Islands via California, we should have all U.S. mails regularly in much less time. Yours Truly

Honolulu Sept 3d 1847

6. J. Turrill to Commodore W. B. Shubrick, Pacific Squadron.

DEAR SIR, The Cyane is to sail for the coast tomorrow, touching a few days at Lahaina. Her arrival at these Islands was most opportune. The intelligent and independent course taken by Capt Du Pont has been productive of much good and I regret that he cannot remain a month or two longer. It is certainly desirable and I might add almost necessary (that) [sic] to have one of our men of war (should be) here during a portion of the year, particularly when our whale ships are at the Islands.

Such a vessel under the command of a skillful and discreet officer could do much to promote American interests, and strengthen our friendly relations with this Government. I am aware of the difficulty of sparing a vessel from the fleet in case the war continues. Still I hope you will find it compatible with your operations on the coast to do so, if but for a short period.

Since the settlement of the Oregon question and the acquisition of California, it has became a matter of great importance, that these Islands, not only remain independent but that relations of the most friendly character, (should) exist between them and the United States.

During Capt. Du Pont's stay here, he has been an attentive and close observer of passing events. From him you can obtain all the information in relation to the situation of affairs here which is either interesting or useful and much more than I could communicate in a letter were I to make the attempt.

Some of the whale ships have already arrived and I expect to see, in the course of six or eight weeks the harbor full of vessels. Thus far the news from the fleet is favorable—fewer disasters and better success in taking oil than last year. I have the honor to be with sentiments of high regard Your obt Svt

P.S. I intended to have suggested the propriety of having some of our men of war touch here on their way to the U.S. (from the Coast). I hope that it will be so that Capt Du Pont can visit the Islands again before he returns to the U.S.
7. Samuel C. Damon to Joel Turrill  Honolulu, April '50

DEAR SIR, I would gratefully acknowledge a donation of thirty six ($36.00) dollars for the benefit of the Chaplaincy.

May the smiles of a kind providence, rest upon you and yours as you embark with your family for your native land. We shall often think of your family with much interest, and shall hope to hear of your safe arrival in the U.S. To this end I shall pray that the winds and waves may bear you prosperously forward, Yours Respectfully & truly

8. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill [Honolulu, April 1850]

Some of the Chiefs will call on you tomorrow.

The Chamberlain has the King's orders to invite you Mrs Turrill and your children to a quiet & friendly breakfast with His Majesty, on Saturday at 9 A.M. [April 21, 1850].

If you leave on Saturday, perhaps you could arrange to go straight from the Palace. You will be well escorted. Yours ever,

Ewa April 26 /50


MY DEAR SIR, I enclose you two letters which I am happy to commit to your charge on your return to the U.S. which you will be so good as to deliver, one to my father & the other to the Post Office on your arrival.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing both you and Mrs T. before your departure. But this will depend upon the previous arrival of the Charles, unless some errand of another kind shall call me to town soon.

But if I do not see you again, please accept this as my expression of our best wishes & prayers for your prosperity & that of all your family. Owing to the distance of my residence from town, I have been unable to call on you as often as I would have wished during your sojourn here, but be assured it was not from any indifference on my part. And now as you are about to leave us perhaps forever, I must say, we all feel regret at the loss of your society among us. You are first among the foreign representatives of our country who have ever manifested a uniform friendly interest towards the government & nation as well as towards the Christian Mission on these Islands.

Damon was Seamen's Bethel chaplain; editor of The Friend, a periodical for Seamen. Nearly everyone praised him. Turrill's successor tried to get the U.S. Dept. of State in 1853 to allow Damon $150 a year for comforting the sick and burying the dead from the American hospital for disabled seamen. The hospital was one of the perquisites of the Consulate.

No salutation or date. Merely a scrap of paper in Wyllie's handwriting. Robert Crichton Wyllie born in Scotland; merchant, physician, who for twenty years (1845-1865) served Hawaii as minister of Foreign Affairs.

The breakfast was held as scheduled. The Queen in her carriage then took Mrs. Turrill and children to the wharf where they immediately boarded the Hawaiian Schooner Starling for S.F.

Artemas Bishop (1795-1872) of Pompey, New York, came to Hawaii in 1823 with the second company of missionaries. Previously stationed at Kailua on Hawaii, he had gone to Ewa in 1836.

Arrived five days too late for Turrill but C. R. Bishop, as Turrill's agent, forwarded all letters around Cape Horn.
Be assured, Sir, we are not insensible to this fact, and we hope to cherish the remembrance of it.

Mrs B. also desires to give her salutations to you & your excellent lady, but still hopes to see you both before you leave us. I am, dear Sir Yours truly

10. Charles R. Bishop 14 to J. Turrill

Honolulu June 4th, 1850

MY DEAR SIR,

I owe you an apology for so long neglecting to write you, and my excuse is that for several weeks past I have been unusually busy. We have had from twenty to twenty five foreign merchant vessels in Port ever since you left, and they are constantly arriving and departing. The trade and business of Honolulu is increasing rapidly.

The "Charles" arrived on the 8th ultimo, and the "Eliza Warwick" on the 29th. Doct Lathrop 15 took the small box which came in the Charles for you. We have not yet heard of your arrival at San Francisco; and we fear that you had a very tedious and uncomfortable passage over. You will have heard of the appointment of Mr. Severance 16 as Commissioner and Mr. Bunker as Consul for Lahaina. Both appointments worse than unnecessary. I hope you will enlighten the powers at Washington in reference to our wants and situation. You will have heard also of the appointment if [sic] Dillon as Consul for San Francisco and Perrin (the man who negotiated the treaty of March 1846) for these Islands. Bad omenes [sic] these? I suppose Judge Lee will give you whatever political news there may be.

I have recd. on acct. of your things sold at auction before you left, and for a few little articles sold since, the sum of two hundred forty four and 83/100 ($244.83). I had the house and yard cleaned, and have had talk with several persons about renting it, but no one has yet taken it. I have not offered to let it for anything less than $500. per annum, and shall not unless I am instructed to do so by yourself. Probably it will let for that by and bye, if not immediately. I think Mr. Allen will be obliged to keep house before long, and I do not know of any other place he can get. Mr. Severance will want a house also, I hear that he will come around Cape Horn.

Mr. Allen gets on very well so far, and seems to give pretty general satisfaction. The people have a little sympathy for him on account of his being deprived of the Lahaina part of the Consulate.

Mr. Hubbard is at Lahaina. He has not paid anything on his debt.

Please give my love to Mrs Turrill and the children and tell her that the grass and trees in the yard are looking finely owing to the frequent showers this season. Tell her also that I would write to her, but that I am to be married this evening at Mr. Cooke's. 17 and have a thousand and one things to do today. I hope to

14 Charles Reed Bishop arrived in Honolulu Oct. 12, 1846, and at one time was Turrill's clerk. For a few years after March 1849 he was Collector General of Customs. A success in business and banking, his fortune helped endow the Bishop Museum.

15 George A. Lathrop was Turrill's brother-in-law.

16 Luther Severance (1797-1855) printer, editor, Whig Congressman from Maine (1843-1848). First U.S. Commissioner (1850-Dec. 1853) to win love and respect of Haw'n Govt. and people.

17 To the High Chiefess Bernice Pauahi, heiress of the Kamehamehas, whose fortune now supports the Kamehameha Schools in Honolulu.
leave in a day or two for Kauai to spend three weeks. All well. With much respect

I remain Sir In great haste Your obt Servant

P.S. I gave Doct. Lathrop several letters which came for you & Mrs T. two of them were from "Lizzie". At least, her initials were on the corners. I have two for you in my possession, which I judge are not very important, and shall therefore send them round the Cape. I have subscribed for Vol 7 of the Polynesian and ordered it to be sent to you at Oswego.

11. William L. Lee\(^{18}\) to Joel Turrill

\textit{Honolulu Dec 29, 1850.}

\textbf{DEAR SIR,} Your welcome letter of 29th Sept. came to hand a few days since and is the first line received from you. I most heartily congratulate you upon your warm reception by the citizens of Oswego. It only verifies the old adage, that, we never know how to value our friends until they are absent, and we trust you will give us an opportunity of adding our testimony to your worth, by one of these days returning to Honolulu.

We are advancing so rapidly in Commerce, Agriculture, and all kinds of business, that you would hardly know us, though you have not been absent a twelvemonth. The law, passed by the last Legislature, allowing aliens to hold lands in fee simple, on certain conditions, has given us an impetus not easily checked. Real Estate has advanced to a high figure, and has not yet reached its height. All of Waikiki Plain has been laid out into lots 100ft x 150ft and sold at auction, at an average price of over $100. per lot. The 5 lots owned by us, I have been offered $500. for, but have thought best not to sell.

It is the opinion of all classes, that the last year has done more for the improvement of the Islands, than any ten years before; and I think you would concur in that opinion if you were here to see our present activity. The prospect for the future seems bright; but there are certain specks in the distant horizon, which, in the opinion of some, forebode a storm. The English have gained on the Americans very rapidly of late, and they quite equal, if not outnumber, us in Honolulu. Again, the English are cutting deeply into American trade. Scarcely a week passes that a vessel does not arrive from Sydney laden with goods for this market. To the surprise of everybody, we have had no emigrants this year from California. Not a dozen have come down here with any intention of remaining, and very few have even come down for a visit.

The French Corvette "Seriose", arrived on the 13th inst. having on board M. Perrin, who is commissioned by the President of France to settle pending difficulties. This armed Negotiator has not yet played his first card, and it is hard to say what will be his game. There is little doubt, however, that he will demand a reduction of the duty on brandy, and exclusive privileges for Catholic Schools. In the event of our noncompliance, he will probably seize Hawaiian Vessels, blockade our port, and, for a while at least, ruin our Commerce & cripple

\(^{18}\) William Little Lee (1821-1857), afflicted with tuberculosis, was on his way, in search of health, to the Oregon Territory with C. R. Bishop in 1846 when they decided to remain in Hawaii. Lee, a trained lawyer, promptly was made a judge. He left a profound impression on the Haw'n legal and judicial system; drafted the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852; and, from 1853 until his death, was the most influential man in Hawaiian affairs.
our Agriculture. I trust the course of the Government will be moderate but firm, adopting that passive resistance, which consists in standing still, and taking what the Gauls may send, with folded arms. You can easily guess what my advice will be to the King.

Unfortunately there exists a breach in our Cabinet. The slumbering fires of the old discord broke out afresh on Judd’s return, and it gives me much pain. The Dr., without much reason, said he would not serve the King with Wyllie as a Colleague, as he could not act with a man in whom he had no confidence. While abroad he got a foolish notion into his head, that he could displace W. and get the King to call on him to form a new Cabinet, a l’Anglaise. I told him he counted without his host, and that any step of the kind would be wrong, and end in his own ruin. Nevertheless, he gave my advice no heed, and told the Cabinet he or Mr Wyllie must resign. The result is, that he has put himself in a fix. He will not resign, and can hardly stay where he is with honor. Just now, all is quiet between them, but the wound will never be healed. Judd is decidedly in the wrong, and I have told him so, but cannot make him see his error. I am sorry to add, that I have felt it my duty to oppose some of the Dr.’s private measures since his return, and I fear it has had the tendency to cool his friendship. I will not pain you with a detail of these measures, unless you specially desire to hear them.

Mr. Allen, your successor, is a very good man, living in peace, and minding his own business, which, I am happy to say, is quite enough to keep one man busy. Mr. Severance, our New Commissioner, is daily expected to arrive in the “Gentoo”, and I have no doubt he will be an accession to our strength.

Gen. Miller is very quiet, being mostly occupied with his little farm down on Waikiki Plains. He has about 25 acres, on which he has built a nice dwelling house, hospital, etc. and here he spends most of his time, in looking after a few cows, and gardening. He has had a long spell of good nature, and is really very agreeable.

Mr. Reynolds, another of your Consular brethren, is in a fit of good temper, and, ceasing to abuse the Government, has turned to tilling the soil. At first he joined Judge Parsons in his Sugar Plantation on Maui, and a few months since sold out his ½ at a clear profit of eight thousand dollars. Now he is joined with Pitman in a Coffee Plantation at Hilo, and with Gilmore in a sugar Plantation at Koloa. Marshall, another of the Craft, has passed over the honors & uniform of Peruvian Consul to Robert G. Davis, and gone to reside at Kauai, having bought out Bishop’s interest in our Sugar Plantation at a profit to B. of $3000. Vida, the Chilian Consul, has lately returned from his wanderings in Manilla, [sic] Guam and parts unknown, and continues his business at the old stand. Anthon, who represents Denmark, is importing goods from China and the U.S. and is heaping up the dollars. Mr. Bunker, the new U.S. Consul at Lahaina, has taken a large slice off Mr. Allen’s loaf, and seems very well contented. Still, it is the general opinion that the receipts of this consulate for the last year have been full as large as from both Honolulu & Lahaina in former times. The increase of Shipping in our Port has been astonishing.

Let us now glance at some of your unofficial acquaintances. And to commence,
let us begin at the King's Place up the Valley. First, comes Old Pelly. He is defunct, and has sailed for England, I hope never to return. He pretended to have been robbed of $40,000.—made an assignment of all his property for the benefit of creditors—and vamosed. Dark transaction this. Next comes Vincent, who has gone home to learn about manufacturing salt. He has made a nice place of his farm up the Valley, and is well to do in the world. Jasper, poor fellow, is nearly dead with an affection of the head. The Dillon House is still desolate, while just across the road you will find our worthy Premier, John Young, who has bought the fine Mansion built by Lewis, and made it his country seat. Cummings is in California, and Madam De Fiennes & her husband are on the wing for the same blessed country. Pop in on the "Laird of Rose Bank" and you will find him in his element, to wit: a world of papers. He is at it now a days from morning till midnight, driving the quill most furiously in settling the preliminaries of a correspondence which is to take place with "Le Chevalier" Perrin, and—be published. Grove Cottage is now tenanted by Mrs. John Paty, and Bates remains in statu quo. He is fitting up an elegant residence just below Dr. Judd's, and opposite the new reservoir. It will be the pleasantest in the Valley. Judge Andrews comes next, and who ever knew him to change? He & his are all well and thriving, with the exception of Lizzie, who is still an invalid. Janion lives in the Johnson Place, and has become greatly mollified in his contempt for Yankees. The Judds are just as pleasant as ever, and are making their place smile with improvements. None of the girls are married; for, you know, Mrs. Judd does not want her daughters to marry before they are 25. However, it is rumored that Nelly is engaged to Howe, the auctioneer, and is to step off on New Years Eve. Not true I guess. Between the two bridges, on the right hand side coming down, you will find Mr. Hall in a neat little place, called "Willow Bank", and along side Mr. Dimond, who is as honest and homely as ever.

Bishop lives in town in a place he has bought adjoining Frenche's lot, and he & Berenice board with Mrs. John Ladd, who occupies Mrs. Hooper's house. Ladd pays Mr. Allen no percentage for the Hospital, & Bishop says, he is making as good as $6000. per annum. He has had 80 in the Hospital for months together. Now he has 40 I am told. I am glad to have him prosper. Wm Ladd is down from the Coast on a visit, & is reputed to be worth some 40 or 50 thousand dollars. His creditors are giving him trouble. Dr. Judd has stripped the house once more, and Mrs. Ladd, poor woman, is now sick in consequence. She saved her egg money and bought nice furniture, and really my heart bleeds for her.

Mr. Damon, good soul, still enjoys a proximity to "Eden", and is just as happy and useful as ever. I suppose you have heard that his neighbor Dr. Lathrop has sold out his professional business, and turned sugar planter. He has leased a land of Paki, in Kaneohe, containing some 2000 acres of choice land, which he has rent free for 5 years, and then he puts his improvements against the land, and gives Paki half profits. He knows what he is about I suppose but I think it unwise in him to leave his present lucrative post. Mrs. Thompson across the way,

19 George Pelly, one of the Hudson Bay Company's agents in Honolulu, openly anti-American.
20 Lee's favorite title for R. C. Wyllie who called his Nuuanu residence "Rosebank."
21 A leading Chief, member of House of Nobles, father of Bernice Pauahi Bishop.
is now left a widow, or what is much the same thing. Fred has sailed for the U.S. probably never to return. Before he left he bought the Marshall Cottage, and the Jarves House near the Theatre, in his wife's name and for her sole and separate use forever, which places her & the children above want. Fred's partner, Howe, is making more money than any man in Honolulu. His income, it is said, will not be less than $25000. this year from the auction business alone. He lives in your house in good style. By the way your premises are in splendid order, filled with new plants which do not interfere with the old ones. You will be interested in hearing of your old Bucephalus. He is owned by Alting, the German Merchant, who makes a very becoming Alexander. The old fellow is as proud and spirited as ever, and, from the glossy condition of his coat, I should say he could not be in better hands. Nell, I have lost the tract of. She was so sad and sulky after you left, that she pined away in silence, and snapped at every one who came near her. She lost all her playfulness, and the Carter Boys, notwithstanding all their kindness, could do nothing with her. Poor thing, she had the affection of a human being, and she often came to your back gate after you left, and whined and cried for Willie by the hour. She is now in the country, the Carter Boys having given her to some friend. Please say to Mrs. Turrill that a band of rowdies from California has degraded her cream colored steed to a common circus horse, and every fine afternoon he parades through our City preceded by black George & his band. Old Amos, God save him, lives with Mrs. Thompson and swears at the Kanakas as hard as ever. I used to wonder how you could ever endure the old wretch—but I suppose he was kind to the children and faithful withal.

Rooke, Robertson & Bates are candidates for our next Legislature. Robertson will probably be elected, and perhaps Rooke, but not Bates. I keep clear of politics. Our most prominent improvement since you left is the new town clock, which is a fine time keeper. It is on the King's Chapel, & next time I have leisure we will go up on the steeple & take a few notes.

Mrs. Lee unites with me in love to you, Mrs Turrill, and all the rest. Yours very Truly,

[P.S.] Please excuse the gossip of this letter; for I thought it might interest Mrs Turrill and Lizzie if not yourself. Pray do all you can for us at Washington.

12. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill  Honolulu Feby 25th, 1851

My dear Sir, Your letter of the 8th Sept was recd. a few days after I had written you a long letter in which I enclosed a bill of exchange and gave you a statement of your business matters &c &c I sent a duplicate of that letter and you have probably recd. them both before this time. Yours of the 10th Novr. and also of the 26th Novr. enclosing one to Mr. Allen were recd. last week, besides one from Mrs. Turrill to Mr. Hubbard, and one from "Lizzie" to my wife, came in the same mail. We have a Post office here now, and the P.M. at San Francisco makes up the mail for this place and sends it forward as soon as possible. You did not say anything about William's health, in your letter but Mr. Hubbard, who arrived from Lahaina yesterday tells me that your going to New York to spend

22 Turrill's horse, named for the war horse of Alexander the Great.
23 Lee was correct. Bates was not in the legislature. The others were.
the winter is entirely on account of Wm's health, which I am very sorry to hear. The "Polynesian" and "Friend" have been regularly forwarded, and if you do not receive them it is not the fault of any one in Honolulu. John Dominis is here now, in the employ of Mr Hubertson who has purchased the old stand of Makee Anthon & Co. John did not succeed in disposing of any of your property in Honolulu; I leased your house as I wrote you before, and am fearful that I may not sell it within the first nine months of the lease. Mr Howe is an excellent tenant. He pays the rent promptly,—keeps the house clean and well furnished, and takes good care of the yard and trees. I keep the place advertised for sale, and am holding it at $5,500. I wrote you that I did not feel fully authorized to sell and give a title to the place, but on receiving your letters I have changed my mind. You speak of Mr. Shillaber's house having sold for $22,000. He called it that amot. in a land trade with Branan in California, but it may not turn out to be worth $5000. The House is unoccupied, and will be used next Friday evening as a public Ball Room. Since the sale of the lots on the plains, land trading has been dull, very few of the lots have been improved. Unimproved sugar-lands are selling at from $5. to $10. per acre. I have tried to buy out the native who owns a small place in the border of your lots, but in vain. [John G.] Munn has not paid the bale. on his note, and it's doubtful whether he ever will or not. He is now on "a spree". Mr. Hubbard has not paid anything, or promised to. I shall ask him for it, first opportunity. I sent your China Box, and all your trunks &c by Capt. Woodruff of the "Philip 1st" and trust you will receive them soon, safe and sound. Mr. Hanks has gone to the U.S. Perhaps you will see him in N.York. Mr. and Mrs. Damon and their oldest son will leave for the U.S. tomorrow to be gone one year. Miss Mills, that was (now Mrs. Schoolmaster Fuller) and Damon's youngest boy remain in the Chaplaincy. Mr. Boardman with Abell's two children will go with Mr. Damon. Abell is in California making money, and Boardman is acting father mother and nurse to his children. Mr. Ten Eyck has been here about two months, and talks of leaving tomorrow. He has been pretty quiet, tho' he has in his usual mean sly way been exerting an evil influence. My contempt for him is greater than I can express. Mr. Allen, the Consul, is getting on very smoothly. He came in in a good time for him—entirely different from the state of things when you arrived. No one finds any fault with him for charging two dollars for a Clearance Certificate, for owning a vessel, for importing goods, or for any speculations he choses to enter into.34 How wonderfully inconsistent many of our Honolulu people are! Mr. Severance, the Commissioner & family arrived on the 12th Jany. Mr. Allen & Mr. Severance & families, besides my wife and myself are all boarding at John Ladds—at the Hooper place. Mr. S is in poor health. I think he is a prudent, sensible and friendly man, and will do us no harm. His wife is a plain, good, motherly "down east" presbyterian. The U.S. Sloop "Vandalia" is here now, and will probably remain until we have a settlement with the French. Her Commander, Gardner appears very well—very different from Glynn. The French "Corvette" "Sereuse" [sic] has been here two months and is waiting upon the Consul, Perrin who is carrying on a paper war

34 Complaints by American captains, and others, were made to the Fillmore administration during 1852 that Allen's Consular fees were too high.
in a quiet and private way with Mr. Wyllie. I suppose he has come instructed to repeat the demands made by Dillon, and perhaps to enforce them, if they are not yielded (which I hope will not be done). We outsiders who do not know all that’s going on, are waiting anxiously for the ultimatum. Probably all Mr. Wyllie’s arguments (however good and sound) compliments and complaints will avail us nothing. He has been unwell for several months and is now half deranged with hard work and excitement. He and Judd and Bates are at sword’s points, so that they are no help to him, or the government either. I notice that Armstrong is a good deal frightened and discouraged. Mr Lee is on Kauai. He has been absent three weeks attending court, and attending to the landing the mill and buildings for the plantation. We are looking anxiously for his return. I do not think that we shall ever be secure or that we shall ever enjoy our rights in peace until the protecting hand of some strong power extended to us and who that power should be, it is unnecessary for me to state. I hope you will keep the eyes of those who have influence and authority in the U.S. turned toward us. We have had quite an immigration from the British Colonies during the last year, still the Americans are much the strongest nearly all the good plantations are in the hands of Americans. Mr. Marshall and family are living on the plantation at Nawiliwili. The plantation will cost nearly $80,000. before any returns will be received from it, but it will be a splendid and productive place. Capt. [Carter?] has built a new house on the Ricker place adjoining the Theatre, which has cost altogether $10,000. He moved into it to-day. Mrs. Thompson owns the old Jarves place, and will move into it next week in order to let her other place to Mr. Allen for $700. per annum. Honolulu is improving quite rapidly, tho business is quite dull just now. San Francisco and Honolulu are greatly overstocked with nearly all kinds of goods.

I am glad to hear that you have made such an excellent purchase of land in Oswego.

You will please excuse me for sending you such a horrid letter, as I am much pressed with business, and have no time to write more at present. I will try to write you again soon, also Mrs. Turrill. Bernice has written Elizabeth to-day. All well, remember me with much love to all your family & believe me Truly & Respectfully Yours &c

13. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

Honolulu April 29th, 1851

MY DEAR SIR, It is not long since I wrote you, but as I have a good opportunity to send letters to San Francisco, and as I am somewhat in your debt on letter account, I will improve my leisure time this evening by writing you a few lines. I have scolded Judge Lee on your account (an agents privilege?) for not writing you more frequently. He tells me that he has written you recently, and I suppose he has given you all the news, political, local &c &c, which, together with what you will get by the “Polynesian”, leaves me rather a poor chance. When I recd. your last letter the French Corvette “Siereuse” [sic] was here, and the French Commissioner was engaged in corresponding with Mr. Wyllie and threatening to make us serious trouble unless we should yield what France demanded. You will learn by the Polynesian (which I hope you receive regularly)
and by Judge Lee's letter that the Corvette has gone—that the Govt. has yielded nothing—that the French have gained nothing but disgrace and contempt, which is not new, and that we now have another breathing spell at least. The French Commissioner (Mons. Perrin) is very unpopular with his own countrymen, (as well as with Hawaiians &c) and especially so with the Catholics. They do [not] like him because he did not persist in and enforce their demands and it is reported (privately) that he will leave soon for Paris in order to meet charges which have been made and sent on against him by the Catholics & Frenchmen. The U.S. Sloop "Vandalia" Capt. Gardner, remained here until after the Corvette left, and then sailed for Panama with Mr. Allen the U.S. Consul on board, bound to Washington as bearer of dispatches &c &c from Mr. Severance. Mr. A will return in the fall. Probably you will see him, at least I hope so. His principal object in going to the U.S. is to draw the attention of the Govt. to American interests to these Islands, and to secure the protection of the U.S. for the Hawaiian Govt.

We prefer to be allowed to govern ourselves, (which is undoubtedly for the interest of the nation) if we can be protected in doing what is right, or left alone. But we prefer annexation, to being ruled by Frenchmen and Catholics, or to being annoyed, interrupted and threatened as we have been. I know that you will very willingly give your aid and influence (which is not small) in securing to your countrymen and to Hawaiians the protection of the U.S. Govt.

Business is dull here as well as in San Francisco. The town is full of goods, and more are expected to arrive soon—money is very scarce. Some of the Merchants and business-men are borrowing money at two and three per cent per month. There is considerable building going on, tho' it must be discontinued soon unless business revives, and money becomes easier. No sale for real-estate at present except for stores and shops. I have kept your House advertised all the time, and have tried hard to sell it before the first nine months of the Lease shall expire, but I fear I shall be unable to dispose of it at a fair price. I have held it at $5500. intending to sell for anything over $5000. and have offered to give time for the payment of a part. I have been fortunate in getting good tenants. Messrs Howe Cartwright & others take excellent care of the house, trees &c &c. They have lately expended about $50. in whitewashing &c &c. Mr. Cartwright is expecting his family by & bye, and unless I succeed in selling before the 9th of next month he will occupy the house until the expiration of the two years. The rats have injured the house considerably—but [t] has not been injured or neglected by the occupants. There is no use in offering any of your unoccupied lots for sale at present. Shillaber's place is unoccupied, except one bedroom used by Mr. Everett. The sale of that place, as I told you before was a barter trade.

We are pleased with the U.S. Commissioner, and Consul—they have thus far behaved like prudent and sensible men. Genl. Miller has built upon and is improving his little farm on the plains. He continues to growl a good deal, but is less rabid than he used to be. He is dreadfully jealous of Amn. influence, and opposed to annexation or anything approaching to it. He is also a good deal annoyed by Sydney emigrants who are settling here more plentifully than we wish for. We are expecting some propellors or steamers here soon from S.Francisco and will be very happy to see them. These Islands are bound to prosper, and become very important into whosever hands they may fall. I wonder that more men
of capital do not come here and engage in planting cane. The Sugar lands will soon all be taken up and will increase very much in value. None but those who have considerable capital can commence and carry on a plantation profitably and pleasantly. [J.T.] Gower and [L.L.] Torbert, two as enterprising, industrious, & persevering men as can be found, are now, not withstanding the high prices which their produce has commanded during the last two or three years, a good deal in debt. Peirce & Co. will expend at least $65,000. before they will receive any returns—but it will in the end prove an excellent investment. Bates, Hall, Dimond, Holt, Sumner, Hackfeld and R.A.S.Wood are each building good dwelling houses.

Your Box from China came in the "Flavius", Makee Anthon and Cos. Ship. She arrived June 29th and sailed July 3d for San Francisco. I think it was the day before she sailed, that I was informed you had a box on board, and that unless it was landed immediately it would go to S.F. and probably be sold for freight. I went to Mr. Anthon (supercargo) and enquired for letters, invoices or bills of lading for you, and was informed that he had had a letter for you but it was mislaid and he could not find it. I gave a permit for the box to be landed without entry and about a week afterwards I recd. the letter containing the bill and bill of lading, and made the proper entry. Perhaps the letter was retained purposely, thinking that the box would not be landed with due entry and permit, and perhaps not.

I am sorry to hear that William is still subject to his ill turns. I hope he is better than when you left. You and your family are often mentioned and enquired after by your friends. Mr. Ladd's family are all well. We find it very pleasant boarding with them. They and Bernice send much love to you and your family, in which I cordially join. Two mails have lately arrived and I have received nothing from you. Jasper died day before yesterday. The King and Chiefs have you in kind remembrance, and class you among their best friends.

All well. Respectfull & faithfully Yours &c &c

[P.S.] When you are in New York if you will have my "Herrald" stopt and pay whatever arrearages there may be, and subscribe for the "Tribune for the Pacific" and pay a year in advance, and send me notice of the amot. paid I will remit the amot. and be much obliged. I sent all your things by the "Philip 1st.," Capt. Woodruff, and make no doubt that they have been safely delivered to you, Woodruff is an honest, & sensible gentleman.

14. William L. Lee to J. Turrill

Honolulu June 1, 1851

My dear Judge, I'm on the sick list today, confined to my room with swelled Tonsils, and have determined to improve my leisure by writing letters. Honolulu, notwithstanding her overstocked market, is rapidly advancing to a very respectable City. Real Estate is rising in value, and your property will soon be worth a snug little fortune. Do you desire to sell the water lot you bought of me just before you left? If so, what do you ask? Will you take five thousand dollars for your bargain? Lots on the Plains remain firm at from $100. to $120. I still hold on to those we own; and Bishop and I have bought 27. acres, about ½ a mile this side of Punahou, with the privilege of water from the mountain
Stream. We bought it of Governor Kekuanaoa, and paid him $2000. Lands adapted to the cultivation of Sugar Cane, coffee, potatoes, etc, are daily increasing in value, and the recent reaction in the price of sugar & other products, has not seemed to affect the prosperity of the Islands. Planting only needs capital and careful watching, to make it very profitable.

I have drawn up a Bill providing for the removal of the old Fort, and the filling in of the reef from Robinson's Point to the mouth of the Harbor. This will be carried, I think, by the present Legislature, and give Honolulu a great and very valuable extent of new wharfage. I have presented another Bill providing for the sale of the Fort Lands in Honolulu and vicinity, at public Auction.

The Legislature now in Session is a peaceable, quiet, hard working body, which I trust will pass a few useful laws, and then adjourn. Contrary to our expectations the Catholic Representatives have borne themselves in a very commendable way, without clamor or show of battle. One subject under consideration is the question submitted to us by the King, as to the propriety of reducing the duty on Brandy etc. The Chamber of Commerce in Honolulu have strongly recommended such reduction, on the ground that it would prevent smuggling, etc. But they have failed to convince the Legislature with their reasons, and there is no probability of its acceding to any wish on demand of France.

Perrin (thank God) has returned to Paris for fresh instructions, once more leaving us to work out our own salvation. He has made an ass of himself in his late intercourse with this Government, and though he expects to return here, yet the probability is, that for the future, France will keep him at home, to bray in his own native land.

General Miller is very quiet and good natured in these days; but evidently keenly sensitive on the subject of annexation. I dined with him on the Queen's birthday, about a week since, when he took occasion to toast me as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, with a long speech on the distinguished merits of your humble servant. I made no reply, for really, I was too much surprised at such language from such a source, to know how to answer it.

Mr. Allen has gone home for the purpose of waking up Uncle Sam to the importance of spreading over us the wing of protection. He goes on his own account, and has not the least connection with this Government. I hope you may meet him, as he will be able to give you much interesting information, that cannot be committed to paper.26

Mr. Severance remains here, living up the valley in the old De Fienne's house. He is just the man we want—humble, but able, firm, and sincere. He, and all of his family are entirely free from all fustian, gas, or humbug; and their influence in our community is a healthy one.

Judd & Wyllie have apparently forgotten their differences, in the late troubles with France; and the Dr. has never been heard to repeat his threats about resigning, etc, etc, since the day they were made. Just as I prophesied, his big guns have sent forth nothing but smoke. He never intended to resign.

26 Allen's trip, however, was apparently instigated by Lee, Severance and others because he was familiar with local conditions, was locally popular and knew Secretary of State Daniel Webster.
The English Emigrants from Sydney are gaining on the Americans very rapidly in the Sandwich Islands; and I wish you would send us a few worthy emigrants from the United States. You know the advantages here for young men of worth.

The great Chiefess Kekauluohi, vulgarly known as "The Jack of Clubs", died to day, and the wailing is terrific. She outranked all except the King.

Bishop and others, I suppose, keep you advised of the notable occurrences of our City; but you will pardon me, for giving you the whereabouts and keeping of the Patriarch Amos, and your venerable horse. The former dwells in the cook house of Mrs. Thompson as its presiding genius, and every evening about sunset may be found on the corner opposite the Theatre, laying down the Law and Gospel, with variations on the virtues of the Kanakas, to a throng of listeners from the adjoining Hospital. The latter has grown fat and sleek in his old age, and was sold a few days since to a German Doctor, of the name of Hillebrand, for $75. Dr. Lathrop and family, as well as your other friends in Honolulu are all well. Remember me kindly to Mrs T., Lizzie, & the children, & believe me Yours truly,

[P.S.] Mrs. Lee intends writing to Mrs Turrill by this opportunity and will probably give her all the news of the day.

15. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill
City of Honolulu 22 August 1851

MY DEAR FRIEND, On the 27th May I received your welcome letter of 26 March from New York. The perusal afforded immense pleasure to me as well as to the King and Chiefs, the officers of Government and others of your numerous friends here.

On the 20th April, I sent you half sheets, Nos. 7, 8 & 9 of my printed correspondence with M Perrin. I now address to you herewith a copy complete. In my defence of a powerless King, I have felt feverishly anxious to make His rights appear and to deprive France of the excuse of continued injustice—that she erred in ignorance. This is the true secret of my volume in the correspondence with M Dillon and M Perrin. I have not been writing-mad, but fearful lest by a want of timely explanation, I should endanger the King’s safety. My view has always been & still is, that if the French once took possession of these Islands under any plausible pretence, they would keep them forever, because neither England or the U.S. in these pressing days of economy would go to war to eject them.

Mr. & Mrs. Lathrop & Frank are well, also Mr Hubbard. Mr. Severance and Mr. Allen (now in the States) follow your example and like you, are much beloved.

With kind Compts to Mrs. Turrill, Miss Turrill, Miss Mary, William & Frederick & best wishes to you & them all, I remain ever, MY dear Friend, Yours truly,
P.S. Your friend Lee now takes the lead in all Reforms. He is & deserves to be the most popular man in the government.

16. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill
Honolulu Oct 9, 1851

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 12th July was recd. a few days ago for which you will please accept my thanks. I conclude that you are all well, tho’ you do
not say so; and, that you must be enjoying yourself much, with your family
about you, and in managing your farm in your favorite City of Oswego. As you
are a good deal of an agriculturist, and take an interest in everything connected
with this semi-American country, I shall send you a copy of the Transactions of
the R.H. Agricultural Society, as soon as it is published, which will show you that
we talk considerable, and act some, tho' it is awfully hard times for planters and
all other agriculturists just now. Judge Lee has been absent about six weeks,
and will be, about six weeks longer, on Hawaii attending courts and land busi-
ness. He is very much employed, still he should take time to write you occasionally,
and I shall tell him so. I have heard him speake of writing to you several times;
and think that some of his letters must have miscarried. Mrs. Lee is on Kauai,
visiting the Marshalls at Nawiliwili, and Mrs. Dr. Wood and others at Koloa.
They are very well. I am glad that you receive the Polynesian regularly. It is
the only paper published on the islands now, except the native paper, the "Elele".
Things have changed wonderfully within the last four or five years, and even
within the last year. There is no quarrelling with government, and abusing of
Consuls &c now. Things that would have been trumpeted abroad as infamous,
and almost turned "Punch Bowl" over onto our heads, now pass unnoticed, al-
most. Intemperance, and the despicable French are our greatest foes at present,
and the former I fear will do us much the most harm. The French's fangs are
considerably broken I think, and may be drawn altogether, by Uncle Sam, if they
don't keep quiet. I see by the papers that they are taking some notice at Wash-
ington, and other places of the situation of things here. The discovery of gold in
New Holland has nearly stopd. emigration from the British Colonies to San
Francisco and the islands; and some who had left are returning, still we have more
of them left with us than is desirable. Genl. Miller despises California and Sidney,
and is dreadfully annoyed by the people from the latter place. The old man seems
to want to be quiet, and enjoy his money. His "Little Brittain" (farm) is his
hobby now. I heard this evening that the "Dover's" men who were sent home
for trial, got clear (of course?). I believe the witnesses ran away at some port
where the ship touched on her way home. The Whaler's have had a dreadful time
in the Arctic this season. We have heard of the loss of about a dozen. Most of
them are holding on yet, only about twenty five having arrived at this port this
fall, and those very poor, generally. I have not heard anything about exchange
this fall, but I shall purchase you a small bill next month. I receive the rent for
the house regularly, and that is all that I have reed. I cannot get that small balance
from John Munn. He gets drunk often, and keeps so a long time, and is very
poor. He promised fairly and begged hard, and was appointed clerk of the mar-
ket, on a salary of $1000. but he soon got on a spree, and was discharged of
course. Hubbard has not paid a cent, and says he cannot, and that he has written
you to that effect. He told me that he had intended to go to Oswego but had
been disappointed in California speculations &c &c. and could hardly raise the
means to get home. I think you will have to put that note on the debtor side of
Profit & Loss. Some of our planters and merchants are in trouble these hard times,
as people should expect to be who undertake to do a large business without
experience or capital. Doct. Wood, Peirce & Co. and Mr. Reynolds, will go
through without difficulty; and I hope Torbert will, tho he is very much in debt,
and has had to get an extension of time from his creditors. Gower has failed, and made an assignment. Several of the Chinese merchants have failed. G.F. Hubertson an Englishman from China, came here, purchased Makee & Co's store, and a good deal of other property, raised a great smell, fought the Govt. and everybody connected with it; and threatened to establish an opposition press, has failed for a large amount. Vida owed ten times as much as he was worth, (I think). His affairs will have to be settled up now. You will see the acct. of his sudden death, in the Polynesian. It was much hastened, if not caused, by intemperance. Crabb made use of the money rec'd. by him on a/c of the estate of Waldo & Co., and does not account for some $5000. of it. He and Spalding have dissolved, and he has a family on his hands, to support, and has neither business, money, health or character (that is, good character, in the view of respectable men). James Young, the Govr. of Maui, died last week; and has no successor appointed, yet. Lot is sick, some say with consumption [sic]. The King is poorly. He drinks a great deal, and, it is a wonder that he is living. His example, and, that of the young chiefs is having a very bad effect upon the natives, generally, and it is astonishing, considering their power and influence, that the affairs of govt. go on so orderly and sensibly as they do. Lee and Armstrong are the main pillars in the foreign part of the council, that is, they are the most disinterested, responsible, and capable. John Ii, Paki, John Young and the Govr. are about the only ones among the chiefs, worth mentioning and they are in a trying situation. Doct. Lathrop is working on the plantation in Kaneohi. He has planted considerable cane, and is now building a house on the plantation for his family. I think he has made a great mistake in giving up his profession, a sure, tho' not speedy fortune, for a business that will make him a great deal of hard work and trouble. I dont know how much capital he can command, but I know that he will need a small fortune to accomplish what he has undertaken. He leased the land from Paki, and there is a misunderstanding between them, which was left to Dr. Judd, Dr. Wood, and Janion to settle, but the Dr. refuses to abide by their decision. He has lost the confidence of Paki, and I think of the chiefs generally, and some influential foreigners. I confess that I feel an interest in the matter, and perhaps have not as much charity for him as I ought to have. Pelley's place in town was sold at auction a few days ago, for $4300. a fee simple title. McTavish was the purchaser. I think it would have been better for you to have allowed me to sell your dwelling house for anything over $4000, because if I could have sold it for $4000. only, and been authorized to loan the money, on bond and mortgage, I could have done so at three or four per cent per month—which would have been equal to two or three times the rent. Buildings and fences soon get out of repair, and to put them in repair again is very expensive here. It is hardly possible to sell property for cash now. Goods are sacrificed at auction every week. Before the first nine months of the lease of the house expired, I tried hard to sell it, but could not effect it. I then took the notice from the paper. Howe is a good tenant. We are still boarding with Mr. John Ladd. He has made a nice house of the old one where he used to live before he went to the U.S. He has about a hundred men in the Hospital now. Mrs Bishop sends love to you all, and says that she will write to Lizzie soon. Please remember me with great kindness to all your family and believe me My dear Sir, Your friend & obt. Servant,
MY DEAR JUDGE, Your last letter was received some months since, and for the want of a better apology, I must ask you to charge my long silence, partly to my better half, who has been promising to join me in a family letter to you, Mrs. Turrill, & Lizzie, and partly, to pressing business.

I left home some seven weeks since for an official tour round Hawaii, and here I am, at the end of my journey, wiser and better I hope, for what I have seen and heard. I have had a thorough insight into the character of the Hawaiians, sleeping in their huts—eating from their calabashes,—listening to their grievances—redressing their wrongs, and settling their quarrels. Certainly they are a kind and peaceable people, with a superabundance of generous hospitality; but with all their good traits, they lack the elements necessary to perpetuate their existence. Living without exertion, & contented with enough to eat & drink, they give themselves no care for the future, and mope away life, without spirit, ambition, or hope. Now & then we meet an enterprising native, climbing up in the world, and I feel like crying bravo! my good fellow! bravo! but the mass of the people, where are they? I consider the doom of this nation as sealed, though I will labor on without ceasing, hoping for the blessing of heaven to bring some change. I am just now engaged in revising the Constitution, and I trust I shall have wisdom given me to frame it in such a manner, as to secure to the people of these islands for all time to come, the blessings of liberty and justice. I intend to abridge the powers of the Governors & of the Privy Council; to increase and make clear the rights & privileges of the Representatives of the people—to define & limit the action of our legislative, executive, & judicial officers; and, if possible, give the Nobles & Representatives a voice in selecting the heir to the crown. Mr. Wyllie on behalf of the King, and John Ii on the part of the Nobles, are my associates in this important labor.

I promised to give you a short chapter on politics in each of my letters, & I wish I knew something interesting in the story of our little State to relate. But, as you well know, our political sea is nothing more than a little mill pond, and shallow at that, sending to the shore but a noiseless ripple, unlike the loud surge of the mighty waters of England, France, & the United States. However, you may not be disinclined to hear of little things, of which you have some previous knowledge. The old quarrel between Wyllie & Judd still continues to destroy the Cabinet, and, like all persons in similar circumstances, neither will be satisfied, until an open rupture settles the question of who wields the keenest sword. Judd has a great advantage in his knowledge of the native language, & is bold and cunning, but in mind and heart, in all that is generous, liberal, & manly, Wyllie is far his superior. I take sides with neither, though I like Wyllie best; but endeavor to pursue a straightforward, independent course, such as shall satisfy my own conscience. Ever since Judd came home he has been uneasy and dissatisfied. His arbitrary temper, his wounded pride, his hate of all rivals, his solicitude to promote his relatives, and his ambition to preside over the department of the Interior, all conspire to render his position grievous to himself and his friends. The King, the Chiefs, Armstrong, & Young, are all as you left them, on the best of terms with each other & the nation. Your old friend, Governor James Young,
I am sorry to say, lies at the point of death with the dropsy, & there is no hope of his recovery. Lot is the marked victim of consumption, and Alexander gives no promise of long life. On the other hand, Paki is growing stouter, Ii stronger, and the old Governor, though somewhat more grey, maintains his health & spirits unbroken. It is evident that the old chiefs are stronger in body, mind, and morals, than their children will ever be, and when they are swept away the pillars of the nation will have fallen.

I am happy in being able to renew my expressions of esteem & confidence for the Officers of the U.S. near this Govt. Severance wears like iron; and what he is at home you find in public, the same consistent well wisher of his country and this people, in all things conforming his actions to his principles. Mr. Allen is a different man in his ways, cautious and undecided, but a sound lover of peace, order and good government. Neither of these gentlemen are to be led by the nose like some others, or seduced from the line of their duty to gratify petty spite.

The present is a time of great business distress at the islands, owing to the sudden collapse of speculations in California, and the loose manner of conducting our trade. Torbert and Gower have both gone by the board, or what is the same thing, placed their affairs in the hands of their creditors. Swinton & others are bankrupt. Vida has died leaving his creditors deficient, and who is to follow in the general crash that seems impending, I cannot say. Still, with all this depression, real estate is held at old prices. Desiring a kind remembrance to Mrs Turrill and Lizzie, I remain Very hastily but truly Yours

[P.S.] The Ladds, the Judds, the Andrews, the Dudoits, & your other friends are well and remain in statu quo. Old Amos is still master of ceremonies at Mrs. Thompson's. Nell lives with the Brown's at Kauai, and your old Bucephalus jogs on with the German Doctor. From the state of his flesh, I imagine he gives him more medicine than food. Probably he feeds him on the homeopathic system. Bishop & Berenice make a happy and useful couple, and are every day growing in the esteem of their friends. Do you wish the money that Bishop & I owe you, when it becomes due, or shall the note run on? Our plantation is flourishing, & will prove, I trust, a fine investment.

18. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill Honolulu Decr. 16th 1851.

My dear Sir, Enclosed you will please receive the "Second" of a Sett of Exchange drawn by John P. Carr Master of Ship "Adeline" at ten days sight for ($324.28) three hundred twenty four & 28/100 dollars on Messrs J. Howland Jr. & Co.

I sent you the First about a month ago. Four percent premium was the best rate at which I could get it, and as I was not authorized to loan the money, I thought it best to purchase the exchange even at that very low rate, and send it to you. The whaling fleet has been very small this year, and most of the ships have done poorly. Some ten or twelve have been lost in the Arctic. Those that have been here have traded and drawn as little as possible. Some money was sent from California to invest in exchange, which helped to reduce the rate.

Times are dreadfully hard,—no sale for our produce,—overflowing with goods—money scarce and interest high.
About a month ago Samuel Brannan (the Mormon leader, that used to be) Christopher Lilly (the prize fighter) and about thirty others of the restless spirits and “sporting-gentry” of San Francisco came to Honolulu, hoping I think to have an opportunity to attempt, or to assist in a revolutionary enterprise. About the time that they left San Francisco a vessel was purchased, armed, and a considerable number of rowdies &/or “Phillibusters”, engaged to come in her. But they failed to get the desired number, and found also that the govt. at S.F. were looking out for them, and the expedition was therefore abandoned. The “Vigilence Committee” at S.F. have made it a rather dangerouse [sic] place for rogues, and they had got an idea that the Islands were to be annexed to the U.S. immediately. Brannan owns the Shillaber house, and has purchased some other lands here. He is reputed to be very rich. Today he, and about twenty of his party have taken passage for S.F. having found this place to [sic] slow and steady for them.

The “Vandalia” Capt. Gardner and “Vincennes” Capt. Hudson are here now. The latter Ship and Capt. were here ten years ago you know, in the Exploring Squadron. He is a fine officer, and an excellent man.

Report says that Genl. Miller is to receive from the Peruvian Govt. $90,000. for services rendered in their wars some years ago, and that they are now only waiting for his Power of Attorney, to pay over the money. And it is also reported that he has large claims upon the Chilian Govt. which (Govt.) by the bye is having some very serious trouble now.

Doct. Lathrop has resumed his practice and is to move into town soon. He has been trying I hear, to get some of the Californians to take hold with him in the Plantation, but I think has not succeeded.

Your house is at present occupied by Mr Coady and Capt. Bailey. Mr. Howe is living in the valley and Mr. Cartwright has taken Mrs. Thompson’s house. The rats have done considerable damage around the house. They have undermined the tiles &c. The chimney and oven in the Cook House fell down, and I have paid $20. for repairing it since I made out your account.

Mr. & Mrs. Lee are now boarding with Mr. E O Hall in the valley. They are very well and desired to be kindly remembered. Mrs. Dominis has no boarders except Capt. J.S.B.Knox. Capt. Makee & family will sail in about a week for the U.S. via Cape Horn, to be absent about one year. The U.S.Commissioner (an honest and sensible old gentleman) has taken Makee’s house (the Dillon place in the valley, much improved) during his absence. The Consul with his daughters and son in law are boarding at Mr. Ladds, with us. Paki has been very sick, but is much better now. The King is at Lahaina not well. The Governor & Mr. Ii are very well.

The Gold discoveries in the Australian colonies are drawing the “Britishers” from California and the Islands in large numbers, much to the delight of those who remain.

I have paid H Rhodes (as you will see by the acct. on the next page) twenty dollars for “examining and settling a/cs. of Bark “Globe”. When he presented the bill I hesitated about paying it but he said he had done it at your special request. There is nothing due you from the “Globe”, but rather a small balance against you.
John Munn is almost constantly drunk, and Barker is not much better.

Fred Thompson has returned looking finely. He is now and has been for some six or eight months perfectly sober and promises to remain so.

How is William? Amos is still with Mrs. Thompson, the same odd old chap, amusing everybody in the neighbourhood with his quaint and outlandish speeches. He frequently enquires after you and your family.

(Duplicate of your Acct.)

Joel Turrill Esq.

In a/c current with Chas. R. Bishop

1850

Nov. 20 – To Bale. due as per a/c rendered.......................... $ 88.74
26 – “ paid S.C. Damon for 1 year’s subscription
“Friend”.............................................. 2.00
Dec. 28 – “ for Map Case........................................... .50

1851

Jany 4 – “ Advertising House................................. 2.50
May 24 – “ do – – – – do..................................... 2.00
“ “ – “ “Polynesian” 1 year in advance (Vol. 8)......... 6.00
July 12 – “ H. Rhodes for Examining & Settling a/c
Bark “Globe”........................................... 20.00
Nov. 13 – “ Messrs Coady Cahoon & Co. 1 sett Exchange–
the 2nd of which is enclosed herewith at 4%.. 311.80
“ 15 – “ 5% on $500 for collecting............................... 25.00
“ “ – “ Bale. carried to new a/c................................ 41.46

$500.00

1851 Contra Cr.—

Nov. 15 By Cash from A B Howe for Rent of Dwelling House
and premises in Honolulu from Feb 9 1850 to Feb.
9, 1851...................................................... $500

It has been reported here that you had had a lawsuit with the owners or with
the insurers of the “Connecticut”, and had lost considerable. I heard over $30,000.

Mrs. Bishop sends a great deal of love to your family in which I join most
sincerely and heartily. Please excuse this rough, disjointed, and hasty letter, &
believe me My dear Sir Very Respectfully Yours &c &c

19. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill

Rosebank 3d March 1852

My dearest Sir, I received after some delay, your welcome & interesting letter
of the 18 October last, & Mrs Lee, the other day read me certain parts of a well
written letter from your better half. I am, thus, pretty well posted up, in regard
to you & yours, in whom I take a deep interest. If your letter to the French Admiral was incorrectly printed it was not my fault. I handed in the very copies that you left me. I have not yet had time to hunt up those copies to find out what misprints really occurred. But I shall do so when I have a little breathing time, & if necessary with a copy of your letter as recorded in your archive.

Your successor Mr. Allen has followed in your good paths and as you were & are, is much esteemed. So is the Commissioner and so is Captain Gardner of the U.S.S. Vandalia, who through good and bad report, has been our great Protector during our trials with the French, and our threatenings of invasion from California. I enclose you (sent separately) an extra of the Polynesian of the 27th instant, which will shew you how we feel towards Uncle Sam.

I regret the loss of my good neighbours, your relatives Dr. & Mrs. Lathrop. They have gone to live in town, as he has resumed practice. I am happy to hear, he is doing well.

Your old Clerk, Mr. Bishop continues as Collector General. He is very zealous & efficient, but perhaps, somewhat too tight with the merchants in little matters.

Lee & Mrs. Lee hold their ground, increasing in favor with God & man as they grow older.

Mr. Judd’s Mother & sister arrived safe & sound on the 28th.

It is leap year, the Lord be praised, and I expect heaps of love letters before the 31 December. But I must say they come in rather tardily. I have got none yet, so I comfort myself, with an occasional glimpse at the inimitable letters of Rosalinda Modish [?], and at the rosy cheeked Bride that vaunts herself as my “lost rib.” After all, a state of expectation, is very delightful, although it be true that hope deferred maketh the heart sick.

I have no intelligence of the health of that lazy youth William. I hope fits of laziness are now the only ones that molest him.

Miss Turrill, I suppose has now become one of the Belles of the Empire State, holding in great contempt Hawaii & all the savages, white & brown therein. And as for Mary, I have no doubt she is now setting her cap at some man of Gold for she gave me a hint that I might have a chance of winning her favour, if I would only fill one of my rooms full of that precious metal for her.

I have heard no mention made of my young friend Master Frederick. I hope he is doing well.

With kind compts to Mrs Turrill, and all whom I have named, I remain,

My dear Sir Yours ever truly,

20. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

Honolulu March 20th 1852

My dear Sir, Yours of the 16th Novr. relating partly to the young man (James Barso) who was so outrageously deceived [sic], and shipped on board the “Three Brothers”—was duly recd. I have communicated the facts of the case to Mr. Allen, and sent a copy of your letter to Mr. Bunker and have no doubt that either of them will take pleasure in getting James discharged from the ship, and sent to his parents as soon as possible should the vessel touch at Lahaina or Honolulu. I have expected to hear further from you concerning the “Wherewith” to pay the expenses of detaining him here, and sending him home. You know
that at this season of the year there are no whaleships bound home, and that he cannot go as passenger either via India or Panama without paying several hundred dollars in advance. There is a vessel here now (the "Eliza Thornton") taking freight for home, and we may be able to get James a birth on board of her as "a hand", should he arrive and get discharged within two or three weeks—otherwise I shall, unless I receive some other instructions from you previous to his discharge, pay out of your funds in my hands what may be necessary for his support here until I can find a chance for him to ship for home via one of the Capes.

Mr. Allen, Dr. Lathrop and I have made several efforts to get the necessary certificates from Mr. Hubbard, Doct. Koon, and the Collector at Lahaina to satisfy the officers of the Department at Washington that the six or seven hundred dollars of the Lahaina accts. for the quarter ending March 31st 1850 which were suspended for the want of satisfactory proof of the necessity for keeping several of the men in the Hospital more than three months ought to be allowed, but we are unable to accomplish it. The Collector certifies that the ship "Globe" Capt. Daggett sailed from Lahaina on the 18th of January 1850 for New Bedford. It does not appear that any men were sent in her, so his certificate does not help the matter at all. Doct. Hawkes who had charge of the sick in the Hospital at the date of the "Globe's" sailing left the Islands long since, and went to England I believe. About two months ago Mr. Patterson (Mr. Allen's son-in-law) went to Lahaina, and at Mr. Allen's request called on Doct. Koon to get him to certify to what he knew about the men in question, but Dr. K. positively refused to give him any Cert. Mr. Allen then requested me to draw up a form of certificate such as I thought was required, and as he might give, and send it to Dr. Koon, requesting him to make such alterations in it as the facts in the case might require; and also to write to Mr. Hubbard, informing him of the necessity of having the certificates in order to save you from the loss of some six hundred dollars. I did so. I asked Koon to certify that Dr. Hawkes the Physician who had charge of the men when they first entered the Hospital, and up to the time that he took charge, had left the Kingdom, and also to certify as to the condition of the men when he had the care of them &c. &c. &c. After waiting nearly a month without receiving any answer from Koon or Hubbard, I wrote Koon again asking him to send the certificates if possible, or at least to let me know whether he would do so at all or not. This morning I rec'd a note from him, of which the following is a copy.

"Mr. Bishop

Dr. Sir—I should have answered your first letter immediately on the receipt of it, if Mr. Hubbard had not told me he would do so: So long a time has now elapsed since I had charge of the Hospital, that the names of those men, and their condition at that time has entirely escaped my memory. I cannot therefore give any certificate regarding them. The ship Globe cleared prior to my taking charge of the Hospital and as Doct. Hawkes has left the country, I do not see how it can be settled. I should be very happy to oblige Mr. Turrill, but am sure that such a certificate as I could give, would not be of the least benefit to him"—

Yours Respectfully

(sgd) A. H. Koon

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I believe that Mr. Allen has done everything that he would do or could do in this matter to get proper certificates or statements, the same as if he were the only person interested in the amot. suspended. As he says—"As I should wish a successor to do by me"—He will write the Department again upon this matter, soon; and then if the amot. now suspended, is not allowed, he will expect you to settle your share of it at the Department so that he may not be held responsible for or obliged to pay any more than belongs to his part of the quarter. I have done my best to get the required certificates, and have utterly failed.

Mr. Lee rec'd a letter from you, not long since, and I think, has answered it. I shall expect to hear from you soon, acknowledging the first of the small draft I sent you in November. Whalers and other Exchange, (instead of money) is worth a premium of one or two per cent. Some $10,000 were remitted a few days ago in specie for want of Bills—I think there is not a great deal of money in the place and that it will bring a fair premium, say 10% in the fall. Our whaling fleet will probably be large next fall. If you want the amot. due (or nearly due) you from Mr. Lee and myself, I can send it to you in the fall—Mr. Lee says he would prefer to keep the money, at the same rate of interest, until a year from next fall, and I would have no objections to doing the same thing, provided you are willing. Please give us an answer as soon as possible.

You will see by the Polynesian (which I hope you receive regularly) that the volcano on "Mauna Loa", Hawaii, has lately had a terrible [sic] eruption. It is now quiet again, and very little damage done. You will also see that real estate in Honolulu has been selling low in Honolulu lately. Munn's place on the corner for which he could have taken $8000. eighteen months ago, has been sold for $3200. He is entirely "used up". The Bush place, (on the corner, near the Theatre, and formerly occupied by Capt. Carter) in good repair, sold at auction for $2100. We are expecting better times by and bye.

It has lately come out that those Phillibustiers who came here from San Francisco in the "Game Cock", headed by Sam Brannan, for revolutionary purposes, were guilty of breaking open the "Express Mail" on board—reading and destroying the letters. They feared that there might be something in the letters exposing their characters and plans. I understand that Brannan has gone to Washington to apply for the contract for carrying the mail from San Francisco to China. A suitable person indeed to carry the mail, who has been guilty of violating and destroying one!!! He would make a capital Lieutenant for Govr. Young of Utah.

The King and Governor are in poor health. All the other chiefs are as well as usual. Genl. Miller is quite poorly of late. He is very quiet nowadays. Our place is improving gradually, notwithstanding the hard times. Mrs. Damon & family and Mrs. Armstrong and daughter arrived safe and sound. Mr. Howe the person who rented your house has gone to the U.S. for a visit. Doct. Ford of N. York has subleased it for the remainder of Howe's term. Fred Thompson is here, well and sober, and in his old business.

I wrote you a long time ago asking you to subscribe for the New York Weekly Tribune (or the one published for the Pacific) for me, and pay the Postage one year in advance, that is, when you happen to be in the City. I also wrote you about Mr. Byers. Did you receive my letter, or have you heard from him since?
What shall I do with your house? I shall have to make some repairs on the place. I notice that the ridge of the stable or hen roost, in the corner has broken down—rotted off I suppose.

Tell Mary that the Andrews boy has received his marbles by Mrs. Damon, and is much obliged to her. From what I hear I conclude that you are all very happy at home, tho' somewhat "pinched" with cold.

It is late and I can hardly see. Uniting with Mrs. Bishop in sending much love to your family. I remain Sir Your Obt. Servt. &c &c

21. William L. Lee to J. Turrill

Honolulu March 24th 1852

MY DEAR SIR,

Your interesting letter of 30th Novr. 1851 arrived during my absence at Kauai, and the last mail brought me your favor of Jan'y 5, 1852. I am glad to hear you are so happily situated in your old home, and that you are devoting your declining days to the quiet, useful and pleasant occupations of the farm. You know what an ardent lover I am of agriculture, and I hope, like you, to spend my old age, on some peaceful farm, amid my flocks, and orchards and waving fields, far removed from the heat and turmoil of the Law. I congratulate you and your girls on the many prizes you & they obtained in your county fair, and I wish I could have been present to have seen the specimens which were so honorably distinguished.

My operations in the farming line have as yet brought me no income. Last year was so dry as to nearly destroy our crop of cane, and the present indications are, that the drought will continue. Indeed we have not had rain enough to raise our streams for the last two years. Koloa Plantation made only seven tons of sugar last season, & we about the same. We have invested upwards of seventy thousand dollars in our plantation, and the result so far is not very encouraging; but all we need to prosper, is rain, and I have no doubt we shall meet success in the end. I have invested upwards of eighteen thousand hard dollars in this enterprise; but have recently sold out half of my share at cost and 12 per cent interest. If you can let me keep the money I owe you for another year it will be an accommodation; for I have been troubled to raise means, without selling some portion of my real estate, which I would not do. My landed property is wholly unincumbered, and I mean it shall always remain so. Money has been very tight, and worth from 3 to 5 per cent per month, but I have borrowed what I needed for nine and ten per cent per annum, on my notes, without any security.

Business of every kind in Honolulu is utterly prostrate, and real estate, which has hitherto withstood every shock, is now on the decline. The fact is, it has to be forced off at auction, and there is no cash in town to buy with. A man having a few thousand dollars to invest in Honolulu lots at this crisis would make his everlasting fortune. Nothing keeps up to the old mark except water lots, which are slowly advancing. A day or two since a small strip not more than 10ft front by 100 ft deep, near the market, sold for $2250. When I wrote you in reference to your water lots I thought of buying them for speculation, but since then my means have been absorbed in the plantation, and I have concluded I have land enough. I consider them very valuable property; but the day for you to sell them has not yet arrived. When California revives, we shall revive, and then there will come a reaction. The authorities are laying out new streets in the mouth of the
valley parallel with Nuuanu & Beretania Streets, and we shall soon have some fine lots in the market. The lots on the Plains remain in statu quo, now and then one changing hands at from $100. to $150. per lot. We expect soon to have Steamers plying among the Islands, and others touching here on their way to China; and the moment they arrive real estate will take a rise.

You will see by the Polynesian that we have just passed a "Reciprocity Bill" proposing to admit American flour, fish, coal and lumber, into the Islands free of duty, provided the U.S. will receive our sugar and coffee into her ports on the same terms. Coffee is now duty free, you know, and the U.S. would only be giving us the duty on our sugar & molasses, for that on their flour, fish, lumber etc, which is growing into a large trade. Our sugar interest is the vital one of the Islands, and if we can only obtain this aid we are bound to prosper. You can do us a world of good by lending this bill your influence at Washington, and let me beg of you to give us a helping hand. Mr. Severance is strong in his advocacy of this measure, but I fear, for various reasons, it will fail. However, there is nothing like trying.

No news from France since Perrin left, Louis Napoleon, being, I suppose, too busy at home to cast his eyes abroad. We are moving along here in political matters much after the old fashion, growing no better nor stronger. The King, I regret to say, is quite given over to his cups, and Lot and Alexander, who are now in the Council, are but little better. Where we are to bring up the Lord only knows, but I believe there is too much good sense left in the land, to allow the vessel of State to wreck so miserably as the clouds seem to threaten. The new Constitution will not be passed I think, because the King and Chiefs have been talked into the belief that it is too Republican; but its defeat, will only be a temporary postponement of a certain triumph. By entering the Legislature, I feel that I could drive it through by a few modifications & much hard work, but I have not the time to devote to the battle, and hence have resigned my seat as Representative for Kohala. The struggle will be left to other, and I hope, better hands. The Chiefs begin to be jealous of the growing power of the people, for you know it is a maxim with them, that "Kanakas were made for the Chiefs."

But let us pass to a more pleasant topic—old friends. Mr. Wyllie, as standing at the head of the Diplomatic list, naturally comes first. He still lives in the valley with your "Becky" for a housekeeper, walking up and down daily, with the same old white hat, blue coat with its golden crowns, and with little if any alteration except a new brown plush vest. He is still a young man and though he has but little to do in an official way, yet his pen never lies idle. I like Wyllie, though we disagree on some points, for his disinterested kindness and stern integrity. He left here a few minutes since on his way down to see poor old General Miller, who has been confined to his room for some days past, with a disease of his toes, (no one knows what), which threatens gangrene. The old hero is very amiable in these days, and like his oracle, the London Times, really begins to think Brother Jonathan is somebody after all. Father [Stephen] Reynolds has been very near the grave this summer from a paralytic shock, but is now well again, and deep in the mysteries of sugar making. His sister, a fine, intelligent woman, who has had the charge of his children in the U.S. is now paying him a short visit. Mr. Severance is absent on a trip to the volcano, and Mr. Allen, Dr. Wood & others
follow him tomorrow. Louis Anthon has made his pile in a quiet way, and will soon leave with his family for Denmark. Wirt \( ^{26} \) is a cripple from paralysis, and moves about the streets drawn in a wagon—hand cart I mean. Armstrong is well and busily employed in building up the schools. We have a fine Coral School house at the foot of Punch Bowl which is an ornament to the town. This is the Royal Academy, & with Mr. Beckwith at its head, is very flourishing. Judd & family are as usual—the girls all at home, and attending the new school. Bates is now glorying in the possession of a new house & new boy. Dr. Lathrop & family now occupy the old Vida house on the corner of Fort & Beretania Streets, and live in fine style. Mrs. Dominis & Washington Place are unchangeable. Mrs. Penhallow, dear old Soul, has still a few tears & flowers left, while the Capt. is growing rich and doing his best to make her happy. Your friends Mr. & Mrs John Ladd live in their old house, which has become new, and are very prosperous. John has made two dollars it is said, to Mr. Allen’s one. Bishop & Berenice board with them and seem very happy. Fred Thompson is sober, industrious, & prosperous, and his wife is busily preparing herself & children for a voyage to Ireland. Dr. Hoffman & lady are living in Dr. Wood’s fine house & have Dr. W. & wife for boarders. Dr. Ford & family (new comers by the “Forbes”) occupy your premises, but they will soon move up to Vincent’s farm, where he & Dr. Lathrop have established a Hydropathic Institution. Vincent has returned bringing a large family of relatives, & is busily engaged in his salt operations. Parson Damon is in his old place again; and he gave me a pleasant description of his visit to Oswego. The people of Honolulu have raised $2500. to start a new church, and given a call to Mr. Taylor. This was done by Mr. Damon’s advice, as the Bethel is very much crowded. However, Mrs. Lee & I shall remain at our old Sabbath home. Whitney occupies Wm Ladd’s old premises & has erected a small store on the makai corner of the same. New buildings are going up notwithstanding the dull times, and carpenters wages remain at $4. per day. Among the new public buildings the most important is the Court House, situated on the vacant lot near the Fort. With our business men there is no great change. Capt. Snow does the snuggest & best business among the wholesalers, & Robert G. Davis makes the most money among the retailers. Swan & Clifford, Hackfeld, Everett, & others are all doing well. Vida’s Estate will not pay its debts within Thirty thousand dollars, & his real estate will all be sold at auction next Saturday. Robinson & Co are still salting down the dollars, and living as ever, in all the dirt and clutter of the “Point”. Here let me say a word of Pitman, though it has no connection with Honolulu. He is very prosperous, having the whole business of Hilo in his hands, which place has been visited by more whale ships this spring than both Honolulu & Lahaina. I must not close without saying that “Nell” is in the safe keeping of the Brown’s at Kauai. Old Bucephalus still in the hands of the German Doctor—and Amos proud Monarch of the Thompson household & the corners round about. With love to Mrs Turrill & the children I remain, Yours truly,

[P.S.] Mrs. Lee says she is too busy preparing for a visit from her friends the Marshalls to write today but that you may expect a long letter from her next mail.

\( ^{26} \) Philippe Adolphe Wirt in Feb. 1850 gave bond for the proper maintenance of Naki Bauma who was to become his wife. During M. Perrin’s absence he represented the commercial interests of France. He advertised “French and other Foreign Fancy Goods.”
22. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill

Honolulu 2 April 1852

MY DEAR SIR,

In referring you to my letter of the 30th. ulto., I have to add that having found the original copy of your letter of the 24th. August 1849 and compared it with the copy as printed at page 63 of the published correspondence with Monsieur Perrin, I have ascertained that the errors of the Press pointed out by you, are all true. I have, therefore made it a point of duty to correct them, in my report for this year of which I shall send you a copy.

You will at least admit that I am guiltless of the omission, for the words left out, were of all others, the most flattering to me, as the organ of the Government, in the correspondence with M Dillon.

You have the merit of having been the first to state boldly, your deliberate Judgement, on that correspondence. It will gratify you to know that every Diplomatic man, who has read that correspondence, so far as I know, is decidedly of the same opinion with yourself. You may imagine how agreeable it has been to me to know that there has been so much uniformity of Judgement, in a matter in which I am so nearly concerned; and that the same holds true, in regard to the correspondence with Monsieur Perrin, even, without excepting the Naval Officers, as I have been given to understand.

Repeating my Kind Compts to Mrs Turrill, & all your family, I remain My dear Sir Yours truly

23. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

Honolulu May 8 1852

MY DEAR SIR,

Your letter dated Feby 19th was recd. about two weeks ago—a few days after I had mailed a letter for you, in answer to yours concerning the son of Mr. Barso &c &c.

I am very sorry to have to inform you that the Ship “Three Brothers” did not enter at Honolulu, or Lahaina, this spring, but touched outside the reef one day about two or three weeks ago, and neither Mr. Allen or I knew anything about it until a day or two after she had sailed. It was purely accidental that we learned that she had been at the Islands. He (James Barso) will probably be discharged and sent home in the fall if the ship touches at Honolulu or Lahaina—Mr. Allen and Mr. Bunker will give the matter their kind attention.

Mr. Allen seems a good deal troubled with the idea that you may have to lose the amot. that was suspended at the Department from your last Lahaina Accts., for want of required certificates—and that you may think that he has not exerted himself to get such Certs. He has spoken to me upon the subject a number of times. I believe he has done all in his power to get the Certificates, and has done as he would wish a successor to do by him under similar circumstances. Swinton’s (the late Collector at Lahaina) Cert. is worse than nothing, and neither Mr. Allen or myself have been able (as I informed you before) to get any kind of Cert. or statement from Dr. Koon or Mr. Hubbard.

I have not seen Munn lately, I think he is on Hawaii. I suppose it is of little consequence where he may be. The amot. due on his note is about one hundred dollars which Booth and Thompson will have to pay, I suppose. Poor Jasper died insolvent. I have spoken to Fred about the note, and he pleads poverty &c. I shall see Booth as soon as possible. Fred has been perfectly sober and steady a
year, and seems determined to hold on. (?) Mrs. Thompson and children will leave for Ireland in about two months. Amos still lives with them, and often inquires of me about yourself and family.

You ask me who the report of your lawsuit with the owners of the Connecticut originated with. I dont know. Penhallow spoke to me about it several times. It may have started with him. He has gone to the coast with his Brig now. He is, and has been, making money.

You say four thousand dollars is the minimum price for your Honolulu place. I believe that is as much as it will ever bring with its present buildings, and therefore, when I can get that much for it I shall close the bargain at once even if I have to give credit for a portion of the price, ie unless you order differently. You know that the house is getting to be old, that its best days have long since passed, and that houses, fences &c &c go to decay very fast in this climate, especially when not occupied by the owner. The necessary repairs on that place will soon be expensive—new roof &c &c—I know that it costs me a considerable yearly to keep the small place I occupy, in repair. I have made some slight repairs on your place lately, such as new cellar stairs, mending eave spouts, gates, kitchen floor &c &c. The rats have undermined the tiles &c &c. Mr. Howe is in New York now, and will return in a few months. His lease will expire on the 9th Aug next. How am I to rent the place after that? How long and what terms &c?

I would prefer that you employ some other person as your Agent here, because I am so much occupied with my own business, that I fear I shall not give yours the attention which you may think necessary. Dr. Lathrop is living in the town, and practicing. He has had some laws suits with Paki’s natives, and has been unsuccessful, as I believe he deserved to be, and probably will continue to be unless he changes his course materially.

Business is improving slightly. Considerable trade in oil has been carried on by our merchants this spring, between this and S. Francisco; and some of our goods and Island produce have been in demand.

Exchange will probably be about par next fall, as there is considerable money here to be invested, and more will be sent from S.F. if there is any chance for speculation.

Mr. Lee and I will pay our note whenever you say so. If we should pay it now I could not remit before Octr. or Novr. If it suits you, we will keep it until a year from next Octr. or Novr. and allow you interest at the rate of ten per cent per annum from the time it came due. It is no object for us to retain it at any higher rate than that. I might (perhaps) let it for a higher rate of interest, on good security, but very likely I would have to take the Security for the pay, as those who are borrowing money on high interest now-a-days, are slow paymasters.

Some of our California neighbours are threatening us with revolution and all sorts of punishment. The party of “Philibusters” that paid us a visit, were sadly disappointed, and some of them feel very sore. Capt. B. F. Hanna, who has just left here, threatens us very strongly. He says that he, and “Sam Brannan” (the Mormon) and others will astonish us yet. They two were undoubtedly concerned in the opening of the Express Mail, ie, I believe so, fully. They are bad men, but we have no fear of them. What we are to expect from France, under the
present state of her govt. is very uncertain. Nothing good, I suppose. Question, whether our greatest danger is not from the ignorant, wicked, and malicious people within our little kingdom, rather than from without. I hope the U.S. Govt. will stand by us like a true friend, as it ever has been. There is no doubt that the present form of Govt. and perfect independence, is at present, the best for this nation, and all interested in it.

The Mission is now holding its general meeting. Poor souls (the Missionaries) they have to take it on every side. There never was a more ill-treated and slandered set of respectable and honest people.

The Governor has been very sick, but is much better now. His Majesty is well and regular now-a-days. One of the young chiefs (James Kali) died about a month ago. John Stephenson (a half caste) an evil friend and companion of the King, died suddenly this week.

Miss Elizth. Dowsett is engaged to be married to my clerk, Mr. M.C. Monsarrat, a well educated young Irishman. The wedding will not take place until Mrs. Howland returns from the U.S.

Genl. Miller is suffering very much with a sore toe, and is out of humor with everything and everybody. He, Wylie, and some others are very much afraid that the New Constitution will be too Republican. It is said that the Genl. and the Catholics controll Mr. Rhodes, who is an ignoramus, and a perfect firebrand in the House of Representatives.

Judge Lee is holding court on Maui. He will return next week. He and Mrs. L. are very well. The latter sends much love. We are still boarding with Mr. Jno Ladd. All well and happy. Mrs. B sends much love to your family, and so do I. In great haste, my dear Sir Yours Very truly

[P.S.] Mr. & Mrs. Patterson, (son in law and daughter of Mr. Allen) left this week on the Brig “Baltimore” for San Francisco. He will return, but she (if she can find an acquaintance in S.F. to accompany her) will go to the U.S. for a visit. She is a wilful, extravagant [sic], “rattle headed” woman. Something like Mrs. Hooper, “only a great deal more so.”


MY DEAR SIR, I enclose herewith the “second” of a set of Exchange for seventeen hundred ninety dollars & thirty six cents drawn by John P. Hempstead Master of the Ship “Corea”, on Messrs Frink & Prentis of New London, Conn. at ten days sight. I sent the “first” by the “Mary Ann Jones” which sailed for San Francisco on 15th Decr. Please enclose our note, and a receipt for the Exchange as soon as you receive the “Bill”. Capt. Spencer invested the money without charge, at the best rate at the time. Afterwards it ran up to 20% for a short time owing to the unusually large number of ships in Port & to the circumstance of all the money having been invested about the same time at 10%. The rate now is from 10% to 15%. We have had a very large fleet, and it is becoming more and more the custom to pay all off, ship the oil and bone home and ship a new crew. I wrote you that I had seen Capt. Adams of the “Three Brothers”, and that I learned from him that the young man, James Barso, was discharged sick on the
Consulate at Talcahuano on the 23d of February last. The "Three Brothers" is still in port, and the Capt. appears to be a very respectable man.

The French sloop "Brilliante" arrived a week ago today, bringing the Commissioner Monsr. Perrin—his Chancellier and his wife. Everything appears very friendly now. The sloop saluted the Hawaiian Flag for the first time since Dillon’s time, and it was ret'd. from Punch Bowl. Visits have been exchanged and everything appears as smooth as oil, (most too good to last long) It is reported that the French President (or Emperor!) intends presenting the King with a Yacht. The Lord only knows what’s at the bottom of this sweetened cup. Perhaps they (the French) have become ashamed of quarrelling with and oppressing so contemptible a Kingdom, and are going to be more just in future; but the probability is, in my opinion, that they are afraid of driving us to annexation.

What a wonderful victory the Democrats have had in the election of Pierce. We rec'd. the news via Nicaragua in 40 or 42 days, but we have not yet rec'd. our mail of Novr. 5th. Some unusual delay.

There has been considerable talk among the foreigners here about annexation, since the report of the result of the election. If the French treat us at all like Christians it will be a considerable time yet before annexation will come about. I do not think that the King and Chiefs think of such a thing, or that they would begin to consent to it unless they were driven to it by fear of some other power. I see that Ten Eyck has been making some foolish "splurges" in the way of stump speeches about annexation. I hope President Pierce will not be so unwise and unkind as to inflict Ten Eyck upon us as Commissioner or Consul. I have no doubt that T.E. is fishing for one of the offices.

How strange it is that his "Scores of friends" in California can live without him. Some say that Blair, a young lawyer here, brother of Blair at Washington, is trying for the appointment of Consul. Neither he or any other democrat in this Kingdom who would ask for the appointment, is fit for [it]. We are trembling lest after having been favored with two good Consuls and one good Commissioner we may be cursed with some indiscrete [sic], trouble making characters. One of our greatest fears is that under the idea that the new administration will be in favor of general and unlimited annexation, (and Cuba & the Hawaiian Islands in particular) and being encouraged by many of Ten Eyck’s stamp, the restless characters of California will be fitting out “Filibustering” expeditions against us, and thereby not only make us trouble, but, destroy in the minds of the natives all respect for, and confidence in Americans. The “Game Cock” Expedition, and the general opposition of foreigners, to the Missionaries, has already diminished in a considerable degree the attachment of the native chiefs for the U.S.

We are now making sugar on the “Lihue Plantation”, and beautiful sugar it is too. We shall probably make one hundred tons this year, and we hope to make from 400 to 500 tons next year. We have no local news of any importance other than what you will find in the “Polynesian”. Your friends are all as usual. Business is rather dull, and money scarce.

Bernice unites with me in sending much love to your family. I fear that I shall
not be able to get any more rent out of the old Frenchman now occupying your house. I shall get him out as soon as possible. I remain Dr. Sir, with much respect Yours &c

[P.S.] If Mrs. Turrill or "Lizzie" will select, (when they are in New York or Albany) two pairs of earrings, one pair of coral and the other of gold, and send them by Adam's Express, with a bill of the cost, I shall be much obliged. I want them for Bernice.

JOEL TURRILL in account current with CHARLES R. BISHOP

DR.

1851

Decr. 8 To paid A.B. Howe amot. paid by him for rebuilding oven & chimney in Cook House $ 20.00

1852

April 10 " paid for Lumber, Nails, Carpenter's labor etc to repair gate, Kitchen door, water spouts etc. & making new stairs and doorframe for cellar 12.00

June 10 " paid D Frick for repairs on windows & upper verandah 7.75

18 " paid Polynesian Office for Vol 9 1 year in advance 6.00

Aug 30 " paid Blacksmith for putting iron brace on upper verandah 1.75

Decr. 4 " 5% Comms. on $501.50 collected & invested (exclusive of L&B's. note) 25.08

" " " 1 set (3) exchange drawn by Jno P. Hempstead, Master ship "Corea" on Mesrs Frink & Prentis, New London favor J. Turrill, at 10 days sight, dated Decr. 4, 1852 $1790.36

Less premium on money @ 10% 162.76

$1627.60

1852 $ 49.17

Decr. 4 To Balance brot. down

CR.

1851

Novr. 15 By Balance from old account $ 41.46

1852

Feby 21 " Cash from R Coady for 3 mos. rent of House, up to 9th May '52 125.00

May " " " " " " " " " up to 9th Aug '52 125.00

Oct. 21 & 23 " " " F.W. Thompson & J Booth for Bale. on J Munn's Note 126.50

27 D. Frick, once Chancellor of the French Consulate, now advertised a museum on Fort Street showing sea and land shells.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Novr. 2</td>
<td>““ Wm. L. Lee &amp; Chas. R. Bishop, each $553.05 to pay their Note dated April 20, 1850, favor J. Turrill @ 8% per annum</td>
<td>$1106.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“ 9 “</td>
<td>Cash from Monsr. Remy for 3 Mos. Rent of House to date, occupied by D. Frick LLD</td>
<td>$125.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>“ 1 year’s subscription for New York Weekly Tribune paid in advance by J.T.</td>
<td>$2.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Decr. 4 “</td>
<td>Balance (overpaid) carried down, to new a/c</td>
<td>$49.17</td>
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<td><strong>$1700.18</strong></td>
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25. William L. Lee to J. Turrill

Honolulu Jan 15, 1853.

My dear Sir, By the last mail I recd. your letter, without date, recounting your wonderful exploits in the way of Premiums and Prizes on Bulls, Heifers, Pears, Peaches, Plums, Beets, Onions, Potatoes, Melons, etc. Really you are a Farmer in earnest, and of the right stamp too. How much I wish we had some of your fine stock at the Islands. I have some choice pigs on the way out in the “E. Warwick” and have written to enquire the expense of importing a first rate bull and horse.

Real Estate at the Islands is dull; for we have not yet recovered from our fall in the California Trade. You made a decided miss in not disposing of your house before leaving; for it is going to decay and deteriorating in value. You must make quite a sacrifice in disposing of it, unless there should be some sudden rise in real estate, which I do not anticipate, except in the event of Annexation. In reference to your unimproved real estate in Honolulu, I should say let it lie; for sooner or later it must come up. There is but one kind of property in Honolulu on the advance, and that is wharf lots or locations near the water. Twelve or Eighteen months ago, I could have sold all my real Estate in Honolulu at a large advance, and all my wild land which cost me about $2. per acre for $7. per acre; but I said No, and now see my folly. However, I am able to wait for the wheel to come round again. Our plantation is producing beautiful sugar, and promises to be a safe and profitable investment. The sale of the Gower Plantation, that you observed, was a real one, and I have congratulated you in thought 10,000 times, that you were so wise as not to join him in his harum scarum trade. It was heavily mortgaged. Gower is on his back, but his friends are trying to assist him in an Enterprise just set on foot to raise our own wheat and make our own flour.

We have been doing a large business at the Islands this fall, and your successor in the Consulate has made, it is said, more money than any of his predecessors, and I should think rumor was for once true. Many of your other friends have been doing very well, among the rest Capt. Spencer, but you know he is not a man of system, and I should not be surprised if he lost all, before he takes his departure. Dr. Lathrop also has been doing a good business, and is said to have coined money, though I think his practice is falling off a little as well as that of all the other M.D.s, through the popularity of Dr. Ford.
Perrin is back again, but so far Pacific as a lamb; and I think France will let us alone, lest we ask Pierce & Cabinet for Protection. What an overwhelming the Whigs have met.

It is said that Ten Eyck is to be our next Consul, but I dont believe it, though I know he will strive for the post. If you have influence at Washington, as you must have with a Democratic Administration, I hope you will exert it to get us a man of Peace for this important Station.

John Ladd is doing better than ever, piling up the cash in a quiet way, and living in first rate Style. He has stepped into the shoes of Mrs. Dominis and now keeps the most genteel boarding house in Honolulu.

I believe I wrote you of the awful suicide of A.B. Howe, just on the Eve of his intended marriage with Nelly Judd. It was a subject of amazement that the Dr. & Mrs. Judd should have consented to have given their daughter to such an unprincipled fellow; and his end was a relief to all of her friends out of her own family.

Your friend the "Laird of Rosebank" is the same fussy, kind-hearted, scribbling old bachelor as of yore, but is looking younger and better than I ever saw him. He and Judd like each other as well as ever, and Armstrong as usual endeavors to keep the right side of both without entire success. With love to Mrs. Turrill & Lizzie, Mary & Willie, I remain in haste Yours truly,

[P.S.] I have just settled up Vida's Estate and it pays only 13cts. on the Dollar. $70,000. debts and $9000. assets.

26. William L. Lee to J. Turrill

Honolulu, July 30, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR Your newsy letter of May 7, 1853 came to hand in due season, and was read with much interest, especially that part that related to the new appointments for Honolulu and Lahaina—Ten Eyck and the expected baby. Do you know anything of Mr. Angell our new Consul? We hear he is a real redmouthed Democrat; but my friends who know him, write me that he is a fair good natured man. I should like your opinion if you have any knowledge on which to base one. You know how important it is to have a good guardian for the four or five thousand sailors that visit us yearly, and I hope Angell will prove as good a man for his post as you were, and as Mr. Allen is. I trust our new Commissioner, Lt. Gov. Leake of Virginia, will leave his Slavery notions at home; for there is nothing the natives hate worse.

The anticipated attack of the French seems to have raised quite a breeze at home, but, in my opinion, it is all smoke, for France dare not invade our shores, lest we fly to the U. States and Annexation for protection. As for annexation of the Islds to the United States, I see no prospect of it, unless we are driven to it by the invasion of France. The idea of annexation is not a pleasant one to the Chiefs, and they will only take such a step as a dernier resort.

This nation is now passing through the most afflicting chapter of its history. The evil which we have so long dreaded, the small pox, is mowing down the people on every side, and I have no doubt it will destroy ¼ of the native race. Vaccination seems to afford little or no protection, and among all the cases I

28 Shelton F. Leake of Virginia was appointed by President Pierce (May, 1853) but declined the appointment and David L. Gregg was named in his place.
have visited, some hundreds, I have never seen a dozen that had not been vaccinated from one to four times. The vaccine matter imported from England and the U.S. seems to do its work faithfully, but that produced here, fails, probably from some mysterious agency in the climate. The deaths in Honolulu for the past two weeks have averaged about 30 per day, and I can compare our city to nothing but one of our home towns in the Cholera season. Trade is prostrate and the city a desert.

I have under my charge a district of Honolulu, which has from 40 to 60 patients in it down with the scourge, & I visit them daily, going from house to house, and endeavoring to minister to their comfort. Poor victims! You can have no idea of their suffering. Between 1/2 and 1/3 of the whole number attacked die. As yet it has not fastened on any of the Chiefs. Friend Bishop has a district adjoining mine and is doing all he can to save lives.

In the midst of this solemn crises certain enemies of Judd & Armstrong, headed by Drs. Lathrop & Newcomb set on foot a movement to remove them from office, but all the leading merchants and business men of the city have kept aloof or discountenanced this ill timed step, & the intended blow will descend on the heads of those who deal it. I have no great sympathy with Judd, as you well know, but I cannot but think this political movement a most indiscreet and ill-timed one. It is the general feeling, that it is no time to light the flames of discord when our people are dying on every side, and the utmost harmony and union of action is necessary to save them. Such a movement, at almost any other time, if directed solely against Judd, might have been successful perhaps, but by mixing up Armstrong with the matter, and endeavoring to make capital out of the smallpox, by charging Judd & Armstrong with being its authors, they will most signal fail. They are getting up a petition to be sent into the King.

Your friend the "Laird of Rosebank" has just left my office, and expressed a wish to be affectionately remembered to you, Mrs. Turrill, Lizzie & Mary. He wears the same old hat, the same fringe on his shirt collar, & is altogether in the same dilapidated state, as regards his dress, that he was in your day, but of course, he will not allow any one to hint that he is over 17 years of age. The old general is also the same, with the exception that he grows less violent as he advances in years, and has to keep the house a good share of the time, nursing a gouty foot. Father [Stephen] Reynolds still has the "Northern Nations" under his charge, and has lost none of his fondness for dancing or spinning long yarns. Last summer it was thought he would not live to see another, but he is quite elastic again. Capt. Thomas Spencer, Mary's particular friend, is said to have made more money last year than any other man in town, and I think the report is true. He is our great ship chandler, and very popular with the Captains. He is said to have made $40,000. last fall. Isn't this strange? He expects to make $100,000. and then go home, and he will do it, if he only uses a little more caution. He has now about $80,000. worth of goods ordered, which unfortunately will arrive too late for the fall market.

Real Estate at the Islands is dull, though I sold 2/3 of the Corner lot above Mrs Thompsons the other day for $2100., which was considered a good price for this season. I am sorry you did not sell every inch of real estate you owned in Honolulu before your departure, but if you hold on, it will come up again in time.

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Leaving it with Mrs. Lee to give the special gossip of the town to Mrs Turrill, I remain, with love to all, Yours very faithfully

[P.S.] Your old horse I meet every day carrying Dr. Hillebrand on his circuit and he is fatter & younger than when you left. He grains him. Old Amos is now Cook for Wilcox the old school teacher, and swears just as hard as ever.

27. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill

Honolulu 10 August 1853

MY DEAR SIR I think you are in my debt for several letters that I have written to you, to which you have not replied.

The last was tendering to you & your family the poor hospitality of Rosebank, if you should have returned here as Consul. I had heard that you were likely to be a candidate. But, from a letter of your’s, to our good friend Lee, which he read to me, some days ago, I find that you never had had any such intention. A long while ago a friend of Mr. Ten Eyck’s sounded me, as to what course I would pursue, if Mr. T should come back here as Consul. My reply was that personally, tho’ I should much regret the loss of Mr. Allen, I had no objections whatever to Mr. Ten Eyck, but that I could not answer for others. I think, he would not have been comfortable here; and that personally, he has no reason to regret the preference of Mr. Angel.

We have that dreadful Pestilence, the small-pox among us; & to complete our misfortunes, threats of something like Revolution. There have been Petitions to the King for the removal of Mr. Judd and of Mr. Armstrong. What the result will be I cannot foresee, but I hope that the King will not endanger His Crown, on account of any of us Ministers. If things go wrong, it is our duty to take the whole blame upon ourselves & shield him from blame. Our real dangers are not from France or any other foreign Power but from old internal disorders which have become chronic diseases of the body politic.

With kind compts to Mrs. Turrill, Miss Turrill, William the lazy, Mary the Harp-player, also Frederick the polite, I remain My dear Sir, Yours truly

P.S. 16th. August. There was a great Meeting of mal Contents last night. Of course I did not attend, but I hear that Mr. Bates did, with the only effect of adding fuel to the fire & bringing on an unanimous resolution (at least reported as such) to support the Committee of 13 in their demands for the removal of the "offensive" Ministers. We are, therefore in a worse position than we were before. It is not improbable that this agitation may end in annexation. If so, it should be with the free consent of the King, affected by regular negotiation, so as to preserve all private rights and compensate all losers by a change, with that liberality that becomes a great rich & enlightened nation, dealing with a small, poor, & ignorant people. But I feel assured that if all we Ministers, were to resign, as I have often hinted, the King’s independence would be safe.

28. Fred L. Hanks to J. Turrill

Honolulu 14th. August, 1853

MY DEAR MR. TURRILL, It is really so long since I wrote you that I cannot call to mind the date of my last letter, but think it must have been so long ago as 1851.

Frederick Lewis Hanks, clerk, resident of Honolulu from 1845-1850 and 1853-1860, was in Turrill’s office. His daughter, Charlotte, married Curtis P. Iaukea, a distinguished Hawaiian.
In January last I was forced by continued and severe rheumatism to leave California, and seek a more genial climate, and it was quite natural that I should find myself coming in the direction of Honolulu. In December I took a trip to Acapulco and was absent a week, but my rheumatism returned with my approach to San Francisco. I prefer living in California, taking everything into consideration; but of course one's health is the first object of interest.

I came down here in the clipper ship Charles Mallory, with Capt. Chas. Hull, whom you may recollect was in the whaleship Georgia of New London, in 1848 & 9—at all events he recollects you. Capt. F.A. Newell was a fellow passenger with me.

The "Charles Mallory" was so unfortunate as to have a case of small-pox on board, which appeared a few days after our leaving San Francisco, and in consequence, on our arrival here, the passengers were compelled to undergo ten days quarantine in a native house on the beach near Diamond Head, while the ship was moored in the outer harbor. The public of Honolulu were much excited, and many of them avoided us for several days after we came up to town. Very nearly three months after our arrival the small-pox broke out in Honolulu, and up to the present time has carried off immense numbers of the natives. Yesterday's report gave the total number of cases on Oahu to be 3546—deaths 1276; cases on other islands comparatively few, and only about 100 deaths off Oahu. It is generally believed that 5000 cases and 2000 deaths would be nearer the number. One sees nothing but coffins and hearses, and becomes nervous from the continual wailing that is heard. Many of the dead have been buried by the natives with so little earth to cover them that the graves have become offensive. It is really horrible. Many of the sick have been killed by the injudicious treatment of the native physicians, and by their own imprudence in bathing while broken out with the disease. Vaccination has taken on but few of the kanakas, though most all on this island have been vaccinated.

I found Honolulu not greatly altered during the three years I had been absent from it. A number of new buildings have gone up in the vicinity of the beach; and the new court-house and market, are edifices which would be ornaments to any place. I found also a great many new people here—but still a large portion of the old residents remain. It is on the whole the same Honolulu as in former days, full of scandal and whaling skippers.

Mr. Bishop is now one of the firm of Aldrich & Bishop, Merchants, and doing a large business. Everybody supposed that Monsarrat, after his four years in the Custom House would be Bishop's successor, but notwithstanding a petition unanimously signed by the merchants here in favor of Monsarrat, Mr. Warren Goodale received the appointment, Monsarrat has since given up his berth as clerk in the Custom House, and has gone into the auction business with James Dowsett. Monsarrat you probably know married Miss Lizzie Dowsett: their immediate hopes of a family were lately destroyed by some fright experienced by Mrs. M. Old Mrs. Dowsett is a cripple from rheumatism caused by that unlucky pistol shot fired some years ago by her son James.

Capt. Newell left here in a clipper ship last February, bound to the U.S. with his family, and goes home to educate his children, intending, I believe, to return.
here. He is worth considerable money, though he has lately experienced some
losses in business.

Everett is now one of the firm of Rice & Co, doing a good commission and
auction business. Rice is a nephew of Wm. H Boardman, of Boston, who con-
signs goods and ships to him. I think Everett will regain his losses in California.
He lives in his own house built on the corner nearly opposite Pelly’s house, on
what is now called Hotel Street. He has one child and appears to live very happily
in his wedded state.

Capt. Maughn, the Harbor Master lately died here. A Captain Holdsworth
succeeded him in office. Both his and Mr. Goodale’s appointments appear to
have been the result of missionary influence, which is undisguisedly much on
[sic] the influence here. Capt. Howland is still pilot; the other pilot is Capt. Luce,
formerly in command of the British brig “Tepic”.

Capt. Thos. Spencer is doing the largest business now with the whaleships,
and R Coady & Co the next best. I have been bookkeeper for Capt. S. since my
return here. I had an offer from Mr. Allen, the Consul, to take my old place in
his office; but I did not particularly fancy the continual routine of copying long
protests, and listening to the many complaints which one in such a position is
compelled to hear.

Mr. Allen has undoubtedly made a “heap” of money during his term of
office. His charges are nearly double those formerly charged by you: for instance
he manages to charge $3.50 for each certificate of transhipment of oil and bone.
Instead of certifying at the end of each protest and accompanying documents
that the whole are true copies, he certifies each document separately. Mr. Pat-
terson, formerly Consular Agent at Lahaina told me that Bunker, the Lahaina
Consul charged $7 for certifying each Bill Lading Bone and oil, and other fees
in proportion! Mr. Bunker and family and Mr. and Mrs. Patterson have all by
this time arrived in the U.S. There has been a great deal of talk here about Mrs.
Patterson, who certainly conducted herself in a manner to cause remark. Mr.
Allen has speculated a good deal in merchandise, but I understand has rather
lost money by his speculations.

John Dominis is clerk for R Coady & Co. It is said that he is to marry his
cousin, Miss Lizzie Holt, daughter of Holt the ship carpenter, a young lady who
has arrived out since you left. I think John is rather young yet—and besides
seeing more of the world should endeavor to become less of the “B-hoy”, before
he thinks of matrimony. W.C. Parke formerly Wood & Parke, and now Marshal
of the Islands, it is said also is paying attention to Miss Holt. Dr. Lathrop appears
to be doing a good business. He has an excellent stand near the water, and has
as his apothecary Langhorne—"Kentuck", formerly with Dr. Hunter. Dr. L.
lives in the house occupied by Vida when you left Honolulu.

The Misses Judd are still the Misses Judd, though they certainly are most
admirable young ladies. I have heard that Miss Elizabeth, the oldest, is engaged
to be married to a Dr. [Samuel F.] Cones of the Navy, lately here in the “Portsm-
outh”, in which ship the Judds went hence to Lahaina. Miss Laura was engaged
to A.B. Howe, who poisoned himself here last fall. One of Judge Andrews’
daughters was lately married to a Mr. Hardy, who took Jarrett’s place in the
Treasury Office, and I hear that the other is shortly to marry Mr. Thurston. E O Hall has a very pretty daughter, and Miss Dimond’s beauty and accomplishments are highly spoken of. Mr Armstrong’s oldest daughter was lately married to a Mr. Beckwith, teacher of the Royal School. They were married in church on Sunday evening. The new court house is now occupied by Mr. Taylor, formerly Seamen’s Chaplain at Lahaina, and is the most fashionable place of worship. His Congregation are to build a new church opposite where Dr. Lathrop lives.

Mrs. Brewer has now two brothers and a sister Pratt here. Capt. Makee has lately gone home to ship out materials for a splendid fire-proof building to be put up on the corner lot on the beach on which Henry Downton’s store formerly stood, opposite Skinners old establishment. Snodgrass is still clerk for Makee. Cartwright is clerk for R. Coady & Co. Bowlin is practicing law here, but just now is at San Francisco. Capt. Stephen Bailey, who condemned the Washington of Nantucket here in 1849 and took home the Bark Mary, is out door man for R. Coady & Co. Capt. Jennings, formerly of the Bark "Auckland" lately died here. Gill the grog shop keeper died here a few days since. Before his death he became a sincere Christian, and married the woman he lived with, formerly Mrs. Gravier. Thomas, whom you will recollect as steward of the "Rosalie" poisoned himself here two days ago. Until very lately, for a year back he had been quite temperate in his habits. Mr. Gummer died in San Francisco, July 21st.

Fred Thompson is doing a good auction business, and occupies Skinner & Co’s former place of business. He has for a partner a brother of J F B Marshall. Fred sprees it about as much as ever: Mrs. T. is in Fermoy, Ireland, and intends remaining there. I lately saw J.F.B. Marshall at the Lihue Plantation on Kauai, which is owned by him, Judge Lee, Mr. Pierce [H.A. Peirce] of Boston, and Bishop. The Koloa plantation of Dr. Wood is much the most productive, though an immense sight of money has been expended by Mr. Marshall. Still I doubt not it will ultimately and amply repay them for all outlays.

Mr. Benj. F. Angell, our new Consul, arrived yesterday, with his family and a doctor for the Hospital. Rumor said that he brought also a superintendent for the Hospital, but such I understand is not the case, and I suppose Mr. Ladd will retain it. Mrs. John Ladd goes home this fall.

Mr. Angell arrived yesterday morning, and before noon had applied for and received his Exequatur. I call this rather indecent haste. I have heard it hinted that he forwarded his Commission in advance, in order to have all ready on his arrival. 30

A movement has lately been started to oust from office Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong, and a petition to that effect has been presented to the King. Dr. Lathrop is the prime mover in the matter: he holds some grudge against Dr. Judd for refusing him liquor for his medicinal purposes—when it was reported that the Dr. made a regular bar room for whaling skippers, of his shop. I suppose the whole will end in smoke, as most such movements have ended in Honolulu.

I suppose you regularly receive the Polynesian. I shall be happy to hear from you, and will take pleasure in occasionally giving you the Honolulu news. I

30 Angel’s Commission was forwarded by Marcy to Severance, reaching him on August 10. When Angel arrived two days later Severance could hand him both the Commission and the Royal Exequatur, as Marcy had instructed. Angel was blameless here.
often see you in your picture as "Representative from New York" [1833–1837], which I have, framed and hung up in my room. My regards to Mrs. Turrill and your family. Very truly yours,

[P.S.] Barnum Field, in whose room I am writing, desires his regards to be given you.

29. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill
Honolulu, Oct. 7th, 1853

My dear Sir, The U.S. Mail for Aug 5th which we had been expecting for two weeks, arrived last evening and we rec'd a few papers via Nicaragua as late as Aug 20th. I hoped to receive a letter from you, but did not. A number of weeks have passed since we have had an oppy. to send to San Francisco direct. We have had a number of arrivals from the U.S. via Cape Horn lately, and the Whalers are dropping in rapidly now. The report from the Arctic fleet, is unfavorable, but from the Ochotsk—favorable. The small pox has so far disappeared from Honolulu and vicinity that the whalers and other vessels do not hesitate to come into port at once. We have had a sad time, as you have seen by the papers, and there is still a good deal of the disease in the country districts of this island. Our new Consul, Mr. Angel, who has been unwell & "blue" (and I think disappointed) and idle since his arrival, is now in better health, and has the commencement of what will probably be a good fall's business. His family have all had a touch of the Panama fever since their arrival. Mrs. A seems to be liked, but I do not think him popular, & I fear he will be less so. I do not feel much acquainted with him yet tho' we have boarded together at Ladds & Crabb's. He did not strike me favorably at first, and I have not sought his acquaintance. I may be doing him injustice, but I think him a good deal like Ten Eyck, and something like Bates. Not overstocked with good principle—rather "peppery" & flashy, and exceedingly vain. We are daily expecting the new Commissioner Mr. Gregg, who we hear is a young man—a lawyer or doctor (God grant he's not the latter) from Illinois. It should have been a man of experience and discretion, greater than often falls to the lot of a young man. I have hoped that you might have been induced to come and make us a visit as Comr. We shall all be sorry to part with Mr. Severance. He is an excellent old gentleman, and has the esteem and confidence of all who are capable of appreciating an honest a sensible man. But his natural, as well as political life is fast drawing to a close. He may live to reach home, but cannot long survive. You have undoubtedly read his excellent letter relative to the hasty Protest of Miller & Perrin.

Judge Lee has been very ill for nearly two months, and is still confined to his room, tho he is now gradually improving. His first and chief difficulty was a cough and bleeding at the lungs, together with most obstinate constipation of the bowels. His friends have been very anxious about him, but feel quite encouraged now. He would be a greater loss to this community and nation than any other living man.

We have had something besides small pox in our usually quiet place. Political excitement, general and personal bitterness, slander and abuse—political or official changes too, of which we have less reason to complain than of any other part of the "performance". You must have been surprised at the resignation of
G.P.J. and the appointment of Mr. Allen. The former had become exceeding unpopular with all parties—tho' with all his faults a better man, and more honest than his principal accusers and enemies. The latter (Mr. A) is quite popular, and has a rare faculty of getting along smoothly. We have all sorts of parties and political schemes, and what will grow out of it I'm unable to tell, tho' I sincerely hope and pray it may be an equitable annexation to the U.S. by honorable and voluntary negotiation. I hope the President and Cabinet are disposed to do the fair and proper thing by this poor and weak people, and to discountenance all private schemes and misrepresentations. Some of the movers in the late operations [sic] here are the worst kind of "Filibusters", who would rob the Govt. and people of their power and rights and then make terms of annexation to suit their private purposes. They, (Americans, too) are opposed to annexation by negotiation on the part of this govt. Some of the English are very anxious for Annexation and some of them are opposed. The Germans are most generally opposed, tho' some of them are for it. A large majority of the Americans are in favor of it if it can be brought about by fair and proper means. I hope Mr. Benson of New York will not interest himself in the matter because anything that he might try to do in favor of it would have the opposite effect. There never was a poor nation or community more cursed with Doctors than this, and our lawyers are by no means a creditable set. The strongest, and I might reasonably say controlling spirit opposed to annexation (except in case of emergency [sic]) is the young Prince Liholiho. He gives his time almost entirely to public business now a days, does himself and his race great credit, by his manly and intelligent behaviour.

Please say to Mrs. Turrill that Mr. Angel delivered the sets of Jewelry for Mrs. Bishop, which were purchased by Mr. Hosmer in New York. They were very handsome and gave great satisfaction. I am much obliged to Mrs. Turrill, and her friends who made the selections; and I have passed the value of the articles $30. to your credit to be included in a small "Bill" which I hope to procure and remit to you soon. Your house &c are in very bad condition, and it would cost considerable money to put a new roof, and other necessary repairs upon it. I can get but little rent for it without making large outlays, but what little I do get I shall send to you unless otherwise requested by you. I hope we may have a rise in real estate soon that will enable me to realize sufficient to save you from loss, but my hope and faith are faint, and I know of nothing that can give things a jog forward—but annexation. I am a subscriber for Hunt's Merchants Magazine. My subscription will expire in Decr. and I will be much obliged if you will renew it for another year, paying postage &c in advance. They charged me before $5. for the Magazine, and $3.50 postage. I think the latter was overcharged. I think I requested you before to have the subscription for the weekly or California edition of the Tribune, renewed. I think I would prefer the latter tho' I'm not particular about it. Had we not better have a Worlds Exhibition at Honolulu? We're in a very central position, and might possibly call out our Japan neighbours. We have "lots" of New Bedford and New London agents for Whalers here this fall, and large amouts. of money. Exchange will be very low, perhaps at par. Mrs. Bishop sends her kindest regards to your family, in which I join her, and remain truly and respectfully, Yours &c.
[P.S.] I'm decidedly in favor of immediate annexation, not only because I'm an American, proud of the "stripes and stars" and expect to gain something by such a move, but because I'm an Hawaiian too, and believe that while such a change might bring its evils, it would on the whole be the best thing for the great majority of the population both native & foreign.

[P.P.S.] It is unnecessary for me to say to you that I have upon some points written very freely, and that it is all intended for your eye only.

30. Benjamin F. Angel to J. Turrill Honolulu Nov 21. [1853]

My dear Judge, It was my intention to have written you from New York & at the same time to have communicated to the State Department at Washington my views in respect to the policy most advisable in regard to the public service for these Islands; but upon mature reflection I thought I had better delay it until my arrival here, where my suggestions would more likely be regarded with more respect. Immediately after arriving here, I addressed a note to Gov Marcy suggesting the propriety of a special commission with definite instructions & general powers to open negociations with the Hawaiian Government for a cession of the Islands to the United [sic] and I strongly advised your selection to conduct the negociations.

The time was indeed most auspicious then, for a favorable result. The Kings government was in disrepute. The Judd Ministry was tottering to its downfall & both interests were ready & anxious to throw themselves into our arms. The only obstacle in the way was the young Prince Liholiho who was flattered by the English with the idea that it would be a charming thing to wear a crown. I was much disappointed therefore to learn as I did early in October that Mr. Gregg of Illinois had been appointed Comr. to these Islands.

Perhaps he may be just the man for the place but I never heard of him before, as a statesman or in private life, and it cannot be supposed that he possesses the same advantages which one acquainted with the leading men here would. You stand remarkably well with the King & Chiefs of the Islands and I know of no one who possesses their confidence to a greater extent than you do, with the exception perhaps of Judge Lee.

The re-organization of the Ministry has quieted public feeling & the question of annexation is not seriously agitated for the present. Mr. Gregg has not arrived.

Judge Lee has been very sick but is better now & has gone to Lahaina.

Mr. Bishop & his very pleasant & agreeable wife are very well and close neighbors to us. They seem much attached to you & your family and I find both you & your family have many warm & devoted friends on the Islands.

Thus far I am not well pleased with the place.

My office is very laborious & I think the Masters of Ships with whom I am brought into contact are exceedingly exacting & not a very agreeable class of
persons to do business with. We have had about a hundred whale ships here and sixty at Lahaina thus far.

There is left only 14 at Lahaina and ninety here. The fisheries have not been profitable. The catchings are very light, particularly in the Arctic. As you take the Polynesian you are posted on the subject of local news.

31. William L. Lee to J. Turrill
Honolulu Dec 17, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR: I dont remember whether I have written you since my long illness or not, but having a few moments of leisure I shall send my aloha to you, Mrs Turrill and the children, at a venture.

For 14 weeks I was on my back with a severe cough and bleeding at the lungs, brought on by excessive work day and night as well as the care of some 60 cases of the small pox. Had this attack been in any other than this bland, balmy climate, the hand now writing you would have been several feet below the ground. As it is, I am in miserable health, thin as a skeleton, and weak as an infant. But I am on the gain nevertheless, and have no doubt I shall eventually recover my full strength, though the physicians say that if I wish to live, I must abandon work altogether and take a sea-voyage. The probability is, that I shall take Mrs. Lee and make a trip to China, and, if possible, to Japan, and while I am getting health, enable Mrs. Lee to gratify her oriental curiosity. She is now on the highlands of East Maui drinking in the cool air of that delightful region and recuperating the energies she wasted over my sick bed. I shall leave to join her in the first steamer!

The small pox made sad havoc among us of this island, but we are not all dead yet. New stores and buildings of various kinds are going up all over the town, and with the aid of our steamboat and large fleet of whale[s], we manage to present some very animating scenes. Especially Saturday Afternoons when the "Akamai" makes a pleasure excursion, and the whole town rushes to the wharves to see her puff out of the harbor. Oh, the silks satins, and gay dresses that are streaming in every direction!

Makee is about to erect a large fire proof store of 3 stories, for Aldrich & Bishop, on the corner of Kaahumanu & Queen or Water Streets, the best stand in town. Allen has leased the old Skinner Store of Gen. Miller for $1500. per annum, and is making great improvements. Wm. Ladd & Fuller have leased the old market lot (33ft front & 77 ft deep) for 15 years at $1000. per year, and are to erect a store thereon—while Waterhouse, Von Holt, Sydney Spencer, Chapman and others have recently erected new stores in Nuuanu & King Streets. Melchers & Co, (a heavy German House) have built a splendid coral store just on the corner of Merchant & Kaahumanu Streets, adjoining the large Wooden Establishment of Coady & Co. at a cost of over $18000., and I can assure you the march of improvement is no snail’s pace. In the vicinity of your property there are several marked changes, some for the better and some for the worse. For instance, Rhodes has bought and greatly improved the old Court House premises for which he gets a rent of $700. per annum. The 2nd Foreign Church have bought the old Police Court Lot joining you on the Mauka side, and made it a very quiet and neat place; while on the Makai of your lot stands the Carpenter’s
shop and lumber yard of Mr. Lewers, which I should prefer to have at a distance. On the opposite side of the street from your house, on the Wm. Ladd lot Mr. Fuller is erecting a dwelling house; and Whitney, who has the Makai part of the same lot, is improving his premises.

Your water lot property remains in statu quo; but I consider it valuable, and will give you twice the money you paid me for it, that is to say, $2000. If this is not enough say what you will take, and name the lowest figure at once. If I bought it, it would be a mere speculation. At present your title is less than a fee simple, and I should get it commuted for a Royal Patent. If you do not wish to sell, and do wish to have a Royal Patent, tell me how much you are willing to give for one. I think this property is worth more than $2000. or I would not offer you that sum, but while it may be worth more than $2000. to me, it may not be to you, who are so far distant. Why dont you authorize Bishop or some else to try it at auction, giving him a limit, below which it must not be sold? In this way you could ascertain its market value. I fancy you expect some $5000. or $6000. for it, but I would not give you a farthing over $3000., if I would that. Its present value is nothing, and the only value it possesses is an imaginary one, based on the prospects of the future. If it should ever be occupied for building lots, it would then be worth a great deal, say $15000. or $20,000. but probably it never will during your life or mine.

Our lots on the Plains are just where you left them, adjoining Jarret's whose premises are in fine condition. They are not in demand now, and will not be perhaps till after annexation, when they, your water lots, and all other property must necessarily advance. The only bad property you have here is your House Premises, which are out of repair.

I believe I wrote you about the dismissal of Judd &c &c, and told you that the King left the naming of his successor entirely to me though I was very low at the time with the cough. Mr. Allen whom I named I think is a good man for his place. Judd felt the stroke severely, and his family were more deeply wounded than he. He is now practising his profession, and I hear is doing very well. With much love to Mrs Turrill, Lizzie, Willie & Mary, I remain, Yours Very truly,

[P.S.] The new Consul Mr. Angell is exceedingly unpopular with the Captains and they call him every mean name they can think of. The cause of this storm, is said, by some good men, to be Angell's hatred of oppression and his inclination to give Jack his due. I have seen very little of Mr. Angell, but what I have seen has led me to form a favorable impression of him. He may be indiscreet, but I believe him to be fair and honest.

Severance & family leave next week in the clipper "Young America" and we shall miss them much. Mr. S. is able, honest and conciliatory and we never expect to see his like again in the office of Commissioner. His successor has not arrived yet but is looked for hourly.

I see by a paper sent to Mrs Bishop that you are still taking premiums at the Agricultural Fairs. We at the Islands are just now very much interested in Wheat, some 1200. acres of which will be sowed this winter, and also in Sheep, which are rapidly increasing.
32. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

Honolulu Decr. 22d. 1853.

Dr. Sir, I have the pleasure to enclose to you the “first” of a set of Exchange for $347.00 dated this day, drawn by James A. Avery on Randall, Smith & Ashby of Mystic, Conn. at ten days sight. I have a strange old Frenchman for a tenant in your house, and have been expecting to have to sue him and his surety for the rent, but he surprised me the other day by paying up to the 20th. ulto. without any trouble. Since I recd. the rent I have been on the lookout for a “Bill” of the required amount, which is difficult to get as the Captains do not like to draw more than one bill, and that for the whole amount they require. The present rates of Exchange are from 3% to 7%. It has been fluctuating the whole season, and at no time above 10%.

Mr. Montgomery (Lawyer) wishes to purchase, or lease for ten or fifteen years a small fish pond on the upper edge of your water lot. It is twenty five or thirty feet square. In your Power of Attorney to me You do not authorize me to sell or lease any of your property, except the dwelling house. It does not mention any other property, and you have never intimated to me the length of time or rate for which you would lease your land (or water lot) above or below the bridge, or whether you would sell it, or at what price. I can do nothing with it except I have full powers, with limits as to price per acre or lot, for sale or lease. The whole lot might sell perhaps for $2000 or $2500, and possibly $3000. but I do not see any prospect of its being wanted in small lots, or for anything like building purposes, for a long time to come. If the old Fort should be torn away, the reef below it filled in, and the reef lots sold, the growth of the business part of the town would be in the opposite direction from your lot—which I think will be the case, tho' probably not for a year or two to come. Nothing short of Annexation will give us much of a start, and that seems to be far in the future.

Mr. Gregg & family have arrived in good health. He had an audience today, and is now Commissioner. I have not seen him yet. It seems to me strange that President Pierce should send a Catholic to this place as Commissioner. He may prove to be just the man, we'll see. Mr. Angel is not popular with any class or party that I know of, and, is exceedingly unpopular with the Captains of vessels, and with some of the agents & owners. They have got a long list of names on a petition to the President, asking for his removal. Great Nonsense. There are undoubtedly faults on both sides. He is vain, petulent and imprudent—has no control over his tongue or temper, and they (the Captains &c) are as you know, an unreasonable, clanish and selfish set.

The late Commissioner, Mr. Severance & family and Mrs. John Ladd will leave for the U.S. next week in the “Young America”. He (Mr. S) is an excellent man, and we are very sorry to lose him and his family.

Mr. Wyllie has recently purchased the Pelly place for $4000. It is in good repair. Houses in good order rent readily now for from $500. to $700. for dwellings. If your house were in as good order as when you left it I could let it for from $500. to $600. but as it is, I'm surprised that even the old Frenchman will occupy it at any rate of rent. The roof is so bad that in wet weather it is difficult to find a dry place inside. It would cost nearly, if not quite $1000 to put the place in good repair. I shall be much obliged if you will get some one else to take charge
of your property here. I'm too busy with my own affairs to attend to any one else's interests.

Judge Lee has been very unwell for a long time past, and is now in poor health. He & Mrs. L are at Lahaina now.

Hubbard I believe is living with Lathrop, I see him but seldom. He looks poorly—broken down. Lathrop is doing tolerably well in his profession, and might do very well, if he would let other matters alone.

The King and Chiefs are about as usual. Also Wyllie and Genl. Miller. Since Allen's appointment, and the publication of Mr. Severance's letter, The Genl. and Monsr. Perrin have been very quiet. Doct. Judd is doing a fair business in his profession. His office is next door to our store.

I see by a late paper which Mrs. Bishop recd. from Lizzie that you and your family were successful competitors in several departments at the County Agricultural Fair.

Please renew my subscription for Hunt's Merchant's Magazine for 1854, and pay the postage. They charged me $5. for subscription & $3. for postage for this year. I think the Postage was overcharged.

The U.S.S. "Portsmouth" is to sail this afternoon and will take a mail. With kind regards to all your family from Mrs Bishop and myself, I remain, in great haste Yours very truly

33. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

Honolulu Jany 20th 1854.

MY DEAR SIR, Yours of Oct 17th 1853, enclosed with the joint letter of Mrs T — and "Lizzie" came duly to hand. On the 22d. ultimo I wrote you and enclosed an account current to that date, and the "First" of a set of Exchange for $347, drawn by James A Avery on Messrs Randall Smith & Ashby of Mystic, Conn. at ten days sight, dated Decr. 22d. I now enclose the "Second" of the same Exchange, payable to your order — also a copy of the title for the four Lots purchased by you, and mentioned in your last letter. Perhaps you would prefer to have me send the original document, if so, let me know. I hope to get $3500. for your house, tho' I dont know now who will buy it at that price. Houses are letting for good rents, and there is a good deal of building going on now.

I'm much obliged for the trouble you have taken about the "Tribune" for me. I have placed to your credit the amot. paid for the present year $2.26.

New York politics are a perfect medly. The Dem. party seems to be split up past all cure. President Pierce's manouvering to unite all factions and secure his re-election appear to be a perfect failure. I hope he will be favorable to annexation of the Islands upon terms that will be just, and acceptable to this Govt. I can see no other wise course for this Govt. but negotiation, with a view to bring about that result. We are too weak to defend ourselves even against Filibusters, and too poor to make any progress except at a dying rate. We have among us a set of men with no honesty, no principle except to make trouble, and serve their own ends without regard to the rights of others. Pray excuse me for saying that I consider G.A.L. [Dr. George A. Lathrop] one of the worst of the class I have mentioned. I would not say so harsh a thing of him did I not feel that I had the best of reasons for such a conclusion, and I know that you will not mention it.
You will not be surprised that we should stand in fear of "Filibusters" when you see the account of their proceedings against Lower California, and learn that the U.S. officers in San Francisco did nothing to stop the expedition, but rather encouraged it. Perhaps an expedition against the Islands would be equally popular with them, and a large number of California "Land Pirates". We should have no fear of the troublesome people among us, were it not for the dangerous neighbours we have in Cala. [California]

Mr. Bates has been very indiscreet in writing letters for publication in the U.S. and some other vain and thoughtless acts, and has thereby incurred the hatred of the "agitators". Doct. Lathrop and twelve others have lately sent in a petition for the removal of Mr. Bates from office. The petition is bitter towards Bates, insulting to the King and his principal officers, and threatening towards the Govt. The last three numbers of the "New Era" have been nearly filled with violent communications relating to Bates. The next move will probably be to get up a large petition and agitation meetings—and if he should not be removed, "indignation meetings" will follow, thick and fast. I shall send you one of the papers referred to, containing a letter written by either Mr. Blair or Doct. Lathrop. Blair boards with the Doct.

Mr. Wyllie told me the other day that he had written you relative to matters and things here. Mr. Wyllie is a kind hearted person and has some excellent traits, and I know that you have a good deal of respect for him. At the same time he has great weaknesses and does some very foolish things. You would be surprised to see copies of some letters that I have seen, written by Mr. W—to Ten Eyck and Brinsmade. You would suppose that Mr. W considered them perfect patterns of men, that they had always done just right, and that they were his very dearest friends. He was very severe upon Judd and Armstrong—and upon the Missionaries. I know that you hate "todyism" as much as I do; and while I do not wish to injure Mr. W. I thought I would tell you these facts that you might know how to value his letters.

Our new Commissioner seems to be a cautious, slow-and-easy sort of man. He appears very well so far, but we would be glad to exchange him for the old one. His wife is a very pleasant person, as is also Mrs. Angel. I cannot get up any sort of respect for Mr. Angel. He is too much like Ten Eyck, vain, petulant and insincere.

Judge Lee has been very unwell a long time, but is now much better, and improving. I think Mrs. Lee intends writing Mrs. Turrill by this mail. I would do so too if I had the time, but will have to postpone it 'till next mail.

Mrs. Bishop joins me in very kind regards to your family. Tell Fred that "Becky" had the small pox, but is alive and well. Her husband and son died.

I should be very happy to visit your home and farm. You are becoming quite noted as an Agriculturalist. I hope you find it profitable, as well as interesting.

Very truly yours &c

34. Joel Turrill to W. L. Lee

Just as I was settling down to write to Mr. B.[ishop] I rec'd. yours of the 28th. Sept., and having recd. no answer from Mr. B. to my last, I will defer
writing to him for a few days, that I may without delay acknowledge the receipt of yours. You do not seem to have regained your health as rapidly as I expected, still I trust ere long to hear that you have recovered your usual health again. I have not been in Washington since last December and do not pretend to be posted in relation to political movements there. The newspapers say that the Islands are now to be annexed. I enclose one or two articles as a sample of what issues daily from the press. I have no information as to the state of matters in the question except what I obtain from the papers. Should annexation take place as I think it will and that too in a short period, H.[onolulu] will in a short time thereafter become an important point, property will rise rapidly in value, & the business of the place will increase beyond the expectations of the most sanguine. One thing is certain, an independent Govt. cannot be long maintained at the Islands. They must soon pass into the hands of some power.

By the bye I see that the old General is out with a long formal protest against annexation, a protest of that description comes with an ill grace from that quarter and it will have no effect here. Both E & F. have business enough on hand at this time without entering into any controversy with Uncle Sam or any other strong power. Under all the conditions I think its a most possible time for the Islands to come into the Union, and they must come in as a free territory.

It seems from your letter that I was mistaken as to your grantor having a fee to the water property which you conveyed to me, but I am not mistaken in the fact that I understood at the time, that with the exception of squatter titles, which a few natives, having grass houses, pretended to have, I rec'd a perfect title, or rather a title to perfect which would require no further advances on my part. And whereas very anxious to have a clear title to all real estate I own, I took immediate steps to get rid of those natives, and until the rep't. of your poor title I was not aware that there was anything further for me to do in the [piece?]. At the time I should not have made the purchase had I not supposed I were to have a good title for the money paid, and I got the impression that the grantor owned the same in fee.

35. William L. Lee to J. Turrill

Honolulu Feby 26, 1855.

MY DEAR JUDGE, Yours of December last is rec'd. and I hasten to send a line in reply.

You are clearly mistaken in thinking I had a fee simple title for the land I sold you. The facts, and I stated them to you at the time of sale, are these. I bought of an old woman named Kekualoa and paid part of the purchase money to the King, he being her heir. The King, and Paki, his agent, objected strongly to the sale; but finally consented, the king receiving part of the purchase money and giving me a receipt for the same. This receipt I showed to you at the time, and you advised me to be very careful of it, and I followed your advice. Kekualoa gave me a warrantee deed, but considering her warrantee of little value, I applied for a fee simple for a portion of the land, including the piece sold to you, and obtained it. For the remaining portion, I have no fee simple yet, and I am not sure that I shall obtain one, as Governor Kekuanaoa opposes my application, or rather he will, because I will not give him a strip which adjoins his land. Not
satisfied with the title, though I had Kekualoa's Warrantee Deed and the King's receipt, I last March paid the King $300. more to join in a quit claim deed of the land. I now have Kekualoa's warrantee deed, and the King's quit claim, but would willingly give $500. more to have a Royal Patent, which alone can put an end to the Government right, and render my title perfect.

Your mistake has arisen from your recollection of the King's receipt, which, no doubt, you considered as equivalent to a Royal Grant. To show you how impossible it was that I should have a fee simple title at the time I sold you, I would state, that Kekualoa did not even get an award for the land from the Land Commission until 1854, when I, having an interest in the matter, resigned my office as President of the Land Commission, and Liholiho, the present King, was appointed in my place, and the Commission approved her claim, which was disputed by Governor Kekuanaoa, who claimed all the land I sold to you.

I expect to leave with Mrs Lee for home in about three weeks, and we shall not fail to visit you at Oswego, where I am sure I shall be able to convince you of your error. This done, I shall leave it entirely with you to say, whether I should receive anything or not. What I consider vastly more important than the money, is to convince you that my claim is not an unfounded one.

Annexation for the present is hopeless, and those who have counted on it to enhance the value of their lands are woefully disappointed. The new King will not, of course, lay down his crown, unless driven to it by necessity, and he is infinitely stronger on his throne than the late King. He is sober, intelligent, and capable of inspiring respect, not only among his own people, but with foreigners of every class. Lot too has improved amazingly.

Bishop is as usual in a flourishing condition, and he and Aldrich, next to Capt. Spencer, are said to be making more money than any one else in town. Bishop is the cautious, financial member of the firm, and Aldrich the selling member. Bishop grows every day in public esteem.

Armstrong still remains in his old post, though it was with great difficulty that I could persuade the King to keep him in. The Chiefs have lost confidence in him, and went to the King in a body and made a dead set for his removal. Others, outside of the Government helped on the assault.

Bates is also in place as District Attorney and Register of Conveyances, but I could not keep him in the Privy Council. The Chiefs were strong against him, on account of his having made a very indiscreet speech at a Fourth of July Dinner last summer, & for having written some imprudent letters to newspapers at home, on the subject of annexation. I told the King I would consider it a personal favor if he would reappoint Bates, and he did so, and made out his commission, but on the day of delivery the Chiefs remonstrated and said they would not sit with him, and therefore it was withheld. Bates is a much better man than some folks think, and this has been a severe cut to him.

I hope soon to meet you, and there then we can talk over matters at length. Mrs. Lee sends much love to Mrs. Turrill, and wonders she does not hear from her. Lizzie's name is kept in fresh remembrance in Honolulu. Indeed, we never had a young lady here who is so universally beloved. Remember me very kindly to Mrs T. and all the family & believe me Yours Ever truly
MY DEAR SIR. I have been very negligent about replying to your letters, and therefore, beg your pardon.

Yours of—I forget the date, and have it not before me) enclosing the deed to Mr. Aldrich came quickly and safely to hand. The Mortgage from him to you has been signed by himself and wife, and has been recorded.

Mr. Aldrich has improved the old place very much, having expended some $2000. upon it, but it is not worth over $5000. now.

You will see by the "Polynesian" that there are a great many lots of land in the Market. I do not hear of many purchases, and none at high prices. Old Mr. Reynolds has finally leased some of his lots, and will e'er long have to sell them to pay his debts. There is no prospect now of your being able to get a large price very soon for your water lots; and those lots that you and Judge Lee own situated at the east of the town are not in demand, and would not now bring much if anything over fifty dollars each. Lots are plenty, and money is scarce.

You will probably have seen Judge Lee when this reaches you, and will have improved the opp'y to settle the question as to whether you are to pay him anything more to perfect your title to the water lots.

The Govt. will improve some lots and build some new wharves seaward from the Fort, this summer; and when the fort shall be removed the growth of the business part of the town will be in that direction.

Annexation, if not dead, is very sound asleep at present, and the Govt. appears to be stronger than it has been for several years. We hear nothing of Filibusterism, and nothing of Annexation; in fact, it would be almost treason to even mention the latter. If the present Govt. can be maintained, and we can get a treaty of reciprocity with our good Uncle Sam, it will be better for the natives than, and quite as well for most of the foreigners as, Annexation. But whether the present Govt. can maintain its independence long, is a doubtful case. The Natives are strong in their faith in the good promises of the English and French, but I have little confidence in either.

There should be no blame attached to the King for breaking off negotiations for Annexation; because the truth is, the King, Chiefs, and most of the people have been Strongly opposed to it, first and last, appearances, letters and newspaper reports to the contrary notwithstanding; and all that was done was at the advice and threats of Americans, and nothing has been gained. But enough of these matters, Judge Lee can tell you more and better than I can.

Your letters of Febry 3d. & Jany 25th. were only read; the one of the latter date containing the affidavit of James Bartin, came to hand March 29th. I went immediately to enquire of Spencer if he knew anything about the vessel, the "Hillman", and was told by Hanks that she touched at Lahaina, and had gone on north. So you see there is no chance for doing anything towards getting the boy to send him home before next fall. The opp'y's for sending him will be much more favorable then, than now, for returning him to his parents. I hardly know what could be done with him if I had him here now, without money, and probably almost without clothing. After making one northern cruise he will probably have had enough of the business, and will be quite willing to go home.
I have the letter for him, and will be on the watch for him next fall, and send him home if I can.

Mr. McCully has been in our employ ever since his arrival. He struck us so favorably, and you spoke so highly of him that we made an arrangement with him at once. He is a young man of good character, good education and good habits, but is as ignorant of business as a person of his age could well be. I fear he has mistaken his calling. He is not such a man as we want, and we shall have to supply his place better help, tho’ I shall be very sorry to discourage him, by turning him off. He has more of the manner and habits of a teacher, than of a business man.

I do not consider your claim against D. Frick L. L. D. worth one franc. With the very kind regards of Mrs. Bishop and myself to your family. I remain, Truly Yours

[P. S.] I am so much in the habit of writing business letters with copying ink, and writing only on every other page, that I passed this page without noticing it, and thought I had filled four pages remarkably quick.

We have got an inoffensive half and half sort of Consul [Darius A. Ogden] now, but he is decidedly better than A[ngel]. I think we never had a Consul whose influence was morally so bad, so barren of any redeeming qualities as A. I do not know that he had the confidence or respect of a single individual here. All were glad to have him leave. He gave some of the people here to understand that he thought his chance good for being the next Governor of New York! Because he was rejected by the U.S. Senate on account of Freesoilism!! He a Freesoiler! He Govr. of New York!! God help the Empire State if such men as he can get her support except at Auburn or Sing Sing. Liberty’s lovers may well despair, and New Yorkers the world over burn with shame and mortification when he is made Governor. I cant believe that he is half known even in his own town, or he could not have been sent here.

An extensive forgery has just been discovered, by which we have lost $6300.00 and Mr. Angel has lost at least $3000. and how much more I do not know. The amort. of forgeries discovered amount to upwards of $40,000. in “Whalers Bills”, sold by Swan & Clifford ship chandlers in Honolulu, but now absent in parts unknown. I understand that Page Bacon & Co. have one Bill for $5000, which they purchased from Angel, with his guarantee upon it, and which has been declared a forgery, protested, and returned.

[P. S.] Shall you want Mr. Aldrich to pay his note when it becomes due next fall, or had you rather it would remain unpaid, on payment of interest, for another year?


MY DEAR JUDGE We arrived here last Evening in 24 hours 53 minutes from Buffalo! and this morning had a Sandwich Island gathering in Mr. Ladd’s Parlor No 78. The company was composed of Mr & Mrs Ladd, Mr & Mrs Peck, Mr. Bond, Nevins Armstrong, Mr. Parke, Mr. Bunker & others and we had a real Methodist Love Feast. Oh these Sandwich Island friendships are the genuine article—not cold, stony ceremonious like those they get up in this country.
We had a delightful time at the Falls and in Buffalo and I was sorry we could not return to Niagara to see Lizzie & party, but our friends held us tight.

The Ladds are on their way to Oswego & send Aloha nui. They say you may expect them the last of this week.

Mrs Lee says tell Mrs Turrill her note came to hand this morning & she is much obliged. Yours truly

38. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill (By Barque Yankee) Honolulu 28 December 1855

MY DEAR SIR. It afforded me much pleasure to receive by the last mail, your letter of the 25th October.

My efforts in support of the Hawaiian King and nation, are precisely, what you would make, if placed in my position—what Mr. Lee makes, & what your successor Mr. Allen makes in the Department which he so ably and honourably fills.

The Treaty of reciprocity so successfully negotiated by Mr. Lee, when ratified by the Senate, will remove all reasonable pretexts for overthrowing the King’s Government, and greatly conduce to the development of our rich agricultural resources. I pray most devoutly that the Negotiator may arrive in health, to receive the thanks of the Kings Government for his eminent services. Since you were here, an immense trade in lumber &c with Oregon & Pugets Sounds has started up; our imports thence lately, have far exceeded our exports thither so that the advantages of the Reciprocity Convention, for some years, perhaps many, will be greatest, on the side of the U. States. But we are far from begrudging that advantage to our nearest and best neighbours.

The Commissioner, Mr. Gregg has, I think, done his part zealously & honourably, to favour the successs of Mr. Lee’s negotiations; and he is not a man to support any convention that he does not believe to be for the benefit, as well as the honour of his country. Upon these points, he is, perhaps, but too sensitive.

We are happy in having a very excellent Consul of the U. States, in the person of Mr. Ogden; and so were in that of Mr. Chase, at Lahaina, who lately died, much regretted.

What we much want is a vessel of War of the U. States permanently stationed in our waters. Lee has also done much to secure this. The magnitude of American interests & the numbers of their shipping require it.

I shall always be happy to hear from you, when you are at leisure and I remain

My dear Sir yours ever truly

Honolulu 28 December 1855

39. R. C. Wyllie to Mrs. Joel Turrill (By Barque Yankee)

MY DEAR MRS. TURRILL. What you write is always so clever (I dont mean clever in Yankee, but in English sense), that however much you cut me up, I thankfully kiss the lash. This especially applies to your letter of the 25th October, which I received on the 15 inst. I am chastized, yet meek under my whipping. Do tell the fair Widow that you have generously bespoken for me, what a sweet tempered submissive young man I am—and the same to the young ladies you refer to, in case the widow should turn up her nose at me. But, pray how come
you so soon to forget Miss Corney of whom you endeavoured to persuade me, that she was mistress of my heart! She is still in the market, and being by far too good for me, I would gladly see her tied to some better man. I have a kind of preference for the Yankee girls, to be revenged upon them by making one my victim, during my whole life. I assure you the Widow will catch a Tartar, if I ever catch her, which I much doubt. Widows are wary—and the American ladies in general, guess, reckon, and calculate, with most alarming sagacity.

I am glad to hear such good accounts of Miss Turrill, Miss Mary, William and Frederick. You do not say that William has outgrown his fits, but I hope he has. Dr. & Mrs. Lathrop & their children are well & so are Mrs. Davis, Mr. & Mrs. Spencer & their little daughter who are staying with the Doctor. Mrs. Lathrop is threatened with disease of the knee-joint, but being so young & otherwise in good health, I hope she will get over it. Miss Severance is daily expected to be married to Mr. Parke; but as for poor me—"nobody coming to marry me"

"nobody coming to wed."

I am very anxious to see Mr. & Mrs. Lee arrive in good health. His disease, I am sorry to say, is one of little promise. Yet, I cling to the hope that his lungs may not be so far gone, as the physicians have reported. You will learn all our local news, of Mrs. Judd & her daughters, who are a good deal missed here, in local circles. With kind compliments to your daughters & two boys, and a whole mountain of pure love for the widow, I remain your dear Mrs. Turrill Yours ever truly


My dear Judge Yesterday I requested the King to call a Cabinet Council, which was done, and I laid before it a resolution authorizing Mr. Wyllie to Empower you to go on to Washington and labor for our new treaty. The resolution was passed, and you will hear from Mr Wyllie on the subject by the first mail. I told the King you would [do] more for us than any one else, and only charge your expenses as I had had a conversation with you on the subject before leaving home. The King requested me when I next wrote you to remember him very kindly to you, Mrs Turrill and Lizzie. He is to be married to Miss Rooke next month if his new house in the Palace yard is finished.

Upon the success of our treaty, depends in a great degree, it is generally thought, the fate of Honolulu, in a business sense, and I doubt not you will view the subject as we do, and put forth your best efforts to get the treaty ratified. The value of your property here will be greatly enhanced I think, if your labors are successful, and so will that of every other of real estate in this City. That the treaty will be ratified I have no doubt whatever, as Mr. Marcy told me I need give myself no anxiety on that point, but we need some one on the ground to watch it; and you are just the man.

Angell, who is sojourning in Washington, writes that he has been sent for by the Committee of the Senate, having the matter in charge & that he has done all he could to help us; & that the individual members of the Committee speak

33 Three of Wyllie's official dispatches (omitted here) are in the Collection.
favorably of the treaty. He adds that there is no fear, he thinks, of its failure. He also says he was offered the post of Secy. of Legation to England under Mr. Dallas, etc, etc. Evidently he thinks he is talking to the Marines.

Enclosed I send you a note of introduction to my nephew Mr. Wakeman one of the N.Y. members who takes a lively interest in our affairs, and will heartily co-operate with you. I also send you another to Mr. [Thomas T.] Flagler, another member, with whom I have a slight acquaintance, & who promised to labor for us. Mr. F. & my eldest brother married sisters. Haven of Buffalo & [Russell] Sage of Troy also promised me aid. So did Mr. Sumner in the Senate; and the 12 Republican votes in that body, are not without weight, where you require two thirds for a ratification.

With Mr. Marcy you are well acquainted, and I would advise you to show him Mr. Wyllie’s letter, and get his advice as to what steps it would be wise for you to take to effect your purpose.

Honolulu is very dull, and yet our business men so far as I know are making money. No one is doing better than our mutual friend Bishop, who is now one of our very best merchants.

Dr. Lathrop, as you have doubtless heard, is acting U.S. Consul in the absence of Mr. Ogden.

With unmeasured love to Mrs Turrill, Lizzie & the rest of the family I remain Yours truly.

41. W. L. Lee to J. Turrill
Honolulu 31st. May 1856.

MY DEAR JUDGE Ere this arrives you will have received my letter of last month as well as Mr. Wyllie’s informing you that the King desired you to visit Washington at his expense; & push through our Reciprocity Treaty.

By the “Frances Palmer”, which is to sail in a few days, Mr Allen leaves for the U.S. on a visit; & the King has appointed him Envoy Extraordinary, (he to pay his own expenses, except while in Washington) to settle an ugly affair existing between us & the U.S. in reference to flogging a sailor during my absence. The facts are as follows: Last fall an American Seaman, George Bailey, was found guilty, mainly on his own confession, of an attempt to commit larceny, and the Police Justice, J.E. Chamberlain, ordered him to be whipped twenty lashes, the same as if guilty of petit larceny. He was so whipped; & Mr. Gregg complained. This Govt. disavowed the act of the Police Justice; expressed its regret; and told Mr. Chamberlain he must resign: they not having the power to remove him under the Constitution. Mr. C. did resign; & this Govt. invited Mr. Bailey to prosecute him & seek his redress before the tribunals of the Kingdom. This Mr. Gregg declined doing, & made his demand for five thousand dollars to be paid to Bailey. This Govt. said no; but we will arbitrate the matter, or consent to the payment of one hundred dollars to be made by Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Gregg grew furious; declined arbitration; used a great deal of Buncomb [sic] for home consumption; and without any concert with Mr. Wyllie referred the whole matter to Washington for instructions; & has been directed by Mr. Marcy to demand one thousand dollars. Mr. Gregg has sent his demand of one thousand dollars as an ultimatum, & this Govt. declines to accede to the same, & has empowered Mr Allen to settle the affair at Washington.
We take the position that Geo. Bailey cannot complain of a denial of justice until he has sought his remedy against Mr. Chamberlain in the local tribunals of this country; & that until there has been a refusal of justice the case cannot properly be made an international one.

I hope Mr. Marcy, who is honest & magnanimous, will, when he comes to hear the whole case, recede from the Demand; for if he does not, we shall submit to violence sooner than pay a cent.

The whole matter has been blunderingly managed, & now assumes a very serious aspect. I feel very badly at the position of affairs, for up to this day the record of the U.S. in her dealings with the Sandwich Islands is free from spot or blemish. Moreover, I fear it may endanger the success of our reciprocity treaty.

Mr. Allen is instructed to co-operate with you, if necessary, in your labors to obtain the ratification of the new treaty, but he of course is to do nothing to interfere with your plans.

We are to have a new paper here, American in its tone, to be conducted by Whitney, but I fear it may not be discreetly managed; & consequently fail.

Reynold’s town Lots have all been sold at first rate prices. The Punchard Lot, on the Corner of Queen & Nuuanu Streets sold for $12983.00 However, real Estate is dull.

My health is still very miserable, but I keep in the harness, & jog on as best I can—consious that my labors must soon end.

Mrs Lee, Bishop & wife, & all your other friends are in usual health & spirits. Give my love to Mrs Turrill, Lizzie, Mary & Willie & believe me In great haste
Your truly

42. Joel Turrill to W. L. Lee [Draft]  Washington July 13th. 1856

My dear Sir Mr Willies [sic] Despatch, accompanied by your letter, was duly received. I arrived in Washington the latter part of last week. On my arrival I ascertained that Mr Marcy was rusticating with his family in the country about four miles beyond Georgetown. I obtained a carriage and went immediately to see him. He read Mr Willies Despatch carefully from beginning to end. As he was folding it up, he remarked in his offhand way "I am glad you have come on. There is some difficulty in the committee about the treaty. It meets with opposition there and I have not time to go and see them. I wish you to do it and report to me the situation of things, and I will render you any aid in my power."

I have seen Mr Mason, Chairman of the Comt. and one or two other members. I am in hopes of doing away with all objections, so far at least as to obtain a favorable report from the Comt. in a few days. When once before the Senate, I think a constitutional majority can be obtained for it (in favor of the Treaty). One, and I may say, the principal objection is to that clause in the Treaty which assumes to regulate the Tariff. Some Senators contend that the revenue laws cannot be altered by Treaty. There are several other objections of minor importance.

I am personally acquainted with several prominent Senators, having formerly been in the House of Representatives with them, and they are disposed to render me any assistance in this matter, consistent with their duties as Senators. I have
full confidence therefore that the Treaty will be out of the hands of the Comt. where it has reposed, I believe for months, and receive the favorable action of the Senate in a few days. It shall not fail for want of exertion on my part. I think it fortunate that I came on at this time. There was danger that the Treaty might have been overlooked, amid the confusion and great excitement of the Presidential campaign.

The heat here is almost intolerable. I shall leave as soon as I am satisfied that the treaty is safe. You are aware that Congress must pass a law upon the subject before the treaty can go into effect, after the Senate have ratified it but that only requires a majority vote.

I write this informal letter in haste merely to apprise you that I am attending to the business referred to in Mr Willie's Despatch. I will give a more formal answer to that as soon as I know the fate of the treaty. Yours truly

43. Gerrit P. Judd to J. Turrill
Honolulu, Apr 6, 1857

MY DEAR SIR, Would there arrive a vessel of some kind from San Francisco bringing a mail I have no doubt of hearing from you in relation to the Hospital but as there is none and I feel as anxious about it as the place is worth to me I venture to write you again a word about it. People here think no changes will be made. I don't. And I hope you or some other man nearly as good will get the Consulate at Honolulu. For fear you may not have read my former letter I will repeat my request, viz, that you will see the new Consul as soon as appointed and bargain for the Hospital for me and the Boarding for Charles. I will do all you promise for me in a quiet way.

To show that I am now a Dr. I enclose advertisement and state that I am the only Dr. that owns his own Shop, a fine building opposite J. H. Woods brick Shoe Store. I attend the Fort Hospital at present, but it is not enough for me to do & you know I don't like to be idle.

I offer the Consul a home in my family, an office & flagstaff, and I guarantee a good hospital in a fine situation a little out of town. If he will pledge me these appointments for 4 years I will also do what you engage for me and if there is time after I hear from the arrangement I will meet him in San Francisco, where I shall be obliged to go to procure medicines, & escort him to Honolulu.

My family are well, Elisabeth is expected in 3 weeks from S.F. is engaged to be married I understand.

Judge Lee fails daily. Came back from his short whaling voyage very low, stays at Dr. Woods house. The Dr brings him down stairs every morning places him in a carriage & they take a short drive. No one to take his place. But I must close with kind regards to Mrs T. and all the family, Yours very truly

44. Charles R. Bishop to Joel Turrill
Honolulu June 26th 1857

DR. SIR. Yours of March 20th, and the former one in which you gave me limits and directions for disposing of your water lots were duly read.

The death of our dear friend Lee, (of which you will be informed by the pamphlet and Polynesian sent herewith) tho' long expected, is a heavy blow, and has brought sadness upon the whole community. It is unnecessary for me to write to you of his great worth as a public officer, and a private man, or of the
great love and respect which all persons had for him who knew him. You knew
him, and will sympathise with his other friends. Mrs. Lee is now at Mr. J.F.B.
Marshall’s, but will soon make other arrangements for the time that she will
remain here.

After I recd. your letter relative to disposing of your lots by auction, and
found that your ideas as to its value were so very different from my own, I took
the opportunity to quietly sound some persons whom I thought might wish to
buy at a price, but met with no encouragement. Then I advised with two or three
upon the subject of trying it by auction, and found that they thought as I did,
that it would be worse than useless. One man said he would not think of it if he
were in my place, for to try it with such a limit would make me “appear ridicu-
lous”. When I heard that Hanks was bound for the United States, and that he
intended to visit you, I asked him to look at the property—showed him the plan
of it, and also asked him to talk with some others about it, its value &c, without
mentioning your price. He did so, and afterwards said he did not consider it
worth $1000. and would not give that much for it, and that he should say
so to you.

The shipping business has greatly fallen off since you were in Honolulu, and
the place has changed greatly in many respects. Several new streets have been
opened, and a great deal of town and country lands have been thrown into
market. Some of the King’s lands, Mr. Reynolds’ property and a great deal be-
sides, so that it is not now difficult to get lots either for business or other pur-
poses. The Govt. is spending a good deal of money in filling in and improving
to seaward of the old Fort, and in a short time the fort will be removed and fine
lots will be offered for sale. The only improvement on your side is the New Prison
which stands on the high ground beyond. Yours does not border upon the
harbor or upon any of the business parts of the town, and in order to make it fit
for any use would involve a large outlay. As I have said before, you made a great
mistake when you refused the good offers you had several years ago, and unless
something happens to Honolulu that I do not anticipate, you will not get another
such offer within ten years. I would be happy to give some encouragement, and
to have you make some money out of that property, but it seems to me out of
the question.

We are very sorry that Mr. Allen failed in getting the Treaty ratified. Had he
gone straight on and arrived at Washington a week or two earlier than he did, ie,
before the close of the previous session, he would probably have succeeded.
“Delays are dangerous”. The Change in the tariff so far as low priced wools are
concerned will do us some good, but the reduction on sugar is so small that it
will make very little difference.

We are having an exceedingly dull summer, and a prospect of less business
in the fall season than we have had heretofore.

Do they pack in your city, any flour in quarter bbl tins and those in cases for
export? If so what is the extra cost for such packing over the ordinary barrel?
Corn Starch is an article manufactured largely in Oswego. Can you tell me at what
price they will deliver it at in Boston packed in tin lined cases of two to three
doz one pound papers each?
Report says our Commissioner has asked to be recalled, and I think most of the people hope it is so. Mr Pratt, the new Consul is daily expected, and when he arrives John Ladd will try for his old place again.

The King behaves like a gentleman now-adays, and he is much respected for the ability that he has shown in several instances. Politically we are getting along quietly and smoothly, but morally there is opp’y for great improvement. Mr Wyllie is the same as usual. Revd. R Armstrong is about to leave for the U.S. to try to raise money for the Oahu College, which is greatly in need of an endowment.

Please remember Mrs Bishop and myself with great kindness to all your family, and say to Mrs T. that I will answer her good letter very soon. I am always happy to hear from her, and that she should write to me when her eyes are so feable [sic] is a mark of regard that I try to appreciate. Truly Yours &c

45. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill Per “Yankee” Honolulu Decr. 4th 1857

DR. Sir. I have the pleasure to enclose herewith my a/c Current with you up to the 1st instant, and the “First” of Exchange by David Marston on Messrs Jenney & Tripp of Fair Haven, Mass. @ 10 days sight, your favor, for eight hundred fifty eight & 42/100 dollars ($858.42) to balance the a/c. Mr. Hanks procured this bill for me, and says he considers it “A. #1”.

I am dreadfully disappointed in not being able to make “a good thing” for you this year on the Exchange. I counted upon 12% and have got nothing. Aldrich & Bishop make large remittances by this mail. Mrs. Lee remits. Mr. Bates remits to Mr. Angel, and dozens of people remit who have been disappointed in the same way, and have purchased at par. Early in Octr. the rate was 10% and everyone supposed that by the 15 to 20th of Novr. (the time at which it has always been the highest) the rate would surely reach 12 to 15% but the fleet has been smaller than usual, and the New Bedford & New London owners have sent out enormous quantities of supplies, so that the amounts drawn for, have been very small, and all our wise calculations have failed. Capt. T Spencer, knowing my disappointment on your a/c, offers to write a letter confirming what I have stated, but I enclose a note which I recd. a few days ago from Mrs Lee. Mr. Aldrich was ready to pay his interest money when it fell due, but I did not draw it until I found where I could purchase a draft. He does not want to pay any of the principal this fall, and I understand from you that you are willing to let it remain on interest. I was on the Island of Kauai during the months of Septr. & Octr. and had no money of yours on hand when Exchange was abundant at 10%, and if I had been at home and had the money, I would have held for a better rate, for as I said before, the Ship Chandlers and everybody else felt sure of 12 to 15% in November.

I am sorry that you did not see Mr. Hanks when he was home, for I am confident that he would have convinced you, that the value you set upon your property here is all together speculative, and will not be realized in our life time—that you have always valued it too high, and have lost a good bargain in refusing the offer made by Mr. Lee. The Government is filling in and improving—at great expense, a larger space on the other side of the harbor, which they will sell or lease next spring. Your last letter, for which I am in your debt, is at my house and I forget its date. I am also in debt for valuable favors of that kind to others
of your family, and my excuse—a good and true one too—is, that since our return from Kauai I have been very busy. The value of the music ordered by Mrs B. from "Lizzie", I do not know, but will give credit when I do know. There were three rolls of it came to hand by the last mail, but no letter. Mrs B will acknowledge of course. We have had a miserable season for trade, and the "hard times" which were, by last accounts, carrying off so many in the U.S. will probably pinch some of our traders.

With Kindest regards to your family, I remain, Very Truly Yours,

P.S. We have a very "rough old chap" for U.S. Consul now. He has thus far given satisfaction to the Captains, owners and merchants, but how Jack fares in his hands I cannot say.

JOEL TURRILL IN ACCOUNT CURRENT WITH CHAS. R BISHOP

1856  Dr.
May 6  To Paid A.B.Bates for recording Mortgage W.A.Aldrich $ 3.00
Octr. 22 "  " W.L.Lee, commutation for fee simple title to land previously purchased from him, situated on west side of Honolulu 200.00
Decr. 16 "  " Cash loaned to H.A.Pierce & Co. for 10 mos. 540.00
24 "  " Paid for Stamp $1. Recording Deed from W.L.Lee $3. 4.00
"  " Paid for "Friend" one year, up to Jany 1/57 2.00

1857
Decr. 1 "  " Paid Thos. Spencer for David Marston's draft @ 10 days sight on Jenney & Tripp of Fair Haven Mass. for $858.42 to order Joel Turrill 858.42
"  " 5% Commission on $1123.60 56.18

$1663.60

1856  CONTRA Cr.
Octr. 22 By Cash from W.A.Aldrich, on a/c Interest due on his notes for $1000. & $1500. $ 200.00
Novr. 22 "  " Cash from ditto—for ditto 436.00
5 "  " Cash from Hawaiian Government, to re-imburse J.T. for expenses at Washington 82.00
Decr. 8 "  " Cash from A.J.Cartwright, being 7% on $480 which he failed to invest in Exchange 33.60
## 1857

### Novr. 6

- Cash from H.A. Peirce & Co. amot. their Note $540. & Interest $72.  
  612.00

- Cash from W.A. Aldrich, in full for Interest due on his Notes up to Octr. 21st 1857  
  300.00  
  $1663.60

E & O. Ex

Honolulu Decr. 1st 1857

### 46. Charles R. Bishop to J. Turrill

**Honolulu May 31st, 1858**

MY DEAR SIR. Yours of the 29th. March, came to hand by the last mail.

I have spoken to some persons who have property adjoining, or near to your “water lots” about purchasing yours but they do not seem inclined to buy. If I can get an offer I will write you—and if it is as much as $1500. shall advise you to accept it. Real Estate in all parts of the town, and especially on the side where your property is situated has fallen very much in value, and there is no prospect of its rising again, at least, sufficiently to pay for waiting. Those “lots on the plain”, which were in such demand at one time, are now almost worthless, only two or three of all that were sold having been improved. I had two which cost me over $100. each, and about two years ago I sold them by auction at $25 each. Yours would probably bring $20 to $25 each, and I think not more than that, and there is no prospect at present of their rising in value. There are frequent sales of real estate, and there is no difficulty in buying houses or lands low. If you wish me to sell your lots by auction for what they will fetch, or try them at a limit, please advise me. Whaling, sugar planting, Flour Mill Stock, and Grazing, are the favorite kinds of property now.

Mr Aldrich will probably take up his notes between this and the fall season.

He is doing a profitable business, and I think your money safe.

Consul Pratt gave the boarding part of the Consulate to Capt. G. T. Lawton, who has been sailing the Bark ”Fanny Major” between this place and San Francisco,—and the Medical Department to Dr. C. F. Guillon, the old incumbent. The Consul is a very rough and odd old chap, but he has the reputation of being honest, and gives pretty general satisfaction.

The new Commissioner Judge Borden of Indiana, has taken possession of his office, and both he and his lady have made a favorable impression upon the residents. They will board with our friends the Ladds a few weeks, and then go to Mrs Dominis’. His predecessor Mr. Gregg will probably receive the appointment of Minister of Finance, in a few days. You will notice in the papers that all classes are rejoicing at the birth of “His Royal Highness the Prince of Hawaii.” He is a fine child, and his parents are very proud of him.

Your old friends are all well, but time is making his marks upon them. There are so many new faces in the Streets, and so many changes in the town, (the removal of the old fort &c &c) that you would feel quite like a stranger, at first view, but there are a good number of “old residents” and old landmarks remaining. I would be more of a stranger in my native village than you would be here—
so that when I think of visiting the U.S. a feeling of dread comes over me at the idea of finding nearly everything changed—a [sic] myself a stranger, at the place where I was born!

I'm sorry to hear that Mrs Turrill is still troubled with weak eyes. Bernice will write Lizzie soon. She joins with me in sending much love to all your family. Truly yours &c

47. R. C. Wyllie to J. Turrill  
Rosebank 11th March 1859

MY DEAR SIR, I am glad to inform you, that Mr Borden as Commissioner of the United States, has pursued here the very course that in a letter to you, which you will remember, I pointed out, as the one best calculated to increase American influence here.

It is the course which you pursued, while Consul, very much to your honour—that which Mr Allen followed, very much to his, and that which Mr Severance never departed from, for which his memory is venerated here. Mr Pratt, also, is well liked, except by delinquent Captains, and others, to whom he applies the line of justice with inflexible sternness. Mrs Borden & Mrs Pratt, as Ladies are all that could be desired in our small but now refined Society.

Mr Gregg as Minister of Finance has proved a most agreeable & efficient colleague. Our King deserves great credit for His discernment in selecting him for that office, and for the high favour which he shows him on all occasions which best proves how he was esteemed as Commissioner. Just like your own Lady, Mrs Gregg is one, who requires only to be known, to be generally admired; and of Mrs Allen, I may say just the same.

Your old friend General Miller has been advantageously replaced by Mr Nicolas. M Perrin as Commissioner of France, though in his private life most respectable, is not so reasonable or practicable in a political sense, as he might be. The whole aim of his diplomacy is to give a gloss to the events of 1849 as if we, & not French Agents were in the wrong, which if I were to admit, the very stones in the streets would rise up against me. You will remember your telling Dillon and Admiral de Tromelin that if there was any justice in their ten demands, they had failed to show it. The truth is M Dillon had himself, in his own hand writing admitted to Mr Judd, the true and only motives of those disgraceful demands, in the still more disgraceful letter of which, I enclose you a printed copy. I pray you to preserve it, for so long as we are insulted with reminiscences of those demands and with having deserved the "reprisals" of 1849, I will hold it up to the world as the true reverse of the picture.

But, besides, M Perrin, in the name of France, insists upon rights of intervention, altogether destructive of the Kings Sovereignty; I told him officially on the 7th March 1851 that the late King would rather abdicate His Crown than grant such extravagant claims, and on the 10th. ulto., serious communications on this subject were made to General Cass.

Great Britain is too much fettered with France to help us; in extremity we must look to Uncle Sam, whose share in the shipping and trade with the Kingdom is greater than that of all other nations put together. I remain, My dear Sir, Yours ever truly
MY DEAR FRIEND, Mrs. Turrill, On the 17th inst we recd. three U.S. mails all at one time, having waited an unusually long time without any. When the vessel was coming in with the mail flag at mast-head, I remarked to Bernice, there comes good news to some, and sad tidings to others. Do you expect good or bad news? she enquired. Some of both kinds, I replied—and my anticipations came true, but the good came from whence I looked for the evil, and the sad from where I did not expect it. How very little we know of what is in store for us! Mr. Turrill’s letter of Nov 24th in which he does not refer to his health, yours of Decr. 6th telling me of his sickness, and the paper containing the report of his death &c all came together. Mr. Wyllie Mr. Hanks, Mr. Damon Mr. Everett, Mrs. Ladd and many others made enquiries about Mr. Turrill and his family, and said many kind things and expressed their sympathies [sic] for yourself and family. I feel that I have lost a good friend—one whom I respected, and regarded as a friend from first acquaintance, to the close of his life; and I do not forget the first moment of my meeting you at your door, the cordial greeting you gave to dear Lee and to me, both strangers, won my heart, and ever after I felt that in your house I had a home, and friends. You have my deep sympathies in your bereavement. In your family and friends you have much to comfort you and to be thankful for. If Willie were only well as the others, how fortunate you would be. I hope Mr. Turrill left his business matters in such condition as to give you no trouble or anxiety. It is a great pity that the real estate here was not sold when he had an opp’ y to sell at a profit. There was a time when he could have taken $3500 for what now remains unsold, and which would not now bring more than one third that sum. The water lots on the west side of the town would probably sell best in small pieces, to suit natives and others, but at present it and the lots on the plains are not desirable for investments, and are not in demand for use, and I see no prospect of improvement in their value; and would advise you to have them sold even at a considerable loss. The lots on the plain would not bring one third their cost.

I hope Mrs. Lee will make you another visit, and if you and she should wish to escape from the rough grasp of old winter, why not come back to old friends? We are as good as we used to be, and I hope better—and you know what our climate is.

You have heard of the King’s trouble. Mr. Neilson still lingers on, tho’ there is no hope of his recovery. His lungs are seriously affected, and were, the Physicians say, before he was wounded. So that the wound may not be the cause, tho’ it will probably hasten his death. The King’s general conduct is good, at least as good as that of most other Gentlemen in Honolulu. He never had any reason to be jealous of the Queen, and never before or since that sad affair has he shown any suspicions. His mind was suddenly poisoned by some wretch, and his brain was fired with brandy. He has many warm friends notwithstanding that mad act, for he has many admirable qualities, and his place could not be filled by any other. We seldom hear this sad matter referred to now, and would to God it could be forgotten. The young prince is a very interesting and pleasing child.

Mr. Wyllie intends to write to you by this mail. The Damons, & Mrs Ladd,
desire me to present their kindest regards. Mr. J. Fuller is going home after his family, and he says he will try to see you. Dr. & Mrs. Wood, and Laura Judd are safely home again. Laura is superior to some others of the family. I have just seen Mr. Hanks and he wishes to be kindly remembered to you. Bernice joins with me in sending much love to yourself and family, Truly your friend

P.S. If I can serve you in your business here, you will command me of course, if you wish to.
MINUTES OF THE 66th ANNUAL MEETING

March 13, 1958

The sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was called to order by President Charles H. Hunter at 8 P.M. on March 13, 1958 in the Mission-Historical Library. About fifty people attended.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was omitted as they had been printed in the last annual report.

The Treasurer Dr. F. F. Laune summarized the Society's financial position in 1957, saying that a full statement would appear in the next annual report. The Librarian Mrs. W. C. Handy told of activities in the library during the past twelve months. The main portion of Dr. Hunter’s report concerned the recent purchase of the Joel Turrill Correspondence, 1845-1860, made possible through the generosity of the S. N. and Mary Castle Foundation. Mr. Turrill had been United States Consul at Honolulu from 1845 to 1850 and the most interesting portion of these manuscripts are the unofficial letters written to him after he left. Dr. Hunter stated that the Society hoped to print at least a part of these in the near future.

Mr. Harold W. Kent submitted the report of the Nominating Committee which offered the following slate:

President (for one year)—Charles H. Hunter
Trustees (for two years)—Agnes Conrad, Simes T. Hoyt, Bernice Judd and Roswell M. Towill.

This report was adopted and the Secretary instructed to cast the ballot which unanimously elected the officers nominated by the committee.

Mr. Meiric K. Dutton, the Program Chairman, presented the speaker of the evening, Dr. Bertha Mueller, Professor of German at the University of Hawaii. Miss Mueller spoke on Adelbert von Chamisso, naturalist with the Kotzebue expedition which visited Hawaii in 1817. She described Chamisso’s travels in the Islands against the framework of his life and times.

At the close of the program Mrs. Emma L. Doyle asked and was granted permission to speak against the proposed funicular railway to the peak of Diamond Head. After some discussion and a preliminary vote, the members unanimously adopted a resolution to register a protest against the scheme with Governor Quinn.

Miss Agnes Conrad and Miss Janet Bell were hostesses for the social hour during which a fruit drink and cookies were served.

Respectfully submitted,

BERNICE JUDD, Recording Secretary
MEETING OF NOVEMBER 14, 1957

The Hawaiian Historical Society held an open meeting on Thursday evening, November 14, 1957, at the Mission-Historical Library.

Dr. Donald D. Johnson, associate professor of history at the University of Hawaii, presented a paper on "Powers in the Pacific: Tahiti and Hawaii, 1825 to 1850," which outlined the problem of two small nations confronted by diplomatic and military moves of the big powers of the time.

During the social hour which followed, refreshments were served under the direction of Miss Agnes Conrad.

RESOLUTION

At a meeting on April 8, 1958, the Trustees of the Hawaiian Historical Society instructed the Recording Secretary to draft the following resolution subject to the approval of the President:

Whereas, the Trustees of the Hawaiian Historical Society recognize the necessity to have the agenda complete before meetings are assembled,

Resolved, that all measures to come before the membership of the Hawaiian Historical Society be submitted in writing to the Recording Secretary twenty-four hours before the meeting.

Signed: BERNICE JUDD, Recording Secretary
Approved: CHARLES H. HUNTER, President
REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

With this report your Society marks its sixty-sixth year. From the standpoint of membership and finances, the Siamese twins of morbidity in Historical Societies, if not better off this year than last, we are, at least, no worse. This does not indicate complacency because, at the cost of being repetitious, I again urge you to keep in mind our need for new members, particularly among the younger generation.

Equally important, of course, are those old dusty leaves upon which the historian feeds. Your Trustees hope that all members will assist in the pursuit of this fodder. We hope to make a more active approach to the collection of materials during this next year. This is what we would like prospective donors to know. If you have material about which you are in doubt please call us or any of our Archivists or Librarians. We will be glad to advise you without committing you in any way. If your material does not pertain to Hawaii or the Pacific, and you are tired of having it around, perhaps we could trade with some state or local historical society that has Hawaiian material on hand. Should you not wish to part with the material you have, we can have it duplicated exactly in your presence or placed upon microfilm for permanent preservation. If you wish to restrict the use of any personal files deposited with us, we can also do that. We would appreciate information about the location of Hawaiian or Pacific materials, including pictures and newspapers, wherever you think they may be found.

Our main acquisition this year, described elsewhere in this report, was made possible by the great generosity of the Trustees of the S. N. and Mary Castle Foundation. The nature and scope of other materials added to our files will be found in the Librarian’s Report. As more and more material is catalogued, our collections become more and more useable and of greater value and service to the community. To Mrs. Willowdean Handy for her services in this respect, not only as Librarian, but for performance of other functions over and above the routine of her allotted tasks, our grateful acknowledgment. To Mrs. Agnes C. Bickerton, most faithful of volunteers, to the Trustees, to the members of the various committees for their cooperation and assistance, in behalf of the Society, our Aloha!

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES H. HUNTER, President
REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1957

INVESTMENTS

75 shs. Von Hamm-Young 4½% Pfd.
50 shs. Pacific Gas & Electric 6% Pfd.
30 shs. United Gas Corporation Com.
20 shs. Southern California Edison Com.
Bishop National Bank—Savings Account ........................................ $2,345.93
First Federal Savings & Loan—Savings Account .......................... 2,181.34

THE STATUS OF SPECIAL FUNDS FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES IS AS FOLLOWS:

MICROFILMING FUND

Balance January 1, 1957 ...................................................... $1,259.42
Disbursements .......................................................... 12.38
Balance December 31, 1957 ................................................ $1,247.04

MAUDE JONES MEMORIAL FUND

Balance January 1, 1957 ...................................................... $ 335.75
Disbursements .......................................................... 57.27
Balance December 31, 1957 ................................................ $ 278.48

S. N. AND MARY CASTLE FUND FOR PURCHASE AND BINDING BOOKS

Balance January 1, 1957 ...................................................... $1,262.63
Disbursements .......................................................... 339.27
Balance December 31, 1957 ................................................ $ 923.36

TOTAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS BALANCES,
DECEMBER 31, 1957 ......................................................... $2,448.88
| **STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS**  
**CALENDAR YEAR 1957** |
| --- |

**RECEIPTS**

$3,619.96

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<td>Contributions</td>
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<td>General</td>
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<td>S. B. Dole Biography (Royalties)</td>
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<td>Dividends</td>
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**DISBURSEMENTS**

$6,740.11

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<td>Less Territorial 2%</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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Cash in Bank January 1, 1957 | $3,960.24 |
Plus Receipts, 1957 | 3,619.96 |
Less Disbursements, 1957 | 7,580.20 |
Cash in Bank, December 31, 1957 | $840.09
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During the past year I have continued my effort to put the library into good physical shape. Forty-two volumes have been bound or rebound. Cataloguing has gone slowly, particularly in the section on political and social science, economics and education. A great many pamphlets were written on these subjects during the monarchy, which have such good contemporary information that they must be analysed.

For instance: there is a pamphlet giving the digest of a hearing before the chief justice of the supreme court in 1869 in which about ten prominent men under oath give their name, date and place of birth, parentage, date of arrival in these islands if they came from abroad, occupation, and offices held. This is the best kind of autobiography. Ten cards were needed for that one pamphlet.

But by and large, last year's story is of gradually expanding the collection, trying to round out material on Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific.

For the bulk of our purchases we are indebted to the S. N. and Mary Castle Foundation. Dr. Hunter has told you about our purchase of Joel Turrill's correspondence, which is the most valuable acquisition we have obtained in a long time. In addition through left-over funds, we have made a good many smaller but important purchases.

These may be grouped geographically as to content. Perhaps the most important relating to Hawaii exclusively is Helen Gay Pratt's "The Story of Mid-Pacific". Several from the New Zealand area have built up our collection: "A Dictionary of the Maori Language," from the Government Printing Office; J. C. Anderson's "Maori Poetry"; Elsdon Best's "The Maori as He Was"; "Captain Cook in New Zealand", edited by A. H. and A. W. Reed; and "A Short History of Rotuma" by W. J. S. Eason.

So close was the connection between Hawaii and the Northwest Coast of America, that we find much pertinent material for our library in new publications that are being issued about this area. Here are four that seem important: "Dictionary of Oregon History," by Howard Corning; "Pacific Northwest Americana," by Charles W. Smith; "Sir George Simpson" by Arthur S. Morton; and "By Sea on the Tonquin", by Cecil Pearl Dryden.

The Pacific in general has been covered by the Michener and Day book on "Rascals in Paradise"; Bob Considine's "The Maryknoll Story"; and J. C. Beaglehole's "Character of Captain Cook."

We are gradually spending the Maude Jones Memorial fund, keeping our purchases to source material—hitherto unpublished manuscripts, old publications which we lack, and modern reprints of old publications.

We have acquired a book of Polynesian chants collected and translated by J. Frank Stimson of Tahiti, which he calls "Songs and Tales of the Sea Kings". From an old manuscript is Captain Josiah N. Knowles shipwreck diary, "Crusoes of Pitcairn", edited by Richard S. Dillon.

Abbey Jane Morrell's "Narrative of a Voyage . . .", published in 1833 we
acquired as a companion piece to her husband Benjamin’s “Narrative of Four Voyages”, which we already possessed.

We bought a beautiful reprint of David Samwell’s journal, issued under the title of “Captain Cook and Hawaii” with an introduction by Sir Maurice Holmes. This journal of the surgeon on the “Discovery” was one of our own reprints, but the introduction and plates accompanying the Magee and Edwards reprint made the purchase worth while.

From the University of Oklahoma press we obtained two publications of manuscripts which have been re-examined and re-edited in the modern spirit of sticking faithfully to the originals. These are: “The Fur Hunters of the Far West” by Alexander Ross, first published in London in 1855; and “The Columbia River” by Ross Cox, first published in 1831.

One other type of acquisition remains to be reported: The microfilming of old newspapers has been halted due to “technical difficulties”, as the saying is. But we have obtained two films during the past year; D. W. Griffin’s “Life of William L. Lee, First Chief Justice of the Hawaiian Kingdom”, a master’s thesis written while the author taught at the Kamehameha Schools, and W. H. D. King’s notes on “A Maritime History of Hawaii”.

Outstanding among the gifts received since the last annual meeting are the “Hawaiian English Dictionary” by Pukui and Elbert given by the University of Hawaii Press; “Arts and Crafts of Hawaii” by Peter H. Buck received from the Bishop Museum; and “Who's Who: The Chinese in Hawaii, 1956-1957”, from the publishers, the United Chinese Penman Club. We were also glad to receive Mrs. Dorothy Rainwater’s articles on “Spoons Full of History” (Hawaiian souvenir spoons), Rev. Yim Sang Mark’s “Golden Jubilee of St. Peter’s Church in Honolulu”, and copies made by Donald Angus of documents in the London Public Records and India Offices.

I want to mention also the gifts of photographs and data on vessels belonging to shipping lines which have played a role in Hawaii’s history. A correspondent in California started our interest by exchanging material with us on steamers of the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company. Mr. William Norwood and Mr. M. J. Murphy have added to this nucleus of a maritime collection by sending us thirty-one photographs of Matson vessels and promising data on the craft from their files. We hope that some of you may be able to help us build up our history of shipping in Hawaii.

No report could be complete without an expression of gratitude to Mrs. Agnes Bickerton for her faithful one day a week help.

Respectfully submitted,
WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY, Librarian
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*Na Himeni Hawaii*, by Ethel M. Damon, for $1.00.

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<td>Regular Member</td>
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